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Experiences of Microaggressions, Discrimination, & Exclusion within the LGBTQ+ Community in Spain

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Abstract

Microaggressions are a regular occurrence for many lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, and other gender/sexuality minority (LGBTQ+) people. Microaggressions refer to verbal, behavioral, and environmental discrimination that are perpetrated against minorities and can often have mental health implications for victims. Traditionally research on microaggressions towards LGBTQ+ people has examined how a heterodominant population is discriminatory towards this minority group. Therefore in this study we aimed to characterize within group discrimination and microaggressions experienced by LGBTQ+ adults in Spain through interviews (n=18) and the LGBT People of Color Microaggressions (LGBT POC) Scale questionnaire (n=514). Participants reported biphobia, transphobia, internalized heteronormativity, strict gender roles, and racism. Findings provide insight into challenges within the Spanish LGBTQ+ community and serve as a starting point for future research and mental health initiatives.

Introduction

Microaggressions are a regular occurrence for many lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, and other gender/sexuality minority (LGBTQ+) people. Microaggressions refer to verbal, behavioral, and environmental discrimination that are perpetrated against minorities. This can include even actions and systems in which discrimination may not be the perpetrator's intent yet still disparages a minority group. Formative work in this field of study addressed microaggressions faced by racial minorities however have since expanded to include other minoritzed populations such as sexual and gender minority people.[1]

Microaggressions have been found to have a negative impact on mental health and quality of life for minoritized people. LGBTQ+ people experiencing microaggressions have commonly reported distress during the incident, fear of disclosing LGBTQ+ identity, negative effects on personal relationships, and chronic mental health effects

such as PTSD[2]. In addition, LGBTQ+ based discrimination has been found to be associated with depression, suicidal ideation, and suicidal behavior.[3-4]

When individuals experience both LGBTQ+ based discrimination and racism the effects produce greater negative outcomes. In a sample of 318 sexual minority and racial minority adults in the USA it was found that heterosexist discrimination and racist discrimination both were associated with psychological distress and decreased psychological well-being. Combined, heterosexism and racism contributed additively to psychological distress & well-being.[5]

Thus, microaggressions are regularly faced by LGBTQ+ people and people of color and can have a negative effect on the quality of life for these minoritized populations. This impact has been shown to be greater when individuals live at the intersection of both LGBTQ+ identity and racial minoritization. It is important to study microaggressions and discrimination in order to guide interventions to better improve psychological well-being for these groups of people.

Traditionally research on microaggressions towards LGBTQ+ people has examined how a heterodominant population is discriminatory towards this minority group. However, newer research is emerging examining the experiences of discrimination within different facets of the LGBTQ+ community. One study elicited experiences of bi/panphobia, transphobia, and racism within the community. In addition, many study participants reported experiencing 'gatekeeping' as LGBTQ+ community members decided who was a valid part of the community or who was not.[6]

Therefore in this study we aimed to characterize within group discrimination and microaggressions experienced by LGBTQ+ adults in Spain which to our knowledge is previously understudied. Our hope is to use this information to guide future interventions with the goal of improving quality of life and mental health in this population.

Material & Methods

This study used a mixed methods design using participant interviews and a standardized questionnaire to see if there is consensus across the two strands of the mixed method study design. Inclusion criteria was people 18+ years of age currently living in Spain who identified themselves as a part of the LGBTQ+ community. 18 participants were interviewed about the experiences being a part of the community. 514 people were administered the LGBT People of Color Microaggressions (LGBT POC) Scale standardized questionnaire. This survey was created in 2011 by interviewing LGBTQ+ adults in Washington state to examine microaggressions experienced by ethnic minority LGBT adults.[7] The survey broked down the 18 questions asked into 3

subscales: Racism in LGBT community, heterosexism in communities of color, and LGBT relationship racism. Scale was translated to Spanish prior to administration.

For the qualitative analysis the interviews were translated from Spanish to English. Then the phrases related to microaggressions within LGBTQ+ community were extracted. 30 phrases were identified. From those statements sub-themes were elicited including biphobia, transphobia, hegemonic heteronormativity and masculinity, and racism.

For the quantitative data, demographic analysis was conducted to elicit age, race, gender, and sexual orientation of respondents using SPSS. Then it was determined how many study participants experienced various microaggressions from LGBT POC Microaggressions Scale. Specifically, subscales of racism in LGBT community and heterosexism in communities of color were examined.

Results

Demographics

Table 1 summarizes the demographic characteristics of the analytic sample (N=514). The median age of the sample was 27 years with a standard deviation of 9.1. The majority of subjects identified as Caucasian (85.4%) and cisgender (74.3%). Gay (37.2%) and bisexual (39.5%) identities were most represented.

LGBT People of Color Microaggressions Scale

Participants answered questions related to racism and heterosexism. The 12 questions asked are shown in Table 2. The possible responses were: 0= Did not happen/not applicable to me, 1= It happened, and it bothered me not at all, 2= It happened, and it bothered me a little, 3= It happened, and it bothered me moderately, 4= It happened, and it bothered me quite a bit, 5= It happened, and it bothered me extremely. This variable was dichotomized into 0= Did not happen, 1= Happened.

Table 1: Demographic characteristics of 514 LGBTQ+ adult subjects living in Spain.

	Median (Std. Dev)
Age	27 (9.1)
	Freq (Percent)
Race	
Caucasian	439 (85.4%)
Latinx	40 (7.8%)
Asian	1 (0.2%)
African	0 (0%)
Biracial/Multiracial	12 (2.3%)
Other	19 (3.7%)
Gender	
Cisgender woman	166 (32.3%)
Cisgender man	216 (42.0%)
Trans man	43 (8.4%)
Trans woman	13 (2.5%)
Non-binary	61 (11.9%)
Other	4 (0.8%)
Sexual Orientation	
Gay	191 (37.2)
Lesbian	63 (12.3)
Heterosexual	20 (3.9%)
Bisexual	203 (39.5%)
Pansexual	12 (2.3%)
Asexual	14 (2.7%)
Other	11 (2.1%)

Table 2: The 12 questions from the LGBT People of Color Microaggressions Scale asked of 514 respondents.

Racism Subscale

POCMAS 2	Feeling like white LGBT people are only interested in you for your appearance
POCMAS 7	Feeling misunderstood by white LGBT people
POCMAS 9	Being told that "race isn't important" by white LGBT people
POCMAS 11	Not being able to trust white LGBT people
POCMAS 16	Having to educate white LGBT people about race issues
POCMAS 17	White LGBT people saying things that are racist

Heterosexism Subscale

POCMAS 1	Difficulty finding friends who are LGBT and from your racial/ethnic background
POCMAS 4	Feeling unwelcome at groups or events in your racial/ethnic community
POCMAS 5	Not being accepted by other people of your race/ethnicity because you are LGBT
POCMAS 10	Feeling invisible because you are LGBT
POCMAS 14	Not having any LGBT people of color as positive role models
POCMAS 18	Feeling misunderstood by people in your ethnic/racial community

Next, race was turned into a binary variable. Table 3 shows the percentage of total participants who have experienced each microaggression vs percentage of people of color who have experienced each microaggression. Using Pearson's chi-square analysis it was determined that there was a statistically significant difference ($p=0.05$) between the number of caucasian participants vs POC participants experiencing all microaggression variables except for POCMAS 9, 17, and 10.

Table 3: The percentage of total participants and POC (people of color/ non-caucasian) participants experiencing each microaggression variable.

Racism

POCMAS	2	7	9	11	16	17
% of Total Participants Experiencing This	8.8	14.9	24.6	12.4	33.7	51.3
% of POC Participants Experiencing This	20.7	32.8	31	23.7	46.6	53.4
p-value for caucasian vs POC	<0.001	<0.001	0.223	0.005	0.026	0.727

Heterosexism

POCMAS	1	4	5	10	14	18
% of Total Participants Experiencing This	16.4	14.6	17.9	28.4	35.4	27.7
% of POC Participants Experiencing This	44.8	37.9	32.8	36.2	44.8	48.3
p-value for caucasian vs POC	<0.001	<0.001	0.001	0.895	<0.001	<0.001

Bi/Panphobia

18 interviews were conducted. Many bisexual subjects reported feeling excluded from the LGBTQ+ community by other members who asserted that their identity was valid.

"When I started to assume bisexuality… a lesbian person… told me that doesn't exist."

In addition, many participants reported feeling that community members were pushing them into monosexism & "erasing" their plurisexuality. This served as a form of gatekeeping exerted by LGBTQ+ community members towards bisexual people.

"You have to position yourself because you're on one sidewalk or you're on the other. In the middle you get caught by the car and that left me… Yeah, there are a lot of gay people who don't believe in bisexuality…"

In addition, participants reported the exclusion to be more painful because it was coming from other LGBTQ+ folks who they believed should be supportive of their experiences. One participant even said they believed the panphobia they experienced to be "destroying the unity of the LGTB (sic) struggle".

"Yeah, there are a lot of gay people who don't believe in bisexuality within the collective itself and that's what blows my mind, you know? Because when it comes from outside the collective you understand the lack of empathy…"

"So these much more concrete hatreds are painful because they usually come from people who are also in other closets, people from the collective…. The pluriphobia… is quite crushing."

Transphobia

Participants also discussed transphobia and cis-genderism within the LGBTQ+ community.

"Especially cis gay people, they are the ones who make comments that sometimes I consider out of place. Like… telling me that I'm disgusting…"

One participant spoke about being deadnamed by cisgender people within the community. This had an impact on the social support available to the transgender person and caused them to "lose relationship with them."

It was even discussed that this transphobia not only occurred in informal spaces, but in formal spaces that were supposed to be dedicated to helping individuals.

"There have been times when foundations have offered me support until they discovered that I am trans, then the support has gone to shit"

In addition, invalidation of transgender experience even occurred amongst gender diverse people.

"I contacted… with a non-binary person… She told me her pronouns and never asked me mine… And then he told me a series of experiences… Things that I don't identify with and I don't think are part of my understanding of gender… I told him about it, and he totally denied my experience.And it's strange, it's very strange to receive that from someone who is in the same situation as you. Why are you denying my experience?"

Heteronormativity and Masculinity

Participants also reported that there was an expectation to follow traditional gender roles and that being closer to the hegemonic norm was favored within the Spanish LGBTQ+ community.

"…it a little bit of the boy-girl relationship, since I was the girl I could not lift heavy things or open the door, those things seemed weird to me."

"In lesbians, Femme is better than Buch… the more cis hetero it is, the better it is always."

The idea of masculinity as superior also came up very often and the pressure to conform in order to fit in.

"There was still this whole mandate of hetero or homo normativity. Maybe it was not as explicit as with heterosexual men. I mean, there were the queers who did their shows… but they still maintained this hegemonic masculinity because they knew that it would bring them sexual benefits and social benefits, they would keep their sexual appeal."

"I remember dressing up as a female character and… they were astonished. Afterwards… the initial rejection decreased, it was more like, you're like super divine today… But it was still like the impact."

"And if they did change something about their physical appearance, they needed to compensate with something more like lowering their voice."

This extended into dating spaces where being masculine was seen as a favorable trait in a partner.

"in the application like Grindr too, guys would tell me, I'm only looking for males and you are not, and they would tell you in your, in your own face. But let's say, there was like a certain heteronomy that they tried to impose on the gay scene and gay places"

Racism

Some participants felt their voices were unheard within the Spanish LGBTQ+ community because they were an ethnic minority.

"So, if you are attacking me for being Latina or for being (name of Latin American country)... Everything else is affected… I've encountered is that feeling of discrimination… And you find that your, your contributions to a discussion are dismissed"

"It's not the same to be born in Amsterdam and be a member of the community than to be born in (name of Latin American city), which is where I was born, which is the ass of the world. And it's not the same experience. And sometimes I feel that, I don't know, it's not taken into account, it's not valued."

Discussion

Through multiple interviews and many survey responses this study was able to elicit experiences of discrimination, exclusion, and microaggressions experienced by LGBTQ+ adults in Spain within the LGBTQ+ community.

Monosexism

In this study, plurisexual people were largely sampled with 41.8% of survey respondents identifying as bisexual or pansexual. Interview findings largely demonstrated the experienced of this group of people including the monosexism experienced by bisexual, pansexual, and other plurisexual people. Monosexism is the idea that people are attracted to only one gender.[8] This belief leads individuals to believe that plurisexual people are undecided or dishonest.[8] This occurs within the LGBTQ+ community too as demonstrated by individuals being prompted to pick one side or the other and being told their sexual orientation was not valid. This was painful for many participants who felt hurt that this type of exclusion would happen within the community itself.

Cissexism

Transgender and gender non-conforming people have been known to experience discrimination at a high rate. Nadal et al. identified 12 types of microaggressions experienced by gender diverse people.[9] Although these were originally described as being perpetrated by people outside of the LGBTQ+ community, this study elicited some of the same microaggressions being perpetrated within the community. One participant reported being told they are "disgusting" for being transgender. This falls under the "Physical threat or harassment" outlined by Nadal in which transgender people are teased or bullied, creating unsafe environments. In another interview a transgender person indicated that because they were transgender they were unable to receive support from organizations. This highlights the "Systemic and environmental microaggressions" that is discrimination that occurs on an institutional level. Lastly, a participant reported being a victim of the "Assumption of universal trangender experience" when their non-binary experience was denied by another person who was non-binary who felt their beliefs and experiences should be the same.

Hegemonic Heteronormativity

Heteronormativity is the idea that being "straight" is the norm and the ideal. Hegemonic heteronormativity is the idea that heteronormative thinking is the pervasive thought process throughout a society. LGBTQ+ people are also often impacted by and internalize this hegemonic norm as they are raised in the same society.[10] Gender role is the idea of what is the acceptable behavior and appearance of a man versus a woman. The rules of what is considered masculine and feminine are defined in the context of hegemonic heteronormativity.[11] Many participants in this study reported that they often had the pressure to conform to gender norms in order to fit in even within the LGBTQ+ community. This involved lesbians portraying themselves as more feminine and gay

men portraying themselves as more masculine. This included outward appearance such as clothing and voice as well as behaviors such as lifting heavy items or opening the door. Heteronormative role following was seen as superior and came with benefits socially including in dating spaces.

Racism

LGBTQ+ people of color face the minoritization that comes from being a sexual and/or gender minority along with the added stressor of minoritization from their race. Often LGBTQ+ POC are not included within the LGBTQ+ community and feel invisible.[6] This idea was supported through the interviews highlighting that being Latin American was seen as lesser in the Spanish context. The quantitative survey asked questions to evaluate LGBT POC and their experiences of racism within the LGBTQ+ community and their experiences of heterosexism within their racial/ethnic communities. When all survey participants were evaluated, most microaggressions were not appreciated. However, when the large group of caucasian participants (85.4%) were removed, most microaggressions in the scale were experienced by LGBT POC with statistical significance. In terms of racist experiences, POCparticipants reported feeling like white LGBT people were only interested in them for their appearance, feeling misunderstood by white LGBT people, not being able to trust white LGBT people, and having to educate white LGBT people about race issues. In terms of heterosexist experiences, POC participants reported difficulty finding friends who are LGBT and from the same racial/ethnic background, feeling unwelcome at groups of events in your racial/ethnic community, not being accepted by people of your race/ethnicity for being LGBT, not having any LGBT POC as positive role models, and feeling misunderstood by people in the same racial/ethnic community.

Limitations and Future Directions

This study used the LGBT People of Color Microaggressions Scale which is a USA based scale. It is possible that the experiences highlighted in this scale do not completely transpose itself on the Spanish experience. In addition, the interview sample was largely caucasian and there was limited ability to compare the findings of racism between interviews and survey findings. Going forward it would be interesting to do further interviews with LGBT POC in Spain in order to provide more context to the quantitative findings. In addition, this qualitative data could aid in making a modified LGBT POC Microaggressions scale in the cultural context of Spain.

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Appendix

Demographics SPSS Output

Notes

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Statistics

		¿Cuántos años tienes?	¿Cuál de las siguientes opciones describe mejor tu etnia/raza? - Selected Choice	¿Cuál es tu orientación sexual? - Selected Choice	¿Cuál describe mejor tu identidad de género? - Selected Choice
N	Valid	506	511	514	503
	Missing	8	3	0	11
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Median		27.00	1.0000	3.0000	2.0000
Std. Deviation		9.123	1.12374	1.61987	1.30378

¿Cuántos años tienes?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	14	1	.2	.2	.2
	15	1	.2	.2	.4
	16	2	.4	.4	.8
	17	2	.4	.4	1.2
	18	9	1.8	1.8	3.0
	19	13	2.5	2.6	5.5
	20	24	4.7	4.7	10.3
	21	24	4.7	4.7	15.0
	22	30	5.8	5.9	20.9
	23	36	7.0	7.1	28.1
	24	35	6.8	6.9	35.0
	25	32	6.2	6.3	41.3
	26	27	5.3	5.3	46.6
	27	23	4.5	4.5	51.2
	28	28	5.4	5.5	56.7
	29	21	4.1	4.2	60.9
	30	15	2.9	3.0	63.8
	31	15	2.9	3.0	66.8
	32	12	2.3	2.4	69.2
	33	12	2.3	2.4	71.5
	34	13	2.5	2.6	74.1
	35	6	1.2	1.2	75.3
	36	15	2.9	3.0	78.3
	37	9	1.8	1.8	80.0
	38	8	1.6	1.6	81.6
	39	7	1.4	1.4	83.0
	40	16	3.1	3.2	86.2
	41	8	1.6	1.6	87.7
	42	9	1.8	1.8	89.5
	43	9	1.8	1.8	91.3
	44	4	.8	.8	92.1
	45	3	.6	.6	92.7
	46	3	.6	.6	93.3
	47	4	.8	.8	94.1
	48	6	1.2	1.2	95.3
	49	3	.6	.6	95.8
	50	5	1.0	1.0	96.8
	51	2	.4	.4	97.2
	52	2	.4	.4	97.6
	53	2	.4	.4	98.0
	54	2	.4	.4	98.4

¿Cuántos años tienes?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	56	2	.4	.4	98.8
	57	2	.4	.4	99.2
	59	1	.2	.2	99.4
	60	1	.2	.2	99.6
	61	1	.2	.2	99.8
	64	1	.2	.2	100.0
	Total	506	98.4	100.0	
Missing	-999	8	1.6		
Total		514	100.0		

¿Cuál de las siguientes opciones describe mejor tu etnia/raza? - Selected Choice

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Caucásica/Anglosajona	439	85.4	85.9	85.9
	Latinx (por ejemplo nacido o descendente de Venezuela, Perú o México)	40	7.8	7.8	93.7
	Asiática	1	.2	.2	93.9
	Biracial/Multiracial	12	2.3	2.3	96.3
	Otra	19	3.7	3.7	100.0
	Total	511	99.4	100.0	
Missing	-999.00	3	.6		
Total		514	100.0		

¿Cuál es tu orientación sexual? - Selected Choice

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Gay	191	37.2	37.2	37.2
	Lesbiana	63	12.3	12.3	49.4
	Heterosexual	20	3.9	3.9	53.3
	Bisexual	203	39.5	39.5	92.8
	Pansexual	12	2.3	2.3	95.1
	Asexual	14	2.7	2.7	97.9
	Otro	11	2.1	2.1	100.0
	Total	514	100.0	100.0	

¿Cuál describe mejor tu identidad de género? - Selected Choice

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Mujer cisgénero	166	32.3	33.0	33.0
	Hombre cisgénero	216	42.0	42.9	75.9
	Hombre trans	43	8.4	8.5	84.5
	Mujer trans	13	2.5	2.6	87.1
	No binario/a/e	61	11.9	12.1	99.2
	Otro	4	.8	.8	100.0
	Total	503	97.9	100.0	
Missing	-999.00	4	.8		
	System	7	1.4		
	Total	11	2.1		
Total		514	100.0		

Notes

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Case Processing Summary

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RaceBinary * POCMAS7R	417	81.1%	97	18.9%	514	100.0%
RaceBinary * POCMAS9R	414	80.5%	100	19.5%	514	100.0%
RaceBinary * POCMAS11R	418	81.3%	96	18.7%	514	100.0%
RaceBinary * POCMAS16R	415	80.7%	99	19.3%	514	100.0%
RaceBinary * POCMAS17R	415	80.7%	99	19.3%	514	100.0%
RaceBinary * POCMAS1R	408	79.4%	106	20.6%	514	100.0%
RaceBinary * POCMAS4R	405	78.8%	109	21.2%	514	100.0%
RaceBinary * POCMAS5R	413	80.4%	101	19.6%	514	100.0%
RaceBinary * POCMAS10R	412	80.2%	102	19.8%	514	100.0%
RaceBinary * POCMAS14R	406	79.0%	108	21.0%	514	100.0%
RaceBinary * POCMAS18R	412	80.2%	102	19.8%	514	100.0%

RaceBinary * POCMAS2R

Crosstab

			POCMAS2R		Total
			Absent	Present	
RaceBinary	Not European	Count	46	12	58
		% within RaceBinary	79.3%	20.7%	100.0%
	European	Count	329	24	353
		% within RaceBinary	93.2%	6.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	375	36	411
		% within RaceBinary	91.2%	8.8%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	12.027[a]	1	<.001		
Continuity Correction[b]	10.352	1	.001		
Likelihood Ratio	9.563	1	.002		
Fisher's Exact Test				.002	.002
Linear-by-Linear Association	11.998	1	<.001		
N of Valid Cases	411				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.08.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

RaceBinary * POCMAS7R

Crosstab

			POCMAS7R Absent	POCMAS7R Present	Total
RaceBinary	Not European	Count	39	19	58
		% within RaceBinary	67.2%	32.8%	100.0%
	European	Count	316	43	359
		% within RaceBinary	88.0%	12.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	355	62	417
		% within RaceBinary	85.1%	14.9%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	17.036[a]	1	<.001		
Continuity Correction[b]	15.434	1	<.001		
Likelihood Ratio	14.128	1	<.001		
Fisher's Exact Test				<.001	<.001
Linear-by-Linear Association	16.995	1	<.001		
N of Valid Cases	417				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 8.62.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

RaceBinary * POCMAS9R

Crosstab

			POCMAS9R Absent	POCMAS9R Present	Total
RaceBinary	Not European	Count	40	18	58
		% within RaceBinary	69.0%	31.0%	100.0%
	European	Count	272	84	356
		% within RaceBinary	76.4%	23.6%	100.0%
Total		Count	312	102	414
		% within RaceBinary	75.4%	24.6%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.486[a]	1	.223		
Continuity Correction[b]	1.113	1	.291		
Likelihood Ratio	1.424	1	.233		
Fisher's Exact Test				.250	.146
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.483	1	.223		
N of Valid Cases	414				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 14.29.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

RaceBinary * POCMAS11R

Crosstab

			POCMAS11R Absent	POCMAS11R Present	Total
RaceBinary	Not European	Count	45	14	59
		% within RaceBinary	76.3%	23.7%	100.0%
	European	Count	321	38	359
		% within RaceBinary	89.4%	10.6%	100.0%
Total		Count	366	52	418
		% within RaceBinary	87.6%	12.4%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8.037[a]	1	.005		
Continuity Correction[b]	6.875	1	.009		
Likelihood Ratio	6.846	1	.009		
Fisher's Exact Test				.009	.007
Linear-by-Linear Association	8.018	1	.005		
N of Valid Cases	418				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 7.34.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

RaceBinary * POCMAS16R

Crosstab

			POCMAS16R Absent	POCMAS16R Present	Total
RaceBinary	Not European	Count	31	27	58
		% within RaceBinary	53.4%	46.6%	100.0%
	European	Count	244	113	357
		% within RaceBinary	68.3%	31.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	275	140	415
		% within RaceBinary	66.3%	33.7%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.955[a]	1	.026		
Continuity Correction[b]	4.310	1	.038		
Likelihood Ratio	4.763	1	.029		
Fisher's Exact Test				.035	.020
Linear-by-Linear Association	4.943	1	.026		
N of Valid Cases	415				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 19.57.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

RaceBinary * POCMAS17R

Crosstab

			POCMAS17R Absent	POCMAS17R Present	Total
RaceBinary	Not European	Count	27	31	58
		% within RaceBinary	46.6%	53.4%	100.0%
	European	Count	175	182	357
		% within RaceBinary	49.0%	51.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	202	213	415
		% within RaceBinary	48.7%	51.3%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.122[a]	1	.727		
Continuity Correction[b]	.043	1	.836		
Likelihood Ratio	.122	1	.727		
Fisher's Exact Test				.778	.418
Linear-by-Linear Association	.121	1	.728		
N of Valid Cases	415				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 28.23.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

RaceBinary * POCMAS1R

Crosstab

			POCMAS1R		Total
			Absent	Present	
RaceBinary	Not European	Count	32	26	58
		% within RaceBinary	55.2%	44.8%	100.0%
	European	Count	309	41	350
		% within RaceBinary	88.3%	11.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	341	67	408
		% within RaceBinary	83.6%	16.4%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	39.750[a]	1	<.001		
Continuity Correction[b]	37.373	1	<.001		
Likelihood Ratio	31.803	1	<.001		
Fisher's Exact Test				<.001	<.001
Linear-by-Linear Association	39.652	1	<.001		
N of Valid Cases	408				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 9.52.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

RaceBinary * POCMAS4R

Crosstab

| | | | POCMAS4R | | |
			Absent	Present	Total
RaceBinary	Not European	Count	36	22	58
		% within RaceBinary	62.1%	37.9%	100.0%
	European	Count	310	37	347
		% within RaceBinary	89.3%	10.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	346	59	405
		% within RaceBinary	85.4%	14.6%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	29.689[a]	1	<.001		
Continuity Correction[b]	27.539	1	<.001		
Likelihood Ratio	23.723	1	<.001		
Fisher's Exact Test				<.001	<.001
Linear-by-Linear Association	29.616	1	<.001		
N of Valid Cases	405				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 8.45.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

RaceBinary * POCMAS5R

Crosstab

| | | | POCMAS5R | | |
			Absent	Present	Total
RaceBinary	Not European	Count	39	19	58
		% within RaceBinary	67.2%	32.8%	100.0%
	European	Count	300	55	355
		% within RaceBinary	84.5%	15.5%	100.0%
Total		Count	339	74	413
		% within RaceBinary	82.1%	17.9%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	10.105[a]	1	.001		
Continuity Correction[b]	8.965	1	.003		
Likelihood Ratio	8.846	1	.003		
Fisher's Exact Test				.003	.002
Linear-by-Linear Association	10.081	1	.001		
N of Valid Cases	413				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 10.39.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

RaceBinary * POCMAS10R

Crosstab

			POCMAS10R Absent	POCMAS10R Present	Total
RaceBinary	Not European	Count	37	21	58
		% within RaceBinary	63.8%	36.2%	100.0%
	European	Count	229	125	354
		% within RaceBinary	64.7%	35.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	266	146	412
		% within RaceBinary	64.6%	35.4%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.017[a]	1	.895		
Continuity Correction[b]	.000	1	1.000		
Likelihood Ratio	.017	1	.895		
Fisher's Exact Test				.883	.502
Linear-by-Linear Association	.017	1	.895		
N of Valid Cases	412				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 20.55.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

RaceBinary * POCMAS14R

Crosstab

			POCMAS14R		Total
			Absent	Present	
RaceBinary	Not European	Count	32	26	58
		% within RaceBinary	55.2%	44.8%	100.0%
	European	Count	267	81	348
		% within RaceBinary	76.7%	23.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	299	107	406
		% within RaceBinary	73.6%	26.4%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	11.897[a]	1	<.001		
Continuity Correction[b]	10.813	1	.001		
Likelihood Ratio	10.883	1	<.001		
Fisher's Exact Test				.001	<.001
Linear-by-Linear Association	11.868	1	<.001		
N of Valid Cases	406				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 15.29.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

RaceBinary * POCMAS18R

Crosstab

			POCMAS18R		Total
			Absent	Present	
RaceBinary	Not European	Count	30	28	58
		% within RaceBinary	51.7%	48.3%	100.0%
	European	Count	268	86	354
		% within RaceBinary	75.7%	24.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	298	114	412
		% within RaceBinary	72.3%	27.7%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	14.321[a]	1	<.001		
Continuity Correction[b]	13.148	1	<.001		
Likelihood Ratio	13.121	1	<.001		
Fisher's Exact Test				<.001	<.001
Linear-by-Linear Association	14.286	1	<.001		
N of Valid Cases	412				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 16.05.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table