

ABSTRACT

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IDENTITY IN CHICANA/O AND LATINA/O
COLLEGE STUDENTS

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This study sought to investigate if perceived racism and internalized racism are predictors of ethnic identity development in Chicana/o and Latina/o college students. This study also aimed to identify factors that serve as predictors of internalized racism. Finally, this study sought to identify if differences exist between those who self identify as Chicana/o, Latina/o, Hispanic, hyphenated American, or by nationality in terms of ethnic identity, acculturation, internalized racism, Spanish language fluency, and English language fluency. Chicana/o and Latina/o undergraduates who were members of ethnic student organizations were asked to complete an online survey that asked about their ethnic identity, U.S. acculturation, English language competence, Spanish language competence, internalized racism, and perceived racism. A sample of 500 undergraduate students was obtained. Using multiple linear regression this study found: that internalized racism was negatively related to ethnic identity; that Spanish language competence, perceived racism, and English language competence were all positively related to ethnic identity; that U.S. cultural identity and perceived racism were both positively related to internalized racism; and that perceived racism in the media was negatively related to

internalized racism. Using Multivariate Analysis of Variance a statistically significant difference in ethnic identity, acculturation, internalized racism, Spanish language fluency, and English language fluency was found between those who identify as Chicana/o, Latina/o, Hispanic, hyphenated American, and those who identify by nationality. The findings of this study point to the negative effects of perceived racism and internalized racism. Moreover, these results indicate the importance of culturally affirmative therapy and educational practices when working with Chicanas/os and Latinas/os. This study also highlights the heterogeneity of the Chicana/o and Latina/o community. Additional research is needed to further understand the heterogeneity of the Chicana/o and Latina/o community.

INTERNALIZED RACISM AND ETHNIC IDENTITY IN CHICANA/O AND
LATINA/O COLLEGE STUDENTS

By

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CHAPTER 1: THE PROBLEM

Background of the Problem

Since the European conquest of the Americas in the 16th century, a racial divide has plagued the continents of North and South America. With the introduction of Europeans to the continent, came the introduction of racial hierarchy (Gutierrez, 1998). Europeans viewing the world through their western cultural lens did not understand the culture and traditions of non-western communities, particularly those of the Native Americans and Africans. Using western ideals as justification, Europeans quickly enacted racist policies that justified the eradication of Native American communities in North and South America and the importation of Africans to the continents as slaves. These same racist policies mandated that non-western communities drop their traditional culture and adopt European ideals (Schweniger, 1999). Despite the centuries that have past since the genocide of native communities and the slavery of Africans, these ethnic communities and their *mestizo*—multi-racial—offspring continue to suffer from the effects of racism (Araújo & Borrell, 2006).

While progress has been made toward racial equity in the United States, Chicanas/o and Latinas/os still lag behind other racial groups in many categories. Chicanas/os and Latinas/os are less likely to graduate from high school or from college than Whites and Blacks (Teller-Elsberg, Folbre, Heintz, & The Center for Popular Economics, 2006). On average Chicanos/Latinos median weekly salary is 66% of White males and Chicanas/Latinas median weekly salary is 70% of White women (Teller-Elsberg, et al.). Additionally, 22% of Chicanas/os and Latinas/os have incomes that fall below the poverty line; as compared to 10% of Whites with incomes below poverty

(Teller-Elsberg, et al.). These statistics demonstrate that inequity and discrimination is a lived reality for members of the Chicana/o and Latina/o community.

Due to the European cultural dominance in most of the western world, as the fields of psychology and education emerged, a singular cultural perspective was adopted—that of the European. Since the European's cultural vision was considered the default, the fields of psychology and education did not give considerations to the experiences of other racial and ethnic groups (Duran, Guillory, & Villanueva, 1990). Rather, it was assumed within the counseling profession that all racial and ethnic groups experienced life similarly (Lee & Ramsey, 2006). Furthermore, it was assumed that all racial and ethnic groups would have similar experiences in the process of identity development (Phinney, 1993).

Psychologists first began to explore the development of racial/ethnic identity in the racial minority communities of the United States in the early 1970s. In its infancy theorists were more concerned with the notion of race and, thus, examined racial identity development. These theorists attempted to explain how the macro-culture denigrated the lived experiences of minority communities (Cross, 1971). One of the earliest theorists on racial identity was Cross, who attempted to explain how Blacks come to realize the salience of race in their life and develop a positive racial identity. Through his article *The Negro to Black Conversion Experience*, Cross theorized that socialization in dominant American society caused Blacks to experience self-hatred due to their racial origin. He further hypothesized that a return to traditional African values would help Blacks develop a more healthy racial identity.

Since Cross' seminal work, theorists extended the notions of identity development to other racial and ethnic groups (Cross, 1994). It is important to note that while the terms race and ethnicity are often used interchangeably, these terms are not synonymous (Lee, 1997, 2001). Although race is typically treated as a biological construct, genetic research has not supported this claim (American Anthropological Association, 1998). Rather, race is a socio-political construct for which membership is determined by physical criteria, such as skin color, eye shape, or physiognomy, that are commonly considered to be the product of biological inheritance (Framble, 1997; Helms, 1995). It should be noted that racial classification, based on physiognomy, has been used to perpetuate political, social, cultural, and economic exploitation against non-white communities (Lee, 2001). Ethnicity on the other hand is a socio-political construction where membership is determined by national origin, language, religion, food, and other cultural markers (Framble). Lee (1997) held that the counseling profession is not concerned with genetic traits, those described by race, but must be sensitive to values and beliefs that are cultural markers of ethnic groups. Moreover, Lee (2001) stated that race has become an archaic term and argues that counselors should be more concerned with ethnicity. Thus, this study focused on ethnic identity formation. However, the notion of racism is retained due to the fact that members of an ethnic community are discriminated based not on their cultural heritage, but on perceived genetic differences (Cassidy, O'Conner, Howe, & Warden, 2004).

Research has demonstrated the importance of ethnic identity development in minority communities (Crawford, Allison, Zamboni, & Soto, 2002; Miller & MacIntosh, 1999; Umaña-Taylor, Diversi, & Fine, 2002). However, limited research exists on the

relationship between racism and ethnic identity development. According to Cassidy, et al. (2004) racism is a set of “beliefs, attitudes, institutional arrangements, and acts that tend to denigrate individuals or groups because of phenotypic characteristics or ethnic group affiliation” (p. 805). Although racism evokes the notion of racial discrimination, from the above definition it is evident that discrimination against ethnic groups can also be considered racism.

It is known that experiencing racism adversely affects the mental health of communities of color. Research has demonstrated that experiences with racism are negatively associated with the physical (Finch, Hummer, Kolody, & Vega, 2001; Surko, Ciro, Blackwood, Nembhard, & Peak, 2005) and mental health (Klonoff, Landrine, & Ullman, 1999; Utsey, et al., 2002) of members of ethnic minority communities. It should be noted that limited research exists on the effects of racism in the Chicana/o and Latina/o community (Niemann, 2001).

It has been hypothesized that ethnic identity protects communities of color from the stressful effects of racism (Cassidy, O’Conner, Howe, & Warden, 2004). However, little research has been undertaken examining the direct relationship between these two constructs. In the only study located relating ethnic identity and racism, experiences with racism was found to have a negative influence on the ethnic identity of ethnic minorities in Scotland (Cassidy, et al.). Research is needed to understand if experiences with racism are related to ethnic identity in the Chicana/o and Latina/o community.

Additionally, little is understood about the effects of internalized racism on the development of ethnic identity. Internalized racism can be defined for communities of color as the acceptance of stereotypes and discriminatory notions that casts one’s own

racial community as subhuman, inferior, incapable, or a burden on society (Padilla, 2001). Internalized racism in Black communities is positively related with alcohol consumption (Taylor & Gundy 1970a; 1970b), depression (Taylor, Henderson, & Jackson, 1991), and abdominal fat (Butler, Tull, Chambers, Taylor, 2002). Internalized racism in Black couples was also negatively related to marital satisfaction (Taylor, 1990). In the two studies conducted relating internalized racism and ethnic identity, a negative relationship between ethnic identity and internalized racism was detected in Black and Latina/o college students (Cokley, 2002; Hipolito-Delgado, 2007).

However, little is known about what influences the internalization of racism. One hypothesis holds that if a person of color lives in a racist environment and lacks cultural validation, she or he is more likely to internalize racism (Taylor, 1990). A second theory states that people internalize racism as a coping mechanism to deal with the cognitive dissonance created by living in a racist environment (Asanti, 1996). A third hypothesis posits that racism is internalized by people of color as they assimilate to Western culture (Poupart, 2003). To date, no studies have explored the factors that influence the internalization of racism. This study aimed, in part, to develop understanding of what factors influence the internalization of racism in the Chicana/o and Latina/o community.

With Chicanas/os and Latinas/os becoming the largest ethnic minority population in the United States (United States Census Bureau, 2003), it is increasingly important that counselors come to understand the needs and issues of the Chicana/o and Latina/o community. It should be noted that Chicanas/os and Latinas/os are not a racial group, rather they are the *mestizo* offspring of various racial groups (Gutierrez, 1999; Rivera-Santiago, 1996). It is more appropriate to think of the Chicana/o and Latina/o community

as an ethnic group; thus, this study focused on the ethnic identity development of this community. According the United States Census Bureau (2005), there are approximately 41,870,703 Chicanas/os and Latinas/os in the United States. Chicanas/os and Latinas/os currently account for 14.5% of the population of the United States (United States Census Bureau, 2005). Furthermore, it is projected that by the year 2050 that Chicanas/os and Latinas/os will account for 25% of the United States population (Teller-Elsberg, 2006).

Given the growth in the Chicana/o and Latina/o community and the increased demand for mental health services by this group, it is important that counselors come to understand this community (Lopez-Baez, 2006). An issue of particular interest for the counseling profession is the development of ethnic identity and the internalization of racism in the Chicana/o and Latina/o community. Research has demonstrated various factors that affect the ethnic identity development of Chicanas/os and Latinas/os. These factors include, but are not limited to, the environment in which a person was raised (Torres, 2003; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004), familial influence (Knight, Bernal, Garza, Cota & Ocampo, 1993; Umaña-Taylor & Fine), generation born in the United States (Knight, et al.), languages spoken (Bernal, Knight, Garza, Ocampo, & Cota, 1990), and internalization of racism (Hipolito-Delgado, 2007). However, the relationship between experiences with racism and the ethnic identity development of Chicanas/os and Latinas/os has not been investigated. Further, limited research exists on the relationship between internalized racism and ethnic identity development in the Chicana/o and Latina/o community.

Two studies have investigated the relationship between internalized racism and ethnic identity development. Cokley (2002) found a significant relationship between

internalized racism and ethnic identity in Black students attending a Historically Black College. Similarly, Hipolito-Delgado (2007) found a significant relationship between internalized racism and ethnic identity in Latina/o college students. Moreover, Helms (1995) and Taylor (1990) have theorized that ethnic identity and internalized racism are negatively correlated. This study aimed to investigate the relationship between internalized racism and ethnic identity development in Chicana/o and Latina/o undergraduate college students.

In order to have a more complete understanding of the development of ethnic identity in Chicanas/os and Latinas/os, it is crucial to understand the effect of perceived racism and internalized racism has on the development of ethnic identity. Much like the African American community, Chicanas/os and Latinas/os have experienced racism in their native countries and in the United States. It is still unknown what psychological effects racism and the internalization of racism have on Chicanas/os and Latinas/os.

The purpose of this study was to investigate if a relationship exists between perceived racism and ethnic identity development in Chicana/o and Latina/o college students. Further, this study sought to examine if internalized racism is related to ethnic identity development in Chicana/o and Latina/o students. This study also aimed to identify which demographic factors serve as predictors of internalized racism. Finally, this study sought to identify if differences exist between those who self identify as Chicana/o, Latina/o, Hispanic, hyphenated American, by nationality, or American in terms of ethnic identity, acculturation, internalized racism, Spanish language fluency, and English language fluency.

Research Questions

- *Research Question #1:* Do the variables of internalized racism, perceived racism, Spanish language competence, and/or English language competence act as predictors of ethnic identity development in Chicana/o and Latina/o college students?

Hypothesis # 1: There is an inverse relationship between internalized racism and ethnic identity in Chicana/o and Latina/o undergraduate students. There is an inverse relationship between perceived racism and ethnic identity development. There is a direct relationship between Spanish language competence and ethnic identity development. There is no relationship between English language competence and ethnic identity development.

- *Research Question #2:* Do the variables of acculturation, perceived racism, Spanish language competence, and/or English language competence act as predictors of internalized racism in Chicana/o and Latina/o college students?

Hypothesis #2: The variables of acculturation, perceived racism, and English language competence are all directly related to internalized racism. Spanish language competence is inversely related to internalized racism.

- *Research Question #3:* Is there a difference in ethnic identity development, acculturation, internalized racism, perceived racism, Spanish language competence, and English language competence based on preference of identity label (Chicana/o, Latina/o, Hispanic, hyphenated American, specific nationality or American)?

Hypothesis #3: There will be differing degrees of ethnic identity, acculturation, internalized racism, perceived racism, Spanish language competence, and English language competence based on preferred identity label. Those students who self-identify as Chicana/o will have the highest ratings on ethnic identity and the lowest ratings on internalized racism of all identity labels. Those who identify as American will have the highest ratings on acculturation, internalized racism, and the lowest levels of Spanish language competence.

Definition of Terms

Acculturation: “phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups” (Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits, 1936, p. 149)

Chicana/o: There is no one accepted definition of Chicana/o. Some define Chicano as being interchangeable with Mexican or Mexican-American (Arce, 1981). More recently, Huerta (2002) emphasized that “to call oneself ‘Chicano’ meant that you were neither Mexican nor ‘American’ but, rather, someone who recognized the various forms of oppression your communities were suffering” (p. 23). Using Huerta’s definition, Chicana/o is a socio-political identity that is concerned with the various forms of oppression being suffered in the community.

Discrimination: denial of access or privilege to a person because of preconceived notions based on some demographic characteristic (Tatum, 1997).

Ethnicity: Socio-political construction where membership is determined by national origin, language, religion, food, and other cultural markers (Framble, 1997).

Ethnic Identity: Ethnic identity can also be understood as how an individual understands and interprets her/his ethnicity and the extent to which she or he identifies with her/his ethnic group (Phinney, 1996).

Hispanic: Term coined by the US Census during the Nixon administration to classify people of Latin-American descent (Acuña, 1996) due to shared Spanish ancestry. The term is most popular with political conservatives and those of middle or upper class backgrounds (Acuña).

Internalized Racism: Internalized racism can be defined for communities of color as the acceptance of stereotypes and discriminatory notions that casts one's own racial community as subhuman, inferior, incapable, or a burden on society (Padilla, 2001).

Latina/o: Term used to refer to people of Spanish speaking ancestry residing in the United States of America (Gonzalez & Gandara, 2005). Used to identify people whose ancestry is from Spain, the Caribbean, and Latin-American countries where Spanish is the dominant language—note this excludes Brazil, Guiana, Haiti, Jamaica and other countries where Spanish is not the dominant language (Gonzalez & Gandara). It is unclear if this term would be applicable to people of Latin American ancestry who spoke or speak indigenous languages.

Perceived Racism: “refers to the subjective experience of prejudice or discrimination...[it] is not limited to those experiences that may ‘objectively’ be viewed as representing racism” (Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999).

Race: Socio-political construct for which membership is determined by physical criteria, such as skin color, eye shape, or physiognomy, that are commonly considered to be the product of biological inheritance (Framble, 1997; Helms, 1995).

Racism: “beliefs, attitudes, institutional arrangements, and acts that tend to denigrate individuals or groups because of phenotypic characteristics or ethnic group affiliation” (Cassidy, O’Conner, Howe, & Warden, 2004, p. 805). Further, it is a system of institutional policies that advantage one race of people to the detriment of one or many other racial groups (Tatum, 1997).

Stereotype: Some preconceived notion related to a demographic characteristic of a person or group of people, based on limited information, which arises as a consequence of living in a discriminatory society (Tatum, 1997).

CHAPTER 2

Review of the Literature

Race and Ethnicity

Although the terms race and ethnicity are often used interchangeably in the counseling literature, these two terms are not synonymous (Lee, 1997). This error is likely due to the limited understanding of the term race. Helms (1995) contended that the term race is used as a proxy for a number of demographic variables. Typically, race is treated as a biological construct (American Anthropological Association, 1998). However, genetics has not supported this claim: rather, more genetic variation can be found within racial groups than between racial groups (American Anthropological Association). In reality, race is a socio-political construct (Tatum, 1997). Within American society membership in a particular racial group is determined by physical criteria, such as skin color, eye shape, or physiognomy (Framble, 1997; Helms, 1995). It should be noted that this method of assigning racial group membership is highly subjective and more reflective of social standards than of biological inheritance. The United States Census Bureau (2000) recognizes five racial groups: White, Black or African-American, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, or Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander. Despite the fallacy of racial categorization, racism—discrimination based on using physiognomy—continues in the much of the world (Lee, 2001).

While race has typically been treated as a biological construct, ethnicity is typically thought of as a cultural marker (Lee, 1997). Ethnic group membership is typically determined by national origin, language, religion, food, and other cultural markers (Framble 1997). Ethnic groups vary in size from very large, such as Latina/o

which encompasses various Latin American countries, to small, such as Triqui a small native tribe in Mexico. It should be noted that ethnicity is also a socio-political construct (Tatum, 1997).

For the purposes of this study ethnicity was the focus. Specifically, ethnic identity was examined. This is due to the fact that the Chicana/o and Latina/o community is not a racial group, rather the product of racial mixture (Gutierrez, 1999; Rivera-Santiago, 1996). Additionally, Lee (1997) stated that counseling profession is more concerned with elements of culture than with perceived biological differences. As such, Lee (2001) called for the profession to shift focus from race to ethnicity.

Ethnic Identity Development

Ethnic identity can be defined as unique cultural values that distinguish one ethnic group from another (Bernal, Knight, Garza, Ocampo, & Cota, 1990). Ethnic identity helps to account for variations in values, beliefs and attitudes of members of different ethnic groups (Bernal, et al., 1990). Ethnic identity can also be understood as how an individual understands and interprets her/his ethnicity and the extent to which she or he identifies with her/his ethnic group (Phinney, 1996). With the development of ethnic identity the individual recognizes her/his allegiance to a set of social norms that are specific to members of her/his ethnic group (Gay, 1978).

History

Initially, the study of ethnic identity development was limited to the African-American population and was referred to as racial identity development. W.E.B. Du Bois is the first author credited with discussing the development of racial identity (Cross, 1994, 1995). Du Bois discussed how his experiences in higher education aided him in

becoming a Negro (Cross, 1994, 1995). This was the first written account of an individual taking ownership over his racial or ethnic identity. However, formal discussion of the process of racial identity development did not occur until the 1970's. It was in the early 1970's that two authors, Cross and Thomas, separately proposed models to explain the development of racial identity in African-Americans (Cross, 1994). Of the two theories, the Cross model has gained larger acceptance.

Since the development of the Cross model, various models have been developed to explain the racial or ethnic identity development of other minority populations in the United States (Cross, 1994). In particular Ruiz (1990), building from the Nigrescence model, proposed a model to explain the process of ethnic identity development for Mexican-Americans. Models of ethnic identity development also exist for Native-Americans and Asian-Americans (Cross). Similarly, models of identity development have also been proposed for Whites (Helms, 1995). While, Helms chose to concentrate on racial identity, many of the constructs she presents are similar to those proposed in ethnic identity development and are worthy of study under this heading. Models have also been developed that attempt to explain the development of ethnic identity more generally for all ethnic groups (Cross; Lee, 2006) and to understand the development of ethnic identity in adolescence (Phinney, 1993).

The topic of ethnic identity development is now a widely discussed issue in the counseling field. The importance of understanding ethnic identity development is present in many authors' descriptions of multicultural competencies (Sue, et al., 1998; Locke, 1998). Further, counselors are encouraged to understand their client's ethnic identity in

order to build rapport and develop effective counseling interventions (Greig, 2003; Lee, 2006; Locke).

Racial and Ethnic Identity Development Models

Three models of racial and ethnic identity relate most to this study, The Psychology of Nigrescence (Cross, 1995), the Helms People of Color Racial Identity Model (Helms, 1995) and the Three-Stage Model of Ethnic Identity Development (Phinney, 1993). While the first two models are more concerned with racial identity development, Cross' model is discussed due to its historical significance—the first model to discuss the development of racial or ethnic identity. Helms' model, also concerned with racial identity, is discussed since her hypothesis regarding internalized racism will be tested in this study. Finally, Phinney's model of ethnic identity is discussed since her instrument is used in this study.

The Psychology of Nigrescence. While numerous authors have written about the racial or ethnic identity development of African-Americans (Cross, Parham, & Helms, 1991), it was Cross and Thomas who first proposed models for racial identity development (Cross 1994; Cross, et al., 1991). The work of Cross is pivotal to understanding racial or ethnic identity development in counseling field.

Nigrescence is a five stage model that takes an African-American from low salience of racial identity to sustained interest and commitment to Black issues (Cross, 1995). The five stages of Nigrescence are: (a) pre-encounter, (b) encounter, (c) immersion-emersion, (d) internalization, and (e) internalization-commitment. Pre-encounter is characterized by an African-American person for whom race has little to no salience. Typically a person in the pre-encounter stage considers herself or himself to be race neutral, there is little

thought about race and being Black is not important. For some individuals this stage can also be characterized by anti-Black attitudes and sentiments. These individuals may subscribe to negative stereotypes about Black people and may wish that they themselves were not Black. Cross also explains that a person in pre-encounter has a Eurocentric perspective—embracing western values and culture. This person is likely to appreciate western values such as individuality and prefer western ideals of beauty.

Cross (1995) theorized that advancement to the encounter stage—stage 2—was predicated upon race gaining greater salience. The stage was named the encounter stage since it was assumed that the race neutral individual experienced an encounter that forced that individual to realize the importance of race in society (Cross, 1971). In his most recent revision of Nigrescence, Cross (1995) pointed out that a singular event need not cause the encounter, but the sum of various incidence could constitute an encounter. The person in the encounter stage feels a great deal of guilt and anger for never having considered the importance of race and for having ascribed to eurocentric values. A person in the encounter stage may also experience growing anger towards White people and White institutions.

In the third stage of Nigrescence the individual attempts to separate herself or himself from Eurocentric values. However, the lack of knowledge of black values and culture leads them to form a reactionary identity that is anti-white (Cross, 1995). The person may embrace that which they perceive as Black or African, not for its authenticity, rather, for it not being white. All that is Black is glorified and all that is considered white is seen as evil. During the immersion portion of this stage the individual attempts to delve into African and African-American cultures. Persons in this portion of stage 3 can be

characterized by militant attitudes centered on Black issues. Further, the individual may be very confrontational and challenge the “Blackness” of those who are not as militant. During the emersion portion of stage 3 much of the hostility of immersion subsides. The person is more concerned with working on Black issues in an attempt to improve Black communities. There is also an attempt to increase the depth of their understanding of Black culture.

During the fourth stage of Nigrescence the individual begins to internalize Black identity. The values associated with the individual's Black identity are visible through all aspects of their life (Cross, 1995). However, the person is not consumed by their Black identity, they are able to explore and experience other aspects of identity, such as feminism or sexual orientation. Furthermore, the individual understands the existence of racism and is prepared to encounter racism.

The final stage of Nigrescence is internalization-commitment. Those who achieve this level of racial identity have a sustained commitment to Black interests (Cross, 1995). A person in this stage might be a mentor for Black youth or may act as an emissary of Black issues to other communities (Ford, 1997). There is also a life-long commitment to Black affairs and issues (Cross).

The Psychology of Nigrescence model has gone through various revisions (Cross, 1995). The first revision to the model was its name; it was originally the Negro-to-Black conversion experience (Cross, 1971). It is also important to note that earlier models of Nigrescence suggested that stage 1 was characterized by self-hatred; the revised model now acknowledges that not all people display self-hatred (Cross, 1995). In his most recent revision, Cross attempted to convey that Nigrescence is not as linear as the stages

would depict. Additionally, he explained that not all individuals will progress through the entire model—some individuals will “drop out.” Cross also acknowledges that it is possible for a person to regress into earlier stages of the model.

Helms' People of Color Racial Identity Model. While the individual levels of development in the Helms model shares commonalities with Nigrescence, the model as a whole has many distinctions. To begin with Helms refers to the individual levels of development as statuses not stages. In making this distinction Helms attempts to explain that the cognitive process of the individual engaged in racial identity development is more flexible than a stage might imply. Being in a certain status a person's cognitive process is most influenced by the schema associated with that status. However, the person might still act on modes of thinking from more advanced or from prior statuses. A second distinction is Helms assertion that: “the general developmental issue for people of color is surmounting internalized racism” (p. 184).

Similar to Nigrescence, the Helms People of Color Racial Identity Model is composed of 5 statuses of development. These statuses are conformity, dissonance, immersion/emersion, internalization, and integrative awareness (Helms, 1995). Since these statuses share many commonalities with the stages of Nigrescence, each one will not be discussed in as much detail.

The conformity status can best be characterized by allegiance to the dominant society and obliviousness to issues of race (Helms, 1995). In the dissonance status an individual is faced with confusion over the importance of race in her or his life. In the immersion/emersion status an individual will tend to value all things associated with her or his racial group and devalue all that is considered White. Moreover, the person in

immersion/emersion is usually hyper vigilant about issues of race. A person who has achieved internalization status is most likely to have a strong commitment to her or his racial group and is able to incorporate the values of her or his race into all aspects of life. Finally, a person who has achieved integrative awareness status is so strong in commitment to her or his racial group that she or his is able to relate to the experiences of members of other communities of color.

Three-Stage Model of Ethnic Identity Development. Unlike the Cross and Helms models, the Phinney model is intended to discuss the development of ethnic identity in adolescents rather than adults. Also, unlike the models of Cross and Helms, this model is intended to be applicable to the ethnic identity development of all ethnic groups in the United States (Phinney, 1993).

This model is composed of three stages: unexamined ethnic identity, ethnic identity search (moratorium), and achieved ethnic identity (Phinney, 1993). In the first stage, unexamined ethnic identity, there has been a lack of exploration of ethnicity. A person in this stage of development is likely to either have a lack of interest in ethnicity or to accept mandates, developed by others, regarding ethnicity. In the first case an individual does not see the importance of ethnicity in her or his life or in society at large. Unlike the Cross and Helms models, it is possible for a person of color to have high allegiance to her or his ethnic group and be in the first stage. An example of this is a Mexican-American who identifies most with Mexican values, but has learned and accepted the ethnic notions and values of her or his parents. While this individual is high in the acceptance of ethnicity, they have done no exploration on their own and have accepted the mandates of their parents.

The second stage is ethnic identity search/moratorium (Phinney, 1993). In this stage of development an individual is involved in activities to discover more about her or his ethnicity. Simultaneously, the individual is attempting to establish the importance of ethnicity in her or his life. Phinney emphasized that her research with adolescence shows no evidence of the high volatility and anger associated with the middle stages of development as proposed by Cross and Helms. Rather the emphasis of this stage of development was the active search for ethnicity through participation in student groups and cultural events.

The third stage of identity development is ethnic identity achievement. Persons in this stage of development have a clear and confident sense of their ethnicity (Phinney, 1993). People at this stage have completed their exploration and have established a sense of ethnic identity of which they are proud and comfortable.

Recent Research on Ethnic Identity Development

Much research has been conducted relating to ethnic identity development. For example, studies have been identified relating ethnic identity to job functioning (Chrobot-Mason, 2004; Perron, Vondracek, Skorikov, Tremblay & Conbière, 1998) and to healthy psychological functioning (Crawford, et al., 2002; Greig, 2003). Additionally, studies have attempted to explain factors that effect the development of ethnic identity.

Ethnic identity development in vocational research. Chrobot-Mason (2004) in a study of Fortune 50 companies in the Northwestern United States investigated the role of ethnic identity development in the relationship between White supervisors and employees from ethnic minority communities. Chrobot-Mason, used a sample of 359 White supervisors, to investigate if level of educational attainment, identification with White

sub-populations (such as Irish or Italian) and/or participation in diversity training was related to ethnic identity development. She was also interested in examining the interaction between minority employee's ethnic identity development and White supervisors ethnic identity and whether or not it was significantly related to employee perception of managerial support. Chrobot-Mason found a statistically significant difference, with an observed $t(119) = -2.99$ and $p < .01$, in ethnic identity development between supervisors who identified with a White sub-population and those that identified as White. The sample that identified as White ($n = 98$) reported lower levels ethnic identity development than the White sub-population ($n = 23$); these samples reported means of 3.33 and 3.79 respectively on the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure. Thus, those supervisors who identified with a White ethnic group had a higher level of ethnic identity on average than those that identified as White. Making use of linear regression, Chrobot-Mason was unable to detect a relationship between educational attainment and diversity training with ethnic identity development ($R^2 = .01$). To test the interaction of employee and manager ethnic identity development and the employee perception of managerial support Chrobot-Mason utilized a hierarchical regression analysis. This relationship yielded a statistically significant relationship with a $\beta = .22$ and $p \leq .05$. Thus, employee perception of support from managers was higher for those managers with higher levels of ethnic identity.

Perron, et al. (1998) utilized a sequential longitudinal design to examine the relationship between vocational maturity and ethnic identity development in both majority and minority Canadian students. The sample of 641 students consisted of 4-cohorts, which were tested three times over a 15-month period. The first measurement of

the cohorts was taken in 7th grade for the first cohort, the 8th grade for the second cohort, the 9th grade for the third cohort and 10th grade for the fourth cohort. The final measurement for these cohorts was the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th grades respectively.

Utilizing a repeated measures multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA), Perron, et al. found a statistically significant difference in ethnic identity development between the majority and minority students, with minority students reporting higher levels of ethnic identity development ($F(1, 633) = 110.89, p < .0001$). A statistically significant difference was also found for ethnic identity in all students, minority and majority, over time, with $F(2, 1266) = 10.10$ and $p < .0001$. Additionally, a statistically significant difference was detected between majority and minority student's ethnic identity over time, with an $F(2, 1266) = 4.75$ and $p < .01$. Minority students reported higher levels of ethnic identity over time than did majority students. Ethnic identity was also significantly correlated with four constructs of vocational maturity: these constructs are self-knowledge, information sources, decision factors and occupational knowledge. Correlation coefficients of .30, .29, .30, and .29 were found for each respective construct, with a significance level $p < .0001$. Therefore, as ethnic identity increases in students so do factors related to vocational maturity.

Ethnic identity development and psychological functioning. In a study of 174 Gay or Bisexual, African-American males Crawford, et al. (2002) investigated if ethnic identity and sexual identity were related to self-esteem, HIV prevention self-efficacy, psychological distress, and life satisfaction. The sample, recruited by print media in three eastern states, was asked to complete various survey instruments including the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure, The Life-Satisfaction Scale, the HIV Prevention

Self Efficacy Scale, and the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory. Using a univariate analyses of variance (ANOVA) the researchers found a statistically significant difference in levels of psychological distress for men with higher levels of ethnic identity and those with lower levels of ethnic identity, $F(3, 167) = 2.29, p < .01, \eta^2 = .07$. This demonstrated that men with higher levels of ethnic identity reported lower levels of psychological distress than did men with lower levels of ethnic identity. Similarly, men with higher levels of ethnic identity also reported more life satisfaction, $F(3, 167) = 8.90, p < .01, \eta^2 = .14$, and self esteem, $F(3, 168) = 12.67, p < .01, \eta^2 = .19$ than did individuals with lower ethnic identity development. Lastly, a statistically significant difference was found for HIV prevention self-efficacy, $F(3, 168) = 5.24, p < .01, \eta^2 = .09$. Men with higher ethnic identity development reported higher HIV prevention self-efficacy than men with lower ethnic identity.

Supporting the findings of Crawford, et al. (2002), Mossakowski (2003) found that ethnic identity served as a buffer against depressive symptoms. In a study of 2,109 Filipino-Americans Mossakowski investigated whether ethnic identity was related to mental health. Using hierarchical ordinary least squares regression, ethnic identity was found to be a predictor of depressive symptoms ($b = -.084, p < .001$). Participants who reported higher levels of ethnic identity simultaneously reported less depressive symptoms. These findings when coupled with Crawford, et al. indicate that ethnic identification is associated with improved mental health in communities of color.

Negy, Shreve, Jensen, and Uddin (2003) in a study of 516 undergraduates explored the relationship between ethnic identity, self-esteem, and ethnocentrism. Their sample was composed of $n = 362$ White students, $n = 64$ African American, $n = 60$

Hispanic/Latino, $n = 13$ Asian students, and $n = 17$ students that identified as other. A statistically significant difference on ethnic identity was detected between the ethnic groups, $F(2, 472) = 39.23, p < .0001$. African-American students had higher ethnic identity than both Whites and Hispanic students. Additionally, Hispanic students had higher ethnic identity scores than Whites. Further, ethnic identity was found to be significantly correlated to self-esteem for White students ($r = .11, p < .05$) and Hispanic students ($r = .30, p < .05$). However, no relation was detected for ethnic identity and self-esteem in African American students ($r = .03, ns$). Thus, White and Hispanic students with higher levels of ethnic identity also exhibited higher levels of self esteem. A statistically significant relationship was also detected between ethnocentrism and ethnic identity in White ($r = .24, p < .0001$) and Hispanic ($r = .38, p < .001$) students, but no relation was detected for African American students ($r = .05, ns$). Those White and Hispanic students with higher levels of ethnic identity were more likely to display higher levels of ethnocentrism—preferring the values and beliefs of their ethnic group over all others.

Utsey, Chae, Brown, and Kelly (2002) studied the effect of ethnic identity, race related stress, and quality of life in 160 adults of African American, Asian American, and Latino descent. Ethnic identity was found to be correlated with physical quality of life ($r = .24, p < .01$), psychological quality of life ($r = .33, p < .01$), relationship quality of life ($r = .29, p < .01$), environmental quality of life ($r = .35, p < .01$), and global quality of life ($r = .37, p < .01$). Using stepwise regression, ethnic identity was found to be a predictor of overall quality of life ($\beta = .46, p < .001$). Thus, participants with higher ethnic identity were more likely to report having a greater quality of life.

Umaña-Taylor (2004) studied ethnic identity, self-esteem, and social context in a sample of 1062 Mexican-origin adolescents. These adolescents represented three different high schools: one that was predominantly Latina/o, one that was predominantly non-Latino, and a balanced Latino/non-Latino school. She hypothesized that the relationship between ethnic identity and self-esteem would vary depending on educational context. However, significant positive relationships existed in all three settings: predominantly Latino ($r = .15, p < .0001$), predominantly non-Latino ($r = .15, p < .05$) and balanced Latino/non-Latino school ($r = .19, p < .05$). Therefore, regardless of social context a positive relationship existed between ethnic identity and self esteem for Mexican-origin youth. The sum of all these studies seem to indicate that ethnic identity is associated with positive mental health.

Factors that effect ethnic identity development. Miller and MacIntosh (1999), in a study of 131 African American children from urban neighborhoods, investigated the effects of urban stressors on children's ethnic identity development. A statistically significant correlation was reported for daily urban hassles and ethnic identity ($r = -.25, p < .01$). Thus, those children that experienced more stress had lower levels of ethnic identity. Utilizing linear regression, ethnic identity was found to be a significant predictor of students grade point average $\beta = 0.024, p < .05$. Those students with higher ethnic identity tend to have higher grade point averages.

In a study of 297 adolescents and young adults, Branch (2001) examined how age, ethnic group, and gender effect a person's development of ethnic identity. Branch hypothesized that age would be positively related to ethnic identity, that gender and age would effect ethnic identity development, and that ethnic identity would be related to

ethnic group membership. The sample ranged in age from 13 to 26 years of age. The sample was divided into three age groups: low 13 to 19 years of age; mid 20 to 22 years of age; and high 23 to 26 years of age. Branch utilized analysis of variance (ANOVA) and found no significant effect for either main effects of age or gender. A significant effect was detected for ethnic group membership, $F(4, 292) = 15.74, p < .001$. Post hoc analysis with Tukey's HSD test revealed that African American's scores were significantly different from either European American or Asian/Asian American; both at the $p < .05$ level. African Americans reported higher levels of ethnic identity than either European Americans or Asian/Asian Americans. The European American group also had significantly different scores than Asian/Asian American and Latino/Hispanic groups; both at the $p < .05$ level. Overall, European Americans reported lower levels of ethnic identity than all other groups. These findings indicate that age and gender are not related to ethnic identity development, but that ethnic group membership is related to ethnic identity development.

Pellebon (2000) surveyed 252 adolescents in an attempt to identify a relationship between ethnic identity development and ethnicity, socio-economic status, school interracial climate, or racial majority of a school. Pellebon selected ethnicity, socio-economic status, school interracial climate and racial majority as independent variables. Multiple regression analysis was used to measure the contribution of each of the independent variables to the dependent variable. Significant associations for African American ethnicity ($\beta = 0.37, p < .01$), Latino ethnicity ($\beta = 0.26, p < .01$) and other ethnicity ($\beta = 0.18, p < .05$) with ethnic identity development were detected. No relationship was detected for socio-economic status, school interracial climate or racial

majority of school campus. Therefore, ethnicity alone appears to be predictive of ethnic identity development.

Saylor and Aries (1999) explored the factors that influence ethnic identity development in 1st year college students from minority background. A sample of 103 college students was measured upon arrival at college, mid year and at the end of their first year of study. Students with higher levels of ethnic identity were more likely to join ethnic student organizations than those students with lower ethnic identity at mid year, $\chi^2(1, N = 107) = 21.96, p < .001$, and at the end of their first year, $\chi^2(1, N = 107) = 20.73, p < .001$. Those students with higher reported ethnic identity had a significantly higher percentage of friends of their own ethnicity than those that reported lower levels of ethnic identity, $t(93) = 5.88, p < .001$. Saylor and Aries, using linear regression, detected that upon arrival at college the following were statistically significant predictors of ethnic identity ($R^2 = .32$): family participation in cultural traditions ($\beta = .25$), involvement in ethnic organization in high school ($\beta = .29$) and percentage of high school friends of the same ethnicity ($\beta = .36$). Using a repeated measures analysis of variance (ANOVA), a significant change in ethnic identity was detected for the entire sample over time, $F(1, 98) = 14.79, p < .001$. From these results it can be surmised that ethnic identity is influenced by parental socialization, involvement in ethnic student organizations, and interaction with members of the same ethnic group.

Lysne and Levy (1997) using a sample of 101 Native American students explored the effect of age and ethnic composition of school population on the ethnic identity development of the sample. The sample was composed of 66 9th grade students and 35 12th grade students, with 58 attending a school with a predominantly Native American

population and the other 43 students enrolled in predominantly White schools. Two measures were used to assess ethnic identity; one measure examined ethnic identity exploration and the second measured ethnic identity achievement. A multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA), using gender of participant, grade of participant and school context, detected a significant main effect for school context on ethnic identity exploration and commitment, $F(2, 92) = 3.52, p < .05$. Follow up analysis of variance (ANOVA) also detected a significant effect for school context and grade level of student on ethnic identity exploration, $F(1, 94) = 7.58$ and $F(1, 94) = 4.25$ respectively, both with $p < .05$. Only school context yielded a significant relationship to ethnic identity commitment, $F(1, 94) = 5.86, p < .01$. In follow up analysis students in predominantly Native American schools differed significantly from students in predominantly White schools at $p < .05$ in both ethnic identity exploration and commitment. No significant difference was detected on either measure for 12th and 9th grades. Therefore, those students in predominately Native American schools had higher ethnic identity than students attending predominately White schools.

Chicana/o and Latina/o Ethnic Identity Development

The discussion of Chicana/o and Latina/o ethnic identity must be approached with great caution, due to the heterogeneous nature of this community (Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2001; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2002). The various nationalities—Mexican, Puerto Rican, Salvadorian, Guatemalan, etc.—that compose the Chicana/o and Latina/o grouping have distinct national histories, customs and values (Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2001; Rivera-Santiago, 1996). Further, Chicanas/os and Latinas/os are the product of various racial mixtures (Gutierrez, 1999; Rivera-Santiago) including Black, Asian, White and

Indigenous bloodlines. This racial mixture varies by country of origin. In Brazil the mixture of Black and White races is more prominent, while in northern Mexico it is more likely to find combinations of Indigenous and White races. Southern Mexico might have traces of Black, Indigenous and White, while in Chile mixtures of Asian, Black, and White are more common. Additionally, there are Indigenous communities throughout Latin American that share more commonalities with Native-American culture and tradition than they share with other Chicanas/os and Latinas/os. Moreover, these individual subgroups have distinct histories of immigration to the United States (Rivera-Santiago; Umaña-Taylor et al.). Considering all these factors it is extremely difficult to formulate a singular prototype for ethnic identity in the Chicana/o and Latina/o community.

Due to the heterogeneity of the Chicana/o and Latina/o community various factors influence ethnic identity development (Rivera-Santiago, 1996; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). These factors include, but are not limited to, the environment in which a person was raised, familial influence, generation born in the United States, and languages spoken.

Models of Chicana/o and Latina/o Ethnic Identity Development

Theoretical perspective. Although various conceptualizations exist in the literature for Chicana/o and/or Latina/o ethnic identity development, few models of the scale and breadth of Helms (1995), Cross (1995), and Phinney (1993) can be found. One notable model is that of Ruiz (1990). Ruiz developed his five-stage model through his work counseling university aged Chicana/o and Latina/o students. While the Helms and Cross models spend more time discussing the development of positive ethnic identity, the

first three stages of the Ruiz model are devoted to how a person comes to be alienated from their ethnic identity. The final two stages are then devoted to the development of positive Chicana/o ethnic identity. The five stages of the Ruiz model are: (a) causal, (b) cognitive, (c) consequence, (d) working through, and (e) successful resolution.

The causal stage of ethnic identity development is best characterized as a period of confusion and disassociation with ones ethnicity (Ruiz, 1990). According to Ruiz, the Chicana/o person has received negative messages about their ethnic group. These messages might stem from encounters with prejudice and racism, from negative parental remarks or traumatic events associated with ethnicity. These events cause a person to question the value of Chicana/o identity. Further, a person might have experienced rejection by other Chicanas/os or lack access to a Chicana/o community. Any of these circumstances can create a disassociation with Chicana/o culture.

The cognitive stage is defined by the adoption of three erroneous beliefs: Chicana/o identity is associated with poverty and prejudice, escape from poverty and prejudice is only possible through assimilation, and success in American society necessitates assimilation (Ruiz, 1990). A person in this stage of ethnic identity development has internalized negative ethnic messages and rationalized the need to distance her or himself from Chicana/o ethnicity. What is more, this individual is actively pursuing assimilation to the dominant culture.

The third stage of ethnic identity development in the Ruiz (1990) model is known as consequence. A person in the consequence stage is characterized by shame for elements of their ethnic identity, including their skin color, surname and accent. An

elaborative system of defenses is necessary to manage the on going denial of one's Chicana/o heritage.

Due to extreme cognitive dissonance and failing defense mechanisms, the individual is no longer able to cope with the ethnic anxiety of the consequence stage (Ruiz, 1990). Therefore, the individual advances to the fourth stage, working through. In this stage the individual realizes that their previous level of ethnic identity is insufficient. It becomes necessary for the individual to increase their ethnic consciousness, reintegrate herself or himself into Chicana/o culture and reconnect with a Chicana/o community.

The final stage of Chicana/o and Latina/o ethnic identity is the successful resolution. In this stage the individual has achieved acceptance of her or his Chicana/o culture (Ruiz, 1990). Furthermore, Chicana/o identity is viewed as a strength and a vehicle for success. It is also hypothesized that the individual experiences greater self-esteem. While the Ruiz model is not without its faults, it does demonstrate how Chicanas/os and Latinas/os might develop ethnic identity.

Research perspectives. Research on ethnic identity development of Latina/o individuals has yielded various perspectives on Latina/o ethnic identity (Ruiz, 1990; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2002). In their meta-analysis of Latina/o ethnic identity and self-esteem Umaña-Taylor et al. identified three major categories for the conceptualization of ethnic identity in research on Latinas/os. The categories, which represent the most recent findings for Latina/o ethnic identity, consist of acculturation, biculturalism, and search and commitment. (Umaña-Taylor et al.).

Under the perspective of acculturation, ethnic identity is thought to shift as Chicanas/os and Latinas/os comes into contact with the dominant culture (Rivera-

Santiago, 1996; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2002). Using a sample of 1,367 1st year college students in Texas, Cuellar, Nyberg, Maldonado, and Roberts (1997) investigated the relationship between ethnic identity and acculturation in students of Mexican-origin. Cuellar, et al. detected a significant negative correlation between ethnic identity and acculturation ($r = -.32, p \leq .001$). Further, a significant positive correlation was detected for Mexican orientation and ethnic identity ($r = .41, p \leq .001$). No correlation was detected for Anglo orientation and ethnic identity ($r = -.01, ns$). Using linear regression, acculturation was found to be a significant predictor of ethnic identity ($\beta = -.40$). From this perspective, as acculturation takes place it appears that ethnic identity decreases. This creates a dichotomous relationship between acculturation and ethnic identity, forcing one to believe that acculturation implies a loss of ethnic identity.

The bicultural perspective examines an individual's ethnic identity as the intersection of two separate axes: these axes are mainstream culture and ethnic culture (Torres, 1999; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2002). On either axis a person is either defined as high or low—this yields four independent quadrants (Torres; Umaña-Taylor et al.). As defined by Torres high ethnic culture and low acculturation yields Hispanic orientation, high ethnic culture and high mainstream culture is bicultural orientation, low ethnic culture and high acculturation gives Anglo orientation and low ethnic culture and low mainstream culture is marginal orientation.

In order to validate her bicultural model Torres (1999) sampled 372 Hispanic college students from the southeastern United States. Torres asked students to complete 3 surveys, the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM), the Short Acculturation Scale for Hispanics (SASH) and the Bicultural/Multicultural Experience Inventory. Participants

were distributed in each of the four quadrants above based on their score in the MEIM and the SASH. The reported mean for each of these scales were used to differentiate between high and low. For example a student who scored higher than the mean on the MEIM and higher than the mean on the SASH would be placed into the bicultural orientation. A multivariate of analysis of variance (MANOVA) on ethnic identity and acculturation yielded a statistically significant difference for the different quadrants ($\Lambda(6) = .146, p < .001$). Pair-wise comparisons for each individual quadrant yielded statistically significant differences for each pair at $p < .001$ level. Analysis of variance (ANOVA) was also conducted for the three sub-scales of the MEIM by quadrants of bicultural orientation. A statistically significant difference in scores on each sub-scale was detected for the various cultural orientations, all at $p < .001$. Thus, a statistical difference exists on ethnic identity and acculturation scores for individuals in the different quadrants of bicultural orientation. Further, this challenges the notion that ethnic identity and acculturation exist on a single continuum. Instead, these findings indicate that ethnic identity and acculturation exist on separate axis.

Under the search and commitment perspective Chicanas/os and Latinas/os are thought to develop ethnic identity after an extensive search for and internalization of Chicana/o and Latina/o identity (Umaña-Taylor et al.). Phinney, Chavira, and Tate (1993) used the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) to assess perception of ethnic threat based on level of achieved Latina/o ethnic identity. Phinney, et al. used an experimental design to assess the perception of ethnic threat of $N = 109$ Latina/o 9th grade students from the Los Angeles area. Students were administered the MEIM, their scores were calculated, scores were then ranked, and students were paired by similar rank. The pairs

where then randomly divided into one of two conditions, neutral or negative ethnic threat, in each of the conditions students watched a video of a student discussing their opinions on ethnicity. The opinions of the student on the video were either neutral or negative depending on the experiment condition. Following the viewing of the tape, students were asked to complete measures on ethnic self-concept and self-esteem. No significant difference on ethnic self-concept was detected for students in the two conditions. In the experimental condition ethnic identity was significantly correlated to ethnic self-concept ($r = .44, p < .001$). In the neutral condition these two constructs were also significantly correlated ($r = .32, p < .05$). Thus, in the face of ethnic threat those students with higher ethnic identity reported higher ethnic self-concept.

Social learning perspective. Traditionally ethnic identity development models have described a process where an individual goes from low salience of their ethnic identity to a position of high salience and commitment to their ethnic identity; these models are typically referred to as stage models (Lee, 2006). Stage models have recently been challenged for their rigidity and failure to account for the various factors that influence ethnic identity (Helms, 1995; Phinney, 1996; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004).

Knight, et al. (1993) proposed an alternate model for understanding the development of ethnic identity in Latina/o adolescents, the socialization model of ethnic identity development. This model considers both the enculturative process of learning about one's ethnic culture and the acculturative process that takes place as one learns about the dominant culture. Umaña-Taylor and Fine also proposed an alternate model, an ecological framework for understanding Latina/o ethnic identity. This ecological framework examines the micro-ecological factors that influence ethnic identity (such as

family structure, generational status in the U.S., and language spoken at home) and the macro-ecological factors that influence ethnic identity (such as the existence of cultural validation and prevalence of ethnic discrimination in their community). Both of these models consider how social learning influences the development of ethnic identity and serve as a theoretical framework for this study.

Factors Effecting Chicana/o and Latina/o Ethnic Identity Development

It is important to acknowledge that various factors influence Chicana/o and Latina/o ethnic identity development. These factors include the environment in which a person was raised, familial influences, generation born in the U.S. and languages spoken. The combination of these factors influence access to Chicana/o and Latina/o culture, ease of identity development, and also determines the salience of ethnicity.

Environment. The environment in which a person was raised plays a critical role in their development of ethnic identity (Torres, 2003). Umaña-Taylor and Fine (2004) split environmental factors into micro and macro ecological factors. Micro ecological factors include the representation of Chicana/o and Latina/o ethnic group in the neighborhood where a family lives, schools attended, familial structure, and reasons for immigration. Macro ecological factors are: race and ethnic conditions in a person's city or state, socio economic status, and media representation. It is hypothesized that these factors all effect the ethnic identity development of an individual. Research was conducted on a sample of 513 Mexican-origin adolescents. The exploration/commitment subscale of the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure was significantly correlated to High School ethnic composition ($r = -.13, p < .01$). No relationship was detected between school ethnic composition and ethnic identity affirmation/belonging. Thus, students at

schools with higher concentrations of Latinas/os were less likely to have engaged in exploration of ethnic identity than those students at schools with lower percentage of Latinas/os. This seems to indicate that attending a more diverse school leads to higher levels of ethnic identity development.

In investigating the influence of social context on ethnic identity Umaña-Taylor (2004) sampled 1062 Mexican-origin youth in three high school contexts: predominantly Latino, predominantly non-Latino, and balanced. Using an analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) she found a significant difference in ethnic identity based on school context ($F(2, 802) = 8.30, p < .0001$). Students in predominantly non-Latino schools reported higher levels of ethnic identity than students in either predominantly Latino or balanced Latino/non-Latino schools. Additionally, students in balanced Latino/non-Latino schools reported higher levels of ethnic identity development than students in predominantly Latino schools. This would seem to indicate that ethnic identity is more salient for Mexican-origin students when they are in the more heterogeneous environments. These findings lend further credence to the argument that attending a more diverse school leads to more exploration and commitment of ethnic identity.

Umaña-Taylor, Bhanot, & Shin (2006) lended further support to the hypothesis that Chicana/o and Latina/o students that attend predominantly Chicana/o and Latina/o schools have lower levels of ethnic identity. In their study of 88 Salvadorian-American adolescents a statistically significant relationship was detected between high school composition and ethnic identity affirmation and belonging ($r = -.30, p < .05$). Once again indicating that students attending more diverse schools report higher levels of ethnic identity.

Torres (2003) provided an alternate perspective on the role of social context and ethnic identity. In her study of ethnic identity development in Latina/o undergraduate college students, Torres found that students who came from more ethnically diverse environments tended to have a stronger sense of ethnic identity. Torres, in a grounded theory study, interviewed 10 Latina/o students through their first two years of undergraduate study. Latino students who were raised in predominately white communities were less likely to identify as Latina/o, preferring to identify themselves by their geographic region, such as Texan. Whereas students raised in more diverse communities identified with a Latina/o ethnic label. This indicates that those students raised in diverse areas are more likely to have higher ethnic identity than students raised in predominately White neighborhoods. Torres findings contradict the findings of Umaña-Taylor and Fine (2004), Umaña-Taylor (2004), and Umaña-Taylor, et al. (2006). What should be noted is that studies conducted by Umaña-Taylor and Fine, Umaña-Taylor, and Umaña-Taylor, et al., used a sample of adolescents and Torres conducted her study with undergraduate college students. Perhaps the importance of a Chicana/o and Latina/o identity development increases as one enters college.

Familial influence. Torres (2004) contended that family members are the primary conveyers of cultural heritage. Thus, one would expect familial ethnic socialization to influence the ethnic identity of an individual. Bernal, et al. (1990) and Knight, Bernal, Garza, Cota & Ocampo (1993) hypothesized that much of a child's ethnic knowledge is a product of social learning opportunities provided by her or his parent. In a study of 45 Mexican-American children between the ages of 6 and 10, Knight, et al. investigated the relationship between parental ethnicity and ethnic instruction and the ethnic identity

development of child. A combination of interviews and surveys were used to collect information from parents and children. Through the use of interviews, parents' Mexicanism (sense of affiliation with Mexican culture), Americanism (sense of affiliation with American culture), and generation in the United States were collected. Survey instruments were used to assess how parents taught their children about Mexican culture and about ethnic pride. Lastly a checklist was used to identify presence of 21 Mexican objects in the home. Children were given assessments to measure ethnic self-identification, ethnic constancy, use of ethnic role behaviors, ethnic knowledge, and ethnic preference. Multivariate multiple regression analysis indicated that family background variables accounted for 40% of the variance in a child's ethnic identity, $F(20, 134) = 1.81, p < .05$. Familial Mexicanism was significantly correlated to ethnic constancy ($r = .36, p < .01$), use of ethnic role behaviors ($r = .40, p < .01$), ethnic knowledge ($r = .31, p < .05$), and ethnic preferences ($r = .35, p < .01$). Familial Americanism was not related to any of the child's ethnic identity variables. Teaching about Mexican culture was only significantly correlated to child's use of ethnic role behaviors, $r = .44, p < .01$. Teaching about ethnic pride was significantly correlated to ethnic constancy, $r = .32, p < .05$. Thus, Latino familial practices influenced the ethnic identity development of children.

The hypothesis of familial socialization was also supported by Torres (2003). In her grounded theory study of 10 Latina/o undergraduate college students Torres found: "The more parents participated in culturally relevant activities...the more students identified with their ethnic identity" (p. 538). This lends support to the hypothesis that familial socialization positively influences the ethnic identity of children.

Umaña-Taylor and Fine (2004) emphasized that familial ethnic socialization may occur overtly or covertly. Overt familial ethnic socialization occurs when a family member purposely conveys cultural information to a child. An example of this might be taking children to ethnic concerts or teaching children the art of making tamales. Covert familial ethnic socialization is ethnic learning in which the family does not actively engage the child. This may include home décor (Umaña-Taylor & Fine) and speaking native languages around the home (Torres, 2003). In their study of ethnic identity in Mexican-American Adolescents, Umaña-Taylor and Fine detected a significant correlation between overt familial ethnic socialization and an adolescent's: exploration/commitment score on the MEIM ($r = .39, p < .001$), affirmation/belong score on the MEIM ($r = .33, p < .001$), and ethnic behaviors ($r = .38, p < .001$). A significant correlation was also detected between covert familial ethnic socialization and an adolescent's: exploration/commitment score on the MEIM ($r = .50, p < .001$), affirmation/belong score on the MEIM ($r = .31, p < .001$), and ethnic behaviors ($r = .37, p < .001$). Using latent structural analysis a statistically significant path coefficient between familial ethnic socialization and ethnic identity achievement ($.82, p < .001$) was detected. The sum of these findings indicates that familial socialization is important to the development of ethnic identity.

As part of a larger study on the relationship of familial ethnic socialization and ethnic identity in families of color, Umaña-Taylor, Bhanot, and Shin (2006) examined the relationship between these two constructs in Salvadorian-American adolescents. Umaña-Taylor, et al. sought to examine if the model of familial socialization proposed by Umaña-Taylor and Fine was applicable to Salvadorian-American adolescents. With a

sample of 88 Salvadorian-American adolescents a significant correlation was detected between overt familial ethnic socialization and ethnic identity achievement ($r = .63, p < .001$), ethnic identity affirmation/belong ($r = .42, p < .001$), and ethnic behaviors ($r = .48, p < .001$). Additionally, a significant correlation was detected between covert familial ethnic socialization and ethnic identity achievement ($r = .49, p < .001$), ethnic identity affirmation/belong ($r = .40, p < .001$), and ethnic behaviors ($r = .39, p < .001$). Using latent structural analysis a statistically significant path value was detected between familial ethnic socialization and ethnic identity ($.97, p < .001$). These findings not only support the previous work of Umaña-Taylor and Fine, but also support the broader notion that familial socialization is positively related to ethnic identity development.

Quintana, Castañeda-English, and Ybarra (1999) detected a significant correlation between ethnic socialization and ethnic identity development in adolescents. Quintana, et al. studied 43 Mexican-American adolescents and their parents in central Texas. Adolescents were both interviewed and given the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure to assess their social perspective taking, ethnic perspective taking, and ethnic identity development. The parents of participants were given an assessment on ethnic socialization to measure their ethnic influence on the adolescent. A significant correlation was detected between ethnic socialization and ethnic identity achievement, $r = .48, p < .001$. Ethnic socialization was also a significant predictor for ethnic identity achievement, $\beta = .21, p < .01$. No relationship was detected for ethnic socialization and ethnic perspective taking.

Onatai-Grzebik and Raffaelli (2004) in a study of the individual and social influences on Latino ethnic identity, found that parental preference for Latino dating

partners was correlated to higher ethnic identity for Latino college students. Using a sample of 200 Latino college students, a significant correlation was detected ($r = .20, p < .01$) between parental preference and ethnic identity exploration. This finding lends further support to the notion that familial socialization influences the development of ethnic identity in Chicanas/os and Latinas/os.

Generational status. An important dimension in understanding the ethnic identity development of Chicanas/os and Latinas/os is their generational status in the United States (Rivera-Santiago, 1996). Research has yielded conflicting results as to the nature of the relationship between generational status and ethnic identity development. Umaña-Taylor and Fine (2004), in their study of 513 Mexican-origin adolescents, were unable to detect a correlation between the number of U.S. births and ethnic identity exploration/commitment or affirmation/belonging. Similarly, Umaña-Taylor, et al. (2006) were also unable to detect a relationship between number of U.S. births and either use of ethnic behaviors, ethnic identity affirmation and belonging, or ethnic identity achievement. Cuellar, et al. (1997) in their study of Mexican-origin college students were unable to detect a relationship between ethnic identity development and generational status. Cuellar, et al. used an analysis of variance (ANOVA) with scores from the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure, specifically ethnic identity total score, affirmation and belonging, ethnic identity achievement, ethnic behaviors, as dependent variables and five different generational levels as independent variable. This yielded no significant difference in the generational levels with any of the dependent variables. However, using multiple regression, generation was found to be significant predictor of ethnic identity (using the MEIM total score), with $\beta = 0.15, p < .05$. Indicating that a positive

relationship between generation born in the United States and Ethnic Identity development.

Torres (2003), in her study of ethnic identity development of undergraduate college students, found that Latinas/os who were members of the first generation born in the United States struggled greatly with ethnic identity development. These students felt as if they were caught between two cultures and were unable to participate fully in either culture. However, second and third generation U.S. born Latinas/os had a much easier time with their ethnic identity development. Torres observed that these students were more able to transition between cultures. The findings of Torres support those of Cuellar, et al. (1997) that generational status is positively associated with ethnic identity development.

Contradicting the previously mentioned results, Knight et al. (1993) found a negative relationship between ethnic behaviors and generational status. As part of their study of familial socialization and adolescent ethnic identity development, Knight et al. surveyed parents of adolescents about generational status, Mexicanism, Americanism, teaching about Mexican culture, teaching about ethnic pride and having Mexican objects in the home. With the exception of generational status, these variables can be seen as indications of ethnic identity. Knight et al. found significant negative correlations between father's generational status and Mexicanism ($r = -.57, p < .001$) teaching about Mexican culture ($r = -.55, p < .001$), teaching about ethnic pride ($r = -.38, p < .01$), and Mexican objects in the home ($r = -.50, p < .001$). A significant positive correlation was detected for father's generation and Americanism ($r = .39, p < .05$). Father's generational status was also found to be negatively correlated to child's use of ethnic role behaviors (r

= $-.38, p < .01$), ethnic knowledge ($r = -.34, p < .01$), and ethnic preference ($r = -.29, p < .05$). The only significant relationship detected for mother's generational status was with Americanism ($r = .29, p < .05$). No significant relationship was detected for mother's generational status and any of the variables for child's ethnic identity. This would seem to indicate that ethnic identity decreases with consecutive generations that are born in the United States. Thus, a relationship between generational status and ethnic identity has not been conclusively established.

Language spoken. Proficiency in speaking Spanish is thought to be related to ethnic identity development in Chicanas/os and Latinas/os (Torres, 2003). Bernal, et al. (1990), in two separate studies of Mexican-American children, found that preschool students who spoke Spanish—either primarily or bilingually with English—were more likely to identify as Latina/o, than were their English only speaking peers. In the first study, 46 Mexican-American children in head start classrooms were sampled. The second sample was composed of 45 Mexican-American children from 6 to 10 years of age. In both samples mothers were surveyed on children's language use (Spanish only, mostly Spanish some English, both equally, mostly English some Spanish, English only) and familial generation in the United States. In the first study, children were surveyed on ethnic label (how they identified), peer naming (identifying the name of peers), ethnic sorting (identifying the ethnicity of their peers), ethnic self-identification, ethnic constancy, knowledge of ethnic group behaviors, and use of ethnic role behaviors. A significant correlation was detected for Spanish speaking and ethnic sorting ($r = .28, p < .05$) and use of ethnic behaviors ($r = .51, p < .01$).

In their second study, children were surveyed on ethnic label, ethnic sorting, ethnic constancy, and use of ethnic role behaviors as in the first sample (Bernal, et al., 1990). Additionally, children were tested on ethnic knowledge, ethnic preference, and ethnic feelings. In the second sample Spanish speaking was significantly correlated to ethnic labeling ($r = .26, p < .05$), ethnic grouping ($r = .37, p < .001$), use of ethnic role behaviors ($r = .35, p < .05$), ethnic knowledge ($r = .51, p < .001$), and ethnic preference ($r = .25, p < .05$). These two studies seem to indicate a positive relationship exist between ability to speak Spanish and ethnic identification.

The findings of Bernal, et al. are supported by Ontai-Grzebik and Raffaelli (2004). In their study of 200 Latino college aged students they found that the amount of Spanish spoken with family was positively correlated with ethnic identity achievement ($r = .26, p < .001$). Additionally the amount of Spanish spoken with peers was positively correlated with ethnic identity exploration ($r = .20, p < .01$) and ethnic identity achievement ($r = .21, p < .01$). These findings indicate that increased speaking of Spanish positively influences the development of ethnic identity.

Further support for the relationship of Spanish fluency and ethnic identity of Chicanas/os and Latinas/os was found by Hipolito-Delgado (2007). In an exploratory study that aimed to identify predictors of ethnic identity with a sample of 158 Latina/o college students, a statistically significant relationship was detected between self-perceived Spanish language fluency and ethnic identity level. Using stepwise regression, self-perceived Spanish language fluency was detected to be a predictor of ethnic identity development ($\beta = .35, p < .001$). Thus, the more proficient a person was in Spanish the more likely she or her was to have higher levels of ethnic identity. The sum of these

findings seems to indicate that Spanish language proficiency and usage are positively related to ethnic identity development.

The rationale for the relationship between Spanish proficiency and ethnic identity is eloquently explained by Torres (2003). In her research on the ethnic identity development of Latino college students, she found that Spanish fluency dictated access to culture. In her study participants reported that limited Spanish fluency limited their interactions with other Latinos on campus. Participants reported a desire to improve Spanish fluency to help them in learning more about their Latino ethnic identity. From these findings it can be surmised that Spanish fluency may determine access to Chicana/o and Latina/o culture.

Racism

Despite the long multicultural history of the United States (Takaki, 1993), the problem of racism endures (Bell, 1992; 2005). Cassidy, O'Conner, Howe, and Warden (2004) defined racism as "beliefs, attitudes, institutional arrangements, and acts that tend to denigrate individuals or groups because of phenotypic characteristics or ethnic group affiliation" (p. 805). Although racism is often thought of in terms of individual actions, Tatum (1997) warned that this erroneous belief masks the insidious nature of racism. Further, she called for understanding the difference between discrimination and racism. According to Tatum, racism is a system of institutional policies that advantage one race of people to the detriment of one or many other racial groups. On the other hand, discrimination consists of preconceived notions, based on limited information, and arises as a consequence of living in a racist society (Tatum). Thus, discrimination can be thought of as individual acts that involve the denial of access or privilege to a person

based on some demographic characteristic and racism is the systemic denial of access or privilege to a racial group.

Bell (1992; 2005) contended that racism is a permanent fixture of the American social and political reality. Support for this argument can be found in Takaki's (1993) and Lipsitz's documentation of the legacy of discrimination and racism in America. Further support for this argument is provided by Cassidy, et al. (2004), who noted that for people of ethnic minority groups the experience of prejudice and discrimination is likely to be a part of their everyday life.

Exposure to racism has adverse effects for ethnic minority communities. The consequences of exposure to racism are the manifestation of psychological stress. Over time, this stress can have negative effects on the psychological and physical health of an individual (Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999; Pole, Best, Metzler, & Marmar, 2005; Utsey, et al., 2002).

Perceived Racism

Much of the research examining the effects of racism deals with the notion of perceived racism. Perceived racism "refers to the subjective experience of prejudice or discrimination...[it] is not limited to those experiences that may 'objectively' be viewed as representing racism" (Clark, et al., 1999, p. 808). Although there may be an inclination to discount perceived racism because of its subjectivity, such a stance would be inconsistent with stress literature which recognizes the importance of self appraisal (Clark, et al.). Perceived racism has been associated to negative physical (Finch, Hummer, Kolody, & Vega, 2001; Surko, Ciro, Blackwood, Nembhard, & Peak, 2005) and mental health (Klonoff, Landrine, & Ullman, 1999; Utsey, et al., 2002).

Racism and Physical Health

Racism adversely affects physical health indirectly by limiting access to medical care and through substandard medical services (Finch, et al., 2001). However, racism also has a direct influence on the physical health of members of ethnic minority communities (Finch, et al.; Surko, et al., 2005). In a study of 748 adolescents from ethnic minority communities Surko, et al. found that exposure to racism was related to high risk health behaviors. Young adolescents, 10 to 14 years of age, who experienced racism were more likely to be victims of violence ($\chi^2(2, N = 748) = 14.783, p < .001$) than their peers who had not experienced racism. Adolescents, 15 to 16 year of age, who experienced racism were more likely to be a victims of violence ($\chi^2(2, N = 748) = 11.230, p < .01$), to have tried tobacco ($\chi^2(2, N = 748) = 4.745, p < .05$), to have tried other drugs ($\chi^2(2, N = 748) = 4.248, p < .05$), and to have used drugs in the last month ($\chi^2(2, N = 748) = 8.655, p < .01$) than their peers who had not experienced racism. Older adolescents, between 17 and 21 years of age, who experienced racism were more likely to have been a victim of violence ($\chi^2(2, N = 748) = 10.769, p < .01$) than those that had not experienced racism. Clark, et al. (1999) hypothesized that youth engage in high risk behavior, such as those documented in the previous study, to cope with the stress produced by racist experiences. The findings of Surko, et al. illustrate how racism can have a direct effect on the health of people of color.

Further support for the adverse effects of racism on physical health can be found in Finch, et al. (2001) study of Mexican-origin adults. Studying 3,012 adults of Mexican-origin Finch used ordinary least square regression to study the effects of perceived discrimination on self-rated physical health and recent occurrence of chronic health

condition. A significant relationship was detected between perceived discrimination and self-rated physical health ($b = -.164, p < .01$). Participants who reported higher rates of discrimination also reported lower physical health. A significant relationship was also detected between perceived discrimination and chronic health condition ($b = .300, p < .01$). Indicating that those participants who reported higher incidences of discrimination were also most likely to have reported a chronic health condition in the past 12 months. Although the relationship between perceived discrimination and self-rated physical health may be called to question due to the subjective nature of self-rating health, Finch, et al. emphasized that self-rated health has been demonstrated to be highly correlated with actual health. Further, the relationship between perceived discrimination and chronic health condition strengthens the argument that racism and discrimination negatively effects physical health.

Racism and Mental Health

As has been noted, there are both psychological and physiological consequences associated with racism (Utsey, et al., 2002). At the psychological level these stressful events may result in “feelings of anger, anxiety, paranoia, helplessness-hopelessness, frustration, resentment, and fear” (Utsey, et al., p. 368). In a study of 160 adults of African American, Asian American, and Latino descent, Utsey, et al. detected a significant relationship between race-related stress and quality of life. In a stepwise regression analysis cultural racism was found to be a significant predictor of quality of life ($\beta = -.20, p < .05$). As participants reported increased rates of cultural racism in their lives, they also reported lower quality of life. This finding seems to indicate that racism diminishes the quality of life for people of color.

It also appears that perceived racism is associated with depressive symptoms. In a study of 2,109 Filipino-Americans Mossakowski (2003) detected a significant relationship, using hierarchical ordinary least squares regression, between perceived racism and depressive symptoms ($b = .173, p < .001$). This finding indicates that participants who reported more incidences of discrimination also reported more depressive symptoms.

In a study of 520 African Americans Klonoff, et al. (1999) found that racist events were associated with various negative mental health symptoms. Appraised racist events was found to be a significant predictor of total psychological symptoms ($R = .38, p = .0005$). Lifetime racist events was found to be a predictor of somatization ($R = .37, p = .0005$). Recent racist events was found to be a predictor of anxiety ($R = .30, p = .0005$). Even after controlling for demographic variables and generic stress, racist events was still a significant predictor of anxiety ($\Delta R^2 = .064, p = .005$), depression ($\Delta R^2 = .072, p = .005$), obsessive-compulsive symptoms ($\Delta R^2 = .067, p = .005$), somatization ($\Delta R^2 = .099, p = .005$), and total symptoms ($\Delta R^2 = .103, p = .005$). In all cases increased exposure to racism was related to increases in negative psychological symptoms. Providing further support of the hypothesis that racism is negatively related to mental health.

In an attempt to understand why Hispanics had higher rates of post traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) Pole, et al. (2005) examined if discrimination was related to PTSD. They studied 668 police officers of Black, Caucasian, Hispanic, Asian, and Native American descent. For the 189 Hispanic police officers who participated in the study, perceived racism in the workplace was significantly related to PTSD symptom severity ($r = .28, p < .001$). Those Hispanic officers who had more encounters of racism in the

workplace where more likely to experience PTSD and to have more severe symptoms related to PTSD.

Cassidy, et al. (2004) sought to understand if perceived discrimination was related to personal and ethnic self-esteem. They sampled 154 young adults of Chinese, Indian, and Pakistani descent living in Glasgow, Scotland. For males in this sample perceived discrimination was significantly correlated to anxiety ($r = .25, p < .05$), depression ($r = .28, p < .05$), and to personal self-esteem ($r = -.33, p < .01$). Thus, as incidences of discrimination increased males in the sample reported higher levels of anxiety, depression, and lower self-esteem. For females in the sample, perceived discrimination was significantly correlated to anxiety ($r = .29, p < .05$). Higher incidence of perceived discrimination was associated with higher rates of anxiety. The sum of these findings indicates that racism and discrimination adversely effect the mental health of ethnic minority communities.

Although the findings of the above mentioned studies are relatively consistent in regards to the negative consequences of racism and discrimination, Clark, et al. (1999) reinforced that more research is needed. Further, Araújo and Borrell (2006) called for research specifically examining the effects of racism on members of the Latina/o community. Araújo and Borrell called for more research on Latinas/os due to the prevalence of racism against the Latina/o community because of citizenship status, levels of acculturation, racial background, and English fluency. Moreover, there has been minimal investigation of the relationship between ethnic identity and racism in communities of color—no research has been conducted examining how racism effects the ethnic identity development of Chicanas/os and Latinas/os.

Racism and Ethnic Identity

It has been hypothesized that ethnic identity serves as a protective buffer between perceived racism and negative mental health (Miller & MacIntosh, 1999; Mossakowski, 2003). Miller and MacIntosh described ethnic identity as a protective factor that builds resilience and shields against the negative effects of discrimination and racism.

Mossakowski tested the hypothesis that ethnic identity serves as a buffer against the stress of ethnic discrimination in a sample of 2,109 Filipino Americans. A significant relationship was detected between the interaction of ethnic identity and lifetime racial/ethnic discrimination and depressive symptoms ($b = -.263, p < .001$). This finding indicates that ethnic identity reduces the levels of stress associated with discrimination.

Further support of the hypothesis that ethnic identity serves as a buffer against the stress of discrimination is provided by Cassidy, et al. (2004). For a sample of 69 males from ethnic minority communities in Scotland, Cassidy, et al. found that perceived discrimination was a significant predictor of depression ($r = .28, p < .05$) and anxiety ($r = .25, p < .05$). However, when ethnic self esteem was entered into the regression equation perceived discrimination was no longer a significant predictor of either depression ($pr = .18, ns$) or anxiety ($pr = .14, ns$). These results provide support that ethnic identity may protect ethnic minorities from the adverse effects of racism and discrimination.

Despite the hypothesis that ethnic identity protects against the stress of racism and discrimination, limited research has been conducted directly relating racism and ethnic identity—only one study relating these two constructs was identified. In their study of 154 ethnic minorities in Glasgow, Scotland, Cassidy et al. (2004) identified a significant

relationship between ethnic identity and perceived discrimination ($r = -.30, p < .05$). This finding seems to indicate that discrimination has a negative influence on the ethnic identity of ethnic minorities. However, this was the only study that was located relating these two constructs. It is evident that more research is needed to understand if a relationship exists between racism/discrimination and ethnic identity development. This study sought to understand if a relationship exists between racism and ethnic identity in the Chicana/o and Latina/o community.

Internalized Racism

A great deal of the research on internalized racism must be attributed to Jerome Taylor who has written about the topic in detail. Internalized racism can be defined for communities of color as the acceptance of stereotypes and discriminatory notions that casts one's own racial community as subhuman, inferior, incapable, or a burden on society (Padilla, 2001). Internalized racism has also been described as the inverse of ethnic identity development (Taylor, 1990; Taylor, et al.).

Why is Racism Internalized?

Although the process of internalization of racialism has yet to be studied, there are various hypotheses on conditions that lead people to internalize racism. These conditions include historical antecedents and living in a racist environment. Examination of these conditions suggests why racism is internalized.

Historical racism. A condition that might lead to the internalization of racism is the presence of racism in a given populations' history. Authors link the internalization of racism in Black communities to the African slave trade (Butler, Tull, Chambers & Taylor, 2002; Taylor & Gundy, 1996). African slaves were viewed as mentally defective,

physically gifted, and more akin to animal than human (Butler, et al.). Butler, et al. hypothesized that after centuries of exposure to racist propaganda Blacks in the western hemisphere have internalized this racism. These theorists seem to be indicating that exposure to racist propaganda leads African-Americans to believe that they are not as mentally competent as their white counterparts. Further, African-Americans may believe that they are more gifted physically than mentally and, thus, should aspire to participate in activities that highlight their physical gifts.

A similar history of racism can be found for the communities of Latin America. The Spanish conquerors that colonized much of Latin America developed a cast system that was based on racial descent (Fortes de Leff, 2002; Gutierrez, 1999). A simplified version of the cast system follows: Spaniards were given the most status and esteem; followed by Native populations (Fortes de Leff); and Africans were considered of the lowest class. The various racial combinations of these basic elements, known as *mestizaje*, led to a very elaborate system of names (Gutierrez). An individual's status within the cast system was based on the amount of Spanish versus the amount of Native and African ancestry, with more Spanish being considered superior (Gutierrez). Today skin color and physical features are still considered an important part of socio-political power. Fortes de Leff mentions that in Mexican people with European features are given privilege, while those of dark skin colors are degraded as *Indios*—Indians—and seen as being ignorant. Fortes de Leff continues to explain that Mexicans are *mestizos*—the product of mixed ancestry. Thus, Mexican's preference for light skin and degradation of Native populations is an example of their internalization of racism. Therefore, historical racism might lead to the internalization of racism by communities of color.

Racism in the environment. Many authors link internalized racism to living in a racist environment (Asanti, 1996; Taylor, 1990). However these authors differ in why the person eventually internalizes racism. Taylor suggests that an individual is at greater risk of internalizing racism when she/he is estranged from her/his culture. When one is in a racist environment and lacks cultural validation, she or he is more likely to internalize racism (Taylor). Thus, lack of cultural identity coupled with living in a racist environment leads to the internalization of racism.

A second theory on the internalization of racism relates to a person's coping mechanisms. Asanti (1996) argues that in order to avoid cognitive dissonance an African-American living in a racist environment must "suppress their blackness" (p. 51). Further the individual will begin to imitate the culture of the "oppressor"—adopting values and preferences that are more consistent with White society and culture. The internalization is so complete that a person is likely to believe that anything associated with her/his ethnic culture is unattractive.

A third hypothesis of how racism is internalized is based on assimilation to Western culture. Poupart (2003) argued that American Indians have internalized racism through their assimilation to Western culture. Poupart argued that participation in Western education, religious conversion, and in capitalism has led to the assimilation of the American Indian community into Western culture. Additionally, this assimilation has resulted in a loss of native traditions. Through their participation in Western systems, American Indians have internalized Western views of American Indians as "racially and culturally subhuman, deficient, and vile" (p. 87).

Effects of Internalized Racism

Internalized Racism and Mental Health. Internalized racism has shown to be related to various negative cognitions and behaviors. For example, internalized racism has shown to be predictive of marital satisfaction in Black couples (Taylor, 1990). Taylor studied 100 Black married couples in a Northeastern city of the United States. Utilizing mixed methods, participants were given two surveys and an interview. The surveys administered to the couples were the Marital Adjustment Test and the Nadanolization inventory. Using multiple regression, both husband and wives' internalized racism score were significant predictors for husband's marital satisfaction, $R^2 = .04$, $F(1, 94) = 4.12$, $p < .05$. In a follow up analysis of this finding, it was detected that husband's internalized racism was significant predictor of husband's marital satisfaction ($t(99) = -2.03$, $p < .03$), but wives' internalized racism was not significantly related to husband's marital satisfaction ($t(99) = -.65$, $p > .05$). Therefore, husbands reporting more internalized racism reported less marital satisfaction. In analysis of wives' marital satisfaction, only wives score on internalized racism was a significant predictor, $t(99) = -1.89$ $p < .03$. Wives reporting more internalized racism reported less marital satisfaction. Therefore, internalized racism is related to marital satisfaction.

Internalized racism has also been shown to have a direct effect on depressive symptoms in African-American women (Taylor, Henderson, & Jackson, 1991). In a study of 289 African-American women living in a large eastern United States city, Taylor, et al. investigated a model for understanding and predicting depressive symptoms. The model being investigated was made of the following components: social support; life events; religious orientation; internalized racism; marital status; physical health; developmental status (which included chronological age); and socio-economic status. The model under

investigation was found to account for 27% of the variance in depressive symptoms with a $\chi^2(87, N = 289) = 147.31, p < .01$. Internalized racism was also detected to be a significant predictor of depressive symptoms, with a path coefficient of (0.15, $p < .05$). This indicates that those with higher levels of internalized racism are more likely to suffer from depressive symptoms.

Additionally, internalized racism has shown to be related to stress levels. In a study of 53 women from the Caribbean island of Dominica Tull, Sheu, Butler, and Cornelious (2005) found a significant difference in perceived stress scores between those who reported high levels of internalized racism and those that reported a low levels of internalized racism ($p = .03$). Those women with high levels of internalized racism, on average, had scores on perceived stress that were 3.3 points higher than women with low levels of internalized racism. This seems to indicate that women who experience more internalized racism have higher levels of stress. The sum of the above findings is that internalized racism has a negative effect on the mental health of people of African descent.

Internalized racism and physical health. Internalized racism also has negative physical consequences. Internalized racism has also been shown to have a relationship with abdominal body fat (Butler, Tull, Chambers, & Taylor, 2002). In a sample of 244 African-Caribbean women between the ages of 18 and 55, Butler, et al. investigated the relationship between internalized racism, body fat distribution, and abnormal fasting glucose. The sample was divided in half (high and low) based on score on internalized racism. No statistical difference was detected in Body Mass Index between the high and low internalized racism groups. However, a significant difference was detected between

the high and low internalized racism groups on waist circumference, $p = .007$. Individuals with higher internalized racism scores were more likely to have larger waist circumference than those with low internalized racism scores. Additionally, a significant difference was detected between high and low internalized racism groups and abnormal fasting glucose, $p < .05$. Thus, individuals with higher levels of internalized racism were more likely to have abnormal fasting glucose than those with lower levels of internalized racism.

Supporting the findings of Butler, et al. (2002), Chambers, Tull, Fraser, Mutuhu, Sobers, and Niles (2004) found a significant relationship between waist circumference and internalized racism. A sample of 172 youths of African descent between the ages of 14 and 16 were recruited in the Barbados to examine the relationship between internalized racism, body fat distribution, and insulin resistance. A significant relationship was found between internalized racism and waist circumference ($r = .24$, $p = .02$) in girls. No relationship was detected between the two constructs in boys. Further, no relationship was detected between internalized racism and either insulin or glucose levels for either boys or girls. However, it is evident that internalized racism does adversely affect some elements of physical health, including waist circumference.

Although there appears to be consensus that internalized racism has negative consequences on both mental and physical health, all the studies presented here sampled people of African descent. No studies could be located that examined internalized racism in Chicana/o and/or Latina/o samples. There is a need to examine if internalized racism affects the mental health of Chicanas/os and Latinas/os (Nieman, 2001).

Internalized Racism and Ethnic Identity Development

Up to this point limited research exists on the relationship between internalized racism and ethnic identity development. Despite, the hypothesis that internalized racism and ethnic identity development are inversely related (Taylor, Henderson, & Jackson, 1991) only two studies have been identified that report on the relationship of these constructs. In the first study, Cokley (2002) sampled 153 self-identified Black college students attending a historically Black southern college to investigate the relationship between internalized racism and ethnic identity development. Students in the sample were given the Cross Racial Identity Scale and the Nadanolization Inventory—an instrument designed to assess level of internalized racism. Cokley performed canonical correlation between the stage of Black racial identity and the components of internalized racism. Mental/genetic deficiencies were significantly correlated to the pre-encounter miseducation stage ($r = .35, p < .001$) and pre-encounter self-hatred ($r = .20, p < .01$). Sexual prowess was significantly correlated to immersion-emersion Anti-White, $r = .22, p < .01$. Natural ability was significantly correlated with pre-encounter assimilation ($r = -.22, p < .01$) and internalization Afrocentricity ($r = .30, p < .001$). This would seem to indicate that deficit acceptance is positively related to pre-encounter stages of miseducation and self-hatred. Further, sexual prowess is positively related to the anti-White portion of the immersion-emersion stage. Natural ability is negatively related to pre-encounter assimilation, but positively related to internalization. Thus, those portions of racism that seem to be negative are most strongly correlated with early stages of racial identity development, while those that might be seen more positive are correlated with more advanced stage of racial identity development.

In the second study, Hipolito-Delgado (2007) sampled 158 undergraduate Latina/o college students in a mid-Atlantic research university. In this exploratory study, Hipolito-Delgado used stepwise regression to understand if U.S. generational status, Spanish language fluency, and social and racial stereotypes about Latinas/os were predictors of ethnic identity development. Spanish language fluency, social stereotypes, and racial stereotypes were all found to be significantly related to ethnic identity development ($R^2 = .25$, $F(3, 154) = 16.704$, $p < .001$). Both social stereotypes and racial stereotypes were found to be significant predictors above and beyond all other predictors with $\beta = -.40$, $p < .001$ and $\beta = .23$, $p < .05$ respectively. These findings indicate that social stereotypes negatively influence the development of ethnic identity in Latina/o college students—consistent with the hypothesis of Helms (1995). Interestingly, acceptance of racial stereotypes was positively correlated with ethnic identity development. A similar relationship between stereotypes of racial inheritance and ethnic identity was reported by Cokley (2002). Cokley explained this relationship by stating that some stereotypes appear to have a positive connotation, despite their racist underpinnings. Thus, stereotypes such as “Inborn physical ability makes Latinos great soccer players” may seem to have a positive connotation, however, are still fraught with racist assumptions of differential genetic endowment. To help make sense of these findings, there is need for additional research on the relationship between ethnic identity and internalized racism.

Acculturation

Although the study of acculturation has its roots in cultural anthropology, it is now widely studied in the social sciences and in counseling (Berry, 2003; Tremble,

2003). The most widely cited definition on acculturation, by Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits (1936), stated that “acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups” (p. 149). Tremble emphasized that an essential component of this definition is “continuous first-hand contact.” Acculturation does not result from short term interactions, but is the result of long term contact between peoples of distinct cultures (Tremble). Tremble stated that during the course of this long term contact cultural diffusion, borrowing, and conflict typically occur, leading to changes in both cultural groups. These cultural changes are manifested in a number of different areas such as the attitudes, values, behaviors, cultural traits, and sense of cultural self (Cabassa, 2003; Keefe & Padilla, 1987). Moreover, the definition of Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits stated that changes take place in one or both of the cultural groups involved in the contact (Berry, 1997). Finally, it should be noted that acculturation takes place at the group and individual level (Berry, 1997; Berry, 2003; Cabassa, 2003).

Group level acculturation reflects cultural changes that occur within the broad socio-cultural context. An example of group acculturation is the celebration of *Cinco de Mayo* (the Mexican celebration of victory over the French in the battle of Puebla, Mexico on May 5, 1862) in the United States. Within the United States the origin of the celebration is not widely known, but the date has become a celebration of Mexican culture, food, and spirits. Thus, demonstrating how prolonged contact between two cultural groups can lead to group level cultural transformation. Individual or psychological acculturation, as Berry (1997) termed it, reflects the degree to which an

individual changes as a result of cultural contact. Individual acculturation may vary widely from group levels of acculturation (Cabassa).

The degree to which changes occur in each of the cultural groups is dependent on a number of factors. These factors include the prevailing power dynamics between the groups and the willingness of each of the groups to partake in the acculturation process (Berry, 1997). Berry noted that in many societies power disparities exist between the two cultural groups: this gives rise to a dominant or mainstream cultural group and a minority or ethnic cultural group. According to Berry, the extent of acculturation in the minority group is a function of voluntariness, mobility, and permanence. Both groups are also influenced by the perceived importance of cultural maintenance and social participation (Berry). The balance of these two factors determines willingness to adapt and to interact with the other cultural group. In many cases the level of acculturation is controlled by the dominant cultural group (Berry). At a group level the dominant cultural group has the ability to limit access to social and cultural institutions and/or to force acceptance of their cultural values. This in effect controls for the degree of acculturation that takes place for both groups.

Despite the acknowledgement that acculturation influences both parties involved in the process, studies in the social sciences often explore acculturation from the perspective of the minority cultural group (Cabessas, 2003). The study of acculturation has become “explanation of the varied experiences of ethnic and cultural minorities” (Tremble, 2003, p. 5). In its most narrow applications, acculturation has been concerned with the acceptance of dominant cultural values by an ethnic minority community. In the U.S. context, this is the process of Americanization (Keefe & Padilla, 1987). In the

context of this study acculturation will be concerned with the adaptations of the Chicana/o and Latina/o to Euro-American values, practices, and beliefs.

Models of Acculturation

The process of acculturation has been conceptualized in many different ways, each of which concerning the balance between two cultures, often referred to as the dominant and native cultures (Keefe & Padilla, 1987). The most common models of acculturation include the unidimensional model, the bidimensional model, and the multidimensional model (Berry, 1997; Berry 2003; Cabassas, 2003; Keefe & Padilla).

The unidimensional model of acculturation assumes that acculturation occurs on a continuum from entirely unacculturated, firmly entrenched in native cultural beliefs, to completely acculturated, rejecting native culture and accepting only dominant culture (Keefe & Padilla, 1987). The unidimensional model assumes that movement toward the dominant cultural group simultaneously implies movement away from one's native culture (Cabassas, 2003). This model seems to place the native and dominant culture at odds, forcing a person toward one of its two poles—either unacculturated or acculturated. Keefe and Padilla presented a unidimensional model that does allow for a person to be bicultural; in this model bicultural exists in the middle of the continuum, between unacculturated and acculturated. Although this is a valiant effort by these authors to accommodate biculturalism, this and all other unidimensional models do not allow for individuals to fully participate in both cultures. Instead a dichotomy is created where an individual must sacrifice one culture in favor of the other.

A second model of acculturation is the bidimensional model of acculturation. This model is composed of two dimensions: the first considers the degree to which an

individual wishes to maintain their native culture and the second dimension considers the degree that they wish to participate in the dominant culture (Berry, 1997). An individual can be high or low on both or either of the scales (Berry, 1997; Berry 2003; Keefe & Padilla, 1987). The intersection of these two dimensions forms four quadrants, each representing a different acculturation strategy (Berry, 1997; Keefe & Padilla). The first of these strategies is integration. Persons that adopt this strategy are high on both native culture and dominant culture (Berry, 1997). Typically, persons in this quadrant are considered bicultural, being capable of seamlessly transitioning between the two cultures. The second strategy is known as assimilation. Persons in this quadrant score low on native culture and high on dominant culture (Berry, 1997). This strategy is characterized by a person who does not retain much of the native culture, rather is committed to the values of the dominant culture. A third strategy is separation; in this strategy individuals are low in dominant culture and high on native culture (Berry, 1997). Persons in this quadrant reject the dominant culture in favor of their native culture. The fourth strategy is marginalization; this is characterized by a person that is low in both native and dominant culture (Berry, 1997). Berry hypothesized that persons in this quadrant have been forced into assimilation and have simultaneously experienced discrimination. Thus, they have been marginalized from both cultures. A weakness of this model is that it does not allow space for persons to vary in their cultural affiliations by setting (Keefe & Padilla). For example a person might identify with dominant culture in the public sphere, but retreat to their native culture in their private life. Keefe and Padilla, argued that the bidimensional model is not fluid enough to handle this situation.

The third, and perhaps most complex, acculturation model is the multidimensional model of acculturation. This model proposes that an individual adopts specific cultural traits from each culture (Keefe & Padilla, 1987). To conceptualize this model one would have to imagine a list of all cultural traits for both the native and dominant culture. Then it could be determined if a person accepted or rejected each of the individual traits (Keefe & Padilla).

Acculturation and Mental Health

When working with ethnic minorities communities it is important to consider level of acculturation (Keefe & Padilla, 1987). Level of acculturation has been related to depression (Cuéllar & Roberts, 1997), quality of life (Thoman & Surís, 2004), and stress (Padilla, Wagastuma, & Lindholm, 2001).

Cuéllar and Roberts (1997) investigated the relationship between depression and acculturation in a sample of 1,274 first year undergraduate Latino students. Students were placed into one of five groups based on their acculturation score. Using an analysis of variance (ANOVA) a statistically significant differences was detected between the five group on depression scores, $F(4, 643) = 2.929, p < .05$. A post hoc comparison demonstrated the most acculturated group had significantly lower depression scores than the three least acculturated groups. This would seem to indicate that individuals who are most acculturated are least likely to suffer from depression.

Thoman and Surís (2004) examined the relationship between acculturation, psychological distress, and quality-of-life in a sample 101 Hispanic psychiatric patients in north Texas. Using multiple regression a significant relationship was detected between acculturation level and psychological distress, $\beta = .22, t(99) = 2.177, p < .05$. No relation

was detected between acculturation level and quality-of-life. This finding would seem to indicate that individuals who are more acculturated experience less psychological distress.

Padilla, et al. (2001) investigated if acculturation served as a predictor of stress in a sample of 114 Japanese and Japanese American undergraduate college students. A significant difference based on generational status was found for stress levels $F(2, 105) = 10.43, p < .0001$ and self esteem $F(2, 105) = 3.85, p < .025$. Students who represented the 3rd generation or more to be born in the U.S. had significantly lower stress levels and higher self esteem than the 2nd and 1st generation U.S. born students. The sum of these findings would seem to indicate that acculturation is associated with positive psychological outcomes.

Acculturation and Internalized Racism

Despite findings that acculturation is associated with positive psychological outcomes, the process of acculturation is not as easy for all to undertake. Hall (1994) argued that many Hispanic groups face obstacles to full participation in the U.S. He argued that skin color and stereotypes serve as barriers to acceptance in U.S. society. Discriminatory encounters create psychological conflict that leads to the internalization of stereotypes and negative self regard. However, no studies were identified that explored the relationship between acculturation and the internalization of racism. This study aimed to identify if acculturation is related to the internalization of racism in Chicana/o and Latina/o undergraduates.

Purpose of the Study

Given the dearth of research on the relationship between internalized racism and ethnic identity development, the purpose of this study was to identify if a relationship exists between internalized racism and ethnic identity in Chicana/o and Latina/o college students. This study also sought to identify predictors of both ethnic identity and internalized racism. Finally, this study sought to understand if differences exist between those who self-identify as Chicana/o, Latina/o, Hispanic, hyphenated-American, by Latin American nationality, or as U.S. American in terms of ethnic identity, acculturation, internalized racism, Spanish language fluency, and English language fluency.

Research Questions

- *Research Question #1:* Do the variables of internalized racism, perceived racism, Spanish language competence, and/or English language competence act as predictors of ethnic identity development in Chicana/o and Latina/o college students?

Hypothesis # 1: There is an inverse relationship between internalized racism and ethnic identity in Chicana/o and Latina/o undergraduate students. There is an inverse relationship between perceived racism and ethnic identity development. There is a direct relationship between Spanish language competence and ethnic identity development. There is no relationship between English language competence and ethnic identity development.

- *Research Question #2:* Do the variables of acculturation, perceived racism, Spanish language competence, and/or English language competence act as predictors of internalized racism in Chicana/o and Latina/o college students?

Hypothesis #2: The variables of acculturation, perceived racism, and English language competence are all directly related to internalized racism. Spanish language competence is inversely related to internalized racism.

- *Research Question #3:* Is there a difference in ethnic identity development, acculturation, internalized racism, perceived racism, Spanish language competence, and English language competence based on preference of identity label (Chicana/o, Latina/o, Hispanic, hyphenated American, specific nationality or American)?

Hypothesis #3: There will be differing degrees of ethnic identity, acculturation, internalized racism, perceived racism, Spanish language competence, and English language competence based on preferred identity label. Those students who self-identify as Chicana/o will have the highest ratings on ethnic identity and the lowest ratings on internalized racism of all identity labels. Those who identify as American will have the highest ratings on acculturation, internalized racism, and the lowest levels of Spanish language competence.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

Setting

Participants were recruited from three large, four year, research universities by way of email through the email list serve of Chicana/o and Latina/o student organizations on these campuses. One university represented each of the following regions of the United States: the South, the Mid-Atlantic, and the West. Given the migration patterns of Chicanas/os and Latinas/os in each of the three regions selected for this study, a diverse sample of Chicana/o and Latina/o undergraduate college students, in terms of national origin, was anticipated. It was anticipated that the southern university would have higher numbers of students of Cuban descent. It was anticipated that the mid-Atlantic university would have higher number of students of Central American and South American descent. Finally, it was anticipated that the western university would have a higher concentration of students of Mexican descent. Recruitment was carried out over the list serve for the National Association for Chicana and Chicano Studies (NACCS), The Latina/o Network of the Association for Multicultural Counseling and Development, the Hispanic Research Special Interest Group of the American Educational Research Association, and the Latina/o Network of the American College Personnel Association.

Southern University

This university is located in a rural area of the state, in what can be characterized as a college town. The campus has a total undergraduate enrollment of 35,918 students. The student population of the campus is 67.84% White, 12.49% Hispanic, 8.72% Black, 7.13% Asian, and 0.35% Native American. The student population is 51.4% male and

48.6% female. This campus enrolled a total of 4,485 Hispanic students in 2005. The Hispanic population is 54.6% female and 45.4% male.

Mid-Atlantic University

This university is situated in the suburbs of two major cities in a largely residential community. The campus has a total undergraduate enrollment of 25,154 students. The student population of the campus is 56.1% White, 14.1% Asian, 12.9% Black/African-American, 5.7% Hispanic, 2.3% international, and 0.4% Native American. The student population is 51.4% male and 48.6% female. The campus enrolls 1,445 undergraduate Hispanic students. Within the Hispanic population of the campus females make up 54.1%, while males comprise 45.9%.

Western University

This university is located in the suburbs of a major city in what might otherwise be considered a college town. This campus boasts the largest undergraduate enrollment of the three institutions with a total of 48,955 students. The student population of the campus is 68.5% White, 13.2% Hispanic, 5.1% Asian, 3.9% African-American, 2.6% American Indian, and 2.4% international. The student population is 53% female and 47% male. The total undergraduate Hispanic enrollment is 6,464 students. The Hispanic undergraduate population is 57.59% female and 42.51% male.

Instrumentation

Demographic Questionnaire

A demographic questionnaire was used to identify key background characteristics of the participants in the study. The demographic questionnaire asked participants which university they attend, class standing, gender, age, country of origin, years living in the

United States, U.S. born generational status, and what ethnic label they most identify with. The demographic questionnaire can be found in Appendix A.

Mochihua Tepehuani

Internalized racism was assessed using a modified version of the Nadanolitization scale (NAD; Taylor & Gundy, 1996). The Nadanolitization scale is named after nadanol, a cream that was marketed in Black communities: the cream was said to help whiten black skin (Taylor & Gundy). The NAD was developed to measure internalized racism in Black communities. It asked participants to identify their level of agreement—on a Likert type scale—with stereotypes about Black people. The NAD is composed of two subscales: one which measures social stereotypes and a second that measure stereotypes about racial inheritance.

The NAD was modified to reflect stereotypes about Chicanas/os and Latinas/os—rather than Blacks. The investigator and his advisor adapted the NAD by assessing whether the individual items of the NAD were also reflective of stereotypes about Chicanas/os and Latinas/os. Those individual items from the NAD that could not be generalized to Chicanas/os and Latinas/os were eliminated. New items were added to the modified scale to represent stereotypes about Chicanas/os and Latinas/os that were not already represented. Following this process the scale consisted of a total of 49 items. A panel of experts on Latina/o culture, comprised of doctoral students and Counselor Education professors, was used to assess the content validity of the modified scale. This panel determined that all 49 items were reflective of stereotypes about Chicanas/os and Latinas/os. A factor analysis of the original scale was conducted using data obtained from a sample of 158 undergraduate Latinas/os. The aim of this analysis was to reduce the total

number of items in the scale and to assess the internal validity. Resulting analysis has led to the reduction of total items on the scale to 25 and to the creation of four subscales.

This modified version of the Nadanolitization scale is known as the *Mochihua Tepehuani* scale. The scale has been given a *Nahuatl*—language spoken by the *Mexica*, more commonly known as the Aztecs—name which means: “to become conqueror” (Acoyauh.com, 2003). *Mochihua Tepehuani* was selected since it conveys that the internalization of racism in Chicanas/os and Latinas/os is acceptance of European or the conqueror’s beliefs.

The *Mochihua Tepehuani* scale presents the participants with 25 stereotypes of Chicanas/os and Latinas/os and asks them to answer on a 7-point Likert scale from 1 (strongly agree) to 7 (strongly disagree). The *Mochihua Tepehuani* is composed of four subscales: a racism subscale, a Latin lover subscale, the *familia* subscale, and the ability and characteristics subscale. An example of an item from the racism subscale is “The number of Chicanas/os and Latinas/os addicted to alcohol and drugs suggests a biological weakness.” An example of an item from the Latin lover subscale is “Chicanas/os and Latinas/os are born with greater sexual desire than Whites.” An example of an item from the *familia* subscale is “Chicanas/os and Latinas/os have larger families than Whites.” An example of an item from the ability and characteristics subscale is “Chicanas/os and Latinas/os are carefree, happy-go-lucky”.

In the only study using the *Mochihua Tepehuani* an overall Cronbach’s $\alpha = .85$ was reported (Hipolito-Delgado, 2007). This would seem to indicate that the *Mochihua Tepehuani* has adequate internal validity. No studies have been conducted to assess the

reliability of the *Mochihua Tepehuani*. A copy of the *Mochihua Tepehuani* can be found in Appendix B.

Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure

Ethnic identity was measured using the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM). The MEIM has shown good internal validity across diverse ethnicities and in college student populations (Phinney, 1992; Ponterotto, Gretchen, Utsey, Stracuzzi & Saya, 2003). The MEIM consists of 15 total items using a 5-point Likert-type scale from 1 (Strongly agree) to 5 (Strongly disagree). The MEIM has two subscales (a) identity search and affirmation and (b) belonging and commitment. For the purposes of this study only the composite score will be examined, which is the preferred method of scoring (Phinney).

In measuring the validity of the MEIM with college students, Phinney (1992) reported a Cronbach's alpha of .90 for a sample of college undergraduates (n = 136). In a sample with High School students, a Cronbach's alpha of .81 was obtained. Both of which indicate the appropriateness of using the MEIM when measuring ethnic identity development. A copy of the MEIM can be found in Appendix C.

Abbreviated Multidimensional Acculturation Scale

Acculturation was assessed in this study using the Abbreviated Multidimensional Acculturation Scale (AMAS; Zea, Asner-Self, Birman, & Buki, 2003). The AMAS consists of 42 items that are divided into six subscales: U.S. cultural identity, English language competence, U.S. cultural competence, ethnic group identity, native language competence, and ethnic group cultural competence. The scale makes use of a 5-point Likert-type scale from 1 (Strongly agree) to 5 (Strongly disagree). The AMAS is

bidimensional, it does not force participants into dichotomous thinking about their ethnic and American culture (Zea, et al.). Instead each subscale asks participants questions regarding their knowledge, sense of affiliation, and pride in both their ethnic and American culture. The scale is scored by taking the average of item responses in each of the subscales (Zea, et al.).

For the purposes of this study only the U.S. cultural identity, English language competence, U.S. cultural competence, and native language competence were used. The U.S. cultural identity, English language competence, and U.S. cultural competence subscales were selected since they provide an assessment of U.S. American acculturation. The native language competence subscale was selected since previous research has indicated that Spanish language fluency influences ethnic identity development (Bernal, et al, 1990; Hipolito-Delgado, 2007; Torres, 2003). The ethnic group identity and ethnic group cultural competence subscales were excluded because of their redundancy with the MEIM. Further, Zea, et al. (2003) reported significant correlation between these subscales and the MEIM that could pose multicollinearity issues.

In a study with Latina/o college students Zea, et al. (2003) reported Cronbach's alphas ranging from .90 - .97 for the AMAS subscales. This is indicative of good internal validity of the instrument. Discriminant validity was established by correlating the subscales with a measure of Americanism and Hispanicism (Zea, et al.). Americanism was significantly correlated with the U.S. American subscale ($r(43) = .40, p < .01$), English language competence ($r(43) = .48, p < .001$), and U.S. American cultural competence ($r(43) = .31, p < .05$). However, no relationship was detected between Americanism and ethnic group identity, native language competence, and ethnic group cultural competence.

Hispanicism was significantly correlated with ethnic group identity ($r(43) = .47, p < .01$), native language competence ($r(43) = .46, p < .01$), and ethnic group cultural competence ($r(43) = .41, p < .01$). No relationship was detected between Hispanicism and U.S. American subscale, English language competence, and U.S. American cultural competence. These findings indicate that the AMAS adequately differentiates between American and Hispanic identity, language, and culture.

In a study with Latina/o community members Zea, et al. (2003) reported Cronbach's alphas ranging from .83 to .97 for the various AMAS subscales. Further, a maximum likelihood factor analysis using varimax rotation supported a six subscale construction (Zea, et al.). These findings indicate that the validity of the AMAS in measuring acculturation. Unfortunately, no studies could be located examining the reliability of the AMAS. A copy of the AMAS can be found in Appendix D.

Everyday Perceived Racial Discrimination Index

Perceived racism was measured, in part, by a modified version of the Everyday Perceived Racial Discrimination Index (EPRI; Jackson & Williams, 1995). The instrument uses nine items to assess daily incidences of discrimination. The original version of the EPRI uses a 6-point Likert-type scale to measure the frequency of discriminatory incidences. Unfortunately, the original scale of measurement appears to be ordinal and would not be appropriate for statistical analysis. Instead the EPRI was modified so that participants answer using their level agreement with items on a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (strongly agree) to 7 (strongly disagree). This modification provided an interval scale of measurement that is better suited for statistical

analysis. The EPRI is scored by summing the total of responses, with higher scores indicating higher levels of perceived racism (Walters, 2004).

In studying the validity of the EPRI Williams, Yan, Jackson, and Anderson (1997) reported a Cronbach's alpha equal to .88. Walters (2004) reported a Cronbach's alpha of .92 for the EPRI. Both of these findings indicate that the EPRI has adequate validity in measuring perceived discrimination. A copy of the EPRI can be found in Appendix E.

Perceived Ethnic Discrimination Questionnaire-Community Version

Perceived racism was measured, in part, by the Perceived Ethnic Discrimination Questionnaire-Community Version (PEDQ-CV; Brondolo, et. al, 2005). The PEDQ-CV consists of 70 items assessing exposure to ethnic discrimination. The PEDQ-CV consists of various scales measuring lifetime exposure to ethnic/racial discrimination, perceived ethnic/racial discrimination in different settings, discrimination against family members, and discrimination in the media (Appel, 2003). The PEDQ-CV asks participants to rate how often they or their friends have experienced incidences of ethnic/racial discrimination using a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (never) to 5 (very often). For the purposes of this study only the perceived exposure from the media subscale was used. This subscale was selected for its ability to measure another element of perceived discrimination not directly related with interpersonal encounters. The remaining scales are not used for their similarity with the EPRI. The EPRI items were favored for their face validity and for their ability to measure the construct of interpersonal perceived racism in a more concise manner.

In a study using a sample of African-American and Latina/o community members Brondolo, et al. (2005) reported Cronbach alphas equal to .88 for the discrimination in the media subscale of the PEDQ-CV. This seems to indicate that the discrimination in the media subscale has adequate internal validity. No information on the reliability of the PEDQ-CV could be located. A copy of the PEDQ-CV can be found in Appendix F.

Marlowe-Crowne 2(10)

To ensure that social desirability does not confound the results of this study, a shortened version of the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (MCSDS) was administered to participants. The MCSDS was originally developed in 1960 to measure social desirability absent of pathology (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960). The MCSDS is the most recognized and popular social desirability scale in social science research (Barger, 2002; Beretvas, Meyers, & Leite, 2002). The original MCSDS consisted of 33 items (Crowne & Marlowe).

Since the publication of the original scale, various shorter versions of the Marlowe-Crowne have been created (Barger, 2002; Beretvas, Meyers, & Leite, 2002). One of the most popular shortened versions is the Marlowe-Crowne 2(10) or M-C 2(10). Strahan and Gerbasi (1972) developed the M-C 2(10), along with two other shortened versions of the MCSDS, due to redundancy of items in the original MCSDS and the need for a shorter scale. The M-C 2(10) presents participants with 10 true-false items concerning everyday behavior (Strahan & Gerbasi, 1972). The scale attempts to measure participants need to “to obtain approval by responding in a culturally appropriate and acceptable manner” (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960, p. 353). Strahan and Gerbasi reported Kuder-Richardson reliability coefficients between .49 and .75 for the M-C 2(10). Barger

(2002) reported Cronbach internal reliability coefficients of .50 and .56 for the M-C 2(10). Fischer & Fick (1993) report a much higher internal reliability of .88 for the M-C 2(10). Despite the variance in internal reliability coefficient, the M-C 2(10) is recommended for use in research where a shorter scale is needed (Strahan & Gerbasi). A copy of the M-C 2(10) can be found in Appendix G.

Research Procedures

Participation in the study was solicited by way of e-mail through the list serve of Chicana/o, Latina/o, and Hispanic undergraduate student groups at each of the identified universities. Additionally, participants were solicited by way of e-mail through the list serve for NACCS, the Latina/o Network of the Association for Multicultural Counseling and Development, the Hispanic Research Special Interest Group of the American Educational Research Association, and the Latina/o Network of the American College Personnel Association. This email invited undergraduate students to participate in this study and encouraged graduate students and faculty to forward this email to Chicana/o and Latina/o undergraduate students with whom they have contact.

All prospective participants received an email asking them to participate in a study designed to help understand the ethnic identity development of Chicana/o and Latina/o undergraduate students. Further, they were informed that their participation was voluntary and that their information would remain confidential. Additionally, students were directed to a website to complete all questionnaires. The first page of the survey website provided participants with information about informed consent. The informed consent form can be found in Appendix H. All questionnaires were completed and submitted on-line.

Two weeks after the initial e-mail, participants received a reminder/thank you email. This email served as both a reminder to those who had yet to complete assessments to please complete and submit them as soon as possible and to thank those who had already completed the assessments.

Research Design

Research Question One

Do the variables of internalized racism, perceived racism, Spanish language competence, and/or English language competence act as predictors of ethnic identity development in Chicana/o and Latina/o college students?

Hypothesis. There is an inverse relationship between internalized racism and ethnic identity in Chicana/o and Latina/o undergraduate students. There is an inverse relationship between perceived racism and ethnic identity development. There is a direct relationship between Spanish language competence and ethnic identity development. There is no relationship between English language competence and ethnic identity development.

Statistical Analysis. The statistical analysis that was used for the first research question was multiple linear regression. For this question all dependent variables were entered in a single block. In multiple regression “two or more predictors are used to predict the criterion variable” (Lomax, 2001, p. 42). This method allowed for a test of significance of the overall regression equation, using all predictors, through the squared multiple correlation coefficient (R^2 ; Pedhazur, 1997). The test of the squared multiple correlation assessed if all the predictor variables combined accounted for a statistically significant amount of the variance of the criterion variable. Additionally, the statistical significance of each individual predictor, while controlling for the effects of other

independent variables, was assessed using the partial slope coefficient (Pedhazur). This test of the partial slope coefficient assessed if each individual predictor accounted for a statistically significant amount of the variance of the criterion variable.

Independent Variables. For the purposes of this question, the predictor variables were Chicana/o and Latina/o student's internalized racism, perceived racism, Spanish language competence, and English language competence. Internalized racism was operationalized as Chicanas/os' acceptance of stereotypes about Chicana/o and Latina/o genetic endowment, sexual practices, familial structure, and abilities. Perceived racism was operationalized as experiences of interpersonal racism and racism in the media. Spanish language competence was operationalized as self-reported ability to speak, read, and comprehend spoken Spanish in various settings. Similarly, English language competence was operationalized as self-reported ability to speak, read, and comprehend spoken English in various settings.

Dependent Variable. The criterion variable for this question was Chicana/o and Latina/o undergraduate students' level of ethnic identity. Level of ethnic identity was operationalized by ethnic identity search, affirmation, belonging, and commitment to ethnic group (Phinney, 1992).

Research Question Two

Do the variables of acculturation, perceived racism, Spanish language competence, and/or English language competence act as predictors of internalized racism in Chicana/o and Latina/o college students?

Hypothesis. The variables of acculturation, perceived racism, and English language competence are all directly related to internalized racism. Spanish language competence is inversely related to internalized racism.

Statistical Analysis. The statistical analysis that was used for the second research question was multiple linear regression. All dependent variables were entered into the regression equation in a single block. The squared multiple correlation coefficient and partial slope coefficient of each predictor were assessed for statistical significance.

Independent Variables. For the purposes of this question, the predictor variables were Chicana/o and Latina/o student's level of acculturation, perceived racism, Spanish language competence, and English language competence. Chicana/o and Latina/o student's level acculturation was operationalized as their affiliation with U.S. American identity and U.S. American cultural competence.

Dependent Variable. The criterion variable for this question was Chicana/o and Latina/o undergraduate students' level of internalized racism.

Research Question Three

Is there a difference in ethnic identity development, acculturation, internalized racism, perceived racism, Spanish language competence, and English language competence based on preference of identity label (Chicana/o, Latina/o, Hispanic, hyphenated American, national origin, or American)?

Hypothesis. There will be differing rates of ethnic identity, acculturation, internalized racism, perceived racism, Spanish language competence, and English language competence based on preferred identity label. Those students that self-identify as Chicana/o will have the highest levels of ethnic identity and the lowest levels of

internalized racism of all identity labels. Those that identify as American will have the highest levels of acculturation, internalized racism, and the lowest levels of Spanish language competence.

Statistical Analysis. For the third research question a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted. MANOVA assess whether statistically significant differences exists between groups on the dependent variables. This is done through the creation of a linear combination of the dependent variables, known as canonical variate, and determining if variance on the canonical variate between groups is greater than variance on the canonical variate within groups (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). MANOVA has many advantages over conducting a series of ANOVAs including: protection against Type I error and increased power (Tabachnick & Fidell). As recommended by Tabachnick and Fidell, Wilks' lambda was used to assess the statistical significance of MANOVA results.

Discriminant function analysis was also conducted to determine which dependent variables most contributed to the difference between groups. Discriminant function analysis works by correlating individual dependent variables to the canonical variate (Tabachnick & Fidell). Those variables with the largest absolute values most contribute to differences between groups. A multivariate post hoc test was used to assess pairwise group differences on canonical variate.

Independent Variable. For the purposes of this question, the independent variable was self-identified, preferred identity label, either Chicana/o, Latina/o, Hispanic, hyphenated American, national origin, or American.

Dependent Variables. The dependent variables for this question were Chicana/o and Latina/o undergraduate students' level of ethnic identity development, acculturation, internalized racism, perceived racism, Spanish language competence, and English language competence.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

Chapter 4 presents the results of the data analysis. Demographic data and the results from all statistical analysis that were conducted are presented.

Demographic Data

The sample consisted of 500 undergraduate Chicana/o and Latina/o students. Since sampling was conducted through the email list serve of Chicana/o and Latina/o professional and student organizations, it is unknown how many students were contacted: thus, a response rate cannot be provided. The sample consisted of 347 females, 152 males, and one transgendered individual, 69.3%, 30.3%, and .2% respectively. One person did not indicate gender. Participants ranged in age from 18 to 48 years with $M = 21.1$, $SD = 3.44$. Participants represented 27 states from each region of the United States. The sample included 296 participants from the Southwest, 67 participants from the Northeast, 57 participants from the Midwest, 40 participants from the Mid Atlantic, 16 participants from the South, 6 participants from the Pacific Northwest, and 1 from the Rocky Mountains. In regards to identity label 78 (15.6%) of participants identified as Chicana/o, 140 (27.9%) identified as Latina/o, 95 (19%) identified as Hispanic, 82 (16.4%) identified as a hyphenated American, 94 (18.8%) identified by national origin, and 11 (2.2%) identified as American. Participants in this study could trace their ethnic heritage to 19 Latin American countries. Many participants also reported that they could trace their ethnic heritage to Spain. It should be noted that the majority of these participants listed Spain along with another Latin American country. It should also be noted that a number of participants were able to trace their heritage to more than one Latin American country. A summary of the countries of origin represented in this study

can be found in table 1. Although the sample appears to be over-representative of people of Mexican descent, it should be noted that over 50% of Chicanas/os and Latinas/os in the U.S. have Mexican heritage (Teller-Elsberg, 2006).

Table 1

Self Reported Ethnic Heritage of Sample

Country	<i>No. responses</i>
Argentina	9
Bolivia	3
Brazil	7
Chile	6
Colombia	19
Costa Rica	4
Cuba	20
Dominican Republic	13
Ecuador	6
El Salvador	28
Guatemala	17
Honduras	5
Mexico	306
Nicaragua	11
Panama	5
Peru	18
Puerto Rico	21
Spain	97
Uruguay	2
Venezuela	5

The sample consisted of 374 (74.7%) participants who were born in the United States. Of those participants, 224 represented the 1st generation born in the U.S. An additional 65 represented the 1.5 generation—having one U.S. born and one foreign born parent. Nineteen participants represented the 2nd generation to be born in the U.S. Further, 15 represented the 2.5 generation—having one parent who was the 1st generation born in the U.S. and one parent who was the 2nd generation born in the U.S. Additionally, 34 participants represented the 3rd+ generation born in the U.S. Seventeen participants who indicated being U.S. born did not provide a response on this item.

The sample consisted of 127 (25.3%) participants who were not born in the U.S. These participants represented 21 different countries. These participants length of residence in the U.S. ranged from 1 to 28 years with a $M = 13.74$, $SD = 5.57$. Table 2 provides a disaggregation of the sample by gender, ethnic label, generational status, and country of origin.

Table 2

Demographics of Sample

Variables	Sample size	Percentage of sample
Gender		
Female	347	69.3
Males	152	30.3
Trangendered	1	0.2
Region of U.S.		
Southwest	296	59.1
Northeast	67	13.4
Midwest	57	11.4
Mid Atlantic	40	8
South	16	3.2
Pacific Northwest	5	1.2
Rocky Mountains	1	0.2
Missing	19	3.8
Ethnic Label		
Chicana/o	78	15.6
Latina/o	140	27.9
Hispanic	95	19
Hyphenated American	82	16.4
National Origin	94	18.8
American	11	2.2
U.S. Born		
1st Generation	224	59.89
1.5 Generation	65	17.38
2nd Generation	19	5.08
2.5 Generation	15	4.01
3+ Generation	34	9.09
Missing	17	5.54
Foreign Born		
Argentina	4	3.15
Brazil	1	0.79
Canada	1	0.79
Chile	1	0.79
Colombia	6	4.72
Costa Rica	2	1.57
Cuba	2	1.57
Dominican Republic	5	3.93
Ecuador	2	1.57
El Salvador	7	5.51
Guatemala	4	3.15
Honduras	1	0.79
Mexico	61	48.03
Nicaragua	6	4.72
Panama	2	1.57
Peru	7	5.51
Puerto Rico	4	3.15
Spain	1	0.79
Uruguay	1	0.79
Venezuela	3	2.36
Missing	6	4.72

Descriptive Statistics

Participants mean scores on the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure ranged from 1.00 to 4.33 with $M = 1.73$, $SD = 0.59$. As a whole participants reported moderately high affiliation with their ethnic identity. For the Mochihua Tepehuani participant's scores ranged from 2.00 to 7.00 with $M = 5.43$, $SD = 0.82$. Thus, participants reported low levels of internalized racism. On the English language competency subscale of the Abbreviated Multidimensional Acculturation Scale (AMAS) participant's scores ranged from 1.00 to 3.44 with $M = 1.23$, $SD = 0.42$. Participants reported high levels of English language competence. On the native language competency subscale of the AMAS participant's scores ranged from 1.00 to 5.00 with $M = 1.92$, $SD = 0.98$ —indicating moderately high Spanish language competence. On the U.S. cultural identity subscale of the AMAS participant's scores ranged from 1.00 to 5.00 with $M = 2.48$, $SD = 1.03$. Indicating participants had moderate identification with U.S. cultural identity. On the U.S. cultural competency subscale of the AMAS participant's scores ranged from 1.00 to 5.00 with $M = 2.00$, $SD = 0.76$. This indicated that participants had moderately high U.S. cultural competence. On the Everyday Perceived Racial Discrimination Index (EPRI) participant's scores ranged from 1.00 to 7.00 with $M = 4.09$, $SD = 1.46$. Therefore, participants perceived moderate levels of discrimination. On the Perceived Ethnic Discrimination Questionnaire-Community Version (PEDQ-CV) participant's scores ranged from 1.00 to 5.00 with $M = 2.41$, $SD = 0.79$ —indicating that participants experienced discrimination in moderate frequency. On the Marlowe-Crowne 2(10) participants scores ranged from 0 to 10.00 with $M = 5.78$, $SD = 2.14$. The intercorrelation

of these instruments can be found in table 3. From table 3 it can be noted that none of the scales were highly correlated with each other, thus, colinearity was not a concern.

Table 3

Intercorrelations Between Measured Variables

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
<i>N</i> = 500									
1. MEIM	-	-0.16**	.11*	.36**	-.19**	.067	.27**	.26**	-.11*
2. Mochihua Tepehuani		-	-.16**	-.05	.08	-.11**	.06	-.26**	.01
3. English competency			-	-.00	.161**	.39**	-.06	.16**	.11
4. Spanish competency				-	-.22**	-.06	.07	.09	-.20**
5. U.S. cultural identity					-	.34**	-.27**	-.16**	-.03
6. U.S. cultural competency						-	-.02	.10*	-.04
7. EPRI							-	.48**	-.03
8. PEDQ-CV								-	.00
9. Marlowe-Crowne 2(10)									-

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Instrument Reliability

The reliability of all instruments was assessed using Cronbach's alpha. For this sample, the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure had a Cronbach's $\alpha = .89$. The Mochihua Tepehuani had a Cronbach's $\alpha = .91$. The English language competency subscale of the AMAS had a Cronbach's $\alpha = .95$. The native language competency subscale of the AMAS had a Cronbach's $\alpha = .97$. The U.S. cultural identity subscale of the AMAS had a Cronbach's $\alpha = .93$. The cultural competency subscale of the AMAS had a Cronbach's $\alpha = .88$. The EPRI had a Cronbach's $\alpha = .94$. The PEDQ-CV had a Cronbach's $\alpha = .86$. The Marlowe-Crowne 2(10) had a Cronbach's $\alpha = .60$. Given the above Cronbach Alpha's, all instruments minus the Marlowe-Crowne 2(10) demonstrate strong reliability. Since the Marlowe-Crowne's reliability was not as strong as the other instruments, it was not be used in subsequent analyses.

Statistical Analysis

Research Question One

Do the variables of internalized racism, perceived racism, Spanish language competence, and/or English language competence act as predictors of ethnic identity development in Chicana/o and Latina/o college students?

Hypothesis. There is an inverse relationship between internalized racism and ethnic identity in Chicana/o and Latina/o undergraduate students. There is an inverse relationship between perceived racism and ethnic identity development. There is a direct relationship between Spanish language competence and ethnic identity development. There is no relationship between English language competence and ethnic identity development.

Statistical Analysis. The statistical analysis that was used for the first research question was multiple linear regression. The squared multiple correlation coefficient and partial slope coefficient of each predictor were assessed for statistical significance.

Findings. For this analysis an $R^2 = .23$, $F(5, 467) = 28.105$, $p < .001$ was obtained. English language competency ($\beta = .09$, $t(493) = 2.16$, $p = .03$), Spanish language competency ($\beta = .34$, $t(464) = 8.25$, $p < .001$), perceived interpersonal racism ($\beta = .219$, $t(493) = 4.66$, $p < .001$), and internalized racism ($\beta = -.12$, $t(493) = -2.79$, $p = .006$) were all found to be statistically significant predictors above and beyond all other predictors of ethnic identity. No relationship between perceived racism in the media ($\beta = -.08$, $t(493) = -1.69$, $p = .09$) and ethnic identity could be established. These predictors accounted for 23% of the variance of ethnic identity. Table 4 provides information on standardized and unstandardized regression coefficients, standard error, and levels of significance.

Table 4

Regression Results for Predictors of Ethnic Identity

Variable	<i>B</i>	Standard Error	β
English competency	0.13	0.06	.90*
Spanish competency	0.20	0.03	.34***
Perceived Racism	0.09	0.02	.22***
Media Racism	0.06	0.04	-.08
Internalized Racism	-0.09	0.03	-.12**

Note. $R^2 = .23$

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Research Question Two

Do the variables of acculturation, perceived racism, Spanish language competence, and/or English language competence act as predictors of internalized racism in Chicana/o and Latina/o college students?

Hypothesis. The variables of acculturation, perceived racism, and English language competence are all directly related to internalized racism. Spanish language competence is inversely related to internalized racism.

Statistical Analysis. The statistical analysis that was used for the second research question was multiple linear regression. The squared multiple correlation coefficient and partial slope coefficient of each predictor was assessed for statistical significance.

Findings. For this question an $R^2 = .13$, $F(6, 466) = 11.33$, $p < .001$ was obtained. Perceived interpersonal racism ($\beta = .23$, $t(493) = 4.57$, $p < .001$), perceived racism in the media ($\beta = -.32$, $t(493) = 6.33$, $p < .001$), and U.S. cultural identity ($\beta = .13$, $t(493) = 2.607$, $p = .009$) were all statistically significant above and beyond all other predictors of internalized racism. No relationship could be detected between internalized racism and the following variables: English language competence ($\beta = -.09$, $t(493) = -1.78$, $p = .08$), Spanish language competence ($\beta = -.02$, $t(466) = -0.36$, $p = .719$), and U.S. cultural competence ($\beta = -.08$, $t(493) = -1.69$, $p = .09$). These predictors accounted for 13% of the variance in internalized racism. Table 5 provides information on standardized and unstandardized regression coefficients, standard error, and levels of significance.

Table 5

Regression Results for Predictors of Internalized Racism

Variable	<i>B</i>	Standard Error	β
English competency	-0.17	0.09	-.09
Spanish competency	-0.01	0.04	-.02
Perceived Racism	0.13	0.03	.23***
Media Racism	-0.33	0.05	-.32***
U.S. Cultural Identity	0.10	0.04	.13**
U.S. Cultural Competence	-0.09	0.05	-.08

Note. $R^2 = .13$

** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Research Question Three

Is there a difference in ethnic identity development, acculturation, internalized racism, perceived racism, Spanish language competence, and English language competence based on preference of identity label (Chicana/o, Latina/o, Hispanic, hyphenated American, national origin, or American)?

Hypothesis. There will be differing rates of ethnic identity, acculturation, internalized racism, perceived racism, Spanish language competence, and English language competence based on preferred identity label. Those students that self-identify as Chicana/o will have the highest levels of ethnic identity and the lowest levels of internalized racism of all identity labels. Those that identify as American will have the highest levels of acculturation, internalized racism, and the lowest levels of Spanish language competence.

Statistical Analysis. The third research question used a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA). This was followed by discriminant function analysis to determine which dependent variables most contributed to the difference between groups. A multivariate post hoc test was used to assess pairwise group differences on the canonical variate.

Findings. Due to the limited number of participants that identified as American, this group was excluded from this analysis; inclusion of this group would have threatened the assumption of homogeneity of variance.

A statistically significant difference was detected between ethnic identity labels based on the canonical variate Wilks $\Lambda = .73$, $F(28, 1634) = 5.26$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 =$

.08. Table 6 presents the results from the discriminant function analysis; this table shows the correlation of the dependent variables and the canonical variables. From this analysis it is evident that ethnic identity and U.S cultural identity had the highest correlations with the first canonical variable, albeit in opposite directions. Perceived racism in the media was most strongly correlated with the second canonical variable. Perceived racism and Spanish language competence were most highly correlated with the third canonical variable. Thus, the difference between ethnic labels was driven most by differences in ethnic identity and U.S. cultural identity. The differences between groups was driven to a lesser degree by perceived racism in the media, followed by perceived interpersonal racism and Spanish language competence.

Table 6

Correlations Between Dependent Variables and Canonical Variables

Dependent Variable	Canonical Variable		
	1	2	3
Ethnic Identity	-.64	.18	.35
US Cultural Identity	.68	.31	.41
Internalized Racism	.40	-.28	-.39
Perceived Racism	-.49	.28	-.55
Media Racism	-.43	-.71	-.05
English Competence	-.07	-.01	.01
Spanish Competence	-.46	-.46	.51

In post hoc analysis a statistically significant difference on the canonical variate was detected between Chicanas/os and Latinas/os ($\Lambda = .94$, $F(7, 453) = 4.28$, $p < .001$), Hispanics ($\Lambda = .851$, $F(7, 453) = 11.32$, $p < .001$), hyphenated Americans ($\Lambda = .91$, $F(7, 453) = 6.25$, $p < .001$), and those who identify by nationality ($\Lambda = .93$, $F(7, 453) = 5.02$, $p < .001$). A statistically significant difference on the canonical variate was also found between Latinas/os and Hispanics ($\Lambda = .91$, $F(7, 453) = 6.36$, $p < .001$) and hyphenated Americans ($\Lambda = .93$, $F(7, 453) = 4.68$, $p < .001$). A statistically significant difference on the canonical variate was also detected between Hispanics and hyphenated Americans ($\Lambda = .96$, $F(7, 453) = 2.74$, $p = .009$) and those who identify by nationality ($\Lambda = .90$, $F(7, 453) = 7.26$, $p < .001$). A statistically significant difference was also detected on the canonical variate between hyphenated Americans and those who identify by nationality ($\Lambda = .91$, $F(7, 453) = 6.71$, $p < .001$). No difference could be detected between Latinas/os and those who identify by nationality ($\Lambda = .98$, $F(7, 453) = 1.05$, $p = .39$). Table 7 presents the sample sizes, marginal means, and standard deviations for each of the ethnic identity labels on each of the canonical variables.

Table 7

Cell Size, Canonical Means and SD for Ethnic Identity Labels

Ethnic Identity Label	<u>1st Canonical Variate</u>			<u>2nd Canonical Variate</u>			<u>3rd Canonical Variate</u>		
	Cell Size	Mean	Standard Deviation	Cell Size	Mean	Standard Deviation	Cell Size	Mean	Standard Deviation
Chicana/o	75	1.51	0.93	75	-2.74	1.08	75	-1.21	.85
Latina/o	134	1.16	0.90	134	-3.07	0.98	134	-1.61	1.02
Hispanic	92	0.33	0.97	92	-3.60	1.11	92	-1.43	1.28
Hyphenated American	74	0.55	0.96	74	-3.43	1.09	74	-1.74	1.02
National Origin	89	1.30	1.05	89	-3.00	1.08	89	-1.60	1.00

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

Summary

The purpose of this study was to investigate if a relationship existed between perceived racism and ethnic identity development in Chicana/o and Latina/o college students. Further, this study sought to examine if internalized racism was related to ethnic identity development in Chicana/o and Latina/o students. This study also aimed to identify which demographic factors served as predictors of internalized racism. Finally, this study sought to identify if differences existed between those who self identify as Chicana/o, Latina/o, Hispanic, hyphenated American, or those who identify by nationality in terms of ethnic identity, acculturation, internalized racism, Spanish language competence, and English language competence.

A total of 500 undergraduate Chicana/o and Latina/o students participated in this study. These participants took the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure, the Mochihua Tepehuani, Abbreviated Multidimensional Acculturation Scale (AMAS), the Everyday Perceived Racism Index, the Perceived Discrimination Questionnaire-Community Version, and the Marlowe-Crowne 2(10) through a survey website.

Multiple linear regression was used to assess if internalized racism, perceived racism, perceived racism in media, Spanish language competence, and English competence were predictors of ethnic identity in Chicana/o and Latina/o undergraduates. As was hypothesized internalized racism was negatively related to ethnic identity and Spanish language competence was positively related to ethnic identity. Contrary to what was hypothesized, perceived racism and English language competence were both

positively related to ethnic identity. No relationship was detected between perceived racism in the media and ethnic identity.

Multiple linear regression was also used to assess if U.S. cultural identity, U.S. cultural competence, perceived racism, Spanish language competence, and English competence were predictors of internalized racism in Chicana/o and Latina/o undergraduates. A statistically significant positive relationship was detected between both U.S. cultural identity and perceived racism and internalized racism. A significant negative relationship was also detected between perceived racism in the media and internalized racism. No relationship was detected for between U.S. cultural competence, Spanish language competence, and English language competence and internalized racism.

A multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted to assess if a difference existed between preferred identity labels based on ethnic identity development, acculturation, internalized racism, perceived racism, Spanish language competence, and English language competence. A statistically significant difference was found between the various identity labels. Follow up analysis using discriminate function analysis revealed that the difference between identity labels was driven most by ethnic identity and U.S. cultural identity. To a lesser degree the difference between groups was driven by perceived racism in the media, perceived racism, and Spanish language competence respectively. Pairwise post hoc analysis was conducted between each of the five groups. Chicanas/os were found to be statistically significantly different than Latinas/os, Hispanics, hyphenated Americans, and those who identified by nationality. Latinas/os were also statistically significantly different than Hispanics and hyphenated Americans.

Hispanics were also statistically significantly different than hyphenated Americans and those who identified by nationality. Finally, hyphenated Americans were statistically significantly different than those who identified by nationality.

Discussion

Research Question One

As was hypothesized internalized racism was found to be statistically significantly related in a negative direction to ethnic identity. Thus, as internalized racism increased in this sample lower ethnic identity scores were obtained. It should be noted that internalized racism was the only predictor variable that was negatively related to ethnic identity. These findings provide statistical support to the hypothesis of Helms (1995) and Taylor, et al. (1991) that internalized racism and ethnic identity are negatively related. Further, these findings are consistent with the previous findings of Cokley (2002) and Hipolito-Delgado (2007). The negative relationship between internalized racism and ethnic identity stands to reason since ethnic identity was measured by the MEIM and a component of a subject's MEIM score is their affirmation, belonging and commitment to their ethnic group. Affirmation, belonging, and commitment to one's ethnic group might necessitate a positive regard for one's ethnic group. However, internalized racism was operationalized through stereotypes, which usually have negative connotation regarding a particular ethnic group. Thus, an inverse relationship between these two constructs is logical.

Contrary to what was hypothesized a positive relationship was detected between perceived racism and ethnic identity. Thus, as participants reported increased perception of racism they also reported higher levels of ethnic identity. These findings are contrary

to the findings of Cassidy et al. (2004), who found a negative relationship between these two constructs. A positive relationship between these two constructs might be understood using the racial identity development models of Cross (1995) and Helms (1995). Both Cross and Helms describe an encounter experience; a racist encounter or series of racist encounters that cause a person to realize that they are an ethnic/racial being. Given this theory, it is logical that those who have experienced racism have developed higher levels of ethnic identity than those who have not had an encounter experience. A positive relationship between perceived racism and ethnic identity might also be explained by ethnic salience. For those with higher levels of ethnic identity, ethnicity is more salient and they might subsequently be more attuned to recognizing incidences of racism.

Although perceived racism was significantly related to ethnic identity, no relationship was detected between perceived racism in the media and ethnic identity. Since racism in the media may not be as overt as interpersonal racism, it may be the case that racism in the media may be more difficult to detect. It may also be the case that interpersonal racism has more of a direct impact on a person than racism in the media.

As was hypothesized a positive relationship was detected between Spanish language competence and ethnic identity. As participants reported increased Spanish language competence they also reported increased levels of ethnic identity. This finding is consistent with the findings of Bernal, et al. (1990), Hipolito-Delgado (2007), Ontai-Grzebik and Raffaelli (2004), and Torres (2003). This finding would seem to indicate that the ability to speak and understand Spanish is important for the development of ethnic identity in Chicanas/os and Latinas/os. The importance of Spanish language competence is likely due to it being the dominant language in many Latin American countries; thus,

the ability to access cultural performances and attain knowledge of one's cultural heritage may require the ability to use and decode Spanish.

It was hypothesized that there would be no relation between English language competence and ethnic identity; however, a positive relationship was detected between these two constructs. This finding would seem to indicate that as participants reported higher English language competence they also reported higher levels of ethnic identity. No previous research could be identified relating these two constructs. It was anticipated that these two constructs would not be related since English language competence is often associated with acculturation and acculturation and ethnic identity are typically treated as independent constructs (Berry, 1997, Keefe & Padilla, 1987). However, there are certain aspects of Chicana/o and Latina/o cultural that are unique to the U.S. American experience. Consequently, the ability to speak and understand English may be crucial for accessing these elements of culture.

Research Question Two

As was hypothesized U.S. cultural identity, a component of acculturation, was positively related to internalized racism. Those participants who reported higher levels of U.S. cultural identity were also more likely to have higher levels of internalized racism. This finding lends statistical validation to Poupart's (2003) theory that racism is internalized as one assimilates to western culture. This finding can also be understood through the argument of Bell (2005) that racism is an integral part of American culture. According to Bell, racism is vital to American culture; thus, it is logical that as U.S. cultural identity increases that internalization of racism should also increase.

Contrary to what was hypothesized U.S. cultural competence, a component of acculturation, was not related to internalized racialism. U.S. cultural competence was assessed by participants self rating of knowledge of American history, popular media, and public figures. While knowledge of American history, popular media, and public figures may be a component of acculturation, a person may possess knowledge of these items without directly identifying with them. As such, a person might not internalize any racist notions that might accompany these elements of U.S. culture. Whereas, identifying with U.S. culture may necessitate the acceptance of racist notions.

As was hypothesized perceived racism was directly related to internalized racism. Participants who reported higher levels of perceived racism were more likely to report higher levels of internalized racism. This finding seems to support the theories of Asanti (1996) and Taylor (1990) who argue that racism is internalized when one lives in a racist environment. It can be argued that those participants who reported higher perceived racism lived in more racist environments. The fact that these participants also reported higher levels of internalized racism seems to confirm the theories of Asanti and Taylor. This finding can also be understood through social learning theory. Social learning theory emphasizes the importance of observation and behavioral modeling for learning (Bandura, 1977). It would follow from social learning theory that those participants who observed and experienced more racism would be more likely to accept and internalize racism.

Contrary to what was hypothesized perceived racism in the media, a component of perceived racism, was negatively related to internalized racism. Perceived racism in the media was the only construct that was negatively related to internalized racism. As

participants reported higher incidence of perceived racism in the media they were also more likely to report lower levels of internalized racism. This finding may seem perplexing given that perceived racism was positively related to internalized racism. However, perceived racism was measured by asking participants about incidences of interpersonal racism, a more direct form of racism. Perceived racism in the media was assessed by asking participants of their perceived encounters with racism in music, television, and print media. As has been noted earlier, racism in the media is more covert. This would require the participant to possess the critical thinking skills necessary to detect racism in this form. Thus, it may be possible that those who possess the critical thinking skills necessary to detect racism in the media would also be those that have lower levels of internalized racism.

No relationship could be detected between English language competence and internalized racism. It was hypothesized that English language competence would be directly related to internalized racism, due to the assumption that English language competence is an indicator of U.S. American acculturation. However, the results of this study have demonstrated that English language competence is also related to ethnic identity. Further, the ability to speak English does not necessitate the internalization of racist notions that may exist in U.S. American culture.

Similarly, no relationship was detected between Spanish language competence and internalized racism. It was hypothesized that a negative relationship between Spanish language competence and internalized racism would exist; this was based on the research indicating that Spanish is related to ethnic identity development and ethnic identity development being negatively related to internalized racism. However, no direct

relationship between Spanish language competence and internalized racism was identified.

Research Question Three

As was hypothesized, a statistically significant difference was detected on the variables of ethnic identity, acculturation, internalized racism, perceived racism, Spanish language fluency, and English language fluency between identity labels. Thus, Chicanas/os, Latinas/os, Hispanics, hyphenated Americans, and those who identify by nationality are not a single population. Rather, they have different levels of ethnic identity and acculturation and differing rates of internalized racism, perceived racism, Spanish language competence, and English language competence. This finding supports the theories of Rivera-Santiago (1996), Umaña-Taylor and Fine (2001), Umaña-Taylor et al. (2002) that the Chicana/o and Latina/o community is heterogeneous.

In this sample the difference between ethnic communities was driven largely by ethnic identity and U.S. cultural identity. In MANOVA the first canonical variable accounts for the largest amount of variance in the dependent variables; as such, it is given the most weight when interpreting results. The variables of ethnic identity and U.S. cultural identity displayed the highest correlation coefficients with the first canonical variable and therefore account for most of the difference between identity labels. Further, ethnic identity is negatively correlated to the first canonical variable—meaning that as scores on the canonical variable rise participants are reporting higher levels of ethnic identity. U.S. cultural identity was positively correlated to the first canonical variable—implying that higher scores on the first canonical variable are related to lower scores on U.S. cultural identity. The differences between groups was driven to a lesser degree by

perceived racism in the media, followed by perceived interpersonal racism and Spanish language competence.

In post hoc multivariate pairwise analysis Chicanas/os were statistically significantly different than Latinas/os, Hispanics, hyphenated Americans, and those who identified by nationality. Since Chicanas/os had the highest mean on the first canonical variable, it can be inferred that on average Chicanas/os demonstrated higher ethnic identity and lower U.S. cultural identity than Latinas/os, Hispanics, hyphenated Americans, and those who identify by nationality. This finding confirms the hypothesis that Chicanas/os would have the highest levels of ethnic identity. The hypothesis that Chicanas/os would have the lowest levels of internalized racism could not be confirmed since this variable did not have high correlation with any of the canonical variables. It can be said however that the groups did differ based on internalized racism, since internalized racism was a component of the canonical variable.

Those who identified as Latinas/os were also found to be statistically significantly different than Hispanics and hyphenated Americans. Latinas/os on average reported higher levels of ethnic identity and lower levels of U.S. cultural identity than Hispanics and hyphenated Americans. Hispanics were found to be statistically significantly different than hyphenated Americans and those who identify by nationality. Those who identify as Hispanics reported lower levels of ethnic identity and higher levels of U.S. cultural identity than hyphenated Americans and those who identify by nationality. In addition, hyphenated Americans were significantly different than those who identify by national origin. Hyphenated Americans reported lower levels of ethnic identity and higher levels of U.S. cultural identity than those who identified by national origin.

Since the number of participants who identified as American was too small to be included in this analysis, no hypotheses regarding this population could be assessed.

Limitations

Most limitations associated with this study relate to the participant pool. The participants in this study were recruited from Chicana/o and Latina/o student organizations and through staff and faculty affiliated with Chicana/o and Latina/o student organizations. Students who are affiliated with these student groups are likely to have considered their ethnic identity and/or to have stronger affiliations with their ethnic identity than students who are not active in such organizations. As such, these results may not be applicable to students who are not members of Chicana/o and Latina/o student groups. Additionally, this sample largely consisted of Chicanas/os and Latinas/os from Mexican ancestry. Although Mexicans represent the largest nationality in the Chicana/o and Latina/o community, their ethnic identity development is likely different than the process of other nationalities. Thus, these results may be more reflective of the experiences of Chicanas/os and Latinas/os of Mexican descent. It should also be noted that the majority of participants in this study came from four year colleges and universities. Therefore, the findings of this study may not be applicable to Chicanas/os and Latinas/os at two year institutions. In addition, the participants of this study were all of college age; therefore the findings of this study may not be applicable to Chicanas/o and Latinas/os who are not of college age.

Another limitation of this study is the lack of consideration of other dimensions of identity in all analysis. No consideration was given to gender, sexual orientation, race, or socio-economic class. As Lee (2006) noted, each of these dimensions influences a

person's identity and a person's worldview. Future research might consider these dimensions since they may influence the process of ethnic identity development or account for differences between identity labels.

A limitation of this study is also the grouping of hyphenated Americans into a single category. It may be possible that differences existed between the various hyphenated identities. Cuban-Americans and Mexican-Americans have distinct experiences a may differ in ethnic identity, acculturation, and internalized racism. This point is equally applicable to the grouping of those who identify by nationality into a single category. Those who identify with a particular nationality, such as Argentinean, may differ from those who identify with another nationality.

A potential limitation is the usage of Phinney's MEIM instrument to assess ethnic identity development. While the instrument has shown high reliability with college student populations, it was primarily designed for use with adolescents. Since this instrument was not designed for college student populations, it is possible that it is not providing an accurate or valid assessment of ethnic identity in college students. Further, this instrument was developed in the early 1990's on a different generation of students. It is possible that Phinney's theories of identity development are not valid for the students of the millennium generation.

An additional limitation to this study is the lack of consideration of college climate. Students who participated in this study came from educational institutions of varying sizes and from different institutional types. Further, information was not obtained about support programs designed for Chicana/o and Latina/o students. Due to the number of educational institutions represented information on demographics of each campus was

not collected. All the above factors influence the campus climate and may account for variance in the ethnic identity of college students.

Selection bias is another limitation associated with this study. Those students who chose to volunteer for this study may not be representative of the general population of Chicana/o and Latina/o undergraduate students.

Implications

The results of this study point to the relevance of identity labels in the Chicana/o and Latina/o community. Often the identity labels of Chicana/o, Latina/o, and Hispanic are used interchangeably. In other cases, one of these identity labels is applied arbitrarily to the Chicana/o and Latina/o community—this is frequently seen in demographic questionnaires and in research studies. In all of the cases limited consideration is given to the meaning of these terms and/or the lived experiences that these identity labels represent. The findings of this study demonstrate that the Chicana/o and Latina/o community is heterogeneous and that the identity labels of Chicana/o, Latina/o, Hispanic, hyphenated American, and nationality all correspond to unique identities, worldviews, and lived experiences. These identity labels represent varying levels of ethnic identity development and acculturation and varying amounts of perceived racism, English language competence, Spanish language competence, and internalized racism. Thus, counselors, counselor educators, and educational researchers would do well to consider the preferred identity label of the clients and research participants with which they work. Moreover, it would be wise to allow the clients and participants the option of self selecting an identity label—preferred identity can provide insight into worldview and lived experience.

Additionally, this study sheds light on factors that are related to the internalization of racism in the Chicana/o and Latina/o community. The finding that perceived racism is positively associated with internalized racism points to the importance of counselors and counselor educators challenging racism. Although multicultural counseling experts have long championed racial equity and challenging oppressive systems, this position was based on theory or morality alone. The findings of this study provide empirical evidence that increased exposure to racism leads to the internalization of racism. It is evident that exposure to racism led to self depreciation and cultural devaluation in Chicanas/os and Latinas/os. To interrupt the internalization of racism counselors and counselor educators must challenge racist beliefs, practices, and institutions. Challenging racism will lead to a more socially and morally just society; moreover, it will likely lead to less internalization of racism, to positive self regard, and to positive cultural regard in Chicanas/os and Latinas/os.

Further, the findings of this study point to the need for additional research on investigating the effects of racism on Chicanas/os and Latinas/os. As Niemann (2001) stated limited research has examined the effects of racism on Chicanas/os and Latinas/os. The findings of this study demonstrate that experiencing racism has negative implications for the psychological well being of Chicanas/os and Latinas/os. This study illustrates the need for additional research on the topic of racism in the Chicana/o and Latina/o community.

The findings of this study also point to the importance of culturally affirmative counseling practices when working with Chicanas/os and Latinas/os. Given the positive relationship between U.S. cultural identity and internalized racism, it is evident that

counseling theories, interventions, and educational practices that push cultural assimilation on Chicanas/os and Latinas/os lead to self depreciation and devaluation of ethnic culture. Moreover, the negative relationship between internalized racism and ethnic identity implies that counseling theories, interventions, and educational practices that reaffirm the ethnic identity of Chicanas/os and Latinas/os will lead to greater rejection of cultural stereotypes. Thus, culturally competent practice with Chicanas/os and Latinas/os should not endorse or promote U.S. American cultural identity. Rather, culturally competent counselors would be wise to implement counseling interventions that promote ethnic identity when working with Chicanas/os and Latinas/os; such a strategy is likely to aid Chicana/o and Latina/o clients in rejecting internalized racism.

Given the finding that Spanish language competence and perceived racism are both positively associated with ethnic identity development, counselors may implement programs that promote Spanish language competence. Such programs may include Spanish language classes, Spanish language clubs, and opportunities for clients to serve as Spanish translators. Each of these experiences will help clients develop and/or maintain Spanish language competence and, consequently, retain higher levels of ethnic identity.

Although this study has focused on Chicana/o and Latina/o college students, implications also exist for professional school counselors. Given the large high school drop out rate, the low college enrollment rate, and low rates for participation in counseling for Chicanas/os and Latinas/os, professional school counselors are likely to be the only mental health practitioner with which Chicanas/os and Latinas/os have contact. Thus, professional school counselors would do well to develop programs that promote

positive ethnic identity and to work to dispel stereotypes about Chicanas/os and Latinas/os. It is critical that professional school counselors advocate for bilingual Spanish programs, since the ability to speak Spanish is directly related to ethnic identity development. It is also crucial that professional school counselors work with Chicana/o and Latina/o students in selecting post secondary educational institutions that have supportive college climates for Chicanas/os and Latinas/os. A culturally affirmative college climate is less likely to expose Chicana/o and Latina/o students to incidences of racism and, thus, they are less likely to internalize racist notions. In addition, professional school counselors can work with parents and the community to help them understand the importance of Spanish language competence to Chicana/o and Latina/o student ethnic identity. Furthermore, the professional school counselor can work with parents and the community to challenge racist practices and internalized racist notions that hinder the ethnic identity development of Chicana/o and Latina/o students.

In addition, this study suggests the importance of counselors and counselor educators understanding ecological models of Chicana/o and Latina/o ethnic identity models. These models can be valuable tools in helping counselors understand the various factors that influence the development of ethnic identity in the Chicana/o and Latina/o community. Through these models counselors can develop intervention strategies that challenge negative influences and promote positive influences on ethnic identity. Finally, the findings of this study indicate that it would be wise to add internalized racism and perceived racism to ecological models of identity development.

Future Research

Additional research is necessary to validate the results of this study. Research using constructivist methodologies can be useful in identify the importance of Spanish language competence. Further, constructivist methodologies may identify additional variables that important to the development of ethnic identity in Chicanas/os and Latinas/os. In order to strengthen the results of this study it may be wise to replicate this study with different age groups. This may provide insights on the factors that influence ethnic identity through the lifespan.

Future research should consider additional factors such as familial socialization and campus climate. Bernal, et al. (1990) and Umaña-Taylor and Fine (2004) have demonstrated that familial ethnic socialization is positively associated with ethnic identity development. Gloria and Kurpius (1996) argued that campus climate is directly related to a college student's the ethnic identity development. The consideration of these effects is necessary to not only establish the importance of these factors, but also to test if internalized racism and perceived racism remain significant.

Additional research is need on the topic of internalized racism. Although this study provided some insights into the factors that influence the internalization of racism, additional research is needed to discover the factors and conditions that lead to the acceptance of racist beliefs. Research is also needed to understand how internalized racism influences the mental health and academic achievement of Chicanas/os and Latinas/os.

Research on perceived racism is also needed. A crucial question to be answered in future research is how perceived racism can be positively related to both ethnic identity

and internalized racism when internalized racism and ethnic identity are negatively related. Research may also examine how interpersonal racism is positively related to internalized racism, but racism in the media is negatively related. These questions point to the need to understand the cognitive process of individuals who experience racism; how are racist messages decoded, interpreted, and assimilated into the cognitive schema. Such a research project would greatly advance understanding of the effects of racism on the individual.

This study illustrated the differences that exist in the Chicana/o and Latina/o community based on ethnic identity label. Future research may also consider differences that exist in the community based on place of birth, U.S. born generational status, gender, and socio-economic class. These dimensions of difference may further illuminate the heterogeneity of the Chicana/o and Latina/o community.

Conclusion

This study sought to investigate if a relationship existed between perceived racism and ethnic identity development in Chicana/o and Latina/o college students. It also sought to examine if internalized racism was related to ethnic identity development in Chicana/o and Latina/o students. This study also aimed to identify which demographic factors served as predictors of internalized racism. Finally, this study sought to identify if differences existed between those who self identify as Chicana/o, Latina/o, Hispanic, hyphenated American, or by nationality in terms of ethnic identity, acculturation, internalized racism, Spanish language competence, and English language competence.

This study found that internalized racism was negatively related to ethnic identity. This study also found that Spanish language competence, perceived racism, and English

language competence were all positively related to ethnic identity. The study found that U.S. cultural identity and perceived racism were both positively related to internalized racism. In addition, a negative relationship was also detected between perceived racism in the media and internalized racism. A statistically significant difference was found between identity labels. Implications of these findings and future research was also discussed.

APPENDIX A

Participant Demographics Form

Instructions: *Please answer the following questions to the best of your knowledge*

1. I attend the following university _____
2. My class standing is (please circle)
 - a. Freshman
 - b. Sophomore
 - c. Junior
 - d. Senior
3. Which generation of U.S. college student do you represent (please circle)
 - a. 1st generation (I am the 1st generation in my family to go to college in the U.S.)
 - b. 2nd generation (at least one of my parents went to college in the U.S.)
 - c. 3rd + generation (at least one grandparent went to college in the U.S.)
4. I most identify as (please circle) Female Male Transgender
5. How old are you? _____
6. Were you born in the United States? (please circle)
Yes (skip to question 9) No (do questions 7 & 8, skip 9 & 10)
7. **If you were not born in the U.S.**, where were you born? _____
8. **If you were not born in the U.S.**, how many years have you lived in the U.S.? ____

9. **If you were born in the United States**, which generation do you represent?
(please circle)
- a. 1st generation born in U.S. (me and my siblings are first born in U.S.)
 - b. 1.5 generation born in U.S. (one parent is U.S. born and one is not)
 - c. 2nd generation born in U.S. (both parents are 1st generation U.S. born)
 - d. 2.5 generation born in U.S. (one parent is 1st generation U.S. born and the other is 2nd generation U.S. born)
 - e. 3rd + generation born in U.S. (my grandparents were born in the U.S.)
10. **If you were born in the United States**, what was the U.S. zip code of where you grew up? _____
11. Who raised you?
- a. My biological parent/s
 - b. My biological grandparent/s
 - c. Other biological family member
 - d. Adopted parent/s
 - e. Other
12. Various terms are used to identify people of Latin-American descent, these include Latina/o, Chicana/o, Hispanic, Mexican American, and Central American, if I had to choose one of the following terms I would choose? (please circle only one)
- a. Chicana/o
 - b. Latina/o
 - c. Hispanic
 - d. Hyphenated American (ex. Mexican-American or Cuban-American)
 - e. National origin (ex. Salvadorian, Columbian, or Puerto Rican)
 - f. American
13. My family can trace its ethnic heritage to the following country(ies) _____

APPENDIX B

Mochihua Tepehuani Scale

Instructions: Rate your level of agreement with the following statements by circling the corresponding number

	strongly agree	slightly agree	neutral	slightly disagree	strongly disagree							
						1.	Chicanas/os and Latinas/os are born with					
greater sexual desire than White people.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7					
2. It is difficult to tell one Chicana/o or Latina/o person apart from another Chicana/o or Latina/o person.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7					
3. Chicanas/os and Latinas/os have more children than Whites.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7					
4. Chicano and Latino men have greater sexual drive than White men.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7					
5. Chicanas/os and Latinas/os have larger families than Whites.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7					
6. When it comes to figures and figuring, Chicanas/os and Latinas/os seldom are able to measure up to Whites.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7					
7. Whites are superior to Chicanas/os and Latinas/os.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7					
8. Chicanas/os and Latinas/os are sloppy. ...	1	2	3	4	5	6	7					
9. All Chicanas/os and Latinas/os act alike.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7					
10. Chicanas/os and Latinas/os are not reliable.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7					
11. Chicanas/os and Latinas/os are more religious than Whites.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7					
12. The school dropout problem among Chicanas/os and Latinas/os is due to their not having the mental power of Whites. .	1	2	3	4	5	6	7					
13. Chicanas/os and Latinas/os are born with musical.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7					

	strongly agree	slightly agree	neutral	slightly disagree	strongly disagree		
14. Chicanas/os and Latinas/os are mentally unable to contribute towards the progress of the U.S.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. The high percentage of Chicanas/os and Latinas/os in jail reflects inborn tendencies toward criminality.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16. Whites are better at reasoning than Chicanas/os and Latinas/os.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17. Chicanas/os and Latinas/os are born with greater rhythm than Whites.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18. Inborn physical ability makes Chicanas/os and Latinas/os great soccer players.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19. The high incidence of crime among Chicanas/os and Latinas/os reflects a genetic abnormality.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20. More people live in Chicana/o and Latina/o homes than in White homes.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21. Chicanas/os and Latinas/os are carefree, happy-go-lucky.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22. Chicanas/os and Latinas/os are better at sex than Whites.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23. Chicanas/os and Latinas/os are more physically skilled than mentally skilled. .	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24. The number of Chicanas/os and Latinas/os addicted to alcohol and drugs suggests a biological weakness.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25. Chicana and Latina women are more sexually open and willing than white women.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

APPENDIX C

MEIM

In this country, people come from different countries and cultures, and there are many different words to describe the different backgrounds or ethnic groups, that people come from. Some examples of the names of ethnic groups are Latino or Chicano, Black or African American, Asian American, Chinese, Filipino, American Indian, Mexican American, Caucasian or White, Italian and many others. These questions are about your ethnicity or your ethnic group and how you feel about it or react to it.

Use the numbers below to indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

	(4)Strongly disagree	(3)disagree	(2)Agree	(1)Strongly agree
1. I have spent time trying to find out more about my.....4 ethnic group, such as its history traditions and customs.	3	2	1	
2. I am active in organization or social groups that4 include mostly members of my own ethnic group	3	2	1	
3. I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and4 what it means for me.	3	2	1	
4. I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ...4 ethnic group membership.	3	2	1	
5. I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to.4	3	2	1	
6. I have a strong sense of belonging to my own4 ethnic group.	3	2	1	
7. I understand pretty well what my ethnic group4 membership means to me.	3	2	1	
8. In order to learn more about my ethnic background,4 I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group.	3	2	1	
9. I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group.....4	3	2	1	
10. I participate in cultural practices of my own group,4 such as special food, music or customs.	3	2	1	
11. I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.4	3	2	1	
12. I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background.4	3	2	1	

Phinney, J. (1992). The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure: A new scale for use with adolescents and young adults from diverse groups. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 7, 156 – 176.

APPENDIX D

AMAS

The following section contains question about your culture of origin and your native language. By ethnic culture we are referring to the culture of the ethnic or national group to which you may belong (e.g., Chicano, Latino, Mexican, Salvadorian, Cuban, Puerto Rican, South American). By native language we refer to the language of that country, spoken by you or your family prior to coming to the U.S. (e.g., Spanish, Quechua, Portuguese). If you come from a multicultural family, please respond in reference to your Chicano/Latino identity.

1	2	3	4
Strongly agree	Agree somewhat	Disagree somewhat	Strongly disagree

Instructions: please mark the number from the scale that best corresponds to your answer.

- | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|
| 1. I think of myself as being U.S. American..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 2. I feel good about being U.S. American..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 3. Being U.S. American plays an important part in my
life..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 4. I feel that I am part of U.S. American culture | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 5. I have a strong sense of being U.S. American..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 6. I am proud of being U.S. American..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 7. I speak English well at school or work | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 8. I speak English well with American friends | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 9. I speak English well on the phone | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 10. I speak English well with strangers | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 11. I speak English well in general | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 12. I understand English well in television & movies | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 13. I understand English well in newspapers and
magazines | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 14. I understand English well in words of songs | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 15. I understand English well in general..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 16. The native language of my family is (e.g., Spanish, Quechua,
Portuguese)_____ | | | | |
| 17. I speak my native language well with family | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

	Strongly agree	Agree somewhat	Disagree somewhat	Strongly disagree
18. I speak my native language well with friends from the same country as my family.....	1	2	3	4
19. I speak my native language well on the phone	1	2	3	4
20. I speak my native language well with strangers	1	2	3	4
21. I speak my native language well in general	1	2	3	4
22. In the average day I speak my native language ___ hours a day.				
23. I understand my native language well in television & movies	1	2	3	4
24. I understand my native language well in newspapers and magazines.....	1	2	3	4
25. I understand my native language well in words of songs	1	2	3	4
26. I understand my native language well in general.....	1	2	3	4
27. I know American national heroes well	1	2	3	4
28. I know popular American television shows well.....	1	2	3	4
29. I know popular American newspapers and magazines well.....	1	2	3	4
30. I know popular American actors and actresses well.	1	2	3	4
31. I know American history well.....	1	2	3	4
32. I know American political leaders well	1	2	3	4

Zea, M.C., Asner-Self, K.K., Birman, D. & Buki, L.P. (2003). The abbreviated multidimensional acculturation scale: Empirical validation with two Latino/Latina samples. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 9*, 107 – 126.

APPENDIX E

Every Day Discrimination

Directions: Please circle the number that corresponds to your level of agreement with each of the following statements

In your day-to-day life have the following things happened to you?

	strongly agree	agree	slightly agree	neutral	slightly disagree	disagree	strongly disagree						
1. Because of your ethnicity/race you are treated with less courtesy than other people	1	2	3	4	5	6	7						
2. Because of your ethnicity/race you are treated with less respect than other people	1	2	3	4	5	6	7						
3. Because of your ethnicity/race you receive poorer service than other people at restaurants or stores.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7						
4. Because of your ethnicity/race people act as if they think you are not smart	1	2	3	4	5	6	7						
5. Because of your ethnicity/race people act as if they are afraid of you.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7						
6. Because of your ethnicity/race people act as if they think you are dishonest	1	2	3	4	5	6	7						
7. Because of your ethnicity/race people act as if they're better than you are.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7						
8. Because of your ethnicity/race you are called names or insulted	1	2	3	4	5	6	7						
9. Because of your ethnicity/race you are threatened or harassed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7						

APPENDIX F

PED-Q (Revised) Community Version

Think about your ethnicity/race. What group do you belong to? Do you think of yourself as: Asian? Black? Latino? White? Native American? American? Caribbean? Irish? Italian? Korean? Another group?

How often have the following things happened to you because of your ethnicity/race?

	Very Often	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
1. Have you seen newspapers or magazines that make your ethnic/racial group look bad?	1	2	3	4	5
2. Have you heard disrespectful comments about your ethnic/racial group on talk radio or in song lyrics?....	1	2	3	4	5
3. Have you seen people of your ethnic/racial group made to look bad on TV or in movies?.....	1	2	3	4	5
4. Have you heard outsiders say bad things about other members of your ethnic/racial group?	1	2	3	4	5
5. Have you heard disrespectful comments about your ethnic group said to your face or behind your back?.	1	2	3	4	5

Brondolo, E., Kelly, K.P., Coakley, V., Gordon, T., Thompson, S., Levy, E., et al. (2005). The perceived ethnic discrimination questionnaire: Development and preliminary validation of a community version. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 35, 335 – 365.

APPENDIX G

Marlowe-Crowne 2(10)

Listed below are a number of statements concerning personal attitudes and traits. Read each item and decide whether the statement is true or false as it pertains to you personally.

	True	False
1. I never hesitate to go out of my way to help someone in trouble.	T	F
2. I have never intensely disliked anyone.	T	F
3. There have been times when I was quite jealous of the good fortune of others.	T	F
4. I would never think of letting someone else be punished for my wrong doings.	T	F
5. I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way.	T	F
6. There have been times when I felt like rebelling against people in authority even though I knew they were right.	T	F
7. I am always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable.	T	F
8. When I don't know something I don't at all mind admitting it.	T	F
9. I can remember "playing sick" to get out of something.	T	F
10. I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favors of me.	T	F

APPENDIX H

Page 1 of 2

Initials _____ Date _____

CONSENT FORM

Project Title	Ethnic Identity in Chicana/o and Latina/o College Students
Why is this research being done?	This is a research project being conducted by Courtland C. Lee at the University of Maryland, College Park. We are inviting you to participate in this research project because you at least 18 years of age, an undergraduate college student, and of Chicana/o or Latina/o decent. The purpose of this research project is to examine the factors that influence the ethnic identity of Chicana/o and Latina/o college students.
What will I be asked to do?	The procedures involve answering a series of survey questions, which consists of a total of 106 items. Completion of this survey requires approximately 20 to 30 minutes. I will be asked questions related to my opinion of ethnic stereotypes, about the extent to which I identify with my ethnic identity, about the extent to which I identify with U.S. American culture, my level of comfort and ability to speak English and my native language, and my experiences with ethnic discrimination. Such questions include: my family can trace its ethnic heritage to the following country(ies); Chicanas/os and Latinas/os are sloppy; I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to; I feel good about being U.S. American; I speak English well at school or work; I speak my native language well on the phone; and because of your ethnicity/race you are called names or insulted.
What about confidentiality?	We will do our best to keep your personal information confidential. To help protect your confidentiality survey results will be stored in password protected files to which only the researcher has access. If we write a report or article about this research project, your identity will be protected to the maximum extent possible.
What are the risks of this research?	There may be some risks from participating in this research study. As a result of completing certain items in this survey I might experience some anger or embarrassment. If so, I have the option of contacting the principal investigator to discuss these concerns.
What are the benefits of this research?	This research is not designed to help you personally, but the results may help the investigator learn more about the factors that influence the development of ethnic identity in Chicana/o and Latina/o college students. We hope that, in the future, other people might benefit from this study through improved understanding of ethnic identity in Chicanas/os and Latinas/os.
Do I have to be in this research? May I stop participating at any time?	Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may choose not to take part at all. If you decide to participate in this research, you may stop participating at any time. However, only those that complete the survey will be eligible to enter the drawing for prizes.

Project Title	Ethnic Identity in Chicana/o and Latina/o College Students	
What if I have questions?	<p>This research is being conducted by Courtland C. Lee of the Counseling and Personnel Department at the University of Maryland, College Park. If you have any questions about the research study itself, please contact Courtland C. Lee at: 3214 Benjamin Building, College Park, MD 20742, 301-405-8904, or clee5@umd.edu. If you have questions about your rights as a research subject or wish to report a research-related injury, please contact: Institutional Review Board Office, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, 20742; (e-mail) irb@deans.umd.edu; (telephone) 301-405-0678</p> <p>This research has been reviewed according to the University of Maryland, College Park IRB procedures for research involving human subjects.</p>	
Statement of Age of Subject and Consent	<p>Your signature indicates that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> you are at least 18 years of age; the research has been explained to you; your questions have been fully answered; and you freely and voluntarily choose to participate in this research project. 	
Signature and Date	NAME OF SUBJECT	
	SIGNATURE OF SUBJECT	
	DATE	

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