[This is a pre-review pre-print of the article published in I*nternational Perspectives in Psychology: Research, Practice, Consultation* in December 2021, found here: https://doi.org/10.1027/2157-3891/a000031]

Guatemalan Teenagers' Hopes and Dreams: A Qualitative Study of Drawings and Characteristics of Future Selves

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Brien K. Ashdown did portions of this work while a visiting scholar at Montana State University during a sabbatical leave from Hobart & William Smith Colleges.

We have no conflicts of interest to disclose. We would like to thank the school where we collected our data for their flexibility and engagement with our project.

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Implications for Impact Statement

This article addresses the UN's SDG #1, #4, and #8 by exploring and reporting on what underserved teenagers in Guatemala want for their own futures. The teenagers drew pictures of what they hope their lives will be like in 15 years, and included themes such as financial security, education, and good jobs. Parents, teachers, and policy makers can use this information to support teenagers in achieving the goals they have for their own lives.

Abstract

Utilizing adolescents' drawings in order to investigate their perceptions of self has a long history in psychology. The methodological approach is particularly useful in places, such as Guatemala, where the population may have relatively lower levels of literacy and/or less experience engaging with Western-style research surveys. By asking adolescents to draw a picture of themselves and list five characteristics that they hope to have in 15 years, we were able to collect valuable data on issues such as the students' desires for the future and what they see as possible for themselves. Participants (N = 81, M_{age} = 14.56 years, 49.4% cisgender girls, all from Jocotenango, Guatemala) provided five characteristics that they hoped to have 15 years in the future, and then drew a self-portrait of themselves 15 years in the future. The drawings and characteristics underwent a process of thematic analysis to determine patterns and themes that are prevalent in the data. Common themes that emerged among the characteristics include jobs or specific professions they hope to have, owning a home or property such as a car, and having a family. In the drawings, the common themes are similar: mentioning specific careers, owning a home or property, and having a family. This data can help us determine what type of futures these students hope for in order to ensure that schools and other institutions are providing the tools students will need for those futures.

Keywords: human figure drawings, Guatemala, adolescents, future selves, hoped-for futures, qualitative

Guatemalan Teenagers' Hopes and Dreams:

A Qualitative Study of Drawings and Characteristics for Future Selves

Utilizing children and adolescents' drawings in order to investigate their anticipations and senses of self has a long history in psychology (see Ashdown et al., 2017; Stiles & Gibbons, 2000). This method is especially useful in cultures and contexts that may have less experience with Western-style research surveys (Lang & Carstensen, 2002). Adults' thoughts about the future are often constrained because they tend to see themselves as already in or very near what they consider their future, while children and adolescents, with a longer life ahead of them, tend to expect to have more time to draw on when it comes to thinking about their futures (Lang & Carstensen, 2002). Because of this, scholars, parents, and teachers should use creative methodologies, such as drawings, to allow young people to express as much about their hoped-for futures as possible. In this way, the youth will be able to effectively communicate what they hope their lives will become, and what type of support they will need from the adults in their lives to achieve their positive hoped-for lives (Wainwright et al., 2018).

Adolescents' Hoped-For Futures

Many adolescents set high goals for their futures and have every expectation of achieving them (Phinney et al., 2001), though youth with lower self-esteem and less social support report less assurance that these high aspirations are a realistic possibility in their lives (Elliot, 2009; Hendricks et al., 2015). Understanding what adolescents desire as part of their future lives is important, but it is only part of the issue. Providing a way for adolescents to communicate their future goals is necessary for the adults around them to be able to support the youth as they strive to meet those goals (Poelker & Gibbons, 2016). Then, determining what is

needed in order to support youth in feeling empowered and able to achieve the goals they have for themselves is also vitally important (Rathbone et al., 2016).

Previous research shows that higher levels of parental support, teacher support, and family functioning are all positively associated with a higher satisfaction of basic psychological needs, as well as a higher pursuit of extrinsic goals among adolescents (Davids et al., 2016; Froiland & Worrell, 2017). This previous work highlights the need for greater social support for adolescents, particularly in developing areas of the world because of some barriers like racial and gender discrimination, or issues related to immigrant status (Hill et al., 2003). Teens who are members of ethnic minority groups in the USA tend to perceive more barriers between themselves and their goals, but also report that greater family support reduces their perceptions of these negative barriers (Hill et al., 2003).

These and other findings suggest that parenting and teaching styles and the amount of support provided to young people influence psychological wellbeing and the life goals of students in developing countries (Berrington et al., 2016). Class and ethnic differences in parental attitudes toward education, parental engagement with children regarding school, and parent-child relationship quality are crucial factors influencing youths' future goals (Berrington et al., 2016). However, this support is dependent upon the adults understanding what goals the youths have.

Teachers and parents may not be aware of the future goals and hopes of the adolescents in their lives (Racheli & Tova, 2010). Part of the reason for this could be that adolescents themselves are unsure of how to vocally express these desires and goals - which may be a particular barrier in cultures that value collectivistic and community-based goals and motives over individualistic ones (Racheli & Tova, 2010). In order for parents and teachers to provide the

support that previous research indicates is vital for adolescents to achieve their goals, the adults need to know what those goals and hoped-for futures entail. This is particularly important in less developed and more unequal areas of the world, such as Guatemala (Batz & Caballeros, 2019), where there is relatively less familiarity with Western-style methods of data collection, which might impact the quality of the data collected and lead to unreliable conclusions.

Adolescence in Guatemala

Guatemala is a country of approximately 15 million people, and has a centuries-long history of cultural and ethnic conflict, including colonialism, internal corruption, and the effects of neoliberalism and neo-cultural imperialism (Grandin et al., 2011). There are two main ethnic groups in Guatemala: the indigenous Maya (approximately 40% of the population) and the Ladinos (about 60% of the population), who do not make a strong claim to, or reject, indigenous heritage (Gibbons & Ashdown, 2010; Martínez Peláez, 2011). The basic ethnic distinction in Guatemala, between the indigenous and non-indigenous, has been a dividing line for centuries - since the time of the *conquistadores* and colonization (Adams, 1989) and continues to provide a justification for the oppression of indigenous Maya people (see Batz & Caballeros, 2019; Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo Humana [PNUD], 2005). In addition to the discrimination faced by the Maya, gender bias is also a serious problem in Guatemala, based on the traditional values of machismo and marianismo (Poelker & Gibbons, 2016). This discrimination based on gender, cultural heritage, and ethnicity impact Guatemalan adolescents' current success as well as their perceptions of their future potential (Ashdown et al., 2017; Sani & Quaranta, 2017), and are probably most evident in educational settings.

Ethnicity and Gender Roles in Guatemala

Cultural gender roles and expectations play an important role in the way that teenagers think about their futures. For example, Sani and Quaranta (2017) show that Guatemalan adolescents have less egalitarian and more traditional attitudes about gender equality and gender roles than do adolescents in many other societies. Poelker and Gibbons (2016) explain how there are 168 million adolescents in the world, inclusive of those in Guatemala, who work in market activities that are usually dangerous, strenuous, and drawn-out. Often, poor teenagers around the world need to work to pay for their schooling (e.g., for materials, uniforms, or transportation) or to support their families. For girls, this generally means domestic work, including tasks such as doing laundry, cooking, or babysitting (Zapata et al., 2011). For boys, the most common form of employment is agriculture, including farming, fishing, and livestock production (International Labor Organization, n.d.). These common labor positions held by teenaged boys and girls might suspend many of the aspirations the adolescents have, because they are constrained by some of the typical obstacles their families face. In other words, knowing what adolescents, from developing areas of the world, hope their futures – regardless of their current life situations – will be important for parents, teachers, policy workers, and researchers.

Gender Roles and Hoped-For Futures. The experiences teenagers have with culturally-based gender roles in their homes play a large role in the way youth think about gender stereotypes and how these stereotypes affect their future goals. For instance, adolescents' parents who have more egalitarian views and a higher education tend to also have more positive attitudes toward ethnic minority groups (Ashdown et al., 2011). Clearly, parental attitudes and roles play vital functions in shaping their children's lives (Poelker & Gibbons, 2016). In many Hispanic and Latino cultures, the sociocultural scripts of male and female gender role socialization are often referred to with the cultural values of machismo and marianismo (Poelker & Gibbons

2016). Machismo includes bravery, honor, dominance, aggression, sexism, sexual prowess, reserved emotions, and encourages male dominance over women (Nuñez et al., 2016). Marianismo is the counterpart to machismo, and is a set of values and anticipations for female gender roles. This includes placing expectations on girls and women that they behave in ways that reflect the Virgin Mary, by being a nurturing and pure figure as well as being a spiritual pillar in their families (Nuñes et al., 2016).

In Guatemala, men are traditionally considered primarily responsible for fulfilling the role as economic provider for their family (Berrington et al., 2016). Working class Guatemalan men tend to have lower aspirations for their careers, finances, and futures (Berrington et al., 2016). Men of Maya heritage are regularly perceived as engaging in agricultural work, while Ladino men were more often perceived as professionals (Ashdown et al., 2017). It is important to consider how Guatemalan adolescent boys, who have grown up in a society with these stereotypes and expectations, think about their future goals and selves. Do they see themselves as required to fulfill these roles, or do they have other unexpressed goals and hoped-for futures that they may have to abandon as they age and economic realities begin to infringe on their hopes?

Women in Guatemala are traditionally expected to be the main source of emotional and spiritual strength for their families, and are expected to be morally pure in thought and sexuality, as expected by the cultural value of marianismo (Nuñez et al., 2015). They are usually expected to show respect and obedience to men and not express their personal thoughts or needs in order to maintain harmony in the relationship with their male partner. These cultural variables often survive immigration, with many Guatemalan immigrants continuing to follow traditional gender roles, which are often reinforced by husbands being the primary decision makers and

breadwinners and wives often constrained in a subordinate position (Menjívar & Agadjanian, 2007).

Adolescents learn from the surrounding environment and cultural context (Fuller & García Coll, 2010), and due to current economic and social development in Guatemala, there may be a shrinking of traditional gender disparities that have historically been a barrier against basic development and civil and human rights (Inglehart, 1997; Wilensky 2002). It is possible, and likely, that both traditional gender roles based on *machismo* and *marianismo*, as well as evolving current gender roles, will be reflected in the futures that youth in Guatemala, both boys and girls, hope for themselves.

Education and Future Goals

Education is key in order for adolescents to be able to carry out their hopes and dreams. Whether this is secondary school, vocational school or training, or a college education, having a formal education will provide adolescents with a greater likelihood of achieving their goals (Giraldo-Gracia et al., 2019). Socioeconomic status (SES), school support programs, educational goals, and parental aspirations play a large part in predicting high school completion in Latin American countries such as Guatemala (Giraldo-Gracia et al., 2019). These individual and institutional predictors do not operate in isolation, but instead interact with socioeconomic and cultural factors (such as ethnic and gender attitudes) that ultimately create barriers to success for particular groups (Landau et al., 2017), such as those defined by ethnicity, gender, and SES.

Recent research suggests that when framing progress toward academic goals as a physical path rather than not using such a metaphor, students engage more in their academics (Landau et al., 2017). In addition, Landau et al. (2017) employed Identity-Based Motivation techniques, in which the students foresee themselves as an accomplished student, which yielded positively

significant results regarding students' progress toward their academic goals. Simple, low-cost techniques like these metaphor priming effects can boost academic engagement and achievement for students attending low-income institutions. Using metaphoric imagery is an encouraging way for improving academic outcomes in classrooms where students vary in their language ability or familiarity with Western-style data collection. Adopting low-cost approaches similar to ones utilized in Landau et al.'s (2017) study may offer promise for boosting the academic achievement of students who have hopes and dreams for further education and specialized professions. Even small changes can lead to a big difference in assisting these youth in achieving their future goals.

The Current Study

We asked Guatemalan adolescents to create a drawing of who they hope to be in 15 years. This methodology reflects that of previous research that has used drawings to explore adolescents' perceptions of self and others (e.g., Ashdown et al., 2017) as well as the use of metaphors, such as physical paths, suggested by Landau et al. (2017). Some of the benefits of the process of using human figure drawings is that it provides a combination of an implicit measure and explicit measure of what the participants are thinking – in this case, about their hoped-for futures (Racheli & Tova, 2011). Drawings also reveal what young people know or perceive to be important aspects of the environment. Therefore, these types of drawings convey information about the goals and values of adolescents, particularly in cultures where teenagers might have less experience with Western-developed survey methods (Gibbons & Stiles, 2004; Merriman & Guerin, 2007). The use of drawings as a tool for assessing social images was first introduced by Dennis (1966), who proposed that drawings reflect the artist's values and points of view regarding the drawn figure. According to Dennis, when children and adolescents draw, they tend to be selective and focus on objects or people that represent their own goals, such as the places or

the roles they aspire to. Youth tend to draw personal, goal-centered representations rather than what they typically see in their environment (Dennis, 1966).

Based on Krampen's (1991) findings, drawings of the physical features of the environment also seem to be important to children and adolescents. Therefore, drawings can be a method to probe young people's own ideas about their ideal future lifestyles, goals, and identities, as well as the environment they hope for in the future. By using drawings, we hoped to encourage the participants to produce comprehensive and interpretable representations of their hoped-for futures and ideal selves. Although such representations will likely differ across cultures and reflect group practices or values (Krampen, 1991), drawings from children and adolescents can provide valuable information about how they conceptualize their own ideal selves and future within their own cultural and social context. The present exploratory study examined the future aspirations and goals of a group of teenagers from Jocotenango, Guatemala through their drawings. Using a system based on thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006), we identified common themes in the drawings that highlighted the teens' ambitions and goals.

Method

Participants

Eighty-one participants ranging in age from 12 years to 17 years (M_{age} = 14.4 years, *SD* = 1.90 years, 49.4% cisgender girls) participated in our study. The participants were students at a needs-based private school in the city of Jocotenango, Guatemala. When asked to indicate their religious denomination, 58% claimed to be Catholic, 21% claimed to be Christian Protestant or Evangelical, 9.9% claimed to be another type of Christian (such as Mormon, Jehovah's Witness, or Seventh Day Adventist), and 8.6% claimed some other type of religious denomination. Regarding ethnicity, 74.1% claimed purely Ladino (that is, non-indigenous) heritage, 4.9%

claimed purely Indigenous heritage, 14.8% claimed a mix of Ladino and Indigenous heritage, and 1.2% claimed some other type of heritage. As for language spoken at home, 90.1% of participants said they spoke Spanish in their homes, 3.7% spoke an Indigenous Maya language in their home, 1.2% spoke both, and 3.7% spoke some other language in their home.

In order to understand the economic and financial situations of the participants, we provided them with a list of 14 household items (e.g., television, refrigerator, computer, bookshelf with books) and asked them to indicate whether or not they had each of these items in their homes. The more items that the participants claimed to have, the greater their financial resources, and hence the better their socioeconomic situation. The number of items our participants claimed to have in their homes ranged from two to 14, with an average of 5.88 (*SD* = 2.18). In addition to asking about the number of household items, we also asked participants how many people, including extended family (e.g., cousins, aunts, grandparents) lived in their home. The greater the number of people in the home, the less financial resources we assume for the family. The number of people in participants' homes ranged up to 24, with an average of 9.62 (*SD* = 5.73).

An average number of items below the midpoint (i.e., seven items) and a relatively high number of people living in the same homes indicate a lower SES for our sample. Measuring SES this way (which has been done before; see Ashdown et al., 2017) allowed us to get a measure of SES without asking for income, which may be particularly difficult for adolescents in Guatemala to answer correctly.

Materials

In addition to the demographics form that participants completed, which provided the information to describe our sample above, participants received, originally created in Spanish, a

one-page instruction sheet. These instructions asked participants to provide five characteristics "that describe the kind of adult you hope to be in 15 years." This was followed by five numbered lines for them to provide their hoped-for characteristics. Then, they were instructed, "on the other side of this page, please draw a picture of what you think you will be like in 15 years... Make a drawing that shows what you hope your life will be like then … Please write comments on your drawing and tell us what you are doing in your drawing…"

Procedure

Data Collection

Potential participants were approached in their classrooms by a member of the school staff, where the project was explained to them and passive consent forms were sent home for their parents to read. We used passive consent, which assumes that consent is provided unless explicitly denied by parents. The school provided consent for us to recruit participants and this is culturally and legally acceptable, and typical practice in Guatemala unless parents actively deny consent (for a more in-depth discussion of passive consent, see Range et al., 2001). Three days after the consent forms were sent home, one member of the research team returned to a classroom where a group of students who had assented to participate (and who had passive consent to participate) gathered. The researcher passed out the survey packet - which included the demographics form and the drawings instruction sheet - and remained in the room to answer questions until all participants had finished. Students who chose not to participate continued with their classwork in a different classroom of the building.

This was repeated four times until all potential participants who assented to participate and had consent were able to participate. It took an average of about 30 minutes for each group to complete the survey and drawing. Before we interacted with potential participants, we

received approval from the school's administration, the appropriate Institutional Review Board in the USA, and then followed all ethical research guidelines outlined by the American Psychological Association.

Data Analysis and Coding

In order to analyze the data, we utilized a system similar to thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Thematic analysis is a systematic process that allows researchers to recognize, classify, evaluate, and describe patterns (called themes) that are apparent in their data. The process we followed, as laid out in a clear and concise table by Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 87), has six phases. Before the analysis began, the characteristics and comments on the participants' drawings were translated into English by a bilingual member of the research team so that all members of the research team could participate in the analysis process. Then, all researchers who were involved in the analysis read through the entire data set, paying close attention to the drawings, comments, and characteristics.

Next, after reading all of the data and taking notes, four members of the research team began creating the initial codes that seemed to them important and relevant. After relevant codes were created and agreed upon, the team created themes by aggregating similar codes. Once we had identified these initial themes, we reviewed them in the context of the original list of codes as well as the entire data set to ensure that the themes were reflective of the spirit of the participants' data. Finally, we began analyzing the entire data set, examining it for the absence or presence of each theme in each participant's data (both characteristics and drawings). We continued this analysis, checking our interrater reliability and discussing any disagreements, until we achieved a minimum Cronbach's alpha (a measure of reliable agreement in coding) of 0.85 for each theme.

Findings

Based on the process of thematic analysis that we utilized (described in the previous section), we identified and utilized themes that were present in the characteristics and drawings (as well as the comments on the drawings) that were provided by the participants. These main themes include *job*, *profession*, *values*, *home/property*, *family*, *marriage*, *education*, *religion*, and *success*. In our description of the themes that follow, we define each theme, explain how common that theme was in the data, and provide some examples of participants' statements and drawings to demonstrate how that theme was presented by them.

Job

We define this theme/characteristic as adolescents indicating, in their drawings or their writing on their drawings, that they hope to have a job or to work in the future. Of the 81 drawings, 13.58% were coded with this theme present. Drawings that had the participants engaged in what were obviously job-specific activities or that mentioned in a comment that the figure in the drawing was engaging in job-specific activity were included in this theme. Figure 1 is an example of a drawing that contains this code. Characteristics that were coded as having the theme of *job* were in 51.85% of the participants' lists. In their lists of characteristics, participants wrote about hoping to work and have a steady job in the future. For example, one stated that they hoped to "have a good job," and another said that they hoped to "be working" 15 years in the future.

<<Insert Figure 1 here>>

Profession

In order for data to be coded with this theme, participants indicated in their drawings and/or writings that they hoped to work within a specific field or career in the future. This in

contrast to the *job* theme, which deals only with non-specific mentions of a job or working, rather than mentions of a specific career. For this, 46.91% of the drawings were coded as having this theme present. Drawings from participants showed their future career aspirations, such as becoming an architect, a teacher, or a lawyer. Figure 2 is an example of a drawing that was coded with the *profession* theme. In 65.43% of the participants' listed characteristics, they mentioned working within a specific field or career. They listed professions such as "be[ing] a lawyer," to be "a great architect," and to "become a graphic designer and make the best clothes in the world."

<<Insert Figure 2 here>>

Values

Many participants specified certain principles or moral standards of behavior that they hope to exhibit in adulthood (e.g., honest, responsible, mature, supporting others). Of 81 drawings, 12.35% of them were coded as having this theme present. Comments from participants on the drawings often specified a certain principle or moral standard of behavior that they expected to demonstrate when they become adults. Figure 3 is an example of a drawing that contains this theme. If a participant specified certain principles or moral standards of behavior they hoped to exhibit in adulthood in their list of characteristics, this was coded under the *values* theme. Participants listed values such as being "a hardworking man," "an honest man," and being "studious." At least one value appeared in 40.74% of the adolescents' lists of characteristics.

<<Insert Figure 3 here>>

Home/Property

Participants' drawings or characteristics were coded under this theme if they specified wanting to own material items such as a home or a car. Among the data, 60.49% of the participants drew some sort of material possession that they hoped to have in their future lives. Adolescents drew figures that included homes, cars, motorcycles, and trees (indicating a yard or garden) they hoped to have in fifteen years. Figure 4 is an example of a drawing that contains this theme. Based on their lists of characteristics, the majority of participants (64.2%) hoped to own a house and/or other material items, such as a car, when they grow older. Characteristics such as to "have my own house," "have a car," and "have my own house, car, motorcycle, and the necessary materials" were coded with the *home/property* theme. This was a consistently prevalent theme across the drawings and the characteristics, demonstrating the considerable desire for material items in these adolescents' futures.

<<Insert Figure 4 here>>

Family

Many participants indicated, in their drawings and writings, that they want to have a family or intend to keep current family in their lives (e.g., taking care of/supporting my family). This theme frequently overlapped with the theme of marriage, but we define creating a new family as part of the *marriage* code described subsequently. We distinguished between the two themes because enough participants separated the two in their own drawings and descriptions to indicate to us that they were thinking of these as separate concepts. Having a family does not necessarily include marriage and children, because keeping their current family in the picture in 15 years also classifies as *family,* for example. Among the data, 29.62% of participants drew pictures coded as *family*, such as drawings of families that include adults and many children, or they left comments on the drawing about caring for their families. Figure 5 is an example of a

drawing that contains this theme. Participants sometimes intended on keeping their current family in their lives as well as supporting them. To "take care of my parents," "look after my brothers," and "to have a husband/wife" were some of the sentences that emerged. Of the lists of characteristics, 70.37% were coded with the *family* theme.

<<Insert Figure 5 here>>

Marriage

Some participants stated or drew something indicating their desire for marriage, to have a partnership, or specifically to have children of their own in the future. As mentioned above, this theme is separated into its own category because the desire to have a family does not necessarily include marriage, but can if the adolescents specified this is a specific aspiration of theirs. Participants depicted marriage or partnership in 18.52% of the drawings. Drawings coded for this theme typically included the participant drawing themselves and then drawing a significant other next to them. Sometimes drawings even included themselves dressed up for a wedding (e.g., one person in a suit, and another in a dress and a veil). Figure 6 is an example of a drawing that contains this theme. Characteristics were coded in the *marriage* category if the participant mentioned getting married. This characteristic occurred 17.28% of the time, with statements like "hav[ing] a wife" and "giv[ing] my children the best" appeared.

<<Insert Figure 6 here>>

Monetary Wealth

Fewer participants indicated a desire for money in their drawings than they did in their characteristics. We coded monetary wealth as separate from personal success (described subsequently), because many participants specifically addressed these as different concepts in their drawings and writings. Among all the data, 7.41% of participants' drawings exhibited their

desire for money in the future. Comments on drawings like "support my family," "help my family financially," and "good economic status" were also coded as "monetary wealth." Figure 7 is an example of a drawing that contains this theme. More than a fourth (27.16%) of participants indicated on their lists of characteristics that they want money in their future for different purposes. Some participants stated they want to have "stable economic status" or do "well financially" in their comments.

<<Insert Figure 7 here>>

Education

In their drawings and writings, fewer participants than we expected indicated that they intend on graduating or attending University in their future lives. We include this theme because it surprised us how seldom it appeared in the drawings. Only a small portion of participants depicted their future education or educational attainment. Among all the data we collected, 1.23% of participants exhibited this theme in their drawings. More participants included specific jobs or professional work than future education. Figure 8 is an example of a drawing that contains this code. Among the sample, 29.63% of our participants mentioned intending to attend and graduate from University in their lists of characteristics. To "finish at the University" and to "graduate and have a profession" were some of these characteristics on the lists.

<<Insert Figure 8 here>>

Religion

Similar to the *education* code, we include this theme because of how few participants indicated they want to continue practicing their faith or depicted specific religion symbols in their drawings. Because Guatemala has a relatively high rate of religious adherence and membership, with over 85% of Guatemalans saying religion is very important to them (compared

to 56% of people in the U.S.A. and 60% of Hispanics in the U.S.A.; Pew Research Center, 2014), we expected to see this theme more often than we did. Participants rarely included religious themes in their drawings, with it only appearing in 3.7% of all drawings. Participants who depicted religion suggested that they want to continue practicing their faith or, for instance, drew churches to show that they want to keep religious practices in their future lives. Figure 9 is an example of a drawing that contains this code. To "follow in the ways of God" is an example sentence that emerged in the lists of characteristics, with this theme appearing in merely 6.17% of the lists.

<<Insert Figure 9 here>>

Personal Success

Finally, relatively few participants' drawings and characteristics were coded with the theme of personal success. This theme applied to drawings and characteristics that mentioned "being successful" or "succeeding," but as a separate concept from monetary success. If a participant claimed they wanted to be someone significant in society, it was also coded under this theme. Only 2.47% of participants depicted this theme in their drawings. We could usually only code this in the drawings when participants left comments on their drawing where they wrote out the word "success." Figure 10 is an example of a drawing that contains this theme. Participants mentioned being successful in 19.75% of the lists of characteristics. It is important to note that almost 20% of the characteristic lists included the word "success" or something very similar, as it shows how important personal success is to these youth's futures, even if it was not clearly depicted in their drawings. This underscores the importance of collecting data in various ways.

<<Insert Figure 10 here>>

Discussion

The purpose of our study was to gain a perspective of the hoped-for futures of adolescents from Guatemala. We utilized the method of asking the participants for drawings because drawings can reveal what youth perceive as important in their own contexts and lives (Racheli & Tova, 2011). Similar to previous literature (see Ashdown et al., 2017; Stiles & Gibbons, 2000), utilizing adolescents' drawings and their own words in the lists of characteristics to capture their anticipations of future selves proved successful. Among all the data we collected, *home/property* (60.49%) and *profession* (46.91%) are the two most prevalent themes from the drawings. *Family* (70.37%), *profession* (65.43%), *home/property* (64.20%), and *job* (51.85%) are the most prevalent themes from the lists of characteristics. These findings provide an interesting and relevant baseline for future research on Guatemalan adolescents' hoped-for futures because it is the first of its kind exploring Guatemalan adolescents' future aspirations using drawings, and can be a guide future qualitative and quantitative work.

The results indicate that themes and characteristics related to *home/property, profession, family,* and *jobs* are most prevalent and might be associated with SES expectations and traditional gender roles of Guatemala. In our sample, both female and male participants indicated an intention to help their family physically and/or financially in the future. Previous research demonstrates that both men and women in Guatemala believe they need to be responsible for caring for their families, by filling the role as economic provider or emotional supporter (Berrington et al., 2016). Guatemala is one of the poorest countries in Latin America, and poverty is predominantly rural (Sanchez et al., 2016), which might influence why the adolescents in our sample are particularly concerned about having a job and supporting their families. Our findings suggest that youth in Guatemala expect they will have the type of future where they will be able to offer financial support and emotional support to their families.

Surprisingly, the results did not indicate that most participants consider pursuing more education as a part of their future. This could be that the students expect that by the point in their lives they were asked to consider (15 years from now), they assume they will be done with school, and were not thinking about how their education would help get them to where they want to be in 15 years. It may also be that these SES-disadvantaged youth think less about further education. Maya, female, and poor students have very low levels of formal education in Guatemala (Batz & Caballeros, 2019; Hallman et al., 2011; Hernandez-Zavala et al., 2006). Therefore, youth who live in less urban areas, like many of the participants in our sample, might consider themselves as having less access to post-primary education than non-rural peers (UNDP, 2012), and so this future education is not as significant in their plans.

Moreover, ideas of "further education" might look different to children in Guatemala than in Western cultures. The education system is lacking in Guatemala in a number of ways (Batz & Caballeros, 2019; Edwards, 2002). Attendance policies are weakly enforced, and the ideal of 100% of children attending school is not present at any age or schooling level, sometimes dropping lower than 60% at the primary grade-levels (Batz & Caballeros, 2019; Edwards, 2002). Many children who are enrolled in school during the primary school years are often older than their grade-level, and by the time students reach secondary school, the number of attendees drops to about 30% (Batz & Caballeros, 2019; Edwards, 2002). This makes attending university seem an unlikely path for many Guatemalan teenagers, and may partially explain why our "further education" theme was so negligible. It suggests that perhaps secondary education (e.g., middle school and high school) for students in Guatemala is the "further education" described in the questionnaire.

We hope that this research will help scholars, parents, and teachers in Guatemala determine what tools they need to provide and employ to ensure they are giving the best opportunities for adolescents to achieve their goals for their own futures (Wainwright et al., 2018). At home, this information could be useful for parents to help their children establish short-term and long-term goals to achieve their respective future aspirations. In schools, this data could aid teachers and administrators in their guidance of the youth towards their own desired futures. For example, educators could explore how to provide necessary educational tools and experiences that will help students prepare for the futures they themselves desire. The implications of this research can also be beneficial for policymakers in Guatemala, who could strategize on what policies will be most effective to foster greater success of adolescents achieving their future aspirations.

There are some notable limitations of this study. First, there is a considerable gap in the literature between *how* to allow adolescents to voice their anticipations and senses of self, and *what* these ideas might look like. Because of this, no predictions were made about what might be the most prevalent themes among the adolescents' data, though there were some themes that surprised us with who seldom they were used. Secondly, the data were collected through self-reports. The single source of data employed for this research produces the probability of less reliable data than using multiple informants. Self-report surveys and questionnaires can also lead to demand characteristics in which the participants act differently because they know they are in a research study (e.g., social desirability), a concern with most self-report studies. Third, the participants recruited for this study are all SES-disadvantaged youth from a semi-rural area in Jocotenango, Guatemala; the sample does not represent a widely diverse population. Finally, though the themes underwent a process of thematic analysis, because drawings were one of the

methods utilized, the researchers' interpretations may still be subjective, introducing subjectivity into the analysis, an issue with all qualitative work.

Despite these limitations, we believe this study contributes insights into the understanding of Guatemalan teenagers' future dreams and goals. Future studies should take the next systemic step and examine gender differences and compare different age groups among these themes. More research from different areas and regions would also be beneficial for teachers and parents to offer appropriate help to children and adolescents in Guatemala. Cross-sectional and longitudinal data would be valuable in order to compare younger-aged children with adolescents who are in middle and high school. Future research could also include interviews with adolescents and adults to include multiple informants. Because there may have been some discrepancy in the drawings and characteristics, there is a highlighted importance for collecting data in numerous ways. This research sheds light on the importance of awareness of Guatemalan adolescent's' own hopes and dreams for the future so that parents, mentors, teachers, schools, and scholars can provide the tools necessary to assist the youth in achieving their own goals and aspirations.

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