

Projecting the Voices of Mexican-Origin Children

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The current rise of immigration to the United States is being accompanied by a dramatic increase of newly arrived immigrant children to American schools. Therefore, there is a clear need to gain an understanding of the way in which the children themselves conceptualize achievement and how they attribute success and failure in their new unfamiliar surroundings. We examined immigrant children's narratives elicited by a modified version of the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT; C. Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco) collected in two separate studies. The first study, *Transformations: Immigration, Family Life, and Achievement Motivation Among Latino Adolescents* (C. Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995) is archived in the Murray Research Archive, Harvard–MIT Data Center, Harvard University. The second study from which we drew data is the “Longitudinal Immigrant Student Adaptation Study” (LISA; C. Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, & Todorova, in press). In this combination of current and archival data, we applied a unified methodology to the analysis of narratives of a widely diverse group of students. The archival data contain narratives of different generations of Mexican-origin adolescents—Mexicans residing in Mexico, Mexican-born immigrants to the United States, and children in the Mexican American second generation. We also examined data from the Mexican immigrant children in the LISA study at two points in time—shortly after they arrived in the United States and 5 years later. We focus on how success is conceptualized in the narratives, the extent to which these stories invoke feelings of inadequacy, and whether success is conceptualized as an individualistic endeavor or an affiliative endeavor. We found that the TAT narratives reflected the reality of the participants' lives: Although initially they tended to search for help from others as they adapted to their new homeland, over time, they seemed less inclined to search for assistance from their parents, teachers, peers, or community members—it is pos-

sible that they gave up the search after several years of facing negative responses. The combined analysis offers an intricate window into the psychological and interpersonal world of immigrant children that enriches the information gathered through the other methods we employed. From this work, we can confirm the psychological and interpersonal cost of immigration for these children.

The current rise of immigration to the United States is being accompanied by a dramatic increase in the number of newly arrived immigrant children to American schools (C. Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). Immigrant children have become a significant presence in classrooms all over the country, with one in five school children coming from an immigrant family. Indeed, it is projected that by the middle of the 21st century, the children of immigrants will make up a third of the school-age population in the United States (Rong & Prissle, 1998). These highly diverse newcomers undergo complex and contradictory processes of adaptation in these new school and social environments, and there is a clear need to understand how they make meaning of their transitions.

More than 80% of these children arrive from Latin America, Asia, and the Afro-Caribbean basin (Bureau of the Census, 2003). Although they bring remarkable strengths including strong family ties, deep-seated beliefs in education, and optimism about the future, they also face the challenges of migration. Many stressors place immigrant children at risk, including high levels of poverty (Capps, 2001), unwelcoming contexts of reception (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001), experiences of racism and discrimination (M. Suárez-Orozco, 2001; Szalacha et al., 2004), and exposure to school and community violence (Collier, 1998; García-Coll & Magnuson, 1997; C. Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001).

Recent data from studies that have used different methodological and analytical strategies demonstrate puzzling trends—recent immigrants have better health and academic indicators than those who have lived longer in the United States, and foreign-born members of any given ethnic group are generally healthier than members of the second and third generations (Hernández & Charney, 1998; Iannotta, 2003; Morales, Lara, Kington, Valdez, & Escarce, 2002). In nearly all immigrant groups today, length of residence in the United States appears to be associated with declining indicators in health, school achievement, and aspirations, an observation that is very alarming.

Strong family cohesion and rich networks of relations have been shown to be important factors in the initial immigrant advantages (Abraido-Lanza, Dohrenwend, Ng-Mak, & Turner, 1999; Fuligni, Tseng, & Lam, 1999; Stanton-Salazar, 2001, 2004). Immigrants generally have extended support networks and multiple communal strategies for dealing with economic hardships and emotional stress and for sharing childcare and household responsibilities (Iannotta, 2003). Well-being among immigrants, then, may be linked to the patterns of social capital that immigrants can deploy in their new settings (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Zhou &

Bankston, 1998). The construct of achievement motivation (McClelland, 1989; McClelland, Atkinson, Clark, & Lowell, 1953) and its cultural patterns and interpersonal dimensions are of interest to our discussion (DeVos & DeVos, 2004). For example, previous and current work with immigrant children from Mexico and Central America has led to a model of achievement motivation that stresses the importance of relational ties as an impetus and an essential ingredient of what has been called “affiliative achievement” (C. Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995; M. Suárez-Orozco, 1989).

In this article, we use multiple sources of data representing relational and achievement themes in narratives of children of Mexican origin—the largest immigrant group to the United States (Bureau of the Census, 2003)—to deepen our understanding of how they experience and conceptualize their move to the United States.

DATA SOURCES

We examine immigrant children’s narratives elicited by the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT; Murray, 1943) collected in two separate studies. The first study, *Transformations: Immigration, Family Life, and Achievement Motivation Among Latino Adolescents* (C. Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995) is archived in the Murray Research Archive, Harvard–MIT Data Center, Harvard University. The second study from which we drew data is the “Longitudinal Immigrant Student Adaptation Study” (LISA; C. Suárez-Orozco et al., in press).

The archived Immigration, Family Life and Achievement Motivation Among Latino Adolescents was a cross-sectional study conducted between 1991 and 1992 by C. Suárez-Orozco and M. Suárez-Orozco. C. Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco (1995) were interested in determining whether achievement framed as being for the family emerged as a significant motivator for adolescents of Mexican origin; they also sought to establish whether the interdependent affiliative achievement cluster related to cultural patterns that came from the country of origin or whether it emerged or became magnified in the process of migration. To examine these questions, C. Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco (1995) took an interdisciplinary (anthropological, psychological, and educational) approach to studying an area of high emigration in central Mexico and an immigrant-receiving area of Southern California. With a sample of 189 informants, C. Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco (1995) used structured interviews and projective tests such as the TAT, Sentence Completion Tasks (DeVos, 1973), and Problem Situation Tasks (DeVos, 1973). The children in this sample were between the ages of 13 and 18, and those who were immigrants had arrived in the United States 4 years earlier on average. The mean age for the Mexican children was 14.6 years; for the Mexican immigrants, it was 15.64 years; and for the second generation, it was

15.35 years.¹ For this article, we conducted secondary analyses of the archival data, focusing on the TAT narratives of children of Mexican origin and applying the new analytic strategy we describe following.

The second study, LISA, was conducted between 1997 and 2003 by its codirectors, C. Suárez-Orozco and M. Suárez-Orozco, with a large team of graduate students and research assistants. It included more than 400 youth who had arrived within 2 years of recruitment from Central America (including El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua), China (Hong Kong, Mainland China, and Taiwan), the Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Mexico. The participants in the LISA study were recruited from seven school districts in the greater Boston and San Francisco metropolitan areas. The youth whom we followed longitudinally were between the ages of 9 and 14 years at the beginning of the study. For this article, we examined the narratives of the Mexican participants and not the data from the Central American, Chinese, Dominican, and Haitian participants. The mean age of the Mexican participants was 11.32 in Year 1 and 16.06 by Year 5.

This combination of archival and new TAT data allowed us to apply a unified analytic strategy to the analysis of narratives of a diverse group of students of Mexican origin. Through this process, we have combined analyses across time and place.

METHOD

Our method of analysis is informed by the “narrative turn” in the social sciences (Bruner, 1990; Howard, 1991; Sarbin, 1986). This phenomenon has expanded the use of narratives in social science research including a revival of interest in projected narratives (Cramer, 1996; DeVos & DeVos, 2004). The TAT, originally developed by Murray (1943), is a projective test comprising a set of 20 pictures. This task assumes that when presented with ambiguous representations, the participant will articulate narratives infused with ongoing interpersonal concerns. Originally grounded in psychoanalytic theory, the projective-narrative method has been widely used in cross-cultural research and has been both celebrated and criticized. The TAT is an important vehicle in cross-cultural research because of its potential to transcend some of the limitations of itemized questionnaires, which inevitably carry the biases of the culture in which they have been developed. The ambiguous stimuli of the TAT allow cultural patterns to emerge, revealing the interpersonal concerns of distinct populations. A growing corpus of scholarship using the TAT now includes samples from Asia, the Middle East, Europe, Latin America, and the United States.

¹These age differences between the groups were not statistically significant.

The TAT is particularly useful as a research (and clinical) tool with children and adolescents because of the “nature of childhood and the nature of projective techniques” (Chandler, 2003, p. 53; Dupree & Prevatt, 2003). The TAT allows children to project their voices into the world in a nonthreatening context. It harnesses the children’s creative potential, their imagination, as well as their “love for fantasy” (McClelland, 1999, p. 164).

In both of the studies from which the narratives have been drawn, we have used the TAT as a source of narrative data rather than as a psychodiagnostic tool and thus have not applied preexisting scoring schemes. The TAT is not used alone; rather, it supplements the information gathered through structured interviews and other psychosocial assessment instruments. In this article, we focus only on Card 1. This image portrays a boy of latency age gazing pensively at a violin on a table in front of him. This card has been well established as one that elicits achievement themes as participants typically tell stories about learning to play the violin (DeVos, 1973; DeVos & DeVos, 2004; C. Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995; M. Suárez-Orozco, 1989). For immigrants in particular, we have found that the tale about the process of learning to play the violin is a powerful metaphor for learning English as part of the migratory process (C. Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, & Todorova, 2004).

In both studies from which we drew the data, the TAT cards were administered as part of a lengthy structured interview at the start of the investigation. We had Card 1 redrawn to depict a racially ambiguous figure. Such identification enhances verbal fluency and stimulates the presentation of more elaborate narratives (Constantino, Malgady, Rogler, & Tsui, 1988). The coding scheme for the narratives was developed inductively and restructured based on newly emerging themes as the analysis proceeded.² The coding strategy identified emerging themes in the stories while staying close to the stories’ manifest content. After we

²For coding and scale development, the first stage of method development was identifying salient themes elicited by the TAT card across cases through a qualitative inductive coding procedure. The second stage consisted of a quantification procedure as a precursor to statistical analysis of distributions and intergroup differences in theme incidence. The third stage was qualitative and included a recontextualization of the defined categories within the narratives to refine the coding scheme and to identify relations between themes. The advantage of this approach is that it avoids imposing preexisting theoretical concepts that have been formulated in cultures external to the ones being studied and captures themes that are relevant to these particular groups faced with the experience of immigration. The stories were read, analyzed, and discussed by the two co-authors who were blind to the group membership of the storyteller. Each story was scored for the presence or absence of each of the themes and themes’ subdimensions under consideration. The raters scored 25 stories together, and discussed the rationale for why each scale was scored in a specific manner for each story. When there was disagreement, the item was discussed until a consensus was obtained. The rationale was articulated and noted in the emerging scoring procedures. Once these first 25 stories were scored, the raters each received a copy of the draft of the scoring procedures, and they scored another 20 stories separately. We calculated the interrater reliability for each scale. The interrater reliability for the combined scales of TAT Card 1 was .90.

coded each story for the presence and absence of each of the particular themes, we conducted between-group comparisons for the relevant presence of each theme using the chi statistic.³

RESULTS

In this article, we present the findings from the archival data, which contain narratives of different generations of Mexican-origin adolescents—Mexicans residing in Mexico, Mexican-born immigrants to the United States, and children in the Mexican American second generation (those born in the United States to parents who had emigrated from Mexico). We also show results from the Mexican immigrant children in the LISA study at two points in time—shortly after they arrived in the United States and 5 years later. We focus on how success is conceptualized in the narratives, the extent to which these stories invoke feelings of inadequacy, and whether success is conceptualized as an individualistic endeavor or an affiliative endeavor.

Cross-Generational Analysis: The Archival Study

Mexicans. The TAT1 narratives of the Mexican children who have not moved and are attending schools in Mexico are, for the most part, narratives that project optimistic expectations, happiness, positive story resolutions, and relatively few concerns with inadequacy. With this positive mood, they stand out from the stories of all other groups in our two studies. The overwhelming theme in most of the other groups is discomfort: The participants project a narrative in which the boy either dislikes the task of playing the violin or feels inadequate as he learns. However, for the Mexican children, the predominant theme is of one of desiring to play and learn. The stories are mainly about satisfaction and about enjoying the process, and they often project fantasies containing beauty, laughter, and interest. These narratives also project goals of high professional success and expectations to a much greater extent than do stories from the other groups (67%)—fantasies of fame and of playing at places of prominence are often invoked:

³The TAT1 coding scheme developed included the following scales: Story Theme, Definition of Success, Attribution of Success, Helping scale, Resolution of Story, Coherence of Positive Resolution, Concern With Adequacy, Engagement in Task, Source of External Pressure, Expressed Affect, Interpersonal Relationships and the Quality of These Relationships, Impediment, Localization of the Impediment, Broken Violin (if a broken violin existed in the narrative, was it broken purposefully by self, accidentally by self or other, or purposefully by other).

This is a boy from a very poor family. His father works as an author writing plays for the theater. His father also played the violin. The son is just beginning to read and learn about the violin. He decides that he wants to become a musician and he studies the violin more than he does the rest of his studies. With encouragement he studies everything that he needs to study but continues to concentrate on his music. He gets a scholarship to go to the national conservatory of music and today he is a great and famous violinist. (Mexican, 137.40.77)⁴

Half (50%) of the stories are “individualistic”—the task is being mastered independently through the boy’s efforts and for the pleasure of learning. Learning to play, even if difficult, is not perceived as unmanageable or particularly stressful and rarely elicits the need to rely on the help of others:

This is a young boy that is concentrating on the violin. He’s thinking that he’s not going to be able to learn the notes of the melody that he wants to learn to play. But with time he keeps trying and he eventually learns to play the melody. It comes out really well because of all his efforts and when he gets it perfect he calls his friends to show them what he has learned. They listen to him and they tell him how beautiful the music is. They tell him that his success is due to all his hard work. (Mexican, 429.40.78)

The affiliative achievement theme also appears on occasion, most often in the form of succeeding to help others in the future rather than seeking help to master a task:

The boy is imagining that when he becomes an adult he will become a great violinist. He thinks that if he really wants something he can do whatever he wants to do and he thinks he will become a great violinist. He wants to follow this goal and then he will be able to help his parents and live a better life himself. (Mexican, 209.40.76)

Mexican immigrants. To a large extent, the optimism inherent in the Mexican stories “carries over” in the immigrant journey, but it is subdued by a prevailing sadness (present in 51%). The motivation to succeed through learning to play the violin in which the violin becomes a metaphor for education is central to the narratives of the immigrant children. The high value placed on education by Mexican immigrant children is palpable in their stories; however, the goals they set for themselves are much humbler than those of their peers in Mexico. Most narratives for this group are concerned with mastering the task at hand such as the boy’s

⁴The participants were given Identification numbers in order to preserve anonymity. The two studies on which the paper is based used different identification systems. In the archived *Immigration, Family Life and Achievement Motivation Among Latino Adolescents* the identification numbers indicate participant number, group and year of birth. In the LISA study the Identification number indicate participant number, gender and age at recruitment.

ability to master a particular lesson rather than to achieve great success. “Not knowing how” is a major phrase, and concerns about inadequacy surface often:

This boy was trying to play the violin, and he broke a string. He feels sad, because he has to finish an assignment, and now he can't. He can't finish it until his parents arrive and buy him a new string. And he won't be able to finish one of his assignments that his music teacher gave him. His parents arrive, and they scold him because he hasn't finished his homework, because before, he'd been playing a lot with the strings, and he broke it. (Mexican immigrant, 403.30.74)

Most of the stories (76%) still have positive resolutions; hope and optimism are integral to them. The desire to learn is internalized by the protagonist, and although the idea that the school or the parents are pressuring the child emerges on occasion, it is not particularly strong.

These stories also demonstrate confidence that others will be available for help and support if needed. Interestingly, the potential helpers are most often peers, whereas parents are cast in positive roles of wanting to help or being asked for help but not being able to offer it—a projection that mirrors the reality of immigrant parents who are constrained in the new social environment by language barriers or work overload:

This boy is sad because he got a violin for his birthday. He really likes to play but he can't. He needs lessons but his parents can't afford to take him to a class. So then he made friends at his school and they helped him a lot. Now he is really good and plays concerts at his school. (Mexican Immigrant, 114.10.78)

Although the affect of sadness comes up frequently (51%) as can be expected for children who have recently left their relatives behind, it is often followed by happiness and pride whether the boy masters the task by himself or with help:

He's thinking that one day when he's older he's going to learn to play the violin. Right now he's learning how to play it. He feels sad because he still doesn't know how to play very well. His future has to do with violin playing. In the end he's happy because he learns to play it well. (Mexican Immigrant, 102.10.77)

Second-generation Mexican Americans. The narratives recounted by the second-generation Mexican Americans depict an escalating sense of discouragement when compared with the Mexican immigrants' stories and even more so when contrasted with those told by Mexican youth. This discouragement shows in the diminished expectations expressed in the narratives. The stories contain fewer definitions of success as achieving excellence (9%); instead, the participants use definitions of success limited to solving minor problems in the present moment. Projections of positive story resolutions are also fewer (44%):

He's trying to learn how to play the violin, but he's having trouble and is getting frustrated and is about to give up on it. He was picking it up, practicing before this picture. His mom wanted him to play the violin. It ends with him continuing to practice, but he's never good at it. So he quits. After she heard him play, his mom agreed with his decision to quit. (Second-generation Mexican American, 110.20.74)

For Mexican American second-generation adolescents, learning to play the violin or studying is framed less as an internalized need and more as something that is externally enforced. The protagonist does not want to play but is forced to do so; perceived pressure from parents and schools is prominent in second-generation narratives (35% compared with 9% in Mexicans). Anger emerges much more frequently in these narratives (21%) than it does for either the Mexican or immigrant youth:

He doesn't want to play the violin, but his parents are making him do it. He doesn't want to because he is tired of having to play it. He is feeling angry that he has to keep practicing. He feels like getting the violin and throwing it out of the window. In the picture, he pretends he is playing so that afterwards he can do what he wants. (Second-generation Mexican American, 928.20.78)

Happiness or pleasure in mastering the task is articulated less often. A lower level of engagement emerges frequently among the second-generation, U.S.-born adolescents. Predominant themes include boredom, tiredness, avoidance, disengagement, or being "fed up":

This little boy is sitting down and he is falling asleep in his class. He is bored of what the teacher is saying. He has a violin there, and he wished he was just sitting at home eating junk food. The teacher calls out his name and he wakes up and is embarrassed. (Second-generation Mexican American, 915.20.77)

Rarely is success achieved through the help of others or with the goal of helping others (14%). It is quite the opposite: Accomplishing the task on one's own is a more common theme. The protagonist's perceived inadequacy is more prevalent for the second-generation narratives than in the immigrants' and the Mexicans' narratives (46% compared to 27% and 9%, respectively). Concerns with adequacy are frequently voiced: The protagonist is described as "disgusted with himself" or a "failure," or the work is called "torture." The negativity is often phrased quite strongly:

The child was very interested in playing the violin in the beginning and now he doesn't know what to do without any help. Now he is going through stages where he puts in too much effort and nothing is happening, so he is feeling depressed. He loses his interest in music and now he has a mental block, he can't solve other prob-

lems. He gives up all interest in music and has a mental block. He loses confidence in solving problems. (Second generation, 214.20.73)

Comparisons across generations. Mexican adolescents living in Mexico define success as achieving high levels of prominence and excellence most often of all the groups (67%; Table 1). For Mexican immigrants, success is defined as mastering the immediate task of learning to play the violin, which parallels their struggles with mastering a new language. The second-generation Mexican Americans define success through high expectations in only 9% of the cases, the lowest level of the three groups.

For all groups, most of the stories describe a situation in which the protagonist is trying to succeed or master a task for his own purposes. For all groups, the achievement is most frequently framed in terms of achieving for self. The Mexicans rarely invoke the help of others, perhaps because they do not perceive the task as problematic. Indeed, Mexican adolescents are often optimistic that they would excel at the instrument. The immigrant youth are most likely to ask for and rely on others (33%). Given the disorientation typical of the migratory experience, asking the help of cultural guides is an adaptive strategy. The second generation has little confidence that others can help them attain their goals (14%). Both the Mexicans (78%) as well as the immigrants (76%) frequently resolve the narrative positively (Table 1). The second generation least often gives positive resolutions (44%). The stories invoke protagonists who are engaged to different degrees. Overwhelmingly, the protagonist is engaged in the Mexicans' stories (91%); this also emerges frequently for the immigrants (78%). The second generation tells significantly fewer stories of engagement (58%). The narratives of the second generation most often relate feeling pressured by parents and school (35%).⁵ The subjective experience of external pressure is salient for them, whereas it is almost irrelevant for the Mexicans (9%) and minimal for the immigrants (13%).

How deeply the stories evoke a sense of inadequacy differs strikingly among the groups. Although inadequacy is an issue in only 9% of the Mexicans' stories, it is present in 27% of the immigrant stories and in nearly half (46%) in those of the second generation (Table 1). Whether the stories conceptualize impediments to success as internally located also differs from group to group. Although only 11% of the Mexicans see impediments as internal, this is so for 27% of the immigrants and 49% of the second-generation children. This sense of inadequacy is fueled by the impediment of "lack of knowledge," relevant for the immigrants and also the second generation and almost irrelevant for the Mexicans. The second generation, therefore, seems to struggle with the same feelings of inadequacy as

⁵Feeling pressured by parents or school authorities is frequently noted in stories related by American mainstream White adolescents (C. Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995).

TABLE 1
Theme Comparisons Across Studies and Groups

Theme	LISA Study: Longitudinal Changes for Mexican Immigrants			Mexican Origin Archival Study: Across Group Differences		Second Generation (%)	p
	Year 1 (%)	Year 5 (%)		Immigrant (%)	Mexican (%)		
Definition of success: High expectations	8	20		18	67	9	*
Achieving for self	27	46		47	50	51	*
Affiliative achievement (with the help of others)	29	16		33	23	14	*
Positive resolution of story	53	58		76	78	44	*
Coherent positive resolution of story	50	26		67	67	33	*
Feeling inadequate	28	45		27	9	46	*
Engaged in task	59	56		78	91	58	*
Parental pressure	6	9		13	9	35	*
Anger	2	12		4	2	21	*
Happiness	29	20		36	33	16	ns
Sadness	49	35		51	16	42	*
Boredom	9	16		11	2	14	ns
Internal localization of impediment	29	54		27	11	49	*
Total N	86	69		45	45	43	*

Note. LISA = Longitudinal Immigrant Student Adaptation Study; ns = nonsignificant.
*p < .05.

the immigrants without their balancing counterforce of optimism about a better future (Kao & Tienda, 1995).

Longitudinal Analysis: Longitudinal Immigrant Student Adaptation Study

The archival study provides perspective on how success and its impediments are conceptualized by Mexican-origin adolescents of different immigrant backgrounds. The TAT narratives collected as part of the LISA study, on the other hand, allow us to observe changes over time for a group of newcomer immigrant children arriving from Mexico.

The narratives told by the Mexican students reflect the high value placed on education by the children and their families. The stories also show the importance of effort and perseverance. Optimism is particularly strong in the 1st year of the study. For immigrants, the definition of success is related mainly to mastering the task at hand, a definition that remains consistent over time:

First the boy thought that he could never be anything in life. Then in music class he realized he could be someone in life. He would work very hard at his classes because he knew that Mexicans were equal to Americans and everything he wanted to do he could do. Since that day he was showing students who didn't want to study that they were the same as everyone else. And if they studied they could be something in life. (Mexican immigrant Year 1, 567-0-11)

Most of the stories that the Mexican immigrant children project to Card 1 contain positive resolutions, both in the stories from Year 1 (53%) as well as those from Year 5 (58%; Table 1). Although the positive resolutions persist, over time the stories become fraught with concerns about failure. Far more stories in Year 5 are left hanging with no resolution or with resolutions that seem contrived. The optimism of immigration continues to be projected, although it is less likely to sustain positive academic engagement. The children face many impediments, yet they are unwilling to give up the wish for a positive outcome. In the following story, the exaggerated resolution is only loosely connected with the beginning of a narrative that overall is infused with disorientation and mistreatment:

There was once a boy that had just arrived from Mexico. He did not know English. When he arrived in school, the teacher did not help him in his studies. So he became depressed and started getting poor grades. Then one day, the teacher got mad at him and threw a piece of meat on his desk. The boy felt very sad, started studying very hard. Twenty years later, he became a doctor, having overcome his impediments. He had 10 children and all attended the university. (Mexican immigrant Year 5, 504-0-11)

Over time, there are significantly more narratives among the immigrant group in which the protagonist is concerned with inadequacy (increasing from 28% to 45%). The characteristics of the perceived inadequacy also change. In Year 1, concerns about the boy's ability to learn the violin frequently involve an external or accidental impediment to success (e.g., not knowing English in a new land, the violin accidentally broken). By Year 5, the narratives shift to internal barriers including disinterest, concerns with capabilities and talent, and expressions of the boy's disappointment with himself. In Year 1, the concerns are about impediments in the process, whereas in Year 5, they shift to doubts about ability. Whereas in Year 1, the locus of the impediment is internal for 29.1% of the stories, this increases to 53.6% of the stories in Year 5 (Table 1).

I don't know, he's bored because he doesn't like to play the violin or because he doesn't know how. He tried to play but he couldn't do it. He will drop that class or make a bigger effort to play the violin. [He feels] impotent. Powerless. (Mexican immigrant Year 5, 517–0–14)

A prevalent affect in later narratives is boredom—sleepiness or fatigue are often projected. The sense of disengagement has increased strikingly in the Year 5 narratives. Although the longitudinal difference for boredom does not reach statistical significance (increasing from 9.3% to 15.9%, *ns*, Table 1), this is an artifact of our coding procedure. We explicitly coded for the presence of the word *boredom*, although disengagement could be manifested in more indirect ways. In general, the stories in Year 5 seem less lively, less emotional, and less creative. That the children are putting less creativity into the narrative task itself could be a symbol of disengagement as can be seen when comparing the narratives of this Mexican girl in Year 1 and Year 5:

He feels bad because he doesn't play the violin well. He told his mom that when he gets up in front of class to play his classmates put their hands over their ears. But he practices and practices and then he learns to play well and he again plays in front of the class and this time they applaud him. He's happy. (Mexican immigrant Year 1, 533–1–10)

The boy doesn't know how to play his violin. (pause) He is bored. He is trying to think. He will learn. (Mexican immigrant Year 5, 533–1–10)

Narrative elements of searching for help increase immediately after immigration. In the first years, the stories of immigrant youth often reflect a mobilization of social resources; the protagonist seeks help and support to learn to play the violin. Longitudinally, however, within the 5 years of the LISA study, we observe that the narratives of the immigrant children begin to project a greater degree of alienation from sources of social support, including parents and teachers, and dis-

couragement about the possibility of receiving help in difficult situations. It is striking how depopulated the stories become. In Year 1, the protagonist needs help, asks for it, and is often able to find it. In Year 5, the protagonist is on his own: Even when there is no explicit statement that help is unavailable, it is telling that the participants introduce no other people into the story or at most project a dilemma about whether to ask for help. Achievement is much more often conceptualized as achieving for self, increasing from 26.7% in Year 1 to 46.4% in Year 5, whereas stories in which the protagonist gets help and achieves success decrease from 29.1% in Year 1 to 15.9% in Year 5. This is illustrated in the following examples, which show narratives projected by the same student in Year 1 and in Year 5:

The little boy wants to play violin but he's sad because he doesn't have the money to buy it. He went to violin class, showed the teacher he could play and the teacher lent him one. The happy boy then returns home but his brother breaks the violin! He cries "What will I do?" The boy's friend helps him fix it and he is happy again. (Mexican immigrant Year 1, 535-1-12)

I don't know, it's not very clear. What is this, a violin? I don't know, the boy is tired, thinking of the music. He was practicing with his violin. Maybe he will have a, what do you call it, a presentation. It will go well. (how does he feel?) Frustrated and desperate because he doesn't know if it will go well or bad. (Mexican immigrant Year 5, 535-1-12)

DISCUSSION

Analyzing the data in the Murray Center Diversity Archives together with data from the recent LISA study has allowed our research team to conduct cross-sectional and longitudinal analysis of achievement themes across generations of Mexican-immigrant and nonimmigrant children using a unified methodology. The availability of these unique data has allowed us to view immigration across time and place. We have followed the dynamics of immigrant children's lives by comparing particulars in the narratives of children who are in their countries of origin with those of children who have migrated and those of children whose parents migrated. We have also been able to discuss the relevance of the length of stay in the United States and of the children's developmental processes by following the narratives of immigrant children as they shift through time.

It is tempting to attribute many of the changes we observe in the LISA study to developmental processes. Themes of individuation, separation, and self-doubt and concerns with one's identity and abilities are salient themes for later adolescence, which the children have entered by Year 5 of the study. Without comparing the LISA results with the archival data, we would have been unable to assess the role of development relative to the role of immigration. Through the combined

longitudinal and cross-sectional analyses possible through the use of archival data, we can more confidently conclude that although developmental explanations are certainly relevant, they cannot fully explain the observed dynamics: Immigration itself contributes. Specifically, whereas the LISA group of children aged from a mean of 11.32 years to 16.06 years in the course of the study, all the children in the archival study (*M* age around 15 for the different groups) are statistically similar to the older LISA group and to each other. Yet their immigrant background (i.e., Mexicans, recent immigrants, or second-generation immigrants), rather than age, proves to be most salient to the observed changes. The second-generation Mexicans project greater isolation, inadequacy, and disengagement compared with recently arrived immigrants. Further, the Mexican immigrants from the LISA study at Year 5 project greater feelings of inadequacy than do the Mexican immigrants from the archival study. This could be because the latter had been in the country for an average of 4 years, whereas participants the LISA study had been in the country for an average of 7 years by the 5th year of the study. The projected themes of discouragement, disengagement, and decreased affiliative achievement, characteristic of the second-generation narratives in the archival study, emerge in the narratives of the immigrant children from the LISA study once these children have been in the United States for a significant portion of their lives. Most alarming is the projected absence of social support and helping resources for the immigrant children who have been in the United States for a longer period as well as for the second generation. Although the Mexican children in Mexico provide individualistic stories, they are stories of happiness and unimpeded success—situations in which help from others is not called for. In the Year 1 narratives in the LISA study, immigrant newcomers describe the protagonist's efforts to mobilize social resources, mirroring their own search for help in coping with the initial periods of stress. On the other hand, the narratives of the youth in Year 5 of the LISA study and of the second-generation Mexican American children in the archival data point to an absence of support, although one can assume that help is needed because the narratives often present the task as difficult. For the youth who have been in the United States longer, the protagonist instead becomes bored or disengaged or gives up, and the sense of inadequacy increases. The narratives reflect the reality of the participants' lives: Although initially they tend to search for help from others as they adapt to their new homeland, over time they seem less inclined to search for assistance from their parents, teachers, peers, or community members—it is possible that they give up the search after several years of facing negative responses. Hence, these results indicate that at least some of the paradox of declining indexes of well-being for immigrant children can be explained thus: Immigrant children who have trouble finding support networks to help them through school in their new country eventually become frustrated and stop trying—they stop trying to find help, and they stop trying to succeed on their own.

CONCLUSIONS

The combined analysis offers an intricate window into the psychological and interpersonal world of immigrant children that enriches the information gathered through the other methods we have employed. From this work, we can confirm the psychological and interpersonal cost of immigration for these children, a conclusion we support with other analyses of the data from the LISA study published elsewhere (C. Suárez-Orozco, Todorova, & Baolian Qin, 2006).

Networks of relationships with parents, extended family, peers, mentors, and people in the new community are crucial to the lives of immigrant youth. They help immigrant youth develop healthy bicultural identities, spur motivation, and provide specific information about how to successfully navigate schooling pathways (C. Suárez-Orozco, Todorova, & Louie, 2002; C. Suárez-Orozco et al., 2006). When successful, these relationships help immigrant youth and their families overcome some of the barriers associated with poverty and discrimination that prevent full participation in the new country's economic and cultural life (Stanton-Salazar, 2001). Difficulty finding and sustaining helping relations along with the children's growing discouragement about seeking support are phenomena that must be collectively addressed by parents, teachers, schools, and community organizations.

Today, 20% of the students in American schools are children of immigrants. They arrive with optimism, a love for learning, and a strong motivation for education, which is often a means of giving back to parents and extended family. Their achievement motivation is entwined in relational networks, which include parents, peers, and community. The achievement of newly arrived immigrant students, including academic achievement, can be fostered by constructing environments that are conducive to affiliative goals. Over time, although many immigrant youth persist and foster their motivation for learning, others lose their optimism. Negative academic, psychosocial, and health consequences ensue. Understanding the student's conceptualizations of achievement and the transformations in their motivations for achievement as well as the role of relational networks that promote achievement through affiliation is an important step toward nurturing immigrant youth's optimism and well-being.

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