

An Integrative Risk and Resilience Model for Understanding the Adaptation of Immigrant-Origin Children and Youth

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We propose an integrative model for the adaptation of immigrant-origin children and youth that combines ecological with risk and resilience frameworks. Immigrant-origin children and youth are now, and will continue to be, a diverse and demographically important segment of all postindustrial nations' populations. Synthesizing evidence across psychological, educational, and sociological disciplines produced since the seminal publication of García Coll et al.'s (1996) model, along with significant events such as a global refugee crisis, a sociopolitical "deportation nation" climate, and heightened xenophobia, we provide a model for understanding the current conditions immigrant-origin children and youth encounter as they develop. This new integrative conceptual model for addressing positive frameworks for adaptation provides a culturally relevant approach for understanding both the risks and resilience of this population. The model was designed to inform practice and future research in the service of immigrant-origin children and youth.

Keywords: immigrant-origin children and youth, development, adaptation, risks and resources, ecological settings

Migration is a defining characteristic of globalization. During the past two decades, historically unprecedented and rapid surges of migration have taken place. In 2015 there were more than 240 million international migrants, approximating 3.3% of the world's population (United Nations Children's Fund, 2017). Many migrants left their home countries for economic reasons, settling in relatively more affluent Western countries (Organization for Economic Co-

operation and Development [OECD], 2016). In recent years, large numbers of people have fled war-stricken communities to seek asylum in a new nation. Notably, as of 2016, over half of the 65.3 million displaced persons across the globe were children and youth, a record high (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], 2016). It is clearly in the best interests of receiving nations to promote the successful adaptation of their young immigrant populations. In the coming decades, it is projected that immigrants and their children will become irreplaceable forces in the economies of receiving societies and indispensable for the future of care and support of rapidly aging nonimmigrant populations (Suárez-Orozco & Qin-Hilliard, 2004).

Immigrant-origin children and youth (IOC&Y) are defined as those who have at least one foreign-born parent. They include both the first generation who were born *outside* the host country and second-generation immigrants who were born *within* the host country (Child Trends, 2013; Suárez-Orozco, Abo-Zena, & Marks, 2015). Refugee children and youth, a legally distinct group, have had to flee their countries because of "well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion" (UNHCR,

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1951). Nonimmigrant-origin peers are those who were born in the host country and do not have immigrant parents; this includes the third generation and beyond (Suárez-Orozco, Abo-Zena, & Marks, 2015).

Today, in the United States, IOC&Y make up a quarter of the under-18 population and are projected to grow to 30% by 2050 (Suárez-Orozco, Abo-Zena, & Marks, 2015). Like their nonimmigrant-origin peers, IOC&Y face normative developmental tasks such as forming positive relationships with family and peers, doing well enough in school, exhibiting positive conduct, becoming civically engaged, and transitioning to the workforce (Motti-Stefanidi & Masten, 2017; Suárez-Orozco, Hernández, & Casanova, 2015). Unlike their nonimmigrant-origin peers, they also face significant acculturative challenges, including learning a new language and the characteristics of the new culture, while at the same time learning and maintaining their family's culture of origin (Marks, Godoy, & García Coll, 2013; Oppedal & Toppelberg, 2016). Although many IOC&Y do well and even thrive in many areas, others encounter difficulties (Masten, Liebkind, & Hernández, 2012; Suárez-Orozco, Hernández, & Casanova, 2015).

The diversity in IOC&Y adaptation, as with all other youth, should be examined in context (e.g., García Coll et al., 1996; Motti-Stefanidi, Berry, Chrysoschoou, Sam, & Phinney, 2012). Influences stemming from different levels of youth's ecological systems may account for group and individual differences in IOC&Y adaptation. As growing individuals, immigrant-origin children and youth experience developmental contexts (e.g., global forces, political and social contexts of reception, and microsystems) that contribute greatly to their adaptation. The aim of this article

was to present an integrative conceptual model, which situates immigrant-origin children and youth adaptation in individual, microsystem, political–social, and global contexts. The present model is theoretically derived and draws upon available research findings from the United States, where the preponderance of evidence has been published (Arnett, 2008), as well as from Canada and Europe.

An Integrative Risk and Resilience Model for Understanding IOC&Y Adaptation

This integrative risk and resilience model for understanding IOC&Y (see Figure 1) takes a multilevel approach and is influenced by the following theoretical frameworks: Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model of human development (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006; Suárez-Orozco, Hernández, & Casanova, 2015); García Coll and colleagues' integrative model for the study of developmental competencies in minority children (García Coll et al., 1996), Masten's risk and resilience developmental framework (Masten, 2014), and Motti-Stefanidi and colleagues' integrative framework for the study of immigrant-origin children and youth adaptation from a resilience developmental perspective (Motti-Stefanidi, Berry, et al., 2012; Motti-Stefanidi & Masten, 2017; Suárez-Orozco, 2017).

The present model integrates ideas from these conceptual traditions and extends beyond them by including the global level of context (representing the forces of globalization), as well as characteristics of contexts related to undocumented immigrants and refugee youth. The specific elements of contexts and adaptation appearing in this model are also empirically supported by recent immigration research depicting a detailed portrait of IOC&Y experiences that extend beyond the social positionality model of minority youth development articulated by García Coll and colleagues (1996). Last, the present model offers a conceptual framework emphasizing the positive adaptation of IOC&Y in (a) *developmental tasks*; (b) *psychological adjustment* (which all youth face); and (c) *acculturative tasks*, which are specific to immigrant-origin children and youth (Motti-Stefanidi & Masten, 2017; Suárez-Orozco, Abo-Zena, & Marks, 2015). These three types of adaptations are described in the next sections, followed by a presentation of research on the developmental contexts that influence IOC&Y at global, social–political, microsystem, and individual levels.

Understanding Immigrant-Origin Children and Youth Adaptation

Developmental Tasks

Adaptive success among IOC&Y can be understood in part on the basis of how well they do with respect to



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normative age-salient developmental tasks, which all children and youth face (Masten, 2014; Motti-Stefanidi & Masten, 2017; Suárez-Orozco, Abo-Zena, & Marks, 2015). These developmental tasks reflect the expectations of and standards for behavior and achievement that parents, teachers, and societies set for individuals over the life span at a particular time in history. The specific ways in which these tasks are negotiated vary between cultural groups (Greenfield, Keller, Fuligni, & Maynard, 2003). Immigrant youth who live and grow between at least two cultures are often faced with the conflicting values and developmental goals of their parents and host culture. Thus, IOC&Y contend with acculturative challenges as they address developmental tasks (Motti-Stefanidi, Berry, et al., 2012; Motti-Stefanidi & Masten, 2017), a point to which we return in the Acculturative Tasks section.

In childhood, developmental tasks include, among others, building self-regulation skills (e.g., eating, sleeping, playing), and forming positive attachments to others. Key developmental tasks in the adolescent years include these tasks plus culturally appropriate self-expression, doing well in school, having close friends, being accepted and not rejected by peers, further developing self-control and responsibility (e.g., complying with rules of the family when no one is monitoring), forming a cohesive and secure sense of identity, civic engagement, and preparing for labor market and professional participation (e.g., Masten, 2014). Success in age-appropriate developmental tasks does not mean that children should exhibit ideal effectiveness but rather that they should be doing adequately well (Masten, 2014; Motti-Stefanidi & Masten, 2017).

Studies often compare the behavior and achievements of immigrant-origin children and youth to that of their nonimmigrant-origin peers. This practice can lead to deficit views and stereotyping of immigrant-origin children and youth either as model minorities or as lacking aptitude. Such approaches to the study of immigrant-origin children and youth adaptation is problematic; instead, the adaptation of IOC&Y should be examined in its own right (García Coll, Akerman, & Cicchetti, 2000). To do this, one must differentiate the assessment of the quality of IOC&Y's adaptation needs by domain (for a discussion see Motti-Stefanidi & Masten, 2017).

Psychological Adjustment

Another indicator of adaptation for all children and youth is psychological adjustment (Motti-Stefanidi, Berry, et al., 2012). Indices of perceived psychological well-being versus distress (Motti-Stefanidi & Masten, 2017), such as the presence of self-esteem and life satisfaction and the absence of emotional symptoms such as anxiety and depression, are common markers of psychological well-being used by developmental and acculturation researchers (Berry et al., 2006; Masten, 2014). Furthermore, the relative absence of other psychological symptoms, such as those related to posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), is another key indicator of positive adaptation, particularly in the case of refugee youth who have been exposed to highly traumatic experiences before and during migration (Fazel, Reed, Panter-Brick, & Stein, 2012). Among Chinese first-generation adolescents to the United States, a differentiation between “doing well” in school and not “feeling well” in terms of psychological adjustment has been demonstrated (Qin, 2008). In other words, IOC&Y may be able to successfully cope at the surface while suffering from underlying distress that may not be detected by teachers or peers.

Acculturative Tasks

The adaptation of IOC&Y occurs in multiple receiving cultures (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001), presenting children with many tasks of acculturation (i.e., the process of adopting the cultural and social patterns of the receiving community) while also engaging in enculturation (i.e., the process of practicing cultural and social patterns of the family's culture of origin). It is important to note that the varying contexts of socialization may demand conflicting developmental task standards to which IOC&Y must adapt. The criteria for determining immigrant children and youth's positive adaptation may differ meaningfully among parents, teachers, developmental scientists, and mental health professionals, presenting both opportunities and challenges for children as they navigate growing in two cultures (Motti-Stefanidi, Berry, et al., 2012; Motti-Stefanidi & Masten,



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2017). Thus, IOC&Y, more than their nonimmigrant-origin peers, must develop cultural competence. For many IOC&Y, this means learning the family's culture of origin, particularly if they arrived in the host society at an early age. Cultural competence therefore is a task that involves the acquisition of the knowledge and skills of both the culture of origin and the receiving community's culture (Bornstein, 2017; Oppedal & Toppelberg, 2016). Culturally competent IOC&Y are able of communicating effectively in ethnic and national languages, have friends from both their families and other ethnic groups, know the values and practices of both groups, code-switch between languages and cultures as necessary, and bridge cultures (both host and home).

A related criterion concerns the development of strong and secure ethnic and national identities and a sense of social belonging, both aspects of acculturation (e.g., Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001). These tasks are multidimensional and developmental in nature, and research from Europe, Canada, and the United States support their saliency (e.g., Bornstein & Cote, 2010; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). For IOC&Y, forming and maintaining both secure ethnic heritage and host—national identities is essential to well-being and is a primary goal of adaptation. Research in Europe, for example, has highlighted how children and youth are able to maintain high levels of positive sociocultural adjustment in pluralistic cultures that allow for the preservation of the heritage ethnic identity (Yağmur & van de Vijver, 2012). In other research, adolescents living in less pluralistic climates may experience pressures to assimilate to mainstream culture and experience potential heritage ethnic identity suppression, which has been linked to psychological challenges for youth (Schneider, Crul, & Van

Praag, 2014). Heritage ethnic identities are protective against risky behavior among U.S. adolescents and poor health (e.g., cigarette and substance use) and also facilitate close relationships between parents and children (Marks et al., 2013).

Relations Among Adaptation Indices

The three indices of positive adaptation are closely linked, both concurrently and over time. The links between acculturative tasks, on the one hand, and developmental tasks and well-being, on the other, are of particular interest for understanding group and individual differences in IOC&Y adaptation (Motti-Stefanidi & Masten, 2017). Extant cross-national research has suggested that learning and maintaining both ethnic and national cultures is linked to better developmental outcomes and psychological well-being (e.g., Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2013; Oppedal & Toppelberg, 2016). Bicultural youth tend to be better off psychologically, with higher self-esteem and lower anxiety, demonstrating better academic performance and conduct (Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2013).

In some cases, the acquisition of acculturative tasks may precede the acquisition of developmental tasks. For example, in a longitudinal study of 400 recently arrived young adolescents from five sending origins to the United States, their proficiency in English (a key acculturative task) was essential for the developmental task of academic performance (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2010). A cross-lagged study in Greece examined the longitudinal interplay between IOC&Y's orientation toward the host culture and their self-efficacy (a developmental task). Results showed that orientation toward the host culture predicted changes in self-efficacy and not vice versa (Reitz, Motti-Stefanidi, & Asendorpf, 2013). These results suggest that the acquisition of acculturative tasks may function over time as a resource for IOC&Y's developmental tasks.

Finally, IOC&Y's task of building peer relations is both a developmental and an acculturative task (e.g., Motti-Stefanidi, Berry, et al., 2012). Like all nonimmigrant-origin peers, IOC&Y need to be liked and accepted, not rejected, by their peers, independent of their immigrant origins, as they develop (Masten, 2014). From an acculturation perspective, IOC&Y must also learn how to navigate successfully between, and be accepted by, both intra- and interethnic peers (e.g., Titzmann, 2014). Whether a young immigrant is well adapted with respect to peer relations rests on both of these criteria (Motti-Stefanidi, Berry, et al., 2012).

Risks and Resources

Moving from youth adaptation to the contexts shaping IOC&Y experiences reveals a mixture of vulnerability and



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resilience. Influences at each of the four levels of the proposed integrative model may contribute independently, or in interaction with each other, to group and individual differences in adaptation. Furthermore, influences stemming from each of these different levels of context can function either as risks or as resources for adaptation (Motti-Stefanidi, Berry, et al., 2012). Next, we examine the (a) global level context, (b) political and social contexts of reception, (c) microsystems, and (d) individual-level context depicted in our model that may include influences that hinder and/or promote the positive adaptation of IOC&Y.

Global Forces

Global economic, geopolitical, and social dynamics have direct implications for the difficult decisions behind migration (American Psychological Association [APA], 2012, Presidential Task Force on Preventing Discrimination and Promoting Diversity [Presidential Task Force]). Worldwide economic inequality between wealthy and low-income communities has grown over the past few decades (OECD, 2016). Thus, socioeconomic realities of push (i.e., absence of jobs and opportunity) and pull (i.e., plentiful jobs and differential wage opportunities) factors serve as propellants to large-scale migration (Castles & Miller, 2009). Further, war, terrorism, and uncontrolled criminality are pushing people from their homes in numbers unprecedented since World War II (Norwegian Refugee Council, 2017). Wars have long been behind the displacement of people (e.g., in the United States during World War II and the Vietnam War and in France during the Algerian War). Political upheavals in local contexts, without declared wars, also lead to dis-

placement of peoples (e.g., Haitians to the United States or Kosovar–Albanians in Europe). Most recently, geopolitical unrest in Syria has led to the largest refugee crisis since World War II (OECD, 2016). Gang violence in Central America has become so unbearable that parents send their unaccompanied children away to the United States for their safety. Last, unchecked climate change and environmental disasters are pushing people out of their homes in unprecedented numbers (McLeman, 2014). Extreme weather patterns (e.g., rising sea levels and floods, droughts, cyclones, monsoons, hurricanes) have increased morbidity, decreased agricultural yields and livestock, and forcefully displaced millions the world over (McLeman, 2014); in the last 8 years, over 25 million such displacements per year have been recorded (Norwegian Refugee Council, 2017).

Thus, these global forces create conditions for demographic shifts and migration. In turn, globalization leads to complex economic and cultural exchanges between nations, setting up new social contexts for child development (Arnett, 2002; Weisner & Lowe, 2005). Shifting multicultural contexts of socialization shape the everyday routines of IOC&Y, forcing them to navigate practices that include family of origin and host culture (Weisner & Lowe, 2005) as well as global youth culture (Arnett, 2002). Further, the global exchanges of ideas-without-borders (e.g., around xenophobia [the intense fear or dislike of others from other nations], Islamophobia, and long-distance nationalism), have important implications for the local contexts of development and identity formation for IOC&Y. Thus, IOC&Y must navigate both the usual proximal levels of development (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006) and these more distal levels that may have less evident implications for peers from nonimmigrant families.

Political and Social Contexts of Reception

As immigrant families enter host societies, political, economic, and social factors within the contexts of reception (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001) influence short-term adaptation as well as long-term developmental pathways (Dryden-Peterson, 2016; Motti-Stefanidi, Berry, et al., 2012; Suárez-Orozco, Abo-Zena, & Marks, 2015). Broader economic opportunity structures shape the experience of immigrant family resettlement in a variety of ways, including the types and stability of jobs that are available to adults and adolescents (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2013).

Societies that value cultural diversity, adopt multicultural ideologies and pass laws granting rights and supports to immigrants facilitate immigrant family members' sense of belonging and thus invest in and promote immigrant-origin child and youth well-being (van de Vijver, 2017). Of importance, the efficacy of receiving nations' policies in the European Union, the United States, and Canada for supportively integrating immigrant and refugee families has direct

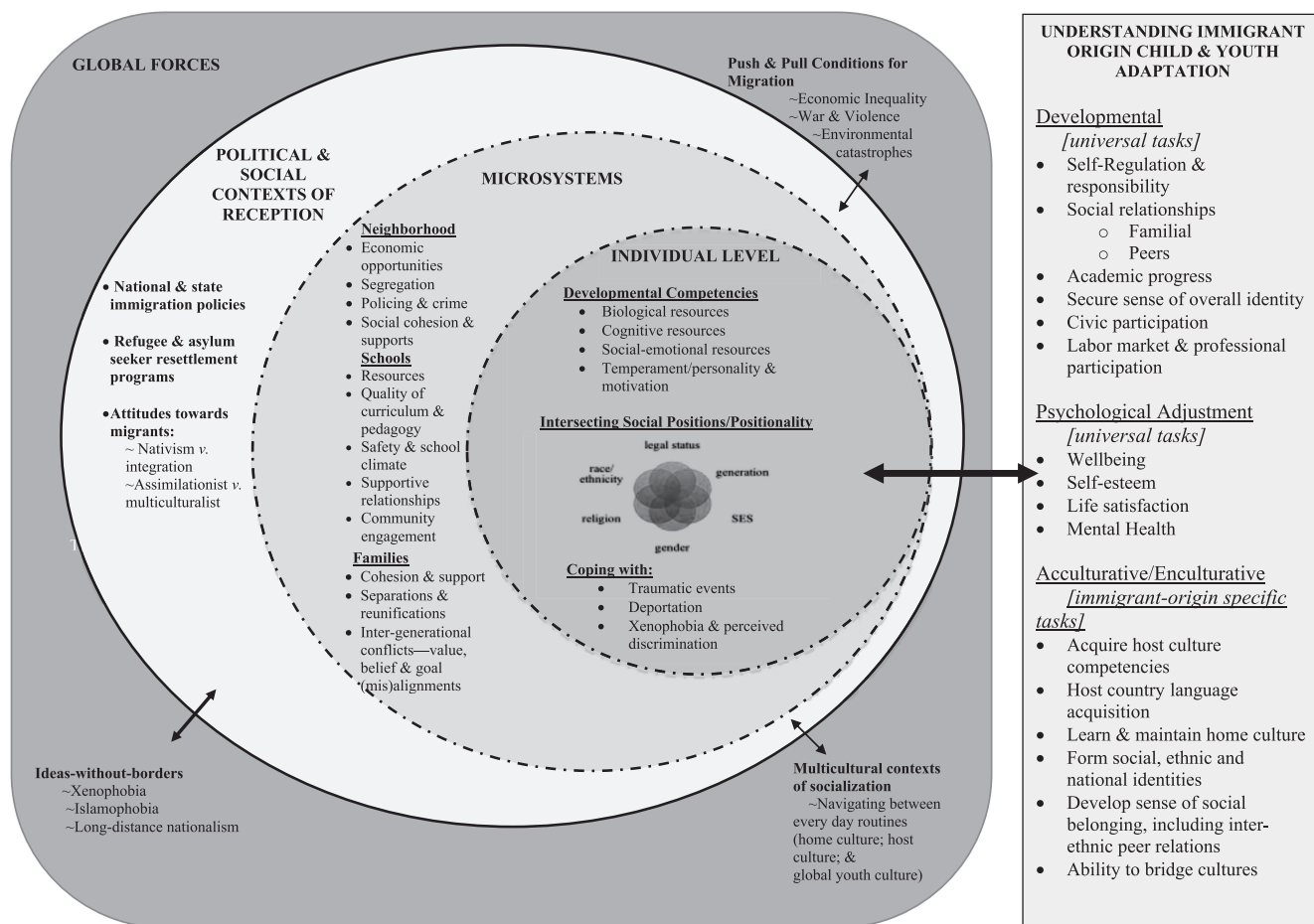


Figure 1. Integrative risk and resilience model for the adaptation of immigrant-origin children and youth to the host country. SES = socioeconomic status.

implications for children's and adolescents educational, mental, and overall well-being (Malmusi, Palència, Ikram, Kunst, & Borrell, 2017).

National and state immigration policies. Over the last decades in the United States, immigration policy has largely focused on security and border controls, with little consideration given to nationwide integration for new immigrants (Hanson, 2010). Since 1988, when the amnesty provisions of the Immigration Reform and Control Act ended, U.S. immigration policy restricted pathways out of the shadows for millions of unauthorized migrants (Motomura, 2008). What in the public imagination is an easily demarcated binary of "legal" versus "illegal" in fact embodies an array of states of liminality masking a deeply broken U.S. immigration system (Menjívar, 2006). The reality on the ground is that millions of families live with ambiguous documentation (e.g., applying for asylum, which can be denied many years after initial application), with some family members' falling out of legal status (e.g., overstaying a student visa). In the United States, an estimated 4.5 million citizen children are living in families of mixed legal statuses in which

some members are documented whereas others are not (Menjívar, 2006; Motomura, 2008). Furthermore, during the past decade, the United States has become a "deportation nation," deporting 400,000 individuals a year (Kanstroom, 2010, p. 1). Long backlogs, high rates of denials, and growing numbers of deportations have cemented transnationally separated and mixed-status families with negative consequences both for psychological adjustment and for developmental tasks (Brabeck & Xu, 2010; Dreby, 2012; Suárez-Orozco, 2017).

Refugee and asylum-seeker resettlement programs. Refugee resettlement programs have the potential to be either welcoming or dysfunctional and dangerous, either alleviating or compounding the trauma, desperation, and instability that families faced on their journeys. In European countries like Greece, Italy, Sweden, and Germany, millions of refugees have applied for asylum, though few are granted status (UNHCR, 2016). The minuscule numbers of refugees who are admitted to the United States go through years of "extreme vetting" (Shear & Cooper, 2017).

Refugee interventions can potentially counteract many risk factors that refugees face within the host country, including postmigration violence, multiple changes of residence, poor financial support, limited access to basic resources, and discrimination (Fazel et al., 2012). If refugee resettlement programs fail to address these basic threats, the cumulative effects of trauma, acculturative stress, and other risk factors can limit resilience, foster adverse physical and mental health outcomes, and create additional long-term adversities for refugees (Dryden-Peterson, 2016). This is particularly critical for refugee children and youth, who are experiencing multiplicative challenges during critical developmental stages. Although there is limited research on specific interventions needed to support optimal adaptation, refugee contexts of reception can be shaped by the programs, policies, and supports they are provided (Dryden-Peterson, 2016).

Attitudes toward migrants. Xenophobia, racism, and discrimination are on the rise, especially as directed toward Muslims globally (Sirin & Fine, 2008) and Latinos (Chavez, 2007) and Asians (Yip, Gee, & Takeuchi, 2008) in the United States. Negative media coverage of immigration and increases in hate crimes against immigrants have been documented in the United States (Cisneros, 2008; Nunez, 1991). In the United States, the attributions of negative feelings typically focus on lack of documentation, skin color, and language skills, as well as income and educational levels (López, Morin, & Taylor, 2010). Immigrants who are racially distinct from the majority are at greater risk of experiencing discrimination than are those who can “pass” as White (APA Presidential Task Force, 2012). This anti-immigrant, nationalist ethos may manifest in both overt and subtle forms, such as openly targeting immigrant populations (especially visible minorities) with discriminatory laws and practices (López et al., 2010), perpetuating negative stereotypes, and promoting hidden forms of discrimination (e.g., microaggressions).

Social and political attitudes set a climate for social and political reception. A recent study representing 35 countries highlights increasingly hostile, anti-immigrant sentiment among the largest receiving nations in the world (OECD, 2016). Changes in the anti-immigrant political climate in the United States are linked to immigrant family members’ (including children’s) increased experiences of discrimination, deep fears of deportation, and economic insecurity (Androff et al., 2011). It is important to note that such negative attitudes persist despite compiled National Academy of Science evidence that in the United States, immigrants are not an economic drain, are less likely to be engaged in criminal activity, and are integrating at the national level (Waters & Pineau, 2016). At a proximal school level, negative attitudes toward immigrants persist over time—for example, though there were no negative effects on academic achievement of the existing commu-

nity, hostile perception continued over 2 years toward a large Haitian refugee population in Florida (Figlio & Özek, 2017).

Such negative hypervisibility in the public eye, coupled with daily experiences of the “social mirror” (Suárez-Orozco, Abo-Zena, & Marks, 2015, p. 16) of negative media portrayals and stereotypes about immigrants, creates a detrimental environment for development. A recent literature review revealed the potency with which immigrant-origin adolescents in the United States and several European Union nations perceive discrimination and how such perceptions negatively impact academic performance and psychological well-being (Marks, Ejessi, & García Coll, 2014). Further, U.S. children as young as 7 years old hold biases about immigrants and espouse views supporting their incarceration instead of integration (Brown, 2011). Indeed, many studies have shown that contexts of reception marked by discrimination and negative stereotypes can harm IOC&Y’s developmental progress (e.g., around the formation of peer relationships and optimal academic performance) and psychological adjustment (e.g., depression and lowered self-esteem) and interrupt acculturative tasks (e.g., forming peer relationships, sense of belonging; e.g., Schneider et al., 2014; Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007). Hostilities in the receiving context can be particularly problematic for refugees, who already face multiple traumas, placing their mental health and psychological adaptation at risk (Fazel et al., 2012).

Valuing cultural pluralism, or the acceptance of unique minority cultural identities by the larger culture (Schneider et al., 2014), provides room for the identities and cultural practices of immigrant children and youth to evolve in positive ways (e.g., adopt new bicultural orientations). It appears that more open policies supporting integration and multiculturalism can positively influence attitudes toward migrants and IOC&Y adaptation. In European cross-cultural research, IOC&Y tend to have higher levels of positive sociocultural adjustment in multicultural societies, preserving their heritage ethnic identities (Yağmur & van de Vijver, 2012). There is also some evidence that IOC&Y are more open to cultural pluralism than are their majority peers; research in the Netherlands demonstrated that Turkish and Moroccan origin youth were more in favor of multiculturalism than were majority Dutch youth (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006). Immigrants living in less pluralistic climates may experience pressures to assimilate to mainstream culture and experience heritage ethnic identity suppression, interrupting positive adaptation (Dimitrova, Aydinli, Chasiotis, Bender, & van de Vijver, 2015). *Cultural distance*, defined as significant differences in cultural and religious values and practices (Shweder et al., 1998/2007), when extreme, can further complicate adjustment, as has been found in research

conducted in Canada (Beiser, Puente-Duran, & Hou, 2015).

Microsystems

As for all children and youth, local circumstances and proximal interactions at the microsystemic level occurring within neighborhoods, schools, and families have profound implications for development (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). These microsystem contexts have implications for the acculturation of IOC&Y and shape or are shaped by global and social–political contexts (e.g., García Coll & Marks, 2009; Motti-Stefanidi, Berry, et al., 2012).

Neighborhoods. In the United States and elsewhere, IOC&Y often find themselves in suboptimal neighborhoods. Residential segregation is particularly pervasive in the United States (García Coll et al., 1996) and is important for immigrant families as they navigate economic opportunity structures. Whereas immigrant families coming into highly valued jobs often settle into more privileged neighborhoods, those working in less prestigious areas often settle into poorer neighborhoods with substandard living conditions and limited access to public resources (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). A recent analysis of immigrant-origin families living in the Chicago area revealed many structural inequalities when comparing immigrant-dense neighborhoods with less dense immigrant neighborhoods, including less affluence and more instability (Leventhal & Shuey, 2014). These environments may be particularly risky for IOC&Y, with exposure to violence and gangs (Passel & Cohn, 2010), postmigratory traumatic experiences and heightened xenophobia (OECD, 2016), and increased immigration raids in the community (Chaudry et al., 2010).

In contrast, neighborhood communities can also provide “internal resources” for IOC&Y, providing social cohesion and a sense of belonging that supports positive adaptation (García Coll et al., 1996, p. 1903). Such positive social relationships can buffer the negative impacts of discrimination and xenophobia and have been shown in research to protect against immigrant adolescents’ risk behaviors, such as having more than two sexual partners (Browning, Burrington, Leventhal, & Brooks-Gunn, 2008) and using alcohol (Jackson, Browning, Krivo, Kwan, & Washington, 2016). Neighborhoods with high Latino concentrations can also promote enculturation—or maintenance and engagement in the family’s culture of origin—while also slowing acculturation into the American mainstream (White et al., 2017). Thus, for some immigrant families, psychological and acculturative tasks may be shaped more profoundly by living in neighborhoods characterized by the high concentration of an immigrant group or multicultural values than by national policies. Even though these multicultural or ethnic enclaves may have low social statuses at the national level, the local experiences of discrimination and prejudice, where the

majority–minority model is being redefined, may be reduced (Liebkind, 2006).

Schools. Immigrant-origin children and youth in the United States attend both public and private schools with widely varying economic resources, linguistic services, and student–teacher characteristics (Suárez-Orozco, Abo-Zena, & Marks, 2015). Unfortunately, many IOC&Y attend schools that lack adequate resources, struggle with the quality of pedagogy, and are located in communities with crime conditions that pose serious risks to students’ well-being and achievement potential (Suárez-Orozco, Hernández, & Casanova, 2015). Low socioeconomic status (SES) along with high ethnic composition of the school context can have a negative impact on students’ academic performance. In Greece, students in classrooms characterized by lower SES or higher concentrations of immigrants had lower academic performance (Motti-Stefanidi, Asendorpf, & Masten, 2012); these classrooms had a more negative effect on nonimmigrant peers’ academic achievement than on immigrant-origin students’, however. Similarly, in two cities in the United States, recently arrived early adolescent immigrant students who were enrolled in the least segregated and higher SES schools, were more likely to demonstrate high or improving trajectories of performance than peers enrolled in lower SES schools (Suárez-Orozco, Bang, & Kim, 2011).

Under the best conditions, and in contrast to the challenges noted previously, many schools can and do support IOC&Y development and adaptation. Schools that are well integrated with little segregation can promote all students’ feelings of safety, interethnic group cohesion, and trust in teachers’ fairness (Juvonen, Kogachi, & Graham, 2017). Schools can directly scaffold acculturative tasks such as cultural competence, language acquisition, and identity development for IOC&Y (e.g., Motti-Stefanidi & Masten, 2017; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2010). Optimally, classrooms in these schools provide culturally relevant pedagogy that not only serves to engage its students but also offers a vision of students themselves within the fabric of the host society, bridging cultural distance (Goodwin, 2002). Furthermore, such schools provide adequate training to their teachers and administrators to understand the needs of the immigrant-origin children they serve and offer aligning pedagogy (Lee, 2010). Such schools can promote the attainment of developmental tasks such as academic achievement, social relationships, and positive conduct while preparing youth for labor market participation (Motti-Stefanidi & Masten, 2017). Supportive relationships with peers and teachers can promote safe climates for all students in schools. These relationships are integral to promoting academic motivation and feelings of belongingness; they serve IOC&Y students to navigate the narrow pipeline to college particularly key for first generation or those living in mixed-status families (Stanton-Salazar et al., 2011).

Families. Family plays a critical role in the lives of immigrant-origin children and youth (e.g., [García Coll & Marks, 2012](#); [Suárez-Orozco et al., 2010](#)). Many immigrant-origin families share collectivistic values of familism and interdependence, common in their home countries. These values and practices, particularly common among Asian Pacific- and Latino-origin families, stand in stark contrast to the more individualistic U.S. cultural schemas ([Tseng, 2004](#)). IOC&Y contribute to family expenses at home and abroad, care for siblings and extended family members, translate for family members, and help navigate institutions (e.g., [Rumbaut, 2004](#)). The cultural demands of family interdependence highlight lifelong financial and emotional support among family members, living close to or with parents and consulting parents on important decisions ([Tseng, 2004](#)). Moreover, siblings in Latino IOC&Y families spend more time together in shared activities than with their parents, other adult kin, or their European American peers ([Updegraff, McHale, Whiteman, Thayer, & Delgado, 2005](#)). These sibling relationships can be a tremendous resource for IOC&Y youth, for example in intervention efforts aimed at improving parents' depressive symptoms, family members' relationship quality, and older siblings' emotional well-being ([Updegraff et al., 2016](#)).

Though family members' collective contributions often support adaptation and developmental tasks ([Katsiaficas et al., 2016](#)), IOC&Y may also navigate discordant cultural values between home and school that can have important repercussions for development. Cross-cultural conflict in value systems has been well documented with young children in primary schools ([Greenfield & Quiroz, 2013](#)), as well as in adolescence ([Marks, Patton, & Coyne, 2011](#)). In the United States, intergenerational conflicts between the parents and adolescents have been linked to higher rates of risky behaviors ([Marks et al., 2014](#)). For example, a longitudinal study of Chinese immigrant-origin youth to the United States found linkages between higher acculturation gaps and both depressive symptoms and lower academic performance ([Kim, Chen, Wang, Shen, & Orozco-Lapray, 2013](#)).

Another particular challenge that many immigrant families undergo is the process of family separations and reunifications during migration and postsettlement. Immigrant parents must often make the difficult decision to leave children behind as they venture forth to establish themselves in a new land before sending for their children. In a study of 400 newcomer U.S. children from five sending origins, more than three quarters of the participants had been separated from one or both parents from 2 to 10 years; the longer the separation, the more complicated the reunification and the more likely children were to report negative well-being ([Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011](#)). In addition, increasing numbers of unaccompanied children are migrating on their own, sometimes seeking their parents but most frequently fleeing

catastrophic violence in their homeland ([Krogstad, Gonzalez-Barrera, & López, 2014](#)). Further, a growing number of youth experience forcible separation from their family members through detention and deportation ([Dreby, 2012](#)); over 100,000 U.S. citizen children have experienced their parents' deportation in the past decade ([U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2009](#)), and that number is growing under the current administration ([Suárez-Orozco, 2017](#); see the *Coping With Risk: Trauma, Deportation, Xenophobia, and Discrimination* section).

Individual Level

Developmental competencies. Like all children, IOC&Y also bring with them and build a number of developmental competencies. The normative biological, cognitive, social-emotional, temperament-personality, and internal motivational resources of the immigrant child all must develop smoothly as youth respond to their varied developmental contexts ([Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012](#)). These competencies provide an essential foundation for the adaptation that follows. Not all children respond similarly to the pressures of discrimination or the inadequacy of their schools, for example. Rather, young people's adaptation to their new cultural environment and social experiences is shaped by their own changing competencies in areas such as biological sensitivity to the environment (e.g., propensity for risk-taking at school), social-emotional self-regulation (e.g., curbing impulsive behavior when faced with discrimination), and temperamental tendencies (e.g., a shy child may have particular challenges in becoming bicultural in a busy school environment; [Suárez-Orozco, Abo-Zena, & Marks, 2015](#)). Research with young children has shown that early cognitive development is necessary to acquire a second language ([Bialystok, 1999](#)) and to identify acts of discrimination, with later cognitive development in adolescence allowing youth to attribute discrimination to social forces in the larger society ([Brown & Bigler, 2005](#)). Finally, motivation—an internal drive for learning, growth, and development—plays a central role in facilitating psychological well-being; past studies have identified the impressive immigrant optimism that appears to underlie the success of IOC&Y who make extraordinary advances in their education despite poor economic resources in the family ([García Coll & Marks, 2012](#)).

Intersecting social positions–positionality. Social positions and their intersections, such as socioeconomic status, race-ethnicity, gender, religion, and undocumented or liminal documentation status (e.g., [Cole, 2009](#)) can shape the experiences and moderate the outcomes of IOC&Y as they develop ([García Coll et al., 1996](#)). A mounting body of research has examined each of these social position constructs and their many influences on immigrant-origin chil-

den's developmental and acculturative tasks and psychological adjustment.

Legal status. Nearly a million immigrant children and youth find themselves in a “liminal status” (Menjívar, 2006, p. 999) without the benefits of a recognized status in society. A growing body of research evidence has shown that children and youth living in mixed-status homes demonstrate less positive educational, economic, and mental health outcomes, even after adjusting for indicators of ethnicity and socioeconomic status (Yoshikawa, Suárez-Orozco, & Gonzales, 2017). Notably, the developmental issues associated with unauthorized status are not limited to children and youth who are unauthorized themselves. Growing up in a mixed-status home as a U.S.-born citizen child with an unauthorized parent is associated with a number of developmental and educational vulnerabilities, including lower levels of cognitive development, achievement, and educational progress across early and middle childhood (Yoshikawa, 2011). This status is also associated with both higher internalizing (depression, anxiety, withdrawal) and externalizing (aggressive and acting out) behavioral problems (e.g., Landale, Hardie, Oropesa, & Hillemeier, 2015). The mechanisms that are thought to influence these outcomes include contextual factors such as poor parental work conditions, less access to means-tested public programs and policies that benefit child development, blocked access to higher education, and living in fear of parental deportation, as well as psychological mechanisms such as stigmatized status, social isolation, and submerged dreams (Yoshikawa et al., 2017).

Immigrant generation. Although first- and second-generation immigrant children and youth share some characteristics in common—having immigrant parents, residing in the same kinds of neighborhoods, attending similar schools—researchers in the United States have pointed to the importance of distinguishing the two generations (e.g., García Coll & Marks, 2012). The first generation has the advantage of a dual frame of reference, providing them with the perspective that although their situation in the new context may in some ways be wanting, their living conditions have improved postmigration. This perspective can support the internal motivation to make the most of their new situation and a sense of optimism that the second generation may not have (Suárez-Orozco, Hernández, & Casanova, 2015). The first generation, on the other hand, must also learn a new language, going through a difficult transition when they are unable to communicate their thoughts with ease (Rumbaut, 2004). The substantial time it takes to acquire academic English (on average, 4–6 years for youth) presents significant educational and social challenges for immigrant students (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). In contrast, the second generation often has limited facility in their parents' native language, which presents an altogether different challenge of maintaining communication

and navigating relationships at home with parents (Suárez-Orozco, Abo-Zena, & Marks, 2015). At the same time, second-generation adolescents in particular may feel more comfortable with the cultural practices of the new land and may be more likely to clash with their parents, who desire that children adhere to homeland practices and values, thereby constricting their flexibility (Suárez-Orozco, Abo-Zena, & Marks, 2015).

In the United States and Canada, evidence of an “immigrant paradox”—particularly in the adolescent and young adult years—has emerged wherein first-generation youth are faring better than are their native-born coethnic peers in a variety of developmental areas (García Coll & Marks, 2012, pp. 3–13). National studies have demonstrated adolescents with risky behaviors—drinking, smoking, risky sex—are prone to this paradox pattern, with evidence that maintaining family culture of origin practices and beliefs is protective for the first- and second-generation youth. The immigrant paradox is not universal, however. It seems to depend on the domain under study, the developmental stage and gender of the child, and characteristics of the host society and ethnic group (García Coll & Marks, 2012). For example, in a comparative study including five European countries, Sam et al. (2008) found some support for the immigrant paradox in two countries (Sweden and Finland), particularly with respect to developmental tasks (academic tasks and conduct) but not with respect to psychological well-being. A meta-analysis of 51 studies across Europe revealed IOC&Y are at higher risk for academic externalizing and internalizing problems than are nonimmigrant peers (Dimitrova, Chasiotis, & van de Vijver, 2016). These results point to how integration policies and the national economic and social qualities of receiving nations might shape IOC&Y developmental outcomes.

Gender. Gender differences among immigrant children and youth have been understudied, and the findings available regarding gender and acculturation are complex. In the United States, immigrant girls and adolescents from a variety of origins, like their nonimmigrant peers, tend to perform better academically than do their male peers (Suárez-Orozco & Qin, 2006). Some findings in the United States suggest immigrant girls and adolescents tend to develop deeper connections to their ethnic heritage and communities (Suárez-Orozco & Qin, 2006; Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007), whereas other findings in Europe suggest that girls demonstrate higher involvement with the host country's culture and lower involvement with the ethnic culture than do boys (Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012). However, there are important distinctions in their experiences. Immigrant-origin girls in the United States contend with the hypersurveillance of their parents (Suárez-Orozco & Qin, 2006) and the larger community (Zaal, Salah, & Fine, 2007). Girls, in contrast to older immigrant women, identify more strongly with Western values that allow women

greater freedom (Phinney et al., 2001). For young Latinas in the United States, internalizing problems such as anxiety and depression, which have been linked to acculturation, are reaching record levels (Lorenzo-Blanco, Unger, Baezconde-Garbanati, Ritt-Olson, & Soto, 2012). In addition, young male immigrants from a variety of backgrounds and contexts are often subjected to stereotypes of inferiority, which can limit paths for social recognition and lead to risky behaviors and delinquency, more often than are their female peers (e.g., Coppock & McGovern, 2014; Suárez-Orozco & Qin, 2006).

Socioeconomic status. In the United States, immigrants are often overrepresented in the highest as well as lowest ends of the economic strata (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001), with some finding only “low-skilled” (i.e., low-paying) agricultural, service industry, and construction positions and others being recruited for their high-level expertise in medical and scientific fields (Terrazas, 2011). Over half of children with immigrant parents in the United States live in low-income households (Child Trends, 2013). Further, poor immigrants are less likely than the native-born poor to receive federal in-kind and antipoverty benefits (Ku & Bruen, 2013). Official calculations of family poverty may fail to capture the economic complications of immigrant families’ transnational lives. Many such families maintain transnational frames of reference, making remittances to spouses, children, parents, siblings, and other family members remaining in the country of origin to support their medical, educational, and basic expenses (DeSipio, 2002). Consequently, already thin resources may be further stretched, with implications for an array of developmental tasks.

Race—ethnicity. Whereas the previous large wave of migration to the United States hailed largely from Europe (97%), today’s migrants (89%) now arrive from Latin America, Asia, Africa, or the Caribbean (Child Trends, 2013). Because new immigrants are predominantly non-European “people of color,” their descendants may remain visible minorities for generations, with the risk of being treated as “perpetual foreigners” (Huynh, Devos, & Smalarz, 2011, p. 133). U.S. racialization experiences differ across ethnic groups and physical features, with Asian, Latino, and Black individuals encountering a range of experiences in how the host society receives them and makes racial attributions. The risks associated with racialization range from workplace, wage, and housing discrimination to the well-documented physical and mental health tolls of overt and covert racism (APA, Presidential Task Force, 2012; see the Coping With Risk: Trauma, Deportation, Xenophobia, and Discrimination section).

Religion. The maintenance of religious institutions by immigrants serves as a way to preserve cultural and religious identities while fostering a local community that shares resources (Hirschman, 2004). For IOC&Y, religious involvement can improve their well-being, strengthen spir-

itality, serve as a guiding moral force, protect against various risk factors such as risk-taking and delinquency, and provide additional social support (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). The protections of religion do not extend equally across religions in all contexts, however. Post-9/11, Islamophobia has increased worldwide. In the United States, suspicion toward the Muslim community is fostered through pervasive public messaging and anti-Muslim policies. In response, Muslim American youth report a sense of moral exclusion (Sirin & Fine, 2008) as well as increased discrimination and bias-based bullying (Britto, 2011) as they negotiate their multiple identities (Sirin & Fine, 2008). In Europe, acculturating Turkish Muslim youth more strongly identify with Islam than do youth of nonimmigrant-origins or same-ethnicity youth living in the home society (Güngör, Fleischmann, Phalet, & Maliepaard, 2013). Social exclusion, long-distance nationalism, newfound fervent religiosity, and transnational identities have also been linked to both problematic gendered behaviors and radicalization (Coppock & McGovern, 2014). More strict and reactive forms of religiosity are more common in intergroup contexts that are less sympathetic to multiculturalism (i.e., Germany) compared to contexts that grant a degree of public recognition and accommodation of Islam as a minority religion (i.e., Belgium and the Netherlands; Güngör et al., 2013). However, there is still limited research on the ways in which immigrant-origin youth engage in their worship communities or the relations between religiosity and religious institutions and resiliencies, risks, and adaptation.

Coping With Risk: Trauma, Deportation, Xenophobia, and Discrimination

Traumatic experiences can occur at various stages of the immigration process, either prior to immigrants’ migration, during the course of their journey, or after arriving at their receiving context—and in some cases at each of these points (e.g., Carlson, Cacciatore, & Klimek, 2012). For some immigrants and refugees, migration is prompted by traumatic events in the home country (e.g., war, genocide, extreme climate events), which can give way to stress and symptoms of PTSD upon arrival (e.g., Dryden-Peterson, 2016). Border-crossing carries well-documented risks of experiences of trauma, particularly for women and girls (Amnesty International, 1998). Once in their new land, IOC&Y may continue to sustain stressful events in their daily lives (Carlson et al., 2012).

Coping with fears of deportation of self or loved ones is another form of stress with which IOC&Y must often contend (e.g., Suárez-Orozco, 2017). In the United States, between 2007 and 2014, an average of 400,000 individuals were deported annually (Golash-Boza, 2015). These deportations split families apart, and emerging evidence has demonstrated these enforced separations have negative implica-

tions on children's well-being (Dreby, 2012). Further, under the current administration, Immigration and Customs Enforcement has been instructed to intensify its deportation quotas, courts have been disempowered from using prosecutorial discretion, and the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals program, which offers temporary protections for children and youth who arrived in early childhood, is under attack (Suárez-Orozco, 2017). Many families live in constant fear of forced separation, developing contingency plans in case of parental detention or deportation, which children must learn, undermining their sense of security (e.g., Suárez-Orozco, 2017).

As noted at the political and social context level, xenophobia has been on the rise in many nations in varying degrees (OECD, 2016). At the individual level, the racial, ethnic, and religious diversity of the immigrant-origin population has implications for the kinds of discrimination children and youth encounter, as formerly majority nonimmigrant groups become increasingly uneasy about their place in what they perceive to be "their" societies (e.g., Danbold & Huo, 2015). The United States, for example, has a long tradition of discriminatory practices and bias against Black individuals; because of this, immigrants of African and Caribbean origin are at greater risk for being exposed to not only xenophobia but also racialization. In some societies, discrimination is entangled with issues of documentation status (aka "illegality"—criminality) or religion (Chavez, 2007). Gender may play an important role in perceived discrimination as well (Suárez-Orozco & Qin, 2006). Male individuals of Latino, Caribbean, or African origin in the United States may be stereotyped as more likely to be radicalized or criminally involved, as are male individuals from Muslim countries in Europe (e.g., Coppock & McGovern, 2014; Suárez-Orozco & Qin, 2006). Similarly, young women wearing hijabs report being targets of discriminatory behaviors both in the United States and in Europe (Pew Research Center, 2007; Zaal et al., 2007).

Perceived discrimination is associated with a host of negative psychological, physical, and academic outcomes for children and youth from an array of immigrant-origin groups arriving to the United States, Europe, and Canada (e.g., Juang & Cookston, 2009; Motti-Stefanidi, & Asendorpf, 2012; Yip et al., 2008). Levels of acculturation and gender are associated with differential sensitivity to perceived discrimination. Latinos, for example, who are more oriented to U.S. culture, are more attuned to perceived discrimination than are less acculturated individuals (Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007). Similarly, a longitudinal study of Chinese American adolescents demonstrated that they perceived greater discrimination over time and that this perception of discrimination was associated with depression (Juang & Cookston, 2009). The link between perceptions of discrimination and negative psychological adjustment is an outcome shared with minority peers (APA Presidential Task Force, 2012), yet

IOC&Y contend with the added dimension of xenophobia focused on national origins, linguistic differences, and perceived cultural distance.

Conclusion

Immigrant-origin children and youth are highly diverse and face many contextual barriers to successful adaptation. Despite the odds, many thrive beyond expectations and demonstrate resilience in their new homelands. Much of the body of research evidence to date, however, is drawn from primarily the United States, Canada, and Europe; as such, it may not be generalizable to other contexts. There is also limited evidence on the experiences of the most vulnerable—refugees and the unauthorized. More research is needed in a variety of immigrant receiving settings to understand the role context plays in shaping experiences. Notably, research with undocumented and refugee families, children, and youth must be conducted with caution, however, with a particular eye to specific vulnerabilities, culture, and power dynamics (Hernández, Nguyen, Casanova, Suárez-Orozco, & Saetermoe, 2013). The integrative model offered here provides a conceptual map to inform much-needed future research and practice.

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