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DEVELOPING A SCALE TO MEASURE INTERNALIZATION OF OPPRESSION AMONG
LATINX LIVING IN NEW YORK CITY

by

JEANNETTE A. SUCRE

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Social Welfare in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
The City University of New York

2023

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APPROVAL

Developing a Scale to Measure Internalization of Oppression among
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Jeannette A. Sucre

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Social Welfare in
satisfaction of the dissertation requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Approved: January 2023

Harriet Goodman, Chair of Examining Committee

Barbara Teater, Executive Officer

Supervisory Committee:

Harriet Goodman

Luis Barrios

Ruffina Lee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

ABSTRACT

Developing a Scale to Measure Internalization of Oppression among
Latinx Living in New York City

by

Jeannette A. Sucre

Advisor: Harriet Goodman, Ph. D

Abstract:

This study created a valid scale of internalization of oppression experienced by Latinx students in New York City. This scale might be used by school counselors, college advisors, and clinicians who work to help Latinx clients. Internalization of oppression refers to the attitudes, beliefs and feelings that may develop among people who belong to populations placed in subordinate positions or devalued by the dominant populations in the societies in which they live. During the past hundred years, sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists, historians, and other social thinkers have theorized about the problems that people experience when the groups and categories they belong to are devalued by the mainstream cultures in which they live. This theoretical work has been followed by empirical efforts to develop measures of internalization of oppression among various populations including African Americans, Asian Americans, and members of LGBTQ+ populations. These measures are related to several aspects of psychological distress, particularly depression, among these populations. The work to develop such scales that are applicable to Latinx populations has been limited.

METHODS A survey was administered to 387 students at two four-year colleges at the City University of New York who reported having at least one grandparent born in Latin America. Included in the survey were 30 items answered on a Likert scale measuring three

aspects of internalization of oppression among Latinx populations. 1. The beliefs that Latinx people exhibit negative characteristics related to criminality, drug usage, intelligence, and work habits. 2. The beliefs that most Americans hold such opinions of Latinx people. 3. The negative feelings expressed by respondents toward being Latinx. The items that loaded highly in a principal components analysis were selected. When multiple items dealt with the same issue, they were eliminated. The scale comprised of the resulting items was analyzed for internal consistency and for construct validity.

RESULTS The final scale included 12 items. Four items related to respondents' negative opinions about Latinx, four items related to respondents' beliefs about most Americans negative opinions about Latinx, and four items related to respondents' negative feelings about being Latinx. The analysis of internal consistency for these 12 items resulted in a high Cronbach's alpha score, allowing the items to be combined into a scale for which a single total score could be calculated. Respondents who scored high on this scale were found to report high levels of depression and low levels of academic self-efficacy than those who scored low on the internalization of oppression scale.

CONCLUSION A scale exhibiting good psychometric properties was developed to measure internalization of oppression among Latinx college students. The scale was developed to be brief and easy for clinicians and college counselors to administer. It was found significantly related to measures of depression and of academic self-efficacy. Further work is needed to validate the scale among other populations such as high school students and adults living in the community. The final test of the scale will be if it helps clinicians and counselors to support their Latinx clients deal with their problems.

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CHAPTER I: PROBLEM FORMULATION AND STATEMENT OF RESEARCH

Latinx, a cultural and ethnic group made up of migrants to the United States from Latin American countries (Merriam-Webster, 2022), is one of the fastest-growing minority groups in the US. In 2016, there were 58 million Latinx in the US, comprising 18% of the total US population, which was a 6.5% increase since 1980 (Flores, 2017). Approximately two-thirds of these Latinx were born in the US (Flores, 2017). In 2019, Latinx contributed 2.7 trillion dollars to the US economy, were responsible for 68.2% of the growth in labor participation, and the quickly increased consumption of taxable products in the US (Latino Donor Collaborative, 2020). Yet, despite their vast contributions to the US economy, Latinx living in America often grow up working in exploitative conditions, living in impoverished neighborhoods, and receiving poor education and medical services. In addition, Latinx are consistently exposed, both in person and through the media, to negative attitudes, thoughts, beliefs, and stereotypes members of the mainstream US society have of them (Canizales & Vallejo, 2021; Guo & Harlow, 2014).

Internalization of oppression refers to a negative cognitive and emotional state involving a devaluation of one's self and one's group as a direct consequence of racial and cultural oppression (David & Derthick, 2014). This construct has been widely researched because of its association with physical health problems amongst members of minority groups, such as the use of skin whitening products containing mercury (WHO, 2011), psychological disorders such as anxiety and depression, and academic problems (David et al. 2014). Pervasive oppression by dominant groups around the world and in the US is often ignored, thus causing internalization among minority groups such as Latinx (Pyke, 2010). Hanna, Talley, and Guindon (2000) list aspects of oppression including distorted beliefs arising from demeaning treatment and negative depictions in the media.

Discriminatory Policy and Internalized Oppression

To understand internalized oppression, it is useful to investigate processes that influence its development among Latinx. One such process relates to social policies enacted in the US and how they are enforced. One example is the practice of stop-and-frisk, the process in which people were stopped in the street, interrogated, and perhaps patted down. This treatment is directed at people who have not necessarily broken the law. A report of the Center for Constitutional Rights (2012) suggests that most stops were made in minority neighborhoods and Blacks and Latinx are more likely to be stopped and frisked than White people. Morin (2009) found that Latinx are searched by police at higher rates than Whites. It is possible that Latinx who were treated in public like potential criminals internalized feelings of being inferior or of being treated as inferior and of feeling bad about their ethnicity, which led to mental health and academic problems.

A similar effect may result from policies such as Arizona's ISB 1070. Pillay (2010) details the effects of ISB 1070, a policy instructing police to primarily target Latinx to find undocumented immigrants. Pillay noted that the psychological impact of such policies on individuals who are US citizens included heightened anxiety, feelings of not belonging, and a loss of a sense of their own power.

Affirmative action is another policy that may negatively affect the self-worth of Latinx. Although it is designed to improve educational opportunities of people from minority backgrounds, an unintended negative effect of this policy may lead some members of minority groups to feel that their accomplishments are devalued. In the words of African American Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas: "I'd graduated from one of America's top law schools – but racial preference had robbed my achievement of its true value" (Thomas, 2008, p. 371).

Justice Thomas appears to take less pride in his accomplishments because he believes that others may see him as a person who succeeded only because he belongs to a less capable population that receives special treatment. The diminished sense of pride contributes to internalized oppression. While there are no specific studies that examine the negative effects of affirmative action in Latinx, the complex racial dynamics of Latinx make Justice Thomas' words worthy of further examination.

In recent years, there has been much debate about immigration policy. Those trying to limit the amount of immigration have put forth several arguments, many of which accused Latinx people of negative traits and of causing harm to people in the US. These include ideas that immigrants abuse the welfare system, increase the budget deficit, and often engage in crime (Nowrasteh, 2018). The publicity given to these accusations often leads to people in the US, including Latinx, being exposed to negative sentiments about Latinx. The most publicity was given to characterizations made by Donald Trump that Mexicans bring drugs and crimes and are rapists (Reilly, 2016).

Latinx Poor Representation in the US Media

In addition to discriminatory treatment, Latinx are continuously subjected to biased portrayals of themselves in the mainstream US media. For instance, in 2002, Mastro and Behm-Morawitz (2005) analyzed primetime television programming over a two-week period and reported that Latinx comprised only 3% of television characters, which is much less than the 12% of the actual population of Latinx. They also found that when depicted, Latinx primarily appeared in secondary and nonrecurring roles. In addition, among male characters, Latinx characters tended to be the least intelligent, least articulate, and laziest in primetime shows. An analysis of characters appearing on television between 1955 and 1986 found that 22% of Latinx

characters were depicted as committing crimes as compared to 11% of White characters (Lichter & Amundson, 2008). Forty-one percent of portrayals of Latinx were categorized as negative versus 32% characterized as positive. Comparable figures for White characters were 31% negative and 40% positive (Lichter & Amundson, 2008). From 2012 to 2013, 17.7% of Latinx film characters and 24.2% of TV characters were linked to crime, a considerable increase from 1994, when it was only 6% on television. In Law-and-Order shows on television, Latinx criminal characters tend to appear more often in stories involving gangs and/or drugs, rather than across all plotlines (Negron-Muntaner, 2014). In addition, to primetime television, similar findings were found by Guo et al. (2014) on the Internet. They sampled the 150 most viewed YouTube videos about Latinx and found that almost all videos reinforced negative Latinx stereotypes such as “law breaker;” “uneducated/unintelligent;” “poor;” “illegal immigrants” (i.e., “aliens/wetbacks” and “anchor babies”); and “sexualized women” (e.g., exotic, or sexually seductive Latina women). Being subjected to many negative depictions of their group in the media may influence how Latinx people come to feel about and view that group.

Measures of Internalization of Oppression among Latinx

Few studies have attempted to understand how Latinx internalize negative attitudes towards themselves and members of their ethnic group, and how these negative attitudes can manifest in their feelings of inferiority and the consequences of these feelings (e.g., lower aspirations, mental health problems, and limited academic achievement). Currently, research appears limited by a deficit of studies exploring the wide-ranging effects of internalized oppression Latinx experience.

To date, two scales of internalized oppression have been developed using Latinx in the sample studied. However, both have significant limitations. Campon and Carter (2015) used a

pool of subjects, including Black, Asian, and Pacific Islanders, Native American, Latinx and “other” respondents to create the *Appropriated Racial Oppression Scale*. The use of the term “race” in most of the questions allowed the scale to be applicable to many different ethnic groups. This term, however, is problematic in measuring beliefs and feelings of Latinx. The answers that Latinx might give to the items of the *Appropriated Racial Oppression Scale* might be confusing because researchers could not be sure if they applied to being Latinx or being of White or African background.

The scale of internalized oppression among Latinx was designed by Hipolito Delgado (2010). The items in this scale were all created based on items of a single scale originally designed for African Americans (Taylor et al., 1996) and adapted for Latinx. In addition, several items in the scale don’t seem to be related to internalization of oppression. For example, items on the scale include “Chicanas/os and Latinas/os have more children than Whites” and “Chicanas/os and Latinas/os have larger families than Whites” are factually accurate statements (Livingston, 2015). Other items relate to Latinx being born with greater musical ability or having more rhythm or more physical ability than Whites do. These items do not measure negative attitudes.

The third important limitation of the Hipolito Delgado (2007) scale is that it does not measure Latinx negative feelings about being members of their ethnic group. It is possible and clearly an empirical issue that deserves to be researched, that emotions related to feeling bad about being Latinx produces problems among Latinx at least partially independently of attitudes of devaluing Latinx.

Another aspect of internalization included in some internalization scales (Piggott, 2004; Ross & Rossner, 1996) but not included in the HipolitoDelgado scale relates to the knowledge that many members of mainstream society look down on Latinx, as discussed below in the

section on perceived discrimination. Liebow (2016) discussed the harmful effects on African Americans of internalizing the notion that many Americans think that African Americans are criminals. A scale measuring the effects on Latinx of living in a society dominated by non-Latinx might usefully include several types of items that are missing from the Hipolito Delgado scale and eliminate the weaker items included in the scale.

Statement of Research

To address the lack of studies quantifying native-born, Latinx internalized oppression experience, this study sought to determine how an improved scale of internalization of oppression among Latinx could be developed using scale construction methodology proposed by DeVellis (1991). The aims of this study are as follows:

1. To generate a pool of items to describe aspects of the negative attitudes and beliefs directed at Latinx.
2. To assess the adequacy of the content of these items by relying on the literature review, other internalization scales and feedback from various faculty members.
3. To administer the questionnaire by asking Latinx college students to indicate how much they agree on Likert Scales with items related to aspects of internalized oppression.
4. To use a principal components analysis to reduce the dimensionality of data. This demonstrates the items in the questionnaire that strongly intercorrelate, as indicated by high loadings on strong factors.
5. To eliminate redundancy between items that load highly on the factors in the principal components analysis.
6. To assess internal consistency by determining that the remaining items exhibit high enough internal reliability to allow them to be summed to create a total scale score.

7. To perform exploratory validation of the scale by determining if scores on the scale predict measures of mental health and measures of concepts that may influence college performance among Latinx students.

CHAPTER II: HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF INTERNALIZED OPPRESSION AMONG LATINX

To apply the theoretical formulations described below to understand the social and psychological forces affecting Latinx in New York, a brief review of the historical events that led so many to immigrate here is useful. The three largest Latinx groups in the city are Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, and Mexicans (*US Census Bureau, 2015*).

Mexico

The massive immigration of Latinx into the US resulted from its policies towards Latin America (Perea, et al., 2015). In the 19th century, the US expanded greatly from the original colonies. Much of that expansion involved the annexation of areas in the borderland between the US and Spanish speaking territories (Gonzalez, 2011). Under the banner of “Manifest Destiny,” Anglo settlers moved into territory formerly controlled by Spain and populated by Spanish speakers. In 1822, the US government supported Mexico’s fight for independence from Spain. This support was motivated in large part by the desire of the US government to gain resources and land, which would be easier if the bordering area was controlled by a weaker Mexican government rather than the government of the Spain (Gonzalez, 2011). In 1823, the US declared in the Monroe Doctrine that the Americas were off limits to any new European colonization.

In 1848, at the end of the US-Mexican war instigated by President James Polk’s stationing of troops at the border (Smith, 2000), in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848), Mexico ceded half of its territory to the US. This treaty included the current-day states of New Mexico, California, Nevada and large parts of Arizona and Texas (Davenport, 2005). These were areas of relatively low population density. This allowed the US access to land and resources without having to add many people to the US populations viewed as ethnically different.

Originally, the Treaty accorded the full rights of citizens to the people living in the newly conquered territory. But members of Congress expressed concern over the racial threat that they perceived would occur with the addition of so many Mexicans. To appease them, Article 9 of the treaty granted Congress the power to make decisions over when the former Mexicans would get full citizenship. Land and property rights for the Mexicans were also deleted from the final version of the treaty (Morin, 2009).

As was the case with other Latin American nations, the US undermined subsequent attempts at democratization in Mexico and supported corrupt and brutal regimes, such as that of Carlos Salinas de Gotari (Morin, 2009). Relying on Mexico for cheap agricultural commodities and labor, the US economy benefited at the expense of that of Mexico. Migration to the US has historically been prompted by demand for labor and agreements like the Bracero Program, which was enacted during World War II to authorize the importation of Mexican laborers to fill jobs in the US that were left vacant by men involved in the war effort (Hipolito-Delgado et al., 2014). This process was accentuated in 1994 with the signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement, after which Mexican immigration to the US increased (Verea, 2014) followed in recent years by a decrease to a number slightly below that seen in 2010 (Zong & Batalova, 2018). The number of immigrants in the near future may vary with the changing policy of the US government.

Throughout its history, the US was aware that it might expand not only westward to the Pacific Ocean but also southward. As early as 1801, Thomas Jefferson (cited in Gonzalez, 2011) wrote, "However, our present interests may restrain us within our limits, it is impossible not to look forward to distant times, when our rapid multiplication will expand beyond those limits, and cover the whole northern if not the southern continent" (p.27).

Puerto Rico

In 1868, Cuban rebels began fighting for independence from Spain. As occurred earlier when Mexico sought its independence, the US supported these efforts as well. Pressure to send US troops into Cuba came from the public, urging the adherents to the notion of Manifest Destiny. Such support came from Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge and from sensationalist reports in newspapers referred to as “Yellow Journalism” (Gonzalez, 2011).

After Spain was defeated, the US in the Treaty of Paris took control of several areas formerly controlled by Spain, including Puerto Rico. Instead of liberating Cuba from Spain, the war resulted in one colonial power, the United States, replacing another colonial power. Repeating the pattern of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the 1898 Treaty of Paris did not grant full rights of citizenship to Puerto Ricans. Citizenship was granted in 1917 but without several Constitutional rights, such as the right to a jury trial or the right to vote in presidential elections (Morin, 2009).

In 1900, the US Congress passed the Foraker Act, which among other things, declared Puerto Rico to be a US territory, authorized the US president to appoint its top administrators, and forbade it from making commercial treaties with other countries. In 1917, the US Congress passed the Jones Act, which imposed US citizenship on all Puerto Ricans over the unanimous objection of their House of Delegates (Gonzalez, 2000).

In 1947, a program titled “Operation Bootstrap” began bringing external capital to Puerto Rico. It included continued exemption from US federal taxes for income earned by corporations working in Puerto Rico. For two decades, Puerto Rico experienced rapid industrialization and strong economic growth. Over time, however, the program exacerbated the decline of agriculture, a drop in the labor force, and a rising wave of emigration leading to economic

disruption and increased poverty (Carrion, 2017). Puerto Rican laborers, semi-skilled and unskilled, were drawn to the opportunities in the garment industry following WWII and largely migrated to the state of New York (Santiago & Jiménez-Muñoz, 2004). Consequently, the Bronx, New York, became home to the largest concentration of Puerto Ricans in the country (Hipolito-Delgado et al., 2014). Together, these legislative acts and programs made Puerto Rico a colony. According to Morin (2009), “The outcome of continuing US colonial rule over Puerto Rico, masked under the guise of a ‘commonwealth,’ is that it retains the economic benefits for US corporate interests, while simultaneously maintaining the Puerto Rican population as a source of cheap and exploitable labor (p.33)”.

In recent years, the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization passed a resolution, the purpose of which was to call for the US to allow Puerto Ricans to exercise fully their right to self-determination and independence. That is, to exercise their right to address their economic and social needs including unemployment, marginalization, insolvency, and poverty” (Schepers, 2016).

Dominican Republic

Major US involvement in the Dominican Republic began in 1892 when Dictator Ulises Heureaux accrued vast quantities of foreign debt with the Dutch and with New York investors. President Theodore Roosevelt worried about a possible European occupation of the Dominican Republic that might threaten sea lanes to the Panama Canal, offered to consolidate the Dominican debt with a loan from a New York bank. In return, all Dominican customs revenues were given to a US agent and the Dominican government agreed that it would only raise taxes or spending with the consent of the US government. In 1916, worried that Dominican resistance to US control might lead the nation to ally with Germany in World War I, President Wilson sent in

marines, imposed martial law, and jailed hundreds of opponents. In 1924, after eight years of US occupation, more than 80% of the arable land in the Dominican Republic belonged to 12 US companies (Gonzalez, 2011).

In 1930, Rafael Leonidas Trujillo “El Jefe” was elected president of the Dominican Republic. For 30 years with US support, he ran the nation as his private fiefdom: kidnapping and raping Dominican women and torturing and jailing his opponents. As his atrocities became widely known, opposition to Trujillo, both inside and outside of the country grew. Fearing a repeat of Batista’s overthrow in Cuba, Trujillo was ultimately assassinated in 1961 with the support of the CIA (Gonzalez, 2011).

In 1965, democratically elected Dominican President Juan Bosch was deposed in a US coup aided by the Dominican army. President Lyndon Johnson sent in troops. This eventually led to the rise in power of Juan Balaguer, a former aide of Trujillo, who became President of the Dominican Republic. To diffuse the uprising that ensued, the US allowed large numbers of people who opposed the Balaguer government to immigrate to the US. Between 1961 and 1986, more than 400,000 people legally emigrated from the Dominican Republic, and another 44,000 moved to Puerto Rico, while thousands more entered both places illegally (Gonzalez, 2011).

Summary

Thus, the US has a long history of colonization exerting military, political, cultural, and economic control over the nations of Latin America. As a result, citizens of these nations have found themselves living in poverty and dominated by repressive regimes sponsored by the US. Given opportunities to escape these conditions and seek the “American Dream,” millions of Latinx immigrated into the US. For Mexicans, the US promoted immigration to obtain a supply

of cheap labor (Lopez, cited in Morin, 2009). Dominicans had to escape from their country, and Puerto Rico became a Commonwealth, essentially a US colony.

The US became a rich nation at the expense of Latin American territories. People living in these territories are often unaware of this dynamic. They only know that they need to leave their homes to seek a better life socially, politically, and economically for themselves and their families. In doing so, however, they enter the US as “others” feeling like beggars asking for a favor. They may be treated as threats and as inferior people taking advantage of US citizens and of the bounty of the wealthy, successful US that offers them opportunities. This puts Latinx in the position of being exposed frequently to views of themselves as lesser so that they may come to believe these stereotypes and feel bad about being Latinx. These attitudes and feelings may be particularly powerful among Latinx who are born in the US and who have been subjected to biases and denigration their whole lives. Internalized oppression may lead Latinx born in the US to exhibit more mental health and academic problems than those who grew up in their own nations in Mexico, South America, and Central America.

CHAPTER III: THEORETICAL FORMULATION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Theoretical Formulation

Many theoretical constructs from Philosophy, Sociology, Psychology, and other social sciences, contribute to understanding of the workings of internalized oppression. The earliest discussions of relevant concepts dealt with definitions and formulations of “the self”. Perhaps the first influential discussion of “the self” came from William James (1890). James first divided “the self” into the “I” and the “Me”. The “I” is the pure ego at the center of existence, which does the thinking and initiates the actions. The “Me” is comprised of the “spiritual self,” the “material self” and the “social self”. The deepest part of the “Me” is “the spiritual self”, which includes our personality, our values, and our morality. The “material self” includes things we consider ours, such as our body, our clothes, our property--but also our family. The “social self” is the most important for understanding internalized oppression. This is comprised of our thoughts about the image that other people have of us. Positive self-feelings are referred to as self-esteem and negative self-feelings have been referred to as shame and humiliation.

James (1890) says that although a person might have as many social selves as there are others who carry an image of that person in their minds, these others tend to fall into categories, so a person has as many social selves as there are groups of individuals whose opinion the person cares about. People generally behave differently in front of these different groups of individuals. If important groups have poor images of the person, she or he can be very hurt. An implication that arises from this aspect of the view of self put forth by James is that the study of the internalized oppression of Latinx should include their beliefs of how the mainstream white population of the United States views them.

Thus, early on James emphasized the importance placed by people on how others view them, and the power of the emotional effects experienced when others do not think highly of them (James, 1890). These two aspects of the views James held of the self, play major roles in internalized oppression.

Sociology began to add emphasis on a concept very similar to the social self in 1902 in the work of Charles Horton Cooley. Cooley noted that the sense of self is always social and always involve a sense of the opinions of others as in the case of shame and pride. These opinions may be general such as when one feels ashamed about doing something that no one else knows about or specific such as when one feels ashamed when caught by a parent doing something of which the parent disapproves (Cooley, 2017).

The most well-known contribution made by Cooley to the formulation of the concept of self is the looking glass self. This refers to a person having a clear notion of what another person thinks of him/her. Depending upon whether the other individual is imagined to have a positive or negative opinion, the person feels good or bad about him or herself. Thus, the other person is serving as a looking glass in which someone views him or herself and feel his or her emotions connected to the opinion of the other person. It is not the opinion itself that leads to powerful emotions, says Cooley, but the evaluation of ourselves we impute to the other person. So, like James, Cooley emphasized the imagination of how we appear to others, the imagination of how the others judge how we appear to them, and the feelings we experience in reaction to those imagined judgements. Subsequently, psychoanalytic theorists used a similar metaphor in discussing how infants develop a sense of self. Lacan (1967) and Winnicott (1971) wrote about how the reactions of caregivers mirror back to infants what the infants are feeling which are then internalized by the infants in their self-concepts.

George Herbert Mead (1934) built upon the ideas of Cooley in his theory of symbolic interaction. Mead described human interactions as communication of significant symbols.

These are actions or utterances that have shared meanings for those involved in the interaction such that they elicit the same kind of response in the person performing them as they do in the person with whom they are interacting. This allows the person behaving to become conscious of the attitude of the other person toward the action making it possible for the person to adjust their behavior in accordance with that attitude. This type of interaction is particularly enabled by the reliance of humans on language.

Over time, people can abstract ideas of how people belonging to relevant groups react. They create generalizations of the expectations and attitudes of others that Mead refers to as generalized others. Like the social self described by James, these generalized expectations and reactions are organized according to the important groups with which people are concerned. To Mead the structure of the self reflects the structure of the society in which one lives. The structure of US society in which Latinx live is that White non-Hispanic people tend to have more influence and be treated as more important than Latinx. Following Mead, this may be reflected in in the structure of the selves developed by Latinx.

A concept widely used by social scientists that is highly related to the self is identity. In fact, many scholars do not really distinguish between the two concepts. Many refer to self and identity (e.g., Owens, 2006), some use the terms interchangeably (e.g., Taylor, 1989), and some rely on the combined term self-identity (e.g., Pedersen, 1999). Like theories of the self, theories of identity are extremely important for the understanding of internalized oppression.

Perhaps the most well-known theorist of identity was Erik Erikson. Erikson (1968, 1980) described identity as a product of human development driven by identity crises divided into eight

stages from birth to death. Human infants are born very helpless. Pleasurable experiences are mostly provided by a caregiver while unpleasant experiences are eliminated. If caregivers respond well to the needs of the infant during that stage, infants might develop a sense of trust in the world and in other people. Contrary, if caregivers fail to provide for the infant's needs, they may develop a sense of mistrust.

Around the ages 1 1/2 and 3, children begin to stand, walk, grab things, and begin to speak. Children thrive when caregivers support their efforts while protecting them from accidents. This allows children to develop a sense of being autonomous, not totally reliant on their caregivers as when they were infants. When children are not properly supported, they will develop shame and doubt about their ability to be independent.

During the ages of three to five, children begin to set up goals and do more things for themselves. If caregivers are supportive of these efforts, children begin to learn how to make decisions and plan. If caregivers are critical of these efforts, children may grow up to have trouble making decisions for themselves.

The fourth and fifth stages posited by Erikson are probably the most relevant to this dissertation. The fourth stage occurs during elementary school when children learn many new skills, including schoolwork but also drawing and sports activities. Children who improve their performance over time and get reinforcement from teachers and caregivers will develop a feeling of being competent and confident. Children who do not get enough support and praise for their learning efforts may develop a feeling of inferiority. This is particularly likely to occur when school systems are under-resourced and when teachers do not have much confidence in the abilities of their students. These circumstances often apply to children from populations that are subordinated and devalued by their society, including Latinx.

The fifth stage occurs during adolescence, when children experience rapid changes in their bodies, in their friendships, in their relationships with caregivers and in the expectations placed upon them. All of these changes share the quality of going in the direction of becoming adults. To do this, individuals must develop a sense of who they are, what they are good at and what their priorities are. These will allow them to begin the process of creating goals for their adult lives. Children who do not receive support and encouragement during these transitions from caregivers and teachers, and who may lack successful role models to emulate, may develop a weak sense of identity and confusion about how to live as adults. Again, social structure characteristics of the US society like, poverty and racism may highly impact individuals at this stage including Latinx youth.

During the fifth stage at young adulthood, people often develop significant relationships. These provide affection, connection, and support. People who have trouble building intimate relationships may come to feel isolated. During the sixth stages of middle adulthood some people come to feel that they are adding to the world, by helping their children or younger colleagues, by continuing to get better at what they are doing and by contributing something valued at work or elsewhere. Others come to feel that they are not adding much to other people and that their lives may not continue to change and improve. During the final stage at late adulthood, people look back on and evaluate their lives. Some feel contentment and pride in what they have accomplished while others experience regret and a feeling of despair.

Because the population studied in this dissertation are students in their early college years, the last three developmental stages discussed by Erikson, which begin around age 20, are less relevant to the data collected in this study. However, of internalization of oppression may be

considered a factor negatively impacting Latinx experience during their life span developmental process.

Another influential discussion of identity comes from Social Identity theory. This theory focusses on how the sense of self of individuals is rooted in the social categories they belong to. The basic premises of social identity theory are: 1. People have a need to have positive concepts of themselves; 2. The self-concepts of people are highly influenced by how positively or negatively the groups that they belong to are seen; 3. All societies, exhibit a hierarchy of groups with unequal treatment. In different societies these hierarchies may be based upon groups defined by race, class, religion, clan, ethnicity, national origin, tribe etc.: 4. People who identify as belonging to one group are highly biased in favor toward other members of that group. (Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Based upon this premises, Social Identity theories suggest that non-White Hispanics will favor members of their own group and feel superior while treating members of other groups, like Latinx as inferior.

Self-categorization theory was built upon social identity theory. It focuses on the processes which led people to view themselves as belonging to particular social categories. Of particular importance in self-categorization theory is the concept of depersonalization. Depersonalization is the tendency to treat people, including oneself, as a member of a group rather than as an individual (Hornsey, 2008; Turner, 1987). In many situations, Latinx people will view themselves as individuals with strengths and weaknesses resulting from biographies. The tendency toward depersonalization may lead them to view themselves through the lens of being Latinx.

McCall and Simmons (1966) posited that in social interactions humans identify others both in terms of who they are as individuals and what categories they can be classified into. They

described role-identities as views that people have of themselves as occupants of particular social positions that allow them to confer meaning to social interactions.

Similarly, in his identity theory Stryker (2007) described identities as internalized role expectations growing out of the social structural positions people identify themselves as belonging to. In this way, the organization of the categories that make up the structures of the societies in which people live determine their views of themselves. As in other theories arising from the symbolic interactionist perspective, societal structures help define the view of self-held by people which in turn helps define the social interactions enacted by those people (2008).

Post-structural and postmodern approaches promulgated to a large extent by Foucault (Taylor, 2011) theorized about the relationship among power, social categories, and individual identity. For Foucault, humans are rooted in history and there is no objective self. Human identities and selves are historically produced. They are produced through social relations, which, according to the postmodernists, are essentially power relations.

According to Foucault, selves are made up by means of dividing practices that result in dividing people and assigning them to social categories. These categories are constructed by the structure of power in a society and enforced to maintain that power. (Rabinow, 1991). Thus, the views of self-experienced by many Latinx will reflect those of the power structure of the US.

Another theory, which grew out of a symbolic interactionist view of identity, is the theory of self-presentation (Goffman, 1959). That theory views social interaction as based on how the participants attempt to manage the impressions drawn by other participants in the interaction. In a sense, people are seen as performing the identities that they want those they interact with to react to. As in other theories reviewed here, the social process enacted in the presentation of self reproduces the categories of the larger society.

Goffman (1963) applied his self-presentation theory to instances when people feel that the identities that others are reacting to are looked down upon or devalued by those others. These are stigmatized identities. The feeling of having a stigmatized identity influences the aspects of the identities that people are motivated to present. These processes have implications for the kind of interactions in which people participate and the consequences of those interactions for the sense of self they experience. The belief that a person has a stigmatized identity can result from that person feeling that they exhibit some characteristic that marks her or him as being less than others. This characteristic might involve a sign of a physical disability or evidence of belonging to a social category that is devalued in that society such as being a criminal, belonging to a racial or ethnic groups that is the focus of prejudice in that society or belonging to a lower social economic class. Browne, Tatum and Gonzalez (2021) found that middle-class Dominicans and Mexicans living in Atlanta considered Latino to be a stigmatized identity.

Ethnic identity refers to how people feel about belonging to their ethnic group. (Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998). Rivas-Drake et al. (2014) found that adolescents who feel that their ethnic-racial group is not valued, exhibit more depressive and somatic symptoms and lower academic motivation and grades than those who do not. This connection with depression and academics, which will be followed up below, appears in several studies related to internalized oppression, including studies of perceived discrimination. Research has shown that individuals who believe that their group is viewed negatively also feel that they have been subject to greater discrimination (Sellers, Caldwell, Schmeelk-Cone, & Zimmerman, 2003). Therefore, studies of perceived discrimination may be relevant to internalized oppression.

Discrimination and Mental Health

Huynh and Fuligni (2011) found reports of discrimination were related to depression among a sample of Latinx, Asian, and European immigrants. In a study of 150 Latinx youth–parent dyads who were immigrants or US born, Ayon, Marsiglia and Bermudez-Parsai (2010) found perceived discrimination to be related to internalizing mental health problems. Krieger, et al. (2011) found that reported discrimination was related to nativity and to depression and that, the relationship between discrimination and depression was strong among native-born African Americans compared to those who were foreign-born. Similarly, in a study of 3,012 Mexican-origin respondents in Fresno, California in 1995/96, Finch, Kolody and Vega (2000) found that perceived discrimination was more strongly related to depression among native-born respondents than those born in Mexico. A study of behavior problems of Latina/o adolescents found that teacher (but not parent) reports of such problems related to adolescents' reports of perceived discrimination and perceptions of a closed society among US-born, but not foreign-born respondents (Vega, Khoury, Zimmerman, Gil & Warheit, 1995).

In a sample of almost 2,000 young adolescent Latina/os, perceived discrimination predicted depressive symptoms in both genders but explained the relationship between acculturation and depressive symptoms for girls only (Lorenzo-Blanco, Unger, Ritt-Olson, Soto & Baezconde-Garbanati, 2011).

Cardarelli, Cardarelli, and Chiapa, (2007) found that among respondents who had more than a high school education, Latina/os were much more likely than non-Hispanic Whites to report perceived discrimination. But this difference was not significant among those with less education. It has also been reported that whereas perceived discrimination was associated with

depressive and somatic symptoms for everyone, perceived societal devaluation was only consequential for ethnic minorities (Huynh et al., 2012).

A longitudinal study of Latina/o college students found the relationship between perceived discrimination measured in Year One and well-being measured in Year Four was mediated by ethnic identification measured in Year Four (Cronin, Levin, Branscombe, van Laar & Tropp, 2012). Thus, among Latina/os, perceived discrimination has often been found to be related to psychological and behavioral problems, and the relationship seems to be related not only to nativity but also to feelings of social devaluation and perceptions of a closed society. It is possible that exposure to discrimination may affect how Latina/os view their ethnicity and how they conceptualize how mainstream American culture views it.

Academic achievement is also connected to other concepts related to internalized oppression. Based upon the idea of a self-fulfilling prophecy (Merton, 1948), Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) theorized that students might perform worse if their teachers did not expect them to do well. In a well-known study, they told teachers in a public elementary school that a test administered to children in their classroom showed that some of the children were going to great advances in their achievement that year, even though the test was bogus, and the names of the high achieving students were selected at random. Yet those students showed more improvement during the year on an authentic test. The expectations of the teachers seemed to influence the actual achievement of the students.

Following this, Brophy and Good (1970) created a model of the effects of teacher expectations comprised of several steps: 1. Teachers develop expectations that certain students will perform better or worse based on a variety of evidence and beliefs; 2. Based on these expectations, teachers behave differently to different students, such as providing more chances

for some students to excel or giving differential feedback after student performance; 3. The differences in the behavior of teachers influences the self-esteem and motivation of the student; 4. Higher or lower confidence and motivation influences the academic behavior and thus the achievement of the students.

One basis upon which teachers may develop their expectations is presuppositions about ethnic status. Based upon a series of meta-analyses Tenenbaum and Ruck (2007) found that teachers held lower expectations, and directed less encouragement toward, Latinx and African-American students compared to European American students. Other studies have found that students are aware of the expectations that their teachers have of them (Babad and Taylor, 1992).

Furthermore, the view that students have of their own abilities may be influenced by the expectations that their teachers have of them. Rubie-Davies (2006) divided 256 students from 12 elementary school classrooms into those whose teachers reported high, average, or low expectations of how their students would perform at the end of the school year. Also measured were the estimates made by the students of their own abilities. At the beginning of the school year, students in the classrooms wherein teachers held low expectations did not rate their reading ability as lower than the ratings given by students in the other classrooms of their own reading ability. By the end of the year, students in the low expectation classrooms did rate their own reading ability as lower than did students in the other classrooms. Another analysis showed a significant interaction on self-rated reading ability between pre-post term ratings and groups based on teacher expectations that resulted from a decrease in the self-ratings of the students in the low expectation classrooms and an increase in the self-ratings of students in the other classrooms.

This pattern of results suggests connections between Latinx ethnicity, academic performance and two aspects of internalized oppression: first how they perceive they are viewed by others and second how they view themselves.

Another concept that connects how people feel they are viewed by others and academic performance is stereotype threat. This refers to the process whereby people who belong to groups with a stigmatized identity perform worse on academic tasks when their identities are emphasized in the test situation. Stereotype threat disrupts the performance of people when they feel they may confirm a negative stereotype associated with their race, gender, ethnicity etc. (Steele and Aronson, 2004). This awareness of being stereotyped induces fear or anxiety, which leads to decreased performance, thus confirming expected negative beliefs Latinx who internalize the notion that mainstream authorities hold negative views of them may also be open to experiencing stereotype threat (Steele & Aronson, 1995).

Schmader and Johns (2003) created stereotype threat by describing performance on a memory test as indicative of the intelligence of the test taker. They reminded subjects in the study of issues related to ethnic identity in the stereotype threat condition by asking them to list their ethnicity on a questionnaire before completing the memory test. Results showed that Latinx in the stereotype threat condition performed worse on the memory test than did Whites in the stereotype threat condition. But in the control condition when no emphasis was placed on ethnicity, Latinx subjects did as well as Whites. Being led to think about their membership in a group that has a stigmatized identity, reduced the performance of Latinx students.

Media Cultivation Theory

Another theoretical formulation that may help to explain internalized oppression among Latinx relates to how they are depicted in the mass media. Cultivation theory proposes that long-term

exposure to television's recurring set of selective messages ultimately shifts viewers' perceptions towards the television version of reality, regardless of its accuracy (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, Signorielli & Shanahan, 2002). As demonstrated in the media studies reviewed in Chapter 1 above, Latinx are subjected to biased portrayals of themselves in mainstream American media.

Along these lines, a study of Latinx high school students found that more frequent and more active TV viewing was associated with lower social self-esteem (feeling devalued by others) and lower appearance self-esteem (feeling unattractive). These relationships were stronger among participants with a stronger Latinx ethnic identity (Rivadeneira, Ward & Gordon, 2007). Thus, repeated exposure to biased cultural messages in the media seem to compel Latinx to have negative feelings about themselves.

Exposure to American media contributes to psychological problems among Latinx. Peña et al, (2012) investigated the relationship between the amount of involvement with US culture and the number of suicide attempts among students attending public high schools in the Dominican Republic. They found that exposure to American media (e.g., “How often do you watch television in English?”) significantly related to the number of suicide attempts made in the past year by the students. In short, heightened exposure to U.S. media—even among Latinx outside of the United States—correlated to a higher the number of suicide attempts. One possible explanation for this phenomenon is that the relationship between Latinx and U.S. media is mediated by internalized oppression.

Classic Views of Internalization of Oppression

In addition to theorists who wrote about the self and identity, several noted sociologists, psychologists, anthropologists, historians, and philosophers have discussed different aspects of

internalization of oppression. Some of them wrote their critical analysis based on the time they spent in nations that had been colonized and dominated by European powers.

Albert Memmi was a Jew born in Tunisia in Northern Africa, during French occupation. He wrote about the relationship between the French colonizers and the colonized Arab population (Memmi, 1965). He noted that colonizers dominated and economically exploited the colonized population. To maintain dominance, reap profits and justify the unfair and inhumane treatment given to the colonized population, the colonizers set up economic, government, educational and cultural systems forcing or convincing colonized populations to go along with the unfair arrangements and accept them as legitimate. This led to the subordination of members of the colonized population.

Over time, many of the colonizer came to believe that they were superior to the people they had conquered. The superior qualities depicted for the colonizers included higher intelligence, higher management abilities, and a higher work ethic. Based upon these qualities the colonizers were depicted as naturally needing to run the organizations of the nation and the colonized were depicted as needing to be protected, managed, and ruled by the colonizers. Of central importance here, is that this system helped the colonizers to convince the native population that they deserved their subordinate positions because they exhibited inferior qualities.

Frantz Fanon was born in the island of Martinique, and practiced Psychiatry in Algeria, both of which were French colonies. Like Memmi, Fanon (2008) posited that after conquering nations inhabited by people of color, white colonizers imposed an ideology that assumed white superiority. For example, he claimed that the economic power of European populations allowed them to produce cultural products, such as history books, literature, and even comic books, that

spread the myth that black people were savages and inferior to White people. Furthermore, Fanon argued that inherent in speaking a language is the appropriation of the culture and worldview of the speakers of that language. Forcing natives to learn and use French played a role in inculcating them with a perspective of Europeans toward them. These processes alienated members of the black population leading them to internalize beliefs and feelings of inferiority. In that sense, just as Memmi concluded that the colonizer creates the colonized, Fanon concluded that the racist creates his inferior.

Being a psychiatrist who was influenced by existentialists, particularly Sartre, Fanon noted that this created a major psycho- existential complex that degraded the black natives and forced conformity to white values. The result of this complex is that many black people unconsciously aspire to be white. The telling metaphor used by Fanon is that people with black skins wore white masks. Fanon wrote that not only was it necessary for black people to be black, but they must also be black in relation to white people.

This description is very similar to the notion of double consciousness propounded by the first African American sociologist W. E. B. DuBois. He theorized that living as a member of a minority group in the United States leads to feeling pressured to live up to the standards of both the group one belongs to as well as of the dominant ethnic group. This involves evaluating oneself based on the perceptions of others. He DuBois (1964, pp. 16-17) nicely described this "double consciousness" as "this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness-an American, a Negro- two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings, two warring ideals in one dark body". Similarly, in *The Nature of Human Prejudice*, Psychologist Gordon Allport observed that, "so heavy is the prevailing cultural pressure that

members of minority groups sometimes look at themselves through the same lens as other groups” (1979, p. 198).

Paulo Freire was born in Brazil and became a teacher. He described all marginalized poor people, as oppressed, rather than colonized populations or racial minorities. He believed that when oppressed groups of people are led to adopt the values and ideas of the oppressors, they experience internalized oppression including viewing themselves as less valuable and inferior to the oppressors. Therefore, they come to doubt the validity of their ideas. They do not recognize the unfairness of the system and do not feel they can do anything to change it. His work mostly describes how education could be used to liberate the oppressed by teaching the illiterate to read and develop critical consciousness. This allow them to recognize and interpret dehumanizing conditions, and to recognize and overcome the myths that are promulgated by the wealthy people who run and benefit from the current system of oppression and maintain the status quo. Using group discussion of personal examples of marginalization, these techniques aim to promote a positive social identity among marginalized groups along with empowering them with a motivation to work toward change. (Freire, 1970).

Like Memmi and Fanon, Freire pointed out the self-deprecation and sense of inferiority that are characteristic of internalized oppression. And like Fanon and Dubois, he argued that the oppressed are simultaneously themselves and the oppressor whose consciousness they have adopted.

Several studies have been done on the positive effects of raising critical consciousness among marginalized populations. Some have found that raising consciousness about internalized oppression improved mental health among African Americans (Zimmerman, Ramírez-Valles, J., & Maton, 1999) and academic motivation and achievement among Puerto Ricans in Chicago

(Ramos-Zayas, 2003). This connection between mental health, academics and aspects of internalized oppression has been described above and is also connected in other sections of this dissertation below.

Pierre Bourdieu (1991), the French philosopher/anthropologist/sociologist, also discussed the role played by education in maintaining social inequality. In previous centuries and some modern nations dictators used violence to maintain their power. In contemporary advanced capitalist systems, according to Bourdieu, rulers rely more on symbolic domination or symbolic violence, based in processes of classification of people into dominant and subservient groups. These processes treat historically created classifications of the population as if their occurrence was natural. People buy into this explanation and support the systems through which they are dominated. This is a more effective way of maintaining the status quo than is using physical violence.

Bourdieu focused on French public-school education as an example. Lower class children enter school with less linguistic and cultural capital than students from dominant groups. With less familiarity and resources to deal with academic rules and evaluations, they have more trouble excelling. Because school is open to all and allegedly based upon merit, the poorer performance of these students is viewed by the students and others as indicative of personal inferiority. Children are seen as responsible for their poor performance and their parents are blamed for not providing adequate assistance. Many lower-class students then drop out, but they are made to feel that it is due to their inferiority and the social hierarchies are maintained. This analysis has been applied to Latinx students by Hipolito-Delgado et al. (2014).

Another connection between education and internalization on a very practical level was the doll study done Kenneth and Mamie Clark (1958). At the time U. S. educational policy

allowed black children to be segregated in their schools. The legal notion was that separate schools were acceptable if they appeared to offer equal education. For a court case disputing the acceptability of this doctrine, evidence was sought that the segregated schooling had negative effects on the black children.

In what might be construed as a projective test of internalized oppression, the Clarks presented four dolls to black schoolchildren. Two of the dolls had light-colored skin while two had dark-colored skin more like that of the children. Experimenters asked the children which doll was most like them and which doll was nice, and which was bad. Most of the black children said that the white dolls looked most like them and that the black dolls were bad. It appeared that these black children considered blackness to be a sign of inferiority. Presented with these results and other indications that black children who attended segregated schools did not receive equal academic benefits, the Supreme Court ruled that the separate but equal doctrine should be ended. The opinion handed down by the court noted that the legal separation of black children gave them "a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely to ever be undone." (Brown v. Board of Education, 1954).

Anthropologist Stuart Hall was a black man born in Jamaica who emigrated to Great Britain. His work is particularly relevant here because he focused on the effects of emigrating from a nation in which one belongs to the ethnic majority to a more powerful nation in which one is a member of a minority group. In doing this, he presents ideas like those described above, including that identity is based upon the recognition given to people by others (Hall, 1995) and that being a member of a minority group gives the majority population the power to outcast members of the minority which is accompanied by a sense of inferiority (Hall, 1990).

Hall adds to these ideas an emphasis on how identity is changed and created by historical forces when people from one group of nations like the Caribbeans emigrate to another nation like Great Britain changing from being racially black to becoming part of a category Black. During this process important characteristics of people that were given in their native countries such as regional and national differences and skin tones were collapsed into the racial/ethnic category of Black. The result of immigration was that the emigrates and their descendants learned to view themselves through a racist framework that collapsed their former identities into a single devalued category of Black.

Latinx Identity

A similar process has helped to create the identity of Latinx. The question is whether such a thing as a Latinx identity even exists. There are two parts to this question. The first relates to the idea that people from the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, or Mexico, for example see themselves as Dominican, Puerto Rican, or Mexican, but not as belonging to a larger category of Latinx.

In discussing this question, it is useful to note the two types of social transactions that the anthropologist Barth (1969) considers in the definition of ethnicity. First, internal processes involve people defining their own identity. Second, external processes involve people defining the identity of others.

These two processes influence one another (Hagendoorn, 1993). In his discussion of identity and categorization, Jenkins (1994) notes how an individual can be identified in particular ways by certain others. When others have enough power or authority, their definitions will influence the ongoing notion of the categorized person's identity. The experience of being categorized by influential others may then influence people's self- definition.

When Dominicans, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans etc. come to the continental United States, or are born here to Latinx parents, several aspects of these processes occur. Powerful individuals and organizations play roles in creating and applying the label “Latinx”. In many ways, in the United States, Latinx has even become a racial category.

One of these influences comes from the state. Legal definitions are applied by governments. For example, between 1850 and 1920 the US Census form did not have separate categories for Mexicans. In 1930, census takers were told to categorize them as Mexicans. For the 1940 and 1950 censuses, Mexicans were told to report themselves as White unless they were indigenous or of other non-white ancestry (Goodman, Moses & Jones, 2012). Efforts to categorize in the census the Hispanic population as single category can be traced to the late 1960s (Rumbaut, 2006). Nowadays, Latinx are asked to fill out many government forms that prompt them to identify themselves as “Hispanic”.

US media depict characters that are clearly from Latino backgrounds, but often do not specify the exact national origin of these characters. Even the Spanish language media in the United States attempt to maximize profits by appealing to a larger category of Spanish speakers. For example, Univision referred to the workers in a restaurant in New York City as “Latinos” (Univision website) and offers a special service to subscribers called “Hulu Latino” (<http://nuevayork.univision.com/noticias/>).

Other figures of authority such as teachers, employers, corporations, enforcers of laws dealing with immigration, do not distinguish between various nationalities in their treatment of Latinx populations. In the United States, the category of Latino has not only been widely accepted but has even begun to be treated as a racial category through means like those described by Odem and Browne (2011), who noted that individuals reinforce and reproduce racial

categories through social interaction, while institutions propel racialization through organizational structures and practices. This process has come to be accepted by many Spanish speakers, even while they may identify themselves as belonging to a particular nationality and feel a great deal of connection to others and pride based upon the national origins of themselves or their ancestors. Recently, the census bureau has found that in reporting their race, many Latinos check “some other race” rather than white or black or oriental so the bureau is considering adding a category “Latino” for the race item (Associated Press cited in http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/03/17/latinos-census-race_n_2895379.html)

From a political and policy perspective, the category Latino has both discriminatory and liberatory aspects. The separate census category of Mexican discussed above was put in place to limit the rights and access to property of Mexican Americans. People may feel that their distinct cultural backgrounds are being overlooked and homogenized. By labeling themselves Latino, some may feel that they are agreeing to an identity placed upon themselves by others. On the other hand, recent attempts to reform immigration policies are based largely in the perception that voters in many states may decide on whom to vote for based upon their self-identification as Latinos. This gives some people possible political influence that they might not have as members of individual nationalities.

Rumbaut (2006, p. 16) succinctly summarized this process:

While “Hispanics” as a whole are not a homogeneous entity, the tens of millions of persons so classified do share a common label which symbolizes a minority group status in the United States, a label developed and legitimized by the state, diffused in daily and institutional practice, and finally internalized (and racialized) as a prominent part of the American mosaic. That this outcome is, to a considerable extent, a self-fulfilling

prophecy, does not make it any less real. Many people from Latin American nations have been influenced.

Through language, media, government labels, etc., many Latin American migrants and their descendants have been identified by others and by themselves as Latinx. This appears to have resulted in a Latinx identity that has important behavioral, psychological, and political implications for Latinx living in continental US. Therefore, it would seem possible to measure aspects of this identity, such as internalization of mainstream attitudes toward the general group called “Latinx”.

Several views of what constitutes Latinx identity have been offered. The most influential theories reject the notions of racial essentialism that identity is inherent in people from birth due to physical qualities. They stress the socially constructed nature of identity. Different scholars focus on different characteristics used in defining what it is to be Latinx. For example, Bedolla (2003) focuses on usage of the Spanish language as a key factor in ethnic identity, both as a source of solidarity and of social stigma. Alcoff (1995) focuses on race, not in the physically realist sense discussed above, but in a nominalist sense that social conventions of Latin Americans stress the importance of race:

We Latin Americans have never been able to take our racial or cultural identity for granted: Part European, part indigenous, half colonist aggressor, half colonized oppressed, we have never had an unproblematic relationship to the question of culture, identity, race, ethnicity or even liberation. Still, Latin American thought has been structured to a great extent by European ideas about race and culture – ideas which value racial purity and cultural authenticity... (p. 139)

Alcoff (1995) points out that this emphasis on racial purity comes into conflict with the reality of the large number of Latinos who are of mixed race confusing the development of a notion of a Latino identity.

Some work on the topic, such as that of Corlett (2003), appear to adhere to a form of social essentialism in that they believe that specific qualities are necessary to define membership as a Latino:

Metaphysically speaking, the extent to which one belongs to this or that ethnic group is the extent to which she respects and knows the particular language(s) or dialects of the groups, respects and participates in their respective cultures, has a name that is traditionally associated with members of the group(s), is recognized as a member of the group(s) by in group members, self-identifies as a member of the group(s), and is recognized as a member of the group(s) by out group members. (146)

Gracia (2000), in contrast, argues that no set of properties are necessary and sufficient to define what it is to be Hispanic. He then focuses, however, on what might be considered a necessary and sufficient property stressing a familial and historical view:

According to the Familial-Historical View, history generates relations that in turn generate properties among members of groups and serve to unite them among themselves and to distinguish them from others in particular contexts. (Gracia, 2007, 84)

Hispanics are the group of people comprised by the inhabitants of the countries of the Iberian Peninsula after 1492 and what were to become the colonies of those countries after the encounter between Iberia and America (48).

Another aspect of the question of a unitary Latino identity relates to differences between individuals based upon characteristics other than language or ethnicity. Odem et al. (2011) and Alcoff (1995: 2006), in several works including the one cited above, emphasize the multidimensional aspects of Latino identity and the complex interactions between race, gender, social class, etc. The extent to which other characteristics interact with identity, and internalization as discussed below, would seem to be one calling for additional research.

CHAPTER IV: EMPIRICAL LITERATURE ON INTERNALIZATION OF OPPRESSION

Recent Work on Internalization of Oppression

Several authors have added to the discussion on internalized oppression. Pyke (2010) argued that internalized oppression is an important concept that has not received enough study. She conceptualized internalized oppression as a part of Gramsci's (1971) notion of hegemony, which is like several of the theories discussed above. Gramsci viewed the capitalist state as comprised of both a society that rules using force and a society which rules by manufacturing consent among the ruled through cultural forces such as religious organizations, universities, and the media (Heywood, 1994). This allows the ruling group to maintain White supremacy and power over minority groups by having subordinated groups accede to the notion that they are inferior to the dominant group and less worthy of being in power. Pyke emphasized that internalized oppression comes from the power of the oppressors and is not due to some biological or cultural weakness of subjugated people.

Pyke cited the work of three authorities that add to the discussions of the concept by others. First, Gilman (1986) noted that an important aspect is the myth that people can overcome their lesser status based on race or ethnicity and share in the higher status of the powerful if they work hard and follow the rules and act like members of the group in power. The oppressed identify with the dominant group. The false promise that the members of subordinated groups can overcome their definition as "other" convinces the oppressed to support the societal rules that define them as those who may not deserve to be in power.

Second, related to this process is the process of "defensive othering" discussed by Schwalbe et al. (2000) wherein members of the oppressed group try to place themselves above

the stereotypes applied to their group by applying them to subgroups of their own group. For example, some people in the United States descended from immigrant backgrounds put down recent immigrants who do not speak English or do not follow American customs. By applying the negative stereotypes to what they consider to be lesser members of their group, subordinated people attempt to join the dominant groups and deny that the stereotypes apply to themselves.

Third, Collins (1990) points out a dilemma faced by parents of children in oppressed groups. On the one hand, they feel a responsibility to help their children to survive in a prejudiced world in which they have little power by recognizing and even accepting some aspects of oppression (e.g., teaching children not to protest or resist police who hassle them even if it is not justified). On the other hand, the parents relate to the psychological and emotional effects of such behavior and do not want their children to act totally subservient.

Feagin and Cobas (2008) discussed similar ideas as part of the “White Frame” that was a way to justify slavery in North America by portraying Africans as less intelligent, able only to do physical labor, and needing the supervision of White people. The processes summarized in the term “White Frame” may have begun as a means of justifying the appropriation of land from North American indigenous populations (Gonzalez, Simard, Baker-Demaray & Iron Eyes, 2014)). The White Frame became the “commonsense” lens used to structure and interpret society. When the US, dominated by White people, took large parts of Mexico by force, the White Frame was applied to Latinx to justify taking their land and allowing them fewer rights than Whites had. Because it is assumed Latinx may adopt the frame without realizing they are doing so and without fighting against it. Feagin and Cobas (2008) theorized that when people feel that they have few opportunities to fight back, they might internalize the White frame.

The ideas put forth by Feagin et al. in 2008, echo those discussed by Martin-Baró in 1994. Martin-Baró noted that the formation of personhood results from a socialization process in which the interaction between one's genetic heritage and one's social group within a particular society narrows down the possibilities of what one will become. When one group controls the resources necessary for human existence, it can impose its interests and viewpoints on other groups. This domination only becomes fully established when it is accepted psychologically by members of the dominated group, and it comes to seem natural and common sense rather than historical. Members of the dominated group interpret their lack of power over their own lives as proof of their worthlessness.

Montero (1984), a Venezuelan scholar, discussed the effects of internalizing one's identity through negative images and stereotypes held by powerful groups. She discussed the way this internalization leads members of dominated groups to be unable to recognize their capacity for commercial, artistic, and intellectual success. Of relevance here, this inability to recognize their capacity for intellectual success may play a role in the low rates of academic achievement exhibited by Latinx living in the US.

Padilla (2004) discussed several aspects of internalized oppression among Latinx. She emphasized the belief held by many Latinx that whiter skin is preferable, that people with whiter skin are viewed as superior to people with darker skin. This bias has impacted African Americans and emigrants from the Caribbean as shown in the findings of the Clark doll study and the work of Fanon discussed above. Black nationalist Malcolm X illustrated his own internalization of oppression in his description of the first time he "conked" his hair:

This was my first really big step toward self-degradation: when I endured all of that pain, literally burning my flesh to have it look like a White man's hair. I had

joined that multitude of Negro men and women in America who are brainwashed into believing that the black people are “inferior”—and White people “superior”—that they will even violate and mutilate their God-created bodies to try to look “pretty” by White standards. (Malcolm X, Haley & Handler, 1966)

Many Latinx have tried to pass as white in the belief that being seen as white would help them gain access to economic and social opportunities. This suggests that a measure of internalization of oppression among Latinx ought to include questions about preferences to appear white. Padilla asserted that there were two problems with the idea that opportunities may arise out of appearing white. First, it leads Latinx to deny their ethnic and cultural identity. Second, even people who would like to see themselves as white cannot control how other people see them. If others continue to view them as Latinx, they will not gain the privileges they desire. Together these two problems may lead people to give up their Latinx identity without being able to achieve a new identity. Berry (1997) hypothesized that those who experience rejection by both their heritage and the dominant cultures experience marginalization and are likely to experience intense social isolation and depression.

A second aspect of internalized oppression among Latinx described by Padilla is the difficulty in viewing other Latinx people as intelligent and capable of success. Padilla asserts that this limits the amount of support provided by some Latinx to others. Related to this way in which some Latinx view others as unintelligent and incapable, is the tendency noted by Padilla for many Latinx to suffer from imposter syndrome. They may come to feel that even when they achieve success, they are not certain they deserve it. They feel that they do not belong as much as do Anglo students in graduate school, for example.

Internalized Oppression and Mental Health

Padilla (2004) suggested that internalized oppression may result from higher levels of assimilation into the mainstream culture by native-born Latinx as opposed to their immigrant parents. US-born Latinx are continuously exposed to devaluing messages about their group throughout the development of their identities unlike their first-generation ancestors who matured in Latin America. They are also more likely than first-generation Latinx to be exposed to messages that are communicated in English from other people and from the media. This acculturation process leading to internalized oppression among Latinx may help explain findings that relate psychological and academic problems to the generational status of Latinx. If so, developing a measure of internalized oppression among Latinx may be useful in exploring generational differences. Also, measures of problems in mental health and attitudes toward academic achievement may be useful in validating a measure of internalized oppression.

Latinx living in the US have different rates of mental illness based on their generational status. Alegria et al. (2007) analyzed data from The National Latino and Asian American Study (NLAAS), a national epidemiological household survey of Latinx in the US and found that foreign-born Latinx reported significantly less binge eating than US-born Latinx. Through further analysis, they found similar generational disparities in mood disorders, anxiety, and substance abuse among Mexican subjects, and increased substance abuse alone among Cubans and other Latinx. In addition, Peña et al. (2008) analyzed data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health), which is a prospective cohort study that followed a national representative sample of 7th- through 12th-grade students from US public and private schools into early adulthood. They analyzed data from the Wave 1 in-home interviews of participants administered from April 1995 to December 1995; 20,745 adolescents completed the

in-home interviews. They found that US born Latinx with immigrant parents were more likely than foreign-born youth to attempt suicide and engage in problematic use of alcohol, marijuana, and other drugs. Using the same database, Pagan Rivera (2015) found that second- and third-generation youth were at higher risk of depression compared to less acculturated youth. The National Epidemiologic Survey on Alcohol and Related Conditions (NESARC) is a nationally representative sample of 43,093 non-institutionalized US residents aged 18 years and older. Analyses of data from Wave 1 (2002–2003) and Wave 2 (2004–2005) of NESARC found that lifetime prevalence of drug use was greater among US-born Hispanics than Hispanic immigrants after controlling for age, gender, income, education, urbanicity, parental history of drug use problems and lifetime DSM-IV mood/anxiety disorders (Mancini, Salas-Wright & Vaughn, 2015).

In another study, the Epidemiological Catchment Area Study, research interviews were administered to members of households in five Community Mental Health Center catchment areas (New Haven, CN, Baltimore, MD, St. Louis, MO, Durham, NC, and Los Angeles, CA). Analyzing data from the ECA, Escobar, Nervi and Gara (2000) found that Mexican Americans with high levels of acculturation exhibited higher prevalence of phobia, alcohol abuse, drug abuse, and antisocial personality disorder than did those with lower levels of acculturation.

Most of the research comparing the mental health of foreign versus US-born Latinx considered depression. Three studies (Alegria et al., 2007; Borges, et al., 2008; Vega, et al., 1998) found differences in the prevalence of major depression between Latinx immigrants and their descendants. Alegria et al. (2007) analyzed data from the NLAAS and found that among Mexicans, higher levels of depression were exhibited by those born in the US or who arrived in the US prior to age six compared to those who arrived later. Borges et al. (2008) analyzed data

from the National Comorbidity Study Replication, which administered a research interview to a representative sample of people in the US. They found that among Latinx respondents between 18- and 29-years old levels of depression were higher among the native born than among the foreign born.

Another study used a modified version of the World Health Organization Composite International Diagnostic Interview. The study analyzed representative data from 3012 subjects of Mexican background, selected from Fresno County. Researchers found that the immigrant rates of mental disorders were similar to people living in Mexico City, with short-stay immigrants having lower rates and long-stay immigrants having higher rates of depression (Vega et al. 1998). This supports many previous findings that Latinx immigrants may have better overall mental health than their US born counterparts may have (e.g., Burnam, Hough, Karno, Escobar, & Telles, 1987).

In contrast, an analysis of Add Health data found little difference between first and later generations in depression when the respondents had reached adulthood (Chen; Hussey & Monbureau, 2018). The average age of immigration of the First-generation respondents in this study, however, was eight years old. Thus, these respondents mostly grew up in the US where they were subject to messages of Latinx inferiority.

Additional studies in this area The National Institute of Mental Health sponsored additional studies on this topic under the heading of the *Collaborative Psychiatric Epidemiology Surveys (CPES)*. The CPES was a repository of data with a special focus on race, ethnicity, mental health, and illness made up of three nationally representative surveys, each focusing on a different racial and/or ethnic minority group: the National Comorbidity Survey Replication (NCS-R), the National Survey of American Life (NSAL), and the National Latino and Asian

American Study (NLAAS). The use of these three representative surveys ensured that measures utilized yielded reliable and valid results across different subgroups. Analyzing data from the CPES, Budhwani, Hearld & Chavez-Yenter (2015) found that a lower percentage of foreign-born Latinx met DSM-IV criteria for depression than US-born Latinx (19.46% vs. 14.42%).

Generational Differences in Educational Achievement

Several of the authorities whose work will be discussed in this section noted that concepts related to internalized oppression are related to academic achievement. Like the work on mental health cited above, several studies found poorer attitudes toward education or lower academic achievement in second and later generation students from immigrant backgrounds compared to first-generation immigrants. Not all studies have reported this pattern of results, but the number that have is surprising given that the native language of first-generation immigrants is usually not English whereas the native language of later generation students from immigrant backgrounds is English. This gives them a tremendous advantage in U.S. classrooms where lessons are taught in English.

Most of the research about generational differences in education has focused on children, but several of these studies have investigated the aspirations of these children to attend and graduate from college. Analyzing data from the *Early Childhood Longitudinal Survey, Kindergarten Cohort*, Palacios, Guttmannova, and Chase-Landsdale (2008) found that in kindergarten, children born in a foreign country (first generation) and those born in the US to foreign-born parents (second generation) had higher achievement scores than did the US-born children of US born parents of immigrant background (third generation). In addition, first generation children subsequently exhibited a greater increase in reading scores than did children of the third generation.

Another generational study (Fuligni, 1997) used a sample of older children from 6th, 8th, and 10th grade-classes in an area highly populated with immigrant families. The study measured academic achievement in mathematics and English courses and found that first- and second-generation students of all ethnic groups studied, not including Latinx, showed a stronger focus on academic achievement than their third-generation counterparts. However, Fuligni also found that Second-generation Latinx students had poorer grades than those of the First generation.

In other studies, Mexican-origin children with immigrant parents were found to have higher GPAs than their peers with parents who were born in the United States (Hurtado-Ortiz & Gauvain, 2007) and this finding also holds for other foreign-born Latino youth (Pong & Zeiser, 2012).

In analyzing the effects of generational differences on academic achievement among immigrants, Kao and Tienda (1995) used 1988 National Education Longitudinal Study data, which compared the grades, achievement scores, and college plans of eighth graders of various generations from immigrant backgrounds. They found that first generation Asian students had better grades than second, third and fourth-generation Asian students. Second-generation Asian students had higher achievement scores than both third and fourth-generation Asian students. Latinx students had the lowest overall grades of all ethnic groups in the study. First generation Latinx students had lower grades and achievement scores than did their later generation counterparts, but they did have higher rates of aspiration to attend college.

Other studies have found generational differences among immigrant populations in beliefs about college. Using the item “you do not need college to be successful,” Becerra (2010) found first-generation Latinx students placed more importance on attending college than did third-generation students. Fiebig, Braid, Ross, Tom and Prinzo (2010) reported that despite their

lower levels of acculturation, First-generation Latinx students attending community college had done more vocational planning and had higher expectations for the future than did those of later generations.

Greenman (2013) used data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health and its educational supplement, the Adolescent Health, and Academic Achievement Study (AHAA). Add Health is a school-based survey of adolescents who were in grades 7–12 in 1994–1995. Results showed that first-generation Mexican immigrant youth had significantly more positive educational attitudes (e.g., getting along in school, getting homework done) than second-generation Mexican youth. Nonetheless, a higher percentage of Native-born Latinx graduate college than do Foreign born Latinx (Pew Research Center, 2015). One study included 674 children from Mexican-origin families attending two school districts in Northern California, one of which served a low-income population and one of which did not. This study found that compared to students born in Mexico, those born in the United States exhibited lower self-rated academic competence, but the difference found in self-rated academic expectations was not significant (Hernandez, Robins, Widaman & Conger, 2016).

Measurement of Internalized Oppression

Much of the research on the internalization of oppression has relied on quantitative measures of the concept. Several scales have been created that measure the level of internalization of oppression experienced by members of minority groups. These scales have stimulated much research on internalization of oppression and have been correlated with reports of psychological distress. In her dissertation, Piggott (2004, cited in Szymanski, Gupta, Carr & Stewart; 2009) developed the Internalized Misogyny Scale (IMS) using exploratory factor

analysis. The IMS consists of 17 items. It has three subscales focusing on devaluation of women, distrust of women, and gender bias in favor of men reported by women.

Several scales measure internalized homophobia among gay men and lesbian women. The *Nungesser Homosexuality Attitudes Inventory* (Nungesser, 1983) consists of 34 items divided into three subscales: attitudes toward one's own homosexuality, attitudes toward other gay persons and homosexuality in general, and attitudes toward others having knowledge about the respondent's homosexuality. In another doctoral dissertation, Alexander (1986) developed the 25-item *Internalized Homophobia Inventory* that included items such as a desire to socialize with other gay men or pleasure at being seen as homosexual. Flebus and Montano (2012) developed the *Multifactor Internalized Homophobia Inventory* based upon an exploratory factor analysis and reliability analysis. These allowed for the definition and interpretation of seven factors linked to internalized homophobia: (1) Fear of coming out, (2) Regret about being homosexual, (3) Moral condemnation, (4) Gay-lesbian parenting, (5) Integration in the homosexual community, (6) Counter-prejudicial attitudes, and (7) Homosexual marriage. An eighth scale, titled "Stereotypes", consisted of items that varied between the two sexes and revealed adherence to gay and lesbian stereotypes. These scales reflect various aspects of internalized oppression experienced by gay people.

Based on the criteria for ego-dystonic homosexuality in DSM-3, Martin and Dean (1987, cited in Szymanski, Chung & Balsam, 2001) developed an *Internalized Homophobia scale*. In a separate study, Ross and Rosser (1996) divided internalized homophobia into four dimensions: public identification as gay, social comfort with gay men, the religious and moral acceptability of being gay, and perception of stigma associated with being gay. Because this scale has been criticized for including content irrelevant to the construct of internalized homonegativity,

Smolenski, Diamond, Ross and Rosser (DATE) revised the scale using exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses, and identified a seven-item, three-factor reduced version. The identified factors were labeled as “personal comfort with a gay identity,” “social comfort with gay men,” and “public identification as gay.” In another effort, Szymanski and Chung (2001) developed the *Lesbian Internalized Homophobia Scale*.

Other researchers have developed scales to measure internalized oppression in minority groups. David and Okazaki (2006) developed the *Colonial Mentality Scale* to measure internalized oppression among Filipino immigrants. Using the Internet for study recruitment and administration, 603 Filipino Americans (397 women) completed the survey. They used Exploratory Factor Analysis. This EFA produced 13 factors with eigenvalues greater than 1.00. A scree test, however, indicated that only six factors were interpretable. They then calculated 1-, 2-, 3-, 4-, 5-, and 6-factor extractions to locate the most interpretable structure. They chose the 5-factor solution because it was the most interpretable based on theory and produced only two cross-loading items. They dropped these two items, along with redundant items resulting in a 36-item scale. The final scale includes questions such as: (1) “There are situations where I feel inferior because of my ethnic background”; (2) “There are situations where I feel ashamed of my ethnic background”; (3) “I would like to have a skin tone that is lighter than the skin tone I have”; and (4) “I make fun of, tease, or bad mouth Filipinos who speak English with strong accents.”

Choi, Israel, and Maeda (2017) developed the *Internalized Racism in Asian Americans Scale*. Using a sample of 655 respondents to Amazon’s Mechanical Turk, they performed Exploratory Factor Analysis on one randomly selected subsample of 324 respondents then followed up with Confirmatory Factor Analysis on a separate subsample of 331 respondents.

The result was a scale consisting of three factors: Self-Negativity, Weakness Stereotypes, and Appearance Bias.

At least three scales measure internalization by Black people about the attitudes of Whites towards them. The *Nadanolitization Scale* (Taylor & Grundy, 1996) has two subscales. One consists of racist stereotypes that Whites hold about Blacks, and the other attitudes about socializing and working with Blacks. The items most relevant to internalization are those in the racist subscale, which include “The Black man’s body is more skillful than his mind” and “The high incidence of crime among African Americans reflects a genetic abnormality”.

Bailey, Chung, Williams, Singh and Terrell (2011) developed the *Internalized Racial Oppression Scale for Black Individuals* (IROS). Based upon a priori hypotheses, they created 123 items related to internalized racial oppression that were reviewed by experts. After eliminating redundancy between the items on which the experts agreed, 58 items were presented to African American students with data entered a factor analysis. Results of this analysis supported the a priori hypotheses of the authors that five subscales exist of internalized oppression among African Americans. The subscales include: 1. The Internalization of Racial Stereotypes (e.g. “Black women are controlling”), based upon the racist subscale of Taylor et al. (1996); 2. Devaluation of the African Worldview (e.g. “I do not tend to associate myself with an African heritage”); 3. Belief in the Biased Representation of History (e.g. “There were no institutions of higher learning in Africa”); 4. Alteration of Physical Appearance (e.g. “I wish my nose were narrower”); 5. Desire to Change Hair (e.g. “It is okay to straighten or relax my hair”).

Two subscales of the *Cross Racial Identity Scale* designed to measure the Nigrescence Theory of Cross are relevant to the internalization of racial oppression. These subscales measure what Cross refers to as the Pre-Encounter stage of Black identity. The Pre-encounter

miseducation subscale focuses on the internalization of stereotypes (e.g., Blacks are “too lazy to see opportunities in front of them”). The Pre-encounter self-hatred subscale focuses on the negative feelings Blacks may hold regarding being Black (e.g., “Aspects of being Black make me feel bad”) (Vandiver, Cross, Worrell & Fagen-Smith, 2002). Interestingly, scores on the self-hatred subscale, but not on the miseducation subscale, were significantly negatively correlated with self-esteem (Vandiver et al., 2002).

Measurement of Internalization and Psychological Problems

Many researchers have investigated the association between scales of internalization of oppression and psychological problems exhibited by members of various minority groups. Drazdowski et al. (2016) found that internalized oppression reported by 200 LGBTQ+ respondents was associated with illicit drug use. In a sample of 803 women from several nations, Szymanski and Kashubeck-West (2008) found the *Internalized Misogyny Scale* significantly correlated with low self-esteem and depression. Internalized misogyny measured using the scale was also found to moderate the relationship between perceptions of sexism and psychological distress (Szymanski, Gupta, et al., 2009). Internalized homophobia in both Gay men and lesbians was related to depression (Alexander, 1986; Nicholson & Long, 1990; Shidlo, 1994; Szymanski, Chung et al., 2001). High scores on the *Colonial Mentality Scale* predicted depression (David, 2008). The Internalized Racism in Asian Americans Scale significantly predicted depressive symptoms (Choi et al., 2017). Taylor et al. (1996) cited studies that found scores on the racist subscale of the *Nadanolitization Scale* significantly related to depression. Among 157 black students in a predominantly white university a significant interaction was found between reports of experiencing racial discrimination and internalization of negative stereotypes, measured with the IROS. These factors interacted in predicting anxiety symptom

distress at time 2 after controlling for demographic variables and time 1 anxiety symptom distress eight months previously (Sosoo, Bernard & Neblett, 2020). Among 410 Filipino Americans, higher levels of self-reported internalized oppression (colonial mentality) were found to significantly predict negative mental health help-seeking attitudes (Tuazon, Gonzalez, Gutierrez & Nelson, 2019).

In summary, instruments have been developed to measure the internalization by members of several minority groups of negative attitudes of the majority culture toward those groups. These include agreement with these negative attitudes; recognition that members of the majority culture view members of the minority group as inferior, and negative feelings of minority group members toward belonging in their groups. These scales have advanced understanding of the process of internalization among several groups theorized by many scholars and the relationship between internalization and depression. This work should extend to other groups that may experience oppression, particularly the Latinx. The development of these published scales serves as a source of ideas for developing future scales.

Measuring Internalized Oppression among Latinx

To date, two scales of internalized oppression have been developed using Latinx in the sample studied. However, both have significant limitations. Campon and Carter (2015) used a pool of subjects, including Blacks, Asians, Pacific Islanders, Native Americans, Latinx and “other” respondents to create the *Appropriated Racial Oppression Scale*. Items include: (1) “There have been times when I have been embarrassed to be a member of my race;” (2) “I find persons with lighter skin-tones to be more attractive;” and (3) “Because of my race, I feel useless at times.” Significant relationships were found between scores on the Appropriated Racial Oppression Scale and measures of anxiety and depression. The use of the term “race” in most

of the questions allowed the scale to be applicable to many different ethnic groups. This term, however, is problematic in measuring beliefs and feelings of Latinx. Many Latinx consider themselves White and may differentiate themselves from other Latinx of African or native heritage. The answers that they might give to the items of the *Appropriated Racial Oppression Scale* might be confusing in that researcher would not be sure if they applied to being Latinx or being of White or African background.

To date, the only measure of internalized oppression among Latinx was designed by Hipolito Delgado (2010). The items in this scale were all created based on items of a single scale originally designed for African Americans (Taylor et al., 1996) and adapted for Latinx. In addition, several items in the scale seem related to internalization but not specifically internalized oppression. For example, items on the scale include “Chicanas/os and Latinas/os have more children than Whites” and “Chicanas/os and Latinas/os have larger families than Whites.” These are factually accurate statements (Livingston, 2015). While it is possible that some people that agree with these items believe that Latinx have too many children, this item does not actually measure that as a negative belief. Other items relate to Latinx being born with greater musical ability or having more rhythm or more physical ability than Whites do. Again, it may be that people who hold these stereotypical beliefs also believe that, as posited in another item “Chicanas/os and Latinas/os are more physically skilled than mentally skilled.” However, whereas this last item does seem to measure negative attitudes toward Latinx, the others may or may not be simply correlated with the negative attitudes, but they do not directly explore them.

The third important limitation of the Hipolito-Delgado (2007) scale is that it does not measure Latinx negative feelings about being members of their ethnic group. The David et al. (2006) measuring internalized oppression among Filipinos, the scale measuring internalized

racism in Asians (Choi et al, 2017); the Vandiver et al. (2002) scale for African- Americans; and the Appropriated Racial Oppression Scale (Campos et al., 2015) include items measuring respondents' negative feelings about being members of their ethnic group. It is possible, and clearly an empirical issue that deserves to be researched, that emotions related to feeling bad about being Latinx have negative consequences among Latinx. The developers of the scales mentioned here acknowledge that people who live in cultures in which members of their group are devalued may internalize not only some of the negative attitudes directed toward those group members but also negative feelings about belonging to that group. The Hipolito-Delgado scale overlooks this aspect of internalization.

Another aspect of internalization included in some internalization scales (Piggott, 2004; Ross & Rossner, 1996) but not included in the Hipolito-Delgado scale relates to the knowledge that many members of mainstream society look down on Latinx, as discussed above in the section on perceived discrimination. Liebow (2016) discussed the harmful effects on African Americans of internalizing the notion that many Americans think that African Americans are criminals. Issues related to criminality were discussed by Irizarry and Raible (2014) as important aspects of internalized oppression exhibited by Latinx students. A scale measuring the effects on Latinx of living in a society dominated by non-Latinx might usefully include several types of items that are missing from the Hipolito-Delgado scale and eliminate the weaker items included in the scale.

A new scale of internalized oppression experienced by Latinx will be useful in improving understanding of the concept and in applying it to mental health and academic problems that arise because of internalized oppression. The goal of this dissertation is to create an improved scale of internalization of oppression among Latinx and to begin to validate the scale by

examining how scores on this scale are related to measures of mental health and to concepts that may influence college performance among Latinx students.

CHAPTER V: METHODOLOGY

Research Design

As in most scale-construction procedures (DeVellis, 1991), the design of this study was cross-sectional, correlating the responses from several Latinx. This study relied on scale-construction methodology and chi-square analyses. The scale construction methodology was applied to the items of the internalization of oppression scale described below. Once a scale was developed, it was related to the measures of depression and academic achievement as preliminary tests of the validity of the scale.

Participants

The sample consisted of Latinx students in their first two years attending two CUNY Colleges. Sample size was determined using criteria established by authorities writing on multivariate methods (DeVellis, 1991). Recommendations for optimal sample size have ranged from 100 respondents or 3 respondents per each item analyzed to 10 respondents per item analyzed. Based upon a review of studies of scale development, Hinkin (1995) concluded that a sample size of 150 observations should be sufficient to obtain an accurate solution in multivariate analysis. However, a higher number of respondents were sought in this study. Thirty items were included in the pool of items analyzed for inclusion in the final scale, so the 388 respondents constituted over 10 respondents per item. (See Appendix A).

Materials

The design of the study involved students filling out an electronic questionnaire comprised of several sections. These sections included demographic questions such as age, gender, country of birth, a series of items that were used to create the scale measuring internalization of oppression,

and self-report measures of depression and academic achievement used previously in published studies. The complete survey filled out by the respondents is shown in appendix A.

The internalization scale was developed to measure the degree to which negative attitudes/beliefs and emotions have been introjected by Latinx living in the US as they become exposed to the devaluing messages and discriminatory treatment given to them by the wider mainstream US culture. Items included in the scale measured the extent to which respondents agree with stereotypes about Latinx, the extent to which they believe that mainstream White society agrees with these stereotypes, and respondent's feelings regarding being Latinx within the context of US culture.

Several sources of potential items for the internalization scale were used. These included discussions with Latinx acquaintances and experience with students taught in ethnic studies classes, examination of the published literature on media portrayals of Latinx and of Latinx perceptions of discrimination, items used in existing scales developed to measure internalization in other groups, including women, lesbians, gays, and African Americans, particularly The Internalized Racial Oppression Scale for Black Individuals – IROS --; Bailey et al., 2011, and the Cross Racial Identity Scale –CRIS --; Vandiver et al., 2002).

A Likert scale is one of the most widely used formats in scale development. It consists of an item presented in a declarative sentence followed by response options that indicate varying degrees of agreement with the statement (DeVellis, 1991).

All items related to internalization of oppression were answered using the five-point Likert scale below:

Strongly disagree 1	Slightly disagree 2	Neither agree nor disagree 3	Slightly agree 4	Strongly agree 5
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The pool of items that were presented to the respondents is shown in Appendix B. As recommended by experts on scale construction (DeVellis, 1991), each characteristic of Latinx that may be part of the construct of internalized oppression were represented in the pool of items shown to respondents. Some of the items were phrased in a negative direction such that agreeing signifies a poor view of Latinx (e.g., “Many Latinx prefer welfare to work”) while others were phrased such that agreeing signifies a positive view of Latinx (e.g., “Most Latinx are willing to work hard to succeed in this country”).

The items were reviewed by faculty members of the dissertation committee including a faculty member in Department of Latin American and Latinx Studies at John Jay College of Criminal Justice, faculty members in the Doctoral Program in Social Welfare at the City University of New York, and faculty members of the Psychology Department at the City College of New York. Additional items were added or used to replace some of the items based on feedback from the faculty members described above.

Depression Measure

Depression was measured using the *Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale* (CES-D) (Radloff & Locke, 1986). The CES-D is one of the self-report depression inventories most frequently used in epidemiologic research. It consists of 20 questions regarding symptomatology experienced during the previous week. Possible scores range from 0 through 60. (See Appendix C). On a large sample of Latinx, the CES-D has been found to exhibit moderate to strong internal consistency, test-retest reliability, and validity (Gonzalez, 2017).

Measures of Academic Problems

Chemers, Hu & Garcia (2001) found that among first-year college students, academic performance was predicted by student reports of academic self-efficacy and of feelings of

challenge and threat experienced by students. These constructs may play a significant role in understanding the effect of internalization on Latinx academic performance.

Self-efficacy refers to the perceived ability to achieve proficiency in valued tasks, which Bandura (2006) emphasized is influential in people's adjustment to change, which suggests it may play a role in their performance in early college years. Academic self-efficacy applies this concept specifically to performance in school (Meece, Glienke, & Burg, 2006). Zajacova, Lynch and Espenshade (2005) reported that a measure of academic self-efficacy better predicted college academic performance than did high school GPA, particularly as applied to the first year of college. Brief measures of academic self-efficacy and challenge-threat were administered to the respondents in this study.

Challenge-Threat Measure

Participants were asked to rate the "level of pressure and demand expected in your academic work during the next year" on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (*not much at all*) to 7 (*a very great deal*) (Blascovich & Tomaka, 1996). Following that response, they were asked to rate their ability to cope with the rated level of academic pressure and demand (these ratings were made on the same 7-point scale). The challenge-threat measure has been found to predict academic achievement (Chemers et al., 2001) and was used in exploratory analyses in this study. (See Appendix D).

Academic Self-Efficacy

A subscale of The Patterns for Adaptive Learning Scales (PALS) was used to measure student academic self-efficacy (Midgley et al., 2000). The PALS has often been used in motivation research, with interrater reliabilities on the academic self-efficacy subscale reported ranging from mid- to high .70s (Cronbach's alpha) (D'Lima, Windsler & Kitsantas, 2014). On

the subscale, students use a 5-point Likert Scale to rate themselves from 1 (not at all true) to 5 (very true) on the following items: 1. I'm certain I can figure out how to do the most difficult class work. 2. I can do almost all the work in class if I don't give up. 3. Even if the work is hard, I can learn it. 4. I can do even the hardest work in this class if I try. 5. I'm certain I can master the skills taught in class this year.

Demographic Measures

Respondents were asked to identify the country of birth of themselves, their parents and their grandparents, their age, and their choices for self-identification for ethnicity and skin color.

Procedures

Scale Administration.

An Internal Review Board proposal requesting permission to distribute the online- Qualtrics survey to CUNY students was submitted to the IRB of Hunter College CUNY. After such permission was granted from the IRB, Latinx students in Psychology at senior colleges at City College and John Jay College participated using the online SONA systems in each of their colleges to get credit in their classes. They were asked to complete an online survey that takes less than 40 minutes and given the URL for the survey. For the purposes of this study Latinx were operationally defined as people with at least one parent or grandparent born in Latin America. The respondents for this study were such people who met this definition and were current students at CUNY colleges at least 18 years of age. No restrictions were placed upon the gender of the participants. Anyone not meeting the requirements who filled out the questionnaire was eliminated from the analysis.

Data Analysis.

Data analysis was performed using SPSS. All items in the pool to create the Latinx internalization of oppression scale were inter-correlated. To reduce the chance of multicollinearity, if items correlated greater than 0.9 with one another, one of the items was eliminated from further analysis. Items that did not correlate at least 0.1 with any other items were also eliminated from further analysis. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin test was performed on the correlation matrix. Kaiser (1974, cited in Field, 2009) recommended that a score of 0.5 or above be used, which indicates that the patterns of correlations are relatively compact and thus should result in distinct and reliable factors. The Bartlett test that indicates that there are some relationships between the measured variables was also performed. A significant ($p < .05$) Bartlett test result indicates that factor analysis is appropriate.

Following these preliminary analyses, an exploratory principal components analysis was conducted. Because some correlation between the factors is to be expected due to the items all being part of the larger construct of internalized oppression, an oblique rotation (oblimin) of the factors was performed.

The factors with the highest eigenvalues that explained much of the variance in the items entered in the principal components analysis were examined. Items with high loadings on these factors were examined further. The goal was to develop a scale that covers various aspects of internalization while being brief enough to be conveniently added to research studies, clinical intakes and measures used for students with academic problems. An attempt was made to avoid having the scale be weighted too heavily toward one specific attitude toward Latinx. Toward this end, if two or more items were related to similar problems, such as crime, drug usage or unemployment, only one of them was retained.

After redundant items were eliminated, a scale was created using the remaining items. A reliability analysis calculating Cronbach's alpha was performed. When the scale exhibited adequate Cronbach's alpha (.60 or higher; Garson, 2016), additional analyses were performed as preliminary tests of validity.

The items in the final scale were equally divided between those that measured the opinion of the respondents that: 1. Latinx exhibit weaknesses related to intelligence, work habits, crime, and drug usage; 2. Most Americans believe that Latinx exhibit these weaknesses; 3. They felt uncomfortable being Latinx. To determine if it is possible to treat these three categories of items as subscales of a measure of internalized oppression that could be analyzed separately, three reliability analyses calculating Cronbach's alpha for each of these three sets of items were performed.

Reliability and Validity

Internal consistency was used as the measure of reliability in this study. This was calculated with the use of Cronbach's alpha (which has advantages over split-half reliability (Carmines & Zeller, 1979). If the internalization scale developed here proves to be useful, a future study could measure test-retest reliability (Carmines et al., 1979).

The scale constructed here has good face validity in that the items were selected to pick up on attitudes and beliefs related to those that would be experienced by people: 1. who think Latinx exhibit negative qualities, 2. who believe that the mainstream population believes so, and 3. who feel uncomfortable being Latinx. The scale also exhibits convergent validity, which is essentially the same as internal consistency as measured by Cronbach's alpha (Garson, 2016).

Research on scales used to measure internalization in other populations, as well as theoretical work and research discussed above, has linked internalization of oppression to

measures of depression and academic problems. Tests of relationships between the scale produced here and the measures of depression and academic problems, therefore constitute an aspect of construct validity. A future study will add predictive validity by relating scores on the internalization scale when students enter college to various aspects of whether and when they graduate.

The scale of internalized oppression among Latinx is being developed to better understand problems exhibited by Latinx students. Many studies that use continuous scales to measure psychological and behavioral problems develop a cutoff point on the scale to indicate problematic levels. This is important because to be of practical use to clinicians treating the mental health problems of Latinx clients and to academic counselors working to help Latinx students, it is not enough to find a significant correlation between a scale of internalized oppression and measures of depression or academic efficacy. It is necessary to demonstrate that high scores on measures of internalization predict scores indicating problematic symptoms of depression or academic problems.

For example, enough research has been done on the CES-D, which has been widely used to measure depression, to develop scores to indicate moderate and high levels of depression. In this study a high level of depression was defined using the cutoff of 24 or greater on the CES-D found by Roberts, Lewinsohn, and Seeley (1991) to optimally detect clinically diagnosable cases of DSM-III-R depressive disorders.

Chi-square analyses with continuity correction were performed to determine whether significant relationships exist between high versus lower scores on the internalization scale and high versus low scores on the measures of depression, academic challenge versus threat, and academic self-efficacy.

Finally, exploratory principal components analysis analyses were performed to determine if the measures of internalized oppression differed between female and male respondents, respondents born in the United States and those born overseas who immigrated to the US, and respondents who rated their skins as darker and those who rated their skins as lighter.

CHAPTER VI: RESULTS

This section begins with a description of the characteristics of the students who filled out the survey. Following that is a description of the results of the traditional scale development methods that were used to determine if the data collected in this study were appropriate for the principal components analysis used to derive the scale of internalization of oppression for Latinx students. The results of this analysis are described along with the additional analyses used to select the items that comprise the scale. The results of the analysis of inter-item reliability are described followed by preliminary tests of validity based upon relationships between scores on the scale and measures of depression and academic confidence. Finally, the differences in scale scores between various demographic groups are investigated.

Using the SONA system, 388 respondents from both City College (251 respondents) and John Jay College (137 respondents) filled out the questionnaire on the Qualtrics website. However, due to missing values in the responses given by the students on various items, most of the analyses performed involved fewer than 388 total respondents. Data from the two Qualtrics files were downloaded into SPSS and merged into one SPSS data file.

Sample Characteristics

In the sample, 118 of the respondents (32%) were age 18, 81 (21%) were 19, 58 (16%) were 20, 32 (9%) were 21, 22 (6%) were 22, 11 (3%) were 23, 8 (2%) were 24, 11 (3%) were 25, and 27 (7%) were 26 or greater. Of the respondents 256 (66%) described themselves as female, 97 (25%) as male, 12 (3%) as gender variant/non-conforming, 1 (< 1%) as other and 2 (< 1%) said they did not want to answer. In response to being asked what language they spoke, 71 (20%) reported they spoke English all of the time, 87 (24%) reported speaking English most of the time, 181 (50%) noted they spoke half English-half Spanish, 14 (4%) spoke Spanish most of

the time, 6 (2%) spoke another language most of the time and 1 (< 1%) spoke another language all of the time. In response to being asked what religion their parents followed, 293 (81%) listed Catholic, 26 (7%) said Protestant, 16 (4%) said Islam, 1 (< 1%) said Judaism and 25 (7%) said other. In answering what grade they were in college, 110 (30%) reported Freshman, 78 (21%) noted they were in Sophomore year of college, 72 (20%) were in Junior year, 65 (18%) were in Senior year (2%) were 24, ar, 39 (11%) finished Senior year and 3 (< 1%) said other. When asked about their nativity 257 (70%) reported being born in the United States and 112 (30%) said they were born outside of this country. These results are shown in Table 1.

Table 1.

Demographic Characteristics of Latinx CUNY College Students (n= 388)

Demographics	Latinx CUNY College Students n=388	
	<i>n</i>	%
Nativity		
US	257	69.6
Abroad	112	30.4
Age		
Eighteen	118	32
Nineteenth	81	22
Twenty	58	16
Twenty-one	32	9
Twenty-two	22	6
Twenty-three	11	3
Twenty-four	8	2
Twenty-five	11	3
Twenty-six or greater	27	3
Sex		
Female	256	66
Male	97	25
Gender non-conforming	12	3.1
Other	1	0.3
Prefer not to answer	2	0.5

Demographics	Latinx CUNY College Students n=388	
	<i>n</i>	%
Spoken Language		
English all the time	71	19.7
English most of the time	87	24.2
Half English- Half Spanish	181	50.3
Spanish most of the time	14	3.9
Other language most of the time	6	1.7
Other language all the time	1	0.3
Missing	28	
Religion		
Christian-Catholic	293	81.2
Christian-Protestant	26	7.2
Judaism	1	0.3
Islam	16	4.4
Other	25	6.9
Missing	27	
Education		
Freshman	110	30
Sophomore	78	21.3
Junior	72	19.6
Senior	65	17.7
Other	3	0.8

Creating the Internalization of Oppression Scale for Latinx Students

Scores on the 30 items measuring various aspects of Latinx internalization of oppression were intercorrelated. None of the items correlated .90 or greater with one another. In addition, all items correlated at least .10 with at least one other item, so all items were included in subsequent analyses.

To determine whether the pattern of correlations was compact enough to result in reliable factors, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin test resulted in a score of .88, substantially above the minimum score of 0.5 recommended by Kaiser (1974, cited in Field, 2009). The significant result on the Bartlett test $X^2(1, N=386) = 4072, p < .001$ indicated that factor analysis was appropriate because the variables exhibited adequate relationships with one another.

Twenty-nine factors resulted from this analysis but most exhibited tiny eigenvalues. Furthermore, of the factors with eigenvalues greater than one, only factors 1 and 2 had more than one item loading .50 or greater. Factor 1 exhibited a very high eigenvalue of 23.13 and factor 2 exhibited a very high eigenvalue of 16.33. As a result, subsequent analyses to select items that might comprise an internalization scale with high inter-item reliability focused on these two factors. The loadings of each item in the original pool on Factors 1 and 2 are presented below in Table 2.

Table 2.

Loadings of Items on the First Two Factors of the Principal Components Analysis

Loadings	<i>Factors</i>	
	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>
Internalized Negative Attitudes toward Latinx		
School dropout among Latinx is because they have less intellectual ability than Whites do.	.62	-.37
Latinx are as intelligent as Whites.	-.48	.28
The reason for the high percentage of Latinx in jail is because they have a tendency toward criminality.	.51	-.21
Latinx quickly turn to crime as a solution to their problems.	.62	-.29
Many Latinx are addicted to alcohol and drugs because they are biologically weak.	.57	-.28
Latinx are not successful because they turn to drugs to escape	.59	-.33
Latinx are lazy.	.48	-.37
Many Latinx work hard because they want to succeed in this country.	-.32	.36
The reason Latinx have problems getting jobs is because they have bad work habits.	.67	-.36
Most Latinx prefer to be on welfare rather than having a job.	.48	-.21

Loadings	<i>Factors</i>	
	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>
Negative feelings about being Latinx		
I feel uncomfortable when I am identified as Latinx.	.47	-.22
Privately I have negative feelings about being Latinx.	.56	.25
Some things about Latinx culture make me feel bad.	.42	-.01
I feel good about myself when I think about myself as a Latinx.	-.46	.33
Lighter skin is more attractive than darker skin.	.43	-.20
I wish my features made me look more like White people.	.56	-.09
In general, I am proud to be a Latinx.	-.46	.41
I wish I had not been born Latinx.	.65	-.27
I would have a better life if I were not Latinx.	.47	.10
Being Latinx has never held me back.	-.13	.00
Belief that most Americans hold negative attitudes toward Latinx		
Most Americans believe that Latinx drop out of school because they have less intellectual ability than Whites do.	.42	.65
Most Americans believe that Latinx are as intelligent as Whites are.	-.28	-.47
Most Americans believe that the high percentage of Latinx in jail reflects inborn tendencies toward criminality.	.38	.66
Most Americans believe that Latinx are quick to turn to crime as a solution to problems.	.42	.56
Most Americans believe that the number of Latinx addicted to alcohol and drugs suggests a biological weakness.	.54	.54
Most Americans believe that Latinx can't get ahead because they turn to drugs to escape.	.46	.60
Most Americans believe that Latinx are lazy.	.40	.56

Loadings	<i>Factors</i>	
	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>
Most Americans believe that Latinx are willing to work hard to succeed in this country.	-.21	-.47
Most Americans believe that Latinx have problems getting jobs due to bad work habits.	.47	.65
Most Americans believe that Latinx prefer being on welfare rather than work.	.47	.57

Two different types of items loaded highly on factor 1. The first type was items related to negative beliefs about other Latinx, such as respondents' opinions about "School dropout among Latinx is because they have less intellectual ability than Whites do". The other type related to respondents' feelings about being Latinx, such as "Privately, I have negative feelings about being Latinx". The items that loaded highly on factor 2 all related to respondents' beliefs about how most Americans view Latinx, such as respondents' opinions about "Most Americans believe that Latinx are quick to turn to crime as a solution to problems".

To avoid having the scale be weighted too heavily toward one specific attitude toward Latinx, only one item dealing with each aspect of Latinx behavior was included in each of the final subscales. The item "Many Latinx are addicted to alcohol and drugs because they are biologically weak" was eliminated in favor of "Latinx are not successful because they turn to drugs to escape". "The reason for the high percentage of Latinx in jail is because they have a tendency toward criminality" was eliminated in favor of "Latinx quickly turn to crime as a solution to their problems". Similarly, "Most Americans believe that the high percentage of Latinx in jail reflects inborn tendencies toward criminality" was eliminated in favor of "Most Americans believe that Latinx are quick to turn to crime as a solution to problems". "Most Americans believe that the number of Latinx addicted to alcohol and drugs suggests a biological

weakness” was eliminated in favor of “Most Americans believe that Latinx can’t get ahead because they turn to drugs to escape”. All decisions described above were made, in part, because it was felt that items describing the characteristics exhibited by Latinx were preferable to items describing the biological tendencies of Latinx. In addition, “Most Americans believe that Latinx are lazy” and “Most Americans believe that Latinx have problems getting jobs due to bad work habits” were eliminated in favor of “Most Americans believe that Latinx prefer being on welfare rather than work”.

After reducing redundancy, the remaining items that loaded .50 or higher on one of the first two factors in the principal components analysis included four items related to respondents’ negative opinions about Latinx, four items related to respondents’ beliefs about most Americans negative opinions about Latinx and three items related to respondents’ negative feelings about being Latinx. These three items included “Privately, I have negative feelings about being Latinx”, “I wish I had not been born Latinx” and “I wish my features made me look more like White people”. To balance the number of the three different types of items included in the final scale, a fourth item related to respondents’ negative feelings about being Latinx was added even though it barely missed loading .50 or greater on factor 1. The item, “I would have a better life if I were not born Latinx”, loaded .47. As a result of the procedures described above, 12 items were included in the final scale measuring internalization of oppression among Latinx students in New York City. This number of items met the goal of creating a scale that included a variety of attitudes and feelings that was brief enough to be easily used by clinicians, teachers, and researchers. The final scale, shown in Appendix C, consists of 12 items answered using a five-point scale ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. All the items chosen for the final scale were worded such that higher scores indicated greater internalized oppression.

Preliminary Tests of Reliability and Validity

To test whether this scale exhibited adequate inter-item reliability, a reliability analysis was run on the 12 items. This analysis resulted in a high Cronbach's alpha score of .79 (DeVellis, 1991) indicating that the items were interrelated at a high enough level to be combined into a scale for which a single total score can be calculated.

The items chosen for the scale have high face validity in that they all represent modes of viewing oneself and others that might develop among Latinx who have been raised in a society that directs toward them negative beliefs and stereotypes.

The summary of scores on the final scale as well as scores on the three measures used to test the predictive validity of the internalization of oppression scale, the Center for Epidemiologic Studies-Depression Scale (CES-D,) Coping Minus Threat, Academic Self-Efficacy, are shown below in Table 3.

Table 3.

Summary of Scores on Key Variables.

Variable	<i>n</i>	<i>Min</i>	<i>Max</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Internalization Scale	347	12	54	23.92	7.05
CES-D Scale	339	0	54	19.33	11.48
Coping Minus Threat	353	-6.0	6.0	-.95	1.99
Academic Self- Efficacy	352	5.0	25.0	20.47	4.25

The goal of the study described here was to create a measure of internalization of oppression among Latinx that might be used by practitioners such as therapists and academic advisors to identify Latinx clients who might exhibit problems related to experiencing high levels of internalization. To this end, validation of the scale involved testing the relationship between high scores on the internalization scale and high levels of depression and low scores on coping - threat and low levels of academic self-efficacy.

In the sample studied, 13 respondents (4%) strongly disagreed with every item. 150 respondents (46%) totaled between 13 and 23 on the scale indicating that on the average at most they slightly disagreed with the items. Another 150 respondents (49%) totaled between 24 and 35 on the scale, indicating their average response was between slightly disagreeing and neither agreeing nor disagreeing with the items on the scale. On the average, the responses given by these students fell in the range of disagreeing with the items indicative of internalized oppression for Latinx. This leaves 25 students (8%) who averaged not disagreeing with these items that were very negative toward Latinx.

One way to test the predictive validity of the scale created here to measure internalization of oppression among Latinx is to compare the scores on measures of depression and academic performance exhibited by the 92% of respondents who averaged disagreeing at least a bit with the items (low internalization) and the eight percent who did not average disagreeing with the items (high internalization).

Over 3/5 of the respondents (61%) who scored high on internalization met criteria described in the Methods section (scoring 24 or greater on the CES-D) for depression, compared to less than 1/3 (32%) of those who scored low on internalization $\chi^2(1, N=334) = 7.02, p < .01$.

Thus, respondents who were categorized as exhibiting high levels of internalization were significantly more likely to report depression compared to other respondents.

For one of the measures of how respondents felt about academics, their ratings of how much challenge and threat they were experiencing regarding their schoolwork were subtracted from their ratings on an identical scale of their ability to cope with these challenges.

Respondents with negative scores on this measure rated their ability to cope with academic challenges as low compared to the amount of threat they experienced.

An analysis found no significant difference between the proportion of respondents who rated the level of threat and pressure they would experience in their classes in the following year as higher than their ability to cope with the rated level of academic pressure. among those categorized as high on internalization of oppression (42%) compared to those categorized as low in internalization of oppression (56%) $X^2(1, N=343) = 1.28, p = ns$. Thus, the scores on the Internalization of Oppression Scale were not found to be significantly related to the Challenge-Threat measure of academic confidence.

A second measure of how respondents felt about their schoolwork was the Academic Self-Efficacy scale. This scale has 5 items ranging from 1=strongly disagree to 5=strongly agree asking about how the respondents felt about their ability to handle their classwork in the coming year. Students with a total score of 20 or greater on this scale averaged 4=slightly agree on items asking if they felt they could handle the work and students with a total score on this scale of 19 or less averaged less than slightly agreeing with the five items indicating academic confidence. One way to measure whether students had low confidence about how they would handle their schoolwork in the coming year is to compare the 35% of respondents who scored 19 or less on the scale with the 65% who scored 20 or higher.

In contrast to the lack of the predicted relationship found between Internalization of Oppression and the Challenge-Threat measure of academic confidence, Academic Self-Efficacy, was found to be significantly related to the Internalization of Oppression scale. The percentage of the respondents who scored low on the Academic Self-Efficacy scale who were categorized as exhibiting high internalization of oppression (63%) was almost twice as high as the percentage categorized as high in internalization of oppression (33%) among respondents who scored high in Academic Self-Efficacy. Thus, students reporting low academic self-efficacy were more likely than other students to report high levels of internalization of oppression.

Table 4 presents the results of these analyses. It compares the proportion of respondents categorized as low versus high on the Internalization of Oppression among Latinx Scale who scored high on the CES-D, who scored low on the Challenge-Threat Measure, and who scored low on Academic Self-Efficacy. The first and third analyses are shown as being significant while the second analysis is shown as not being significant.

Table 4.

Variables Related to High Versus Low Score on the Internalization of Oppression Scale for Latinx (n=388).

<i>Related Variables</i>	<i>Internalization of Oppression Score</i>			
	<i>Low</i>		<i>High</i>	
<i>X²</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
Depressed** _a 7.02	98	32	14	61
Threat > Coping _b 1.28	178	56	10	42
Low Academic Self-Efficacy** _b 7.34	105	33	15	63

P < .05* .01** .001***

_a 54 respondents were missing from this analysis

_b 45 respondents were missing from this analysis

The two scales used as preliminary tests of the validity of the newly created internalization scale that were found to be significantly related to high versus low scores on internalization were the CES-D measure of depression and the Academy Self-Efficacy scale. These two measures were found to be significantly related to one another. Of the respondents who scored low in academic self-efficacy, indicating low confidence in their ability to do their schoolwork, 57.3% reported high levels of depression. This rate of depression was much higher than the 20.3% rate reported by respondents who did not report low levels of academic self-efficacy $X^2(1, N=339) = 45.7, p < .001$. This opens the possibility that the relationship between scores on the internalization scale and scores on one of the validating scales is mediated by scores on the other validating scale. Testing this possibility would involve a multivariate analysis. Unfortunately, as described in the Discussion section below, the appropriate analysis is not possible using the cross-sectional data collected for this study.

To gain a better understanding of the internalization scale, high (average score not disagreeing) versus lower (average score disagreeing) scores on the scale were related to several demographic measures. Because only 13 respondents did not report identifying as either male or female, the analysis of a gender difference was limited to these two categories. Little difference was found between the proportion of females (7.4%) and males (6.7%) who scored high on internalization $X^2(1, N=333) = .00, p = ns$.

Similarly, little difference was found between the proportion of the 230 respondents who were born in the United States (6.6%) and the 103 respondents who were not (8.6%) who scored high in internalization $X^2(1, N=347) = .18, p = ns$. Of the respondents who were born outside of the United States, little difference was found between the proportion of the 53 respondents

who came to this country by the age of 10 (23%) and the proportion of those 31 who arrived after age 10 (26%) in scoring high on internalization $X^2(1, N=82) = .11, p = ns$.

The relationship between the language spoken by respondents and their scores on internalization could not be measured because only 20 respondents did not speak English at least half the time, which might be expected from a sample of students attending college at John Jay or City College. Respondents were asked to rate their skin color before sun exposure. The 197 respondents who either chose responses “Ivory white”, “Fair or pale”, or “Fair to beige with golden undertones” were compared to the 149 who chose either “Olive or light brown” or “Dark brown or black”. Little difference in reporting high scores on internalization was found between respondents reporting lighter skin (25%) versus those reporting darker skin (20%) $X^2(1, N=346) = .28, p = ns$.

Table 5 presents the results of these analyses. It compares the proportion of respondents categorized as low versus high on the Internalization of Oppression among Latinx Scale who were female, who were born in the United States, and who rated themselves as having dark skin. As shown in the table, none of these differences were found to be significant.

Table 5.

Demographic Variables Related to High Versus Low Scores on the Internalization of Oppression Scale for Latinx (n=388).

Related Variables	Internalization of Oppression Score			
	<i>Low</i>		<i>High</i>	
X^2	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
Sex _a Female 0.00	226	73.1	18	75

Related Variables	Internalization of Oppression Score			
	<i>Low</i>		<i>High</i>	
X ²	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Nativity ^b Born in the US 0.18	226	70.2	16	64
Skin color ^c Dark 0.28	140	43.8	9	36

$P < .05^*$.01** .001***

a 55 respondents were missing from this analysis

b 41 respondents were missing from this analysis

c 42 respondents were missing from this analysis

Several respondents (N=37) were missing data that prevented the calculation of the total Internalization of Oppression scale. This raises the possibility that the results of the statistical analyses reported above may have been influenced by the missing respondents. To test this possibility, the scores on key variables were compared for respondents who were missing scores on the Internalization scale and those who were not. The results of these analyses are presented in Table 6. It should be noted that respondents who were missing data on the Internalization scale were also often missing data on other variables, so the analyses reported in the table were based on very few respondents. As a result, the statistical results reported in the table were based on usage of the Fishers exact test recommended for analysis of samples with small cell sizes. None of the analyses approached significance, suggesting that the results of the statistical analyses reported in this dissertation were influenced by the missing data.

Table 6.

Variables Related to whether Respondents are Missing a Score on the Internalization of Oppression Scale for Latinx.

<i>Related Variables</i>	Internalization of Oppression Score			
	Not Missing		Missing	
Fisher exact test p value	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Depressed >.10	112	34	0	0
Threat > Coping _b >.10	188	55	5	50
Low Academic Self-Efficacy >.10	120	35	3	33
Born in the US >.10	242	70	15	68
Dark skin color >.10	149	33	5	31
Gender Female >.10	244	73	12	60

CHAPTER VII: DISCUSSION

Throughout history, many people have been members of groups that are subordinate in their society. These people have been given less access to resources such as jobs, education, high-quality housing or healthcare, and wealth. This may result from conquest, immigration, slavery or differences in class, caste, ethnicity, race, religion, or language. As a result, they are often poor, subservient to dominant groups, and subject to discriminatory treatment by employers, teachers, police, and other parts of the legal system. They are looked down upon by members of the mainstream society, including the mass media. They may be treated as inferior, less intelligent, lazier, and more likely to be criminals and substance abusers.

Some of these people can overcome this treatment and view themselves with pride, understanding that they have been subjected to discrimination. Many, however, have their views of others like them and themselves influenced by this unfair treatment. Their view of other members of their group may come to mirror those of dominant members of their society. Their aspirations and self-images may be limited by their knowledge that they are disparaged by important people in their lives and, as a result, may not be able to achieve economic and occupational success despite their hard work and talent. They may come to regret belonging to their group. This constellation of attitudes and emotions has been referred to as the internalization of oppression and it is related to the discriminatory treatment they receive from mainstream society. Internalization of oppression has been theorized based upon observations made in several cultures by social scientists, philosophers, psychiatrists, historians, and others. Sometimes these authorities have belonged to the devalued groups about which they have written. In recent decades, empirical work has been done to create measures of internalization of oppression that can be used in research on the topic. This research has been applied to members

of a wide range of groups, including African Americans, women, gay and lesbian people, Asian-Americans, and others.

There is reason to believe that people who internalize the negative beliefs and feelings regarding members of their group may develop mental health problems and doubts about their own ability to succeed, academically and economically, in societies where they are devalued. Several of the scales used to measure the phenomenon in members of devalued groups have been found to be related to measures of depression. Better understanding of the processes involved in internalization and, particularly, tools for measuring which people suffer from the problems associated with the internalization of oppression are needed. They may be of use to practitioners tasked with assisting those who exhibit psychological issues and those who have trouble making progress in school and careers.

Due to a variety of historical events, people from Mexico, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Cuba, and other nations in Latin America have immigrated to the United States. They have been lumped together to form the category of Latinx. Many of them have been subjected to the disparaging treatment from the mainstream society described above and have developed internalization of oppression. Few studies have been done of the internalization of oppression exhibited by Latinx. The one study that has attempted to measure this concept used a scale that had many weaknesses. The goal of the present study was to create a better scale of internalization of oppression among Latinx, with particular emphasis here on developing a measure that might be used by practitioners seeking to help clients from Latinx backgrounds.

Several characteristics were sought for the scale created here. Of course, the items had to exhibit high inter-item reliability, as measured by Cronbach's alpha, allowing a total score on internalization of oppression to be calculated by summing the items. Although Cronbach's alpha

tends to be higher when a scale is comprised of many items, a relatively brief scale was also sought here. A brief scale is much more likely to be administered to clients by clinicians, to students by academic counselors and advisors, and to be used in research studies. The primary goal of this study was to create a scale that might be widely used to measure internalization of oppression among Latinx.

Another characteristic desired for the scale created here is that it should include measures of the three types of attitudes and emotions described above: negative beliefs about other Latinx, negative feelings about being Latinx, and beliefs that Latinx are disparaged by many Americans. Also, it was important that the scale not be overly weighted toward a particular belief, held by the Latinx respondents in this study or thought by these respondents to be held by most Americans, such as beliefs about Latinx being criminals, drug users, unintelligent or lazy.

To meet these criteria, several procedures were followed. First, a pool of potential items for the scale was created, vetted by several experts, and edited to create thirty items measuring a variety of aspects of internalization of oppression among Latinx respondents. These items, measured on a Likert scale, were administered to over 300 Latinx students attending Psychology classes at CUNY colleges, The City College of New York and John Jay College, who responded to the items on a Qualtrics survey online. The results of the Qualtrics surveys completed by students at the two schools were combined.

Classic scale construction analyses were used to ensure that the data were amenable to factor analytic methods and a principal components analysis with oblique rotation was performed. This analysis resulted in two strong factors which each had several items loading highly on them measuring the variety of elements of internalization described above. The items loading highly on these components were reviewed and some were eliminated to create a scale that is relatively

brief and that is not weighted toward any one particular belief about Latinx. The 12-item scale created using these methods exhibits high face validity, in that all items are clearly related to the aspects of internalization described above. It also exhibits a Cronbach's alpha measure of internal reliability of .79, which is considered good. Each of the three aspects of internalization included in the scale are measured by four items.

To begin to test the validity of the scale and to begin to demonstrate its potential utility in identifying Latinx people who exhibit high levels of internalization of oppression it is important to compare respondents with high scores on the internalization measure with those who had low scores. In this preliminary attempt to validate the scale that was created, it was necessary to use a cutoff on the total scale that was logically justified as actually dividing respondents into those categorized as exhibiting high versus low internalization based upon the implications of the responses, they gave to scale items. One definition of low scores might be based upon the average ratings given by respondents to the 12 items on the scale. To this end, respondents who averaged disagreeing at all on those items (low internalization) were compared to those who averaged not disagreeing (high internalization). High internalizers were found to be more likely than low internalizers to score high on the depression measure and to score low on the Academic Self-Efficacy measure, indicating lower confidence in how they were going to do in their schoolwork in the following semester.

As has been reported in published work on scales of internalized oppression that were designed for and administered to members of other subordinated groups, high scores on this internalization of oppression scale administered to Latinx students are significantly related to their self-reports of depression. This finding is consonant with the study relating media exposure and suicide by Peña et al., (2008). Thus, the significant relationship found in this study between scores on the

internalization scale and scores on the self-report depression measure constitutes at least preliminary evidence of the predictive validity of the scale developed in this study.

Respondents to this survey completed two measures of academic confidence that have been found in previous studies to predict academic achievement. Here, high internalizers were no more likely than low internalizers to rate the challenges and pressures they expected to face in their classes as greater than their abilities to cope with them. In contrast, on a measure of academic self-efficacy (5 items summed that measure student confidence in how they will do in their classes e.g. I'm certain I can figure out how to do the most difficult class work), that seems on the surface to be like the challenge-threat measure, high internalizers were much more likely than low internalizers to report low academic confidence. The different results found using the two different measures of academic confidence is not understood.

Limitations

This study is just the first needed to fully develop and validate an internalization of oppression scale for Latinx. The limitations in the conclusions that can be drawn from the procedures used here suggest future studies that would be useful. One limitation is that the respondents that participated in this study were all students in an urban public university who received credit for their participation in Psychology classes.

Another set of limitations relates to the period in which the study was run. First, it was during a period in which much negative attention was focused on immigrants, particularly immigrants from Mexico. Many of the respondents filled out the questionnaire prior to January 2021 while the President of the United States at that time was expressing many sentiments, and trying to enact policies, that were negative toward Latinx. These circumstances may have

influenced the responses of the students on the questionnaire, in particular to items pertaining to what attitudes toward Latinx are held by most Americans.

Second, the period during which students were responding to the items used here was a time of the Corona Virus-19 pandemic (Covid-19). During this period, many people fell ill, lost loved ones, became unemployed and faced extreme isolation. These experiences might have influenced scores on the depression inventory. Having to take classes online may have influenced the responses of the students on the academic confidence measures. There is no way of knowing whether the unusual historical circumstances described in this, and the previous paragraph may have influenced the relationships reported here between scores on the Internalization of Oppression Scale for Latinx and the measures of depression and academic confidence.

Like the studies published on measures of internalization of oppression designed for other devalued groups, this study used a self-report measure of depression, rather than one based upon a research interview, which is viewed as more valid.

Future Studies

Several studies would be useful to follow up this one, some in the short term and others over a longer period. The scale created here should be administered to, and validated on, other Latinx samples. These might include students at private colleges in New York, students attending colleges outside of New York, people of college age who are not in college, adults, and high school students.

Additional research is needed to identify a cutoff score on these scales that can be used as an indication of problematic responses. That is, it would be useful if clinicians and academic counselors could use specific scores on these scales as indicators that their clients might be

exhibiting problematic levels of internalization. The cutoff used in this study to define high internalization in the test of predictive validity was based on a logically defensible comparison between respondents who averaged disagreeing with the internalization items which were worded to be quite negative to Latinx and those who did not average disagreeing. This cutoff resulted in a significant relationship with variables measuring depression and academic confidence, but it defined only a small proportion of respondents as exhibiting a high level of internalized oppression. It is possible that a less stringent cutoff might be more appropriate for use by practitioners trying to help Latinx clients. The items in the scale were very negative toward Latinx. It may be that people who disagree with these items but only slightly are exhibiting internalization of oppression. For example, a Latinx student who only slightly disagrees that Latinx quickly turn to crime as a solution to their problems or that they are not successful because they use drugs may be exhibiting moderate levels of internalization.

Additional research might investigate whether a different cutoff for defining high internalization might be better. Like the work done on the CES-D, this might be accomplished by statistical analyses of which scores best predict problematic levels of mental health and other issues. Alternatively, if the scales developed here are administered to a large, diverse population of Latinx, standards for the top quartile or decile might be made available to practitioners who want to understand where their clients fall compared to the larger population.

A longitudinal study in which the measure of internalization and measures of depression and academic confidence is filled out by respondents at an early period, such as at the beginning of high school and followed up several years later with similar measures taken by the same respondents would produce useful information. It would allow estimates to be made of the long-term effects of high scores on internalization of oppression on college students, such as higher

dropout and lower graduation rates. Such a study would also allow an estimate of the test-retest reliability of the scale. Future studies might also include additional measures of psychological problems such as anxiety.

The goal of the present study was to develop and begin to validate a scale of internalization of oppression among Latinx students, not to explore the causes and effects of internalization. Thus, this study demonstrates that internalization is related to both depression and academic confidence. But those two variables were found to be significantly related to one another, leaving open the possibility, for example, that high internalization leads to depression which, in turn leads to low levels of academic self-confidence. A longitudinal study would allow a test of whether internalization of oppression measured at an earlier period leads to subsequent development of depression and low academic self-confidence. Multiple measures taken at various times would allow a multivariate analysis to be done in which it is possible to distinguish whether the relationship between early internalization of oppression and subsequent development of low academic self-confidence is mediated by the development of depression. The original proposal for this study suggested the possibility of performing such a multivariate analysis but it became apparent that this analysis would only be interpretable if the data used for it were longitudinal, which was not feasible for this dissertation.

A second goal of the study described here was to create a scale that can be easily used by practitioners to measure internalization of oppression in Latinx, not to investigate the details of how internalization works. One future study might look at interrelationships between the different types of internalization included in the scale – respondents' beliefs about other Latinx, respondents' beliefs about what most Americans think of Latinx, and respondents' feelings about being Latinx – and the reasons why these different aspects of internalization have different

effects on the behaviors and emotions of those who complete the scale. Qualitative studies might dig deeper into how the various items of the scale are experienced by Latinx.

In the short run, it might be possible to design interventions to reduce internalization of oppression that could be used by therapists and academic counselors by using the scale developed in this study. It might even be possible to design programs to prevent the development of internalization of oppression among Latinx starting at earlier stages of their development. In the end, however, the best programs of prevention will be to fight to have Latinx and other minority groups treated with respect and given equal treatment and opportunities. To this end, more actions to improve the treatment of Latinx must be taken by families, teachers, employers, police officers, judges, politicians, political groups and governments at all levels to eliminate social oppression and discrimination.

Appendix A

Qualtrics Questionnaire

Title of Research Study: Internalization of Oppression Scale Latinx

Principal Investigator: Jeannette Sucre, LCSW.
Doctoral Student in Social Welfare

Faculty Advisor: Professor Harriet Goodman
Department of Social Welfare
Graduate Center, CUNY

You are being asked to participate in this research study because you are a City College student with at least one grandparent born in Latin America. The purpose of this research study is to investigate some of your beliefs and attitudes about being Latinx. You might want to participate not only to gain research participation credit on the SONA system for your class but also to add to knowledge about what it is like to be a Latinx in the United States. You are free to begin the survey and choose not to continue. If you do, simply send an email saying so to LatinxIsurvey@gmail.com.

- If you agree to participate, we will ask you to answer some questions about how you feel about being Latinx and about some other personal characteristics. The survey should take no more than 45 minutes.
- There is little risk from being involved in this study.
- The knowledge gained from this study will help us better understand the lives of Latinx students, including possible issues that may arise from being Latinx.
- It is unlikely that any bad feelings arise from your participation in this study but, if any do, you can send an email to LatinxIsurvey@gmail.com or go to the City College Counseling Center at NAT 8/213.
- All answers on the survey are anonymous. Your answers are added without any name to the survey responses from all other people responding to the survey.

Your participation in this research is voluntary. If you have any questions, you can contact Jeannette Sucre at LatinxIsurvey@gmail.com. If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant or if you would like to talk to someone other than the researchers, you can contact CUNY Research Compliance Administrator at 646-664-8918 or HRPP@cuny.edu.

Please answer the following questions truthfully and to the best of your ability.

Q.1 How old are you?

- 18
- 19
- 20
- 21
- 22
- 23
- 24
- 25
- 26
- 27
- 28
- 29
- 30
- 31(and older)

Q.2 With which gender do you most identify?

- Female
- Male
- Transgender female
- Transgender male
- Gender variant/non-Conforming
- Other
- Prefer not to answer

Q.3 What is the highest grade in school you have completed?

- High school
- College Freshman
- College Sophomore
- College Junior
- College Senior
- Other

Q.4 What is your current GPA? _____

Q.5 You were born in:

- ARGENTINA
- BOLIVIA
- CHILE
- COLOMBIA
- COSTA RICA
- CUBA
- DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
- ECUADOR
- EL SALVADOR
- GUATEMALA
- HONDURAS
- MEXICO
- NICARAGUA
- PANAMA
- PARAGUAY
- PERU
- PUERTO RICO
- URUGUAY
- VENEZUELA
- OTHER/DON'T KNOW

Q.6 Your mother was born in:

- ARGENTINA
- BOLIVIA
- CHILE
- COLOMBIA
- COSTA RICA
- CUBA
- DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
- ECUADOR
- EL SALVADOR
- GUATEMALA
- HONDURAS
- MEXICO
- NICARAGUA
- PANAMA
- PARAGUAY
- PERU
- PUERTO RICO

- URUGUAY
- VENEZUELA
- OTHER/DON'T KNOW

Q.7 Your father was born in:

- ARGENTINA
- BOLIVIA
- CHILE
- COLOMBIA
- COSTA RICA
- CUBA
- DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
- ECUADOR
- EL SALVADOR
- GUATEMALA
- HONDURAS
- MEXICO
- NICARAGUA
- PANAMA
- PARAGUAY
- PERU
- PUERTO RICO
- URUGUAY
- VENEZUELA
- OTHER/DON'T KNOW

Q.8 Your mother's mother was born in:

- ARGENTINA
- BOLIVIA
- CHILE
- COLOMBIA
- COSTA RICA
- CUBA
- DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
- ECUADOR
- EL SALVADOR
- GUATEMALA
- HONDURAS
- MEXICO

- NICARAGUA
- PANAMA
- PARAGUAY
- PERU
- PUERTO RICO
- URUGUAY
- VENEZUELA
- OTHER/DON'T KNOW

Q.9 Your mother's father was born in:

- ARGENTINA
- BOLIVIA
- CHILE
- COLOMBIA
- COSTA RICA
- CUBA
- DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
- ECUADOR
- EL SALVADOR
- GUATEMALA
- HONDURAS
- MEXICO
- NICARAGUA
- PANAMA
- PARAGUAY
- PERU
- PUERTO RICO
- URUGUAY
- VENEZUELA
- OTHER/DON'T KNOW

Q.10 Your father's mother was born in:

- ARGENTINA
- BOLIVIA
- CHILE
- COLOMBIA
- COSTA RICA
- CUBA
- DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

- ECUADOR
- EL SALVADOR
- GUATEMALA
- HONDURAS
- MEXICO
- NICARAGUA
- PANAMA
- PARAGUAY
- PERU
- PUERTO RICO
- URUGUAY
- VENEZUELA
- OTHER/DON'T KNOW

Q.11 Your father's father was born in:

- ARGENTINA
- BOLIVIA
- CHILE
- COLOMBIA
- COSTA RICA
- CUBA
- DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
- ECUADOR
- EL SALVADOR
- GUATEMALA
- HONDURAS
- MEXICO
- NICARAGUA
- PANAMA
- PARAGUAY
- PERU
- PUERTO RICO
- URUGUAY
- VENEZUELA
- OTHER/DON'T KNOW

Q.12 If you were not born in the United States, how old were you when you came here?

Q.13 What language do you speak?

- English all the time
- English most of the time
- half English - half Spanish
- Spanish most of the time
- Other language most of the time
- Other language all the time

Q.14 To what religion did your parents belong?

- Christian-Catholic
- Christian-Protestant
- Judaism
- Islam
- Other

Q.15 Rate your natural skin color before sun exposure using the following choices.

- Ivory White
- Fair or pale
- Fair to beige with golden undertone
- Olive or light brown
- Dark brown or black

Using the scale below please answer questions 16 to 45. How much do you agree or disagree with each statement below?

Strongly disagree 1	Slightly disagree 2	Neither agree nor disagree 3	Slightly agree 4	Strongly agree 5
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Q.16 Latinx are less intelligent than Whites are

Q17. Latinx are lazy.

Q18. Most Americans believe that Latinx are quick to turn to crime as a solution to problems.

Q19. Being Latinx has never held me back.

Q20. Most Americans believe that Latinx drop out of school because they have less intellectual ability than Whites do.

Q21. I would have a better life if I were not Latinx.

Q22. Most Americans believe that the high percentage of Latinx in jail reflects inborn tendencies toward criminality.

Q23. I feel good when I think about myself as a Latinx.

Q24. The school dropout among Latinx is because they have less intellectual ability than Whites do.

Q25. Privately, I have negative feelings about being Latinx

Q26. Most Americans believe that Latinx have problems getting jobs due to bad work habits.

Q27. I wish I had not been born Latinx

Q28. Latinx are not successful because they turn to drugs to escape.

Q29. The reason Latinx have problems getting jobs is because they have had bad work habits.

Q30. Most Americans believe that the number of Latinx addicted to alcohol and drugs suggests a biological weakness

Q31. Lighter skin is more attractive than darker skin

Q32. I wish my features made me look more like White people

Q33. Many Latinx work hard because they want to succeed in this country.

Q34. Most Americans believe that Latinx are lazy.

Q35. Latinx quickly turn to crime as a solution to their problems.

Q36. I feel uncomfortable when I am identified as Latinx.

Q.37 The reason for the high percentage of Latinx in jail is because they have a tendency toward criminality.

Q.38 Most Americans believe that Latinx prefer being on welfare rather than work.

Q.39 Most Americans believe Latinx are as intelligent as Whites are.

Q.40 In general, I am proud to be a Latinx.

Q.41 Most Americans believe that Latinx can't get ahead because they turn to drugs to escape.

Q.42 Most Latinx prefer to be on welfare rather than having a job.

Q.43 Some things about Latinx culture make me feel bad.

Q.44 Most Americans believe that Latinx are willing to work hard to succeed in this country.

Q.45 Many Latinx are addicted to alcohol and drugs because they are biologically weak.

Using the scale below please answer questions 46 to 65. Please tell us how often you have felt or behaved this way during the past week.

Rarely or none of the time (less than 1 day)	Some or a little of time (1-2 days)	Occasionally or a moderate amount of time (3-4 days)	Most or all the time (5-6 days)
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Q.46 I was bothered by things that usually don't bother me.

Q.47 I did not feel like eating; my appetite was poor.

Q.48 I felt that I could not shake off the blues even with help from my family or friends.

Q.49 I felt that I was just as good as other people.

Q.50 I had trouble keeping my mind on what I was doing.

Q.51 I felt depressed.

- Q.52 I felt that everything I did was an effort.
 Q.53 I felt hopeful about the future.
 Q.54 I thought my life had been a failure.
 Q.55 I felt fearful.
 Q.56 My sleep was restless.
 Q.57 I was happy.
 Q.58 I talked less than usual.
 Q.59 I felt lonely.
 Q.60 People were unfriendly.
 Q.61 I enjoyed life.
 Q.62 I had crying spells.
 Q.63 I felt sad.
 Q.64 I felt that people disliked me.
 Q.65 I could not “get going”.

Using the scale below please answer questions 66 to 70. How much do you agree with the following statements about your class work in the coming year?

Strongly disagree 1	Slightly disagree 2	Neither agree nor disagree 3	Slightly agree 4	Strongly agree 5
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- Q.66 I'm certain I can figure out how to do the most difficult class work.
 Q.67 I can do almost all the work in class if I don't give up.
 Q.68 Even if the work is hard, I can learn it.
 Q.69 I can do even the hardest work in class if I try.
 Q.70 I'm certain I can master the skills taught in class this year.

Ranging from a very low rating of 1=Not much at all to a very high rating of 7=A very great deal, answer questions 71 to 72.

- Q.71 Rate the level of pressure and demand expected in your academic work during the next year.
 Q.72 Rate your ability to cope with the level of academic pressure and demand you expect to face next year.

Once you complete and submit this survey, you will receive a receipt that will not be able to be attached to your survey responses. By forwarding this receipt to LatinxIsurvey@gmail.com, with your name and the class section for which you want SONA credit, we will be able to give you the credit while keeping your survey responses totally anonymous.

Appendix B

Pool of Items for the Internalization Scale

Internalized Negative Attitudes Toward Latinx

The school dropout problem among Latinx is because they have less intellectual ability than Whites do.

Latinx are as intelligent as Whites.

The high percentage of Latinx in jail reflects inborn tendencies toward criminality.

Latinx quickly turn to crime as a solution to their problems.

The number of Latinx addicted to alcohol and drugs suggests a biological weakness.

Latinx are not successful because they turn to drugs to escape.

Latinx are lazy.

Most Latinx are willing to work hard to succeed in this country.

The reason Latinx have a problem getting jobs is because they have bad work habits.

Latinx prefer to be on welfare rather than work.

Belief that Most Americans Hold Negative Attitudes Toward Latinx

Most Americans believe that Latinx drop out of school because they have less intellectual ability than Whites do.

Most Americans believe that Latinx are as intelligent as Whites.

Most Americans believe that the high percentage of Latinx in jail reflects inborn tendencies toward criminality.

Most Americans believe that Latinx are quick to turn to crime as a solution to problems.

Most Americans believe that the number of Latinx addicted to alcohol and drugs suggests a biological weakness.

Most Americans believe that Latinx can't get ahead because they turn to drugs to escape.

Most Americans believe that Latinx are lazy.

Most Americans believe that Latinx are willing to work hard to succeed in this country.

Most Americans believe that Latinx have problems getting jobs due to bad work habits.

Most Americans believe that Latinx prefer being on welfare rather than work.

Negative Feelings About Being Latinx

I feel uncomfortable when I am identified as Latinx.

Privately I have negative feeling about being Latinx.

Aspects about being Latinx make me feel bad.

I feel good about myself when I think about myself as a Latinx.

Lighter skin is more attractive.

I wish my features made me look more like White people.

In general, I am proud to be a Latinx.

I wish I had not been born Latinx.

I would have a better life if I were not Latinx.

Being Latinx has never held me back.

Appendix C

Center for Epidemiologic Studies – Depression Scale

Below is a list of the ways you might have felt or behaved. Please tell us how often you have felt this way during the past week by circling the answer.

Rarely or none of the time (less than 1 day)

Some or a little of the time (1-2 days)

Occasionally or a moderate amount of time (3-4 days)

Most or all the time (5-6 days)

During this past week:	Rarely <1 day	Some days 1-2 days	Occasionally 3-4 days	Most days 5-6 days
Q.1 I was bothered by things that usually don't bother me.	0	1	2	3
Q.2 I did not feel like eating; my appetite was poor.	0	1	2	3
Q.3 I felt that I could not shake off the blues even with help from my family or friends.	0	1	2	3
Q.5 I felt that I was just as good as other people.	0	1	2	3
Q.6 I had trouble keeping my mind on what I was doing.	0	1	2	3
Q.7 I felt depressed.	0	1	2	3
Q.8 I felt that everything I did was an effort.	0	1	2	3
Q.9 I felt hopeful about the future.	0	1	2	3
Q.10 I thought my life had been a failure.	0	1	2	3
Q.11 I felt fearful.	0	1	2	3

During this past week:	Rarely <1 day	Some days 1-2 days	Occasionally 3-4 days	Most days 5-6 days
Q.12. My sleep was restless.	0	1	2	3
Q.13 I was happy.	0	1	2	3
Q.14 I talked less than usual.	0	1	2	3
Q.15 I felt lonely.	0	1	2	3
Q.16 People were unfriendly.	0	1	2	3
Q.17 I enjoyed life.	0	1	2	3
Q.18 I had crying spells.	0	1	2	3
Q.19 I felt sad.	0	1	2	3
Q.20 I felt that people disliked me.	0	1	2	3
Q21. I could not “get going”.	0	1	2	3

Appendix D

Items in the Challenge-Threat Measure

Rate your response ranging from a very low rating of 1= Not much at all to a very high rating of

7= A very great deal:

Q.1 Rate the level of pressure and demand expected in your academic work during the next year.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Q.2 Rate your ability to cope with the level of academic pressure and demand you expect to face next year	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix E

Items in Academic Self-efficacy Scale

How much you agree or disagree with each statement below?

	Strongly disagree	Slightly disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Slightly agree	Strongly agree
Q.1 I'm certain I can figure out how to do the most difficult class work.					
Q.2 I can do almost all the work in class if I don't give up.					
Q.3 Even if the work is hard, I can learn it.					
Q.4 I can do even the hardest work in this class if I try.					
Q.5 I'm certain I can master the skills taught in class this year.					

Appendix F

Final Version of the Internalization of Oppression for Latinx Scale

How much do you agree or disagree with each statement below?

	Strongly disagree	Slightly disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Slightly agree	Strongly agree
Q.1 The school dropout among Latinx is because they have less intellectual ability than Whites do.					
Q.2 Latinx are not successful because they turn to drugs to escape.					
Q.3 The reason Latinx have problems getting jobs is because they have had bad work habits.					
Q.4 Latinx quickly turn to crime as a solution to their problems.					
Q.5 Privately, I have negative feelings about being Latinx.					
Q.6 I wish I had not been born Latinx.					
Q.7 I wish my features made me look more like White people.					
Q.8 I would have a better life if I were not Latinx.					
Q.9 Most Americans believe that Latinx are quick to turn to crime as a solution to problems.					
Q.10 Most Americans believe that Latinx drop out of school because they have less intellectual ability than Whites do.					
Q.11 Most Americans believe that Latinx prefer being on welfare rather than work.					

Q.12 Most Americans believe that Latinx can't get ahead because they turn to drugs to escape.

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