

## Typologies of Discrimination: Latinx Youth's Experiences in an Emerging Immigrant Community

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### Abstract:

Few studies examine how racial-ethnic peer discrimination experiences of Latinx youth vary across the race-ethnicity of the perpetrator. In a sample of 170 Latinx early adolescents ( $M_{\text{age}} = 12.86$  years, range = 10.33–15.23; 51% female), we identified 4 latent profiles of youth: (a) relatively low likelihood of experiencing discrimination regardless of peers' racial-ethnic group (38%; low discrimination); (b) relatively high probability of experiencing discrimination from the majority outgroup peers (33%; outgroup); (c) relatively high likelihood of experiencing discrimination from ingroup peers (14%; ingroup); (d) the highest probability of discrimination experiences across the in- and outgroup (15%; high discrimination group). Overall, Latinx youth classified in a typology characterized by a higher likelihood of experiencing discrimination from both ingroup and outgroup peers also reported the worst internalizing and externalizing symptoms relative to those in the low discrimination typology.

**Keywords:** discrimination | Latinx | immigrant | ingroup

### Article:

The shift in Latinx<sup>1</sup> immigration patterns in the last two decades has resulted in a substantial increase of Latinx populations living in small cities, suburban, and rural communities throughout the Midwest and South, which have been characterized as emerging immigrant destinations (Lichter, 2012; U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). Emerging Latinx immigrant communities in the South have typically formed within locales that tended to be majority white with a smaller percentage of African Americans and tend to be comprised of primarily foreign-born adults and native-born youth (Lichter, 2012). Compared to youth in more established Latinx communities, Latinx youth in rural, emerging immigrant communities report higher levels of racial-ethnic discrimination (e.g., Potochnick, Perreira, & Fuligni, 2012). Such experiences are associated with higher levels of depressive symptoms (Gonzalez, Stein, Kiang, & Cupito, 2014; Potochnick

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<sup>1</sup> We elect to use term *Latinx* because of its inclusivity of all members of the Latinx community (i.e., members of the LGBTQ community; gender inclusive (Salinas & Lozano, 2017). We acknowledge that our participants may not use this term to identify themselves individually but use this term as a population descriptor.

et al., 2012), lower levels of school belonging (Stein, Gonzalez, Cupito, Kiang, & Supple, 2015), and more perceived barriers to college attendance (Gonzalez et al., 2014). Yet, there is limited research on the racial-ethnic composition of the perpetrators of racial-ethnic discrimination within these communities and how characteristics of the target individual are correlated with experiences of discrimination. The goal of the current study was to examine whether Latinx adolescents in a semirural, emerging immigrant community in the South reported distinct patterns of ingroup and majority outgroup discrimination, whether these patterns were linked to identity characteristics of the youth, and whether these patterns were differentially related to psychosocial adjustment.

### **Conceptualization and Salience of Peer Discrimination**

Peer racial-ethnic discrimination has been defined as unfair and negative treatment because of one's race and ethnicity and includes both overt (e.g., threatened, insulted, harassed) and covert (e.g., disliked, given less respect, feared or not trusted by others) types of discrimination (Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). Studies of African American, Latinx, and Asian American adolescents find that peer racial-ethnic discrimination is associated with internalizing symptoms above and beyond the effects of teacher and societal discrimination (Benner & Graham, 2013; Greene, Way, & Pahl, 2006). The majority of research on adolescents has focused on personal experiences of peer discrimination as compared to institutional or broader perceived group discrimination, with little attention toward differentiating experiences that might stem from different sources or perpetrators (Benner et al., 2018). Existing research on discrimination could be limited by implicit assumptions that such experiences stem largely from majority outgroup members (Perreira, Kiang, & Potochnick, 2013). In reality, adolescents' developmental contexts and experiences of social stratification might be more complex and varied. A person-centered approach, such as latent profile analysis (LCA), can help illuminate these varied and nuanced experiences of adolescents (Neblett, Sosoo, Willis, Bernard, Bae, & Billingsley, 2016).

Some past research on the experiences of racial-ethnic discrimination within the Latinx community has highlighted the importance of understanding the effects of both ingroup and outgroup discrimination (Araújo & Borrell, 2006; Lavariega Monforti & Sanchez, 2010). Although ingroup discrimination among Latinx populations has received little empirical attention, qualitative work with Latinx adolescents suggests that adolescents report experiences of peer discrimination from other Latinx adolescents across countries of origin (e.g., Puerto Rican and Dominicans, Rosenbloom & Way, 2004; Salvadoreans and Mexicans, Córdova & Cervantes, 2010). Ingroup discrimination within Latinx communities may also be due to lack of either English or Spanish proficiency and/or speaking with an accent, racial differences, or skin tone (Araújo & Borrell, 2006; Lavariega Monforti & Sanchez, 2010). A recent analysis of ingroup rejection with Latinx adolescents in the Southern California area found that it significantly predicted subsequent depressive symptoms, which influenced grades and aspirations to college attendance (Basáñez, Warren, Crano, & Unger, 2014). Taken together, these studies suggest that ingroup discrimination is a problematic, but not well-understood phenomenon that can negatively contribute to psychosocial outcomes in Latinx youth.

Few existing studies have examined how experiences of ingroup and majority outgroup discrimination co-occur, and none have focused on an emerging immigrant community, within

which there could be particularly salient risks. For example, Latinx populations tend to experience discrimination specific to perpetrators' assumptions of their foreigner status, termed foreigner objectification, which includes overt verbal threats ("Go back where you came from!") as well as more subtle microaggressions ("Where are you from?"; Armenta et al., 2013; Rivera, Forquer, & Rangel, 2010). These types of experiences may be more prominent in emerging immigrant communities and more common from majority outgroup members (Stein, Gonzales, García Coll, & Prandoni, 2016). Thus, further examining how experiences of foreigner-based discrimination are associated with nonspecific forms of discrimination (i.e., being treated poorly because of your ethnicity) would help us understand the nuances of discriminatory experiences from both ingroup and majority outgroup members. In the same vein, given the limited work on this topic, examining how specific types of discriminatory experiences may differ across sources may also be useful as some types of discriminatory experiences may be more relevant within or between groups.

### **Cultural Ecological Theoretical Perspectives**

Drawing broadly on theoretical perspectives put forth by García Coll and colleagues' (1996) integrative model of child development, social position factors (i.e., race, ethnicity, gender, social class) interact to shape immigrant families' experiences of segregation (including residential, economic, and social and psychological) mediated through social mechanisms of racism, prejudice, discrimination, and oppression. The interaction among youths' social position factors calls for a greater understanding of within-group variability in peer discrimination experiences of Latinx youth within rural, emerging immigrant communities (Stein et al., 2016). These models highlight how experiences in inhibiting environments, including ingroup and majority outgroup discrimination, are associated with acculturation, identity processes, and, ultimately, youth adjustment.

In- and outgroup interactions for Latinx communities can be described broadly under the umbrella of acculturative contact. Acculturative processes are complex as individuals navigate their identity, values, and practices associated with their country of origin along with those of their majority host culture (i.e., non-Latinx White; Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik, 2010). The majority of past research on acculturative processes as associated with discrimination in Latinx populations has focused on interactions and affiliations with non-Latinx White culture (i.e., non-Latinx White orientation). Overall, this literature shows mixed links of non-Latinx White orientation with racial-ethnic discrimination. For example, affiliation with non-Latinx White culture has been associated in some studies with less racial-ethnic discrimination (Smokowski & Bacallao, 2007), and in other studies with more racial-ethnic discrimination (Kulis, Marsiglia, & Nieri, 2009). However, this literature has not examined the race/ethnicity of the source of discrimination. Greater integration with outgroup members may expose youth to more opportunities to be discriminated against leading to greater outgroup discrimination.

Acculturation models also focus on identity processes as key to understanding adaptation in Latinx populations (Schwartz et al., 2010). In fact, both private regard (i.e., one's affect and judgment toward one's own group) and public regard (i.e., perceptions of others' evaluation of one's group) have been linked to racial-ethnic discrimination in ethnic minority populations (Rivas-Drake et al., 2014). Typically, greater levels of private and public regard are associated

with lower reports of racial-ethnic discrimination in Latinx adolescents (i.e., Huq, Stein, & Gonzalez, 2016; Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2009). Yet, this research has not examined whether these relations depend on the race of the perpetrator. Because public regard is one's belief about how other ethnic groups perceive your own group, it may only be related to lower levels of perceived discrimination from ethnic others. On the other hand, discrimination from both in and outgroups may be related to private regard as these experiences could negatively impact the self-perception of the worth of one's group.

Above and beyond acculturation and identity processes, it is important to consider other social position factors in discrimination, such as gender. Qualitative and quantitative studies have found that boys are more likely to experience discrimination than are girls, particularly discrimination from authority figures (i.e., Greene et al., 2006); however, no studies to our knowledge have explored how boys and girls may vary across peer discrimination typologies of ingroup and outgroup discrimination. Thus, it is clear from past research that additional data are needed to understand how multiple aspects of the self correlate with experiences of discrimination in Latinx youth.

Finally, there is a larger literature that documents that personal discrimination experiences are associated with greater internalizing and externalizing symptoms in Latinx youth (i.e., Berkel et al., 2010; Brittan, Toomey, Gonzales, & Dumka, 2013). As noted above, Latinx youth reporting ingroup rejection predicted greater internalizing symptoms across time (Basáñez et al., 2014), but this measure also included acculturative stress experiences and did not solely measure discrimination. Harrell's (2000) theoretical model of racism indeed incorporates aspects of self that may influence experiences of ingroup discrimination and suggests that ingroup discrimination may be particularly harmful due to within-group rejection.

## **Current Study**

We aimed to better describe racial-ethnic discrimination experiences of Latinx youth in emerging immigrant communities by using latent class analysis to examine whether there were distinct typologies of discrimination depending on the perpetrator (e.g., ingroup [Latinx] or majority outgroup [non-Latinx White]). An LCA is a person-centered approach that classifies individuals into groups based on shared underlying characteristics (Neblett et al., 2016), which in this case was discrimination experiences by in-and outgroup members. In light of previous research, we expected to find typologies that were differentiated by ingroup and majority outgroup perpetrators. We explored whether these typologies were associated with individual characteristics of the adolescents (i.e., gender), youth's identity (i.e., private regard, public regard) and non-Latinx White orientation, as well as experiences of foreigner-based discrimination, which we predicted would be associated with majority outgroup discrimination. Finally, we also tested whether the typologies were differentially related to internalizing and externalizing symptoms. We examined these questions in an early adolescent period (middle school) as research has shown this developmental stage brings important cognitive and affective changes that contribute to the understanding of discriminatory experiences (Benner et al., 2018; Hughes, Watford, & Del Toro, 2016).

## **Method**

## Participants

The larger study from which the present study was drawn, included 176 Latinx mothers and their adolescents, recruited from two middle schools in a central region of North Carolina in 2014–2016. The study was approved by University of North Carolina at Greensboro’s Institutional Review Board (Familias Study #13–0087). Because data were collected from one pair of twins, one adolescent (and the mother report of that adolescent) was randomly selected and excluded ( $n = 175$ ). There were five adolescent respondents, however, who were missing data on all discrimination items that were excluded, resulting in a final analytic sample of 170. Adolescents were in seventh and eighth grades (82.4% seventh), 51.5% identified as female (48.5% identified as male) and were on average 12.87 years of age (range = 11–15.23 years). Based on mothers’ report, the majority of mothers ( $n = 150$ , 88.2%) and fathers ( $n = 146$ , 85.93%) were born in Mexico and other Central and South American countries (mothers  $n = 16$ ; fathers  $n = 17$ ) except for three mothers and four fathers born in the United States. On average, mothers and fathers (respectively) lived in the United States for 15.71 years ( $SD = 4.65$ ) and 16.90 years ( $SD = 6.62$ ). In contrast, the majority of adolescents were born in the United States ( $n = 148$ , 87.1%) and of those youth who were not born in the United States ( $n = 22$ , 12.9%) the average age of immigration was 4.42 years of age (age range = 0 to 12 years of age). The mean family income was \$23,143.69 with a range from \$5,000.00 to \$87,499.50 ( $SD = \$12,529.53$ ). All youth were bilingual and fluent in English, with the exception of three adolescents who primarily spoke Spanish and completed the assessment in Spanish. The racial/ethnic composition of the schools from which the current sample was drawn was comprised of non-Latinx White (39.3%), Latinx (40.6%), and Black (14.5%) students (1.4% of the school was Asian). In terms of the city, 59.9% identified as non-Latinx White, 25.8% Latinx, 11.2% Black, and less than 1% Asian. At the start of the study in the city where the study was conducted, an estimated 66% of Latinx households had yearly incomes less than \$45,000 a year and about 28% of Latinx households were below the poverty level.

## Procedure

Project staff visited two semirural middle schools with large Latinx populations and provided information about the current study to school staff. Flyers and letters about the study were given to students and mailed home. Using school call lists of enrolled 7<sup>th</sup>- and 8<sup>th</sup>-grade Latinx students, project staff called families to identify interested and eligible families based on the following criteria: (a) both biological parents were Latinx, (b) the mother (or biological female relative) was the resident caregiver of the participating adolescent, and (c) youth ranged between 11 and 14 years of age. A second phase of data collection included door-to-door home visits to recruit families who were not reached via phone calls (e.g., phone disconnected, wrong number). A total of 597 families were targeted for recruitment via phone or door-to-door recruitment. Of these, 16 families had moved (3%) and 217 were not located (e.g., disconnected numbers, families not home; 36%). Of the families who were contacted ( $n = 364$ ), 47 were not eligible (13%), 125 declined (34%), 16 consented but did not complete interviews (4%), and 176 families consented and completed interviews (48%). Upon enrollment into the study, trained research assistants visited families’ homes to interview and administer the questionnaires to the mother and adolescent. Prior to administering interviews, research assistants obtained assent and consent

from the youth and mother. The adolescent and mother were interviewed in separate rooms and a noise machine was used to ensure privacy. All assessment materials were available in Spanish and English and administered based upon participants' language preference. Parents were interviewed by bilingual research assistants and were paid \$20 following completion of the approximately 2-hr interview. Youth completed questions using a computer-assisted interview format that took approximately 1.5 to 2 hr to complete and received a \$10 gift card following completion of the survey. Prior to administering interviews, research assistants obtained assent and consent from the youth and mothers, respectively.

## Measures

**Demographic variables.** Adolescents reported their gender as 0 (*female*) or 1 (*male*).

**Sources of peer racial-ethnic discrimination.** Adolescents reported on the extent to which they experienced unfair treatment from other students in their school because of their ethnicity and race using the seven-item Way and colleagues' Peer Discrimination subscale (Rosenbloom & Way, 2004; Way, 1997). Following each type of discrimination (see Table 2 for items), youth were asked to report on their peers' race to assess the source of peer racial-ethnic discrimination. Options included, "other Latinos," "Whites," "Blacks," and "Asians." Youth could select multiple racial groups by indicating no or yes to each response option (0/1). Because the ethnic composition of local schools had few Black or Asian students, we only included items indicating ingroup discrimination (from Latinos) and majority outgroup discrimination from (Whites). Then, these seven items of ingroup and outgroup peer racial-ethnic discrimination (total of 14 items) were included in the LCA to identify typologies related to the experience and source of peer racial-ethnic discrimination.

**Table 1.** Conditional Item Probabilities Across Typologies

Model	SSABIC	Entropy	LRT	BLRT <i>p</i> value
2-class model	2,349.41	.83	.001	.00
3-class model	2,262.93	.90	.170	.00
4-class model	<b>2,210.99</b>	<b>.88</b>	<b>.02</b>	<b>.00</b>
5-class model	2,191.45	.92	.17	.00
6-class model	2,177.94	.89	.04	.00

*Note.* SSABIC = sample-size adjusted Bayesian information criteria; LRT = likelihood ratio test; BLRT = bootstrapped likelihood ratio test. BLRT *p*-value tests relative fit of the *k* class model versus a *k*-1 class model. Bold values denotes best fitting model.

**Private and public regard.** Adolescents' self-report of their private and public regard was assessed by 4 items (respectively) per subscale from a modified Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI; Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998). Private regard measured adolescents' feelings (e.g., pride, feels good) about being a part of their ethnic group whereas public regard assessed adolescents' beliefs about how other ethnic groups view their ethnic group. Items ranged on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Internal consistency of these items was acceptable for both subscales ( $\alpha = .88$ , private regard;  $\alpha = .89$ , public regard). Items were averaged for both private and public regard.

**Non-Latinx White orientation.** Adolescents' self-report of their levels of non-Latinx White orientation were assessed by one subscale from an adapted version of the Asian American

Multidimensional Acculturation Scale (AAMAS; Chung, Kim, & Abreu, 2004). This measure was used as it allowed for assessment of cultural engagement within specific country of origin of group (i.e., other Mexicans), broader pan-ethnic groups (i.e., other Latinos), and different cultural groups within the US (i.e., non-Latino Whites; African Americans/Blacks). This measure has been successfully used to capture acculturative processes in other analyses of this sample (Cavanaugh, Stein, Supple, Gonzalez, & Kiang, 2018). Non-Latinx White orientation was assessed by their cultural identity, cultural knowledge, and food consumption specific to non-Latinx White culture. Items were on a 6-point ranging from 1 (*not very well*) to 6 (*very well*). Sample items from each subscale included, “How much do you practice the traditions and keep the holidays of the White mainstream group; How much do you interact and associate with people from the White mainstream group?”. This subscale had good internal consistency ( $\alpha = .87$ , non-Latinx White cultural orientation). Items were averaged such that higher scores indicated greater non-Latinx White orientation.

**Foreigner objectification.** Foreigner objectification was assessed via adolescent report of experiencing discrimination events in the past year due to adolescents’ ethnicity and race and others’ assumptions of immigrant status (Armenta et al., 2013). Sample items included “Had your American citizenship or residency questioned” and “Asked by strangers, ‘where are you from?’ because of your ethnicity/race.” Response choices were on a 4-point scale ranging from 1 (*never*) to 4 (*five or more times*). This 4-item scale demonstrated adequate reliability ( $\alpha = .71$ ). Items were averaged such that higher scores indicated higher levels of foreigner objectification.

**Internalizing and externalizing symptoms.** Adolescents’ internalizing and externalizing symptoms were assessed using the broadband scales of the Youth Self-Report Form (Achenbach, 1991). The internalizing broadband scale assessed anxiety, withdrawal, and depressive symptoms indicated by 21 items. The externalizing broadband scale assessed rule-breaking and aggressive behavior indicated by 30 items. Internal consistency of the broadband scales were high (internalizing  $\alpha = .88$ ; externalizing  $\alpha = .90$ ). Items were summed and scored such that higher values indicated higher levels of internalizing and externalizing symptoms.

## Results

### Identifying Typologies

The first step in these analyses was to identify the possible number of typologies related to the source of discrimination. The typical procedure when conducting LCA is to compare the fit of models specifying between 2 and 6 typologies using the sample-size adjusted Bayesian information criteria and the bootstrapped likelihood ratio test (BLRT). We also reported model entropy, which is an indicator of classification quality with higher values indicating greater classification certainty (Nylund, Asparouhov, & Muthén, 2007; see Table 1). Our results presented a mixed combination of fit criteria. Power analysis in mixture models is very complex and there is little guidance in terms of developing what would constitute effect sizes for the purpose of power analysis. We used results and formulas from Dziak and colleagues (Dziak, Lanza, & Tan, 2014) to (a) generate an effect size to then (b) estimate the necessary sample size to have power  $>.80$  to use the BLRT to determine a four-class model would fit better than a three-class model. This analysis suggested a necessary sample size of 134. As such, our sample

size had adequate power to rely on the BLRT for model selection. Researchers are increasingly recognizing that BLRT tests may continue to suggest adding classes/typologies to improve model fit. In some cases, these results can lead to results suggesting that over 10 classes may fit the data. What is recommended (Muthen, B.O., Personal Communication, June 5, 2013) is to consider at what point BIC values level off and to also rely more heavily on substantive criteria. Given that the SSBIC values leveled off at four classes and, because of the nonsignificant LRT, we concluded that a four-typology model best represented these data. In addition, adding a fifth class added a very small and difficult to interpret typology. Adding more than five classes led to estimation problems that required extremely high numbers of start values to replicate best log likelihood values.

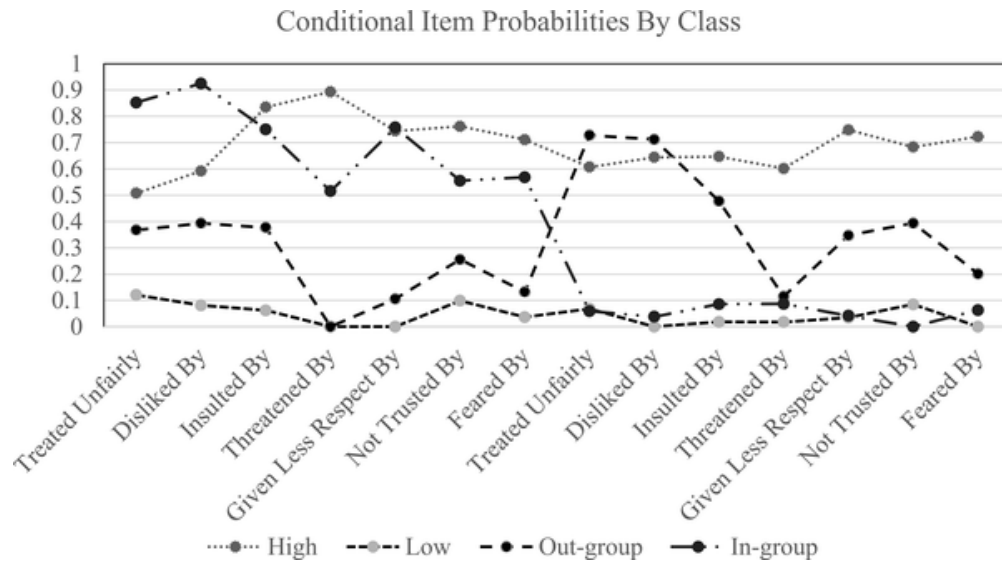
**Table 2.** Model Fit Criteria for Latent Class Models

Variables	Typology membership				
	Total (N = 170)	Low (n = 64)	Outgroup (n = 57)	Ingroup (n = 24)	High (n = 25)
By other Latinos					
Treated unfairly	.37	.12	.36	.85	.50
Disliked by	.39	.08	.39	.92	.59
Insulted by	.39	.06	.37	.75	.83
Threatened by	.21	.00	.00	.51	.89
Given less respect by	.26	.00	.10	.75	.74
Not trusted by	.32	.09	.25	.55	.76
Feared by	.25	.03	.13	.56	.71
By Whites					
Treated unfairly	.38	.06	.72	.05	.60
Disliked by	.36	.00	.71	.03	.64
Insulted by	.28	.01	.47	.08	.64
Threatened by	.15	.01	.11	.08	.60
Given less respect by	.25	.03	.34	.04	.74
Not trusted by	.27	.08	.39	.00	.68
Feared by	.18	.00	.20	.06	.72

Item probabilities for the final 4-typology model are presented in Table 2 and Figure 1. Item probabilities for the entire sample indicate what percentage of the sample responded “yes” to experiencing each discrimination item. Conditional item probabilities for each typology indicate the probability of a “yes” on each item, conditional upon being in that particular typology. As such, relatively small or large conditional item probabilities allow for differentiation among the typologies. The largest typology (37% of the sample), which we refer to as a *low peer discrimination* typology, was comprised of adolescents who had low probabilities of indicating any discrimination regardless of source. The second largest typology (36%) included adolescents in what we labeled an *outgroup peer discrimination* typology, characterized by relatively high conditional probabilities of discrimination experiences coming from non-Latinx White peers and not from other Latinx peers. While the conditional probabilities for the “out-group” items within this typology were comparable to some “in-group” items, the distinction in comparing typologies is that this group had relatively high (although low in absolute value in some cases) conditional probabilities for the out-group items. A third typology was labeled as an *ingroup peer discrimination typology* and this group reported moderate to high probabilities of experiencing being treated unfairly, disliked, insulted, and given less respect by other Latinxs (14% of the sample). The fourth typology (14%), a *high-peer discrimination typology*, included adolescents characterized by the highest probabilities across the majority of both in- and outgroup



discrimination experiences. In other words, adolescents in this typology have a greater likelihood of experiencing discrimination perpetuated by other Latinxs and non-Latinx Whites.



**Figure 1.** Conditional probabilities by discrimination typologies. The first set of items represent ingroup discrimination, the latter seven items represent outgroup discrimination.

### Covariates of Typologies

Another step in our analyses was to consider covariates associated with the different peer discrimination typologies. Introducing covariates involves regressing typology membership onto variables expected to predict the likelihood of an individual being classified into a particular typology. The typical approach involves multinomial logistic regression with one group (in this case the “low peer discrimination” group) serving as a reference group. Regression coefficients represent an increased or decreased likelihood of individuals being classified into a particular typology (relative to the reference typology) based on their values on the covariates. Results regressing typology membership on adolescents’ gender were not statistically significant suggesting that boys/girls were not more or less likely assigned to different typologies.

To consider differences across the typologies, we employed *Mplus* procedures that test for mean differences across typologies and typology-by-typology differences, and Cohen’s *d*. We used the DCON procedure, which treats outcome variables as “outside of the model,” which means that the variables do not contribute to class or typology assignment for respondents. This procedure, however, requires listwise deletion for missing values on the outcome variables. This resulted in removing participants when comparing foreign-objectification (five cases), internalizing (four cases), externalizing (three cases), public regard (14 cases), private regard (five cases), and non-Latinx White orientation (16 cases). Missingness on the outcomes was not related to typology membership. With respect to possible typology differences in private and public regard, we found no differences across the groups and small effect sizes across group comparisons (11 out of 12 *d* values were  $<.20$ , indicating very small effect sizes). There were significant differences in youth’s non-Latinx White orientation across the peer discrimination typologies. The low peer discrimination and the outgroup peer discrimination groups reported significantly higher levels

of non-Latinx White cultural orientation compared to the high peer discrimination group (Cohen's  $d$  ranging from .48 to .91 indicating medium effect sizes).

In terms of foreigner objectification, as expected, there were statistically significant differences indicating greater foreigner objectification among adolescents in the high peer discrimination and outgroup peer discrimination groups compared to the low peer discrimination and ingroup peer discrimination typologies (see Table 3; Cohen's  $d$  ranged from .18 to .85).

**Table 3.** Mean Comparisons of Covariates Across Typologies

Outcomes	Overall	Low	Outgroup	Ingroup	High	Differences in outcomes across typologies
Foreigner objectification	1.56	1.32	1.75	1.51	1.86	Outgroup, high > low, ingroup
Internalizing symptoms	7.00	5.32	7.05	7.74	10.26	High > low
Externalizing symptoms	6.95	5.05	6.60	7.32	11.69	High > low, ingroup, outgroup
Private regard	4.34	4.37	4.30	4.29	4.30	None
Public regard	3.90	4.01	3.77	3.92	3.77	None
Non-Latinx White cultural orientation	3.85	4.04	3.83	3.78	3.49	High < low, outgroup

*Note.* Differences listed in last column indicate statistically significant differences at  $p < .05$ .

With regards to internalizing and externalization pathology, an overall pattern of worse well-being among adolescents in the high peer discrimination typology is apparent. More specifically, the low peer discrimination typology reported significantly lower internalizing and the low peer discrimination, ingroup peer discrimination, and outgroup peer discrimination typologies had overall lower externalizing symptoms compared to the high peer discrimination typology (internalizing Cohen's  $d = .78$ ; externalizing  $d = .51-.96$ ).

## Discussion

The current study highlighted distinct patterns of in- and outgroup peer discrimination experienced by Latinx youth in emerging immigrant communities. Our findings build on existing literature in many ways, perhaps most notably by documenting ingroup discrimination for Latinx youth in the United States, which, particularly when paired with outgroup discrimination, is associated with significant maladjustment. The present study provides evidence that the source of peer discrimination may matter in terms of psychosocial functioning, suggesting that greater nuance in the peer discrimination literature is warranted.

### Latent Class Typologies

In line with past qualitative research (e.g., Córdova & Cervantes, 2010; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004), Latinx youth report racial-ethnic discrimination from Latinx peers in emerging immigrant communities. Indeed, approximately 14% of our sample reported other Latinx youth as the primary source of their racial-ethnic discrimination experiences indicating that these youth may feel isolated from their Latinx peers. This mirrors previous research suggesting that in some contexts there are tensions between Latinx groups from different countries of origin and even within the same ethnic group, perhaps given differences along other social position factors (e.g., skin color, nativity, social class; Araújo & Borrell, 2006). In the present study, another 15% also reported ingroup discrimination experiences along with racial-ethnic discrimination stemming from the majority outgroup. Taken together, this suggests that nearly a third (29%) of our sample felt discriminated against by their Latinx peers in this community. Although it is not clear

whether the risk for ingroup peer discrimination is greater or less in this emerging immigrant context compared to established immigrant communities, our study contributes to this body of work by documenting that it is a salient experience for Latinx youth in this specific context as past work on ingroup peer discrimination has been conducted in settings with large Latinx populations (i.e., New Jersey, New York, California; Basáñez et al., 2014; Córdova & Cervantes, 2010; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). These findings have particularly relevant implications given that in these emerging immigrant communities youth are likely to also be met with ambivalence and hostility from the mainstream due to xenophobic fears of immigrant populations (Lichter, 2012). In our study, youth lived in a majority non-Latinx White city, but attended schools with a significant Latinx population with a large portion of Mexican origin youth (81% of Latinx people are Mexican origin) potentially suggesting that national tensions may not be the driving force of ingroup discrimination. Because the majority of the literature has focused on between-national origin tensions or differential immigrant status as fueling some of the ingroup discrimination experiences (Córdova & Cervantes, 2010; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004), future research should continue to examine what ingroup discrimination experiences occur across different emerging immigrant community contexts (which likely varies depending on racial-ethnic make-up), and how these experiences of rejection might be uniquely impactful for development. In particular, more research is needed to understand the differential impact of ingroup discrimination due to country of origin differences, nativity, skin tone, and social class.

In addition to documenting the role of ingroup discrimination for Latinx adolescents in this context, our findings also suggest that a significant portion of Latinx youth experience outgroup discrimination (i.e., perpetrated by non-Latinx Whites). Surprisingly, given the context of an emerging immigrant community, only 36% of Latinx youth reported between ethnic group discrimination as being the primary source of discrimination, and it is important to note this group also reported moderate levels of ingroup discrimination as well. Thus, experiences of peer discrimination in these contexts do not solely occur within cross-ethnic contact. In addition, considering the Latinx youth in the high peer discrimination typology, almost 48% of youth report experiences of discrimination from the majority outgroup. Further, the effects of anti-immigrant sentiments in these communities was evident in our results as youth who were classified in groups with higher levels of outgroup peer discrimination (i.e., high and outgroup typologies) reported significantly more foreigner-based discrimination compared to those groups who reported lower levels of discrimination from peers of other ethnic groups (i.e., ingroup peer discrimination and low typologies). These findings complement previous sociological work with Latinx adults in these communities documenting this type of discrimination (e.g., Lichter, 2012).

### Covariates of Peer Discrimination Typologies

Unfortunately, our analyses cannot shed light on what factors differentiate in- and outgroup peer discrimination experiences. There were no differences between typologies on gender, private regard, and public regard. However, we found that youth in the low peer discrimination typology reported higher levels of non-Latinx White cultural orientation compared to the high peer discrimination typology. In the context of an emerging immigrant community where the Latinx parents are predominately first-generation and foreign-born, many youth report high levels of enculturation (Gonzalez et al., 2014). Because it is likely these youth also reported high levels of Latinx orientation, future research should examine how bicultural acculturation processes may

influence youths' experiences and perceptions of racial-ethnic peer discrimination from in- and outgroup members. However, it may also be that youth that are able to fit with the majority outgroup have fewer experiences of harassment and discrimination from their peers. In addition, Latinx youth in the outgroup peer discrimination typology also reported greater non-Latinx White orientation than those in the high peer discrimination typology. This finding suggests there may be more nuance in how acculturative processes influence experience of ethnic-racial discrimination from majority outgroup members. Our orientation measure collapsed identity, behavior, and practices and there may be some differential association with the unique facets of acculturation worthy of further investigation. It is clear given our results and the extant literature that much more research is necessary to understand ingroup discrimination among Latinx youth and variation across contexts.

A pattern across these findings is that adolescents who were characterized by a higher likelihood of experiencing discrimination from same-racial peers and the majority outgroup reported the worst symptomatology. Adolescents who reported the highest probabilities of experiencing in- and majority outgroup discrimination reported significantly higher levels of externalizing symptoms compared to all other typologies, and greater internalizing symptoms compared to the low peer discrimination typology. Thus, in addition to internalizing negative feedback from peers, adolescents in the high peer discrimination typology were also more likely to externalize their negative feelings associated with these marginalization experiences. These associations may be due to the fact that these students feel alienated from both their own racial group as well as the majority outgroup that comprise their school. These youth may be akin to those classified as marginalized within acculturation theory (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006) as they feel disconnected from their own cultural group and the larger receiving context. Although research classifying acculturative experiences of immigrants has not reliably found a large number of youth to classify as marginalized (e.g., Berry et al., 2006), it may be that their discrimination experiences capture their marginalization in ways that other measures of acculturation do not. As researchers and theorists are moving to better define the acculturation experiences of Latinx populations (e.g., Schwartz et al., 2010), cultural marginalization as evident through discrimination experiences will be important to consider as we continue to disentangle the effects of both ingroup and outgroup discrimination. Collectively, these findings point toward a need for schools and practitioners to reduce and eliminate peer discrimination, and particularly to help adolescents who feel discriminated against and marginalized by both in and outgroup peers.

### Limitations

The peer discrimination experiences of Latinx youth living in emerging immigrant communities have not been well articulated in the literature. This is the first study to use a latent class approach to describe the patterns of peer discrimination in any ethnic group thereby strengthening past qualitative and quantitative work. However, it is important to note a few limitations of the current study. All of our participants lived in the same semirural county in North Carolina that has a fairly large Latinx population, and thus their experiences may not generalize to Latinx youth in other emerging contexts with less substantial Latinx populations or greater African American/Black populations. In these contexts, outgroup peer discrimination may be more prevalent. Similarly, the sample consisted of only 7th and 8th graders, and how these experiences change with the transition to high school would be important to examine.

Further, there was not significant variability for country of origin to test whether the same between-groups tensions are noted in these communities as in those in more established immigrant areas (e.g., Córdova & Cervantes, 2010). Our measure asked youth to note other Latinos as sources of discrimination, and future work should examine the country of origin make-up of the sources. Future studies that explore how national tensions play into ingroup peer discrimination and whether discrimination from one's own culture of origin has different effects compared to discrimination from Latinx peers of other nationalities would be informative. Similarly, we did not have enough variability in nativity status to examine whether it was associated with typology membership, and this would be an important factor to consider given that documentation status may serve as a potential risk for ingroup discrimination. Additional studies are needed given the relatively small sample size within respective peer discrimination typologies to increase power across mean comparisons. Finally, given the study associations are correlational and at one point in adolescence, it is likely some of these processes may be reciprocal and have different effects at various points in development. Thus, future longitudinal work with a larger sample size is needed to examine these potential changes and associations over time.

## **Conclusion and Implications**

Despite these limitations, our findings extend our current understanding of peer discrimination for Latinx by documenting the salience of both ingroup and outgroup discrimination using a person-centered approach. These findings challenge implicit assumptions that peer racial-ethnic discrimination is primarily a result of cross-ethnic group contact. Initial implications that can be drawn from the present study are that peer discrimination is harmful across adolescents' psychological functioning and that examining the precise source of peer discrimination can further elucidate the nuanced associations to psychosocial and acculturation processes. Future research should consider source of discrimination when considering its relation to psychosocial outcomes, and the unique developmental impact of feeling discriminated by both in- and outgroup members. Greater focus on measurement issues may also be warranted. In the current study, for example, the threat item had lower conditional probabilities in the outgroup compared to, perhaps, more benign forms of discrimination. Although this same item also had the lowest conditional probability in the ingroup class, more studies are needed to consider whether or not outgroup discrimination should be multifactorial in terms of more/less severe forms of discrimination. Future work in other settings should also take into account other racial groups (i.e., Asian and African American/non-Latinx Black youth) and how acculturative and discrimination processes play out with these groups as well. In terms of clinical implications, our findings suggest that school practitioners should explore both ingroup and majority outgroup discrimination in the provision of interventions aimed at improving peer relations and school connection for Latinx youth.

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