

8-2009

Racial Discrimination, Skin Tone, Locus of Control, and Acculturation Among Mennonite Latino/as of The Rio Grande Valley

Nancy Rivera
University of Texas-Pan American

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.utrgv.edu/leg_etd



Part of the [Christian Denominations and Sects Commons](#), and the [Psychology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Rivera, Nancy, "Racial Discrimination, Skin Tone, Locus of Control, and Acculturation Among Mennonite Latino/as of The Rio Grande Valley" (2009). *Theses and Dissertations - UTB/UTPA*. 1015.
https://scholarworks.utrgv.edu/leg_etd/1015

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by ScholarWorks @ UTRGV. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations - UTB/UTPA by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks @ UTRGV. For more information, please contact justin.white@utrgv.edu, william.flores01@utrgv.edu.

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, SKIN TONE, LOCUS OF CONTROL, AND
ACCULTURATION AMONG MENNONITE LATINO/AS OF THE
RIO GRANDE VALLEY

A Thesis

by

NANCY RIVERA

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Texas-Pan American
In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

August 2009

Major Subject: Clinical Psychology

**Copyright 2009 Nancy Rivera
All Rights Reserved**

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, SKIN TONE, LOCUS OF CONTROL, AND
ACCULTURATION AMONG MENNONITE LATINO/AS OF THE
RIO GRANDE VALLEY

A Thesis
By
NANCY RIVERA

Approved as to style and content by:

Philip G. Gasquoine
Chair of Committee

Kristin L. Croyle
Committee Member

Frederick A. Ernst
Committee Member

August 2009

ABSTRACT

Rivera, Nancy, Racial Discrimination, Skin Tone, Locus of Control, and Acculturation among Mennonite Latino/as of the Rio Grande Valley. Master of Arts (MA), Clinical Psychology, August, 2009, 67 pp., 2 tables, references, 105 titles.

This study assessed the relationship between perceived racial discrimination, and skin tone, locus of control and acculturation among Latino/a Mennonites of the Rio Grande Valley. Eighty nine Latino/a Mennonites were recruited. The following measures were used: Schedule of Racist Events, Intrinsic Spirituality Scale, a short version of the revised Acculturation Scale for Mexican Americans-II, and Rotter's Internal-External Locus of Control Scale. A window tint meter assessed skin tone. Multiple regression analysis and multivariate analysis of variance was used to determine how rates of perceived discrimination among Mennonite Latinos/as were related to skin tone, locus of control and acculturation. The results were not significant. However, dark-skinned Latino/as reported more instances of perceived racial discrimination in the last year than light-skinned Latino/as.

DEDICATION

Para las hermanas y hermanos de las Iglesias Menonitas del sur de Tejas.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The completion of this thesis would not have been possible without the support and direction of the following people. I would like to thank my committee, Dr. Kristin Croyle and Dr. Frederick Ernst, for always being available to help me throughout this process. I especially want to thank my committee chair, Dr. Philip Gasquoine, for his patience, assistance, and guidance at every step of this process. I truly appreciate all your help.

I am very grateful to Dr. Amy Weimer and Dr. Ralph Carlson for taking time from their busy schedules to help me analyze the research data. I want to thank Felipe Hinojosa and Nereyda Guerrero for translating the inventories needed to complete this thesis. I also want to thank Brandy Trevino for all her help, I am glad we were able to support each other as we worked on our theses. My sincere thanks also go to Maria Alanis for assisting me during the data collection, even if it meant working early in the morning or late at night.

I offer special thanks to all the *hermanos* and *hermanas* from the Mennonite Churches in south Texas for welcoming me into their church and for participating in my research. *Les agradezco toda su ayuda y sus oraciones.*

Le quiero dar mil gracias a mi familia por todo el apoyo que me brindaron durante este tiempo y por siempre estar interesados en mi trabajo.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT.....	iii
DEDICATION.....	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vi
LIST OF TABLES.....	viii
CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION: RACIAL DISCRIMINATION.....	1
Racism.....	1
Microaggressions.....	2
Implicit and Explicit Racial Discrimination.....	7
CHAPTER II. RELIGION AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION	10
Spirituality and Racial Discrimination.....	11
Mennonite Religion.....	14
CHAPTER III. PSYCHOLOGICAL VARIABLES AFFECTING PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION.....	17
Locus of Control.....	17
Locus of Control and Racial Discrimination.....	19
Acculturation.....	20
Acculturation and Racial Discrimination.....	23
Skin Tone.....	24

Skin Tone and Racial Discrimination.....	25
Study Hypotheses.....	26
CHAPTER IV. METHODS.....	28
Participants.....	28
Measures.....	29
Procedure.....	31
CHAPTER V. RESULTS.....	33
Preliminary Analyses.....	33
Critical Analyses.....	35
CHAPTER VI. DISCUSSION.....	38
REFERENCES.....	43
APPENDICES.....	52
Appendix A: Tables.....	53
Appendix B: Informed Consent Forms.....	56
Appendix C: Recruitment Script.....	61
Appendix D: Demographic Sheet.....	64
Appendix E: Brief acculturation scale.....	66
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.....	67

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
Table 1: Means, (Standard Deviations) and Range for Perceived Racial Discrimination in Last Year, Perceived Racial Discrimination Over a Life Time, Perceived Stressfulness of Racial Discrimination, Spirituality, Acculturation, Skin Tone, and Locus of Control.....	53
Table 2: Intercorrelations Among Sociodemographic Variables, Perceived Racial discrimination in Last Year, Perceived Racial Discrimination Over a Life Time, Perceived Stressfulness of Racial Discrimination, Spirituality, Acculturation, Skin Tone, and Locus of Control.....	54

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

Latinos in the United States have experienced a 61% increase in population since 1990 (Ramirez, 2004). According to the 2000 U.S. Census Bureau, Latinos make up 12.5% of the U.S. population. It is the second largest ethnic group, after non-Hispanic White Americans (U.S. Census Bureau, 2005-2007 American Community Survey). Given the “historical and contemporary existence of racism in American society” (Clark, Anderson, Clark, Williams, 1999, p. 805) it is of great importance to understand the reality of racial discrimination that Latinos face on a daily basis.

Racism

Racism has been defined as “beliefs, attitudes, institutional arrangements, and acts that tend to denigrate individuals or groups because of phenotypic characteristics or ethnic group affiliation” (Clark et al., 1999, p.805). These attitudes can be manifested as overt brutal acts of hatred. As example, in 1998, James Byrd Jr., a 49-year-old African American, was stripped naked, chained from his ankles to a pickup truck, and dragged over three miles until his head was decapitated (Rhor, 2008). The perpetrators of this extreme act of violence were found to be three white men. In 2008, Luis Eduardo Ramirez, a 25-year-old undocumented Mexican immigrant, was beaten to death by a group of white youth in Shenandoah, Pennsylvania (Rubinkam, 2008). While

these horrendous doings are significant in of themselves, they only account for “a small fraction of the oppression and harm that people of color experience” (Sue, 2005, p. 107). Racism also involves a number of subtle behaviors, many of which the perpetrators may not perceive as being racist (Ridley, 1995). Racism, “like a virus, ... has mutated... and evolved into different forms that are more difficult not only to recognize but also to combat” (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998, p. 25). Contemporary forms of racism are justified by the perpetrators on the basis of factors other than race (Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami & Hodson, 2002). These types of subtle racism affect the lives of people of color in significant ways. The consequences being as destructive as those of traditional overt racism.

Microaggressions

In modern society, subtle forms of racism are known as *racial microaggressions*. These are defined as: “brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults toward people of color” (Sue, Capodilupo, et al., 2007, p. 271). These behaviors and attitudes are typically so subtle in form that they are overlooked or seen as innocent by both recipients and perpetrators. Perpetrators of microaggressions are often ignorant of the true effect of their behavior on race/ethnic minorities.

Sue, Capodilupo, et al. (2007) put forward a taxonomy of racial microaggressions with three forms: microassault, microinsult, and microinvalidation. Microassaults have been described as “explicit racial derogations” (p. 274) that are intended to be verbal or nonverbal attacks towards a person of color. They are typically more deliberate and

conscious in nature than other racial microaggressions. These actions are probably the closest to what has been termed as “old-fashioned racism”. Examples of microassaults include: using words such as “wetbacks” or “beaners” to label Latinos; having White parents forbid their children from dating Latinos; or refusing to serve a Latino.

Microinsults are acts or comments that communicate disrespect, are insensitive, and degrade the identity and heritage of people of color (Sue, Bucceri, Lin, Nadal, & Torino, 2007). A White person interviewing a candidate of color and telling him or her “I believe the most qualified person should get the job, regardless of race” or a worker being asked “How did you get your job?” are both representations of microaggressions (Sue, Capodilupo, et al. 2007). These two illustrations may be recognized as insinuating that people of color are not competent or that the only explanation for a person of color being in a position of power is through affirmative action or to meet a quota.

Microinvalidations are “actions that exclude, negate, or nullify the psychological thoughts, feelings, or experiences of people of color” (Sue, Capodilupo, Nadal, Lin, Torino, & Rivera, 2008, p. 331). Complimenting an African American for speaking English properly or asking a Latino/a “What side of the river were you born in?” can be classified as microinvalidations. Both of these statements convey a message that African Americans and Latinos are foreigners in their own countries. Sue, Bucceri, et al. (2007) explored microaggressions among Asian Americans. As example, when a Vietnamese American was told that “Asians are the new Whites” (p. 76). This account portrays how microinvalidations are capable of rejecting an individual’s experience with racism and denying his or her racial reality.

Microaggressions can result in a number of dilemmas for both people of color and White Americans. Sue, Capodilupo, et al. (2007) have described four of these psychological dilemmas and the need for everyone to understand them:

1. The realities and perceptions of people of color are drastically different from that of White Americans. Most White Americans believe that discrimination is decreasing, thus allowing people of color to live a better quality of life. More importantly, White Americans do not consider themselves to be racist or capable of performing racist acts. On the other hand, some people of color see White Americans as “racially insensitive... believing they are superior... and treating them poorly because of their race” (p. 277). They see these attributes as being carried out in their daily lives in the forms of microaggressions.

2. Microaggressions are invisible as “unintentional expressions of bias” (p. 277). This reality is what gives microaggressions the power “to hurt and oppress people of color” and makes their occurrence so difficult to prove (Sue et al., 2008, p. 331). White Americans view themselves as good, honest, and decent people. They support equality and democracy and would never act against these values. Yet, “social psychological research tends to confirm the existence of unconscious racial biases in well-intentioned White [Americans and explains], that nearly everyone born and raised in the United States inherits the racial biases of the society” (p. 278). To be more precise, while White Americans may not view their acts as racist, the most accurate assessment of such behavior is to be made by those disempowered rather than by those with power and privilege.

3. Microaggressions are thought to only cause minimal harm to people of color by White Americans. Microaggressions are seen as unintentional racial slip-ups and are believed to have minimal effects on people of color. On most occasions, when perpetrators are confronted with their microaggressive acts, they respond by telling the victim he or she has overreacted. White Americans see these events as minor and people of color are told they should just let things go. The truth of the matter is that microaggressions have “cumulative effects... that can be devastating” making this form of racism an important area of study (Solorzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000, p. 72).

4. When microaggressions occur the victim is frequently placed in a catch-22. People of color are forced to understand whether the incident they have experienced could be classified as a microaggression. People of color must rely on their past experiences to answer this question. The problem is that White Americans do not share these experiences and are unable to see their own behaviors as offensive. People of color must also decide how to react to the situation. If they choose to do nothing, they are left to deal “with [the] loss of integrity or [experience] pent-up anger and frustration [which are likely] to take psychological and physical tolls” (Sue, Capodilupo, et al., 2007, p. 279). If they opt for responding with anger and frustration, they must face accusations of being too sensitive or paranoid, or of reinforcing negative stereotypes about people of color.

There have only been a few studies measuring the effects of microaggressions on people of color. Sue et al. (2008) used a qualitative focus group analysis to study the emotional reactions of African Americans to experiences with microaggressions. They found that African Americans in academic settings felt their input was seen as

“worthless... (or)...lacking in intellectual substance” (p. 333) by White American professors and classmates. Participants also commented on feeling “like [they] were guilty of something... like [they were] a criminal” (p. 333) after being closely followed by security while shopping in department stores or the police while driving. Solorzano, Ceja, and Yosso (2000) also examined the impact of racial climate on the experiences of undergraduate African Americans and found they experienced self-doubt due to constant negative encounters with their professors. Others expressed feeling “drained” (p. 67) as a result of extreme scrutiny by White Americans. These individuals sensed their daily actions were relentlessly compared to stereotypes commonly held by White Americans.

Sue et al. (2008) suggest that while overt racism has been a significant factor in the lives of people of color, subtle forms of racism have also caused much distress among this population. They reported microaggressions as “[having] a harmful and lasting psychological impact that may endure for days, weeks, months, and even years” (p. 336). In their study, African Americans described feeling angry and frustrated during their encounters with microaggressions. Furthermore, the feeling of restlessness stayed with them as they attempted to make sense of each microaggressive episode. Solorzano, Ceja, and Yosso (2000) found the cumulative effects of microaggressions to be devastating in African American college students.

The concept of racial microaggressions has not been without its critics. While researchers have identified modern expressions of racism as microaggressions they have been unable to “suggest how racial microaggressions should be handled by minorities in an adaptive fashion” (Gasquoine, 2008, p. 57). Once a person of color has come to terms with categorizing an experience as a microaggression, it is unclear how they should

respond. If people of color confront the perpetrator, they will not only cause a painful situation, but accept the burden of having to educate people who may not see their actions as racist. On the other hand, if the microaggressor is not informed of the consequences of his actions, he will continue to cause distress to other people of color.

Implicit and Explicit Racial Discrimination

Individuals who commit subtle forms of racial discrimination are not overtly white supremacists but are typically “white Americans who possess strong egalitarian values and who believe that they are nonprejudiced” (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998, p. 5). Some research suggests that racial stereotypes exist implicitly in the actions of white individuals who explicitly deny such stereotypes (Devine, 1989; Greenwald & Banaji, 1995).

As illustration, Devine (1989) investigated how knowledge of stereotypes and personal beliefs were involved in reactions towards stereotyped groups. Her first study showed low-prejudice white undergraduate students were as knowledgeable of Black stereotypes as high-prejudice students. This suggested students who were aware of stereotypes do not necessarily act in prejudicial ways. Her second study identified the effects of automatic racial stereotypes in the evaluation of ambiguous behavior performed by a race-unspecified person. The procedure consisted of a brief visual presentation of words on a screen. Different word lists were shown to two experimental groups of white college students. For one group, 80% of the words were associated with African Americans (e.g., afro, slavery, lazy) and for the other only 20% of the words were associated. Participants were simply asked to indicate whether the word appeared on the left or right side of the screen. Following this task, participants were asked to read a

paragraph on a race-unspecified man and to evaluate his ambiguously hostile behaviors. Results showed students in the 80% African American priming list described the man as more hostile than students who were presented the 20% priming list. The priming list did not include any hostility-related trait words. These results were seen in students of low and high explicit prejudice. Thus, even for students who explicitly reported no “negative prejudices against Blacks, [the triggering] of stereotypes... if not consciously monitored, can ... produce effects that resemble prejudiced responses” (p. 12). In her third study, White undergraduate students were asked to list alternate names for African Americans. High-prejudice students reported more negative thoughts than low-prejudice students suggesting students with low prejudice were able to control inappropriate thoughts.

Gaertner and McLaughlin (1983) also examined racial stereotypes in high and low prejudice white undergraduate students. The experiment included the presentation of word pairs to participants followed by their decision of whether the pair was meaningful or not meaningful. The word pair consisted of a positively or negatively racially-related stereotype paired with a word indicating the concept of WHITES or BLACKS. Participants responded significantly faster when positive characteristic words were paired with WHITES than when they were paired with BLACKS. Students also responded faster to the association between BLACKS and negative attributes than the association between BLACKS and positive attributes. These results were observed in both high and low explicit prejudice students. These findings were interpreted to show the existence of implicit racial stereotypes in explicitly low prejudice students.

Dovidio, Kawakami, Johnson, Johnson, and Howard (1997) found similar results in an assessment of implicit racial attitudes in White undergraduate students. Participant

reaction times were significantly faster when negative trait words were followed by Black rather than White face primes and vice versa. These results were found among students with both low and high explicit prejudice ratings on self-report measures assessing old-fashioned and contemporary forms of racism.

These studies suggest that negative racial stereotypes may exist outside an individual's level of awareness even in people who consider themselves as being nonprejudiced. While this may be true, it does not imply that individuals are not responsible for their own actions towards people of color. In fact, this theory states that individuals must be vigilant of any contradictions between their attitudes and behavior. By taking the time to replace automatic negative racial stereotypes with egalitarian beliefs, individuals will respond to situations in nonprejudiced ways.

CHAPTER 2

RELIGION AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

Religion is an “organized system of faith, rituals, and traditions involved in the worship of a higher being” (Gasquoine, 2008, p. 104). This description of religion classifies it as being synonymous with institutions of the major world denominations. On the other hand, Pargament (2002) defines religion as a “search for significance in ways related to the sacred” (p. 240). This definition characterizes religion as being more personal and intimate.

Studies have focused on the role of religion and its effects on racial discrimination. Edgell and Tranby (2007) looked at the influence of religion on the racial attitudes of Anglos, African, and Hispanics Americans. Using bivariate logistic regression analysis, they found that religious involvement among Anglo religious conservatives is significant and negatively correlated to “believing that prejudice and discrimination is an important explanation for African American disadvantage” (p. 273). Furthermore, it was observed that increased levels of religious involvement were linked to a decrease in beliefs that laws and institutions or lack of access to good schools and social connections are an explanation for African American inequality. On the other hand, African American and Latino/as explanations for racial inequality differed from those of Anglos. An increase in orthodox religious beliefs among African Americans increased the likelihood of believing that institutions and laws are a stumbling block to

equality. The same effects were seen among Latino/a Catholics. In addition, increased levels of religious orthodoxy among African Americans also increase the odds of seeing lack of access to good schools and social networks as an explanation for their hardships. African American churches were a voice during the Civil Rights movement and the Catholic Church has been an advocate for immigrant rights. Their histories show they have had a powerful role in shaping racial attitudes among its followers.

Bierman (2006) evaluated the ability of religion to protect people from the effects of racial discrimination on their mental health. This study used negative and positive affect as variables that measured mental health among Anglos and African Americans. It was found that religious involvement moderated the effects of discrimination on negative affect. While religious involvement did not buffer the effects for positive affect, it was able to protect participants from the most harmful effects of racial discrimination, the power “to make people feel sad and hopeless” (p. 559). Moreover, these effects took place only among those who participated in religious services and was present for African Americans, but not Anglo Americans. These findings show how crucial religion is in reducing the harmful effects of discrimination among African Americans.

Spirituality and Racial Discrimination

There are a number of definitions that have been used to describe spirituality. Tanyi (2002) defined spirituality as a “personal search for meaning and purpose in life, which may or may not be related to religion” (p. 506). According to this explanation, people’s convictions and values are what encourage them to reach their optimal being. Spirituality has also been defined as “an individual’s belief in the sacred and transcendent

nature of life, and the manifestation of these beliefs in a sense of connectedness with others and in a quest for goodness” (Mattis, 2002, p. 310).

While the definitions for spirituality and religion are distinct, researchers have recognized them as overlapping experiences. Pargament (1999) has considered “spirituality [as being] the heart and soul of religion (p. 13). In this definition, religion is a broadband concept that searches for “many objects of significance” as opposed to spirituality that “[searches] for one particular object of significance.” Hill, Pargament, Hood, McCullough, Sweyers and Larson (2000) also support the notion that spirituality “is a central and essential function of religion... therefore can (and often do) co-occur” (p. 70). On the other hand, although religion and spirituality have similarities, there are significant differences, “spirituality can exist without religion and religion can exist without spirituality” (Farley, 2007. p. 3).

Researchers have been interested in the role of spirituality as a coping mechanism for perceived racism. Mattis (2002) examined the relationship between religion, spirituality, coping, and meaning-making among African American women. Qualitative analysis found 70 percent of women recognized religion and spirituality as motivational forces that helped them face reality and granted them the means to accept reality. This study also showed 57% of participants as undergoing “spiritual surrendering” (p. 313) when they were uncertain of how to cope with life’s adversities. According to results, 48% of individuals indicated spirituality as bringing to light the boundaries of their capabilities and the transcendence of those boundaries. A few of the participants described spirituality and religion as factors that allowed them to confront and surpass boundaries created by racism, classism and sexism. Mattis, Fontenot, and Hatcher-Kay

(2003) observed the relationship between social support, exposure to everyday racism, religiosity, spirituality, and dispositional optimism in African Americans. Results showed that individuals who experienced daily forms of racism, even if only at minimal levels, reported lower levels of optimism. On the other hand, subjective spirituality was positively and significantly correlated with optimism. It was suggested that individuals who want to instill a sense of hope among this community must help individuals nurture a relationship with God, but must be aware that “discriminatory social practices (e.g. racism) will likely erode efforts to cultivate [optimism]” (p. 1036).

Studies have also examined the effects of spirituality on African American women in the workplace. Black women must meet the challenge of working in a White and male dominated work environment. Faced with the realities of earning less than their white counterparts or of being disregarded for leadership positions, African American women have looked towards spirituality to manage these stresses. Bacchus and Holley (2004) studied the function of spirituality among professional Black women. Using qualitative analysis, it was found that spirituality performed several functions as a coping mechanism when dealing with work-related stress. In particular, spirituality served as: protection from environmental stressors, strength to confront difficult situations, guidance and decision-making, and as an appraisal tool to determine the severity of a situation. Furthermore, participants indicated that prayer and meditation allowed them to overcome adversity and became a “strategy for confronting and accepting reality, rather than for surrendering to oppression or escaping from reality” (p. 80). Harris-Robinson (2006) found working-class African Women used different types of coping patterns as a way to handle stress. Findings showed that while women used spiritual-focused,

cognitive-focused, and emotion-focused coping processes, only spiritual-focused and cognitive-focused coping were used most frequently. Moreover, of these two, spiritual-focused coping was indicated to be most helpful.

Studies have also found spirituality to be a coping mechanism for dealing with domestic violence (Watlington & Murphy, 2006), chronic illness (Bullock, McGraw, Blank & Bradley, 2005; Harvey, 2006), or death of a loved one (Born, Greiner, Sylvia, Butler & Ahluwalia, 2004). On the other hand, it has been proven that spirituality does not only help individuals cope with hardships, but also increases positive characteristics such as improving quality of life (Utsey, Bolden, Williams, Lee, Lanier, & Newsome, 2007; Yoon & Lee, 2004) and psychological well-being (Lumadue & Wooten, 2007).

Mennonite Religion

Mennonites are a Christian group whose roots reside in the reformation of the 16th century (Francis, 1948). The Reformation was a movement calling for an end to corruption in the Catholic Church (Dyck, 1993) that began when Martin Luther's posted 95 theses on the front door of a church in 1517. Although many religious reformers agreed with Luther that the Catholic Church needed to change, some saw his work as not going far enough. These more radical reformers believed baptism should be administered to individuals as adults (rather than children) after they had made a confession of faith (Francis, 1948). This group came to be known as *Anabaptists* from the Greek meaning re-baptizers (Gray, 2003). They felt "true Christians had to separate themselves from a sinful world" (p. 8). This belief led them to advocate for the separation of church and state and to refuse the swearing of oaths and participation in military service. These ideas resulted in Anabaptists being persecuted and prevented from coming together and

“establishing any church organizations on a larger scale or to form an integrated body of common beliefs and religious practices” (Francis, 1948, p. 103).

Menno Simons was a Catholic priest who converted to the Anabaptist cause in 1536 (Spitz, 1985). His problems with the Catholic Church began with his disagreement over the Church’s interpretation that Christ’s blood and flesh was truly present in the bread and wine used in mass (Dyck, 1993) and later extended to the Church’s doctrine of baptizing infants. He rescued the Dutch Anabaptist movement from disintegration and as a result of his leadership, individuals in this movement came to be known as *Menists*, or *Mennonists*, and eventually *Mennonites*.

One of the most distinct characteristics that sets Mennonites apart from other religious groups is their stand on peace, justice, and nonresistance (Mennonite Church USA, 1995). Mennonites believe that peace is God’s will. For this reason they do not participate in war or military service. As Disciples of Christ, they are to make peace and seek justice. In such a way, they stand against all manifestations of violence including war between nations, abuse of individuals, capital punishment and hostility among races.

The Mennonite Church has a history of speaking out against racial discrimination. In 1955, Mennonite General Conference adopted the statement *The Way of Christian Love in Race Relations*. In this declaration, the Mennonite Church singled out prejudice as a force of evil that Christians practice. The confession of faith asks Mennonites to decline any participation in warfare and in the same manner to discontinue the practice of racial discrimination. Most importantly, this decree identifies racial prejudice and discrimination as a sin. As a sin, Christians who practice discrimination scar their soul. Furthermore, they violate “the central Christian message of redemption and love and thus

[discredit] before the whole world the Christian church and the Gospel which it proclaims” (The Consequences of the Sin section, para. 7).

Fourteen years later, in acknowledgement of the increasing crisis and tension engendered by the Civil Rights Movement, Mennonite General Conference (1969) reaffirmed their 1955 statement. In their resolution, called *Black Manifesto*, the Mennonite Church committed itself to battle prejudice and discrimination against African Americans. It instructed members to take personal action by employing African Americans in church-related agencies, becoming more educated in black heritage, and developing programs that assist people of color. In 1989, the Mennonite Church again denounced racism. In *A Church of Many Peoples Confronts Racism*, any demonstrations and attitudes of racism were denounced as being sinful with no place in Christian life. It also encouraged congregations to speak out against all types of racism, including subtle forms, within their communities.

Today, the Mennonite Church in the United States has about 109,000 members in 44 states (Mennonite Church USA, 2009). Mennonite World Conference (2009) represents Mennonite and Brethren in Christ churches from 53 countries. The conference has close to 1, 5000,000 members of which 60% are African, Asian or Latin American.

CHAPTER III

PSYCHOLOGICAL VARIABLES AFFECTING PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION

Locus of Control

The psychological construct of locus of control has been studied for several decades. Locus of control is “from the viewpoint of the individual, the motivating force that leads him/her to act in a determined manner” (Lever, Piñol & Uralde, 2005, p. 380). Locus of control can be internal or external. Individuals with an internal locus of control believe that their actions are “contingent on their own behavior or personal characteristics” (Rotter, 1990, p. 489). Individuals with an external locus of control believe that their actions are a “function of chance, luck, or fate, [or that they are] under the control of powerful others” (p. 489). Although researchers may label individuals as “internalizers” or “externalizers”, it is better viewed as a continuum.

Research has linked internal locus of control to positive stress management from migration and unemployment. Young (2001) found that for recent Salvadoran refugees, internal locus of control buffered the effects of stress due to migration. As “internalizers” maintained their quality of life after migration, the quality of life for “externalizers” dropped. The same was true for life satisfaction. Overall, it was perceived that “having an internal locus of control [was an] important [resource] in dealing with the loss of homeland and culture shock” (p. 858). Van der Merwe and Greeff (2003) looked at different coping mechanisms in unemployed African men and their ability to deal with

stressful life events. Out of several psychological coping resources that were examined, internal locus of control was the only factor that minimized the effects of stressful life events.

Internal locus of control has also been associated with having a greater will power and being more trusting, imaginative, sociable, and secure (Bledsoe, 1979). Furthermore, internal locus of control has been connected to receiving higher scores on achievement tests (Cadinu, Maass, Lombardo & Fregerio, 2006) and to self-efficacy (Phillips & Gully, 1997).

On the other hand, external locus of control has been related to several negative personality characteristics. Goodman, Cooley, Sewell, and Leavitt (1994) examined the relationship between locus of control and self-esteem in depressed, schizophrenic, and well low-income African American women. Their results demonstrated a significant correlation between greater emotional disturbance and higher scores on externality. Mirowsky and Ross (1984) found similar results in Mexican nationals and Mexican Americans, maintaining that external locus of control increases depression. In addition, individuals with an external locus of control have been described as more suspicious, more anxious, more apprehensive, and more easily upset (Bledsoe 1979; Rotter, 1971).

Although studies have made it appear “that all good things are characteristics of internals and all bad things are characteristic of externals” (Rotter, 1975, p. 60), this assumption has been explained from a different point of view by several researchers. Wade (1996) suggests that externality may not signify being psychologically unhealthy, but rather may represent being interdependent with others. Externality has also been described by Mirowsky and Ross (1984) as not being “pathological in itself, (p. 10) ... but

[being rather] a reflection of the reality that persons [of lower socioeconomic status] face” (p. 11). Furthermore, Twenge, Zhang, and Im (2004) assert that the increase of individualism in the “American culture has led people to believe that there is little they can do to change the larger world” (p. 315).

People of color have generally been found to have an external locus of control (Battle & Rotter, 1963; Gaa & Shores, 1979; Moneta, Schneider, & Csikszentmihalyi, 2001; Twenge, Zhang, & Im, 2004; Wade, 1996), but there are exceptions (Buriel & Rivera, 1980; Gaa, Williams, & Johnson, 1981; Santiago & Tarantino, 2002).

Locus of Control and Racial Discrimination

External locus of control has been associated with racial discrimination. Valentine, Silver and Twigg (1999) looked at the relationship between racial discrimination, locus of control, job satisfaction, and job complexity. Respondents who described greater levels of racial discrimination also reported greater levels of externality and “tended to feel they were less in control of their lives” (p. 1271). Turner and Turner (1975) also found that individuals who were most aware of discrimination against women in occupational settings were significantly more external in comparison to “those least aware of it [who] were characterized [by a] high internal locus of control” (p. 357).

Locus of control has not been the only psychological construct that has been used to measure the sense of controlling one’s life. Researchers have also used mastery, personal control, and a sense of personal efficacy to measure the different elements that fall under this idea (Mirowsky & Ross, 1984; Bruce & Thornton, 2004). Of importance is the fact that these concepts have also been related directly and indirectly to racial discrimination. Shorey, Cowan, and Sullivan (2002) aimed to study personal and group

discrimination, self-esteem, control, individualism/collectivism and social dominance orientation among Latino/as and Anglo Americans. Results revealed that Latino/as who felt they were less in control were more likely to perceive discrimination. In contrast, “Hispanics with higher personal and interpersonal control were less likely to make attributions to discrimination and less likely to perceive personal discrimination” (p. 18). Moradi and Risco (2006) obtained similar results. There was a positive correlation between perceived discrimination and having a lower sense of control among Latinos. Jang, Chiriboga, and Small (2008) analyzed the relationship between perceived discrimination and psychological well-being, with a particular focus on sense of control. Sense of control in this study was seen as the degree to which an individual believes he or she has personal power and control over his or her life or environment. It was observed that the effects of discrimination were more significant on individuals with a lower sense of control while those with a higher sense of control were less impacted by discrimination. The authors propose that having a strong sense of control shelters a person from the harmful effects of discriminatory experiences. Phinney, Madden, and Santos (1998) findings support this notion. They showed that people of color with a sense of mastery over their lives perceived less discrimination.

Acculturation

Acculturation has been described as the “process whereby immigrants change their behavior and attitudes toward those of the host society” (Rogler, Cortes, & Malgady, 1991, p. 585). It has also been defined as a “dual process of cultural and psychological change... as a result of contact between two or more cultural groups and their individual members” (Berry, 2005, p. 698). Acculturation is characterized by an

adjustment to a foreign culture, learning a new language, leaving behind family and friends, and facing discrimination (Fuentes & Westbrook, 1996). The amount of time this process takes is debated. Mirsky and Kaushinsky (1989) state that acculturation extends for a brief period of time, usually three to four years. On the other hand, Corsini (1987) claims the acculturation process affects an individual over his or her entire life span.

The acculturative process for Latino/as begins with the initial step of leaving his/her home country (Kopala & Esquivel, 1994). People leave the life they know for a variety of reasons. Immigration can be voluntary or involuntary. Involuntary immigrants, or refugees, flee their country of origin to escape political or religious persecution or social unrest (Navarro, 2009). Individuals may also voluntarily decide to immigrate to provide a better life for their family. Latino/a immigrants, who are mostly unskilled, and have limited education, decide to make the trip to *el norte* (Partida, 1996). Generally, family providers make the initial journey and return after earning enough income to alleviate the financial crisis back home, but harsh anti-immigrant sentiments and laws have made the process of movement in and out of the United States risky. These obstacles eventually force immigrants to find permanent employment and lay the ground work for other family members to migrate.

Acculturation and its effects on families have been documented in scholarly and psychological literature. Depending on an individual's age and gender, the effects present themselves in different manners. As children acquire a new language, they inadvertently become the primary possessors of power, status, and dominion (Weisskirch & Alva, 2002). Since children are often able to learn the new language more easily than their parents, they become interpreters and are the only connection between their parents

and the host country. Parents soon begin to realize their dependency on their children, and children soon begin to realize their authority over parents. With time, “the parent’s lack of knowledge of the English language [becomes] a source of shame, ignorance and humiliation” (Partida, 1996, p. 246).

Acculturation is also known to cause greater changes in the gender role of women than those experienced by men (Espin, 1987). In some cases, women embrace the egalitarian role expectations of the host country (Bang, Hall, Anderson, & Winningham, 2005). With no hesitation, they become part of a well-paid and opportunity-filled society. In other cases, women hold on tightly to the traditional roles that are of utmost importance in their lives.

Berry (1997) has proposed a two-factor model of acculturation whereby adoption of host country values is independent of the maintenance of traditional values. There are four acculturation strategies that are developed from these two factors: assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization. Assimilation is the abandonment of one’s traditional culture and the adoption of the dominant culture (Berry, 2003). Separation occurs when an individual clings tightly to his or her traditional culture and avoids adoption of the dominant culture. The midpoint between assimilation and separation is the strategy known as integration. Integration has been described as maintaining contact with people and practices of one’s traditional culture while simultaneously connecting with individuals of the dominant society. Individuals who have “little interest in cultural maintenance and little interest in having relationships with others” (Berry, 2003, p. 24) choose the path of marginalization.

Acculturation and Racial Discrimination

An individual's level of acculturation is known to affect his or her experiences with discrimination. Perez, Fortuna, and Alegria (2008) assessed discrimination and sociodemographic, socioeconomic, and cultural variables among Latino/as. Their results demonstrated that Latino/as with a weaker sense of ethnic identity were more likely to report discrimination. In addition, it was observed that individuals who had the most exposure to American culture described greater instances of discrimination. Furthermore, individuals who spoke English had twice as many incidents of everyday discrimination than individuals who spoke Spanish. These findings suggest that as Latino/as "become more [acculturated], they have a greater sensitivity to discrimination compared to their less acculturated counterparts" (p. 427). With more information about America, Latino/as become "more critical ...of U.S. society and of perceptions of discrimination against their own ethnic group" (Portes, Parker, & Cobas, 1980, p. 211). They also indicate that Latino/as with a lower acculturation level may expect unfair treatment and thus are not as susceptible to perceived discrimination.

Dawson (2009) explored the impact of discriminatory experiences on stress levels among low acculturated Dominican immigrants. Low acculturation moderated the negative effects of everyday discrimination on stress levels. These findings demonstrate that maintaining ties with traditional culture can be "beneficial and [provides] individuals with culturally based protective factors against stressful events such as discrimination" (p. 105). This viewpoint was also shared by participants in Carranza (2007). This qualitative study aimed to understand the approaches that mothers took to help their daughters face discrimination during immigration from El Salvador to Canada. From

interviews, it was found that mothers encouraged their daughters to maintain their ethnic roots and to speak the Spanish language. According to these women, such resources will help their children “stand strong in spite of the negative stereotypes and anti-immigrant sentiment that [persists] among some Canadian people” (p. 393). Gee (2002) found Chinese Americans who described greater incidents of discrimination were significantly more acculturated in comparison to those who made no such claims.

Not all investigations have found an association between these two variables. Chimata, Jason, Taylor and Torres-Harding (2006) looked at the relationship between chronic fatigue, acculturation, and racism among Hispanic and African Americans. Their results showed there was no relationship between an individual’s acculturation level and his or her perception of racism. Similarly, Finch, Kolody, and Vega (2000) found individuals of Mexican origin who were born in Mexico experienced greater discrimination than those born in the U.S.

Skin Tone

People of color face discrimination, yet “the intensity of that discrimination, the frequency, and the outcomes of that discrimination will differ dramatically by skin tone” (Hunter, 2007, p. 238). Discrimination against dark-skinned individuals but not light-skinned individuals has been defined as colorism (Banks, 2000). For Latino/as, the birth of colorism was in European colonialism (Hunter, 2007). This system positioned light-skinned Spaniards in a place of power and granted them resources, “while darker-skinned Indians were oppressed, disposed of their land, and rendered powerless” (p. 239). While this may seem like only part of history, the remnants of these acts are seen today and continue to perpetuate these ideologies.

Skin Tone and Racial Discrimination

Years after the Civil Rights movement, it is evident that skin tone still plays a major role in the discrimination of people of color. The impact of skin tone on an individual's life chances has been studied by a number of researchers (Goldsmith, Hamilton, & Darty 2006; Hunter, 1998; Hughes & Hertel, 1990). In these studies, light-skinned African Americans were seen to have a substantial advantage over dark-skinned African Americans on wages, education, and occupational prestige. In particular, it was observed that the gap "for education and occupation, the skin color difference, comparing dark to light, is nearly identical to the race difference, comparing black to white" (Hughes & Herter, 1990, p. 1112). These findings demonstrate that years after the outlawing of racial discrimination, skin tone still provides power and privilege to those of lighter skin. Light-skinned individuals have also been seen to have an advantage over dark-skinned individuals in job selection where it has been shown that "darker skinned Blacks [with] more educational background, prior work experience, and perceived competence [will] still not be as highly recommended or more likely to be hired [than] someone with lighter skin and noticeably less skill" (Harrison & Thomas, 2009, p. 155). Unfortunately, it seems that obtaining an education these days is of minimal help if you are of a darker complexion.

The question of color has been one of the most troublesome issues among Latino/as (Comas-Diaz, 1997). While the majority of scholarly work on skin tone has focused on African Americans, its impact has been equally harmful among the Latino community. Gomez (2000) found that "dark skin continues to have a negative impact on earnings... and continues to be significant and negative for Latinos" (p. 98). Mason

(2004) discovered that native-born, very-light skin-color Mexican Americans earn over four thousand dollars more than their darker counterparts. In Hersch's (2008) study with recent documented immigrants, the difference in earnings for light-skinned individuals was on average 17% more than earnings for dark-skinned individuals of similar educational background. This discrepancy has not only been seen in earnings but includes occupational prestige as well (Espino & Franz, 2002).

The amount of schooling an individual receives is also influenced by skin tone. This form of discrimination has not only affected single individuals but its impact persists over generations (Arce, Murguia, & Frisbie, 1987). A significant difference in education attainment between light-skinned Mexican Americans and medium- and dark-skinned Mexican Americans has been reported. For light-skinned Mexican Americans, a lighter complexion may not help them "pass as Anglos in classrooms, [but] may [make] it easier to defuse the negative stereotypes that have historically been associated with being Mexican in the United States" (Murguia & Telles, 1996, p. 287).

Study Hypotheses

Taking previous research into consideration, the hypotheses are the following:

- I. Spirituality is hypothesized to reduce the association between the number of self-reported instances of racial discrimination in the last year and skin tone, locus of control, and acculturation.
- II. Spirituality is hypothesized to reduce the association between the number of self-reported instances of racial discrimination over a life time and skin tone, locus of control, and acculturation.

- III. Spirituality is hypothesized to reduce the association between the perceived stressfulness of self-reported instances of racial discrimination and skin tone, locus of control, and acculturation.
- IV. High acculturation individuals will report more instances of racial discrimination and more related stress than low acculturation individuals.
- V. Dark-skinned Latino/as (as measured by skin tone) will report more instances of racial discrimination and greater related stress than light-skinned Latino/as.
- VI. Individuals with external locus of control will report more instances of racial discrimination and greater related stress than those with internal locus of control.

CHAPTER III

METHODS

Participants

Inclusion criteria for this study were: (a) Latino descent; (b) active participants in Mennonite Church; (c) age > 18 years. Eighty nine Latino/a adult members of the Mennonite church in the Rio Grande Valley of Texas volunteered to participate in this study. There were 60 females and 29 males. Ages ranged from 19 to 81 years ($M = 46.1$; $SD = 15.2$). Participants were born in Mexico (48), El Salvador (4), and the United States (37). Those born in the United States were all of Mexican origin. Participants born in Mexico had lived in the United States from 1 to 66 years ($M = 26.5$; $SD = 17.1$). Participants indicated their dominant language as being Spanish (45), English (9), and or both (32).

Years of education ranged from 0 to 20 ($M = 10.2$; $SD = 4.5$). Most participants received their education in the United States (47) or Mexico (35). Other participants received their education from El Salvador (2) or split their education between Mexico/United States (2) and El Salvador/United States (2). Only one individual reported having no formal education. Of the participants, 63 reported a household income of less than \$30,000; 16 were between \$31,000 and \$60,000; and 10 earned more than \$60,000. Reported occupations for the sample were placed into three

categories: professional (27); laborer (22); or unemployed (37). Three people did not report their occupations.

Measures

Inventories that were not available in Spanish were translated from their original English form into Spanish by standard back translation techniques.

The following measures were used:

1. Perceived Racism: The Schedule of Racist Events (SRE) (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996) is an 18-item likert inventory that was modified for use with Latino/as by substitution of the term “Black” to “Hispanic”. Participants respond to each of the 18 items three times: (a) frequency of the event in the past year (1 = *the event never happened* to 6 = *the event happened almost all of the time*); (b) frequency of the event in the respondent’s entire life (1 = *the event never happened* to 6 = *the event happened almost all of the time*); and (c) perceived stressfulness of the event (1 = *not at all* to 6 = *extremely*). Each item assesses discrimination in different arenas (e.g., work, public places, school). The sum of these ratings produces the three subscales of: *Recent Discrimination* (range = 18 - 108); *Lifetime Discrimination* (range = 18 - 108); and *Appraised Discrimination* (range = 17 - 102). Internal consistency reliability for the three subscales are .95 for Recent Discrimination, .95 for Lifetime Discrimination, and .94 for Appraised Discrimination.

2. Spirituality: The Intrinsic Spirituality Scale (Hodge, 2003) is a 6 item scale used to assess the degree to which spirituality functions as an individual’s master motive for both within and outside of religious frameworks. An incomplete sentence fragment is provided, followed by two phrases that are linked to a scale ranging from 0 to 10. The 0

to 10 range provides participants with a continuum on which to respond, with 0 corresponding to the absence or zero amount of the attribute, while 10 corresponds to the maximum amount of the attribute. Scores range from 0 (low) to 60 (high). Internal consistency reliability for this scale is $\alpha = .96$.

3. Acculturation: The short version of the revised Acculturation Scale for Mexican Americans-II (Cuellar, Arnold, & Maldonado, 1995; Appendix E) consists of 12 items, six with an Anglo orientation (e.g., "My thinking is done in the English language") and six with a Mexican orientation (e.g., "My thinking is done in the Spanish language"). Participants respond to items using 5-point likert-type scales (1 = *not at all*; 5 = *extremely often or almost always*). An acculturation score is obtained from each participant by subtracting the Mexican orientation items total from the Anglo orientation items total and dividing by six. Scores range from -4.17 to +4.17. Negative scores reflect a Mexican orientation and positive scores reflect an Anglo orientation. Internal consistency reliability for the overall scale is $\alpha = .87$.

4. Skin tone: Skin tone was assessed using the Pocket Detective 2.1 Window F & R Reflectance/Tint Meter. The window tint meter is placed against the medial portion of the upper arm (a surface typically not exposed to the sun) and shines a harmless light onto the skin. It then gives a reading that measures the amount of light reflecting back from the skin. Low values (low reflectance) are indicative of dark skin tone while high values (high reflectance) are indicative of light skin tone.

5. Locus of Control: Rotter's Internal-External Locus of Control scale (Rotter, 1966) is a 29 item, 2 option inventory. This questionnaire assesses the extent to which individuals believe that outcomes are influenced by their own behavior rather than chance

or fate. Scores range from 0 to 23. Low scores (0 to 11) indicate an internal locus of control while high scores (12-23) indicate an external locus of control. Internal consistency reliability for this scale is $\alpha = .71$.

Procedure

Each church pastor from the four Mennonite Churches of the Rio Grande Valley of Texas was contacted by the principal investigator to explain the purpose of the study and to make arrangements to visit with the congregation. The day of data collection, the pastor welcomed the principal investigator and her research assistant and introduced them to the members of the congregation. The principal investigator then read a recruitment script (Appendix C) in both English and Spanish that explained the purpose of the study to church members and informed individuals of the voluntary nature of their participation. Time was then given to answer any questions (there were none).

Collection of all data occurred during adult Sunday school class and prayer services. Church members who agreed to participate were asked to sign a consent form (Appendix B) and were instructed to fill out demographics form (Appendix D) and questionnaires. Individuals were able to select from English or Spanish translations of materials depending on their own language preference. Informed consent forms were collected separately from response sheets to prevent participants from being identified. Skin tone was then measured as the individuals completed the pencil and paper measures. Special accommodations were made for individuals who did not have a sixth grade reading level that consisted of an assigned bilingual individual who read the items aloud and recorded responses.

The following data were missing: perceived racial discrimination in last year (1), perceived racial discrimination over a life time (1), perceived stressfulness of racial discrimination (1), spirituality (6), acculturation (3), skin tone (1), and locus of control (1). Nine participants who had any missing data were excluded from multiple regression analysis.

For each multivariate analysis of variance, group scores were trichotomized and the top third was compared with the bottom third. Specifically: (a) the bottom third on Rotter's Internal-External Locus of Control scale were labeled as the internal group and the top third were labeled as the external group; (b) the bottom third on the short version of the revised Acculturation Scale for Mexican Americans-II were labeled as the low acculturation group and the top third were labeled as the high acculturation group; and (c) the bottom third lowest scores obtained from the tint meter were labeled as the dark-skinned Latino/a group and those with the third highest scores were labeled as the light-skinned Latino/a group.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Preliminary Analyses

Descriptive Statistics

Table 1 (Appendix A) presents the mean, standard deviation, and range for: perceived racial discrimination in the last year (SRE recent), perceived racial discrimination over a life time (SRE lifetime), perceived stressfulness of racial discrimination (SRE appraised) from the Schedule of Racist Events for this sample and for the original sample of African Americans used in the development of the Schedule of Racist Events scale (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996); spirituality from the Intrinsic Spirituality Scale; acculturation from the short version of the revised Acculturation Scale for Mexican Americans-II; skin tone from the tint meter; and locus of control from Rotter's Internal-External Locus of Control scale.

Perceived racial discrimination in the last year for Latino/a Mennonites ($M = 27.14$, $SD = 12.01$) was significantly less than that reported by the original sample of African Americans ($M = 40.99$, $SD = 19.82$) used in the development of the Schedule of Racist Events scale, $t(231) = -5.71$, $p < .05$. Perceived racial discrimination over a life time for Latino/a Mennonites ($M = 32.88$, $SD = 18.72$) was also significantly less than that reported by the original sample ($M = 53.93$, $SD = 21.99$) used in the development of the Schedule of Racist Events scale, $t(231) = -7.28$, $p < .05$. Perceived stressfulness of

racial discrimination for Latino/a Mennonites ($M = 33.98$, $SD = 20.64$) was also significantly less than that reported by the original sample ($M = 51.47$, $SD = 21.61$) used in the development of the Schedule of Racist Events scale, $t(231) = -5.97$, $p < .05$.

Correlational Analyses

Intercorrelations were computed among all study variables (see Table 2, Appendix A). Significant relationships were as follows: (a) negative between perceived racial discrimination in the last year and skin tone ($r = -.26$, $p < .05$); (b) positive between the number of years an individual has lived in the United States and reports of perceived discrimination over a life time ($r = .22$, $p < .05$); (c) positive between perceived racial discrimination in the last year and perceived racial discrimination over a life time ($r = .79$, $p < .01$); (d) positive between perceived racial discrimination in the last year and perceived stressfulness of racial discrimination ($r = .74$, $p < .01$); (e) positive between perceived racial discrimination over a life time and perceived stressfulness of racial discrimination ($r = .84$, $p < .01$); (f) positive between age and years living in the United States ($r = .66$, $p < .01$); (g) positive between age and spirituality ($r = .31$, $p < .01$); (h) negative between age and number of years of education ($r = -.37$, $p < .01$); (i) positive between years living in the United States and acculturation ($r = .34$, $p < .01$); and (j) positive between number of years of education and acculturation ($r = .51$, $p < .01$).

The analyses also found a marginally significant positive relationship between skin tone and acculturation ($r = .18$, $p < .10$) and a marginally significant negative relationship between locus of control and spirituality ($r = -.17$, $p < .10$).

Critical Analyses

Hypothesis I stated spirituality would reduce the association between the number of self-reported instances of racial discrimination in the last year and skin tone, locus of control, and acculturation. Multiple regression analysis was performed examining the predictors (locus of control, acculturation, skin tone, and spirituality) on racial discrimination in the last year (entered as a dependent variable). It was not significant, $F(4, 75) = 2.18, p = .08$.

Hypothesis II stated that spirituality would reduce the association between the number of self-reported instances of racial discrimination over a life time and skin tone, locus of control, and acculturation. Multiple regression analysis was performed examining the predictors (locus of control, acculturation, skin tone, and spirituality) on racial discrimination in over a lifetime (entered as a dependent variable). It was not significant, $F(4, 75) < 1, ns$.

Hypothesis III stated that spirituality would reduce the association between the perceived stressfulness of self-reported instances of racial discrimination and skin tone, locus of control, and acculturation. Multiple regression analysis was performed examining the predictors (locus of control, acculturation, skin tone, and spirituality) on perceived stressfulness of racial discrimination (entered as a dependent variable). It was not significant, $F(4, 75) < 1, ns$.

Hypothesis IV stated that highly acculturated individuals would report more instances of racial discrimination and more related stress than low acculturated individuals. To examine the effects of racial discrimination a 2 (instances of racial discrimination: perceived stressfulness of racial discrimination) X 2 (high acculturation:

low acculturation) multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was used. The mean (*SD*) for the high acculturation group was 1.24 (0.82) and for the low acculturation group it was -3.04 (0.64). The mean (*SD*) numbers of instances of racial discrimination lifetime for the high and low acculturation groups were 32.56 (19.0) and 28.74 (11.32), respectively. The mean (*SD*) amount of stress for the high and low acculturation groups was 36.07 (24.21) and 29.44 (15.43), respectively. There were no significant differences, $F(1, 52) < 1$, ns.

Hypothesis V stated dark-skinned Latino/as (as measured by skin tone) would report more instances of racial discrimination and greater related stress than light-skinned Latino/as. A two-group MANOVA was performed to analyze this difference. The mean (*SD*) for the light-skinned group was 6.73 (0.71) and for the dark-skinned group it was 3.87 (0.76). The mean (*SD*) numbers of instances of racial discrimination lifetime for the dark- and light-skinned groups were 35.11 (24.38) and 31.85 (14.19), respectively. The mean (*SD*) amount of stress for the dark- and light-skinned groups were 35.37 (23.17) and 34.85 (19.94), respectively. There were no significant differences, $F(1, 52) < 1$, ns. An ANOVA found a significant difference between the reported means of perceived racial discrimination in last year for dark- and light-skinned Latino/as, $F(1, 78) = 3.95$, $p = .05$.

Hypothesis VI predicted individuals with external locus of control would report more instances of racial discrimination and greater related stress than those with internal locus of control. A MANOVA was carried out to check for any differences. The mean (*SD*) for the external locus of control group was 12.33 (2.25) and for the internal locus of control group it was 5.67 (1.71). The mean (*SD*) numbers of instances of racial

discrimination lifetime for the external and internal groups were 30.85 (22.06) and 34.52 (15.23), respectively. The mean (*SD*) amount of stress for the external and internal groups were 31.81 (23.12) and 35.37 (18.91), respectively. There were no significant differences, $F(1, 52) < 1$, ns.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

The aim of this study was to assess the relationship between perceived racial discrimination in the last year, perceived racial discrimination over a life time, perceived stressfulness of racial discrimination, skin tone, locus of control and acculturation among Latino/a Mennonites of the Rio Grande Valley of Texas. The African American community has used spirituality as a coping mechanism for perceived racism (Mattis, 2002; Mattis, Fontenot, & Hatcher-Kay, 2003; Bacchus and Holley, 2004; Harris-Robinson, 2006). Based on this notion, it was expected that spirituality would do the following among Latino/a Mennonites: (a) reduce the association between the number of self-reported instances of racial discrimination in the last year and skin tone, locus of control, and acculturation (Hypothesis I); (b) reduce the association between the number of self-reported instances of racial discrimination over a life time and skin tone, locus of control, and acculturation (Hypothesis II); (c) reduce the association between the perceived stressfulness of self-reported instances of racial discrimination and skin tone, locus of control, and acculturation (Hypothesis III). The findings did not support these hypotheses.

The mean for self-reported instances of racial discrimination in the last year and over a lifetime by Latino/a Mennonites was significantly less than the mean seen in the sample used in the development of the Schedule of Racist Events scale (Landrine &

Klonoff, 1996). Furthermore, the mean for perceived stressfulness of racial discrimination reported by Latino/a Mennonites was also significantly smaller than that described by Landrine and Klonoff's sample. The nonsignificance for the hypotheses (Hypothesis I, II and III) could potentially be related to the low incidence of perceived racism among the Latino/a Mennonite community. While spirituality may indeed serve as a method to cope with racial discrimination, its effect may be to reduce the number of self-reported instances of racial discrimination in the last year and over a lifetime and to decrease the perceived stressfulness of racial discrimination. However, Perez, Fortuna, and Alegria (2008) also found self-reported racial discrimination to be less prevalent among Latino/as than African Americans.

It is also possible that the use of a likert-type inventory to assess spirituality may have minimized its possible effects on perceived racial discrimination. The majority of studies reporting the use of spirituality as a coping mechanism for racial discrimination have used interviews (Mattis, 2002) or open-ended questions (Bacchus and Holley, 2004; Harris-Robinson, 2006). The fact that individuals were not able to elaborate on the function of spirituality in their challenges of confronting racial discrimination may have limited current findings.

It was expected that high acculturation individuals would report more instances of perceived racial discrimination and more related stress than low acculturation individuals (Hypothesis IV). This hypothesis was not supported. This finding supported the study by Chimata, et al., (2006), but was contrary to the majority of previous studies (Carranza, 2007; Dawson, 2009; Perez, Fortuna & Alegria, 2008; Portes, Parker, & Cobas, 1980) that suggested highly acculturated Latino/as perceived greater instances of racial

discrimination than low acculturated Latino/as. A possible explanation could be that the study was carried out in a region of the United States where Latino/as are in the majority.

Hypothesis V was that dark-skinned Latino/as would report more instances of racial discrimination and greater related stress than light-skinned Latino/as. Correlational analysis showed the darker the skin tone among Latino/as the greater the self-reported incidents of perceived discrimination in the last year. ANOVA showed that dark-skinned Latino/as reported significantly more incidents of racial discrimination in the last year than light-skinned Latino/as. These results support previous findings indicating dark-skinned Latino/as experience greater instances of racial discrimination than light-skinned Latino/as (Arce, Murguia, & Frisbie, 1987; Comas-Diaz, 1997; Espino & Franz, 2002; Hersch's, 2008; Mason, 2004; Murguia & Telles, 1996). In the MANOVA when the perceived stress was added into analysis, the results were not significant so this hypothesis was partially supported.

It was anticipated that individuals with an external locus of control would report more instances of racial discrimination and greater related stress than those with an internal locus of control (Hypothesis VI). The findings did not indicate any significant differences. Obtained scores for locus of control did not support previous research suggesting that Latino/as generally have been found to have an external locus of control (Battle & Rotter, 1963; Gaa & Shores, 1979; Moneta, Schneider, & Csikszentmihalyi, 2001; Twenge, Zhang, & Im, 2004; Wade, 1996). One possible reason for this outcome can be that while Mennonites may credit God for what happens in their lives, the measure used to assess locus of control only provided chance, luck or fate as external forces influencing individuals' behavior. Another thing to consider is that the faith of

Mennonites may lead them to believe that through Christ, they are in control of their lives.

While the major research hypotheses were not significant, this study uncovered several significant correlations. Age was seen to have a positive correlation with the number of years living in the United States. While the majority of participants were born in Mexico, these findings suggest that they may have migrated early in life to the United States. Age was also found to be negatively correlated with years of education. This indicates that the older the individual, the less likely they were to be educated. Older participants in this study did not have the same educational opportunities as younger individuals. Older individuals were more spiritual than younger individuals. Spirituality has been used as a coping mechanism for chronic illness (Bullock, McGraw, Blank & Bradley, 2005; Harvey, 2006). The fact that health begins to decline with age may explain why older individuals may look to God, thus becoming more spiritual than younger individuals.

This investigation also found that the more years an individual has lived in the United States, the greater the reports are of instances of racial discrimination over a lifetime. It appears that the longer an individual lives in the United States, the greater the opportunities he/she has to experience racial discrimination. It was also seen that the longer an individual has lived in the United States, the higher his/her acculturation. This comes as no surprise since individuals who have lived for years in the United States have more time to adjustment to the foreign culture (Fuentes & Westbrook, 1996) and to adopt U.S. values as their own (Berry, 2003).

Education was positively correlated with perceived stressfulness of racial discrimination. These results are similar to those by Perez, Fortuna, and Alegria (2008), who found that higher education was positively associated to increased likelihood of perceived discrimination among Latinos. Individuals with more education may interact with non-Latinos in more diverse work settings. Contact with other cultures may contribute to perceiving incidents of racial discrimination as more stressful. Furthermore, highly educated Latinos may be more knowledgeable of racial discrimination in American culture, thus they may be more sensitive to its occurrence. Education was also positively correlated with acculturation. Individuals who have adopted the culture of the United States have also adopted its high value of education.

There are several limitations to this investigation. The sample size of this study was relatively small. Perhaps more pronounced effects would have been seen with a larger sample. Another limitation is that the findings of this investigation are confined to Mennonite Latino/as in the Rio Grande Valley. Mennonites make up only a very small percent of people living in the Rio Grande Valley thus the sample may not be representative of the population in this area. Lastly, this investigation took place in the Rio Grande Valley, a homogenous area where Latino/as predominate which could limit the generalizability of the findings.

REFERENCES

- Arce, C. H., Murguía, E., & Frisbie, W. P. (1987). Phenotype and life chances among Chicanos. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 9, 19-32.
- Bacchus, D. N. A., & Holley, L. C. (2004). Spirituality as a coping resource: The experiences of professional Black women. *Journal of Ethnic & Cultural Diversity in Social Work*, 13, 65-84.
- Bang, E., Hall, M. E. L., Anderson, T. L., & Winningham, M. M. (2005). Ethnicity, acculturation, and religiosity as predictors of female college students' role expectations. *Sex Roles*, 53, 231-237.
- Banks, T. L. (2000). Colorism: A darker shade of pale. *UCLA Law Review*, 47, 1705-1746.
- Battle, E. S., & Rotter, J. B. (1963). Children's feelings of personal control as related to social class and ethnic group. *Journal of Personality*, 31, 484-490.
- Berry, J. W. (2005). Acculturation: Living successfully in two cultures. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 29, 697-712.
- Berry, J. W. (2003). Conceptual approaches to acculturation. In K. M. Chun, P. B. Organista, & G. Marin (Eds.), *Acculturation: Advances in theory, measurement, and applied research* (pp. 15-37). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Berry, J. W. (1997). Immigration, acculturation and adaptation. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 46, 5-34.
- Bierman, A. (2006). Does religion buffer the effects of discrimination on mental health? Differing effects by race. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 45, 551-565.
- Bledsoe, J. C. (1979). Personality characteristics differentiating internal and external college women. *Journal of Psychology*, 103, 81-86.
- Born, W., Greiner, K. A., Sylvia, E., Bulter, J., & Ahluwalia, J. S. (2004). Knowledge, attitudes, and beliefs about end-of-life care among inner-city African Americans and Latinos. *Journal of Palliative Medicine*, 7, 247-256.
- Bruce, M. A., & Thornton, M. C. (2004). It's my world? Exploring Black and White

- perceptions of personal control. *Sociological Quarterly*, 45, 597-612.
- Bullock, K., McGraw, S. A., Blank, K., & Bradley, E. H. (2005). What matters to older African Americans facing end-of-life decisions? A focus group study. *Journal of Social Work in End-of-Life & Palliative Care*, 1, 3-19.
- Buriel, R., & Rivera, L. (1980). The relationship of locus of control to family income and familism among Anglo- and Mexican-American high school students. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 111, 27-34.
- Cadinu, M., Maass, A., Lombardo, M., & Frigerio, S. (2006). Stereotype threat: The moderating role of locus of control beliefs. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 36, 183-197.
- Carranza, M. E. (2007). Building resilience and resistance against racism and discrimination among Salvadorian female youth in Canada. *Child and Family Social Work*, 12, 390-398.
- Chimata, R. L., Jason, L. A., Taylor, R. R., & Torres-Harding, S. (2006). African-Americans and Latinos with chronic fatigue: Examining the role of acculturation status. *North American Journal of Psychology*, 8, 547-556.
- Clark, R., Anderson, N. B., Clark, V. R., & Williams, D. R. (1999). Racism as a stressor for African Americans: A biopsychosocial model. *American Psychologist*, 54, 805-816.
- Comas-Diaz, L. (1997). Mental health needs of Latinos with professional status. In J. G. Garica & M. C. Zea (Eds.), *Psychological interventions and research with Latino populations* (p. 142-165). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Corsini, R. J. (Ed.). (1987). *Concise encyclopedia of psychology*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Cuellar, I., Arnold, B., & Maldonado, R. (1995). Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans-II: A revision of the original ARSMA Scale. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 17, 275-304.
- Dawson, B. A. (2009). Discrimination, stress, and acculturation among Dominican immigrant women. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 31, 96-111.
- Devine, P. C. (1989). Stereotypes and prejudice: Their automatic and controlled components. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 56, 5-18.
- Dovidio, J. F., & Gaertner, S. L. (1998). On the nature of contemporary prejudice: The causes, consequences, and challenges of aversive racism. In J. L. Eberhardt & S. T. Fiske (Eds.), *Confronting racism: The problem and the response* (pp. 3-32). Newbury

- Park, CA: Sage.
- Dovidio, J. F., Gaertner, S. L., Kawakami, K., & Hodson, G. (2002). Why can't we just get along? Interpersonal biases and interracial distrust. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 8*, 88-102.
- Dovidio, J. F., Kawakami, K., Johnson, C., Johnson, B., & Howard, A. (1997). On the nature of prejudice: Automatic and controlled processes. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 33*, 510-540.
- Dyck, C. J. (1993). *An introduction to Mennonite history: A popular history of the Anabaptists and the Mennonites*. Scottdale, PA: Herald Press.
- Edgell, P., & Tranby, E. (2007). Religious influences on understandings of racial inequality in the United States. *Social Problems, 54*, 263-288.
- Espin, O. M. (1987). Psychological impact of migration on Latinas. Implication for psychotherapeutic practice. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 11*, 489-503.
- Espino, R., & Franz, M. M. (2002). Latino phenotypic discrimination revisited: The impact of skin color on occupational status. *Social Science Quarterly, 83*, 612-623.
- Farley, Y. R. (2007). Making the connection: Spirituality, trauma and resiliency. *Journal of Religion and Spirituality in Social Work, 26*, 1-15.
- Finch, B. K., Kolody, B., & Vega, W. A. (2000). Perceived discrimination and depression among Mexican-origin adults in California. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 41*, 295-313.
- Frances, E. K. (1948). The Russian Mennonites: From religious to ethnic group. *The American Journal of Sociology, 54*, 101-107.
- Fuertes, J. N. & Westbrook, F. D. (1996). Using the social, attitudinal, familial, and environmental (S.A.F.E) acculturation stress scale to assess the adjustment needs of Hispanic college students. *Measurement & Evaluation in Counseling & Development, 29*, 67-76.
- Gaa, J. P., & Shores, J. H. (1979). Domain specific locus of control among Black, Anglo, and Chicano undergraduates. *Journal of Social Psychology, 107*, 3-8.
- Gaa, J. P., Williams, R. E. & Johnson, S. W. (1981). Domain-specific locus of control orientations of Anglo, Black, and Chicano adolescents. *Journal of Psychology, 107*, 185-190.
- Gaertner, S. L. McLaughlin, J. P. (1983). Racial stereotypes: Associations and ascriptions of positive and negative characteristics. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 46*, 23-30.

- Gasquoine, P. G. (2008). *Psychology of multicultural competence: Critical issues*. Deer Park, NJ: Linus Publication, Inc.
- Gee, G. C. (2002). A multilevel analysis of the relationship between institutional and individual racial discrimination and health status. *American Journal of Public Health, 92*, 615-623.
- Goldsmith, A. H., Hamilton, D. Darty, W. J. (2006). Shades of discrimination: Skin tone and wages. *American Economic Review, 96*, 242-245.
- Gomez, C. (2000). The continual significance of skin color: An exploratory study of Latinos in the Northeast. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 22*, 94-103.
- Goodman, S. H., Cooley, E. L., Sewell, D. R., & Leavitt, N. (1994). Locus of control and self-esteem in depressed, low-income African American women. *Community Mental Health Journal, 30*, 259-269.
- Gray, M. (2003). *The Protestant Reformation: Beliefs and practices*. Portland, OR: Sussex Academic Press.
- Greenwald A.G., & Banaji, M. R. (1995). Implicit social cognition: Attitudes, self-esteem, and stereotypes. *Psychological Review, 102*, 4-27.
- Harris-Robinson, M. (2006). The use of spiritual-focused coping among working-class Black women. *Journal of Religion and Spirituality in Social Work, 25*, 77-90.
- Harrison, M. S. & Thomas, K. M. (2009). The hidden prejudice in selection: A research investigation on skin color bias. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 39*, 134-168.
- Harvey, I. S. (2006). Self-management of a chronic illness: An exploratory study on the role of spirituality among older African Women. *Journal of Women & Aging, 18*, 75-88.
- Hersch, J. (2008). Profiling the new immigrant worker: The effects of skin color and height. *Journal of Labor Economics, 26*, 345-386.
- Hill, P. C., Pargament, K. I., Hood, R. W. J., McCullough, M. E., Swyers, J. P., Larson, D. B., et al. (2000). Conceptualizing religion and spirituality: Points of commonality, points of departure. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour, 30*, 51-77.
- Hodge, D. R. (2003). The Intrinsic Spirituality Scale: A new six-item instrument for assessing the salience of spirituality as a motivational construct. *Journal of Social Service Research, 30*, 41-61.
- Hughes, M. & Hertel, B. R. (1990). The significance of color remains: A study of life

- chances, mate selection, and ethnic consciousness among Black Americans. *Social Forces*, 68, 1105-1120.
- Hunter, M. (2007). The persistent problem of colorism: Skin tone, status, and inequality. *Sociology Compass*, 1, 237-254.
- Hunter, M. (1998). Colorstruck: Skin color stratification in the lives of African American women. *Sociological Inquiry*, 68, 517-535.
- Jang, Y., Chiriboga, D. A., & Small, B. J. (2008). Perceived discrimination and psychological well-being: The mediating and moderating role of sense of control. *International Journal of Aging and Human Development*, 66, 213-227.
- Kopola, M., & Esquivel, G. (1994). Counseling approaches for immigrant children: Facilitating the acculturative process. *School Counselor*, 41, 352-359.
- Landrine, H. & Klonoff, E. A. (1996). The Schedule of Racist Events: A measure of racial discrimination and a study of its negative physical and mental health consequences. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 22, 144-168.
- Lever, J. P., Piñol, N. L., & Uralde, J. H. (2005). Poverty, psychological resources and subjective well-being. *Social Indicators Research*, 73, 375-408.
- Lumadue, C. A. & Wooten, H. R. (2007). Spiritual well-being and psychological well-being in Mexican-American Catholics. *Journal of Professional Counseling: Practice, Theory, and Research*, 35, 46-61.
- Mason, P. L. (2004). Annual income, hourly wages, and identity among Mexican-Americans and other Latinos. *Industrial Relations*, 43, 817-834.
- Mattis, J. S. (2002). Religion and spirituality in the meaning-making and coping experiences of African American women: A qualitative analysis. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 26, 309-321.
- Mattis, J.S., Fontenot, D. L., & Hatcher-Kay, C. A. (2003). Religiosity, racism, and dispositional optimism among African-Americans. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 34, 1025-1038.
- Mennonite Church. (1969). *Black manifesto*. Retrieved from <http://www.mcusa.org/archives/library/resolutions/BlackManifesto1969.html>
- Mennonite Church. (1955). The way of Christian love in race relations (Mennonite Church, 1955). *Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online*. Retrieved July 21, 2009 from <http://www.gameo.org/encyclopedia/contents/W39.html>
- Mennonite Church USA. (2009). *About Mennonite Church USA*. Retrieved from

- <http://www.mennoniteusa.org/Home/About/tabid/55/Default.aspx>
- Mennonite Church USA. (1995). *Confession of faith in a Mennonite perspective*. Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press.
- Mennonite Church USA. (1989). *A church of many peoples confronts racism, 1989*. Retrieved from <http://www.mcusa-archives.org/library/resolutions/racism.html>
- Mennonite World Conference. (2009). *Mennonite World Conference: Who are we?* Retrieved from http://www.mwc-cmm.org/en15/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=3&Itemid=3.
- Mirowsky, J. & Ross, C. E. (1984). Mexican culture and its emotional contradictions. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 25, 2-13.
- Mirsky, J., Kaushinsky, F. (1989). Migration and Growth: Separation-Individuation Processes in Immigrant Students in Israel. *Adolescence*, 24, 725-740.
- Moneta, G. B., Schneider, B., & Csikszentmihalyi, M. (2001). A longitudinal study of the self-concept and experiential components of self-worth and affect across adolescence, *Applied Developmental Science*, 5, 125-142.
- Moradi, B., & Risco, C. (2006). Perceived discrimination experiences and mental health of Latina/o American persons. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 53, 411-421.
- Murguia, E. & Telles, E. E. (1996). Phenotype and schooling among Mexican Americans. *Sociology of Education*, 69, 276-289.
- Navarro, A. (2009). *The immigration crisis: Nativism, armed vigilantism, and the rise of a countervailing movement*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Pargament, K. I. (2002). Is religion nothing but...? Explaining religion versus explaining religion away. *Psychological Inquiry*, 13, 239-244.
- Pargament, K. I. (1999). The psychology of religion and spirituality? Yes and no. *International Journal for the Psychology of Religion*, 9, 3-16.
- Partida, J. (1996). The effects of immigration on children in the Mexican-American community. *Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal*, 13, 241-254.
- Perez, D. J., Fortuna, L., & Alegria, M. (2008). Prevalence and correlates of everyday discrimination among U.S. Latinos. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 36, 421-433.
- Phillips, J. M. & Gully, S. M. (1997). Role of goal orientation, ability, need for achievement, and locus of control in the self-efficacy and goal-setting process. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 82, 792-802.

- Phinney, J. S., Madden, T., & Santos, L. J. (1998). Psychological variables as predictors of perceived ethnic discrimination among minority immigrant adolescents. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 28*, 937-953.
- Portes, A., Parker, R. N., & Cobas, J. A. (1980). Assimilation or consciousness: Perceptions of U.S. society among recent Latin American immigrants to the United States. *Social Forces, 59*, 200-224.
- Ramirez, R. R. (2004). *We the people: Hispanics in the United States*. Retrieved July 21, 2009, from <http://www.census.gov>.
- Ridley, C. R. (1995). *Overcoming unintentional racism in counseling and therapy: A practitioner's guide to intentional intervention*. London: Sage Publications.
- Rhor, M. (2008, June 6). Texas town still shadowed by dragging death. *USA Today*. Retrieved from <http://www.usatoday.com>
- Rogler, L. H., Cortes, D. E., & Malgady, R. G. (1991). Acculturation and mental health status among Hispanics. *American Psychologist, 46*, 585-597.
- Rotter, J. B. (1990). Internal versus external control of reinforcement. *American Psychologist, 45*, 489-493.
- Rotter, J. B. (1975). Some problems and misconceptions related to the construct of internal versus external control of reinforcement. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 45*, 56-67.
- Rotter, J. B. (1971). External control and internal control. *Psychology Today, 5*, 37-59.
- Rotter, J. B. (1966). Generalized expectancies for internal versus external control of reinforcement. *Psychological Monographs: Generalized and Applied, 80*, (Whole No. 609).
- Rubinkam, M. (2008, July 26). Pa. teens charged in fatal beating of immigrant. *USA Today*. Retrieved from <http://www.usatoday.com>
- Santiago, J. H., & Tarantino, S. J. (2002). Individualism and collectivism: Cultural orientation in locus of control and moral attribution under conditions of social change. *Psychological Reports, 91*, 1155-1168.
- Shorey, H. S., Cowan, G., & Sullivan, M. P. (2002). Predicting perceptions of discrimination among Hispanics and Anglos. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 24*, 3-22.
- Solorzano, D., Ceja, M., & Yosso, T. (2000). Critical race theory, racial

- microaggressions, and campus racial climate: The experiences of African American college students. *Journal of Negro Education*, 69, 60-73.
- Spitz, L. W. (1985). *The Protestant Reformation 1517-1559*. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers.
- Sue, D. W. (2005). Racism and the conspiracy of silence: Presidential address. *Counseling Psychologist*, 33, 100-114.
- Sue, D. W., Bucceri, J., Lin, A. I., Nadal, K. L., & Torino, G. C. (2007). Racial microaggressions and the Asian American experience. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 13, 72-81.
- Sue, D. W., Capodilupo, C. M., Nadal, K. L., Lin, A. I., Torino, G. C., & Rivera, D. P. (2008). Racial microaggressions against Black Americans: Implications for counseling. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, 86, 330-338.
- Sue, D. W., Capodilupo, C. M., Torino, G. C., Bucceri, J. M., Holder, A. M. B., Nadal, K. L., & Esquilin, M. (2007). Racial microaggressions in everyday life: Implications for clinical practice. *American Psychologist*, 62, 271-286.
- Tanyi, R. A. (2002). Towards clarification of the meaning of spirituality. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 39, 500-509.
- Turner, B. F. & Turner, C. B. (1975). Race, sex, and perception of the occupational opportunity structure among college students. *Sociological Quarterly*, 16, 345-360.
- Twenge, J. M., Zhang, L., & Im, C. (2004). It's beyond my control: A cross-temporal meta-analysis of increasing externality in locus of control, 1960-2002. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 8, 308-319.
- United States Bureau of the Census. (2007). Hispanic or Latino origin by specific origin. Retrieved from http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/DTTable?_bm=y&-geo_id=01000US&ds_name=ACS
- United States Bureau of the Census. (2000). [Table of General Demographic Characteristics of the 2000 U.S. Census]. *Profile of General Demographic Characteristics: 2000*. Retrieved from <http://censtats.census.gov/data/US/01000.pdf>
- Utsey, S. O., Bolden, M. A., Williams, M., Lee, A., Lanier, Y., & Newsome, C. (2007). Spiritual well-being as a mediator of the relationship between culture-specific coping and quality of life in a community sample of African American. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 38, 123-136.
- Valentine, S., Silver, L., & Twigg, N. (1999). Locus of control, job satisfaction, and job

- complexity: The role of perceived race discrimination. *Psychological Reports*, 84, 1267-1273.
- Van der Merwe, P., & Greeff, A. P. (2003). Coping mechanisms of unemployed African men with dependents. *The American Journal of Family Therapy*, 31, 91-105.
- Wade, T. J. (1996). An examination of locus of control/fatalism for blacks, whites, boys, and girls over a two year period of adolescence. *Social Behavior and Personality*, 24, 239-248.
- Watlington, C. G. & Murphy, C. M. (2006). The roles of religion and spirituality among African American survivors of domestic violence. *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 62, 837-857.
- Weisskirch, R. S. & Alva, S. A. (2002). Language brokering and the acculturation of Latino children. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 24, 369-378.
- Yoon, D. P., & Lee, E. K. O. (2004). Religiousness/spirituality and subjective well-being among rural elderly Whites, African Americans, and Native Americans. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*, 10, 191-211.
- Young, M. Y. (2001). Moderators of stress in Salvadoran refugees: The role of social and personal resources. *International Migration Review*, 35, 840-869.

APPENDIX A

APPENDIX B

The University of Texas - Pan American **Informed Consent Form**

Investigator: Nancy Rivera and Philip Gasquoine, Ph.D.

Background: This research is being conducted by Nancy Rivera, a graduate student in the Psychology program at the University of Texas – Pan American, and is being supervised by her faculty mentor Dr. Philip Gasquoine. The aim of my study is to assess the relationship between perceived discrimination, skin tone, and psychological/cultural factors among Latino/a Mennonites of the Rio Grande Valley.

Procedure: If you agree to participate, you will be asked to fill out several questionnaires. We are interested in: (a) how you have experienced racism throughout your life (b) whether you credit your own performances to internal or external forces (c) your experiences in the United States as Latinos/as, and (d) your own relationship with God. It is anticipated that testing will take no more than 30 minutes. As part of this study we will also be measuring the skin tone (lightness/darkness of the skin) of your arm using a window tint meter. The meter shines a harmless light onto your skin to calculate skin tone.

Risks or Possible Discomforts Associated with the Study: There are no anticipated risks associated with participation in this study.

Benefits: This study offers no direct benefit to you. However, it is hoped that the results will add to the current literature on discrimination amongst Latinos/as.

Voluntary Participation: Your participation in this study is voluntary. You do not have to participate and, if you choose to participate, you can discontinue participation at any time and for any reason without penalty.

Anonymity/Confidentiality: Your name will not be connected with any of the data that we collect from you. Your name will only appear on this consent form, but this consent form will be stored separately from your data. Records from this study will be securely stored in an office on the campus at the University of Texas – Pan American. If any data is shared with other researchers in the future, it will not contain your name; only your anonymous responses.

Who to Contact for Research Related Questions: For questions about the research itself, or to report any adverse effects during or following participation, contact: Philip Gasquoine, Ph.D., Dept. of Psychology & Anthropology, University of Texas – Pan American, 1201 W. University Drive, Edinburg, TX 78541, Tel: 956-381-2155, E-mail: pgasquoine@utpa.edu

Who to Contact Regarding Your Rights as a Participant: If you have any questions about your rights as a participant, or if you feel that your rights as a participant were not adequately met by the researcher, contact the Institutional Review Board for Human

Subjects Protection at the University Of Texas – Pan American, (956) 384-5004 or
irb@utpa.edu.

Signatures: By signing below, you indicate that you are voluntarily agreeing to participate in this study and that the procedures involved have been described to your satisfaction. The researcher will provide you with a copy of this form for your own reference. In order to participate, you must be at least 18 years of age. If you are under 18, please inform the researcher.

Participant's Signature

____/____/_____
Date

La Universidad de Tejas – Pan American
Forma de Consentimiento Informado

La investigador: Nancy Rivera, BS y Philip Gasquoine, Ph.D.

Historia: Esta investigación se está llevando a cabo por Nancy Rivera, una estudiante en el programa de la Maestría en Psicología en la Universidad de Tejas - Pan American, y está siendo supervisado por su mentor el Dr. Philip Gasquoine. El objetivo de este estudio es evaluar la relación entre la discriminación percibida por individuos, tono de piel, y factores psicológicos/culturales entre Menonitas Latino/as de la región del valle del Río Grande.

El procedimiento: Si usted está de acuerdo en participar, se le pedirá que llene varios cuestionarios. Estamos interesados en: (a) cómo ha experimentado el racismo a lo largo de su vida (b) si usted acredita sus propios desempeños a fuerzas externas o internas (c) sus experiencias como Latinos/as en los Estados Unidos (d) su propia relación con Dios. Es anticipado que el proceso tomará no más de media hora. Como parte de este estudio también estaremos midiendo el tono de la piel (la claridad/oscuridad de la piel) de su brazo utilizando un aparato que mide la oscuridad de ventanas. El medidor brilla una luz inofensiva sobre su piel para calcular el tono de la piel.

Los riesgos o las molestias posibles que se asocian con el estudio: No hay riesgos anticipados asociados con su participación en este estudio.

Los beneficios: Este estudio no ofrece ningún beneficio a usted. Sin embargo, esperamos que los resultados de este estudio serán añadidos a la literatura actual sobre la discriminación entre Latinos/as.

La Participación voluntaria: Su participación en este estudio es voluntaria. Usted no tiene que participar y, si decide participar, puede discontinuar su participación antes de tiempo y por cualquier razón sin pena.

La confidencialidad: Su nombre no será conectado con cualquiera de los datos que obtuvimos de usted. Su nombre solo aparecerá en esta forma de consentimiento, pero esta forma de consentimiento será guardada en un lugar separado de sus datos. Cualquier registro de este estudio será guardado en una oficina de la Universidad de Tejas – Pan American. Si algunos de sus datos es compartido con otros investigadores en el futuro, no contendrá su nombre; sólo sus respuestas anónimas.

A quien contactar si tiene preguntas relacionadas con la Investigación:

Para preguntas acerca de la investigación, o para informar algún efecto adverso durante la participación, se deberá contactar: Philip Gasquoine, Ph.D., El Departamento de Psicología y Antropología, Universidad de Tejas – Pan American, 1201 W. University Drive, Edinburg, TX 78541, Teléfono: 956-381-2155, Correo electrónico: pgasquoine@utpa.edu.

Quién Contactar con Respecto a Sus Derechos como un Participante: Si usted tiene alguna pregunta acerca de sus derechos como participante, o si usted siente que sus derechos como participante no fueron respetados por el investigador, puede contactar la Mesa de Revisión Institucional para la Protección Humana de Sujetos en la Universidad de Tejas – Pan American al (956) 384-5004 o al irb@utpa.edu.

Las firmas: Firmando abajo, usted indica que usted voluntariamente esta de acuerdo de tomar parte en este estudio y que los procedimientos implicados han sido descritos a su satisfacción. El investigador le proporcionará con una copia de esta forma para su propia referencia. Para participar, usted tiene que tener por lo menos 18 años de edad. Si tiene menos de 18 años por favor informe al investigador.

Firma del Participante

____/____/____

Fecha

APPENDIX C

Hello, my name is Nancy Rivera and I am a graduate student in the graduate Psychology program at the University of Texas – Pan American. I am currently working on my thesis and am under the supervision of Dr. Philip Gasquoine who is the Graduate Psychology Program Director at the University of Texas – Pan American. I am studying the relationship between perceived discrimination, skin tone, and psychological/cultural factors among Latino/a Mennonites of the Rio Grande Valley.

This research, which is necessary for me to complete my Master's degree, will lead to a better understanding of discrimination among Latinos/as of the Mennonite religion and will add to the current literature on this topic. It will not provide any direct benefit to you, nor is there any penalty for not participating.

If you volunteer as a participant in this study, you will be asked to you to fill out several short pencil and paper questionnaires on: (a) how you have experienced racism throughout your life (b) your experiences in the United States as Latinos/as, and (c) your own relationship with God. We will also be using a window tint meter to measure the skin tone (lightness/darkness of the skin) of your arm. The meter shines a harmless light onto your skin to calculate skin tone. Testing should take approximately 30 minutes of your time.

This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through the Office of Research and Sponsored Projects at the University of Texas – Pan American.

If you choose to participate, you will be asked to sign an informed consent form that will provide you with further information.

Thank you.

Hola, mi nombre es Nancy Rivera y soy una estudiante en el programa de la Maestría en Psicología en la Universidad de Tejas – Pan American. Actualmente estoy trabajando en mi tesis y estoy bajo la supervisión del Dr. Philip Gasquoine quien es el Director del Programa de la Maestría en Psicología en la Universidad de Tejas – Pan American. Estoy estudiando la relación entre la discriminación percibida por individuos, tono de piel, y factores psicológicos/culturales entre Menonitas Latino/as de la región del valle del Río Grande.

Esta investigación, que es necesaria para completar mi Maestría, nos llevará a una mejor comprensión sobre la discriminación entre Latinos/as Menonitas y añadirá a la literatura actual en este tema. La investigación no le proveerá ningún beneficio directamente, y no hay castigo si usted no participa.

Si usted se ofrece voluntariamente como participante en este estudio, se le pedirá completar varios cuestionarios de lápiz y papel sobre: (a) cómo ha experimentado el racismo a lo largo de su vida (b) si usted acredita sus propios desempeños a fuerzas externas o internas (c) sus experiencias como Latinos/as en los Estados Unidos (d) su propia relación con Dios. También estaremos usando un aparato que mide la oscuridad de ventanas para medir el tono de la piel (la claridad/oscuridad de la piel) de su brazo. El medidor brilla una luz inofensiva sobre su piel para calcular el tono de la piel. El proceso tomará no más de media hora de su tiempo.

Le quiero asegurar que este estudio fue revisado y ha sido aceptado por la Oficina de Investigación y Proyectos Patrocinados. Sin embargo, la decisión final acerca de la participación es suya.

Si usted decide participar, se le pedirá firmar una forma de consentimiento que le proveerá información adicional.

Gracias

APPENDIX D

Demographic Data/ *Datos Demográficos*Gender/ *Género*: _____Age/ *Edad*: _____Place of birth/ *Lugar de nacimiento*: _____How many years in US? *¿Cuántos años en los EE.UU.?:* _____Ethnicity/ *Pertenencia étnica*: _____Years (completed) of education/ *Años (completados) de educación*:

Country of education/ *País de educación*: _____What is your dominant language? Spanish/English/Both
¿Cual es su idioma dominante? Español/Ingles/Ambos _____Occupation/ *Ocupación*: _____Household income/ *Ingresos al hogar*: less than/ *menos de* \$30,000 _____

\$31,000 - \$60,000 _____

more than/ *mas de* \$60,000 _____

APPENDIX E

Circle the number that most accurately represents your experience according to the following scale:

Círculo el número que represente adecuadamente la mayoría de su experiencia de acuerdo con la siguiente escala:

1 – Nada/ Not at all

2 – Un poquito o a veces/ Very little/ Not very much

3 – Moderado/ Moderately

4 – Mucho o muy frecuente/ Much/ Very often

5 – Muchísimo, casi todo el tiempo/ Extremely often/ Almost always

1. Yo hablo Español/ I speak Spanish	1	2	3	4	5
2. Yo hablo Ingles/ I speak English	1	2	3	4	5
3. Me gusta hablar Español/ I enjoy speaking Spanish	1	2	3	4	5
4. Me asocio con Anglos/ I associate with Anglos	1	2	3	4	5
5. Me gusta ver películas en Ingles/ I enjoy listening to English language movies	1	2	3	4	5
6. Me gusta ver programas en la televisión que sean en Español/ I enjoy Spanish language TV	1	2	3	4	5
7. Me gusta ver películas en Español/ I enjoy Spanish language movies	1	2	3	4	5
8. Me gusta leer en Español/ I enjoy reading books in Spanish	1	2	3	4	5
9. Escribo (como cartas) en Ingles/ I write letters in English	1	2	3	4	5
10. Mis pensamientos ocurren en el idioma Ingles/ My thinking is done in the English language	1	2	3	4	5
11. Mis pensamientos ocurren en el idioma Español/ My thinking is done in the Spanish language	1	2	3	4	5
12. Mis amigos recientes son Anglo Americano/ My friends are of Anglo origin	1	2	3	4	5

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Nancy Rivera was born to Manuel and Yolanda Salinas Rivera on May 9, 1981, in Bakersfield, California. She is a first generation Mexican American. After completing high school she studied at the University of Texas Pan American where she earned a Bachelor's degree in Biology in 2003. In 2009, she earned a Master's degree in Clinical Psychology at the University of Texas Pan American.

While studying at the University of Texas Pan American she worked with a non-profit religious organization (Mennonite Central Committee) in Edinburg, Texas. The work entailed coordinating workshops on various peace and justice issues relevant to the Mennonite and Mennonite Brethren church and working with the regional office dismantling racism team to identify and implement necessary changes within the organization. She was also a student assistant at the University of Texas Pan American. Her responsibilities included devising and implementing lesson plans for an introduction to statistic lab class.