ETHNIC IDENTITY, ACCULTURATION, AND PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION FOR INDIGENOUS MEXICAN YOUTH: A CROSS-CULTURAL COMPARATIVE STUDY OF YUCATEC MAYA ADOLESCENTS IN THE U.S. AND MEXICO

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION AND THE COMMITTEE ON GRADUATE STUDIES OF STANFORD UNIVERSITY IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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August 2011
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Abstract

Latina/o immigrant adolescents often lack resources, are linguistically and culturally misunderstood in school, and constantly stigmatized in American society. Policymakers, practitioners, and educators frequently group Latina/o immigrant adolescents within a single homogenous category. This grouping creates a problem in understanding the diverse experiences of Latina/o adolescents. To explore these diverse Latina/o adolescent experiences this dissertation research cross-culturally compares patterns of ethnic identity and acculturation across a group of Indigenous (Yucatec Maya) immigrant Latino/a adolescents in the U.S. with Yucatec Maya adolescents residing in Mexico and with non-Indigenous immigrant Latina/o adolescents in the U.S.

The mixed methods study intends to answer several questions. First, how do ethnic identity, acculturation levels, perceived discrimination, and sense of school belonging compare across Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S., non-Yucatec Maya Latina/o adolescents in the U.S., and Yucatec Maya adolescents still in Mexico? Secondly, in terms of ethnic identity, acculturation, perceived discrimination, and schooling, what roles do individual factors such as gender, language, generation level, and external factors such as family, cultural practices, ethnic community networks, and peer relationships take in the adolescents’ lives in the U.S. and in Yucatan? Lastly, how do the processes of acculturation, ethnic identity, perceived discrimination, and school belonging relate to and/or affect each other?

This dissertation draws on ethnic identity and acculturation frameworks as they relate to perceived discrimination (the study of how the person targeted by
discrimination reacts and interprets these acts) and to the adolescents’ feelings of belonging at school. Two hundred one adolescents from California and Yucatan, Mexico participated in the study. The participants included 65 Latina/o non-Yucatec Maya heritage adolescents living in the Los Angeles area, 66 Mexican Maya heritage immigrant adolescents living in San Francisco or the Los Angeles area, and 70 Mexican Maya heritage adolescents living in Yucatan, Mexico. All 201 adolescents took a survey incorporating measures of ethnic identity, acculturation, perceived discrimination, and school belonging. Furthermore, semi-structured interviews explored attitudes toward school, culture, discrimination, family, community, and peers influencing the adolescents. Thirty-eight of the adolescents participated in the interviews.

Quantitative findings reveal the intra-group differences across Yucatec Maya and non-Yucatec Maya Latina/os adolescents and the discrimination faced by the growing population of Yucatec Maya adolescents within the Latino/a immigrant groups. The U.S. Yucatec Maya adolescents experience more instances of perceived discrimination than non-Yucatec Latina/o adolescents in the U.S. and Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico. However, both Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico and the U.S. feel equally distressed due to acts of discrimination perceived from adults. Language, gender, and generation all play roles in the amount of peer and adult perceived discrimination experienced and the distress caused by perceived discrimination across Indigenous and non-Indigenous adolescents. The quantitative findings ultimately show that Indigenous adolescents have different psychological and cultural experiences when compared to non-Indigenous Latina/o adolescents. Being
Yucatec Maya, first generation, male, and/or knowledgeable of Maya would put the adolescent at a higher risk of experiencing more perceived discrimination acts and distress. More perceived discrimination from adults also relates to adolescents in the U.S. (both Yucatec Maya and non-Yucatec Maya) resulting in lower levels of school belonging.

The qualitative findings across the non-Yucatec Maya adolescents, Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S., and Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico reveal an in depth look at multiple perspectives surrounding cultural and ethnic identity, cultural practices, American culture, discrimination, school, family, and peers. Specifically for the Yucatec Maya adolescents, the interviews provided a lens into their sentiments about the Maya culture and preserving the culture for future generations. The interviews reflect the agency, reclamation of culture, and lived experiences that make up the Indigenous and non-Indigenous adolescents of this study.

This dissertation study contributes to a better understanding of the racially and culturally diverse adolescents found within the “Latino/a” category. No other study to date has revealed the depth, complexity, and lived experiences of the Yucatec Maya adolescents as they (re)create and (re)claim their malleable Indigenous identity across the multiple geographical, social, psychological, and cultural spaces they find themselves in. The study exposes the Yucatec Maya youth’s resilient identity that emerges regardless of the discrimination they face from non-Latina/o/non-Mexican groups as well as from their own Latina/o/Mexican communities. This understanding is needed to provide more comprehensive resources and services to these adolescents.
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When I decided to come back to Stanford for my Ph.D., I knew it would be a sacrifice, not only because I would not be able to help out economically at home, but because I once again had to leave the people that throughout my life have always grounded me and inspired me to do better: mi familia. So to them, I am indebted beyond belief for the consistent support and love they provide at my highest and at my lowest points. Five years later, I have had the privilege to meet so many individuals who have cared enough to support and guide me toward the completion of my dissertation and doctoral degree.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

On July 2010, Dr. Carola Suarez-Orozco, an immigration scholar and psychology professor speaking on behalf of the American Psychological Association, addressed an ad-hoc hearing of the U.S. House of Representatives discussing the status of immigrant youth in the U.S. and the impact of legislation, stigmatization, and discrimination affecting their psychological well-being (American Psychological Association, Government Relations, 2010). Dr. Suarez-Orozco stated that the field of psychology has plenty to contribute to the discussion of immigrant youth and also alerted the representatives that:

Racial profiling and discrimination has negative implications for acculturation, social belongingness, and the civic engagement of the next generation of immigrant youth. Being the subject of such divisive stereotyping is likely to further inequality and lead to numerous adverse cognitive, affective, motivational, and behavioral effects… (American Psychological Association, Government Relations, 2010).

In the above statement Dr. Suarez-Orozco was referring to the increase in states and localities developing immigrant regulations that lead to negative psychological consequences due to stereotyping and discrimination. These immigrant youth that increasingly face such stigmatization are the fastest growing population in the U.S., with 16 million U.S. youth having at least one immigrant parent. Moreover, Latina/os consist of 16% of the U.S. population, making them the largest ethnic minority group

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1 Immigrant status includes both children/adolescents born outside the U.S. and those youth with at least one parent who was born in a country outside of the U.S.
in American society (Humes, Jones, & Ramirez, 2011). Within this large population of Latina/os lie the experiences of ethnically and racially diverse immigrant Latina/o adolescents attending American schools. Latina/o immigrant adolescents consistently lack resources and are often linguistically and culturally misunderstood (Gandara and Rumberger, 2007; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001; Suarez-Orozco, Suarez-Orozco, & Todorova, 2008). These are all factors contributing to critical issues in educational equity and the stigmatizing of Latina/o adolescents within schools and across American society. As is stated to the ad-hoc committee of the House of Representatives these adolescents are going through many different issues as they integrate into American society, and even after integrating are continuously faced with challenges at home, in school, and with policy and laws alienating and even stigmatizing them (American Psychological Association, Government Relations, 2010). It is crucial for scholars, educators, and researchers to further investigate these populations of adolescents, the wide range of experiences they encounter, the racial, ethnic, and cultural heterogeneity encompassing this group, and how these diverse adolescents adapt to the U.S. A growing number of Indigenous² Latino/as are found within this diverse Latina/o category.

Indigenous Hispanic or Latina/o populations in the U.S., according to the 2010 U.S. Census make up 685,150, which should be treated as a minimum estimate due to undercounting and ambiguity of census categories (Humes et al., 2011; Murillo & Cerda, 2004). California has the largest population of Indigenous Latinos in the

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² In this dissertation indigenous refers to populations and tribes of Native Americans residing in the Americas (North, Central, and South) since before the colonization of these areas by Europeans.
United States (Murillo & Cerda, 2004). Specifically, Yucatec-Maya populations in California are on the rise, with the largest ethnic enclaves existing in San Francisco and Los Angeles (Burke, 2004; Cornelius, Fitzgerald, & Lewin-Fischer, 2007). Within Mexico, one of the largest populations of Indigenous people is in Yucatan, where 65.5% of the state’s population is Indigenous (Lewin-Fischer, 2007). Hence, it is important to look at this specific group within the larger heterogeneous immigrant Latina/o adolescent population in order to begin understanding the diversity and wide range of experiences found within this group as they adapt and face the challenge of stigmatization in the U.S.

For immigrant adolescents, the already emotionally straining path through adolescence is further exacerbated by the physical and emotional transition from one cultural space to another and continued straddling of cultures that must occur in order to adapt to the host culture, the United States. Recently, within the field of psychology, research on immigration issues has increased dramatically (Esses, Deaux, Lalonde, & Brown, 2010). Adding to the interdisciplinary study of immigration, psychology can focus on how the macro-level structures in society such as policies have a mutual influence on micro-level factors like an individual’s attitude or identity (Esses et al., 2010). However, while within the United States there has been an increase in the diverse range of scholarly work conducted on immigrant Latino/a populations there is a gap that exists with the Indigenous immigrant populations and the patterns they take when adapting and negotiating their multiple cultures (the Indigenous, Mexican, and American) (Cornelius, et al., 2007). Navigating these cultural pathways, adapting to the American society they live in, and developing a
sense of ethnic identity, while feeling comfortable within different contexts (i.e., school, neighborhood, home) becomes a huge part of the adolescent development of these Indigenous immigrant youth.

Essentially, the use of Yucatec-Maya Mexican immigrant ethnic group will allow this study to see if the straddling of three cultures, rather than just two, would change or replicate the ethnic identity development, acculturation, sense of school belonging, and perceived discrimination patterns that have been seen in past studies of the Mexican-origin or pan-ethnic Latino/a youth. Would Indigenous immigrant adolescents still acculturate like non-Indigenous immigrant adolescents that do not have a third cultural space to negotiate? Would they perceive discrimination and school belonging similarly than non-Indigenous adolescents? How would they compare to the Indigenous youth still living in Mexico, already negotiating their Indigenous identity with their Mexican national identity?

Therefore, this mixed methods (survey questionnaires and interviews), cross-cultural dissertation study will explore patterns of ethnic identity, acculturation, perceived discrimination, and school belonging across a group of Indigenous (Yucatec Maya) immigrant Latina/o adolescents in the U.S., a group of non-Indigenous immigrant Latina/o adolescents in the U.S., and a group of Indigenous Yucatec Maya adolescents still living in Mexico. Using the indigenous population will allow the study to question findings applied to Latina/os about ethnic identity and acculturation as they influence the psychological process of perceived discrimination and the adolescents’ sense of school belonging. Deconstructing the reified category of “Latino/a” and exploring the sub-groups found within this larger label enables a better
understanding of what resources and services are needed for their educational success and promotes a greater tolerance for the diverse group.

The study’s conceptual framework encompasses ethnic identity and acculturation theory as they relate to perceived discrimination and school belonging. Ethnic identity encompasses practices, traditions, attitudes, history, sense of belonging, and pride for one’s ethnic group. Ethnic identity is fluid, context-specific, and dependent on internal (i.e. gender, physical features, etc.) and external factors such as the interactions with family, peers, teachers and social networks (Hawley, Chavez, & Romain, 2007; Phinney, 1990; Quintana, 2007; Suarez-Orozco, et al., 2008; Tatum, 1997; Umana-Taylor & Fine, 2004). When adolescents reach ethnic identity achievement, they develop mechanisms to disengage from negative stereotypes of their racial or ethnic groups, not internalizing them or letting them affect their self-perceptions of their ethnicity (Phinney, 1993). This allows for positive psychological development of youth in different aspects of their lives, including schooling. Studies that have looked at the racial and ethnic identity of African-American, Latina/o, and other minority group adolescents within the context of school have shown that the risk of educational disengagement increased when adolescents did not identify with their ethnic group at all or only identified with their ethnic-group. When the adolescents incorporated both the ethnic/racial group and the wider diverse American society into their identity, educational engagement increased (Oyserman, Kemmelmeier, Fryberg, Brozi, & Hart-Johnson, 2003). Studies of Mexican-origin students have shown evidence of 1) a relationship between strong ethnic identity achievement and positive attitudes toward school, 2) the importance in
developing positive relationships with other students from different ethnic groups at
school, and 3) the importance of disproving the stereotypes held by other adolescents
at school, all which influence academic success (Gonzalez, 2009; Guzman, Santiago
Rivera, & Haase, 2005). The ethnic identity literature, however, rarely addresses the
perspective of being a subgroup within a larger Latina/o or even Mexican label, and
how this changes the way an adolescent identifies or goes about the development of
her/his identity. Exploring if there are differences between Indigenous and non-
Indigenous adolescents may complicate the findings of prior studies on Mexican
adolescent ethnic identity.

Acculturation strategies of adolescents may also relate to how they are
negotiating their ethnic identity development, adapting to school, and perceiving such
challenges as discrimination which may cause stresses in adapting to the American
culture (Hawley et al., 2007; Suarez-Orozco et al., 2008). Psychologists look at the
individual acculturation of the person as the strategies they use to adapt to another
culture different from their own (Berry, 2003; Padilla & Perez, 2003). Within
schooling the healthiest strategy is biculturalism, which entails adapting to both
cultures, preserving the heritage culture and incorporating the new culture into their
lives (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993; Padilla, 2006). These strategies are
not adapted randomly; instead they are a result of complex reciprocal relationships
with family, peers, and teachers; and individual characteristics such as language
acquisition, generation, gender, and skin color (Padilla & Perez, 2003).

For Latina/o immigrants, perceived discrimination, or how individuals
psychologically interpret and react to discriminatory events against their ethnic/racial
group when interacting with non-members of the group (Dion, 2002; Dion & Kawakami, 1996), increased with their length of stay in the U.S. (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). However, an increase in ethnic identity achievement and loyalty to one’s ethnic group buffered the effects of perceived discrimination (Mossakowski, 2003; Padilla, 2008). Questions remain, within the acculturation literature in terms of what happens when the group acculturating has already had to acculturate previously to another culture. Hence, the conceptual framework for this dissertation is centered on ethnic identity development and acculturation, both theories involving individual, familial, and social factors as they relate to school belonging and psychological processes like perceived discrimination. Therefore, this study will examine the following research questions:

1. How do Indigenous Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. compare to non-Indigenous Yucatec Maya Latina/o adolescents in the U.S. and Yucatec Maya adolescents still in Mexico in their ethnic identity, acculturation levels, perceived discrimination, and school?

2. How do the following individual factors: age, gender, Maya language, and generation relate to the ethnic identity, acculturation, perceived discrimination, and schooling of the Indigenous adolescents in the U.S and in Mexico?

3. How do ethnic identity, acculturation, perceived discrimination, and schooling relate to each other for the adolescents in the U.S and in Mexico?

4. How do the indigenous adolescents still in Mexico describe ethnicity, race, culture and perceptions of discrimination?
5. What roles will familial and cultural practices, ethnic community networks, and peer relationships (external factors) take in the Indigenous adolescents’ lives in the U.S. and still in Mexico in terms of their ethnic identity, acculturative strategies, perceived discrimination processes, and schooling? Are they similar to non-Yucatec Maya Latino/a adolescents in the U.S.?

Examining the ethnic and racial complexity of the Yucatec Maya Indigenous group in both their home country of Mexico and as immigrants in the U.S., between the margins of cultural spaces, is important in painting a more complicated landscape of immigrant America. This research is needed to draw implications for teachers/counselors and scholars to better understand the Yucatec Maya Indigenous population. It serves as a tool for creating programs for Indigenous immigrant youth. Furthermore, it brings exposure to stigma and ethnic/racial discrimination faced by the growing population of Indigenous immigrants and to the heterogeneity of the immigrant experience.

Although there have been few studies about the sending countries of immigrants such as Mexico (i.e. Fitzgerald, 2008; Castellanos, 2007, 2008) and there are limited studies about the Yucatec-Maya in the U.S. (i.e. Cornelius et al., 2007; Fox & Rivera-Salgado, 2004), there is yet to be a study that specifically looks at adolescents of this community, and furthermore that compares Yucatec Maya adolescents still in Mexico with Yucatec Maya adolescent immigrants in the U.S. The research will inform literature that has begun to look at Yucatec Maya immigrant adults in the U.S. and their adaptation and cultural preservation mechanisms used as residents of American society (Cornelius et al, 2007), by expanding it to the issues
their children encounter as they adapt to the places of settlement, and more specifically develop their ethnic identity, acculturation, and encounter prejudices at school. This study will expand into cross-cultural analyses of Maya Mexican adolescents in the United States with Maya Mexican adolescents in Mexico. Ultimately, this study will serve to extend research to other Indigenous immigrants and is foundational for the development of a theoretical model of Indigenous immigrant youth and their identity formation.

Following is the review of literature (Chapter 2) on ethnic identity, acculturation, perceived discrimination, and schooling. Chapter 3 will advance the conceptual framework, questions, and study design and Chapter 4 will expand on the study methodology. Chapters 5 and 6 will focus on the quantitative and qualitative results of the research study, respectively. Lastly, Chapter 7 will integrate a discussion of the results with implications resulting from this study and recommendations for future research.
Chapter 2: Literature Review

Ethnic Identity

Adolescence is a stage of life intensified by the self-exploration and negotiation of external factors encompassed by social, familial, cultural, and psychological changes. During these changes, the adolescent must reconcile different aspects of her life to create a holistic sense of identity that will further develop in adulthood (Erickson, 1950, 1968). The adolescents have to factor in the societal structures they are part of as they undergo this process of personal self-development, and as Erickson (1968) concludes this process figures largely into the psychosocial strength of a person. If this “identity crisis” during adolescence is not explored and the way the adolescent feels about herself/himself and how others see her/him is not negotiated, she/he will lack a clear understanding of her/his holistic identity and will experience “identity confusion,” and her/his identity will not be resolved (identity resolution) (Erickson, 1968).

James Marcia (1966; 1980) situated Erickson’s theory of identity development during adolescence within his own theoretical framework of identity statuses. Marcia (1966; 1980) focused on the “identity crisis” in adolescent development that to Erickson (1968) consisted of identity resolution and identity confusion, and elaborated it as four ego-identity statuses that would be based on the level of commitment the adolescents took regarding the different domains in their life, whether it is gender, religion, being part of a sports team, etc. Hence, instead of encountering confusion or resolution, to Marcia (1966; 1980) identity development in adolescents consisted of a “crisis” in terms of a time of reevaluation and commitment. The level of commitment
the adolescent puts forth takes the form of four different statuses. These non-
sequential statuses consist of: 1) identity diffusion, when the adolescent has not
committed to any form of identity, 2) identity foreclosure, when the adolescent has a
sense of commitment to certain expectations of others, 3) identity moratorium, when
adolescents are attempting to decide on their own values, roles, and identities, and 4)
identity achievement, when the adolescent is committed to a certain identity (Marcia,
1966; 1980).

Incorporating similar aspects seen in Erickson (1950; 1968) and Marcia (1966;
1980), Harter (1990) reviews the creation of the self-concept and identity as being a
social construction encompassing how others, whether it is peers, family, teachers,
influence the search of “the self” taking place during adolescence. The process of
self-exploration and consolidation of different identities that make up a person’s self-
concept is constantly being given feedback by the social support systems the
adolescent has in place. Ultimately, Harter (1990) explores the fluctuations of the self
across various domains whether it be the home, school, at an after-school program,
etc., and how the adolescent merges together all his/her different roles and contexts to
create a balanced sense of self. Although seemingly interchangeable with identity,
the self-concept consists of what the adolescent identifies as, such as ethnic labels,
while for example, ethnic identity would be more the psychological process of
developing a sense of identity and experiences that lead to their ethnic self-concept
(Quintana, Segura Herrera, & Nelson, 2010). However it is important to understand
that multiple identities fit within the self-concept of a person and how factors such as
family context, race, ethnicity, and gender will influence how these identities are negotiated.

Hence in adolescence, youth are exploring and negotiating various aspects of their identity and ultimately creating a way to perceive themselves holistically, forming a self encompassing multiple identities, feelings, perceptions from peers and family, and reactions to social situations. This process of development includes that of ethnic and racial identities. Particular attention must be paid to the construction of ethnic identity and the acculturation process that the adolescent goes through within the institution of schooling and across her/his community and family.

More specifically ethnic identity encompasses practices, traditions, attitudes, belonging, self-identification, and pride for the ethnic group a person considers she/he is part of (Phinney, 1990, 1993; Phinney & Nakayama 1990; Waters, 1990). According to Jean Phinney (1992) ethnic identity is what a person chooses as her/his self-identification with a specific ethnic group. Her/his parent’s heritage or ethnic group can determine a person’s ethnicity, which does not necessarily have to be her/his ethnic identity (Phinney, 1992). Ethnic identity is malleable, fluid, situational, and dynamic, and cannot be completely analyzed without seeing the construction of ethnic boundaries (whether physical or symbolic), and the interactions inside and outside ethnic communities based on family, media, peers, social networks, etc. (Waters, 1990; Nagel, 1994). Roberts, Phinney, Masse, Chen, Roberts, & Romero (1999) discuss ethnic identity as being both a developmental and social process. Ethnic identity has been approached from the Erickson (1968) developmental framework and the Tajfel &Turner (1986) social-identity theory.
The developmental framework looks at ethnic identity as a set of stages in which the person explores her/his ethnic identity and ultimately comes to terms with how it fits within her/his wider identity paralleling Erickson’s (1968) identity development model of exploration, affirmation, and commitment. This developmental process varies with age (Roberts et al., 1999). Social identity theory is based on how individuals perceive themselves to be members of a certain group or social category to which they belong (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). In essence social identity theory looks at how the individual attributes a sense of identity to a specific group and places high value to being part of that group within her/his self-concept (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Hence the person is linked to specific social group through knowledge of the group, but also an emotional attachment to being part of the group (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). From this perspective, it is evident that ethnic identity encompasses a sense of belonging and positive attitudes an individual will have towards their ethnic group.

Several scholars have developed specific identity development models for certain ethnic and racial groups such as Cross’ (1971; 1978; 1991; 1995) model of Nigrescence specific to Black/African-American identity formation, Phinney’s (1993) ethnic identity model for adolescents of multiple ethnic backgrounds, or Ferdman & Gallegos’ (2001) Model of Latino Identity Development. Across these models the adolescents go through stages (not necessarily sequential) where, for example, they are unaware of their ethnic or racial identity, a stage where they encounter situations which lead them to be aware of their ethnic or racial identity, or are at a stage of complete understanding of their ethnic or racial identity and how it fits within the rest of their self.
The Nigrescence model has been modified several times from its original version, but in essence consists of four stages of Black identity development: pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, internalization/internalization-commitment (Cross, 1971; 1978; 1991; 1995). The pre-encounter stage is a point in the person’s life where race is not salient in her developing identity. Due to some social, family, community, or personality factor the person does not have their Black identity salient (Cross, 1995). The encounter stage consists of experiencing an event or series of events that leads to the person questioning Whiteness and the Eurocentric society the person finds herself in, hence pushing her to begin an exploration of her racial identity (Cross, 1995). Immersion-Emersion occurs when the person begins to construct a new perspective and attempts to change the identity she has had as she creates a novel identity. In this stage the person “immerses” into the “world of Blackness” as to “liberate” herself from the Whiteness (Cross, 1995, pp.107). Internalization is when the person sees Black identity as part of a set of other identities, and explores and incorporates other aspects of the self (e.g. religion, socioeconomic status, diversity, etc.). The model is non-sequential and although it is specific more so to racial identity and not ethnic identity, it can be seen as innovative in using identity theory and applying it to the development of African-Americans in the United States.

Ferdman & Gallegos’ (2001) Latino Identity Development Model takes into account the diversity found within the Latina/o group. Ferdman & Gallegos (2001) discuss the heterogeneity found within the Latina/o population in the U.S. that is often ignored by social science research in attempts to unite a wide variety of cultural,
social, and historical experiences within a single group. Romero states that the problem with the placement of these diverse groups under a general label of Hispanic or Latino/a is that it totally ignores the African or Indigenous cultures, emphasizing only the European (in terms of using Hispanic) heritage of this population (as cited in Ferdman & Gallegos, 2001, p. 35). Therefore, it is difficult to construct a development model that is an accurate depiction of the varying experiences, cultures, and identities embedded within the Latina/o label.

So there were multiple factors taken into account in the creation of this model. These factors include the national origin, generation, language patterns, acculturation levels, gender, geographical location, and physical appearance such as skin color. Another main factor was the difference in the way Latina/os view race, ethnicity, and culture (Ferdman & Gallegos, 2001). Many Latina/os do not fit a binary system of race (i.e. black v. white), as Ferdman and Gallegos (2001) put it, “Non-Hispanic Americans are much more accustomed to assuming that being of a different racial category implies a different ethnicity, while Latinos do not necessarily make this assumption” (pp. 39). Culture comes first before race and color, and is seen as an ethnic tie, that is not to say that there is not a sense of valuing “Whiteness” in the Latina/o community and at times denying the existence of African and Indigenous heritage (Ferdman & Gallegos, 2001). Consequently all these variables were considered when the model was developed.

The model consists of six orientations rather than stages to emphasize the non-sequential relation between these. The orientations consist of being: 1) White identified people prefer to identify as White and prefer White culture over Latino
culture, viewing race as black and white and as marrying someone White as “improving the race,” 2) Undifferentiated/Denial individuals do not identify with a specific race or ethnicity, but see themselves as being part of a color-blind society and see racial or ethnic labels as irrelevant, 3) Latino as other persons identify as not being White or Latina/o and frame race as being White and non-White, often identifying as and linking to other people of color 4) Subgroup-identified people who identify with their own subgroup or nationality and although they distinguish themselves from Whites and understand the discrimination that occurs against their subgroup and other Latina/os they do not identify with other Latina/os or people of color, 5) Latino-identified (racial/raza) individuals see themselves as Latina/o and view the common history of colonialism and shared Spanish language as unifying factors making the Latina/o pan-ethnic identity as most prominent, seeing their race or raza as fluid, dynamic, and rooted in historical origins of the Indigenous people that populated North America in the area of Aztlan and evoke a political connotation to the raza identity, and lastly 6) Latino-integrated persons have a clear sense of what their Latina/o identity entails such as being part of a subgroup, embedding the identity within other identities in their self-concept, and understanding the complexity of Whites and other racial and ethnic groups coexisting with them in a pluralistic multicultural American society (Ferdman & Gallegos, 2001). This model begins to identify multiple, diverse identities existing within the Latina/o group, although it is more of a racial development model it emphasizes how racial and ethnic identity for Latina/os is context specific and dependent on external and internal factors that are incorporated within their formation of the model.
Phinney’s three-stage model consists of the “unexamined ethnic identity,” “ethnic identity search,” and “achieved ethnic identity” stages (1993, pp. 67). In the unexamined ethnic identity stage, Phinney (1993) suggests that the adolescent has not explored her/his ethnicity. Phinney (1993) states the results vary as to why the youth have not explored their ethnic identities. The results can be due to parents, social structures, and communities amongst other experiences. In the second stage, Ethnic Identity Search/Moratorium the youth will experience an event that will lead them to explore their ethnicity and culture. The third stage, ethnic identity achievement, incorporates the knowledge and feelings about their ethnicity and culture into other aspects of the adolescents’ self-concepts. Adolescents develop mechanisms to disengage from negative stereotypes of their racial or ethnic groups, not internalizing them and letting them affect their self-perceptions of their ethnicity (Phinney, 1993). This allows for positive psychological development of youth in different aspects of their lives, including schooling.

Ethnic identity, hence, is a complex, multi-dimensional construct and cannot be easily measured by a single instrument at a single moment, since it changes with time and context. Hence, when looking at the ethnic identity of the adolescents in this study, it must be treated as a snapshot of their fluid ethnic identity that is continuously changing throughout their lives, but not underestimated in terms of how it influences other processes.

The benefits of positive identification and links to the person’s ethnic or racial group can bring positive effects to other aspects of their lives, such as school (Chavous, Bernat, Schmeelk-Cone, Caldwell, Kohn-Wood, & Zimmerman, 2003;
Carter, 2005; Quintana, 2007; Gonzalez, 2009). Identity is heavily socio-cultural and socialization of youth should factor in their racial and ethnic background when it comes to understanding the development of their self-concept and in contexts such as schooling, counseling, and within their communities (Quintana, 2007). It is clear that approaches taken in exploring ethnic identity of adolescents need to take into account the context of the person in terms of what the ethnic label may mean to that adolescent in that context (Quintana, 2007).

For the Yucatec-Maya youth, ethnicity can completely change in meaning in the U.S., and will be dependent on how others see them, how they apply this to what they already know at home, and how it will be transformed. Yucatec Maya adolescents find themselves in the crossroads of separate identities, their national identity as Mexicans, their Indigenous identity, and the American identity that many believe must be achieved to succeed in the United States. These three identities may shift or be more salient in different contexts and thus exemplify the complex development of the ethnic/cultural identities of these youth. How are these youth identifying and how strong are their ethnic identities compared to non-Indigenous Latina/os? How are social factors influencing their ethnic identity?

To begin to understand these questions more literature regarding the ethnic identity of Latina/os and Indigenous peoples must be explored. The discussion of the construction of Indigenous ethnic identity from the Mexican scholarship perspective and ethnic identity specifically of Latina/o and Indigenous Latina/o adolescents in the U.S. will follow. In addition, the positive influence of ethnic identity on academics
and psychological processes, such as perceived discrimination, will be discussed later on in this chapter.

*The Mexican Perspective: Ethnicity, Indigenous identity, and the Yucatec Maya*

Indigenous adolescents are part of a marginalized Indigenous group within the larger minority group of the U.S. Latina/o immigrants and within the Mexican borders of a *mestizo* national identity. Hence, one must not only understand both the race and ethnicity literature in the U.S., but also the literature found within Mexican literature in psychology, sociology, and anthropology. The ethnic identity literature in this section, therefore, focuses around the areas of nation and identity within a Mexican context and the Indigenous populations.

The juxtaposition of what it means to be *indio* within the national identity of mestizaje is seen not only by the social class these groups occupy in Mexico, but also by the racial phenotypes. Farr (2006) relates how the ranchero immigrants from Michoacan residing in transnational communities in Chicago identify themselves as Spanish as to separate themselves from the *indio*, and indeed they are lighter skin and have European features. Farr (2006) also explains that mestizaje becomes a sort of façade covering the true racial and ethnic tensions existing within the Indigenous ethnic groups and non-Indigenous ones.

In *Mexico, Identidad, y Nación*, Jose Del Val (2004) discusses ethnic identity similarly to how American scholarship describes the construct: as fluid and context specific, dynamically tied to points of reference such as how others see you and how you process social interactions. Del Val (2004) presents a complicated look at Mexican identity, discussing the idea that the nation explains itself as being mestizo,
but at the same time the Indigenous people live at the margins and are covered by this blanket of seemingly national identity. Mexico proudly reiterates that “between ourselves there is no racism,” yet the differences found in being “blanco” or “indio” definitely shows this to be untrue. Indigenous Mexicans are classified by social class and under the label of campesino (those living in rural areas or field workers) (Del Val, 2004). However, the different experiences and identities of the ethnic Indigenous groups go beyond social class. Del Val (2004) asserts that the individual has to feel as part of the community, the group, and share common bonds with that group as they define themselves amongst other Mexicanos. The Indigenous groups amongst Mexico have gone from being the “problema indio” (Indian problem), to being ethnic groups (etnias). These etnias, according to Del Val (2004), found in a changing global world are also constantly being redefined and changing, not static, and at times threatened by the nation state to the point of “extinction.” Yet, these etnias have persisted and maintained their dynamic identities throughout Mexican history, and as part of the nation that must be addressed just as any other citizens.

Sariego-Rodriguez (2003) summarizes the varying scholarly perspectives surrounding the classification of Indigenous Mexicans. Initially, the policy established for Indigenous populations in Mexico was one of “incorporating” them into Mexican society, such that they would essentially assimilate into the national culture by learning Spanish and through reform of their agrarian way of life. In the late 1940s, however, indigenismo programs took on a more “integrative” role, by recognizing the importance of Indigenous language preservation and creating the INI (1948) in order to follow through with this integrative approach (Sariego-Rodriguez,
Through this frame of *indigenismo*, Indigenous populations are seen as individually identifying with a community of people due to cultural factors such as language, values, specific consciousness, isolation, and residing within specific boundaries and locations, termed *regions de refugio.*

The idea that Indigenous people were separate and different from the mestizo population allowed the government agencies of *indigenismo* to create zones of intervention to reach the goals of cultural integration by education, health, communication, judicial defense, and agrarian rights (Sariego-Rodriguez, 2003). The limitations of this nation-wide system of intervention, however, lie in the homogenization of the different Indigenous ethnic groups across Mexico and a blind faith in complete integration into the modern economy and culture of the country.

For a better understanding of ethnic identity and Indigenous identity in Mexico one must not only look at the construction of this identity on the part of the government, but also from the perspective of the Indigenous persons. In some cases the Indigenous persons may, for example, fit within the geographic indicator (lives in an Indigenous area), and hence labeled as Indigenous, but may not themselves identify as Indigenous or know the language (another indicator) because of the historical construction of mestizaje and negative connotation as to what *indio* represents in a homogenizing Mexican nation, hence assimilating into a culture of mestizaje in order to not feel inferior (Serrano-Carreto & Fernandez-Ham, 2003). This imposes a challenge since each Indigenous person might identify differently and may or may not see themselves as an ethnic group or as a community. Hence ethnic identity becomes

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3 Directly translated as regions of refuge.
a construction that varies across contexts and across perspectives, whether it is the perspective of Indigenous peoples or of the indicators the government has chosen to use to group the Indigenous groups.

Bartolome (1998), referring to the ethnicity of the Maya population, states that ethnic identity specifically results in a historical, social, cultural trajectory of a group. Bartolome (1998) assures that the ethnic consciousness of the individual and the sense of belonging are what shape and define ethnic identity even as what it means to be part of the ethnic group changes. In the case of the Maya, Bartolome (1998) explains that being Maya in the 21st century may be completely different from what it was during pre-Colombian times, however, that does not make them any less Maya. Bartolome (1998) also explains the stratification of the Maya population into the lower social classes of Yucatan. Ultimately being Maya has continued to evolve and change and cannot be identified without a specific context or historical and social explanation of the identities the Maya of Yucatan take on (Bartolome, 1998). As with any ethnic identity, the Maya identity becomes salient with partial dependence to contextual and social situations. In the place of discrimination or with a stigma of being indio, a person may want to disassociate with being Maya, or another person might reaffirm their Maya identity by speaking the language or by sharing certain aspects of their culture with non-Maya persons.

Castañeda (2004) asserts, in discussing the identity of Mayas in Yucatan, that ethnic identity does not only involve understanding the symbolism, cultural factors, and socio-political actions of the ethnic group within the state, but also of belonging, solidarity, and agency of the individuals making up the specific groups. Debates
around Maya identity have centered on issues of whether it truly can be an identity for a group of people, symbolize this solidarity and agency, or even if it is just purely a form of differentiating the state and a community of people living in rural marginalized territories (Castañeda, 2004). Culture is seen as a creation of anthropological studies to speak and think about otherness (Castañeda, 2004). Ethnic identity in the Mexican context, however, extends beyond the concept of otherness and into convoluted intersections. The conceptualization of being Maya, therefore, is not only created by internal relationships between the Maya communities and interactions with “the other” groups such as mestizos or blancos, but also within the development of the Maya people as citizens of a large nation state influenced by institutions, education, political action/inaction, and migration. Guzman-Medina (2005) discusses the persistence and fluid identities of the Maya people in the twenty-first century. Psychologically, identity exists in different contexts and as a marker of difference from others (Guzman-Medina, 2005). It is a self-definition that is influenced by others and how one internalizes these social interactions. Guzman-Medina (2005) looks at the ethnic identity in two regions (Motul and Valladolid) where being Maya varies due to the historical and diverging economic changes that happened in these two different places. Both communities define themselves as Yucatec Maya but are different in how much retention there has been of the Maya language, the level of integration, and how “traditional” the culture has remained. In her study language, family, interactions with non-Indigenous peoples, cultural practices, religion, and politics all play a role in the changing and fluid ethnic identities and self-definitions of the Maya communities. Guzman-Medina (2005)
concludes that the continuation of a shared common past through familial oral stories creates a collective memory expressed and codified by the language and history of ancestors merging it within contemporary times and allowing the “new conditions” of society to form part of that identity. The Maya ethnicity, then, is strongly rooted in a common history and collective memory passed down through generations and the way everyday life is lived and acted.

Even though the Maya identity (in all its different forms) persists, the marginality found in Mexico towards her Indigenous populations permeates the contexts of the Maya people of Yucatan. Bracamonte y Sosa & Lizama Quijano (2003) discuss the marginalization of the Maya populations of Yucatan as results of both segregationist and national integrationist governmental policies. This marginality is not only seen in terms of poverty levels and lack of continuing education past elementary school, but is also reflected in social and psychological issues such as alcohol abuse (65 percent of the population between 10 and 65 years old stated in a survey that they consume alcohol in 1997) (Bracamonte y Sosa & Lizama Quijano, 2003).

In terms of identity, Castillo-Cocom (2005) writes about his own struggle as a “Maya-non-Maya” anthropological researcher. In this case, the author relates his own identities as being fluid and contradictory, stating, “sometimes I am Maya and sometimes I am post-Maya…I am a sociologist, Indígena, anthropologist, Mexican, Yucateco, and none of these…” (Castillo-Cocom, 2005, pp. 134). The author criticizes the academics, politicians, businesspersons, tourism, and the state for creating notions of what Maya or “Maya culture” is (Castillo-Cocom, 2005). The
multiplicity of Castillo-Cocom’s own identities juxtaposes with these notions of being “Maya.” Politicians and scholars essentialize the Maya identity and culture to fit the notions they create whether for their own personal gains in political arenas or scholarship (Castillo-Cocom, 2005). This does not mean that the Maya identity and sense of culture are not real or just a creation of politics, scholarly work, or tourism done in areas like Yucatan. It does, however, reflect the simplification of the complexities and heterogeneity of this community.

For Castillo-Cocom (2005), as a researcher and scholar, to question his own identities that might seem at odds with each other and critique the scholarly creations of what Maya is, leads to a call for more respect and introspection on behalf of the researchers and government. Oyarce and Perez (2003) suggest that studies should begin with qualitative research in which the perspective of the Indigenous people is taken into account. Therefore, in looking at the case of Yucatec Maya Indigenous persons in Yucatan, MX one must acknowledge both the categories created to identify these communities, but also investigate the way Indigenous peoples of Yucatan identify their culture and ethnicity. Consequently, this research study incorporated interviews with Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. and Mexico.

A researcher of adolescent Yucatec-Maya and their ethnic identity development must be aware and respectful of the agency the Maya have in creating their fluid identities and culture that reflect contexts they are in. The current environment and group conditions (e.g. marginality, bilingualism in education, poverty, etc.) need to be considered in conjunction with agency, autonomy, cultural/religious beliefs, ideals, values, language, and history. There must also be an
understanding, as a researcher, of the fact that these conditions are constantly changing for the Yucatec Maya within the Mexican nation state as citizens of the country, and beyond the borders of Mexico into migration spaces.

Ultimately the Maya identity in Yucatan is fluid, yet persistent and persevering across time in situations where many may have assumed that it would have already diminished and completely fragmented by the assimilatory and marginalizing policies that have and continue to exist in the context of Mexico. In the twenty-first century, this persistence to maintain the Maya identity in its diverse and varying forms faces the challenge of globalization and international migration.

The U.S. Perspective: Latina/o, Mexican, and Yucatec Maya ethnic identity

There are various studies that look specifically at the ethnic identity of Latina/o and Mexican (Mexican-American) ethnic identity in the U.S. Umana-Taylor & Fine (2004) discuss the influence of familial ethnic socialization, ethnic composition of adolescents’ school, and the families’ generational status on ethnic identity achievement of Mexican origin adolescents living in the United States. Data was taken from 513 Mexican origin youth in the United States. Three important findings indicate that: 1) familial ethnic socialization was positively influencing the development of the Mexican origin youth, 2) the less family members were born in the U.S. the more the adolescents received socialization into their ethnic group, 3) when there were more Mexican-origin persons in the adolescents’ school the adolescent felt like there was less socialization about their ethnicity on behalf of their families. Hence, this study shows the influence family members and interactions in different environments (such as school) have on the development of their ethnic identity
These surroundings are constantly evolving and mutually *influenced by* and *influencing* the adolescents. So ethnic identity is a continuously evolving aspect of a person’s life.

Kiang, Yip, Gonzales-Baken, Witkow, & Fuligni (2006) explore the influence of ethnic identity on the psychological well being of 415 Mexican (52 %) and Chinese (48 %) background adolescents. The study looked at two dimensions of ethnic identity: 1) ethnic regard, which is the extent to which a person has positive feelings toward her/his ethnic group, and 2) centrality, which is the extent to which the person feels her/his ethnicity to be central to her/his self-concept. The study looked at how these multidimensional constructs of ethnic identity served a protective function in the stressful daily demands these adolescents faced. The study measured the ethnic identity, self-esteem, and for a 14-day period, daily stressors and daily well-being (happiness) of the adolescents. The results revealed that adolescents with a high regard of their ethnic group were happier and less anxious. The ethnic regard served as a buffer against stressful demands (Kiang et al., 2006). This study is foundational to studies regarding the protective function ethnic identity may serve across different psychological processes.

Quintana et al. (2010) conducted qualitative interviews with 24 adolescent Mexican Americans about their ethnic labels and inter- and intra-ethnic experiences to understand their ethnic identities. Six major categories emerged from the interviews. The first category is ethnic identity and includes the ethnic label the adolescents chose for themselves, whether they identified their ethnic identity as being relative to the discrimination which they experience, or the pride they have toward their ethnic
group. The second category is socialization referring to the ethnic socialization they receive from their families and peers. Intra-ethnic support and challenges, the third category, refers to the support and empowerment that they receive from within their ethnic group as well as the challenges they encounter from other members of their group. The fourth category is inter-ethnic relations and attitudes, including the racism and conflicts arising with other ethnic/racial groups, awareness of stereotypes placed on them by other groups, and isolation or segregation from other groups. The inter-ethnic transcendence category emerging from the interviews consists of the adolescents’ defining themselves as being colorblind or beyond race/ethnicity, assimilation, problems encountered when attempting to transcend ethnicity/race, or positive experiences with transcendence. Lastly the ethnic differences and similarities category describes the markers such as language, values, and traditions linking the adolescents to others in their ethnic group and the discussion of differences in privileges and opportunities or social capital as compared to, for example, White adolescents.

The results of Quintana et al.’s (2010) analysis of the categories shows the emergence of three self-concepts: 1) a cultural self, 2) a self that transcends ethnicity, and 3) a possible stigmatized minority self. The analysis also reveals familial, intra-ethnic, and inter-ethnic influences on the process of ethnic identity that results in these self-concepts. Lastly, the analysis shows the adolescents being aware of the stigmatization and discrimination existing but did not seem to be internalizing these stereotypes although many stated that some of their Mexican-American peers had internalized and succumbed to the stigmatized minority sense of self. The study
reflects how internal, external, and contextual factors have huge influences in the adolescents’ ethnic identity process of development and ultimate consolidation of multiple identities into self-concepts. It is a step toward understanding the complexities of Mexican American adolescent identity. The current dissertation study will expand on looking into the stigmatized Indigenous identity embedded within the Mexican or Mexican-American identity and compare how this sense of self factors into the Yucatec Maya adolescents’ self-concepts and across the influences of internal and external factors such as family, peers, and society. A discussion of the literature existing on Indigenous and Yucatec Maya in the U.S. must be conducted.

The Yucatec Maya acculturate and develop their ethnic identities within the Mexican context even before they begin to migrate to the United States in order to improve their impoverished situation (Penalosa, 1986; Popkin, 1999; Cornelius et al., 2007). Castellanos (2007; 2008) researches adolescents migrating within Mexico into the tourist centers for service jobs and the changing gender roles that occur due to this migration. Ashton (1968) looks at adolescents migrating to Belize, and states that they begin to identify with Mexicanidad, however still retain their Yucatec-Maya identity. Although the research may show that Yucatec Maya identity may be decreasing with migration, observational ethnographies show the retention of cultural practices and behaviors that are Yucateco, such as using Maya words in conversation, using hammocks instead of beds to sleep in, and also retaining much of the cuisine and in social networking with other Yucatec-Mayas (Burke, 2004).

Due to increasing economic hardships and scarcity of jobs in Mexico (Massey, Durand, & Malone, 2002; Fitzgerald, 2008), many members of this group start to
migrate to the United States (Sosa, 1997; Cornelius et al., 2007). With international migration the tension of cultures reflected in the Maya-Mexican fusion that may have already resulted in changes of cultural and ethnic identity from the experiences of the acculturation that might occur within the sending country as Yucatec-Maya migrate internally to urban cities (Mexico) is transformed immediately and at a much faster pace by the American culture. This occurs through an automatic immersion into a completely different environment, thus creating fast-paced changes in cultures that are abruptly forced upon the Maya-Yucatec populations in American society. The geographical changes that occur from being in one’s home town to migrating to a completely different physical environment (whether internally to the urban cities or externally to the U.S.) simultaneously occurs with changes in the surrounding ethnic, racial, and cultural contexts.

Fox & Rivera-Salgado (2004) address the Indigenous Mexican immigrants in the United States and the complications that are found in the migration of this population since the 1950s. The book focuses on socio-political organizing of these Indigenous immigrants in organizations that can transcend borders and remain tied to the home culture. Even though organizations and trans-nationalism seem to be the focus of a good amount of articles on the Purepecha, Zapotec, and even a chapter on the increasing Mayan population from Yucatan and Guatemala in San Francisco, the book is the beginning of starting to look at the heterogeneous populations within the Latino/a and even within the Mexican immigrant populations.

Penalosa (1986) looked at the migration pattern of Guatemalan Mayas to Los Angeles in the 1980s. His focus is on the language transmission of Maya across the
cultural spaces. He sees Spanish being used and learned more in Los Angeles than in Guatemala. The immigrants who are learning English are more than often the men and children that are already proficient in Maya and Spanish. Women seem to be learning less Spanish and English and use the native language more. However in his study the children are resisting learning Maya and are more willingly learning English and increasing their Spanish proficiency, hence the move from trilingualism to bilingualism seems to be a trend that Penalosa (1986) sees. This study of Guatemalan Mayas is crucial in the study of Yucatec-Maya youth now because the trends may or may not repeat themselves with the Mexican Maya population. Again, language is emphasized as a marker of the cultural knowledge that these youth may be losing in order to adapt to the dominant culture.

Wellmeier (1998) and Popkin (1999; 2005) explore the transnational links between Guatemalan Mayas in Los Angeles and in their respective hometowns within Guatemala. The focus of these scholars is on Guatemalan immigrants and social organizations they form across the physical borders they have transcended, organizations for Mexican Yucatec-Mayas might be important in researching as it affects the individual’s identity development and adaptation. Cornelius et al. (2007) have began to explore the different ways migration have affected and are continuing to affect the adult Yucatec-Maya population from Tunkas, analyzing the migration flows since the 1990s, economical and political issues driving Tunkasenses to the U.S. and the adaptation these Yucatec-Mayas have in the host society. But, the exploration falls short of looking at the youth specifically and acculturation and identity development at the individual psychosocial level and within schooling of the children.
of these immigrants, since they focus mostly on the predominant migration of Males in their 30s (because that demographic is the highest rate of migration from Yucatan).

Lyman, Cen Montuy, & Tejeda-Sandoval (2007), studied the self-identification of a group of Yucatec Mayas from the Tunkas region of Yucatan, Mexico. The self-identification of adult Yucatec Maya migrants (predominantly male) to the U.S. reveals interesting results (Lyman et al., 2007). If looking at the percentages of migrants to the U.S., internal migrants (within Mexico), and non-migrants identifying as Maya, Yucateco, Mexican or Latin American, the highest percentage across the three groups identify as Yucatecos. There is also a minimal increase in the Yucateco and Maya identity when migrating to the U.S., but a slight decrease when migrating internally, while the Mexican identity increases when migrating internally. The Latin American identity is significantly low across the Yucatec Maya adults (3% for U.S. Yucatec Maya immigrants, 2% for Yucatec Mayas migrating within Mexico (Lyman et al., 2007). Put together, the self-identification with either Yucateco or Mayan (69 percent) is still much higher than that of Mexican or Latin American identity (22 percent) for the migrant population. However, length of stay in the U.S. for the migrants affects the identification of the adults. Those that consider the U.S. their primary residence start identifying more as Mexican or Latin American (Lyman et al., 2007).

Nonetheless, these results are from adults, and a minimal amount of studies have focused on adolescents. The only migration of adolescent Yucatec Mayas that has been researched is the internal migration within Mexico as they go and work in other regions outside of their rural towns (i.e. Castellanos, 2007; 2008).
dissertation expands the conversation of Indigenous Latina/o literature, and provides a lens into the worlds of adolescent Yucatec Mayas across the U.S. and Mexico. Thus, contributing to research in both nations, while beginning to close the gap that exists in looking at the adolescent demographic of the Yucatec Maya immigration in the U.S.

**Acculturation**

A closer look at acculturation theory will also be foundational in the specific processes the Yucatec Maya youth undergo as immigrants in negotiating multiple cultural and geographical spaces. The term acculturation stems from anthropology, which defines it as a group process that occurs when people from different cultures come into contact consistently over a period of time, and hence leads to cultural pattern changes in one or both of the groups (Redfield et al., 1936 in Phinney, Berry, Vedder, & Liebkind, 2006).

Psychological acculturation refers specifically to the changes the individual will have because of their membership in a cultural group that is being affected by the contact with another cultural group (Graves, 1967 in Phinney et al., 2006). Therefore in terms of heterogeneous societies, the diverse cultural groups will have to adapt to some extent to the dominant culture of that specific society. In the literature about acculturation both uni-dimensional and bi-dimensional models exist in terms of how the heritage culture will interact with the mainstream culture. Uni-dimensional acculturation sees the process of acculturation as a continuum with the heritage culture at one end and the host/mainstream culture at the other (Gordon, 1964). The bi-dimensional view of acculturation sees the heritage and host cultures as separate entities not in the same spectrum. The bi-dimensional view of acculturation sees the
heritage and host cultures as separate entities not in the same spectrum. This view has a more multidimensional approach to seeing the outcomes and adaptations the members of the heritage culture will have when interacting with the host culture.

Berry (1976, 1980, 2003) reviews acculturation process as consisting of a cultural group level and individual psychological level. Individually, people will experience psychological acculturation within the same “acculturative arena” in diverging ways (Berry, 2003, p.19). At the group level, there must be an understanding of the two cultural groups before their contact, during the initial and ongoing contact, and the “resulting cultural changes in both groups and emerging ethno-cultural groups” (p.19). At the individual level, a thorough understanding of the changes in the person and effects of such changes in the adaptation to the cultural context must be achieved (Berry, 2003). These changes and effects can be easily achieved or difficult and can create stress or even trauma. These adaptations are psychological and socio-cultural in nature, in other words it affects the person’s self-concept as well as how they interact with others. Berry (1976, 1980, 2003) looks at acculturation strategies that consist of attitudes and behaviors. He also looks at psychological functioning such as language, cognition, personality, identity, attitudes, and stress as responses to the acculturation process (Berry, 1980).

Berry (2003) describes a multi-dimensional model in which the individual makes orientations toward her/his own group and towards other groups (whether it be the mainstream group or other ethno-cultural groups). This consists of four different acculturation strategies (when in the non-dominant group) 1) assimilation; when the person does not want to maintain her heritage culture and aspire to build relationships
and acquire behaviors from daily interactions with other cultures including the 
mainstream one, 2) separation; not wanting to interact with the mainstream culture or 
other cultures and wanting to maintain the original heritage culture 3) integration; 
ideal balance, in order to adapt well by taking from both and maintaining the heritage 
culture while interacting and learning from the other cultures, and finally 4) 
marginalization; when the person does not want to have remaining ties to their 
heritage culture or engage in interaction with the other cultures (Berry, 2003) . The 
dominant group will see these same strategies as 1) becoming part of the “melting pot” 
2) segregation 3) multiculturalism or 4) exclusion. An important point made by Berry 
(2003) in his conceptualization is that although the non-dominant group has leverage 
in their own acculturation strategies the dominant culture also factors into what 
strategies the non-dominant group will take and how these strategies will result in 
behaviors and attitudes. These strategies are not adapted randomly; instead they are a 
result of complex relationships with family, peers, teachers, media, and socio-cultural 
institutions.

In the framework posed by Padilla (1980), cultural awareness and ethnic 
loyalty are used as dimensions of acculturation. In this case, the first dimension, 
cultural awareness speaks of the individual’s knowledge about certain cultural 
materials whether it is the heritage culture or dominant culture. This knowledge can 
be of the language, historical aspects of the culture, musical and artistic forms, or 
behaviors and values and if such knowledge is greater on the heritage side, the person 
is less acculturated, while it being greater on the dominant culture side the person 
would be in a more acculturated space (Padilla, 1980). The second dimension, ethnic
loyalty, is the more affective acculturation dimension. This is how the individual self imposes her ethnicity when identifying in the broader society, or what friends the person chooses to have- if the individual will be of the ethnic group or not. These two may be parallel, both knowledge and affection toward a group may not be there at all anymore or differ, meaning that cultural knowledge may not be there anymore, yet the person may still strongly identify as a member of that group or vice versa. These dimensions of acculturation will be affected by factors such as generation, exposure to discriminatory acts, or others that may push the individual towards one end or the other. This is useful in looking at Mexican-Maya youth as they decide whether to continue identifying as Maya or Mexican or even a more pan-ethnic label of Latino/a, regardless of whether they know the Maya language or Spanish. They might not identify at all with being Maya or Mexican at school, yet might have a lot more knowledge of the Maya language or Mexican history. These are pathways of Yucatec-Maya immigrant acculturation that can be looked at using this and Berry’s (1976, 1980, 2003) framework as a foundation.

Furthermore, Padilla & Perez (2003) present another acculturation model, complementing the former ones, using social cognition and identity, cultural competence, and stigma. In this specific acculturation model the differences of the person going through acculturative processes, such as in education, socio-economic status, personal willingness or motivation, likeability, physical appearance, etc. are taken into account in looking at the multi-dimensions of why the person chooses one cultural group or not. What motivates the person to acculturate or not? The importance of the social identities the newcomers bring with them will affect their
cognitive thought processes, which in turn will dictate their behaviors towards cultural orientations. Also how the dominant culture sees them, will be part of their social identity and hence the way they react to this, whether it be to stereotypes that are positive or negative stigmas imposed on the cultural group will partially dictate how the persons will conceive of their social identity and culture and their acculturation trajectory (Padilla & Perez, 2003). Ultimately, this model includes tools of social cognition and social identity theory along with the stigmatization of certain immigrant groups and not others as crucial in guiding how the individuals will cope and use acculturative pathways.

Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senecal (1997) focus on how larger societal policies and the interaction of the different acculturative orientation of the dominant and non-dominant cultural groups influence the acculturation strategies of the ethnocultural groups. The Interactive Acculturation Model outlines the power the host majority has in terms of what acculturation orientations immigrants will choose and how the immigrants will interact with members of the dominant culture and integrate themselves within the larger society. Hence, these interactions will produce acculturation orientations that will either be consensual, problematic, or conflictive. Again, this model provides a start in looking at how others may view the Yucatec-Maya immigrant youth and how policies on immigration and on Indigenous peoples of Mexico may have and continue to affect how the parents of these Yucatec-Maya youth raise their children to identify with their multiple cultural worlds, as well as how the youth themselves choose or are pushed to identify in a certain way.
LaFromboise et al. (1993) developed a model of biculturalism that shows a more positive outcome of personal growth and psychological well being in becoming competent in the second culture. The model focuses on the relationship the person will have with both environments, the person must have a strong sense of identity and knowledge of cultural beliefs and values as well as a positive attitude toward both groups. The knowledge in both cultural groups will allow the person to feel culturally competent and a sense of what LaFromboise et al. (1993) call bicultural efficacy. Affective and cognitive skills will allow for the creation of support systems in both cultures that will allow for high levels of grounded-ness in both the heritage culture and mainstream culture and will have healthier mental and physical lifestyles, performing at high levels vocationally and academically (LaFromboise et al., 1993).

Padilla (2006) also looks at the effects of factors such as generation, mixed ethnic and racial heritage, and phenotype on the bicultural socialization of children of immigrants and later generation youth. In the development of bicultural competence the different cultural contexts bring about different challenges in achieving biculturalism versus marginality. These perspectives argue against a simplistic uni-dimensional view of acculturation and for the benefits of bicultural socialization in the psychosocial development of youth. Both, LaFromboise et al. (1993) and Padilla (2006) emphasize the complexities of becoming bicultural, as well as the benefits in other areas of the person’s psychological wellbeing. Phinney et al. (2006) pose how these acculturation models can be applied specifically to immigrant youth emphasizing that youth attitudes, social identities, language development, peers, families, and the concept of perceived discrimination to fully comprehend the
acculturation process and its affects on the adolescent youths’ behaviors and outcomes in areas such as school.

As part of the acculturation process, immigrant families may experience cultural dissonance (Phinney & Vedder, 2006; Suarez-Orozco et al., 2008). When families migrate to the U.S. tensions may build between the parents and adolescents. Adolescents are acquiring cultural norms, rules, and expectations at a faster pace than their parents due to their wider contact with American culture (through schooling and the media). Immigrant parents seeking to provide for their families first, most likely connect to people with similar ethnic backgrounds or immigrant identities for support (Suarez-Orozco, et al., 2008). Hence parents are more removed from the host culture. This causes a tension as the adolescents begin to internalize the new cultural expectations and values, which clash with the parent’s cultural values. This tension is more common when adolescents are second generation (born in the U.S.) or were brought to the U.S. when they were very young (less than 12 years old). Although this dissonance is present in immigrant family relationships, in a study of immigrant youth from different ethnicities, conflict from these differences did not seem to be a huge problem for the adolescents, although there were reports from parents as to the distancing in communication with their children as they spent more time in the U.S. (Suarez-Orozco et al., 2008). Issues such as dating and an increasing gap between parents and their children’s education in the long-term increased these tensions.

Suarez-Orozco et al. (2008) state that although this tension between the parents and students may raise concern, there is no direct link between these and the adolescents’ school performance. Phinney & Vedder (2006) found in their study of
immigrant families and non-immigrant “national families” that there are no
differences in discrepancies in relation to gender or age and that parents with higher
levels of education have a slight lower score for what they believe their children
should do (obligation). Intergenerational discrepancies exist across both immigrant
and non-immigrant families. However, immigrant families have more differences
between parents and children in terms of what the children’s obligations consist of as
compared to national families.

Consequently, the acculturation pressures of independence are pitted against
the immigrant parent values of being interdependent and of adolescents having
obligations toward their families. This was found to be stronger when “adolescents
lean toward assimilation and parents wish to maintain their own traditions,” which
Phinney & Vedder (2006) term the acculturation gap (pp.182). While adolescents
who are more oriented toward their home culture have less discrepancies with their
parents in terms of their obligations. The impact of these discrepancies of level of
obligations adolescents have in immigrant families is no greater than for national
families. In both cases, however, the intergenerational discrepancies have a negative
effect on adaptation, but not greater for immigrant families, this is an important
finding that counters generalizations made of immigrant adolescents being more likely
to have poor adjustment because of acculturation differences within the family.
Nonetheless, the differences between parents and adolescents are greater for
immigrant families because of acculturative processes. The level of obligation
immigrant adolescents feel toward their families decreases with their length of stay in
the host country (Phinney & Vedder, 2006).
Both Suarez-Orozco et al. (2008) and Phinney & Vedder (2006) state that the differences found between the parents and adolescents of immigrant families are not as concerning as some assume in terms of adolescents being prone to poor adjustment and in fact evidence shows that immigrant adolescents adapt equally or better than non-immigrant youth even though the intergenerational discrepancies and cultural dissonance is higher than for non-immigrant families showing the resilience of immigrant youth. There is a higher level of interdependence and more responsibilities expected from adolescents in immigrant families than in non-immigrant families, such as serving as translators for their parents. Most adolescents of immigrant families express an understanding of their parent’s struggles to give them a better life/education with gratitude, appreciation, and a sense of duty and responsibility (Suarez-Orozco et al., 2008).

However, Love & Buriel (2007) addressed concerns of bicultural and acculturative stress of Mexican American adolescents because of obligations placed on them and pressures from parents that include language brokering (or translating for their parents). Also, Romero & Roberts (2003b) looked at the stressors faced by 881 bicultural and bilingual Latina/o adolescents. Most were born in the United States to immigrant parents, with only 18.7% being immigrants themselves. 21.7 percent of the students used English only, 64.8 percent were bilingual in English and Spanish, and 11.4 percent only used Spanish. Cognitive appraisal of stress was looked at due to intergenerational conflict, monolingualism, and discrimination and how these relate to depressive symptoms. Immigrant youth reported the most stressors in general, but U.S. born youth reported that they found needing more fluency in Spanish and a
stronger knowledge of their parent’s culture as a stressful situation. Immigrant youth reported needing more English in school as a source of stress. Ultimately, the study revealed that both immigrant and U.S. born youth experience depressive symptoms related to bicultural stressors. In another study, Romero, Martinez, & Carvajal (2007) looked at bicultural stress coming from discriminatory situations, immigration experiences, and acculturation factors that can affect risky behaviors and depressive symptoms. The results showed that these stressors are definitely related to risk behaviors such as smoking, drinking, drug use, violence, and depressive symptoms. Also the bicultural stressors accounted for a prevalence of differences in risk behaviors because of ethnic identity, SES, or acculturative factors. They suggest that bicultural stressors may impact mental health and well being of adolescents at risk of hazardous behaviors.

Ultimately the differences found in immigrant families and effects of negotiating family obligations, multiple cultural contexts, and using acculturative strategies to become bicultural and continue to be bicultural are all very complicated and can be taxing immigrant adolescents. The way biculturals will adjust the schemas of both cultures can also influence their levels of stress, Benet-Martinez and Haritatos (2005) found that “blending” the two cultures instead of keeping them as separate cultural schemas may reduce the stress of bicultural persons. For Yucatec Maya adolescents how does the third culture fit within the blending or the tools they use to keep the three cultures (Mexican, Maya, American) separate?

One must understand that the process of acculturation is multi-dimensional and dependent on many factors not limited to the individual characteristics (e.g. gender),
the context (both geographical and cultural) they are in, their peers, families, communities, and wider societal influences such as inequities in educational opportunities or stigmatization of their ethnic groups. Reception context (or how/where the immigrants will be received) is a huge factor as to how acculturation will or will not occur (Shwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, and Szapocznik, 2010) and more attention should be placed on it when discussing acculturation.

Both the identity and acculturation intersect in being the foundational processes that can be explored in the Yucatec-Maya Mexican youth immigrating to the United States and even acculturating within Mexico. The theory and frameworks that have been developed can be taken to investigate how these youth are adapting to multiple cultural spaces that are part of their lives. In both identity and acculturation theory the coping strategies of these immigrant persons are in constant flux amongst malleable identities and cultural orientations.

Perceived Discrimination

Latina/o immigrants are often profiled as a homogenous group that is “inassimilable” within American society, reluctant to learn English and a threat to American values (Suarez-Orozco et al., 2008; Tatum, 1997). They are also identified as an economic “burden” to society taking educational and work opportunities from “Americans.” On top of these generalizations, immigrants are also stereotyped as becoming violent “gang members” and/or criminals (Wiltberger, 2007). Anti-immigrant sentiment and xenophobia in American society aggravates the stigmatization and stereotypes placed on Latina/o immigrants and specifically undocumented immigrants (Abrego & Gonzalez, 2010; Cowan, Martinez, Mendiola,
Meanwhile, Indigenous populations are stereotyped in Mexican culture as being part of history, blended into the nation’s mestizaje, and seen as “backwards” or ever unintelligent (Castañeda, 2004; Fox & Rivera-Salgado, 2004; Stavenhagen, 2002). In both nations, these stereotypes and prejudices do not only affect adults living within the labels imposed on them, but also permeate to youth through the images seen in the media, the interactions with peers, and also other adults such as teachers. How then are these images affecting the youth placed within these labels and misconceptions?

Misconceptions and preconceived notions with limited information about people, or prejudice, based on their ethnic or racial group are very common in the lives of minority students (Tatum, 1997). As Tatum (1997) discusses, minority adolescents experience ethnic and racial stereotypes and prejudices in their schools with their peers, and even with their teachers. These stereotypes are internalized to some degree by minority adolescents and have consequences in the development and understanding of the youth’s own ethnic or racial identity (Garcia Coll, et al., 1996; Tatum, 1997). Ethnic and racial discrimination, hence, consists of the unfair treatment and on basis of these racial and ethnic prejudices and misconceptions (Garcia Coll et al., 1996). Ethnic and racial discrimination can also consist of systematic exclusions from specific resources and limits on having access to those resources (Garcia Coll et al., 1996). Hence ethnic and racial discrimination is not just a personal ideology or prejudice, but it is institutionalized through politics, policies, and practices that favor the persons or group in power and puts racial/ethnic minorities at a disadvantage (Tatum, 1997).
Garcia Coll et al. (1996) recommend that discrimination be considered as part of a more comprehensive conceptual model of looking at minority youth development. The model for minority adolescent development put forth by Garcia Coll et al. (1996), consider prejudice, racism, discrimination and oppression as central to understanding the experiences of minority adolescents in environments that are physically, economically, and even psychologically segregating contexts, hence creating either encouraging or inhibiting environments for cognitive, social, and emotional development. The mutual influences of socio-cultural and historical influences on the current contexts and familial structures, roles, values, and racial/ethnic socializations must not be overlooked in the development of adolescents (Garcia Coll et al., 2006). Therefore looking at the construct of discrimination and how adolescents come to perceive it is crucial in understanding youth development. Specifically, ethnic and racial discrimination is consistently present in the lives of immigrant youth, and Indigenous peoples of Mexico in the media, schools, government policies, and national dialogues (Castañeda, 2004; Fox & Rivera-Salgado, 2004; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001).

Consequently, perceived discrimination refers to how individuals interpret events as discriminatory against their ethnic/racial group when interacting with non-members of the group. It is the psychological process of how the person targeted by discrimination will react and interpret these acts (Dion, 2002; Dion & Kawakami, 1996; Padilla, 2008). Perceived discrimination is a stressor, causing anxiety, anger, and is often taxing because it usually occurs unexpectedly (Dion, 2002). It is very difficult to know how much of the perceived discrimination experienced by an
individual is in reality actual discrimination; however, perceived discrimination is a very important and salient psychological process of immigrant and minority individuals (Dion & Kawakami, 1996). Discrimination and racism related stress have been associated with increase levels of depression and psychological stresses (Finch, Kolody, & Vega, 2000; Flores et al., 2008; Kessler, Michaelson, & Williams, 1999; Lang, 2001; Reynolds, Sneva, & Beehler, 2010; Szalacha et al., 2003).

For example, Finch et al. (2000) looked at the relationship between perceived discrimination and depression among 3,012 adults of Mexican origin in Central California. The study reveals that there is a direct relationship between perceived discrimination and depressive symptomatology. The results also show that highly acculturated/native born (born and raised in the U.S.) adults perceive less discrimination than immigrant in contrast to those born outside of the U.S. and are Spanish speakers. These immigrants perceive more discrimination as they learn English and acculturate, a finding that is reaffirmed by Portes and Rumbaut (2006). Acculturative stress is also shown to increase perceived discrimination across immigrant and native-born adults, having a bigger effect on adults identifying the U.S. as their primary residence. Finch et al. (2000) also state that reports of perceived discrimination are under-reported because individuals attest the discrimination to their ethnic or racial group as a whole and not to them individually as a psychological mechanism known as the personal/group discrimination discrepancy. Lastly, native residents who are legally in the U.S. have higher levels of depression related to higher levels of acculturative stress when questioned about their legal status or English knowledge (Finch et al., 2000).
Furthermore, Flores et al. (2008) reveal the influence of perceived discrimination on mental and physical health of 215 Mexican origin adults. Results show the increase risk at general health and mental health problems for these adults due to the perceived discrimination even when controlling for general stress. The results of this study are the first to show that both psychological well-being and physical health are compromised because of perceptions of discrimination becoming a chronic stressor in the lives of Mexican origin adults. Also men more than women show a higher influence of perceived discrimination on general health. Flores et al. (2008) attribute this difference due to gender to men having different coping strategies than women which may not help them with physiological symptoms, while women discount experiencing discrimination in some instances and more likely to find social support than men. These are important findings that show how taxing perceived discrimination can be to individuals.

However, some scholars have shown that perceived discrimination may serve a positive factor in individuals. Some studies suggest that perceiving discrimination or prejudice when given negative feedback and attributing it to the source of the perceived discrimination can be protective of the individual’s self-esteem and act as a buffer (Crocker, 1999; Crocker & Major, 1989; Crocker, Voelke, Testa, & Major, 1991). Hence attributing the judgment to the person’s prejudice and ignorance and not internalizing it to reflect on oneself can decrease the effects on self-esteem and act as a resilience tool (Szalacha et al., 2003). Dion (2002) refutes this position, stating that the buffering effect varies across groups and may not even appear in some, the studies where perceived discrimination is buffering self-esteem outcomes is with African
Americans, but results with women in the Crocker et al. (1991) study are marginal and weak and studies with other groups such as Jewish Americans also show little evidence (Dion, 2002). Dion (2002) hypothesizes that the results may have to do with the fact that African-Americans through ethnic socialization have learned to discount negative opinions from White persons as a way of maintaining their self-esteem. So other groups may still be affected psychologically and physically (as seen with Flores et al., 2008) if they have not been socialized to attribute judgments to the ignorance and prejudice of the person negatively evaluating them. Some researchers argue that levels of depression and anxiety are predicatores to perceived discrimination (Phinney, Madden, & Santos, 1998), while others may also find the relationship between this mental health issues and perceived discrimination to be circular (Szalacha et al., 2003).

Szalacha et al. (2003), review other aspects of perceived discrimination specifically as it relates to adolescents. In two longitudinal studies of Puerto Ricans in the U.S. mainland, Szalacha et al. (2003) show that in both cases adolescents who report more perceived discrimination also reported higher levels of depression, stress, problems at school, and lower global self-esteem. Another significant finding from these studies was that, due to the continuous experiences with discrimination, 50 percent of the adolescents were also constantly anxious and worried about their upcoming encounters with discrimination. This anxiety and stress caused is yet another example of how perceived discrimination adversely affects the psychological well-being and health of adolescents. The studies also found that mother’s level of anxiety over encountering discrimination was related to the adolescent’s lower self-
esteem, more depression, and academic stress (Szalacha et al. 2003). Possible factors that may increase perceived discrimination specific to Puerto Rican adolescents are poverty, limited English, and the juxtapositions of a collective home culture with the individualistic American culture. Lastly, in the review of perceived discrimination, Szalacha et al. (2003) state that potential protective factors for perceived discrimination could be having ethnic pride and adapting bicultural strategies. An important point made by Szalacha et al. (2003) is that in researching perceived discrimination the ultimate goal should be to understand and develop ways of working against racism and discrimination, not of just finding ways to protect those affected from perceiving it.

In a study of 287 American Indians, adults’ perceived discrimination is taken into account when exploring depressive symptoms, which exist in extremely high rates in this community (Whitbeck, McMorris, Hoyt, Stubben, LaFromboise, 2002). Results revealed that perceived discrimination was indeed associated with more depressive symptoms. The study also found that regular participation in traditional cultural practices served as a buffer for the effects of perceived discrimination (Whitbeck et al., 2002).

In another study of African-American adolescents, Brody et al. (2006) a longitudinal analysis explored the relationship between perceived discrimination and adjustment, as well as contextual variables influencing this relationship. During a five-year period data was taken from 714 adolescents, three times. Occurrences of perceived discrimination increased more and more at each of the three intervals of data collection. Results revealed that higher perceived discrimination was associated with
higher instances of misconduct and higher levels of depression. Perceived discrimination had a stronger association with behavior and conduct for African-American boys. Hence, gender differences were revealed. However, for depression levels gender did not matter. Contextual moderators such as involved parents, high academic achievement, and friendships with pro-social adolescents buffered the negative effects of perceived discrimination (Brody et al., 2006).

Stone & Han (2005) look at Mexican American students and the relationships between school contexts, perceived discrimination, and academic performance. The study is based on a secondary analysis of the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001) looking at second-generation adolescents in San Diego, California and Miami/Fort Lauderdale, Florida. The results of the study revealed that students’ perceptions of their schools as being poor in quality were linked with increase experiences with perceived discrimination from teachers. The perception of society as non-racist was associated with less expectations of encountering discrimination in the future. Lastly, perceptions of poor school environments regardless of perceptions of discrimination were associated with lower grades (Stone & Han, 2006). Hence, this study shows the importance of contextual factors such as in this case, school environment, in the understanding of the effects of perceived discrimination.

Greene, Way, & Pahl (2006) looked at Latino, Black, and Asian American high school students and their patterns of perceived discrimination during a 3-year period. The study looks at perceived discrimination coming from two factors peers and adults. The authors look at perceived discrimination as a developmental process
that must be studied longitudinally. The authors also take gender into account as past studies have shown boys encountering and therefore perceiving more instances of specific types of discrimination, such as from police (Greene et al., 2006; Tatum, 1997). Also, ethnic group differences are taken into account, for example Black adolescents report more instances of institutional discrimination, while Asian adolescents encounter more peer discrimination (Fisher et al., 2000 as cited in Greene et al., 2006). Results show changes over time that occurred as students got older and were exposed to more discrimination. The students increased their reports of perceived adult discrimination, while perceived peer discrimination leveled off with age. Black adolescents showed a steeper increase in both adult and peer perceived discrimination over time than the Puerto Rican Latino adolescents. Peer and adult discrimination perceptions were both linked to decreased self-esteem and increased depressive symptoms (Greene et al., 2006). The authors of this study also reveal that ethnicity and ethnic identity act as moderators of perceived discrimination.

Borsato (2008) conducted a cross-sectional study of 409 Latino, White, and Asian heritage early adolescent students (7th and 8th grade) and the patterns of perceived discrimination they developed. Borsato (2008) finds that gender and socio-economic status influence the levels of perceived discrimination of these students. Borsato’s (2008) study looks at perceived discrimination as consisting of two constructs, that of peer perceived discrimination and of adult perceived discrimination. Hence one factor reflects the adolescents’ perceptions of discrimination from their peers and the other looks at the perceptions of discrimination from adults surrounding them in school or in their community. Even though these students are younger than in
the other studies reviewed, most of the adolescents had encountered one or more
instances which they perceived as discriminatory because of their ethnicity or race.
The study shows that Latino youth reported higher levels of adult perceived
discrimination and Asians reported higher levels of peer perceived discrimination
(Borsato, 2008). Being male and having low socio-economic status were also
predictors of higher levels of discrimination. Results also revealed that both peer and
adult perceived discrimination is a risk factor for depressive symptomatology and
aggression. Perceived peer discrimination was also seen as a predictor of delinquency.
Perceived adult discrimination was revealed as a predictor for drug use. Higher levels
of perceived peer discrimination were found to be associated with lower levels of
academic motivation, while high levels of perceived adult discrimination associated
with low grades. The adult perceived discrimination was also found to have a
mediating role in the difference in achievement between White and Latino students
(Borsato, 2008).

For immigrants, perceived discrimination is prominent throughout their
experience in the host nation, however there are studies that reveal that perceived
discrimination increased as they stayed longer in the country and learned more about
the nation (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). These authors claim (in a study with Mexican
origin and Cuban origin immigrants) that with acculturation a more “critical view and
greater perception of discrimination” exists (p.199). In the literature specific to
Yucatec-Mayas, stress and depression is higher as compared with the stress of those
that are still in the town of Tunkas, Mexico for migrants. There is a significant
increase in depressive feelings for migrant populations and perceptions of
discrimination as they learn more about American society, on top of stresses having to do with legal status (Prelat & Maciel, 2007). So even though they had not been here long, they were already experiencing high levels of perceived discrimination (Prelat & Maciel, 2007). Hence ethnic identity, acculturation, and individual factors such as gender and generation may be related to the perceived discrimination of Indigenous adolescents in the U.S. and Mexico.

In another study of Yucatec Mayas, adults stated that they have not encountered a lot of discrimination from others when they initially arrived to the U.S. (Lyman et al., 2007). School, through classmates and possibly even teachers/counselors provides a context for Yucatec Maya adolescents, children of these adults, to experience perceived discrimination, therefore exposing them to more instances than adults. This dissertation study specifically will begin to close the gap in literature that addresses children of Indigenous Mexican immigrants in the U.S. to explore issues such as if adolescent Yucatec Mayas do report perceived discrimination in contrast to adult Yucatec Mayas.

The role of perceived discrimination in immigrant and minority adolescents’ lives is important as it relates to negotiating ethnic identity. Literature about ethnic identity states that adolescents who reach complete ethnic identity achievement develop mechanisms to disengage from negative stereotypes of their racial/ethnic groups and do not internalize or allow them to affect their identities (Phinney, 1993). This allows for positive psychological development of youth in different aspects of their lives. Several studies have shown perceived discrimination to be moderated by ethnic identity (Mossakowski, 2003; Romero & Roberts, 2003a). Studies show an
increase in ethnic identity and loyalty to one’s ethnic group buffers the effects of perceived discrimination (Mossakowski, 2003; Padilla, 2008). Adolescents that have a strong level of ethnic identity hence use their ethnic identity as a protective asset to distance themselves from feelings of anger, sadness, or anxiety that can be caused by the stress of perceived discrimination.

Romero & Roberts (2003a) examined the relationships between multiple ethnic identity structures, perceived discrimination, and self-esteem of Mexican American adolescents. In this study, perceived discrimination related to lower levels of self-esteem. Ethnic identity (both affirmation and exploration) was negatively associated with perceived discrimination. Ethnic affirmation was associated with higher self-esteem. High ethnic affirmation moderated high perceived discrimination and allowed for high levels of self-esteem, while low ethnic affirmation and high perceived discrimination was linked to low self-esteem. Results show that ethnic identity is functioning as a protective factor from perceived discrimination for self-esteem (Romero & Roberts, 2003a). Hence, ethnic affirmation should be considered in addressing interventions for self-esteem and perceived discrimination. Increase pride for one’s ethnic group, therefore, can serve to protect the mental health of adolescents.

Mossakowski (2003) also conducted a large-scale study of Filipino Americans to examine if ethnic identity is associated with mental health and reduction of stress of discrimination. Results revealed that a strong ethnic identity, pride in ethnic group, and involvement in ethnic practices on its own reduced mental health issues such as depressive symptoms. While racial and ethnic discrimination is related to an increase
of depressive symptoms, ethnic identity buffers the effects of the discrimination on mental health.

Meanwhile, Padilla (2008) argues that when experiencing stigmatizing or racialized discriminatory encounters, an individual may use various coping mechanisms to moderate the aggression or threat. The mechanisms used will depend on the extent of the perceived discrimination, the views the person has of their stigmatized group and their own self, and the ethnic socialization received from their family. Consequently, individuals may engage in the coping strategies of social activism (asserting the ethnic identity and engaging to some extent in responding to the social injustices their group faces through activism), assimilation (passing through complete integration with dominant group), or biculturalism (being part of multiple groups and flexible with identities in order to maintain ethnic group competence while becoming competent within the dominant group) (Padilla, 2008). Ultimately these coping strategies, again, show the malleability of ethnic identities and how salient they can be in different contexts at different times. Perceived discrimination and stigmatization of the individuals can lead to coping mechanisms and tools motivating non-dominant group members to increase their cultural knowledge or ethnic loyalty to achieve a more balanced bicultural orientation (Padilla, 2008).

Immigrant Indigenous communities have been shown to cope with experiences of discrimination by using social networks and support. It is revealed in Popkin’s (1999; 2005) exploration, that when confronted with discrimination, the Pan-Mayan movement in Guatemala (channeled through the immigrant’s cultural and religious organizations that have been created in Los Angeles) increasingly influences the
Guatemalan Maya immigrants. Hence this research attests to the concept that perceived discrimination and stigmatization of the heritage group, may increase the want to identify with the group through such organizations and allow either for a bicultural strategy of acculturation, or in other cases a more separating strategy away from the dominant culture. Scholars consider the level of support from immigrant social networks as a buffer to discriminatory experiences (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006; Prelat & Maciel, 2007). Other literature emphasized that both the support from ethnic social networks and social support provided by the host nation (non-ethnic group related) are important in buffering the effects of perceived discrimination on well-being (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Leibkand, Jaakkola, & Reuter, 2006).

This exploration of perceived discrimination, stress, and coping mechanisms within marginalized minorities, and more specifically Latina/os, is clearly useful in identifying how the Yucatec Maya will adapt within their new cultural context, whether within Mexico or in the U.S. with the Indigenous group in both nations. Another aspect that may lead to perceptions of discrimination specific to the Indigenous Yucatec Maya population is a language marker. Speaking Maya has been seen in a negative light for decades and hence parents have not transmitted it as much to the adolescents, because of linguistically oppressive policies in Mexico (refer to the section on Mexican Indigenous identity), therefore, leading to fear of putting their children in a place to be discriminated.

Like the other theories already discussed on ethnic identity and acculturation, the literature on perceived discrimination provides another lens as to what types of adaptations and psychological processes the adolescents that will be addressed in this
study (Yucatec Maya in the U.S., Non-Yucatec Maya in the U.S., and Yucatec Maya in Mexico) go through as they negotiate their identities and whether there are significant differences amongst them, in their experiences and perceptions of discrimination.

School, Ethnic Identity, and Acculturation

After considering the literature on ethnic identity theory, Mexican and U.S. perspectives of ethnic identity, acculturation, and perceived discrimination as all being crucial in the understanding of the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. and Mexico and as compared to non-Indigenous adolescents, the literature review turns to the adolescents’ school context in the U.S.

Oyserman et al. (2003) look at the racial-ethnic schemas of African-American, Latino, Native American, and Arab-Palestinian Israelis in schooling. Their study explored the relationship between minorities that are at risk of being disengaged academically and their racially ethnic schema (RES), the study found that if one lacks RES the risk of educational disengagement rises (Oyserman et al., 2003). Also if the RES is “in group only” oriented (meaning that there is no reference to the wider American society), academic disengagement increases. The most suitable RES is that which incorporates both being part of an in-group or a minority group and also negotiating the larger society. In a more recent study, Oyserman, Brickman & Rhodes (2007) assert that the individuals not only need to have a positive view of their minority group but also a view that the group they belong to values educational attainment. This then will encourage academic engagement.
Looking at acculturative stress, self-perception, and into developing a Latina/o
specific model for academic achievement, Hawley et al. (2007), emphasize the
importance of family and spirituality in the youths’ lives to cope with the stresses of
adaptation to the mainstream culture. This is especially important for their self-
concept when the youth are encountering discriminatory acts and in turn accounts for
better academic achievement (Hawley et al., 2007). In another study Guzman et al.
(2005) examine the attitude toward school/education and GPA of Mexican-origin
students, while testing the relationship between ethnic identity, other-group
orientation, and fatalism in the understanding of their academic achievement. The
study revealed the importance in developing positive relationships with other students
of Mexican-origin, of color, and White-Europeans students at school. Another finding
was the importance of disproving the stereotypes held by both the dominant group and
the ethnic group these students belong to in order to have a more positive outlook that
may lead to academic success (Guzman et al., 2005).

Gonzalez (2009) also heavily emphasizes the effect of positive ethnic and
racial interactions for students to affirm their ethnic identities and help with their
academic achievement. Students in the study, who were Mexican-American, report
the positive effects on their self-perceptions and academic engagement of
encountering and participating in events that dispel stereotypes and stigmas and
acknowledge assets (i.e. being bilingual) of their ethnic groups (Gonzalez, 2009). All
these studies can be referenced in looking at how possible interactions across the
contexts Yucatec-Maya youth immerse themselves in may influence what cultural
orientations these youth choose, how they develop their ethnic identity, and the benefits of preserving the Yucatec-Maya and/or Mexican identities.

Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco (2001) review the identity negotiations immigrant adolescents or children of immigrants have to go through to achieve ethnic identity development. The development of their identities depends highly on social mirroring and self-evaluation of the perceptions peers, family, teachers, etc. may have of the youth. Factors such as gender, stress and increased responsibility placed upon them (i.e. serving as translators), generational status, and reasons for immigrating influence the acculturation patterns of youth (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001). Acculturation thus occurs, under three pathways that include 1) ethnic flight (when the immigrant child completely emerges himself into the host culture and denies the native/home culture) 2) adversarial stance (when the adolescent only focuses on their native cultural values with little interaction with the dominant society) and 3) transcultural identity (when the youth interacts and transitions between the native and the host culture (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001).

Suarez-Orozco et al. (2008) discuss relational engagement in school as “the extent to which students feel connected to their teachers, peers, and others in their schools” (p.43). Relational engagement is important for the adaptation and academic success of students. A sense of belonging, guidance, emotional support, amongst others, is crucial for immigrant students’ academic achievement. Since immigrant adolescents are looking to understand and navigate the American culture in the school context having positive support from peers and teachers leads to positive outcomes for the adolescents themselves (Suarez-Orozco et al., 2008).
Factors found to contribute to relational engagement were psychological well-being of the student, academic self-efficacy, and attitudes toward school (Suarez-Orozco et al., 2008). If the student is in an environment that is stressful and encounters discrimination or lack of support, the student’s well-being will be compromised, as is unfortunately the case for many immigrant students. Students must believe that they are competent and in control of their learning to a certain extent in order to have a strong academic self-efficacy, which is linked not only to relational engagement, but also behavioral and cognitive engagement. Behavioral and cognitive engagement in turn are linked to higher academic performance. Immigrant students have consistently been found to have positive attitudes toward school, which is important in cognitive engagement as well. Relational engagement is linked to behavioral engagement, which is in turn crucial to achievement. Consequently relational engagement is important for students to have because it allows them to have a sense of belonging and support at school that in turn influences their attitudes, self-efficacy, and engagement toward school.

Huo, Molina, Binning, & Funge (2010) also examine the concept of social and school engagement as it relates to ethnic minority adolescents. After surveying a diverse sample of high school students, findings revealed that perceptions that one’s ethnic group is respected are linked to lower levels of school disengagement for African American, Latino, and Asian American adolescents. Also, school identification was related to higher level of group-oriented attitudes and promoted social engagement (Huo et al., 2010). Hence, this study is also evidence of the importance of school engagement and identity in creating a more supportive and
successful context for minority students.

Lastly, in a study on the cultural orientations of Mexican Yucatec-Maya immigrant youth, twenty Yucatec-Maya, first-generation, high school students were surveyed and ten were interviewed. The study looked at variables such as cultural identities (including Mayan, Mexican, and American), length of stay in the U.S., level of acculturation, and school comfort. Amongst the findings, males identified as more American than females, and students identified learning English, as a second or third language, as their greatest challenge (Casanova, 2010). This study focused only on recently immigrated youth, and although it takes a step toward building Indigenous Latina/o adolescent literature, this dissertation will expand into the examination of individual and social factors influencing ethnic identity, acculturation, perceived discrimination and school sense of belonging. The study will also conduct an intra-group, cross-national, and generational comparison of Yucatec Maya and non-Indigenous adolescents in the U.S. and Yucatec Maya adolescent in the U.S. and Mexico.
Chapter 3: Current Study

Conceptual Framework

After reviewing the literature, it is clear that there are gaps when discussing the perspective of being at the margins of multiple cultural spaces as a subgroup of the homogenizing pan-ethnic Latina/o label or Mexican label. This dissertation intends to inform the literature by exploring how being Indigenous Latina/o may change the way a person, or for the purposes of this research, an adolescent, will develop her/his identity, use acculturative strategies, and go through psychological processes such as perceived discrimination. Furthermore, what are the implications of these social and psychological processes on adolescents and their education? These processes may also relate to how they are adapting to school, feelings about school, and their education. Exploring if there are differences between Indigenous and non-Indigenous immigrant Latina/o adolescents and Indigenous immigrant adolescents in a host nation versus Indigenous adolescents still within their home country may complicate the findings of prior studies on Mexican and/or Latina/o adolescent ethnic identity and acculturative processes (e.g. Oyserman et al., 2003; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001; Tatum, 1997). Furthermore there have not been studies focusing specifically on Indigenous Mexican adolescents in the U.S. and perceived discrimination.

Essentially, the use of the Yucatec Maya immigrant group as the focus of this study will allow this research to explore if straddling multiple cultures, one of which remains invisible and at the margins of geographical and cultural spaces (Indigenous Yucatec Maya), would change or replicate the ethnic identity development, acculturation, sense of school belonging, and perceived discrimination patterns that
have been seen in past studies of the Mexican-origin or pan-ethnic Latino/a youth. Hence, this dissertation study used ethnic identity and acculturation frameworks, both involving individual, familial, and social factors as they relate to perceived discrimination and schooling, to address the diverse Latino/a immigrant adolescent experiences. Please refer to Figure 1 for an illustration of the conceptual framework foundational to this study.

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework Model for Dissertation Study
Research Questions

The study focuses on the intersections of the different psychological constructs with the Indigenous adolescents in the U.S and Mexico, as shown in Figure 1. Hence, following the conceptual frameworks and model of the study developed by the literature review, this research intends to examine the following questions:

1. How do Indigenous Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. compare to non-Indigenous Yucatec Maya Latina/o adolescents in the U.S. and Yucatec Maya adolescents still in Mexico in their ethnic identity, acculturation levels, perceived discrimination, and school?

2. How do the following individual factors: age, gender, Maya language, and generation relate to the ethnic identity, acculturation, perceived discrimination, and schooling of the Indigenous adolescents in the U.S and in Mexico?

3. How do ethnic identity, acculturation, perceived discrimination, and schooling relate to each other for the adolescents in the U.S and in Mexico?

4. How do the Indigenous adolescents still in Mexico describe ethnicity, race, culture and perceptions of discrimination?

5. What roles will familial and cultural practices, ethnic community networks, and peer relationships (external factors) take in the Indigenous adolescents’ lives in the U.S. and still in Mexico in terms of their ethnic identity, acculturative strategies, perceived discrimination processes, and schooling? Are they similar to non-Yucatec Maya Latino/a adolescents in the U.S.?
Hypotheses

Several hypotheses were developed based on the past literature on the topics of ethnic identity, acculturation, perceived discrimination, and schooling of minority adolescents, specifically immigrant Latina/o adolescents, and Indigenous populations in Mexico (refer to Chapter 2). Each hypothesis (A-M) addressed a research question (Questions 1-3). Questions 4 and 5 will be addressed by the qualitative interview data collected. In the research methodology followed for the qualitative part of the study, it is recommended that the researcher not come into the analysis of interview transcripts with a set of hypotheses to test or theory already developed. Instead theoretical concepts should emerge from the themes and ideas resonated in the language, recollection of experiences, and meanings given to these experiences that were conveyed by the youth interviewed (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Seidman, 2006). Please refer to Table 1 for a summary of the hypotheses as they relate to the research questions.

Based on the past literature on ethnic identity of Latina/o adolescents in the U.S. and the conceptualization of Maya identity in Mexico (e.g. Bartolome, 1998; Del Val, 2004; Ferdman & Gallegos, 2001; Phinney, 1993; Quintana, 2007), it is hypothesized (hypothesis A) that the Yucatec Maya adolescents will have lower ethnic identity as compared to non-Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. because they are at the margins of multiple cultural and physical spaces they occupy as immigrants to the U.S. and ethnically Indigenous within the Mexican and Latina/o adolescent groups in which they may be placed in and are labeled as (Ferdman & Gallegos, 2001; Lyman, et al., 2007). However, Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico may have lower levels
of ethnic identity due to the different socialization and construction of identity and specifically Mexican and Maya Indigenous identity in Mexico that has been discussed within the Mexican scholarship (Bartolome, 1998; Del Val, 2004). Acculturation is hypothesized (hypothesis B) to be lower for the Yucatec Maya adolescents as compared to the non-Yucatec Maya adolescents for the same reasons that ethnic identity is also predicted to be lower. Lastly, Yucatec Maya adolescents will have higher levels of acculturation to Mexican culture because it is their home country, even though they have been and sometimes still are placed at the margins as Indigenous people, Mexico’s notion of mestizaje and bringing people together with national pride will have allowed for more acculturation to Mexican culture (hypothesis C) (Farr, 2006; Sariego-Rodriguez, 2003; Serrano-Carreto & Fernandez-Ham, 2003).

Meanwhile, perceived discrimination is hypothesized (hypothesis D) to be higher for Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. as compared to Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico and non-Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. This is predicted since Yucatec Maya adolescents are doubly stigmatized as being Latina/o immigrants taking resources from citizens and scapegoats in the current political and economical climate (Wiltberger, 2007), and within the Latina/o and Mexican population stereotyped as being part of the past, with the term *Indio* popularly used to mock someone as unintelligent (Farr, 2006; Fox & Rivera-Salgado, 2004). In multiple geographical and cultural contexts stereotypes and prejudices due to their ethnicity permeates the lives of the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S., hence this can lead to more experiences with perceived discrimination and stronger levels of distress due to these experiences as compared to the other adolescents. Scholars have found school
success (sense of belonging, engagement, GPA, etc.) to be related to higher levels of ethnic and racial identity and positive acculturation strategies (Guzman et al., 2005; Hawley et al., 2007; Oyserman et al., 2003; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001; Tatum, 1997), hence it is hypothesized (hypothesis E, part of hypotheses L and M) that Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. will have lower levels of school belonging and GPA due to their possible lower levels of ethnic identity and acculturation.

Furthermore, age has been linked with identity and specifically with ethnic identity (Erickson, 1968; Ferdman & Gallegos, 2001; Tatum, 1997; Phinney, 1992), older youth may have already explored their ethnic identity and have reasserted their commitment to their ethnic group, while younger youth may still be exploring (hypothesis F). Perceived discrimination literature has cited being older as a possible factor in experiencing more adult perceived discrimination and having peer perceived discrimination level off (Greene et al., 2006), hence it is predicted for younger adolescents to have higher levels of peer perceived discrimination and lower levels of adult perceived discrimination (hypothesis F). Ethnic identity and acculturation scholarship presents differences between boys and girls, in some cases girls have higher levels of both and in others boys have higher levels of acculturation, but not ethnic identity (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001; Tatum, 1997; Casanova, 2010), so for this study the same is predicted (hypothesis G). Greene et al. (2006) also saw differences in gender for perceived discrimination levels and experiences, therefore it is hypothesized that gender will be a significant predictor of perceived discrimination for the adolescents in this study (hypothesis G). Lastly, difference in school engagement, belonging, and outcomes have been predicted by gender
(Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001), so school belonging may be predicted by
gender in this study as well (hypothesis G).

Table 1. Hypotheses as they relate to the research questions

1. How do Indigenous Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. compare to non-
Indigenous Yucatec Maya Latina/o adolescents in the U.S. and Yucatec Maya
adolescents still in Mexico in their ethnic identity, acculturation levels, perceived
discrimination, and school?

A. Ethnic identity levels (measured by an exploration and a commitment factor) will
be lower for the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. as compared to the non-
Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. Ethnic identity levels will be higher for the
Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. than the Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico.

B. Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. will have lower levels of acculturation than
non-Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S.

C. Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico will have higher levels of acculturation to
Mexican culture than Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. will have for
acculturation to American culture.

D. Perceived discrimination (as measured by a peer and an adult factor) experiences
and distress will be higher for Yucatec-Maya adolescents in the U.S. as compared to
both non-Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S and Yucatec Maya adolescents in
Mexico.

E. School belonging (measured by a belonging and an importance factor) will be
lower for Yucatec-Maya students in the U.S. than non-Yucatec Maya students and
than Yucatec Maya students in Mexico and GPA (reported only by the U.S. groups)
will be lower for the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. than for the non-
Indigenous adolescents

2. How do the following individual factors: age, gender, Maya language, and
generation relate to the ethnic identity, acculturation, perceived discrimination, and
schooling of the Indigenous adolescents in the U.S and in Mexico?
F. Younger adolescents will have lower levels of ethnic identity commitment and higher levels of ethnic identity exploration. Younger adolescents will also have higher levels of peer perceived discrimination and lower levels of adult perceived discrimination.

G. Boys and girls will differ in levels of ethnic identity, acculturation, perceived discrimination, and school belonging.

H. First generation adolescents will have lower levels of acculturation and ethnic identity as compared to 1.5 and second generation adolescents. First generation adolescents will also have lower levels of perceived discrimination distress and experiences and a lesser sense of school belonging.

I. Maya language knowledge (with family/friends and at school) for the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. and Yucatec Maya adolescents still in Mexico will have a positive relationship with ethnic identity and will be negatively related to acculturation levels. Specifically Maya language knowledge will relate to higher levels of perceived discrimination for Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. Maya knowledge will also be negatively related to school belonging and GPA.

3. How do ethnic identity, acculturation, perceived discrimination, and schooling relate to each other for adolescents in the U.S and in Mexico?

J. Ethnic identity will relate positively to adolescents’ acculturation levels.

K. Higher levels of ethnic identity will relate to lower levels of perceived discrimination. Higher acculturation will be related to more perceived discrimination.

L. School belonging will have a positive relationship with ethnic identity and acculturation levels and be negatively related to perceived discrimination for the adolescents in the U.S. and Mexico.

M. GPA will be positively related to school belonging, ethnic identity, and acculturation, and negatively related to perceived discrimination for the adolescents in the U.S.

4. How do the Indigenous adolescents still in Mexico describe ethnicity, race, and culture and perceptions of discrimination?
Interviews will reveal the descriptions, experiences, feelings and perspectives of adolescents in Mexico regarding ethnicity, race, and culture. Adolescents will also be asked to discuss discrimination experiences in the Mexican context.

5. What roles will familial and cultural practices, ethnic community networks, and peer relationships (external factors) take in the Indigenous adolescents’ lives in the U.S. and still in Mexico in terms of their ethnic identity, acculturative strategies, perceived discrimination processes, and schooling? Are they similar to non-Yucatec Maya Latino/a adolescents in the U.S.?

Interviews will provide information regarding the role of family, community, and peers in the lives of the adolescents in the U.S. and Mexico. The interviews will also provide a lens into the adolescents’ (both in the U.S. and Mexico) feelings and experiences with their ethnic identity and culture, discrimination, and views about

Generational differences are cited as being related to acculturative strategies and ethnic identity (Padilla, 2006; Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). Hence, it is predicted that first generation adolescents will have lower levels of acculturation and ethnic identity as compared to 1.5 and second generation Indigenous adolescents (hypothesis H). Also, studies reveal that perceived discrimination increased as immigrants stayed longer in the country and learned more about the nation (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). Therefore it is predicted that first generation adolescents will have lower levels of perceived discrimination distress and experiences (hypothesis H). Due to being recently immersed in American culture and schooling, first generation adolescents are also predicted to have a lesser sense of school belonging (hypothesis H).

Hypothesis I stated that Maya language knowledge (with family/friends and at school) for the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. and Yucatec Maya adolescents still in Mexico will have a positive relationship with ethnic identity and be negatively related to acculturation levels. Ethnic identity development will lead the adolescents to explore and commit to various aspects of what their identity entails, including the
language (Phinney, 1992; Phinney & Nakayama 1990; Waters, 1990). In contrast, however, in terms of acculturative frameworks, with certain knowledge, like language, if greater on the heritage side, the person is less acculturated, while it being greater on the dominant culture side the person would be in a more acculturated space (Padilla, 1980). Penalosa (1986) looked at the transmission of Maya by Guatemalan Mayas in Los Angeles. Spanish was being used and learned more often in Los Angeles than in Guatemala and the immigrants who were learning English were more than often the men and children. Hence if the focus is on learning English, Maya may be stigmatized and not taught, spoken, or heard as much in order to acculturate. Furthermore learning English has been seen as a big concern specifically for immigrant adolescents (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001), and specifically as important and concerning for first generation Yucatec Maya adolescents (Casanova, 2010) to adapt to school as well. Hence it is also predicted that Maya language will have a negative relationship to school belonging and GPA.

Both identity and acculturation intersect in being foundational processes in immigrant and minority adolescents’ social, cultural, and psychological development and encompass internal and external multidimensional factors (Bourhis, 1997; LaFromboise et al., 1993; Padilla & Perez, 2003; Quintana, 2007). Thus, intricately linked, ethnic identity will relate positively to adolescents’ acculturation levels (hypothesis J). Also, ethnic identity has been cited by the literature as being a buffer to prejudice and specifically perceived discrimination (Gonzalez, 2009; Guzman et al., 2005; Kiang et al., 2006; Mossakowski, 2003; Romero and Roberts, 2003a; Padilla, 2008). Hence, hypotheses K stated that higher levels of ethnic identity is related to
lower levels of perceived discrimination. Hypothesis K also states that higher acculturation will be related to more perceived discrimination, due to the literature existing which relates longer stay and understanding of American culture to a higher awareness of the discrimination existing in the U.S. (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006; Szalacha et al., 2003).

School belonging will have a positive relationship with ethnic identity and acculturation levels (hypothesis L) since links to one’s ethnic or racial group can bring positive effects to school comfort and success (Chavous, et al., 2003; Carter, 2005; Quintana, 2007; Gonzalez, 2009; Huo et al., 2010) and acculturative strategies are shown to be positive for adolescents’ schooling (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006; Suarez-Orozco et al., 2008). Furthermore, GPA will be positively related to school belonging, ethnic identity, and acculturation, (hypothesis M), as has been seen in past studies (Guzman et al., 2005; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001). While literature shows that perceived discrimination will be negatively associated with schooling, such as school belonging and academic outcomes like GPA (hypotheses L and M) (Borsato, 2008; Brody et al., 2006; Stone & Han, 2004).

Research Design

To address the research questions and hypotheses, the mixed-methods dissertation study will consist of the following variables derived from the conceptual model for the quantitative portion of the research (Table 2). The qualitative portion is addressed afterward.
This dissertation study has been divided into two parts. The first part consisted of several survey measures: ethnic identity (exploration and commitment), acculturation (in the U.S. with American culture and in Mexico with Mexican culture), perceived discrimination (peer and adult), school belonging (belonging and importance), and GPA (reported only by adolescents in the U.S.) and will compare the results from these measures for Yucatec-Maya adolescents in the U.S. to those of non-Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. and the results of these measures for Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. with those of Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico. Hence, through the surveys containing these measures and demographics information, statistical analyses will be conducted to examine if the patterns of ethnic identity development, acculturative strategies, and perceived discrimination processes, and
schooling explored in past literature (refer to Chapter 2) for Latina/o and/or specifically Mexican adolescents replicate or change with Indigenous Mexican Latina/o adolescents in the U.S.

The second part of the study is a collection and analysis of semi-structured interviews from the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. and Mexico, and non-Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. The interview questions examined the definitions and feelings the adolescents had of ethnic identity, race, culture, experiences at school, and encounters with discrimination. On top of those questions, the interview protocol also included questions about family, peer and community networks to explore the external factors influencing their ethnic identity and acculturation to be able to draw out categories and themes as well as comparisons across the adolescents in the U.S. and in Mexico.

Analysis

Questions 1-3 and the corresponding hypotheses will be examined using descriptive statistical comparisons with chi-square analyses, bivariate correlations, independent sample two-tailed t-tests, Mann-Whitney tests, factorial between subjects ANOVAs, simple, and hierarchical, multiple regression analyses. Please refer to Table 3 for a description of the statistical analyses corresponding to each question. To address questions 4 and 5 interview data from the Yucatec-Maya adolescents in the U.S., the non-Yucatec Maya Latina/o adolescents in the U.S., and the Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico will be transcribed, reviewed for repeating ideas, coded, categorized under major themes, and connected into theoretical constructs (Auerbach
& Silverstein, 2003; Seidman, 2006). A more detailed description and justification for this process is outlined below.

Table 3. Analysis of Research Questions

<table>
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<th>Question</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. How do Indigenous Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. compare to non-</td>
<td>Ethn...</td>
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Differences between heritage groups (Yucatec Maya in the U.S., non-Yucatec Maya in the U.S., and Yucatec Maya in Mexico) by gender for peer and adult perceived discrimination measures and between heritage groups and generation will be explored by running several factorial ANOVAs.

School Belonging and GPA
Several independent samples, two-tailed, t-tests will be conducted to compare the school belonging (belonging and importance factors) between the two U.S. groups (Non-Yucatec Maya and Yucatec Maya) and between the two Yucatec Maya groups (in the U.S. and Mexico). Another independent samples, two-tailed, t-test will be conducted to compare GPA scores between the two U.S. groups (Non-Yucatec Maya and Yucatec Maya).

Ethnic Identity
Bivariate correlations will be conducted between the demographics variables (gender, age, generation for the U.S. groups, and Maya language for the Yucatec Maya groups) and the ethnic identity factors (exploration and commitment).

Several one-way ANOVAs will be run to look at the relationship of generation and ethnic identity measures for each of the groups in the U.S.

Several two-tailed t-tests will be run to look at the relationship of gender and ethnic identity measures for each of the three groups.

2. How do the following individual factors: age, gender, Maya language, and generation relate to the ethnic identity, acculturation, perceived discrimination, and schooling of the Indigenous adolescents in the U.S and in Mexico?
2. How do the following individual factors: age, gender, Maya language, and generation relate to the ethnic identity, acculturation, perceived discrimination, and schooling of the Indigenous adolescents in the U.S and in Mexico?

A hierarchical, multiple, regression will be run to investigate the possible predictors of the Maya language knowledge school factor, and Maya language knowledge family/friends factor for ethnic identity exploration of the Yucatec Maya groups (U.S. and Mexico). Another hierarchical, multiple, regression will be conducted to examine Maya language as predictors of ethnic identity commitment.

Acculturation

Several bivariate correlations will be conducted of the demographic variables (age, generation, Maya language and gender) and acculturation. Three independent samples two-tailed t-tests will be run of acculturation and gender for each of the three heritage groups.

A factorial ANOVA of generation by heritage for acculturation to American culture will be conducted for the U.S. sample of adolescents (Yucatec Maya and non-Yucatec Maya).

Several hierarchical multiple regressions will be conducted to investigate age and Maya language as predictors of acculturation for the three groups (Yucatec Maya in the U.S., non-Yucatec Maya in the U.S., and Yucatec Maya in Mexico).

Perceived Discrimination

Bivariate correlations will be run to examine the relationship between demographic variables (age, gender, generation, Maya language), and the peer and adult perceived discrimination measures. Correlations will be run for the U.S. groups (non-Yucatec Maya and Yucatec Maya) and for the Yucatec Maya groups (from the U.S. and Mexico).
Differences between heritage groups (Yucatec Maya in the U.S., non-Yucatec Maya in the U.S., and Yucatec Maya in Mexico) by gender for peer and adult perceived discrimination measures and between heritage groups and generation will be explored by running several factorial ANOVAs.

Several regressions will be conducted to further understand the relationship between Maya language and the perceived discrimination variables for the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. and in Mexico.

**School Belonging and GPA**

To determine the relationship between the demographic variables (age, gender, generation, Maya language) with the belonging and importance measures of school belonging, and GPA (for the U.S. only) bivariate correlations will be run for the U.S. adolescents (Yucatec Maya and non-Yucatec Maya) and for the adolescents in Mexico (Yucatec Maya).

Several ANOVAs will be run to further investigate the relationship of variables such as gender, heritage, and generation with school belonging (belonging and importance) and GPA (for U.S. groups).

**3. How do ethnic identity, acculturation, perceived discrimination, and schooling relate to each other for adolescents in the U.S and in Mexico?**

Bivariate correlations will be run of ethnic identity constructs (exploration and commitment) and acculturation.

Several hierarchical multiple regressions will be conducted to investigate ethnic identity exploration and commitment as predictors of acculturation for the three groups (Yucatec Maya in the U.S., non-Yucatec Maya in the U.S., and Yucatec Maya in Mexico).
Several regressions will be conducted to further understand the relationship between ethnic identity and acculturation with the perceived discrimination variables for the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S., the non-Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S., and the Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico.

To determine the relationship between ethnic identity, acculturation, and perceived discrimination with the measures of school belonging correlations will be run for the U.S. adolescents (Yucatec Maya and non-Yucatec Maya) and for the adolescents in Mexico (Yucatec Maya).

A couple mediation analyses will be conducted to explore the relationships between 1) ethnic identity exploration, school belonging, and GPA for adolescents in the U.S. and 2) acculturation, ethnic identity commitment, and school belonging for adolescents in Mexico.

**Interviews**

Interviews are useful in obtaining the story behind participants’ experiences and information that otherwise may not be revealed by respondents to survey questionnaires (Seidman, 2006). Specifically, interviews expose the researcher to the experiences of those whose individual and collective practices constitute part of the social and institutional processes being explored (Seidman, 2006). For this study, the interviews use the lenses of the adolescents and their views of topics surrounding the ethnic identity, acculturation, and psychological processes such as perceived discrimination that contribute to their perspectives about school. The adolescents’
voices and attitudes surrounding culture, ethnicity, family, peers, ethnic community networks and schooling illustrate the external factors that influence the complicated and multi-dimensional social and psychological processes of ethnic identity and acculturation. The interviews benefit from the power to draw on insight from the experiences and stories of the interviewed (Seidman, 2006), in this case with the adolescents across the two nations (Mexico and the U.S.) and across the Indigenous identity factor (non-Yucatec Maya and Yucatec Maya).

Besides focusing on the external factors influencing the adolescents ethnic identity, acculturation, perceived discrimination, and schooling, the goal of the interviews section of this study is to connect and develop theoretical constructs from the adolescents meanings and feelings about these topics within the context of their location (Mexico or the U.S.) and their ethnic group (Yucatec Maya or non-Yucatec Maya). A grounded theory coding approach will be used for the interview analyses which has been described as 1) taking the views, feelings, and language of the participants found in the raw transcriptions of the interviews, 2) pulling out the relevant text, 3) noting the repeating ideas through relevant codes 4) organizing the ideas into cross-case categories, 5) developing themes from these coded categories, 6) creating theoretical hypotheses and constructs, which are concepts organizing a group of themes within theory, and lastly, 7) presenting these constructs through a written theoretical narrative of the themes that have emerged (found in Chapter 6) (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Seidman, 2006).

Drawing from pilot interviews conducted prior to the actual interviews that are part of this study the analysis will be focused on the adolescents feelings, beliefs, and
perspectives on 1) ethnic identity, culture, and race 2) cultural practices 3) school and education 4) discrimination and 5) family, peers, and ethnic community networks. However, it is understood that the process of analyzing the interviews is inductive and the researcher cannot come with a set of hypotheses or theories already developed. Instead the researcher will seek what emerges from the understanding and meanings the adolescent places on her/his experiences that relate to the topics of interest above, but will not force fit words of participants into theories derived from other sources (Seidman, 2006). The researcher will also take into account the fact that the resulting transcriptions of the adolescents are reflective of a process of interaction between interviewer and interviewee, and therefore the views and narratives presented by the adolescents are in part a function of this interaction, hence the responses are context specific. In referring to “context”, the term includes geographical, social, emotional, cultural, and time specific context. The interviews serve to present a deep, “intricate, yet coherent” (Seidman, 2006, p. 130), understanding of the processes these Indigenous and non-Indigenous adolescents go through across national, social, and cultural boundaries.

It is the researcher’s goal to provide agency, context, and perspective on behalf of the adolescents in this study; delving into the topics already addressed in the quantitative part of the study and presenting the depth and value of the experiences that the statistical analyses are examining from the more detailed perspectives of the participants. As an Indigenous, Yucatec Maya women born in Yucatan, Mexico and immigrant in the U.S., the researcher is a partial insider of the community of Yucatec Maya adolescents being interviewed, however, being labeled a researcher with all the
privilege and entitlement it carries due to the education and training received, the author of this study is also an outsider immersing into these adolescents’ lives. Hence, the researcher has to continuously evaluate her own multiple academic and Indigenous identities within the context of the analysis of the participant narratives.

As Castillo-Cocom (2005) writes about his own struggle as a “Maya-non-Maya” anthropological researcher, the multiplicity of the researcher’s own identities juxtaposes with the notion of scholars essentializing the Yucatec Maya identities and culture to fit the ideas the scholars themselves create whether for their own personal gains or scholarship (Castillo-Cocom, 2005). Hence, a constant self-awareness by the researcher of the study as she conducts the analysis of these interviews aims to stay away from any simplification of the complexities and heterogeneity of not only the Yucatec Maya adolescents in both nations, but also the non-Indigenous youth in the U.S. Furthermore, research specifically with Indigenous populations that have been consistently marginalized, geographically, psychologically and socially colonized throughout history, and continuously lack visibility in academic, social, and political discourse, must be conducted with complete awareness and respect for the agency and attitudes the actual Indigenous persons have toward their own communities, lives, and social processes (Smith, 1999).

Therefore, the author of this dissertation aims to continuously respect the perspectives that emerge from the adolescents’ narratives and constantly have introspection on how the material is being presented. The researcher will remain aware and respect the agency the Maya have in creating their fluid identities and
culture that reflect contexts they are in by allowing the adolescents’ voices to emerge from the interview texts.
Chapter 4: Methodology

Participants

A total of 204 adolescents from San Francisco, CA, the Los Angeles area, CA, and Yucatan, Mexico were recruited to participate in the survey part of the study in 2010. Of the 204 adolescents, information from 3 participants was not used in the study because these adolescents left several sections blank on the survey questionnaire. All the adolescents in the study were either first generation (they immigrated to the U.S.) or second generation (one or both of the parents were born in another country not being the U.S.) immigrants. The final 201 adolescents ($M = 16.46$ years, $SD = 1.27$) consisted of 65 Latina/o non-Yucatec Maya heritage immigrant adolescents living in the Los Angeles area, 66 Yucatec Maya heritage immigrant adolescents living in the San Francisco or Los Angeles area, and 70 Yucatec Maya heritage adolescents living in Yucatan, Mexico.

The non-Yucatec Maya Latina/o heritage was based on the adolescent and/or her/his parents being born in a Latin American country, or if the adolescent chose Latina/o/Hispanic or a Latin American country nationality as their ethnicity. The Yucatec Maya Indigenous heritage was based on the adolescent having at least one parent of Yucatec Maya heritage. The adolescents also fit within the Yucatec Maya heritage (ethnicity) group if they were born in Yucatan, Mexico or if they chose Yucatec Maya/Yucateco as their ethnicity (ethnic identity). According to Phinney (1992) identifying a person by her/his parent’s heritage or ethnic group is their ethnicity, which does not necessarily have to be their ethnic identity. Ethnic identity is what a person chooses as her/his self-identification with a specific ethnic group
(Phinney, 1992). Hence, the breakdowns of the sub-samples were done by using the adolescent’s ethnicity (heritage) and in few cases their ethnic identity if the parent’s heritage or the adolescent’s place of birth were not sufficient.

The whole sample (N = 201) was made up of 53 percent boys and 47 percent girls. From the 201 adolescents, 38 participated in an optional interview following the survey part of the study across the three different locations. From these 38 interviewed participants, 11 (4 boys, 7 girls) adolescents were from the Latina/o non-Yucatec Maya group, 10 (7 boys, 3 girls) adolescents were from the Mexican Yucatec Maya in the U.S. group, and 17 (9 boys, 8 girls) were from the Mexican Yucatec Maya in Yucatan, Mexico group. Table 4 exposes the demographics of the sample based on each of the heritage (Yucatec-Maya and non-Yucatec Maya) groups and their location (U.S./Mexico).
Table 4. Adolescent demographics categorized by heritage group (Yucatec Maya, Non-Yucatec Maya) and location (U.S./Mexico)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>U.S. Non-Yucatec Maya</th>
<th>U.S. Yucatec Maya</th>
<th>Mexico Yucatec Maya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N=201</td>
<td>(65)</td>
<td>(66)</td>
<td>(70)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean age (standard deviation) (N=201)</td>
<td>16.58 (1.16)</td>
<td>16.21(1.47)</td>
<td>16.57 (1.15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade (N=201)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eighth grade</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ninth grade</td>
<td>12.3%</td>
<td>15.2%</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenth grade</td>
<td>24.6%</td>
<td>36.4%</td>
<td>27.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eleventh grade</td>
<td>43.1%</td>
<td>21.2%</td>
<td>55.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twelfth grade</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
<td>21.2%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thirteenth grade (college-1st yr)</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean self-reported grade point average (standard deviation) (N=116)</td>
<td>2.89(.68)</td>
<td>3.02(.60)</td>
<td>N/A*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender Composition (N=201)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>53.8%</td>
<td>42.4%</td>
<td>44.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>46.2%</td>
<td>57.6%</td>
<td>55.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born in U.S. (N=66)</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born in Mexico (N=119)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born in Latin America (N=16)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generation in the U.S. (N=131)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Generation</td>
<td>58.5%</td>
<td>45.5%</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Immigrated when 1-11 yrs. old-1.5 generation)</td>
<td>(16.9%)</td>
<td>(16.7%)</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Immigrated when 12+ yrs. old)</td>
<td>(41.5%)</td>
<td>(28.8%)</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Generation</td>
<td>41.5%</td>
<td>54.5%</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The schools in Mexico did not provide grade point averages (GPAs) to students.

The U.S. Latina/o (non-Yucatec Maya) heritage group consisted of adolescents born in the U.S., Mexico, and other Latin American countries. There were 29 adolescents born in the U.S. that ethnically self-identified (according to the write-in
responses of the ethnic identity scale) as Mexican (n = 11), Latina/o (n = 7), Mexican American (n = 4), Chicano (n = 2), Hispanic (n = 1), Hispanic Guatemalan (n = 1), Mexican Hispanic (n = 1), American (n = 1), or Salvadoreña Mexicana (n=1). From the 29 adolescents born in the U.S., four of them were taken back to where they were born (Mexico) and brought back to the U.S. years later. These four participants had been in the U.S. from 2 to 10 years. The U.S. Latina/o (non-Yucatec Maya) group also consisted of 20 adolescents born in Mexico that ethnically self-identified (according to the write-in responses) as Mexican (n=10), Latina/o (n=7), Latino Hispano (n=1), Latino Mexican (n=1), and Mexican Aztec (n=1). Lastly, 16 adolescents from the Latina/o non-Yucatec Maya group were born in other Latin American countries [Guatemala (n=8), El Salvador (n=6), Nicaragua (n=1), and Peru (n=1)] and ethnically self-identified (according to the write-in responses) as Latina/o (n=12), Hispanic (n=1), Latino Peruana (n=1), Guatemalteca (n=1), or Salvadoreño (n=1). In the multiple-choice question about their ethnicity, all 65 adolescents categorized in the U.S. Latina/o (non-Yucatec Maya) heritage group selected Hispanic/Latino and/or Mexican/Mexican American/Central American as their ethnic identity, none of them selected Yucatec Maya/Yucateco or Native American/Indigenous.

The U.S. Yucatec Maya group consisted of 37 adolescents born in the U.S. that ethnically self-identified (according to the write-in responses from the ethnic identity scale) as Yucatec(a/o) and/or Maya(n) (n=7), Mexican(a/o) Yucatec(a/o) (n=6), Mexican (n=4), Hispanic (n=4), Latina/o (n=3), Mexican(a/o) Maya (n=2), Mexican-American Yucatec(a/o) (n=2), Yucatec Maya Mexican (n=1), Yucatec-American
(n=1), Mexican-American Maya (n=1), Chicano Mayan (n=1), Mexican-American/Cuban/Yucatec (n=1), Latino Maya (n=1), Latin Yucatec (n=1), Hispanic Mexican-American Maya (n=1), or Mixed (Mexican Black Yucateca) (n=1). From the 37 adolescents born in the U.S. one of them was taken back to Mexico and had only been in the U.S. for 5 years. The other 29 adolescents in the U.S. Mexican Yucatec Maya group were born in Mexico (all born in the Yucatan Peninsula) and ethnically self-identified (according to the write-in responses) as Yucatec(a/o) and/or Maya(n) (n=16), Mexican Yucatec(a/o) (n=6), Mexican Maya (n=2), Latino Yucateco (n=2), Hispanic Yucatec (n=1), Mexican (n=1), or Latino (n=1). In the multiple-choice question about their ethnicity, 51 out of the 66 adolescents categorized in the Yucatec Maya heritage group in the U.S. selected Yucatec Maya/Yucateco or Native American/Indigenous as their ethnicity. Lastly, the Yucatec-Maya group still living in Mexico consisted of 70 adolescents born in the Yucatan Peninsula of Mexico, with 66 of them born in the state of Yucatan and 4 born in Quintana Roo (the state bordering Yucatan). These 70 adolescents ethnically self-identified (according to the write-in responses of the ethnic identity scale) as Yucatec(a/o) (n=48), Maya Yucatec(a/o) (n=7), Yucatec(a/o) Mexican(a/o) (n=7), Mexican(a/o) (n=5), or Maya (n=3). In the multiple-choice question for ethnicity, 59 out of the 70 adolescents categorized in the Mexico Yucatec Maya heritage group selected Yucatec Maya/Yucateco or Native American/Indigenous as their ethnic identity. For all the adolescents in the study (N = 201), the write-in responses found in the ethnic identity measure were used to refer to their ethnic identity for the purposes of the study.
The generation categories depend on the birthplace of the adolescent and the amount of time the adolescent had resided in the U.S. As established by immigration scholars (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001, 2006), first generation encompasses the adolescents that were born outside of the U.S. Within this first generation category there are those that have only resided in the U.S. since they were 12 or older and those that have resided in the U.S. since they were between the ages of 1-11 years (1.5 generation). Specifically for this study, the first generation category also consists of the adolescents that were born in the U.S., but were taken to their parent’s country of origin (Latin America) and had only resided in the U.S. for the past 1-5 years. Second generation refers to the adolescents born in the U.S. with parents that were born in another country (Portes & Zhou, 1993; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001, 2006). In this study, second generation also includes those adolescents born in the U.S. that were taken to their parent’s country of origin, but have lived in the U.S. for 6 or more years. Please refer to Table 4 for the breakdown of generations for the U.S. sub-samples.

The grade level of the adolescents ranged from eighth grade to thirteenth grade (first year in college) in the U.S. The Mexico sample consisted of adolescents attending the last year of their Secundaria (U.S. equivalent of ninth grade), Preparatoria (U.S. equivalent of tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grades), or their first year of their carrera (U.S. equivalent of the first year of college). Grade level for participants in Mexico had to be converted to the equivalent grades in the U.S. because the adolescents in Mexico wrote what semester they were in within their specific schools instead of a grade level. Each grade consists of two semesters, for
example if the adolescent wrote second semester of *Preparatoria* that would be tenth grade or fifth semester of *Preparatoria* would be twelfth grade. All the adolescents in *Secundaria* (seventh through ninth grade) were in their fifth and sixth semesters meaning their last year, which would be ninth grade.

**Procedure**

Adolescents in the United States were recruited through contacts made with schools and cultural associations or hometown associations working closely with the Indigenous immigrant communities in California. The author contacted several schools in the Los Angeles area and one in the Palo Alto area to ask for permission to allow the study to be conducted with the adolescents attending the schools. The schools in the Los Angeles area allowed for the author to recruit adolescent and conduct the study with students during lunch-time and after school. The school in Palo Alto did not permit the author to conduct the study at their campus. The author also communicated with cultural centers (hometown associations) in the San Francisco area and Los Angeles area that allowed for the recruitment of adolescents that attended their programs and events. The author also made flyers to post at the cultural centers for recruitment purposes. Once the adolescents were recruited permission slips for parents were provided to the adolescents by teachers and cultural center program coordinators for the underage (17 or younger) adolescents to return. The consent forms asked for permission for the adolescents to be surveyed and also a separate permission for the adolescent to possibly be interviewed and tape-recorded. An assent form was also given to the adolescent to fill out if they agreed to take the survey and also if they agreed to be given the optional interview. Copies of the parent consent
forms, assent forms, and adult (for adolescents 18 years and older) consent forms can be found in Appendix A.

Once approved to proceed with the study the students were surveyed and interviewed at lunch in their classrooms (lunch with drinks was provided) or after school in their classrooms. The adolescents were instructed to fill out the survey (found in Appendix B) as best as they could with honest answers and to ask questions if anything was unclear. They were also reminded that the answers were completely anonymous and if at any time they did not feel comfortable filling out the survey they could stop. Teachers were present in the classroom, but did not contribute to the administering of the survey. In San Francisco the adolescents signed up with cultural center program coordinators for times to take the survey and possibly be interviewed when they returned their parent consent forms to the coordinators or if they were 18 years and older and consented to participate. The surveys were taken during the appointment times at the cultural centers. Coordinators were present when the adolescents took the surveys, but did not intervene. The adolescents were reminded that the survey was anonymous and to answer the questions as best as possible and ask questions if they needed something clarified, and if they felt uncomfortable at any point while completing the survey they could stop. In Los Angeles the cultural center hosted a cultural dance and food event that lasted from noon to eight in the evening, in which the author was able to set up and survey the students who were with their parents (that could sign the permission slip forms) and surveyed those who were 18 years old or older without the need for parent consent. Again, the adolescents agreeing to partake in the survey were reminded about the anonymity of their answers.
and the importance of answering honestly, asking questions to clarify any parts of the survey, as well as having the option to stop at any point during the completion of the survey if they felt uncomfortable. The survey packet took from 20-30 minutes to fill out.

The students received movie tickets for their participation. Interviews were conducted after the surveys. Before the interviews, the author made sure that the parent consent and student assent had agreed to the optional interview and to being tape-recorded, if so the adolescents were first given the movie tickets and then asked for an interview. If the adolescent still felt comfortable and agreed to the interview the author would ask the semi-structured questions from the interview protocol (found in Appendix B) and recorded the adolescent’s answers. The adolescent was reminded that if she/he felt uncomfortable at any point she/he could stop. The interviews lasted from 15 to 35 minutes.

In Mexico, two schools and a cultural organization for the preservation of Maya culture in Yucatan were contacted to ask for permission for the study to be conducted with the adolescents attending the schools and the cultural organization programs. Once approved, the author gave the parent consent forms for the adolescents to teachers and program coordinators recruiting them. Once the students returned the permission slips and filled out their assent forms or if they were eighteen and over they completed the consent form, the author scheduled several class periods to conduct the survey and some optional interviews at one school and an after school time to conduct the surveys and some optional interviews at the other school. At the
cultural center, students made appointments to come in to take the survey and participate in an optional interview.

At the schools and cultural center teachers and program coordinators were present during the survey completion but did not intervene. Adolescents were told before starting the survey that their answers were anonymous, reminded to provide truthful answers, and if they had any questions to not hesitate to ask. The adolescents were also instructed that if at any point they felt uncomfortable with the survey they could stop. After the survey completion the students were given the equivalent of movie tickets prices (in pesos) to go to the local movie theater, since the author was unable to buy bulk movie tickets. If the adolescent and parents (if underage) had agreed to be interviewed and tape-recorded the students were asked again for an interview after the completion of the survey. If they still felt comfortable the author completed the interview using a semi-structured interview protocol (found in Appendix B). The surveys in Mexico took around 20-35 minutes to complete. The interviews varied in length from 10-30 minutes.

The surveys and interview protocols were translated into Spanish for the Spanish-speakers in Mexico and for the adolescents in the U.S. that preferred them in Spanish. All 70 adolescents in Mexico used Spanish survey packets, while 45 adolescents from the U.S. sub-samples took the survey in Spanish. The surveys and interview questions were translated into Spanish by the author who is a native Spanish speaker. The translations were cross-checked by having another native Spanish speaker translate the survey and comparing the translations. The translations were almost identical, and minor edits were made for use with an adolescent population.
The author used the Flesch-Kincaid Grade Level Readability formula (Flesch & Kincaid, 1965) to determine U.S. grade level of the text in the survey packet. The formula (found in the Microsoft Word processor) revealed a 4.6 grade level, in other words the survey packet is at a reading level for adolescents in the fourth to fifth grade. Since the adolescents in the current study were at least in eighth grade, the reading level of the survey was appropriate for the participants.

The survey packets were the same for all adolescents minus several changes to the Mexico survey packet in which some survey measures were edited to make them culturally relevant. This will be discussed in the measures section. All surveys had a section about the Maya language, which the author instructed the non-Yucatec Maya adolescents to skip over. Interview protocols were different for non-Yucatec Maya and Maya adolescents, the Yucatec Maya students were asked the same questions given to the non-Yucatec Maya plus additional questions specifically about the Maya culture. The semi-structured protocols were also different for the Mexican sub-sample. Certain questions about immigration and living in the U.S. were modified to fit the Mexican sub-sample. Further discussion of these changes will be addressed in the measures section. All the different versions of the survey packet and the semi-structured interviews can be found in Appendix B.

Gifts including but not limited to Stanford mugs, pens, and magnets were provided to the teachers and organization coordinators at all the sites (in California, U.S. and Yucatan, Mexico) that helped with recruitment of participants. The gifts, movie tickets, and food/drink expenses for the participants, teachers, and coordinators were bought with a grant given by the Stanford School of Education.
Measures

Quantitative

Demographics

The demographics measures included gender, age, generation, and amount of Maya spoken, heard, and understood by the Yucatec Maya sub-samples. These measures were used as control variables. Gender, age, and generation (for the U.S. sub-samples) have been discussed in the Participants section and both are broken down by the three sub-samples in Table 4.

Maya language

To measure the amount of Maya the adolescents were exposed to and had knowledge of, the study took several items that have been used to measure language use and proficiency in the General Ethnicity Questionnaire (GEQ) (Tsai, Ying, & Lee, 2000). The 7 items used were taken from the language factor subscale of the GEQ scale. Language is one of six factors that emerged from the factor analysis conducted of the GEQ-American and GEQ-Chinese scales (Tsai, et al., 2000). Originally, 13 items made up the language factor for the GEQs (Tsai, et al., 2000). However, for the purposes of understanding the level of Maya use and proficiency of the Yucatec Maya adolescents in this study only 7 of the items were used that were relevant to the Maya language. Items such as reading and writing Maya were not included, since structured writing/reading Maya programs are fairly new and not uniformly accessible for adolescents in the Yucatan (personal interview, Gerardo, July 2010; Hidalgo, 2006). In the U.S. Maya writing/reading classes are even more recent and less accessible to adolescents (personal interview, Antonio, May 2010). Also, due to the oral
transmission of the Maya language through family or informal domains, for the purposes of the study only speaking, hearing, and understanding Maya were of interest. Furthermore, for the purposes of understanding the use of Maya in different contexts or domains, the author of the study chose items that would measure amount of language spoken and heard in different domains. Hence, the frequency of Maya spoken and heard and the general understanding of Maya by the U.S. Yucatec Maya sub-sample and the Mexico Yucatec Maya sub-sample were measured with 7 separate items on a 5-pt. Likert scale (1 = not at all, 5 = very much). The amount of Maya spoken and heard was asked in terms of the three different domains: 1) home, 2) school, and with 3) friends. So for each domain two items were used (one to measure amount of Maya spoken and one to measure amount of Maya heard). The last item asked the general level of understanding (how much do you understand Maya?). These 7 items can be found in Appendix B.

The breakdown of the use of Maya in the different domains by the two different sub-samples can be found in Table 5. Looking at the Maya language use in each domain and general amount of Maya understood, there are no significant differences amongst the U.S. and Mexico sub-samples except for the amount of Maya heard at home and the amount of Maya heard at school. The Yucatec Maya adolescents still in Mexico reported hearing Maya more frequently at home ($M = 3.69$, $SD = 1.06$) than the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. ($M = 3.14$, $SD = 1.40$), $t$ (134) = 2.59, $p = .011$. Similarly, the adolescents still in Mexico reported hearing more Maya at school ($M = 1.59$, $SD = .94$) than those adolescents in the U.S ($M = 1.29$, $SD = .76$), $t$ (134) = 2.04, $p = .043$. 
Table 5. Maya Language Knowledge for Yucatec Maya heritage groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Maya Language</th>
<th>Spoken at home</th>
<th>Heard at home</th>
<th>Spoken at school</th>
<th>Heard at school</th>
<th>Spoken with friends</th>
<th>Heard with friends</th>
<th>Understood fluently</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mean score</td>
<td>(standard deviation)</td>
<td>(N=136)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Yucatec Maya (n=66)</td>
<td>1.79</td>
<td>(1.03)</td>
<td>3.14*</td>
<td>1.33</td>
<td>1.29*</td>
<td>1.53</td>
<td>1.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico Yucatec Maya (n=70)</td>
<td>1.83</td>
<td>(.90)</td>
<td>3.69*</td>
<td>1.23</td>
<td>1.59*</td>
<td>1.39</td>
<td>2.01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Significant difference revealed by two-tailed t-test.

An exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was conducted on Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) 19 to determine if the items could be grouped into one single factor of Maya language, since in the GEQ similar items had loaded into a language factor (Tsai, et al., 2000). The exploratory factor analysis revealed that the 7 items could be loaded into 2 factors that can be categorized as FAMILY/FRIENDS (5 items) and SCHOOL (2 items). Table 6 contains the breakdown of the item loadings between the two-factor structure and the reliability coefficients for the two factors. Table 7 consists of the inter-correlations of all the 7 items. The mean scores for the U.S. and Mexico samples for the FAMILY/FRIENDS factor were 2.10 (SD = .98) and 2.30 (SD = .59) respectively. The mean scores for the U.S. and Mexico samples for the SCHOOL factor were 1.31 (SD = .65) and 1.41 (SD = .58) respectively. The FAMILY/FRIENDS factor Cronbach’s alphas were .88 and .66 for the U.S. Yucatec Maya sub-sample and Mexico Yucatec Maya sub-sample respectively. The Cronbach’s alphas for the SCHOOL factor were .60 and .42 for the U.S. and Mexico sub-samples respectively. The lower alpha coefficients for the SCHOOL factor may
be due to the limited number of items on the factor (2 items).

Table 6. Factor Structure of the 2-factor (Family/Friends and School) Maya Language Exploratory Factor Analysis using a varimax rotation of 7 items ($N = 136$)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Family/Friends</th>
<th>School</th>
<th>$M$</th>
<th>$SD$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7. How much Maya do you understand?</td>
<td>.849</td>
<td>-.003</td>
<td>2.43</td>
<td>1.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. How frequently do you speak Maya at home?</td>
<td>.787</td>
<td>.189</td>
<td>1.81</td>
<td>.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. How frequently do you speak Maya with your friends?</td>
<td>.715</td>
<td>.380</td>
<td>1.46</td>
<td>.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. How frequently do you hear Maya spoken by your friends?</td>
<td>.681</td>
<td>.375</td>
<td>1.90</td>
<td>1.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. How frequently do you hear Maya spoken at home?</td>
<td>.663</td>
<td>.072</td>
<td>3.42</td>
<td>1.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. How frequently do you hear Maya spoken at school?</td>
<td>.099</td>
<td>.818</td>
<td>1.44</td>
<td>.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. How frequently do you speak Maya at school?</td>
<td>.174</td>
<td>.756</td>
<td>1.28</td>
<td>.63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Reliability coefficient (alpha) for Family/Friends factor (items 7, 1, 5, 6, and 2) = .82. Reliability coefficient (alpha) for School factor (items 4 and 3) = .49. Rotated factor loading coefficients > .40 are bolded and italicized (these factor loadings were used to determine which items fell under each latent construct factor).

Table 7. Inter-correlations of the Maya Language items ($N = 136$)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>.410**</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>.346**</td>
<td>.076</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>.182*</td>
<td>.325**</td>
<td>.343**</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>.628**</td>
<td>.297**</td>
<td>.391**</td>
<td>.255**</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>.442**</td>
<td>.395**</td>
<td>.244**</td>
<td>.380**</td>
<td>.639**</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>.577**</td>
<td>.481**</td>
<td>.254**</td>
<td>.098</td>
<td>.493**</td>
<td>.501**</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** p-value < .01, * p-value < .05

Multi-Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM)

The 12-item Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) was used to assess the adolescents’ ethnic identities. Before completing the 12-item measure, the
adolescents completed a write-in question in which they were asked their ethnic group and then completed the 12 statements about their ethnic group on a 5-point likert scale (1=strongly disagree, 5=strongly agree). Following this, the adolescents completed three multiple choice questions, the first asked them to mark all the ethnic groups they identified with and the other two asked them to mark the ethnicity of their parents. To see the complete MEIM used in the surveys please refer to Appendix B.

This 12-item version of the MEIM was developed by Roberts et al. (1999) as a revision of Phinney’s (1992) 20-item measure. Phinney (1992) created a 20-item measure to assess the ethnic identity construct in three different dimensions 1) affirmation and sense of belonging towards one’s ethnic group (5 items), 2) ethnic identity achievement or a strong sense and understanding of one’s own membership in the group (7 items), and 3) ethnic behaviors or practices (2 items). The original MEIM also consisted of an other-group orientation (OGO) sub-scale (6 items). After running a factor analysis, Phinney (1992) demonstrated that the MEIM was a 2-factor measure, in which one factor consisted of all the ethnic identity dimensions (14 items) and the other factor was the other-group orientation (6 items). Currently, the other-group orientation sub-scale is considered a separate construct and is no longer included with measure. The MEIM is one of the most cited and used measures in the quantitative research literature on ethnic identity (Worrell, Conyers, Mpofu, Vandiver, 2006). The MEIM’s structure and validity were reevaluated with a large sample of diverse early adolescents, which resulted in a 12-item MEIM (Roberts et al., 1999). Roberts et al. (1999) conducted an exploratory and confirmatory multi-group factor analysis to evaluate the structures encompassing ethnic identity and measured by the
original 14 items of Phinney’s (1992) 20-item MEIM (not including the 6 OGO items). According to Roberts et al. (1999), structures that form ethnic identity are 1) a sense of belonging and positive feelings toward an ethnic group, which is based on social identity theory’s claim that group identity and sense of belonging to a group is central to the person’s self-concept, (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and 2) commitment to, and exploration of the ethnic group which is a developmental construct (Erikson, 1968). An exploratory factor analysis was conducted to examine if these two distinct theoretical concepts overlap to explain the ethnic identity of early adolescents. Through this exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses, Roberts et al. (1999) confirmed a two-factor model for the 14-items after dropping 2 items that were worded negatively and may have been difficult to understand. The updated 12-item MEIM consisted of an affirmation, belonging, and commitment factor (composed of 7 items which were originally under the affirmation/belonging and the commitment dimensions of the MEIM) and an exploration factor (composed of 5 items which were originally under the achievement and ethnic behaviors dimensions of the MEIM). This two-factor 12-item version of the MEIM encompasses both the social identity and developmental theoretical perspectives in explaining the structure of ethnic identity (Roberts et al., 1999). Many researchers have used this 12-item version of the MEIM in the U.S. (e.g., Gamst, Dana, Der-Karabetian, Aragon, Arellano & Kramer, 2002; Jones & Galliher, 2007; Molix & Betencourt, 2010; Ong, Phinney, & Dennis, 2006; Schwartz, et al., 2007). This version of the MEIM was also recently used and validated with an Indigenous sample in Chiapas, Mexico (Esteban, Nadal, & Vila, 2010). Other versions of the MEIM have been used with international samples such as
adolescent in Zimbabwe (Worrell et al., 2006) or a diverse sample of adolescents in the United Kingdom (Gaines Jr., Bunce, Robertson, Wright, Goossens, Heer, Lidder, Mann, & Minhas, 2010).

For this study the 12-item MEIM was used as a single score of the mean of all 12 items and as two scores for the two subscales made of the two factors (the affirmation, belonging, and commitment factor and the exploration factor). Items 3,5,6,7,9,11, and 12 compose the affirmation, belonging, and commitment factor subscale and items 1,2,4,8, and 10 composed the exploration factor subscale.

A confirmatory factor analysis was conducted using a statistical program called Lisrel 8.8 (Joreskog & Sorbom, 2006). Lisrel allows for confirmatory factor analysis to test models that have been proven to work in past studies and literature. Since the MEIM has been shown to measure an exploration and a commitment factor the 2-factor model was tested for this study. The results of the confirmatory factor analysis conducted verified the 2-factor (exploration and commitment) model for the MEIM. The $\chi^2$ statistic of 73.36 (df=51) with a p-value of .022, although the p-value is not large enough to maintain the null of goodness of fit, the chi-square statistic to degrees of freedom ratio is 1.44 ≤ 2 which is considered to be a cut-off for a model’s acceptable fit (Schreiber, Stage, King, Nora, & Barlow, 2006). The RMSEA is .047 < .06; CFI = .97 ≥ .95; TLI = .97 ≥ .96 indicating a good model fit as recommended in reporting confirmatory factor analysis results (Schreiber et. al, 2006). The confirmatory factor analysis outcomes can be found in Table 8.

The general ethnic identity (all 12-items) Cronbach’s alpha for the three heritage groups were .80 for the Latina/o U.S. group, .82 for the Yucatec Maya
heritage group, and .75 for the Mexico Yucatec Maya group. The affirmation, belonging and commitment subscale Cronbach’s alphas were .83, .82, and .78 for the non-Yucatec Maya U.S. sub-sample, Yucatec Maya U.S. sub-sample, and the Yucatec Maya Mexico sub-sample, respectively. The Cronbach’s alphas for the exploration subscale were .68, .53 and .60 for the non-Yucatec Maya U.S. sub-sample, Yucatec Maya U.S. sub-sample, and the Yucatec Maya Mexico sub-sample, respectively.

Table 8. Standardized and unstandardized coefficients for the confirmatory factor analysis on the 12 ethnic identity (MEIM) items

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Observed Variable</th>
<th>Latent Construct</th>
<th>β</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>SE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.</td>
<td>Exploration</td>
<td>.61</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group.</td>
<td>Exploration</td>
<td>.54</td>
<td>1.15</td>
<td>.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership.</td>
<td>Exploration</td>
<td>.37</td>
<td>.86</td>
<td>.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group.</td>
<td>Exploration</td>
<td>.59</td>
<td>1.09</td>
<td>.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs.</td>
<td>Exploration</td>
<td>.39</td>
<td>.77</td>
<td>.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me.</td>
<td>Commitment</td>
<td>.59</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to.</td>
<td>Commitment</td>
<td>.47</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td>.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.</td>
<td>Commitment</td>
<td>.53</td>
<td>.53</td>
<td>.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me.</td>
<td>Commitment</td>
<td>.74</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group.</td>
<td>Commitment</td>
<td>.66</td>
<td>.96</td>
<td>.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.</td>
<td>Commitment</td>
<td>.70</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background.</td>
<td>Commitment</td>
<td>.64</td>
<td>.86</td>
<td>.13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Short Acculturation Scale for Hispanics-Youth (SASH-Y) was used to measure acculturation levels of the adolescents. This scale was developed by Barona & Miller (1994) and was an extension from the Short Acculturation Scale for Hispanics (Marin, Sabogal, VanOss Marin, Otero-Sabogal, Perez-Stable, 1987) to fit an adolescent demographic. The scale considers “the individual within the context of family and the context of culture” (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993 in Barona & Miller, 1994). The scale focuses on measuring language as part of the Ethnic Loyalty construct and peer associations and media as part of a Cultural Heritage construct. The SASH-Y also focuses on contextual influence on cultural behavior, hence the questions asking about family and also about friends and peers. The scale excludes socio-demographic questions (e.g. parent education levels) that in the past have been included in acculturation scales (Marin et al., 1987) because it has been shown that these are difficult for youth to report accurately (Miller, 1992). The scale was developed with a set of 141 Hispanic youth and 230 non-Hispanic white youth from the southwest. An exploratory factor analysis was conducted which revealed a three-factor solution consisting of Extra-familial Language Use, Familial Language Use, and Ethnic Social Relationships, however it is recommended that the SASH-Y composite score be used for assessing youth because certain items loaded across factors 1 and 2 (Barona & Miller, 1994).

For this study the SASH-Y was used as a single composite score due to the recommendation from the creators of the scale. The SASH-Y consisted of 12 items on a 5-point Likert-type scale (1=only Spanish to 5=only English for questions 1-9 and...
For the complete measure please refer to Appendix B. The composite score of the 12 items was computed by adding all the items together. The possible acculturation scores could range from 12 to 60. The reliability Cronbach’s alpha for the acculturation scale was .85 and .86 for Yucatec Maya and non-Yucatec Maya in the U.S., respectively.

For the adolescents from Mexico, the SASH-Y was modified to measure the acculturation to Mexican culture, including Spanish, having Mexican/Hispanic friends, and watching/listening Spanish media versus Yucatec Maya language, Yucatec Maya friends, and Yucatec Maya media. The same 12 items were used, but the Likert-type 5-point scale was changed to represent the acculturation to Mexican culture from Maya Indigenous culture (1=only Maya to 5=only Spanish for questions 1-9 and 1=only Yucatec Maya, 5=only Non Yucatec Maya for questions 10-12). For the complete measure used with the Yucatec Maya still in Mexico sub-sample for this study please refer to Appendix B. Again, as recommended by the creators of the SASH-Y a composite score of all the 12 items was used as the acculturation score for each adolescent (Barona & Miller, 1994). The composite score of the 12 items was computed by adding all the items together. The possible acculturation scores could range from 12 to 60. The reliability Cronbach’s alpha for the acculturation scale for the Mexico sub-sample was .64.

Perceived discrimination

The perceived discrimination scale was taken from a study conducted by Borsato (2008) with Latino/a, Asian American, and White early adolescents. The scale was developed from literature that describes perceived discrimination as a
construct based on adult and peer interactions (Borsato, 2008; Greene et al., 2006). Borsato (2008) conducted a confirmatory factor analysis with the 17-item scale that resulted in the 2-factor structure of peer and adult perceived discrimination. The peer factor consisted of 8 items and the adult factor consisted of 9 items. A confirmatory factor analysis was conducted on Lisrel 8.8 (Joreskog & Sorbom, 2006) that revealed a similar 2-factor peer and adult structure of the scale. Due to the ordinal and skewed nature of the data (since those who answered “no” were scored as 0 for level of distress), Lisrel used a polychoric correlation matrix to estimate the parameters through diagonally weighted least squares using the inverse of the asymptotic covariance matrix (Joreskog, 1990). The (Satorra-Bentler Scaled) $\chi^2$ statistic of 123.03 (df=114) with a p-value of .27 is not large enough to reject the null of good fit and with a chi-square ratio of $1.08 \leq 2$, hence indicating the model (or the 2-factor structure) is a good fit. The RMSEA is $.025 < .06$; $\text{CFI} = .99 \geq .95$; $\text{TLI} = .99 \geq .96$ indicating a good model fit as recommended in reporting confirmatory factor analysis results (Schreiber et al, 2006). The confirmatory factor analysis outcomes can be found on Table 9.
Table 9. Standardized and unstandardized coefficients for the confirmatory factor analysis on the 17 perceived discrimination items for the U.S. sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Observed Variable</th>
<th>Latent Construct</th>
<th>β</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>SE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Other kids did not want you to join a school club.</td>
<td>Peers</td>
<td>.68</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other kids thought you didn’t know English very well.</td>
<td>Peers</td>
<td>.58</td>
<td>.84</td>
<td>.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other kids did not include you in their activities.</td>
<td>Peers</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td>.99</td>
<td>.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People acted like they were afraid of you.</td>
<td>Peers</td>
<td>.42</td>
<td>.61</td>
<td>.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other kids called you racially insulting names.</td>
<td>Peers</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td>.97</td>
<td>.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You were expected to be good or NOT be good at a sport.</td>
<td>Peers</td>
<td>.48</td>
<td>.70</td>
<td>.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You were threatened by other kids.</td>
<td>Peers</td>
<td>.39</td>
<td>.56</td>
<td>.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You were teased about the way you look.</td>
<td>Peers</td>
<td>.73</td>
<td>1.07</td>
<td>.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You were given a lower grade than you deserved.</td>
<td>Adults</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers expected MORE of you than other students.</td>
<td>Adults</td>
<td>.23</td>
<td>.35</td>
<td>.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers expected LESS of you than other students.</td>
<td>Adults</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td>.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People acted like they thought you were not smart.</td>
<td>Adults</td>
<td>.62</td>
<td>.93</td>
<td>.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You received poor service at a restaurant.</td>
<td>Adults</td>
<td>.33</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You got hassled by police.</td>
<td>Adults</td>
<td>.40</td>
<td>.54</td>
<td>.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You got hassled by a store clerk or store guard.</td>
<td>Adults</td>
<td>.31</td>
<td>.47</td>
<td>.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You were unfairly disciplined or given after-school detention.</td>
<td>Adults</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td>.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You were NOT selected to be in an honors or advanced level class.</td>
<td>Adults</td>
<td>.64</td>
<td>.95</td>
<td>.16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The scale measured the adolescent’s level of distress or, in other words, how upset the adolescents felt when they experienced acts that they perceived were discriminatory due to their race or ethnicity. Hence, the scale consisted of two parts. The first part of each item asked whether the adolescent experienced a specific discriminatory act due to her/his race or ethnicity. So the adolescent would mark “yes” or “no” to answer this part of the question. The second part of each item asked for the adolescents who marked “yes” on the first part of the question to rate how upsetting the discriminatory act had made her/him feel. The second part, which asked for the level of distress, consisted of a 4-point Likert scales (which on the survey 1=...
Not upsetting at all, 4=Very upsetting, but in the coding and finding the scores was converted to 0=Not upsetting at all, 3=Very upsetting). Cronbach’s alphas for the U.S. sub-sample were .76 for the peers factor and .61 for the adults factor. The peers and adults factors for the U.S. samples had a correlation of .72 (p<.01).

The Mexican version of the scale was modified for it to be culturally relevant. Four items were omitted that did not fit within the Mexican context, e.g. “other kids thought you didn’t know English very well.” Please refer to Appendix B for the complete Mexican version of the perceived discrimination measure. A confirmatory factor analysis was conducted on Lisrel (Joreskog & Sorbom, 2006) for this study that revealed a similar 2-factor peer and adult structure of the scale. The (Satorra-Bentler Scaled) $\chi^2$ statistic of 55.59 (df=55) with a p-value of .45 is not large enough to reject the null of good fit, hence indicating the model (or the 2-factor structure) is a good fit. The RMSEA = .009 < .06; CFI = 1.00 ≥ .95; TLI = 1.00 ≥ .96 indicating a good model fit as recommended in reporting confirmatory factor analysis results (Schreiber et al., 2006). Please refer to table 10 for the confirmatory factor analysis loadings. The Cronbach’s alpha for the Mexican version of the scale consisted of .61 for the peers factor (7 items) and .49 for the adults factor (6 items). The correlation between the peers and adults factors was .37 (p<.01).
Table 10. Standardized and unstandardized coefficients for the confirmatory factor analysis on the 13 perceived discrimination items for the Maya Mexico sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Observed Variable</th>
<th>Latent Construct</th>
<th>$\beta$</th>
<th>$B$</th>
<th>$SE$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Other kids did not want you to join a school club.</td>
<td>Peers</td>
<td>.52</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other kids did not include you in their activities.</td>
<td>Peers</td>
<td>.43</td>
<td>.83</td>
<td>.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People acted like they were afraid of you.</td>
<td>Peers</td>
<td>.40</td>
<td>.74</td>
<td>.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other kids called you racially insulting names.</td>
<td>Peers</td>
<td>.61</td>
<td>1.18</td>
<td>.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You were expected to be good or NOT be good at a sport.</td>
<td>Peers</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td>.52</td>
<td>.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You were threatened by other kids.</td>
<td>Peers</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.23</td>
<td>.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You were teased about the way you look.</td>
<td>Peers</td>
<td>.86</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td>.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You were given a lower grade than you deserved.</td>
<td>Adults</td>
<td>.68</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers expected MORE of you than other students.</td>
<td>Adults</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>.23</td>
<td>.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers expected LESS of you than other students.</td>
<td>Adults</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People acted like they thought you were not smart.</td>
<td>Adults</td>
<td>.53</td>
<td>.78</td>
<td>.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You were unfairly disciplined or given after-school detention.</td>
<td>Adults</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You were NOT selected to be in an honors or advanced level class.</td>
<td>Adults</td>
<td>.75</td>
<td>1.09</td>
<td>.28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*School belonging*

The school belonging scale contains four items that assess whether students feel like they belong or are important within their schools. The items used were taken from a larger scale measuring goals and belonging of eighth graders in a study looking at their perceptions of school environment, beliefs, and achievement (Roeser, Midgley & Urdan, 1996). The items were measured on a 5-point Likert scale ($1=\text{Not at all true of me, } 5=\text{Very true of me})$. The items can be found in Appendix B.

After running an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) on SPSS 19 of the four items it was found that three of the items loaded into one factor and the fourth, importance item ($I \ do \ not \ feel \ like \ I \ am \ important \ in \ this \ school$) loaded into a completely separate factor. Hence, the school belonging scale consists of 2 latent factors, a belonging factor and an importance factor. Please refer to Table 11 for
factor loading results from the EFA. The belonging factor (3 items) had a reliability of .84 for Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S., .78 for non-Yucatec Maya Latina/o adolescents in the U.S., and .71 for Yucatec Maya adolescents still in Mexico. The importance factor was only one item therefore no reliabilities were obtained.

Table 11. Factor Structure of the 2-factor (Belonging and Importance) School Belonging Scale Exploratory Factor Analysis using a varimax rotation of 4 items (N = 201)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Belonging</th>
<th>Importance</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. I feel proud of my school.</td>
<td>.884</td>
<td>.040</td>
<td>4.13</td>
<td>1.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. I feel like I belong in this school.</td>
<td>.815</td>
<td>.035</td>
<td>4.29</td>
<td>.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. I feel like I matter in my school.</td>
<td>.851</td>
<td>.105</td>
<td>3.83</td>
<td>1.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. I do not feel like I am important in this school.</td>
<td>.038</td>
<td>.997</td>
<td>3.61</td>
<td>1.30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Reliability coefficient (alpha) for the Belonging factor (items 1, 2 and 3) = .80. Rotated factor loading coefficients > .40 are bolded and italicized (these factor loadings were used to determine which items fell under each latent construct factor).

Table 12. Inter-correlations of the school belonging items (N = 201)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>.656**</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>.524**</td>
<td>.580**</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>.112</td>
<td>.018</td>
<td>.068</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** p-value < .01 (two-tailed)

Self-reported grade point average (GPA) scores were also used to measure school outcomes for students in the U.S. only. Although they are self-reported they served to gauge how the adolescents were doing academically in school. The GPA scores can be found in the demographics table (Table 4) at the beginning of this chapter.
Qualitative

Semi-structured Interviews

Semi-structured open-ended interviews were conducted with 11 (4 boys, 7 girls) adolescents from the non-Yucatec Maya Latino/a U.S. group, 10 (7 boys, 3 girls) adolescents from the Yucatec Maya U.S. group, and 17 (9 boys, 8 girls) from the Mexican Yucatec Maya in Yucatan, Mexico group. Although the interviews were semi-structured to allow for the adolescents to feel comfortable with the interviewer (the author) and for flexibility of inserting other questions based on the adolescents’ responses, all the interviews followed a standard set of open-ended questions. Standard interviews require each participant to be taken through the same sequence of questions using the same words (Patton, 1990) and this was done with the interviews found in this study. The interviews allowed the author of the study to go further in-depth into topics surrounding culture, ethnicity, family, and schooling with the adolescents across the two nations (Mexico and the U.S.) and across the two groups (non-Yucatec Maya and Yucatec Maya).

Interviews are useful in obtaining the story behind participants’ experiences and information that otherwise may not be revealed by respondents to survey questionnaires (Seidman, 2006). Protocols were created for the non-Yucatec Maya adolescents, the Yucatec Maya in the U.S., and the Yucatec Maya in Mexico. The non-Yucatec Maya in the U.S. protocol consisted of 13 questions exploring the areas discussed above. While the Yucatec-Maya interview protocol consisted of those 13 questions and 12 more questions to discuss specific Maya culture topics such as Maya language or Maya celebrations and traditions. Lastly, the Yucatec Maya in Mexico
group protocol consisted of almost the same questions as the Yucatec Maya U.S. protocol. The only question changed for the Mexico group was the one that asked “Have you been back to your home country/parent’s home country if it is not the U.S.?” This question was omitted and a question asking “Do you have family in the U.S.? Do they visit, or have you visited the U.S.?” was added for the Mexico group. Please see Appendix B for interview protocols for each of the three heritage groups.

The interviews were conducted after the surveys were collected and took anywhere from 10-35 minutes across groups. The interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed into a Microsoft Word document. The author transcribed all the Spanish interviews from Mexico (17 interviews) and half (4 interviews) of the Spanish interviews from the U.S. samples. A research assistant aided in transcribing the English interviews from the U.S. samples (13 interviews) and the other half (4 interviews) of the Spanish interviews from the U.S. groups.
Chapter 5: Quantitative Results

Ethnic Identity

Two Analyses of Variances (ANOVAs) were run for the exploration and commitment levels of ethnic identity across the Non-Yucatec Maya in the U.S., Yucatec Maya in the U.S., and Yucatec Maya in Mexico groups. The ANOVA for the exploration factor of ethnic identity, $F(2, 198) = 1.98, p > .05$, was not statistically significant (n.s.), meaning that exploration levels across the three groups did not differ. The ANOVA for the commitment factor of ethnic identity, $F(2, 198) = .041, p > .05$, was not statistically significant, therefore commitment levels did not differ across the groups. Please refer to Table 13 for the ethnic identity exploration and ethnic identity commitment scores across the non-Yucatec Maya in the U.S., Yucatec Maya in the U.S., and Yucatec Maya in Mexico groups.

However, across the non-Yucatec Maya in the U.S., Yucatec Maya in the U.S., and the Yucatec Maya in Mexico groups the ethnic identity commitment scores were significantly higher than the ethnic identity exploration scores. Three paired-sample, two-tailed t-tests revealed the significant difference between the commitment and exploration scores; $t(64) = 7.6, p < .0001$ for the non-Yucatec Maya group, $t(65) = 11.98, p < .0001$ for the Yucatec Maya in the U.S. sample, and $t(69) = 11.83, p < .0001$ for the Yucatec Maya in Mexico group. Please refer to Table 13 for the differences between the explorations and commitment scores.
Table 13. Ethnic identity levels of adolescents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Heritage</th>
<th>U.S. Non-Yucatec Maya</th>
<th>U.S. Yucatec Maya</th>
<th>Mexico Yucatec Maya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(65)</td>
<td>(66)</td>
<td>(70)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=201</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Identity Exploration Mean (standard deviation) (N=201)</td>
<td>3.57 (.79)</td>
<td>3.52 (.62)</td>
<td>3.34 (.66)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Identity Commitment Mean (standard deviation) (N=201)</td>
<td>4.31 (.60)</td>
<td>4.28 (.55)</td>
<td>4.3 (.51)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bivariate correlations between the demographic variables (gender, age, generation for the U.S. subgroups, and Maya language for the Yucatec Maya subgroups) and the ethnic identity factors (exploration and commitment) can be found in Table 14. Being female, speaking Maya language at school, and Maya language with family and friends were significantly associated with ethnic identity exploration. For the commitment construct of ethnic identity only the Maya language with family and friends demographic was significantly associated with it. The exploration and commitment constructs correlation was significant as well ($r = .433, p < .01$). Of note, there were significant associations between some of the demographic variables. For the U.S. groups, age was associated negatively with generation ($p < .01$), for example younger adolescents were more likely to be associated with being second generation. For the Yucatec Maya groups in the U.S. and Mexico, age was associated positively with Maya language at school ($p < .05$) and Maya language with family and friends ($p < .01$), so being older was associated with more Maya language knowledge in general. For the U.S. Yucatec Maya group generation was negatively associated with both Maya knowledge constructs ($p < .01$ for the school factor, and $p < .01$ for the family/friends factor). For example, first generation Yucatec Maya adolescents have high levels of Maya knowledge in both school and family/friends domains.
Table 14. Correlations for demographic variables and ethnic identity variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Exploration</th>
<th>Commitment</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Generation</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Maya Language School</th>
<th>Maya Lang. Family/ Friends</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Exploration</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commitment</td>
<td>.433**</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>.174*</td>
<td>.057</td>
<td>.234</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generation</td>
<td>.097</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>-1.21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>.393**</td>
<td>.195*</td>
<td>-1.329**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maya Language School</td>
<td>.202*</td>
<td>.150</td>
<td>-.079</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maya Language Family/ Friends</td>
<td>.283*</td>
<td>.206*</td>
<td>-.163</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**p-value < 0.01 (two-tailed), * p-value < 0.05 (two-tailed)

a The total N value for the study is 201, the N value of 131 represents the U.S. Yucatec Maya and non-Yucatec Maya groups. Hence the generation variable only includes 131 participants because generation does not apply to the adolescents in Mexico (N = 70).

b In this case, the N value of 136 represents the two Yucatec Maya Indigenous groups in the U.S. and Mexico and since the Maya language variables do not apply to the non-Yucatec Maya group, the Maya language variables correlation coefficients only include 136 participants.

c The generation by Maya Language (both school and family/friends) cells only include the Yucatec Maya in the U.S. group (N = 66).

Two one-way ANOVAs were run for the non-Yucatec Maya in the U.S. group to confirm that generation was not related to ethnic identity exploration and commitment. The two ANOVAs did not reveal significant differences in ethnic identity exploration ($F (2, 62) = 9.14, p > .05, n.s.$) or ethnic identity commitment ($F (2, 62) = .02, p > .05, n.s.$). Two one-way ANOVAs were also run for the Yucatec Maya in the U.S. group between generation and ethnic identity exploration and commitment. These also did not reveal significant differences in ethnic identity.
exploration ($F (2, 63) = .17, p > .05, n.s.$) or commitment ($F (2, 63) = 1.19, p > .05, n.s.$).

To investigate the relationship between gender and ethnic identity exploration a linear regression was run with gender as a predictor for ethnic identity exploration. The linear regression revealed that gender was a significant predictor of ethnic identity exploration ($B = .241, SE B = .097, \beta = .174, p < .05$), but only accounted for 3% of the variability of ethnic identity exploration, $F (1, 199) = 6.21, p < .05$. Independent samples, two-tailed t-tests were run of ethnic identity exploration and gender for the Yucatec Maya in U.S., non-Yucatec Maya in U.S., and Yucatec Maya in Mexico groups. The only group with significant ethnic identity exploration score differences due to gender was the non-Yucatec Maya group in which boys had a lower level of ethnic identity exploration ($M = 3.21, SD = .85$) than girls ($M = 3.87, SD = .58$), $t (63) = -3.7, p < .0001$.

A hierarchical, multiple, regression was run to investigate the possible predictors of age, the Maya language knowledge school factor, and Maya language knowledge family/friends factor for ethnic identity exploration of the Yucatec Maya groups. The first step of the hierarchical regression examined age and the Maya language school factor as possible predictors, while the second step added the Maya language family/friends factor as another predictor. Age and Maya language at school accounted for only 5% of the variability in ethnic identity exploration ($F (2, 133) = 3.7, p < .05$). The Maya language school factor resulted as a predictor of exploration of ethnic identity ($B = .23, SE B = .09, \beta = .22, p < .01$). Knowledge and use of Maya language at school predicted a higher level of ethnic identity exploration. The Maya
language family/friends factor added to the second step resulted in a model accounting for 12% of the variability of the exploration of ethnic identity ($F (3, 132) = 5.9, p < .01$). The addition of the Maya language family/friends factor contributed to a significant change of the $R^2$ (a .07 change, $p < .01$). More Maya language knowledge and use with family and friends predicted a higher ethnic identity exploration ($B = .23, SE B = .07, \beta = .30, p < .01$). Age was also a predictor for exploration ($B = -.09, SE B = .04, \beta = -.18, p < .05$). Being younger predicted higher levels of exploration. Please refer to Table 15 for the complete results of the hierarchical regression.

A similar hierarchical, multiple, regression was conducted to examine the predictors for ethnic identity commitment for the two Yucatec Maya groups of adolescents (in the U.S. and Mexico). Maya language at school has a marginal significance in positively predicting ethnic identity commitment ($B = .14, SE B = .08, \beta = .16, p < .07$). However, age and Maya language at school did not significantly account for the variability of ethnic identity commitment ($F (2,133) = 1.82, p > .05, n.s.$). When Maya language knowledge and use with family and friends was added to the regression, the model accounted for 6% of the variability of ethnic identity commitment ($F (3,132) = 2.8, p < .05$). The Maya language family/friends factor positively predicted ethnic identity commitment ($B = .13, SE B = .06, \beta = .20, p < .05$). So, the more Maya language knowledge and use with family/friends the higher the ethnic identity commitment scores. Please refer to Table 15 for the complete results of this hierarchical regression.
Table 15: Hierarchical regression results of age, Maya language school factor, and Maya language family/friends factor on the two constructs of ethnic identity (exploration and commitment) for the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. and Mexico

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step</th>
<th>Exploration</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Commitment</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>SE B</td>
<td>β</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>SE B</td>
<td>β</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Exploration</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Commitment</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 1</td>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>3.99</td>
<td>.68</td>
<td>4.53</td>
<td>.56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>-.11</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maya Language School</td>
<td>.23</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.22**</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R² = .05, p &lt; .05</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>R² = .03, p &lt; n.s.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 2</td>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>4.17</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td>4.63</td>
<td>.56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-.09</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>-.18*</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maya Language School</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maya Language Family/Friends</td>
<td>.23</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.30**</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R² = .12, p &lt; .01</td>
<td>Change in R² = .07, p &lt; .01</td>
<td></td>
<td>R² = .06, p &lt; .05</td>
<td>Change in R² = .03, p &lt; .05</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** p-value < .01, * p-value < .05, ^ p-value < .07

Acculturation

Acculturation to American culture was measured for the two U.S. groups (Non-Yucatec Maya and Yucatec Maya), and acculturation to Mexican culture was measured for the Yucatec Maya group in Mexico. The independent samples, two-tailed, t-test to compare the U.S. groups (Non-Yucatec Maya and Yucatec Maya) acculturation levels revealed a marginally significant difference in the acculturation mean score of the U.S. non-Yucatec Maya group and the U.S. Yucatec Maya group, with the Yucatec Maya group having a higher score, t (129) = 2.01,
The Yucatec Maya in Mexico acculturation to Mexican culture was compared to the Yucatec Maya in the U.S. acculturation to American culture. The independent samples, two-tailed, t-test revealed a significant difference in which the Mexico Yucatec Maya group had a lot higher levels of acculturation to Mexican culture, \( t (134) = -12.74, p < .0001 \) than the U.S. Yucatec Maya group had in acculturation to American culture. The means for acculturation across the three heritage groups can be found on Table 16.

Table 16. Acculturation levels of adolescents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Heritage</th>
<th>U.S. Non-Yucatec Maya</th>
<th>U.S. Yucatec Maya</th>
<th>Mexico Yucatec Maya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N=201</td>
<td>(65)</td>
<td>(66)</td>
<td>(70)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acculturation Level Mean (standard deviation) (N=201)</td>
<td>31.00 (7.52)</td>
<td>33.60 (7.27)</td>
<td>46.76 (4.58)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Several bivariate correlations of the demographic variables (age, generation, Maya language and gender) ethnic identity constructs (exploration and commitment), and acculturation were conducted for each of the three subgroups (Yucatec Maya in the U.S., non-Yucatec Maya in the U.S., and Yucatec Maya in Mexico). Separate correlations were run for the Yucatec Maya in Mexico group since the acculturation variable was measuring acculturation to Mexican culture and not to American culture like the U.S. groups. Correlations were run for both U.S. groups together, and correlations were run separately for each U.S. group to further investigate any differences between the U.S. Yucatec Maya and U.S. non-Yucatec Maya groups.

Table 17 shows the bivariate correlations for the Yucatec Maya group in Mexico. The correlations show a negative association between acculturation to the
Mexican culture and ethnic identity commitment. Hence for those with higher levels of ethnic identity commitment their acculturation to Mexican culture was lower. Maya language (both the school and family/friends factors) were negatively associated with acculturation, therefore those with more Maya knowledge had lower levels of acculturation to Mexican culture.

Table 18 reflects the results of bivariate correlations for the Yucatec Maya and non-Yucatec Maya in the U.S. adolescents grouped together. A correlation revealed a negative relationship between age and American acculturation of the Yucatec Maya and non-Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. However, when correlations were run separately for the Yucatec Maya and the non-Yucatec Maya groups, the negative correlation between age and American acculturation was only significant for the Yucatec Maya group ($r = -.431, p < .01$) and not for the non-Yucatec Maya adolescents ($r = .034, p > .05, \text{n.s}.)$. Therefore being younger is related to higher levels of American acculturation for Yucatec Maya adolescent in the U.S. only. Although a correlation between gender and American acculturation was not statistically significantly for the U.S. groups together, when the correlation was run only with the Yucatec Maya in the U.S. group it was statistically significant ($r = .286, p < .05$). The gender relationship with acculturation reveals that being a girl in the sample of Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. is related to higher levels of American acculturation than boys. The correlation between generation and American acculturation for the U.S. adolescents was highly statistically significant, as seen on Table 18.
Ethnic identity exploration did not have a significant relationship to American acculturation. Ethnic identity commitment did reveal a significant relationship to American acculturation for the U.S. adolescents when grouped together. Ethnic identity commitment related negatively to American acculturation, hence lower levels of commitment were related to higher levels of American acculturation. However when separate correlations were run for each group, the significance of the relationship between ethnic identity commitment and American acculturation was only marginally significant for the non-Yucatec Maya youth in the U.S. ($r = -.234, p = .06$). Yet, the correlation between ethnic identity commitment and American acculturation for the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. was statistically significant ($r = -.302, p < .05$).

Lastly, two correlations showed strong negative relationships between 1) Maya language at school and American acculturation ($r = -.394, p < .01$) and 2) Maya language with family/friends and American acculturation ($r = -.651, p < .01$). So, similar to the Yucatec Maya in Mexico acculturating to Mexican culture, for Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S., knowing more Maya in general was related to lower levels of American acculturation.
Table 17. Demographic variables, ethnic identity variables, and acculturation to Mexican culture correlations for the Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Acculturation to Mexican Culture</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Exploration</th>
<th>Commitment</th>
<th>Maya Lang. School</th>
<th>Maya Lang. Family/Friends</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acculturation to Mexican Culture</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>.068 (N = 70)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-.136</td>
<td>-.108</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>-.103 (N = 70)</td>
<td>-.108 (N = 70)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exploration</td>
<td>-.339** (N = 70)</td>
<td>-.103 (N = 70)</td>
<td>-.048</td>
<td>-.080</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commitment</td>
<td>.252* (N = 70)</td>
<td>.190 (N = 70)</td>
<td>-.081</td>
<td>.267*</td>
<td>.128</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maya Language School</td>
<td>.451** (N = 70)</td>
<td>.168 (N = 70)</td>
<td>-.117</td>
<td>.230 ^</td>
<td>.057</td>
<td>.371**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maya Language Family/Friends</td>
<td>.349** (N = 70)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**p-value < 0.01 (two-tailed), * p-value < 0.05 (two-tailed), ^ marginal significance p-value < .06
Table 18. Demographic variables, ethnic identity variables, and acculturation to American culture Correlations for the Yucatec Maya and non-Yucatec Maya in the U.S. groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Acculturation to American Culture</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Generation</th>
<th>Exploration</th>
<th>Commitment</th>
<th>Maya Lang. School</th>
<th>Maya Lang. Family/Friends</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acculturation to American Culture</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-.241**</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-.127</td>
<td>.619**</td>
<td>-.091</td>
<td>-.266**</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N = 131)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(N = 131)</td>
<td>(N = 131)</td>
<td>(N = 131)</td>
<td>(N = 131)</td>
<td>(N = 131)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>.123</td>
<td>-.127</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-.329**</td>
<td>.295**</td>
<td>.073</td>
<td>-.069</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N = 131)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(N = 131)</td>
<td>(N = 131)</td>
<td>(N = 131)</td>
<td>(N = 131)</td>
<td>(N = 131)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generation</td>
<td>.619**</td>
<td></td>
<td>-.329**</td>
<td>.234**</td>
<td>.097</td>
<td>.492**</td>
<td>-.091</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N = 131)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(N = 131)</td>
<td>(N = 131)</td>
<td>(N = 131)</td>
<td>(N = 131)</td>
<td>(N = 131)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exploration</td>
<td>-.091</td>
<td>-.142</td>
<td>.295**</td>
<td>.097</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N = 131)</td>
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<td>(N = 131)</td>
<td>(N = 131)</td>
<td>(N = 131)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commitment</td>
<td>-.266**</td>
<td>-.069</td>
<td>.073</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.492**</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N = 131)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(N = 131)</td>
<td>(N = 131)</td>
<td>(N = 131)</td>
<td>(N = 131)</td>
<td>(N = 131)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maya Language School</td>
<td>-.394**</td>
<td>.186</td>
<td>-.080</td>
<td>-.393**</td>
<td>.164</td>
<td>.167</td>
<td>-.394**</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N = 66)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(N = 66)</td>
<td>(N = 66)</td>
<td>(N = 66)</td>
<td>(N = 66)</td>
<td>(N = 66)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maya Language Family/Friends</td>
<td>-.651** (N = 66)</td>
<td>.352**</td>
<td>-.207</td>
<td>-.427**</td>
<td>.377**</td>
<td>.299*</td>
<td>.419**</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(N = 66)</td>
<td>(N = 66)</td>
<td>(N = 66)</td>
<td>(N = 66)</td>
<td>(N = 66)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**p-value < 0.01 (two-tailed), * p-value < 0.05 (two-tailed)

Following the bivariate correlations, several t-tests, ANOVAs, and regressions were run to further understand the relationships between the demographic variables, ethnic identity exploration and commitment, and acculturation. Three independent samples two-tailed t-tests were run of acculturation and gender for each of the three heritage groups. The only t-test that was significant was for the Yucatec Maya in the U.S. group. The t-test revealed that girls ($M = 36.00, SD = 6.11$) had significantly higher acculturation levels than boys ($M = 31.80, SD = 7.62$), $t (64) = -2.39, p < .05$ for the Yucatec Maya in the U.S. group.
A factorial ANOVA of generation by heritage for acculturation to American culture was conducted for the U.S. sample of adolescents (Yucatec Maya and non-Yucatec Maya). The model of generation and heritage effects on acculturation to American culture accounted for 41.8 % \( (R^2 = .418) \) of the variance of acculturation scores across the U.S. adolescents. The factorial ANOVA revealed the main effect of generation \( (F(2, 125) = 40.14, p < .001) \) on acculturation, such that second generation \( (M = 36.70, SD = 5.00) \) had higher levels of acculturation than 1.5 generation \( (M = 32, SD = 7.34) \) and 1.5 generation had higher levels of acculturation than first generation \( (M = 26.42, SD = 6.35) \). While the main effect of heritage was only marginally significant in the model \( (F(1, 125) = 3.84, p = .052) \), with Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. having higher levels of acculturation \( (M = 33.60, SD = 7.27) \) than non-Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. \( (M = 30.97, SD = 7.52) \). The interaction effect (heritage by generation) was also marginally significant \( (F(2, 125) = 2.97, p = .055) \). So, to examine this marginal interaction, two, separate one-way ANOVAs were run to investigate the influence of generation on acculturation for each heritage group.

The results for these two one-way ANOVAs revealed a significant difference between the acculturation scores of first generation and 1.5 generation adolescents and between first generation and second generation adolescents for the Yucatec Maya in the U.S. group, \( F(2, 63) = 27.42, p < .0001 \). Post-hoc tests show the acculturation mean scores were not significantly different between 1.5 generation and second generation adolescents. Conversely, the one-way ANOVA for the non-Yucatec Maya in the U.S. group revealed a significant difference between the acculturation scores of first generation and second generation adolescents and between 1.5 generation and
second generation adolescents, $F(2, 62) = 15.87, p < .0001$. Post-hoc tests illustrate that the acculturation means were not significantly different between the first and 1.5 generation. So whereas for the Yucatec Maya adolescents 1.5 generation adolescents were more similar to second generation adolescents in their acculturation to American culture means, for the non-Yucatec Maya 1.5 generation adolescents were more similar to first generation adolescents in their acculturation means. Please refer to Table 19 for the results of the acculturation scores shown for heritage by generation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Heritage</th>
<th>U.S. Non-Yucatec Maya</th>
<th>U.S. Yucatec Maya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Generation (N=131)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>26.80 (6.16)*</td>
<td>25.90 (6.74)**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>28.72 (8.34)</td>
<td>35.18 (4.53)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>36.06 (5.22)</td>
<td>37.11 (4.82)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* ANOVA revealed a significant difference between acculturation levels, $F(2, 62) = 15.87, p = .000)$ for Non Yucatec-Maya adolescents.

** ANOVA revealed a significant difference between acculturation levels, $F(2, 63) = 27.42, p = .000)$ for Yucatec Maya adolescents.

To investigate age, Maya language, and ethnic identity exploration and commitment as predictors of acculturation to American culture (Non-Yucatec Maya and Yucatec Maya in the U.S.) and acculturation to Mexican culture (Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico) several regressions were conducted. A hierarchical, multiple regression model was run for the Yucatec Maya in Mexico sub-sample looking at the possible predictors: age, Maya language at school, Maya language with family/friends, ethnic identity exploration, and ethnic identity commitment for acculturation to Mexican culture. The first step of the hierarchical regression examined age and the
Maya language school and family/friends factors as possible predictors, while the second step added ethnic identity exploration, and ethnic identity commitment as other predictors. Age, Maya language at school, and Maya language with family/friends accounted for 23.70% of the variability in acculturation to Mexican culture ($F (3, 66) = 6.83, p < .001$). The Maya language family/friends factor negatively predicted acculturation ($B = -3.35, SE B = .90, \beta = -.43, p < .001$). Knowledge and use of Maya language with family/friends predicted a lower level of acculturation to Mexican culture. The ethnic identity exploration and commitment factors added to the second step resulted in a model accounting for 34.6% of the variability of the exploration of ethnic identity ($F (5, 64) = 5.9, p < .001$). The addition of the ethnic identity exploration and commitment factors contributed to a significant change of the $R^2$ (a .11 change, $p < .01$). Ethnic identity commitment was a predictor for acculturation scores ($B = -3.17, SE B = .98, \beta = -.35, p < .01$). Having lower ethnic identity commitment predicted higher levels of acculturation. Please refer to Table 20 for the complete results of the hierarchical regression.

Another hierarchical, multiple, regression was run for the Yucatec Maya in the U.S. group. The regression examined age, Maya language (school and family/friends), and ethnic identity (exploration and commitment) as possible predictors of acculturation to American culture for the Yucatec Maya youth in the U.S. The first step of the hierarchical regression examined age and the Maya language factors as possible predictors, while the second step added the ethnic identity factors as other predictors. Age, Maya language at school, and Maya language with family/friends accounted for 48.6% of the variability in acculturation to American
culture ($F(3, 62) = 19.51, p < .001$). Age resulted in a predictor of acculturation ($B = -1.11, SE B = .48, \beta = -.22, p < .05$). Being younger predicted higher levels of acculturation to American culture. The Maya language family/friends factor negatively predicted acculturation ($B = -3.81, SE B = .80, \beta = -.52, p < .001$). Knowledge and use of Maya language with family/friends predicted a lower level of acculturation to American culture. The ethnic identity exploration and commitment factors added to the second step resulted in a model accounting for 52.3% of the variability of the exploration of ethnic identity ($F(5, 60) = 13.2, p < .001$). The addition of the ethnic identity exploration and commitment factors did not contribute to a significant change of the $R^2$ (a .04 change, $p > .05$, n.s.). Ethnic identity commitment was a predictor for acculturation scores ($B = -3.20, SE B = 1.49, \beta = -.24, p < .05$). Having lower ethnic identity commitment predicted higher levels of acculturation. Please refer to Table 21 for the complete results of the hierarchical regression.

Lastly, after running several non-significant multiple regressions for age, ethnic identity exploration and ethnic identity commitment for the non-Yucatec Maya in the U.S. group, a simple linear regression to examine ethnic identity commitment as a predictor of acculturation to American culture was conducted. Ethnic identity commitment was a predictor of acculturation scores ($B = -3.98, SE B = 1.57, \beta = -.30, p < .05$), accounting for 9% of the variance of acculturation scores of non-Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. ($F(1, 64) = 6.4, p < .05$). Having lower ethnic identity commitment predicted higher levels of acculturation.
Table 20: Hierarchical regression results of age, Maya language (2 factors), and ethnic identity (2 factors) on acculturation to Mexican culture for the Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acculturation</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>SE B</th>
<th>β</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Step 1</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>45.01</td>
<td>7.173</td>
<td>.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td>.44</td>
<td>.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maya Language School</td>
<td>-.97</td>
<td>.93</td>
<td>-.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maya Language Family/Friends</td>
<td>-3.35</td>
<td>.90</td>
<td>-.43**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>R^2 = .237, p &lt; .001</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Step 2</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>55.10</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>.66</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maya Language School</td>
<td>-.894</td>
<td>.892</td>
<td>-.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maya Language Family/Friends</td>
<td>-3.51</td>
<td>.86</td>
<td>-.45**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Identity Exploration</td>
<td>1.13</td>
<td>.79</td>
<td>.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Identity Commitment</td>
<td>-3.17</td>
<td>.98</td>
<td>-.35**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>R^2 = .346, p &lt; .001</strong></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Change in R^2 = .11, p &lt; .01</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** p-value < .01

Table 21: Hierarchical regression results of age, Maya language (2 factors), and ethnic identity (2 factors) on acculturation to American culture for the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acculturation</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>SE B</th>
<th>β</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Step 1</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>61.45</td>
<td>7.44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-1.11</td>
<td>.48</td>
<td>-.22*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maya Language School</td>
<td>-1.52</td>
<td>1.12</td>
<td>.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maya Language Family/Friends</td>
<td>-3.81</td>
<td>.78</td>
<td>-.52**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>R^2 = .486, p &lt; .001</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Step 2</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>68.35</td>
<td>9.74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-1.14</td>
<td>.48</td>
<td>-.23*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maya Language School</td>
<td>-1.39</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>-.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maya Language Family/Friends</td>
<td>-3.76</td>
<td>.83</td>
<td>-.51**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Identity Exploration</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>1.39</td>
<td>.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Identity Commitment</td>
<td>-3.2</td>
<td>1.49</td>
<td>-.24*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>R^2 = .523, p &lt; .001</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Change in R^2 = .04, n.s.</strong></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*p-value < .05, ** p-value < .01
Perceived Discrimination

The analysis of perceived discrimination due to the adolescent’s race or ethnicity for this study is partially modeled after the analysis conducted by Borsato (2008), who developed the perceived discrimination scale used for this study. All 131 adolescents from the U.S. sample (non-Yucatec Maya and Maya) reported experiencing at least 1 out of 17 different situations found in the perceived discrimination measure (refer to Appendix A for the complete measure). Out of the U.S. sample, 65 (49.61 %) of the adolescents reported experiencing 7 or more acts of discrimination. A t-test revealed that the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. significantly reported more acts of discrimination ($M = 8.14, SD = 2.6$) than the non-Yucatec Maya group ($M = 5.65, SD = 2.55$), $t (129) = 5.54, p < .0001$.

All but one adolescent from the Yucatec Maya in Mexico sample reported experiencing at least 1 out of the 13 situations found in the perceived discrimination measure for the Mexican context (refer to Appendix A for the modified version of the perceived discrimination measure used in Mexico). Furthermore, 45 (64.3%) of the adolescents in Mexico reported experiencing 5 to 6 acts of discrimination and 14 (20%) reported experiencing 7 or more acts. As compared solely to the Yucatec-Maya immigrant group in the U.S. ($M= 6.3, SD = 2.14$), the Mexican sample reported less acts of discrimination ($M = 5.6, SD = 1.48$), $t (134) = 2.24, p < .05$.

Adolescents in the U.S. (non-Yucatec Maya and Yucatec Maya) experienced some acts of discrimination, due to race and ethnicity, more consistently than others. The perceived discrimination scale also measured if the adolescents felt upset
(distress) and how upset they felt about the act. Table 22 summarizes the amount of adolescents in the U.S. that reported each of the 17 acts of discrimination due to race and ethnicity as well as the percentage, from those that reported the specific situation, that were upset because of the discriminatory experience. The most reported situation for the U.S. adolescents was being called racially insulting names by other kids, with 72.5% of the U.S. youth experiencing this act of discrimination. Furthermore this act of discrimination having to do with being called racially insulting names was only reported by 26.3% of those adolescents that experienced it as being “very upsetting.” “Other kids thought you didn’t know English very well” was also highly reported (64.9%) by the adolescents in the U.S. However, this act concerning speaking English was reported by 50.6% of the adolescents that experienced it as being only “a little upsetting.” The events that were reported the least were being hassled by the police (16.8%) and being threatened by other kids (20.6%). However, being hassled by the police was the highest situation (40.9%) cited as “very upsetting” by those that reported experiencing the act. The other acts cited by a majority of those adolescents experiencing the situation as “a little upsetting” were, 1) being unfairly disciplined or given after school detention (50%) and 2) not being included in activities by other kids (55.7%).

For the Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico, Table 23 summarizes the percentage of the youth that reported each of the 13 acts of discrimination and the percentage, from those that reported the specific situation, that were upset because of the discriminatory experience. The most reported act of discrimination due to the race or ethnicity of the adolescents in Mexico was being teased about the way they
look, with 80% of the youth experiencing this situation. The second most reported act of discrimination by the Mexican sample of Yucatec Maya adolescents was “other kids did not include you in their activities” (70%). The “other kids called you racially insulting names” item was also highly reported (64.3%) by the adolescents. Adolescents that reported having experienced “other kids called you racially insulting names” reported the highest percentage (24%) of the event being “very upsetting.” Overall, adolescents that reported experiencing the 13 acts of discrimination had higher percentages of feeling “quite a bit upset” in comparison to “a little upset” or “very upset”. “Being teased about the way they look” resulted in high levels of feeling “quite a bit upset” (58.9%). While being unfairly disciplined or given detention (although not reported by a large percentage of adolescents, 20%) was reported as leading to being “quite a bit upset” (64.3%). “People acted like they thought you weren’t smart” was an act that out of those who reported experiencing it (58.6%) most (61%) reported as being “quite a bit upset(ting).” The events that were reported the least were “people acted like they were afraid of you” (8.6%) and not being selected for an advanced level class (17%). “Teachers expected more of me than of other students” was the act reported most as being only “a little upset(ting)” (52.6%). Please refer to Table 23 for the rest of the percentages.
Table 22. Percentage of **U.S. Non-Yucatec Maya** and **U.S. Yucatec Maya** (N= 131) adolescents who answered “yes” to experiencing each act of discrimination on account of their race or ethnicity and percentage of those who found the experience upsetting (“a little upsetting,” “quite a bit upsetting,” or “very upsetting”)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Experience</th>
<th>Participants who reported the act of discrimination (%)</th>
<th>A little upsetting (%)</th>
<th>Quite a bit upsetting (%)</th>
<th>Very upsetting (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Other kids called you racially insulting names</td>
<td>72.5</td>
<td>35.8</td>
<td>35.8</td>
<td>26.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other kids thought you didn’t know English very well</td>
<td>64.9</td>
<td>50.6</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>28.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You were teased about the way you look</td>
<td>61.8</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>35.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People acted like they thought you were not smart</td>
<td>59.5</td>
<td>32.1</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>35.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other kids did not include you in their activities</td>
<td>53.4</td>
<td>55.7</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You were expected to be good or NOT be good at a sport</td>
<td>43.5</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>43.9</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You received poor service at a restaurant</td>
<td>42.7</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>28.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You got hassled by a store clerk or store guard</td>
<td>42.0</td>
<td>41.8</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>29.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You were given a lower grade than you deserved</td>
<td>38.9</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>41.2</td>
<td>27.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other kids did not want you to join a school club</td>
<td>35.1</td>
<td>45.7</td>
<td>28.3</td>
<td>21.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You were NOT selected to be in an honors or advanced level class</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers expected MORE of you than of other students</td>
<td>29.8</td>
<td>41.0</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers expected LESS of you than of other students</td>
<td>28.2</td>
<td>45.9</td>
<td>29.7</td>
<td>18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People acted like they were afraid of you</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>24.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You were unfairly disciplined or given after-school detention</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>18.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You were threatened by other kids</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>40.7</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You got hassled by police</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>40.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experience</td>
<td>Participants who reported the act of discrimination (%)</td>
<td>A little upsetting (%)</td>
<td>Quite a bit upsetting (%)</td>
<td>Very upsetting (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You were teased about the way you look</td>
<td>80.0</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>58.9</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other kids did not include you in their activities</td>
<td>70.0</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>55.1</td>
<td>20.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other kids called you racially insulting names</td>
<td>64.3</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>53.3</td>
<td>24.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People acted like they thought you were not smart</td>
<td>58.6</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>61.0</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other kids did not want you to join a school club</td>
<td>58.6</td>
<td>34.1</td>
<td>43.9</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You were given a lower grade than you deserved</td>
<td>54.3</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>63.2</td>
<td>21.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers expected LESS of you than of other students</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>56.7</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You were expected to be good or NOT be good at a sport</td>
<td>38.6</td>
<td>48.1</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers expected MORE of you than of other students</td>
<td>27.1</td>
<td>52.6</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You were threatened by other kids</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>46.7</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You were unfairly disciplined or given after-school detention</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>64.3</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You were NOT selected to be in an honors or advanced level class</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>58.3</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People acted like they were afraid of you</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The amount of upsetting acts of discrimination reported differed between the non-Yucatec Maya and Yucatec Maya in the U.S. groups. Table 24 outlines the different percentages by ethnic group (non-Yucatec Maya and Yucatec Maya) of adolescents that answered “yes” to having experienced each of the 17 items in the perceived discrimination measure and reported the experience as upsetting (“a little upsetting” to “very upsetting”). The table highlights those items in which there was a significant difference in percentage of adolescents from the non-Yucatec Maya group and from the Yucatec Maya group reporting the upsetting incidents. A significantly higher percentage of Yucatec Maya adolescents (83.3 % v. 58.5 % of non-Yucatec Mayas) experienced other kids calling them racially insulting names and reported it as upsetting, $X^2 (1, N = 131) = 9.84, p < .01$. A significantly higher percentage of Yucatec Maya adolescents 72.7 % v. 49.2 % of non-Yucatec Maya youth) also experienced being teased about the way they look, $X^2 (1, N = 131) = 7.61, p < .01$. Yucatec Maya adolescents (72.7 %) also reported experiencing “other people acted like they thought you were not smart” and being upset about it more than non-Yucatec Maya adolescents (43.1 %), $X^2 (1, N = 131) = 11.82, p < .01$. Please refer to Table 24 for the rest of the significant differences found across the two U.S. groups.

Table 25 outlines the different percentages of Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. and Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico that answered “yes” to having experienced each of the 13 items in the perceived discrimination measure and reported the experience as upsetting (“a little upsetting” to “very upsetting”). A significantly higher percentage of Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. (83 % v. 62.9 % of Yucatec Mayas in Mexico) experienced other kids calling them racially insulting
names and reported it as upsetting, \( X^2 (1, N = 136) = 7.19, p < .01 \). A significantly higher percentage of Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S., 27.3\% compared to only 8.6\% of Yucatec Maya youth in Mexico, experienced people acting like they were afraid of them, \( X^2 (1, N = 131) = 8.2, p < .01 \). However, Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico (44.3\%) reported experiencing “teachers expected less of you than other students” and being upset about it more than Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. (27.3\%), \( X^2 (1, N = 131) = 4.27, p < .05 \). Please refer to Table 22 for the rest of the significant differences found across the two U.S. groups.
Table 24. Percentage of **U.S. Non-Yucatec Maya adolescents and U.S. Yucatec Maya adolescents** (N= 131) that answered “Yes” to having experienced an act of discrimination due to their race/ethnicity AND who reported that the experience had been upsetting (“a little upsetting” to “very upsetting”)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Experiences</th>
<th>U.S. Non-Yucatec Maya</th>
<th>U.S. Yucatec Maya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Other kids called you racially insulting names</td>
<td>58.5</td>
<td>83.3**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You were teased about the way you look</td>
<td>49.2</td>
<td>72.7**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People acted like they thought you were not smart</td>
<td>43.1</td>
<td>72.7**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other kids did not include you in their activities</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>71.2***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other kids thought you didn’t know English very well</td>
<td>56.9</td>
<td>63.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You were given a lower grade than you deserved</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>53.0**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You got hassled by a store clerk or store guard</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>51.5*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You received poor service at a restaurant</td>
<td>35.4</td>
<td>47.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You were expected to be good or NOT be good at a sport</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>43.9**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other kids didn’t want you to join a school club</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>42.4*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You were NOT selected to be in an honors or advanced level class</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>37.9**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You were unfairly disciplined or given after-school detention</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>28.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People acted like they were afraid of you</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>27.3*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers expected LESS of you than other students</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>27.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers expected MORE of you than other students</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>25.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You were threatened by other kids</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>24.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You got hassled by police</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>19.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi-square tests conducted to compare percentages between the non-Yucatec Maya and Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. with significant values at *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.
Table 25. Percentage of **Mexico Yucatec Maya adolescents and U.S. Yucatec Maya adolescents** (*N* = 136) that answered “Yes” to having experienced an act of discrimination due to their race/ethnicity AND who reported that the experience had been upsetting (“a little upsetting” to “very upsetting”)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Experiences (13)</th>
<th>Mexico Yucatec Maya</th>
<th>U.S. Yucatec Maya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Other kids called you racially insulting names</td>
<td>62.9</td>
<td>83.3**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You were teased about the way you look</td>
<td>78.6</td>
<td>72.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People acted like they thought you were not smart</td>
<td>58.6</td>
<td>72.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other kids did not include you in their activities</td>
<td>68.6</td>
<td>71.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You were given a lower grade than you deserved</td>
<td>54.3</td>
<td>53.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You were expected to be good or NOT be good at a sport</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>43.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other kids didn’t want you to join a school club</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>42.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You were NOT selected to be in an honors or advanced level class</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>37.9**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You were unfairly disciplined or given after-school detention</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>28.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People acted like they were afraid of you</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>27.3**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers expected LESS of you than other students</td>
<td>44.3</td>
<td>27.3*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers expected MORE of you than other students</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>25.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You were threatened by other kids</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>24.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi-square tests conducted to compare percentages between the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. and Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico with significant values at *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.

Perceived discrimination has already been described in this section in terms of the number of discriminatory acts adolescents experience and the percentages of adolescents that report them as upsetting across the Yucatec Maya in the U.S., non-Yucatec Maya in the U.S., and Yucatec Maya in Mexico groups. Now, the focus will turn on the analysis of perceived discrimination as measured by a *peers* factor and an *adults* factor (examined in Chapter 4: Method). Specifically, the distress felt from discriminatory acts perceived to be from peers and discriminatory acts perceived to be from adults, the amount of discrimination acts from peers and adults adolescents reported to have experienced, and the amount of peer and adult perceived
discrimination acts adolescents experienced and found “a little upsetting” (distress) are
examined.

The amount of distress felt by the adolescents due to the perceived
discrimination from peers and perceived discrimination from adults varied across the
Yucatec Maya and non-Yucatec Maya in the U.S. groups. A Mann-Whitney test
revealed that Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. experience significantly higher
levels of being upset (distress) due to acts of discrimination perceived to be from
peers, (Median = .94 (range = .00 - 2.5) than non-Yucatec Maya adolescents (Median
= .50, range = .00 - 1.5), U = 1002, z = -5.29, r = -.46, p < .01. The Yucatec Maya
and non-Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. also significantly differed in levels of
distress due to the acts of discrimination perceived to be from adults. Yucatec Maya
adolescents experienced significantly higher median of distress for perceived acts of
discrimination from adults (Median = .78, range = .00 – 2.0) than non-Yucatec Maya
adolescents (Median = .33, range = .00 - 1.56), U = 1125.5, z = -4.72, r = -.41, p < .01. Please refer to Figure 2 for an illustration of the relationships between the U.S.
adolescent groups and distress due to peer and perceived discrimination.

A Mann-Whitney test, run to compare the distress experienced by the Yucatec
Maya adolescents in the U.S. and Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico, revealed that
the adolescents did not differ significantly in levels of distress due to acts of peer
perceived discrimination (U = 2105, z = -.896, r = -.08, p < .05, n.s.). Also, the
Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. and Mexico did not differ significantly in levels
of distress due to the acts of discrimination perceived to be from adults (U = 2065.5, z
= -1.24, r = .11, p < .05, n.s.).
Figure 2. Distress levels (medians) due to peer and adult perceived discrimination of U.S. adolescents (non-Yucatec Maya and Yucatec Maya)

Bivariate correlations were run to examine the relationship between demographic variables (age, gender, generation, Maya language), ethnic identity, acculturation, and the six perceived discrimination variables (levels distress due to peer perceived discrimination, levels distress due to adult perceived discrimination, amount of peer perceived discrimination experiences, amount of adult perceived discrimination experiences, amount of peer perceived discrimination experiences that were distressing/upsetting, and amount of adult perceived discrimination experiences that were distressing/upsetting). Correlations were run for the U.S. groups (non-Yucatec Maya and Yucatec Maya) and for the Yucatec Maya groups (from the U.S. and Mexico).

The bivariate correlations for the U.S. groups reveal that being Yucatec Maya is significantly related to having higher peer and adult perceived discrimination
distress (heritage correlations of $r = -.499, p < .01$ and $r = -.421, p < .01$ respectively),
which was previously discussed in this section. Being Yucatec Maya versus being
non-Yucatec Maya also correlates significantly with experiencing more adult and peer
perceived discrimination acts and peer and perceived discrimination acts that were
distressing for the adolescents. Please refer to Table 26 for the rest of the heritage
variable correlations with these measures of perceived discrimination. Age did not
show any correlation with the perceived discrimination variables. Being male had a
significant relationship with peer perceived discrimination distress, amount of peer
perceived discrimination acts experienced, and amount of the peer acts reported as
upsetting or distressing by the U.S. adolescents groups ($r = -.237, p < .01$, $r = -.256,$
$p < .01$, and $r = -.289, p < .01$ respectively). Generation correlated negatively (first
generation was related with higher values, second with lower values) with peer and
adult perceived discrimination levels of distress, amount of peer perceived
discrimination experienced, and amount of peer perceived discrimination experiences
that were distressing ($r = -.348, p < .01$, $r = -.236, p < .01$, $r = -.298, p < .01$, and
$r = -.351, p < .01$ respectively).

Ethnic identity exploration and commitment were not significantly correlated
with any of the perceived discrimination variables. Acculturation to American culture
was correlated negatively with peer and adult perceived discrimination distress
($r = -.232, p < .01$, $r = -.208, p < .01$), amount of peer and adult perceived
discrimination acts reported ($r = -.231, p < .01$, $r = -.191, p < .05$), and amount of peer
perceived discrimination acts that were distressing ($r = -.210, p < .05$), for the U.S.
adolescents. Hence being more acculturated was related to lower levels of distress
from peer and adult perceived discrimination, less perceived discrimination experiences from peers and adults in general, and less perceived discrimination experiences from peers that were distressing. For the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. \((N = 66)\) higher levels of Maya language heard or spoken at school had a significant relationship with higher peer and adult perceived discrimination distress \((r = .517, p < .01, r = .360, p < .01)\), more peer perceived discriminations acts experienced \((r = .357, p < .01)\), and more peer perceived discrimination acts experienced that were distressing \((r = .368, p < .01)\). More Maya language with family and friends was also significantly related with higher peer and adult perceived discrimination distress \((r = .537, p < .01, r = .378, p < .01)\), more peer perceived discriminations acts experienced \((r = .431, p < .01)\), and more peer perceived discrimination experiences that were distressing \((r = .430, p < .01)\). Please refer to Table 26 for the complete bivariate correlations matrix.

Bivariate correlations, which can be found in Table 27, were run for the Yucatec Maya adolescents \((N = 136)\), from both the U.S. and Mexico. Being Yucatec Maya from the U.S. related to having more experiences with peer perceived discrimination \((r = -.202, p < .05)\). For the Yucatec Maya adolescents, in the U.S. and Mexico, being older was significantly related to having higher levels of distress due to peer perceived discrimination \((r = .275, p < .01)\) and experiencing more peer perceived discrimination acts \((r = .190, p < .05)\). Being male also related to having more peer perceived discrimination experiences \((r = -.173, p < .05)\). Maya language spoken and/or heard at school and with family and friends, for the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. and in Mexico, related to having higher levels of distress due
to peer perceived discrimination ($r = .314, p < .01, r = .355, p < .01$), experiencing more peer perceived discrimination acts ($r = .223, p < .01, r = .282, p < .01$), and experiencing more peer perceived discrimination acts that were distressing ($r = .203, p < .01, r = .277, p < .01$). Speaking and/or hearing Maya language with friends and family also related to higher levels of adult perceived discrimination distress ($r = .170, p < .05$). For the Yucatec Maya in Mexico, acculturation to Mexican culture was not related to perceived discrimination, however for the Yucatec Maya in the U.S. acculturation to American culture was negatively related to perceived discrimination as seen in both Table 26 and Table 27. Hence more acculturation was related to less perceived discrimination for the U.S. group.

In order to further investigate the relationships that were exposed by the bivariate correlations, several factorial ANOVAs were conducted to assess the relationships between heritage and gender with the six perceived discrimination variables and heritage and generation with the six perceived discrimination variables for the U.S. non-Yucatec Maya and U.S. Yucatec Maya groups. Factorial ANOVAs were also conducted to examine the relationships between heritage and gender with the six perceived discrimination variables for the U.S. Yucatec Maya and Mexico Yucatec Maya adolescents. Several regression analyses were conducted for each heritage group separately (U.S. non-Yucatec Maya, U.S. Yucatec Maya, and Yucatec Maya in Mexico) to assess the relationships between Maya language, acculturation, and ethnic identity with the peer and adult perceived discrimination distress levels, amounts of peer and adult perceived discrimination experiences reported, and the amount of peer and adult perceived discrimination experiences that were distressing.
Heritage and gender for U.S. adolescents

A factorial ANOVA model of heritage by gender for level of distress due to peer perceived discrimination for the U.S. adolescents revealed the main effect of heritage, where the Yucatec Maya adolescents (\(M = 1.09, \ SD = .67\)) had higher levels of distress due to peer perceived discrimination than non-Yucatec Maya adolescents (\(M = .48, \ SD = .33\)), \(F (1, 127) = 39.88, p < .01\), which has already been discussed in this section.
Table 26. Demographic Variables, Ethnic Identity Variables, Acculturation to American Culture, and Perceived Discrimination (P.D.) Variables Correlations for Yucatec Maya and non-Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. *

<table>
<thead>
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<tbody>
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<td>Adult Perceived Discrimination Distress</td>
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<td># of Adult Perceived Discrimination Acts</td>
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<td># of Peer P.D. Acts Reported as Distressing</td>
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<td>.938** (N = 131)</td>
<td>.378** (N = 131)</td>
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<td># of Adult P.D. Acts Reported as Distressing</td>
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<tr>
<td>Heritage</td>
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<td>-.404** (N = 131)</td>
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<td>-.461** (N = 131)</td>
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<td>.013 (N = 131)</td>
<td>-.023 (N = 131)</td>
<td>.006 (N = 131)</td>
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<td>Gender</td>
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<td>-.053 (N = 131)</td>
<td>-.256** (N = 131)</td>
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<td>-.289** (N = 131)</td>
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<td>Generation</td>
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<td>-.236** (N = 131)</td>
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<td>-.164 (N = 131)</td>
<td>-.351** (N = 131)</td>
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<td>Exploration</td>
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<td>-.115 (N = 131)</td>
<td>.064 (N = 131)</td>
<td>-.108 (N = 131)</td>
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<td>Commitment</td>
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<td>.033 (N = 131)</td>
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<td>-.023 (N = 131)</td>
<td>-.045 (N = 131)</td>
<td>-.007 (N = 131)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Acculturation to American Culture</td>
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<td>-.208* (N = 131)</td>
<td>-.231** (N = 131)</td>
<td>-.191* (N = 131)</td>
<td>-.210* (N = 131)</td>
<td>-.167 (N = 131)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maya Language School</td>
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<td>.357** (N = 66)</td>
<td>.202 (N = 66)</td>
<td>.368** (N = 66)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maya Language Family/Friends</td>
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<td>.378** (N = 66)</td>
<td>.431** (N = 66)</td>
<td>.182 (N = 66)</td>
<td>.430** (N = 66)</td>
<td>.191 (N = 66)</td>
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*The correlations between the demographic, ethnic identity, acculturation, and language variables are not included in this matrix, they can be found in Table 15.

**p-value < 0.01 (two-tailed), * p-value < 0.05 (two-tailed)
Table 27. Demographic Variables, Ethnic Identity Variables, Acculturation to American Culture, Acculturation to Mexican culture, and Perceived Discrimination (13 item) Variables Correlations for Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. & Mexico

<table>
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<td># of Adult Perceived Discrim. Acts</td>
<td>.180* (N = 136)</td>
<td>.843** (N = 136)</td>
<td>.123 (N = 136)</td>
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<tr>
<td># of Peer P.D. Acts Reported as Distressing</td>
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<td>.919** (N = 136)</td>
<td>.007 (N = 136)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>.176 (N = 136)</td>
<td>.879** (N = 136)</td>
<td>.147 (N = 136)</td>
<td>.919** (N = 136)</td>
<td>.020 (N = 136)</td>
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<td>Heritage</td>
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<td>-.148 (N = 136)</td>
<td>-.202* (N = 136)</td>
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<td>-.119 (N = 136)</td>
<td>-.133 (N = 136)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Age</td>
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<td>.110 (N = 136)</td>
<td>.190* (N = 136)</td>
<td>.091 (N = 136)</td>
<td>.116 (N = 136)</td>
<td>.041 (N = 136)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
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<td>-.098 (N = 136)</td>
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<td>-.103 (N = 136)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Exploration</td>
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<td>.027 (N = 136)</td>
<td>-.035 (N = 136)</td>
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<td>Commitment</td>
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<td>.024 (N = 136)</td>
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<td>.038 (N = 136)</td>
<td>-.064 (N = 136)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maya Language School</td>
<td>.314** (N = 136)</td>
<td>.131 (N = 136)</td>
<td>.223** (N = 136)</td>
<td>.054 (N = 136)</td>
<td>.203* (N = 136)</td>
<td>.065 (N = 136)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maya Language Family/Friends</td>
<td>.355** (N = 136)</td>
<td>.170* (N = 136)</td>
<td>.282** (N = 136)</td>
<td>.150 (N = 136)</td>
<td>.277** (N = 136)</td>
<td>.102 (N = 136)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Acculturation to American Culture</td>
<td>-.545** (N = 66)</td>
<td>-.277* (N = 66)</td>
<td>-.389** (N = 66)</td>
<td>-.152 (N = 66)</td>
<td>-.340** (N = 66)</td>
<td>-.123 (N = 66)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Acculturation to Mexican Culture</td>
<td>.003 (N = 70)</td>
<td>-.196 (N = 70)</td>
<td>.014 (N = 70)</td>
<td>-.179 (N = 70)</td>
<td>.047 (N = 70)</td>
<td>-.138 (N = 70)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The correlations between the demographic, ethnic identity, acculturation, and language variables are not included in this matrix. ** These correlations only include the Yucatec Maya in the U.S. group. * These correlations only include the Yucatec Maya in Mexico group.

**p-value < 0.01 (two-tailed), * p-value < 0.05 (two-tailed)
Gender also had a main effect, in which boys ($M = .92, SD = .66$) experienced more distress due to peer perceived discrimination than girls ($M = .64, SD = .51$), $F (1, 127) = 5.89, p < .05$. There was no interaction between heritage and gender, $F (1, 127) = 2.08, p > .05, n.s$. The factorial ANOVA of heritage by gender for distress due to peer perceived discrimination accounted for 29.4% ($R^2 = .294$) of the variance found in the distress scores of peer perceived discrimination experiences.

Another factorial ANOVA of heritage by gender for level of distress due to adult perceived discrimination confirmed that Yucatec Maya adolescents ($M = .82, SD = .52$) had higher levels of distress due to adult perceived discrimination than non-Yucatec Maya adolescents ($M = .42, SD = .33$), $F (1, 127) = 26.73, p < .01$. Gender did not significantly have a main effect on the level of distress experienced for adult perceived discrimination, $F (1, 127) = .004, p > .05, n.s$. Furthermore, there was no interaction between gender and heritage for distress due to adult perceived discrimination, $F (1, 127) = 1.10, p > .05, n.s$. The factorial ANOVA model for the distress due to adult perceived discrimination accounted for 18.4% ($R^2 = .184$) of the variance of the adult perceived discrimination distress scores.

A third factorial ANOVA of heritage by gender for the amount of peer perceived discrimination experienced illustrated that Yucatec Maya adolescents ($M = 4.45, SD = 1.59$) reported more experiences of peer perceived discrimination than non-Yucatec Maya adolescents ($M = 3.08, SD = 1.55$), $F (1, 127) = 22.79, p < .01$. There was a main effect of gender, in which boys ($M = 4.19, SD = 1.64$) experienced more acts of peer perceived discrimination than girls ($M = 3.32,$
$SD = 1.68$, $F (1, 127) = 7.41, p < .01$. There was a significant interaction between
gender and heritage, $F (1, 127) = 4.4, p < .05$. The interaction indicates that the gender
effect was greater for Yucatec Maya adolescents than for non-Yucatec Maya
adolescents, specifically there was a significant difference between the non-Yucatec
Maya boys ($M = 3.17, SD = 1.34$) and Yucatec Maya boys ($M = 5.00, SD = 1.39$). For
non-Yucatec Maya adolescents there was a very small difference between boys
($M = 3.17, SD = 1.34$) and girls ($M = 3.00, SD = 1.73$) in terms of peer perceived
discrimination acts experienced, $t (63) = .428, p > .05, n.s$. In contrast, the Yucatec
Maya group showed boys significantly having more experiences of peer perceived
discrimination ($M = 5.00, SD = 1.39$) than girls ($M = 3.71, SD = 1.56$), $t (64) = 3.52,$
p > .01. The factorial ANOVA model accounted for 23.4 % ($R^2 = .234$) of the
variance found in the scores of amount of peer perceived discrimination experiences.
Please refer to Figure 3 for an illustration of the interaction between heritage and
gender.
Furthermore, a factorial ANOVA was conducted of heritage by gender for amount of adult perceived discrimination acts experienced. Yucatec Maya adolescents 

\( M = 3.68, SD = 1.63 \) reported more experiences of adult perceived discrimination than non-Yucatec Maya adolescents 

\( M = 2.57, SD = 1.52 \), \( F (1, 127) = 16.10, p < .01 \). Gender did not significantly have a main effect on the amount of adult perceived discrimination experiences, \( F (1, 127) = .196, p > .05, n.s. \) Also, there was no interaction between gender and heritage for amount of adult perceived discrimination experiences, \( F (1, 127) = 1.28, p > .05, n.s. \) The factorial ANOVA model of gender by heritage for amount of adult perceived discrimination acts experienced accounted for only 12.3 % \( (R^2 = .123) \) of the variance found in the amount of adult perceived discrimination experiences.
Another factorial ANOVA was conducted of heritage by gender for amount of distressing peer perceived discrimination experiences. Heritage had a main effect in which Yucatec Maya adolescents ($M = 4.29$, $SD = 1.70$) reported more distressing experiences due to peer perceived discrimination than non-Yucatec Maya adolescents ($M = 2.66$, $SD = 1.44$), $F (1, 127) = 32.23$, $p < .01$. Gender had a main effect in which boys ($M = 3.97$, $SD = 1.73$) experienced more distressing peer perceived discrimination acts than girls ($M = 2.95$, $SD = 1.67$), $F (1, 127) = 9.99$, $p < .01$. There was no interaction between gender and heritage, $F (1, 127) = 2.26$, $p > .05$, n.s. The factorial ANOVA of gender by heritage for amount of distressing peer perceived discrimination experiences accounted for 28.2 % ($R^2 = .282$) of the variance found in the amount of distressing peer perceived discrimination experiences.

Lastly, a factorial ANOVA of heritage by gender for amount of distressing adult perceived discrimination experiences confirmed that Yucatec Maya adolescents ($M = 3.64$, $SD = 1.65$) reported having more distressing adult perceived discrimination experiences than non-Yucatec Maya adolescents ($M = 2.28$, $SD = 1.39$), $F (1, 127) = 25.54$, $p < .01$. Gender did not significantly have an effect on the amount of distressing adult perceived discrimination experiences reported, $F (1, 127) = .160$, $p > .05$, n.s. Moreover, there was no interaction between gender and heritage, $F (1, 127) = .67$, $p > .05$, n.s. The factorial ANOVA accounted for 17.3 % ($R^2 = .173$) of the variance of the amount of distressing adult perceived discrimination experiences reported.
Heritage and generation for U.S. adolescents

Six factorial ANOVAs were run to investigate the relationship between heritage and generation for the different peer and adult perceived discrimination measures. As with the factorial ANOVA models of heritage by gender for perceived discrimination measures, heritage was a significant main effect for all six heritage by generation factorial ANOVA models of perceived discrimination measures. Hence, only the generation effects and interaction effects will be reported in detail for the following heritage by generation ANOVAs for the six perceived discrimination measures.

A factorial ANOVA of heritage by generation for level of distress due to peer perceived discrimination for the U.S. adolescents revealed the main effect of generation, $F(2, 125) = 30.83, p < .001$ on distress due to peer perceived discrimination, such that second generation adolescents ($M = .55, SD = .41$) had significantly lower levels (as shown by post-hoc tests conducted) of distress due to peer perceived discrimination than 1.5 generation ($M = 1.02, SD = .58$) and first generation ($M = 1.00, SD = .73$). Heritage was significant in the model ($F(1, 125) = 94.60, p < .001$). The interaction effect (heritage by generation) was also significant ($F(2, 125) = 21.04, p < .001$). The interaction indicates that the generation effect was greater for Yucatec Maya adolescents than for non-Yucatec Maya adolescents. First generation Yucatec Maya adolescents ($M = 1.74, SD = .55$) had significantly higher levels of distress due to peer perceived discrimination than first generation non-Yucatec Maya adolescents ($M = .49, SD = .20$). The same was the case with 1.5 ($M = 1.40, SD = .43$) and second generation
(\(M = .65, \ SD = .41\)) Yucatec Maya adolescents as compared to the 1.5 (\(M = .64, \ SD = .43\)), and second generation (\(M = .41, \ SD = .37\)) non-Yucatec Maya adolescents. The factorial ANOVA accounted for 58.8 \% \((R^2 = .588)\) of the variance found in the distress scores of peer perceived discrimination experiences.

To further examine the heritage and generation interaction, two separate one-way ANOVAs were run to investigate the influence of generation on level of distress due to peer perceived discrimination experiences for each U.S. group (Yucatec Maya and non-Yucatec Maya). The results from the one-way ANOVA and post hoc tests for generation effect, of the Yucatec Maya adolescents \((N = 66)\) revealed a significant difference between the peer perceived discrimination distress scores of second generation (\(M = .65, \ SD = .41\)) and 1.5 generation (\(M = 1.40, \ SD = .43\)) adolescents and between second generation and first generation (\(M = 1.74, \ SD = .55\)) adolescents for the Yucatec Maya in the U.S. group, \(F(2, 63) = 37.77, \ p < .0001\). Post-hoc tests revealed that the peer perceived discrimination distress mean scores were not significantly different between the 1.5 generation and first generation adolescents.

Moreover, the one-way ANOVA for the non-Yucatec Maya in the U.S. group did not show a significant difference of level of distress due to peer perceived discrimination across first (\(M = .49, \ SD = .20\)), 1.5 (\(M = .64, \ SD = .43\)), and second generation adolescents (\(M = .41, \ SD = .37\)), \(F(2, 62) = 1.86, \ p > .05, \ n.s\). So whereas for the Yucatec Maya, first and 1.5 generation adolescents had higher levels of distress due to peer perceived discrimination than second generation adolescents, for the non-Yucatec Maya the generation effect was not significantly different across the first, 1.5, and second generation adolescents. Please refer to Figure 4 for the illustration of the
relationship between heritage and gender for distress due to peer perceived
discrimination for the U.S. adolescents.

Figure 4. Level of distress due to peer perceived discrimination as related to heritage
and generation for adolescents in the U.S.

Another factorial ANOVA of generation by heritage for level of distress due to
adult perceived discrimination for the U.S. adolescents revealed the main effect of
generation, $F(2, 125) = 16.31, p < .001$ on distress due to adult perceived
discrimination, such that second generation adolescents ($M = .47, SD = .36$) had
significantly lower levels (as shown by post-hoc tests conducted) of distress due to
adult perceived discrimination than 1.5 generation ($M = .90, SD = .44$) and first
generation ($M = .70, SD = .56$). Heritage had a significant effect in the model, $F(1,
125) = 46.27, p < .001$). The interaction effect (heritage by generation) was also
significant ($F(2, 125) = 13.54, p < .001$). The interaction indicates that the generation
effect was greater for Yucatec Maya adolescents than for non-Yucatec Maya
adolescents. The first generation Yucatec Maya adolescents ($M = 1.22, SD = .53$) had
significantly higher levels of distress due to adult perceived discrimination than non-Yucatec Maya adolescents ($M = .34$, $SD = .14$). Also, 1.5 generation Yucatec Maya adolescents ($M = 1.11$, $SD = .36$) had significantly higher levels of distress than non-Yucatec Maya adolescents ($M = .69$, $SD = .42$). The factorial ANOVA accounted for 44.5% ($R^2 = .445$) of the variance found in the distress scores of adult perceived discrimination experiences.

To further examine the differences due to the interaction, two separate one-way ANOVAs were run to investigate the influence of generation on level of distress due to adult perceived discrimination experiences for each U.S. group (Yucatec Maya and non-Yucatec Maya). The results from the one-way ANOVA and post hoc tests for the generation effect on the Yucatec Maya adolescents ($N = 66$) revealed a significant difference between the adult perceived discrimination distress scores of second generation ($M = .53$, $SD = .35$) and 1.5 generation ($M = 1.11$, $SD = .36$) adolescents and between second generation and first generation ($M = 1.22$, $SD = .53$) adolescents for the Yucatec Maya in the U.S. group, $F(2, 63) = 20.89, p < .0001$. Post-hoc tests revealed that the adult perceived discrimination distress mean scores were not significantly different between the 1.5 generation and first generation adolescents.

In addition, the one-way ANOVA and post-hoc tests for the non-Yucatec Maya group showed a significant difference of level of distress due to adult perceived discrimination between first generation ($M = .34$, $SD = .14$) and 1.5 generation ($M = .69$, $SD = .42$) adolescents and between 1.5 generation and second generation ($M = .40$, $SD = .37$) adolescents, $F(2, 62) = 5.05, p < .01$. Post-hoc tests revealed that the adult perceived discrimination distress mean scores were not significantly different
between the first generation and second generation adolescents. So whereas for the Yucatec Maya, first and 1.5 generation adolescents had higher levels of distress due to adult perceived discrimination than second generation adolescents, for the non-Yucatec Maya 1.5 generation adolescents had higher levels of distress due to adult perceived discrimination than first and second generation. Please refer to Figure 5 for an illustration of the relationship between heritage and generation for level of distress due to adult perceived discrimination.

Moreover, a factorial ANOVA of heritage by generation for the amount of peer perceived discrimination experiences showed a significant main effect of heritage, $F (1, 125) = 29.99, p < .001$. Generation also had a main effect ($F (2, 125) = 13.63,$
on amount of peer perceived discrimination experiences, such that second generation adolescents ($M = 3.19$, $SD = 1.64$) had significantly less (as shown by post-hoc tests conducted) peer perceived discrimination experiences than 1.5 generation ($M = 4.36$, $SD = 1.53$) and first generation ($M = 4.28$, $SD = 1.66$). Post-hoc tests also revealed that there was no significant difference between the amounts of peer perceived discrimination acts experienced by first and 1.5 generation adolescents. There was no significant interaction between heritage and generation, $F (2, 125) = .63, p > .05, n.s.$ The factorial ANOVA for the amount of peer perceived discrimination acts experienced accounted for $31.7\% \ (R^2 = .317)$ of the variance found in the amount of peer perceived discrimination experiences.

A fourth factorial ANOVA was conducted of heritage by generation for amount of adult perceived discrimination acts experienced. Heritage had a significant effect in the model, $F (1, 125) = 15.72, p < .001$). Generation also had a main effect, $F (2, 125) = 8.26, p < .001$) in which there were significant differences between the amount of adult perceived discrimination acts experienced by 1.5 generation and by second generation adolescents, where second generation adolescents ($M = 2.71$, $SD = 1.53$) had significantly lower experiences (as shown by post-hoc tests conducted) of adult perceived discrimination acts than 1.5 generation adolescents ($M = 4.05$, $SD = 1.79$). Post-hoc tests also revealed no significant difference in amount of adult perceived discrimination acts experienced between first generation ($M = 3.26$, $SD = 1.63$) and 1.5 generation or between first generation and second generation. There was no significant interaction between heritage and generation, $F (2, 125) = 1.44 p > .05, n.s.$ The factorial ANOVA accounted for $23.1\%$
Another factorial ANOVA model of heritage by generation for the amount of distressing peer perceived discrimination experiences showed a significant main effect of heritage, $F (1, 125) = 46.95, p < .001$. Generation also had a main effect ($F (2, 125) = 21.72, p < .001$) on amount of peer perceived discrimination experiences, such that second generation adolescents ($M = 2.78, SD = 1.62$) had significantly less (as shown by post-hoc tests conducted) peer perceived discrimination experiences than 1.5 generation ($M = 4.18, SD = 1.74$) and first generation ($M = 4.11, SD = 1.64$). Post-hoc tests also revealed no significant difference between the amounts of distressing peer perceived discrimination acts experienced by first and 1.5 generation adolescents. There was no significant interaction between heritage and generation, $F (2, 125) = .43, p > .05, n.s.$ The factorial ANOVA accounted for 41.8% ($R^2 = .418$) of the variance found in the amount of distressing peer perceived discrimination experiences.

Lastly, a factorial ANOVA was conducted of heritage by generation for amount of distressing adult perceived discrimination acts experienced. Heritage had a significant effect in the model, $F (1, 125) = 25.83, p < .001$. Generation also had a main effect, $F (2, 125) = 8.94, p < .001$ in which there were significant differences between the amount of adult perceived discrimination acts experienced by 1.5 generation and by second generation adolescents, where second generation adolescents ($M = 2.56, SD = 1.58$) had significantly lower experiences (as shown by post-hoc tests conducted) of adult perceived discrimination acts than 1.5 generation
adolescents ($M = 3.86, SD = 1.75$). Post-hoc tests also revealed that there was no significant difference in amount of adult perceived discrimination acts experienced between first generation ($M = 3.09, SD = 1.58$) and 1.5 generation or between first generation and second generation. There was no significant interaction between heritage and generation, $F (2, 125) = 1.28, p > .05, n.s$. The factorial ANOVA accounted for 28.5% ($R^2 = .285$) of the variance of the amount of distressing adult perceived discrimination experiences reported.

*Heritage and gender for Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. and Mexico*

The relationship of heritage and gender to the perceived discrimination measures was investigated with several factorial ANOVA models. The only significant factorial ANOVAs were for peer perceived discrimination distress, amount of peer perceived discrimination experiences, and amount of distressing peer perceived discrimination experiences. The factorial ANOVAs of heritage by gender for the three adult perceived discrimination measures did not yield any significant effects and hence will not be reported in this results section.

A factorial ANOVA of heritage by gender for level of distress due to peer perceived discrimination for the Yucatec Maya adolescents in both the U.S. and Mexico revealed no main effect of heritage, so there was no significant difference between the distress levels of the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. ($M = 1.04, SD = .66$) and the Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico ($M = .89, SD = .45$), $F (1, 132) = 1.55, p > .05, n.s$. Furthermore, gender did not have a main effect either, so there was no significant difference between the level of distress experienced due to peer perceived discrimination by boys ($M = 1.01, SD = .58$) and girls.
(\(M = .90, SD = .53\)), \(F(1, 132) = 1.63, p > .05, n.s.\). However, there was an interaction between heritage and gender, \(F(1, 132) = 4.95, p < .05.\) Therefore the gender effect was greater for the Yucatec Maya group in the U.S. than for the Yucatec Maya group in Mexico. The Yucatec Maya boys in the U.S. (\(M = 1.18, SD = .66\)) had significantly higher levels of distress due to peer perceived discrimination than the Yucatec Maya boys in Mexico (\(M = .85, SD = .44\)). The Yucatec Maya boys in the U.S. also had significantly higher levels of distress due to peer perceived discrimination than the Yucatec Maya girls (\(M = .85, SD = .61\)) in the U.S., \(t(64) = 2.10, p < .05.\) Although not significant, the Yucatec Maya girls in the U.S. had lower distress levels than the Yucatec Maya girls in Mexico (\(M = .94, SD = .46\)). Although not significant, a trend showed girls in Mexico have higher distress levels due to peer perceived discrimination than the Yucatec Maya boys in Mexico. Moreover, the U.S. Yucatec Maya boys have the highest levels of distress due to peer perceived discrimination as compared to the other three groups (boys in the U.S., girls in the U.S., and girls in Mexico). Please refer to Figure 6 for an illustration of the peer perceived discrimination distress levels as they relate to the heritage and gender interaction. The factorial ANOVA of heritage by gender for distress due to peer perceived discrimination accounted for 6.3 \% (\(R^2 = .063\)) of the variance found in the distress scores of peer perceived discrimination experiences.
A second factorial ANOVA of heritage by gender for the amount of peer perceived discrimination for the Yucatec Maya adolescents in both the U.S. and Mexico revealed a main effect of heritage, so there was a significant difference between amount of peer perceived discrimination experiences of Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. ($M = 4.56, SD = 1.52$) and the Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico ($M = 3.98, SD = 1.29$), $F(1, 132) = 4.46, p < .05$. Furthermore, gender had a main effect, in which boys had more peer perceived discrimination experiences ($M = 4.48, SD = 1.42$) than girls ($M = 3.98, SD = 1.40$), $F(1, 132) = 4.46, p < .05$. However, there was only a marginal interaction between heritage and gender, $F(1, 132) = 3.90, p = .05$, where Yucatec Maya boys in the U.S. ($M = 4.97$, ...
SD = 1.46) had more peer perceived discrimination experiences than Yucatec Maya boys in Mexico (M = 4.00, SD = 1.24), and also had more peer perceived experiences than Yucatec Maya girls in the U.S. (M = 4.00, SD = 1.42), t (64) = 2.69, p < .05.

Yucatec Maya boys in Mexico (M = 4.00, SD = 1.24) did not differ from Yucatec Maya girls in Mexico (M = 3.97, SD = 1.37). The Yucatec Maya girls in the U.S. (M = 4.00, SD = 1.42) and Mexico (M = 3.97, SD = 1.37) did not differ either. The factorial ANOVA model accounted for 9.6% (R² = .096) of the variance found in the amount of peer perceived discrimination experiences.

Lastly, a factorial ANOVA was conducted of heritage by gender for amount of distressing peer perceived discrimination experiences. Heritage did not have a main effect on the amount of distressing peer perceived discrimination acts experienced by the adolescents, so Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. (M = 3.65, SD = 1.54) did not differ from Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico (M = 3.31, SD = 1.29), F (1, 132) = 1.12, p > .05, n.s. Gender did not have a main effect either, so boys (M = 3.66, SD = 1.40) did not differ from girls (M = 3.23, SD = 1.43) in experiencing distressing peer perceived discrimination acts, F (1, 132) = 3.34, p > .05, n.s. There was an interaction between gender and heritage, F (1, 132) = 5.63, p < .05. The interaction revealed the gender effect to be greater for the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. The Yucatec Maya boys in the U.S. (M = 4.08, SD = 1.44) have more distressing peer perceived discrimination experiences than the Yucatec Maya boys in Mexico (M = 3.26, SD = 1.25). The Yucatec Maya boys in the U.S. (M = 4.08, SD = 1.44) have significantly more distressing peer perceived discrimination experiences than the Yucatec Maya girls in the U.S. (M =3.07, SD = 1.51), t (64) = 2.75, p < .05. Yucatec
Maya boys in Mexico ($M = 3.26, SD = 1.25$) did not differ in distressing peer perceived discrimination experiences from the Yucatec Maya girls in Mexico ($M = 3.39, SD = 1.36$), $t(64) = -0.418, p > .05, n.s.$, although the trend showed girls with higher amounts of peer perceived discrimination experiences. Please refer to Figure 7 for an illustration of the peer perceived discrimination distressing experiences as they relate to the heritage and gender interaction. The factorial ANOVA accounted for 7.5% ($R^2 = 0.075$) of the variance found in the amount of distressing peer perceived discrimination experiences for the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. and Mexico.

Figure 7. Amount of distressing peer perceived discrimination experiences as related to heritage and gender for Yucatec Maya adolescents in U.S. and Mexico.

Several linear regressions were conducted to further understand the relationship between Maya language, ethnic identity, and acculturation with the six
perceived discrimination variables for the non-Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S.,
the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S., and the Yucatec Maya adolescents in
Mexico. The following sub sections outline the results for each of the groups.

*Ethnic identity and acculturation for non-Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S.*

Ethnic identity exploration significantly predicted distress due to peer perceived
discrimination for non-Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S., \( B = -.12, SE B = .05, \beta = -.29, p < .05 \). So less ethnic identity exploration resulted in more distress
due to peer perceived discrimination for non-Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S.
Ethnic identity exploration accounted for 8.6% of the variability in peer perceived
discrimination distress, \( F (1, 63) = 5.93, p < .05 \). Ethnic identity exploration and
commitment did not predict any of the other perceived discrimination variables for the
non-Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S.

Acculturation to American culture was a predictor of amount of peer perceived
discrimination experiences, \( B = -.05, SE B = .03, \beta = -.26, p < .05 \). So the less
acculturated the youth was the more peer perceived discrimination acts experienced
for non-Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. Acculturation to American culture
accounted for 6.8% of the variability in amount of peer perceived discrimination
experiences, \( F (1, 63) = 4.59, p < .05 \). Acculturation to American culture was also a
predictor of amount of adult perceived discrimination experiences, \( B = -.07, SE B = .02, \beta = -.32, p < .01 \). So the less acculturated the youth was the more adult
perceived discrimination acts experienced for non-Yucatec Maya adolescents in the
U.S. Acculturation to American culture accounted for 10.4% of the variability in
amount of adult perceived discrimination experiences, \( F (1, 63) = 7.28, p < .01 \).
Amount of distressing peer perceived discrimination experiences was also predicted by acculturation to American culture, \( B = -.05, SE B = .02, \beta = -.25, p < .05 \). So the less acculturated the youth was the more distressing peer perceived discrimination acts experienced for non-Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S.

Acculturation to American culture accounted for 6.3% of the variability in amount of distressing peer perceived discrimination experiences, \( F (1, 63) = 4.23, p < .05 \).

Lastly, acculturation to American culture was also a predictor of amount of distressing adult perceived discrimination experiences, \( B = -.06, SE B = .03, \beta = -.31, p < .05 \). So the less acculturated the youth was the more distressing adult perceived discrimination acts experienced for non-Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. Acculturation to American culture accounted for 9.6% of the variability in amount of distressing adult perceived discrimination experiences, \( F (1, 63) = 6.71, p < .05 \).

*Ethnic Identity, Acculturation, and Maya language for Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S.*

Ethnic identity exploration and commitment did not significantly predict any of the six perceived discrimination variables for the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. Therefore, none of the regressions for ethnic identity are reported.

Acculturation to American culture and Maya language at school and with family and friends were predictors of distress due to peer perceived discrimination. A hierarchical, multiple regression was run for acculturation and Maya language as predictors of distress due to peer perceived discrimination. The language variables (school and family/friends) were the first variables entered in the model and resulted in predicting 39.2% of the variability of the distress scores due to peer perceived
discrimination, $F(2, 63) = 20.27, p < .01$. Maya language with family and friends positively predicted distress due to peer perceived discrimination ($B = .27, SE B = .07, \beta = .39, p < .01$), hence more knowledge (speaking or hearing) of Maya language with family and friends predicted more distress due to peer perceived discrimination. Maya language at school also positively predicted distress due to peer perceived discrimination ($B = .36, SE B = .11, \beta = .35, p < .01$), hence more knowledge (speaking or hearing) of Maya language at school predicted more distress due to peer perceived discrimination for Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. When acculturation was added to the model there was a significant $R^2$ change of .06 ($p < .05$), so the model accounted for 45.1% of the variability of the distress scores due to peer perceived discrimination, $F(3, 62) = 16.99, p < .01$. In the second model with the added acculturation, acculturation to American culture significantly predicted the distress due to peer perceived discrimination ($B = -.03, SE B = .01, \beta = -.33, p < .05$), while Maya language with family and friends was no longer a significant predictor. So the less acculturated the youth was the more distressing peer perceived discrimination acts experienced by Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. Acculturation mediated the relationship that existed between Maya language with family and friends and distress due to peer perceived discrimination.

Acculturation to American culture was also a significant predictor of distress due to adult perceived discrimination experiences, $B = -.03, SE B = .01, \beta = -.42, p < .01$. So the less acculturation levels the more distress due to adult perceived discrimination experiences for Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. Acculturation to
American culture accounted for 17.9% of the variability in distress due to adult perceived discrimination experiences of Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S., $F(1, 64) = 13.98, p < .01$. Acculturation to American culture was a predictor of amount of peer perceived discrimination experiences for the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S., $B = -.09, SE_B = .03, \beta = -.41, p < .01$. So the less acculturated the youth was the more peer perceived discrimination acts experienced for non-Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. Acculturation to American culture accounted for 16.6% of the variability in amount of peer perceived discrimination experiences, $F(1, 64) = 12.7, p < .01$. Amount of distressing peer perceived discrimination experiences was also predicted by acculturation to American culture for the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S., $B = -.09, SE_B = .03, \beta = -.40, p < .01$. So the less acculturated the youth was the more distressing peer perceived discrimination acts experienced for non-Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. Acculturation to American culture accounted for 16.4% of the variability in amount of distressing peer perceived discrimination experiences, $F(1, 63) = 12.51, p < .01$.

Maya language at school and Maya language with family/friends were significant predictors of distress due to adult perceived discrimination for Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. In a hierarchical, multiple regression, Maya language at school ($B = .29, SE_B = .10, \beta = .36, p < .01$) was entered in the model first, and resulted in predicting 13% of the variability in the distress due to adult perceived discrimination, $F(1, 64) = 9.54, p < .01$. Hence the more Maya heard and spoken at school the more distress experienced due to adult perceived discrimination. Maya language with family/friends was entered next, which led to a significant ($p < .05$) .06
change in $R^2$, so the second model which included both Maya language at school and Maya language with family/friends accounted for 19.2% of the variability in distress due to adult perceived discrimination experiences, $F(2, 63) = 7.49, p < .01$. More Maya language with family/friends predicted more distress due to adult perceived discrimination as well, $B = .15$, $SE B = .07$, $\beta = .28$, $p < .05$.

Maya language at school and Maya language with family/friends were significant predictors of amount of peer perceived discrimination experiences for the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. In a hierarchical, multiple regression, Maya language at school ($B = .87$, $SE B = .28$, $\beta = .36$, $p < .01$) was entered in the model first, and resulted in predicting 12.8% of the variability in the amount of peer perceived discrimination experiences, $F(1, 64) = 9.36, p < .01$. Hence the more Maya heard and spoken at school the more peer perceived discrimination acts experienced. Maya language with family/friends was entered next, which led to a significant $(p < .05)$ .10 change in $R^2$, so the second model which included both Maya language at school and Maya language with family/friends accounted for 22.3% of the variability in amount of peer perceived discrimination experienced, $F(2, 63) = 7.78, p < .01$. More Maya language with family/friends predicted more peer perceived discrimination acts experienced as well, $B = .55$, $SE B = .2$, $\beta = .34$, $p < .05$.

Lastly, Maya language at school and Maya language with family/friends were significant predictors of amount of distressing peer perceived discrimination experiences for the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. In a hierarchical, multiple regression, Maya language at school ($B = .95$, $SE B = .30$, $\beta = .37$, $p < .01$) was
entered in the model first, and resulted in predicting 13.5% of the variability in the amount of distressing peer perceived discrimination acts experienced,

\[ F(1, 64) = 10.01, p < .01. \] Hence the more Maya heard and spoken at school the more distressing peer perceived discrimination acts experienced. Maya language with family/friends was entered next, which led to a significant (p < .01) .09 change in \( R^2 \), so the second model which included both Maya language at school and Maya language with family/friends accounted for 22.8% of the variability in amount of distressing peer perceived discrimination experiences, \( F(2, 63) = 7.53, p < .01. \) More Maya language with family/friends predicted more distressing peer perceived discrimination experiences, \( B = .58, SE B = .21, \beta = .34, p < .01. \)

_Ethnic identity, acculturation, and Maya language for Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico_

Ethnic identity and acculturation to Mexican culture were not significant predictors of any of the six perceived discrimination variables for Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico. Therefore, none of the regressions for ethnic identity or acculturation are reported.

Maya language with family/friends resulted as a predictor for amount of adult perceived discrimination experiences (\( B = .70, SE B = .30, \beta = .27, p < .05)\), accounting for 7.5% of the variability in amount of adult perceived discrimination experiences for Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico, \( F(1, 68) = 5.48, p < .05. \) Hence the more knowledge of Maya (spoken and heard) with family and friends the more adult perceived discrimination acts experienced by Yucatec Maya youth in Mexico.
Maya language with family/friends marginally resulted as a predictor for amount of distressing adult perceived discrimination experiences ($B = .47$, $SE B = .25$, $\beta = .22$, $p = .06$), accounting for 4.9% of the variability in amount of distressing adult perceived discrimination experiences for Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico, $F (1, 68) = 3.48$, $p = .06$. Hence there is a marginal trend in which the more knowledge of Maya (spoken and heard) with family and friends, the more distressing adult perceived discrimination acts experienced by Yucatec Maya youth in Mexico.

School Belonging

School belonging was measured in terms of, 1) belonging (feeling like one belongs and matters at school) and 2) importance (feeling important to the school). Please refer to Chapter 4: Methods for a thorough explanation of the school belonging measure. An independent, two tailed, t-test was run to compare the belonging factor of school belonging between the Yucatec Maya adolescents and non-Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. The two groups did not differ in mean scores (Yucatec Maya adolescents, $M = 4.01$, $SD = .94$, non-Yucatec Maya adolescents $M=3.84$, $SD = .87$), $t (129) =1.04$, $p > .05$, n.s. For the importance factor there was no difference between the two groups (Yucatec Maya adolescents, $M = 3.73$, $SD = 1.41$, non-Yucatec Maya adolescents $M=3.7$, $SD = 1.26$), $t (129) = .15$, $p > .05$, n.s. Another t-test was run to investigate the school belonging (belonging and importance) between the two Indigenous groups in the U.S. and Mexico. Belonging was higher for the Yucatec Maya in Mexico group ($M = 4.39$, $SD = .73$) than for the Yucatec Maya group in the U.S. ($M = 4.01$, $SD = .94$), $t (134) = -2.65$, $p < .05$. Importance was not different across the two Indigenous groups ((Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S., $M = 3.73$,}
$SD = 1.40$, Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico $M = 3.43, SD = 1.23), t (134) = 1.32 p > .05, n.s. \) Lastly, a t-test was conducted to investigate GPA scores across the U.S. groups. The t-test did not reveal a significant difference, (Yucatec Maya adolescents, $M = 3.02, SD = .60$, non-Yucatec Maya adolescents $M = 2.9, SD = .68), t (114) = 1.04, p > .05, n.s.

To determine the relationship between the demographic variables (age, gender, generation, Maya language), ethnic identity, acculturation, and perceived discrimination with the belonging and importance measures of school belonging correlations were run for the U.S. adolescents (Yucatec Maya and non-Yucatec Maya) and for the adolescents in Mexico (Yucatec Maya). Furthermore, for the U.S. groups, self-reported GPA was also included in analysis. Several ANOVAs were run to further investigate the relationship of variables such as gender, heritage, and generation with school belonging (belonging and importance) and GPA (for U.S. groups). Several regressions were run for each of the three groups (Yucatec Maya in the U.S., non-Yucatec Maya, in the U.S. and Yucatec Maya in Mexico) to further examine the predictors of school belonging (belonging and importance) and GPA (for U.S. groups).

For the adolescents in the U.S. (Yucatec Maya and non-Yucatec Maya) ethnic identity exploration positively correlated with school belonging ($r = .224, p < .05$). Hence, adolescents with higher levels of ethnic identity exploration also had higher levels of school belonging. School importance had a marginal negative correlation with age ($r = -.168, p = .055$); so there is a trend in which younger adolescents in the U.S. also had stronger feelings of importance at school. School importance was
negatively related to distress due to adult perceived discrimination \((r = .197, p < .05)\),
amount of adult perceived discrimination experiences \((r = .253, p < .01)\), and amount
of distressing adult perceived discrimination experiences \((r = .227, p < .01)\). So
adolescents in the U.S. (Yucatec Maya and non-Yucatec Maya) that experienced more
adult perceived discrimination in general also felt less important at school. Stronger
feelings of belonging and of importance both related to higher GPA, \(r = .272, p < .01\)
and \(r = .213, p < .05\) respectively for the U.S. adolescents. Please refer to Table 28 for
the complete correlations matrix.

For the Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico, the belonging factor correlated
negatively with acculturation to Mexican culture \((r = -.241, p < .05)\) and positively
with Maya language with family and friends \((r = .239, p < .05)\). So the more
acculturated to Mexican culture adolescents also had less feelings of belonging. More
Maya language heard or spoken at home related to stronger feelings of belonging at
school. Lastly, the Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico who had higher ethnic
identity commitment levels also had higher levels of belonging \((r = .333, p < .01)\).
Please refer to Table 29 for the complete correlations for the Yucatec Maya
adolescents in Mexico.
Table 28. Demographic variables, ethnic identity variables, acculturation to American Culture, perceived discrimination (P.D.) variables, school belonging variables, and GPA correlations for Yucatec Maya and non-Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>School Belonging</th>
<th>School Importance</th>
<th>GPA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>p-value &lt; 0.01 (two-tailed), * p-value &lt; 0.05 (two-tailed)</strong></td>
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<td>School Belonging</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>School Importance</td>
<td>.083 (N = 131)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.272** (N = 131)</td>
<td>.213* (N = 131)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GPA</td>
<td>-.045 (N = 131)</td>
<td>-.168 (N = 131)</td>
<td>-.042</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-.091 (N = 131)</td>
<td>-.013 (N = 131)</td>
<td>-.096</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heritage</td>
<td>-.071 (N = 131)</td>
<td>.072 (N = 131)</td>
<td>.062</td>
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<tr>
<td>Generation</td>
<td>-.116 (N = 131)</td>
<td>.159 (N = 131)</td>
<td>.025</td>
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<td>Maya Language School</td>
<td>-.040 (N = 66)</td>
<td>.010 (N = 66)</td>
<td>-.019</td>
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<td>Maya Language Family/Friends</td>
<td>.042 (N = 66)</td>
<td>-.160 (N = 66)</td>
<td>-.190</td>
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<td>Exploration</td>
<td>.224* (N = 131)</td>
<td>.044 (N = 131)</td>
<td>.202*</td>
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<td>Commitment</td>
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<td>.040 (N = 131)</td>
<td>.026</td>
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<td>.152 (N = 131)</td>
<td>.168</td>
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<td>Peer Perceived Discrimination Distress</td>
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<td>-.091 (N = 131)</td>
<td>.084</td>
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<tr>
<td>Adult Perceived Discrimination Distress</td>
<td>-.013 (N = 131)</td>
<td>-.197* (N = 131)</td>
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<tr>
<td># of Peer Perceived Discrimination Acts</td>
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<td>-.087 (N = 131)</td>
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<tr>
<td># of Adult Perceived Discrimination Acts</td>
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<td>-.253** (N = 131)</td>
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<tr>
<td># of Peer P.D. Acts Reported as Distressing</td>
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<td>-.104 (N = 131)</td>
<td>.116</td>
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<tr>
<td># of Adult P.D. Acts Reported as Distressing</td>
<td>-.039 (N = 131)</td>
<td>-.227* (N = 131)</td>
<td>-.099</td>
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</table>

* The correlations between the demographic, ethnic identity, acculturation, and language variables are not included in this matrix.

* These correlations only include the Yucatec Maya in the U.S. group

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Table 29. Demographic variables, ethnic identity Variables, acculturation to Mexican Culture, perceived discrimination (P.D.) variables, and school belonging variables correlations for Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico\textsuperscript{a}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>School Belonging</th>
<th>School Importance</th>
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<td>Age</td>
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<td>Maya Language School\textsuperscript{b}</td>
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<td>Maya Language Family/Friends\textsuperscript{b}</td>
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<td>Exploration</td>
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<td>.113</td>
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<tr>
<td>Commitment</td>
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<td># of Adult Perceived Discrimination Acts</td>
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<td>-.094</td>
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<tr>
<td># of Peer P.D. Acts Reported as Distressing</td>
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<td>-.149</td>
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<tr>
<td># of Adult P.D. Acts Reported as Distressing</td>
<td>-.036</td>
<td>-.159</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{a} The correlations between the demographic, ethnic identity, acculturation, and language variables are not included in this matrix.

\textsuperscript{b} These correlations only include the Yucatec Maya in the U.S. group.

**p-value < 0.01 (two-tailed), * p-value < 0.05 (two-tailed)
The only significant factorial ANOVA model conducted was of heritage by generation for GPA. The factorial ANOVA revealed no main effect from heritage \((F(1, 110) = 2.87, p > .05)\), so the self-reported GPA of Yucatec Maya adolescents \((M = 3.02, SD = .60)\) did not differ from the self-reported GPA of non-Yucatec Maya adolescents \((M = 2.89, SD = .68)\). Generation had no significant main effect on GPA either \((F(2, 110) = 1.11, p > .05)\), meaning that the GPA of first generation \((M = 2.97, SD = .60)\), 1.5 generation \((M = 2.79, SD = .76)\), and second generation \((M = 2.99, SD = .63)\) adolescents did not differ. However, the interaction effect (heritage by generation) was significant \((F(2, 110) = 5.69, p < .01)\). The interaction indicates that the generation effect was greater for Yucatec Maya adolescents than for non-Yucatec Maya adolescents. The 1.5 generation Yucatec Maya adolescents \((M = 3.12, SD = .19)\) had significantly higher GPAs than the 1.5 generation non-Yucatec Maya adolescents \((M = 2.37, SD = .22)\). The factorial ANOVA accounted for 11.4% \((R^2 = .114)\) of the variance found in the GPA of the adolescents in the U.S.

To further examine the differences due to the interaction of heritage and generation, two separate one-way ANOVAs were run to investigate the influence of generation on GPA for each U.S. group (Yucatec Maya and non-Yucatec Maya). The results from the one-way ANOVA and post hoc tests for the generation effect on the Yucatec Maya adolescents \((N = 58)\) revealed no significant difference between the GPAs of first generation \((M = 2.76, SD = .61)\), 1.5 generation \((M = 3.11, SD = .71)\), and second generation Yucatec Maya adolescents \((M = 3.12, SD = .53)\),
$F(2, 55) = 2.19, p > .05$. In contrast, the one-way ANOVA and post-hoc tests for the non-Yucatec Maya group ($N = 58$) showed a significant difference of GPA means between 1.5 generation adolescents ($M = 2.36, SD = .64$) and first generation adolescents ($M = 3.11, SD = .56$), $F(2, 55) = 4.14, p < .05$. The post-hoc tests showed no significant difference between 1.5 generation and second generation ($M = 2.85, SD = .14$) adolescents or between first generation and second generation adolescents. So whereas for the Yucatec Maya, GPA did not differ across generations, for the non-Yucatec Maya 1.5 generation adolescents had significantly lower GPAs than first generation adolescents. Please refer to Figure 8 for an illustration of the relationship between heritage and generation for GPA of adolescents in the U.S.
Predictors of GPA, belonging, and importance for adolescents in the U.S.

A hierarchical, multiple regression revealed that the belonging and importance factors for school belonging significantly predicted GPA of adolescents in the U.S. Belonging was entered first in the model as a significant predictor of GPA \( (B = .19, SE\ B = .06, \beta = .27, p < .01) \), and accounted for 7.4 of the variance of GPA, \( F(1, 114) = 9.12, p < .01 \). When importance \( (B = .10, SE\ B = .04, \beta = .20, p < .05) \) was entered there was a significant change in \( R^2 \) \(.04, p < .05\), and the model with both belonging and importance significantly predicted 11.4 % of the variance in GPA, \( F(2, 113) = 7.29, p < .01 \). Hence, the higher the level of both of the school belonging measures (belonging and importance) the higher the GPAs of adolescents in the U.S.
For the adolescents in the U.S. (Yucatec Maya and non-Yucatec Maya), ethnic identity exploration significantly predicted 4.1% of the variance of GPA of adolescents in the U.S. ($B = .18, SE\ B = .08, \beta = .20, p < .05), F (1, 114) = 4.86, p < .05. Ethnic identity exploration also resulted as a significant predictor ($B = .28, SE\ B = .11, \beta = .22, p < .05) of the belonging factor of school belonging and accounted for 5% of the variance found in levels of belonging of adolescents in the U.S., $F (1, 129) = 5.38, p < .05$.

Distress due to adult perceived discrimination resulted as a significant predictor ($B = -.55, SE\ B = .24, \beta = -.20, p < .05)$ of the importance factor for school belonging, accounting for 3.9% of the variance of the importance measure, $F (1, 129) = 5.19, p < .05$. Amount of adult perceived discrimination experiences also significantly predicted 6.4% of the variance of the importance measure ($B = -.20, SE\ B = .07, \beta = -.25, p < .01), F (1, 129) = 8.83, p < .01$. Distressing adult perceived discrimination acts experienced resulted as a predictor of importance ($B = -.18, SE\ B = .07, \beta = -.23, p < .01), accounting for 5.1% the variance of the measure, $F (1, 129) = 6.99, p < .01$.

Specifically for the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S., age resulted in a significant predictor of importance ($B = -.30, SE\ B = .11, \beta = -.31, p < .05), accounting for 9.8% of the variance in importance scores, $F (1, 64) = 6.93, p < .05$. With non-Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. amount of peer perceived discrimination experiences was a significant predictor of belonging ($B = -.17, SE\ B = .07, \beta = -.31, p < .05), accounting for of the 9.4% variance in belonging scores, $F (1, 63) = 6.50, p < .05$. 

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Lastly, a mediation analysis revealed that the relationship between ethnic identity exploration and GPA was mediated by belonging (school belonging) for adolescents in the U.S. The analysis was conducted by using the Baron & Kenny (1986) mediation analysis steps, which include showing a significant relationship between the independent variable and the mediator, the mediator and the dependent variable, and the independent variable and the dependent variable, and testing the significance of the mediating variable effect on the relationship between the independent variable and the dependent variable. Bootstrapping was used to test the significance of the mediation effect. This method has been recommended to be a better test of the significance of mediations rather than the originally used sobel test (Hayes, 2009). An SPSS Macro addition was used to conduct the bootstrapping (Preacher & Hayes, 2008).

In this case, the ethnic identity exploration was the independent factor and GPA was the dependent factor, with belonging as the mediating factor. The mediating effect showed belonging as significantly reducing the original effect of ethnic identity exploration on GPA by .04, CI (95 %) = [.0077, .1081], \( p < .05 \). As Figure 9 illustrates, the regression coefficient between ethnic identity exploration and GPA decreased substantially when controlling for belonging. The other conditions of mediation were also met: ethnic identity exploration was a significant predictor of GPA, and belonging was a significant predictor of GPA while controlling for exploration.
Figure 9. Relationship of ethnic identity exploration and GPA as mediated by belonging (school belonging) for adolescents (Yucatec Maya and non-Yucatec Maya) in the U.S.

\[ B = .26^*, SE = .12 \]
\[ B = .17^{**}, SE = .06 \]
\[ B = .18^*, SE = .08 \]  \( (B = .14, SE = .08) \)

* Significant p-value < .05.  ** Significant p-value <.01

NOTE: The insignificant regression coefficient for the relationship between ethnic identity exploration and GPA after the mediation effect is in parenthesis.

Predictors of belonging for Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico

For the Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico, Maya language with family and friends significantly predicted 5.7 % of the variance of the belonging factor for school belonging \( (B = .29, SE_B = .15, \beta = .24, p < .05) \), \( F(1, 68) = 4.10, p < .05 \).

Acculturation to Mexican culture also resulted as a significant predictor \( (B = -.04, SE_B = .02, \beta = -.24, p < .05) \) of the belonging factor and accounted for 5.8 % of the variance found in levels of belonging of adolescents in Mexico, \( F(1, 68) = 4.19, p < .05 \). Lastly, ethnic identity commitment significantly predicted 11.1 % of the variance of the belonging factor for school belonging \( (B = .48, SE_B = .16, \beta = .33, p < .05) \), \( F(1, 114) = 8.46, p < .01 \).

A mediation analysis revealed that the relationship between acculturation to Mexican culture and belonging (school belonging) was mediated by ethnic identity commitment for Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico. Again, the mediation analysis was conducted by using the Baron & Kenny (1986) steps, and testing the significance
of the mediation effect through the bootstrapping method (Hayes, 2009; Preacher & Hayes, 2008).

The mediation effect showed ethnic identity commitment as significantly reducing the original effect of acculturation to Mexican culture on belonging by .02, CI (95 %) = [-.0337, -.0028], p < .05. As Figure 10 illustrates, the regression coefficient between acculturation and belonging decreased substantially when controlling for ethnic identity commitment. The other conditions of mediation were also met: acculturation was a significant predictor of belonging, and ethnic identity commitment was a significant predictor of belonging while controlling for acculturation.

Figure 10. Relationship of acculturation (Mexican culture) and Belonging (School Belonging) as mediated by ethnic identity commitment for Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico

- $B = .0375^{**}, SE = .01$
- $B = -.04^*, SE = .02$ ($B = -.02, SE = .02$)

* Significant p-value < .05. ** Significant p-value < .01

NOTE: The insignificant regression coefficient for the relationship between acculturation (Mexican culture) and belonging (school belonging) after the mediation effect is in parenthesis.
Chapter 6: Interviews

Being Mayan is a...I don’t know how to explain it, but it’s just, I don’t know, my brother always says that we just family, you know, wherever you’re from, but if you’re Mayan you’re Mayan from blood. You know we’re family, um, and I always feel comfortable with other Mayans, you know. The way we grow up, it’s just in the head, you know, it’s like Bixa Wani, saying how you doing, and it’s just like joy to hear the language again...Yeah, like a feeling, yeah.

–Male adolescent born in San Francisco, California, U.S.

Introduction

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 11 (4 boys, 7 girls) adolescents from the non-Yucatec Maya Latino/a U.S. group, 10 (7 boys, 3 girls) adolescents from the Yucatec Maya U.S. group, and 17 (9 boys, 8 girls) from the Mexican Yucatec Maya in Yucatan, Mexico group. All the interviews followed a standard set of open-ended questions, requiring each participant to be taken through the same sequence of questions using the same words (Patton, 1990).

Protocols were created for the non-Yucatec Maya adolescents, the Yucatec Maya in the U.S., and the Yucatec Maya in Mexico. The interview questions explored the adolescents’ views on culture, ethnic identity, school, discrimination, family, peers, and community. Relevant raw text was coded then repeating ideas were coded and organized into significant themes in which theoretical constructs regarding the topics emerged (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003; Seidman, 2006). Please refer to Chapter 3: Current Study and Chapter 4: Methodology for a more detailed description.
of the analytical process and interview protocols. The complete interview questions for all the three different groups can be found in Appendix B.

The interviews were conducted after the surveys were collected and took anywhere from 10-35 minutes across groups. The chapter begins with the categorical question regarding the language used most at home and school is presented for all the groups. A specific Yucatec Maya language section summarizes the views the Yucatec Maya adolescents interviewed in the U.S. and Mexico have about the Indigenous language. The bulk of the chapter, however, is focused on presenting the theoretical constructs and themes that emerged. The themes are organized by group (non-Yucatec Maya, Yucatec Maya in the U.S., and Yucatec Maya in Mexico) within each overarching topic.

Language

One of the questions asked to all the adolescents inquired about the language(s) they spoke most at home and at school. Table 30 presents the responses to this categorical question.
Table 30. **Most** used languages at home and at school

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Heritage</th>
<th>U.S. Non-Yucatec Maya</th>
<th>U.S. Yucatec Maya</th>
<th>Mexico Yucatec Maya</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>(17)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Home</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maya</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English and Spanish</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish and Maya</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English and Maya</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English, Spanish, and Maya</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>School</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spanish and Maya</td>
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<tr>
<td>English and Maya</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>English, Spanish, and Maya</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the non-Yucatec Maya in the U.S. the responses to the language(s) used most at home reveal a bilingualism of English and Spanish, and those adolescents also responded that they used Spanish for communicating with their parents and the English for communicating with their siblings. In contrast, however, the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. used Spanish the most at home, with two using Spanish and Maya\(^4\) and one being trilingual at home and using Spanish, Maya, and English at home equally. For the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. that put Spanish and Maya or Spanish, Maya, and English as most used languages at home the Spanish was

\(^4\) “Maya” in this section specifically refers to the Yucatec Maya dialect of the Maya language that is spoken in the Yucatan Peninsula.
used to communicate with their siblings and Maya with their parents and grandparents.

For adolescents in Mexico, the most used language at home was Spanish. One adolescent used solely Maya at home and two adolescents used both Spanish and Maya at home.

At school the language most used for non-Yucatec Maya adolescents was English, with only one adolescent saying he used both English and Spanish at school equally. In contrast, most of the Yucatec Maya adolescents responded to using Spanish and English at school equally. In Mexico, most used only Spanish at school, except for two adolescents who used both Spanish and Maya equally. Of note, one of the adolescents who used Spanish and Maya equally stated that he used the Maya with his teachers.

Maya language

Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S.

The Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. interviewed ranged in amount of Maya they spoke or understood. Most adolescents (9 out of 10) stated that they knew people who understood and spoke the Maya language. These included their family, neighbors, friends, people living in their home (non-family), and people in their community. Three adolescents spoke some Maya with their families and friends, two just understood Maya, three just spoke or understood a few phrases, and two did not know any Maya at all. However, when asked about wanting to learn Maya (or if they knew some Maya, wanting to learn it better) all 10 adolescents interviewed stated that they did want to learn the Maya language. When asked why they wanted to learn the
language, 6 out of 10 of the adolescents in the U.S. wanted to be more connected to their Maya culture and identity. One male adolescent born in Mexico stated:

Um, I would like to speak Maya, because I feel that not speaking it, I am not, like, following what my culture is, like following the traditions of my ancestors. And I don’t know I would like to learn it in any way, help-ask for help, or I don’t know, even return to my state [Yucatán] to be able to learn it if possible.5

Another male adolescent born in the U.S. commented about not only connecting to his culture by learning the Maya language, but also being able to preserve that culture:

Because, though, then I’ll have a little piece of where I’m from…and, and, and, and the way I am, and I could just probably go back to my roots and just talk to people, you know? And so they could remember um, ‘cuz a lot of people here in United States they come and they forget their, their native languages Maya.

Another reason why adolescents in the U.S. want to learn the language is to be able to communicate with their family, and with other members of their Yucatec Maya community. One female Mexican born adolescent commented that learning more Maya would allow her to communicate with her uncles who only speak Maya.

Another male adolescent born in Mexico stated:

5 Please refer to Appendix C number 1.
I would like to learn it because it’s a language they speak it in my country, en de donde soy. And it’s just, I don’t know, like I would like to communicate with people through, through not just English and Spanish.

The Maya language seems to be important for the adolescents because of the connection it created with their culture and also the use they have of the language when communicating with their family and community. The language is still valued by this generation, and inclusively several (4 out of 10) adolescents want to learn it in hope to preserve the Maya culture that some of them believe disappears when Yucatec Mayas come to the U.S. The youth stated that they would like to learn it through classes and from their families.

_Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico_

Similarly to the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S., the adolescents interviewed in Yucatan, Mexico ranged in amount of Maya they spoke or understood. Most adolescents stated that they heard Maya and knew people who spoke Maya in their lives. These included their family, neighbors, friends, people living in their home (non-family), and people in their community. Five adolescents spoke some Maya with their families and friends, five just understood Maya, and seven just spoke or understood a few phrases. Unlike the Yucatec Maya in the U.S., none of the adolescents in Mexico stated that they did not know any Maya at all. The Yucatec Maya adolescents still in Mexico were also interested in learning Maya, and most responded positively to the idea of learning Maya from their families (5 out of 17), learning the language at school (7 out of 17), or learning Maya from both school and

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6 In English this is translated to mean “where I am from.”
family (5 out of 17). Eleven of the seventeen adolescents believed Maya language classes should be added to the school curricula. A female adolescent said, “Well I believe that they should give [Maya] classes at school because it is our primary culture.” To a certain extent, Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico seemed to believe Maya was something that was a right that they should be given. Four adolescents stated that learning Maya would help them communicate with those persons that did not know Spanish well. A female adolescent expressed the need to know the language for this purpose:

> Sometimes with persons, like my neighbors, or some people I know, that really don’t speak Spanish well, or sometimes we have to do homework which calls for us to research the fields and agriculture or something in those lines and I like to be able to express myself with them [Maya speakers] in Maya.  

Furthermore, two adolescents expressed wanting to learn Maya or get better at speaking and understanding the language because they believed it useful in helping people that are unfairly treated. One male adolescent stated:

> Yeah, I would really like to learn it [Maya], not only because I can help more people that really need the help, but also to bring awareness that this culture is very beautiful. And, to teach people, so those things like discrimination, that I was telling you about previously, stop happening.

This reason is somewhat different than those given by adolescents in the U.S. for learning Maya. Due to the current state of the language in Yucatan, this adolescent

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7 Please refer to Appendix C number 2.
8 Please refer to Appendix C number 3.
9 Please refer to Appendix C number 4.
believes that learning the language and making people more aware of it as being something positive and beautiful it could contribute to better treatment of Indigenous peoples in Mexico. To this adolescent in Mexico, the reclamation of the Maya language is a social tool for the betterment of society and to increase equality and decrease discrimination.

Like the adolescents in the U.S., the adolescents in Mexico want to learn Maya to reconnect with their culture. Almost all the adolescents (15 out of 17) mentioned wanting to learn Maya to because it is part of who they are, their culture, the language of their ancestors, and a link to their family. One male adolescent said, “Because, um, I feel that it is beautiful to speak Maya, and also, well since my grandparents speak it, to talk to them.”\footnote{Please refer to Appendix C number 5.} Another male adolescent stated that he must learn Maya better because, “It is part of me, of what I am.”\footnote{Please refer to Appendix C number 6.} This is a very powerful response to what the language means to the adolescent, it is evident that he is aware of how language defines his identity. Another adolescent responded, that she wants to know Maya more because it is “our language, our maternal [language], original [language] of the Yucatecos.”\footnote{Please refer to Appendix C number 7.} Adolescents understand that they should be proud of their Maya language, yet, one adolescent commented, on the fact that people do not want to speak Maya or learn it because they are embarrassed. The female adolescent stated:

I don’t know, it is very important, even though the truth is that speaking Maya is, like kind of, like it isn’t really spoken, there are a lot who still sometimes
speak it and they are embarrassed to speak it, when they should honestly not even feel like that.\textsuperscript{13}

Lastly, adolescents (11 out of 17) see learning the Maya language well as a tool for preservation of their culture. One male adolescent said, “It would be a great help for the culture, so it doesn’t keep getting lost.”\textsuperscript{14} Another female youth stated that it is “a tradition that has been recently getting lost, …and to me it is interesting [to learn] so the culture does not get lost.”\textsuperscript{15} Furthermore one female adolescent stated that learning Maya would be helpful so that one can “try and pass it to the [future] generation, so the Maya language can keep growing, and so it won’t diminish.”\textsuperscript{16} Overall, the interview questions about the Maya language revealed that the Yucatec-Maya in Mexico have a strong attachment and affective sentiment toward the language and what it means for their community in Yucatan and for the future of who they are as Indigenous persons.

\textit{Ethnic Identity, Culture, and Race}

Adolescents interviewed across the three groups (Yucatec Maya in the U.S., non-Maya in the U.S., and Yucatec Maya in Mexico) discussed different aspects surrounding identity, culture, ethnicity, and race including, but not limited to what group(s) they identified with, what being part of a specific cultural or ethnic group meant to them, or how they spoke about their culture to others. Following are the themes and recurring ideas that emerged from each group of adolescents (non-Yucatec

\textsuperscript{13} Please refer to Appendix C number 8.
\textsuperscript{14} Please refer to Appendix C number 9.
\textsuperscript{15} Please refer to Appendix C number 10.
\textsuperscript{16} Please refer to Appendix C number 11.

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Maya in the U.S., Yucatec Maya in the U.S., and Yucatec Maya in Mexico) when discussing ethnic identity, culture, and race and how they compared in their responses.

**Non-Yucatec Maya Latina/o adolescents in the U.S.**

When asked about their ethnic identity and culture six adolescents identified as Mexican with some also referring to themselves as Latina/o in some parts of their interviews, two identified as both Mexican and American, one identified as American only (even though in one question she identified with her parent’s culture), one identified as Chicana, and another adolescent identified as solely Hispanic.

*Ethnicity and culture defined as family and home*

A theme that surfaced in the interviews of Non-Yucatec Maya adolescents was the description of their culture as being related to parents’ hometowns, family, and community. When asked to describe their culture or ethnic group the adolescents consistently used the words: “family” (19 times) and “together/united” (10 times). A female adolescent born in Jalisco, Mexico and identifying as Mexican, when asked to describe her Mexican culture stated, “I like (it), to me our family is more united than other cultures, we are a lot more united” while another female adolescent born in California described her Mexican culture as, “Family, family really oriented. A lot of family, always being together and supporting you.”

The adolescents (8 out of 11) noted that their culture stemmed from the country or town where their parent’s or even they grew up in. One male adolescent born in California stated he identified as Mexican because “all of my family is from Mexico,” another Mexican female adolescent also born in California stated, “I mostly think about the city that my parents are from cuz we go every year.” Hence, many
adolescents interviewed felt connected to their ethnic identity since they placed it closely to being defined by the togetherness of family and sense of home and place.

*Culture as practices*

Another way adolescents (6 out of 11) described their culture or ethnic group was through defining it as a set of practices such as celebrations, listening to certain music, or eating certain food. Multiple adolescents responded to the question asking them to describe their culture by stating, “I love the food,” “I think of good food,” “the music,” “people know like rock and roll, hip-hop, and rap, but they also know like banda, bachata, reggaeton” and one Mexican born female stated, “maybe like things that stand out that’s probably way more different than other cultures’ probably like our music, our dance, our food, and a lot of occasions that we celebrate that others don’t.”

Furthermore, one adolescent when asked if she speaks about her ethnic identity, stated that although she does when it comes up, it is usually about food, and not about “where you are from, it’s more just like, ‘oh this Mexican food’s good’ or just like sort of like a thing like that.”

*Ethnicity and culture as a mixture of different groups*

Some adolescents (4 out of 11) described ethnicity and culture as being part of multiple groups. The female U.S. born adolescent identifying as Chicana stated that she was a mix of both Mexican and American. Another male adolescent born in Jalisco, Mexico spoke of a pan-ethnic identity:

Um, well I identify more with Hispanics. I could not say with Mexicans, because I also speak with Yucatecos, well they are also Mexicans, but [I also
speak with] Central Americans, and with them I identify more. Us, the Hispanics, we have gone through many thing that sometimes the Americans have not, do not know how it is to come to this country and learn another language. You know, sometimes, hunger, and knowing other things. 

This adolescent’s response describes his ethnic identity as having common experiences with the other Hispanics, which include overcoming barriers such as poverty and learning a new language. Shared experience tie this adolescent to his sense of ethnic identity.

*Feelings toward ethnic group and stigmatized identities*

Another recurring theme for the non-Yucatec Maya adolescents regarding ethnic and cultural identities was the feeling of “pride” and “love” toward their cultures and who they are, with 6 out of 11 adolescents speaking on this. A female Mexican adolescent said, “I definitely identify with my Mexican culture, when I think about,…umm, I don’t know just pride and love and I just love my country, well my parent’s country.” When asked how they feel about their culture many adolescents stated they are proud of it, one felt good about speaking two languages, and some stated a want to change the views and stereotypes others have of their culture. Such was the case with a female adolescent that wanted to disprove the stereotype that being Mexican or Latina makes you unintelligent. She said:

I’m proud to, from where I’m coming from. I’m proud to be part of the new generation that is improving um how other people perceive Latinas, like I’m glad that I’m like serious and on top of things cuz I, like a lot of people think

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17 Please refer to Appendix C number 12.
badly about Mexicans or like Latinos and I’m glad that I’m you know working to change their opinions, cuz a lot of people have actually told me like ‘oh you’re like really smart, I’m actually surprised’ and I’m like ‘oh yeah, I guess.’ …I’m like I’m trying to prove a point, like we’re not all stupid.

Another adolescent stated that, “even though some people might say, ‘oh well you know Mexico is going through a lot of bad stuff, and you shouldn’t go there,’ well it’s still my home and I still respect.” There was a defensiveness of their cultures and speaking favorably to others about being Mexican or Latina/o. A male born in the U.S. stated, “I like to tell them where I’m from, where my parents are from,” and another adolescents born in Mexico reaffirmed his pride for his culture, saying “Yeah sometimes they ask me things about my country, and well, I proudly answer them.”

A female adolescent stated, “I’m not ashamed of saying anything about it” also when asked about talking to others about her culture.

American culture as opportunity, independence, and diversity

Another theme emerging from the interviews of 6 out of 11 of the non-Yucatec Maya Latina/o adolescents was American culture being described in terms of providing opportunities for them to succeed. As one male adolescent born in California, but raised in Mexico until he was 12 years old stated, “I think it’s, it’s a big opportunity like you get a lot of opportunities down here, more than uh other countries.” However, another adolescent stated that the opportunities are meant only for “Americans” and not her, since she identified as Mexican, she said this referring to her “American” friends:

18 Please refer to Appendix C number 13.
They have a lot more like I don’t know its kind of obvious that they have more rights here, or they have more like opportunities than we do. So I think that’s like a plus for them, and that’s the first thing that comes to my mind.

This adolescent is aware of the inequality existing in the U.S. in terms of who is receiving the opportunities. However, there was also a sense of American culture consisting of more independence and freedom to do things, and less unity with family, three adolescents addressed this sense of individualism. One adolescent stated, “Well I like that the American, is, well is a little more independent, with each person on their own. And with life, with what is Mexican it is more about family and everyone together.” Lastly, American culture was described as a mix of different diverse cultures by three of the adolescents, without really one singular culture defining what American means. A female adolescents stated, “It’s like a divide, a diverse, well it’s like a melting pot as you would say, it’s like many cultures… it’s different. So it’s not just one culture.” Another female adolescent stated:

I admire this culture very much, but I, I don’t feel like I’m a big part of this culture. I respect it, I, I live here, and it has provided me with the opportunities to do whatever I can, but I, I think this is a great culture, it’s diverse and it’s a lot of different people all together in one place, and I like that.

Furthermore, four of the non-Yucatec Maya adolescents referred to the American culture without including themselves as part of it, stating “their culture” not “my culture” or “our culture” as they described the American culture. For example, one male adolescent stated, “I don’t know if they have their own culture. It sounds

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19 Please refer to Appendix C number 14.
kind of weird, but I think it’s just a mixture of so many other cultures,…people assume all of them together are just American.” Both this student and the one above that stated that she respected the culture describe the American culture as being removed from them, not necessarily identifying with an American identity.

Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S.

When asked about their ethnic identity and culture in the interviews, six adolescents identified as Yucatec Maya, one identified as both Yucatec Maya and American, one identified as Hispanic primarily, and another adolescent as Mexican and Latino. In other parts of the interviews, however, all of the adolescents discussed their Yucatec Maya identity and culture.

Ethnicity and culture defined as family and home

Five of the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S., similarly to the non-Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S., repeated the idea of ethnicity and culture being defined as family and home, throughout their interviews. A Mexican born male adolescent stated, “I identify with the culture from the place where I was born [Yucatec Maya], because I come from a culture that is different from the rest.”

Another Mexican born female adolescent also related her cultural identity as having that connection to her parents, “Maya, because, Maya because it is the culture of my parents, the language of my mother, and I really like learning more about it.”

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20 Please refer to Appendix C number 15.
21 Please refer to Appendix C number 16.
Although, this theme did emerge from the interviews (with 5 out of 10 adolescents), it did so less than in the interviews of the non-Yucatec Maya adolescents (8 out of 11 youth talked about it).

*Ethnicity and culture as a feeling and way of thought*

A theme that emerged from several (4 out of 10) of the interviews of Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. which was not prominent for the non-Yucatec Maya adolescents was that of defining their culture as a feeling, as a strong connection, and a way of thought. One adolescent that was born in the U.S. described his culture as such:

Being Mayan is a…I don’t know how to explain it, but it’s just, I don’t know, my brother always says that we just family, you know, wherever you’re from, but if you’re Mayan you’re Mayan from blood. You know we’re family, um, and I always feel comfortable with other Mayans, you know. The way we grow up, it’s just in the head, you know, it’s like *Bixa Wani*, saying how you doing, and it’s just like joy to hear the language again…Yeah, like a feeling, yeah…In the mission district we have a lot of Mayans, a big community of Mayans, you know? Umm, they don’t have to be necessarily from Oxkutzcab, can they be from Santa Elena or whatever, yeah they can be from different parts…Yeah, they still identify themselves.

This student extends the meaning of his culture beyond just family, and even beyond place. To him, it is a feeling, a comfort, “in the head.” He mentions a Maya phrase and states it is that happiness when you hear Maya, almost a sense of nostalgia. As he spoke this sense of nostalgia and emotion permeated through his words describing his
culture. In a way he did not know how to describe the feeling, but he also defined it as transcending the place you are from, but still identifying as Maya and having that sense of community because of that Mayan comfort and way of thought. Another male adolescent who was born in Mexico also stated that his culture is defined by the “the dialect spoken there, and in the way of thought that is in an older way, of the parents.”

Again, this adolescent refers to a way of thinking that is “older” or interpreting the term *antigua* can be considered as the way of thinking that is being past down by the older generations, like his parents. In a sense these adolescents have developed their definition of their identity more so on the feelings and way of thinking that stems from being Maya.

*Culture as practices*

Many (eight) Yucatec Maya adolescents believed that their culture is defined by the practices and traditions they follow. One male adolescent born in Mexico stated:

For most of my life I lived in Mexico, Yucatan, and there all the people speak Maya, we have traditions, we have customs, um, each ending of seasons we do some things that in the old days were done by people [ancestors], so we try to conserve the culture.23

For him traditions, the language, and rituals that have been performed through the years by his ancestors are what define his Maya identity. Another male adolescent also born in Mexico stated similar views of his culture:

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22 Please refer to Appendix C number 17.
23 Please refer to Appendix C number 18.
In reality the Maya culture is something very beautiful, very gorgeous because of its history, accomplishments, the great accomplishments that were left permanently, well like the history, no? One of those that we can observe is like the ruins of Chichen [Itza], as the representation of the calendar, no? For example the traditions of the towns...uh what is the dance of the head of the pig, what they call in Yucatan pig, or in reality is of the hog, no? Eh, the dance of the turkey, the traditions that they do in honor of the saints or their god,...even now a days, the culture continues, the traditions.24

The Yucatec Maya adolescents gave various examples of culture as practice from traditional dances (four interviews), to the Maya language being spoken (four interviews), to the history of the Maya accomplishments passed down through generations (three interviews). One adolescent born in the U.S. went on to discuss how there are a lot of things in Maya culture that are different from Mexican culture, such as “the way we speak, like certain words have different meanings and like the accent is different too.” These adolescents are describing their Maya culture as being unique and not necessarily the same as Mexican culture, which some may assume when grouping the adolescents within the Mexican label.

The transformation of culture

Another recurring theme that emerged from four interviews of Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. was the views that these youth had about the Maya culture being transformed in the U.S. One male Maya identified adolescent born in Mexico stated:

24 Please refer to Appendix C number 19.
Equally, to be here [U.S], its like you shed a little more of your culture, and like you kind of take other cultures, which are not like cultures different from those in Mexico, but its like you get, like, a part of the Mexican in you comes out.  

In the interpretation of his statement, the adolescent is stating that the Maya culture, which is the culture he identified with, is shed more in the U.S. while gaining more of the other cultures, which assumingly are other Mexican cultures and hence his Mexican identity becomes salient.

This interviewed adolescent clearly explained how his personal cultural and ethnic identity evolved in the U.S. Another male adolescent also described that a lot of the “Yucatecos that I know, do not speak Maya, and a lot of others do not know much about their [ethnic] group.” The adolescent went on and shared that he knows a Yucateco that doesn’t know much about his culture. Additionally, five adolescents believed that the Maya culture they identify with is being lost, and one stated that it is ironic because people from other countries are interested in the culture, meanwhile those who are part of the culture are not. One adolescent stated:

And, I say, that in my opinion, our culture should not be lost, right? Because it is something important. And I say, it is not fair that now a days other persons from different countries, and states are interested in our culture, and we are

25 Please refer to Appendix C number 20.
26 Please refer to Appendix C number 21.
not, and I say, that us youth now have the opportunity to learn, and time to learn [our culture].

This adolescent felt upset about the fact that the Maya culture may be blending into other cultures and getting lost, and most importantly, while others are interested in the culture, the actual Yucatec Maya youth that can learn more about their culture lack interest. However, most (6 out of 10) of the adolescents interviewed did not seem to lack interest in the culture, they seemed to want to learn more about the culture. Yet, there were two adolescents (one U.S. born and another Mexican born) that identified with being Hispanic and Mexican/Latino. One of these adolescents (U.S. born) responded that he identified with the Latino culture because he has many things in common with them. He stated, “and we also speak both, sometimes, Spanish and English, and, how can I say this, well, that I don’t know, we get along better.”

Although four of the adolescents believe that the Maya culture is being transformed in the U.S., most youth interviewed identified strongly with the Maya culture (7 out of 10). Also, one adolescent identified strongly with both Maya and American culture. This U.S. born, female adolescent described her culture as being able to be both Maya and American:

I practice the jarana [dance], and I also, like sometimes wear the huipiles and ternos [traditional clothing] that my grandma makes, and American, ’cuz umm like I speak English and like I also like have part of the American culture.

27 Please refer to Appendix C number 22.
28 Please refer to Appendix C number 23.
Hence, this adolescent has integrated both cultures without losing her Maya culture at least as defined by practices (dances and clothing). This adolescent had also taken Maya classes.

**Sharing of culture and pride**

Although two adolescents stated that they did not share or talk too much about their culture to others, eight of the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. spoke about sharing their culture with other people. One Mexican born, male adolescent mentioned that “people ask me where I am from, they are, seem, a little interested about knowing about my customs.”29 Another Mexican born, male adolescent specifically described whom he spoke to about his ethnicity, race, and culture:

> In some occasions I have spoken with a few people about my ethnicity, my race, and my culture, mostly with Mexican persons who come from other Mexican states, when, when we interchange ideas and comments about, about, when they ask ‘where do you come from, what do you do, we exchange ideas about what my culture does, what their culture does, or the differences that exist between the culture or what things are similar.”30

In the above excerpt, the adolescent spoke about sharing his culture with other Mexican people and discussing the differences and similarities found across their cultures. Hence, it is evident from this example that some of the Yucatec-Maya adolescents separate their Indigenous identity from that of other Mexicans and see it as a distinct culture. Furthermore, a female adolescent responded that she gets along well

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29 Please refer to Appendix C number 24.
30 Please refer to Appendix C number 25.
with other Mexicans and Latina/os, she said, “Yeah I get along with them, and um, I like sharing the same space with them, because I like learning about other cultures.”

Again, this Yucatec Maya adolescent in the U.S. sees other Mexicans or Latina/os as people belonging to an “other” culture that she can learn from.

Moreover, Yucatec Maya adolescents (7 out of 10) find school as a space where they can speak about their culture. One adolescent discussed how he was able to do a project in which he could talk about where he was from and he stated, “I noticed that all my peers liked knowing about the Maya culture, because of everything that exists in Yucatan.” The same adolescent also shares his Maya culture with his church or in small groups that his parents are part of. Another female adolescent also spoke with her teachers and friends about her culture. Lastly, another U.S. born, Yucatec Maya adolescent male, when asked if he speaks about his culture, stated:

I try to, well it depends on who I’m talking to, if it’s people who don’t know about the culture I try to explain, I try to like let ‘em know how it is as much as I know at least. And I like, I just try to get my culture out so people know about it.

It is clear that most of the adolescents interviewed do not seem to mind speaking about the Maya culture with others. Most (7 out of 10) are also proud about their Maya heritage. One U.S. born, male adolescent shared what he is proud of in terms of his Maya culture. He said:

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31 Please refer to Appendix C number 26.
32 Please refer to Appendix C number 27.
Yeah, I see myself being proud of other Yucatecos. Cuz Yucatecos have come a long way, in terms of like being in the United States. Like, I hear a lot about, especially like cooking wise, like I hear a lot about like Yucatecos in restaurants, and that they’re like, like top name restaurants, like cooks.

This particular adolescent is proud of the modern, present day accomplishments of other members of his ethnic and cultural group. It is interesting because the other Yucatec Maya adolescents had mentioned pride for their Maya culture, but had focused on the historical accomplishments of their ancestors. This respondent definitely had a more present focused pride toward his Yucatec Maya community members in the U.S. making something positive of their lives in this country.

One of the adolescents shared his views on other Yucatec Maya persons that become afraid or embarrassed to share their culture or to express pride in it. The Mexican born adolescent stated:

I know Yucatec people that, they by speaking and expressing their ideas and saying where they are from, they feel like proud, but unfortunately I know other people that do not like to talk about where they are from because they are afraid to be criticized.33

The majority of the adolescents interviewed (7 out of 10), however, expressed a sense of pride and connection to their culture. One Mexican born male adolescent discussed his sense of pride when asked about his culture by his classmates:

33 Please refer to Appendix C number 28.
For example, the majority of my classmates when I started, mostly would ask me how I felt about being Yucateco, if I felt proud, and I would tell them that I feel very proud, because well, like any one Yucateco would say, we carry it in our blood.\textsuperscript{34}

Once again, the adolescent expressed his strong connection to his Maya culture and his ease with speaking about the culture and feeling proud to be Yucatec Maya. In a way, this sense of pride and connection to their culture for the Yucatec-Maya was in order to make people aware of their culture that is invisible to most.

\textit{American culture as opportunity, advancement, and difference}

Six of the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. that were interviewed had positive views of American culture. Besides one female adolescent born in the U.S. that identified as Yucatec Maya and American, the rest of the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. interviewed did not state that they identified with being American. However, some of the adolescents saw American culture as a place of opportunities and advancement (4 out of 10 youth), and very different from their own culture (3 out of 10 youth). One male adolescent that was born in the U.S. stated that:

\begin{quote}
Uh, honestly, I, it has its ups and downs. ‘Cuz the culture is, is pretty boring ‘cuz they don’t really teach you that much of what happened. And, but the way like America lives is pretty exciting too, ‘cuz it has a lot of things going on and its worth it…just even being able to do like anything you set your mind to and just being able to like, having opportunities.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{34}Please refer to Appendix C number 29.
This adolescent’s description of the U.S. culture shows that although he may not really understand the culture, he does think it is “worth it” to be able to set goals and take advantage of the opportunities found in the U.S. It is interesting, because although the theme of opportunity resonated with both the Yucatec Maya and non-Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S., the Yucatec Maya do not speak about the diversity found in this country like the non-Yucatec Maya do. One Mexican born male spoke about this sense of opportunity and advancement:

Uh, the United States is for me, this country is, the real world, it is one of the most developed, that well, here it is easy to obtain what you want sometimes, what one wants, right, and if one is motivated to do it, one can achieve many things.\(^{35}\)

Again, this adolescent’s response is categorized as one in which the theme of opportunity to achieve one’s goals is a descriptor of American culture, but in this case the idea that the United States is advanced and thus that is why such opportunities exist is also present. One Yucatec Maya adolescent born in Mexico reflected that she felt the U.S. culture to be, “pretty, and it is exciting to know another culture,...because I get to coexist with a lot of Americans and I feel good.”\(^{36}\) She has a positive association toward the American culture, and spoke to the fact that she enjoys learning about the culture. Meanwhile, three adolescents reflected on the differences found in the American culture as compared to their own culture. One adolescent male, born in Mexico stated that, “I think that it is [American culture] a very different culture

\(^{35}\) Please refer to Appendix C number 30.

\(^{36}\) Please refer to Appendix C number 31.
compared to where I come from, but I like it”  

37 while another male adolescent spoke about the difference found in the amounts of liberty one has in American culture, as compared to the togetherness of Yucatec culture (collectiveness). This difference in terms of collective versus more independent American culture is similar to the way non-Yucatec Maya adolescents described the culture too.

It is very different to me, because American culture is more open, more, like, how they say, liberal, in the Yucatec culture we are also liberal, but, how do I say it, there is a certain custom, a certain custom, like more, like it is more together, you know”  

38 Lastly, in sharing the difference found between American culture and their own culture, a U.S. born male stated, “Americans, well they, when you see them, its, they, we don’t do the same activities, and they are, are in some classes where there are not a lot of Latinos.”  

39 This difference is significant because it points to the tracking and segregation occurring within the schools, which this student recognizes as a cultural difference.

Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico

When asked about their ethnic identity and culture in the interviews, 16 adolescents identified as Yucatec Maya, one male adolescent identified primarily as Spanish. In other parts of the interviews, however, the Spanish identified adolescent discussed his Yucatec Maya identity and culture.

37 Please refer to Appendix C number 32.
38 Please refer to Appendix C number 33.
39 Please refer to Appendix C number 34.
Ethnicity and culture as history, belonging, and a physical space

A recurring theme that occurred when the Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico described their culture was defining the Yucatec Maya culture through its history and a sense of being rooted from a great civilization. Fourteen out of 17 adolescents talked about the culture in terms of its history and great civilization. In contrast to the Yucatec Maya in the U.S., the adolescents in Mexico were a lot more informed of the history of the Maya in Yucatan and also knew a lot more about the characteristics that separated the culture from others. Whether it was describing the pyramids, the uniqueness of the culture, or ancestors’ accomplishments in astronomy and math, the adolescents were proud to discuss their culture. One female adolescent stated:

I like it because it is a different culture from the Mexican one in general. And it is like another world apart because it is other ancestors, the Mayas are different from the Aztecs or the Toltecs. And they have, well the mannerisms and the accent and all of the rest, and I don’t know, it is very, very a culture that is very intellectual not a warlike culture, it is a very rich culture in the foods, the dress, it is a different culture, special, I don’t know, it distinguishes itself from the rest of the country [Mexico].

The adolescent describes the distinctiveness of the Yucatec Maya culture stemming from its different historical past as compared to other cultures.

Furthermore a female adolescent described the Maya culture as having accomplished a lot of great things in the past and so her identity comes from her

40 Please refer to Appendix C number 35.
connection to that once great culture. Hence, the history of the culture seemed to create a sense of attachment to the culture for many of the adolescents as they come to understand and have pride for the ancient civilization. This was something that was only a little bit present in the Yucatec Maya adolescents of the U.S., in the Mexican context history and knowledge of the ancient Maya culture is something a lot more prominent for the adolescents.

Several adolescents (eight) also discussed how the culture was passed down from generation to generation from their ancestors. A female adolescent said, “it [Maya culture] is very important because they are, they are traditions, what you call customs of our ancestors that are transmitted from generation to generation.”41 A male adolescent stated, “I identify a lot with it [Maya culture] because my grandparents have transmitted that culture and I know it is a very beautiful culture.”42 Through the adolescents’ families and the oral tradition from their grandparents they are exposed to the history of their ancestors.

Sense of belonging was also present in the ways the adolescents described their culture. Ten of the adolescents mentioned a collective identity with others that unites them around the “grandiose” and “beautiful” Mayan culture. A female adolescent stated, “I would describe it [her culture], it is a very beautiful culture, since in her we can place our identification, well with other people.”43 Another adolescent put it simply and stated that he values his Maya culture because, “I belong and came from that culture.” The Yucatec Maya adolescents interviewed in Mexico seem to have a

41 Please refer to Appendix C number 36.
42 Please refer to Appendix C number 37.
43 Please refer to Appendix C number 38.
clear sense of their Maya culture as being their origins and that they can continue to unite and belong collectively across the state of Yucatan. The fact that they live in Yucatan provides the adolescents in Mexico a physical space that immerses them in Maya culture that the first and second generation Yucatec Maya adolescents do not have in the U.S.

This physical space served as another way the adolescents described their culture. In other words, having the archeological sites, the bodies of water that have a historical meaning for some of the towns, and many other cultural attractions seems to provide the adolescents with a sense of pride and a concrete reminder of their culture. Ten of the adolescents at one point in their interviews mentioned the archeological zones as proof of the greatness of the Mayan culture. One adolescent stated:

Well I believe my culture is very rich, in respect to the well there are a lot of aspects, like the food, or the culture, for example, we have Uxmal, which are pyramids, it is very beautiful, my culture, yeah.44

Another adolescent described the archaeological zones as “truly amazing” for her to see and to appreciate with her family. Furthermore another adolescent described just how beautiful the state is and said, “Well Yucatan has this form of being that is very beautiful. The people, her traditions…It is very beautiful…The beaches, the cenotes, all of that.” 45 The ability for these youth to experience firsthand how the state and their culture is physically, in terms of its archeological sites, natural habitats, and the preservation of the traditions highly influences how they describe and

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44 Please refer to Appendix C number 39.
45 Please refer to Appendix C number 40.
relate to their culture. However, many of the adolescents (11) that were interviewed felt their culture is being lost. They also discussed their cultural pride (11 out of 17 adolescents) and how they share their culture with others (12 out of 17 youth).

*Creating awareness and pride*

The Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico also spoke about talking to others about their culture. Out of the 17 adolescents 12 of them spoke to others about their ethnic identity and culture. Most of the adolescents (11) that spoke to other people about their cultures discussed how proud they were of their Mayan heritage. Some of them (14) felt concern for the fact that the culture was being lost, similarly to the Yucatec Maya in the U.S. One adolescent described the Maya culture as "well, in reality this culture is ending, because a lot of people are losing the, the language, like us [adolescents], I don’t know." 46

Another adolescent described the Yucatec Maya people, and she stated that it is important for them to feel good about their culture. She said:

The Yucatec people are like very nice, very friendly, caring, and socialize well, no? And yeah, with the majority, well mostly with all that feel good about being part of the [Maya] culture, because there are a lot that would prefer to be other cultures, so they like deny theirs, those I am not fond of.47

The importance of the culture was constantly mentioned throughout 14 out of 17 of the interviews. Adolescents (12 out of 17) spoke about making other Yucatec Maya people aware of their culture, and one adolescent even stated:

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46 Please refer to Appendix C number 41.
47 Please refer to Appendix C number 42.
Well, I see some Yucatecos, they are not as proud of what they have. Well, yeah [we] need to demonstrate to them that they really should feel very proud of their roots. Since Yucatan is very beautiful. And if they really don’t feel Yucatecos, what are they looking for here?\footnote{Please refer to Appendix C number 43.}

This adolescent’s excerpt reflected a certain level of frustration and anger toward the people that do not want to embrace their culture. A male adolescent also reflected on the lack of pride by some Yucatecos and said, “not just because you are from here, you should not feel bad, instead feel proud because you are from Yucatan.” \footnote{Please refer to Appendix C number 44.}

The adolescents spoke to many people about their ethnicity and culture. One adolescent mentioned that school was a space to discuss culture and ethnic identity with both peers and teachers because they would do projects about the culture. When asked what they discussed, one female adolescent stated, “Well, we talk about like, like how we used to be, like the customs that exist in our town, how important they are. And we talk about the cultures that have disappeared. Yeah, that.”\footnote{Please refer to Appendix C number 45.} A male adolescent also stated that he spoke about the traditions and culture with his teachers and classmates. While one female adolescent mentioned that due to homework assignments and things of that nature she is able to learn more about her culture, she stated, “I talk about things with my grandparents. And they speak to me about the agriculture, how it was in their time, and all of that.”\footnote{Please refer to Appendix C number 46.}
Furthermore, another adolescent mentioned interacting with foreigners, speaking about her culture because they were very interested in her culture. She had a sense if pride because other people from other cultures wanted to know about the Maya culture. Lastly, one adolescent spoke about his interaction with others on the Internet and how he would chat about the culture with them, he said, "Usually I talk to friends on chat. And there they ask me about how it is, how it is in our state and our customs and well I respond and tell them mostly about well our customs."52

The Yucatec Maya adolescents shared their culture with people of other cultures and spoke a lot amongst each other about the Maya culture. The adolescents in Mexico had a physical space to reference as a reminder of their culture and the high schools they attended made an attempt to discuss aspects of the Maya culture or assign projects and homework that would require the adolescents to explore their Indigenous identity. However, there was still a sense amongst the adolescents that the culture is being lost by the youth and some even sounded upset at those who did not identify.

*Culture as practices and as mestizaje*

Like both the U.S. groups (Yucatec Maya and non-Yucatec Maya) the adolescents in Mexico described culture as being practices that they knew and exercised. This group of adolescents, however, had the clearest understanding and most information about what exactly were the practices that defined their culture. The adolescents define their culture as language (12 of the youth mentioned it), food (10 adolescents used it as a descriptor), dances/music (nine adolescents mentioned this),

52 Please refer to Appendix C number 47.
and celebrations such as the *Hanal Pixan* that 10 of the interviewed mentioned. As it turns out this Maya tradition of the Day of the Dead has been re-taught across the state by the Cobay schools, and hence every year there is even a “best” altars competition for the adolescents to participate and make the shrines to the loved ones that have passed away. Eight adolescents described the culture based on the traditional dress. A female adolescent stated, “well people, that dress with the *huipil*, no? That speak different, that is how I describe it.”

Seven adolescents stated that speaking with an accent defined the culture as well.

Hence, as will be further discussed in the next section on cultural practices, a great amount of the ways the adolescents in Mexico defined their culture and specifically the Yucatec Maya identity was based on the practices they knew about and that they witnessed constantly as part of living in Yucatan. Again, the fact that they are at the “hub” of the Maya culture allowed these adolescents to be more concrete about their culture as defined by the practices of their families and communities.

Three out of 17 adolescents also defined their culture as a mix or fusion of the Spanish and Indigenous cultures. One adolescent stated, “it is a mix, like the mestizos, that is what it is. They have a lot of traditions and customs.” Only a few defined the culture as a blend, while 14 of the adolescents focused on their culture as being primarily a Maya Indigenous culture with the traditions and customs passed down from the ancient Maya. However, when describing the culture some of the 

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53 Please refer to Appendix C number 48.
54 Please refer to Appendix C number 49.
customs and dances are a mixture of the Spanish and Indigenous influence, such as the *jarana* and the celebrations for the patron town saints, which have a heavy Catholic influence. Yet, to the adolescents, besides the three that defined it as mestizaje, the culture they are describing is the Maya culture.

*American culture as opportunity, difference, and diversity*

Unlike the other two groups that were immersed into the American society and culture, the Yucatec Maya in Mexico were less knowledgeable and less willing to state much about what they felt of the American culture. Many (seven) had a sense of indifference when asked about the culture, stating that they did not have enough information to talk about the culture or that they “normally think nothing of them [Americans].” Yet, even those that did not have an “opinion” about the American culture sometimes had family in the U.S. and many times wanted to visit them. Out of the 17 interviewed 14 stated that they had a family member or close friend of the family in the U.S. Seven said that they talked to their family members anywhere from monthly to every two weeks. Seven also stated that family members would visit them between once a year to every four years.

Four of the Yucatec Maya adolescents, similarly to the other two groups, felt that the U.S. was a place of opportunity. One male adolescent stated:

“Well, to be honest, I do not have a clear opinion about it [American culture/U.S.], but from the little that I have heard, they say it is a nice place,
advanced and all, it has a lot of, how do I say it, a lot of possibilities for work and things. 55

Another adolescent also resonated this opinion of advancement and opportunities, he said, “Yeah, I believe that in some things, well in a lot of things, they are superior to those products in Mexico, and well there are a lot of opportunities there.”56 Some of the opinions may come from their relatives that live in the U.S. or the media they are exposed to about the U.S.

Six of the adolescents agreed that the U.S. and American culture was different. In describing the American culture as different, three of the adolescents placed the Mexican culture as better and more beautiful, while three stated that the U.S. treats Mexico unequally and embedded in the relationship between the two nations is a sense of being both friend and foe. A female adolescent stated, “well I believe that their culture is very different from ours, but ours we have a nice tradition than theirs,”57 while another adolescent stated that the Mexican culture is more original. One adolescent addressed her concern about the unequal treatment toward Mexico:

Yeah, well what can I say, Mexico and the United States are two very different countries, both think in very different manners. And the Americans should not just because they are from there feel like they are more than us the Mexicans. They should give the same opportunities to both [American and Mexican]. 58

55 Please refer to Appendix C number 50.
56 Please refer to Appendix C number 51.
57 Please refer to Appendix C number 52.
58 Please refer to Appendix C number 53.
The tension existing between the two countries due to certain policies, probably also having to due with immigration, is evidently ingrained in some of the adolescents’ views of American culture. For example, an adolescent stated:

Well, the American culture, well I do not know so much about the American culture. I have never really investigated it or anything, but like a lot of people here [think], there is like an implicit sense of hostility and animosity, no? I don’t dislike it [American culture], but I also don’t like it.59

This tension resonated more as a recurring theme within the Mexican group as compared to the Yucatec Maya group in the U.S. However the tension and defensive opinions about their Mexican culture as compared to the U.S. is more comparable to the way non-Yucatec Maya adolescents defensively spoke about being stigmatized and treated unequally in the U.S. It is interesting that when speaking about the American culture, the adolescents revert to identifying a Mexican culture or Mexican identity and not a Maya identity to compare to the U.S., with the consistent use of “Mexican culture” in speaking about the differences and the relationship between the two nations.

Lastly, two of the adolescents stated that the American culture is diverse and not just one single culture. A male adolescent said, “Yeah, in reality it is not one culture, instead it is a variety of cultures that are united, and yeah there is not one specific culture.”60 Although very few of Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico made

59 Please refer to Appendix C number 54.
60 Please refer to Appendix C number 55.
this observation, it is a similar theme that the U.S. groups used to describe the U.S. culture (more so the non-Yucatec Maya group).

*Cultural Practices*

*Non-Yucatec Maya Latina/o adolescents in the U.S.*

For the non-Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S., cultural practices such as listening to different types of music, dancing, and eating different foods were mentioned by 6 out of 11 adolescents, but the youth did not go into much more detail about such practices. Describing their culture consisted of discussing the connection they have with their community and with their parents’ hometowns. The recurring ideas that emerge from describing trips to their home countries included: spending time and reconnecting with family (5 out of 11 youth addressed this theme), a sense of community (4 out of 11 youth discussed this idea), and a sense of independence (4 out of 11 youth mentioned this). Again, many adolescents discussed the feeling of community and family, one adolescent described the people of the town as being “really close and there everyone knows everyone and you know all your neighbors” another adolescent briefly mentioned a cultural ceremony as being something she enjoyed, “I like the religious ceremonies over there, I don’t know it’s a lot more big.” One adolescent from Peru described the learning that happened when she visited her parents’ country, “there it’s all about the family, which I thought that was very beautiful and inspiring for people to learn.”

Lastly a sense of independence is also described, even though the family and community seem very collectivistic, adolescents saw their home countries as places where they had more freedom and independence, both male and female adolescents
seem to feel this way. One female adolescent born in California stated, “Oh, I love it there. I like the freedom.” and another female adolescent born in Mexico stated, “It’s a lot different over there. Like, you’re, like on your own. You’re more independent.” Hence, there seems to be a sense of balance between family and togetherness and independence and freedom found when adolescents visit their home countries.

*Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S.*

Many of the Yucatec Maya adolescents (8 out of 10), when asked about their culture, described more of the specific practices that they engage in as part of their culture. As discussed in the previous section, adolescents talked about practices of the Maya culture such as traditional dances, wearing the clothing, practicing rituals for the town saints, and knowing the Maya language. Furthermore, the adolescent that identified as Yucatec Maya and American described both cultures in terms of the practices she engaged in for each, for example *jarana* dancing for the Yucatec Maya culture and speaking English for the American culture.

Due to the goal of the study to obtain a clearer perspective of the Yucatec Maya identity and culture from the adolescents, the interviews for Yucatec Maya adolescents included specific questions regarding the cultural practices found in the Yucatec Maya culture (please refer to Appendix B for the interview protocols). Hence, these questions allowed for more elaborate descriptions on behalf of adolescents regarding their Maya culture. This section contains some of the recurring ideas and descriptions that emerged from the Yucatec Maya adolescents’ responses.

Adolescents knew much about Maya food. All 10 adolescents could list and describe traditional Maya dishes. Beyond the actual dishes, the adolescents described
the food (preparation and actual eating) as special events and rituals that are very much linked to the collectivist value of being Yucatec Maya. One adolescent described the foods as part of the larger cultural activities he attends such as the dances, or certain family celebrations. Many stated that their mom, brothers, or uncles make traditional foods all the time. One female adolescent born in the U.S. stated, “[I eat] panuchos, tamales, poc chuc, almost everything, sometimes I help out, well, my mom to make them.” Another male, Mexican born adolescent talked about when these special dishes are made:

Well the more known are *cochinita*, the *panuchos Yucatecos*, the *relleno negro*. Well, in Yucatan when we wanted to eat something for example the *cochinita*, or the *bistec*, or the *escabeche* the family would make it. I was telling you, that when we wanted, for example the custom is when it is for special events like, for example, a birthday, or a wedding, normally you cook and you make the *cochinita* or the *relleno*.61

Both of these adolescents relate back how the traditional dishes are part of the culture customs, whether it is passing down how to make the dishes or understanding what food is served for certain celebrations, these adolescents reflect the importance of traditional cuisine in the Maya culture. Another important cultural practice that recurred throughout the Yucatec Maya in the U.S. interviews (8 out of 10) was the *jarana* dancing events that these adolescents attend, the *vaquerias*. The *vaqueria* events in which Maya HTAs provide the Yucatec Maya communities in Los Angeles and San Francisco a chance to dress in traditional *huipiles* and do traditional dances.

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61 Please refer to Appendix C number 56.
The events also bring bands from Yucatan and provide the attendees with traditional Maya cuisine. One Mexican born, male adolescent describes his experience at a cultural event:

And yeah, I like it, I like seeing how they dance jarana and sometimes it gives me this emotion, to listen to the music of the jarana. And, well, I think that, that it is something good for the people of different states and even the people of this country to know that culture, what is the dance, and the dress of our culture.62

This adolescent expresses an emotional reaction, almost a sense of nostalgia, to being part of this event and furthermore, even though not directly stated, a sense of pride and want to share his culture with others. Another male adolescent born in the U.S. also spoke about the vaquerias as something he really enjoys.

Yeah like la vaqueria and some stuff, yeah. Vaqueria is like, you can just have fun time, social with um all the Yucatecans and umm just have a jarana dancing. And just have random dancing, just um, its really cool.

Many of the adolescents (eight) expressed their interest in the dances, specifically the jaranas as an event/activity they had either attended or that they had heard about and would like to participate in. One female adolescent born in the U.S. was taking jarana dance classes through the HTA in San Francisco, and she stated that she always attended the dances with her family. Another practice described by an

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62 Please refer to Appendix C number 57.
adolescent male born in the U.S. was the practice of storytelling. The adolescent recalled his interaction with other Yucatecos as something he values:

I get to interact with like Yucatecan people,…So I get to like, listen to what they say, and how they say it. And sometimes its sort of... and its just, I don’t know its interesting. Like the stories they get to tell, cuz they have a lot of stories.

Most of the adolescents (9 out of 10) interviewed had a grounded sense as to what some of the practices that define the Maya culture are and how they are still done in the U.S. to some extent and the value the culture has on their lives. Five of the adolescents also had a sense of the loss of the culture and all 10 of the adolescents had ideas as to how they would attempt to preserve it.

The value and preservation of the Maya culture

Although many non-Yucatec Maya adolescents also had concerns about transferring the Latina/o and/or Mexican culture to future generations and maintaining the culture, the Yucatec-Maya adolescents, when speaking about the Maya culture, felt very strongly some even saddened by the loss of their Indigenous culture. This may be because of the smaller number of people in general that identify as Maya as compared to those that identify as Mexican, the history of marginalization of the Indigenous culture, and in general the invisibility and lack of awareness that exists about the culture. Although one of the adolescents pointed out that non-Yucatecos know about the culture, while some Yucatec Mayas are embarrassed to embrace it (as described previously in this chapter), another adolescent insisted that with the increased awareness of the cultural monuments such as the ruins around the world, the Yucatec
Maya community will increase its own knowledge of its culture. Regardless, all 10 of the adolescents had some idea of the vulnerability of the culture being lost in them and in future generations, and from the interviews emerged a wide range of ideas and solutions to preserve the culture. A recurring theme was the importance of valuing and preserving the Maya culture specifically in the U.S., which was discussed by 5 out of 10 of the adolescents. One male, Mexican born adolescent spoke eloquently about this importance and what to do to preserve the culture:

I believe it is important to value what is the Mayan Yucatec culture, seeing to that if one stops doing so, well little by little it is going to end, and one has to continue to try to conserve it and, I don’t know, keep going until one can. I think that the Maya culture here in this state [country] is not like in, there is in contrast to Yucatan, Yucatan is the base of the Mayan culture, and is always celebrating and trying to do their traditions and all, in contrast here [U.S.] I think that people that come from Yucatan, or are from Yucatan, or are born here of Yucatec parents, little by little begin to forget what is the Maya culture because they take traditions or cultures or customs from here in the U.S. and do not really value the parents and grandparents and, um, ancestors what they have taught them little by little, due to new ideas, technology, way of life, or inclusively their own ways of thinking…In order to not lose the Mayan culture in whatever state [place] you might be, and if there are more than three or four people from the same culture which is Maya, try to, I don’t know, form groups, do, um, I don’t know, meetings or something to be able to interact with more Yucatec people and be able to, try to do the celebrations, or the acts that are
done in Yucatan. Try and do them here so little by little people will start seeing this, Yucatec people, that would like to participate in the group that forms, but maybe because they might be embarrassed to be part of the group because they are in a different country, because they can be, I don’t know, criticized or judged, discriminated and once these people do what they think, I don’t know, like traditions, like Hanal Pixan [Maya day of the dead] or something. People will start coming together and trying to make the idea [celebration] bigger and little by little, I don’t know, make it like known in the city or state in which you are.63

This informant stated the reason why the Maya culture should be preserved, but he also touched on how assimilation to the U.S. culture impacts the Indigenous culture and on the issue of feeling embarrassed because of one’s Indigenous roots. He described a process of empowering youth and Maya people in general through meetings, groups, and organizing celebrations practiced originally in Yucatan in the U.S., in order to reclaim and conserve their culture. Another adolescent male born in Mexico discussed similar themes as the adolescent above, but in his discussion of Maya culture (its value and conservation) he added how creating awareness of the culture across other non-Yucatec Maya people would help and will make Yucatec Maya adolescents feel good. Another topic this adolescent touched upon was the increased importance of the Yucatec Maya culture across the world recently due to the

63 Please refer to Appendix C number 58.
attention obtained by Chichen Itza as one of the new “seven world wonders.” He stated:

…Well a lot of people from different places, other countries ask about the Yucatec food, and I have friends that have told me that they have been invited to eat the Yucatec food and they say they liked it a lot and that makes me feel good, because that is basically a point in favor of us, because well, little by little with our friends we are, well, bringing awareness to what is the Yucatec culture. That for now the people that come from over there, from Yucatan try to conserve what is the dialect, and the clothing, and a lot, the majority of times the food is most important to them. But, the new generations they are going to definitely forget about our culture…Well I would put on events and…like information centers for the new generations so they can know about the history and what really is their culture,…what is important now more than ever for the world since with the selection of Chichen Itza as one of the seven world wonders.64

This adolescent emphasizes the need to create awareness of the Maya culture to people from other cultures, which in itself may empower the Yucatec Maya people as their culture is recognized widely. Seven of the adolescents interviewed had similar views about expanding the awareness of the Maya culture across other cultures especially in the recent time. One adolescent said it is important to continue passing down the culture, “because it influences [Maya culture] a lot of other things, for example, the people that visit San Francisco, if it is one of those days, they see an [Maya] event,

64 Please refer to Appendix C number 59.
they too appreciate it and learn from it.” 65 All ten adolescents interviewed were aware of the value of their Maya culture had in their lives, regardless of how they ethnically or culturally identified. Five of the adolescents believed that the culture was being lost in the younger generations and some like a female U.S. born adolescent suggested having more Maya and dance classes, things she had done through the HTA in San Francisco. Four of the adolescents emphasized the need to target Maya youth at a young age and encourage them to be proud. One male U.S. born adolescent discussed the targeting of young children and also noted that he felt in Yucatan the government was successfully creating programs for preserving the culture, he stated:

We need to teach our sons and daughters what the Maya culture is at a younger age, to be proud of their culture and all the beautiful things. Because I am proud of it too, I like the language, and all and that is why I learned about it. And other places do not have pyramids like the ones we have, a history like ours, the Maya they were very intelligent with astronomy and all, and a lot of other cultures do not have something like this, they [the Maya] sometimes overcame, like the way they could predict things without the technology we have today….I believe that it is being conserved more with what the government is doing [in Yucatán], but here I do not see much, only in a couple places where there are more Yucatecos, like parts of San Francisco or the Canal [San Rafael] where you see some Yucatecos speaking Maya and all… 66

65 Please refer to Appendix C number 60.
66 Please refer to Appendix C number 61.
This adolescent strongly touches on to the cultural practices and history that everyone that is Maya should be proud and amazed by. He has a very clear sense of his Maya culture and he recommends that teaching children at a young age to be aware and proud of such a “beautiful” and grand culture is the way to preserve it in the future, this is interesting as well, because this adolescent primarily identified as Latino.

While another adolescent, also born in the U.S., discussed his sadness for his people forgetting their culture, but also stated that a solution to preserve the culture is to make people feel at home and be social with one another, he specifically related the work of the San Francisco HTA as beginning to do this, he said:

I guess like once they come here, it just I guess, they just forget sometimes like where they came from, you know? And um, its sad to see my you know my people just forgetting where they come from, or most of them forget their language Maya,…They should have like uh, like what Beto does, he does la \textit{vaquerias} or like sociable and just remember your cultures back at home. Basically, to feel at home here in United States you know, where people can just meet up with each other…, know what I mean?

And another U.S. born adolescent felt that the awareness of the culture was increasing, but he also stated he would like to hear more about programs for Yucatec Maya youth.

It’s, it’s still there, I mean it’s, it’s actually it’s progressing. Like people are starting to know more about it. Uh, that’s a step up…But, I would like, I would like to hear about more like the youth community in the... With people my age, well to teach it have like Maya classes. And have outreach programs.
An adolescent female born in Mexico also stated that there has been progress in preserving the Maya culture, she stated, “well I believe that it is being preserved because there are, there are not a lot of people who preserve their writings [language] and we have managed to preserve those and safeguard our culture.”\(^6^7\)

There were a wide variety of feelings toward the loss of the Maya culture in future generations and in the youth of today, and positive outlooks as to the culture already starting to be preserved. All 10 adolescents had a wide range of ideas as to how to reclaim their culture and preserve it. An overall theme of creating physical spaces to share the cultural knowledge with youth and teach them of many different aspects of the culture, whether language, dances, stories, etc. was developed, as six of the adolescents shared their opinions on preservation activities that could be done to “save” the Maya culture in the future. The main message from the adolescents is to continue transmitting and practicing the culture with pride across geographical spaces and cultural boundaries.

\textit{Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico}

The Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico, just like those in the U.S., when asked about their culture, described more of the specific practices that they engage in as part of their culture. As discussed in the previous section, adolescents spoke about practices of the Maya culture such as the traditional dances, celebrations, like \textit{Hanal Pixan}, the Maya language, or the traditional dresses worn by people. Due to the goal of the study to obtain a clearer perspective of the Yucatec Maya identity and culture

\(^6^7\) Please refer to Appendix C number 62.
from the adolescents, the interviews for Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico, like those of the adolescents in the U.S., included specific questions regarding the cultural practices found in the Yucatec Maya culture (please refer to Appendix B for the interview protocols). Hence, these questions allowed for more elaborate descriptions on behalf of adolescents regarding their Maya culture. This section contains some of the recurring ideas and descriptions that emerged from the Yucatec Maya adolescents’ responses.

The adolescents that were interviewed were asked about the traditional foods of the Yucatec Maya culture. Like the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S., all 17 adolescents in Mexico could list and describe traditional Maya dishes. Beyond the actual dishes, the adolescents described the food (preparation and actual eating) as special events and rituals that are very much linked to the collectivist value of being Yucatec Maya. The Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico, however, provided more background knowledge on the meanings behind some of the foods that are eaten for certain rituals and celebrations. One adolescent described the process of making the \( pi \), which many other adolescents identified as the food made for the \textit{Hanal Pixin} (Day of the Dead) celebrations. She stated:

Well, the majority of what my grandma prepares, is, well is Maya, like \textit{frijol con puerco}, for example…\( pi \) is made that is like I don’t know with corn dough, meat inside, like a giant tamale and it is buried, it is cooked underground. I don’t know how…in the earth, yeah, they light the fire and bury it, like if it was an oven, like if the earth was an oven…And I love it, it is my favorite food. And well, there is the \textit{cochinita pibil} which is done the same,…And the,
the *matancoles* that are like ceremonies, well, like a lot of different ones, no? Like to ask for rain, to thank the gods for the harvest, they are Mayan ceremonies where they serve the Mayan foods. 68

The adolescent clearly described the process of making the *pi* and also described the ceremonies such as the *matancoles* where the food is consumed as part of the ritual. Food was also mentioned by six adolescents as a form of showcasing their culture at different events where non-Yucatec Mayas, such as tourists, go to learn about the Maya culture and rituals. Another recurring theme was the use of the Maya language for different celebrations, mentioned by four adolescents. A female adolescent described various practices she went to where Maya is spoken:

Well, sometimes, like, normally Catholic prayers are in Maya. Those, and then there is a *Hetzmek*, which are the Mayan baptisms, that consist of carrying a child, and I don’t know what other stuff, no?...Well precisely there are expositions of the altars [shrines] for the *Hanal Pixan*, I always went to support them, I would wear the regional dress, and sometimes I would give discourses in Maya that they had written for me, because I don’t know how to speak it that well, but pronounce it yeah. My pronunciation of Maya comes out well. So I would give the discourses. When there were visits to the school, the high school, of people from other states, they would always put me to speak in Maya, I felt good about speaking the, the Maya. 69

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68 Please refer to Appendix C number 63.

69 Please refer to Appendix C number 64.
The adolescent expressed how her participation in these events and in speaking Maya made her feel good. The adolescents in Mexico are more able to participate in such events and have more opportunities to hear and speak Maya than the adolescents in the U.S., so they have more exposure to the Maya culture. Another male adolescent recalled his experience with events that help promote the Maya culture:

They were events to participate in to remember the culture and so it will not get lost. What I liked the most is that we coexisted with each other and participated, even if we were not from the same town…they were organized by the town so that the culture would not get lost. And what I liked about it is that people from other parts of the state came to share the experience with us. There were activities that for some were in Maya, others about learning about the pyramids, and the kinds of food, and all that.70

The unity created by the shared common culture across the town borders with other Yucatec Maya people is something that the adolescent expressed he enjoyed about participating in the Maya events and in which he was able to learn about his culture while meeting other members of his ethnic group. The collective experience created a sense of belonging for the adolescent that possibly made him feel positive about his Indigenous culture.

The most popular celebration that was described by adolescents (10 out of 17) across the interviews was the Hanal Pixan, which was described well by a male adolescent as:

70 Please refer to Appendix C number 65.
Primarily, I have participated in the *Hanal Pixan*. And it is a representation that is made in the altars [shrines] to those that are dead and you offer them traditional foods and what they primarily would have liked to eat. It is primarily a way of remembering them and continuing the custom…Primarily the one [food] I like most is the *Pi* which is made on Hanal Pixan.\(^{71}\)

The *Hanal Pixan* was also discussed as a reason to be proud of the Maya culture since it honors the ancestors. Also, another adolescent described how it is an event that the Cobay schools always make the students celebrate, and inclusively the schools participate in a contest for the best shrine made, he stated, “…in the *colegio de bachilleres* it is always imposed on this type of event and well our town of Muna is always awarded, we have won the first place in these events, and I have always participated.”\(^{72}\)

Ten adolescents discussed the other cultural practices that exist in Yucatan, such as the *jaranas* and *vaquerias*. One adolescent also described the *gremios* which are town processions that honor the patron saints, he stated, “some *gremios* that are generally done in the town celebrate a determined days of the saint.”\(^{73}\) These processions are not practices that were mentioned by the U.S. population of the Yucatec Mayas. Another cultural practice that was only mentioned by the adolescents in Mexico is the reciting of ancient Mayan legends. Schools organize showcases of the recitations and competitions, as one adolescent described it, “sometimes at school, there was a contest, it seems, of the ancient Mayan legends. It was a good experience.

\(^{71}\) Please refer to Appendix C number 66.

\(^{72}\) Please refer to Appendix C number 67.

\(^{73}\) Please refer to Appendix C number 68.
Yeah, I would like to participate another time."  Lastly, another female adolescent described the practice of making hand made crafts that are either woodcuts of ancient Mayan Gods or hieroglyphics. The Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. did not mention these arts either.

Furthermore the adolescents in Mexico had a clearer sense of how to describe the people of the Yucatec-Maya culture. Nine adolescents stated they dress in traditional clothing, sometimes have accents in their Spanish, while eight adolescents described the people as hardworking, and/or “humble, charismatic, and likeable”. One adolescent stated, “Whenever someone comes to the state [Yucatan], we receive them well.” In describing Yucatec Maya people, six of the adolescents would say that they have nothing to be ashamed of, and that they should be proud of their culture.

The value placed on their culture and how the adolescents see the current status of the Indigenous culture in Yucatan is discussed next.

*The value and preservation of the Maya culture*

Many Yucatec Maya adolescents (14) felt that the culture was also being lost, deteriorated, forgotten, and “extinct.” Some of the adolescents (five) spoke about the continued marginalization of the Indigenous people and a lack of importance given to the culture and no priority given to teaching the language to the youth by the actual Yucatec Maya population and the Mexican government. Nine of the Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico pointed out the importance of government institutions such as

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74 Please refer to Appendix C number 69.
75 Please refer to Appendix C number 70.
schools in making sure that the culture is not lost, which was not evident in the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. because in the American context, it is not really the responsibility of the American institutions to promote and conserve the Maya culture. Yet, similarly to the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S., all of the Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico had a clear understanding that the culture was in urgent need of being preserved before it was lost in the future generations. The Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico also had several ideas as to how to preserve the Maya culture.

Many of the adolescents, when asked about the value of the Maya culture in their lives, stated that it was of great importance (14 youth) and that they were proud of the Indigenous culture (11 youth). One adolescent discussed why he felt that the Maya culture was important to him, “Well I put great value, because thanks to it [Maya culture] we can know what was in the past, the present, and what will be the future of Yucatan.”76 Another adolescent stated that he is very proud of his Maya culture and that is why it has high importance in his life. He stated

Well the Maya culture to me is very important and I should be proud of it. And not be embarrassed to be Yucateco, to be from a town, there are other people that think I am less, I should be proud because I am from here.77

Both adolescents feel proud of what their culture means to them and in different ways express the value their culture is to their sense of being and identity. Specifically, the first adolescent roots his past in his Yucatec Maya culture, while knowing that it will be a big part of his future. The second adolescent from the above excerpts addressed

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76 Please refer to Appendix C number 71.
77 Please refer to Appendix C number 72.
the issue that many adolescents discussed about people being embarrassed of the Indigenous identity because others may think less of them. A lack of significance of the culture in one's life trajectory and a sense of embarrassment toward the Maya culture are some compelling reasons given by the adolescents interviewed that to them influence the decline of the Yucatec Maya culture.

Out of the 17 Yucatec Maya adolescents, every single one stated that the Maya culture was deteriorating or being lost due to a wide range of reasons. Twelve adolescents stated that the culture was getting lost because of the loss of the Maya language, one adolescent stated, “I think that the majority is getting lost, now no one speaks Maya, mostly Spanish [spoken].”\(^{78}\) And another male adolescent explained why the language is getting lost:

Well, that the most part of the state is losing that culture because for example the parents they do not speak Maya at home, and the children well they cannot learn it. And in the schools, well like, in the primary grades there are I think some Maya classes, but soon after the primary grades it starts getting lost, what the culture is gets lost.\(^{79}\)

The adolescent above acknowledged both familial and institutional factors influencing the decline of the Maya language, and in his opinion, the culture in general. Six adolescents also identified the embarrassment that some felt about being Yucatec Maya as a factor in the lost of the Maya culture. One female adolescent explained, “Well, I believe that the youth of today are ashamed of showing who we are, and they

\(^{78}\) Please refer to Appendix C number 73.

\(^{79}\) Please refer to Appendix C number 74.
sort of hide their culture.” While another adolescent acknowledged the loss of the
culture because people do not find it as important, yet she was hopeful that some are
trying to conserve the culture. She stated:

Well the traditions seem to be deteriorating a little, and people do not give it
much importance, although some, some organizations try to rescue
them…Sometimes they are the presidents of the towns the ones that try to
rescue it with folklore classes for the students, that are like jarana classes, well
they place them in the town, they teach hilo contado [embroidery/ornamental
stitchwork], or to embroider, and to make hammocks, they try to rescue it.

Whether the adolescents felt that the culture was being lost because the Maya
language is not being passed down by the families and schools, or the loss is due to the
embarrassment or not enough support from the government for the Indigenous
communities, they all had an idea of how to preserve the Yucatec Maya culture in
their state.

A recurring theme that the interviews revealed was that the adolescents (13 out
of 17) felt that by teaching the Maya language in school the Maya culture could be
preserved. One female adolescent explained what could be done:

Well I believe that apart from creating more awareness about the history and
culture through education and in general, in the same manner it might be good

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80 Please refer to Appendix C number 75.
81 Please refer to Appendix C number 76.
for the education to become bilingual in the sense that the children that speak Spanish can learn Maya, and the children that speak Maya can learn Spanish. 82

Another adolescent also stated that Maya should be taught in school. She said, “Just like they give English classes, well I say, I say, that how they should have Maya classes.” 83 Most of the adolescents addressed the need for Maya to be taught by the schools as a responsibility of the state. Some adolescents fluent in Maya also stated, when asked what they can do to help preserve the Maya culture, that they would try to teach other people the language. One female adolescent specifically stated that she would teach Maya to the youth because they are the ones that are not learning the language.

Eleven of the adolescents also identified creating youth groups, specifically targeting adolescents, to organize and participate in cultural events in the towns as a solution. One male adolescent stated, “Well, make the towns for example, like I had mentioned a while ago, have some cultural activities, some groups that can promote the culture in the towns. Make groups or something.” 84 He further discussed that the groups should be for adolescents, children, and adults. Other adolescents explained that more conversations should be facilitated at school about the culture. A male adolescent stated, “New forms of education should be implemented, like conversations and conferences about the Maya culture for youth. Especially with youth who are the ones that show little interest in the culture.” 85 Another female

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82 Please refer to Appendix C number 77.
83 Please refer to Appendix C number 78.
84 Please refer to Appendix C number 79.
85 Please refer to Appendix C number 80.
adolescent urged for a stronger focus on the culture, and again to create things that will allow youth to learn more about it. She also stated that she would help preserve it personally, she said, “Well I have a little sister that I can try to teach about the culture.”

The Yucatec Maya adolescents have a well developed understanding of the vulnerability that the Maya culture faces as less and less youth are learning and embracing the culture and language. They are proud of their culture, yet they state that many their age are not. In contrast to the adolescents in the U.S. the Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico place a lot of the responsibility to preserve the Maya culture on the institutions such as education and government programs. Besides stating that they would teach the language to others or speak about their culture to their younger siblings, family was not mentioned much in how to preserve the culture. Although, three of the adolescents acknowledged the role their grandparents played in transmitting the culture to them.

*Discrimination*

Discriminatory experiences were described across all the adolescent groups as either being experienced by the adolescents themselves or as being a witness to discrimination experienced by someone else.

*Non-Yucatec Maya Latina/o adolescents in the U.S.*

Out of the 11 Non-Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. five stated that they had experienced discrimination, four stated they had witnessed someone get
discriminated, and two stated that they had not experienced or witnessed anyone else encounter discrimination. Out of the nine that stated they had witnessed or experienced discrimination, five specified that the discrimination was perpetrated by other students, one stated it was by adults, and the other three did identify the perpetrators of discrimination. Furthermore, recurring feelings of anger, sadness, frustration, and helplessness emerged from the experiences of discrimination either against the adolescents themselves or discrimination of other peers witnessed by the youth interviewed.

*Discrimination due to immigrant stereotypes and language stigma*

When asked about discriminatory experiences they had encountered or witnessed someone else encounter, five adolescents described acts due to the stereotypes made of Latina/os and Mexican immigrants, such as being called names or due to language differences. One U.S. born adolescent stated:

Um, well its been uh like in my some of my classes, it’s not so much the teachers at all, it’s mostly the students. Like if we talk, we start talking about immigrants, then they’ll there’s one particular stupid student who just called out ‘Oh Mexicans!’ And like I thought it was really offensive and just he does that very often actually.

This adolescent’s response was one that expressed anger toward the situation that not only occurred once, but that consistently happened in her class. When asked if she had talked to someone about it bothering her, she responded that she has not, that the “Anglo teacher“ would not understand. Another Mexican born male stated he
experienced discrimination because, “I lack the ability to speak English.” Lastly, a female adolescent felt discriminated because other non-Latina/o students would question her Mexican identity because she did not fit their stereotypes, she stated:

Sometimes I feel discriminated, but it’s mostly because some people, I mean to me, some people have said, ‘oh, you don’t speak Spanish’ or ‘you’re not Mexican’ because I don’t dress a certain way, stuff like that, and that really offends me, because I don’t have to fit a stereotype to be part of a culture.

In the above situation, the adolescent felt upset about the stereotypes that others had placed on her group and to her, and in not fitting those stereotypes, those peers questioned her authenticity in being part of that culture. In multiple ways these experiences made the adolescents upset, angry, sad, and frustrated. They spoke about those feelings as well.

_Anger, sadness, frustration, and helplessness due to discrimination_

When asked to describe how they felt due to experiences of discrimination the adolescents were open to speak about their feelings. The adolescent that constantly heard her class speak badly about immigrants and Mexicans said:

I didn’t really know how I felt, but like I was the only Latina in the class so everyone just stared at me, I didn’t really know what to do. It was kind of embarrassing, like I kinda wanted to tell him to just like to shut his mouth, but I didn’t want to be disrespectful, I didn’t really know what to do.

When asked about talking to her teacher she stated she did not feel comfortable because her Anglo teacher would not understand. Hence, a sense of helplessness as a

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87 Please refer to Appendix C number 82.
feeling resulting from discrimination emerges from her responses. She does not know how to deal with the discrimination and feels angry, but also “embarrassed” about the situation. A male student, also expressed his helplessness, “I mean I feel a lil bad, but it was, it was nothing I could do.” The student that was discriminated because of his lack of English stated that, “well one feels very frustrated when one does not speak English, and one feels at times different than the other people.” And again, this adolescent had not talked to anyone about his experience with discrimination.

Another female adolescent speaks about her anger toward being discriminated and the awkwardness she felt, “I was really mad. Well, I wasn’t like furious, but I was just unhappy and I was really, it was really uncomfortable and awkward.” Both of these adolescents were affected by the experiences they had, and although they varied in their reactions and feelings toward the situations they encountered, all of them expressed some sort of frustration, sadness, anger, and helplessness in knowing how to proceed or who to speak to about the discrimination. One female student made it clear that she felt annoyed because she did not discriminate others, and it was hurtful. She stated:

You know, it, it really annoys me because, I mean, I, we don’t like at least I don’t go and say like stuff about anybody else’s culture. And its kind of like, you know, it really does hurt, because people feel so much pride in like what they do or like where, they’re, their culture, and like people are saying bad things about them and its not going really make them feel that much pride anymore. Its going make them feel kind of sad.

88 Please refer to Appendix C number 83.
She expressed how those being discriminated could start to lose their pride for their culture and that is going to make them sad. Throughout her interview she had consistently expressed her pride for her culture at different moments and she definitely expressed her concern for others losing their pride toward their culture (something she found to be very important) because of the discrimination they faced.

_Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S._

The Yucatec Maya adolescents who were interviewed in the U.S. responded differently to having experienced discrimination than the non-Yucatec Maya adolescents. Four of the ten adolescents stated that they had not experienced or witnessed any discriminatory acts. One of these four adolescents, however, clearly discussed discrimination against Indigenous people in another part of the interview. Of the six that responded to the question regarding discrimination only one of them stated that she experienced the discrimination, the other five stated they had witnessed other adolescents or persons be discriminated.

_Discrimination due to being Latina/o or Indigenous_

The one adolescent that stated that she had experienced discrimination was born in the U.S. and she discussed being discriminated on a bus. She stated:

So one time when we got out of school me but like most of my friends that are Latino, we were like going to get on the bus and then the bus driver told us to get off, and we were like ‘why we didn’t do anything’ and then said that he that she doesn’t like Latinos, to get off her bus.

In this situation, the Yucatec Maya American identified adolescent felt discriminated with a group of Latinos and hence was grouped by the bus driver as a Latina. Under
that label the adolescent was stigmatized and discriminated. Although it may not have been because of her Indigenous identity, this adolescent perceived the discrimination from an adult due to her being identified as Latina.

Another female born in Mexico identifying as Yucatec Maya mentioned witnessing a Latina student be discriminated at school. The adolescent described the incident and stated, “when I was in school a girl was told to leave because she was Latina. Another girl that was sitting next to her that was American was not told anything.” Although this adolescent was only a witness to the incident, she related to the Latina girl that this happened to and felt it was wrong. A U.S. born male adolescent (the Latino identified of the interviewed youth) exposed an interesting perspective, as he stated he had not been discriminated, but that between the Latinos they “joke” around. He stated, “between the Latinos we make fun of each other, but not to be serious…well like, sometimes, like, we call each other names, jokingly, like *beaner,* or things like that, but we are not being serious.” Although he claimed to not take it seriously, it still came up in a question about discrimination. However to him it was just how they joke. It seemed that in this case the group of Latinos were applying insults said by people not of the culture and using them with each other, as *beaner* is a derogatory term used for Mexican persons.

The one Mexican born male adolescent that mentioned discrimination due to Indigenous culture did not mention the discrimination within the context of the question, he stated that he had never witnessed or experienced discrimination. Yet,

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89 Please refer to Appendix C number 84.
90 Please refer to Appendix C number 85.
when asked about the Maya culture and preservation of such, he stated that many people feel “embarrassed to be part of the group because they are in a different country, because they can be, I don’t know, criticized or judged, discriminated.” Therefore there is definitely a stigma placed on being Yucatec Maya and this was reflected more in the questions about losing the Maya culture. A reason why these Yucatec Maya adolescents did not describe discrimination due to their Indigenous identities may be because they do not feel comfortable discussing this, or they may not think it is discrimination specifically toward them or people they know, but attribute it to the cultural group and community as a whole.

_Discrimination of people from other races and cultures_

The other three adolescents who discussed witnessing discrimination of others all referred to the experiences as being that of other races and cultures. One U.S. born female adolescent stated that, “one of the teacher’s wouldn’t listen to one of my Asian friends. They [the teacher] wouldn’t let her explain what happened, cuz they had gotten into a fight.” Another male adolescent born in the U.S. also witnessed discrimination, but he described it in a more abstract manner:

In the store, yeah, I, I’ve seen people discriminated a lot, either because of…the way they speak, or cuz of their um, their, their accent, or just because the way they’re dressed or who they are, you know?

Similarly, another U.S. born male adolescent stated he had encountered people being discriminated at a store, he said, “I’ve seen [discrimination] plenty, like, plenty of times. Like most of the time its just people getting kicked out of stores for like for being a certain race…like not my friends, random people of different races.”

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experiences were both at school and in their community, and even though it was not toward their specific ethnic group the adolescents understood that the discrimination happened due to the person’s culture or race.

*Anger and empathy due to discrimination*

The adolescent who experienced the discrimination herself stated she was mad because of the incident, she said, “I was mad because we didn’t do anything and then she’s telling us to get off the bus. I wanted to say something, but they kept holding me back, not say anything and stuff.” Although she wanted to speak out against her experience, others advised her not to, hence, she just remained upset and did not tell anyone or respond to the person that discriminated against her and her friends.

The adolescents that witnessed another student get discriminated at school because she was Latina, stated she felt upset too, because it could have been her treated like that and she would not like it at all. This adolescent expressed a sense of empathy and definitely related to the girl that got discriminated, knowing she could have experienced the discrimination. This could be a source of continuous stress for her because she is aware that she too could be discriminated against.

Another adolescent who witnessed an incident of discrimination in the store knew it was wrong and felt angry about it, he even mentioned that the “dude cannot talk to this person in this way.” A sense of responsibility to speak up was felt by this adolescent, however he did not, yet he was aware that it was not fair for someone to treat another person badly because of her/his accent or because of the way the person dressed.
The Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. differed from the non-Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. in recounting their discriminatory experiences. They seemed to be less open to express and answer the interview question about discrimination and most felt upset about what they had witnessed, but none really stated that they were frustrated or wanted to speak about it or “prove the other person wrong” like the non-Yucatec Maya did. Also, half of the incidents (three) that were experienced or witnessed were in the community (stores and bus) and most (four) were discriminatory incidents coming from adults not their peers.

_Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico_

The Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico responded somewhat differently to having experienced discrimination than the non-Yucatec Maya and Yucatec Maya adolescents. Twelve out of the 17 adolescents stated that they had experienced or witnessed discriminatory acts. Out of these 12, 10 adolescents had only witnessed discrimination not experienced it themselves, while two had experienced discrimination themselves and witnessed discrimination of others. Unlike the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S., for the Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico the discrimination experienced and witnessed was mostly due to socio-economic class or with being Indigenous, with 8 adolescents out of the 12 attributing discrimination to these reasons. Three out of the 12 adolescents attributed the discrimination they described to socio-economic status exclusively, with one of these three experiencing the discrimination himself. Another three adolescents discussed discrimination due to Indigenous identity. Furthermore, one of the three adolescents that described discrimination due to Indigenous identity actually experienced the discrimination
herself. Two of the adolescents attributed the discrimination they witnessed to socio-economic class linked to Indigenous culture. Four of the 12 adolescents described witnessing discrimination due to other characteristics or circumstances (e.g. being overweight or being an ex-criminal) of the persons being discriminated.

*Discrimination due to socio-economic class and/or Indigenous culture*

One male adolescent, when asked if he had been discriminated, responded that he had been discriminated and when asked to describe the experience, stated, “I don’t know when you go to places where there are people that have money, and like, you feel that they just look at you, yeah.” 91 This personal example was in regards to having a lower socio-economic status. Two other male adolescents discussed witnessing the discrimination of others in the education system due to socio-economic status. One of them discussed the discrimination that occurred to other people because they lacked money and went to a school that was not as good and they were not able to go to a university because they were not able to pay for a university to accept them. This discrimination that the adolescent described was not from a specific person, but a form of institutional discrimination that required a certain amount of money for one to attend the university. Thus, the education system was not able to give the poor students an equal footing to attend the university. The other adolescent discussed how he knew a friend that was not accepted into a high school because of his socio-economic status. The adolescent stated:

Well, he wanted to enroll in a school, like a high school, no? But, well since he did not have the economic resources well they did not accept him, he relied on

91 Please refer to Appendix C number 86.
the help of this one person that was going to help him, but, no the opportunity was given to others who came from well-off families.92

These occurrences, interpreted by the adolescents as having to do with the socio-economic class of those discriminated against reflect the great inequality existing in Yucatan, Mexico due to the high levels of poverty found specifically within the rural areas where many Indigenous populations still live. A couple of adolescents described the relationship between socio economic status and the Indigenous culture in Yucatan through their recollection of the discrimination they have witnessed. One adolescent described this discrimination as a function of the language spoken by those that are poor (Maya). She stated, “I have seen the poorest people be discriminated due to their language [Maya]. Because there are some people that do not accept others that speak that way. Well, I think it is unjust because everyone has their liberty and culture.” 93 Another adolescent described the discrimination in a social service due to the Indigenous person’s socio-economic status, and stated, “they [insurance service] give preference to the higher socio-economic class, and the people that are at the bottom, in other words are not in a high socio-economic class, they get discriminated, just because they are, like Indigenous people.”94

Three of the adolescent described the discrimination due to solely being Indigenous. One adolescent stated that she had never encountered discrimination until recently over the Internet. She described the incident in detail:

92 Please refer to Appendix C number 87.
93 Please refer to Appendix C number 88.
94 Please refer to Appendix C number 89.
Well it was like due to the World Cup we bet on teams and whatnot, well I bet on Germany, and I started to support Germany and whatnot, and then some girl from there on the Internet, started to write to me that ‘what is wrong with me, that I look very India and I don’t know what and have no right to be doing those things [supporting Germany],’ this person that I don’t even know, no? And so I said that, like, that ‘is it a joke? Is she playing?’ It is just something, like she has no right to come and offend me, or something, no? And I got very upset, more for her than for me. So like I just knew her through the Internet. So, just talking, I never saw her in person, we never talked, had a conversation in person, so then like ‘why are you talking to me, you don’t know how I am, and that you call me Indigenous, it does not offend me, I am very proud to come from the Mayas, to come from that culture, and it does not offend me that you tell me,’ but the way she said it was what I didn’t like.95

Multiple ideas are noteworthy in this adolescent’s account of her discrimination experience. First, she was discriminated through the Internet, which comes to question how technology is transforming the way adolescents interact with each other and how discrimination may be something easier done through a social media than in person. Secondly, this adolescent was clearly upset about the instance and felt that it was unfair that someone would call her India, but not because she does not embrace her identity, but because of the implications the girl made by calling her first India and not Indigena and secondly by making a claim that she has no right to do something based on her ethnic identity. Lastly, the reaction and restatement of her pride toward

95 Please refer to Appendix C number 90.
her Indigenous culture is noteworthy in terms of how the experience actually made her pride salient and did not make her feel less Indigenous. This was a very powerful anecdote retold by the adolescent because it was so personal to her and directly affected her way of thinking about discrimination since she had not experienced discrimination before. Another adolescent also described how certain classmates that have more ancestral features, Indigenous features, are made fun of by other adolescents. This was an interesting description of witnessing discrimination because it related the intra-group discrimination even within the Indigenous adolescent population.

*Discrimination due to other characteristics and circumstances*

Four of the experiences with discrimination described by the adolescents did not have to do with the ethnic identity or socio-economic status of those discriminated. The discrimination described was either due to other physical characteristics, such as being overweight and being made fun of by classmates. A male adolescent spoke about the discrimination toward an ex-criminal, and the stigma that surrounded him. Another male adolescent recalled that a new student from another town was not accepted by his peers and hence was being discriminated because he was from another town. Lastly one adolescent recalled the bullying of a student, stating, “I saw it [discrimination] primarily in elementary school. Children hit others and told them things like nicknames.”

These different experiences with discrimination were also important to the adolescents even though they were not necessarily because of the Indigenous culture.

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96 Please refer to Appendix C number 91.
or socio-economic status, they were still unfair and caused the students to be upset. All, but the ex-criminal experience, were committed at their schools by other peers.

Anger, empathy, and helplessness due to discrimination

The recurring themes that emerged from the discrimination the adolescents in Mexico experienced, surrounded feelings of anger (five adolescents), empathy (five adolescents), and helplessness (2 youth) as reactions to either witnessing the discrimination that happened to someone else or actually being the target themselves of discrimination. One male adolescent stated, “Well I felt a great anger, well that discrimination should not exist amongst people.”97 Another adolescent stated angrily that she felt really bad, she said, “it offends me to see someone treat another person like that because in the end there is no difference [between them]. And so, sometimes I just want to go and tell them, “hey what is wrong with you, no?”98

Five adolescents expressed a sense of empathy as they described how bad they felt, one male adolescent stated, “well I felt bad, because if they were to tell me that, I would feel the same way.”99 Another adolescent described that at first she felt it was just funny, but then she really thought about it and placed herself in the discriminated person’s place, she said, “Well at first it was just like causing fun and chaos, like it made me laugh a bit, but then you put yourself in the place of him, and you don’t feel good.”100

97 Please refer to Appendix C number 92.
98 Please refer to Appendix C number 93.
99 Please refer to Appendix C number 94.
100 Please refer to Appendix C number 95.
Lastly, two of the adolescents felt a sense of duty to say something but they had a sense of helplessness, as they could not stand up for their peers. One adolescent stated that he felt bad, and “you get an urge to like defend them, but it's like you lack the pants to do it.”101 So although he wanted to help the student he felt helpless and did not do it.

Overall, the adolescents were more open to speak about their experiences witnessing or encountering (only two adolescents) discrimination. Unlike the adolescents in the U.S., these adolescents addressed socio-economic class as a reason for discrimination a lot. Indigenous culture was another prominent reason for discrimination. The adolescents understood the consequences of discrimination at an institutional and personal level, since both institutionalized discrimination and personal acts of discrimination were described. The adolescents in Mexico also felt upset and angry about the experiences and wished to do something about it, but many did not speak up against the discrimination because they did not know how or lacked confidence to do so.

School and Education

Non-Yucatec Maya Latina/o adolescents in the U.S.

All 11 of the non-Yucatec Maya adolescents had generally positive responses to the question about liking school. The themes that emerged regarding school and education revolve around having positive feelings toward school (all 11 adolescents stated this), encountering challenges (two adolescents discussed obstacles), and viewing education as linked to their future (7 out of 11 adolescents mentioned this).

101 Please refer to Appendix C number 96.
One male adolescent born in California stated, “I love going to school, when I learn new things, am with my friends, and yeah.” While another female Mexican born adolescent stated specifically that she liked the school she attended because at the school she could succeed and be supported, “I feel like I succeed in this school, and I feel like everyone has, you know, I have the support of everyone to do whatever I need to do.” Having a supportive school community encouraged this adolescent to like school and feel good about it, while the other adolescent enjoys the learning process. However, a couple adolescents exposed the challenges they faced academically. One female adolescent born in the U.S. stated:

Yes I do [like school], but I mean sometimes it can get frustrating, but I mean that’s the whole process of school, yeah. Um, if I don’t get something or something’s like really hard. But, other than that, you know, I still like for math for example, like I love it, but I hate it sometimes. But the thing is, it’s like, it’s just a challenge and you know there’s challenges in your life.

While another female adolescent also born in the U.S. said:

Yes I do, but at times you know I wish I could do better, but I mean I’m not going to give up and just be like you know what I want to quit school. ‘Cuz, I’m not going to do that ‘cuz that’s a bad thing to do.

Although these adolescents expressed their frustrations and challenges in school, they still had a positive attitude about pursuing education and not giving up. One adolescent from Jalisco, Mexico stated that she sees school as being part of having “a future planned ahead, hopefully I’ll make something out of it,” while

102 Please refer to Appendix C number 97.
another adolescent stated that, “before I didn’t think I’d actually make something out of my life, and so like now, now I actually see that I have a future planned ahead, so now I try harder.” Therefore the adolescents reveal through their responses that they value education and are influenced in some instances by their parents to believe in doing well at school (which will be discussed in the following section regarding family, peers, and ethnic and social networks). Moreover, all 11 non-Yucatec Maya adolescents stated they had at least thought about going to college and most stated that they would actively pursue going to college.

*Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S.*

The themes that emerged regarding school and education revolve around Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. having positive feelings toward school (9 out of 10 adolescents), encountering challenges (three adolescents discussed this), and viewing education as linked to a better future (7 out of 10 adolescents spoke about it). Similarly to the non-Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S., Yucatec Maya adolescents see school as an opportunity to “make something” of themselves and most of them are looking forward to going to college.

Most of the adolescents felt good about school, only 1 out of 10 adolescents stated he did not like school, but that was due to challenges he felt he had due to school, such as the difficulty of the work, the homework, and waking up early. Seven of the adolescents felt school was a place to be able to succeed and lead to a good future. One adolescent female born in Mexico stated, “Yeah, I really like school
because like that I learn more about things and I, I like school a lot.”\textsuperscript{103} Another male adolescent born in the U.S. had similar feelings about school, stating that, “I like going to school. Just being in environment of other people, like a lot of people, different kind of people. And just hanging out with friends and, and learning, especially learning.” Both adolescents enjoy learning in school and understand the importance of obtaining knowledge, as both state that it will help them have a good career and good future. The female adolescent stated, “Yeah, because I want to have a good future, and I want to prepare myself to do something with my life.”\textsuperscript{104} Another adolescent male, born in Mexico stated that school is good for him to “be someone” in the future as well. One U.S. born male adolescent also commented on his struggles within school that he was able to overcome, and regardless of these struggles he had a very positive outlook toward school and liked it, unlike the one adolescent that stated he did not like it because it was hard and he had to wake up early. The challenges the former adolescent faced and his positive outlook toward school are embodied in his statement below:

Yeah, I do [like school], its just… not like before I didn’t like it, maybe because I did not understand it growing up, but now that I just got so close to school, its my highest, its my senior year, you know, and I want to do good. School has pretty much been interesting to me, its pretty cool.

Many of adolescents interviewed found school to be important to their futures and their careers and all but one liked school and two shared how they overcame specific

\textsuperscript{103} Please refer to Appendix C number 98.
\textsuperscript{104} Please refer to Appendix C number 99.
issues they may have had with it in the beginning. The feelings they had toward their education and school was also largely influenced by the advice and support of their parents, which will be discussed in the following section. Overall, like the non-Yucatec Maya adolescents, these Indigenous adolescents want to do well and take the opportunity to obtain an education to be successful in the future.

Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico

The Yucatec Maya adolescents in Yucatan, Mexico were interviewed primarily at a rural public high school in the rural town of Muna called Cobay or El Collegio de Bachilleres del Estado the Yucatan. This high school is one of many relatively new state schools directed by the Secretaria de Educacion Publica (SEP), aiming to target education of rural Indigenous students. Cobay schools vary in quality across the rural towns of Yucatan. Before this school existed, there was one other high school in Muna called Preparatoria de Muna that is run by a sociedad or council organized by the Universidad Autonoma de Yucatan. The Cobay requires teachers to have a bachelor’s degree while the Preparatoria de Muna only required teachers to have a high school diploma, however Cobay is completely free while the Preparatoria requires a small fee. The Preparatoria de Muna is made to be better because it is already associated with the university and has the “latest curriculum,” a student informed us that it is also known that if you go to school at the Preparatoria de Muna it is easier for you to have an “in” for the university. To go to the public university, which is free, students must take a test called the Ceneval and pass it with extremely high scores. If the scores are not high enough it is really hard, and expensive to gain entry into a private university, where a lot of depends on getting an “in” or knowing
someone in the university system that will recommend your child and get her/him into the school.

In summary, getting into a university is extremely difficult for rural Indigenous adolescents. A youth counselor at the church of the town of Muna stated that in the academic year that would begin in fall of 2010 only three students from the town’s Cobay and three students from the Preparatoria de Muna made it into the university with their test scores. All others that wanted to attend had to either get an “in” and pay for a private university. Private universities span in cost from very cheap to very expensive. Another option for the adolescents from the rural town was to continue their education at a technical school. Out of the 17 adolescents interviewed 12 of them had gone to rural schools all their lives, three had gone to school at some point during their education in the city, but were back to the rural town high school, and two were going to school in the cities of Merida and Ticul.

The themes that emerged regarding school and education revolve around all 17 Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico having positive feelings toward going to school and most (10 adolescents) viewed education as linked to a better future. Like the non-Yucatec Maya and Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S., Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico also see school as an opportunity for themselves and all 17 stated they wanted to obtain a university education.

All of the adolescents in Mexico stated that they liked going to school. Six of the Yucatec Maya adolescents emphasized the fact that school would make them “better persons.” One female adolescent stated, “Yeah I want to continue studying,
because I want to be a better person.”

Another adolescent emphasized, “it is necessary to continue your studies, because you can have and be something more in life.”

Twelve of the adolescents also felt school was important in learning more about their culture, one female adolescent stated that with the knowledge “we can instill it in our children.”

School serves as a platform for these adolescents to learn about their culture and engage in discussions about the culture. Adolescents discussed school as a place where they can speak to their peers and teachers about the Maya culture (please refer to the “Yucatec Maya in Mexico” section of the “Cultural practices” section). Hence for these adolescents school can be a tool for the preservation and transmission of culture to future generations.

Lastly, the adolescents thought of school as an opportunity to build a better future (10 youth mentioned this) and not only progress as individuals, but also as a collective community (three adolescents stated this). A male adolescent stated, “Because it [school] is a way to shape my future and come to be a good person, since like this, well, our town can continue to progress.”

All 17 of the adolescents conveyed a want to attend a university, and most stated what career they wanted to pursue. Many wanted to be lawyers, educators, and scientists. Some even knew that they wanted to attend the Universidad Autonoma de Yucatan or other universities outside of Yucatan such as the “Tech de Monterrey,” which is considered one of the best universities in Mexico. Like the U.S. groups, all the adolescents interviewed in

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105 Please refer to Appendix C number 100.
106 Please refer to Appendix C number 101.
107 Please refer to Appendix C number 102.
108 Please refer to Appendix C number 103.
Mexico found school to be important to their futures and their careers. The feelings they had toward their education and school was also influenced by the support of their parents.

Family, Peers, and Ethnic and Social Networks

Non-Yucatec Maya Latina/o adolescents in the U.S.

The non-Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. spoke about family, peers, and ethnic and social networks throughout their interviews. Adolescents spoke of family in terms of connecting them to their culture and helping shape their ethnic and cultural identities, as well as supporting their education goals. They also discussed their interaction with peers at school, clubs at school, and networks outside of school.

Family as an agent of culture and support system in education

Family, as has been explored in the sections regarding culture and cultural practices, served as a connection for the adolescents to relate to their Latina/o culture. A recurring theme amongst the non-Yucatec Maya adolescents was the way the heritage and culture of their parents carried over to them. Parents played a role in introducing and continuing to share their culture with their children, and family was consistently a major descriptor of their Latina/o culture (with 8 out of 11 adolescents). Furthermore, one adolescent spoke about her parents encouraging her to be proud of her culture, one U.S. born female stated, “My parents always tell me to be prideful in like what you have and you know to have so much pride in your culture and who you are. So, I do feel pride in [my culture].” So, family and parents specifically seem to play a role in socializing their sons and daughters about their culture and, even if not overtly, play a role in how the adolescents themselves define their culture: family and
unity/togetherness. Hence, the family is acting as an active agent in promoting the links and identifications made by the adolescents to their culture and the ethnic identities they choose.

Similarly, support came up constantly in terms of the role parents play in the adolescents’ education (5 out of 11 youth addressed this support). Parents explained to adolescents how important education really was for their future (4 adolescents discussed this). One adolescent noted, “it’s [school] really important. That way I have something to fall back on when I get older.” Out of the 11 adolescents, 5 of them discussed the motivation their parents provide:

I honestly, I think they are doing such a good job with me, and like you know, I respect what they have [done], my goals, you know like they want to set, they want me to have the best life that I can, and you know I think that’s really nice of them. And they support me all the way. They tell me to keep going you know. Don’t give up, you know, cuz I get frustrated sometimes. And they tell me, you know just keep going and, uhh, you’ll get through it.

Another female adolescent described how even though her parents had a limited education, they still support her and tell her to continue putting energy into school.

Umm, well they, they want me to do my best that I can. They don’t really understand a lot of it, because they only went up to elementary, but they try to
sup- like um, like apoyar\textsuperscript{109} ... Um, they pretty much just, they pretty much they [are] like echale ganas.\textsuperscript{110}

One adolescent felt that her parents were a reason for her to continue working hard at school, she said:

The fact that my parents talked to me more, and telling me that, well they demonstrated more that they care about my future and that made me realize ‘oh well, I have someone to like impress, not just myself,’ so I thought more about my family not just me. They want the best for me, so they obviously want me to go like to school, and finish and graduate, and possibly go off to college or something. If anyone like ever tells me something, ‘oh you won’t be able to make it,’ they like motivate me telling me like, ‘oh you are going to make it, just like force yourself and think that you are.’

The concept of having a better future through education is definitely influenced by the advice and support given to the adolescents by their parents, as described by five of the adolescents. One of the male U.S. born adolescent responded, “my parents want me to have a higher education because my life afterward will be easier. Easier than what they went through.”\textsuperscript{111} Lastly, another male born in Mexico stated that his parents want him to have a better life, which is why they came to the U.S.:

\textsuperscript{109} Apoyar means support in Spanish.
\textsuperscript{110} Echale ganas is a commonly used phrase used in Spanish that means to put in the energy and hard work into what you are doing.
\textsuperscript{111} Please refer to Appendix C number 104.
They are proud of me because they brought me here to this country to learn another language, have other greater knowledge than in my home country and tell me to go to school to get a career, so I won’t be an ignorant person.\footnote{Please refer to Appendix C number 105.}

The adolescents’ families have encouraged them to continue their education in order to better their lives and succeed. These adolescents have developed a clear understanding of why it is important to attain an education, not only for themselves, but also to in some ways honor their families and specifically parents’ sacrifices to provide them with a better life. All but one of the 11 students stated that their parents want the adolescents to go to college.

\textit{Peers and cultural exchange}

Adolescents were asked about their interactions with peers at school and what they thought of those students that were not from their own cultural group. All of the adolescents stated they got along well with peers regardless of their culture. A few (three youth) felt that they could learn from other peers. One adolescent female stated, “Yes, I typically learn from them and I try to get to know them.” A few (three) of adolescents acknowledged that they had friends from different cultures, but that they did not really speak about their cultural identities. A female adolescent said, “I have to say like all my friends are from different cultures so it’s not really, like, I don’t like pay attention to their culture. It’s like you know, we really don’t talk about it, it’s just

\footnote{Please refer to Appendix C number 105.}
more fun.” Other adolescents (five) acknowledged the diversity of their peers and also that they talked about their cultures with them. One female adolescent described:

My friends are of different ethnicities, very diverse. So yes, I get along with all people of all kinds, I don’t care who you are, what, I mean what kind of ethnicity you have. I like telling people about where I’m from, about the things we do, and um, they, my friends know about my culture and my family.

Another theme that came up from some adolescents (five) was the fact that their peers are all equal, one male adolescent stated, “well there are different cultures, but I believe racism should not exist due to the different cultures.” The non-Yucatec Maya adolescents put emphasis on the fact that they were similar to their peers, even if they were from different cultures, in some ways to highlight that they are the equality that should exist across people in general.

*Clubs serving different functions and identities at school*

When asked about the clubs they belong to at school, most of the non-Yucatec Maya adolescents were part of at least one club. A theme that emerged was that many of the adolescents (5 out of 11) belong to various clubs that served different needs for their multiple identities. A female adolescent, for example, described how each club she belonged to fit a function for her interest and in a way her separate identities:

Umm, Latino Connection it’s cool because you know it’s not just like Mexicanos or anything, it’s also people from Brazil and El Salvador and something like that. And in the Art club its really cool because I like color and

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113 Please refer to Appendix C number 106.
I like the people, how creative they are. And in Academic Decathlon the people are just really nice, and real, and it kinda helps me try to do my best in school because I see them doing so well, so it kinda gives me motivation.

In this case the adolescent belonged to a club specifically to share with other Latina/os, a club to explore her artistic identity and socialize with adolescents from across the school, and lastly a club for academic development. Navigating through these different clubs seems to be a positive influence in this adolescent’s life in terms of negotiating her intersecting interests that influence her identities. A male youth also shared the different clubs he is involved with and how they fit within his life.

Um, in Link Crew I am with a lot of people, I interact with all of them, all the kids, the teens that are going to school with me, I am part of the school. Um, with Latino Connection I get together more with people that are from my culture, because to be honest, I do not get together with them as much, so it is a place in which I can interact with them. And cross country/track, I like running and I get to know good people.114

Again, this adolescent shared how each club served as a function to support specific aspects of his identities, such as feeling like he belongs to the school, having some interaction with other peers in his ethnic group, and satisfying his interest in running.

Focusing specifically on the function of the Latina/o clubs, which eight of these students took part of, the clubs served the needs of the adolescents differently. To some (three adolescents) being part of the Latina/o club was a way for them to interact with other Latina/os because they did not do so as often (like the adolescent

114 Please refer to Appendix C number 107.
above), for others (three adolescents) it was to learn about other Latina/os that were
different and diverse, and yet for others (four adolescents) it was to share in the
commonalities and similar experiences that they shared as Latina/os. One Mexican
born adolescent stated, as he referred to the Latina/o club, “I like it because we have
almost the same cultures. We come almost from the same country. We have gone
through the same things. Eh, we talk about the same things.” 115 For one adolescent
the club also served to be mentored by the club advisor teacher in terms of academic
issues. Regardless of how the adolescent viewed the function of the Latina/o clubs,
the interviews reflected that these adolescents all benefited from having a support
network through these organizations at their schools.

Social and ethnic networks outside of school

Most of the non-Yucatec Maya adolescents did not seem to be involved in too
many organizations or social networks outside of school, six adolescents were not
involved in anything outside of school, three were involved with one activity, and two
were involved with two activities. One student stated, “At this moment I am not
interested,” when asked if he wanted to join a group or organization outside of school
in his community. While another male adolescent, when asked the same question,
said, “Sure, maybe in college I join some groups.” Four of the adolescents, however,
discussed volunteering in their communities, such as at a free clinic for people without
insurance, one played soccer with a league outside of school, one belonged to a church
group, and one student took a ballroom dance class. However, none of the adolescents

115 Please refer to Appendix C number 108.
belonged to a cultural or ethnic group outside of school. So, it seems that the non-Yucatec Maya adolescents outside of school were more focused in other activities and exploring other aspects of their identity like religion or engaging in community service.

**Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S.**

The Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. spoke about family, peers, and ethnic and social networks throughout their interviews. Adolescents spoke of parents specifically helping them understand and connect to the Yucatec Maya culture as well as being supportive toward them in terms of school. The Yucatec Maya adolescents also discussed their interaction with peers at school, clubs at school, and networks outside of school.

*Family as an agent of culture and support system in education*

The Yucatec-Maya adolescents (8 out of 10) spoke about their family as a source of preservation and knowledge of their Maya culture. One Mexican born, male adolescent described what his parents and family have taught him:

Um, my parents have always talked to me about what the Maya culture is and how it is. Inclusively, thanks to my grandmother, she has always told me stories of what, when she was, of her infancy and childhood, and I have learned various things, and like when one starts to like learn something and do not feel like you learn, like you start learning something and you don’t feel like you have really learned it, you get a desire or want to find more information about what they have told you or what you have heard, and so thanks to my grandma that always, all the time, has talked to me about it, I have tried to find
information in the Internet, in books, I have even tried that when I meet [Maya] people tried to ask them questions in Maya so they can speak to me in Maya.  

Eight adolescents had the same feeling about their parents and family actively teaching them about their Maya culture. Another Yucatec Maya, male adolescent discussed his grandparents’ stories of hardship. He described, “the grandparents would tell me how hard it was for them,…and all that well they were able to get ahead, and well everything is okay now,…little by little our culture is being exposed.”

In both cases the themes of family and carrying on the culture to the younger generations resonated. Another adolescent stated, “Yeah, when I was growing up, um, my father talked to me about how was it, how was life as a you know Mayan and how he grew up and just the well people he met and yeah.” Much of the influence the parents and grandparents have had in these adolescents has been through storytelling based on their own experiences with the culture, as six of the youth discussed. Storytelling in itself is and has always been part of the traditional practices of the Maya. Parents also play a role in the transmission of the Yucatec Maya language, as was discussed in the language section of this chapter. An adolescent male born in the U.S. stated that his parents always speak to him about the culture, “they have always spoken Maya and that is why I know a few words in Maya because they have always

116 Please refer to Appendix C number 109.
117 Please refer to Appendix C number 110.
spoken to me about it and everything.” 118 It is evident that some parents and other family members such as grandparents place an important value on passing down the Maya culture to many of the Yucatec Maya adolescents that were interviewed in the U.S.

Parents also play a major role in influencing the Yucatec Maya adolescents to continue going to school and in the importance of obtaining and education. All 10 of the adolescents interviewed acknowledged that to some extent their parents had supported them in going through school. Six adolescents consistently discussed how their parents told them that school is very important in order for them to obtain a career and grow as a person. A female adolescent born in the U.S. stated, “they [parents] encourage me more to go to school and to like be successful.” Another adolescent that was also born in the U.S., and was about to graduate from high school when I interviewed him, discussed how his parents always continuously motivated him to finish school:

Well, my parents like always wanted me to do good in school and I did. And they would always push me to do better and better, to get my grades up when I had to and yeah they really supported me in school.

Hence parents provide encouragement and support to the adolescents. Another adolescent stated that his parents tell him school is “my number one priority, and they um, they say school is my job” while another youth stated his parents are usually happy with him, but consistently push him and sometimes tell him “he can do better.”

118 Please refer to Appendix C number 111.
Another adolescent spoke about how his parents tell him to put in the effort at school so he can “become someone.”

Lastly parents also serve the role of “cheerleaders” for their children in motivating them to continue in school and go to college, as was discussed by 7 out of 10 of the adolescents. A recurring theme from the interviews of the Yucatec Maya adolescents (6 out of 10) was that of their parents feeling proud of them because they were going to school and getting an education that many of their parents never had the opportunity to obtain. One male adolescent stated:

They feel proud of me because they say that even though I come from another country, which is Mexico, and my culture is different I have managed to be successful here, and well they are proud of me. But, well for example, youth like us we base the knowledge we learn and success on them [parents].

This adolescent reflected the support received by his parents through the feeling of pride they expressed for him, but also acknowledged that he was able to learn and succeed due to his parents. Another adolescent also recognized that his parents are not only proud of him because he goes to school, but because he has goals and “dreams” for his future. Lastly, another female adolescent stated that her parents feel good because she had only been in the U.S. for a couple years and she has managed to get a lot better on a lot of subjects at school.

Peers and cultural exchange

When asked about their peers and how they interacted with those students that were not necessarily part of their ethnic group, a recurring theme that emerged from

119 Please refer to Appendix C number 112.
the interviews of Yucatec Maya adolescents (8 out of 10) was a process of cultural exchange during these interactions. In other words, many of the Yucatec Maya adolescents stated that they enjoyed speaking with peers from different places, cultures, and life experiences since it was a form of learning and appreciating differences and sharing their own culture. One male adolescent born in Mexico stated, “I feel that well, it is something beautiful, because one learns about, sometimes, the cultures of other people that are from different, different states [Mexican states], because each state has their own culture and own way of life.” 120 Another U.S. born adolescent spoke about the interchange she has with her peer, she said:

Sometimes, like um, I tell them about um how I practice jarana the dance, and then sometimes they tell you about their different rituals and stuff they do…Like one of my friends she’s Chinese, and she said that they get money for like the Chinese New Year.

Additionally one adolescent expressed her opinion about her peers, by saying, “I speak with people that aren’t from my culture and with those who speak different languages, yeah, I speak a lot with them. Well, they are good people, friendly, and they are good people.” 121 Hence Yucatec Maya adolescents interviewed truly enjoyed learning and sharing with their peers and friends that are from different cultures, different states in Mexico, or different countries. This is a theme that also emerged with the non-Yucatec Maya adolescents. All 10 students agreed that they did not mind interacting with peers from different cultures.

120 Please refer to Appendix C number 113.
121 Please refer to Appendix C number 114.
Two students felt their peers were all equal, and not that different so they could all get along. One male adolescent stated, “no, there is not much of a difference, we all get along in the same way,”122 Another adolescent expressed that he really doesn’t even think about his peers’ cultures or any other differences, he said “Is just they’re human beings like me, so.” Hence, these two Yucatec Maya adolescents take a more universalistic, we are all the same, approach to describing the interactions they have with their peers.

*Clubs and activities at school*

Unlike the non-Yucatec Maya adolescents, the Yucatec Maya adolescents seemed to be involved in fewer clubs at school and did not really differentiate the functions of the club memberships to meet the needs of their different identities. Two adolescents stated they were part of the Latina/o clubs. Both male, one was born in Mexico and the other was born in the U.S. The Mexican born adolescent describe the club as being a family for him at school, he said:

And there is one that is Latino Connection in which the members are Latinos or Mexican, and well there we coexist, uh, well there I feel like I am part of a family at school because we all interchange ideas, and we are a group and we are good.123

The other adolescent discussed the Latino club as a good time in school, he said, “I was, at school I was in Latino club, where well you don’t have to be Latino to get in, but we just have like fun times, talk about like cultural stuff.” It is noteworthy that

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122 Please refer to Appendix C number 115.
123 Please refer to Appendix C number 116.
this adolescent made it clear that one does not have to be Latina/o to join the club, again this adolescent like the previous adolescent that spoke about the Latino Connection stated that the club was a place to speak about cultural things. The other eight adolescents did not belong to a cultural or ethnic club at school. Four of the 10 adolescents were in activities such as sports (soccer and basketball) and one of the adolescents was in the band. A female Mexican born adolescent played basketball and stated that she really liked the sport because, “that is how I relax and I chat more, more with my friends and all.”

Only one adolescent stated he was part of an academic club, unlike the non-Yucatec Maya adolescent group where many adolescent stated being part of different academic groups. The adolescent was in a group about careers in health. Overall, three Yucatec Maya adolescents belonged to clubs at school, with each one only belonging to one club, instead of multiple ones like the non-Yucatec Maya adolescents. There were fewer adolescents involved in cultural (two adolescents) and academic clubs (one adolescent). However those that stated they were part of a Latina/o club had a clear sense of belonging and comfort in the group that felt like an extended family at school.

*Social and ethnic networks outside of school*

Many of the Yucatec Maya adolescents belonged to different social and ethnic groups outside of school that included church groups (one adolescent), youth groups (one adolescent), sports (two adolescents), and traditional *jarana* dancing groups (five

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124 Please refer to Appendix C number 117.
adolescents). One adolescent did not belong to any groups outside of their school. One adolescent stated:

The only club I belong to and where I share a place with others is in school. I would like to be part of various groups, to describe them they would be, I don’t know people from my own culture, get to know other different cultures, and interchange ideas and be part of several groups...to have more information over people around me and to know more about the world.¹²⁵

This adolescent wanted to be involved with a cultural group and to be able to learn about other cultures and share aspects of his own culture. Two adolescents were also part of adolescent church groups targeted at advising the youth in how to handle specific life issues. One adolescent recalled being involved with one youth group in Yucatan called INJUBY or Instituto de La Juventud de Yucatan. This group served as a platform for youth to come together and not only socialize, but speak about issues and contribute to the elimination of negative habits, such as addiction to alcohol or drugs. This adolescent also wanted to be involved in a similar group here in the U.S. He is also trying to be more involved with his Hometown Association in San Francisco.

One activity that provided an ethnic network for many of the adolescents was being part of the traditional jarana dance groups. One female U.S. born adolescent stated that she practiced every Sunday and that she was able to take Maya classes as well through the same HTA. Another male adolescent that was born in the U.S. also described his experiences with a dance group, he stated, “I was or am a dancer, the

¹²⁵ Please refer to Appendix C number 118.
jarana group Son Mayab. It was a great experience, is learning how to dance your
cultural dance and just showing off man.” This adolescent was proud to be part of this
dance group and enjoyed the experience. Another adolescent stated how she became
aware of a jarana dance group through her family network when she first got to the
U.S. She said, “I got involve when I recently came here [U.S]. When I first arrived
here, I really liked how my cousins and aunt danced and so I got involved and up until
now…and it is very beautiful.”126 The group this adolescent is involved with is called
Chan Cahal (small house), so it has a Maya language name. She really appreciated
being part of this group and also the actual dances that reflect her Maya culture.
Another adolescent male born in the U.S. is also part of this group. Although he
identified primarily as Latino, his connection to his Maya culture is strong as he
described being part of this dance group and the experiences he has had exploring the
Maya culture due to his dancing.

Yeah, I am in the group Chan Cahal, and we dance folkloric dances of
Yucatan. One time we participated in this, with this, um, government of
Yucatan, that wants to like, you know, they want to like promote the Maya
culture for the people to be proud of it. And we have also gone to dance at the
Chabot [Science Center] there in Oakland with the NASA because they were
promoting a movie about the pyramids of Chichen Itza. And after the movie,
it, it was not like other documentaries, it was interesting and all, and it didn’t

126 Please refer to Appendix C number 119.
only have the history, but also had about the rituals and legends and all that, 
and like the Bible of the ancient Maya [Popol Vuh].

It is evident from the excerpt above that this adolescent has learned a lot about 
his Maya culture through his involvement with the dance group. By participating in 
the dances he was able to attend informative events on the history of the Maya, hence 
being able to reclaim a history that he may have never heard or known about.

Programs such as dancing bring awareness not only to the non-Maya communities of 
the Maya culture, but also provide a face to who the current Maya people are. The 
youth that are dancing are in a sense a visible symbol that the Maya Indigenous culture 
is not just from the past, but exists in the present in the lives of these adolescents. 
Hopefully, it can continue to be preserved so these adolescents can pass the culture 
down to their own children.

Unlike the non-Yucatec Maya adolescents, the Yucatec-Maya adolescents in 
the U.S. were more involved with activities connecting them to their ethnic group and 
culture (5 out of 10 were in jarana dance groups). None of the Yucatec Maya 
adolescents were involved with activities such as volunteering or other social services 
that the non-Yucatec adolescents were involved with outside of school.

_Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico_

The Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico spoke about family, peers, and 
ethnic and social networks throughout their interviews. Adolescents spoke of parents 
specifically sharing knowledge about the Yucatec Maya culture and encouraging them

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127 Please refer to Appendix C number 120.
to go to school. The Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico also discussed their peers at school, clubs and sports at school, and networks outside of school.

*Family as an agent of culture and support system in education*

The Yucatec-Maya adolescents, similarly to the non-Yucatec Maya youth, spoke about their parents and family as a source of preservation of their Maya culture. Furthermore, the majority (12 out of 17) of the Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico spoke about how their families and parents had a role in the development of their knowledge of their culture. Similar to the Yucatec Maya in the U.S., the parents and grandparents shared the Maya culture with the adolescents through storytelling based on their own experiences and the history of the culture. Storytelling in itself is and has always been part of the traditional practices of the Maya.

One female adolescent explained how her parents sit and talk to her about how life used to be, she stated, “Sometimes we sit down and chat and comment about what it [the Maya culture] is.” 128 Another female adolescent also said that her parents tell her stories about their lives and Maya. The adolescent explained, “Well they start to tell me what they did before, they explain Maya more, how I should learn it and everything.” 129 Her parents address the importance of the culture and encourage her to learn Maya and understand the culture is instilled in her. Lastly one adolescent stated that mostly her grandmother talked about the culture, but she has also had to look for information on her own, she said:

128 Please refer to Appendix C number 121.
129 Please refer to Appendix C number 122.
Well yeah, so my dad, and one of my grandmas, she passed away, she would talk to me a lot about the Maya legends, and stuff, and my dad somewhat. But most of what I have learned I have researched on my own, in school, with teachers, and like that.¹³⁰

So although her family did serve as an agent of culture for this adolescent, it seemed like her grandmother was the most dedicated to speaking about the Mayan culture. Since she had passed the adolescent looked for knowledge about her culture through school and other outlets. Yet it also seemed like the grandmother sparked that interest in the adolescent.

Ten adolescents also stressed the fact that their parents speak to them about learning the language. One female adolescent stated, “Well, yeah my parents speak to me about it. They tell me that I should learn to speak it [Maya] because it is very beautiful and all.”¹³¹ While another adolescent stated that her parents speak to her more about the Mayan places and what are the places to be proud of such as the pyramids and other historical areas of Yucatan. One adolescent mentioned that she had gone to the archeological zones with her family many times.

Another recurring theme that the Yucatec Maya adolescents’ (eight) explained as something their parents addressed was the importance of cultural transmission and pride. One male adolescent stated:

Well they tell me it [Maya culture] is beautiful. And it is very important to transmit it, to pass it down from generation to generation. Because they not

¹³⁰ Please refer to Appendix C number 123.
¹³¹ Please refer to Appendix C number 124.
only teach it to you, how beautiful the state of Yucatan and her culture is, but also, when, when you start thinking and imagine the things how they were back then and you compare it now, well you see a big difference.\textsuperscript{132}

The adolescent’s statement resonated the importance of passing down the stories and traditions of the Maya culture and how his parents do so in order for him to understand the history and compare it to the present, and to be rooted in a culture that he can explain to his children, who are the future. Another adolescent stated that she understands the importance of knowing her culture because her parents tell her, “knowing where we came from and where we proceed from will be useful in her life one day.”\textsuperscript{133} Lastly, a male adolescent discussed how his parents have always told him to feel proud of his culture and to learn Maya because it will serve him well one day.

Parents are also a great influence on the education of the adolescents in Mexico. Thirteen of the Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico reflected the support received by parents in their schooling that was conveyed as a feeling of pride for their achievements and encouragement to continue to succeed in school. One female adolescent described why her parents support her in school:

Yeah, well my parents, yeah, they give me their support in what I desire. They want and expect what is best for me. And well, they always tell me put in your

\textsuperscript{132} Please refer to Appendix C number 125.
\textsuperscript{133} Please refer to Appendix C number 126.
best energies/effort in my studies, because well it is my future and well, I think that yeah I do have to put the effort so I do not disappoint them.\textsuperscript{134}

Another adolescent also spoke about the pride his parents had toward not only him but also the school he attended (Cobay) because it is one of the better schools in the Cobay system. He said, “Well they feel proud to have a Colegio de Bachilleres that is really distinguished and has shown this in the town and States. Well they tell me that it is a good catalyst to a good future for us the students.”\textsuperscript{135}

Parents want their children to attend the best schools to have a better opportunity to continue to college. It seems very ingrained in the adolescents’ minds that “education is what is best for a person.”\textsuperscript{136} It is an opportunity that the parents work hard for their children to take and pursue. Furthermore, two adolescents discussed that their parents want schools to include Maya language learning in their curriculum. One adolescent stated that her parents tell her “there should be a class specifically for Maya because it is all getting lost, Spanish is spoken mostly, and English and French [is given], but Maya is disappearing.”\textsuperscript{137} Once again, school is seen as a platform where advances and improvements could be made that would work toward the preservation of the Maya culture.

\textit{Peers, cultural reinforcement, and awareness}

School is also an informal space where 11 of the adolescents interviewed stated they discuss and learn about their culture through conversations with their peers.

\textsuperscript{134} Please refer to Appendix C number 127.  
\textsuperscript{135} Please refer to Appendix C number 128.  
\textsuperscript{136} Please refer to Appendix C number 129.  
\textsuperscript{137} Please refer to Appendix C number 130.
Peer interaction seems to be more focused on the reinforcement of preserving their Maya culture and seeing everyone as equal rather than sharing and learning from different adolescents who have different cultures, which was more the case with the adolescents in the U.S. Eleven adolescents that encountered students from other cultures stated that they try to tell them about their culture.

When asked about interacting with adolescents from other cultures, five Yucatec Maya adolescents stated that there are not too many of the non-Indigenous adolescents in their schools. One female adolescent stated, “Well frankly, well in my school, well the majority we are Yucateco, and if there was someone that was not we would respect them in the same way, accept them how they are.” Another female adolescent shared the same view, and said, “Here with us, no, we are all the same culture.” There was also an emphasis from nine adolescents that every one of their peers is equal and they will accept everyone like they are.

When speaking with their peers, 11 adolescents stated that they talk about their culture with them. One adolescent talked about what they discussed, “Well with the people at school, we talk a lot about, for example, precisely about identity and how hard it is to define the culture and how complicated it is, most of all.” Identity is an important topic that is discussed in terms of how the adolescents cope and deal with their changing sense of selves. Specifically, others that are from the same ethnic group can support the development of the ethnic identity, which is what this adolescent discussed with her peers. An informal platform at school to speak about

138 Please refer to Appendix C number 131.
139 Please refer to Appendix C number 132.
140 Please refer to Appendix C number 133.
the Maya culture with both peers and teachers is a first step in creating more structured support and awareness of the culture. Another adolescent stated that at school is where she mostly speaks about her Maya culture. She stated, “Well, yeah, mostly at school. With both, the teachers and my peers. Well, we speak about how we were, like our customs of our town. How important they are, and about the cultures disappearing.”

Lastly, those few adolescents (three) that did interact with peers from other cultures continuously stated that they attempt to create awareness of the Maya culture in them. The non-Yucatec Maya peers they encounter are interested in the culture and ask them questions about it. One male adolescent stated, “Well I think that we need to invite them to know the Maya culture. Since it is a very beautiful culture, and it is important to share the culture that Yucatan has, it is very respectable.” Another female adolescent explained how she has one friend that is not Indigenous and she shared with her many things about her culture, the adolescent said, “I talk to her, for example about our riches and sometimes our foods, and everything we have, our virtues.” Therefore, the adolescents not only reinforced their own knowledge of the Maya culture by speaking to peers at school, but those that were able to interact with non-Yucatec Maya adolescents, although few, understood the importance of creating awareness of their culture.

141 Please refer to Appendix C number 134.
142 Please refer to Appendix C number 135.
143 Please refer to Appendix C number 136.
Clubs and activities at school

Ten Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico were involved in sports in school, this is more than the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. In general the adolescents were mostly involved with sports (10), band (three), and dance groups (two). Two adolescents were involved with literature groups. None of the adolescents mentioned any direct cultural groups, such as the Latina/o groups in the U.S.

Many of the adolescents spoke about being part of soccer, basketball, and volleyball teams. They stated that the reasons they liked the teams were not only because of the sport, but to “share in the experience with my friends and all.” 144 Another adolescent stated that, “being in contact with my peers not only motivates me to keep winning and placing in better spots, but it also feels good to be with them.” 145

Five students were also involved with dance groups and a military band group. One male adolescent said he enjoyed being in those groups because, “we all feel very relaxed, because we can express ourselves. The dance group, is well, we dance to different types of music and the military band we practice military songs for school.” 146 The military band group plays instrumental music to honor the flag and specific national holidays.

The adolescents that participated in the literature and writing clubs spoke about what the clubs were focused on and discussed how they got along with the other members of the group. A female adolescent stated:

144 Please refer to Appendix C number 137.
145 Please refer to Appendix C number 138.
146 Please refer to Appendix C number 139.
Well [I’m involved with] the literature and writing circles more than anything. Well, because I share a lot of ideas with them [other members] about our way of thinking….we share almost the same likes and ideas, but also that can change drastically, and then well we can engage in debates and discussions but its good.\textsuperscript{147}

Another adolescent stated that he represented his literature club in competition, he recalled his experience, “and I represented my school in literature knowledge. I studied, and then I had to present. I presented in two stages and I won the first one, and well in the second one, I stayed in fourth place.” Only two adolescents were involved with academic groups.

\textit{Social and ethnic networks outside of school}

Nine adolescents were involved with clubs or groups outside of school. Some of the adolescents stated that they were not involved with anything, but would like to get involved with cultural groups and dance groups. Those adolescents that were involved with groups were mostly in religious groups (six youth). The church involvement functions as a connection to their religious identity and reinforces their cultural identity, for example, the processions for the town saint involve cultural practices such as special Mayan dances. One female adolescent stated that she is involved in a “pastoral youth group of the church. About, we organize when there are events to present and we get closer to the church in that aspect.”\textsuperscript{148}

Another adolescent said she is part of the church choir. They learn to sing for the Sunday mass

\textsuperscript{147} Please refer to Appendix C number 140.
\textsuperscript{148} Please refer to Appendix C number 141.
and to play the organ. One adolescent is involved with a writing group outside of school. She described the group as similar to her school writing group. Two adolescents were officially involved with a folkloric dance group, that amongst other dances teaches them the *jarana* dances. Through these dance groups, adolescents compete in other towns and perform for special events in the capital city, Merida.

**Conclusion**

The interviews across the non-Yucatec Maya adolescents, Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S., and Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico reveal an in depth look at multiple perspectives surrounding cultural and ethnic identity, cultural practices, American culture, perceived discrimination, school, family, and peer relationships. Specifically for the Yucatec Maya adolescents the interviews are a lens into their sentiments about the Maya culture and preserving the culture for future generations. Following, in Chapter 7 is a more detailed discussion of the themes emerging from the Yucatec Maya and non-Yucatec Maya adolescents’ voices.
Chapter 7: Discussion & Conclusion

Differences and Similarities Across the Indigenous and non-Indigenous Adolescents’ Ethnic identity

Based on the past literature on ethnic identity of Latina/o adolescents in the U.S. and the conceptualization of Maya identity in Mexico (e.g. Bartolome, 1998; Del Val, 2004; Ferdman & Gallegos, 2001; Phinney 1993; Quintana, 2007) Hypothesis A stated that ethnic identity levels (exploration and commitment) would be lower for the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. as compared to the non-Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. Hypothesis A also predicted that ethnic identity levels would be higher for Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. than for Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico. The results from this study, however, showed that ethnic identity exploration and ethnic identity commitment did not differ across the three groups. The Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. have just as strong ethnic identities as the non-Yucatec Maya adolescents. The high levels of ethnic identity for the Yucatec Maya in the U.S. reflect a stronger identification with their ethnic group to cope with the marginality they face by being a minority within a minority. Members of the minority ethnic group in the context of a majority group have shown higher levels of ethnic identity because their minority status becomes salient (Dandy, Durkin, McEvoy, Barber, & Houghton, 2008; Tajfel, 1981). Although the Yucatec Maya adolescents are at the margins of multiple cultural spaces, they seem to continue to have a strong ethnic identity that has become resilient to their stigmatization and their feelings of perceived discrimination, which will be discussed further in this chapter.
Similarly, with Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico their ethnic identity (exploration and commitment) may be high because even though in their immediate context the minority status is not salient, since mostly other Indigenous people live in the rural areas where these adolescents live, within the larger context of Mexico they are a minority population that has been historically marginalized by society (Sariego-Rodriguez, 2003; Serrano-Carreto & Fernandez-Ham, 2003). Therefore, the adolescents may be identifying even more with their ethnic group to deal with the marginality they face as Indigenous people in Mexico. This finding reaffirms the results of an ethnic identity study with Indigenous adolescents in Chiapas who had higher levels of ethnic identity than non-Indigenous adolescents (Esteban et al., 2010).

**Acculturation**

The results for acculturation across the adolescent groups revealed that Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. were actually somewhat more successfully acculturated to American culture than non-Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. Originally, hypothesis B predicted that the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. would have lower levels of acculturation than non-Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. This hypothesis was based on the fact that it would be more difficult for the Yucatec Maya adolescents to adapt and integrate into the American culture because of the multiple cultures they had to negotiate within the wider American society as Latina/o or Mexican and within the Latina/o and Mexican groups as Indigenous persons (Bourhis et al., 1997; Ferdman & Gallegos, 2001; Lyman et al., 2007).

However, the fact that the Yucatec Maya level of acculturation was somewhat higher than that of non-Yucatec Maya adolescents might be due to the Yucatec Maya
adolescents already having to use acculturative strategies to integrate and balance both the Mexican culture and Maya culture, to have a positive psychological adaptation and be competent in both cultures, as described by LaFromboise et al. (1993). Hence if they already developed these strategies and are bicultural, it may ease their adaptation into the third culture making them able to acculturate to American culture at similar levels or even exceed the acculturation levels of the adolescents that do not identify with a third culture. Furthermore, as discussed by the literature (Padilla 2006; Phinney et al. 2006), acculturation strategies depend on the socialization of the adolescents as well as on other factors (e.g. generation), and hence reflect how the Indigenous Yucatec Maya adolescents differ in socialization and other psychological processes from non-Indigenous Latina/o adolescents.

Literature on Yucatec Maya identity has shown that throughout the history of the Yucatec Maya people, they have consistently incorporated and made different parts of other cultures part of their own Yucatec Maya identity, allowing for their Indigenous identity to still exist today (Alejos-Garcia, 2004; Guzman-Medina, 2005). In essence the Yucatec Maya continuously mold and shape their Yucatec Maya identity with the influences of other cultures in their environments in order to still maintain their Indigenous culture. This molding shows a bicultural strategy in which the person “blends” the two cultures instead of keeping them separate cultural schemas and thus reduces the acculturative stress that she/he otherwise may develop (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005). So, since they have constantly learned to adapt and incorporate other cultures into their Yucatec Maya culture the Yucatec Maya youth are able to acculturate to U.S. culture at similar levels as the non-Yucatec Maya
adolescents, once again demonstrating that their Indigenous identity becomes part of their acculturative strategies used to adapt to their cultural and social contexts in both the U.S. and Mexico.

The results also showed that the Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico had significantly higher levels of acculturation to Mexican culture than Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. levels of acculturation to American culture, which confirmed hypothesis C. This was due to the fact that Mexico is their home country. As has been seen in the acculturation literature (Bourhis et al., 1997; Shwartz et al., 2010) understanding and examining the reception context the persons acculturating find themselves in is crucial in understanding how the acculturative strategies and patterns occur. So in examining the Mexican context, even though Indigenous populations have been and still are placed at the margins, Mexico’s notion of mestizaje and bringing Mexicanos together with national pride will have allowed for more acculturation to the main, national culture (Farr, 2006; Sariego-Rodriguez, 2003; Serrano-Carreto & Fernandez-Ham, 2003). Furthermore, the Yucatec Maya throughout their history in Mexico have had to adapt to the Mexican culture and incorporate certain aspects of the culture within their Yucatec Maya culture for the Indigenous identity to persist (Alejos-Garcia, 2004). Some scholars suggests that the Yucatec Maya have had to become inclusive of the Mexican culture and to some extent Western globalization in order for their culture, history, sense of community, and Maya identity to still exist today (Alejos-Garcia, 2004; Guzman-Medina, 2005). So acculturation levels to Mexican culture would be high since the Yucatec Maya
people have historically been inclusive of the Mexican culture into their Yucatec Maya culture.

*Perceived discrimination*

The most reported situation of discrimination for the U.S. adolescents was being called racially insulting names by other kids (72.5%), with 24% of those experiencing this act finding it very upsetting. For the Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico, being called racially insulting names by other kids was reported by a large percentage (64.3%) of adolescents and out of those adolescents reporting the act, 53% found it “quite a bit upsetting.” “People acted like they thought you were not smart” was also highly reported (58.6%) and was “quite a bit upsetting” to a large amount of those reporting the act (61%). Hence, across the three groups being called racially insulting names by other kids was one of the most reported experiences of discrimination and also one that caused the majority of those that reported it “quite a bit” of distress. The fact that being called racially insulting names was highly reported across groups may be due to the equally negative stereotypes existing in the U.S. against Latina/o populations and in Mexico against Indigenous populations (Abrego & Gonzalez, 2010; Castañeda, 2004; Stavenhagen, 2002; Wiltberger, 2007).

Most notably were the differences found when comparing Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. to non-Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. and to Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico in terms of reporting certain acts of discrimination that caused distress. The Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. reported being called racially insulting names (83.3% v. 58.5%), being teased about the way they look (72.7% v. 49.2%), and being seen by other people as unintelligent (72.7% v. 43.1%) a lot.
more than non-Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. Furthermore, being compared to the Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico showed that Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. reported being called racially insulting names more (83.3% v. 62.9%). More accounts of being called racially insulting names may be reported by the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. because they are doubly stigmatized in the U.S. as: 1) being Latina/o immigrants taking resources from citizens and scapegoats in the current political and economic climate (Abrego & Gonzalez, 2010; Cowen et al., 1997; Wiltberger, 2007), and 2) within the Latina/o and Mexican population stereotyped as being Indio, part of the past, unintelligent, and mocked for speaking Spanish with a Yucatec Maya accent (Farr, 2006; Serrano-Carreto & Fernandez-Ham, 2003). Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. felt more upset due to both perceived discrimination by peers and perceived discrimination by adults, experienced more peer and adult perceived discrimination acts, and experienced more peer and adult discrimination acts that were distressing than non-Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. This outcome confirmed the part of hypothesis D that stated perceived discrimination (peer and adult) experiences and distress would be higher for Yucatec Maya adolescents than non-Yucatec Maya adolescents. The Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. are not only stigmatized as taking resources from citizens and criminalized due to the current ant-immigrant/anti-Latina/o political and economical climate (American Psychological Association, Government Relations, 2010; Wiltberger, 2007), but they are also stigmatized within the Latina/o/Mexican group due to their Indigenous background (Farr, 2006; Fox & Rivera-Salgado, 2004).
So, the Yucatec Maya adolescents may be experiencing more peer and adult perceived discrimination acts, more distress due to peer and adult discrimination, and more peer and adult perceived discrimination acts that are distressing due to the double marginalization that they find themselves in. The importance of these findings point to the Indigenous adolescents facing intergroup discrimination coming from the majority and diverse groups of adolescents that are non-Latina/o in the U.S., but most notably exposed in the study is the intra-group discrimination within the Latina/o and Mexican groups that they are so often categorized under.

Meanwhile, Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico felt equally distressed or upset due to perceived discrimination by peers and perceived discrimination by adults as Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. So there was no difference in distress levels amongst the Indigenous adolescents across both nations, disproving the hypothesis (D) that Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico would feel more distressed due to peer and adult perceived discrimination than Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. Adult perceived discrimination experiences and peer and adult perceived discrimination experiences that caused distress also did not differ across the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. and Mexico. This lack of difference is explained by the fact that Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico are faced with the stereotypes and stigmatization of Indigenous people from the wider Mexican population (Farr, 2006; Serrano-Carreto & Fernandez-Ham, 2003).

There was a difference for the amount of peer perceived discrimination acts reported between the two Indigenous groups. Yucatec Maya adolescents reported experiencing more peer perceived discrimination than Yucatec Maya adolescents in
Mexico. This result, thus partially proves the part of hypothesis D that stated Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. would have higher amounts of peer perceived discrimination experiences than Yucatec Maya adolescent in Mexico due to the negotiating of not only their Indigenous culture within the Mexican culture, but also of the inclusion of the American culture into their cultural schemas. This difference in amounts of peer perceived discrimination experiences may be due to the fact that in the U.S., Yucatec Maya adolescents are surrounded and have more direct interactions with peers from diverse backgrounds as well as Latina/o adolescents that are not Indigenous, hence there is a higher possibility for them to perceive discrimination from these diverse peers. While in Mexico, although there is still marginalization and discrimination at large toward the Yucatec Maya adolescents, the adolescents in this study are from a rural mostly homogenous town, therefore most of their peers are also Indigenous Yucatec Maya, so the perceived discrimination by peers would be less then that of the Yucatec Maya in the U.S. Hence it is alerting that the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. found in multiple marginalized spaces face such stigma, stereotypes, and prejudices. Scholars have found these stigmatizing experiences to be internalized, increase depressive symptoms, and increase behavior problems in school (Brody et al., 2006; Garcia Coll et al., 1996; Tatum 1997; Whitbeck et al., 2002).

**School belonging and GPA**

Hypothesis E stated that school belonging (measured by a belonging and an importance factor) would be lower for Yucatec-Maya students in the U.S. than for non-Yucatec Maya students and than for Yucatec Maya students in Mexico. GPA (reported only by the U.S. groups) would be lower for the Yucatec Maya adolescents
in the U.S. than for the non-Yucatec Maya adolescents. The results of the study showed that there were no significant differences across the two U.S. groups (Yucatec Maya adolescents and non-Yucatec Maya adolescents) in terms of school belonging as measured by the belonging and importance factors. Both groups’ scores were relatively high for the school belonging measure. Hence part of hypothesis E was disconfirmed. The Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. did not have lower school belonging scores possibly due to the fact that both ethnic identity and acculturation levels are as high as the ethnic identity and acculturation levels of the non-Yucatec Maya. Scholars have found that school belonging and engagement are related to higher levels of ethnic identity and acculturation (Gonzalez, 2009; Guzman et al., 2005; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001; Tatum, 1997). GPA scores were also not significantly different across the two U.S. groups. The literature on school achievement also draws on higher levels of ethnic identity and acculturation as factors for higher achievement (Huo et al., 2010; Suarez-Orozco et al., 2008). Therefore the two groups, both having strong ethnic identity and acculturation levels, have similar GPA scores.

Furthermore, the Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico had higher levels of the belonging factor of school belonging than the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. This result partially confirmed hypothesis E which stated that U.S. Yucatec Maya adolescents would have lower school belonging scores than Yucatec Maya adolescents still in Mexico. The sense of belonging in the school may be higher in Mexico because the adolescents encounter less hostility amongst peers since most of their school peers are Indigenous, whereas in the U.S. different non-Indigenous peers may
influence if the adolescents feel they belong (Suarez-Orozco et al., 2008; Tatum, 1997). In Mexico the adolescents are not facing the acculturative stresses of adapting and learning a new language (English) at school (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006; Suarez-Orozco et al., 2008) whereas the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. are trying to adapt and learn English and figure out how to navigate the school, so they may have relatively lower levels of belonging as compared to the Yucatec Maya in Mexico who although marginalized within the context of Mexico are still living in their home country.

*Individual Factors Influencing Ethnic Identity, Acculturation, Perceived Discrimination, and Schooling*

*Age as a factor*

Age was a factor for ethnic identity exploration for Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. and in Mexico. Younger adolescents had higher levels of ethnic identity exploration than older adolescents, partially confirming hypothesis F. Past literature, from the developmental perspective of ethnic identity has linked younger youth to more exploration of their ethnic identity, while older adolescents may have already explored and reasserted their commitment to their identity (Erickson, 1968; Phinney, 1992; Roberts et al., 1999). So the results of the study reaffirm these past findings.

Age was also a factor of perceived discrimination for Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. and in Mexico. Hypothesis F predicted that older adolescents would experience higher levels of perceived discrimination from adults than peers (Greene et al. 2006). However, in the current study older adolescents experienced higher levels of distress due to peer perceived discrimination and more peer perceived
discrimination experiences than younger adolescents. Also, there was no relationship to adult perceived discrimination, as was predicted by hypothesis F. A longitudinal study of Latina/os showed that being older was a factor in experiencing more adult perceived discrimination and having peer perceived discrimination level off, since the older one is, the more interactions one will have with adults (Greene, et al., 2006). However the older Indigenous youth in both nations seem to have more peer perceived discrimination encounters and higher distress due to peer perceived discrimination than the younger adolescents. This may be due to the fact that the adolescents in the study were still in high school so peers are the main source of their interactions for most of their day, besides their teachers. Non-Yucatec Maya adolescents did not have age as a factor for peer perceived discrimination, hence revealing a difference in the process of perceiving discrimination between Indigenous and non-Indigenous adolescents. Lastly, although not included in hypothesis F, older Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. had lower levels of feeling important in school. This may be happening because as Yucatec Maya adolescents get older and understand their identities more and continue to go to school they may begin to encounter more stigma and acts of discrimination from their peers (Tatum, 1997). A longitudinal study would be a good follow-up to understand the results of this cross-sectional study regarding age as a factor of ethnic identity, perceived discrimination, and the important construct of school belonging.
Gender as a factor

Ethnic identity and gender

The adolescent boys and girls only differed in ethnic identity exploration for the non-Yucatec Maya group. Adolescent boys had a lower level of exploration than girls. This partially confirms hypothesis G. The Indigenous groups’ ethnic identity exploration did not relate to gender. Ethnic identity commitment did not relate to gender for any of the three groups (non-Yucatec Maya in the U.S., Yucatec Maya in the U.S., and Yucatec Maya in Mexico). Ethnic identity literature has identified gender as influencing ethnic identity development (Phinney, 1992; Roberts et al., 1999, Tatum, 1997). Therefore, in the case of the Indigenous adolescents, the lack of a gender difference in ethnic identity may be another piece of evidence suggesting that Indigenous populations process ethnic identity development differently than non-Indigenous Latina/o adolescents. A study solely focusing on the gender and ethnic identity interaction of Indigenous adolescent Latina/os can provide a clearer understanding.

Acculturation and gender

For the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S., girls had higher levels of acculturation than boys. The other two groups did not show a relationship between gender and acculturation. Hypothesis G stated that there will be gender differences in acculturation as has been reflected in the literature (Casanova, 2010; Portes & Rumbaut, 2006; Suarez-Orozco et al., 2008) is only partially confirmed by the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. This finding contradicts prior findings about Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S., which showed boys being more acculturated to
American culture (Casanova, 2010). This may have to do with the fact that the prior study did not use the acculturation scale used in this study. The prior study used an American cultural orientation scale to determine acculturation to American culture (Tsai, et al., 2000). Furthermore, this study consisted of a larger number of adolescents and incorporated first, 1.5, and second generation youth, whereas the previous study’s participants were exclusively all first generation adolescents (Casanova, 2010).

*Perceived discrimination and gender*

Adult perceived discrimination was not affected by gender. However, for all the U.S. adolescents, boys experienced more distress due to peer perceived discrimination experiences than girls. Furthermore, Yucatec Maya boys experienced a lot more peer perceived discrimination acts than non-Yucatec Maya boys. The Yucatec Maya adolescent boys experienced more peer perceived discrimination than the Yucatec Maya girls, whereas the non-Yucatec Maya boys and girls did not differ in amount of peer perceived discrimination experienced. For all the U.S. adolescents, boys experienced more distressing peer perceived discrimination acts than girls. These findings confirm part of hypothesis G, which stated that gender would relate to perceived discrimination (Borsato, 2008; Garcia Coll et al., 1996; Greene et al., 2006). Furthermore the findings support the literature stating that males experience more perceived discrimination (Brody et al., 2006; Flores et al., 2008; Tatum, 1997). However, the present study’s findings show that Yucatec Maya boys in the U.S. are the ones experiencing the most peer perceived discrimination acts as compared to not only girls (both Yucatec Maya and non-Yucatec Maya), but also as compared to non-
Yucatec boys. This finding is important and innovative in showing the difference not only in gender for amount of peer perceived discrimination experiences, but also the difference specifically due to being Indigenous. The Indigenous boys in the U.S. may be experiencing the most peer perceived discrimination because not only do they encounter more peer perceived discrimination than girls, but this discrimination may come from other non-Latina/o peers, as well as from within their Latina/o group due to their Indigenous culture and phenotype.

When comparing Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. with Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico in terms of perceived discrimination, Yucatec Maya boys in the U.S. had higher levels of distress due to peer perceived discrimination as compared to Yucatec Maya girls in the U.S., and Yucatec Maya boys in Mexico. In Mexico, the Yucatec Maya boys and girls did not significantly differ in distress levels. Yucatec Maya boys also had experienced more peer perceived discrimination than Yucatec Maya girls in general, with a marginal finding that Yucatec Maya boys in the U.S. experienced more peer perceived discrimination than Yucatec Maya boys in Mexico and that there was no difference between the Yucatec Maya boys and girls in Mexico. Furthermore, the Yucatec Maya boys in the U.S. had experienced more distressing peer perceived discrimination as compared to Yucatec Maya boys in Mexico, and Yucatec Maya girls in the U.S. It is important to understand that gender plays a huge role in peer perceived discrimination, in order to understand that being Yucatec Maya in the U.S. implies more peer perceived discrimination distress and experiences, but being male and Indigenous in the U.S. implies even more peer perceived discrimination distress and experiences.
Studies have shown how taxing perceived discrimination can be and the implications of perceived discrimination for mental health specifically of Indigenous people (Whitbeck et al., 2002) and for males (Brody et al., 2006; Flores et al., 2008; Greene et al., 2006) therefore it is important to understand the findings of this study as it pertains specifically to Yucatec Maya adolescent boys. An understanding is needed of how the peer perceived discrimination they experience can have serious consequences and should be taken into account by those educators and practitioners that work with this population of adolescents.

*School belonging and gender*

Although past literature has discussed differences between boys and girls in terms of school engagement, belonging, and outcomes (Sanchez, Colon, Esparza, 2005; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001), for this study gender was not a factor for school belonging or GPA. Therefore, hypothesis G is not confirmed.

*Generation as a factor*

*Ethnic identity and generation*

Hypothesis H is based on past literature linking generational differences in acculturation and ethnic identity (Padilla, 2006; Portes & Rumbaut, 2006), and found specifically with Yucatec Maya immigrants (adults) (Lyman et al., 2007). Hypothesis H stated the first generation adolescents will have lower levels of ethnic identity as compared to 1.5 and second generation adolescents. Ethnic identity (both exploration and commitment) in this study was not related to generation levels of the adolescents in the U.S.
Acculturation and generation

The present study supported past literature on the influence of generation on acculturation (Lyman et al., 2007; Portes & Rumbaut, 2006; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001). First generation Yucatec Maya and non-Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S, as stated in hypothesis H, were less acculturated to American culture as compared to second generation adolescents. However, there was a difference between the Yucatec Maya and non-Yucatec Maya groups with the 1.5 generation adolescents. The non-Yucatec Maya 1.5 generation adolescents had significantly lower acculturation scores than the Yucatec Maya 1.5 generation adolescents. First and 1.5 generation non-Yucatec Maya adolescents both had equally lower levels of acculturation in comparison to the second generation non-Yucatec adolescents. While 1.5 generation Yucatec Maya adolescents were just as acculturated as second generation Yucatec Maya adolescents.

This finding suggests that Yucatec Maya adolescents are acculturating faster than non-Yucatec Maya adolescents if considered in terms of generational factors. This finding is also evidence that Yucatec Maya adolescents’ acculturative processes are not necessarily the same as non-Indigenous Latina/os. This finding may also have implications in terms of preservation of the Indigenous culture, in part because it is possible that this acculturation process is occurring at the expense of losing the Yucatec Maya culture. However, if these adolescents are using bicultural strategies, than the Yucatec Maya culture can co-exist with both the Mexican and American cultures (Berry, 2003; LaFromboise et al, 2003; Phinney et al., 2006). A study
specifically looking at generational differences in acculturation levels of Indigenous adolescents could elaborate on this finding.

*Perceived discrimination and generation*

Hypothesis H predicted that first generation adolescents would have lower levels of perceived discrimination distress and experiences. The literature has posed the idea in which being in the U.S. for a longer time and further generations down, allows the person to learn and understand the nation better with its shortcomings that include the stereotyping, stigmatization, and discrimination that occurs in society (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). Therefore, first generation adolescents may not have this complete understanding yet, and may perceive less discrimination. The findings from the current study complicate this notion.

The findings for amount of peer perceived discrimination experienced and the amount of those peer perceived discrimination experiences that were distressing contradicts hypothesis H. First and 1.5 generation adolescents experienced more peer perceived discrimination in general and more distressing perceived discrimination experiences as compared to second generation adolescents. There were no differences in experiences between the Yucatec Maya and non-Yucatec Maya adolescents due to generation. Additionally, the findings for the amount of adult perceived discrimination experienced and the amount of those experiences that were distressing show that 1.5 generation adolescents experience more of the adult perceived discrimination experiences as compared to second generation adolescents. So in general, second generation adolescents encounter less adult and peer perceived
discrimination experiences, contrary to the literature that stated that second generation persons would experience more perceived discrimination (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006).

First and 1.5 generation Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. felt significantly more distress due to peer perceived discrimination as compared to second generation Yucatec Maya adolescents. Furthermore, both first and 1.5 generation Yucatec Maya adolescents felt significantly more distress due to peer perceived discrimination than first and 1.5 generation non-Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. There were no differences in how distressed first, 1.5, and second generation non-Yucatec Maya adolescents felt due to peer perceived discrimination.

First and 1.5 generation Yucatec Maya adolescents also felt significantly more distress due to adult perceived discrimination as compared to second generation Yucatec Maya adolescents. First and 1.5 generation Yucatec Maya adolescents also felt significantly more adult perceived discrimination distress as compared to non-Yucatec Maya first and 1.5 generation adolescents. These findings do not confirm the hypothesis (H) that first generation adolescents will have lower perceived discrimination distress; in fact it contradicts the literature that second generation persons experience more perceived discrimination. This may be due to the fact that these are adolescents that are being exposed to these discriminatory acts in school and socialized in school to understand how American society works when it comes to stigmatization and discrimination. Moreover, first and 1.5 generation adolescents may be more vulnerable to being teased and discriminated at school than second generation adolescents due to language barriers as has been addressed by studies with Puerto Rican adolescents in the U.S. mainland who reported more perceived
discrimination than the other adolescents in the study (Szalacha et al., 2003). Szalacha et al. (2003) also discussed the effects of the higher perceived discrimination on depression, stress, problems at school, and lower global self-esteem. However, potential protective factors for perceived discrimination could be having more ethnic pride and bicultural strategies (Szalacha et al., 2003).

There are several important points to these findings. First, Indigenous adolescents (first and 1.5. generation) are experiencing higher levels of distress due to both peer and adult perceived discrimination than comparable non-Yucatec Maya adolescents. The point that these Indigenous adolescents, and more specifically the first and 1.5 ones are experiencing more distress than the non-Yucatec Maya adolescents confirms that these adolescents are definitely going though different processes of perceived discrimination. This should be brought to the awareness of scholars that group Indigenous adolescents with other Latina/o adolescents, and also teachers and practitioners that work with these adolescents. Yucatec Maya adolescents are not going through all processes in the same way non-Indigenous Latina/os are. Specifically levels of distress may lead to more serious mental health concerns such as depression of these adolescents (Borsato, 2008; Stone & Han, 2005; Szalacha et al., 2003; Whitbeck et al., 2002).

School belonging and generation

Although the study did not reveal any findings specific to first generation adolescents having a lower level of school belonging as was predicted by hypothesis H, generation did influence GPA. The GPAs for Yucatec Maya adolescents did not differ across generations. Yet, 1.5 generation non-Yucatec Maya adolescents actually
had lower GPAs than first generation non-Yucatec Maya adolescents. The 1.5. generation Yucatec Maya adolescents had significantly higher GPAs than the 1.5 generation non-Yucatec Maya adolescents. These findings suggest that although Yucatec Maya adolescents are encountering more perceived discrimination their academic achievement is not necessarily being harmed as compared to the non-Yucatec Maya adolescents. Also generation does not seem to be a factor for the Yucatec Maya adolescents in terms of how well they are doing in school. Although, more studies should be done to specifically focus on academic outcomes, since for this study the GPA was self-reported and there was no other measure of academic achievement that could verify if the GPAs reported are completely accurate.

*Maya language knowledge as a factor*

*Ethnic identity and Maya language*

Hypothesis I stated that Maya language knowledge (with family/friends and at school) for the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. and Yucatec Maya adolescents still in Mexico would have a positive relationship with ethnic identity, since in the ethnic identity literature ethnic identity development leads adolescents to explore and commit to various aspects of their identity such as language (Phinney 1992; Phinney & Nakayama 1990; Waters, 1990). The hypothesis was confirmed: hearing or speaking Maya language with family and friends and hearing or speaking Maya at school increased the levels of ethnic identity exploration for the Indigenous adolescents. More Maya language with family and friends also increased ethnic identity commitment for both Yucatec Maya adolescent groups in the U.S. and Mexico. Since the exploration of various aspects of what the adolescent’s ethnic
group encompasses, including the language is a step in developing her/his ethnic identity, it makes sense that having knowledge of Maya would increase the levels of ethnic identity for the Maya youth.

**Acculturation and Maya language**

In contrast to language being positively related to ethnic identity, however, Maya language was predicted to be negatively associated with acculturation (hypothesis I). In the acculturative frameworks, with certain knowledge, like language, if greater on the heritage side, the person is less acculturated, while it being greater on the dominant culture side the person would be in a more acculturated space (Padilla, 1980). Hence, Maya knowledge would make the Indigenous adolescents less acculturated to the American culture (for those in the U.S.) and to the Mexican culture (for those in Mexico). The findings in this study confirm this perspective, since those adolescents that spoke and heard Maya language with family and friends ended up being less acculturated to the American and Mexican cultures.

It is clear that in the American context if the focus is on learning English, Maya may be stigmatized and not taught, spoken, or heard as much in order to acculturate. Furthermore learning English has been seen as a big concern specifically for immigrant adolescents (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001; Peñalosa, 1986), and specifically as an extremely important step toward adapting to school for first generation Yucatec Maya adolescents (Casanova, 2010). In the Mexican context even if the focus is not just on learning Spanish, since there has been a revival of trying to preserve and re-teach the Maya language, there is still a stigma against the language because of the continued marginalization of Indigenous populations. The stigma is
also partially because of the Western influence, due to globalization, on the youth in Yucatan to learn English, so the adolescents develop a want to learn the English and the Maya language does not seem beneficial for them to learn (Alejos-Garcia, 2004; Guzman-Medina, 2005).

Perceived discrimination and Maya language

More use of Maya Language (both with family and friends and at school) for Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. predicted more distress due to peer and adult perceived discrimination, more experiences with peer perceived discrimination, and more distressing experiences with peer perceived discrimination. Hence hypothesis I was confirmed by the findings. The fact that Maya language is related to increased perceived discrimination (both peer and adult distress and peer experiences) is a serious issue in understanding the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. since it pits the learning of Maya language as being positive for the development of ethnic identity and preservation of the Maya culture with the learning being negative in a way since not only is it negatively related to levels of acculturation to American culture, but it is also linked to experiencing more perceived discrimination and feeling more distress over instances of perceived discrimination. The Maya identity by all means does not only encompass the Maya language (Castañeda, 2004; Guzman-Medina, 2005), yet already encountering stigma and marginalization due to being Indigenous, adolescents in the U.S. might find it harder to learn the Maya language due to its link to perceiving discrimination.

Findings with the Yucatec Maya in Mexico also show knowledge of Maya language as linked with experiencing more adult perceived discrimination and
distressing adult perceived discrimination instances. Maya language was linked to adult perceived discrimination possibly because many of the encounters with discrimination are occurring outside of the context of school and more so with adults in other places. The Maya language is not linked to any of the peer perceived discrimination experiences or to feelings of distress due to perceived discrimination. This may be due to the fact that many of the adolescents that were surveyed were attending rural high schools specifically designed for the Indigenous youth and in some cases the teachers or other peers encouraged conversation about the Maya culture and the Maya language.

School belonging and Maya language for Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico

Maya language was only linked to school belonging for Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico. Contrary to the predicted outcomes that Maya language would negatively relate to school belonging (hypothesis J), Maya language with family and friends was positively related to the belonging factor of school belonging. This means that the more Maya language used, spoken, and heard with family and friends, and not the Maya language spoken and heard or used at school, the higher the levels of school belonging for the adolescents. Using Maya language with friends and family fortifies the Maya identity of the adolescents and diminishes some of the stigma associated with the language and the Maya identity in general, hence the adolescents feel more comfortable at school with their peers and teachers.

Many youth that were interviewed in this study felt that preserving and learning the Maya language was one of the biggest aspects of being able to conserve the Maya culture and also felt good about school. Maya language therefore must be
related to the ethnic identity of these adolescents as they see how important it is for their culture to continue to be passed down to future generations. The above findings have implications for understanding how important the Maya language is for Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico and in the U.S., but also how due to the stigma and prejudice that is present in learning the Maya language and the pressures of learning English can create more perceptions of discrimination for the Yucatec Maya in both countries.

Although some hometown associations (HTAs) in the U.S. and government programs in Mexico are creating Maya classes for people to learn or improve their Maya knowledge, more awareness and positive publicity of the importance of learning the language for these youth should be created so more youth feel like it is not bad to learn the language and attend the already established classes in the U.S. and in Mexico.

The Relationships Between Ethnic Identity, Acculturation, Perceived Discrimination, and Schooling

Ethnic identity and acculturation

Hypothesis J stated that ethnic identity would have a positive relationship with acculturation levels since both identity development and acculturation are intricately linked foundational processes of immigrant and minority adolescents’ social, cultural and psychological development (Bourhis, 1997; Padilla & Perez, 2003; Quintana, 2007). However, in the current study, contrary to hypothesis J, for the Yucatec Maya adolescents a strong commitment to their ethnic identity was related to being less acculturated to the American culture for those adolescents in the U.S. and to Mexican
culture for those adolescents in Mexico. The Indigenous adolescents have to negotiate their ethnic identity in order to be able to acculturate.

Here in the U.S. the adolescents need to learn a new language, adapt to a new physical space (if recently immigrated), and learn the cultural practices and norms of American society. Even if the adolescents are children of Maya immigrants, they still have to negotiate how the Maya culture will fit between being American, Mexican, Latina/o, and any other multiple identities they may have. Meanwhile, the adolescents in Mexico, although in their home country have to understand and learn how to be Mexican, even if they also share the connection to their Maya culture through the stories, common history, and knowledge of specific cultural practices that unifies the Maya identity (Guzman-Medina, 2005). So commitment to the Maya identity may fluctuate as the saliency of their Mexican identity increases. Hence, the finding that stronger commitment to ethnic identity means lower acculturation levels for the Indigenous adolescents in both countries highlight the negotiation that must be made in order for the Indigenous adolescents to fit within the dominant cultures. These results point to the past literature of Guatemalan Maya immigrants in Los Angeles, which reflect the negotiation between the Indigenous identities and adaptation to American culture (Penalosa, 1986; Wellmeier; 1998).

Perceived discrimination and ethnic identity

Higher ethnic identity exploration was related to feeling less distress when encountering peer perceived discrimination for the non-Yucatec Maya adolescents. This confirms hypotheses K, which stated that higher ethnic identity is related to lower levels of perceived discrimination. This finding points to the use of ethnic identity as
buffer to prejudice and specifically perceived discrimination (Gonzalez, 2009; Guzman et al., 2005; Kiang et al., 2006; Mossakowski, 2003; Romero and Roberts, 2003a; Padilla, 2008). However, this relationship was only found with non-Indigenous adolescents. The ethnic identity of Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. and Mexico did not relate to the perceived discrimination the adolescents experienced. This leads to the question of why ethnic identity does not function as a buffer for perceived discrimination of Indigenous adolescents in the study?

Again, it is evident that the Indigenous adolescents’ (in the U.S. and Mexico) processes of ethnic identity and perceived discrimination differ from that of the non-Yucatec adolescents. In this case ethnic identity is not influencing the amount of discrimination these adolescents perceive. There seems to be no relationship between ethnic identity and perceived discrimination. The literature has identified ethnic identity as “buffering” perceived discrimination; therefore, having a strong ethnic identity serves to disengage adolescents from the taxing and distressful process of perceiving discrimination (Gonzalez, 2009; Guzman et al., 2005; Kiang et al., 2006; Mossakowski, 2003; Romero and Roberts, 2003a; Padilla, 2008). Although the study confirmed this for the non-Yucatec Maya, the Indigenous adolescents are not processing perceived discrimination in the same way and hence ethnic identity is not serving as a buffering tool.

This finding has implications for how the literature addresses perceived discrimination and ethnic identity of Indigenous Mexican adolescents that may be grouped together with non-Indigenous Latina/o or Mexican adolescents. When this occurs their experiences and psychological processes that may differ are not seen or
understood, hence creating a gap in the awareness and understanding of Indigenous Latina/o adolescent experiences. Although the Maya ethnic identity is strong, it does not serve the same functions as it related to perceived discrimination processes that it does for non-Indigenous adolescents. This may be because the Yucatec Maya adolescents have a resilient ethnic identity even with the constant stigmatization of their Indigenous culture, yet this Indigenous collective identity is not consistently represented (since its marginal even within the Latina/o population) in their lives as a tool for countering such stigmatization. In other words, Latina/os in the U.S., for example, have built legal coalitions (e.g., MALDEF), political movements (e.g., Voto Latino), media outreach (e.g. newspapers, cable networks), etc. to combat the collective stigma they face in this country to demand their civil rights, etc. Yet, this attention is not equally given to specific Indigenous Latina/os that are facing stigma from the majority out-groups and from within their own Latin/a community.

This study serves to begin to untangle the differences between non-Indigenous and Indigenous Latina/o adolescents, but more studies need to be conducted to explore these differences between the relationship of ethnic identity with perceived discrimination for Indigenous Latina/os.

*Perceived discrimination and acculturation*

It was predicted that high acculturation would be related to more experiences of and distress due to perceived discrimination (hypothesis K). For the non-Yucatec Maya adolescents the opposite was true, high acculturation related to less experiences of peer perceived discrimination in general, less distressing experiences of peer discrimination, and less distressing adult perceived discrimination. For the Yucatec
Maya adolescents, higher acculturation also results in less experiences of peer discrimination in general and to less distressing peer perceived discrimination experiences. High acculturation also related to less feelings of distress for both peer and adult perceived discrimination. Therefore those adolescents that were less acculturated in the U.S. experienced more instances of peer perceived discrimination and feelings of distress due to peer and adult discrimination (Yucatec Maya group). The results illustrated are a clear example of the pressure and psychological strain that occurs to minority and, in this case, Latina/o and Indigenous Latina/o adolescents as they navigate American culture and “fit” within it (Fox & Rivera-Salgado, 2004; Portes & Rumbaut, 2006; Suarez-Orozco et al., 2008). The discrimination perceived by both groups in the U.S. is a reflection of the increased hostility that has been developing toward Latina/os and immigrants (Abrego & Gonzalez, 2010; Wiltberger, 2007).

For the adolescents in Mexico acculturation to Mexican culture was not related to perceived discrimination. Mexican culture is not necessarily as foreign to the Indigenous adolescents in Mexico, since they are born in Mexico and the Mexican society and government consistently attempt to create a strong sense of national unity and mestizaje as they overshadow the marginalized Indigenous communities still prominent across the country (Bartolome, 1998; Serrano-Carreto & Fernandez-Hamm, 2003). Hence, acculturation may not necessarily be as taxing and as abrupt as for those adolescents in the U.S. However, acculturation to Mexican culture is challenging for the Indigenous adolescents, as they have to negotiate their Maya
identity and Maya language to fit within the Mexican identity (which was previously discussed in this chapter).

**School belonging, GPA, ethnic identity, acculturation, and perceived discrimination**

For the adolescents in the U.S. higher ethnic identity exploration increased levels of school belonging (belonging factor) and GPA scores. High feelings of belonging and importance at school are both linked to higher GPA. School belonging (belonging factor) mediates the ethnic identity exploration effect on GPA. Feeling more distress due to adult perceived discrimination, a higher number of experiences of adult discrimination in general, and a higher number of distressing experiences of adult discrimination all related to feeling less important at school, which is a factor of school belonging. Specifically with the non-Yucatec Maya adolescents a higher number of experiences with peer perceived discrimination also lowered the sense of belonging felt at school, the other factor of school belonging. These findings partially confirm hypothesis L and M, except for the fact that acculturation was not related to either of the two factors of school belonging. The positive relationship between ethnic identity exploration and school belonging supports the past literature which links strong connections to an ethnic or racial group to positive effects for school comfort and success (Chavous, et al., 2003; Carter, 2005). The negative effect of perceived discrimination on school belonging supports the findings of past studies linking perceived discrimination experiences to low academic motivation, low grades, school misconduct, and negative perceptions of school environment (Borsato, 2008; Brody et al., 2006; Stone & Han, 2005).
The implications of these findings are important to understanding how powerful perceived discrimination can be for adolescents as it interferes with their academic life. Findings such as the ones in this study and in past studies should be shared with teachers and administrators to make them aware of the psychological processes that factor into the Indigenous and non-Indigenous Latina/o students’ feelings toward school and ultimately their academic outcomes.

For the Yucatec Maya in Mexico perceived discrimination was not related to school belonging. However, higher levels of acculturation to Mexican culture related to less feelings of belonging at school (belonging factor of school belonging). Furthermore a strong commitment to ethnic identity is associated with more feelings of belonging at school. Additionally, ethnic identity commitment ends up mediating the negative effect of acculturation on school belonging. These findings with the adolescents in Mexico illustrate the importance of ethnic identity development on the academics of Indigenous adolescents in Mexico. High ethnic identity achievement has continuously been identified in the literature as being linked to academic success (Chavous et al., 2003; Carter, 2005; Quintana, 2007; Gonzalez, 2009; Huo et al., 2010).

In discussing higher ethnic identity as relating to less acculturation for Indigenous adolescents in Mexico previously in this chapter, and now more acculturation as relating to less feelings of belonging at school, it is clear that the Yucatec Maya ethnic identity of these adolescents which is negotiated to adapt to Mexican culture should be strengthened in order to be able to feel belonging at school which in turn can lead to better academic outcomes. The Yucatec Maya adolescents
in Mexico need the state and federal government of Mexico to continue to build the awareness of the Maya culture and create positive associations with their identity. With positive associations and increased awareness, the Yucatec Maya do not have to pit having a strong Maya ethnic identity against having a strong Mexican identity. Ultimately, these adolescents are not necessarily wanting to completely rid themselves of their Maya identity, they actually have high levels of Maya identity, yet they are aware of the vulnerability of this identity if the preservation of the Maya culture and Maya language does not succeed. The interviews conducted in this study outline this issue in more detail.

*Interviews: Culture, Discrimination, School, Family, Peers, & Community*

For this study, the interviews enriched my understanding of the adolescents’ views of topics surrounding ethnic identity, acculturation, and discrimination that contribute to their perspectives about school. The adolescents’ voices and attitudes about culture, ethnicity, family, peers, ethnic community networks and schooling illustrate the external factors that influence the complicated and multi-dimensional social and psychological processes of ethnic identity and acculturation. The external factors that influence the development of the Indigenous adolescents’ ethnic identities, affect their perceptions of school, and perceptions of discrimination were thoroughly explored through the interviews.

Overall, the adolescents across the three groups had strong connections to their culture and a thorough understanding of them. The non-Yucatec Maya adolescents described their culture and ethnicity as defined by a sense of home and sense of family. The collectiveness and “togetherness” experienced at home during
celebrations or cultural practices encompassed their conception of their culture. Indigenous adolescents in the U.S. and Mexico were also very connected to their family, yet they defined their culture with more concrete examples of practices and descriptions of traditions, or even through the stories their grandparents and parents would tell them. American culture was seen as being diverse and equated to having opportunities by all three groups, which is a theme that has been seen in the literature on immigrant students in the U.S. (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001).

However, all the groups recognized the inequalities that exist in the U.S., and specifically with the adolescents in Mexico there was a sense of animosity against the U.S. due to the way they treat Mexicans and their culture as less. These feelings across the groups may be a response to the increased debate on immigration policies across the United States and xenophobic policies targeting all Latina/o populations as being “illegal”. These political backlashes against the Latina/o immigrant populations of the U.S. increase the stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination of these communities (Abrego & Gonzalez, 2010; American Psychological Association, Government Relations, 2010).

For the Yucatec Maya adolescents the continuation of a shared common past through familial oral stories creates a collective memory expressed and codified by the language and history of ancestors merging it within contemporary times and allowing the “new conditions” of society to form part of that identity (Guzman-Medina, 2005). The Maya ethnicity, then, is strongly rooted in a common history and collective memory passed down through generations and the way everyday life is lived and acted. Maya language is a huge part of the Maya identity, constantly mentioned in
the Indigenous adolescents’ interviews, but not exclusively what defines it. Many of the Maya people who have a strong Maya identity lost the language because of the restrictive, marginalizing education policies against maintenance of the indigenous language or in other cases such as in the coastal regions, the encounters and cultural fusion that occurred with the Spanish and other ethnic groups lead to a loss of the language as well (Bartolome, 1998; Guzman-Medina, 2005). Ultimately the interviews with the Indigenous adolescents illustrate the cultural practices and traditions of the Maya culture, and most importantly the adolescents’ pride and consciousness toward being Maya.

The Yucatec Maya adolescents across both nations were fearful and saddened of their culture disappearing and concerned about preserving the culture (primarily identified as Yucatec Maya). This may be because of the small number of people in general that identify as Maya as compared to those that identify as Mexican, and the invisibility of the Indigenous identity amongst the other identities imposed on them in the American context. In contrast, the non-Yucatec Maya adolescents did not have this concern about their cultures, probably due to the fact that there is a large community of Latina/os in the U.S., the Spanish language is spoken widely, and continuous flow of migration of immigrant Latina/os replenishes the culture in the U.S. (Jimenez, 2008).

For many of the adolescents in the U.S. the preservation of the culture is rooted in the involvement of the community in groups that come together to create the sense of home in the U.S. (Popkin, 1999: 2005), since they are away from the space (Yucatan) where the culture is physically prominent in its architecture and
archeological zone and with the cultural practices and celebrations. The Yucatec Maya in the U.S. suggest creating awareness and pride amongst adolescents as a solution to preserving their culture. Hence, amongst the adolescents they can (re)create their Maya identities in the context of being in the U.S. This sense of agency and self-definition as opposed to the definitions placed by others on them as Indigenous peoples is important for their own sense of who they are (Castillo-Cocom, 2005). Hence, an emergence of a resilient Indigenous identity, which transcends the stigma and prejudice faced in multiple cultural spaces, is evident in the results of this study and more specifically present in the responses to interview questions about the Maya culture.

Hometown associations are also places that this can begin to occur and where a piece of the physical Indigenous space that is lacking in the U.S. can be found. Literature has examined how these centers serve as hubs for the communities, usually of immigrants, and links them literally to their hometowns while working directly with the Mexican state governments to provide the communities in the U.S. services needed, many adult immigrants find support in these hometown associations (Popkin, 1999, 2005; Portes, et al., 2005; Portes & Rumbaut, 2006; Prelat & Maciel, 2007). These HTAs host such events as vaquerias that bring together multiple generations of the Yucatec Maya community in the U.S.

The vaquerias expose the multifaceted aspects of being Yucateco in the U.S., not only exhibiting the traditional foods and dress, but also showing the sense of community amongst the adults and adolescents present at the event and the triculturalism found amongst the adolescents who dance with traditional Maya huipiles.
while at the same time talk about American popular culture, and listen to Mexican music on their ipods. The Maya culture and identities exposed at these events reflect a hybridity of cultures and identities found within the borders of the Maya, Mexican, and American spaces. This hybridity of cultures reflects a negotiation that shows the bicultural (in this case tri-cultural) strategies reflected in the acculturation iterature (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005; Berry, 2003; LaFromboise et al., 2003)

For the Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico, being at the center of the culture in Yucatan was definitely something that encouraged them and constantly reminded them of their Mayan culture. Since they lived in the state where the culture is constantly present, even if it is meant for the tourism, the adolescents understood the value of their culture. Furthermore they felt that the state and government institutions had a responsibility to help them learn and preserve the Mayan culture and language. The adolescents consistently stated the curricula in all the public schools should change to include Maya as a subject. The Cobay schools for rural Indigenous adolescents are beginning to create awareness of the Maya culture such as the contests for the Maya Day of the Dead celebrations. However, taking a more structured step and changing the curricula to include the Maya language or more cultural history would allow for an increase in awareness and knowledge of the Maya culture. The adolescents felt proud of their culture, however many mentioned that some adolescents and people hide their Maya culture with shame. Many of the adolescents shared that even though the culture is transmitted by their grandparents and parents and also heavily discussed with their teachers and peers, the social institutions must contribute in creating programs to preserve the Maya language and culture.
INDEMAYA, the organization created by the state of Yucatan for the preservation of the Indigenous Maya culture, contributes by creating programs and involving adolescents in forming groups to share their culture in their towns. The organization’s directors of youth programs address the need for the government to act quickly in order to preserve the Maya culture in adolescents and children. The three main programs INDEMAYA has for the youth (recitals of Maya poetry and stories, contests, and programs created by the youth groups in different regions) are in response to this growing urgency to maintain the culture in the Maya people of Yucatan and not just in books written by academics or tourism guides to the peninsula.

The adolescents retold their experiencing in witnessing the discrimination of others or being discriminated against themselves. For the non-Indigenous adolescents, a lot of the experiences were associated with immigrant stereotypes and stigmatization. The non-Yucatec Maya adolescents shared instances where they had been discriminated, whereas with the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S., only one stated that she had been discriminated. However, the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. did explain that they had witnessed discrimination of others because of being Latina/os and also because of their Indigenous culture. Most of the experiences retold by the Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. were of instances outside of school. Meanwhile, only two of the Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico admitted to being discriminated and these experiences were due to their Indigenous identity and their socio-economic class. The Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico did describe witnessing a lot of discrimination of other adolescents (12 out of the 17 interviewed had witnessed discrimination), mostly attributed to the persons discriminated being
Indigenous and also to their socio-economic class. Poverty is highly linked to the marginalized Indigenous Yucatec Maya communities in Mexico. Throughout the history of Mexican policy toward her Indigenous populations, marginalization has contributed to very impoverished conditions for the Yucatec Maya (Sariego-Rodriguez, 2003). This continued marginalization due to segregationist and national integrationist policies continues to reflect in high levels of poverty (Bracamonte y Sosa & Lizama-Quijano, 2003). Hence social class would definitely be a reason for these adolescents in Mexico to encounter or witness discrimination.

Across all the groups education was seen as a tool for empowering themselves and obtaining a better future. For the adolescents in Mexico, school was suggested as a good platform to start preserving the Maya culture by having more structured classes on the Maya language and culture. School was also a place where many of the Yucatec Maya adolescents discussed their culture informally with other peers and teachers. Parents played a huge role for all the adolescents in encouraging them to continue going to school and obtaining a higher education for a better future. This form of support is very important in the adaptation of the adolescents to school (Huo et al., 2010; Oyserman et al, 2003: 2007; Suarez-Orozco et al., 2008).

Parents and family also served to catalyze cultural discussions and pass down cultural knowledge to the adolescents across all three groups and counter the stigma and discrimination faced by these adolescents. Specifically, many of the adolescents in the U.S. felt their families were the strongest connection to their cultures and motivation for doing well in school, which resonates with past findings of the importance of family and parental support for minority and immigrant adolescents.
(Hawley et al., 2007; Portes & Rumbaut, 2006; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001; Suarez-Orozco et al., 2008). In the U.S. peers were a source of cultural exchange due to the diversity of their backgrounds. Hence both the adolescent groups in the U.S. were able to learn about other cultures and share their own. In Mexico, interactions with peers about culture were mostly to discuss the Maya heritage. The adolescents most involved with social, academic, and ethnic groups at school were the non-Yucatec adolescents. The Yucatec Maya adolescents in the U.S. were most involved with community groups, and most focused on learning the Maya culture such as the jaranas. These cultural networks, as shown in the literature (Popkin, 1999:2005; Portes et al., 2005; Prelat & Maciel, 2007), are very important for the adolescents in the U.S. due to the fact that they do not have a physical space that is a consistent reminder of the Mayan culture that the adolescents living in the “hub” of the Maya culture have.

The jarana dance classes are very popular amongst the services and activities that the HTAs offer that attract youth. One Yucatec Maya adolescent that described his experiences with his dance group is an example of the reclamation and empowerment that can be found by becoming involved with cultural activities that increase awareness of Maya culture in the U.S. and in Mexico. The Yucatec Maya adolescent went with his dance group to perform at the Chabot Science Center in Oakland, CA. After his performance that was primarily to a non-Yucatec Maya audience, the teenager was able to watch a documentary about Chichen Itza and learn a little about Maya history and ancient Maya accomplishments. In a way this
experience allowed the youth to reclaim the research conducted by scholars about his culture’s history and feel proud and empowered by his new knowledge of his culture.

The Yucatec Maya adolescents were involved in few clubs at school, but many were part of sports teams and some were involved with band and dance groups. Unlike the adolescents in the U.S., the adolescents in Mexico were not really involved with groups focused on culture at school or in their community. However, the adolescents in Mexico were more involved with church groups than those in the U.S. Yet the adolescents in Mexico participated in many cultural celebrations within their towns and hence developed a thorough knowledge of Mayan cultural practices because of the involvement with these events.

Many of the Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico stated that they would like to be more involved with cultural groups. As mentioned earlier, INDEMAYA has programs for youth, but many adolescents are not aware of the programs. They try to connect more to the youth through using technology to make a Maya course curriculum available online, releasing “pop” songs in Maya, or remaking common Mexican board games in Maya. Technology is increasingly becoming a platform for connecting transnational communities. Social networks are now being used to connect the Yucatecos in the U.S. and in other parts of the world back to Yucatan. A Facebook (a popular internet social network) homepage for the rural town where the adolescents interviewed are from provides information about the Maya culture updated daily to the members that “like” the page. The information posted includes Maya phrases, Maya cuisine recipes, Maya legends, and current celebrations occurring in the town, amongst other updates.
Ultimately the interviews revealed the complexities of these adolescents’ lives and all that encompasses their cultural and ethnic identities. The interviews reflect the agency, reclamation of culture, and lived experiences that make up the Indigenous and non-Indigenous adolescents of this study.

**Conclusion and Future Directions**

This dissertation study, in multiple ways, has found that Indigenous adolescents have different psychological and cultural experiences when compared to non-Indigenous Latina/o adolescents. When discussing the process of perceived discrimination, for example, being an Indigenous, first generation, male, knowledgeable of Maya would put the adolescent at extremely higher risks of experiencing more perceived discrimination acts and distress. Nonetheless, Indigenous and non-Indigenous adolescents were similar in processes such as all having strong ethnic identities or having high levels of school belonging. However, the current study is the first to specifically reveal the stigma placed on Indigenous culture and Maya language, the stereotypes of Indigenous people such as being unintelligent, and the general invisibility of the Yucatec Maya group. The study exposes how all these factors change the psychological processes (such as having higher perceived discrimination) these Indigenous adolescents go through as compared to non-Indigenous adolescents.

The intra-/inter-group differences and intra-/inter- group stigmatization experienced by the Indigenous Latina/os is alarming and has implications for how the Indigenous youth can maintain and preserve their Yucatec Maya culture in the midst of all the stigma and discrimination. The interviews provide a snapshot of how these
adolescents feel about and define their cultures, and furthermore what ideas they have to preserve their culture in the midst of all the stigma surrounding it, on top of the influence that parents, peers, school, and social and ethnic networks have on their identities. In the interviews, the adolescents show pride in being Yucatec Maya and are determined to find solutions in order for the Mayan culture to be preserved. The persistence, inclusivity of other cultures, and adaptation of the Yucatec Maya adolescents’ identity reflects an identity that is dynamic, malleable, and constantly changing in order to persevere and be passed down to future generations. In essence, this study reveals the process of developing an ethnic identity beyond the stage of ethnic identity achievement as discussed in the literature (Phinney 1992; Roberts et al., 1999); an identity that transcends the prejudice and stigma surrounding the group and empowers the adolescents to continue to want to preserve it, which can be defined as a resilient Indigenous ethnic identity. Ultimately these Yucatec-Maya may embrace the ethnic identity being isolated by the other identities (Mexican and American), and make it an asset and tool toward overcoming the criticism and barriers set upon them because of the way others view that same identity, hence increasing the perseverance of goals and adaptation in the mainstream culture.

The more perceived discrimination experienced by Indigenous adolescents in the U.S. should caution educators and practitioners to not assume that the students labeled under a specific category (e.g. Latino or Mexican) are processing things in the same way. There may be difficult experiences and psychological processes they are encountering as they are adjusting to American culture because of their Indigenous identity. Furthermore, the study brings exposure to stigma and ethnic/racial
discrimination coming not only from the non-Latina/os in society, but also from within the Latina/o and Mexican community, faced by the growing population of indigenous immigrants in the U.S. and large numbers of marginalized Indigenous peoples in Mexico.

This study is foundational in serving as a tool for creating programs for Indigenous youth to promote ethnic identity and support the adolescents in confronting and dealing with discrimination. The study can serve to understand how to approach the adolescents, for example, the fact that Maya boys face more perceived discrimination may have implication for how to influence and advice them or what intervention programs to create specifically for them. Hometown associations can use this study to address issues such Maya language loss by having more awareness of the fact that Maya language is related to increased perceived discrimination and less acculturation to the dominant culture. Through such awareness the coordinators of language classes, for example, can discuss the history of why Maya is so stigmatized or coordinate activities that can make learning Maya something positive. Thus encouraging the preservation of the Maya culture, increasing the adolescents’ pride for their culture, and empowering them to continue to identify with and share their Indigenous culture.

Also the study shows how interdisciplinary, cross-national research is needed in order to further our understanding of the complexities and diversity found in Latina/o groups. How Indigenous adolescents are shown to fit within the literature and within the classrooms is very consequential for their success in school.
The understanding of these Indigenous adolescents ethnic identity, acculturation, perceived discrimination, and schooling as they relate to both individual (e.g., gender) and external (e.g., family) factors builds a platform in which further studies on specific aspects of the Indigenous adolescents’ experiences can be explored. Future research can broaden the study of perceived discrimination across the diverse Latina/o adolescents by comparing these Indigenous adolescents’ experiences with perceived discrimination with that of Afro-Latina/o adolescents.

Lastly, based on the findings of the study other studies can be conducted to explore certain aspects of the Indigenous Latina/o identity with other Indigenous Latina/os (e.g., Zapotecs and Mixtecs from Oaxaca) to begin to created and validate an Indigenous Latina/o identity measure and model. This model would be helpful for scholars, educators, and community organizations that research and serve the Indigenous Latino/a population, specifically ones working towards preserving the Indigenous culture and language.

**Limitations**

This was a cross-sectional study measuring processes such as perceived discrimination and ethnic identity that would benefit from longitudinal research (Garcia Coll, et al, 2006; Greene et al., 2006). However, the research was conducted within some time constraints and in the future a longitudinal study could be pursued.

Another limitation was the fact that, although all the scales employed in the quantitative part of the study worked, some scales did not have as high reliabilities as others for the Yucatec Maya adolescents. This suggests that more culturally relevant measures specific to Indigenous Latina/o adolescents should be created.
Furthermore only 38 out of 201 adolescents were interviewed. The limited amount of interviews cannot be used to generalize to all Yucatec Maya adolescents. However, the interviews do unveil reoccurring themes in which one can build from to begin to understand the experiences of the adolescents researched. Another limitation is the fact that the adolescents were interviewed in a single session. Seidman (2006) suggests conducting a series of interviews to be able to better understand the responses of the interviewees in context. Again, due to time and financial constrains this was not possible.

Nonetheless, this study is the first comprehensive, cross-cultural study on Yucatec Maya Indigenous Latina/o adolescents in the U.S. and Mexico. No other study to this date has revealed the depth, complexity, and lived experiences of the Yucatec Maya adolescents as they (re)create and (re)claim their malleable Indigenous identity across the multiple geographical, social, psychological, and cultural spaces they find themselves in. It is critical to understand the Yucatec Maya youth’s resilient ethnic identity emerging regardless of the discrimination they face from non-Latina/o/non-Mexican groups and their own Latina/o/Mexican communities. This finding, regarding the resilient ethnic identity of Yucatec Maya adolescents, is foundational in continuing the research around Indigenous youth in the U.S., Mexico, and across other nations in the increasingly linked global world.
APPENDIX A: Parent Permission, Consent & Assent Forms

NOTE: Researcher’s phone number was removed from all the forms for privacy, for the purpose of including the forms in the dissertation. The actual forms that were given had the researcher’s phone number.

Parent Permission Form-English

Parent or Legally Authorized Representative Permission Form

STUDY TITLE: Indígena, Latino/a y/o Americano?: An exploratory study of ethnic identity and acculturation processes for Yucatec-Maya immigrant adolescents

PROTOCOL DIRECTOR: Saskias Casanova (arcoazul@stanford.edu)-(xxx) xxx-xxx and Amado Padilla apadilla@stanford.edu

DESCRIPTION: Your child,__________________________, has been invited to participate in a research study on the development of their identity as it relates and changes at school versus at home. In doing this, your child will be asked to answer a number of questions about racial and ethnic identity in these different situations. These questions will have to do with language, values, traditions, family life, and education. All the information will remain confidential and will be used in order to learn more about the relationships between identity in youth and their perceptions of school.

Your child can refuse to answer any question at any time if he/she feels uncomfortable during the study. The answers to the questions or decision to discontinue the study will not affect your child’s academics or place in school in any way.

The study will consist of surveys and if possible an interview with your child. The interview will be conducted after your child has completed the surveys. Your child will be invited to participate in the interview, but at any time can refuse to do it. If interviewed your child will be audio taped. The interview will consist of a couple questions about life at home and school and culture. The audio recordings will be erased after the interview is written out. The recordings and writing will not have the identity of your child revealed.

TIME INVOLVEMENT: Your child’s participation in this study will take approximately 30-60 minutes.

RISKS AND BENEFITS: The study will not harm your child. The risks associated with this study are feeling uncomfortable or shy or not wanting to answer specific questions. The benefits that may reasonably be expected to result from this study are learning more about the Mexican Maya identity and how different situations affect the way you think about your culture. The benefits to psychology will be great in widening the field’s approach to socio cultural issues of racial and ethnic identity. Your child will also be able to learn from the study after they have completed it by asking any questions in regards to the study’s outcome and contribution to a larger field of research. We cannot and do not guarantee or promise that your child will receive any benefits from this study.

Your decision whether or not to allow your child to participate in this study will not affect your child's grades or participation in school.

PAYMENTS: Your child will receive movie tickets as payment for his/her participation.

SUBJECT'S RIGHTS: If you have read this form and have decided to allow your child to participate in this project, please understand your child’s participation is voluntary and your child has the right to withdraw his/her consent or discontinue participation at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which he/she is otherwise entitled. Your child has the right to refuse to answer particular questions. Your child’s individual privacy will be maintained in all published and written data resulting from the study.
CONTACT INFORMATION:

Questions: If you have any questions, concerns or complaints about this research study, its procedures, risks and benefits, you should ask the Protocol Director, Saskias Casanova at xxx-xxx-xxxx.

Independent Contact: If you are not satisfied with how this study is being conducted, or if you have any concerns, complaints, or general questions about the research or your rights as a participant, please contact the Stanford Institutional Review Board (IRB) to speak to someone independent of the research team at (650)-723-2480 or toll free at 1-866-680-2906. You can also write to the Stanford IRB, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305-5401. 

Appointment Contact: If you need to change your appointment, please contact Saskias at xxx-xxx-xxx.

I give consent for my child to be audio taped during the interview part of the study following the survey questions.

Please initial: _____ Yes _____ No

I give consent for tapes resulting from this study to be used for writing out what was said in the interviews about their identities. These tapes will be erased after being written out for the research paper.

Please initial: _____ Yes _____ No

Signature(s) of Parent(s), Guardian or Conservator               Date

The IRB determined that the permission of one parent is sufficient for research to be conducted under 45 CFR 46.404, in accordance with 45 CFR 46.408(b).

Parent Permission Form-Spanish

Permiso del Padre o Representante Legal

TITULO DEL ESTUDIO: Indígena, Latino/a y/o Americano?: An exploratory study of ethnic identity and acculturation processes for Yucatec-Maya immigrant adolescents (Indígena, Latino/a y/o Americano: Un estudio sobre la identidad y aculturación de adolescentes Inmigrantes Yucatecos Maya de México)

DIRECTOR DEL PROTOCOLO: Saskias Casanova (arcoazul@stanford.edu)-xxx-xxx-xxxx y Amado Padilla apadilla@stanford.edu

DESCRIPCION:

Su hijo/a, ___________________, ha sido invitado a participar en un estudio relacionado al desarrollo de identidad y como este se relaciona y cambia en la escuela y en la casa. Al tomar parte en este estudio si usted y su hijo/a aceptan la invitación, su hijo/a va ha recibir preguntas que si el/ella quiere contestara acerca de su identidad étnica y racial en diferentes situaciones. Estas preguntas tendrán que ver con lenguaje, valores, tradiciones, vida familiar, y educación. Toda la información se mantendrá confidencial y será usada para aprender más acerca de la relación entre la identidad de la juventud y sus percepciones acerca de la escuela.

Durante el estudio, su hijo/a en cualquier momento puede rehusarse a contestar cualquiera pregunta que lo/la haga sentir incómodo/a. Las respuestas a las preguntas ó la decisión de descontinuar el estudio no afectara los estudios académicos de su hijo/a ó su situación escolar de ninguna forma.

El estudio constituirá de unas encuestas y si es posible de una entrevista con su hijo/a. La entrevista se hará después que su hijo/a termine las preguntas de la encuesta. Su hijo/a va ser invitado ha participar en una entrevista, pero a cualquier momento puede rehusarse ha contestar o ser parte de la entrevista. Si su hijo/a decide hacer la entrevista será grabado por audio. La entrevista se trata sobre unas preguntas acerca de su vida en casa y en la escuela y de la cultura. Las cintas de audio serán borradas después de ser escritas para el estudio. Las cintas de audio y lo escrito no revelaran la
identidad de su hijo/a. Es importante que se le explique a su hijo/a y que el/ella entienda que la participación en este estudio es completamente voluntaria y que el/ella tiene el derecho de retirar su consentimiento ó descontinuar su participación en cualquier momento sin recibir ninguna sanción. Por favor expliquen a su hijo/a que puede dejar el estudio a cualquier tiempo y no le afectara en nada académico.

**TIEMPO DE INVOLUCRAMIENTO:** Su participación de su hijo/a en el estudio será de 30-60 minutos.

**RIESGOS Y BENEFICIOS:**
El estudio no dañará a su hijo/a. El único riesgo para su hijo/a es sentirse un poco tímido o no querer contestar ciertas preguntas. Los beneficios para la psicología serán grandes ampliando el enfoque sociocultural en temas de identidad racial y étnica en este campo. Después de completar el estudio, su hijo/a también tendrá la oportunidad de aprender de él haciendo preguntas acerca de los resultados del estudio y sus contribuciones en el campo de la investigación. No garantizamos o prometemos que su hijo/a recibirá algún beneficio del estudio. Su decisión sobre dejar participar o no a su hijo/a en este estudio no afectara sus notas o participación/logros académicos en la escuela.

**PAGOS:** Su hijo/a recibirá pase para ir al cine por tomar tiempo para hacer este estudio.

**DERECHOS DEL PARTICIPANTE:** Si ha leído este informe y decidido permitir que su hijo/a participe en este estudio, por favor entienda que la participación de su hijo/a es completamente voluntaria y su hijo/a tiene derecho ha dejar su consentimiento y no continuar con la participación sin ninguna penalidad o perdida de beneficios que tiene. Su hijo/a tiene derecho de no contestar ciertas preguntas. La privacidad de su hijo/a será mantenida en todas las partes publicadas y datos escritos como resultados del estudio.

**INFORMACION DE CONTACTOS**

**Preguntas:** Si tiene alguna pregunta, inquietud, o queja sobre este estudio de investigación, sus procedimientos, riesgos, beneficios, debe comunicarse con la Directora del protocolo, Saskias Casanova al xxx-xxx-xxxx.

**Contacto Independiente:** Si no esta satisfecho/a con la manera en la que el estudio se realiza o si tiene alguna inquietud, queja, o pregunta sobre sus derechos y el de su hijo/a como sujeto de investigación, puede comunicarse con el Stanford Institutional Review Board (IRB) para hablar con alguna persona informada que no esté relacionada con el equipo de investigación y que pueda proporcionarle información. Llame al (650)-723-2480 o al numero gratuito 1-866-680-2906. O escriba a Stanford IRB, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305-5401.

**Contacto de la cita:** Si necesita cambiar la hora de cita para su hijo/a llame a Saskias al xxx-xxx-xxxx.

Le doy permiso a mi hijo/a a que lo graben con audio para durante la entrevista que sigue después de las preguntas de encuesta.

Por favor ponga sus iniciales: _____ Si    ____ No

Le doy permiso a usar estas cintas de audio para escribir las respuestas en ensayo sobre el estudio sobre las identidades y después entiendo que serán borradas y destruidos.

Por favor ponga sus iniciales: _____ Si    ____ No

___________________________________________________________________________________

_______

Firma(s) del Padre(s), Guardián o Representante Oficial             Fecha

El IRB determino que el permiso de un padre es suficiente conducir esta investigación por el 45 CFR 46.404, en acuerdo con 45 CFR 46.408(b).
Adolescent Assent Form (Adolescents less than 18 years old)-English

Title: Indígena, Latino/a y/o Americano?: An exploratory study of ethnic identity and acculturation processes for Yucatec-Maya immigrant adolescents

What will happen to me in this study?
This is a study about your experiences where you live. We would like to see if you would like to be in this study. We want to know more about how you live, what you like doing, and how you like school.
Only if you want to, you will be asked to do the following:
1. Answer the survey questions as best as you can, being honest about your answers.
2. Might be asked to be interviewed and audio recorded.

Can anything bad happen to me?
You may feel shy if you are asked to be interviewed or even when answering the survey questions. You should tell me if you do not understand something or do not want to answer it. At any time you can say you do not want to answer and continue with the study or decide to stop.

Can anything good happen to me?
This study will not provide you with anything new or information. But it will help people understand the experiences of students like you.

Do I have other choices?
You can choose not to be in this study at any time.

Who can I talk to about the study?
You can ask questions any time. You can ask now. You can ask later. You can talk to me or you can talk to you parents about it.

What if I do not want to do this?
You don’t have to be in this study. No one will be mad at you if you don’t want to do this. If you don’t want to be in this study, you just have to tell me. If you want to be in this study, just tell me. And, remember, you can say “yes” now and change your mind later. It’s up to you.
If you need to contact me, Saskias Casanova for any reason please call xxx-xxx-xxxx.
If you are not happy about this study or if you have any questions, please contact the Stanford Institutional Review Board (IRB) to speak to someone other than me (650)-723-2480 or toll free at 1-866-680-2906 or write the Stanford IRB, Administrative Panels Office, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305-5401.

Do you understand this study and are you willing to participate?
☐ YES  ☐ NO

Are you okay with being tape recorded if asked to be interviewed?
☐ YES  ☐ NO
Adolescent Assent Form (Adolescents less than 18 years old)-Spanish

Title: Indígena, Latino/a y/o Americano: Un estudio sobre la identidad y aculturación de adolescentes Inmigrantes Yucatecos Maya de México

¿Que me pasara en este estudio?
Este es un estudio sobre sus experiencias en donde vives. Nos gustaría que participara en el estudio. Quisiéramos saber más sobre como vives, que te gusta hacer, y como te gusta la escuela.
Solo si quieres, te pediremos que hagas lo siguiente:
1. Contestar las preguntas en la encuesta lo mejor que puedas.
2. Puede ser invitado a participar en una entrevista que sería audio-grabada

¿Me puede pasar algo malo?
Puedes sentirte tímido/a si te entrevistan o hasta cuando estés contestando las preguntas de la encuesta. Me debes decir si no entiendes algo o si no quieres contestar alguna pregunta. En cualquier momento puedes decirmelo que no quieres contestar alguna pregunta o incluso continuar la encuesta o entrevista.

¿Me puede pasar algo bueno?
Este estudio no te provendrá con información o algo nuevo. Pero va ayudar a que la gente en general entienda y sepa más sobre las experiencias de estudiantes como tu.

¿Tengo otras opciones?
Puedes escoger no participar en el estudio en cualquier momento.

¿Con quien puedo hablar sobre este estudio?
Puedes hacer preguntas en cualquier momento. Puedes hablar conmigo o con tus padres sobre ello.

¿Qué pasa si no quiero hacer esto?
No tienes que participar en este estudio. Nadie se va molestar si no quieres participar en el estudio. Si no quieres hacer esto solo dímelo. Y, acuérdate que aunque hallas dicho que “si” lo haces ahorita, puedes cambiar de parecer más tarde. Es tu decisión. Si necesitas contactarme, Saskias Casanova, por cualquiera razón por favor háblame a xxx-xxx-xxxx.
Si no estas feliz con este estudio o tienes otras preguntas, por favor contacte al Stanford Institutional Review Board (IRB) para hablar con alguien mas que yo (650)-723-2480 or toll free at 1-866-680-2906 o escriba a Stanford IRB, Administrative Panels Office, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305-5401.

¿Entiendes este estudio y estas dispuesto ha participar en ello?
☐ SI ☐ NO
Adolescent Consent Form (Adolescents 18 years and older)-English

Consent Form

STUDY TITLE: Indígena, Latino/a y/o Americano?: An exploratory study of ethnic identity and acculturation processes for Yucatec-Maya immigrant adolescents

PROTOCOL DIRECTOR: Saskias Casanova (arcoazul@stanford.edu)-xxx-xxx-xxxx and Amado Padilla apadilla@stanford.edu

DESCRIPTION: You are invited to participate in a research study on ethnic identity. These questions will have to do with language, values, traditions, family life, and education. All the information will remain confidential and will be used in order to learn more about the relationships between identity in youth and their perceptions of school.

You will be asked to engage in filling out a couple of surveys and then might be asked to engage in an interview with the experimenter. The interview will be conducted after you have completed the surveys. You will be invited to participate in the interview, but at any time can refuse to do it. If interviewed you will be audio taped. The interview will consist of a couple questions about life at home and school and culture. The audio recordings will be erased after the interview is written out. The recordings and writing will not have your identity revealed.

TIME INVOLVEMENT: Your participation in this experiment will take approximately 30-60 minutes.

RISKS AND BENEFITS: The risks associated with this study are feeling uncomfortable or shy or not wanting to answer specific questions. The benefits that may reasonably be expected to result from this study are learning more about the Maya Mexican identity and how different situations affect the way you think about your culture. The benefits to psychology will be great in widening the field’s view of issues of racial and ethnic identity. You will also be able to learn from the study, by asking any questions in regards to the study’s outcome and contribution to a larger field of research. We cannot and do not guarantee or promise that you will receive any benefits from this study.

Your decision whether or not participate in this study will not affect your grades or participation in school.

PAYMENTS: You will receive movie tickets by the experimenter as appreciation for your time.

SUBJECT'S RIGHTS: If you have read this form and have decided to participate in this project, please understand your participation is voluntary and you have the right to withdraw your consent or discontinue participation at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. You have the right to refuse to answer particular questions. Your individual privacy will be maintained in all published and written data resulting from the study.
CONTACT INFORMATION:

Questions: If you have any questions, concerns or complaints about this research study, its procedures, risks and benefits, you should ask the Protocol Director, Saskias Casanova at xxx-xxx-xxxx.

Independent Contact: If you are not satisfied with how this study is being conducted, or if you have any concerns, complaints, or general questions about the research or your rights as a participant, please contact the Stanford Institutional Review Board (IRB) to speak to someone independent of the research team at (650)-723-2480 or toll free at 1-866-680-2906. You can also write to the Stanford IRB, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305-5401.

Appointment Contact: If you need to change your appointment, please contact Saskias at xxx-xxx-xxxx.

I give consent to be audio taped during this study when interviewed.
Please initial: _____ Yes _____ No

I give consent for tapes resulting from this study to be used for writing out what was said in the interviews about their identities. These tapes will be erased after being written out for the research paper.
Please initial: _____ Yes _____ No

The extra copy of this consent form is for you to keep.

SIGNATURE ___________________________ DATE____________________________

Adolescent Consent Form (Adolescents 18 years and older)-Spanish

Forma de Consentimiento

TITULO DEL ESTUDIO: Indígena, Latino/a y/o Americano?: An exploratory study of ethnic identity and acculturation processes for Yucatec-Maya immigrant adolescents (Indígena, Latino/a y/o Americano: Un estudio sobre la identidad y aculturación de adolescentes Inmigrantes Yucatecos Maya de México)

DIRECTOR DEL PROTOCOLO: Saskias Casanova (arcoazul@stanford.edu)-xxx-xxx-xxxx y Amado Padilla apadilla@stanford.edu

DESCRIPCION:

Ha sido invitado a participar en un estudio relacionado al desarrollo de identidad y como este se relaciona y cambia en la escuela y en la casa. Al tomar parte en este estudio acepta la invitación, va ha recibir preguntas que si quiere contestara acerca de su identidad étnica y racial en diferentes situaciones. Estas preguntas tendrán que ver con lenguaje, valores, tradiciones, vida familiar, y educación. Toda la información se mantendrá confidencial y será usada para aprender más acerca de la relación entre la identidad de la juventud y sus percepciones acerca de la escuela.

Durante el estudio, puede rehusarse a contestar cualquiera pregunta que lo/la haga sentir incómodo/a. Las respuestas a las preguntas ó la decisión de descontinuar el estudio no afectara sus estudios académicos ó su situación escolar de ninguna forma.

El estudio constituirá de unas encuestas y si es posible que sea invitado a una entrevista. La entrevista se hará después que termine las preguntas de la encuesta. A cualquier momento puede rehusarse ha contestar o ser parte de la entrevista. La entrevista será grabado por audio. La entrevista se tratara sobre unas preguntas acerca de su vida en casa y en la escuela y de la cultura Yucateca Maya.
Los cintas de audio serán borradas después de ser escritas para el estudio. Las cintas de audio y lo escrito no revelaran su identidad. Tiene el derecho de retirar su consentimiento ó descontinuar su participación en cualquier momento sin recibir ninguna sanción.

**TIEMPO DE INVOLUCRAMIENTO:** Su participación en el estudio será de 30-60 minutos.

**Riesgos y Beneficios:**
El único riesgo es sentirse un poco tímido o no querer contestar ciertas preguntas. Los beneficios para la psicología serán grandes ampliando el enfoque sociocultural en temas de identidad racial y étnica en este campo. Después de completar el estudio, tendrá la oportunidad de aprender de sí mismo haciendo preguntas acerca de los resultados del estudio y sus contribuciones en el campo de la investigación. No garantizamos o prometemos que recibirá algún beneficio del estudio. Su decisión sobre participar o no en este estudio no afectara sus notas o participación/logros académicos en la escuela.

**PAGOS:** Recibira pases para ir al cine por tomar tiempo para hacer este estudio.

**DERECHOS DEL PARTICIPANTE:** Si ha leído este informe y decidido participar en este estudio, por favor entienda que su participación es completamente voluntaria y tiene derecho de dejar su consentimiento y no continuar con la participación sin ninguna penalidad o perdida de beneficios que tiene. Tiene derecho de no contestar ciertas preguntas. Su privacidad será mantenida en todas las partes publicadas y datos escritos como resultados del estudio.

**INFORMACION DE CONTACTOS:**
**Preguntas:** Si tiene alguna pregunta, inquietud, o queja sobre este estudio de investigación, sus procedimientos, riesgos, beneficios, debe comunicarse con la Directora del protocolo, Saskias Casanova al xxx-xxx-xxxx.

**Contacto Independiente:** Si no esta satisfecho/a con la manera en la que el estudio se realiza o si tiene alguna inquietud, queja, o pregunta sobre sus derechos y el de su hijo/a como sujeto de investigación, puede comunicarse con el Stanford Institutional Review Board (IRB) para hablar con alguna persona informada que no este relacionada con el equipo de investigación y que pueda proporcionarle información. Llame al (650)-723-2480 o al numero gratuito 1-866-680-2906. O escriba a Stanford IRB, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305-5401.

**Contacto de la cita:** Si necesita cambiar la hora de cita para su hijo/a llame a Saskias al xxx-xxx-xxxx.

Le doy permiso de grabarme con audio durante la entrevista que sigue después de las preguntas de encuesta:

*Por favor ponga sus iniciales:* _____ Si _____ No

Le doy permiso a usar estas cintas de audio para escribir las respuestas en ensayo sobre el estudio sobre las identidades Yucatecas Mayas y después entiendo que serán borradas y destruidos

*Por favor ponga sus iniciales:* _____ Si _____ No

______________________________ ____________________
Firma Fecha

La otra copia es para usted para conservar para sus recortes.
APPENDIX B: Surveys & Interview Protocols

SURVEYS

U.S. English Survey: For both Yucatec Maya and non-Yucatec Maya adolescents

The English survey was the exact same for all the adolescents in the U.S. If the adolescent was not Yucatec Maya they skipped the Maya Language section.

In this country, people come from many different countries and cultures, and there are many different words to describe the different backgrounds or ethnic groups that people come from. Some examples of ethnic groups are Latino, Yucateco-Mayan, African American, Mexican, American Indian, Navajo, Asian American, Chinese, and many others. These questions are about your ethnicity or your ethnic group and how you feel about it or react to it.

Please fill in: In terms of ethnic group, I consider myself to be ___________________.

Use the numbers below to indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.
(5) Strongly agree
(4) Agree
(3) Neutral
(2) Disagree
(1) Strongly disagree

1) I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs. _____

2) I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group. _____

3) I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me. _____

4) I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership. _____

5) I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to. _____

6) I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group. _____

7) I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me. _____

8) In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group. _____

9) I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group. _____

10) I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs. _____

11) I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group. _____

12) I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background. _____

13) My ethnicity is (write the numbers that apply): ________
(1) Asian or Asian American, including Chinese, Japanese, and others
(2) Black or African American
(3) Hispanic or Latino
(4) Mexican, Mexican-American, Central American, and others
(5) American Indian/Native American
(6) Yucatec-Maya, Yucateco/a
(7) Mixed; Parents are from two different groups or Mestizo
(8) White, Caucasian, Anglo, European American; not Hispanic
(9) Other (write in): _____________________________________

14) My father's ethnicity is (use numbers above)       _________
15) My mother's ethnicity is (use numbers above)           _________
Use the following scale to answer the following questions.

1- Very much
2- Much
3- Somewhat
4- A little
5- Not at all

1. How frequently do you speak Maya at home?  _____
2. How frequently do you hear Maya spoken at home?   _____
3. How frequently do you speak Maya at school?    _____
4. How frequently do you hear Maya spoken at school?   _____
5. How frequently do you speak Maya with your friends?   _____
6. How frequently do you hear Maya spoken by your friends?  _____
7. How much Maya do you understand?     _____

Here are some questions about you as a student in school. Please choose the number that you agree with.

1. I feel like I belong in this school.
   1  2  3  4  5
   Not at all true of me Somewhat true of me Very true of me

2. I feel proud of my school.
   1  2  3  4  5
   Not at all true of me Somewhat true of me Very true of me

3. I feel like I matter in my school.
   1  2  3  4  5
   Not at all true of me Somewhat true of me Very true of me

4. I do not feel like I am important in this school.
   1  2  3  4  5
   Not at all true of me Somewhat true of me Very true of me
The following are questions about experiences that sometimes may happen because of one's race or ethnicity. In each case, please tell us whether the experience has ever happened to you because of your race or ethnicity. If the answer is “Yes,” then indicate how UPSETTING the experience was for you. If it happened to you more than once, base your answer on the LAST TIME it happened.

1. You were given a lower grade than you deserved.
   Has this ever happened to you because of your race or ethnicity? __Yes    __No
   If YES. Indicate how upsetting this experience was for you
   1  2       3   4
   Not at all upsetting        A little upsetting     Quite upsetting        Very upsetting

2. You were unfairly disciplined or given after-school detention.
   Has this ever happened to you because of your race or ethnicity? __Yes    __No
   If YES. Indicate how upsetting this experience was for you
   1  2       3   4
   Not at all upsetting        A little upsetting     Quite upsetting        Very upsetting

3. You were NOT selected to be in an honors or advanced level class.
   Has this ever happened to you because of your race or ethnicity? __Yes    __No
   If YES. Indicate how upsetting this experience was for you
   1  2       3   4
   Not at all upsetting        A little upsetting     Quite upsetting        Very upsetting

4. Other kids did not want you to join a school club.
   Has this ever happened to you because of your race or ethnicity? __Yes    __No
   If YES. Indicate how upsetting this experience was for you
   1  2       3   4
   Not at all upsetting        A little upsetting     Quite upsetting        Very upsetting

5. Teachers expected MORE of you than other students.
   Has this ever happened to you because of your race or ethnicity? __Yes    __No
   If YES. Indicate how upsetting this experience was for you
   1  2       3   4
   Not at all upsetting        A little upsetting     Quite upsetting        Very upsetting

6. Other kids thought you didn’t know English very well.
   Has this ever happened to you because of your race or ethnicity? __Yes    __No
   If YES. Indicate how upsetting this experience was for you
   1  2       3   4
   Not at all upsetting        A little upsetting     Quite upsetting        Very upsetting

7. You received poor service at a restaurant.
   Has this ever happened to you because of your race or ethnicity? __Yes    __No
   If YES. Indicate how upsetting this experience was for you
   1  2       3   4
   Not at all upsetting        A little upsetting     Quite upsetting        Very upsetting
8. Other kids did not include you in their activities.
   Has this ever happened to you because of your race or ethnicity? ___Yes  ___No
   If YES. Indicate how upsetting this experience was for you
   1  2       3   4
   Not at all upsetting       A little upsetting       Quite upsetting       Very upsetting

9. You got hassled by police.
   Has this ever happened to you because of your race or ethnicity? ___Yes  ___No
   If YES. Indicate how upsetting this experience was for you
   1  2       3   4
   Not at all upsetting       A little upsetting       Quite upsetting       Very upsetting

10. You got hassled by a store clerk or store guard.
    Has this ever happened to you because of your race or ethnicity? ___Yes  ___No
    If YES. Indicate how upsetting this experience was for you
    1  2       3   4
    Not at all upsetting       A little upsetting       Quite upsetting       Very upsetting

11. Other kids called you racially insulting names.
    Has this ever happened to you because of your race or ethnicity? ___Yes  ___No
    If YES. Indicate how upsetting this experience was for you
    1  2       3   4
    Not at all upsetting       A little upsetting       Quite upsetting       Very upsetting

12. Teachers expected LESS of you than other students.
    Has this ever happened to you because of your race or ethnicity? ___Yes  ___No
    If YES. Indicate how upsetting this experience was for you
    1  2       3   4
    Not at all upsetting       A little upsetting       Quite upsetting       Very upsetting

13. People acted like they thought you were not smart.
    Has this ever happened to you because of your race or ethnicity? ___Yes  ___No
    If YES. Indicate how upsetting this experience was for you
    1  2       3   4
    Not at all upsetting       A little upsetting       Quite upsetting       Very upsetting

14. People acted like they were afraid of you.
    Has this ever happened to you because of your race or ethnicity? ___Yes  ___No
    If YES. Indicate how upsetting this experience was for you
    1  2       3   4
    Not at all upsetting       A little upsetting       Quite upsetting       Very upsetting

15. You were expected to be good or NOT be good at a sport.
    Has this ever happened to you because of your race or ethnicity? ___Yes  ___No
    If YES. Indicate how upsetting this experience was for you
    1  2       3   4
    Not at all upsetting       A little upsetting       Quite upsetting       Very upsetting

16. You were threatened by other kids.
    Has this ever happened to you because of your race or ethnicity? ___Yes  ___No
    If YES. Indicate how upsetting this experience was for you
    1  2       3   4
    Not at all upsetting       A little upsetting       Quite upsetting       Very upsetting
17. You were teased about the way you look.
   Has this ever happened to you because of your race or ethnicity? __Yes     ___No
   If YES. Indicate how upsetting this experience was for you
   1             2       3   4
   Not at all upsetting        A little upsetting  Quite upsetting        Very upsetting

Please answer the following questions to the best of your ability. There is no right or wrong answer.

1. What languages do you read and speak?
   1  2       3   4  5
   Only Spanish  Spanish better than English   both equally   English better than Spanish   Only English

2. What language do your parents speak to you in?
   1  2       3   4  5
   Only Spanish  More Spanish than English   both equally   More English than Spanish   Only English

3. What languages do you usually speak at home?
   1  2       3   4  5
   Only Spanish  More Spanish than English   both equally   More English than Spanish   Only English

4. In which languages do you usually think?
   1  2       3   4  5
   Only Spanish  More Spanish than English   both equally   More English than Spanish   Only English

5. What language do you usually speak with your friends?
   1  2       3   4  5
   Only Spanish  More Spanish than English   both equally   More English than Spanish   Only English

6. In what languages are the T.V. programs you usually watch?
   1  2       3   4  5
   Only Spanish  More Spanish than English   both equally   More English than Spanish   Only English

7. In what languages are the radio programs you usually listen to?
   1  2       3   4  5
   Only Spanish  More Spanish than English   both equally   More English than Spanish   Only English

8. In what language are the movies, T.V., and radio programs you prefer to watch or listen to?
   1  2       3   4  5
   Only Spanish  More Spanish than English   both equally   More English than Spanish   Only English

9. In what languages do your parents speak with their parents (your grandparents)?
   1  2       3   4  5
   Only Spanish  More Spanish than English   both equally   More English than Spanish   Only English

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Please fill out this final page that is given to all participants in order to catalogue the diversity of participation. Please respond to all of the items.

1. What is your gender? Male ____ Female ____
2. How old are you? ____
3. What grade are you in? ______
4. What is your race? (for example: Indigenous, White, Asian, Black, etc.) ______________________
5. Where were you born? ______
6. How many years have you lived in the United States? ________ years
9. In what country were your parents born?
   Mother ____________________________ Father ____________________________

10. Make a list of your 5 closest friends. Write their initials and their ethnicity next to each number below:
   1.
   2.
   3.
   4.
   5.

11. What is your approximate GPA? _______

12. What is your ethnicity? ____________________________
U.S. Spanish Surveys: Translated surveys for both Yucatec Maya and non-Yucatec

Maya adolescents

En este país, la gente viene de muchos diferentes países y culturas, y hay muchas palabras diferentes que se refieren a las diferentes orígenes culturales o grupos étnicos de una persona. Algunos ejemplos de grupos étnicos son: latino/a, yucateco/a-maya, afro-americanó/a, mexicano/a, indio americano, navajo, asiático/a, chino/a, entre otros. Estas preguntas se tratan de tu etnicidad y tu grupo étnico (etnia) y cómo te hace sentir o cómo te hace reaccionar.

Por favor termina el enunciado: En términos de mi grupo étnico (etnia), Me considero ser____________________.

Usa los números de la escala para indicar cuán de acuerdo estás con los siguientes enunciados. Escribe el número después de cada enunciado en la línea.

(5) Firmemente de acuerdo
(4) De acuerdo
(3) Ni en desacuerdo o en acuerdo
(2) En desacuerdo
(1) Firmemente en desacuerdo

1) He tomado tiempo para averiguar más sobre mi grupo étnico (etnia), como sobre su historia, tradiciones, costumbres.       _____

2) Estoy participando en organizaciones o grupos sociales que incluyen mayormente miembros de mi grupo étnico (etnia).       _____

3) Tengo una comprensión clara de mi grupo étnico (etnia) y de lo que significa para mí.                    _____

4) Pienso mucho sobre como mi vida va ser afectada por ser miembro/a de este grupo étnico (etnia).                      _____

5) Soy feliz de ser miembro/a de este grupo al cual pertenezco.     _____

6) Tengo un gran sentido de ser parte de mi grupo étnico (etnia).        _____

7) Entiendo muy bien lo que significa mi grupo étnico (etnia) para mí.     _____

8) Para poder saber más sobre mi etnicidad (etnia), he hablado bastante con otra gente sobre mi grupo étnico (etnia) .   _____

9) Tengo mucho orgullo por mi grupo étnico (etnia)_____

10) Participo en actividades culturales de mi grupo, por ejemplo- comidas especiales, música, o costumbres. ____

11) Siento un gran cariño/ fuerte afición por mi grupo étnico (etnia)._____

12- Me siento muy bien sobre mi cultura y origen étnica._____

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13) Mi etnicidad es (Escribe los números que correspondan.): __________
   (1) asiático, asiático americano, incluyendo chino, japonés, y otros
   (2) negro o afro-americano, afro-latino
   (3) hispano o latino
   (4) mexicano, mexicano-americano, centroamericano, y otros
   (5) indio americano/americano indígena
   (6) yucatec-maya, yucateco/a
   (7) mezclado: padres de dos grupos diferentes o mestizo
   (8) blanco, anglo, euro-americano, europeo, no hispano
   (9) otro (escribelo): _____________________________________

14) La etnicidad de mi padre es (Usa los mismos números de arriba.) __________

15) La etnicidad de mi madre es (Usa los mismos números de arriba.) __________
Usa la siguiente escala para contestar las preguntas:
1-Muchísimo
2-Mucho
3-Algo
4-Un poco
5-Para nada

1. ¿Con cuánta frecuencia hablas maya en casa?     _____
2. ¿Con cuánta frecuencia oyes maya ser hablado en casa?    _____
3. ¿Con cuánta frecuencia hablas maya en la escuela?     _____
4. ¿Con cuánta frecuencia oyes maya ser hablado en la escuela?  _____
5. ¿Con cuánta frecuencia hablas maya con tus amigos/conocidos?  _____
6. ¿Con cuánta frecuencia oyes maya ser hablado entre tus amigos/conocidos?  _____
7. ¿Cuánto maya entiendes?      _____

Las siguientes preguntas se tratan de tu vida como estudiante en la escuela. Por favor escoge un número con el cual estás de acuerdo.

1. Siento que formo parte de esta escuela.
   1  2  3  4  5
   No es cierto       Un poco cierto       Muy cierto

2. Me siento orgulloso/a de mi escuela.
   1  2  3  4  5
   No es cierto       Un poco cierto       Muy cierto

3. Siento que le importo a mi escuela.
   1  2  3  4  5
   No es cierto       Un poco cierto       Muy cierto

4. No me siento como si fuera importante en esta escuela.
   1  2  3  4  5
   No es cierto       Un poco cierto       Muy cierto
Las siguientes preguntas se refieren a tus experiencias que resultan a veces por cuestión de raza, etnicidad, o cultura. En dicho caso, por favor indica si la experiencia ha ocurrido por tu raza, etnicidad, o cultura. Si tu respuesta es “Sí,” por favor indica qué tanto te sentiste DISGUSTADO/A\textsuperscript{149} por la experiencia. Si pasado más de una vez, basa tu respuesta en la ULTIMA VEZ que te pasó.

1. Te dieron una calificación más baja que lo que merecías.
   Te ha pasado por tu raza o etnicidad?   ___Sí  ___No
   Si tu respuesta es “Sí”, indica cuánto disgusto te causó esta experiencia.
   1  2  3  4  
   No me disgustó  Me disgustó un poco  Me disgustó bastante  Me disgustó muchísimo

2. Fuiste injustamente disciplinado o dado “detention” después de escuela.
   Te ha pasado por tu raza o etnicidad?   ___Sí  ___No
   Si tu respuesta es “Sí”, indica cuánto disgusto te causó esta experiencia.
   1  2  3  4  
   No me disgustó  Me disgustó un poco  Me disgustó bastante  Me disgustó muchísimo

3. NO fuiste seleccionado para una clase avanzada / Honors.
   Te ha pasado por tu raza o etnicidad?   ___Sí  ___No
   Si tu respuesta es “Sí”, indica cuánto disgusto te causó esta experiencia.
   1  2  3  4  
   No me disgustó  Me disgustó un poco  Me disgustó bastante  Me disgustó muchísimo

4. Los otros jóvenes no quisieron que seas parte de un club de escuela.
   Te ha pasado por tu raza o etnicidad?   ___Sí  ___No
   Si tu respuesta es “Sí”, indica cuánto disgusto te causó esta experiencia.
   1  2  3  4  
   No me disgustó  Me disgustó un poco  Me disgustó bastante  Me disgustó muchísimo

5. Los/las maestros/as esperaban MAS de ti que de otros estudiantes.
   Te ha pasado por tu raza o etnicidad?   ___Sí  ___No
   Si tu respuesta es “Sí”, indica cuánto disgusto te causó esta experiencia.
   1  2  3  4  
   No me disgustó  Me disgustó un poco  Me disgustó bastante  Me disgustó muchísimo

6. Los otros jóvenes pensaron que no hablas/sabes bien el inglés.
   Te ha pasado por tu raza o etnicidad?   ___Sí  ___No
   Si tu respuesta es “Sí”, indica cuánto disgusto te causó esta experiencia.
   1  2  3  4  
   No me disgustó  Me disgustó un poco  Me disgustó bastante  Me disgustó muchísimo

7. Recibiste mal servicio en un restaurante.
   Te ha pasado por tu raza o etnicidad?   ___Sí  ___No
   Si tu respuesta es “Sí”, indica cuánto disgusto te causó esta experiencia.
   1  2  3  4  
   No me disgustó  Me disgustó un poco  Me disgustó bastante  Me disgustó muchísimo

\textsuperscript{149} There are various translations for “upsetting” in the Spanish language. The range of these translations can be anywhere from “afecto” to “preocupar” to “disgustar” (the one used) to “molestar.” For the purposes of this study “disgustar” will be used as the translation for upsetting throughout the surveys.
8. Los otros jóvenes no te incluyeron en sus actividades.
   Te ha pasado por tu raza o etnicidad?          ___Sí     ___No
   Si tu respuesta es “Sí”, indica cuánto disgusto te causó esta experiencia.
   1  2       3   4
   No me disgustó     Me disgustó un poco     Me disgustó bastante     Me disgustó muchísimo

9. Fuiste molestado(a)/fastidiado(a) por la policía.
   Te ha pasado por tu raza o etnicidad?          ___Sí     ___No
   Si tu respuesta es “Sí”. Indica cuánto disgusto te causó esta experiencia.
   1  2       3   4
   No me disgustó     Me disgustó un poco     Me disgustó bastante     Me disgustó muchísimo

10. Fuiste molestado(a)/fastidiado(a) por un empleado o la guardia de seguridad de una tienda.
    Te ha pasado por tu raza o etnicidad?          ___Sí     ___No
    Si tu respuesta es “Sí”. Indica cuánto disgusto te causó esta experiencia.
    1  2       3   4
    No me disgustó     Me disgustó un poco     Me disgustó bastante     Me disgustó muchísimo

11. Los otros jóvenes te llamaron nombres que son racialmente ofensivos.
    Te ha pasado por tu raza o etnicidad?          ___Sí     ___No
    Si tu respuesta es “Sí”. Indica cuánto disgusto te causó esta experiencia.
    1  2       3   4
    No me disgustó     Me disgustó un poco     Me disgustó bastante     Me disgustó muchísimo

12. Los/las maestros/as esperaban MENOS de ti que de otros estudiantes.
    Te ha pasado por tu raza o etnicidad?          ___Sí     ___No
    Si tu respuesta es “Sí”. Indica cuánto disgusto te causó esta experiencia.
    1  2       3   4
    No me disgustó     Me disgustó un poco     Me disgustó bastante     Me disgustó muchísimo

13. La gente actuaba como si pensaran que tú no eres inteligente.
    Te ha pasado por tu raza o etnicidad?          ___Sí     ___No
    Si tu respuesta es “Sí”. Indica cuánto disgusto te causó esta experiencia.
    1  2       3   4
    No me disgustó     Me disgustó un poco     Me disgustó bastante     Me disgustó muchísimo

14. La gente actuaba como si te tuviera miedo.
    Te ha pasado por tu raza o etnicidad?          ___Sí     ___No
    Si tu respuesta es “Sí”. Indica cuánto disgusto te causó esta experiencia.
    1  2       3   4
    No me disgustó     Me disgustó un poco     Me disgustó bastante     Me disgustó muchísimo

15. Esperaban que fueras bueno o NO fueras bueno para algún deporte.
    Te ha pasado por tu raza o etnicidad?          ___Sí     ___No
    Si tu respuesta es “Sí”. Indica cuánto disgusto te causó esta experiencia.
    1  2       3   4
    No me disgustó     Me disgustó un poco     Me disgustó bastante     Me disgustó muchísimo
16. Fuiste amenazado por otros jóvenes.

Te ha pasado por tu raza o etnicidad?  ___Sí     ___No

Si tu respuesta es “Sí”. Indica cuánto disgusto te causó esta experiencia.

1  2       3   4
No me disgustó    Me disgustó un poco    Me disgustó bastante    Me disgustó muchísimo

17. Los otros jóvenes se burlaron de ti.

Te ha pasado por tu raza o etnicidad?  ___Sí     ___No

Si tu respuesta es “Sí”. Indica cuánto disgusto te causó esta experiencia.

1  2       3   4
No me disgustó    Me disgustó un poco    Me disgustó bastante    Me disgustó muchísimo

Por favor contesta las siguientes preguntas lo mejor que puedas. Ninguna respuesta es incorrecta.

1. ¿Qué idioma/lengua hablas y lees?

[Sólo Español]  [Español Mejor que Inglés]  [Los dos igualmente]  [Inglés Mejor que Español]  [Sólo Inglés]

2. ¿En qué idioma/lengua te hablan tus padres?

[Sólo Español]  [Español más que Inglés]  [Los dos igualmente]  [Inglés más que Español]  [Sólo Inglés]

3. ¿Qué idiomas/lenguas hablas normalmente en tu casa?

[Sólo Español]  [Español más que Inglés]  [Los dos igualmente]  [Inglés más que Español]  [Sólo Inglés]

4. ¿En qué idiomas/lenguas normalmente piensas?

[Sólo Español]  [Español más que Inglés]  [Los dos igualmente]  [Inglés más que Español]  [Sólo Inglés]

5. ¿En qué idioma/lengua normalmente hablas con tus amigos?

[Sólo Español]  [Español más que Inglés]  [Los dos igualmente]  [Inglés más que Español]  [Sólo Inglés]

6. ¿En qué idioma/lengua están los programas de televisión que miras?

[Sólo Español]  [Español más que Inglés]  [Los dos igualmente]  [Inglés más que Español]  [Sólo Inglés]

7. ¿En qué idioma/lengua están los programas de radio que escuchas?

[Sólo Español]  [Español más que Inglés]  [Los dos igualmente]  [Inglés más que Español]  [Sólo Inglés]

8. ¿En qué idioma/lengua están las películas, los programas de televisión, y los programas de radio que prefieres mirar o escuchar?

[Sólo Español]  [Español más que Inglés]  [Los dos igualmente]  [Inglés más que Español]  [Sólo Inglés]

9. ¿En qué idiomas/lenguas hablan tus padres a sus padres (tus abuelos)?

[Sólo Español]  [Español más que Inglés]  [Los dos igualmente]  [Inglés más que Español]  [Sólo Inglés]
10. Tus amigos cercanos son:

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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Todos Hispanos</td>
<td>Más Hispanos que Blancos</td>
<td>Igualmente Hispanos y Blancos</td>
<td>Más Blancos que Hispanos</td>
<td>Todos Blancos</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Todos Hispanos</td>
<td>Más Blancos que Hispanos</td>
<td>Igualmente Hispanos y Blancos</td>
<td>Más Blancos que Blancos</td>
<td>Todos Blancos</td>
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11. Prefieres ir a fiestas en donde la gente es:

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<td>Igualmente Hispanos y Blancos</td>
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12. La gente que visitas o que te visita es:

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<td>Todos Hispanos</td>
<td>Más Blancos que Blancos</td>
<td>Igualmente Hispanos y Blancos</td>
<td>Más Blancos que Blancos</td>
<td>Todos Blancos</td>
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</table>

Por favor completa esta última página que se da a todos los participantes para poder catalogar la diversidad de los participantes. Por favor contesta todas las preguntas.

1. ¿Cuál es tu sexo?  Masculino ____  Femenino____

2. ¿Cuántos años tienes? ______

3. ¿En qué grado cursas?________

4. ¿Cuál es tu raza? (por ejemplo: Indígena, Blanco, Asiático, Negro, etc.)

____________________

5. ¿Dónde naciste? ___________

6. ¿Cuántos años has vivido en los Estados Unidos?   ___________ años

7. ¿En qué país nacieron tus padres?
   Madre ____________________  Padre ____________________

8. Haz una lista de tus 5 amigos más cercanos. Escribe sus iniciales y su etnia (identidad étnica) después de cada número:
   1. 
   2. 
   3. 
   4. 
   5. 

9. ¿Cuál es tu promedio de puntaje de calificación (GPA) aproximadamente?  __________

10. ¿Cuál es tu etnia (identidad étnica)? ______________________________
Mexico Surveys: For Yucatec Maya adolescents in Mexico

The surveys given in Mexico are all in Spanish translated from the ones given in the U.S. The only differences are in the Perceived Discrimination Section (13 items instead of 17) and for the SASH-Y acculturation measure (since for these adolescents the measure explored the level of acculturation to Mexican culture; so Maya was inserted instead of Spanish and Hispanic and Spanish was instead of English and other Mexicans was inserted instead of White).

Por favor termina el enunciado: En términos de mi grupo étnico (etnia), Me considero ser__________________.

Usa los números de la escala para indicar cuán de acuerdo estás con los siguientes enunciados. Escribe el número después de cada enunciado en la línea.

(5) Firmemente de acuerdo
(4) De acuerdo
(3) Ni en desacuerdo o en acuerdo
(2) En desacuerdo
(1) Firmemente en desacuerdo

1) He tomado tiempo para averiguar más sobre mi grupo étnico (etnia), como sobre su historia, tradiciones, costumbres.       _____

2) Estoy participando en organizaciones o grupos sociales que incluyen mayormente miembros de mi grupo étnico (etnia).       _____

3) Tengo una comprensión clara de mi grupo étnico (etnia) y de lo que significa para mí.                    _____

4) Pienso mucho sobre cómo mi vida va ser afectada por ser miembro/a de este grupo étnico (etnia).                      _____

5) Soy feliz de ser miembro/a de este grupo al cual pertenezco.     _____

6) Tengo un gran sentido de ser parte de mi grupo étnico (etnia).        _____

7) Entiendo muy bien lo que significa mi grupo étnico (etnia) para mí.     _____

8) Para poder saber más sobre mi etnicidad (etnia), he hablado bastante con otra gente sobre mi grupo étnico (etnia). . _____

9) Tengo mucho orgullo por mi grupo étnico (etnia)                   _____

10) Participo en actividades culturales de mi grupo, por ejemplo- comidas especiales,
música, o costumbres.

11) Siento un gran cariño/ fuerte afición por mi grupo étnico (etnia).

12) Me siento muy bien sobre mi cultura y origen étnica.

13) **Mi etnicidad es (Escribe los números que correspondan.):**

   (1) asiático, asiático americano, incluyendo chino, japonés, y otros
   (2) negro o afro-americano, afro-latino
   (3) hispano o latino
   (4) mexicano, mexicano-americano, centroamericano, y otros
   (5) indio americano/americano indígena
   (6) yucatec-maya, yucateco/a
   (7) mezclado: padres de dos grupos diferentes o mestizo
   (8) blanco, anglo, euro-americano, europeo, no hispano
   (9) otro (escríbelo):

14) **La etnicidad de mi padre es (Usa los mismos números de arriba.):**

15) **La etnicidad de mi madre es (Usa los mismos números de arriba.):**
Usa la siguiente escala para contestar las preguntas:
1-Muchísimo
2-Mucho
3-Algo
4-Un poco
5-Para nada

1. ¿Con cuánta frecuencia hablas maya en casa?     _____
2. ¿Con cuánta frecuencia oyes maya ser hablado en casa?   _____
3. ¿Con cuánta frecuencia hablas maya en la escuela?    _____
4. ¿Con cuánta frecuencia oyes maya ser hablado en la escuela?  _____
5. ¿Con cuánta frecuencia hablas maya con tus amigos/conocidos?  _____
6. ¿Con cuánta frecuencia oyes maya ser hablado entre tus amigos/conocidos?        _____
7. ¿Cuánto maya entiendes?      _____

Las siguientes preguntas se tratan de tu vida como estudiante en la escuela. Por favor escoge y circula un número con el cual estás de acuerdo.

1. Siento que formo parte de esta escuela.
   1   2   3   4   5
   No es cierto       Un poco cierto       Muy cierto

2. Me siento orgulloso/a de mi escuela.
   1   2   3   4   5
   No es cierto       Un poco cierto       Muy cierto

3. Siento que le importo a mi escuela.
   1   2   3   4   5
   No es cierto       Un poco cierto       Muy cierto

4. No me siento como si fuera importante en esta escuela.
   1   2   3   4   5
   No es cierto       Un poco cierto       Muy cierto
Las siguientes preguntas se refieren a tus experiencias que resultan a veces por cuestión de raza, etnicidad, o cultura. En dicho caso, por favor indica si la experiencia ha ocurrido por tu raza, etnicidad, o cultura. Si tu respuesta es “Sí,” marca el “Sí,” con una X. Después, por favor CIRCULA el número que indica qué tanto te sentiste DISGUSTADO/A por la experiencia. Si pasó más de una vez, basa tu respuesta en la ULTIMA VEZ que te pasó.

1. Te dieron una calificación más baja que lo que merecías.
   Te ha pasado por tu raza o etnicidad?  ___Sí     ___No
   Si tu respuesta es “Sí”, indica cuánto disgusto te causó esta experiencia.
   1  2       3   4
   No me disgustó  Me disgustó un poco  Me disgustó bastante  Me disgustó muchísimo

2. Fuiste injustamente disciplinado o dado “detention” después de escuela.
   Te ha pasado por tu raza o etnicidad?  ___Sí     ___No
   Si tu respuesta es “Sí”, indica cuánto disgusto te causó esta experiencia.
   1  2       3   4
   No me disgustó  Me disgustó un poco  Me disgustó bastante  Me disgustó muchísimo

3. NO fuiste seleccionado para una clase avanzada / Honors.
   Te ha pasado por tu raza o etnicidad?  ___Sí     ___No
   Si tu respuesta es “Sí”, indica cuánto disgusto te causó esta experiencia.
   1  2       3   4
   No me disgustó  Me disgustó un poco  Me disgustó bastante  Me disgustó muchísimo

4. Los otros jóvenes no quisieron que seas parte de un club de escuela.
   Te ha pasado por tu raza o etnicidad?  ___Sí     ___No
   Si tu respuesta es “Sí”, indica cuánto disgusto te causó esta experiencia.
   1  2       3   4
   No me disgustó  Me disgustó un poco  Me disgustó bastante  Me disgustó muchísimo

5. Los/las maestros/as esperaban MAS de ti que de otros estudiantes.
   Te ha pasado por tu raza o etnicidad?  ___Sí     ___No
   Si tu respuesta es “Sí”, indica cuánto disgusto te causó esta experiencia.
   1  2       3   4
   No me disgustó  Me disgustó un poco  Me disgustó bastante  Me disgustó muchísimo

   Te ha pasado por tu raza o etnicidad?  ___Sí     ___No
   Si tu respuesta es “Sí”, indica cuánto disgusto te causó esta experiencia.
   1  2       3   4
   No me disgustó  Me disgustó un poco  Me disgustó bastante  Me disgustó muchísimo

7. Los otros jóvenes te llamaron nombres que son racialmente ofensivos.
   Te ha pasado por tu raza o etnicidad?  ___Sí     ___No
   Si tu respuesta es “Sí”. Indica cuánto disgusto te causó esta experiencia.
   1  2       3   4
   No me disgustó  Me disgustó un poco  Me disgustó bastante  Me disgustó muchísimo
8. Los/las maestros/as esperaban MENOS de ti que de otros estudiantes.
   Te ha pasado por tu raza o etnicidad?  ___Sí  ___No
   Si tu respuesta es “Sí”. Indica cuánto disgusto te causó esta experiencia.
   1  2  3  4
   No me disgustó  Me disgustó un poco  Me disgustó bastante  Me disgustó muchísimo

9. La gente actuaba como si pensaran que tú no eres inteligente.
   Te ha pasado por tu raza o etnicidad?  ___Sí  ___No
   Si tu respuesta es “Sí”. Indica cuánto disgusto te causó esta experiencia.
   1  2  3  4
   No me disgustó  Me disgustó un poco  Me disgustó bastante  Me disgustó muchísimo

10. La gente actuaba como si te tuviera miedo.
    Te ha pasado por tu raza o etnicidad?  ___Sí  ___No
    Si tu respuesta es “Sí”. Indica cuánto disgusto te causó esta experiencia.
    1  2  3  4
    No me disgustó  Me disgustó un poco  Me disgustó bastante  Me disgustó muchísimo

11. Esperaban que fueras bueno o NO fueras bueno para algún deporte.
    Te ha pasado por tu raza o etnicidad?  ___Sí  ___No
    Si tu respuesta es “Sí”. Indica cuánto disgusto te causó esta experiencia.
    1  2  3  4
    No me disgustó  Me disgustó un poco  Me disgustó bastante  Me disgustó muchísimo

12. Fuiste amenazado por otros jóvenes.
    Te ha pasado por tu raza o etnicidad?  ___Sí  ___No
    Si tu respuesta es “Sí”. Indica cuánto disgusto te causó esta experiencia.
    1  2  3  4
    No me disgustó  Me disgustó un poco  Me disgustó bastante  Me disgustó muchísimo

13. Los otros jóvenes se burlaron de ti.
    Te ha pasado por tu raza o etnicidad?  ___Sí  ___No
    Si tu respuesta es “Sí”. Indica cuánto disgusto te causó esta experiencia.
    1  2  3  4
    No me disgustó  Me disgustó un poco  Me disgustó bastante  Me disgustó muchísimo
Por favor contesta las siguientes preguntas lo mejor que puedas. CIRCULA el numero con cual estas de acuerdo. Ninguna respuesta es incorrecta.

1. ¿Qué idioma/lenguaje hablas y lees?
   - Sólo Maya
   - Maya mejor que Español
   - Los dos igualmente
   - Español mejor que Maya
   - Sólo Español

2. ¿En qué idioma/lengua te hablan tus padres?
   - Sólo Maya
   - Maya más que Español
   - Los dos igualmente
   - Español más que Maya
   - Sólo Español

3. ¿Qué idiomas/lenguas hablas normalmente en tu casa?
   - Sólo Maya
   - Maya más que Español
   - Los dos igualmente
   - Español más que Maya
   - Sólo Español

4. ¿En qué idiomas/lenguas normalmente piensas?
   - Sólo Maya
   - Maya más que Español
   - Los dos igualmente
   - Español más que Maya
   - Sólo Español

5. ¿En qué idioma/lenguaje normalmente hablas con tus amigos?
   - Sólo Maya
   - Maya más que Español
   - Los dos igualmente
   - Español más que Maya
   - Sólo Español

6. ¿En qué idioma/lenguaje están los programas de televisión que miras?
   - Sólo Maya
   - Maya más que Español
   - Los dos igualmente
   - Español más que Maya
   - Sólo Español

7. ¿En qué idioma/lenguaje están los programas de radio que escuchas?
   - Sólo Maya
   - Maya más que Español
   - Los dos igualmente
   - Español más que Maya
   - Sólo Español

8. ¿En qué idioma/lenguaje están las películas, los programas de televisión, y los programas de radio que prefieres mirar o escuchar?
   - Sólo Maya
   - Maya más que Español
   - Los dos igualmente
   - Español más que Maya
   - Sólo Español

9. ¿En qué idiomas/lenguas les hablan tus padres a sus padres (tus abuelos)?
   - Sólo Maya
   - Maya más que Español
   - Los dos igualmente
   - Español más que Maya
   - Sólo Español

10. Tus amigos cercanos son:
    - Todos
    - Maya-Yucateco
    - IGUALMENTE
    - Otros Mexicanos y Culturas/Razas
    - Todos otros

11. Prefieres ir a fiestas en donde la gente es:
    - Todos
    - Maya-Yucateco
    - IGUALMENTE
    - Otros Mexicanos y Culturas/Razas
    - Todos otros

12. La gente que visitas o que te visita es:
    - Todos
    - Maya-Yucateco
    - IGUALMENTE
    - Otros Mexicanos y Culturas/Razas
    - Todos otros
Por favor completa esta última página que se da a todos los participantes para poder catalogar la diversidad de los participantes. Por favor contesta todas las preguntas.

1. ¿Cuál es tu sexo? Masculino ____  Femenino____
2. ¿Cuántos años tienes? ____
3. ¿En qué grado cursas?_______
4. ¿Cuál es tu raza? (por ejemplo: Indígena, Blanco, Asiático, Negro, etc.)
____________________
5. ¿Dónde naciste? ___________
6. Si no naciste en Yucatán, ¿cuántos años has vivido en Yucatán, MEX? ________ años
7. ¿En qué estado y país nacieron tus padres?
   Madre ____________________  Padre ____________________
8. Haz una lista de tus 5 amigos más cercanos. Escribe sus iniciales y su etnia (identidad étnica) después de cada número:
   1. 
   2. 
   3. 
   4. 
   5. 
9. ¿Cuál es tu etnia (identidad étnica)? ________________________

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INTERVIEW PROTOCOLS

U.S. Interview Protocols for Non-Yucatec Maya adolescents and Yucatec Maya adolescents

English Version

1. Where were you born, state and country?

2. What language do you speak most with your family? At school?

3. What do you think of other students that are not part of your ethnic group?

4. How do your parents feel about school? What do they tell you? Do they want you to go to college?

5. What are some differences between people your age and adults like your parents, teachers, etc.?

6. Do you like going to school? If you do sports or clubs, how does it feel to be around other students?

7. What culture do you identify with? Describe your culture.

8. What do you think of the United States and American culture?

9. Do you speak to others about your cultural identity or ethnicity/Or race?

10. Have you been back to your home country/parent’s home country if it is not the U.S.? When did you go back? What did you do? Did you like it?

11. Have you ever felt discriminated? Where and what happened? Have you seen anyone else being discriminated? How did you feel?

12. Are you involved in clubs or groups in your community? For example church, cultural groups, dance, sports. What are they and how do feel about them? What groups would you like to be involved with?

13. Do you feel good about yourself? Your culture?

Additional Questions for Maya students:

14. Do you speak Maya? Understand Maya?
15. Would you like to Speak Maya? Why? How would you like to learn it?
16. Do you know anyone that speaks Maya? Who are they?
17. What do you think of other Yucatecos?
18. What do you think of other Latinos/Mexicans?
19. Have you ever talked to other people at school about being Maya/Yucateco?
20. Have you participated in events that promote the Maya culture? What were they? Did you like it?
21. Do you eat Yucatec foods? Do you attend Yucatec celebrations?
22. What value do you place on the Maya culture in your social life? What part does it take in your social life?
23. How do you see the current situation of the Maya culture in the U.S.?
24. What do you consider is necessary to do so the Maya culture does not get lost/forgotten?
25. What do adults or your parents tell you about the Maya culture? Do they talk to you about it?

Spanish Version

1. ¿Dónde naciste, en que estado y país?
2. ¿Qué lenguaje hablas más con tu familia? En la escuela?
3. ¿Qué piensas sobre los otros estudiantes que no son parte de tu grupo étnico?
4. ¿Cómo se sienten tus padres sobre la escuela? Qué te dicen? Quieres ir a la Universidad?
5. ¿Qué son algunas diferencias entre la gente de tu edad y los adultos como tus padres y maestros?
6. ¿Te gusta ir a la escuela? ¿Si formas parte de algún deporte o club, cómo te sientes alrededor de otros estudiantes?
7. ¿Con cuál cultura te identificas? Describe tu cultura.
8. ¿Qué piensas de los Estados Unidos y de la cultura Americana?
9. ¿Hablas con la gente sobre tu identidad cultural o etnicidad (etnia)? ¿Sobre tu raza?
10. ¿Has vuelto a tu país natal/ o país natal de tus padres, si este no es Estados Unidos? ¿Cuando fuiste? ¿Que hiciste? ¿Te gustó?
11. ¿Te has sentido discriminado alguna vez? ¿Que pasó y cómo te sentiste? ¿Has visto que discriminen a otra persona? Cómo te sentiste?
12. ¿Estás involucrado en grupos o clubes en tu comunidad? ¿Por ejemplo la iglesia, grupos culturales, grupos de baile, deportes? ¿Qué son estos grupos y como te sientes sobre ellos? ¿De cuáles grupos te gustaría formar parte?

13. ¿Te sientes bien de ti mismo? ¿De tu cultura?

Additional Questions for Maya students

14. ¿Hablas Maya? ¿Entiendes Maya?
15. ¿Te gustaría hablar Maya? Por que? Cómo te gustaría aprender?
16. ¿Conoces a otra gente que habla Maya? ¿Quiénes son ellos?
17. ¿Qué piensas de otros Yucatecos?
18. ¿Qué piensas de otros Latinos o Mexicanos?
19. ¿Has hablado con otra gente en tu escuela o en otras partes sobre tu identidad Maya/Yucateca?
20. ¿Has participado en eventos que promuevan la cultura Maya? ¿Qué fueron? ¿Te gustaron?
21. ¿Comes comidas Yucatecas/Mayas? ¿Vas a celebraciones Yucatecas? Descríbelos.
22. ¿Qué valor le das a la cultura Maya en tu vida social?
23. ¿Cómo ves actualmente la situación de la cultura Maya en nuestro Estado?
24. ¿Qué consideras se necesita hacer para que la cultura Maya no se pierda?
25. ¿Qué te dicen los adultos o tus papás sobre la cultura Maya? Te hablan sobre cómo es?

Mexican Interview Protocol for Yucatec Maya adolescents

1. ¿Dónde naciste, en que estado y país?
2. ¿Qué lenguaje hablas más con tu familia? En la escuela?
3. ¿Qué piensas sobre los otros estudiantes que no son parte de tu grupo étnico?
4. ¿Cómo se sienten tus padres sobre la escuela? Qué te dicen? Quieres ir a la Universidad?
5. ¿Qué son algunas diferencias entre la gente de tu edad y los adultos como tus padres y maestros?
6. ¿Te gusta ir a la escuela? ¿Si formas parte de algún deporte o club, cómo te sientes alrededor de otros estudiantes?
7. ¿Con cuál cultura te identificas? Describe tu cultura.
8. ¿Qué piensas de los Estados Unidos y de la cultura Americana?

9. ¿Hablas con la gente sobre tu identidad cultural o etnicidad (etnia)? ¿Sobre tu raza?

10. ¿Te has sentido discriminado alguna vez? ¿Que pasó y cómo te sentiste? ¿Has visto que discriminen a otra persona? Cómo te sentiste?

11. ¿Estás involucrado en grupos o clubes en tu comunidad? ¿Por ejemplo la iglesia, grupos culturales, grupos de baile, deportes? ¿Qué son estos grupos y cómo te sientes sobre ellos? ¿De cuáles grupos te gustaría formar parte?

12. ¿Te sientes bien de ti mismo? ¿De tu cultura?

13. ¿Hablas Maya? ¿Entiendes Maya?

14. ¿Te gustaría hablar Maya? Por que? Cómo te gustaría aprender?

15. ¿Conoces a otra gente que habla Maya? ¿Quiénes son ellos?

16. ¿Qué piensas de otros Yucatecos?

17. ¿Qué piensas de otros Latinos o Mexicanos?

18. ¿Has hablado con otra gente en tu escuela o en otras partes sobre tu identidad Maya/Yucateca?

19. ¿Has participado en eventos que promuevan la cultura Maya? ¿Qué fueron? ¿Te gustaron?

20. ¿Comes comidas Yucatecas/Mayas? ¿Vas a celebraciones Yucatecas? Describíelos.

21. ¿Qué valor le das a la cultura Maya en tu vida social?

22. ¿Cómo ves actualmente la situación de la cultura Maya en nuestro Estado?

23. ¿Qué consideras se necesita hacer para que la cultura Maya no se pierda?
24. ¿Qué te dicen los adultos o tus papás sobre la cultura Maya? Te hablan sobre cómo es?

25. ¿Tienes familia en estados Unidos? Si tienes familia en los EE.UU. cada cuando visitan? ¿Has ido a Estados Unidos?

26. ¿Donde fuiste a la escuela, en tu pueblo o en la cuidad, o en los dos?
The following are the original transcriptions of the quotes that were taken from the Spanish interviews and translated for Chapter 6: Interviews.

1. Um, me gustaría hablar Maya, porque siento que al no hablarlo no estoy como siguiendo lo que mi cultura es, como siguiendo las tradiciones de mis antepasados. Y no sé me gustaría aprenderlo de cualquier manera, ayuda-pedir ayuda, o no sé, incluso regresar a mi estado para poder aprenderlo si es posible.

2. Pues yo creo que se deberían dar clases en la escuela porque es nuestra cultura principal.

3. Hay veces con las personas, con mis vecinos, o con conocidos que realmente no hablan bien el español, a veces con ha nosotros nos, nos toca hacer tareas así para investigar el campo, la agricultura, o algo por el estilo, pues a mí me gusta expresarme con ellos en, en maya.

4. Sí realmente me gustaría mucho aprenderlo, no sólo para ayudar a más gente que realmente lo requiera, sino para que, dar a conocer que esa cultura es muy bonita. Y eh, para enseñar a las personas, y ya que no, no siga pasando estas cosas como la discriminación, como te había mencionado anteriormente.

5. Porque, este, siento que es bonito hablar maya, y además saber cómo, como, bueno cómo hablaban mis abuelos, hablar como hablaban ellos.

6. Porque es parte de mi, de lo que soy así.

7. Es nuestra lengua. Pues es materna, original de los yucatecos.
8. No sé, muy importante porque aunque la verdad eso de hablar maya ya está así, como que, ya casi no se habla, hay muchos que a veces lo hablan, y tienen hasta vergüenza en hablar eso, y cuándo, la verdad no debe sentir así.

9. Porque sería, sería de gran ayuda para la cultura, para que no se siga perdiendo.

10. Porque es una tradición que se está perdiendo últimamente,…y sí me parece interesante para que no se pierda esa cultura.

11. …puedes tratar de pasarselo a las generaciones para que la, la lengua maya siga creciendo, no se disminuya.

12. Um, pos yo me identifico más con las personas hispanas. No podía decir con las mexicanas porque también hablo con los yucatecos, bueno también son mexicanos. Pero [hablo con] centro americanos, y con ellos me identifico más. Nosotros, los hispanos, hemos pasado por muchas cosas que a veces los americanos no, no saben lo que es venir a este país y aprender otro idioma. Este, a veces pasar hambres, y conocer otras cosas diferentes.

13. Sí, a veces me preguntan cosas de mi país y pos yo orgullosamente se las contesto.

14. Pues me gusta que el americano, sea... es un poquito más independiente. Con cada gente por su parte. Y con la vida, con lo mexicano es más como una familia, como todos están juntos.

15. Me identifico con la cultura del lugar donde nací, porque yo vengo de una cultura que es muy diferente a los demás.

16. maya, porque... maya porque es la cultura de mis papás idioma de mi mamá, y me gusta mucho aprender más sobre ella.
17. …en dialecto que se habla allí y la forma de pensar de una manera antigua de los papás.

18. La mayor parte de mi vida la he vivido en México Yucatán, y allí todas las personas hablan maya, tenemos tradiciones, tenemos costumbres, umm cada termino de tiempo nosotros hacemos algo que en tiempos pasados la gente lo hacía, para tratar de conservar lo que es la cultura.

19. Para mí en realidad la cultura maya es algo muy bonito, muy hermoso, porque su historia, sus acontecimientos, ehm los grandes acontecimientos que los mayas dieron a conocer y sus estudios, sus experiencias, y lo más importante y dejaron plasmados uhm bueno como historia, ¿no? eh uno de ellos pos podemos observar es como las ruinas de Chichén. ¿Es como la representación del calendario no?... Ehm, por ejemplo las tradiciones de los pueblos…Uhuh, uhuh, lo que es el baile de la cabeza de cochino como le llaman en Yucatán cochino, lo que en realidad es puerco, no? Uhuh, y el baile del pavo, las tradiciones que se hacen en honor a lo que es un santo o a su dios,…hasta ahora se sigue la cultura, la tradición.

20. Al igual al estar aquí [U.S.] ya como que te sales un poco más de tu cultura y como que vas agarrando otras culturas y las cuales no son como culturas diferentes a los de México pero tienes como sale parte de umm mexicano en ti.

21. Muchos otros yucatecos que conozco no hablan maya y este, o muchos otros no saben mucho de su grupo.

22. Y eso, digo, para mí, que nuestra cultura no se debe perder, ¿verdad? Porque es algo importante. Y digo, no es justo que hoy en día otras personas de diferentes países, y estados estén interesando en nuestra cultura y nosotros no, y digo, que nosotros
como chavos ahora tenemos lo que es la oportunidad de aprender porque tenemos
tiempo pa’ aprender.

23. ...y también hablamos los dos a veces español y inglés y estem, a ver cómo te diré,
que bueno no sé, sólo nos llevamos mejor.

24. Uh, a veces sí este cuando la gente me pregunta de dónde soy ellos, esten, se
muestran un poco interesados en saber de mis costumbres.

25. Algunas ocasiones he hablado con pocas gente sobre mi etnia, mi raza, mi cultura,
mayormente con personas mexicanas que vienen de otros estados de México cuando,
si cuando intercambiamos ideas y comentamos sobre, sobre como preguntan de dónde
vienes tú que tanto haces, intercambiamos ideas de qué mi cultura hace, qué su cultura
hace o qué diferencias existen entre las dos culturas o que tienen en similar.

26. Sí me llevo bien con ellos, este, um, convivo mucho con ellos. Y me gusta estar
con ellos porque me gusta aprender de otras culturas para saber más.

27. …y note que todos mis compañeros les gusta saber sobre la cultura maya por todo
lo que existe en Yucatán.

28. Conozco gente yucateca que ellos al hablar y expresar sus ideas y decir de del
lugar de dónde vienen se sienten como orgullosos pero desgraciadamente conozco otra
gente que no les gusta hablar de de donde ellos vienen porque tienen miedo a ser
criticados.

29. Por ejemplo, la mayoría de mis compañeros de clase cuando yo empecé
mayormente me preguntaban que cómo yo me sentía como yucateco, que si me sentía
orgulloso, no, y yo le digo que me siento muy orgulloso porque pues como diría todo
un yucateco, no, lo llevamos en la sangre.
30. Uh, los Estados Unidos es un para mí es este país es es el verdadero mundo, es un, de de lo más desarrollado, que que pues aquí es fácil conseguir a veces lo que quiere lo que uno quiere verdad, y si uno está puesto puede lograr muchas cosas.

31. Pues, que es bonito y es esto, emocionante saber una cultura más. Uhh, sí, porque convivo mucho con muchos americanos y me siento bien.

32. Pienso que es una cultura muy distinta a la de donde yo vengo, pero um o sea me gusta.

33. Es que, para mí es es muy diferente porque la cultura americana es más abierta, más, más, así como dicen, liberales, en la cultura yucateca, también sí son liberales como se pueda decir, pero hay una cierta costumbre una cierta costumbre, de que está más en unión, como se pueda decir, ¿no?

34. Americanos uhh, estem, ellos, más, este cuando los ves más, están este ehh, haciendo, no, no hacemos los mismos actividades, y este ellos más están en algunas clases así donde no hay tantos latinos.

35. Me gusta porque es diferente a la cultura mexicana en general. Y es como que otro mundo aparte porque son otros ancestros, los mayas son diferentes a los aztecas o los toltecas y tienen pues eso que los modismos y el acento y todo lo demás y no sé, es muy, muy, una cultura muy intelectual no es una cultura bélica, estén y muy rica en cultura, en comida, y en vestimenta, eh, es una cultura diferente, especial, no sé, que, que se distingue de las demás del resto del país.

36. Es muy importante porque, son, son, tradiciones, lo que llamas son costumbres de, de nuestros antepasados que se va transmitiendo de generación en generación.
37. Me identifico mucho con ello, porque desde mis, mis abuelos me lo han estado transmitiendo esa cultura y sé que es una cultura muy bonita.

38. Yo lo describiría, eh, que es una cultura muy bonita, ya que en ella podemos, ehm, desempeñar nuestra, identificarnos más bien con otras personas.

39. Pues yo creo que eh, mi cultura es muy rica con, con respeto a…ahhm muchos aspectos por ejemplo la comida o, o no sé, la cultura por ejemplo tenemos eh Uxmal, por ejemplo que son pirámides, es muy bonita mi cultura, sí.

40. Bueno Yucatán tiene una forma muy bonita…la gente, sus tradiciones…Es muy bonito. …Las, sus playas, sus cenotes, todo eso.

41. Umm, que, pues la verdad esta cultura está acabando, porque muchas personas ya están perdiéndola, el lenguaje típico, como nosotros, por, no sé.

42. La gente yucateca como que es muy amable, muy amigable, cariñosa, y como que congenia muy bien, ¿no? Y sí, con la mayoría, sobre todo los que se sienten muy bien de ser parte de la cultura, porque hay muchos que prefería ser de otras culturas, entonces como que reniegan de, de su, esos son los que no me agradan.

43. Mm, pues yo veo que algunos yucatecos o sea, no, no están muy orgullosos de lo que tienen. Pos sí demostrarle que realmente se debe sentir muy orgullosos de sus raíces. Ya que, ya que Yucatán es muy bonito. ¿Y si realmente no se sienten yucatecos, que buscan aquí?

44. Que no sólo por ser de acá, no se, no se deben sentir mal, sino estar orgullosos porque son de Yucatán.
45. Pues, mmm, hablamos de que como, cómo éramos de antes, como, o sea, las costumbres que hay en nuestro pueblo. Ehm, que tan importante son. Estem, y que culturas también ya han desaparecido. Sí, eso.

46. …yo con mis abuelitos hablamos sobre las cosas. Y me, me cuentan sobre la agricultura, como era en sus tiempos, y todo lo demás.

47. Mayormente yo hablo con amigos del chat. Y así me preguntan sobre cómo es, vi-como es el nuestro estado y nuestras costumbres y yo les respondo, les digo que mayormente aquí se da pues nuestras costumbres.

48. Pues gente que, que se viste así con huipil o ¿no? Que habla diferente, así los describiría.

49. Es una mezcla, parece los mestizos, que es lo que son. Tienen muchas tradiciones y costumbres.

50. Pues, la verdad no tengo una opinión clara acerca, pero lo poco que he escuchado dicen que es un lugar bonito, avanzado y todo, tiene muchas, como le diré, muchos posibilidades de trabajo o algo.

51. Sí, yo opino que en algunas, bueno no en algunas, en casi todas las cosas pues superan a los, los productos mexicanos, y pues hay más oportunidades allá que acá.

52. Pues yo creo que su cultura de ellos es muy diferente a la de nosotros, pero nosotros tenemos una tradición más bonita que la de ellos.

53. Sí, pues que por decir como México y Estados Unidos son dos países diferentes, los dos países piensan de manera diferente. Y los me-americanos no sólo por ser de allá se deben sentir más que nosotros los mexicanos. Los deben dar las mismas oportunidades a los dos.
54. Pues de la cultura americana, pues en realidad no sé mucho de la americana. Este, nunca me he puesto a investigar o algo así, pues, así como la mayoría de los de por aquí como que hay una, una enemistad implícita, ¿no? Pero ni me desagrada, ni tampoco muy muy que me agrada ni nada.

55. Sí, que en realidad no es una cultura, sino es, son varias culturas que están unidas, y no, no tienen una en específica.

56. Bueno las más conocidas pues son la cochinita, los panuchos yucatecos, el relleno negro. Bueno en Yucatán, cuando nosotros queríamos comer algo por ejemplo como la cochinita, o el bistec, o el escabeche, se lo hacía la familia. Le contaba que cuando queríamos, por ejemplo mayormente la costumbre cuando es en los eventos especiales por ejemplo pa’ un cumpleaño, pa una boda normalmente se cocina o se hace lo que es la cochinita o el relleno.

57. Y sí me gusta, me gusta ver cómo bailan la jarana y a veces me da sentimiento escuchar la la música que la jarana. Y pues yo pienso que que es algo bueno para que personas de diferentes estados o misma gente de este país conozca la cultura, lo que es el baile, y la la vestimenta de nuestra cultura.

58. Yo pienso que es importante valorar lo que es la cultura maya yucateca ya um que si uno lo deja de hacer, pues poco a poco se va a acabar y uno tiene que seguir como tratando de conservarla y no sé llegarla hasta donde se pueda. Uhh, yo pienso que la cultura maya aquí en este estado no está como en, ha diferencia de Yucatán, que Yucatán es la base de la cultura Maya, y todo el tiempo esta como celebrando, tratando de hacer sus tradiciones y todo…a diferencia de esto aquí creo que las personas que vienen de Yucatán o son de Yucatán o personas nacidas acá de padres
yucatecos poco a poco se van olvidando de de lo que es la cultura Maya porque agarran como tradiciones o culturas o costumbres de lo que es aquí en Estados Unidos y no valoran realmente los padres o los abuelos umm o sus antepasados les han ido enseñando poco a poco, debido a nuevas ideas, tecnología, formas de vida, o incluso formas de pensar de ellos mismos. Para que no se pierda la cultura maya en cualquier estado en que estés, y si existen más de tres o cuatro personas que vienen del mismo, de la misma cultura de cual es maya, tratar de no sé, formar grupos, hacer, umm, no se juntas o algo para poder como convivir más con gente yucateca y poder hacer, tratar de hacer lo que, las celebraciones o los actos que en Yucatán se hacen, tratar de poderlos hacer aquí para que poco a poco gente lo vaya viendo, gente de Yucatán que no que sí les gustaría pertenecer a ese grupo que se forma, pero tal vez tenga vergüenza a formar parte de ese grupo porque están en un diferente país porque pueden ser, no sé criticados o juzgados, discriminados y ya una vez que esa gente haga lo que ellos piensan como no sé, como tradiciones como hanal pixan o algo así, gente se va ir uniendo a ellos y tratar de cómo agrandar ese esa um idea y poco a poco no se hacerla como conocer a la ciudad o el estado en el que estés.

59. …Pues mucha gente de diferentes lados incluso de otros países pregunta por la comida yucateca y yo tengo amigos que me han hablado de que les han invitado a la comida yucateca y les ha gustado y eso me hace sentir bien porque básicamente es un punto a favor de nosotros, porque pues se poco a poco así con amistades se va uno pues dando a conocer lo que es la cultura yucateca. Que uh, por ahora pues la gente que viene de allá de Yucatán trata de conservar lo que es el dialecto, trata de conservar lo que es a veces la la vestimenta, y mucha la mayoría de las veces la
comida es lo que más les importa a ellos. Pero las nuevas generaciones que esas van a ser las que pues definitivamente se olviden de nuestra cultura. Pues yo haría eventos y…como centros de información para que los que las nuevas generaciones sepan de que la historia y lo realmente es su cultura…lo importante que es para ahora más que nada para el mundo con esto de desde que nombraron a Chichén Itzá estén una de las siete maravillas del mundo.

60. Porque influye mucho en varias cosas, por ejemplo, la gente que visita San Francisco, si en uno de esos días viene, y se está realizando ese evento, ellos también van a poder apreciar eh aprender.

61. Se necesita enseñarle más de temprana edad a los hijos así que es la cultura maya y que estén orgulloso de su cultura y todo las cosas bonitas. Porque yo estoy orgulloso de ello también me gusta el lenguaje y todo y por eso lo quiero aprender. Y no otros lugares no tienen pirámides como los que tenemos así, o una historia así, o los maya eran este muy inteligentes con la astronomía y todo, no, a muchas otras culturas no tiene así como algo que era, a veces sobresalían así como en la manera que ellos podían predicar las cosas sin la tecnología que teníamos hoy.. Bueno no sé como este ahorita en Yucatán allá, sí creo que se está conservando más con lo que quiere el gobierno, pero aquí no, no veo como si muchos, sólo en algunos lugares donde hay más este yucatecos como partes de San Francisco, o en Canal donde vez algunos este yucatecos hablando maya y todo…

62. Pues yo pienso que se está preservando porque hay, no hay mucho no hay muchas personas que conservan su escrituras y nosotros lo estamos logrando al preservarlo, a cuidar nuestra cultura.
63. Pues sí, la mayoría de lo que prepara mi abuela, este, pues es maya de, por ejemplo que frijol con puerco, que por ejemplo…se prepara el pi, que es como, no sé si con masa, y la carne adentro, como un tamal gigante, y es enterrado, se cocina enterrado. No sé como…en la tierra, si, se prende el fuego y se entierra, como si fuera un horno, como si la tierra fuera un horno. Y, y, entonces a mí me encanta, es mi, es mi comida favorita. Y la, pues la cochinita pibil, no, que igual…Mmm, como que, los matancales que son como que ceremonias, o sea hay pue-muchos tipos, ¿no? Hay que para pedir lluvia, que agradecer cosechas, que son como que ceremonias mayas, donde sirven comidas mayas.

64. Este, y a veces, o sea, se, se, ora, se ora normalmente oraciones católicas pero en Maya. Esas y los Hetzmek, que son como que los bautizos pero mayas, que se tratan de cargar un niño, y, y no se qué tanta cosa, ¿no?...Pues precisamente hay exposiciones de altar y para el Hanal Pixan, y yo siempre iba y apoyaba allá, vistiéndome de con el traje regional, a veces dando discursos en maya que me escribían, porque no, no yo no lo sé hablar muy bien, pero, pero pronunciarlo sí. La pronunciación maya sí me sale m-bien. Entonces me ponían a dar discursos. Cuando había visitas en la escuela o en la prepa este, siempre, cuando eran de otros estados, me ponían igual que hablar en maya…me sentía bien de, de este de hablar el, el maya.

65. Fueron eventos de participación umm de recordar la cultura para que no se vaya perdiendo. Lo que me gustó fue que todos convivimos y participamos, aunque no seamos del mismo pueblo…fueron hechos por el pueblo para que no se vayan perdiendo esa, ese tip-, esa cultura. Y lo que me gustó de ello, es en que vinieron,
vino gente de otras partes del, del estado para que conviviéramos entre nosotros.
Fueron actividades para algunos de maya, otros que fuimos conociendo más sobre las
dirámides, eh, la, el tipo de comida, y todo eso.

66. Mayormente yo he participado en las del Hanal Pixan. Y es una representación
que se le hace en los altares a los que ya están muertos y se les ofrece comidas típicas
y mayormente lo que ellos acostumbran comer. Mayormente porque es una forma de
acordar de ellos y porque se sigue la costumbre. Mayormente la que más me gusta es
el pi, y se hace en ese día de Hanal Pixan.

67. …en el colegio de bachilleres siempre ha impulsado este, este tipo de eventos y
nosotros como, como Municipio de Muna, siempre hemos destacado, hemos ganado
los primeros lugares en estos eventos, y siempre he participado en ello.

68. …algunos gremios que se hacen generalmente en cada pueblo celebrando
determinado, determinados días al santo.

69. A veces en la escuela, había sido de un concurso, parece, de leyendas antiguas
mayas. Si fue una muy buena experiencia. Sí me gustaría participar unas otras veces.

70. …humildes, carismáticas, simpáticas. Siempre que, que llegan al e-siempre que
llegan personas al estado, lo reciben bien.

71. Pues un gran valor, porque gracias a ello estem podemos conocer lo que fue en el
pasado, en el presente, y lo que será en el futuro Yucatán.

72. Pues, la cultura maya para mí es muy importante, y debo estar orgulloso de eso.
Y no avergonzarme de que por ser yucateco, por ser de un pueblo, estem, pie-ay otras
gentes que piensan que yo soy menos, sino que yo debo estar orgulloso porque soy de
acá…
73. Lo creo que la mayoría se está perdiendo, ahora ya casi nadie habla maya, mayormente español.

74. Pues que, May-el, la gran parte del estado se ha perdido esa cultura porque por ejemplo los papás ya no hablan maya en su casa, y los hijos pues no lo pueden aprender. Y en las escuelas, pues como, en las primarias se aplica creo que se les da clases de maya, pero ya a partir de la primaria se va perdiendo lo que es la cultura.

75. Pues yo creo que los jóvenes de ahora como que les da pena mostrar que somos, y ocultan un poco su cultura.

76. Que las tradiciones se están deteriorando un poco, ya no les dan mucha importancia, aunque algun, algunos, algunas organizaciones tratan de rescatarlos…A veces son las, los presidentes municipales, los que este tratan de, de rescatarla con clases de folclor para los alumnos, que, es clases de jarana, estem, ponen en el municipal, enseñan ha, ha costurar hilo contado, o a bordar, a hacer hamacas…mm tratan de rescatarlo.

77. Pues creo que sería, aparte de que dar a conocer más sobre la historia y la cultura tanto en la educación en general, igual tal vez sería bueno que la educación se vuelva bilingüe en ese sentido de que los niños que sólo hablan español aprendan maya, y los niños que hablan maya aprendan español.

78. …así como dan clases de inglés, pues yo digo, yo digo que así debe haber también clases de, de maya.

79. Pues, hacer en los pueblos por ejemplo como había mencionado hace rato, algunas actividades culturales, algunos grupos que se promueva la cultura así en los pueblos. Hacer grupos o algo.
80. Implementar nuevas formas de educación, así como pláticas y conferencias sobre la cultura maya en los jóvenes. Sobre todo en los jóvenes que son los que muestran poco interés por la cultura.

81. Pues como tengo una hermanita tratar de enseñarle lo que yo ya sé sobre la cultura.

82. Sí por la falta de hablar inglés.

83. Pues uno se siente muy frustrado cuando uno no habla inglés, y se siente a veces uno diferente que las otras personas.

84. Cuando yo estaba en la escuela a una niña le dijeron sólo porque era latina le dijeron que se vaya, no. Y entonces a una que está así al lado de ella que era americana, a ella no le dijeron nada.

85. No, sólo a veces de eh este entre los latinos nos burlamos así, pero no tanto en serio…bueno como, este, a veces, este, sólo nos llamamos de, de broma como beaner o cosas así pero no tanto a serio.

86. Uh, no sé cuando vas en lugares donde hay personas que si tienen dinero, y ya, como que sientes que sólo te observan, sí.

87. Bueno, él quería este, ingresar a lo que es una, una escuela este, como, como una preparatoria, ¿no? Pero como él no contaba con, con este, con recursos económicos pues no se lo aceptó aunque él contaba con, con, con la ayuda de una, de una este, de una persona ajena quien lo iba apoyar, pero, pero no, las oportunidades se les dio a otros quienes venían de una buena familia.

88. He visto que discriminien a, a las personas más pobres por, por su.. eh, por su idioma. Porque hay algunas personas no aceptan que hablen de esa manera. Eh, pues yo creo que no es justo porque cada quien tiene su libertad y cultura.
89. …tiene preferencia a una clase social más alta, y a las personas que son de, de baja, o sea, que no tienen la economía muy alta pues si los discriminan sólo por ser, así, personas indígenas.

90. Porque fue o sea como estamos por esto del Mundial estamos a apostar y no sé qué, pues yo le aposté a Alemania, y empecé apoyar a Alemania y no sé qué, y entonces una tipa de, de allí en el Internet no, me puso a escribir que, ‘que me pasa que si, que luzco como una india que no sé qué, que no tengo porque estar haciendo estas cosas no sé qué,’ una persona que ni siquiera conozco, ¿no? Uuhh, y entonces yo me quedé a decir que uh, o sea, ‘¿Eso es broma? Está jugando?’ Es nada más una cosa, o sea no tiene porque venir y ofenderme o algo así, ¿no? Y si me disgusto mucho pero más para esa persona, que por mí. O sea la conozco pero así por Internet. O sea de hablando, así en persona jamás la vi, jamás hablamos, jamás he, he tenido así una conversación de frente, entonces si como que ‘¿Por qué me estás hablando? Ni siquiera sabes como soy, y que me digas indígena no me ofende yo estoy muy orgullosa de venir de mayas, de venir de, de, de esa cultura, y eso no me ofende que me digas,’ pero la forma en que lo dijo fue lo que no me gustó.

91. Mayormente lo vi en la, en la primaria. Niños golpean a otros, le dicen cosas, apodos, sobrenombres.

92. Pues sí sentí un gran enojo, pues no debe existir la discriminación entre las personas.

93. Pues yo me siento muy, o sea me siento mal, o sea me, me ofende ver que alguien trate así a otra persona porque a final de cuentas no hay ninguna diferencia. No entonces sí, a veces sí me gustara o sea como que ir y decirle ‘oye qué te pasa’ ¿no?
94. Pues, mal, porque si me lo dijeran a mí, igual me sentiría de la misma manera.
95. A ve, al principio sí como echan relajo, pues da un poco de risa, pero luego te pones en su parte de él, y no te sientes bien.
96. Pues se siente mal, y como que, como que, te dan ganas de cómo de defenderlos, pero no sé como que hace falta pantalones para hacerlo.
97. Me encanta ir a la escuela, cuando aprendo nuevas cosas, estoy con mis amigos, y sí.
98. Sí me gusta mucho porque así aprendo más a conocer más las cosas y me me gusta mucho la escuela.
99. Sí porque quiero tener una buena carrera en un futuro y quiero prepararme para hacer algo en la vida.
100. Sí, yo sí quiero seguir estudiando, quiero ser una mejor persona.
101. …es muy necesario seguir estudiando, porque, para tener y ser alguien más en la vida.
102. …podamos inculcarlo igual a nuestros hijos.
103. Porque este es una forma de forjar mi futuro y llegar a ser una persona de bien...
Ya que así pue- este nuestro pueblo pueda seguir progresando.
104. Mis padres quieren que agarre una educación muy alta para que mi vida después sea más fácil, más fácil que lo que ellos pasaron.
105. Ellos pos están orgullosos porque para eso me trajeron a este país para saber otro idioma, tener otros aprendizajes más altos que, que mi país natal…me dicen que vaya a la escuela porque quieren que yo tenga una carrera. Um, para no ser una persona ignorante en el futuro.
106. Pos, hay diferentes culturas, y pos yo pienso no debe de haber racismo por las culturas diferentes.

107. Um, en el Link Crew estoy umm con todo la gente, convivo con todas las, los niños, los muchachos que están entrando con, con la escuela, me pongo parte de la escuela. Um, el Latino Connection me junto más con las personas que son de mi cultura porque de verdad yo no me junta, no me junto tanto con ellos, entonces es un lugar donde me puedo, puedo convivir más con ellos. Y clas, cross-country/track me gusta correr y conozco un buena gente.


109. Um, mis padres siempre me han hablado de lo que es la cultura maya y de cómo es. Incluso gracias a mi abuela ella siempre me ha contado como historias de lo que de cuando ella tenía de su infancia y su niñez y he aprendido varias cosas, y como cuando uno, empiezas a como aprender algo y no sientes realmente que tu aprendiste te da como el deseo o ganas de buscar más información acerca de lo que te han dicho o acerca de lo que de lo que has oído, entonces um gracias a mi abuela que siempre, todo el tiempo me ha hablado de eso he tratado de buscar información en Internet en libros incluso tratar de cuando conozco gente tratar de preguntarles cosas en maya para que ellos me hablen en maya.

110. …los abuelos me platicaban de que fue difícil para ellos porque pues,…pues se supieron salir adelante, y hasta ahora pues todo va bien…poco a poco se está dando a conocer nuestra cultura.
111. Siempre me han hablado en maya por eso sé algunas palabras en maya porque siempre me han hablado de eso y todo.

112. Ellos se sienten orgullosos de mí porque dicen que a pesar de que vengo de otro país, que es México y mi cultura es diferente he estado, he logrado como sobresalir acá y ellos pues están orgullosos de mí. Pero por ejemplo jóvenes como nosotros nos basamos de ellos (papás) para aprender y sobresalir.

113. Yo pienso que es, es algo que es bonito porque uno aprende de a veces las cultura de las otras personas, que son de diferente, son de diferentes estado, porque cada estado tiene su sus propia cultura y su forma de vivir.

114. Sí, si hablo con personas que no son mi cultura y con otros de diferentes idiomas, sí, si hablo mucho con ellos. Pues, son buena gente, son amigables, y son unas buenas personas.

115. No, este no hay tanta diferencia. Todos nos llevamos este mismo manera.

116. Y hay uno que es Latino Connection de cual los integrantes son latinos o mexicanos, y pues allí convivimos, uuhh, pues allí me siento como parte de lo que es una familia en la escuela porque entre todos cambiamos ideas, y somos un grupo y estamos bien.

117. Así me relajo. Y platico más,… más con mis amigos y todo.

118. El único club que pertenezco, con los que convivo son sólo en la escuela. Um, me gustaría formar parte de varios grupos, y para describirlos sería… no sé gente de mi propia cultura conocer otras culturas diferentes intercambiar ideas y pertenecer a varios grupos para no sólo
para ser amigos sino para conocer y tener más información sobre gente alrededor de ti mismo y saber más sobre el mundo.

119. Me metí cuando recién llegué aquí. We, sí cuando recién llegue aquí, me gustó mucho como bailaban mis primos y mi tía, y me metí, y estoy aquí hasta la fecha... Y es muy bonito.

120. Sí estoy en un grupo de baile Chan Cahal y este hacemos baile folklórico de Yucatán. Sí una vez participamos este con este ehm el gobierno este de Yucatán así que están en que quieren, como, quieren promover más la cultura maya pa’ que la gente este más orgulloso de ello. Y también fuimos a bailar en Chabot allá por Oakland con la NASA porque estaban promoviendo una también este una película sobre los pirámides de Chichén Itzá. Y después la película no, no fue como otros documentales, tuvo este interesante y todo, y no sólo tenía sobre historia sino también tenía sobre rituos y leyendas y todo eso, y como la Biblia de este los antiguos mayas.

121. Mmm, pues me hablan de, pues de, como, cómo es mayormente, o cómo era. Igual a veces nos, nos sentamos y platicamos comentamos que, que lo qué es...

122. Pues me empiezan a contar todo lo que hacían de antes, de que, me empiezan a explicar más el maya, de que yo lo debo de aprender y todo.

123. Pues sí, o sea mi papá, una de mis abuelitas me, ya falleció, ella me hablaba muchísimo de las leyendas mayas. Y eso, y mi papá más o menos. Pero la mayoría de lo que he aprendido es investigando por mi cuenta, o en la escuela, o por otros maestros, y así.

124. Pues, sí, si me hablan mis papás sí, si me hablan de ello. De hecho, me dicen que lo debo de hablar porque es muy bonito, y todo.
125. Pues sí, me dicen que es muy bonito. Y es muy importante transmitirlo, pasarlo de generación a generación. Porque no sólo te enseñan lo, lo bonito que era el estado de Yucatán y su cultura, sino que también cuando te, te pones a pensar y imaginas las cosas como eran antiguamente y lo comparas con la actualidad pues si vez una gran diferencia.

126. Sí, me dicen que, que es importante saber de dónde venimos y de dónde procedemos porque en un día te va servir en la vida.

127. Sí, pues mis padres, sí, me da-me brindan su apoyo, en lo que yo desea. Ellos, ellos, quería- ellos eso quieren, y esperan lo mejor de mí. Y pues ellos siempre me dicen que le eche ganas eh, a mi estudio, porque allá, pues eso es mi futuro, y pues, y yo, este, yo pienso que, que, o sea que, que sí, que le tengo echar ganas, para no, no defraudarlos.

128. Pues se sienten orgullosos de que tengan un Colegio de Bachilleres que realmente ha destacado, y lo ha demostrado en el Municipio y también en el Estado. Pues me dicen que es una, una, un buen motor, y un buen futuro para nosotros los estudiantes.

129. …la educación es lo mejor para una persona.

130. Me dicen que debe de haber una, una clase específica para maya porque todo eso se está perdiendo, mayormente se habla el español, en, el inglés, el francés, pero ya el maya ya se está acabando.

131. Pues, sinceramente, pues en mi escuela, pues la mayoría somos yucatecos, y si habría alguien que no fuera así, pues lo respetaríamos de igual manera que, o sea, no, aceptarlo tal y cómo es.

132. Aquí con uno, no. Todos son de la misma cultura.
133. Pues con gente de la escuela,…hablamos mucho de, por ejemplo pues precisamente de identidad y lo difícil que es como que definir esa cultura que es muy compleja, además que nada.

134. Pues, sí. Ehh, mayormente en la escuela con los dos, con los maestros y de, mis compañeros. Pues, mmm, hablamos de que como, cómo éramos de antes, como, o sea, las costumbres que hay en nuestro pueblo. Ehm, que tan importante son. Estem, y que culturas también ya han desaparecido.

135. Pues yo pienso que hay que invitarlos a que conozcan la cultura maya. Ya que es una cultura muy bonita, y es muy importante, y dar a conocer la cultura que tiene Yucatán, es bastante apreciable.

136. Pues como por ejemplo mis amigos, por ejemplo yo tengo una amiga que no es de aquí y le hablo de, por ejemplo de nuestras riquezas y a veces comidas, y todo lo que tenemos de virtudes.

137. porque convivo con mis amigos y todo...

138. …estar en contacto con mis compañeros no sólo me motiva a seguir ganando y ocupando mejores lugares, sino que también te sientes muy bien de estar con ellos.

139. …nos sentimos bien relajados, porque allí podemos expresarnos…El, el de baile pues, estem, bailamos varios tipos de música, los que nos pongan, y banda de guerra pues es practicar los toques para-militares para la escuela.

140. …pues círculos de lectura y escritura más que nada. Uhh, pues muy bien porque este comparto muchas ideas con ellos. Este cuanto a la forma de pensar …Compartes casi los mismos gustos y las ideas, pero igual te cambian también muy drásticamente, y entonces pueden ser en cuanto debate y discusión pero así bien.
141. En, estoy en, involucrada en grupo de, un grupo pastoral juvenil que es de la iglesia. Sobre, nos organizamos eh cuando hay eventos o cosas así, para presentarlos, y nos acercamos más a la iglesia, en ese aspecto.
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