Group Identity and Expressions of Prejudice

Among Mexican Heritage Adolescents

by

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ABSTRACT

A study was conducted to assess the effects of generational status on various measures of stigmatization, acculturative stress, and perceived social and interpersonal threat within the Mexican heritage population in the Southwest. The role of the fear of stigma by association, regardless of actual experiences of stigmatization, was investigated, including its relationships with acculturative stress, perceived threat, and social distancing. Exploratory analyses indicated that first generation Mexican Americans differed significantly from second generation Mexican Americans on the perception of Mexican nationals as ingroup members, the fear of stigma by association by Americans, and levels of acculturative stress. Additional analyses indicated that Mexican Americans with one parent born in Mexico and one in the United States held opinions and attitudes most similar to second generation Mexican Americans. Results from path analyses indicated that first-generation Mexican Americans were more likely than second-generation Mexican Americans to both see Mexican nationals as ingroup members and to be afraid of being stigmatized for their perceived association with them. Further, seeing Mexican nationals as in-group members resulted in less social distancing and lower perceived threat, but fear of stigma by association lead to greater perceived threat and greater acculturative stress. Implications for within- and between-group relations and research on stigma by association are discussed.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this research project was to investigate group

identification, acculturative stress, stigmatization, and perceived threat among

members of the Mexican heritage population in the Southwest. More specifically,

it investigated social and cultural self-characterizations among segments of the

Mexican American population (born in the United States), as well as their

attitudes and towards and views of the Mexican national population (born in

Mexico). The study investigated how expressions of social distancing,

acculturative stress, and perceived threat are moderated by fear of stigmatization,

as well as whether Mexican American participants viewed Mexican nationals as

ingroup or outgroup members. Further, it sought to examine how generational

status affects these relationships.

Group identification has been an important area of research in social

psychology for many years (see Brown, 2000; Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Tajfel,

1974). Belonging to a particular group has important positive effects both for the

individual and the group including enhanced power, success, social interaction,

and academic achievement (Arellano & Padilla, 1996; Hornsey & Hogg, 2002;

Umana-Taylor, Diversi, & Fine, 2002). Conversely, being excluded from a group

can result in a multitude of negative social effects, including increased

aggressiveness and reduced helpfulness and self-regulation (Baumeister, Brewer,

Twice, & Twenga, 2007). Additionally, individuals that identify more strongly as

members of a particular group also adhere more strongly to their group norms,

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show more ingroup loyalty, and self-stereotype more as group members (Jetten, Branscombe, Spears, & McKimmie, 2003; Jetten, Postmes, & McAuliffe, 2002; Jetten, Spears, & Manstead, 2007).

Traditionally, it may have been assumed that groups had firm as opposed to fluid boundaries, such that an individual either was or was not part of a group. For this reason, research in social psychology on group identification and conflict has frequently been conducted between individuals of different ethnic groups, or between different experimentally constructed groups (Eidelman & Biernat, 2003; Marques, Abrams, & Serodio, 2001). However, it may be that in many groups there may exist degrees of belongingness, as well as circumstances under which individuals may or may not identify as group members. For this reason, the processes of intergroup conflict may function somewhat differently in groups that have more fluid boundaries.

The Mexican heritage population in the Southwest may be such a group. There has been documentation of conflict between the Mexican American population and the Mexican national (immigrant) population in the Southwest (Corella, 2002; Ochoa, 2004; Wingett, 2005). For the purpose of this research, U.S.-born Mexican heritage individuals will be referred to as "Mexican Americans" and Mexico-born Mexican heritage individuals will be referred to as "Mexican nationals".

Conflict within the Mexican heritage population may vary in source and degree based on the extent of an individuals' self-identification as Mexican, as American, as both independently, as Mexican American, or with an alternative

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label of their choosing (such as Chicano). They may label themselves somewhere

on a continuum ranging from being members of the same ethnic group to being

members of different groups that simply share an ethnic background (Bernal,

Knight, Ocampo, Garza, & Cota, 1993). The ethnic labels that Mexican heritage

adolescents choose may also be affected by generational status, defined as the

number of generations that have passed since the individual's ancestors

immigrated to the United States (Knight, Bernal, Cota, Garza, & Ocampo, 1993;

Marks, Szalacha, Lamarre, Boyd, & Coll, 2007). To further clarify this

description, first generation Mexican Americans are the children of Mexican

immigrants, and second generation Mexican Americans are the grandchildren of

Mexican immigrants.

The form of the conflict may vary according to whether, and under what

circumstances, individuals from the Mexican American and Mexican national

populations identify members of the other group as outgroup or ingroup members.

Processes including stigma by association (Neuberg, Smith, Hoffman, & Russell,

1994) may influence interactions based on how segments of the Mexican heritage

population categorize themselves and others, and also on how they feel they are

characterized by non-Hispanic American individuals.

At the present time, very few empirical studies of which the author is

aware have investigated conflict and prejudice within any Latino subgroup,

including the Mexican heritage population (Rouse, Wilkinson, & Garand, 2010;

Uhlmann, Dasgupta, Elgueta, Greenwald, & Swanson, 2002). The present

research investigated the effects of the generational status of Mexican Americans

on various measures of stigmatization, acculturative stress, and perceived social and interpersonal threat by Mexican nationals.

Diversity within the Mexican heritage population in the Southwest

Latinos, defined as both immigrants from Latin-American countries and American-born individuals identifying themselves as Latinos, are the largest minority group in the United States (Grieco & Cassidy, 2001). Additionally, Latinos are the fastest growing minority group in the United States and were 52% of the foreign-born individuals counted in the 2000 Census (Malone, Baluja, Costanzo, & Davis, 2003). Fully a third of the foreign-born individuals counted in the 2000 Census were from Mexico, and Mexican Americans comprised two-thirds of the overall Latino population of the U.S. (Grieco & Cassidy, 2001). While immigration and the Latino population are of great salience nationwide, they are of particular importance in the Southwestern United States due to the international border with Mexico and the demographics of the area. In Arizona, the foreign-born population increased 135% from 1990 to 2000, and 66% of the foreign-born population is from Mexico (Malone, Baluja, Costanzo, & Davis, 2003). Overall, 30% of the population of Arizona is of Latino origin (Arizona QuickFacts, 2008).

There are many ways in which the Mexican heritage population in the United States is diverse, including a variety of cultural and social differences. Some evidence suggests that such differences may be as the source of substantial conflict between segments of the Mexican American and Mexican national populations (Corella, 2002; Ochoa, 2004; Wingett, 2005). Generational

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differences among Mexican heritage individuals may be connected to other within group differences with substantial cultural and social implications. Cultural differences between Mexican Americans and Mexican nationals could include differences in behaviors, values, and attitudes. Research has indicated that Mexican American adolescents' ethnic identity and both Mexican and American cultural values are significantly linked to the birth country of each of their parents, suggesting differences influenced by the adolescents' own nativity and generational status (Knight et al., in press). Language preference could also be related to significant cultural differences. For instance, individuals born in the United States are more likely to be fluent in English, which could facilitate engagement in American culture and adoption of American cultural values. In contrast, individuals born in Mexico are more likely to be fluent in Spanish, which could facilitate engagement in Mexican culture and affinity for Mexican cultural values. Mexican Americans that are the children of immigrants may be much more likely to speak Spanish fluently and frequently, and with a greater number of people, than Mexican Americans without close family members born in Mexico. While many Mexican heritage individuals may be bilingual, their cultural affiliations may be affected by their language preference. In fact, their cultural preferences may actually shift to a certain extent depending on which language they are using (Ramirez-Esparza, Gosling, Benet-Martinez, Potter, & Pennebaker, 2006).

Generational differences could also be a source of diversity in the political opinions and affiliations of Mexican Americans. Research has indicated that

Mexican Americans' support for certain types of political legislation varies by generational status (Rouse, Wilkinson, & Garand, 2010). More specifically, Mexican Americans whose ancestors emigrated from Mexico fewer generations ago show higher levels of support for immigration reform and increased immigrant quotas than do Mexican Americans whose ancestors emigrated more generations ago (Latino Decisions, 2010; Rouse, Wilkinson, & Garand, 2010). Such differences in political preferences and affiliations are likely to be connected to a variety of other social and cultural differences.

Additionally, political legislation that is targeted toward the Latino/a population may also be a source of diversity within the Mexican heritage population, in terms of its ability to highlight and heighten both between- and within-group conflict and prejudice. Mexican Americans showed very low support for immigrants and immigration legislation reform from the beginning of the twentieth century up until the 1970s, when Mexican Americans united in opposition to legislation perceived as anti-Latino and anti-immigrant (Gutierrez, 1991). More recently, while 70% of Latino voters in Arizona indicated on a recent survey that they strongly opposed Arizona's immigration reform law, SB 1070, 12% reported that they strongly supported it (Latino Decisions, 2010). Such stridently different opinions among Latinos on an issue that potentially has great relevance for the Mexican heritage population could lead to conflict due to the perception that those supporting the law do not support or accept Mexican immigrants. Additionally, first generation Mexican Americans may take such support of a law personally, as they may see it as specific lack of support of their

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own parents. Therefore, diversity in political opinions may be a potent source of conflict or discord within the Mexican American population.

It may be the case that segments of the Mexican heritage population self-identify as belonging to either the same or a different group than other segments of the Mexican heritage population based more on certain cultural and social factors than on their shared ethnic background. For example, Mexican Americans may feel that their cultural and social interactions are so different from those of Mexican nationals that they do not identify as belonging to the same group. Instead, they may believe that they simply share an ethnic background that does not socially or culturally link them in any substantive manner.

Additionally, within the Mexican heritage population, it has become increasingly clear that, when studying ethnic identity, it is necessary to think of multiple identities (Holley, Salas, Marsiglia, Yabikui, Fitzharris, & Jackson, 2009; Marks Szalacha, LaMarre, Boyd, & Call, 2007; Turiel, 2007). A study investigating the differences in self-identification found that second-generation immigrant children of several ethnicities preferred to select multiple self-descriptors, including descriptors based on geographic nativity and residence, as well as hyphenated combinations (Marks et al., 2007). Additionally, a study by Holley et al. (2009) found that language preference had a substantial impact on label preference, such that Mexican heritage youth that spoke primarily English with their families and friends were more likely to choose multiple labels, such as Mexican, Mexican American, or Chicano, plus another label such as White, Other Hispanic, or American Indian. In contrast, Mexican heritage youth that spoke

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primarily Spanish with their families and friends were more likely to select one single label, such as Mexican, Mexican American, or Chicano.

This line of research suggests that individuals of Mexican heritage perhaps could not be expected to choose a single descriptor or cultural affiliation, but may instead identify with a variety. This relationship also appears to be affected by nativity and generational status; across both studies on self-identification among Hispanic heritage youth, participants that had been in the U.S. for more years or generations self-identified with multiple ethnic labels (Holley et al., 2009; Marks et al., 2007). Therefore, it is important to evaluate the ways in which individuals of Mexican heritage self identify as well as the groups with which they affiliate. Self-identification may indicate some important dimensions of differentiation and conflict among individuals of Mexican heritage.

Ethnic group identification may be affected by resource allocation, such that individuals are more likely to restrict their group self-identification in situations with scarce resources (Platow, Grace, Wilson, Burton, & Wilson, 2008). Therefore, group identification could potentially vary by socioeconomic status, job availability, and the economic health of a country, region, and community. For example, segments of the Mexican American and Mexican national populations may be more likely to self-identify more narrowly on the basis of nativity, rather than more broadly based on shared ethnic heritage, when experiencing pressure due to perceived resource scarcity. Currently, there is a perception that significant competition exists for work and financial resources in many communities in which Mexican American and Mexican national

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populations live. Whether or not this perception is true, a belief in such scarcity of work may actually lead to people conforming to the perception and behaving in a way that expresses their fear of both conflict and scarcity of employment. Such perceptions of competition and scarcity may be heightened by the current depressed economy of the United States. Resource allocation and competition, as well as any fear of perceived or potential scarcity and resultant competition, could be a source of conflict between segments of the Mexican heritage population.

Research on Conflict and Prejudice Towards and Within Ethnic Groups

Existing research exploring conflict and prejudice both toward and between specific ethnic groups has indicated that experiences of discrimination and conflict, regardless of the source, are associated with lower academic performance among minorities including Latinos from early education through college (Cabrera & Nora, 1994; DeGarmo & Martinez, 2006; Hurtado, 1992; Loo & Rolston, 1986). Discrimination and conflict need not be overt, but could be experiences as perceived stigmatization or threat. Indeed, even perceived discrimination has been shown to result in increased rates of depression among Mexican nationals (Finch, Kolody, & Vega, 2000). Within the Mexican American population, Romero, Martinez, & Carvajal (2007) found that bicultural stress (due to discrimination, immigration, and acculturation factors) increased the incidence of risk behaviors including smoking, drinking, drug use, and violence and also resulted in lowered mental health status. Experiences of racism have also been linked to significantly elevated environmental risk (e.g., violence, sexual abuse or assault, exposure to drug use), behavioral risk (e.g., drug use) and worry (e.g.,

worry about hurting self or others, worry about doing dangerous things) (Surko, Ciro, Blackwood, Nembhard, & Peake, 2005).

Discrimination and conflict may exist on a variety of parameters not only between individuals from different ethnic groups but also between individuals from the same ethnic heritage. Within the Latino population, research on skin-color preference has indicated a consistent theoretical preference for paler skin tone (Uhlmann et al., 2002). Extending research on the preference for lighter skin to the implications of negative treatment for those with darker skin, Espino & Franz (2002) found that Mexican Americans and Cuban Americans with darker skin encountered greater workplace discrimination and had more difficulty obtaining work than did similar individuals with lighter skin. Such phenotypic discrimination may also be linked to other cultural and genetic differences within the Mexican heritage population that could lead to conflict and discrimination.

Additionally, a study by White and Langer (1999) investigated a type of within-group prejudice called "horizontal hostility", defined as expressing relatively unfavorable attitudes towards individuals that are similar but either more or less mainstream, among subgroups of athletic and ethnic religious (Jewish) populations. Although White and Langer (1999) conceptualized the expressions of "horizontal hostility" within each group as similar, different processes may indeed be driving the discrimination. Among the religious populations, the perceived threat of the more mainstream group could be conceptualized as based on either identity (whether they are indeed the same group) or on perceived out-group acceptance. Among sports teams, the conflict

could be based on a perceived threat to status as well as a drive to maintain the position of power. These specific sources of horizontal hostility could also potentially cause conflict within the Mexican heritage population, particularly in areas where tension exists between the majority culture and the Mexican heritage populations.

Prejudice towards and stereotyping of Mexican heritage individuals by non-Hispanic Americans can have a negative impact on members of the Mexican heritage population, and therefore may lead to conflict within the Mexican heritage population. Members of the Mexican heritage population may be the victims of others' assumptions about their ethnic background, occupation, levels of motivation and achievement, and immigration status. Such stereotyping can lead to detrimental social, scholastic, and occupational outcomes, as well as numerous negative health outcomes linked to stress (Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999). Furthermore, it can produce resentment on the part of the stereotyped individual towards both those that stereotype him or her, and towards the perceived source of the stereotype (Pernice & Brook, 1996).

Such stereotyping may occur if non-Hispanic Americans do not adequately differentiate between Mexican Americans and Mexican nationals. Specifically, members of the non-Hispanic American community that Mexican Americans encounter may think of them much the same as they think of Mexican immigrants, particularly those without legal immigration status. Current discussion of the impact of immigrants, particularly those that immigrated illegally, has increased scrutiny of the entire Mexican heritage population in the

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United States. The inaccurate characterization of Mexican American citizens may be worrisome to those in the broader Mexican American population, as they may, too, be cast in a negative light, and therefore be the targets of prejudice and discrimination. Therefore, Mexican Americans may perceive Mexican nationals as a potential threat on multiple dimensions.

Stigma by Association

Stigma by association, defined as when individuals stigmatize ingroup members for their perceived association with, or perceived similarity to, a negatively evaluated target, has been investigated as an expression of prejudice both between and within groups (Doyle, 1999; Goldstein & Johnson, 1997; Neuberg, Smith, Hoffman, & Russell, 1994). The reasons individuals stigmatize others, or those associated with them, vary widely, but could include assumptions regarding the target's own attitudes (Neuberg, Smith, Hoffman, & Russell, 1994; Swim, Ferguson, & Hyers, 1999), capabilities (Goldstein & Johnson, 1997; Kulik, Bainbridge, & Cregan, 2008; Pozner, 2008), or health (Doyle, 1999; Halter, 2008; Ostman & Kjellin, 2002; Smart, 1999; Werner & Heinik, 2008; Zauszniewski, Bekhet, & Suresky, 2008). Notably, all previous research of which the author is aware has examined stigmatization for an individual's *chosen* association, to a greater or lesser degree, with someone else that is evaluated negatively. For example, studies have investigated stigmatization of able-bodied individuals that are in romantic relationships with handicapped individuals (Goldstein & Johnson, 1997), heterosexuals that are friends with homosexuals (Neuberg, Smith,

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Hoffman, & Russell, 1994), and nurses that work with patients with mental illnesses (Halter, 2008).

In contrast, Mexican Americans that are stigmatized for their perceived association with Mexican nationals are being judged on a purely genetic characteristic, and may not actually have any personal relationships or associations with Mexican nationals. Therefore, reactions to stigmatization may be different, more severe, and more complicated for Mexican Americans than for individuals that are stigmatized for their chosen association with a stigmatized other. Whereas the latter group may simply choose to discontinue the relationship or change careers to avoid the negatively evaluated target and therefore avoid their own stigmatization, Mexican Americans that are stigmatized for a shared genetic background may have no such easy way to avoid being associated with Mexican nationals, and stigmatized for that association. Therefore, negative sentiment towards Mexican nationals may result, as well as efforts to further distance and distinguish the separation between the groups.

Towler & Schneider (2006) defined the dimensions on which people are frequently stigmatized as physical disability, mental disability, economic disadvantage, social deviance, physical appearance, sexual identity, and racial identity, all of which could apply to members of the Mexican heritage population. On the dimension of economic disadvantage, a report by DeNavas-Walt, Proctor, & Lee (2005) found that the median annual household income in the United States for Latino households in 2005 was $14,000 less than for European American households. Additionally, households of foreign-born individuals

(undifferentiated by ethnicity or cultural background) on average make $5,000 less a year than native-born households. In terms of the dimension of physical appearance, most members of the Mexican heritage population have a distinct physical appearance that could signal their ethnic background to others as well as differentiate them from the majority (European-American) population. This phenotypic difference could expose them to racial prejudice. In terms of the dimension of racial identity, segments of the Mexican heritage population may identify with cultural beliefs and practices that set them apart from others in their community. Lastly, the dimension of social deviance could be applied to the issue of illegal immigration. The majority of undocumented immigrants in the United States are from Mexico (Passel & Cohn, 2009), and general negative attitudes towards illegal immigration and immigrants could adversely effect the entire Mexican heritage population in a variety of ways (i.e. direct prejudice, discrimination, or fear of stigmatization).

The related process of fear of stigma by association may also adequately describe some of the social interactions occurring within the Mexican heritage population. Fear of stigma by association may occur when an individual expresses the fear of being stigmatized for his or her assumed association with or similarity to a negatively viewed target individual. Importantly, actual stigmatization of the individual need not occur for him or her to express fear of its potential occurrence, and react accordingly. Fear of stigma by association has not previously been empirically examined, and existing documentation of its effects has been in the context of healthcare (Smart, 2009). However, there are numerous

reasons that fear of stigma by association could be hypothesized to affect relationships within the Mexican heritage population.

Fear of stigmatization may have significant cognitive and behavioral effects on the individual that experiences it. Since segments of the Mexican American and Mexican national populations may actually be the targets of prejudice on multiple dimensions, it is reasonable to assume that they could express fear of being targeted in such a manner. More specifically, segments of the Mexican American population may fear that they will be the victims of stigma by association for their perceived association with or resemblance to the Mexican national population, which is currently more highly stigmatized due to illegal immigration issues. Segments of the Mexican American population may then feel that they are threatened by the Mexican national population due to the fear of stigma by association from outgroup members including the non-Hispanic American population, which could in turn lead to their own sentiments and expressions of prejudice.

Segments of the Mexican heritage population that identify more strongly with Mexican values may be prejudiced against those that identify more strongly with American values because they do not think that they are sufficiently Mexican (Wingett, 2005). Numerous examples exist of ethnic groups derogating in-group members for not adhering sufficiently to the cultural standards of the group. In many cases, the deviation is seen as the individual acting in a way that is perceived as more characteristic of the mainstream culture as opposed to the minority culture. In the United States, this may be conceptualized as behaving too

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"white", and such cases have given rise to a variety of derogatory terms (see Urban Dictionary, 2008). Such prejudice may lead to conflict and self-segregation within the Mexican heritage population (Corella, 2002), and accusations of betrayal of one's cultural heritage could be expected to lead to distress for the target of the accusation.

Documentation of Disagreement and Conflict within the Mexican Heritage Population

Substantial media coverage, as well as limited scholarly research, has investigated a diversity of attitudes with outcomes ranging from simple disagreement up to conflict between segments of the Mexican American and Mexican national populations in the United States (Corella, 2002; Ochoa, 2004; Wingett, 2005). Anthropologist Gilda Ochoa (2004) investigated conflict within the Mexican heritage population in southern California and implicated out-group discrimination and government policies promoting assimilation as contributing to the resentment felt by segments of the Mexican American population towards the Mexican national population. Segments of the Mexican American population felt that a threat was posed by Spanish-speaking immigrants, including Mexican nationals, to the social status of the Mexican American population in the United States.

In such a situation segments of the Mexican American population may not feel that they are members of the same group as the Mexican national population. It may be an example of an effect Platow et al. (2008) noted whereby scarce resources and out-group pressure reduce individuals' group self-identification. In

an instance of stigma by association, segments of the Mexican American population may feel that they are unfairly targeted and derogated by other Americans (such as the European American population) simply based on their shared ethnic heritage with the Mexican national population. However, Ochoa (2004) also found that a subset of the Mexican American population had worked to achieve group solidarity and to improve the social conditions and educational opportunities of the Mexican national population. Individuals from this segment of the Mexican American population may be more inclined to feel that they are in the same group as Mexican nationals, and that it is in their self-interest to help the Mexican national population.

The popular media in Arizona has taken note of conflict between segments of the Mexican American and Mexican national populations. In 2005, Wingett wrote in *The Arizona Republic* of Phoenix, Arizona about the neighborhood cultural conflict between the local Mexican American population and their newly arrived Mexican immigrant neighbors. Edward Escobar, a professor of Chicana and Chicano Studies at Arizona State University, defined the conflict as, "[…] tension over jobs, over dating and parks and facilities ... they way [Mexican nationals] dress, the way they talk," (B1). Wingett (2005) listed additional points of contention, including that Mexican Americans complained about the Mexican nationals' overall lifestyle including style of dress, language use, musical preferences, different animal species kept as pets (i.e. "barnyard" animals such as goats), and social mannerisms such as styles of flirting. In turn, Mexican nationals

complained that the Mexican Americans were racist, resented the immigrants' success in the United States, and had betrayed their Mexican heritage.

Again, this may be an instance in which neither members of the Mexican American population nor the Mexican national population feel that they are members of the same group, since these populations diverge and conflict so sharply on important social and cultural parameters. While the dimensions over which the groups conflict may vary by context, the conflict over jobs may stem from particularly different attitudes for each group. Segments of the Mexican American population may feel that, by their willingness to work for lower wages, some segments of the Mexican national population drive down employers' wages and hurt the job prospects of the Mexican Americans population. In contrast, segments of the Mexican national population may feel that segments of the Mexican American population are unfairly discriminatory towards the Mexican national population, especially given the superior social position of the Mexican American population in the area.

The way that low wages are viewed may be different for each group, as well. For the Mexican American population, a wage that is significantly less than minimum wage may be lower than expected and desired, and may make it difficult for segments of the Mexican American population to live as they are accustomed to. However, for the Mexican national population, a very low wage may still be significantly more income than they may have earned in Mexico. Therefore, a wage that may be unacceptably low for the Mexican American population may actually be seen as an improvement for some of the Mexican

national population. These differences in employment and wage attitudes may be particularly strong sources of threat and differentiation among subgroups of the Mexican heritage population.

In another news story Corella (2002) described the conflict between the Mexican American student population and the Mexican national student population in a high school in Tucson, Arizona. Educators and school administrators expressed fear of outcomes including negative academic impacts, diminished self-esteem levels, and interpersonal violence. The conflict at the school had already resulted in extensive self-segregation, prejudice, name-calling, and violence including frequent fights. Reflecting the findings of Ochoa (2004) and Wingett (2005), the author and his sources indicated that language use, racism, the use of pejorative terms, and cultural identification and practices were major points of contention. Corella (2002) also argued that the problem was compounded by bilingual education because of the notable segregation between groups that it created in the school. Again, this may be an instance in which segments of the Mexican American population and the Mexican national population do not see themselves as members of the same group. If they do not share language preference, and are in fact separated by school administrators based on language preference and proficiency, members of both groups may be less likely to recognize any possible shared qualities and potential for group affiliation.

Factors that may contribute to harmony and disharmony within the Mexican heritage population in the Southwest

There are a number of ways in which relations between segments of the Mexican American and Mexican national populations can be harmonious or disharmonious. Harmony may be motivated by shared ethnic and cultural background, which may increase the probability that segments of the Mexican American and Mexican national populations see themselves as members of the same Mexican heritage population. Additionally, harmony could be driven by a desire to affiliate against the threat of prejudice and discrimination from outgroup members, or to increase the social and political influence of the Mexican heritage population in response to the existing political disenfranchisement and lack of power.

Just as a number of factors may contribute to harmony between the Mexican American and Mexican national populations in the Southwest, other factors may lead to disharmony. Segments of the Mexican American population may feel that they are in conflict with segments of the Mexican national population over employment opportunities, because in many areas they may seek the same types of employment. However, this may be affected by generational status; as the number of generations increases since an individual's ancestors emigrated from Mexico, so does his or her average wage (Fry & Lowell, 2006). This may indicate that Mexican Americans that are more generations removed from immigration may be less likely to compete with Mexican nationals than first generation Mexican Americans.

Common indicators of disharmony for segments of the Mexican American population may include overt discrimination, avoidance, prejudice, perceived threat, increased stress, resentment, and overt conflict expressed towards members of the Mexican national population. This could be due to the threats to status that the immigrants may pose, as they may be seen as making all people of Mexican descent "look bad". Additionally, legislation enacted to prevent undocumented members of the Mexican national population from obtaining work in the United States may have the effect of making employers wary of all individuals with a stereotypical Mexican appearance, therefore decreasing job opportunities for segments of the Mexican American population.

In a larger sense, political legislation pertaining to immigration and immigrants' rights may contribute to disharmony by heightening divisions within the Mexican heritage population based on nativity. Generational differences may also play a role, as Mexican Americans whose family members emigrated more recently may feel more allegiance to immigrants than Mexican Americans with no living family members that emigrated from Mexico. Such generational differences may lead to conflict between segments of the Mexican heritage population based on perceptions of support for Mexican nationals and immigrants, or lack thereof.

There is a significant history of studies examining prejudice and conflict showing that intergroup contact has the potential to either increase (Hewstone, 2003) or decrease conflict (Allport, 1954; Eller & Abrams, 2004), depending on environmental and interpersonal characteristics of the situation. In contrast to the idea that simple proximity and contact are sufficient qualifications for intergroup

harmony, Allport (1954) argued that intergroup contact only reduces prejudice, stereotyping, and other forms of intergroup bias if it is qualified by four conditions.

However, most of the conditions posited by Allport (1954) as necessary for harmony are not currently present in communities in the Southwest that are heavily populated by both Mexican Americans and Mexican nationals. The first condition is equal status within the situation, such that the two groups mutually feel that they are equal. Segments of the Mexican American and Mexican national populations may not feel that they are of equal status in the United States to either each other or the majority culture. This could be because of employment factors including their different income levels, employment opportunities, and perceived potential for economic advancement. Financially, Mexican American and Mexican national populations are not equal in the United States (DeNavas-Walt, Proctor, & Lee, 2005). Additionally, nativity and immigration status could heavily impact whether segments of the Mexican American and Mexican national populations feel that they are of equal status in the United States, due to cultural and legal judgments as to whether or not they "belong" in the United States.

Allport's (1954) second condition is common goals, such that the two groups are working towards similar instead of different or opposing objectives. Goals may be affected by the differences in attitudes and values documented between segments of the Mexican heritage population, which may be affected by nativity or generational status. Research on cultural values suggests that newly arrived Mexican nationals often have very different goals and values than the

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Mexican American population. For example, members of the Mexican national population may endorse the cultural values of the United States to a greater extent than members of the Mexican American population (North, 2009). These differences could contribute to a lack of understanding of others as well as outright conflict. Conflict over differences in attitudes and values has already been documented in the news media in parts of the Southwest (Ochoa, 2004; Wingett, 2005).

The third condition of Allport (1954) is intergroup cooperation, such that the groups are willing to work together. This condition may be more likely to exist within the Mexican heritage population, as it is more elective than equal status or goals. However, financial concerns, including the perception that employment scarcity or conflict exists, could lead to job competition that may reduce intergroup cooperation and desire for affinity. This may be particularly true in the current environment economic instability and hardship. Political policy decisions that differentiate between groups based on nativity and/or immigration status may inhibit cooperation between the Mexican American and Mexican national populations. This could be caused by the fear that an individuals' immigration documentation status could have negative effects not only on the individual but also on those with whom he or she interacts. Additionally, language difficulties could make cooperation more difficult between the English-speaking segment of the Mexican American population and the Spanish-speaking segments of the Mexican national population. Cooperation could also be affected by fear of

stigma by association, which could reduce Mexican Americans' desire to affiliate with Mexican nationals.

Allport's (1954) final condition is support of the authorities, such that any authority figure or organization involved in the situation is supportive of the contact and cooperation. There may be little institutional support for cooperation and organization within the Mexican heritage population in the Southwest, perhaps due to fear by non-Mexican individuals of political organization and increased political power for United States citizens of Mexican heritage. Additionally, the lack of support is perhaps attributable to a lack of differentiation between Mexican Americans and Mexican nationals by non-Hispanic Americans members in connection with the current high levels of hostility exhibited by some segments of the American population towards Mexican immigrants.

Historical and popular press evidence has documented significant conflict and discrimination in the United States within the Mexican heritage population (Corella, 2002; Gutierrez, 1995; Ochoa, 2004; Wingett, 2004). Additionally, the ways in which segments of the Mexican American and Mexican national populations in the Southwest conceptualize themselves and each other, and the ethnic labels they identify with, have received little empirical attention (Holley et al., 2009). The driving forces and parameters of prejudice and conflict between these two sub-groups of the Mexican heritage population in the Southwest have been the subject of very little empirical investigation (Rouse, Wilkinson, & Garand, 2010), motivating the present research.

Hypotheses

It was hypothesized that significant amounts of prejudice would be demonstrated by segments of the Mexican American population towards the Mexican national population, depending on group identification. It was hypothesized that there would be a main effect of group identification (i.e., outgroup versus ingroup membership) on prejudice. More specifically, it was predicted that there would be more prejudice when Mexican Americans thought of Mexican nationals as outgroup members than when they thought of them as ingroup members.

Segments of the Mexican American population were predicted to express a fear of stigma by association that would further predict expression of prejudice and conflict towards Mexican nationals when they viewed them as an outgroup members. Additionally, generational status was hypothesized to affect group identification, fear of stigma by association, and expressions of conflict and prejudice. It was predicted that first generation Mexican Americans would be more likely to see Mexican nationals as ingroup members, and therefore less likely to express negative attitudes towards and beliefs about them.

Chapter 2

METHOD

Participants

Participants included 26 male and 43 female Mexican heritage individuals

between the ages of 18 and 24 ($M = 18.49$, $SD = 1.00$) at a large university in the

Southwestern United States. A power analysis was conducted using G*Power 3 to

determine appropriate sample size (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007).

Provided criteria for the test included that it would be a Multiple Regression

Omnibus test with an error probability of .05, high power of .95, and one

predictor variable. Effect size f^2 of .20 was calculated based on obtained squared

multiple correlation r^2 of .17, which was on the average to low end of frequently

obtained r^2 values in research on group identification with adolescents (e.g.,

Bates, Beauvais, & Trimble, 1997; Gonzalez, Verkuyten, Weesie, & Poppe, 2008;

Romero & Roberts, 2003). With the given criteria, G*Power 3 indicated that there

should be at least 67 total participants.

To allow for sufficient power and participants, approval to administer the

study to 100 participants was sought and obtained. Participants were recruited

from an entry-level Psychology course and were compensated for participation

with partial credit towards a course research requirement as well as the

opportunity to win a $50 gift card. All methods and materials were approved by

an Institutional Review Board. One hundred participants started the survey;

however, only 82 completed the entire survey. Of these, the data of six

participants was excluded because they were not born in the United States and

two participants were excluded because they were Hispanic but not of Mexican heritage. Lastly, the data of five participants were excluded because their generational status could not be easily categorized due to having immigrant parents that emigrated from a country other than Mexico to the United States. The data analysis was therefore completed using 69 participants' data.

Measures

A full questionnaire is contained in Appendices A-H. All scales included in the questionnaire are reviewed here. There were a total of 136 items included in the questionnaire.

Fear of Stigma by Association Measure. Items 1-30, items contained in Appendix A, assessed whether participants indicated a fear of stigma by association. They were developed for the present study to assess a number of potential outcomes from being stigmatized due to a perceived association with the other Mexican heritage subgroup. These outcomes include being called names, being the victim of a negative stereotype, and being treated poorly. Additionally, there were several blatant items assessing if the participant feels that members of the other Mexican heritage subgroup makes him or her "look bad" or if the participant feels that he or she has to work harder as a means of proving himself or herself. All stigma outcomes were generated based on documented effects of stigma in the literature (Smart, 2009), as well as negative social and interpersonal effects attributed to Mexican immigrants (Corella, 2002; Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005; Ochoa, 2004). All items are asked with targets including "Mexican born in Mexico", "Undocumented immigrant", and "Mexican immigrant". Half of the

items investigated fear of being stigmatized by non-Hispanic Americans, while the other half investigated fear of being stigmatized by Mexicans in Mexico. Both were used because it was hypothesized that Mexicans in Mexico could be a relevant outgroup for Mexican Americans with friends or family in Mexico, or those that traveled to Mexico often. Therefore the scale was designed to be analyzed both as an overall Fear of Stigma by Association scale as well as independent Fear of Stigma by Association by non-Hispanic Americans and Fear of Stigma by Association by Mexicans subscales.

Participants responded on a 5-point Likert-type scale with anchors ranging from *Never* to *Always*. The number of possible points ranged from 30 to 150. Lower scores indicated a low level of Fear of Stigma by Association, while higher scores indicated a high level of Fear of Stigma by Association.

Ingroup Identification Scale. Items 1-15, contained in Appendix B, are an adaptation of the Dimensions of Group Identification Scale (Jackson, 2002). The original scale was designed to assess the participant's identification with his or her own ethnic group beyond endorsement of a label.

Subscales measured the affective, evaluative, and cognitive dimensions of an individual's group identification. The Affective Subscale included group solidarity and unity; the Evaluative Subscale included attraction to and favorable evaluations of the ingroup; and the Cognitive Subscale included self-categorization as an ingroup member. Cronbach's alphas for the three factors on the original scale were .92, .88, and .84, which indicated sufficient internal

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consistency. Additionally, all three factors were significantly interrelated suggesting an underlying common factor.

Items were adapted from the original scale by selecting items that seemed most appropriate for the objectives of the present project and by changing the target labels from "in-group" to "Mexican American born in the U.S.". For the present study, items 1-4 were from the Affective Subscale, items 5-12 were from the Evaluative Subscale, and items 13-15 were from the Cognitive Subscale.

Participants responded on a 5-point Likert-type scale with anchors ranging from *Strongly Disagree* to *Strongly Agree*. The number of possible points ranged from 15 to 75. Lower scores indicated that the participant did not identify strongly as being in the same group as Mexican born in the U.S., while higher scores indicated that the participant did identify strongly as being in the same group as Mexicans born in the U.S..

Perception of Mexican Nationals as Ingroup Scale. Items 1-17, contained in Appendix C, were also adapted from the Dimensions of Group Identification Scale (Jackson, 2002). The selected subset of items was designed to assess whether participants think of Mexican nationals as outgroup members or ingroup members. As with the Ingroup Identification Scale, the items investigated the affective, evaluative, and cognitive dimensions of the group identification. Cronbach's alphas for the three factors on the original scale were .92, .88, and .84, which indicated sufficient internal consistency. Additionally, all three factors were significantly interrelated, suggesting an underlying common factor.

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Items were adapted from the original scale by selecting items that seemed most appropriate for the objectives of the present project and by changing the target labels from "ingroup" and "outgroup" to either "Mexican American" or "Mexican national", depending on the format and objective of the item. For the present study, items 1-7 were from the Affective Subscale, items 8-13 were from the Evaluative Subscale, and items 14-17 were from the Cognitive Subscale.

Participants responded on a 5-point Likert-type scale with anchors ranging from *Strongly Disagree* to *Strongly Agree*. The number of possible points ranged from 17 to 85. Lower scores indicated that the participant views Mexicans born in Mexico as outgroup members, while higher scores indicated that the participant views Mexicans born in Mexico as ingroup members. Items 10, 13, 16, and 17 were reverse coded, as indicated in the appendix by **R**.

Social Distance Scale. Items 1-11, contained in Appendix D, were adapted from the Blatant-Subtle Prejudice Scale (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). The original scale included five subscales that comprised the Subtle and Blatant Prejudice Subscales: the Threat and Rejection Subscale (Blatant), Intimacy Subscale (Blatant), Traditional Values Subscale (Subtle), Cultural Differences Subscale (Subtle), and Affective Prejudice Subscale (Subtle). The Blatant and Subtle Subscales were designed to be used independently to assess the two different types of prejudice. Scale items refer to specific situations or interactions that may evoke prejudice. Cronbach's alpha for the original subscales ranged from .73-.90, which indicated sufficient internal consistency.

The original scale was modified for the present study in several ways. Items were adapted from the original scale by selecting items that seemed most appropriate for the objectives of the present project and by changing the target labels from "ingroup" and "outgroup" to either "Mexican born in U.S." or "Mexican born in Mexico", depending on the format and objective of the item. The Cultural Differences Subscale and Affective Prejudice Subscale were dropped because the questions they contained addressed topics that were investigated in other scales in a way that may be more appropriate for the age group. For example, a university-age student may not have a strong opinion on the Cultural Differences Subscale question "How different or similar do you think (Mexicans born in Mexico) living here are to other (Mexicans born in the U.S.) like yourself in the values that they teach their children?" because the majority of university students are not married or raising children. However, they may have stronger opinions on the more youth-relevant questions on the Sources of Cultural Irritation Scale contained in Appendix E.

Of the remaining items on the Pettigrew & Meertens Prejudice Scale, items 1-4 were from the Threat and Rejection Subscale, items 5-7 were from the Intimacy Subscale, and items 8-11 were from the Traditional Values Subscale. Therefore, for the present study, items 1-7 comprised the Blatant Prejudice Scale and items 8-11 comprised the Subtle Prejudice Scale.

Participants responded on a 5-point Likert-type scale with anchors ranging from *Strongly Disagree* to *Strongly Agree*. The number of possible points ranged from 11 to 55. Lower scores indicated that the participant engaged in less social

distancing of Mexican nationals, while higher scores indicated that the participant

engaged in more social distancing between him or herself and Mexican nationals.

Items 5, 6, and 7 were reverse coded, as indicated in the appendix by **R**.

Sources of Cultural Irritation Scale. Items 1-10, contained in Appendix E,

assessed the degree to which Mexican Americans are bothered by certain values,

beliefs, and behaviors of Mexican nationals. All items were generated by the

author for this study based on documented dimensions on which Mexican heritage

individuals differentiate themselves from other subgroups (Corella, 2002; Ochoa,

2004; Wingett, 2005). Additionally, they represented points of contention, such

that respondents may be bothered that outgroup members may be different than

themselves in these specific ways. For example, Item 2 states, "It bothers me

when Mexicans born in Mexico speak differently than I do."

Participants responded on a 5-point Likert-type scale with anchors ranging

from *Strongly Disagree* to *Strongly Agree*. The number of possible points ranged

from 10 to 50. Lower scores indicated that the participant believed that Mexicans

born in Mexico were not very different from him or herself, and/or was not deeply

bothered by the differences. Higher scores indicated that the participant was more

bothered when Mexicans born in Mexico exhibited the behaviors or endorsed the

values or beliefs. Individual item analyses were completed to assess the values,

beliefs, and behaviors of Mexican nationals that were most bothersome to

Mexican Americans.

Demographics. Items 1-11, contained in Appendix F, do not represent a

scale, but rather a series of questions assessing the general demographic

information including age, gender, ethnicity, and place of birth of the participant, as well as the birthplace and ethnicity of each of the participant's parents.

Acculturative Stress Scale. Items 1-20, contained in Appendix G, were adapted from the Acculturation Stress Scale (Vega, Khoury, Zimmerman, Gil, & Warheit, 1995). This scale was designed to assess different aspects of acculturative stress that Mexican heritage adolescents may experience. It was piloted and tested with middle-school age adolescents of mixed Hispanic heritage, and revealed adequate reliability and criterion validity. The original scale included four subscales, which were maintained and expanded in the current study. The scales included the Language-Related Conflicts Subscale (items 1-3), which assessed difficulties experienced as a result of lack of Spanish or English fluency, as well as academic problems related to lack of English fluency; the Acculturation Conflicts Subscale (items 4-10), which assessed difficulties and conflict experienced as a result of the individual's preference for American or Mexican customs and practices; the Perceived Discrimination Subscale (items 11-16), which assessed perceptions of being personally disliked or mistreated by others due to being Mexican or Mexican American; and the Parental Acculturation Subscale (items 17-20), which assessed general language preference and language preference in social and interpersonal contexts including at home, and school, and with friends. Cronbach's alpha for the original factors ranged from .56-.81, which indicates sufficient internal consistency. Items were adapted from the original scale by adding parallel items to assess both American and Mexican cultural orientations and preferences.

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Participants responded to the first 16 items on a 5-point Likert-type scale with anchors ranging from *Never* to *Always*. The answer choices for the last four items, which comprised the Parental Acculturation Scale, were English, Spanish, Both, or Neither. Items 2, 5, 7, and 9 were reverse coded, as indicated by **R**. The number of possible points ranged from 20 to 96. Lower scores indicated lower incidence of acculturative stress, while higher scores indicated higher incidence of acculturative stress.

Perceived Threat Scale. Items 1-22, contained in Appendix H, were adapted from items used in a prejudice study by Cottrell & Neuberg (2005). The original study was designed to evaluate both prejudicial emotional reactions including anger, disgust, fear, pity, and envy to a variety of outgroups, including Mexican Americans. Additionally, it assessed the types of threats that the specific outgroups evoked, including economic, property, freedom, reciprocity, social coordination, trust, health, values, and safety threats, as well as overall threat. Results from the original Cottrell & Neuberg (2005) study indicated that Mexican Americans were evaluated as posing a significant threat in nearly all threat categories, although slightly less in the category of values, as well as high overall threat. Additionally, Mexican Americans evoked high levels of anger, fear, and overall prejudice. In the present study, the defined outgroup targets were Mexican immigrants and undocumented immigrants. The items assessed the basic positive or negative valence of the respondent's views of the target as well as categories of threat that the targets may pose.

Participants responded on a 5-point Likert-type scale with anchors ranging from *Never* to *Always*. Response format was changed from the original scale's 9-point Likert-type scale for clarity and consistency purposes for the study sample that was originally sought. It was maintained as a 5-point Likert-type scale for the university sample with which the study was completed. The number of possible points ranged from 22 to 110. Lower scores indicated that the participant expressed lower levels of perceived threat from Mexican immigrants and undocumented immigrants, while higher scores indicated that the participant expressed higher levels of perceived threat from Mexican immigrants and undocumented immigrants.

Procedure

An initial survey was distributed to all students taking an introductory Psychology course. Based on their self-identification as Latino/Hispanic and 18 years of age or older on the initial survey, individuals were identified as qualifying for the present study. All qualified individuals were then emailed an information letter that contained an Internet link to the questionnaire. The first page of the online survey was a cover letter that included general information on the study and contact information for the researchers, as well as a box that participants had to check before beginning the survey to indicate their informed consent. The use of an online survey reduced potential concerns about confidentiality by ensuring the privacy of the answers participants gave to potentially sensitive questions, such as their country of birth. No identifying information (such as name or date of birth) was asked in the primary survey.

However, completion of the survey linked participants to a completely separate survey web page on which the participants entered their contact information for the purpose of receiving credit and entering into a raffle for the opportunity to win a $50 gift card. After all data was collected, two participants' names were randomly selected and each was mailed a $50 gift card. The use of two online questionnaires ensured that the confidentiality of responses to the primary questionnaire was maintained while allowing the researcher to gather information to grant credit.

Chapter 3

RESULTS

Examination of Properties of Single Items

The distribution of each scale item was examined to identify items with extreme skew and/or kurtosis. Results indicated that seven items from the Fear of Stigma by Association by Mexicans subscale as well two items from the Acculturative Stress Scale's Language-Related Conflicts Subscale had extreme skew and/or kurtosis (Table 1).

Evaluation of the content of these items suggested that they may have had very low relevance for participants. For example, both of the questions from the Acculturation Stress and Conflict Scale's Language-Related Conflicts Subscale asked about difficulties experienced by participants due to an inability to speak English well. This is unlikely to be a major concern for Mexican Americans, and therefore the high kurtosis values obtained indicating the frequency with which "Never" was selected were understandable. In contrast with the hypothesis that levels of fear of stigma by association may vary by generational status, the highly skewed items from the Fear of Stigma by Association by Mexicans in Mexico Scale indicate that this outgroup may not be as highly salient of a reference outgroup for some Mexican Americans, including the present sample, as non-Hispanic Americans are. For this reason, all subsequent analyses were completed using only the Fear of Stigma by Association by non-Hispanic Americans Scale.

Table 1

Item analyses of items with extreme skew or kurtosis

Item	Source Scale	Range	Mean	SD	Skew	Kurtosis
How often are you afraid that Mexicans in Mexico will treat you poorly because they assume you're a Mexican immigrant?	Fear of Stigma by Association by Mexicans Scale	1-5	1.58	.96	1.98	3.79
How often are you afraid that Mexicans in Mexico will have a negative stereotype of you because they assume you're a Mexican?	Fear of Stigma by Association by Mexicans Scale	1-5	1.52	.84	1.94	4.1
How often do you feel that you have to work harder than Mexican immigrants as a means of proving yourself to Mexicans in Mexico?	Fear of Stigma by Association by Mexicans Scale	1-5	1.53	.81	2.02	4.99
How often are you afraid that Mexicans in Mexico will treat you poorly because they assume you're an undocumented immigrant?	Fear of Stigma by Association by Mexicans Scale	1-5	1.32	.72	3.01	10.77
How often are you afraid that Mexicans in Mexico will have a negative stereotype of you because they assume you're an undocumented immigrant?	Fear of Stigma by Association by Mexicans Scale	1-5	1.41	.82	2.40	6.03
How often do you feel that you have to prove yourself to Mexicans in Mexico because they assume you're an undocumented immigrant?	Fear of Stigma by Association by Mexicans Scale	1-5	1.26	.55	2.09	3.44
How often do you feel that you have to work harder than undocumented immigrants as a means of proving yourself to	Fear of Stigma by Association by Mexicans Scale	1-5	1.37	.84	2.92	9.28

Mexicans in Mexico?						
How often has it been hard to get along with others because you don't speak English well?	Acculturative Stress Scale-Language-Related Conflicts Subscale	1-5	1.24	.65	2.98	8.63
How often has it been hard to get good grades because of problems in understanding English?	Acculturative Stress Scale-Language-Related Conflicts Subscale	1-5	1.32	.73	2.95	9.67

The individual items on the Sources of Cultural Irritation Scale were also evaluated to assess which items indicated significant perceived differences between Mexican Americans and Mexican nationals. These item analyses can be found in table 2. Based on item means, it appears that interpersonal differences, such as discrimination or racism by Mexican nationals towards Mexican Americans, were generally more bothersome to Mexican Americans than social distance and cultural differences, such as differences in music and clothing preferences.

Table 2

Item Analyses from Sources of Cultural Irritation Scale

Item	Range	Mean	Standard Deviation
It bothers me when Mexicans born in Mexico dress differently than I do	1-5	1.91	1.01
It bothers me when Mexicans born in Mexico speak differently than I do	1-5	1.95	1.05

It bothers me when Mexicans born in Mexico listen to different music than I do	1-5	1.68	.86
It bothers me when Mexicans born in Mexico live a different lifestyle than I do	1-5	1.72	.77
It bothers me when Mexicans born in Mexico eat different foods than I do	1-5	1.53	.69
It bothers me when Mexicans born in Mexico are racist against Mexicans born in the U.S.	1-5	3.70	1.12
It bothers me when Mexicans born in Mexico discriminate against Mexicans born in the U.S.	1-5	3.78	1.04
It bothers me when Mexicans born in Mexico don't support Mexicans born in the U.S.	1-5	3.41	1.12
It bothers me when Mexicans born in Mexico don't care about Mexicans born in the U.S.	1-5	3.31	1.16
It bothers me when Mexicans born in Mexico don't try hard to adapt to the U.S.	1-5	3.03	1.24

Scale Factor Analyses

Confirmatory factor analyses were conducted with MPlus 6.1 (Muthén & Muthén, 2010) for both the Fear of Stigma by Association Scale and the Social Distance Scale because each contained subscales that were used independently of the total scale. Analysis of the Fear of Stigma by Association Scale to confirm use of the Fear Stigma by Association by non-Hispanic Americans and Fear of Stigma by Association by Mexicans in Mexico subscales was problematic due to the high number of items in contrast with the relatively small sample size. A confirmatory

factor analysis could not be completed, but analysis of the exploratory factor

analysis indicated strong likelihood of a two-factor structure. A confirmatory

factor analysis was also conducted to assess the multi-factor structure of the

Social Distance Scale. Overall, the two-factor model had an adequate fit [χ^2 (13)

=24.30, CFI=.911, SRMR=.095]. All items except for one loaded significantly

onto their own factors. The fourth item on the Subtle Prejudice Scale of the Social

Distance Scale did not load significantly onto either factor, but did not

substantially affect the overall fit of the model.

Scale Reliability

In order to assess the internal consistency and reliability of each scale,

Cronbach's alpha was calculated for each single-factor scale, as well as for each

subscale of the measures that fit a multi-factor structure. Results of these analyses

can be found in Table 3, as well as each scale's psychometric properties. Only the

subscales that were used in analyses independent of overall scales are included in

the table.

Table 3

Scales, number of items, source, sample items with response alternatives, and

psychometric properties

Scale	# of Items	Range	Source	Sample Item	Scale Mean (SD)	Cronbach's Alpha
Fear of Stigma by Association by non-Hispanic Americans Scale	15	1-5	original	How often are you afraid that non-Hispanic Americans will treat you poorly because they assume you're a Mexican immigrant? (*Never… Always*)	2.18 (.77)	.916
Ingroup Identification Scale	15	1-5	Jackson, 2002	Being a Mexican born in the U.S. is an important part of my identity (*Strongly Disagree… Strongly Agree*)	3.29 (.69)	.901
Perception of Mexican Nationals as Ingroup Scale	17	1-5	Jackson, 2002	Mexicans born in the U.S. and in Mexico need to stick together (*Strongly Disagree… Strongly Agree*)	2.93 (.57)	.820
Social Distance Scale	3	1-5	Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995	I would be willing to date a Mexican born in Mexico **R** (*Strongly Disagree… Strongly Agree)*	1.85 (.69)	.787
Sources of Cultural Irritation Scale	10	1-5	Original scale	It bothers me when Mexicans born in Mexico discriminate against Mexicans born in the U.S. (*Strongly Disagree… Strongly Agree*)	2.60 (.59)	.769
Acculturative Stress Scale	20	1-5 for items 1-16; 1-4 for items 17-20	Vega, Khoury, Zimmerman, Gil, & Warheit, 1995	How often are you treated unfairly because you're Mexican? (*Never… Always*)	2.08 (.36)	.664
Perceived Threat Scale	22	1-5	Cottrell & Neuberg, 2004	Mexicans immigrants endanger the physical safety of people like me (*Strongly Disagree… Strongly Agree*)	1.84 (.61)	.920

Analyses revealed low reliability (α = .510) on the Affective Dimension of the Ingroup Identification Scale (Jackson, 2002), and therefore an item analysis was completed. The analysis indicated that the exclusion of a single item ("If a story in the media criticized Mexicans born in the U.S., I would feel embarrassed") would raise the subscale's reliability to an acceptable level (α = .610). However, the item was retained as overall scale reliability was very high (α = .901), and exclusion of the item would not significantly affect overall reliability (overall Cronbach's alpha would become α = .911).

Analyses revealed low reliability (α = .297) on the Cognitive Subscale of the Perception of Mexicans as Ingroup Scale (Jackson, 2002), and therefore an item analysis was completed. No individual item was negatively impacting the overall reliability, and therefore the low reliability may have been due to problematic item content, the use of reverse coding, and the small number of items on the scale (*n* = 4). However, the subscale was retained as its exclusion would not significant affect the overall reliability of the Perception of Mexicans as Ingroup Scale (exclusion would change reliability from α = .838 to α = .823).

Analyses revealed low reliability (α = .248) on the Threat and Rejection Subscale of the Social Distance Scale, and therefore item analysis was completed. No individual item was negatively impacting the overall reliability, suggesting that the low reliability may have been impacted by both problematic item content and also the small number of items on the scale (*n* = 4). Given that this subscale is one of two subscales making up the Blatant Prejudice Subscale, reliability analyses were completed to assess the effect of exclusion of the scale on the

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overall reliability of the Blatant Prejudice Subscale and the total Social Distance Scale. Analyses indicated that exclusion would result in an increase for the Cronbach's alpha of both the composite Social Distance Scale (from $\alpha = .687$ to $\alpha = .705$) and the Blatant Prejudice Subscale (from $\alpha = .520$ to $\alpha = .787$). Given that the Blatant and Subtle Prejudice Subscales were designed to be used independently of the composite Social Distance Scale, the Threat and Rejection Subscale was excluded from subsequent analyses of both higher-level scales to obtain acceptable reliability among scale items. It should be noted that this modification means that only the Intimacy Subscale items of the original scale comprise the Social Distance Scale.

Analyses revealed very low reliability on both the Language-Related Conflicts Subscale ($\alpha = .190$) and the Acculturation Conflicts Subscale ($\alpha = .329$) of the Acculturative Stress Scale (Vega, Khoury, Zimmerman, Gil, & Warheit, 1995). Therefore, item analyses were performed for both. Analyses determined that no individual items were negatively impacting the reliability on either subscale. Although the subscales were retained, it may be noted that exclusion would have resulted in an increase of the Cronbach's alpha of the total Acculturative Stress Scale (from $\alpha = .664$ to $\alpha = .783$).

Relationships among Constructs

Correlations among all model constructs are given in Table 4. Of the hypothesized predictors (the Perception of Mexican Nationals as Ingroup Scale and Generational Status), only Generational Status was correlated with the Fear of Stigma by Association by non-Hispanic Americans Scale. Of the hypothesized

outcomes, the Acculturative Stress Scale was more highly correlated with the Fear of Stigma by Association by non-Hispanic Americans Scale than the Perceived Threat Scale. The Social Distance Scale was not significantly correlated with the Fear of Stigma by Association by non-Hispanic Americans Scale. However, the Social Distance Scale was significantly negatively related to the Perception of Mexican Nationals as Ingroup Scale, which was also negatively correlated with Generational Status.

Given that the Ingroup Identification Scale and the Perception of Mexican Nationals as Ingroup Scale were both adapted from the same group identification scale (Jackson, 2002) and may have had overlapping meaning for participants, given the similarity in degree and direction of their correlations with other constructs. Therefore, the Perception of Mexican Nationals as Ingroup Scale was exclusively used as the group identification variable for the present analyses.

Table 4

Correlations among scales

		Perception of Mexican Nationals as Ingroup	Social Distance	Acculturative Stress	Generational Status	Fear of Stigma by Association by non-Hispanic Americans	Perceived Threat
Perception of Mexican Nationals as Ingroup	Pearson Correlation	1	-.317[**]	.089	-.275[**]	.148	-.239[*]
	N	71	71	68	66	69	69
Social Distance	Pearson Correlation	-.317[**]	1	-.033	.033	-.126	.161
	N	71	73	70	68	71	71
Acculturative Stress	Pearson Correlation	.089	-.033	1	-.500[**]	.679[**]	.351[**]
	N	68	70	71	67	70	71
Generational Status	Pearson Correlation	-.275[**]	.033	-.500[**]	1	-.513[**]	.076
	N	66	68	67	69	68	67
Fear of Stigma by Association by non-Hispanic Americans	Pearson Correlation	.148	-.126	.679[**]	-.513[**]	1	.279[*]
	N	69	71	70	68	72	70
Perceived Threat	Pearson Correlation	-.239[*]	.161	.351[**]	.076	.279[*]	1
	N	69	71	71	67	70	72

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Exploratory Analyses

Exploratory analyses were conducted to see if the generational status of Mexican Americans, or number of generations that have passed since the participant's ancestors emigrated from Mexico, might also affect these outcomes. An ANOVA was additionally completed to assess if participants with one parent from each country ($n = 10$) differed significantly from those with two parents born in either the U.S. ($n = 33$) or in Mexico ($n = 26$) on the outcomes of interest in the present study (Table 5). Results indicated significant differences among levels of generational status on the Fear of Stigma by Association by non-Hispanic Americans Scale ($F_{(2, 65)} = 11.675$, $p < .001$), the Acculturative Stress Scale ($F_{(2, 64)} = 10.820$, $p < .001$), and the Perception of Mexican Nationals as Ingroup Scale ($F_{(2, 63)} = 3.690$, $p < .05$). On two of three outcomes, analyses indicated a likelihood of two levels of generational status, with the 1 ½ generation (one parent from each country) not differing statistically from the second generation. More specifically, Tukey's HSD Tests indicated that the means of the first and second generations were significantly different from each other on the Perception of Mexican Nationals as Ingroup Scale ($p < .05$), the Acculturative Stress Scale ($p < .001$), and the Fear of Stigma by Association by non-Hispanic Americans Scale ($p < .001$). The mean score of the 1 ½ generation was significantly different from that of the first generation, but not the second generation, on both the Acculturative Stress Scale ($p < .01$) and on the Fear of Stigma by Association by non-Hispanic Americans Scale ($p < .01$). On the

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Perception of Mexican Nationals as Ingroup Scale, the mean of the 1 ½ generation was not significantly different from the mean of either the first generation ($p = .821$) or the second generation ($p = .333$).

Therefore, two levels of generational status were used for all subsequent analyses. Participants were defined as first generation Mexican Americans if both of their parents had been born in Mexico, and as second generation or more if one or both parents had been born in the United States (first generation $n = 26$; second generation $n = 43$). Given that generational status beyond second generation was not assessed in the present study, participants second generation and beyond will all be referred to as "second generation". Additionally, one participant whose father was born in Canada but whose mother was Mexican American was classified as second generation.

A diverse body of research has indicated the existence of a number of differences between Mexican Americans of different generations. Multiple studies have shown differences in scholastic achievements by generation, generally indicating that the children of immigrants (first generation Americans) complete more years of school than either their immigrant or second-generation counterparts, although still at a significantly lower rate than other ethnic groups in the United States (Kao & Thompson, 2003; Zsembik & Llanes, 1996). One important consideration is that immigrants' scholastic achievement may be affected by language proficiency and age of immigration (Hill & Torres, 2010; Zsembik & Llanes, 1996). Additionally, a number of studies have found that second generation Mexican Americans, as opposed to first generation Mexican

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Americans or Mexican immigrants, themselves, have higher levels of deviant behavior and substance use (for a review, see Gonzales, Knight, Morgan-Lopez, Saenz, & Sirolli, 2002). In terms of mental health status, some research has indicated that depression and general well-being are worse for children of immigrants than for foreign national immigrants, themselves (for a review, see Escobar, Nervi, & Gara, 2000). However, this trend reverses itself for members of the second generation born in the U.S., who don't differ significantly from foreign national immigrants on levels of depression and general well-being (Harker, 2001). Therefore, differences among Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans of different generational statuses do exist and are likely complex and highly dependent on the variable of interest.

With specific relevance to the present study, both a recent empirical study using a very large nationally-representative Latino sample (Rouse, Wilkinson, & Garand, 2010) and a commissioned political science survey conducted in Arizona (Latino Decisions, 2010) found that Latinos, and particularly Mexicans, differed significantly by both national origin (country of ancestral origin) and generational status on their attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. More specifically, both studies found that second- and third-generation Mexican Americans felt more negatively about illegal immigration and illegal immigrants, themselves, than did first-generation immigrants. Additionally, successive generational status led to decreased support for expanding legal immigration quotas.

Interestingly, Rouse, Wilkinson, & Garand (2010) also found that the Mexican heritage participants in their sample were more supportive of

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immigration than were members of any other Latino subgroup sampled. This may be due to national identification, given that more Latino immigrants are from Mexico than any other country (Grieco & Cassidy, 2001). Based on this evidence, Generational Status could be expected to relate to Mexican Americans' degree of identification with Mexican nationals as well as experiences and expressions of social distancing, acculturative stress and perceived threat. Exploratory correlation analyses indicated that Generational Status correlated significantly with a number of other variables (Table 4). Therefore, Generational Status was included in the amended model as a predictor variable.
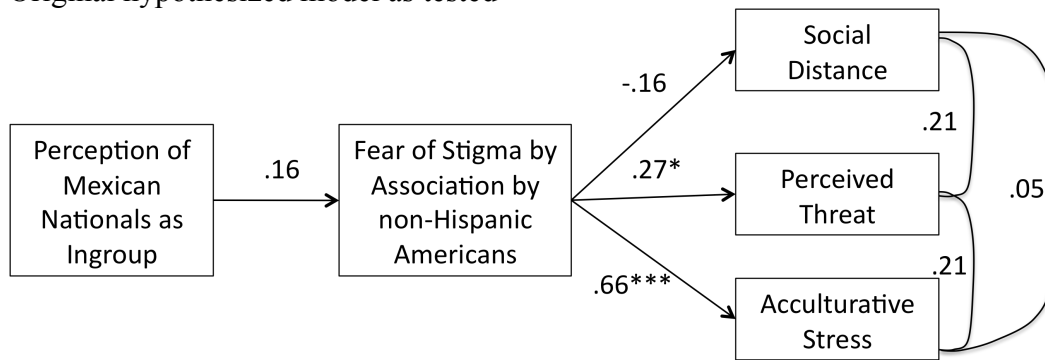
Model Analyses

All models were estimated with Mplus 6.1 (Muthén & Muthén, 2010) modeling software. Initially, the closest possible approximation of the originally hypothesized model was tested, followed by a model modified according to the exploratory analyses. This second model was revised based on model diagnostics. Model fit was evaluated with the CFI and SRMR using the acceptable fit criteria defined by Hu & Bentler (1999), which is .95 or higher for the CFI and .08 or lower for the SRMR.

The original model was tested using the Perception of Mexican Nationals as Ingroup Scale as a predictor of the Fear of Stigma by Association by non-Hispanic Americans Scale, and the Fear of Stigma by Association by non-Hispanic Americans Scale as a predictor of the Social Distance Scale, the Perceived Threat Scale, and the Acculturative Stress Scale (Figure 1). Overall model fit was poor [χ^2 (8) = 43.57, ($p < .001$), CFI = .562; SRMR = .162]. Poor fit

was attributable to the nonsignificant relationship between the Perception of

Mexicans as Ingroup Scale and the Fear of Stigma by Association by non-

Hispanic Americans Scale, indicating failure of the Perception of Mexicans as

Ingroup Scale as a predictor variable in the model. Additionally, the Fear of

Stigma by Association by non-Hispanic Americans Scale failed to significantly

predict the Social Distance Scale. No correlations among outcome variables were

significant.

Figure 1

Original hypothesized model as tested

Subsequently, several modifications were made based on exploratory

analyses and evaluation of the fit of the first model. All significant relationships

from the first model were maintained, namely the pathways from the Fear of

Stigma by Association by non-Hispanic Americans Scale to the Perceived Threat

Scale and the Acculturative Stress Scale. Generational Status was added into the

model as a predictor of the Fear of Stigma by Association by non-Hispanic

Americans Scale as well as the Perception of Mexican Nationals as Ingroup Scale.

Although the Perception of Mexican Nationals as Ingroup Scale failed to

significantly predict the Fear of Stigma by Association by non-Hispanic

Americans Scale in the previous model, research has indicated that Generational

Status may affect Mexican Americans' overall perceptions of Mexican nationals

(Rouse, Wilkinson, & Garand, 2010). The Perception of Mexican Nationals as

Ingroup Scale was also used as a direct predictor of the Perceived Threat Scale

and the Social Distance Scale, given that, as previously discussed, whether a

Mexican American perceives Mexican nationals as outgroup or ingroup members

may significantly affect other opinions of and attitudes towards Mexican

nationals. No significant pathway was hypothesized or tested between the

Perception of Mexican Nationals as Ingroup Scale and the Acculturative Stress

Scale because no theoretical reason to expect their relationship was defined.

Figure 2

Final model
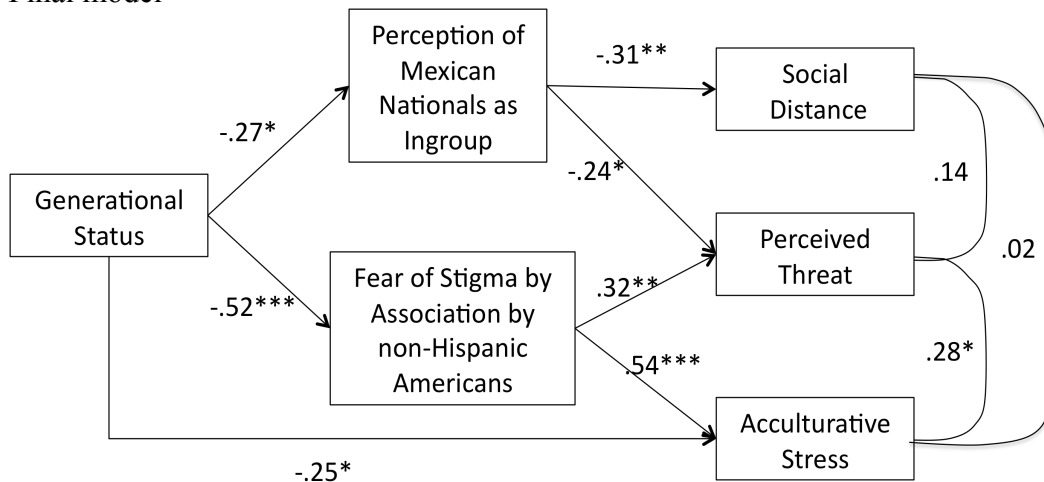
Evaluation of the global fit indices of the second model (Figure 2) indicated a good fit [χ^2 (5) = 5.924, (p = .31), CFI = .989; SRMR = .045]. The model indicated a significant relationship between Generational Status on the Perception of Mexican Nationals as Ingroup Scale (β = -.27, p < .05), indicating that first generation Mexican Americans thought of Mexican nationals as ingroup members to a greater extent than did second generation Mexican Americans. The Perception of Mexican Nationals as Ingroup Scale significantly predicted the Social Distance Scale (β = -.31, p < .01), indicating that viewing Mexican nationals as ingroup members led to less expression of social distancing. Additionally, the Perception of Mexican Nationals as Ingroup Scale was significantly related to the Perceived Threat Scale (β = -.24, p < .05), indicating that viewing Mexican nationals as ingroup members also led to less perceived threat.

Generational Status was also significantly related to the Fear of Stigma by Association by non-Hispanic Americans Scale (β = -.52, p < .001), indicating that first generation Mexican Americans had greater fear of stigmatization than did second generation Mexican Americans. The Fear of Stigma by Association by non-Hispanic Americans Scale was significantly related to both the Perceived Threat Scale (β = .32, p < .01) and the Acculturative Stress Scale (β = .54, p < .001), suggesting that greater fear of stigmatization by non-Hispanic Americans based on perceived association with Mexican nationals leads Mexican Americans to greater perceived threat from Mexican nationals and increased acculturative stress. Lastly, Acculturative Stress was significantly related to Generational Status

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(β = -.25, p < .05), suggesting that second generation Mexican Americans experienced less Acculturative Stress than first generation Mexican Americans. The residuals of Perceived Threat and Acculturative Stress were significantly correlated (r = .28, p < .05). Overall, the model accounted for 49% of the variance in Acculturative Stress.

Chapter 4

DISCUSSION

The current study examined the effects of generational status on various measures of stigmatization, acculturative stress, and perceived social and interpersonal threat within the Mexican heritage population in the Southwest. It represents the first time that the impact of the fear of stigmatization for perceived association with a stigmatized group on views of and attitudes towards another group has been evaluated using an ethnicity-based variable as the source of stigma. Additionally, it represents the first time that stigma by association has been examined using a non-elective, genetic characteristic as the stigma variable, as opposed to stigmatization for an individual's willful association with a negatively evaluated individual. The present work provides evidence for the influence of generational status on Mexican Americans' perceptions of Mexican nationals, which further affects attitudes towards Mexican nationals. These different attitudes could potentially lead to differences in experiences and interactions with the Mexican heritage population. Furthermore, it suggests that generational status affects the degree to which Mexican Americans fear being stigmatized for their perceived association with or similarity to Mexican nationals, and that this then drives expressions of acculturative stress and perceived social and interpersonal threat.

More specifically, results suggest that first-generation Mexican Americans are more likely to both see Mexican nationals as in-group members and to be afraid of being stigmatized by non-Hispanic Americans for their perceived

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association with Mexican nationals. Furthermore, when Mexican Americans view Mexican nationals as in-group members, they engage in less social distancing and perceive less threat from them. In contrast, Mexican Americans' fear of stigmatization by non-Hispanic Americans for a perceived association with or similarity to Mexican nationals leads to increased levels of perceived threat, as well as greater levels of acculturative stress.

These differences are interesting, and thought-provoking, due to the fact that, by definition, first generation Mexican Americans' parents are Mexican nationals. Therefore, they feel both closer and more similar to people like their parents, while also expressing greater fear of stigmatization for their perceived association with them, as well as greater perceived threat. This dissonance between higher identification with and higher perceived fear and threat from Mexican nationals could potentially contribute to the different levels of mental, behavioral, and scholastic problems encountered by first and second generation Mexican Americans (Escobar, Nervi, & Gara, 2000; Gonzalez, Knight, Morgan-Lopez, Saenz, & Sirolli, 2002).

The differences in significant pathways to the two prejudice-associated measures may lie in their different content. The Pettigrew & Meertens Blatant Prejudice Scale (1995), from which the present study's Social Distancing Scale was sourced, draws heavily on specific experiences, particularly close personal and professional relationships with Mexican nationals. Opposition to these experiences and relationships might indicate prejudice on the part of Mexican Americans towards Mexican nationals. Mexican Americans that see themselves as

belonging to the same general group as Mexican nationals may be more likely to have had the personal interaction-based experiences that comprise the Social Distancing Scale, and therefore less likely to conceive of them as reasons for differentiation and conflict.

In contrast, the general expressions of prejudice included in the Cottrell & Neuberg Prejudice Scale (2005), from which the Perceived Threat Scale was developed, evaluate multiple ways in which Mexican nationals could damage the protected values, reputation, and/or livelihoods of Mexican Americans. Therefore, the positive correlation between the Perceived Threat Scale and the Fear of Stigma by Association by non-Hispanic Americans Scale is understandable because both indicate a greater perceived threat from the Mexican national population. Acculturative Stress may be more significantly related to the Fear of Stigma by Association by non-Hispanic Americans Scale and Generational Status than to the Perception of Mexicans as Ingroup Scale because of the numerous acculturation-based items it includes in contrast to specific evaluations of conflict experiences with others, as well as its evaluation of experiences of discrimination.

Limitations

The demographics of the sample may have impacted the potential generalizability of the results. The size of the sample of the current study obligates cautious interpretation of the models. Further, because it is a cross-sectional data set, no claims of causality can be made. However, future longitudinal research could track participants from the time of immigration forward to examine the progression of how their views of both their own group

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and other groups change over time. Additionally, this would allow greater confidence in assessing the causal influence of variables including fear of stigma by association by outgroup members and group perception on outcomes such as those that were investigated in the present study.

The Mexican American undergraduate population deviates in several important ways from the general Mexican American population. According to the 2000 U.S. Census, while 80.4% of the general population graduated from high school, only 52.4% of Latinos did so. Further, while 51.8% of the general population attended college and 24.4% obtained a Bachelor's degree or more, only 30.3% of Latinos indicated having attended college, and only 10.4% had obtained a Bachelor's degree or more (Bauman & Graf, 2003). Among all Latino groups, Mexican Americans have the highest high school dropout rate (Kao & Thompson, 2003). Additionally, differences in college matriculation between first generation and second generation Mexican Americans, such that a higher percentage of the former attend college than the latter, could indicate substantial pre-existing differences that may affect results related to Generational Status (Zsembik & Llanes, 1996).

Socio-economic status may be key among these differences; substantial research indicates that parental socio-economic status is the best predictor of high school completion and college matriculation among all ethnicities, and that when parental socio-economic status is taken into account, Latinos have comparable academic achievement to European Americans (for a review, see Kao & Thompson, 2003). Therefore, the participants in the present study may have come

from an economic background with significantly more financial resources than the average Mexican American of a similar age. This may also indicate other cultural and social differences, such as the neighborhood in which they grew up or the schools they attended, which could affect both the frequency and types of interactions they had with other Mexican heritage individuals. However, it may also be the case that the ability to obtain significant results in the present study indicates that the relationships among the constructs would be even more powerful with a more representative sample.

Implications and Future Directions

The current political situation in the state in which the research was conducted may have an effect on relationships and attitudes within the Mexican heritage population that may differ elsewhere. The perception that Mexican nationals are the source of general negative attitudes towards Mexican heritage individuals in the Southwest may lead to divisions within the Mexican heritage population that may not exist without such pressure from the general population. While support for immigration rights in general is high within the Mexican heritage population, particularly when supporting immigrants also means opposing political legislation that may be seen as racial profiling directed towards the Mexican heritage population, it is nowhere near close to universal within the population (Latino Decisions, 2010; Rocky Mountain Poll, 2010). Indeed, shared ethnic heritage is by no means a guarantee of support for immigrants' rights among Mexican Americans, as such support has waxed and waned over the last century within the Mexican heritage population (Finch, Kolody, & Vega, 2000).

While support for immigration and immigrants' rights decreases in accordance with increasing generations' separation between a Mexican American and his or her ancestors that emigrated from Mexico (Rouse, Wilkinson, & Garand, 2010), it is also interesting to note that support of immigration is affected by the size of the Mexican heritage population. Specifically, areas with a more sizable Mexican heritage population, which may also be the areas in which immigration and immigrants' rights are more contentious topics, also have lower support for such issues among Mexican Americans (Rouse, Wilkinson, & Garand, 2010). The implications for a Mexican American of separating himself or herself from other members of the Mexican heritage population may therefore include a perceived approval of any discriminatory political policies against Mexican nationals, and therefore lead to differences of opinions and conflict. In contrast, a Mexican heritage population in a non-border state, a state with a smaller Latino population, or a state where immigrant politics are less controversial may have less prejudice and conflict among its members. Additionally, political discussions of immigration reform often emphasize extreme outliers (i.e. violent undocumented immigrants). This may lead to a higher incidence negative stereotyping of the Mexican immigrant population by the general population than may have existed otherwise.

The present study also presents an important initial investigation of the effects of the fear of stigmatization. Regardless of the participants' personal experiences of being stigmatized or discriminated against for their ethnicity, the fear of stigmatization for the perceived association with or similarity to Mexican

nationals led to significantly increased levels of perceived threat and acculturative stress. Indeed, the present study indicated that they had had few such experiences, themselves, although the difference between the number of participants indicating personal experiences and indicating friends with such experiences was statistically significant (t (161) = 5.11, p < .01), Given that the fear of stigma by association had only previously been considered in healthcare settings (Smart, 2009), the present research provides a new application and initial empirical test of the construct while contributing to the existing body of research on perceived discrimination.

The present study expands the literature on stigma by association in two important ways. It is the first study of which the author is aware to investigate stigma by association within subgroups of a population, as opposed to between groups. Additionally, previous research has been limited to situations in which the individual being stigmatized is targeted for a chosen association with a negatively evaluated other person. By examining stigmatization for a shared ethnic background, which the individual is clearly unable to control, the present study adds a new dimension to existing prejudice research. Future directions may include continued exploration of the effects of being stigmatized for a shared ethnic heritage with a negatively viewed target. It may be the case that the magnitude of the negative effects of stigmatization is greater when the individual is unable to control his or her victimization by easily separating or differentiating himself or herself from the negative reference group.

Although the Fear of Stigma by Association by non-Hispanic Americans Scale had originally been hypothesized to be significantly related to Mexican Americans' perceptions of Mexican nationals as either ingroup or outgroup members, a hypothesis that did not hold true, there may be an explanation for the lack of relationship. The characteristics for which Mexican nationals may be stigmatized by non-Hispanic Americans may often be those with the most extreme negative perceptions, such as illegal immigration or association with drug cartel activity. Therefore, these may be the characteristics that Mexican Americans would most fear being associated with. However, while these may be the most salient stigma characteristics, they are not necessarily occurring at a high rate within the Mexican national population. For example, a specific Mexican American that fears being stigmatized for his or her perceived association with Mexican nationals may not actually know anyone that immigrated to the U.S. illegally. Therefore, whether he or she views a Mexican national as an ingroup or an outgroup member may be irrelevant to his or her negative attitude toward illegal immigrants and fear of perceived association with them and resultant stigmatization.

Future investigation of the fear of stigma by association would benefit from comparing its results with those of other measures of perceived discrimination. Future studies could also do comparisons of actual versus perceived threat, and evaluation of whether actual threat need be present to motivate fear of stigmatization and any potential reaction it may cause. Additionally, expansion of the study sample to individuals from a variety of

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Latino subgroups could provide a more detailed view than currently exists in the literature of attitudes and interactions among different ethnic heritage groups within the Latino population. Given that research has indicated that Mexican Americans have higher support for immigration than any other Latino subgroup (Rocky Mountain Poll, 2010), and also comprise the majority of Latino immigrants to the U.S. (Grieco & Cassidy, 2001), it may be likely that other Latino subgroups would express higher levels of fear of stigma by association, prejudice, and conflict. This could be due to the perception that Mexican immigrants are the source of the majority of ill will towards the Latino population in the U.S.. Additionally, non-Mexican Latino subgroups are probably much less likely to identify with Mexican immigrants than Mexican Americans may be.

The present study also contributes to existing literature supporting the role of generational status among Mexican Americans as a significant predictor of a variety of attitudes. Of particular note is the finding that second generation Mexican Americans had lower fear of stigma by association than did first generation Mexican Americans. This may be attributable to socioeconomic and employment factors. While it may seem that Mexican Americans that are more generations removed from immigration have more to lose by being stigmatized for their perceived association with Mexican nationals, this may not be the case. Given that salaries increase with successive generations in the United States (Fry & Lowell, 2006), the types of jobs that Mexican Americans are taking may also be changing with generation. With increases in salary and greater acculturation to majority culture American values Mexican Americans may also be less likely to

live in areas with substantial Mexican national populations. Therefore, a proximity effect may come into play by which second generation Mexican Americans are less likely than first generation Mexican Americans to come into contact and be in competition for jobs with Mexican nationals. Additionally, given the decreased level of support for immigration and Mexican immigrants among second generation Mexican Americans as compared to first, the second generation may feel more securely differentiated from Mexican nationals (Rouse, Wilkinson, & Garand, 2010). For these reasons, the threat of stigmatization for perceived association may be less realistic or common for them.

Future directions for investigation of the present topic could include exploration of the effects of generational status in different locations, such as in non-border states, as well as inclusion of successive generations beyond first and second. Investigation of the attitudes and views of Mexican nationals towards Mexican Americans in the United States is also important, to yield a fuller and more detailed picture of interactions within the Mexican heritage population. Such a study would also be able to assess the impact of nativity on outcomes including fear of stigma by association, outgroup identification, perceived threat, social distance, and acculturative stress. The relative impact of nativity on attitudes and beliefs of Mexican heritage individuals, in contrast to the impact of generational status, could also be investigated. Additionally, sampling from a variety of age groups may yield illustrative differences in results, as interactions within the Mexican heritage population of university students may look very different from interactions among Mexican heritage adults or the elderly.

Economic and social differences, including level of education, could lead to different patterns of results among different cohorts of the Mexican heritage population.

Conclusions

The present study provides a better understanding of the effects of generational status on Mexican American's views of and attitudes towards Mexican nationals. Additionally, it provides an initial examination of the relationship between fear of stigma by association, prejudice, and conflict. This study also adds to the growing literature on conflict and prejudice within the Mexican heritage population in the United States. The present findings suggest important roles for both fear of stigma by association and perception of the other group in the relationships between generational status and stress and conflict, as well as two different types of prejudice. Future directions may include continued exploration of the effects of the fear of stigma by association as well as the relationship between generational status, stigmatization, acculturative stress, and perceived threat within the Mexican heritage and Latino populations in the United States.

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APPENDIX A

FEAR OF STIGMA BY ASSOCIATION SCALE

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements. Some items may seem similar, but please pay attention and answer each question individually.

All responses will be scaled on a 5-point Likert-type scale with the range as follows:

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
1	2	3	4	5

American Subscale

1. How often are you afraid that non-Hispanic Americans will treat you poorly because they assume you're a Mexican immigrant?
2. How often are you afraid that non-Hispanic Americans will have a negative stereotype of you because they assume you're a Mexican immigrant?
3. How often do you feel that you have to prove yourself to non-Hispanic Americans because they assume you're a Mexican immigrant?
4. How often do you feel that you have to work harder than Mexican immigrants as a means of proving yourself to non-Hispanic Americans?
5. How often do you feel that Mexican immigrants make you "look bad" to non-Hispanic Americans?
6. How often are you afraid that non-Hispanic Americans will treat you poorly because they assume you're a Mexican American?
7. How often are you afraid that non-Hispanic Americans will have a negative stereotype of you because they assume you're a Mexican American?
8. How often do you feel that you have to prove yourself to non-Hispanic Americans because they assume you're a Mexican American?
9. How often do you feel that you have to work harder than Mexican Americans as a means of proving yourself to non-Hispanic Americans?
10. How often do you feel that Mexican Americans make you "look bad" to non-Hispanic Americans?
11. How often are you afraid that non-Hispanic Americans will treat you poorly because they assume you're an undocumented immigrant?
12. How often are you afraid that non-Hispanic Americans will have a negative stereotype of you because they assume you're an undocumented immigrant?
13. How often do you feel that you have to prove yourself to non-Hispanic Americans because they assume you're an undocumented immigrant?
14. How often do you feel that you have to work harder than undocumented immigrants as a means of proving yourself to non-Hispanic Americans?
15. How often do you feel that undocumented immigrants make you "look bad" to non-Hispanic Americans?

Mexican Subscale

16. How often are you afraid that Mexicans in Mexico will treat you poorly because they assume you're a Mexican immigrant?
17. How often are you afraid that Mexicans in Mexico will have a negative stereotype of you because they assume you're a Mexican immigrant?
18. How often do you feel that you have to prove yourself to Mexicans in Mexico because they assume you're a Mexican immigrant?
19. How often do you feel that you have to work harder than Mexican immigrants as a means of proving yourself to Mexicans in Mexico?
20. How often do you feel that Mexican immigrants make you "look bad" to Mexicans in Mexico?
21. How often are you afraid that Mexicans in Mexico will treat you poorly because
11. How often are you afraid that Mexicans in Mexico will treat you poorly because they assume you're a Mexican immigrant?
22. How often are you afraid that Mexicans in Mexico will have a negative stereotype of you because they assume you're a Mexican immigrant?
23. How often do you feel that you have to prove yourself to Mexicans in Mexico because they assume you're a Mexican immigrant?
24. How often do you feel that you have to work harder than Mexican immigrants as a means of proving yourself to Mexicans in Mexico?
25. How often do you feel that Mexican immigrants make you "look bad" to Mexicans in Mexico?
26. How often are you afraid that Mexicans in Mexico will treat you poorly because they assume you're an undocumented immigrant?
27. How often are you afraid that Mexicans in Mexico will have a negative stereotype of you because they assume you're an undocumented immigrant?
28. How often do you feel that you have to prove yourself to Mexicans in Mexico because they assume you're an undocumented immigrant?
29. How often do you feel that you have to work harder than undocumented immigrants as a means of proving yourself to Mexicans in Mexico?
30. How often do you feel that undocumented immigrants make you "look bad" to Mexicans in Mexico?

APPENDIX B

INGROUP IDENTIFICATION SCALE

We are interested in understanding how you feel about other people in your group. Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

All responses will be scaled on a 5-point Likert-type scale with the range as follows:

Strongly Disagree		Unsure		Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

Affective Subscale
1. Mexicans born in the U.S. are united.
2. Mexicans born in the U.S. need to stick together.
3. When I talk about Mexicans born in the U.S., I say "we" rather than "they".
4. If a story in the media criticized Mexicans born in the U.S., I would feel embarrassed.

Evaluative Subscale
5. I am glad I am a Mexican born in the U.S.
6. I am proud to be grouped with other Mexicans born in the U.S.
7. I am a typical Mexican born in the U.S.
8. I act like a typical Mexican born in the U.S.

9. I don't regret being a Mexican born in the   U.S.
10. My opinions are usually consistent with other Mexicans born in the U.S.
11. I have a number of qualities typical of Mexicans born in the U.S.
12. I feel that my everyday interests are in line with most Mexicans born in the U.S.

Cognitive Subscale
13. Being a Mexican born in the U.S. is an important part of my identity.
14. Being grouped with Mexicans born in the U.S. is an important reflection of who I am.
15. It is important to me that others identify me as a Mexican born in the U.S.

APPENDIX C

PERCEPTION OF MEXICANS AS INGROUP SCALE

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

All responses will be scaled on a 5-point Likert-type scale with the range as follows:

Strongly Disagree		Unsure		Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

Affective Subscale
1. If I were in trouble, a Mexican born in Mexico would help me.
2. Mexicans born in the U.S. and in Mexico are united.
3. Mexicans born in the U.S. and in Mexico need to stick together.

4. Even if Mexicans born in the U.S. and in Mexico are not doing well, it is important that we stick together.
5. Regarding Mexicans born in the U.S. and Mexico, it is accurate to say, "United we stand, divided we fall".

6. When I talk about Mexicans born in Mexico, I say "we" rather than "they".
7. If a story in the media criticized Mexicans born in Mexico, I would feel embarrassed.

Evaluative Subscale
8. I am proud to be grouped with Mexicans born in Mexico.
9. I act like a typical Mexican born in Mexico.

10. It puts me at a disadvantage to be grouped with Mexicans born in Mexico. **R**
11. My opinions are usually consistent with Mexicans born in Mexico.
12. I have a number of qualities typical of Mexicans born in Mexico.
13. I feel that my everyday interests are not in line with most Mexicans born in Mexico. **R**

Cognitive Subscale
14. Being grouped with Mexicans born in Mexico is an important reflection of who I am.
15. Mexicans are a lot alike in many respects, regardless of where they were born.
16. I prefer to see Mexicans born in the U.S. as distinct from Mexicans born in Mexico. **R**
17. There are important differences between Mexicans born in the U.S. and Mexicans born in Mexico. **R**

APPENDIX D

SOCIAL DISTANCE SCALE

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

All responses will be scaled on a 5-point Likert-type scale with the range as follows:

Strongly Disagree		Unsure		Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

Threat and Rejection Subscale (Blatant Prejudice Scale)
1. Mexicans born in Mexico have jobs that Mexican born in the U.S. should have.
2. Most Mexicans born in Mexico living here that receive support from welfare could get along without it if they tried.
3. Mexicans born in the U.S. and Mexicans born in the U.S. can never be really comfortable with each other, even if they are close friends.
4. Most politicians in the U.S. care too much about Mexicans born in Mexico and not enough about the average Mexican born in the U.S.

Intimacy Subscale (Blatant Prejudice Subscale)
5. I would be willing to date a Mexican born in Mexico. **R**
6. I would not mind if a Mexican born in Mexico was given a job as my teacher or boss. **R**
7. I would not mind if a Mexican born in Mexico who had a similar background as me married someone in my family. **R**

Traditional Values Subscale (Subtle Prejudice Subscale)
8. Mexicans born in Mexico should not push themselves where they are not wanted.
9. Many other groups have come to the U.S. and overcome prejudice and worked their way up. Mexicans born in Mexico should do the same without special favor.
10. It is just a matter of some people not trying hard enough. If Mexicans born in Mexico would only try harder, they could be as well off as most American people.
11. Mexicans born in Mexico living here teach their children values and skills different from those required to be successful in the U.S.

APPENDIX E

SOURCES OF CULTURAL IRRITATION SCALE

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

All responses will be scaled on a 5-point Likert-type scale with the range as follows:

Strongly Disagree   Unsure   Strongly Agree

1   2   3   4   5

1. It bothers me when Mexicans born in Mexico dress differently than I do.
2. It bothers me when Mexicans born in Mexico speak differently than I do.
3. It bothers me when Mexicans born in Mexico listen to different music than I do.
4. It bothers me when Mexicans born in Mexico live a different lifestyle than I do.
5. It bothers me when Mexicans born in Mexico eat different foods than I do.
6. It bothers me when Mexicans born in Mexico are racist against Mexicans born in the U.S.
7. It bothers me when Mexicans born in Mexico discriminate against Mexicans born in the U.S.
8. It bothers me when Mexicans born in Mexico don't support Mexicans born in the U.S.
9. It bothers me when Mexicans born in Mexico don't care about Mexicans born in the U.S.
10. It bothers me when Mexicans born in Mexico don't try hard to adapt to the U.S.

APPENDIX F

DEMOGRAPHICS

1.   Please select your gender   male   female

2.   How old are you? _____ years

3.   Are you…
      1 = Non-Hispanic White/European American
      2 = Hispanic/Latino (Please select below)
            a) Mexican/Mexican American
            b) Puerto Rican/Puerto Rican American
            c) Cuban/Cuban American
            d) Central American (Please specify:_____)
            e) South American (Please specify:_____)
            f) Other (Please specify:_____)
      3 = Native American Indian
      4 = Black/African American
      5 = Asian/Asian American
      6 = Other (Please specify_____)

4.   Where were you born (select one)?
            United States
            Mexico
      Other_____

5. If you were born outside the U.S., how long have you lived in the U.S.? _____
    year(s)

6.   Is your father…
      1 = Non-Hispanic White/European American
      2 = Hispanic/Latino (Please circle below)
            a) Mexican/Mexican American
            b) Puerto Rican/Puerto Rican American
            c) Cuban/Cuban American
            d) Central American (Please specify:_____)
            e) South American (Please specify:_____)
            f) Other (Please specify:_____)
      3 = Native American Indian
      4 = Black/African American
      5 = Asian/Asian American
      6 = Other (Please specify_____)

7.   Where was your father born (select one)?
            United States
            Mexico
      Other_____

8.   Is your mother…
      1 = Non-Hispanic White/European American
      2 = Hispanic/Latino (Please circle below)
         a) Mexican/Mexican American
         b) Puerto Rican/Puerto Rican American
         c) Cuban/Cuban American
         d) Central American (Please specify:_____)
         e) South American (Please specify:_____)
         f) Other (Please specify:_____)
      3 = Native American Indian
      4 = Black/African American
      5 = Asian/Asian American
      6 = Other (Please specify_____)

9.   Where was your mother born (select one)?
         United States
         Mexico
      Other _____

10. **I identify as:** (Select as many as you like)

- American
- Mexican
- Mexican American
- Mexican National
- Latino
- Hispanic
- Chicano
- Xicano
- Spanish
- Brown
- White
- Black
- Aztec
- Mexican Indian
- Native American
- Southwestern
- Other (please write as many as you like in the spaces below)
- _____
- _____

APPENDIX G

ACCULTURATIVE STRESS SCALE

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

Responses for items 1-16 will be scaled on a 5-point Likert-type scale with the range as follows:

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
1	2	3	4	5

The response options for items 17-20 will be as follows:

English	Spanish	Both	Neither
1	2	3	4

Language-related conflicts
1. How often has it been hard to get along with others because you don't speak English well?
2. How often has it been hard to get along with others because you don't speak Spanish well? **R**
3. How often has it been hard to get good grades because of problems in understanding English?

Acculturation conflicts
4. How often have you had problems with others because you prefer American customs?
5. How often have you had problems with others because you prefer Mexican customs? **R**
6. How often do you feel that you would rather be more American if you had a choice?
7. How often do you feel that you would rather be more Mexican if you had a choice? **R**
8. How often do you get upset with others because they don't know American ways?
9. How often do you get upset with others because they don't know Mexican ways? **R**
10. How often do you feel uncomfortable having to choose between non-Mexican and Mexican ways of doing things?

Perceived Discrimination
11. How often do people dislike you because you are Mexican?
12. How often do people dislike you because you are Mexican-American?
13. How often are you treated unfairly because you are Mexican?
14. How often are you treated unfairly because you are Mexican-American?
15. How often have you seen friends treated unfairly because they are Mexican?
16. How often have you seen friends treated unfairly because they are Mexican-American?

Parental Acculturation
17. What language do you prefer to speak?

18. What language do you speak at school?
19. What language do you speak at home?
20. What language do you speak with friends?

APPENDIX H

PERCEIVED THREAT SCALE

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

Responses will be scaled on a 5-point Likert-type scale with the range as follows:

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
1	2	3	4	5

1. Mexicans immigrants pose a challenge to people like me.
2. Mexicans immigrants provide benefits to people like me.
3. Mexicans immigrants pose problems for people like me.
4. Mexicans immigrants offer positive opportunities for people like me.
5. Mexicans immigrants choose to take more from people like me than they give back.
6. Mexicans immigrants endanger the physical safety of people like me.
7. Mexicans immigrants take and/or damage the personal property or resources of people like me.
8. Mexicans immigrants promote values that directly oppose the values of people like me.
9. Mexicans immigrants limit the personal freedoms of people like me.
10. Mexicans immigrants do not want to contribute as much to people like me as they take.
11. Mexicans immigrants decrease the economic opportunities available to people like me.
12. Undocumented immigrants pose a challenge to people like me.
13. Undocumented immigrants provide benefits to people like me.
14. Undocumented immigrants pose problems for people like me.
15. Undocumented immigrants offer positive opportunities for people like me.
16. Undocumented immigrants choose to take more from people like me than they give back.
17. Undocumented immigrants endanger the physical safety of people like me.
18. Undocumented immigrants take and/or damage the personal property or resources of people like me.
19. Undocumented immigrants promote values that directly oppose the values of people like me.
20. Undocumented immigrants limit the personal freedoms of people like me.
21. Undocumented immigrants do not want to contribute as much to people like me as they take.
22. Undocumented immigrants decrease the economic opportunities available to people like me.

APPENDIX I

IRB APPROVAL LETTER

Office of Research Integrity and Assurance

To:	George Knight PSY
From:	Mark Roosa, Chair Soc Beh IRB
Date:	05/12/2010
Committee Action:	**Expedited Approval**
Approval Date:	05/12/2010
Review Type:	Expedited F7
IRB Protocol #:	1005005135
Study Title:	Group Identity and Expression of Prejudice among Mexican Heritage Adolescents
Expiration Date:	05/11/2011

The above-referenced protocol was approved following expedited review by the Institutional Review Board.

It is the Principal Investigator's responsibility to obtain review and continued approval before the expiration date. You may not continue any research activity beyond the expiration date without approval by the Institutional Review Board.

Adverse Reactions: If any untoward incidents or severe reactions should develop as a result of this study, you are required to notify the Soc Beh IRB immediately. If necessary a member of the IRB will be assigned to look into the matter. If the problem is serious, approval may be withdrawn pending IRB review.

Amendments: If you wish to change any aspect of this study, such as the procedures, the consent forms, or the investigators, please communicate your requested changes to the Soc Beh IRB. The new procedure is not to be initiated until the IRB approval has been given.

Please retain a copy of this letter with your approved protocol.

APPENDIX J

IRB MODIFICATION APPROVAL LETTER

Office of Research Integrity and Assurance

To:	George Knight
	PSY
From:	Mark Roosa, Chair
	Soc Beh IRB
Date:	10/05/2010
Committee Action:	**Amendment to Approved Protocol**
Approval Date:	10/05/2010
Review Type:	Expedited F12
IRB Protocol #:	1005005135
Study Title:	Group Identity and Expression of Prejudice among Mexican Heritage Adolescents
Expiration Date:	05/11/2011

The amendment to the above-referenced protocol has been APPROVED following Expedited Review by the Institutional Review Board. This approval does not replace any departmental or other approvals that may be required. It is the Principal Investigator's responsibility to obtain review and continued approval of ongoing research before the expiration noted above. Please allow sufficient time for reapproval. Research activity of any sort may not continue beyond the expiration date without committee approval. Failure to receive approval for continuation before the expiration date will result in the automatic suspension of the approval of this protocol on the expiration date. Information collected following suspension is unapproved research and cannot be reported or published as research data. If you do not wish continued approval, please notify the Committee of the study termination.

This approval by the Soc Beh IRB does not replace or supersede any departmental or oversight committee review that may be required by institutional policy.

Adverse Reactions: If any untoward incidents or severe reactions should develop as a result of this study, you are required to notify the Soc Beh IRB immediately. If necessary a member of the IRB will be assigned to look into the matter. If the problem is serious, approval may be withdrawn pending IRB review.

Amendments: If you wish to change any aspect of this study, such as the procedures, the consent forms, or the investigators, please communicate your requested changes to the Soc Beh IRB. The new procedure is not to be initiated until the IRB approval has been given.

Please retain a copy of this letter with your approved protocol.

1