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**ETHNIC-RACIAL ATTITUDES AND INDIGENOUS IDENTITY AMONG
OAXAQUEÑO/A ADOLESCENTS AND YOUNG ADULTS**

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

PSYCHOLOGY

by

Elizabeth Gonzalez

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The Dissertation of Elizabeth Gonzalez
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables and Figures.....	iii
Abstract.....	iv
Acknowledgments.....	vi
Introduction.....	1
Method.....	17
Results	24
Discussion.....	33
References.....	51

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 1: Demographic Data for Oaxaqueño/a-Heritage Adolescent and Young Adult Samples.....	62
Table 2: Mean Scores on Cross Scale of Social Attitudes for Adolescent and Young Adult Samples.....	63
Figure 1: Profiles across Ethnic-Racial Attitudes by Age Group.....	64
Figure 2: Types and Frequencies of Identity-Salient Experiences.....	65
Table 3: Bivariate Correlations for Study Variables by Age Group.....	66

ABSTRACT

ETHNIC-RACIAL ATTITUDES AND INDIGENOUS IDENTITY AMONG OAXAQUEÑO/A ADOLESCENTS AND YOUNG ADULTS

by

ELIZABETH GONZALEZ

Drawing from Nigrescence Theory (Cross, 1991); Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1982); and the Ethnic Identity framework (Umaña-Taylor, Yazedjia, & Bámaca-Gómez, 2004), this mixed method dissertation examined three questions: (1) Are there age-group differences in Oaxaqueño/a-heritage adolescents' and young adults' ethnic-racial attitudes and Identity-Salient Experiences (ISE)?; (2) Are there age-group differences in the interrelations among ethnic-racial attitudes, reported discrimination from Mexican peers, self-esteem, and Indigenous self-identification?; and (3) Does ethnic identity buffer the predicted negative relationship between discrimination from Mexican peers and self-esteem? Result indicate small overall age-group differences in ethnic-racial attitudes and ISE, but, compared to young adults, adolescents endorsed higher ethnic-racial Self-Hatred attitudes and lower Multiculturalist Inclusive attitudes. While 72% of participants reported experiencing discrimination from their Mexican peers, only 25% of participants recalled an ISE involving discrimination as formative to their identity. Rather, 63% of adolescents and young adults recalled an ISE involving the cultural practices of the Oaxaqueño community as formative. Adolescents and young adults cited ISEs as helping them identify and explore the cultural and racial markers that define the distinctiveness of the Oaxaqueño and Indigenous culture within the Mexican

community. Second, adolescents', but not young adults', reported discrimination from their Mexican peers was positively correlated with their Miseducation and Self-Hatred attitudes. Only ethnic-racial Self-Hatred attitudes were negatively related to adolescents' and young adults' self-esteem. Among Oaxaqueño/a-Indigenous youth, those who self-identified as Indigenous reported more discrimination from Mexican peers than those who did not self-identify as Indigenous. Third, there was no evidence that ethnic identity buffered the negative effect of discrimination. Findings lend support for adolescence as a time when Oaxaqueño/a-heritage youth are particularly attuned to discrimination from their Mexican peers. The findings indicate that while discrimination may not be formative to adolescents' identity as Oaxaqueño/a, they were related to their learned and internalized stereotypes about the Oaxaqueño community. Findings also reveal how ethnicity and race together shape Oaxaqueño/a-heritage youths' sense of belonging as Mexican, Oaxaqueño/a, and Indigenous in adolescence and young adulthood. Finally, implications for the three theoretical models framing the study are discussed.

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Introduction

During adolescence and young adulthood, ethnic-racial identity development takes center stage for members of ethnic-racial minority groups (Phinney, 1992; Umaña-Taylor, Quintana, Lee, Cross, Rivas-Drake, Schwartz, et al., 2014). Exploration of and commitment to an ethnic-racial identity and developing a sense of belonging to an ethnic-racial group reflect adolescents' growing abilities to think in complex and critical ways about themselves and the importance of ethnic-racial group membership to their self-definition (Erikson, 1968; Tajfel, 1982). Ethnic minority adolescents and young adults may be transitioning into new social and institutional contexts, such as from high school to college or through the process of migration; which can expose them to changing experiences of discrimination or tolerance of ethnic-racial diversity (Syed & Azmitia, 2008). Experiencing out-group discrimination may prompt adolescents and young adults to re-examine their ethnic-racial identity (Syed & Azmitia, 2008). These explorations and renegotiations can lead to positive or negative outcomes, such as changes in self-esteem and depression (Huynh & Fuligni, 2010; Romero & Roberts, 2003).

Although the role of out-group discrimination in shaping identity development among ethnic-racial minority youth has been extensively researched (Neblett, Rivas-Drake, & Umaña-Taylor, 2012), we know less about how within-group discrimination shapes ethnic-racial identity development and psychological well-being among ethnic-racial minority adolescents and young adults. To fill this gap in the literature, this mixed methods dissertation drew on Nigrescence Theory (Cross, 1991), Social

Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1982), and the Ethnic Identity framework (Umaña-Taylor, Yazedjia, & Bámaca-Gómez, 2004) to build on ethnographic observations of Oaxaqueño/a youths' experiences with discrimination from their Mexican peers based on their (perceived) Indigenous heritage (Barillas-Chón, 2010; Kovats, 2010; Nicolás, 2012; Stephen, 2007). This dissertation examined three questions: (1) Are there age-group differences in Oaxaqueño/a-heritage adolescents' and young adults' ethnic-racial attitudes and Identity-Salient Experiences (ISE)? (2) Are there age-group differences in the interrelations among ethnic-racial attitudes, reported within-group discrimination, self-esteem, and Indigenous self-identification? and (3) Does ethnic identity buffer the predicted negative relationship between within-group discrimination and self-esteem?

Within-Group Discrimination

Fordham and Ogbu's (1986) pioneering study of African American youth who were accused of "acting white" by their African American peers is an early and influential analysis of within-group discrimination and academic alienation. Researchers have begun to examine within-group discrimination between Mexican American and Mexican immigrant high school students (Mendez, Bauman, & Guillory, 2012) and between U.S.-born and immigrant Latino students (Brondolo, Kelly, Coakley, Gordon, Thompson, et al., 2005; Córdova & Cervantes, 2010). These studies have shown that tensions among Mexican-heritage adolescents tend to center on issues of language, immigration, skin color, and assimilation. For example, adolescents have described tensions between recent Mexican immigrants and U.S.-

born Mexican students (Mendez, Bauman, & Guillory, 2012) and between dark- and light-skinned Latino students (Córdova & Cervantes, 2010).

To outsiders, such tensions may appear to be operating within a homogeneous “Mexican” or “Latino” group, but to insiders, these conflicts play out as between groups, especially when racialization occurs. Indigenous Mexican migrant adolescents and young adults living in the U.S., particularly those from the state of Oaxaca, have pointed to race-based discrimination within the ethnically heterogeneous Mexican population as shaping their Indigenous identities and engagement in Indigenous cultural practices (Fox & Rivera-Salgado, 2004).

In this study, I used the term *within-group discrimination* to refer specifically to the ethnic and racial tensions between individuals of *mestizo* and Indigenous Mexican-heritage and, more broadly, to the tensions between ethnic groups of a shared national origin. For example, within the Mexican community, being from the southern state of Oaxaca is stereotypically synonymous with being *indio/a* (Fox & Rivera-Salgado, 2004; Stephen, 2007). In ethnographic studies with small samples of migrant Oaxaqueño/a youth living in the U.S., adolescents reported being called *Oaxaquito/a* and *indio/a*, derogatory and diminutive terms referring to stereotypes marking Indigenous people as short, dumb, dirty, and stubborn by their non-Indigenous Mexican peers. The terms *indio* and *Oaxaquito/a* reflect the discrimination against Indigenous Mexican people, largely based on racial markers (e.g., dark skin color), language, dress, labor, and cultural practices such as *tequios* or community service responsibilities (Contreras Soto, 2014). Adolescents of

Oaxaqueño/a-heritage have cited racial discrimination from their non-Indigenous Mexican-descent peers to explain why they refused to identify as Oaxaqueño/a and speak their Indigenous language (Barillas-Chón, 2010; Kovats, 2010).

Nigrescence Theory: Ethnic-Racial Attitudes and Identity-Salient Experiences

I drew on Cross's (1991) Nigrescence Theory, which conceptualizes social attitudes, beliefs, and *encounters* as central to the racial identity development of African American youth, to answer the first question: Are there age-group differences in Oaxaqueño/a-heritage adolescents' and young adults' ethnic-racial attitudes and Identity-Salient Experiences (ISE; Syed & Azmitia, 2008)?

In Cross's original Nigrescence Theory (1991), he proposed that members of racial minority groups may shift from negative views or ambivalence about their race to a racial identity that incorporates pride and activism by progressing through four developmental stages: Pre-Encounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization. In the extended Nigrescence Theory (NT-E), Cross and Vandiver (2001) moved away from focusing on developmental stages to define racial identity as a set of attitudes (*Assimilation, Miseducation, Self-Hatred, Anti-Dominant Group, Ethnocentric, and Multicultural Inclusive*) which individuals can hold in any developmental stage about themselves as members of a racial group and about others in their same group and those from other groups. This change in the theory emerged from evidence that African American college students held multiple racial attitudes at each stage (Cross & Vandiver, 2001; Vandiver & Worrell, 2001). For example, participants scoring higher on Anti-White attitudes also tended to score higher on

Afrocentric and on Multiculturalist Inclusive attitudes. Changes in attitudes are seen as reflecting changes in cognitive and affective approaches to self and society, rather than as invariant progressions from one identity stage to the next.

According to Cross, individuals can experience such significant shifts in attitudes after they confront an *Encounter* that prompts them to explore or question their existing attitudes and recognize the importance of ethnicity-race in American society. For this reason, Cross distinguished *Pre-Encounter* attitudes (*Assimilation, Miseducation, Self-Hatred*) from *Post-Encounter* attitudes (*Anti-Dominant, Ethnocentric, Multicultural Inclusive*).

Pre-encounter attitudes. Cross and his colleagues proposed that for individuals who hold strong Pre-Encounter attitudes, race either is not as central to their sense of self; they place greater emphasis on their national identity than racial identity (*Assimilation*) or endorse negative stereotypical attitudes about their racial group (*Miseducation*). Individuals endorsing *Miseducation* attitudes may not necessarily internalize negative views about their group, but those who consider their racial identity as central to their self-definition may internalize these negative views and develop negative feelings about being members of a devalued racial group (*Self-Hatred*) (Worrell, Mendoza-Denton, Telesford, Simmons, & Martin, 2011).

Post-encounter attitudes. According to Cross, in the *Immersion-Emersion* phase that follows an encounter, individuals engage in intense exploration of their racial group by, for example, attending events and meetings and joining organizations that center on issues related to their racial group. Studies with young adults have

shown moderate relations between Black immersion and Anti-White attitudes (Vandiver, Fhagen-Smith, Cokley, & Cross, 2001; Vandiver et al., 2002), suggesting that anger or resentment toward the dominant group may accompany young adults' exploring what it means to be a member of a marginalized group (*Anti-Dominant*). Cross argued that high levels of exploration help individuals emerge from the emotionally loaded and narrow views that characterize the immersion phase. During internalization, individuals develop pride in their racial identity and gain awareness of injustice that allows them to replace anger toward individual members of the dominant group with controlled anger at social systems of oppression and to work for social change. Thus, Post-Encounter attitudes reflect individuals' recognizing, accepting, and affirming their racial identity. Although some individuals in this stage continue to view their racial group as superior to other groups (*Ethnocentric*), others develop stronger connections to their other social identities (e.g., social class, sexuality, gender) and become more willing to engage with and value perspectives of other cultural groups (*Multiculturalist Inclusive*).

Oaxaqueño/a young adults have been described as developing a multidimensional and dynamic ethnic-racial identity that embraces their Indigenous (e.g., Mixteco/a or Zapoteco/a) and Oaxaqueño/a identities and that integrates their Mexican, Mexican American and/or Latino identities (Stephen, 2007). For example, some Oaxaqueño/a young adults have expressed their pride and highlighted positive attributes of their Indigenous heritage through their civic and cultural participation in organizations or clubs focused on the Oaxaqueño community (Oaxacalifornian

Reporting Team, 2013), Oaxaqueño dance or music groups (Cruz-Manjarrez, 2013), and college courses in history, politics, and other Indigenous issues of Mexico and Latin America (Nicolás, 2012). Engaging in these cultural activities, particularly in a college setting that fosters acceptance and valuing of Indigenous communities, may contribute to Oaxaqueño/a young adults endorsing higher Post-Encounter attitudes that reflect their pride and positive feelings about their Indigenous identity.

Identity-salient experiences (ISE). According to Cross (1991), ethnic-racial minority individuals experience a shift in their ethnic-racial attitudes following an *encounter*, identity-salient experiences that personally impact and move them to examine or reexamine their racial identity. Consistent with Erikson's ego identity theory (1968), Cross argued that encounters produce intense cognitive and emotional conflict (called an *identity crisis* by Erikson) that motivate individuals to explore and re-evaluate their racial identity. To investigate whether encounters motivate ethnic-racial identity exploration, in the present study Oaxaqueño/a-heritage adolescents and young adults were asked to describe a time when they became aware of their Oaxaqueño/a heritage.

The experiences that make ethnic-racial minority adolescents and young adults particularly aware of their ethnicity or race are often those that negatively highlight their ethnic-racial group membership, such as prejudice and discrimination. Syed and Azmitia (2008) collected written narratives from a diverse college sample about *Identity-Salient Experiences* (ISE), a time when their ethnicity became salient to them. The most commonly reported ISEs were students' reports of experiencing

prejudice (45%), followed by awareness of differences (25%), awareness of underrepresentation (11.5%), and positive connection to culture (11.5%). Asian American and Latino students told significantly more stories involving prejudice and fewer awareness-of-difference stories than did mixed-ethnicity and White students.

Drawing on Nigrescence Theory, I tested the hypothesis that adolescents would be more likely than young adults to report Pre-Encounter attitudes and recall ISEs involving discrimination, whereas young adults would be more likely to report Post-Encounter attitudes and recall ISEs involving cultural events that centered on the Oaxaqueño community. This prediction is based on ethnographic observations of Oaxaqueño/a adolescents' experiences with discrimination in the high school context and their Assimilation, Miseducation, and Self-Hatred attitudes (Barillas-Chón, 2010; Gonzalez & Cooper, 2016; Kovats, 2010). Although the findings by Syed and Azmitia (2008) showed that discrimination narratives were most common among a diverse sample of emerging adults, ethnographic observations of Oaxaqueño/a young adults highlight their pride in their Indigenous heritage expressed through their civic and cultural participation in their communities and in the college context (Cruz-Manjarrez, 2013; Nicolás, 2012; Oaxacalifornian Reporting Team, 2013; Ramirez, 2014). Thus, I predicted that Oaxaqueño/a-heritage young adults would be more likely to recall experiences in which their Indigenous heritage, language, and culture were valued,

Social Identity Theory: Ethnic-Racial Attitudes, Within-Group Discrimination, Self-Esteem, and Indigenous Self-Identification

This dissertation drew on Tajfel's (1982) Social Identity Theory to answer the second question: How do Oaxaqueño/a-heritage adolescents' and young adults' ethnic-racial attitudes relate to their reports of within-group discrimination, self-esteem, and Indigenous self-identification?

Social Identity Theory focuses on how people categorize themselves into social groups, intergroup conflicts, and the identity management strategies members of devalued social groups use to cope with prejudice and protect their self-esteem and social identity. Most studies using Social Identity Theory to examine how discrimination influences ethnic-racial identity development for youth of color in the U.S. have focus on out- or inter-group discrimination among adolescents and young adults of European American, Latino, African American, and Asian backgrounds (Fisher, Wallace, & Fenton, 2000; Phinney, Madden, & Santos, 1998). Experiences of discrimination have been shown to prompt ethnic-racial minority and immigrant young adults to explore their ethnic-racial identities (Syed & Azmitia, 2008) and to be associated with depressive symptoms and low self-esteem (Huynh & Fuligni, 2010; Romero & Roberts, 2003) and with negative feelings about their ethnic-racial group (Umaña-Taylor, Diversi, & Fine, 2002). For example, perceived discrimination and pressure to speak English or Spanish well predicted lower self-esteem and more depressive symptoms for U.S.-born Mexican heritage and immigrant Mexican middle school students (Romero & Roberts, 2003).

Tajfel (1982) proposed that to protect one's self-esteem and cope with being a member of a devalued social group, individuals may employ identity management

strategies that buffer or enhance self-esteem. For example, members of marginalized groups may *disengage* from the lower-status group and attempting to gain acceptance from a higher-status group or they may challenge discrimination by *enhancing* their group identification and highlighting their group's positive attributes.

The disengagement identity management strategy can be seen in Oaxaqueño/a adolescents in Washington and California citing the prejudice and discrimination they had experienced from their non-Indigenous Mexican peers as reasons why they feared or felt shame in identifying with their Oaxaqueño/a heritage, refusing to speak their Indigenous language (Hernández Morales, 2012), and choosing to assimilate into the dominant Spanish-speaking Mexican culture and English-speaking mainstream U.S. culture (Stephen, 2007). When Barillas-Chón (2010) interviewed and observed four recent Oaxaqueño/a immigrant high school students in California, these youth described experiencing discrimination from Spanish-speaking Mexican American students and non-recent immigrant Latino students. To avoid being called *Oaxaquita* or *indio* or being “put down” for speaking an Indigenous language, they chose to identify as Mexican rather than Oaxaqueño/a.

Self-esteem appears to differentiate African American adolescents and young adults scoring higher on *Assimilation* or *Miseducation* attitudes from those scoring higher on *Self-Hatred* attitudes. Scores on Cross's *Self-Hatred* subscale have been found to be negatively correlated with young adults' self-esteem (Vandiver et al., 2002) and adolescents' feelings about their ethnic-racial group (measured by the *private regard* subscale of Seller's Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity

(MIBI; Gardner-Kitt & Worrell, 2007; Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998).

This finding is consistent with the disengagement management strategy proposal by Social Identity theorists that individuals who internalize negative values about a social group that is important to their sense of self tend to negatively evaluate their group and report lower self-esteem (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Attempts to reject one's devalued social group and pass as a member of a higher-status group may reflect efforts to protect one's self-esteem and social identity. In his work on stigmatized identities, Goffman (2009) argued that hidden identities, such as disability or mental health issues, can be stressful burdens, both for those who can pass and those who struggle whether or not to reveal these identities, because once revealed, they cannot be re-hidden, but by not revealing them, one denies an important social identity.

Oaxaqueño/a young adults have reported that exploring and developing pride in their Indigenous identity reflects the discrimination they experienced during adolescence and that they internalized as self-hatred (Nicolás, 2012; Ramirez, 2014), thus transforming fear and shame evoked by discrimination into pride in their Indigenous heritage and aspirations to preserve their Indigenous practices and language. Young adults' abilities to reflect on their past and think in complex ways about their identity may contribute to this shift from self-hatred to pride. In contrast, Cross (1991) and Syed and Azmitia (2008) proposed that even one encounter or a series of encounters can lead to such a shift.

With regard to the second question, I hypothesized that Oaxaqueño/a-heritage adolescents and young adults scoring higher on Pre-Encounter attitudes would report more within-group discrimination, lower self-esteem, and be less likely to identify as Indigenous (Barillas-Chón, 2010; Ruiz & Barajas, 2012). This pattern is consistent with the *disengagement identity management strategy* (Tajfel, 1982, Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Finally, I predicted that Oaxaqueño/a-heritage adolescents and young adults scoring higher on Post-Encounter attitudes would report less within-group discrimination, higher self-esteem, and be more likely to self-identify with an Indigenous identity. This pattern is consistent with the *enhancing identity management strategy* proposed by Social Identity theorists.

Ethnic-Racial Identity as a Buffer

This dissertation drew on the Ethnic Identity framework (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004) to answer the third questions: Does Oaxaqueño/a-heritage adolescents' and young adults' sense of belonging to their ethnic group buffered the negative relationship predicted between within-group discrimination and self-esteem?

Although discrimination has been found to be detrimental for adolescents' and young adults' self-esteem (Huynh & Fuligni, 2010; Umaña-Taylor, Diversi, & Fine, 2002), García Coll and colleagues (1996) argue that members of ethnic-racial minority communities have adaptive cultural resources, such as ethnic-racial identity and socialization, that can protect adolescents and young adults from the negative effects of discrimination. Consistent with Social Identity Theory, a strong ethnic-racial identity may protect adolescents and young adults if they focus on the positive

aspects of their group. For example, Neblett, Shelton, and Sellers (2004) found that among African American adolescents who felt their ethnic-racial identity was central to their lives, experiences of discrimination were not related to their well-being, but adolescents for whom ethnic-racial identity was not as central and who experienced discrimination reported more anxiety, stress, and depression. However, other studies have failed to provide evidence for the protective role of ethnic-racial identity (Huynh & Fuligni, 2010). On the contrary, McCoy and Major (2003) found that having a strong ethnic-racial identity might exacerbate the negative effects of discrimination.

Drawing on the Ethnic Identity framework (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004), this study tested the hypothesis that a strong ethnic identity (assessed from participants' exploration, commitment, and feelings about their ethnic group) would buffer the predicted negative relationship between within-group discrimination and self-esteem for young adults. Because most adolescents are expected to still be exploring and developing their attitudes and feelings about their ethnic group, I predicted that their ethnic identity would not buffer the negative effects of discrimination for them.

Individuals with a low sense of belonging may identify less with their ethnic-racial group after experiencing discrimination (*disengaging identity management strategy*), whereas those with a high sense of belonging may identify more strongly with their ethnic-racial group after experiencing discrimination (*enhancing identity management strategies*; McCoy & Major, 2003). I explore whether emotional reactions to discrimination may map onto disengaging or enhancing identity

management strategies employed by Oaxaqueño/a adolescents and young adults in the face of discrimination.

Emotional reactions to within-group discrimination. Urrieta (2003) has called on scholars to explore the complex emotions involved in Indigenous people's search for a "self". In response to his call, this study examined the extent to which ISEs involving discrimination evoked fear, shame, anger, and pride. I built on the *ethnic affirmation* dimension of the Ethnic Identity framework of Umaña-Taylor et al. (2004) by distinguishing negative affect from shame, fear, or anger that may be evoked by experiences with within-group discrimination. Examining Oaxaqueño/a-heritage adolescents' and young adults' emotional reactions to discrimination may help map whether they employ disengagement or enhancement identity management strategies to protect their self-esteem in the face of discrimination. To this end, I examine age-group differences in adolescents' and young adults' reporting of shame, fear, anger, and pride in ISEs involving discrimination.

Experimental studies have shown that anger and shame are common emotional reactions to discrimination, particularly gender discrimination (Cronin, Levin, Branscombe, van Laar, & Tropp, 2012; Hansen & Sassenberg, 2006). On the one hand, victims of discrimination may feel shame if they perceive the discrimination to be justified because of their own characteristics (Kaiser & Major, 2004); on the other hand, such victims may report anger if they perceive the discrimination to be unjust and an obstacle to their achieving pride and maintaining a positive self-esteem (Lemerise & Dodge, 2008), and both anger and shame may be

felt simultaneously. In an experimental study, women who were led to believe that they did not receive a job offer because of gender discrimination reported greater shame than women who were led to believe they did not receive the job offer because they were not qualified for the job; the latter group reported more anger than shame (Matheson & Anisman, 2009).

Because Oaxaqueño/a-heritage adolescents were predicted to endorse higher Pre-Encounter attitudes that reflect their ambivalence, adoption or internalization of the negative attitudes about Oaxaqueños, I predicted that the majority of the Oaxaqueño/a-heritage adolescent participants would interpret discrimination as justified because of their heritage and would thus describe experiences of discrimination as evoking shame and fear. In contrast, I predicted that the majority of the Oaxaqueño/a-heritage young adults would describe discrimination as evoking anger and pride. The latter prediction is based on young adults' expected higher endorsement of Post-Encounter attitudes that reflect their ethnic-racial pride and inclusive multiculturalist ideologies.

Summary of Research Questions and Hypotheses

In sum, this study addressed the following three overarching questions and tested the corresponding hypotheses about Oaxaqueño/a-heritage adolescents' and young adults' attitudes, beliefs, and experiences related to their ethnic heritage and identities:

1. *Are there age-related differences in the ethnic-racial attitudes and the Identity-Salient Experience (ISE; Syed & Azmitia, 2008) reported by*

Oaxaqueño/a-heritage adolescents and young adults? On Cross's Scale of Social Attitudes (Worrell & Vandiver, 2013), adolescents were predicted to endorse higher Pre-Encounter attitudes compared to young adults, whereas young adults were expected to endorse higher Post-Encounter attitudes. With regard to ISEs, adolescents were expected to be more likely to recall experiences involving ethnic or racial discrimination from their Mexican peers, whereas young adults were predicted to be more likely to recall experiences involving participation in their cultural community.

2. *What are the relations among Oaxaqueño/a-heritage adolescents' and young adults' ethnic-racial attitudes, reported within-group discrimination, self-esteem, and Indigenous self-identification?* I predicted that endorsement of Pre-Encounter attitudes would be positively correlated with reported within-group discrimination, negatively correlated with self-esteem, and negatively related with self-identifying as Indigenous. In contrast, I predicted that scores on Post-Encounter attitudes would be negatively correlated with reports of within-group discrimination, positively correlated with self-esteem, and associated with embracing an Indigenous identity.
3. *Do Oaxaqueño/a-heritage adolescents' and young adults' sense of belonging to their ethnic group buffered the predicted negative relationship between within-group discrimination and self-esteem?* It was

predicted that a strong ethnic identity would buffer the hypothesized negative relationship between reported within-group discrimination and self-esteem for Oaxaqueño/a-heritage young adults but not for adolescents. As part of the third question, I also examined how emotional reactions to within-group discrimination supported adolescents' and young adults' disengaging or enhancing identity management strategies. Age-group differences were predicted for the emotional reactions to ISEs involving within-group discrimination, such that adolescents were expected to be more likely to report reacting to within-group discrimination with fear or shame, supporting a disengagement from their Oaxaqueño/a and Indigenous identity, whereas young adults were expected to be more likely to report reacting to discrimination with anger or pride, supporting an enhancing of their Oaxaqueño/a and Indigenous identity.

Method

Participants

Participants were 55 high school adolescents (58% girls; $M_{age} = 16.52$, $SD = 1.34$, range = 14-19) and 77 young adults (69% women; $M_{age} = 21.27$, $SD = 2.29$, range = 18-26) of Oaxaqueño/a-heritage (i.e., they or at least one of their parents was born in Oaxaca, Mexico). The sample was evenly distributed between Mexico-born Oaxaqueño adolescents (50%) and young adults (53.9%), the majority of them arriving in the U.S. after age six. At the time of the study, all of the adolescents were

enrolled in high school and the majority of the young adults (75.3%) were enrolled in community college (58.6%), a four-year university (34.5%), or graduate school (5.2%). Of the young adults not enrolled in college, 36.8 % had earned a high school degree; 26.3%, a community college degree; and 10.5%, a university degree. Table 1 shows the demographic variables by age group.

Over three quarters of adolescents (78%) and young adults (76%) in the sample were of Indigenous heritage, including adolescents and young adults who self-identified with an Indigenous group of Mexico (e.g., Mixteco, Zapoteco, Ñuu Savi, Triqui) and those who spoke an Indigenous language or had at least one parent who did.

Procedures

Because their sociocultural marginalization and low visibility in and outside of the school context make Oaxaqueño/a-heritage youth a hard-to-identify and hard-to-reach population (Barillas-Chón, 2010), over the course of four years, I established rapport with the Oaxaqueño community by developing partnerships with several high school clubs, hometown associations, and community organizations in California and Washington, including the Frente Indígena de Organizaciones Binacionales/Indigenous Binational Organizational Front (FIOB) and the Mixteco/Indígena Community Organizing Project (MICOP); both provide services to the Oaxaqueño community. This rapport facilitated the use a snowball sampling approach to recruit Oaxaqueño/a-heritage participants. Participants were initially identified by recruiting in high school clubs, community organizations, college campuses, and

online-social groups geared toward the Oaxaqueño community. The initial participants were asked to identify other Oaxaqueño/a- heritage youth in their extended family, community organizations, social networks, high schools, or college campus.

Adolescents were recruited from meetings and events of high school clubs and community organizations and invited to complete a paper version of the survey. They were provided with a brief oral description of the survey and asked to complete parental consent and adolescent assent forms. The author and/or a research assistant returned after a week to collect consent forms and administer the survey. Adolescents were given a paper survey in their preferred language (Spanish or English) and general oral instructions about how to respond to the Likert items and narrative questions in the survey. The author or research assistant remained nearby and made themselves available to answer any questions. The survey took approximately 45-60 minutes to complete. Adolescents were given a \$10 gift card for completing it.

Young adults were recruited by circulating a link to the online survey, hosted through <http://www.surveymonkey.com>, on a Facebook page created to organize the “Oaxaqueño Youth Project”. This page included a brief description of the survey, eligibility requirements, general instructions about how to complete the survey, and offered participants the choice of completing the survey in Spanish or English. It took participants approximately 40-50 minutes to complete the online survey. They were mailed a \$10 gift card.

Measures

Ethnic-racial attitudes. Ethnic-racial attitudes were assessed using the Cross Scale of Social Attitudes (CSSA-V6, Worrell & Vandiver, 2013), a measure developed for use with all ethnic-racial groups in the U.S. The 30-item CSSA-V6 assesses six ethnic-racial attitudes: Assimilation, Miseducation, Self-Hatred, Anti-Dominant Group, Ethnocentric, and Multiculturalist Inclusive. Each subscale consists of five items rated from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 4 (*strongly agree*). One item from the Ethnocentric scale was dropped from further analyses ("In any society, there are cultural groups that are superior and those that are inferior") because of greater internal reliability (Cronbach's alpha) of the scale without this item (see Table 2 for alphas for each subscale, calculated separately for adolescents and young adults).

Within-group discrimination. I developed this scale for a pilot study of discrimination experienced by Oaxaqueño/a adolescents and young adults from Mexican peers. The pilot study identified seven common ethnic and racial hassles (e.g., "teased you because you or someone in your family speaks Mixteco/Zapoteco/or another Indigenous language"; "called you names like 'Oaxaquita' or 'indio'"). Using a scale from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*all the time*), participants rated the frequency with which they experienced each of these seven hassles within the past year ($\alpha = .84$).

Self-esteem. Self-esteem was measured using Rosenberg's (1965) 10-item Self-Esteem Scale (RSES). Participants rated items (e.g., "At times I think I am not good at all") from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 4 (*strongly agree*; $\alpha = .83$).

Ethnic identity. Multiple dimensions of ethnic-racial identity were assessed with the 17-item Ethnic Identity Scale (EIS; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004) and the three-item Racial Centrality subscale of the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI; Sellers et al. 1997). The EIS contains a seven-item subscale assessing identity *Exploration* ($\alpha = .79$; e.g., “I have attended events that have helped me learn more about my ethnicity”); a four-item subscale assessing identity *Resolution* ($\alpha = .85$; e.g., “I have a clear sense of what my ethnicity means to me”); and a six-item subscale assessing identity *Affirmation* ($\alpha = .81$; e.g., “I wish I were of a different ethnicity”). One item from the Exploration subscale was dropped for the adolescent sample (“I have experienced things that reflect my ethnicity, such as eating food, listening to music, and watching movies.”) because of greater internal reliability of the scale without this item. The *Racial Centrality* subscale of the MIBI (Sellers et al., 1997) was adapted by inserting “Oaxaqueño/a” into the three items assessing the extent to which participants considered their ethnicity-race to be an important part of how they define themselves ($\alpha = .78$; e.g., “I have a strong sense of belonging with other Oaxaqueño people”). Participants rated these items from 1 (*Does not describe me at all*) to 4 (*Describes me very well*).

Identity-salient experiences (ISE). Participants were asked to describe “a time, either positive or negative, that made you particularly aware of your Oaxaqueño heritage,” as well as their age at the time; how they felt when this event occurred; how they and/or others reacted to this event; and whether the event affected how they viewed their Oaxaqueño background. These questions were adapted from the

Narrative Episode Questionnaire (Syed & Azmitia, 2008), a narrative approach to assessing self-defining experiences. Lastly, participants were asked to rate the degree to which they felt 13 emotions (sadness, happiness, anger, surprise, fear, interest, shame, nostalgic, guilt, disgust, embarrassment, pride, and regret) at the time the event occurred from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*extremely*).

Coding Narratives of Identity-Salient Experiences (ISE)

To inductively identify themes common across participants' narratives, a sample of 30 narratives (15 narratives from each age group, balanced by gender) was selected. The coding team, consisting of the author and three trained research assistants, used a holistic approach (Saldaña, 2009) to identify emerging themes; coders read a participant's narrative in its entirety and identified a theme reflecting the entire narrative, rather than focusing on a specific feature. Over the course of five weekly meetings, the coders discussed and established consensus about the emerging themes and generated a preliminary coding manual that was used to code the narratives in the sample. Reliability among coders was assessed using Cohen's Kappa; a coefficient of .71 was set as an acceptable lower limit to inter-rater reliability between the author and the research assistants. Coders discussed any points of disagreement until they reached consensus about the most appropriate code.

Three general types, shown in Figure 2, emerged from these narrative analyses: *cultural practices*, *racial discrimination*, and *sense of belonging* ($\kappa = .74$, $.75$, and $.80$, respectively, for each of the three coders with the author). The themes were mutually exclusive, i.e., only one main theme was possible in a single narrative.

If none of the three themes was identified, the narrative was coded as “other”. Six narratives (5%) coded as other were excluded from all remaining analyses and 25 (19%) of the original 132 participants did not provide a narrative; 1% of adolescents, 24% of emerging adults, 14% of males, and 19% of females did not provide a narrative.

Cultural practices narratives described experiences involving practices and festivities unique to the Oaxaqueño community, including music and dance groups; cultural celebrations such as the *Guelaguetza* (celebration of the pre-Columbian goddess of corn); and religious ceremonies honoring the *Virgen de Juquila* or *Santiago Apostol*. *Racial discrimination* narratives described witnessing or being the target of bullying or racist remarks, including derogatory or diminutive racial remarks such as “indio” and “Oaxaquita”. *Sense of belonging* narratives described participants’ negative or positive thoughts or feelings related to their Indigenous or Oaxaqueño heritage and identity.

Emotional responses to discrimination. Identity-salient experiences involving ethnic or racial discrimination were coded for emotional content to differentiate between discrimination that evoked fear, shame, anger, or pride ($\kappa = 1$). Each of the four emotions was nominally coded as present or absent, allowing for instances in which participants reported more than one emotion per narrative. Additionally, coders indicated what they considered to be the primary emotion experience at the time the event occurred.

Results

Question 1: Age-Related Differences in Ethnic-Racial Attitudes and Types of Identity-Salient Experiences

To examine mean scores and age-group differences across the six ethnic-racial attitudes, I conducted a 2 x 6 mixed analyses of variance (ANOVA) with a Greenhouse-Geisser correction, revealing a difference in mean scores across the six attitudes, $F(3.80, 467.91) = 196.66, p = 0.000, \eta^2 = .62$. Post hoc analyses using the Bonferroni correction indicated that the Oaxaqueño/a-heritage adolescents and young adults participants endorsed Multiculturalist Inclusive ideologies to a higher degree than any other attitude; reported moderate endorsement of Ethnocentric, Assimilationist, and Miseducation attitudes; and reported low levels of endorsement of Self-Hatred and Anti-Dominant attitudes. Figure 1 shows that profiles across the six ethnic-racial attitudes followed similar patterns across the two age groups. Table 2 presents means and standard deviations for each attitude by age group.

Results of the 2 x 6 ANOVA revealed an age-group x ethnic-racial attitude interaction, $F(3.80, 467.91) = 5.90, p = 0.000, \eta^2 = .046$. Age-group differences in endorsement of the six ethnic-racial attitudes were examined using a series of independent *t*-tests. A critical α value of .008 was used to control the error rate. Adolescents were predicted to endorse the Pre-Encounter attitudes (*Assimilation*, *Miseducation*, and *Self-Hatred*) more than young adults, who were predicted to endorse the Post-Encounter attitudes (*Anti-Dominant*, *Ethnocentric*, and *Multicultural Inclusive*) more than adolescents. However, these age-group differences were evident

in only Pre-Encounter attitude and one Post-Encounter attitude. In particular, the only Pre-Encounter attitude endorsed more by adolescents than young adults was Self-Hatred, $t(123) = 2.84, p = .005$, and the only Post-Encounter attitude that was endorsed more by young adults than adolescents was Multiculturalist Inclusive, $t(123) = -3.73, p = .000$. As shown in Table 2, the effect sizes (Cohen's d) for Self-Hatred and Multiculturalist Inclusive scales were in the moderate (i.e., $\approx .50$) range.

As part of the first question, this study also examined age-group differences in the types of Identity-Salient Experiences (ISE) recalled by adolescents and young adults about a time at which they became aware of their Oaxaqueño/a heritage. The prediction that adolescents would be more likely to recall ISEs involving discrimination, whereas young adults would be more likely to recall experiences involving cultural practices, was not confirmed; there were no age-group differences in the type of ISEs recalled by Oaxaqueño-heritage adolescents and young adults. As shown in Figure 2, 62% ($n = 63$) adolescents and young adults recalled ISEs involving *cultural practices*, followed by 27% ($n = 27$) adolescents and young adults who reported experiences involving *ethnic-racial discrimination*, and 11% ($n = 11$) of adolescents and young adults who described their *sense of belonging* to their Indigenous or Oaxaqueño/a heritage. Figure 2 also shows the enhancement ($n = 8$), disengagement ($n = 8$), and puzzled ($n = 4$) responses by the 27 adolescents and young adults who reported an ISE involving ethnic-racial discrimination.

Cultural practices. Oaxaqueño/a-heritage adolescents and young adults who recalled an encounter involving *cultural practices* described the experience as helping

them identify the cultural traditions and values that defined and provided meaning to their membership in the Oaxaqueño community. Observing cultural celebrations such as the *Guelaguetza* or participating in *calendas* as part of festivities honoring religious figures served as cultural markers that distinguish Oaxaqueño culture within the Mexican community. For example, Juakin, a 17-year-old U.S.-born boy, recalled a visit to Oaxaca at the age of ten:

I didn't understand what Oaxaqueño meant because I really had no sense of what it was to be something other than Mexican. It was *la fiesta de La Virgen de Juquila* [celebration honoring the Virgin of Juquila] and my parents volunteered me to carry the cabinet that she is in. I danced in a *monte* [mountain] and various Oaxaqueño activities. I thought it was what every Mexican did but then my parents told me that it was a Oaxacan tradition.

Oaxaqueño adolescents and young adults, particularly youth who, like Juakin, thought of themselves primarily as Mexican and rarely as Oaxaqueño, worked to integrate the positive cultural experiences into their sense of self and often turned to their parents to explain these traditions and celebrations.

Ethnic-racial discrimination. Experiences involving ethnic and racial discrimination from their Mexican peers made adolescents and young adults aware of the racial hierarchy, negative stereotypes, and bias against those of Oaxaqueño and Indigenous heritage. Oaxaqueño/a-Indigenous adolescents and young adults described the impact of these negative experiences had on their sense of self. For example, Yazmina, an 18-year-old girl born in Oaxaca, recalled the discrimination she

experienced from a Mexican peer shortly after immigrating to the U.S. at the age of ten:

When she saw me she thought I was dirty and filthy. She thought that because my color of skin was darker than hers. Just because of that she thought I was less than her. She would tell me that my clothes were cheap just because I was Indigenous. That event got to me because nobody had bullied me in such a way. Maybe they have done that, but not in a way that I had understood.

Yazmina's narrative highlights how these experiences highlighted social distinctions among Mexican-American, Mexican, and Indigenous migrant students based on racial and cultural stereotypes, included colorism and socioeconomic status that mark Indigenous heritage youth as inferior to their mestizo Mexican peers. Yazmina's encounter also reflected her cognitive capacity to understand abstract concepts like race and ethnicity and made her Indigenous identity a salient aspect of her self-definition.

U.S.-born participants also described exploring their Oaxaqueño/a heritage following experiences of discrimination and reexamining their identity in more depth later in life, including at college. For example, Pablo, 23-year-old U.S.-born college student, initially turned to his mother to explain why he had felt embarrassed and challenged about his identity when a Mexican-American high school classmate asked him if he was of Oaxaqueño heritage. He recalled, "After this, I was always conscious of who I was and it wasn't until college that I explored this identity in more depth."

Sense of belonging. Eleven percent of participants described experiences that highlighted their sense of belonging to their Indigenous heritage. Some described a weak sense of belonging because of their limited knowledge or engagement in the cultural practices of their Indigenous community. Not being taught or not being proficient in the Indigenous language led some adolescents and young adults to question their authenticity as Indigenous. For example, Raul, a 20-year-old young adult male born in Oaxaca described his interaction with a Mixteco vendor on a visit to Oaxaca:

I told her, in Spanish, that my change was 37 (pesos) but she didn't understand so I said [it] in Mixteco. She understood me but laughed because I said it wrong... That made me think, "How is it that I am Mixteco but I can't speak Mixteco correctly... I felt ashamed that I couldn't speak my own language.

Afterwards I learned how to count and I dug more into my culture since then. Raul defined his Indigenous identity in terms of his knowledge and proficiency in cultural practices, particularly with the Indigenous language.

In contrast, other youth provided sense of belonging narratives that described their strong and positive sense of belonging to the Indigenous community. Saturnina, a 16-year-old adolescent girl born in Oaxaca, described her mother's language socialization and the implications this had for her positive feelings about her Indigenous identity:

My mom teaches me my Oaxacan culture, to never stop speaking Mixteco because it is very important.

They often described being socialized by their parents to be proud of their Indigenous heritage and engage in the cultural practices of their Indigenous communities;

I see a lot of people who are ashamed of speaking Mixteco. I am very happy that I speak Mixteco very well. I thank my mother for that.

Question 2: Interrelations among Ethnic-Racial Attitudes, Within-Group Discrimination, Self-Esteem, and Indigenous Self-Identification

Table 3 provides a matrix of correlations among scores on the six ethnic-racial attitudes, within-group discrimination, self-esteem, and ethnic-racial identity (a composite of *Affirmation*, *Resolution*, *Exploration*) scores for the sample by age group. The critical alpha was set at .01 and only correlations of at least $|.39|$ were interpreted.

Within-group discrimination. The majority of Oaxaqueño/a-heritage youth in this sample reported witnessing (85%) or personally experiencing (72%) at least one racial hassle and/or recalled an identity-salient experience involving racial discrimination from their Mexican peers. A two-way ANOVA revealed that Oaxaqueño/a-Indigenous adolescents and young adults who self-identified as Indigenous reported experiencing more within-group discrimination ($M = 1.92$, $SD = 1.00$) compared to their Oaxaqueño/a-Indigenous peers who did not identify as Indigenous ($M = 1.49$, $SD = 1.45$), $F(1, 75) = 4.69$, $p = .033$.

The prediction that reports of within-group discrimination would be positively correlated with Pre-Encounter attitudes and negatively correlated with Post-Encounter attitudes was partially supported. As shown in Table 3, adolescents' reported within-

group discrimination was positively correlated with their Miseducation and Self-Hatred attitudes, but young adults' reported discrimination was not correlated with either their Pre- or Post-Encounter attitudes. Contrary to what was predicted, adolescents' reported within-group discrimination was positively correlated with their Ethnocentric attitudes.

Self-esteem. The prediction that Oaxaqueño/a-heritage adolescents and young adults who endorsed higher Pre-Encounter attitudes would report lower self-esteem was partially confirmed. Assimilationist and Self-Hate were the two Pre-Encounter attitudes negatively correlated with adolescents' self-esteem, whereas Miseducation and Self-Hate were the two Pre-Encounter attitudes negatively correlated with young adults' self-esteem. Although no predictions were tested about the relations between Post-Encounter attitudes and self-esteem, Anti-Dominant and Multiculturalist Inclusive attitudes were negatively and positively correlated with adolescents' and young adults' self-esteem, respectively.

Indigenous self-identification. It was predicted that Oaxaqueño/a-Indigenous adolescents and young adults who self-identified as Indigenous would endorse lower levels of Pre-Encounter attitudes and higher levels of Post-Encounter attitudes. Providing partial support for this hypothesis, a series of independent *t*-tests, with a critical α value set at .008 to control error rate, revealed differences in only one Post-Encounter attitude: among Oaxaqueño/a-Indigenous adolescents and young adults, those who self-identified as Indigenous endorsed higher Multiculturalist Inclusive

attitudes ($M = 3.50$, $SD = .51$) compared to their Oaxaqueño/a-Indigenous peers who did not identify as Indigenous ($M = 3.17$, $SD = .44$), $t(87) = -2.90$, $p = .005$.

Question 3: Ethnic-Racial Identity as Buffer in Discrimination

The prediction that reported within-group discrimination would be negatively correlated with self-esteem was not confirmed: reported within-group discrimination was not correlated with either Oaxaqueño/a-heritage adolescents' or young adults' self-esteem. Because adolescents' reported within-group discrimination was negatively correlated with their Self-Hatred attitudes, I tested the potential buffering effect of ethnic identity (composite score of *Affirmation*, *Resolution*, and *Exploration*; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004) on ethnic-racial Self-Hatred attitudes. A regression analyses revealed that reported within-group discrimination was not associated with ethnic identity, a condition necessary for mediation (Baron & Kenny, 1986). Thus, there was no evidence that ethnic identity mediated the relation between adolescents' reported within-group discrimination and their endorsement of Self-Hatred attitudes.

Emotional reactions to ISEs involving ethnic-racial discrimination.

Overall, participants reported anger (32%), shame (22%), fear (19%), and pride (15%) as the primary emotions initially evoked by experiences involving ethnic-racial discrimination.

Using the emotion codes, four 2 x 2 chi-square tests were conducted to examine whether or not adolescents and young adults differed in whether or not they described feeling each emotion (anger, shame, fear, and pride). It was predicted that adolescents would be more likely to report fear and shame in response to

discrimination, whereas young adults would be more likely to report anger and pride. Contrary to predictions, 57% of adolescents described feeling anger, compared to only 15% of young adults, $\chi^2(1, N = 27) = 5.04, p = .025$. In contrast, 39% of young adults described feeling shame, whereas only 7% of adolescents did so, $\chi^2(1, 27) = 3.83, p = .05$. There were no age-group differences in adolescents' and young adults' reports of fear or pride. Similar age patterns emerged in participants' ratings of how much they felt anger, shame, fear, and pride at the time the event occurred. Four independent *t*-tests, using a critical alpha value of .0125 to control error rate, revealed that adolescents reported feeling more anger ($M = 4.00, SD = 1.15$) compared to young adults ($M = 2.50, SD = 1.38$), $t(23), p < .01$. There were no age-group differences in participants' ratings of how much they felt shame, fear, or pride.

The narratives of high school Oaxaqueño/a-heritage adolescents revealed how the anger evoked by experiences of discrimination related to their identity as Oaxaqueño and reaffirmed their pride in their ethnic heritage. For example, Luis described an experience he had at age 14, when he witnessed his middle school classmates subject a Oaxaqueño peer to racial discrimination based on his skin color. Luis described how this experience conflicted with his pride but led to his reaffirming his identity as Oaxaqueño:

One day I got really offended because some kids at school were making fun of a boy because he was dark [skinned], calling him an "Indian". So I stood up because I really don't care. I'm proud to be a Oaxaqueño. [I felt] pride and anger because my dad has showed me to be proud of being Oaxaqueño...It

was just me, alone, so I stood up...I was angry and I told them off...It made me feel more proud about who I am.

In this experience, Luis described his anger in terms of righteous indignation that gave him the courage to challenge the discrimination, defend his Oaxaqueño heritage, and reaffirmed his ethnic pride.

Discussion

This study drew on Nigrescence Theory (Cross, 1991); Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1982); and the Ethnic Identity framework (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004) to examine three questions about Oaxaqueño/a-heritage adolescents and young adults living in the U.S.: (1) Are there age-group differences in their ethnic-racial attitudes and Identity-Salient Experiences?; (2) What are the interrelations between their ethnic-racial attitudes, within-group discrimination, self-esteem, and Indigenous self-identification?; and (3) Does their ethnic identity buffer the predicted negative relationship between within-group discrimination and self-esteem?

First, I discuss findings with respect to the first question regarding age-group differences in ethnic-racial attitudes and ISEs. More specifically, I discuss adolescents' higher endorsement of ethnic-racial Self-Hatred and findings regarding the cultural practices and racialized ISEs reported by participants as defining and shaping their sense of belonging to their Oaxaqueño and Indigenous community.

Second, I discuss the relations among ethnic-racial attitudes, reported within-group discrimination, self-esteem, and Indigenous self-identification. Third, I discuss the lack of evidence for the buffering role of ethnic identity and propose to examine how

emotional reactions to within-group discrimination support disengaging or enhancing identity management strategies. In each of these three sections, I address implications of the findings for the three conceptual models that guided this study. Finally, I close by considering both strengths and limitations of this study, next steps in research, and practical implications for the development of ethnic-racial identity in Indigenous and other ethnic minority youth in diverse contexts.

Question 1: Ethnic-Racial Attitudes and Identity-Salient Experiences

Overall, the ethnic-racial attitude profiles of Oaxaqueño/a-heritage adolescents and young adults in this sample revealed their strong connections to their own ethnic-racial group as well as their valuing of other cultural groups (Multiculturalist Inclusive) and their weak negative attitudes toward *mestizo* Mexican peers (Anti-Dominant) and towards their own identity as Oaxaqueño/a (Self-Hatred). Similar to the profiles of Oaxaqueño/a-heritage adolescents and young adults, Multiculturalist Inclusive attitudes have been found to be the highest and Self-Hatred and Anti-Dominant (i.e., Anti-White) attitudes the lowest among African American adolescents, emerging adults, and adults (Worrell, 2008), suggesting parallels in the social attitudes measured by Cross Racial Identity Scale and Cross Scale of Social Attitudes (CSSA-V6) across adolescence and young adulthood, even though the Oaxaqueño/a-heritage sample in this study had different demographic characteristics, including migration status.

As with Cross (1971, 1991) in his original and revised Nigrescence Theory, the present study predicted a developmental progression in Oaxaqueño/a-heritage

adolescents' and young adults' ethnic-racial attitudes, with adolescents endorsing higher Pre-Encounter attitudes (Assimilationist, Miseducation, and Self-Hatred) and young adults endorsing higher Post-Encounter attitudes (Anti-Dominant, Ethnocentric, and Multiculturalist Inclusive). Some age-group differences emerged, such as Oaxaqueño/a-heritage adolescents reporting higher ethnic-racial Self-Hatred attitudes and lower Multiculturalist Inclusive attitudes compared to young adults, but not all of those anticipated were found. The age differences found for only one Pre- and one Post-Encounter attitude did not provide strong evidence for a broader developmental progression in ethnic-racial attitudes among Oaxaqueño/a-heritage adolescents and young adults. Worrell (2008) did not find age differences in African American adolescents' and young adults' Post-Encounter attitudes, but he did find that African American adolescents reported higher Assimilation, Miseducation, and Self-Hatred attitudes compared to African American young adults. The differences between my sample and African American youth suggest that the reported findings for African American youth suggests that the Cross's Social Identity scale may not generalize to those Oaxaqueño/a-heritage youth who may regard themselves as part of the dominant (Mexican) and the marginalized group (Oaxaqueño/a).

It was only for the adolescent sample and not for the young adult sample, that reports of within-group discrimination were positively related to endorsing stereotypes about the Oaxaqueño community (Miseducation) and ethnic-racial Self-Hatred attitudes. Because there were no age-group differences in ISEs of discrimination or reported levels of within-group discrimination, adolescents' higher

endorsement of Self-Hatred attitudes may reflect their sensitivity to this form of discrimination from their Mexican peers. Adolescents' higher endorsement of ethnic-racial Self-Hatred attitudes compared to those of young adults disappeared once reported within-group discrimination was covaried. The costs of peer discrimination for Oaxaqueño/a-heritage youths' feelings and attitudes about their ethnic-racial group may be heightened during adolescence, when peer acceptance peaks in importance (Bishop & Inderbitzen, 1995); this may make them particularly sensitive to and negatively affected by rejection and discrimination from co-national peers. That peers' acceptance and opinions matter during adolescence may help explain why discrimination from co-national peers has a greater impact on adolescents' ethnic-racial attitudes than on young adults'.

Multidimensional ethnic-racial attitudes: Adapting the Cross Scale of Social Attitudes to an Indigenous Mexican sample. In this study, concerns emerged about adapting the Cross Scale of Social Attitudes (Worrell & Vandiver, 2013) for Oaxaqueño/a-heritage adolescents and young adults living in the U.S. Specifically, Anti-Dominant and Self-Hatred attitudes were highly correlated for Oaxaqueño/a-heritage adolescents and young adults in this sample. Although the distinction between belonging to White dominant racial-ethnic group and a marginalized group is likely to be clear for African American youth, with whom Cross originally developed his theory, differentiating between dominant and marginalized group membership may be less clear-cut for Oaxaqueño/a-heritage youth, who navigate intersecting identities as Oaxaqueño/a, Mexican, and American (Azmitia, Syed, &

Radmacher, 2008; Stephen, 2007). The high correlation between Anti-Dominant and Self-Hatred attitudes may reflect participants' overlapping negative attitudes about both their intersecting national, ethnic and racial identities as Mexican and Oaxaqueño.

Understanding the multidimensional identities of Oaxaqueño/a-heritage, as well as the growing multicultural, mixed-heritage, and migrant Youth of Color in the U.S. more broadly, will require assessing and conceptualizing ethnic-racial identities beyond the Black-White racial binary. The development of ethnic-racial attitudes and identities among many immigrants, including Indigenous Mexican youth, is neither a simple process of assimilation nor restricted to bicultural identities. Expanding on Berry's (1997) bi-dimensional acculturation model, scholars have proposed a *tridimensional model of acculturation* (Ferguson, Bornstein, & Pottinger, 2012) to capture the experiences of immigrants who participate in multiple cultural communities in their host and or native countries. For example, Waters (1994) described the *transnational identities* developed by black West Indian immigrant adolescents who, although more likely to adopt a hyphenated (e.g., Haitian-American) or a Black American identity than retain a Haitian identity, commonly merged these with an American identity. These hyphenated identities may reflect their experiences of African Americans discriminating against West Indian immigrants. In another example of tridimensional identities, Jewish Russian immigrant youth in the U.S. have also been found to integrate their Jewish, Russian, and American identities, but they have reported a stronger sense of American identity

and weaker sense of Russian identity compared to their non-Jewish Russian immigrant peers (Birman, Persky, & Chan, 2010). Birman et al. proposed that anti-Semitic experiences in the former Soviet Union might have made Jewish immigrants feel alienated from their country of origin and thus more likely to embrace American culture.

Identity-salient experiences of cultural identity, ethnic and racial discrimination, and belonging. Surprisingly, the majority of Oaxaqueño/a-heritage adolescents and young adults in the present study recalled a positive cultural experience as the encounter that made them aware of their Oaxaqueño/a-heritage. This finding was contrary to predictions that experiences involving discrimination would be the most commonly recalled ISEs, based on previous ethnographic studies with Oaxaqueño/a youth which have tended to focus on the role of discrimination in making youth aware of their Oaxaqueño/a and Indigenous identity (Stephen, 2007) and the narrative studies of prejudice recalled by Latino and Asian American college students (Syed & Azmitia, 2008).

Oaxaqueño/a-heritage adolescents and young adults described their experiences observing or engaging in positive and distinct cultural practices as having helped them define and explore their Oaxaqueño/a and Indigenous identity. Their positive experiences with cultural practices such as Oaxaqueño dance groups and music, as well as cultural and religious festivities such as the *Guelaguetza* helped adolescents and young adults understand “where they come from” and “who they are”. This new understanding of their ethnic heritage and “roots” may help youth

construct a coherent life narrative which is central for healthy adjustment (Erikson, 1968). Cruz-Manjarrez' (2013) ethnography of the Zapotec immigrant community in Los Angeles highlighted how immigrants' participation in festivities honoring their patron saint San Antonio de Padua helped them renegotiate their Indigenous identities and fostered their economic, social, and cultural reintegration in their communities of origin.

Contrary to predictions, only a quarter of the Oaxaqueño/a-heritage youth in this sample identified experiences of discrimination from their Mexican peers as formative to their ethnic identity. Rather, in this study, Oaxaqueño/a-heritage adolescents and young adults described how it was their encounters with both cultural practices and within-group discrimination that prompted them to explore their Oaxaqueño/a-heritage, defined their membership in the Oaxaqueño community, and helped them understand their sense of self and of belonging to traditions, beliefs, and histories of the Oaxaqueño community. These identity-salient experience served as encounters that prompted their identity exploration, often described as an intergenerational process of identity construction as they asked their parents to explain the traditions and cultural practices of their community and to help them interpret their experiences of discrimination.

Parents' important role in the cultural and ethnic-racial socialization of ethnic minority youth has been well documented among African American (Hughes, Rodriguez, Smith, Johnson, Stevenson, & Spicer (2006) and Latino (Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2009) families. Hughes et al. (2006) define parents' cultural

socialization as “parental practices that teach children about their racial or ethnic heritage and history; that promote cultural customs and traditions and that promote children’s cultural, racial, and ethnic pride, either deliberately or implicitly” (2006, p. 749). Such cultural socialization may include parents speaking to their children about coping and responding to discrimination, reinforcing their cultural pride, and preparing them for future discrimination. Future research can productively examine these issues among Oaxaqueño parents’ cultural socialization, including their methods of transmitting cultural practices and reinforcing pride in their Indigenous culture. Understanding families’ *sabers* – their pedagogies and knowledge systems– may provide insights into individual variation in the skills Oaxaqueño parents transmit to their children to navigate and maintain their cultural pride despite the racial dynamics of the transnational Mexican community. To extend our understanding of the intergenerational process of identity development for ethnic-racial minority and immigrant youth, future research should examine how parents’ own ethnic-racial attitudes and identities are associated with the cultural values, narratives, and skills they instill and communicate to their children.

Question 2: Ethnic-Racial Attitudes, Within-Group Discrimination, Self-Esteem, and Indigenous Self-Identification

Adolescents’ reports of within-group discrimination were positively related to Miseducation, Self-Hatred, and Ethnocentric attitudes, but not for young adults. As predicted, adolescents’ and young adults’ endorsements of Self-Hatred attitudes were negatively correlated with their self-esteem. Oaxaqueño/a-Indigenous adolescents

who self-identified with an Indigenous ethnic label reported higher Multiculturalist Inclusive attitudes and within-group discrimination.

This study built on Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1982) to consider how within-group racial discrimination impacts how Mexican adolescents and young adults develop a sense of belonging to their Indigenous heritage. Examining such conflict contributes to understanding of how ethnic-racial minority adolescents and young adults cope with within-group discrimination, as with African American students accused of “acting white” by their African American peers (Begin & Cook, 2002; Cooper, Gonzalez, & Wilson, 2015). This study provides evidence that within-group ethnic and racial dynamics relate to Oaxaqueño/a-heritage adolescents’ and young adults’ ethnic-racial attitudes, self-esteem, and sense of belonging to their Indigenous heritage. Taken together, the quantitative responses and qualitative narratives provided by participants offer a multidimensional understanding of the ethnic-racial attitudes, identity-salient experiences, and emotions that constitute ethnic-racial identity for U.S.- and Mexico-born Oaxaqueño/a-heritage adolescents and young adults living in the U.S.

The findings that reported within-group discrimination was correlated with adolescents’ ethnic-racial Self-Hatred and Ethnocentric attitudes provide evidence of both *disengagement* and *enhancement identity management strategies* proposed by Social Identity Theorists (Goffman, 2009; Tajfel, 1982). Consistent with a disengagement identity management strategy, Eugenio, a young adult in this sample, described his sadness, embarrassment, and low self-esteem related to discrimination

he had experienced in adolescence, and being unable to speak up and reaffirm his Indigenous identity, fearing the consequences associated with his undocumented status:

Durante mi nines [12-17 años de edad] tuve muchas dificultades. No solo por ser Oaxaqueño, pero por ser Mexicano. Mucha discriminacion...En la escuela [frente a] los estudiantes compañeros...Solo sentia tristesa, pena, con la auto estima baja. No reaccione por miedo a las consecuencias al no estar legal en este pais. Solo demostrar que no estaban en lo correcto. Probarles lo contrario... No entendia porque la discriminacion. During my childhood [12-17 years old] I had many challenges. Not only for being Oaxaqueño but also for being Mexican. A lot of discrimination...at school [in the presence] of my classmates. I felt sadness, embarrassment, and with low self-esteem. I did not react [to the discrimination] because of fear of the consequences for not being legally in this country... [To handle or make sense of the experience, I] show them that they weren't right. Prove them wrong... I did not understand why the discrimination.

Instead, Eugenio remained silent and worked to “prove them wrong”. His response to discrimination provides an example of how these experiences may be internalized by the individual who may feel the burden to contest stereotypes about the Oaxaqueño community. Hurtado (1999) argues that understanding individual versus collective group resistance may help researchers understand why some individuals are able to

challenge and succeed in oppressive sociocultural contexts while others internalize them.

Question 3: Ethnic Identity as a Buffer and Emotional Reactions to Discrimination

Quantitative analyses of Oaxaqueño/a-heritage adolescents' and young adults' reported within-group discrimination revealed no associations with their self-esteem nor with the strength of their ethnic identity. Thus, this study provides no evidence of the potentially protective role of strong ethnic identity for adolescents and young adults who experience racial discrimination. Emotion coding of participants' identity-salient narratives revealed that Oaxaqueño/a-heritage adolescents were more likely to respond to within-group discrimination with anger compared to young adults. This provides further evidence of the psychological toll of such experiences during adolescence.

The narratives involving ethnic and racial discrimination provided insight into the potential role of emotions in differentiating which identity management strategies are adopted by marginalized adolescents and young adults. That adolescents were more likely than young adults to report anger in response to an ISE involving discrimination suggests that mapping how often adolescents and young adults experience fear, shame, anger, and pride will be critical for understanding the emotional impact of discrimination on their psychological well-being. Future research should build on the Affirmation dimension of the Ethnic Identity framework by examining more closely how emotional reactions to discrimination may shape

disengagement or enhancement identity management strategies proposed by Social Identity theorists. I now turn to a discussion of disengagement and then enhancing identity management strategies.

The *miedo* (fear), *vergüenza* (shame), and *pena* (embarrassment) evoked by discrimination may shape Oaxaqueño/a-heritage adolescents' and young adults' decisions to not learn or to conceal their Indigenous language and to publically deny their Oaxaqueño/a or Indigenous heritage. The relations among shame, hiding, and rejection of Indigenous culture and identity were reported by Kovats (2010), who interviewed Mixtec migrant parents, children, and young adults living in San Diego, California and found that “teasing and rejection by their *mestizo* classmates stimulated feelings of shame on behalf of many of the participants” (p. 53).

Zenaida, a young woman, recalled witnessing her Oaxaqueño peers being subjected to ethnic (language) and racial (skin color) discrimination in her English high school class. She recalled feeling *avergonzada* (shame), *miedo* (fear), *pena* (embarrassment), surprise, and *coraje* (righteous indignation) at the students perpetrating the discrimination, at the teacher, and at herself for not speaking up:

Estaba en clase [de Ingles] y mis companeros se burlaron de un joven que es Oaxaqueño por que no hablaba bien el Ingles. Se rieron de el y lo llamaron "Oaxaquita" y "little Mexican". Me iso pensar en mi herencia Oaxaqueña. Me senti avergonzada y con miedo. Avergonzada porque me pregunte que seria lo que ellos dirian de mi por ser Mexicana y Oaxaqueña. Tenia miedo de ser rechazada por los demas por mi origen. También me dio coraje porque no

puede levantar mi voz y defender ah mi compañero. Senti pena por ser Oaxaqueña. Me quede sorprendida que mis propios companeros se burlaran de el joven solo por ser Oaxaqueño. Que el maestro no haya echo nada, me dio coraje. Coraje por que no puede defender mi origen. Empeze a volarme ami misma y a involucrarme en organizaciones Oaxaqueñas. Me introducía como Oaxaqueña y empeze a levantar mi voz de que soy Indigena....Somos discriminados por nuestro color de piel y nuestro dialecto Indigena. Tenemos que estar unidos y levantar nuestra voz para ser escuchados. Aprender a aceptarnos a nosotros mismos y valorar nuestra cultura. Tenemos que ser fuerte y no sentirnos inferior a los demas. When I was in [English] class and my classmates were making fun of a student who is Oaxaqueño because he didn't speak English well. They laughed at him and called them "Oaxaquita" and "little Mexican". It made me think of my Oaxaqueño heritage and made me wonder what they said about me. I felt ashamed and fearful. Ashamed because I wondered what they said about me for being Mexican and Oaxaqueña. I was afraid of being rejected by others because of my heritage. I also felt anger because I wasn't able to speak up and defend my classmate. I felt embarrassed for being Oaxaqueña. I was surprised that my own classmates would make fun of the young man only because he was Oaxaqueño. That the teacher did not do anything, it made me angry. Angry because I wasn't able to defend my heritage...I began to value myself and became involved in Oaxaqueño organizations. I introduced myself as

Oaxaqueña and I began to raise my voice about being Indigenous... We are discriminated for our skin color and Indigenous dialect. We need to be united and raise our voices to be heard, learn to accept ourselves and value our culture. We need to be strong and not feel inferior.

Zenaida's retrospective account highlights the self-conscious emotions that constitute the development of a marginalized identity during adolescence into young adulthood; shame of what her peers would think of her Oaxaqueño/a-heritage, embarrassment of being Oaxaqueña and Mexican, and fear of being rejected by her peers. Consistent with Nigrescence Theory (Cross, 1991), Zenaida's feelings of inferiority were related to her silence and disengagement from her Oaxaqueña identity during adolescence, while her developing sense of self-worth was accompanied by her immersion in the Oaxaqueño community in young adulthood.

In contrast, Tajfel and Turner (1979) proposed that individuals might maintain a positive social identity despite marginalization by highlighting the positive attributes of their group. "Black is beautiful" and "Brown is beautiful" are examples of the Black and Chicano communities, respectively, *appropriating* racial identities that challenge and reframe the negative value attached to skin color. Appropriated identities illustrate how individuals reclaim and redefine the meaning behind their identities (Somers & Gibson, 1993).

Evidence of the enhancement management strategy also emerged in Oaxaqueño/a-heritage adolescents' and young adult's narratives in the present study.

For example, Yatziri, an adolescent girl, described feeling anger, frustration, and pride after witnessing a classmate being the target of discrimination. When asked to describe what this experience made her think about her Oaxaqueño heritage, Yatziri responded, “It made me feel more proud about who I am.” Kearney and Nagengast (1989) observed similar oppositional responses to discrimination. Migration and experiences of discrimination outside of Oaxaca motivated Indigenous Mexican migrant adults to adopt labels such as *Mixteco*, *Zapoteco*, *Indígena*, and *Oaxaqueño*, in contrast with their lives before immigration, where Mixtecs’ and Zapotecs’ identities were linked to their *pueblo* or community. Kearney (2000) argued that Indigenous migrant adults in California appear to renegotiate and recreate their Indigenous identities, in part from experiencing ethnic and racial discrimination (Kearney, 1995, 2000; Kearney & Nagengast, 1989; Stephen, 1996, 2007; Velasco Ortiz, 2002).

Affective reactions, particularly in response to experiences of discrimination, is an important dimension of the formation and re-evaluation of ethnic-racial identity for marginalized ethnic-minority youth (Rivas-Drake, Syed, Umaña-Taylor, Markstrom, French, Schwartz, & Lee, 2014). This study contributes to our understanding of the affective dimension of ethnic identity development by providing a closer look at the emotional reactions to discrimination and the ways they may shape identity management strategies.

Strengths and Limitations of the Present Study

The present mixed methods study contributes to the research literature on Oaxaqueño youth that is largely based on small ethnographic samples, including four (Barillas-Chón, 2010), twenty (Kovats, 2010), and fourteen participants (Stephen, 2007), respectively. Still, the findings of the present study cannot be generalized to experiences of adolescents and young adults who have not attended high school or college. Youth who spend most of their time in non-academic contexts may have different experiences with discrimination and exposure to cultural practices, especially if they work in agricultural labor or in the service sector, where racial dynamics of the transnational Mexican community continue to relegate them to its lowest rungs. A further step in the program of research of which this dissertation is a part will be to compare samples of Oaxaqueño/a-heritage young adults in college to those who have not attended college.

Second, the ethnic-racial attitudes and experiences of Indigenous Oaxaqueño adolescents and young adults reported in the present study cannot be generalized to those of other Indigenous adolescents and young adults either in the U.S. or other nations worldwide. The ethnic-racial identities of Indigenous Oaxaqueño migrant adolescents and young adults in the U.S. may be unique because they reflect their intersecting experiences as Indigenous and as immigrants to the U.S. For example, Oaxaqueño migrant adolescents or young adults identifying as Oaxaqueño may have adopted a geographical identity that highlights the salience of their identity as immigrants as much as their sense of belonging to the cultural practices and values that characterize the Oaxaqueño community (Fox, 2006). In future research, theories

of ethnic-racial identity that are largely based on U.S. young adult college samples, will need to build on the concept of *intersectionality* (Azmitia & Thomas, 2015; Crenshaw 1991) to conceptualize and assess how ethnic-racial and immigrant identities are intertwined in the experiences of the growing number of multicultural and mixed-heritage migrant youth.

Future Directions for Research and Practice

The narratives of Oaxaqueño/a-heritage adolescents and young adult in this study described their identity-salient experiences in the context of their migration histories, including Mexico-born youth confronting discrimination upon immigrating to the U.S. or U.S.-born youth recalling their immersion in the Oaxaqueño culture when visiting Oaxaca for the first time. Follow-up analyses revealed differences in the six ethnic-racial attitudes by birthplace, with U.S.-born participants endorsing Assimilationist attitudes to a higher degree compared to their Mexico-born peers. In fact, a higher percentage of U.S.-born participants recalled experiences involving cultural practices than did their Mexico-born peers. These findings highlight the importance of examining ethnic-racial attitudes and identity development in diverse contexts and histories.

Finally, this study has implications for schools and community organizations by revealing challenges and resources associated with Indigenous migrant students' adjustment in the U.S. For example, after Gonzalez and Cooper (2016) found that discrimination against Oaxaqueño students was a concern among local high schools, Gonzalez collaborated with high school students, teachers, and school administrators

to establish *RAICES Indígenas de Mexico*. This student club aimed at providing a safe space for students to discuss strategies for dealing with discrimination against Oaxaqueño/a adolescents and young adults and promoting knowledge of the Indigenous cultures of Mexico. Schools can use the findings of Gonzalez and Cooper (2016) to create similar school-community partnerships that acknowledge the Indigenous heritage of this growing population. Universities can create service opportunities for Oaxaqueño college students to mentor Oaxaqueño adolescents and help them succeed in school and in the community and while coping with discrimination in ways that may ultimately strengthen their intergenerational sense of belonging and ethnic identity. That the experiences of discrimination often took place in the school context---and at times in the presence of teachers---calls for efforts to educate and train educators about the cultural diversity and racial dynamics within co-national peers and the ways these play out in the classroom. The cultural competency of educators must also be accompanied by the appropriate skills for students and teachers to intervene and respond to experiences of discrimination on behalf of peers, themselves, and their students, respectively.

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Table 1

Demographic Data for Oaxaqueño/a-Heritage Adolescent and Young Adult Samples

	<i>Adolescents (n = 55)</i>	<i>Young Adults (n = 77)</i>
Age	16.52 (SD = 1.34)	21.27 (SD = 2.29)
Female (%)	58.2	68.8
Born in Mexico (%)	50	53.9
Indigenous heritage* (%)	77.6	75.7
Speak Indigenous language (%)	44.3	33.3
Mothers who speak Indigenous language (%)	71.1	62.6
Fathers who speak Indigenous language (%)	77.6	65.1
Self-identified with Indigenous label** (%)	45.5	54.5
Self-identified as Oaxaqueño (%)	72.7	81.8
Self-identified as Mexican (%)	72.7	72.7
Self-identified as Latino (%)	34.5	66.2
Mothers with no formal schooling (%)	35.4	30.7
Fathers with no formal schooling (%)	33.3	30.4
Mothers with high school degree (%)	4.2	5.3
Fathers with high school degree (%)	4.4	5.8

* Participant self-identified with an Indigenous label or they or at least one of their parents speaks an Indigenous language.

** Participant self-identified with an Indigenous label: Mixtec, Triqui, Nuu Savi, Zapotec, Indigenous, or Native American.

Table 2

Means Scores on Cross Scale of Social Attitudes for Adolescents and Young Adult Samples

	Full Sample			Adolescents			Young Adults			<i>d</i> *
	<i>(N = 122)</i>			<i>(n = 55)</i>			<i>(n = 77)</i>			
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	α	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	α	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	α	
Assimilation	2.34	.66	.74	2.43	.69	.78	2.32	.63	.68	0.17
Miseducation	2.05	.63	.79	2.20	.66	.78	1.95	.59	.76	0.39
Self-Hatred	1.61	.61	.84	1.78	.66	.81	1.48	.54	.84	0.51 ^{a,b}
Anti-Dominant	1.59	.58	.86	1.73	.68	.88	1.48	.48	.79	0.43 ^b
Ethnocentric	2.49	.62	.63	2.56	.61	.66	2.44	.62	.62	0.20
Multiculturalist	3.42	.50	.80	3.23	.57	.83	3.56	.41	.70	-0.66 ^{a,b}
Inclusive										

* Effect sizes for mean differences on Cross scale between adolescents and young adults.

^a Overall equation significant. ^b Medium or large effect size.

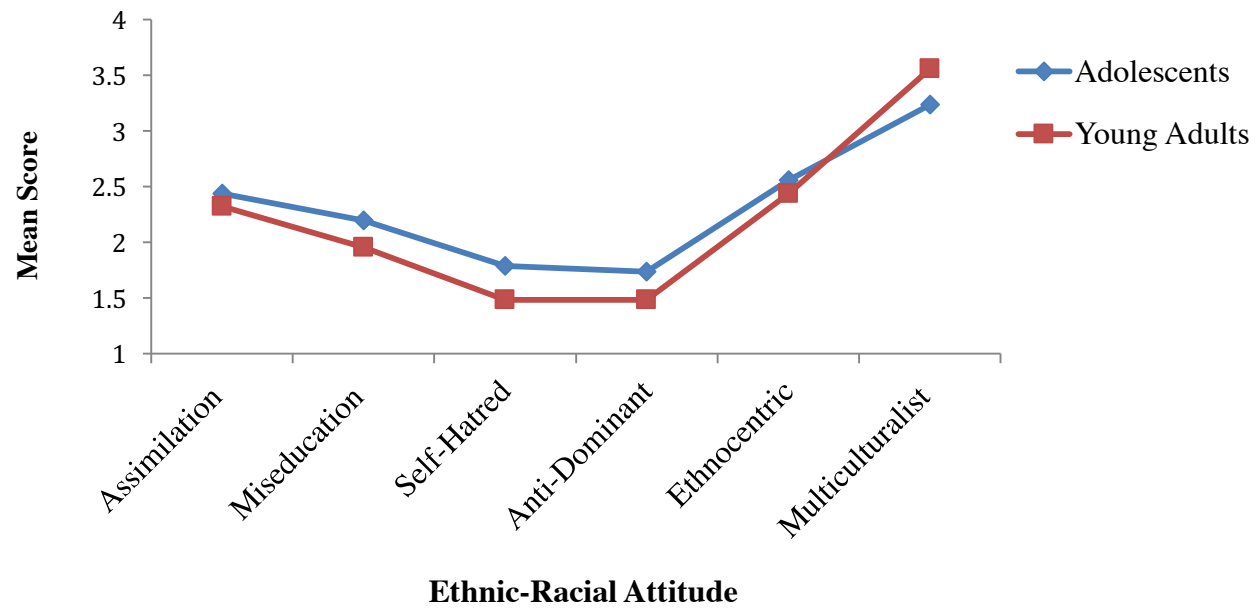


Figure 1: Profiles across Ethnic-Racial Attitudes by Age Group

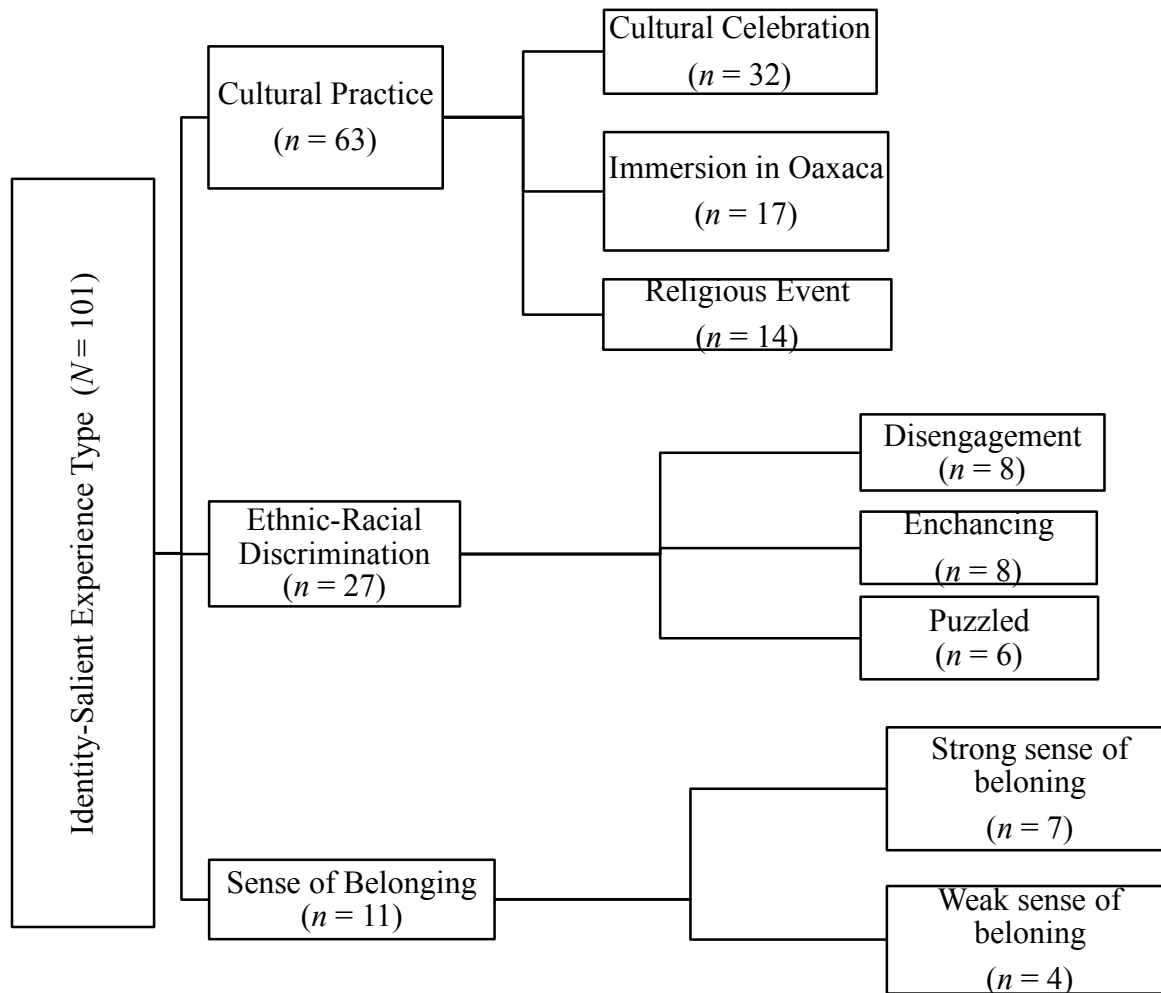


Figure 2: Types and Frequencies of Identity-Salient Experiences

Table 3

Bivariate Correlations for Study Variables by Age Group

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Assimilation	--	.29*	.55***	.38**	.09	-.26	-.44**	.23	-.35*
2. Miseducation	.40**	--	.57***	.72***	.54***	.01	-.21	.39**	-.17
3. Self-Hate	.26*	.51***	--	.81***	.32*	-.34*	-.56***	.43**	-.63***
4. Anti-Dominant	.03	.31**	.55***	--	.52***	-.31*	-.44**	.37**	-.48***
5. Ethnocentric	-.12	.25*	.24*	.45***	--	.08	-.04	.43**	.06
6. Multiculturalist	-.26*	-.25*	-.19	-.31**	.00	--	.39**	.10	.43**
7. Self-Esteem	-.25	-.36**	-.57***	-.42**	-.12	.35**	--	-.20	.56***
8. WG Discrimination	-.23	.09	.17	.27*	.28*	-.13	-.11	--	.05
9. Ethnic Identity	-.42***	-.25*	-.58***	-.28*	.05	.31**	.49***	.12	--

99 *Note.* Data for adolescents are presented above the diagonal.

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