

THE IMPACT OF INTERNALIZED RACIAL OPPRESSION IN THE LIVES
OF NINE AMERICAN MEN OF MEXICAN ANCESTRY

by

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DEDICATION

This research is dedicated to the people of the United States of Mexican ancestry who have endured throughout their history in this country the internalization of racial oppression. White populations and the oppressed minority populations have used social-cultural, racist, and interactive scripts to induce powerlessness and shame into our individual and collective psyches. Our identities have been blurred, our ideologies have been confused, our integrity has been shattered and our self-esteem has been crushed, creating fear and insecurity in our lives and distancing us from the ideals of our nation: life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. It has been and continues to be evident that Americans of Mexican ancestry are not included with the people the preamble to our constitution refers to.

I also dedicate this work to the future generations of Americans of Mexican descent. My dream is for them to live full beautiful lives founded on truth, forgiveness and love thus creating power and wholeness within them and aligning closer to our country's ideals of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

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ABSTRACT

THE IMPACT OF INTERNALIZED RACIAL OPPRESSION IN THE LIVES OF NINE AMERICAN MEN OF MEXICAN ANCESTRY

by

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A critical race theory world view was used to approach this research. In order to explore the social-psychological consequences of believing the racism lie this study documents and describes the oppression that racism generated on a segment of the population that was born, raised and educated and has worked, lived and died in this part of the world prior to and after it became part of the United States.

The purpose of this study is to contribute to the understanding of how internalized racial oppression, a product of habitus and shame, happens and evolves in the life experiences of nine American men of Mexican ancestry. This study addresses the questions: (1) what acts of racial oppression did the nine men describe experiencing? (2) What did the men describe feeling from the acts of oppression they experienced? And (3) what did the men describe as the impact of internalizing racial oppression in their lives?

In order to document and describe this social-psychological phenomenon in the American population of Mexican ancestry a collaborative inquiry model was used to explore the life histories of the nine mature American men of Mexican ancestry who collaborated with this research. This methodology generated reflective synergy through the use of iterative cycles on what was being presented by each one of us to all of us. This methodology enabled us, as a traditionally oppressed population in our country, to expose and explore the racism lie experiences we hold in our consciousness. We were able to critically reflect on the shared information in a safe space. It also allowed us to create new knowledge, understanding and language about an experience that is not generally represented in the dominant or wider population.

This theoretical perspective was informed through the lenses of critical race, habitus and shame theories. The human development stages and the social settings we experienced throughout our lives were impacted by the habitus we traversed which left both positive and negative psychological imprints in our beliefs about ourselves and the world surrounding us. A habitus charged with social/cultural racial interactive scripts that induce powerlessness and shame has a negative psychological impact on the individual and targeted population. It is the replication of the powerlessness and shame inducing behaviors externalized socially which triggers the psychological internalization processes in the individual who then internalizes the racial oppression. This oppression permeates the individual's consciousness; affixes itself as a negative belief about the self or reinforces an already established negative untrue belief about the self; and reveals itself

in the individual's interpersonal behaviors adding to the array of racial oppressive forces already at work to socially subdue and psychologically subjugate the individual. The internalized racial oppression is replicated and infused into the habitus we traverse in our daily lives which contribute and add to the powerlessness and shame inducing racist social-cultural scripts which we accept and support because we think they are true. By believing true these devastating racist social-cultural false scripts, we too contribute to our own oppression and the oppression of others like us because we have internalized self-contempt.

The findings of this study contain valuable information for Americans of Mexican ancestry and other minority populations. It will help us experience power and wholeness that comes from the truth, forgiveness and love in our individual and collective consciousness allowing for the possibility of self-liberation and self-determination. Implications of these findings are also provided for the habitus holding racist social-cultural interactive scripts that induce powerlessness and shame expressed through repetitive individual behaviors which are externalized in the social settings we traverse in our daily lives.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Who can know God's counsel, or who can conceive what the Lord intends? For the deliberations of mortals are timid, and unsure are our plans. For the corruptible body burdens the soul and the earthen shelter weighs down the mind that has many concerns. And scarce do we guess the things on earth, and what is within our grasp we find with difficulty; but when things are in heaven who can search them out? Or who ever knew your counsel, except you had given wisdom and sent your holy spirit from on high? And thus were the paths of those on earth made straight. (Book of Wisdom 9:13-18b)

Introduction to the Problem

As a 66 year old American man of Mexican ancestry, I continue to examine my identity, my ideology, and beliefs about myself because I firmly believe they have been and continue to be distorted by what I refer to in this document as the "racism lie." I define racism lie as the belief that people of one race are superior to those of another. It is a falsehood that is part of a society's culture, where the truth has been replaced by negative subjective measures about a group of people (Gillborn, 2008; McDonnell, 2005; Rowland, 2001; Von Hildebrand, 1942). The racism lie distorts the truth about the persons living in the United States because it perpetuates inclusion for Whites in society and exclusion for non-Whites. Those who are excluded experience the negative side of the racism lie becoming the pawns of those who are included, because those included hold privilege and power in the society. It follows that the privilege and allocation of power created by the racism lie permit those who believe it to exclude non-Whites from their midst through the use of individual, collective and systemic acts of racism against them. This helps instill a false system of beliefs, the racism lie, in the minds of the excluded which in turn both perpetuates racism and fosters the internalization of racial

oppression. Internalized racial oppression negatively affects the daily experiences of American persons of color.

This implies that what *I* believe about *myself* is also founded on a lie, and therefore I have distorted beliefs about myself. It also leaves me to assume that living in a society that has a belief system that is founded on the internalized racial privilege of White people and internalized racial oppression of people of color go unperceived and undetected in the social settings where we live our lives in the greater American community and in the sub-communities that have been formed to separate us. For Americans of Mexican ancestry, separated from the mainstream, internalized racial oppression reveals itself as an involuntary reaction to racial oppression originating outside one's group and resulting in group members loathing themselves, disliking others in their group, and blaming themselves for the oppression. This is rather than realizing they have internalized the beliefs of oppressive socio-economic political systems (Brown, 1995; Hagan, 1993; Schwartz, 1995; Sherover-Marcuse, 1994).

In the two previous paragraphs, I have begun to use the terminology of "Americans of Mexican ancestry" to refer to myself and others like me because in my estimation the other terminology is a product of the racism lie that is used to separate us from White Americans even though we hold the same national identity. I have tried to avoid the use of terminology like Mexican American, Mexican, Mexicano, Hispanic, Chicano, Latino and others in an effort to place us as persons from the United States first and our ancestral identity last. I have done this to emphasize the truth about ourselves rather than the lie racism wants us to believe. I have also introduced the terminology of

“Americans of Hispanic ancestry” when referring to all Americans living in the United States whose ancestors came from Spanish speaking countries.

The repetition and replication of oppressive social-psychological experiences continues to distort my identity, ideology, and my beliefs about myself because these are rooted in the racism lie. When I internalize racial oppression my mind is injured and my persona is damaged. My pursuit of a way to discern and describe my internalization of racial oppression and how I externalize it by acting in racist ways towards others like me and towards myself has brought me to this research.

For as long as I can remember, I have been aware of racism in my American experience. I have been aware of the damage it does to those of us who have been the targets of such powerful oppressive social-psychological forces. Our persona internalizes the racial oppression directed at us, thus creating within us hard to understand distorted self-diminishing and self-destroying psychological false beliefs about ourselves and others like us. In other words, the quality of our lives has been and is affected in very negative and dramatic ways that limit our understanding of our persona, our human potential and the voice we should have in our democracy and in the world.

I am certain my life would have been very different had I not had to deal with the life sucking forces of the racism lie that manifests themselves through racial oppression and internalized racial oppression. I am now at a crossroads in my life where I must understand what happened to me and others like me. By understanding the mechanisms of the racism lie and how it does its damage through racial oppression and internalized racial oppression we might be able to keep from falling prey to these damaging social-psychological processes that subjugate certain Americans who have been singled out by

the racism lie as different and inferior because of their skin color. In order to liberate ourselves from those who employ the racism lie to control, dominate and separate persons like us, we must become aware of the mechanisms that perpetuate both racial oppression and internalized racial oppression.

Background of the Study

To explain this social-psychological problem from a demographic perspective, information from the 2000 and 2010 Census revealed that Americans of Mexican ancestry and other Americans of Hispanic ancestry experience inequality in education attainment, employment, household income, poverty rate, home ownership, prison population and military service. Of the Americans of Mexican ancestry population 25 years old and older in 2000, only 45.8 percent had a high school diploma as compared to 80.4 percent of the total population and 88 percent of Whites, and only 7.5 percent had a bachelor's degree as compared to 24.4 percent of the total population and 28 percent of Whites (Ramirez, 2004; Bonilla 2003). Of the American population of Mexican ancestry 25 years old and older in 2010, only 57.4 percent had a high school diploma as compared to 87.1 percent of the total population and 87.6 percent of Whites, and only 10.6 percent had a bachelor's degree as compared to 29.9 percent of the total population and 30.3 percent of Whites as shown by the United States Census Bureau in their 2010 count. Young (1990) argued that racism, like its sister oppressions (e.g., heterosexism, classism, sexism) constrains both self-development and self-determination. The education demographics for Americans of Mexican ancestry are shown in Table 1.

Table 1

The Percentage of Education Attainment by 25 Year and Older Americans of Mexican Ancestry, Total Population, and White Population Reflected in the United States Census for the Years 2000 and 2010.

	High School Diploma		Bachelor's Degree	
	2000	2010	2000	2010
Americans of Mexican Ancestry Population	45.8	57.4	7.5	10.6
Total Population	80.4	87.1	24.4	29.9
White Population	88.0	87.6	28.0	30.3

Inequality of educational attainment has resulted in lower paying jobs. Although American males of Mexican ancestry participated in the labor force at a rate of 71.1 percent and American females of Mexican ancestry participated at a rate of 52 percent, the disparity in education achievement between the American population of Mexican ancestry and the total population was evident in the types of jobs held and the amount of income earned from the types of employment they held (Ramirez, 2004). For the most part, Americans of Mexican descent worked in service occupations such as farming, fishing and forestry occupations; construction, extraction, and maintenance occupations; and production, transportation, and material moving occupations generating a median income per household of \$33, 516 as compared to \$50,046 for total population households and \$45,856 for the White population (Ramirez, 2004).

The median income for all men workers was \$37, 057 and \$27,194 for all women workers while it was \$23, 496 for American men workers of Mexican ancestry and \$20,496 for American women workers of Mexican ancestry (Ramirez, 2004). Consequently, Americans of Mexican heritage of all ages had a poverty rate of 23.5 percent compared to the 12.4 percent poverty rate in the total population and 7.7 percent poverty rate in the White population (Ramirez, 2004). The median income in 2010 for Hispanic households was \$38,039, for the total population was \$49,777 and for Whites \$51, 861.00 according to the United States Census Bureau 2010 statistics. Table 2 shows the household income for 2000 and 2009. The United States Census Bureau 2010 count also indicates that the poverty rate for Americans of Hispanic ancestry of all ages was 26.6 percent compared to 15.1 percent of the total population as compared to 13 percent of the White population. Table 3 shows a comparison of the poverty rate for 2000 and 2010.

Table 2

The Average Income Earned by Americans of Mexican Ancestry, Total Population, and White Population Reflected in the United States Census for the Years 2000 and 2009.

	2000 Household Income	2009 Household Income
Americans of Mexican Ancestry Population	\$33,516	\$38,039
Total Population	\$50,046	\$49,777
White Population	\$45,856	\$51,861

Table 3

The Poverty Rate of Americans of Mexican Ancestry, Total Population, and White Population Reflected in the United States Census for the Years 2000 and 2010.

	Poverty Rate 2000	Poverty Rate 2010
Americans of Mexican Ancestry Population	23.5	26.6
Total Population	12.4	15.1
White Population	7.7	13.0

Americans of Mexican ancestry owned homes in substantially lower numbers because the purchasing power of this population is directly impacted by its poverty rate. Only 48.4 percent of Americans of Mexican ancestry owned their home as compared to 66.2 percent of the total population and 73.8 percent of the non-Hispanic White population (Ramirez, 2004). Homeownership rates for 2010 indicate that 47.5 percent of Hispanics owned their homes compared to 66.9 percent of the total population and 71 percent of the White population according to the United States Census Bureau for 2010. Speight (2007) argued that one of the functions of racism is exploitation of the oppressed which produces unequal distribution of wealth and there is a “steady process of the transfer of the results of the labor of one social group to benefit another” (Young, 1990, p. 128). Table 4 shows a comparison of homeownership in 2000 and 2010.

Table 4

The Percent of Home Ownership for Americans of Mexican Ancestry, Total Population, and White Population Reflected in the United States Census for the Years 2000 and 2010.

	Home Ownership 2000	Home Ownership 2010
Americans of Mexican Ancestry Population	48.4	47.5
Total Population	67.2	66.9
White Population	73.8	71.0

In the 2000 census American of Hispanic ancestry represented 12.5 percent of the total general population and 15.1 percent of the total prison population; Whites represented 69.1 percent of the total general population and 41.9 percent of the total prison population. In the 2010 census, American of Hispanic ancestry represented 16.3 percent of the total general population and 16.2 percent of the total 2009 prison population; Whites represented 63.7 percent of the total general population and 42.5 percent of the total 2009 prison population. Americans of Hispanic ancestry were over-represented in the prison population in comparison to Whites by 60.2 percent in 2000 and 33.7 percent in 2009. The over-representation of Americans of Hispanic ancestry in the prison population results from the systemic violence directed at members of a group simply because they are members of that group. Young (1990) stated that the pain of violence “consists of not only direct victimization but in daily knowledge shared by all members of oppressed groups that they are liable to violation solely on account of their

group identity” (p. 62). Table 5 shows a comparison of prison population for 2000 and 2010.

Table 5

The Percent of Americans of Hispanic Ancestry Compared to the White Population Found in the Total General Population and in the Total U.S. Prison Population Reflected in the United States Census for the Years 2000 and 2010 and 2009.

	2000 General Population	2000 U.S. Prison Population	2010 General Population	2009 U.S. Prison Population
Americans of Hispanic Ancestry Population	12.5	15.1	16.3	16.2
White Population	69.1	41.9	63.7	42.5

An article containing information about Americans of Mexican ancestry participating in the military published in 2005 by Population Reference Bureau entitled *America’s Military Population* is limited, but it did say that “Hispanic representation increased in the enlisted ranks of the military in the era of the volunteer force from about 2 percent in 1975, when the Hispanic category was first used to 10 percent in 2001” (Segal & Segal, 2005, p. 23). According to Segal & Segal (2005) Americans of Hispanic ancestry participate in the military at a rate close to the percent of our presence in the total population; that Hispanics are most likely to get hurt or killed because we are over-represented in the combat specialties; that Hispanics are over-represented in the enlisted ranks and under-represented in the officer ranks, and that the low number of officers

represented by Hispanics also hold the lowest officer grades. Participation of Americans of Hispanic ancestry in the military represents what Young (1990) described as the “steady process of the transfer of the results of the labor of one social group to the benefit of another” (p. 49).

The total population in 2010 was 281,421,906. Of the 35,238,481 Americans of Hispanic origin reported in the United States in the 2000 census, 20,900,102 were Americans of Mexican origin (Ramirez, 2004). This number represents 7.4 percent of the total population and 59.3 percent of the American population of Hispanic origin in the United States. The United States Census Bureau reported in 2010 that of the 308,745,538 people that live in the United States 50,477,594 were Americans of Hispanic origin or 16.3 percent of the total population. Of the 50,477,594 Americans of Hispanic origin reported 31,798,258 were of Mexican origin. This number represents 10.3 percent of the total population and 63 percent of the American population of Hispanic origin of the United States according to the 2010 United States Bureau of the Census. Table 6 shows the increase in population from 2000 to 2010 and Table 7 shows the percent of Americans of Mexican ancestry in the population.

Table 6

Number of Americans Of Mexican Ancestry, Americans of Hispanic Ancestry, and Total U.S. Population Reflected in the United States Census for the Years 2000 and 2010.

	2000 Census Population	2010 Census Population	Percent Increase
Population of Americans of Mexican Ancestry	20,900,102	31,798,258	52.1

(Table 6-Continued)

	2000 Census Population	2010 Census Population	Percent Increase
Total Population of Americans of Hispanic Ancestry	35,238,481	50,477,594	43.2
Total U. S. Population	281,421,906	308,745,538	9.7

Table 7

The Percent of Americans of Mexican Ancestry in the Population of Americans of Hispanic Ancestry and the Total U. S. Population Reflected in the United States Census for the Years 2000 and 2010.

Percent of Americans of Mexican Ancestry in populations		
	2000	2010
American Population of Hispanic Ancestry	59.6	63.0
Total U. S. Population	7.4	10.3

As I review these statistics and think about the disturbing reality that shapes and forms the lives of so many Americans of color, I am curious to explore the reality of persons of color versus the ideological phenomena that are the main contributors to the limited life opportunities of American populations of color. Since I am an American of

Mexican ancestry, I have chosen to focus my research on this group of people. This research will describe the process of how we, nine American males of Mexican ancestry, internalized oppression and how in turn we used that internalized oppression to oppress ourselves and others within our population. By describing these aspects of oppression, I hope to help American populations of color become aware of the life limitations that are perpetuated through both White privilege and our own externalization of internalized oppression.

Statement of the Problem

Americans of Mexican ancestry have lived and still live in a country where the mainstream White population has marginalized them through the application of oppressive beliefs created to support the falsehoods of the racism lie (Gillborn, 2008; McDonnell, 2005; Rowland, 2001; Von Hildebrand, 1942). Gillborn (2008) says: “traditionally, racism has often been viewed as involving two key characteristics: a belief in the existence of discrete human races and the idea that those ‘races’ are hierarchically ordered” (p. 3).

Americans of Mexican ancestry have experienced the pain and stigma of overt and covert forces and deprivation. The painful actions committed by the dominant population against these Americans were and are delivered in the daily personal social exchanges that occur in most educational, employment, family and community settings. The racism lie is preserved and perpetuated by systematically repeating and reinforcing the words and actions that separate and alienate non-White persons from mainstream America. The story of racism in the United States is part of the American experience. It has become a way of life for those of us who were and are its targets because it has taken

over our belief system, which keeps us from exposing it because we too practice the racism lie against ourselves and others like us.

Internalized racial oppression shadows the lives of those of us subjected to the racism lie. Not understanding the serious impact the racism lie has on both the individual and the collective enables all to replicate and perpetuate it. Thus, the racism lie through internalized racial oppression in the United States holds many Americans of Mexican ancestry in social and psychological bondage.

Studies of internalized oppression have looked at African Americans (Brody et al, 2008; Feagin, 1994; Helms, 1990; Johns, 2008; Peters, 2004; Taylor et al, 2004; Watts-Jones, 2002; Williams and Williams-Morris, 2000), LGBT persons (Perez 2005, Pheterson, 1986; Williamson, 2000), Native Americans (Duran & Duran, 1995; Grande, 2004; Heart & Debruyne, 1998) Asian Americans (Dalisay, 2009; Gee, 2009; Kwok et al, 2011), and women (Cutrona et al, 2000; Moane, 2006; Schwartz, 1995). However, while several studies look at the racism endured by Americans of Mexican ancestry (Urrieta, 2007), few studies delve into the process of internalizing racial oppression and how it is lived out by Americans of Mexican ancestry. Additionally, no study located probes the ways in which we enact our internalized racial oppression as racism against ourselves and others like us (Paradies, 2006). According to Brooks, Daniels, & Kaltoft (1993) documenting the descriptions provided by groups comprised of people who share a social identity such as the nine American men of Mexican ancestry in this study whose knowledge has been silenced and for which a descriptive language does not yet exist can produce new knowledge and develop language to describe their experience in the company of people like themselves. Their life histories and the use of collaborative

inquiry generate reflective synergy through the repetition of iterative cycles and produce descriptions that document how they internalize racial oppression in their lives.

Purpose of Study

Therefore, the purpose of this study was to understand the process of internalizing racial oppression as a consequence of believing the racism lie and how this internalized oppression has been lived out by Americans of Mexican descent.

Research Questions

This study was designed to answer the following research questions: (1) what acts of racial oppression did the nine men describe experiencing? (2) What did the men describe feeling from the acts of oppression they experienced? And (3) what did the men describe as the impact of internalizing racial oppression in their lives?

Approach to the Study

I approached this problem from a critical race theory philosophical, epistemological and ontological perspective. This allowed me to explore the consequences of a racist based oppression directed at a group of persons like me who were born, raised, and educated and have worked, lived and died in the United States.

In their article, authors Parsons and Plakhotnic define critical race theory in the following way:

Despite the variety of intellectual traditions that inform Critical Race Theory and the diverse disciplinary backgrounds of those who self-identify as critical race theorists, they still share at least four defining beliefs including: (1) racism is endemic to US life; (2) CRT must challenge ahistoricism and pursue a contextual/historical analysis of social issues; (3) CRT is an interdisciplinary set of research practices that are still evolving and developing; and; (4) CRT should incorporate the common experiences and shared experiences as the “other” that oppressed people bring to the struggle to reshape knowledge (Barnes, 1990). Race is always central to the analysis of social issues when using CRT as the framework. In addition to these shared beliefs, CRT seeks to achieve the dual

purpose of transforming disciplinary structures and changing society. The themes of oppression and liberation are at the center of CRT. (Parsons and Plakhotnic, 2006, p.163)

Thus, this study is not about me coming to terms with my American experience; it is about understanding the social-psychological damaging effects that the racism lie has had and continues to have on persons like me.

Theoretical Perspectives

In this study internalized racial oppression results from believing the racism lie, which negatively affects the sociology and psychology of the believers. Sociologically, I draw on the work of the French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu, who describes this social phenomenon in what he calls habitus. He defines habitus as:

Systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them. (Lizardo, 2004, p. 378)

From the psychological perspective, I draw on Gershen Kaufman's work on shame (1996). Racial oppression is learned and replicated by each individual in the population who is a target. In the process of internalizing racial oppression people experience "distinct action patterns, or scripts, that evolve for predicting and controlling a magnified set of scenes" (Kaufman, 1996, p. 87). These scripts and scenes diminish our persona by evoking feelings associated with shame. Kaufman writes,

[Shame is] the affect of inferiority. No other affect is more central to the development of identity. None is closer to the experienced self, nor more disturbing. Shame is felt as an inner torment. It is the most poignant experience of the self by the self, whether felt in the humiliation of cowardice, or in the sense of failure to cope successfully with a challenge. Shame is a wound made from the inside, dividing us from both ourselves and others. (Kaufman, 1996, p. 16)

So both habitus and shame provide theoretical perspectives useful to understanding internalized racial oppression.

Assumptions

It was important to list the assumptions I am make about myself as I engaged in this research: (1) the impact internalized racial oppression has had on me will have influenced the way I perceived and analyzed the data; (2) what has happened and happens to Americans of Mexican ancestry in the United States has angered me in the past and continues to anger me; and (3) my life limitations have been controlled by both external and internal forces originating from racial oppression.

Methodology

This study intended to describe life as experienced by nine American men of Mexican ancestry in the United States beginning in the 1940's. It covered major aspects of the study participants' lives and my own live during our childhood, teenage, adult and mature adult years. This investigation was conducted in May of 2008 in Austin, Texas. We examined and described the habitus where the nine of us experienced social-cultural racial interactive scripts that induced powerlessness and shame in us.

In May of 2008, the participants, eight American men of Mexican ancestry ranging in age between 50 and 60 years and I met for a weekend at a Holiday Inn located in north Austin, Texas to conduct the part of the research that was designed to generate the data for this research. We met in different conference rooms throughout this session where we sat around tables forming a U shape so we could see each other while we were speaking, listening, writing and being filmed and tape recorded.

I used collaborative inquiry as explained by Bray, Lee, Smith and York (2000) to conduct this research. Collaborative inquiry is a methodology in which both the researcher and participants collaborate on collecting, analyzing and interpreting the data. Each one of us presented a 15 minute life history vignette for each of the four developmental stages of our lives including childhood, teenage, adult and mature adult years. We began by examining our childhood years. After each one of us presented our 15 minute life history vignette we entered into iterative cycles of discussion and reflection on what we had heard in order to generate reflective synergy that contained discovery, connectivity and new knowledge Bray et al (2000). Our experiences and knowledge about being Americans of Mexican ancestry in the United States served as the primary sources for the collection of data describing the internalization of racial oppression that occurs in the American population of Mexican heritage. Describing how we enacted racism against other members of our population and ourselves proved to be more difficult than collecting data related to the racism we experienced from the wider population and others like us. Although we provided some examples of these two areas of internalized racial oppression when we presented our life histories, confessing to acts of racial oppression committed by us to others like us and to ourselves would have required a process emphasizing a closer examination of these actions.

We analyzed the data through iterative cycles of reflection and interpretation. We recorded all of this as data and further reflected and interpreted what we had shared. We went through 8 iterations. I recorded and transcribed all of the information. In addition, each of us kept personal notes and these too became part of the data.

Definition of Terms

American population of Mexican ancestry – “members of the Hispanic group residing in the United States who are of Mexican origin.” (The Hispanic Population: 2010 Census Briefs)

Internalized racial oppression – The role the oppressed play in the process of their own oppression and the oppression of their own community is called internalized oppression.

According to Tappan it is

a concept currently widely used across a variety of disciplines and critical projects including contemporary critical pedagogy (see, for example Freire, 1970; McLaren, 1998; Tatum, 1997; Young, 1990), to describe and explain the experience of those who are members of subordinated, marginalized, or minority groups. (Tappan, 2006, p. 2116)

Internalized racial oppression is also referred to as internalized racism, internalized White supremacy, internalized Whiteness, and the much-criticized term “racial self-hatred.”

Racism – According to Speight

Racism is a particular form of oppression that is not only interpersonal but also cultural and structural. Racism is not just people mistreating others through avoidance, name-calling, stereotyping, or racial profiling. It is “systematically reproduced in major economic, political, and cultural institutions,” and it operates through “the normal processes of everyday life” (Young, 1990, p. 41). Particularly because racism is part of our daily social reality, it can be difficult to discern, like the water we swim in or the air we breathe. (Speight, 2007, p. 127)

Limitations

The research is limited in that it is based on retrospective data that are coated with anger, humiliation, and shame. It is also limited by the lack of vocabulary available for talking about internalized racial oppression. Additionally, a stigma exists against men discussing emotional issues and the topic of this study, as it manifested in our lives, was

very emotional for us. At times, as we shared these events, we were brought to tears as we re-experienced the pain.

Significance of the Study

Internalized racial oppression diminishes our capacity to enjoy lives that are driven by wholeness and power and increases our capacity to live lives driven by powerlessness and shame. This study will help illuminate the processes of internalizing racial oppression and how we live them out. For Americans of Mexican descent, like me, this enables us to open another door to psychological and social freedom. Learning about the beliefs and behaviors generated by internalized racial oppression that negatively contribute to the social-psychological development of the American population of Mexican ancestry could help find a path to discovering the truth about ourselves that could move us to self-liberation and self-determination. This study will provide practical information to the persons in non-White populations, who experience this racial oppression because they believe the racism lie and replicate and perpetuate it against themselves and others like them.

This study will also add to the growing body of theory related to internalizing racial oppression. Internalized oppression enacted as racism against ourselves and against people like ourselves is absent in the literature. This study ventures into that taboo topic Pyke (2010) and begins to illuminate it.

Summary of Chapter

This chapter introduced the problem of internalized racial oppression as a creation of the racism lie, a falsehood where the truth has been replaced by negative subjective measures about a group of people (Gillborn, 2008; McDonnell, 2005; Rowland, 2001;

Von Hildebrand, 1942). The purpose of this study is to understand the process of internalizing racial oppression as a consequence of believing the racism lie and how this internalized oppression is lived out by Americans of Mexican descent. It draws on two theoretical perspectives: Pierre Bourdieu's notion of habitus and Gershen Kaufman's understanding of shame among victims of racism. The study, a collaborative inquiry based in critical race theory draws on the life histories of nine American men of Mexican ancestry. Limitations are that the data are retrospective and colored by the negative psychological consequences of the participants having been the victims of racism, a limited existing vocabulary to describe the experiences of internalized racial oppression, and social stigmas that may have kept men from talking about emotional issues. This research will help illuminate the processes of internalizing racial oppression and will add to the growing body of theory related to internalizing racial oppression.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review will cover the following topics: historical information about Americans of Mexican descent; and theory and research on oppression, internalized racial oppression, habitus, and shame. The purpose of this review is to inform the social-psychological processes involved in internalizing racial oppression resulting from believing the racism lie that I as well as many other Americans of Mexican ancestry hold as a truth. This phenomenon is generated and maintained within the habitus we traverse in our daily lives which are filled with negative racial social-cultural interactive scripts that induce powerlessness and shame into our individual and collective psyches. This review will explore some of the research that has been done regarding internalized racial oppression and related topics, hopefully, bringing us closer to the truth about this phenomenon which negatively affects the lives of millions of Americans. According to Pyke, “the taboo forbidding mention of internalized racism has kept the problem a secret” (Pyke, 2010 p. 566).

The methods I used for the review of the literature included doing searches on the major and minor topics using the university’s internet library resources including Social Sciences Citation Index and Web of Science. Some of the search terms included: Mexican Americans, internalized oppression, oppression, racism, internalized racism, habitus, externalized oppression, and shame. Most of the information used to inform this literature review was published within the last twenty years although there are a few sources that are older. The use of Ulrich helped me verify selection of refereed journal

articles to inform this literature review. In addition to the above sources, I used the Dissertations and Theses database.

Americans of Mexican Ancestry

To include a historical perspective of Americans of Mexican ancestry in the United States I have relied on the work of Estrada, Garcia, Macias and Maldonado (1981) which was written within the context of the U. S. political economy. They point out that military conquest was used to incorporate Mexicans into the United States. This conquest occurred after Anglo immigration began in 1819 when Mexico granted foreigners permission to settle in its northern area or what is now Texas. Beginning in 1836 with the Battle of San Jacinto and ending in 1853 with the Gadsden Purchase, the northern territories belonging to Mexico became part of the United States. Barker (1965) wrote that by 1835

the Texans saw themselves in danger of becoming the alien subjects of a people to whom they deliberately believed themselves morally, intellectually, and politically superior. Such racial feelings underlay Texan American relations from the establishment of the very first Anglo-American colony in 1821. (Barker, 1965, p. 52)

Estrada et al (1981) explained the military conquest allowed the United States to grow by over one million square miles increasing the country's land size by a third. The states of Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, Texas, Nevada and Utah as well as portions of Kansas, Oklahoma and Wyoming resulted from the territory gained. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo signed in 1848 officially brought the aggression to an end and established sovereignty over the territories ceded and the creation of new borders. The significance of taking over these enormous tracts of land, rich in natural resources,

along with their Mexican and Native American inhabitants allowed for circumstances very favorable to the United States' development and expansion.

According to Estrada et al (1981) as a result of these events Mexicans were dispossessed and displaced socially and economically and were rapidly reduced to the status of a colonized group in violation of the civil and property rights guaranteed by treaty and protocol. Mexican holdings were acquired far below their real value and the presence of the U.S. military, racial violence, governmental and judicial chicanery all served to advance Anglos into positions of power in economic organizations formerly developed by Mexicans in mining, ranching and agriculture. Dispossession differed in each of the states acquired through military conquest. Mexicans were seen as a natural source of labor to be broken and subjugated.

From 1900 to 1930 when the agriculture, mining, and lumber industries were thriving and the Mexicans served as a source of accessible and exploitable labor. New immigrants from Mexico were treated just like those that were already here. About two hundred and fifty thousand Mexicans immigrated to the United States during these three decades, representing one of the largest movements of people in the history of the world. Mexicans were labeled as inferior beings and naturally inassimilable and foreign. In spite of the conditions that surrounded the Mexicans in the United States some were self-employed in small scale businesses and a few were educators in segregated schools. These efforts by some Mexicans were contained within the Mexican community. By the 1920's Mexicans began to settle outside the Southwest when they were recruited by northern manufacturing interests.

Legislation in the 1920s recognized that Mexicans were acceptable as manual labor but not deserving of citizenship. This tolerance was acceptable because of the great social and geographical distance between the Mexicans and the citizens.

The following is from a report for the 1928 Congressional hearings on Western Hemisphere Immigration:

Their minds run to nothing higher than animal functions—eat, sleep, and sexual debauchery. In every huddle of Mexican shacks one meets the same idleness, hordes of hungry dogs, and filthy children with faces plastered with flies, disease, lice, human filth, stench, promiscuous fornication, bastardy, lounging, apathetic peons and lazy squaws, beans and dried chili, liquor, general squalor, and envy and hatred of the gringo. These people sleep by day and prowl by night like coyotes, stealing anything they can get their hands on, no matter how useless to them it may be. Nothing left outside is safe unless padlocked or chained down. Yet there are Americans clamoring for more of these human swine to be brought over from Mexico. (Garis, 1930, p. 436)

John Nance Garner who became vice president to Franklin Roosevelt stated during this time “In order to allow land owners now to make a profit of their farms, they want to get the cheapest labor they can find, and if they can get the Mexican labor it enables them to make a profit” (as cited in Estrada et al, 1981, p. 116).

Even though Mexicans were thought as being of mongrel racial character because they did not speak English which made their allegiance to the United States questionable and even though Mexicans had to endure racial conflict, physical abuse, cultural genocide and economic exploitation, their population grew until the coming of the Great Depression. What happened to the Mexicans during this period is, in many ways, still responsible for their status today. Over 400,000 Mexicans were mandated to leave the country between 1929 and 1934 through voluntary repatriation achieved through Mexican Bureaus whose responsibility was to reduce the welfare rolls by deporting the applicants. The standard used in identifying Mexicans for deportation was indigence not

citizenship. Approximately 50% of those deported were born in the United States. Their deportation violated both their civil and human rights. The Great Depression seriously eroded the social and economic standing of the Mexican population in the United States.

The period between World War II and 1960 saw the reestablishment of the bracero program, which was a bilateral agreement between Mexico and the United States intended to supply labor for agriculture in the United States. The program, which was riddled with large scale discrimination in the areas of wages, working conditions, housing and general treatment began in 1942 and ended in 1964. As a result of the bracero program, close to 5,000,000 Mexicans came to the United States. Undocumented workers coming from Mexico paralleled the importation of braceros. They were generally hired for wages lower than those paid to braceros. In 1954 Operation Wetback was launched by the Immigration and Naturalization Service for the purpose of removing all undocumented workers. Looking Mexican was enough reason for official scrutiny. About 3.8 million undocumented Mexican immigrants and citizens were deported over the next five years.

In 1942 violent confrontations erupted between servicemen and police against Mexicans and continued until 1943. The zoot suit riots demonstrated the power of the press in forming public opinion against Mexicans that culminated with the arrests of 24 American youth of Mexican ancestry of which seventeen were tried for murder after receiving little sympathy. The League of Latin American Citizens (LULAC) formed in 1928 expanded into a national organization after World War II becoming very involved in efforts to curtail the racial oppression experienced by the American population of Mexican ancestry especially in education. The court decision of 1945 *Mendez v.*

Westminster School District prohibited segregation of American students of Mexican ancestry. A similar decision occurred in Texas in 1948 which paved the way for the Supreme Court decision of 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* which established the illegality of deliberate segregation of American children of Mexican ancestry on the basis of race and bilingual education.

In 1948 the American GI forum was created in Corpus Christi, Texas when an American war hero of Mexican descent was refused burial in Three Rivers, Texas on the basis of his race. This organization is still active and has been at the forefront of protecting the interests of American veterans of Mexican descent and other issues affecting the overall American population of Mexican ancestry at the national level. In 1959 the Mexican American Political Association was formed to improve the social, economic, cultural and civic betterment of Hispanics in the United States.

In the 1960s and 70 the Chicano Movement which was composed of activist and radical organizations, formed throughout the United States with the intent of addressing the inequalities of racial discrimination. Many groups participated in this movement and out of it a third political party was formed in Texas, El Partido de la Raza Unida which overthrew the minority Anglo-dominated governments in several South Texas cities. In addition Chicano professional organizations were formed in the 1970s at the national level such as the Southwest Council de la Raza, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF), and the National Task Force de la Raza. Although activism amongst Americans of Mexican ancestry continued after the 1970s the efforts to obtain justice and equality and to share in the societies privileges have been limited Estrada et al (1981).

Phenomena associated with the internalization of racial oppression

Racism. In ("Racism," n.d.) the Oxford English Dictionary has defined racism as "a belief or ideology that all members of each racial group possess characteristics or abilities specific to that race, especially to distinguish it as being either superior or inferior to another racial group or racial groups" (p. 5). In ("Racism," n.d.) the Merriam-Webster's Dictionary has defined racism "as a belief that race is the primary determinant of human traits and capacities and that racial differences produce an inherent superiority of a particular racial group, and that it is also the prejudice based on such a belief" (p. 5).

In *Portraits of White Racism* sociologist, Wellman, (1993) defined racism as "culturally sanctioned beliefs, which, regardless of intentions involved, defend the advantages Whites have because of the subordinated position of racial minorities." (p. 25). Sociologists, Cazenave and Maddern, (1999) define racism as "a highly organized system of race-based group privilege that operates at every level of society and is held together by a sophisticated ideology of color-race supremacy. Racist systems include, but cannot be reduced to, racial bigotry" (p. 42). Sociologist and former American Sociological Association president, Feagin, (2000) argued that the United States can be characterized as a "total racist society" because racism is used to organize every social institution (p.16).

In his book, *Systemic Racism: A Theory of Oppression*, Feagin (2006) articulated a comprehensive theory of racial oppression in the United States. He examined how major institutions have been built upon racial oppression, which was not an accident of history, but was created intentionally by White Americans. In Feagin's view, White Americans labored hard to create a system of racial oppression in the 17th century and

have worked diligently to maintain the system ever since. While Feagin acknowledges that changes have occurred in this racist system over the centuries, he contends that key and fundamental elements have been reproduced over nearly four centuries, and that U.S. institutions today reflect the racialized hierarchy created in the 17th century. Today, as in the past, racial oppression is not just a surface-level feature of this society, but rather pervades, permeates, and interconnects all major social groups, networks, and institutions across the society (Feagin, 2006).

For example inheritance legislation became law at both the federal and state levels beginning in 1797 to ensure that racial minorities would not own property in the United States in perpetuity (Menchaca, 1997). In other words, racial minorities such as Native Americans, Mexicans, Blacks and Asians who owned land were prohibited from passing it down to their heirs.

In their most recent article, Brandolo, Libretti, Rivera, and Walsemann, stated:

...racism has been defined broadly as “the processes, norms, ideologies, and behaviors that perpetuate racial inequality” (Gee, Ro, Shariff-Marco, & Chae, 2009, p. 130). The systems that perpetuate racial inequality can be viewed as reinforcing race-based social ostracism, in which phenotypic or cultural characteristics are used to target individuals for social exclusion, unfair treatment, and harassment (Brandolo, Brady, Libby, & Pencille, 2011a). Racism can be manifest at the cultural, institutional and interpersonal levels, and can exert effects at the intrapersonal level as well, if targeted individuals internalize attitudes toward their own racial/ethnic group. (Brandolo, Libretti, Rivera, & Walsemann, 2010, p. 358)

Recent research on racism against Americans of Mexican ancestry describes the ways in which it continues to exist. Sanmiguel-Valderrama (2013) describes how the separation of children from their parents resulting from increased border detentions and deportations is a racist practice reminiscent of the times when children were sent to boarding schools to separate them from their parents. Orozco (2012) traces how

legislation passed in 2010 terminating Mexican American Studies in K-12 in Arizona was drawn from dialogues portraying anti-Americanism and evilness contained in the Mexican American Studies and Americans of Mexican ancestry. In another study Perez Huber, (2010) explains how Critical Race Theory is able through its lens to examine the intersections of multiple forms of oppression directed at persons of Mexican ancestry in the United States. In this study of undocumented Chicana College students their educational trajectory was sabotaged with racist nativism, class and gender discrimination.

There have also been many documented efforts of resistance by Americans of Mexican ancestry against racial oppression, especially in education. Hernandez (2013) reminds us in her research of the long history Americans of Mexican ancestry have of resisting and challenging the racial oppression experienced in our educational systems. She describes the Chicano movements of the 1960s and 70s and recognizes the importance and power of the activism that was demonstrated during that period in an effort to change the status quo. She also talks about a second wave of activism that occurred in the 1990's in an effort to maintain the gains from the Chicano Movement in the 1960s. Her study used the Critical Race Theory lens to examine the narratives of seven American women activists of Mexican ancestry attending Indiana University in 1997 to determine how becoming activists affected them and what they learned about racism through their experiences as women and activists.

Cultural Racism. Cultural racism can be defined as:

societal beliefs and customs that promote the assumption that the products of White culture (e.g., language, traditions, appearance) are superior to those of non-White cultures" (Helms, 1990, p. 49, Powell, 2000). More generally, cultural racism reflects the dissemination of attitudes about the relative rights, privileges,

and status that should be afforded to different racial/ethnic groups. (Brandolo, Libretti, Rivera, & Walsemann, 2012, p. 360)

Public acknowledgement of the valued representations, icons and traditions of a cultural group is a form of cultural racism (Sue et al., 2007). Ignoring them influences viewers' perceptions of "the degree to which group members merit full social inclusion" (Dovidio, 2009, p. 361).

Citing recent research Brandolo, Libretti, Rivera, & Walsemann (2012) observe that "cultural racism, in particular biased media presentations, may affect attitudes toward different race/ethnic groups through social-cognitive processes, including priming, stereotype activation, and social" (p.362).

Institutional Racism. Institutional racism "refers to the specific policies and/or procedures of institutions (i.e., government, business, schools, churches, etc.) which consistently result in unequal treatment for particular groups" (Brandolo, Libretti, Rivera, & Walsemann, 2012, p. 363). It is also known as structural racism, state racism or systemic racism. (Criss, Shaw, Moilanen, Hitchings, & Ingoldsby, 2009) note that as of yet, little research has been done on the mechanisms of institutional racism, but that some evidence suggests lack of opportunity may contribute to the development of some social competencies and the emotional support to use those competencies. Recent research, identifies institutional racism in border enforcement where children of Mexican and Central American laborers born in the United States have been placed for adoption or foster care because their parents have been deported. (Sanmiguel-Valderrama, 2013) The use of military tactics by the United States government to enforce immigration and border policy along the Mexico border have impacted the health and daily lives of persons of Mexican origin who are U. S. residents and American citizens of Mexican

ancestry by the systematic profiling, mistreatment, discrimination and victimization that occurs. (Sabo, Shaw, Ingram, Teufel-Shone, Carvajal, de Zapien, & Rubio-Goldsmith, 2014) In the educational arena Aleman (2006) demonstrates the need for critical examination of the Texas school finance policy which is founded on intrinsic institutional racism. Kirstin (2007) explains that children in Arizona who work in the fields with their parents find themselves uncared for both as workers and learners. "It divests these youth of important social and cultural resources, leaving them progressively vulnerable to academic failure" (Valenzuela, 1999, p. 3). Results from a study of residents living in barrios along the U.S. Mexican border show they experience more structural violence by state authorities than the general population suggesting patterns of institutional violence based on racism and nativism (Goldsmith, Romero, Rubio-Goldsmith, Escobedo, & Khoury, 2009). In another study Yosso (2010) explains how media plays an important educational role through their entertainment when they show limited stereotypical images of Americans of Mexican ancestry that contribute to the racist beliefs held by the establishment on this group's inferiority.

Interpersonal Racism. Individual-level racism has been defined as "directly perceived discriminatory interactions between individuals whether in their institutional roles or as public and private individuals" (Krieger, 1999, p. 301). Perceived or self-reported racism is a subset of these experiences and includes those episodes of maltreatment that are directly perceived by the individual and attributed to racial bias (Paradies, 2006; Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996). "However, race-based maltreatment can also have negative effects, even if the targeted individual does not directly or immediately attribute the maltreatment to racial bias"(Brandolo, Libretti, Rivera, & Walsemann, 2012,

p. 367). According to Ryan, Gee, and Griffith (2008), interpersonal racism can occur in many different contexts, including work, public places, the criminal justice system, or social and personal venues such as work, church, restaurants, or home.

Everyday life for many Americans includes experiencing racism. (Feagin & Sikes, 1994; Landrine & Klonoff, 1996). A very high percent of Americans of African ancestry reported in several studies having experienced racism in their lives. (Klonoff & Landrine, 1999; Krieger & Sidney, 1996; Landrine & Klonoff, 1996; Peters, 2004) According to Brondolo, Brady, Libby, & Pencille (2011a), their studies show Latino and Asian Americans have similar experiences. Their investigation with adults of African ancestry and Latino ancestry showed that three fourths of the persons in their study reported experiencing an act of racial oppression once a week and over half reported experiencing three or more incidents of racial oppression.

Oppression. To oppress means to weigh heavily upon, so as to depress the mind and spirits (Webster, 1999). This definition as well as the common understanding of oppression suggests that oppression is something that happens outside the person. In other words, it is something that is done to the individual rather than something the individual does to him or herself (Morris, 1987). This understanding, although accurate, does not explain the role the oppressed play in their own oppression and in the oppression they in turn externalize to their community.

According to Hanna, Talley & Guindon (2000) “oppression comes in two different modalities: by force and by deprivation” (p. 431). Oppression by force includes imposing objects, labels, roles, experiences, or a set of living conditions that are unwanted, painful, and negatively influence the psychological and physical well-being of others (Hanna,

Talley & Guindon). Examples include bullets, shackles, fists, unhealthy food, messages that cause or sustain pain along with low self-efficacy and reduced self-determination, hard labor that is demeaning, job roles that are degrading, media images that are negative, and messages that foster and maintain distorted beliefs (Hanna, Talley & Guindon). In the second modality, oppression deprives others of objects, labels, roles, experiences, or a set of living conditions that are desirable and positively influence their psychological and physical well-being (Hanna, Talley & Guindon). Examples include:

deprivation of loved ones, respect, or dignity; neglect such as deprivation of love, care, support, or vital services, as well as basic material needs such as food, shelter, and clothing; deprivation of a commodity such as a house or car, or a plot of land in a desirable neighborhood; deprivation of one's children, parents, friends, freedom, or even one's childhood; deprivation of religious or spiritual practices, and deprivation of desirable jobs because of the dominant majority's overt or covert beliefs that inferiority is attached to culture, race, gender, disability or sexual preference. (Hanna, Talley & Guindon, 2000, p 431)

Several studies (Bernard, Lucas- White, and Moore, 1994; Calliste, 2000; hooks, 1994; Lorde, 1982; Sabattis, 1996; and Williams, 1991) provide a few examples that demonstrate internalized domination and oppression that minority students have experienced in academia. They include examples such as exceptional economic hardship because of membership in a marginalized group; faculty responses ranging from discomfort to ridicule when issues of gender or race are raised in class; comments that if they are present in the university it must be because of affirmative action or other special programs rather than ability; lack of appropriate high school preparation because of streaming and preconceived notions of visible minority students' potential; racist social norms surrounding friendship and relationships; an expectation that written expression will be impersonal, analytic, and "objective" when many minority cultures value the opposite; harassment by White students and faculty; racist slurs, jokes and stereotypes;

threats and assaults; lack of role models; and the pressure to become as similar as possible to White, middle-class people and support White, middle class ideals.

In addition, Hanna, Talley & Guindon (2000) list four types of oppression: primary oppression, which is the deliberate variety perpetuated by either the force or deprivation modalities; secondary oppression, which happens when a person or group of persons do not actively oppress through force or deprivation but benefit from oppression of others by others; tertiary oppression, which occurs when members of the oppressed group seek acceptance from the dominant group by abandoning their group; and mixed oppression, in which a person or group of persons are both oppressed and oppressive.

The explanations provided by Hanna, Talley, and Guindon (2000) further demonstrate the complexities of oppression and provide information on how targets of oppression could adopt these same modalities and types of oppression against similar others and themselves. The psychological underpinnings of internalized oppression are recognized in most psychological theories addressing oppression (Fanon, 1963; Freire, 1999; Prilleltensky & Gonick, 1996). According to Bulhan (1985) oppression that is internalized necessitates “battle on two fronts: the oppressor within and the oppressor without” (p. 123). “Thus, any understanding of the psychological effects of racism would be incomplete without a consideration of internalized racism” (Speight, 2007, p.129).

Internalized Racial Oppression. Although there has been interest in inequality from a sociological perspective for a long time, the internalization of racial oppression and its consequences amid the racially oppressed and its role in the replication of racial inequality has been largely disregarded, reflecting a taboo on the matter. As a result,

internalized racial oppression continues to be one of the most ignored and misunderstood elements of racism. (Pyke, 2010)

Prevailing racial inequalities are further exacerbated by “internalized oppression”. Internalized oppression reveals itself as an involuntary reaction to oppression originating outside one’s group, and resulting in group members loathing themselves, disliking others in their group, and blaming themselves for the oppression rather than realizing these beliefs are constructed in them by the oppressive socio-economic political systems (Brown, 1995; Hagan, 1993; Schwartz, 1995; Sherover-Marcuse, 1994). This implies that internalized oppression can be experienced at different times and places and different frequencies and concentration levels.

Williams and Williams-Morris (2000) write that “Internalized racism refers to the acceptance, by marginalized racial populations, of the negative societal beliefs and stereotypes about themselves” (p. 255). Hardiman and Jackson (1997) explain that the modern commercialization of racism institutionalizes and normalizes oppression to include the majority’s values, norms, and ideas through its power to define and name reality and through its domination be able to degrade ignore, exclude, and misrepresent the intended group’s culture, language and history. (Speight 129) Young (1990) refers to this condition as cultural imperialism.

Pheterson provided a classic summary of internalized oppression by saying:

Internalized oppression is the incorporation and acceptance by individuals within an oppressed group of prejudices against them within a dominant society. Internalized oppression is likely to consist of self-hatred, self-concealment, fear of violence, feelings of inferiority, resignation, isolation, powerlessness and gratefulness for being allowed to survive. Internalized oppression is the mechanism within an oppressive system for perpetuating domination not only by external control but also by building subservience into the minds of the oppressed groups. (Pheterson, 1986, p. 148)

The role the oppressed play in the process of their own oppression and the oppression of their own community is called internalized oppression “a concept currently widely used across a variety of disciplines and critical projects including contemporary critical pedagogy (see, for example Freire, 1970; McLaren, 1998; Tatum, 1997; Young, 1990), to describe and explain the experience of those who are members of subordinated, marginalized, or minority groups” (Tappan, 2006, p. 2116). The internalized oppression phenomenon which has been described as socio-cultural versus psychological is constantly and continuously encouraged in minority communities through the ongoing processes and relationships between minority communities and the privileged and powerful communities who have internalized domination by accepting their community’s socially superior status as normal and deserved (Griffin, 1997). “Socio-cultural” refers to systematically embedded forces in the structures of our social lives, and “psychological” refers to the victim’s reaction to oppression which classifies that reaction as a psychological problem created by the victim, therefore belonging to the victim. As a result, the production and reproduction of oppression is supported and maintained by the privileged and powerful communities through the systemic, structural, and institutionalized forces created to protect privilege (Tappan). Traditionally internalized oppression has been explained wholly as internal, profound, fixed psychological qualities of the oppressed (Tappan). Using Bonilla-Silva’s (2003) argument that “whereas for most Whites racism is prejudice, for most people of color racism is systemic or institutionalized” (p. 8), Tappan points to the socio-cultural aspect of internalized oppression that has been obscured by the psychological aspect, and emphasizes that any elucidation to the quandary of privilege and oppression must address structural and

systemic change as it does on personal alteration. In addition, Brandolo, Libretti, Rivera, & Walsemann (2012) state that “existing data suggest that exposure to racism may create concerns about presenting a genuine self in relationships both with same- and cross-race peers” (p. 372).

According to Macedo (1998), in order to maintain economic and political power, the dominant culture must impose cultural hegemony based on the theory of a “colonial legacy,” to convince, for example, Americans of Mexican ancestry of their second-class status. The process of cultural hegemony develops when policies and practices unfold as a part of a continuing project by White America to consolidate its claim on the southwestern part of the United States. Efforts to discredit multicultural education, to establish English as the official language of the United States, and to dismantle civil rights efforts such as affirmative action can be viewed as efforts to consolidate the loyalty of White Americans, and to squash counter-hegemonic discourses of Americans of Mexican heritage and remind them of their place in American society (Valenzuela, 1999). A colonial legacy in combination with cultural hegemony is very damaging to the lives of Americans of Mexican ancestry because it condones oppression and simultaneously encourages the oppressed to play an active role in their own oppression (McLaren, 1989). Consequently, marginalized communities like the American community of Mexican heritage are discouraged from critically studying their realities (Macedo, 1998). Cultural hegemony creates an environment in which people do not question the lack of wealth available to them because they believe that the institutions sponsored by the government (e.g., banking, education, employment, housing, and health) are representing the interests of all groups involved (McLaren). In addition, marginalized communities do not question the

role they play in perpetuating their own self destruction through internalized oppression as they take on the values, ideologies, and thought processes from the dominant culture that minimize them and view them as objects and not subjects (Berta-Avila, 2002).

False Consciousness. American communities of color, such as the American community of Mexican heritage, experience a daily existence that promotes the creation and maintenance of a false consciousness that shapes our ideology. Morris (1987) describes false consciousness as a picture of reality that protects individuals from having to deal with the consequences of their own and their oppressors' role in the maintenance of oppression. Morris explains that people do not purposefully internalize oppression but rather do so to meet their needs for money, relationships with others, acceptance, responsibility, and meaning for life. People comply with the systems that meet these needs and associate with people who have similar needs at work, in school, in the community and in neighborhoods.

Freire (1970) said "The oppressed suffer from the duality which has established itself in their innermost being. They discover that without freedom they cannot exist authentically. Yet, although they desire authentic existence, they fear it" (p. 48)

This duality presented by Freire leaves the oppressed with three possible choices:

first, perceiving oneself as the oppressed which is to accept weakness; second, collaborating with tyrants, which is perceived as morally and practically wrong; and third, the only possible solution, which is to deny the oppressive and oppressed qualities of self and maintain a false consciousness enabling one to maintain membership in the social system(s) on which one depends. (Morris, 1987, p. 158)

This is not the best way to live, but shrinking the ego and projecting one's oppression onto the oppressors is preferable to believing that one is associating with tyrants or accepting that one is weak (Janeway, 1980).

Freire (1970) also states, “The interests of the oppressors lie in changing the consciousness of the oppressed, not the situation which oppresses, for the more the oppressed can be led to adapt to that situation, the more easily they can be dominated” (p. 60). Changing the consciousness of the oppressed limits the way they think, thus limiting their ideology. Anthony (1977) states, “The most successful ideology is the one that is not recognizable as such, a system of beliefs and assumptions so much a part of everyday life that it is not even identifiable, much less open to question” (p. 24). In other words, the ideologies held by most communities of color in the United States have been formed and shaped by a system of beliefs and assumptions produced from the prevailing ideology of White privilege. This ideology which is founded on racism is inextricably woven into the tapestry of everyday life where it goes unnoticed and unquestioned. Ideologies shaped by internalized oppression move people to make decisions that are not in their best interests. By not confronting the consequences of our own and our oppressors’ roles in the maintenance of oppression, we go about life denying the reality of the matter and making daily decisions that keep us entrenched in the world we have created for ourselves in order to avoid becoming victims in it.

Shame. Kaufman provided the following explanation regarding the role shame has in the lives of minorities.

Given the unique experience of particular minorities living in American society, we need to examine the role of shame in profoundly shaping the evolving identities of racial, ethnic, and religious minorities. Just as shame is a societal dynamic, impacting the lives of various minority groups that inhabit a given society, shame is equally a force in culture generally. Every culture experiences shame, but differently. Cultures utilize shame as a means of furthering social control, as an important socializing tool; cultures also pattern shame quite distinctively. (Kaufman, 1996, p. xi)

Kaufman (1996) wrote that “shame is the affect of inferiority. No other affect is more central to the development of identity. None is closer to the experienced self, nor more disturbing. Shame is felt as an inner torment” (p. 16).

Kaufman’s work on shame and its dynamics provides an explanation of how this very important affect or emotion is shaped by the social-cultural scenes and scripts humans are exposed to and immersed in daily. These scenes and scripts are contained in Bourdieu’s habitus. As a result shame influences both individual and collective psyches. Kaufman (1996) explains that “not only are identity and culture held captive by shame, so is ideology” (p. xii).

Many of the consequences of shame as purported by Kaufman are contained in the literature related to internalized oppression within minority populations in the United States. In the following quote Kaufman explains how shame shapes our psyches.

In the context of normal development, the affect shame is the source of low self – esteem, diminished self-image, poor self-concept and deficient body-image. Shame itself produces self-doubt and disrupts both security and confidence. It can become an impediment to the experience of belonging and to shared intimacy. Shame always alerts us to any affront to human dignity. It is the experiential ground from which conscience and identity inevitably evolve. In the context of pathological development, shame is central to the emergence of alienation, loneliness, inferiority, and perfectionism. (Kaufman, 1996, p. xvi)

In the case of the American population of Mexican ancestry, it can be said they have endured in their 200 year relationship with White European Americans, with all kinds of oppression either by force or deprivation leaving individual and collective scars of injustice, neglect and rejection. Kaufman (1996) says that “the humiliation that was experienced in the past by particular cultural groups can be as real today as it was then because it lives on in memory and governing scenes are pivotal in cultural memory as they are in personal memory” (p. xii).

Kaufman (1992) addresses the impact shame has on the dimensions of the human personality. He says “self-esteem, identity, and intimacy are each vulnerable to the disruptive effects of shame when shame becomes internalized and subsequently magnified, progressively capturing and dominating the developing personality” (p. xviii). Brandolo, Libretti, Rivera, & Walsemann (2012) wrote that “even small doses of race-related maltreatment can serve as stressors, capable of eliciting distress” (p. 369).

The human development stages and the social settings we experience throughout our lives are impacted by the habitus we intersect and the positive or negative psychological imprint they leave behind. A habitus that is charged with social-cultural racist interactive scripts that induce powerlessness and shame will have a negative psychological impact on the individual and collective minds. It is through the repetition of powerlessness and shame-inducing behaviors externalized socially that the psychological internalization processes are triggered in the individual who then internalizes the oppression.

Characteristics. Interpersonal racism, according to Wout, Murphy & Steele (2010), refers to when “stereotypes held by the perpetrator are activated by the targeted individual’s phenotypic or cultural characteristics. These stereotypes, and not the targeted individual’s unique characteristics, influence the perpetrator’s perceptions of and responses to the target” (cited in Brandolo, Libretti, Rivera, & Walsemann, 2012, p.367).

Activators. Specific types of interpersonal race-based maltreatment according to (Brondolo et al., 2005a; Contrada et al. (2001) include social distancing or social exclusion, discrimination at work or school, stigmatization, and physical threat and

harassment. Social distancing according to Henkel, Dovidio, & Gaertner (2006) & Sue et al. (2007) can include verbal and nonverbal behavior that communicates rejection or exclusion. Some of these events can be explicit when they directly include references to the individual's ethnicity as a cause for the rejection. Other acts can be more subtle, and include avoiding eye contact during a meeting, failing to invite individuals to join social or work events, and ignoring requests for help. Subtle social distancing as described Brondolo et al. (2011); Leary (2005); Walton & Cohen, (2007) can be perceived as discriminatory, if the targeted individuals see that they are treated as less valuable (i.e., treated less warmly) than majority group members (cited in Brondolo, Libretti, Rivera, & Walsemann, 2012, p.367).

Powerlessness. According to Young (1990) "those over whom power is exercised, without their exercising it; the powerless are situated so that they must take orders and rarely have the right to give them" (p. 56). Power engenders privileges and an aura of respectability while powerlessness provides limited opportunity for personal development thus putting people of color in an embarrassing situation when they have to first prove their respectability during interpersonal encounters (Speight, 2007, p.128).

Effects. Brondolo et al. (2005b), Brondolo et al. (2008), Broudy et al. (2007), Ong, Fuller-Rowell, & Burrow, (2009), Taylor, Kamarck, & Shiffman, (2004), say there are limited data on the effects of interpersonal racism on the development of peer relations, but there is consistent evidence that lifetime experiences of discrimination affect reactions to routine social exchanges (cited in Brondolo, Libretti, Rivera, & Walsemann, 2012, p.368). According to (Broudy et al.(2007) "exposure to racism may influence the way people view their ongoing experiences, making it more likely that

individuals will appraise new situations as threatening and harmful adding to their overall stress burden” (p. 31).

Brandolo, Libretti, Rivera, & Walsemann provided the following explanation on the effects of interpersonal racism.

The relationship of perceived racism to indices of psychological distress, including depressive symptoms and negative mood, is well documented (Brondolo, Gallo, Myers, & Hector, 2009b). These effects have been seen in studies conducted in the United States and internationally, and the effects of racism on psychological distress have been demonstrated in Asian, Black, Latino, and many other racial/ethnic groups (Kwok et al., 2011). Race-related maltreatment is alienating (Mendoza-Denton, Downey, Davis, Purdie, & Pietrzak, 2002), and alienation is painful and dispiriting under any circumstances. When it is caused by responses to characteristics that are immutable and outside of one’s control (i.e., one’s phenotype), the unfairness can lead to persistent anger and other indices of negative mood (Brondolo et al., 2008, 2011). In turn, persistent symptoms of stress and depression may impair the quality of interactions with others (Brody et al., 2008; Cutrona, Russell, Hessling, Brown, & Murry, 2000; Cutrona et al., 2005). (Brondolo, Libretti, Rivera, & Walsemann, 2012, p.369)

Speight (2007) concludes that “The internalization of racism may arguably be the most damaging psychological injury that is due to racism and which is not accounted for in Carter’s (2007) typology and that experiences of discrimination and harassment need not be ‘blatant or necessarily traumatic’ for oppression to be internalized” (p. 132).

Summary of Chapter

This chapter contains the findings of the literature review on Americans of Mexican ancestry and the phenomena attributed to the internalization of racial oppression by that population in the United States. The topics researched included racism, cultural racism, institutional racism, interpersonal racism, oppression, internalized racial oppression, false consciousness, shame, characteristics, activators, powerlessness and effects.

The literature review suggests that more information on the social- psychological processes underpinning internalized racial oppression are needed to better understand this phenomenon. The growing number of studies attributing internalized oppression to health problems suggests the importance of understanding how internalized racial oppression happens from a social-psychological perspective.

CHAPTER III

DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Understanding the reality of internalized racial oppression through habitus and shame in the American population of Mexican ancestry in the United States required examining the life histories of members of that community. What follows describes the qualitative methodology that was used to conduct this study.

The research questions this study addressed are (1) what acts of racial oppression did the nine men describe experiencing? (2) What did the men describe feeling from the acts of oppression they experienced? And (3) what did the men describe as the impact of internalizing racial oppression in their lives? To answer them, I used a research model for collaborative inquiry that focuses on reflective synergy (Mealman & Lawrence, 2002). I selected this research model because it enables people who have been traditionally oppressed to critically reflect about their lives in a safe space and create new knowledge and language about an experience that is not represented in the dominant culture. Mealman and Lawrence state the following about their reflective synergy collaborative inquiry model.

Our model of collaborative inquiry is rooted in phenomenology, particularly the work of Van Manen (1990). We deepen our level of consciousness through seeing, intuiting, and reflecting upon our everyday lived experience. It is further informed by heuristic research (Moustakis, 1990) as it encourages discovery and reflection on the part of the researcher as well as the research participants. Participatory research as defined by Reason (1994) is a third theoretical component in that we view ‘inquiry as a means by which people engage together to explore some significant aspect of their lives to understand it better and to transform their actions so as to meet their purposes more fully. (Mealman & Lawrence, 2002, p. 1)

In keeping with this methodology, I was part of the research as a co-inquirer along with eight other American men of Mexican ancestry of about my age, age 59.

Glesne (1999) found that “the strategy of participant selection in qualitative inquiry rests on the multiple purposes of illuminating, interpreting, and understanding and on your own imagination and judgment” (p.30).

Our experiences and knowledge about being Americans of Mexican ancestry in United States along with the knowledge we constructed through the reflective synergy collaborative inquiry process served as the primary data collection sources to describe the internalized and externalized racial oppression that occurs in the American population of Mexican heritage. Describing our externalization of racial oppression to other Americans of Mexican descent and to ourselves proved to be more difficult than collecting data related to the racial oppression we received by the wider population and others in the American population of Mexican heritage.

Having a purposeful, homogenous sample allowed for greater focus, reduced variation, simplified analysis, and easier group interaction. I used a critical constructivism because it emphasizes the role people play in constructing and deconstructing their own experiences and meanings. All of the research participants have lived in Austin and Central Texas for the past three decades, have been progressively active in the community of Americans of Mexican ancestry, and during their youth were exposed directly or indirectly to the Chicano movement in the United States. These criteria were important because they further added to the homogeneity of the group. We conducted the research by engaging together in democratic dialogue and reflection as co-researchers (Heron, 1996; Reason & Heron, 1997).

The next section includes design, population selection, data-gathering methods, data analysis procedures, validity, researcher's background, ethical issues, and summary of the chapter.

Research Design and Methodology

This study used qualitative research methodology. The researcher played an interactive role with the co-researchers through the collaborative inquiry reflective synergy model. "Collaborative inquiry is a systematic process [for learning from personal experience] consisting of repeated episodes of reflection and action through which a group of peers strives to answer a question of importance to them" (Bray, Lee, Smith, & Yorks, 2000, p. 6). According to Brooks and Watkins (1994) "Such research focuses on a research problem that all members of the research group agree on, data including that gathered from outside the research group and through researcher personal experience, and a high degree of collaboration in the inquiry process" (p. 11).

Collaborative inquiry is an action technology tool designed to empower individuals through the production of knowledge (Group for Collaborative Inquiry and thINQ, 1994). Other elements of collaborative inquiry include primary level of focus aimed at the individual and the discipline, theoretical foundations based on phenomenology and feminism, ideological focus directed at democracy; key strategies based on group critical reflection and integration of both data external to group and personal data, facilitator role exercised through a coordinator or no facilitator, research aim attained through formal knowledge, and validity criteria obtained through inquiry that is credible and collaborative (Group for Collaborative Inquiry and thINQ, 1994). Collaborative inquiry is appropriate for researching internalized oppression within the

community of Americans of Mexican heritage because its methodology provides for equality where inequality prevails. Through empowerment and the other strengths derived from the elements of collaborative inquiry, it was possible to research this phenomenon that goes undetected and unperceived by persons of color and their populations.

Population Selection

To conduct this research, I selected the research participants from the community of American of Mexican heritage living in central, Texas, where I have been increasingly active since 1974. Through my service in different civic and community organizations I had developed a contact list of friends to help me conduct this research. After discussing the topic of internalized racial oppression with members of Austin's community of Americans of Mexican ancestry via civic organization meetings, activist community meetings, classroom discussions, social events, and telephone conversations, I found a strong interest in researching this complex socio-psychological phenomenon. I received overwhelming support from the tens of persons with whom I had discussed this topic.

I sought out members in the community of Americans of Mexican heritage who varied in education, socio-economic status, political affiliations, skin color and facial features, religion, leadership roles, marital status and membership in different community organizations. This variance in characteristics allowed for different perspectives about internalized oppression. As a member of the community of Americans of Mexican ancestry, already had a trusting relationship or was able to develop one with the participants

The reason I chose this community is that Americans of Mexican Ancestry in central, Texas are a minority population that has historically suffered racism, exclusion, injustice, and other oppressions. Living here made it easy for me to want to research this population because many of us lived in a supposedly open, progressive city that is the seat of state government, a major center of higher education, and a hub of modern technology where opportunity for growth and change are possible.

The age of the eight men which ranged between 55 and 65 further made the group homogenous. Appendix A lists the participants according to pseudonym and some of each man's demographic characteristics.

Data-Gathering Methods

The primary data collection strategy for this study was through iterative cycles of dialogue and reflection, and reflective synergy (Mealman & Lawrence, 2002). The collaborative inquiry iterative cycles were influenced by the lives of the researchers, for we reflected and spoke from the habitus and shame inducing contexts contained in our social and psychological experiences that shaped our individual identities, ideologies and life histories (Mealman & Lawrence). Infused in the iterative cycles of dialogue and reflection and reflective synergy were our life histories. The Subject/Co-Researchers and I told our life histories as experienced in the cultures we have lived in throughout our lives. We reflected and examined those stories. Through this process we were able to document and describe how we have internalized oppression and used it to oppress others in our population and ourselves.

The eight men and I gathered the data during a one weekend retreat session. The men were invited at no cost to them to spend one weekend at a facility in Austin, Texas

to collaborate with me in co-researching the research question. During that weekend we arrived by 5:00 PM on Friday to attend the first session of the weekend from 6:00 to 10:00 PM to discuss how we were going to approach our research based on the topic and methodology as well as to get the research underway. On Saturday the members of the collaborative inquiry group attended a session for 10 hours and on Sunday for 4 hours in the morning. During these three days the co-researchers conducted the collaborative inquiry process. We used collaborative inquiry iterative cycles of dialogue and reflection to collect the information that described our internalized oppression. My data-gathering procedures also included videotaping all collaborative inquiry group sessions. They further included preparing consent forms (Appendix B) that followed the Institutional Review Board (IRB) guidelines and having them signed by the co-inquiry researchers. The videotaping provided the added body language dynamic to the gathered data. My plans also included audio-recording the sessions to facilitate the data transcribing process.

As stated earlier the data did not initially answer the questions having to do with the way we oppressed others in our population and ourselves. To solve this problem I used Critical Incident forms designed to capture the missing data necessary to answer the two questions (Appendix C): How do we in turn externalize that internalized racial oppression to oppress others like us in the population? How do we oppress ourselves as a result of the racial oppression we have internalized? One of the forms addressed the ways we oppressed other Americans of Mexican ancestry during our childhood, teenage, adult and mature adult years by remembering and documenting those times when we felt superior to another American of Mexican ancestry and victimized that person through our words or actions. The second Critical Incident form addressed the ways we oppressed

ourselves during our childhood, teenage, adult and mature adult years by remembering and documenting those times in our lives when we thought or felt inferior/and or victimized by our own doing through our thoughts and feelings about ourselves and therefore affecting our decisions and consequently limiting our life experiences.

I sent e-mails and telephoned to invite the eight Subject/Co-Researchers to respond to the Critical Incident forms. Six of the nine men who participated in the original process responded. Time had passed and some of men had health issues and other reasons that kept them from participating in this phase. The data collected were specific to the research; therefore I was able to include it in this document with the other data that had already been analyzed.

Data Analysis Procedures

In the reflective synergy collaborative inquiry model, the data analysis occurred simultaneously with the data collection in each cycle (Mealman & Lawrence, 2002).

(Appendix D) As we went through each life history, we followed Mealman's and Lawrence's dialogue and reflection cycles.

Dialogue: Co-researchers engaged in a discussion to explore more deeply the ideas that were generated in the planting seeds phase and to determine a direction for the inquiry topic.

Reflection: Researchers wrote individual think pieces related to the topic. The think pieces usually included metaphors and other artistic forms of expression to access and to articulate ideas, feelings or knowledge that words cannot represent.

Reflection: Researchers reflected on and wrote responses to one another's think pieces which extend the ideas. Questions, notes and comments were identified for subsequent conversation.

Dialogue: Researchers engaged in dialogue about the writings and identified salient themes that emerged. Clarification and expansion of ideas expressed non-verbally and non-rationally also occurred as part of this dialogue process.

Reflection: Researchers individually reflected on and wrote about the themes.

Dialogue: Researchers individually engaged in dialogue around each theme where emergent ideas and insights were more fully explored, critiqued and extended.

Reflection: Researchers individually analyzed the data, adding further insights.

Dialogue: Researchers collectively analyzed the data and weaved the themes together. (Mealman & Lawrence, 2002, p. 4)

For six years after the weekend retreat, I continued with the data analysis process. I transcribed the taped dialogues; continued to organize both the transcribed and written data; verified generated categories, themes, and patterns; coded the data; tested emergent understandings; searched for alternative explanations; and wrote the report (Marshall & Rossman, 1999).

Validity

Collaborative inquiry has credibility because it is collaborative (Group for Collaborative Inquiry and thINQ, 1994). Validity is inherent to the collaborative inquiry process because the Subject/Co-researchers interacted, connected, reflected, and created new knowledge and new meaning collectively through participation, cooperation, and collaboration. In collaborative inquiry the co-researchers were the subjects in the research, not the objects of the research.

In the years since the research was conducted I have shared my findings and interpretations with two of the men who participated in the research. Their feedback was positive and both were in agreement with my findings and interpretations.

Background of Researcher

My Mexican “American ness,” is what brought me to this study. As a member of this minority community I have observed within the community of Americans of Mexican heritage the social-cultural and psychological behavioral patterns that create, recreate, repeat, and perpetuate the oppression that is received from the dominant wider community. I wanted to do this study because it falls within the path that leads to self-determination and liberation. I also wanted to do this because as an American I believe in

the freedoms of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, but I also know that it is almost impossible to practice these freedoms if you belong to a group of people within my country that are held in social-cultural and psychological bondage.

From childhood to the age of 18, I was shaped and formed in both a community of Americans of Mexican heritage and a Mexican community, since I lived in Laredo, Texas but spent a lot of social time with my mother's side of the family in Nuevo Laredo, Tamaulipas, Mexico. In reflecting upon those two experiences, I deduced that the Mexican experience taught me to be proud of my Mexican heritage and gave birth to my dreams of pursuing higher levels of existence throughout my life. From my American experience I learned that my Mexican heritage was not as valuable as the American heritage and that as a person I was not as valuable as a White person. This I learned from the community of Americans of Mexican ancestry which comprised 90% or more of Laredo's population. Very early in my life I also learned that American society was divided in three main groups: Americans of Mexican ancestry, Whites, and Americans of African heritage. Americans of Mexican ancestry were to avoid dealing too much with the Whites because they were not to be trusted and usually mistreated and took advantage of you. Within the community of Americans of Mexican heritage in Laredo, life felt limited in comparison to how life was being lived in Nuevo Laredo. There was a lack of accomplishment, a lack of celebration and a lack of joy. I felt as if we were caught in no man's land without a plan or anyone to guide us to the American dream. Our American dream was further limited by the barriers we imposed on ourselves to grow and prosper because we believed things about ourselves that kept us bound to material, intellectual, spiritual, emotional and physical poverty. To this day, despite the fact that I am 66 years

old and that I have, to some degree, lived out the American dream, I feel that I am still bound by this poverty. It is as if my being is limited by an invisible electrical fence that keeps me within the boundaries of my Mexican “American-ness.”

Ethical Issues

Ethical issues can arise in any part of a study, but in particular in collecting, analyzing, and interpreting the data, and in writing and disseminating the research (Creswell 2003). To ensure that participants in this study were not put at risk and were respected as a vulnerable population the proposal was submitted to the IRB to protect against any human rights violations (Creswell) (Appendix B). I developed the informed consent forms for the participants to sign before they participated in the research. The consent forms addressed the purpose of the study, an explanation of the participant’s role in the study, the duration of the study, the possible psychological or emotional risks that could occur from participating in the study, and the names and telephone numbers of agencies that could alleviate psychological and spiritual concerns. In addition, I informed the participants that their participation would be a transformational experience for them; that their participation would not cost them anything; and that they would spend a weekend at a facility with adequate conditions to facilitate the research and adequate comfort during periods of rest and leisure. The consent form also provided options based on the voluntary nature of the participant’s involvement.

In addition, I carefully provided an accurate account of the information during the collaborative analysis and interpretation phase of the study (Creswell 2003). In writing and disseminating the research, I took care not to use language or words that were biased against any person; not to suppress, falsify or invent findings to meet audience needs; not

to misuse the results to the advantage of one group or another; and to release the details of the research with the study design (Creswell). All of this was done to protect the integrity of this research.

A concern that could have been an ethical issue was the possible but improbable damaging effect on our own liberation caused by having talked about the oppression we imposed on others in the American population of Mexican ancestry and ourselves.

Summary of Chapter

This chapter described the qualitative methodology used to conduct this study. It explained the research model for collaborative inquiry that focuses on reflective synergy obtained through the repetition of iterative cycles of dialogue and reflection. The process used to select the homogeneous sample of participants in this study was described in detail. The life histories presented by the participants served to conduct the iterative cycles of dialogue and reflection which produced the data used for this study. The process of how the research was set up and was conducted was described along with all the forms developed for the research and precautions that had to be taken. An explanation of the procedures used to analyze the data included. In the reflective synergy collaborative inquiry model, the data analysis occurred simultaneously with the data collection in each iterative cycle. All the other steps from transcribing to categorizing to coding were described. The validity of the research was supported by the fact that collaborative inquiry has credibility because it is collaborative (Group for Collaborative Inquiry and thINQ, 1994). An explanation of the researcher's background was provided and the ethical issues were presented.

CHAPTER IV

PORTRAITS OF THE PARTICIPANTS

I have dedicated this chapter to paint a portrait of each of the American men of Mexican ancestry who participated in this research. Their unselfish participation allowed me to collect the data to answer the research questions in a way that helps us understand the assumptions and confusion associated with the social-psychological injury caused by internalized racial oppression an element of racism.

Portraits

Mateo. Mateo is a native Texan just as his parents and grandparents. He was born in San Antonio, Texas, and is one of seven brothers and sisters in his family. His parents were both working class Texans who earned their living as migrant workers. Mateo's family moved to Austin, Texas in 1947 soon after he was born. Like many American families of Mexican descent at that time in the United States, Mateo's family lived in a world of poverty and racist oppression. Mateo's first language was Spanish and he learned to speak English to communicate in school. He was only 12 years old when his father passed away.

Mateo began to work at a very young age and performed farm manual labor picking cotton and tomatoes. He would travel with his family during the summer time to different places in Texas, Wisconsin, and California to work the fields. He dreaded returning to school every year because he was embarrassed to report to his classmates what he had done during his summer vacation. Although Mateo was a smart child he was retained in the 6th grade which made him live and feel the injustices of the system in which he lived.

Mateo experienced discrimination at the junior high school he attended. He felt powerless in a school where a very small number of American students of Mexican ancestry were enrolled. He was a very angry young man at this time in his life and sometimes chose to drink and stay drunk for days ending up being arrested and thrown in jail. At the age of fifteen he changed his ways.

Mateo was saddled by default with the responsibility of taking care of his family after his father died. His family and school responsibilities and his self-destructive behaviors distracted him from focusing on his education. As a consequence he dropped out of school in the 10th grade.

Soon after Mateo dropped out of school he joined the U. S. Navy where he served for 3 years in active duty and 3 years in the reserve. While in the Navy he earned his GED and learned self-discipline. When he came out of the service he worked killing chickens at a produce market. This was one of many jobs he held before he decided to study and take the civil service exam so he could obtain work at a local post office. He passed the exam and was hired as a mail handler and later became a letter carrier. One day while doing his job, Mateo challenged a co-worker, who continually harassed him with racist slurs, to a fist fight. He was tired of being called a “Mesican” among other insults. Later a White man along his carrier route attacked him with a chain. The incident made the local newspaper. Two years after the aggravated assault incident he resigned from his job. He decided at that juncture in his life that he had taken enough disrespect and was ready to be his own boss. Mateo enrolled in real estate courses at the local community college and studied for many weeks before taking and passing the broker exam. He has been in the real estate business for the past 30 years.

Mateo's first marriage happened when he was 23 years old. It ended in divorce as did three other marriages. He has one daughter and three grandchildren who keep him in love and busy at times. Whenever he is with them he tells them stories about his family ancestors and the struggles of the American people of Mexican heritage in the United States.

This gentleman of sixty-two years of age sports a not so full head of silver White hair and a full silver mustache in his handsome brown face that readily offers a beautiful friendly smile. These days he spends most his time tending to his real estate customers, visiting his grandchildren, promoting his published history book, and volunteering his time to serve in several community and civic organizations.

Lucas. Lucas was born in Mexico. He came to the United States as a very young child. He is one of nine children, but is neither the first born nor the baby of the family. On his mother's side he had Native American ancestors, "Indios," and on his father's side he had Mexican ancestors.

As a child, Lucas lived in California where he started his schooling. A comment made by his teacher patronizing Americans of Mexican ancestry alienated him and made him feel different from the other kids in the classroom. He finished first grade in California before the family moved back to Mexico because his paternal grandmother had passed away. In Mexico Lucas was a celebrity in school because he knew English, but all of that ended when the family moved back to the United States to live in small town in South Texas, where he lived in a little house in the barrio. In school, he was placed in kindergarten rather the 3rd grade where he belonged. It took a whole year for the school to

figure out that he could communicate and do more than kindergarten work. He was passed to the 2nd grade the next year.

Although Lucas felt strong in his ability to do math, his teachers looked for ways to discourage him. He was paddled three times by his fourth grade teacher for reading a book in her math class and at the same time was mocked by his peers for crying. He was physically and emotionally hurt from that experience. After that, he felt he was being held back because the highest grade he could achieve in his math class was a B and his teacher was always finding something wrong with his work. Apparently, what happened to Lucas in the 4th grade propelled him to find support from the American kids of Mexican ancestry in his neighborhood who also attended school with him. They formed a clique to get back at their teachers which brought them additional grief because they were getting in more trouble, getting lower grades and getting labeled as trouble makers.

Once again, the family went back to California where Lucas did well in school. His scores on the scholastic tests placed him in the 9th grade. He took a Sociology class that informed him about himself and his heritage, letting him know that his life actually, mattered to someone. Lucas was discouraged at the recommendations and actions taken by his high school counselors. He was channeled into the vocational training program leaving him ignorant of the possibility for planning and obtaining an academic degree.

Lucas moved back to a small town in South Texas where he graduated from High School. Along with dealing with another transition, he had to deal with the White racial oppression going on in that town. After graduation, Lucas hung around with other Mexican Americans in the barrio. His father, who worked on a ranch, was disabled when he was pinned between two tractors. Suddenly, major family responsibilities were thrust

upon him. He enrolled and attended college but did not last long because it was hard for him to make it with all the pressure from home to help the family financially. After quitting college, he obtained a job that required constant travel. He returned home at the age of 26 and started working at the corner convenience store.

In that small town in South Texas Lucas entered into several romantic relationships. He would go and come as he pleased but never forgot to help the family financially. After moving to San Antonio, Texas where he obtained work at the airport as a wire installer on airplanes, he was so fascinated with airplanes that he learned to fly them. In San Antonio, he found the love of his life, married her, and started a family. Although he loved his work and was making good money, it wasn't enough for a growing family. Concerned about how his daughter was going to be raised, he moved his family to a small town in South Texas. There he obtained employment with the Housing Authority. Life happened, things were more settled, and there wasn't much to do in that community. He did volunteer work, mostly activist work, having to do with social justice, often talked about philosophy, and attended Head Start conferences. Soon he noticed that the drinking culture among Americans of Mexican descent in that town was very strong and was consuming a lot of his time. He also felt pressured by that community to get a "movida" or a woman on the side as this was the common thing to do. He was also alarmed by the number of young Americans of Mexican ancestry that were turning to sex, drugs and alcohol in the community. As a result, he and his wife decided to move to a small town in Central Texas which allowed him to take his family roles more seriously.

There he worked for two community serving programs as the male involvement coordinator. He traveled to different places promoting this service to the community. In

this town, he and his wife bought a house in an unfriendly White neighborhood and also bought a business property that has been boarded up because the city keeps finding reasons for denying him the necessary permits to work the property.

Lucas is in his middle 50s and aside from being a husband and a father he is also a student at a state university where he was working to earn a Bachelor's degree in sociology while holding a full time job. As a mature adult, Lucas, not only spends his time running his business and taking university courses, but participates in various local clubs and organizations performing his civic duties.

Marcos. Marcos was born in El Paso, Texas to a mother who was 13 years old. His grandmother raised him until his mother was able to care for him. He grew up speaking Spanish only. Then in 1952 when he was five years old, his father who was a World War II and Korean Conflict Veteran died. His father had a problem with alcohol abuse. Marcos' mother married the man who later adopted him and gave him his last name. The family moved to South Texas where both Americans of Mexican ancestry and Whites lived. Mexican food was his everyday diet. He went to elementary school at the age of seven. By that time he knew how to play dice which got him into trouble in school. He also remembers not being allowed to speak Spanish in school and being given reasons as to why he shouldn't speak Spanish. At the age of 8 he started to work on a plantation. In the summer, they would pick him up at 5:00 in the morning which he hated.

Marcos had his first White teacher when he was in the seventh grade. It was also during this time that he developed a close relationship with his White science teacher who spoke Spanish and had a sense of humor. He was called "teacher's pet" and his teacher became Marcos' informal mentor. They talked about different cultures and their

similarities. Marcos recalls the advice he received from his mentor “Everybody needs to work to become ambitious.” and “To advance in life you must leave your neighborhood and town.” With a sense of conviction Marcos stated “He did not see me as a Mexican but as a student, he paid attention to me for more than one minute.”

When he was 18 years old and had graduated from high school, he joined the U.S. Army. In the army he experienced name calling such as “spic” and “shepherd” until a White drill sergeant intervened and stopped that practice. Marcos was first sent to Korea but after slugging a sergeant was sent to Vietnam into combat or to hell as it was called. In Vietnam he was one of five men assigned to a special unit. Upon returning home was rejected for having served in Vietnam. His mother rejected him because she thought he was dead so she slapped him in the face as part of her greeting. His father told him he was not going to return the \$10,000 the family had received from the U. S. government because they thought he was dead and told him to leave the house because he was one of those “baby killers.” He went to live in a hotel. He was fired from a job for having served in the U. S. Army.

He moved to Houston, Texas where he worked in several chemical plants. After several years living there he brought his grandmother to live with him. She was up in age, suffering from dementia and with no place to live when he came to get her. She lived with him for 12 years since there was no money to pay for a nursing home. In 1985 he married someone who did not know he was a Vietnam Veteran. He did not tell her for fear of rejection. Fortunately, she held high respect for those men and women who served in Vietnam and things were fine after she found out.

In Houston they lived in a community formed by Americans of Mexican descent where many neighbors helped care for Marcos' grandmother. When the oil industry began going down in Houston, the family moved to Austin, Texas where they lived in the southern part of the city. He made many friends of Mexican ancestry in Austin. His grandmother used to tell him to meet his neighbors and to take them something. After several years of living in Austin the family moved to Round Rock, Texas where they now reside. In Round Rock he came into contact with a Colonel he knew from his army days. The Colonel pushed him to get a Bachelor's degree. In 1999 he started his college education and today with the help of a professor he met along the way he has earned a Master's degree. He has calmed down and today at the age of 60 enjoys teaching at a local college.

Andres. Andres is a native of Austin, Texas. As a child growing up in Austin, he lived in a mixed neighborhood on the east side of town which was predominantly White. Here he experienced racial oppression from the White neighbors which included adults and children.

As a teenager in a predominantly White community, Andres discovered he could compete with the White kids, especially in athletics. Through competition and achievement both in athletics and academics, girls began to pay him attention. He went after the prettiest girl in school who was White, but encountered rejection from the girl's parents. He continued to date White girls causing him to receive rejection from his friends of Mexican ancestry to the point of getting into fist and knife fights with the "Chucos" who resented him. In an effort to mend the relationship with his Chuco friends he would play hooky and head out with them to one of the local creeks where he would

read the newspaper and become informed about Mickey Mantle's scores. They would also talk about the guerilla and guerilla power until he decided they were taking things a little too seriously and stopped playing hooky.

By the time Andres was 18 he had been shaped by the local White culture to the point of denying he was an American of Mexican ancestry. He entered the university as a married man with a child. To help him earn a living while attending the university, a local high school principal hired him to work in the afternoons as a home visitor through a Title 1 grant program. He was paid \$1.50 an hour plus mileage. Working in the oppressed neighborhoods of the community, Andres became aware of the poverty and the hardships American children of Mexican ancestry and other children faced daily. His work included working with school dropouts and organizing neighborhood meetings to work with the children's parents. He was able to learn first-hand the racial discrimination American children of Mexican ancestry faced in his community.

As he became aware of the social injustices surrounding him, some of the few Americans of Mexican descent attending the local university helped him understand what being an "activist" was all about. Andres worked with many important Chicano leaders who had contributed immensely to the advancement of Americans of Mexican ancestry since the 1950s. As he learned about all of these things, his perspective began to change and inner conflict began to reshape his identity. Since then Andres has been a major contributor to his community by the leadership and service he has provided throughout the years. This soft spoken man has influenced the politics of Austin, Texas through his involvement and dedication to social justice.

After retiring from state government employment for more than 30 years, Andres moved to a White neighborhood close to downtown Austin. A day and half after having moved into his new home one of the White neighbors knocked on his door and without saying hello or making a welcoming remark proceeded to inform him of the rules and restrictions applicable to the property and neighborhood.

Juan. I met Juan in the mid-1980s through a friend. We knew each other socially and later we worked for the same state agency. Unfortunately, we never invested time to really get to know each other and work together in the community. I am so glad to have invited Juan to be a Subject/Co-researcher in this research project because his life experiences and contributions are extremely valuable.

Juan was born in a small town in South Texas in 1944 but grew up in Corpus Christi, Texas. His father was from Mexico and his mother was from Texas. His parents used to pick cotton for a living until they moved to Corpus Christi because they wanted Juan to get the best possible education. They bought an older house in a mixed community of Americans of Mexican ancestry and Whites. Blacks lived in a separate part of town since Corpus Christi was segregated. There his father worked as a tailor and his mother stayed at home where she would do “planchas” or iron clothes for different families to help scrape a living. She was responsible for running the household. Across the street from their home lived two Mexican American families. In these families three of the kids were called “los cucarachos” or the cockroaches.

Juan sadly remembers that Americans of African descent were segregated in Corpus Christi, Texas in the 1950s. They lived in a different part of the city and had their

own schools. He went to a school with Americans of Mexican ancestry and Whites and had friends in both groups.

Although Juan came from a poor family his parents had high hopes and aspirations for their children. They wanted a better life for them and the path to get there was through a good education. In high school Juan's achievement test scores put him on the college tract as most of his friends. It was assumed that he was going to college after high school. His counselors encouraged further education.

While in high school, Juan witnessed acts of racism towards Americans of African descent. Although Juan was just a witness to this unjust act of racial discrimination, he felt the pain of such a devastating action towards a fellow human being. It must have made a profound impression on Juan because he remembered it and talked about it. While attending the local college after high school he also felt the sting of racism in the summer of 63 when he and three of his college buddies went to a central Texas water park and his dark skinned American friend of Mexican ancestry was denied entry into the Park.

After he obtained his Associate's degree he had no money to continue his education. The only option he had was to join the Air Force before he would be drafted by the Army and would end up in Vietnam. He was accepted into the Air force Medical Corps and was trained in Montgomery, Alabama. He was in Montgomery when Martin Luther King marched there. No one on the base was allowed to leave while the march was taking place. Juan remembers those historical moments in Montgomery, Alabama. In Montgomery, Alabama, Juan understood the power of privilege and the human struggle to overcome the chains of racism.

During the next four years he was stationed at a base in San Antonio, Texas where he worked as a clinical technician. In the summer of 1967 he attended a university in Texas where he took several courses as part of a program sponsored by the Air Force. He enrolled as a full time student at the same university in Texas during the fall of 1968. While attending the university he got involved in several projects and organizations having to do with social justice issues involving Americans of Mexican ancestry. He participated in a university investigation project of the tri-ethnic teams set up to integrate public schools in Austin. While at the university he also got involved in Austin politics and student movements. When Juan discovered the segregation that was going on in the university he decided to get involved in the movements that addressed injustice in the university and in the community through MAPWA and MAYO.

In 1970 he earned a Bachelor's Degree in Sociology and in 1975 he earned a Master's Degree in Social Work. He moved to South Texas where he did an internship as a legal aid. In 2003 Juan retired from state government having worked for the Texas Legislature and several state agencies.

After retirement Juan has worked on a part time basis for the Travis County. He is also involved in several community programs and activities having to do with education, law enforcement, and justice issues. He has taken up photography as a hobby.

Felipe. It was 1985 when I met Felipe. He worked at the same state agency where I worked but in a different division. I remember being asked to come to his office to meet with him and another American man of Mexican ancestry. It turned out I was being set up for an interview by these two fellows who wanted to recruit me to join a civic club in town where they were members. So thanks to this fine gentleman, I joined a great civic

organization in the Austin community in 1985. We have worked together in many of the club's projects since that time. Felipe is a community leader who is civic minded and cares very much about social justice and opportunities for minorities.

Felipe was born in "el barrio de la tripa" or "the guts" neighborhood in San Antonio, Texas in 1944. His family lived in a government housing complex. All of his family lived within a quarter of a mile from each other. Most of his relatives were either in jail, had been in jail, or had been killed. When Felipe was six years old, his mother decided to move the family to the south side of San Antonio to a safer neighborhood.

Moving into a new neighborhood meant attending different schools. These schools experienced racial issues between Whites and Americans of Mexican ancestry. Fights between them were commonplace. The students carried blades and guns to school to conduct their racial warfare. Felipe carried a pistol to junior high school to defend himself. During his junior high and high school years he was not aware about the discrimination that students of African descent were receiving in the community because he had no contact with them but was aware of the bully and terrorist tactics that were being applied to him because he lived in constant fear and intimidation.

Felipe started a relationship with a White girl when he was in sixth grade. Her parents disapproved of their relationship because he was of Mexican ancestry. The family moved to another city and the girl tried to correspond with Felipe but her mother intercepted all of her letters. This was the first time Felipe really felt racism in his life.

Felipe continued to date White girls developing relationships with them and accommodating them while neglecting the American girls of Mexican ancestry who would end up rejecting him because of his preference for White girls. His mother decided

that White girls were not welcome at their home so she prohibited Felipe from dating White girls. On prom night Felipe was alone because he could not get a date with either an American girl of Mexican descent or a White girl.

He and his American friends of Mexican descent would bring tacos for lunch to school because their mothers had prepared their lunch. If they were seen in the cafeteria eating tacos they would be called ‘taco vendors.’ To avoid the ridicule and confrontations caused by being called ‘taco vendors’ they would go behind the band hall to eat their lunch.

Felipe’s decision to join the U. S. Navy was made at his parents’ urging after a gun fight had taken place at school when he was in the 12th grade. In the U. S. Navy he endured kitchen duty for five years. The officers acted like gods. They mistreated enlisted men spouting out racial slurs against them. He was branded as an Italian and was referred to as a “wop” while Americans of African ancestry were called “niggers” and Americans of Mexican ancestry were called “spics.” It was here that he began to develop a hatred for Whites and a need to know why they thought they were better than him. Although he had not planned to go to college he now had a desire to attend one of the universities in the South where the officers he had come in contact had graduated. He saw an opportunity to get an early out from the U. S. Navy and took it. He left in 1966.

At the insistence of a good friend he enrolled at a university in San Antonio after having applied to the University of Alabama and Georgia Tech. By using the G. I. Bill he was able to attend classes at the university. There he became involved with “La Raza Unida Party” which was organized by a White professor. In the midst of the Chicano movement, he became a community activist to the point of risking his life. He faced

intimidation by the White community and by many of the Americans of Mexican ancestry who did not agree with the movement. This happened in 1968 and 1969 when he was in his mid-twenties and did not think of the risks he was taking.

During this time he was also arrested for participating in a riot. Due to the intimidation that was placed on the members of the La Raza Unida Party many would be armed when they moved about in the community including Felipe. It was also in this period of his life when he studied under Saul Alinsky in Chicago and solidified his relationship with many of the founders of La Raza Unida Party and reinforced his commitment to the Chicano movement.

By this time he was also married and needed to make a living, so he came to Austin, Texas to work with a program serving migrants. He had obtained the job through a phone call with the director but when he showed for work was told the position had been eliminated because there were already too many Hispanics on board and the quota had been filled.

Having moved his family to Austin he decided to stay, so he solicited and obtained work with a Travis County program that addressed mental health, specifically drug abuse by children. He moved on to work for the state agency where he was involved in a state drug abuse methadone program that counseled families. He was fired from this job because of his continued involvement with the Chicano movement. Felipe says he survived that time like cockroaches survive atomic blasts. He then worked for a while for the legislature and then went to work for the private sector in Corpus Christi. Working mostly with Americans of Mexican ancestry in Corpus Christi he discovered that many of the guys liked to hunt and to party justifying his impression of what was going on with

this community. In 1980 Felipe returned to work for the state where he stayed four to five years. During this time he met a Travis County political leader of Mexican ancestry who served as the gatekeeper for any Americans of Mexican ancestry who aspired to run for local office.

After the 1986 elections Felipe lost his job with the state and went to work with a national program serving Hispanic students. Later he went back to work at the legislature where he saw many injustices take place. He worked in some capacity with the Governor's Office and then moved on to work at another state agency. He left state government and worked in the private sector for twelve years doing computer software related work, until he asked himself where he was in his life? He then returned to state government and went to work with a state agency where he had the opportunity to visit different "colonias" and barrios in the Texas Valley and in South Texas. There he witnessed first-hand the hardships the residents of the colonias and barrios faced without water and electricity, with illnesses such as tuberculosis and typhoid fever, and with issues dealing with food and obesity. This eye opening experience reinforced his mistrust of elected officials of Mexican ancestry who served more as gate keepers than public servants. The poverty, hunger and health issues that Felipe found in the colonias and barrios in the Valley and South Texas testified to his opinion of these elected officials.

After retirement Felipe went to work for Travis County. Today Felipe volunteers his time helping different community serving organizations, especially those that serve minority youth. He is dedicated to his wife, children and grandchildren making sure that the seeds of freedom are carefully planted into the minds and hearts of the new generations in his family.

Santiago. I met this scholarly gentleman in the fall of 2004 when I began to work on my doctorate degree. Santiago was kind enough to meet with me and discuss possible research topics for my dissertation. Having a Ph.D. allowed Santiago to work on many important research projects related to Americans of Mexican ancestry in Texas and other states. Influenced by a dear friend who had already agreed to be part of this research, Santiago decided to get on board and participate in this research effort.

Santiago was born in Mexico. His father was from Guanajuato and his mother from Jalisco. After they married they moved to Guadalajara where Santiago was born. His father emigrated from Guadalajara to Los Angeles to work in the tomato fields and then in the cotton fields. When Santiago came to Los Angeles with his mother and two sisters his father was working with a window framing company. He grew up in East Los Angeles and thought everybody around him was Mexican. Everyone spoke Spanish but everything that surrounded him was in English. He went to a Catholic elementary school with other students of Mexican ancestry. All students spoke English in school without being told to do so. Today, he still thinks of himself as being Mexican. He refers to himself as Mexican-American in the context of others; but calls himself a Hispanic in regards to the general community. He never did like the Spanish origin tag.

English was only practiced in school. There was no reason to speak it, since mostly Mexican families lived in East Los Angeles. He was never aware of the larger society until he had a chance to go out. His participation in the Boy Scouts and Explorer Scouts was very significant in his assimilation. Had he not done so, his life would have gone in a different direction. He realized he was poor when he went out of his

neighborhood. There were gangs in his neighborhood but not like the ones we have today. They were very much a traditional Mexican family that lived in East Los Angeles.

After graduating from a Catholic high school in 1965, Santiago enlisted in the U. S. Army where he advanced in a period of three years from Private to Specialist 6th Class. From 1968 to 1976 he served in the U. S. Army Reserve where he advanced from a Specialist 6th Class to a commissioned officer with a rank of First Lieutenant. In 1976 he enlisted with federal health agency where he started with a commission of Lieutenant Commander and obtained a promotion to Captain in 1989. While performing his military service he was able to obtain his education. In 1969 he graduated from a university in California with a Bachelor's degree in sociology; in 1970 he earned a Master's Degree in educational psychology from the same university; in 1985 he earned another a Master's degree in public health from a university of North Carolina; and lastly in 1994 obtained a Ph. D. from a university in South Dakota.

Aside from Santiago's involvement in the military he also has a long list of achievements in the private and public sector. At the age of 34 he was working with a government agency doing impact studies on pesticides. His work ranges from assistant commissioner in a federal agency to special assistant with a state agency; from university adjunct professor to director of several university programs involving students of Hispanic ancestry; and from director of a consulting agency presently focusing on a statewide go-to-college campaign for Texas veterans to director of an organization dedicated to preserving the history and heritage of American veterans of Mexican ancestry.

Santiago has achieved many things throughout his adult life but mainly doing research. His experiences at the university where he worked doing research to improve services to students of Mexican ancestry caused him to resign from his job because he became so frustrated with a system that served only in word and not in action proving once again that Americans of Mexican ancestry hold little power within the structures that are supposed to educate us.

Pedro. Pedro is a very good friend who has dedicated his life to addressing the psychological needs of others. He was born in South Texas in 1949 to parents who were also born in the same area. There were 10 in his family. He grew up without grandfathers on both sides of the family. He said “my two grandfathers left the family when my parents were very young; so, basically, my mother and father grew up without fathers and I grew up without grandfathers.” His father worked as a firefighter for forty years. He remembers his father as being family oriented who did things with his children even though he was sometimes strict, rigid and intimidating towards his children. Pedro grew up with fond memories and at the same time intimidation because of not meeting his father’s expectations when he was pressured to complete certain tasks.

He had a close relationship with his grandmother who introduced him to a spiritual aspect of his life. When he was a young boy he remembers his grandmother taking him to a house that upon entering it was dark with the curtains pulled and the air smelling of incense. He could hear the whispers of prayers being uttered by the lips of those present. His grandmother had taken him to a “Curandera’s” house where a healing ritual was taking place. He did not understand what was going on at the time but the experience left a lasting impression that influenced his spiritual development throughout

his life. Because he trusted his grandmother, he felt safe even though he did not understand the events of the moment but he knew instinctively they were special.

Pedro experienced a most difficult time in school during his first grade. Beginning school without knowing English, he says was a most terrifying experience. No one would speak Spanish, so he could not understand anything that was going on in the classroom. He felt lost and confused. Pedro felt really ashamed and thought he would never get rid of that feeling. Joining the Cub Scouts helped him overcome those emotions.

As a teenager Pedro was a very good student and a very good athlete. He focused on becoming a leader. His felt he had experienced weak relationships with his White teachers. Even though Pedro was an excellent student he associated going to the principal's office as a negative thing because generally, only students who got into trouble visited that office. When he was called to the principal's office he was confused. He felt fear walking all the way there but was pleasantly surprised when his visit to the principal's office was to receive his induction pin to the National Junior Honor Society. Prior to this time, he had never been recognized at this level.

Pedro was also a very good athlete but had some misconceptions. His assumptions about the White kids were overpowering to him in his efforts to being a good athlete. Not until he played baseball with them did he find out that it was all in his mind.

To develop his leadership skills Pedro knew he had to take risks doing things that were not expected of him. As a member of the Catholic Youth Organization (CYO) in his parish he found the support of a White priest who inspired him to run for the office of president of the CYO at the parish and diocesan levels. Pedro flourished as a leader

because he had the support of someone who cared about him and his future. He was able to face his doubts and fears. Although he lost the diocesan election he learned to take risks and become a better leader in his community.

Pedro hated picking cotton during school summer vacations because he knew his skin was going to get darker than what it already was. He had grown up thinking that White was superior in some way. When he went back to school and began dating, his first date was with a girl who was as dark as he or even a degree darker than him. His first serious relationship wasn't with somebody like him; it was with someone that was similar to him in terms of intelligence and achievement. Along with skin color he was also burdened by his socio/economic status. He felt life had cheated him because he wasn't White and he was poor.

In his adult life Pedro was involved in education for a long time. He earned two Masters Degrees in counseling and a Ph.D. in psychology. During this period in his life he was involved much more with Whites because there were very few Latinos in the field of psychology.

Pedro's academic potential was recognized by a White person who encouraged him and provided the financial support for him to go to college. Having no higher education aspirations, Pedro felt that college was for the bright and intelligent and he did not fit that pattern because his parents had only achieved a fifth grade education. Soon after attending class a few times he discovered that he had the intelligence to compete academically and was able to pay for his education semester after semester with scholarship funds. In addition, he was sought after by his colleagues because of his athletic talents in baseball and intramurals sports.

Although there was interest from his mentors at a university in South Texas for him to continue his education after obtaining his Bachelor's Degree, Pedro wanted to go back home and do something other than studying. Once again he was sought out by a White priest in the community who wanted him to get involved with a residential treatment center that tended to the needs of juvenile offenders. It is in this setting with the youth, the adults caring for the youth, and the government officials responsible for providing the assistance to the youth that Pedro became interested in psychology. He was accepted and given a scholarship to work on a Master's Degree at a university in Michigan but opted for a similar opportunity offered at Harvard University. This time it was a friend of Mexican ancestry from his youth who encouraged him to apply at Harvard. His friend valued and respected Pedro's background and character. Pedro got into Harvard and he learned that it was okay to have an accent. He felt accepted and felt there was less discrimination. There appeared to be more openness to diversity. He met a lot of famous, liberal professors and was involved and interacted with other people that really made him feel like he had learned a lot. The next day after he graduated he drove back to Texas with his young family, having earned a Master's Degree from Harvard University.

In Texas he became more involved with the community; he started teaching, then became a counselor with the college and eventually, became the director of the counseling center. After that, he ran for the school board, won the election and worked with the school board. He had to deal with Whites on the board, but he now had the skills to work with them. One of his proudest achievements was fighting for and getting a Brownsville high school with a Hispanic student population of 85 percent named after an

American of Mexican ancestry. The larger impact from this effort was that several high schools and other schools were named after Americans of Mexican ancestry.

In 1985 Pedro was still on the school board when he applied to doctoral program in Ohio. He was accepted and started his studies there but held on to his school board's seat. He would travel by airplane back and forth to meet his board responsibilities.

Unfortunately, people began criticizing him and he would be in the news in front of the camera which gave good experience and needed exposure. He was fighting to stay on the school board and the opposition was trying to run him off, but he would fly from Ohio to attend the school board meetings and get things passed. His efforts helped school counselors get more respect, equipment and materials.

When Pedro moved to Ohio to work on his doctorate, he bought a house in a White neighborhood. One day when he was doing some gardening with his children some of the neighborhood kids came over because they knew his kids so they introduced him to the kids and they looked at him and said 'this can't be your dad, this is the gardener.' Along the same lines one of his colleagues from the university who had wanted to buy the house Pedro had bought said to him 'you bought that house, it doesn't make sense that you bought that house.'

Pedro learned from his experience in Ohio that rejection from White people was not always associated with racism but with ignorance and in order to change that he had to cross over to meet them where they lived. He also learned that some sacrifices can bring about change that is unwanted such as his children forgetting how to speak Spanish and the younger ones never learning it. Realizing the changes that living in a White

neighborhood in Ohio had on his family, he decided to do his dissertation on the impact acculturation has on Latino students.

When Pedro returned to Texas with a doctorate degree in hand, he was hired at a state university as a psychologist. His experiences at the university have been frustrating because even though he possesses the credentials and talent to bring about positive change through his leadership, he has been restrained from doing the job he would like to do. He feels that change is hard to come by in a White institution when an American of Mexican ancestry is trying to lead the way.

Pedro continues his work as a psychologist at the university and continues to make important contributions to the well-being of all students, but in particular students of Mexican ancestry through the organizations he has personally founded at the university and networks he has created to bring about the positive change contained in his dreams. In addition, he has a part time private practice that is very successful. He is also involved in several civic organizations and church, but most important to him is the time he spends with his family and friends.

Pablo. Pablo was born in 1948 in South Texas. His father was born in Laredo, Texas and his mother was born in Guerrero Viejo, Tamaulipas, Mexico. Pablo's grandmother on his father's side of the family was a descendant of a Spanish land grant recipient. In other words, her ancestors had lived in Texas since the 1700s. Pablo's grandfather on his father's side came as a child from Zacatecas, Mexico in 1890 to settle in Laredo, Texas. From Pablo's mother's side her parents, grandparents, and great grandparents all come from the same border town of Guerrero Viejo, Tamaulipas founded in 1750 and flooded in 1953 by the waters of Falcon Lake.

When Pablo was two years old his father was hired by the U. S. Department of Agriculture to work in Mexico to help eradicate the hoof and mouth disease that had attacked the cattle industry in the United States, Mexico and Canada. During his early childhood Pablo lived in many places in Mexico because his father's job required constant traveling. At the age of four Pablo's family returned to Laredo and settled there permanently where he lived with his parents and four siblings and where he enjoyed his relationships with a very large extended family that lived both in Laredo, Texas and Nuevo Laredo, Mexico. In 1952, the family moved into a newly constructed house in a neighborhood called "Canta Ranas." There were children in the neighborhood that our parents would not allow us to play with because "their family values were different from ours".

Pablo was five years old when he began his schooling at a private Christian school where he began to learn English since his first language was Spanish. The teachers at the school helped him make the transition from Spanish to English in a gentle and respectful way. By the time the year was over he had learned to read and speak English. He spent the next three years at Christian school where he was inspired by wonderful teachers who encouraged all of their students. While at the Christian school he had to attend Bible study every day and every day he listened to the stories from the Old and New Testaments and sang beautiful hymns of praise. Singing every day in English also helped him learn the language. During the summers the school had great programs for the neighborhood kids.

Pablo was born with dark skin and members of the family, mainly, aunts and uncles, decided to label him as "Prieto" or "negro," both connoting that he was a person

of very dark skin color. Every time he would see them they would use one of those two terms when calling or referring to him. He knew they used them as terms of endearment but they weren't. His brothers and sisters would use those same adjectives when they wanted to insult him or get back at him. In addition, as a young boy he would play outside in the hot sun of Laredo without a shirt, because the other kids in the neighborhood did the same thing. This of course made him darker and his mother would get upset with him and would call him "indio remojino" which roughly translates to sun baked Indian. His skin color became part of his identity.

In addition to his skin color Pablo had to deal with criticisms from Mexicans regarding his knowledge and pronunciation of the Spanish language and from Americans of Mexican ancestry regarding his knowledge and pronunciation of the English language. He was labeled as a "pocho" by the Mexicans.

After Pablo left the private school, he transferred to a public school where he and his friend Johnny were excellent students. This did not set well with many of the other children in their classroom, so Pablo and Johnny spent a lot of time avoiding fights and getting into fights to defend their student status. This continued all the way into junior high school. Being a good student was counter to the norm.

Pablo started working at the age of 12 and didn't stop until he was 60 when he retired. He worked at gas stations pumping gasoline, checking tire pressures, adding water to the radiators, checking the oil levels and cleaning wind shields until he was 14. He then went to work at a discount Store as a sales person behind the counter. It was there Pablo was publicly humiliated by the store manager, an American man of Mexican ancestry, who told Pablo on his last day of work that he was an ingrate for leaving the

company that had opened its doors to him, and that he should be ashamed for having made the decision to leave. Pablo went on to work for a grocery store until he graduated from Laredo Junior College. He worked on campus while attending Texas A&M University. Aside from working and going to school, Pablo was a Cub Scout, Boy Scout and Eagle Scout. All of these activities: school, employment, scouting, family and friends kept Pablo busy during his teenage years.

While in high school Pablo did very well academically, he enrolled in the more challenging math, chemistry, physics, and biology classes offered at his school. He was a member of the ROTC program for three years achieving the rank of Lt. Colonel in his senior year. He was inducted into the National Honor Society and was a member of the Number Sense Club. Since he was already working and had enough credits to graduate he joined a school program during his senior year where he attended school half day and worked in the afternoon. He graduated from high school in May of 1965 in the top 10 percent of his class and received a small scholarship from the Doctor's Association in Laredo. During the two years that followed he attended the local college earning an Associate of Arts Degree in 1967.

In the summer of 1968 Pablo became a student at a major Texas university. Pablo socialized mainly with students from Latin American countries and American students of Mexican ancestry while attending the university. Thanks to them he felt connected, appreciated, and valued during that time. Pablo felt unwelcome at the university. His experiences with the White faculty, administration and student body were driven by neglect, indifference and disconnect. He experienced racism first hand when he was called an orangutan by a White man who was a member of the adjunct faculty. All in all,

his experiences at the university were anticlimactic leaving him to think that the institution was blind to his presence. The diploma was mailed to his house, since he did not attend the graduation ceremonies. At the end of the semester, he packed his bags and headed for Laredo. He was glad to be home for Christmas.

Within a few days after graduation, the US Army contacted Pablo to go take the required physical exam before selection. He did and the following week made an appointment with the US Navy recruiter. He enlisted in the US Navy and was accepted into Officers Candidate School (OCS). Early in 1971, he left for Newport, Rhode Island where he was trained to become a naval officer. He struggled with the academic requirements, but managed to complete OCS and graduated with his class. Following a brief leave break, he reported for duty at the US Navy Supply School in Athens, Georgia. After several months at the school, he was offered the opportunity for an early out and soon he was on my way back to Laredo. During his stay in Athens he met the woman he would marry. This past December they celebrated their 41th wedding anniversary. Soon after the wedding, he began his professional work career. He was hired as a counselor for a veterans outreach program that was sponsored by the American GI Forum. The American GI Forum was one of two Mexican American organizations formed to address the injustices suffered by Mexican Americans in the areas of education, housing, civil rights and others. Within a month of working in Laredo, he was offered a job in Denver, Colorado at the program's national office. By August of 1974, he was director of field operations and was charged with the responsibility of closing down the national program, because the funding had ended. He moved to Austin, Texas to establish a regional ROTC high school recruiting program and develop a proposal to obtain funds for a statewide

Veterans Outreach Program under the auspices of the American GI Forum. Funding for a state wide program was obtained through the Governor's Office and the program was established. He served as the state director of the program until May of 1975. At that time he went to work for a state government agency as State Service Representative. He stayed with the state agency until February of 1991 where he served as Administrative Services Coordinator, Program Services Analyst, Chief of Field Operations, Director of Planning and Program Support and Director of Planning and Program Development. All of these jobs were associated with the administration of Texas' Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) and the Jobs Training Partnership Training Act (JTPA) programs. During this time six major transitions occurred in his life. First, in March of 1976, he and his wife moved into the home where they still live. Second, at the end of 1979 they became members of the newest Catholic parish in southwest Austin. Third, in 1981 their daughter was born. Today their daughter is a medical doctor who is married with a daughter of her own. Fourth, Pablo joined a local civic club in 1986 and has served in many leadership capacities both at the local and district level. Fifth, in September of 1989 Pablo's father passed away in a hospital in San Antonio where the treatment he was given bordered on medical malpractice. Sixth, on a beautiful Sunday afternoon in the spring of 1990, Pablo was cutting off a branch from a tree on the west side of his house when he took a wrong step and went flying for twelve feet into the bed of a creek where he landed on his back breaking eight ribs and tearing muscles, ligaments and nerves throughout his back. After the accident Pablo's life changed in many ways especially regarding his relationships and his spirituality.

In 1990 after being employed for fifteen years in state government, Pablo's job was taken away from him to compensate another American man of Mexican ancestry who had worked on the governor's campaign. Out of this life changing event came many blessings. It was at this juncture in Pablo's life that he established a sole proprietor business that would serve as an umbrella for four different enterprises. It was a liberating time for him because he was able to meet all of his financial obligations. In November of that same year, a friend that worked at a local college and was going on leave for two months and needed someone to replace him while he was gone. He called and asked Pablo if he was interested. Pablo interviewed for this temporary job and obtained it. He started working at there that month and stayed there for nine years. At the college Pablo learned that the culture of the organization drives the quality of the services delivered. He also learned that adult learners must be treated with respect and the system must be flexible and accommodating to their needs and circumstances. He learned that facilitating a class a great learning experience.

In the fall of 1995, Pablo enrolled in his first course towards obtaining a Master's Degree at a university located in central Texas. He graduated in December of 1998. In February of 2000, he received a call from a state agency to schedule an interview for the position of manager to the staff development section. He started employment on March 13, 2000. The staff development section was charged with the responsibility of offering and providing learning opportunities to 900 of the agency's 4000 employees. In 2002 Pablo was invited to teach graduate and undergraduate courses in the evenings for a central Texas university which ended when persons with Master's Degrees could no longer teach graduate classes. So in the fall of 2004, Pablo began his first course in the

Adult, Professional and Community Education doctoral program at Texas State University. Pablo retired from his job with state government in May of 2008 but has continued studying to complete his Ph.D.

Summary of Chapter

In this chapter a portrait of the participants in this study was presented to provide a background on each of them. The name given to each is a pseudonym to maintain confidentiality. The information provided on each of the men pays tribute to each one of them for their courage to participate in this research and also informs the research of how these men have lived their lives, their accomplishments and their encounters with racial oppression.

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS

“La educación no cambia el mundo, cambia a las personas que van a cambiar el mundo...” Paulo Freire

This chapter addresses the three research questions that drove this research: (1) what acts of racial oppression did the nine men describe experiencing? (2) What did the men describe feeling from the acts of oppression they experienced? And (3) what did the men describe as the impact of internalizing racial oppression in their lives?’

It draws on the 36 life history segments shared by the co-researchers.

The men described experiencing four patterns of racial oppression in their lives. First, racial oppression was directed at them from members of the White population; second, they were targets of the internalized racial oppression replicated by other Americans of Mexican ancestry; third, they directed their internalized racial oppression onto themselves and; fourth they also replicated their own internalized racial oppression and directed it to other Americans of Mexican ancestry.

These findings are presented from a critical race theory perspective as expressed in Chapter 1. The assumptions used in expressing the findings include:

racism is endemic to US life; CRT must challenge ahistoricism and pursue a contextual/historical analysis of social issues; CRT is an interdisciplinary set of research practices that are still evolving and developing; and CRT should incorporate the common experiences and shared experiences as the “other” that oppressed people bring to the struggle to reshape knowledge. (Parsons and Plakhotnic, 2006, p. 163)

In addition to the above assumptions, I am assuming that racism is a falsehood that bears false witness against persons who possess a skin color other than White. It is a lie that prevails as a truth in the consciousness of all those who believe the lie and perpetuate it

through social systems that deliver its negative power to the intended members of the population.

Acts of Racial Oppression

The first research question is: What acts of racial oppression did the nine men describe experiencing? To analyze the acts of racial oppression, I sorted the data according to when the act of oppression occurred and the setting in which it occurred.

The men described 120 incidents when they experienced racial oppression. Forty five of these described incidents occurred in their childhood, 30 occurred in their teenage years, 29 occurred in their adult years and lastly 16 incidents were described in the mature years.

Acts of oppression during childhood years. Twenty one of the 45 incidents happened in the school setting and 13 in the neighborhood setting. Nine of the remaining incidents happened in the context of their families, in particular when their families were employed as farm workers.

The school setting. Not all of the men experienced the same thing in school when they were children. For some feeling different from the other children happened quickly, for others, more gradually. The experiences clustered around speaking Spanish, ethnic difference, and assumptions about intelligence and ability.

Speaking Spanish. Difference as regards to language constituted several of the stories they recalled. One of the stories prohibited speaking Spanish in the classroom and in some cases, punishment was attached if they did. For example, Marcos described his teacher barring Spanish in the classroom and the punishment he would receive for

speaking it. He also tells us what his world was like regarding the barriers that had been set up between “people like him” and the English world of the schools.

He [the teacher] took me aside and started telling me the reasons I couldn’t speak Spanish in class and why I should behave or I was to run all day long around the field. In this world it was English and at home it was all Spanish. My parents talked to me in Spanish.

In the process of receiving an education driven by a racist system, Marcos was forced to believe through fear-producing tactics, that the language he brought to the classroom was not acceptable and would have to abandon it while receiving his public education. He was being coerced to believe a lie about the language he had learned as a child because the educational system could not accommodate him, therefore rather than changing the system to meet the needs of the child the child had to accommodate a rigid racist educational system.

Ethnic difference. In situations involving the socialization process with their peers they also experienced rejection because of their Mexican ancestry. Juan and Felipe experienced similar rejection. Juan recounted the following event.

This one little White girl had a crush on me. I remember she talked to the other girls in class. All of a sudden she wouldn’t talk to me anymore. One of my Mexican-American playmates explained to me that her mother probably found out about us being friends. It is because you are Mexican American that she is not talking to you anymore.

Juan’s recounting leaves it unclear whether what his friend told him was an accurate interpretation of the girl’s actions, but his friend’s explanation describes the general belief among Americans of Mexican ancestry that they were shunned because of their ethnicity.

Felipe found out he had been rejected by his friend because her family viewed him as unacceptable for their daughter because he was of Mexican ancestry.

I first got into the issue of racism in the 6th grade when I developed a friendship with Shannon. I was invited to her house for a birthday party and that was how her family discovered that I was not an American or not White. The following year Shannon moved to Dallas without letting me know or giving me an explanation as to why she left without saying goodbye. I heard later that she would write me letters but her mother would always intercept them. Racism revealed itself in the way they treated me, a Mexicano.

In a racist society Whites believe it is wrong to have romantic relationships with minorities because they are inferior. The lie believed by Felipe from this experience was that he was not worthy of being loved by a White girl because he was of Mexican ancestry. By this time, he had already believed the lies that he was not an American or White.

In situations involving competition, children of Mexican ancestry who tried to excel academically and participate in extra-curricular activities were often met with disappointing obstacles. Juan and his friends of Mexican ancestry believed that Juan did not get the opportunity to be captain of the safety patrol because he was an American of Mexican ancestry.

When I was in the 5th grade I got into the safety patrol and worked up to Lieutenant. I wanted to be the captain of the safety patrol when I got to the 6th grade but there was a little Anglo boy who got it. The little boy and I used to hang out together and we played quite a bit together at school. Again, a similar rumor was told to me by another Mexican-American friend who said “They probably made you Lieutenant because you’re not Anglo you’re not White.”

On top of Juan’s aspirations being shattered by not being selected to be the captain of the safety patrol despite being qualified, he was further shattered by the assertion made by his friend supporting the belief that he was not selected because he was not White.

Assumptions about intelligence and ability. A pattern in U. S. schools of designating children of certain races, ethnicities, and social classes as having substandard intelligence have been well-documented by researchers (Elias & Haynes, 2008; Losen &

Welner, 2001; Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007). Richard Valencia (2012) refers to this as deficit thinking. Mateo shared one story where he thought he was smart but where others did not.

I remember in the 6th grade, mind you, and I was smart. My brother would say “you always have a book in your hand, always studying.” “How come they held you in the 6th grade?” Perhaps because I was smart, and I knew I was smart, but they didn’t think so, maybe I was too smart, so they held me back.

Mateo refused to believe that he was not smart even though the educational system was telling him differently by the actions taken against him. Believing what he believed about himself, he had to endure the humiliation of being held back in the same grade. He recognized the injustice done to him.

Lucas tells us how he was placed in kindergarten even though he was supposed to be in the third grade. However, when he proved himself, he was moved ahead two grade levels.

I started going to school there. And because I came from Mexico, they automatically put me in kindergarten. Even though I was supposed to go into 3rd grade I was placed all the way back in kindergarten. So before the year was out, they obviously knew that I could communicate and that I knew more than kindergarten. So they went ahead and skipped me all the way to 2nd grade.

The actions taken against Lucas by the school system were based on racist assumptions about who he was and his capabilities. He had to demonstrate that he was capable of functioning at a higher level before he was moved to a higher grade. Lucas was exposed to the lies used by the system to treat him as an object leaving him to believe that he had little worth and was at the mercy of a racist educational system that did not have his interests at heart.

Lucas also described a situation that occurred to him in the classroom because of his knowledge of math and the effort made by his teacher to prove that he was not as smart in math as he had demonstrated to be.

Before we moved to Carrizo Springs I attended school in Crystal City. All the teachers at that school were Anglo teachers. I was real good at math, but I remember they would praise me for being able to do math but at the same time questioned my capability to know and do math. So they would direct me to stand in front of the class and would have me answer questions like as if I was being interrogated. I was the only one who had to do that. So eventually I didn't know the answer to some of the questions, and they would make it a point to let everyone know that 'Ah, you didn't know it!!!' I was left wondering what all of that was about.

Even though Lucas excelled in math, his success was unacceptable in a racist educational system inciting his White teacher to find ways to undo his success through the use of ridicule in order to create a lie about Lucas. He was left confused about his intellectual capability.

The neighborhood and community setting. Of the 45 related incidents that happened to these men during their childhoods, 13 occurred in the neighborhood community setting as stated earlier. As children the men experienced incidents of oppression in their neighborhood or community at large. The incidents they reported dealt mainly with relationships with White neighborhood children and the hostile actions practiced against Americans of Mexican ancestry.

Relationships with White children in the community. Some of the men told of being put in inferior and sometimes degrading or humiliating positions as children by their Anglo companions. Lucas tells us of being assigned "to die" as an Indian when he played cowboys and Indians.

I never really had a problem with him except that he always wanted to play cowboys and Indians and I was always the Indian. I always had to die because in

the movies the Indians would always die. I never thought about it but it made sense at the time, I guess it was true that I had to die. So even though I was pretending to be shooting arrows and he was pretending to be shooting his gun, I would fall down and die. So from all of those little experiences I think I was being formed and shaped into what was expected of me.

The lies taught to our children via movies, television, books and oral stories about the good guys and the bad guys and the winners and losers in the United States is played out by the children and replicated to maintain alive the lie in the minds of the good guys and bad guys and the winners and losers.

Lucas told of the hard time he had making and keeping friendships with White children, as well as his experience of being exploited by them.

Some of the little White boys just didn't want to be my friends. The ones that did want to be friends would try to take advantage of me. If I had any money they would try to take it from me so those relationships didn't last very long. These boys were no longer my friends from then on.

The lies believed by the White boys about how they had the power to exclude and treat members of minority groups are played out in the school room and the school yard. The excluded and mistreated children are victims of these lies who not only believe they deserve to be excluded and mistreated but in the process of those actions experience the humiliation of rejection contained in such treatment.

Andres described being bullied because he was of Mexican ancestry. However, the experience contains both positive and negative interactions with White children as it was a White boy who saved him.

I lived in a mixed neighborhood that was White and Hispanic. There were middle and lower middle class families according to economic status. One of the families did some back yard farming which they would rent out. They had a mule and they would let me ride on the mule. I was invited to mount the mule and ride it bareback. This was on Holly Street. So I got on the mule with one of the kids and then someone hit her on the butt she started racing down Holly Street and I got scared out of my mind. When we got to the end of Holly Street where the Holly

Street Power Plant and a city park were located we found the lower part of the park had been plowed. I was mounted first on the mule so I was guiding her but when she got to a place in the field I remember that she stopped. I looked up and sure enough at the top of the hill were the Simpson brothers again. They saw me and said 'there's that Mexican boy, let's get him!' They started throwing mud clods at the mule. The mule then turned around and gave us another thrill ride going back. As we approached our return destination the little White boy that owned the mule stopped it and got us off her and saved us from hopefully not just falling off that mule.

To reinforce the lies believed by some members of the White population about the minority populations, racist labels are used to support and fuel racist actions that sometimes involve endangering the lives of minority persons. The White boys involved in carrying out their beliefs in this scene in Andres' childhood spew out racist words and aggressive dangerous actions against him. Andres experiences hatred directed against him for being who he was through both word and action, leaving him to believe that maybe he was deserving of this treatment against him.

Andres describes another act of bullying against him in a public pool. In this story, White boys used force to notify Americans of Mexican ancestry that they were not welcome and did not belong there.

I was a little bit older, maybe a couple years older and I was swimming in a public pool in East Austin and there was a White family who had three boys close to my age. I was swimming when they ganged up on me and held me under water to let me know they didn't want Mexicans in the swimming pool. That was a very negative experience. I was saved by a White life guard.

Again, White boys carry out the lies they believe about minority persons, in this case by demonstrating they possess the power to mistreat and endanger Andres' life. Andres experiences humiliation and fear adding to the untrue negative emotional beliefs he already has about himself.

The family setting. Of the 45 incidents nine occurred in the family setting. As children the men experienced incidents of oppression within their families. The incidents reported dealt mainly with skin color or ethnicity, language, and identity.

Skin color or ethnicity. Skin color came up several times in the stories that were told by the men. Most of the men described family experiences where this basic human attribute was used to measure their value or worth depending on lightness or darkness of skin color. Marcos shared how his father had tried to prepare them for the discrimination they would face because of skin color.

One time my father brought up skin color. He said, "It doesn't matter what they think of you. It is okay. You are going to be fine once you get your education. Don't be bothered just because they don't like you." He used to tell over and over that in the world we were going into not everybody was going to like us even if we wanted everyone to like us. I was the oldest, so he'd tell me that not every person was going to like me.

The skin color lie is the falsehood that underpins racism. Marcos' father was passing on to his son what he had learned from his parents and his own experiences. He was telling his son that he was going to experience many situations where he was going to be excluded because of who he was even though he would give his very best. In his own way, Marcos' father was telling him don't believe those lies and you will be fine.

Some researchers have documented the education children get from their parents to help them prepare and protect them from the racism they will experience. Mary Alfred, for example, in her dissertation documented this among Black women faculty. There may be other research, but it is worth mentioning this important act of parenting (Alfred, 1995).

As a child, people in Pablo's family labeled him with adjectives that described his skin color. He internalized these descriptors associated with racism which distorted his identity.

I was born with dark skin and members of the family, mainly, aunts and uncles, decided to label me as Prieto or Negro both connoting that I was a person with very dark skin. Every time I would see them they would use one of those two terms when calling or referring to me. I know they used them as terms of endearment but they weren't. My brothers and sisters would use those words when they wanted to insult me or get back at me. In addition, as a young boy I would play outside in the hot sun of Laredo without a shirt, because the other kids in the neighborhood did the same thing. This of course made me darker and my mother would get upset with me and would call me 'Indio remojino' which roughly translates to 'sun baked Indian.' I grew up hearing these words when members of my family referred to me. My skin color became part of my identity.

Referring to Pablo by his skin color, his family, who was of Mexican ancestry, was using the same labeling used by racists to diminish another human's dignity, wholeness and identity. Pablo grew up believing the lie that skin color matters in determining human worth.

Skin color for these men and in the world generally is not neutral. It confers levels of privilege. For these men, messages about their skin as children were taken with them into adulthood.

Language. Some of the men also dealt with language issues within the family. Pablo provides an example of how his extended family critiqued him for what they considered his errors in speaking Spanish.

Since I lived in Laredo, Spanish was spoken by most, but it wasn't learned in school; it was learned at home or in the neighborhood, so it contained grammatical errors, pronunciation errors and many English words that had been made to sound like Spanish. Of course, being a child and not having a grasp of either language, I was set to be corrected by those by those around me. When I visited my grandmother, I was exposed to my aunt's contempt. I remember that many times I would substitute an article for a pronoun and she would come to rescue the language and would say 'Ay que bruto, asi no se dice se dice asi.'

which translates to ‘Oh how dumb you are, you don’t say like that, you say it like this.’ Or she would say don’t be a pocho you need to learn to speak Spanish correctly. Pocho is a term used to refer to Mexican Americans by Mexicans. The word means ‘traitor’ so it is used to refer to those Mexicans who opted to come live in United States and those of us who were born in the United States but who didn’t speak Spanish according to Mexican standards.

In addition to the racist labeling that Pablo received from his family and extended family for his skin color, he was also mistreated for not speaking Spanish correctly. Because he lived along the border with Mexico and had family on both sides he was set up to believe the lies created on both sides of the border to diminish his persona.

Learning a new language, English, in school; suppressing Spanish in school; and learning Spanish at home was very confusing and stressful for these men. The Spanish language contradiction could be responsible for the variation in fluency and understanding of that language.

Ancestral Identity. While these men experienced oppression from within their families, the men also carried their families with them. Kaufman and Bourdieu both say that this doesn’t start here, it carries back for generations and generations. Lucas, in trying to determine who he is from reviewing his ancestors, said he could not figure it out because persons of Mexican ancestry for the most part are Mestizos, a mixture of Native American blood with Spanish or other European blood. This confusion according to Kaufman (1996) has to do with internal identity scripts that magnify self-blame, self-contempt and comparison-making.

My great grandparents on my mother’s side were what people now call Native Americans. Even she didn’t know what to call herself, but she and her husband were Indians. On my father’s side, they were of the White race, and my dad is not really sure what the mix is, Irish, Spaniard, or some European blood mixed in. We were considered Mexicans, but what does that mean? Who are we really? Am I a Spaniard? Being a Mexican just tells me where I am from, I guess.

Many people in the United States try to gain a greater understanding of who they are by searching for their ancestral identity. However, for Americans of Mexican ancestry genealogy connections to our Native American ancestors may be difficult to find versus our Spanish and other European ancestors.

Acts of oppression during the teen years. Eighteen of the 30 incidents described in the teenage years happened in the school setting and six in the neighborhood setting. Of the six remaining incidents three happened in family setting and the other three in the work setting. Unlike the childhood years in which the acts of oppression they described were perpetuated by White children and White teachers these incidents were described as being perpetrated by Whites, Americans of Mexican ancestry and themselves. The last two sources of oppression suggest that internalized oppression develops with intensity in the teen years.

The school setting. During their teenage years, discrimination became more clearly based on racism. Their experiences clustered around the men hiding their differences, following their counselor's advice, facing rejection from both Whites and students of Mexican ancestry and experiencing discrimination.

Hiding differences. The men described becoming acutely aware of their differences and learning to protect themselves from having these exposed in the school setting. For example, Mateo was afraid of going to class at certain times during the year because he knew he was going to be asked about his summer activities, and he was embarrassed because he had been working in the fields or had a summer job. While Mateo's experience follows, he was not the only man to talk of such feelings.

At 13 I was in junior high and I can remember to this day the first day of school for me in the 50s when the teacher would ask you how you spent your summer

vacation. Of course, we never said, as a matter of fact, I made it a point not to go to school then because I knew they were going to ask us that and we were embarrassed. Those were the learning years; those were the learning experiences. I learned a lot being out there in the cotton fields. I think we did that for about 10 years.

Mateo feared to be who he was before his teachers and classmates because he had believed the lies that had been told about him and others like him who were of Mexican ancestry, were poor and worked in the fields to help their families.

While Mateo described trying to hide his experience working in migrant farming with his family; Felipe and his friends feared eating their lunch in the cafeteria because their moms would pack tacos for their noon meal. Felipe tells of his fear of being seen with a taco lunch.

I remember in high school we would take our lunch to school, but that became uncomfortable because the White students would always label us as taco vendors. It got to the point that we would eat our lunch behind the band hall. We would eat our tacos wrapped inside a little brown bag with the fear of being seen or called taco vendors.

Felipe and his friends were embarrassed about who they were because they had believed all the lies fabricated about them since their birth. They were so embarrassed of who they were to the point of hiding behind the school band hall to eat the food they liked which they brought from their homes. Fear of being hurt one more time by racist slurs drove them to hide while eating their lunch.

The stress and fears U. S. students experience in public middle and high schools is becoming increasingly evident in both the research (Britner & Pajares, 2006; Pajares, Johnson & Usher 2007) and the popular news media. But for these men, the experience was infused with the feeling that they needed to hide their family's cultural heritage.

School counseling. Some of the men enlisted in the U. S. armed forces prior to high school graduation or immediately thereafter. Felipe told us he was not encouraged to seek a high education so he joined the navy when he graduated from high school.

I had no idea about going to college. I had a duty to perform and that was to go into the service before I did anything else. While I was still in the 12th grade, I signed up for the Navy. The day after I graduated from high school, when everybody else was going off to college, I was on my way to San Diego.

Felipe made an important life decision based on all the lies he had believed about himself that came from the White establishment, his family, the community and himself. His recount of this decision in his teenage years contains nostalgia and regret.

In the following experience Lucas tells us how he was mocked by his peers of Mexican ancestry for having chosen to follow the vocational route in high school.

I enjoyed the woodworking classes and the electric classes; but my main peers, the other Mexicanos/Latinos, would make fun of me for having to enroll in these trade classes. They weren't doing any better; but for some reason they saw it as a negative choice on my part and so they would make fun of me.

The educational system had channeled Lucas in the vocational route rather than the academic route, most likely, based on lies about his intellectual capacity. He had accepted a decision made for him without considering his true potential and his future. His peers made fun of him because they recognized his potential but he had fallen into the trap of believing the untrue judgments about him created by the educational system that would limit his future.

Rejection. Andres was a competitive teenager who discovered that he could get the attention of White girls by achieving recognition both academically and in sports. He was able to date White girls but was rejected by their families.

As a teenager in a predominantly White community, I discovered that I could compete with the White kids, especially in athletics. Through competition and

achievement both in athletics and academics girls began to pay attention to me. I went after the prettiest girl in school who was White, but encountered rejection from the girl's parents.

Again in a racist society Whites believe it is wrong to have romantic relationships with minorities because they are inferior. This lie was pushed on Andres through their rejection. The girl's parents sent a cruel message to him by letting him know that he was unworthy of being loved by a White girl because he was of Mexican ancestry.

In addition to being rejected by the family of the White girl, he was also rejected by his Chicano friends who resented him.

Because I dated White girls I received rejection from my Chicano friends to the point of getting into fist and knife fights with the "Chucos" who resented me. In an effort to mend the relationship with my Chuco friends I would play hooky and head out with them to Onion Creek where I would read the newspaper and become informed about Mickey Mantle's scores. They would also talk about the guerilla and guerilla power so I had to stop playing hooky because they were taking things a little too serious.

Andres' Chicano friends felt betrayed because he wanted to have romantic relationships with White girls in a time when the Chicano movement was concentrating on creating an identity for Americans of Mexican ancestry and his behavior was not in line with their goals.

Learning about discrimination and power. The teen years were a time of learning more acutely the nature of discrimination and its relationship to power.

Juan, for example, grew up in Corpus Christi, Texas where the African American population lived segregated from Whites and Americans of Mexican ancestry. Although Juan had experienced discrimination in his life, he really felt what it meant when he witnessed an act of racial oppression against an African American fellow student.

While I was in high school however, they had closed the black high schools to integrate them into the other high schools. So there were a few blacks in my high

school. I remember a racial incident that happened to one of our Black football players. He was one of the better players on the team and a person who cared about everyone. One night after winning a game, we went out to celebrate at a local restaurant where we used to hang out but the young Black player was denied service.

Juan empathizes with the young Black player because he knows that he is just as susceptible to this form of racist discrimination as the young Black player. He feels the pain of rejection generated from believing the lie that it's the young Black player's fault and his fault for being who they are and deserving such treatment.

Felipe learned how power was used unfairly when he defended himself from the White boy who picked on him. Felipe saw that he ended up being punished instead of the White boy because the White principal had the power to punish whomever he wanted to punish.

They also had a class where students got sent after school to receive special education. The attendees were mostly Mexicanos. Well, there were a few White students. One of the White kids was a bully, Wayne, and I remember he would always pick on the weakest person in class to harass. One time he tried to pick on me and I just turned around and whacked him. I was the one who got sent to the principal's office even though he was the one who as the teacher told the principle 'had provoked it.' The principal responded that he did not care because he was the master therefore I was going to get punished.

Racism is unfair because it is a falsehood. Felipe received a triple dose of racism from a White student, teacher and a White principal at his school. Power generated from position and from believing the lie about racism was used to oppress him through harassment and punishment. Felipe anticipated the outcome of the altercation because he too believed the lie of racism.

The neighborhood and community setting. As teenagers the men experienced blatant discrimination and self-doubt when interacting with their neighborhoods and communities.

Blatant discrimination. In the story that follows Juan experiences how a fellow American of Mexican ancestry is denied entrance into a water park because of his dark skin

When I was in Delmar College I ran around with three other guys a Mexicano and two Anglos. We were on the same academic tracks, took many of same courses and we used to love to go to different parks in town and spend time together swimming. As summer approached we decided to cool off by going swimming at the Water Park in New Braunfels, Texas. One of my friends had a car so we drove to the park that summer, the two Mexicanos and the two Anglos. As we were buying the tickets to get into the park my friend, the Mexicano with a dark skin tone, was told they were not going to sell him a ticket because they reserved the right to refuse service to anyone. They did not want to sell him a ticket. The thing was we had talked about the Water Park. It wasn't a big surprise to us. None of the four of us liked what happened. We knew that we might encounter discrimination at the Water Park. It was the first time we encountered real blatant discrimination. One of my Anglo friends took the purchased tickets back to the window and got our money back.

Juan is again faced with a situation of overt discrimination against someone else like him, except this time he and the two White friends refused to sponsor a racist business and requested to get their money back. In a small way their action made a statement that there are persons out there that don't believe the lie and are willing to do something about it.

Self-doubt based on myths. Pedro shows us how he had conjured up fears based on myths about White kids that kept him from being all he could be.

When I joined the base-ball team there was a mixture of White and Hispanic kids. I remember growing up in a very poor large family and I never really developed physically. I was very thin and I always felt a little self-conscious. I was not physically strong, but I was a good baseball player. At that time I was playing in the pony league. I remember having doubts when I was first called to play with the White kids. I always thought that White kids were a lot stronger, but I found out that they weren't. When I saw they were much bigger and stronger than I, I thought they were superior athletes. That was foolish on my part because it was all in my mind.

Pedro believed the lies he had created in his mind about White kids and their superiority regarding their strength and athletic abilities. His judgments about the White kids and himself kept him from playing baseball with White kids.

Again Pedro demonstrates how he oppressed himself by the myths he believed about the White people and the myths he believed about himself.

After I became the president of the CYO in my parish I ran for president of the diocesan CYO. I took on the challenge and prepared my speech which I was to deliver at the Diocesan CYO convention. My opponent was a White young man. Although I had acquired good leadership experience up to this point in my life I had not mastered public speaking. After my contender delivered his speech I remember thinking “I’m not going to be as good as this person, I’m not going to do as well as this White kid.” And so I didn’t get elected for that position; the White kid got elected. I was always told that White kids were stronger and bigger and so forth.

Pedro did not deliver a winning speech yet he justified losing the election by blaming the White young man for doing better than he did because he believed that White kids were stronger, bigger and superior.

The family setting. Things that went on in the family resonated the experiences lived in school, at work and in the neighborhood. A couple of their experiences clustered around sacrificing education and rejecting the evidence.

Sacrificing education. The pressures to survive as a family of Mexican ancestry were very heavy as Mateo tells us. Data show that the drop-out rate among students of Mexican ancestry has been and continues to be high.

After my dad died and I was thirteen my older brother was in prison, my other older brother and sister were married, so I started keeping house. My father left us in a lot of debt. So we were forced more so to go to “las piscas” or “crop picking” in California, Wisconsin and other places up north. I remember coming back as a teenager trying to catch up with my education in school. It was impossible I was turning 18 and I was still in the 10th grade.

The decisions made by Mateo as a teenager were based on his responsibilities to his family. Dedication to earning money and caring for his family had a negative consequence on his education.

Rejecting the truth. It is difficult to admit to oneself that others in our society reject us because of who we are and sometimes we rather just reject that truth in our lives as demonstrated by Marcos.

I had one sister that was constantly using the word prejudice. She used it even though she looked White. We used to ask her 'What about the rest of us we're darker than you are?' But that was just a word that she used if somebody didn't like her 'oh, he is a prejudiced man.' I never saw that type of prejudice where somebody would come up to me and say 'Because you are Chicano this is why.' It was more than they did not like me speaking Spanish, but they never told me it was because I was Mexican. I never identified that way. There were a couple of White guys that used to tell us that we were not to speak Spanish. I didn't understand because I thought these guys were Mexican, I later on found out they were White people. I didn't know Weaver was a White name. I thought it was a funny Mexican name.

Marcos identified himself as being a regular American. He was suspicious of his sister who saw prejudice where he didn't. By thinking this way Marcos was refusing to believe the lie of racism even though the lie of racism was present and active as felt and evidenced by his sister.

The employment setting. During their teenage years most of the men worked to help out the family economically. In the process of their employment they encountered discrimination.

Discrimination. Mateo tells us about his experience at the restaurant where he worked as a bus boy but was not permitted to eat at the counter.

I remember one experience when I was working at a restaurant on Lake Travis as a bus boy. While I was waiting for my ride I decided to eat. One of the ladies asked, 'Is it okay if he sits at the bar to eat?' and the other one said, 'No he cannot sit there' I was 13 or 14 years old and I was out there busing tables at a restaurant

where mostly White people ate. There was a black man who was a waiter and he would pick me up and drive me to work. I could not sit at the bar and eat a hamburger.

The racism lie is carried out by applying a set of practices whether through word or action that excludes and oppresses the targeted person. In the case of Mateo the waitresses were playing ping pong with him while they stalled to put into action the established practice that a minority person was not allowed to sit at the counter or at a table in a White only restaurant. For Mateo this was an in your face racist humiliation.

Acts of oppression during adult years. Sixteen of the 29 incidents happened in the employment setting; 8 in the neighborhood/community setting and the last 5 in the education setting. As adults, the men experienced acts of oppression from the White community, from Americans of Mexican ancestry and from themselves.

The work setting. The men experienced many different acts of oppression as adult workers. The acts of oppression were driven by contempt, blame, confrontation, rejection, different treatment, approach, overt racism, and influence.

Contempt. Santiago provides an example of a work experience where he is devalued by his boss who assumed Santiago might not know how to write in the English language since it was not his native tongue.

I remember that when I first started there he asked me to do a report, but then added that he hoped it would be in good English. Because you must have learned English, since English is not your native tongue. And I got hot under the collar but feeling that he was the boss, and I was young and beginning my involvement there, I simply said that it would be understood when he got it. After all these years I still remember that incident with regret because I was not assertive, if not aggressive.

Subtractive assumptions about minorities are central to the practice of racism lie.

Santiago's boss assumed that he was deficient in the English language because he

assumed his first language was Spanish. Santiago, a well-educated man, was caught by surprise and was unable to respond in a way that would have not left him feeling with regret.

Americans of Mexican ancestry sometimes resisted working with other Americans of Mexican ancestry because they felt they could not trust them therefore not giving opportunity a chance. Santiago provides an example of such contempt.

Anyway these efforts were constantly met with resistance from an older Mexican-American nurse in the group. She's passed away now. She used to argue, 'this won't help us to get our resumes together; all it's going to do is to get you promoted.' This reminded me of a comment her friend made to me at the Catholic center. She said, 'Santiago the people that keep us down the most are ourselves.'

Efforts to understand and find alternatives to the consequences of believing the lie of racism are difficult and sometimes impossible because the lie is so powerful that those affected by the lie blame themselves for the way they relate with each other.

Another example of contempt is provided by Pedro when one of the students requesting counseling complains to him about getting him to help her.

I'm the new psychologist at the Center and I get my clients by asking the next person in line to come in to see me. When I called a young lady who had been waiting and was next, she looked at me and asked 'why did I get you?' I thought that was a very interesting comment. Had she never seen a Mexicano or Hispanic or a minority professional before? She was shocked that she got me. My response to her was I had more experience with Whites than I did with Hispanics in doing counseling. I said 'you are lucky that you're getting me.' I have to have a comeback line all the time because people are always asking those kinds of stupid questions.

The attempt by the young White university student to put down a professional Hispanic psychologist because she deserved a better counselor shows how she believed the lie of racism and could use her contempt to put this man in his place. Pedro was aware of the

lie and classified it as stupid. He was prepared to respond in a way that kept him at an arms-length from believing the lie.

Blame. In this experience Americans of Mexican ancestry are blamed for not applying for the job offerings and Santiago believes Americans of Mexican descent do not get selected because of the poor job they do in completing their applications.

He points and nods to me and says, that they were applications for a particular job that was open at the time. He said, ‘Santiago, the tall one is from Whites, the middle one from Blacks, and the small little one from Hispanics.’ Nothing changes unless more Hispanics apply he said. Afterwards, I recalled I had been trying to get the Hispanics mostly those who worked in the same building I did to come together because we were simply Hispanics. I used to argue that we needed to look at our resumes and we needed to review the application before submission because being involved in the job selection process I could see the dumb errors people were making. The fact that we could have said more about ourselves and did not, diminished our probability of being selected. When I read the resumes and applications submitted by Anglos, they used many adjectives to describe their background. To this day, I still don’t use adjectives effectively. I can use nouns very well, some adverbs, but not adjectives. I still struggle with them.

The racism lie pushed Santiago to believe that it was the Hispanics fault for not being selected to hold better paying jobs. He failed to see in his judgment that Hispanics don’t have those jobs because racist practices keep them from holding those jobs. Santiago’s effort to improve the quality of the applications was an effort in false hope.

Confrontation. Americans of Mexican ancestry are invisible and their presence is not significant because they are not included in the count. Only through confrontation was Santiago able to get information on the numbers and ranks of Hispanics.

We used to get together for three annual briefings on personnel issues. They would give out the statistics on how many of these and how many of those. I noticed that there were always numbers on enlisted Hispanics in the different statuses such as reserve, active, etcetera. After listening to this for some time and trying to communicate this to the troops, I realized that no one was supporting the Hispanics in the service. So, at the end of the next annual briefing, I got up and asked for a report of officers who were Hispanic on active duty. Needless to say, my question was not received because I challenged an Anglo group of officers.

For those of you who haven't been in the service they have a caste system. Officers may have power but the admirals run the ship. I must say that when I got in front of the group for the second time and protested I received the needed attention and the information on the number of Hispanic officers on duty. Racism practices require hiding the evidence of the damage it does to its targeted populations. Only through repeated public insistence was Santiago able to get the data he was requesting to establish proof of a pattern regarding the number of active duty Hispanic officers.

Rejection. Having the credentials to perform a job does not change the attitude of rejection from the White establishment. Pedro was able to get the job but not the respect and acceptance of his peers and coworkers.

I also find that sometimes having an education works against you. For example right now, at my place of work there are more Whites than Minorities. The moment I put up my diplomas on the wall, the Whites began complaining that all I wanted to do was tell everybody that I was better than all of them because of my credentials. I have found myself isolated by a lot of people at the university because I live in a region where there has been a lot of conflict between Whites and Mexicanos. It is very hard for White folks to accept someone who is Mexicano, who may have just as many or more credentials and skills than they have and can do all kinds of things.

The racism lie has no limits. It doesn't matter what credentials a Hispanic person may possess to be able to obtain better employment opportunities, he or she will be met with resistance and disrespect.

Different treatment. Santiago learned through a job promotion he did not obtain that he was treated differently because he was an American of Mexican ancestry and the process for promoting him was more complicated.

When I applied to transfer from one service for a direct commission to become an officer in another service, it was with much pride. I was well aware that such goals sometimes require many layers of review before one pins on the rank and is given a duty station. Thus, I explained away the many months of waiting for the opportunity to join the officer ranks. Once on board, I came to learn that other candidates had waited for about half the time I did for their commission. After

time had passed and I became eligible for promotion, I submitted the required official records, and waited for the big promotion. People I knew received promotions, but not me.

The racism lie upholds double standards, one for the racist and one for the targeted person. In a racist system the White individual will fair many times better than the targeted minority individual.

Unacceptable approach. Even though Pedro has a doctorate in psychology and tons of leadership experience his approach is not acceptable because it is not the way the White establishment would approach it.

Another experience occurred when we hired an intern and he was going to be the first Latino intern to be hired. When he came to the center for a visit before he started working he brought his family with him. He brought his wife, his kids, and his suegra, all of his family. He was real proud that he has gotten this position. At that time, I was already a senior staff and he was happy to have another Mexicano working there. I went to the lounge and they started talking to me and they asked to come to their house. You know Latinos want to form a relationship right away. Well, I got into a hell of a lot of trouble with my supervisor because I was not supposed to get that close to my supervisee, I was supposed to supervise this person and that was not the way to do it. He told me 'you can't do your job if you are that close to this person.' I had a big discussion about the culture and why it is important for us to form relationships and that we go through the motions of hugs and all that because we're Latinos. They started looking at me as this person who didn't know how to do things. I had to fight to show them that I was just as good if not better than they were at these things. It's always been that kind of a thing. There have been many situations like that.

The racism lie just like Machiavellianism is deceitful, manipulative and controlling. For those minorities who have managed to work the system and have lost fear of the lie, other mechanisms are in place to deceive, manipulate and control them.

Overt racism. Pablo is mistaken for another employee by a White man who works in the same building and corrects his error by adding injury to insult.

While at A & M I had several work study jobs to help me pay for my expenses. When I worked in the physical education department I had a racist experience that I will never forget. I worked for Dr. Jones who taught classes and did research.

One day, when I was arriving at his office, I was stopped by a White man in his mid-twenties. He asked me for some corrected test papers. I told him he had me confused with someone else and he responded 'I'm sorry but all you orangutans look the same to me.' I reported the racist incident to Dr. Jones who was also his supervisor. The man apologized to me, to the person he thought I was and to Dr. Jones. I don't know if he learned a lesson, but I learned that racist remarks and actions have a very damaging impact on the life of the recipient because that person's humanity has been devalued for no reason whatsoever other than the contempt of the oppressor. Once again his apology was nice but the damage to me was done and could not be erased by his apology.

Pablo was unable to forgive and forget the racism lie sprung on him by a White stranger who felt he had the power to dehumanize him for no reason. The lie believed by Pablo continued to have an impact on him for the rest of his life, like a wound that never healed.

Negative influence. Andres tells us why he did not pursue employment opportunities that came his way. His decision not to apply for that promising job that came along his way, left him with regret.

At age 22, I was offered a job as a pharmaceutical sales Representative for a large company. The job would have required me to move to California or Florida with or without my wife and son. They came from a large Mexican-American family all of whom lived in my hometown of Austin, Texas. Like most Mexican-American families, my parents and siblings were very close and not receptive to me living far from them and the strong support system they provided. My culture and our fears caused me to turn down the job opportunity and potentially highly rewarding financial salary. I have continuously wondered how my life may have been had I made a different decision.

The racism lie once believed is underpinned by fear. Fear becomes the emotion that plays a major role in all the decisions made by the believers of the racism lie.

The neighborhood and community setting. As Americans of Mexican descent we are faced with racist oppression that comes our way in many different forms. In our neighborhoods/communities we can experience contempt, misplaced privilege, and potential assumptions.

Contempt. Lucas and his family were the objects of contempt by the White neighbor who would not miss an opportunity to put down Americans of Mexican ancestry.

There was a man there who was my neighbor, a fireman. He had enough education to be a fireman. He was from East Texas and he believed that Mexicans would never be as good as he was. No matter what, I mean no matter how educated a Mexican might be he was always going to be better. He continuously tried to do that with me. There was another Mexican family that lived in the same cul-de-sac and the man worked at HEB. He worked at the warehouse so the fireman was always putting him down and would try to do the same thing to me. Well, I just wasn't going to put up with it and told him several times in an assertive way that I wasn't going to participate in those conversations with him anymore but he still wouldn't let up. We haven't communicated much anymore. We see each other, we say hello or we wave to each other. That is about the extent of it because of his behavior. I still live there but it has been a difficult experience not being able to just have a decent conversation without him saying something negative about me.

The racism lie carries with it the belief of superiority by those who practice it. Sometimes the persons acting out the lie behave and speak as if they were superior in all aspects of life because they are White and communicate that message to the targeted person.

Misplaced privilege. Juan's experience shows how privilege can be misplaced when a light skin man of Mexican ancestry is considered White where a large number of the citizens are Black.

Well, at the time I was stationed there when Martin Luther King was marching on Montgomery. So, they clamped down on us, they stopped all passes into town. No airmen, no one could get off base. But later on, at another time, while the marches were going on, I was able to go into town. Since I'm not real dark although, I do have some color, I was able to pass for White. It was one of the things where I came into contact with the White local people and they would tell me I wasn't Black. I guess I was White enough. So, I never had any problems in town. I was White enough to go to the movie theatres where the Whites went in Montgomery.

Passing for White is appealing to minority persons because all of a sudden you are on the side of privilege and are able to savor the lie of racism from the perspective of the

oppressor. The Whites in Montgomery were focused at that time on the African Americans because of the civil rights movement and were willing to overlook Juan's minority status so they could add to their numbers and use him for that purpose.

Potential assumptions. In the following example, the neighborhood kids assumed that a man who looked like Pedro could only be the gardener and not the father of their friends and the owner of the house where he was gardening.

I of course began to live in a White neighborhood in Columbus, Ohio and one of the first things that happened to me at the house I had bought was when I was doing some gardening with my children and some of the neighborhood kids came over because they knew my kids so they introduced me to the kids and they looked at me and said 'this can't be your dad, this is the gardener.' So, I got a kick out of that.

In a racist society targeted minorities have traditionally been constrained to live in certain areas of town and perform certain types of jobs in the community. The neighborhood kids who were playing with Pedro's children were already infected with the racism lie and believed they had the power to voice their judgment about Pedro in the presence of his children. The false assumptions acted on by the neighborhood children perpetuated the false beliefs contained in the racism lie which were already actively damaging the minds of the White children, Pedro and his children.

Again Pedro is confronted with a White colleague's disbelief that Pedro was able to buy the house that he was not able to afford.

Before I bought that house, one of my colleagues from the university and I went house hunting at which time we saw several houses including the one I had bought. Later he told me that he had liked the house I had purchased not knowing it was mine and couldn't afford it so he went on to buy another house. When I told him I had bought that house, his comeback was, 'you bought that house?' and 'it doesn't make sense that you bought that house.' Yeah, I said, I bought that house.

The racism lie contends that its power is so great that no minority in the United States should be able to excel academically, professionally and economically. When a minority excels in any of these areas, they are in disbelief and regard these accomplishments as a failure on their part to enforce the racism lie.

Acts of oppression during the mature years. Seven of the 16 incidents described in the mature adult years happened in the employment setting; five in the education setting; four in the neighborhood/community setting and none in the family setting.

The employment setting. As mature adults our experiences at our places of work included recognizing what happened to us and what happened to others like us. The acts of oppression included incidents of disrespect and gentrification.

Disrespect. In the following example of an act of oppression at the workplace, Andres observes how a co-worker and friend of Mexican ancestry is excluded from recognition and credit by his White boss.

I recall an incident that happened at work not too long ago that reminded me that racism is still thriving. A Mexican American colleague who worked as planner at the same state agency where I worked came up with a solution to a technical problem found in one of the plans. When our boss spoke about the solution he referred to having stumbled into a way of fixing the problem. He gave no recognition or credit to my friend leaving the impression that he was not as technically proficient as the other White planners.

As explained above the racism lie contends that its power is so great that no minority in the United States should be able to excel academically, professionally and economically. When a minority excels in any of these areas they are in disbelief and regard these accomplishments as a failure on their part to enforce the racism lie. In addition, the

racism lie will go so far as to claim the idea, finding or work generated by the contributor and suppress any type of credit, merit or recognition deserved by the minority person.

Gentrification. As an employee of the Appraisal District, Felipe hears complaints from the citizens whose property taxes have increased because of gentrification.

I am now working part-time with the County Appraisal District as a hearing officer. I serve on a panel of three to hear complaints from tax payers on the values of their property. You see how the eastside community and some other communities are being impacted by gentrification. It has been an eye opener. This reinforces what I've always known, what I have been taught.

Gentrification is a tool used in perpetuating the racism lie. The racism lie sometimes requires taking back something that was allowed for minorities in the past because it met the needs of the Whites at that time. Now the needs of the Whites have changed and they use gentrification to obtain what they need because they believe the racism lie gives them the power to disenfranchise whole minority communities to accommodate their needs which are generated from the lie.

The educational setting. As mature adults some of the men returned to school to do graduate work and experienced some of the same acts of racist oppression they had experienced fifty years earlier when they were children. Their experiences included peer discrimination and power to be racist.

Peer discrimination. Facing overt racism from his peers in a doctoral program in the 21st century, left Pablo having to spend time and energy overcoming these barriers rather than concentrating on his education.

It was the beginning of a semester early on in the program and we were given a choice to select a topic which we were going to research. I saw the topic I liked and was the first one on the list to sign up. Three White guys signed up after me. The topic had to do with retention of Hispanics in higher education. Our job was to work together to do the research and write a report. We agreed to meet so we could get started and so I took the initiative and offered to help the group become

a team so we could accomplish the assignment in a responsible equitable way. Immediately the barriers went up and I got the silent treatment. None of the three fellows would talk to me, so nothing was happening. I became concerned that we were wasting time and that these fellows were going to negatively impact my grade in class, so I asked the professor to call and mediate a meeting of the group. One of the fellows stated that he didn't like Mexicans therefore didn't care to work with me. Another fellow said I reminded him of his father and he hated his father. I could not believe professional educators seeking a Ph. D would feel that way and act on it. We were able to more or less come to a loose agreement about how we would handle the assignment. Even though I got the grade I planned to obtain, I feel we could have done a better job and learned much more from the experience.

It is ironic that the topic of the research had to do with the retention of Hispanics in higher education yet three of the four members of the group who were White and had volunteered to work on this research topic ganged up on the one Hispanic in the group to shun him off right from the beginning. They acted as the guardians of the racism lie rather than Ph.D. students in pursuit of the truth about the research topic. Could it be that educated racists become defenders of the racism lie in order to maintain the status quo?

Power to be racist. As a mature adult attending graduate school Pablo is told by his White professor not to expect to be employed by the university after graduation.

I arrived early to class that evening and was sitting at my desk reviewing my class notes when I heard my name being called and realized it was my professor. So I got up and went to where he was standing. He said to me 'I know you think you are going to get a teaching job here at this university when you finish the program, but I don't think that is going to happen.' I said 'oh really, how would you know that?' and turned around and went back to my seat thinking 'did this just happen.' I thought 'I now have to contend with a racist professor who feels he has the power to discriminate, humiliate and discourage minority students.' I wondered 'how many minority students at this institution have been damaged by his racism and left their studies?'

This is a great example of how the racism lie is openly acted out in an academic institution by a professor who professes from the racism lie. His actions based on his assumptions about Pablo demonstrate that he was willing to assume the role of

gatekeeper in his capacity of university professor in order to protect and perpetuate the racism lie that he so believes.

Summary of section. The information gathered in response to the first question posed by this research provided the qualities the men described in the incidents they encountered where acts of racial oppression were directed at them whether from White Americans, other Americans of Mexican ancestry or themselves. Examples were provided from four phases of their lives: childhood years, teenage years, adult years, and mature adult years. Within each of those phases the examples were provided from four perspectives: school, employment, family, and neighborhood and community. The acts of racial oppression directed against the men were mostly in the category of deprivation versus force. The qualities of the racism acts included neglect, exclusion, stereotypes, gentrification, separation, degradation, suppression, misguidance, disrespect, intolerance, contempt, rudeness, punishment, treachery, deceitfulness, duplicity, prejudice, injustice, abhorrence and others. These qualities were used over and over again to maintain and perpetuate the racism lie in the minds of the men who participated in this study.

Feelings Triggered from Acts of Racial Oppression

The second research question is: What did the men describe feeling by the acts of oppression they experienced? To analyze how the men felt by the acts of racial oppression they experienced, I sorted the data according to when the act of oppression occurred and the setting in which it occurred. The information to answer this question is taken from the same 120 incidents containing acts of racial oppression experienced by the men.

The process for internalizing racial oppression includes experiencing inner states of shame such as discouragement, self-consciousness, embarrassment, shyness, shame, and guilt. These feelings set the stage for reactions that precede important everyday life decisions. According to Kaufman (1996):

The human being evolves through a series of distinct developmental phases: infancy, childhood, adolescence, adulthood and old age. Shame is potentially encountered during each developmental epoch; though its specific sources will vary. Human beings also progress through a series of overlapping interpersonal settings; family of origin, school, peer group, work, wider culture, and family of procreation. Critical sources of shame exist in each of these settings. Because shame can be experienced and re-experienced during each subsequent developmental phase and throughout the broadening network of interpersonal settings, shame is a life cycle phenomenon. (Kaufman, 1996, pp. 34-35)

Feelings triggered from acts of racial oppression during the men's childhood years. Twenty one of the 45 incidents happened in the school setting and 13 in the neighborhood setting. Nine of the remaining incidents happened in the context of their families, in particular when their families were employed as farm workers.

The school setting. From examples of incidents experienced in school the men expressed having been made to feel fearful, terrified, intimidated, scared, lost, entrapped, unjustified, pressured, alienated, different, ridiculed, patronized, emotional and physical pain, humiliated, mocked, and devastated. The experiences clustered around speaking Spanish and ethnic difference.

Speaking Spanish. Some felt tremendous fear because they didn't know English when they started school and once they were in school, they were lost and thought this feeling of being lost would never end; there was no communication; they didn't know what was going on. Pedro told us a particularly painful story of his first days in

elementary school where he felt terrified, fearful, intimidated, lost, scared, entrapped and unjustified.

I didn't speak of word of English until I went to first grade. I remember that it was like the most terrible experience in my life. I remember going with my sister who was a year ahead of me. She took me to school, but then we had to go to different classrooms. I still remember that day like yesterday; I was sitting in the back with a bunch of kids like me who probably didn't know how to speak English either. I remember not knowing what was going on because they wouldn't speak Spanish in class and we couldn't speak Spanish. We were really intimidated and I don't remember anything except being picked up and put in a situation that I felt was never going to end. That day was so long and I was really scared to be there.

Even though Pedro spoke Spanish he was unable to communicate with his teacher or peers because it was only acceptable to communicate in English in the classroom. The racism lie suppresses the Spanish language. Children who didn't speak English when they started school were forced to endure intimidation, repression, devaluation, and fear thus sowing the seeds of the racism lie in their minds. According to Kaufman (1996) language is one of "the central processes shaping the self and identity" (p. 86).

Santiago had a similar language experience but tells us how it was fear that drove him to learn English.

It was in first grade that I learned how to speak English. Some of you were talking that you don't remember when you started. I know when I started to speak English, because I learned it out of fear. I say that because I remember well as a first grader crying and not understanding what was being said. That fear ultimately drove me to learn to speak English.

The racism lie produces fear in the minds of the intended targets. In order to survive in a racist educational system, minority children learned English through fear rather than through curiosity. Mojanty as cited in Saxena and Mahendroo states that:

In the name of unity, standardization, integration, modernization, and homogenization, so many people are stripped off their cultural rooted ness and their primordial pride through loss of their primary identity tags-mother tongue and, in the process, kept out of the privileges of a majority dominated elitist

society, where equality of opportunity remains a vague slogan. (Saxena & Mahendroo, 1993, p. 54)

Ethnic difference. In the late 40's and 50's Americans of Mexican ancestry were overt targets of racial oppression. Children of Mexican ancestry were not exempt from being targeted in the schools by their teachers and peers. Lucas experienced a moment where he and other students of Mexican ancestry felt alienated, patronized and different for being who they were by their teacher. She used the words "you people" to separate herself from the students of Mexican ancestry and at the same time portrayed herself as the victim.

And I remember very vividly there was a teacher, a White lady, and she said her name was Mrs. Chile. And she said 'Like what you people eat, salsa with chile' you know. And so right at that point I felt alienated, she was trying to be patronizing I suppose, but at the same time I felt like she was saying I was different. I didn't feel different until then. Ok, I just felt like I was another kid in the classroom.

Social constructivism driven by the racism lie was being taught by Mrs. Chile. The White students in the classroom were learning how to perpetuate racism and the minority children were learning to believe the lies perpetuated by racism about them. Kaufman writes:

The self evolves and becomes shaped through ongoing interaction with the interpersonal environment and through the ways it stores, reproduces, elaborates, and transcends that experience. Although it is a complex and multifaceted process, internalization is actually a simple idea. It is through imagery (encompassing visual, auditory, and kinesthetic dimensions) that the self internalizes experience. What is internalized are images or scenes that have become imprinted with affect. (Kaufman, 1996, p. 57)

Lucas shared a similar story that had to do with academic achievement as opposed to extra-curricular activities. His academic confidence was destroyed when his teacher

paddled him for reading a book in class leaving him to feel emotional and physical pain, humiliation, ridicule, and devastation.

When I went to the 4th grade, Mrs. Taylor had a problem with me. I'm not sure what it was, but like I said I was very good at math and so, she was teaching math and I was making an A in that subject. So, I had a book that I was reading it during her class. She was walking up and down the aisles and I was engrossed reading the book. She noticed that I wasn't doing math work assignment but was reading the book instead. She took me out into the hallway and with a long wooden paddle hit me 3 times with it. You know, and I was devastated, because I hadn't done anything wrong. Of course, everyone laughed at me because I was crying when we came back into the classroom. I think it didn't hurt so much physically as it hurt emotionally because I really felt like I hadn't done anything wrong. It was also during that class that I realized that my class mates who were sitting next to me, Wilson and some other kids, were making better grades than I was, and yet their answers to the tests were wrong, but they were being counted right. When I questioned it I was told by the teacher not to worry about their test but to worry about my test. So, I tried again but felt I was being held back, I could never make more than a B in that class. And for some reason she was always finding something wrong after that incident, something wrong, and something wrong.

Injustice as well as social and psychological damage is the outcome of the racism lie.

Even though he felt he hadn't done anything wrong, he felt the injustice done to him by his teacher; the ridicule he received from his peers; and the continued betraying and depriving behavior from his teacher. Kaufman (1996) writes: "The internalization of shame is accomplished through imagery: scenes of shame become a principal source of identity. These scenes become directly imprinted with shame when the expression of any affect, drive, or interpersonal need is followed by shaming" (p. 84).

The neighborhood and community setting. From the incidents that occurred during their childhood years in the neighborhood and community setting the men experienced acts of racial oppression that generated feelings of discrimination, bitterness, distress, and offense. The incidents reported involved antisocial actions practiced against Americans of Mexican ancestry.

Racist social actions. The childhood years also provided the men with examples of overt acts of racial oppression against them or their families. Mateo relates an experience when his dad had to drive to the back of a restaurant to buy food for his family. He was left feeling discriminated and bitter from that experience.

I can also remember in Arizona at a restaurant, on our way to California, my dad went around to the back of the restaurant and ordered hamburgers to go for us. We didn't bother to go in because we knew we could not go in. Those memories are still there. I can still remember. Perhaps I am still bitter about it, too.

The restaurant did not serve minorities because they believed and supported the racism lie. Mateo and his family also believed the lie and allowed it to become a negative memory filled with bitterness. Bitterness is an extension of rage as explained by Kaufman (1996): "Whether in the form of generalized hostility, fomenting bitterness, chronic hatred, or explosive eruptions, rage protects the self against exposure. Rage functions as a defense against shame" (p. 97).

In the antisocial spectrum of actions taken against Americans of Mexican ancestry derogatory name calling preceded the antisocial direct order to the targeted person was to comply because it was commanded by a White person. At the age of six Andres experienced the distress communicated by his father who had been verbally oppressed because he and his family were of Mexican ancestry. Andres understood the offense directed at him and his family.

Dad came in one day very angry because the next door neighbor did not want us playing with his kids because he thought that we would be too disruptive. It was the first time that I heard distress in my Dad's voice when he told us that Mr. Strauss, the next door neighbor, referred to us as Meskin kids. It was one of the first experiences that I can remember where the term Mexican was used in a derogatory manner. I was probably around 6 years old.

Being the target of the racism lie can be generally described as experiencing negative emotions that generate powerlessness and shame, in this case these emotions are impacted by distress. Kaufman (1996) says “The affect of distress manifests as sadness or hurt accompanied by crying” (p.43).

The family setting. As children the men experienced incidents of oppression within their families. They expressed feeling dark, black, poor, revengeful, and unrepentant. The examples provided had to do with skin color and being poor.

Skin color. Pedro tells us the lens through which he viewed himself and his sisters in a picture he grew up with as a child at home growing up in South Texas. He stated he was dark as hell almost black.

There is a picture that we had at home. It was a picture of my two sisters and me. We were wearing very little clothes and we were standing on a piece of cardboard because the ground was very hot. We were dark as hell; we were almost black.

Pedro believed the racism lie about skin color. He believed that having dark skin was equivalent to hell and that being black was even worse. He felt having dark skin was a curse from hell. Kaufman (1996) tells us that: “The predominant self-shaming scripts that reproduce shame for minorities are self-blame, self-contempt, and comparison making” (p. 275).

Being poor. Most of the men came from poor homes where scarcity was abundant. Mateo provides an experience that describes the struggles his family faced when he was a child growing up in Austin, Texas and the improper action his brother and he took help their family. He explains that he and his brother felt unrepentant from committing a dishonest act because they could justify it as payback or revenge.

I remembered my mother got a monthly check of \$80 dollars for a family of seven plus my mom. Somehow she made ends meet. There was a little grocery store on

South 1st Street and the owner gave us credit. He not only gave credit to us but a lot of other people who lived in South Austin. We used to go there and buy stuff on credit. He would write it down and then we would come back and settle the debt. Then we accumulated more debt. One time, my brother was signing the pad that we had going. I didn't know what he was doing, but he knew what he was doing—he was trying to reduce our debt. He would say, "Shut up, don't say anything." That was pretty smart because we would end up not having to pay as much as we should have paid. We didn't feel guilty; we thought they were robbing us, anyway.

Mateo and his brother believed the racism lie and justified their behavior just like the racism lie is justified. They didn't feel guilty for being dishonest but felt justified in their act even though it was founded on aggression. Kaufman (1996) writes that: "Aggression is nothing more than the extension of affect into action, and guilt over aggression is not a drive derivative. It is an affect derivative" (p. 61).

The employment setting. Two of the 45 incidents happened in the employment setting. These two in particular are examples of children being exposed to incidents of neglect or abuse and child labor through their family's employment as farm workers. The men reported feelings of abuse, neglect, disgust, and hate.

Incidents of abuse or neglect. Abuse of farm workers in the fields of California and elsewhere in the U.S. has been widely documented and provided one of the strong motivations for the Chicano movement. Mateo told of his own experience of being sprayed with toxic chemicals and his feeling that those who were responsible must have viewed him less than human. In the following passage Mateo relates an incident of abuse he experienced while working in the tomato fields of California. Apparently the owners of the farm thought it was okay for the American farm workers of Mexican ancestry to be sprayed with DDT along with the tomatoes. He expresses feelings of disgust from these acts of abuse and neglect towards him and his family.

My earliest memories were of being migrant workers. I remember jumping in the back of an 18-wheeler at a very young age, perhaps eight or nine or ten years old and going to the cotton fields or going to California where we would pick tomatoes. One time we were picking tomatoes and those pilots were flying right overhead and spraying DDT, or whatever it was they were using, and a bunch of kids were out there along with the older people. We didn't know that they didn't give a damn whether we breathed that material into our lungs or not. So it was only later on, now that we are getting older, that we can reflect back on those days and wonder that they had treated us like dogs. I remember one time there was a group of activists who went to the ranch where we were staying and there was no running water; we didn't even have a shower. I remember the name of the company, the Frost Brothers.

The racism lie pushed people like Mateo and his family to make their living working the fields picking crops in different parts of the country. It also included the harsh treatment that came with performing this type of labor by adding deprivation, disregard and neglect. The racism lie purposely and carelessly put their lives and health in serious danger. Mateo was left feeling contempt for the people involved in committing such atrocities against him and his family. Kaufman (1996) states "by combining anger with dis-smell, contempt functions as a signal and motive to others, as well as to the self, of either negative evaluation or feelings of rejection" (p. 39).

Child labor. Marcos describes his impressions of having to get up at 5:00 in the morning to go work in the cotton fields. He hated his father or blamed his father for making him work so early in the morning and he hated getting up so early.

After I was 8 years old I during the summer I started to work on the plantation. I was a kid so basically no White person ever talked to me it was always a Hispanic who would give me orders: 'Go there, dig;' 'Start digging;' or 'Here's your bag.' In the summer they picked us up at 5:00 in the morning. I hated my father for waking me up that early in the morning to go digging. I always hated mornings.

Marcos was dragged very early each morning to participate in the racism lie believed by his father. In the plantation a Hispanic man instructed him in performing his job. As a child Marcos felt trapped and forced to do hard labor in the fields in the sun leaving him

to feel hatred, frustration, indignation and exploitation. Kaufman (1996) explains that “the face of blame is accusatory as well as angry” (p. 38).

Feelings triggered from acts of racial oppression during the men’s teenage years. Eighteen of the 30 incidents described in the teenage years happened in the school setting and 6 in the neighborhood setting. Of the 6 remaining incidents three happened in family setting and the other three in the work setting.

The school setting. During their teenage years school provided a different experience for the men... The example provided had to do with following their counselor’s advice which generated feelings associated with aimlessness, misguided, and a lack of aspiration.

Following counselor’s advice. It is a fact that in the early 1960’s most students of Mexican ancestry were channeled into the vocational route leaving them unprepared to follow a college education. Lucas tells us about his experience with his counselors that left him feeling misguided aimlessly moving forward in his education and having very limited aspirations.

Of course the counselors who advised me, acknowledged my scholastic aptitudes, but decided I needed to go into some kind of trade training. So they placed me in mechanical classes, woodworking classes and other similar classes. I felt at that time I had no intention of going on to any type of higher education. I didn’t even know what that meant. I only knew that I had to finish school.

The racism lie is institutionalized in our educational system and minority students like Lucas are played by using their ignorance and their belief in the lie to convince them to make serious decisions that will impact their future in immeasurable negative ways. Being pushed to make these types of serious decisions left Lucas to feel unprepared about making such decisions because he was uninformed of the consequences he would face in

the future. By moving Lucas through the vocational route ensured that the racism lie was employed as expected in a racist society. Kaufman (1996) states that: “parents, peers, and teachers play a central role in the development of performance expectations. It is the pattern of experiences over time that has enduring impact” (p. 41).

The neighborhood and community setting. As teenagers the men experienced feeling disadvantaged when interacting with the neighborhood/community.

Disadvantage. As a teenager Pedro realized that being of Mexican ancestry and being poor put him at a socio/economic disadvantage with his White peers.

I always felt like it was okay; I didn’t feel like I was inferior. I felt like they had an advantage. I felt, if I were White, I would enjoy White privilege and White advantage. They dressed better than I. I didn’t think I dressed as well as them; I wasn’t presentable. I grew up in an environment that didn’t provide those kinds of things. It wasn’t my ability as much as it was my socio/economic status.

The racism lie guaranteed that Americans of Mexican ancestry sustain a socio/economic status that kept them poor and oppressed. Pedro felt secure in his abilities but at the same time felt he was beneath the economic advantage held by the White people. Kaufman (1996) explains that: “pride in self, in body, in sex, and in gender is crucial for an integrated self-identity to develop” (p.43).

The employment setting. During their teenage years most of the men worked to help out their families. In the process of their employment they encountered mistreatment. They experienced feeling shock, disappointment, rage, devastation, humiliation, entrapment, shame, silence, mortification, inferior, and dark.

Mistreatment. When Pablo decides to leave his job at the discount store for a better paying job, he is mistreated by the manager and shamed in front of his co-workers.

He clearly states that he felt shocked, disappointed, enraged, devastated, humiliated, entrapped, shamed, and silent.

I was now 14 and had started to work at Gibson's Discount Store downtown. After working there for several months and doing a great job, I notified the store manager, a man of Mexican ancestry, I would be leaving in two weeks because I had found a better paying job at another store. My last evening there was very humiliating; all the employees had gathered by the manager's office after work on that Saturday night. In front of all my co-workers the manager proceeded to tell me that I was an ingrate for leaving the company that had opened its doors to me, and that I should be ashamed for having made the decision to leave. At that moment, to say the least, I felt shock, disappointment, rage, devastation, humiliation, entrapment and shame from his words and actions. I had expected a going away party, as was the tradition, but instead I was hammered to the ground by an adult Mexican American man. I remember leaving the store in silence with my head hanging and tears running down my face asking myself 'what I had done to deserve such mistreatment?'

The racism lie is believed and practiced both by the privileged and the oppressed. Among the oppressed there are those who also hold positions of power and deliver the racism lie to their own people just as harshly and devastating as by those who hold privilege. The racism lie operates in a closed circuit; everyone who participates in the lie is involved in perpetuating it. Pablo was treated in a way that shamed him beyond the racism lie. He experienced a fusion of feelings that went from shock to rage to humiliation, all of which fed into the underpinning emotion of shame bringing it to the forefront. That is why he left in tears and with his head hanging down. Kaufman (1996) writes that "humiliation is a profound and utter defeat" (p. 40).

Feelings triggered from acts of racial oppression during the men's adult years. Sixteen of the 29 incidents happened in the employment setting; 8 in the neighborhood/community setting and the last 5 in the education setting. As adults, the men experienced acts of oppression from the White community, from Americans of Mexican ancestry and from themselves.

The work setting. The men experienced many different acts of oppression as adult workers. The acts of oppression were driven by despotism. Feelings of pain, betrayal, and neglect were expressed by the men.

Despotism. As we are valued by the wider population we also value ourselves. Pablo tells us how he lost his job of 15 years to the whim of two American politicians of Mexican ancestry because they had the power to commit such an act of oppression. He tells us he felt pain, betrayal, and neglect from that experience.

My work of fifteen years came to a halt when I was laid off from my job. The morning it happened I received a call from the executive secretary letting me know that a senior member of the newly elected governor's office wanted to meet with me. I never suspected that I had been targeted to be removed from my job until that moment when a prominent Mexican American politician whom I knew and who was working for the new governor told me that I no longer had a job with the agency because I was affiliated with the wrong political party. I could not believe what I was hearing, but it happened. My job was used to pay off another prominent Mexican American politician who had helped with the campaign and was supposedly my friend of seventeen years. I had worked my way up the chain of command for fifteen years and it came to an end in a few minutes when it was snatched from me to reward someone like me. I was very hurt by this event because I felt that the Mexican American politicians that I had supported and respected in the past had betrayed me in a most heinous way leaving me out in the cold without a job. Their neglect for me and my family cannot be forgotten.

The racism lie is routinely delivered by deceit and betrayal. As stated previously, it operates in a closed circuit and all who are in the circuit have the possibility of employing the same social/psychological destructive tools to justify the ends. Pablo was dispossessed of his job for no valid reason leaving him to feel disrespected, betrayed and neglected by the same people he had once supported and befriended in his past. He felt powerless. Kaufman (1996) says that: "To experience choice is to know power, being able to predict and control what happens. Any life even that wrenches away that vital sense of inner control activates powerlessness" (p. 79).

Feelings triggered from acts of racial oppression during the men's mature adult years. Seven of the 16 incidents described in the mature adult years happened in the employment setting; 5 in the education setting; 4 in the neighborhood/community setting and none in the family setting.

The employment setting. As mature adults our experiences at our places of work included recognizing what happened to us and what happened to others like us. The acts of oppression included incidents of no or low priority, just words no action, no need for visibility, targets for law enforcement and survival by betrayal. The acts of oppression generated feelings of defeat, frustration, discouragement, constant struggle, anxiousness, devastation, discrimination, and betrayal.

No or low priority. Santiago's efforts to work within the university system to help the Hispanic students transferring to the university declare their majors were met with indifference. He felt frustrated, discouraged and a need to surrender or give up.

I was looking at Hispanic transfer students at the local community college who transferred to the university. I found that over 10% of them were classified as seniors at the university but none had declared their majors. If you don't have a declared major, you are in limbo. So, I went and talked to the person that was the university's transferring coordinator, who was an Anglo female, we discussed the issue, I showed her the numbers, and we agreed to look at the problem, which we did. After that nothing happened. I saw her again and mentioned getting together for lunch to discuss the students and again nothing happened. By this time, I said, screw it!

In some situations the racism lie is so apparent that those persons like Santiago who want to bring about change to correct the inequalities produced by the lie become frustrated with the lack of interest and care displayed by those who hold the power to enact positive change. Maintaining the status quo helps prolong and perpetuate the racism lie. Santiago felt powerless in his efforts. According to Kaufman (1996) "A sense of inner control is

the felt experience of power. It is a need to be able to influence one's environment, to feel consulted, to have an impact, to feel heard." (p.79).

No need for visibility. It was Pedro's work directed at first generation students, yet mainstream others wanted to change the picture on the sleeve because it was the picture of a Hispanic student. Pedro feels that his life is a constant struggle when working with mainstream others.

Another thing I gave you a copy of a video I produced called The First Generation College Students. It is bilingual because it has Spanish sub titles. When I designed it I had to put a photo of a Hispanic student on the sleeve. I was asked to review a series of other pictures, mostly of White people because the persons doing the technical work wanted me to change the picture of the Hispanic student on the sleeve but I said no I like the one I chose. It feels like it is a constant struggle, even regarding little things like that; but which are not really little because in this case the picture of the Hispanic student on the sleeve will have impacted the persons who see it.

Privilege, which is one of the by-products of the racism lie, motivates those who benefit from it to guard it, to protect it and to maintain it in order to continue receiving the benefits of privilege. Again, efforts to change the status quo are often met with resistance because those who benefit from the racism lie do not want to give up those benefits. Change is dangerous in a racist society because it could trigger a shift in paradigm that could move it from the lie to the truth. Pedro felt frustrated and weary in his efforts to promote opportunity for minorities because he was met with resistance at every turn. Kaufman (1996) says that: "Our lives are constructed around a dream, but when our dream is thwarted, powerlessness and shame are activated" (p. 51).

Targets for law enforcement. Pedro experienced profiling from the campus police at the university where he had been working for several years. He expresses how the

incident described below made him feel discriminated and anxious about his human status in his place of employment.

One time I was waiting in my car for my wife when she was taking a graduate class at the university where I had been working for six or seven years. I had already done many presentations and all kinds of things. So, the Campus Police should have known who I was by then; but they came over to my car and questioned me anyway. They asked me what I was doing outside the building and I said I was a staff member that I worked for the university and was waiting for my wife who was in class. I was carrying one of those old big cell phones, I had it right here. One of the White cops is questioning me and I'm saying I'm a staff member, an employee and he is saying they had just gotten reports about a suspicious person on campus and I'm thinking this idiot should know better. Then I go like this and I bet he thought it was a gun so I go like that and it dawns on me that there was another cop standing close by keeping an eye on the cop that is talking to me. I'm thinking I can get shot here because I'm reaching for something. Luckily, that didn't happen. After they left, I realized that messing with the phone was a stupid thing to do considering the fact that this Policeman was questioning me. Here I am, a professional person with two Master degrees and a Ph. D from major schools working at the university collaborating with Hispanic colleagues and others trying to do something good, trying to change things for the better and it's been 15 years and we've made very little progress. You can talk and then you start yelling; you can yell and then you start fighting and that's not good but that's what you feel you want to do sometimes.

The racism lie has in place different levels of government each with justice systems that include police forces to ensure that the lie is protected and perpetuated through the application of laws created to justify the acts of injustice that occur in a racist society.

Unfortunately, the justice system and the police forces have proven to be major contributors to the racial injustice that exists by legally applying the power they hold in ways that further the abuse and mistreat minority persons. Historically a majority of minority persons who have gotten involved with the police experienced suspicion, man-handling, arrest, detention, incarceration, fines, trails, and overall injustice as applied by a racist justice system. All of these experiences have damaged their lives because these systems seldom support or protect the interests of minority persons. Our prisons are

monuments to the force the police and the justice systems exercise over minority communities, since most of our prisons are overrepresented with persons of color. When Pedro was approached and questioned by the university campus police where he had worked for several years, he felt devalued because they failed to recognize him even though his job gave him visibility on campus. What he felt next was fear because he was now dealing with members of the police force who were White and he knew that a wrong move on his part could take him to jail or even cost him his life. He felt threatened, defeated, frustrated and angry. He felt his credentials and all his work and experience accounted for nothing in his struggle to make things better for others at the university and the community at large. Kaufman (1996) writes that: The need to belong to something or someone, to feel identified with something larger than oneself, can shape the course of one's life" (p. 73).

Survival by betrayal. Pablo provided an example of an employment experience that was driven by discrimination and betrayal. He tells us that he felt betrayed and disillusioned by the acts of oppression committed against him and others like him in status and power

More devastating to me at that time was the fact that the Assistant Director who was the Mexican American professional man I had known and worked with for several years did not come to my aid. He participated in the process of the elimination of my section without a warning or advice on a possible solution to the detriment of our livelihoods. I felt so betrayed and disillusioned by his unwillingness to help the persons who were being laid off, mostly, because they were Mexican American, African American and women.

The racism lie pushes its believers to side with injustice so it can perpetuate itself. When someone tries to expose the lie that person is punished unjustly and suffers the consequences for daring to challenge its power. Those who are punished experience

betrayal, abandonment, and disillusion and are left feeling as if they had committed a crime for standing up for justice and truth. Change that doesn't conform to and doesn't perpetuate the racism lie is resisted and punished by those who believe the lie whether White or Minority. In Pablo's experience he witnessed the abusive use of power by those resisting the change that Pablo's leadership teachings could bring to the institution, so to get rid of him without openly breaking the law it was decided to dismantle the section he headed and layoff all the persons working in it. Since all the workers in his section were either minorities or women it was justifiable to let them go. Being treated with contempt by the White administration and not receiving support or assistance from those who could have helped to prevent the layoff left Pablo feeling betrayed and alienated. Kaufman (1996) explains that: "The sense of inferiority, alienation, and feeling outcast that is almost invariably experienced by members of distinct minority groups is the product of the affect of shame, further compounded by contempt from the majority culture for all perceived differences" (p.299).

The educational setting. As mature adults some of the men returned to school to do graduate work and experienced some of the same acts of racist oppression they had experienced fifty years earlier when they were children. Their experiences included self-confidence, un-fulfillment, disrespect based on racism, and privilege and racism. The men reported feeling anger, lacking self-confidence, ambivalent, un-fulfilled, impatient, disrespected, and abandoned.

Un-fulfillment. Having to prove himself over and over drained Pedro of the energy necessary to pursue other life choices that could have brought him life fulfillment.

He feels unfulfilled, ambivalent and impatient because he has not been able to accomplish all the things he had wanted to do.

I find that I have been successful at many tasks in the mature years of my life. However, the fact that I always felt I had to “prove myself”, led to too much multi-tasking with very little time to do what “I really enjoyed”. To this day, I ask myself whether I would have done well as a writer, politician, architect or other career. I have ambivalent feelings because I feel successful in many ways yet not fulfilled. I still find myself feeling impatient and wishing I had more time.

In a racist society minority persons are held back because the racism lie does not care about their dreams or aspirations. Succeeding requires proving yourself over and over because minority persons have little or no credibility no matter what credentials they may possess. Pedro recognized the lack of possibility and opportunity in his life for greater accomplishment making him to feel impatient and to wish he had more time to do more. Support and encouragement for minority persons in a racist society is limited. Kaufman (1996) declares that: “Any given individual may emerge feeling either strong or weak, autonomous or dependent, competent or inadequate. The failure to actively encourage and support differentiation, along with punishing, shaming, or interfering with it, fosters a dependent adaptation to life” (p. 76).

Disrespect. In another episode of racial oppression in graduate school, it is made clear to Pablo that some mainstream persons think they have the right to offend others and expect no fallout. He felt disrespected by the actions and words of his White cohorts.

We were in the middle of a class that was being conducted in the round and we were into deep discussion of an important topic. It was my turn to give my perspective on the topic when a White vice principal member of the cohort rolled her eyes in my face and I responded to her by saying ‘does that mean that I have permission to disrespect you when you are speaking?’ At that moment a White male principal came to her defense saying to me ‘how dare you speak to her that way.’ I responded ‘do you think what she did was okay because if you do, I wonder how minority children in your school are treated.’ I felt disrespected by

these persons but I also felt encouraged to pursue the topic of internalized racial oppression for my dissertation.

The racism lie empowers the privileged to conduct themselves rudely towards minorities because it is implied in the lie that it is okay to behave that way. Pablo felt disrespected by the contempt displayed by the very same persons who were responsible for the education and development of minority children in our public schools. Kaufman (1996) explicates that: “Because contempt always partitions the inferior from the superior in any culture or nation, contempt is the principal affect dynamic fueling prejudice and discrimination. The seeds of later hatred are inevitably sown in this process” (pp. 298-299).

Privilege and racism. In this example of an act of oppression a mainstream colleague found it very easy and natural to chastise and humiliate Pablo because he felt Pablo was out of place for questioning another colleague’s presentation. The colleague was a mainstream woman. Pablo felt not only accused and disrespected by a fellow cohort member but even worse abandoned by all of his peers in such a humiliating moment.

In the second story we were in a similar round table classroom setting and each of the cohort members were presenting a topic we had researched and the rest of us had the opportunity to listen and ask questions or make suggestions. One of the White ladies presented her work and I asked her a question and after she answered I asked another question and from the other side of the table a White male member of the cohort stood up and pointing his finger at me and raising his voice at me said ‘you are a very confrontational person, you need to change that.’ I responded ‘if you think I am confrontational because I ask intelligent questions so we can understand what’s going on then I guess I am confrontational.’ No one around the table said a word. I was left out there by myself. I felt disrespected and abandoned that day.

Again, the racism lie empowers the privileged to verbally mistreat members of minority groups because they believe it is their responsibility to attack, accuse and put back in

their place any minority person who would dare challenge any aspect of the lie. Pablo was left feeling disrespected by the surprise attack and accusation and also feeling abandoned by the members of his cohort who failed to provide any type of support in that moment of public humiliation. Kaufman states that: "Belonging to a particular ethnic, racial, or religious group is equivalent to being seen as different, and therefore lesser, in any culture that devalues differences" (p. 298).

The neighborhood and community setting. Some of the men experienced acts of racism in the greater community and others in the neighborhood where they lived. The incidents clustered around racism at the high level of state government and you may own it but you don't belong. The men reported experiencing feeling guilty, paralysis from inaction, lack of courage, reactive, alone, isolated, unsupported, unwelcome, humiliated and unwanted.

Racism at the highest government levels. Two things happened that oppressed Santiago in the example he gives us: first as a citizen attending a legislative session he witnesses mainstream elected officials calling the Mexicans in the legislature a problem; and second he took no action to remedy this act of discrimination against Americans of Mexican ancestry. Santiago felt guilty, paralyzed, cowardly, reactive, unaided, isolated and unsupported from this incident.

During the past Texas Legislative session, an Anglo female state representative announced as part of her presentation on the House floor that the problem was "there were too many (n=13) Mexicans in the House." This comment was immediately reacted to by the Hispanics in the House; and the comment was quoted a few times and eventually all was quiet again. I was very disturbed to hear the comment myself and was very proud that the Hispanic state representatives had responded in group to the comment. However, I was very troubled by the fact that the Speaker took no action that I recall, that any state political leader got involved. I watched and heard the comment, but complained to myself and did nothing. De facto, I did nothing when I could have called or

written the woman's office. I could have written a letter to the editor, I could have sought out others and formed a group, etc. I have concluded that my inaction contributed in part to the continued attitudes by non-Hispanics regarding my ethnic community. As a result, I continue to react when I hear about public statements that involve and/or can impact the Hispanic community. However, other Hispanics I have mentioned my associated frustrations to agree with the need to do something, but I continue to feel isolated by neither finding another like myself to do something about an issue affecting Texas Hispanics or willing to be a part-time supporter.

Sometimes the racism lie shows its ugly head by mistake in places like the Texas Legislature where the laws of the state are passed and where appearances must be kept in order to ensure the voters continue voting for the implementers of the lie. Santiago felt insulted and diminished by the words of the legislator but also felt guilty for doing nothing to address such overt public discrimination against Americans of Mexican ancestry. He also felt isolated and frustrated because he hadn't found other Hispanics like him wanting to do something on issues affecting Hispanics. Kaufman (1996) states that: Humiliation is always a fertile breeding ground for hatred and vengeance. But it is aided, and doubly magnified, by powerlessness" (p. 299).

You may own but you don't belong. The message to Andres from his mainstream neighbors was you own this house but you don't belong in this neighborhood. Andres tells us how he felt unwelcome, humiliated and unwanted in his new neighborhood.

In recent years I moved to a White neighborhood close to downtown Austin. A day and a half after having moved into our new home one of the White neighbors knocked on our door and without saying hello or making a welcoming remark proceeded to inform me of the rules and restrictions applicable to the property and neighborhood. I felt unwelcome by the cold and harsh attitude exhibited by the neighbor who took on the responsibility to humiliate me by not acknowledging me and making me feel unwanted in my new neighborhood.

The privileged believers of the racism lie have established parameters regarding the proximity minorities can live to them. When someone like Andres moves into a White

neighborhood they upset the lie and the privileged believers work to repel such intrusion in an effort to bring the lie back to equilibrium. In Andres' case he was treated with coldness and harshness to let him know he was unwelcome in their neighborhood. Andres felt the contempt of his White neighbors. Kaufman (1996) explains that: "Contempt is the affect of rejection. To live in an environment of contempt, whether experienced in the family, peer group, or wider culture, guarantees perpetual subjection to shame, self-contempt, and/or counter-contempt for others" (p. 40).

Summary of section. The information gathered in response to the second question posed by this research described the feelings the men experienced from the incidents where acts of racial oppression were directed at them. Examples were once again gathered from the information contained in the four phases of their lives and the four perspectives within each of those phases. The feelings they experienced from the acts of racial oppression directed against them mainly influenced the affects of shame and fear in profound negative ways serving to affirm their beliefs about themselves derived from the racism lie. The feelings triggered by the acts of racism directed at them included feeling: fearful, terrified, intimidated, scared, lost, entrapped, unjustified, pressured, alienated, different, ridiculed, patronized, emotional and physical pain, humiliated, mocked, devastated, discriminated, bitter, distressed, angry, cursed, vengeful, abused, disgusted, abandoned, impatient, unsupported, disillusioned, threatened, weary, defeated, discouraged, anxious, disappointed, voiceless, poor, hatred, frustration, indignation, unaided, reactive, guilty, isolated, cowardly, unwelcome and unwanted. The repetition and replication of acts of racism perpetuates not only the racist acts but also the feelings triggered by those same acts of racism. The feelings resulting from the acts of oppression

directed at the nine men in this study shaped what they believed about themselves. Shame was the emotion mostly affected by the feeling they experienced. Kaufman (1996) says that: “The affect of shame becomes both internalized and magnified, thereby shaping and ultimately dominating the emergent personality. The developmental sources of shame, internalization of shame, and psychological magnification of shame comprise the three critical process dimensions” (p. 27).

Impact from Internalizing Racial Oppression

The third research question is: What did the men describe as the impact from internalizing racial oppression in their lives? To analyze the impact from internalizing racial oppression in the lives of the men, I sorted the data according to when the act of oppression occurred and the setting in which it occurred. The information to answer this question is taken from the same 120 incidents containing acts of racial oppression experienced by the men.

Aside from including inner states of shame such as discouragement, self-consciousness, embarrassment, shyness, shame, and guilt the process for internalizing racial oppression also includes making decisions from a shame driven inner emotional states. These decisions come in the form of actions that in most circumstances work against the interests of the racially oppressed person. Each time a person is racially oppressed not only does the person experience a spectrum of negative shame driven emotions but also the consequences or impact of the decisions that are generated through the socio-psychological mechanism imbedded in the process for internalizing racial oppression. In addition, once an act of racial oppression is internalized we are then able to replicate it in our behaviors towards others like us and onto our selves. In the following

examples of incidents containing acts of racial oppression some of the examples demonstrate the actions we took when we were being racially oppressed and we were internalizing the racial oppression and the other examples show how the impact of internalizing racial oppression enabled us to commit acts of racial oppression ourselves against others like us and onto ourselves.

Impact the acts of racial oppression had on the men during their childhood years. Twenty one of the 45 incidents happened in the school setting and 13 in the neighborhood setting. Nine of the remaining incidents happened in the context of their families, in particular when their families were employed as farm workers.

The school setting. The men expressed being impacted directly by the decisions we made as part of our reaction to the acts of racial oppression we internalized from our own personal experiences and indirectly from the decisions we made to racially oppress others like ourselves and ourselves as a result of the internalized racial oppression that has enabled us to commit such acts. The impact these experiences had on us or others like us clustered around feeling superior to others, engaging in oppositional behavior to counter teacher, identity issues, hiding from others, and not participating in class.

Feeling superior to others. Mateo explains how he participated along with other children in mocking a young girl of Mexican ancestry who was their school mate. They made fun of her and insulted her because she had slanted eyes. They called her Japanese. This was an act of racial oppression against another American of Mexican ancestry because it allowed Mateo to feel superior over another human being.

I remember another incident at Becker. There was a young girl that was Mexican American but had oriental features and sometimes we would call her Japones or Japanese. We would chant 'Japones come caca y no me des'. I am sure it affected her, but we didn't know better and went along with what the rest of the kids were

doing. This was definitely a moment where we were being oppressive and wanting to feel superior over another human being.

Believing the racism lie allows all parties involved in the lie to perpetuate the lie. In Mateo's example he had been the target of racism many times in his life and out of those experiences he had learned to target others and do the same things that had been done to him. The impact racism had on Mateo's life was that he believed the racism lie allowing him to oppress and act in a superior way towards the Mexican American girl who had slanted eyes.

In this act of racial oppression, Andres explains how he felt smarter and superior to other students of Mexican ancestry because he thought he spoke better English than they did and proceeded to make fun and ridicule them when they were unable to communicate in English.

At age 9 in the third grade I began to feel superior to other Mexican-American students who could not speak in English or barely spoke it. Having parents and grandparents who mostly spoke to me, my brothers and my sisters in English and occasionally in Spanish, we were English dominant with little or no Spanish speaking accents. I recall making fun and ridiculing other Mexican-American kids who when asked a question by the teacher, would not respond and or were too embarrassed to respond because of their lack of English speaking skills. Initially I felt smarter and superior to those Mexican-American children. It was later in life that I became aware of an important fact: a person's lack of language skills is not a measure of a person's intellect or quality. I now realize that this was shameful behavior and oppressive to those children whenever I behaved this way to them.

Not only did children who did not speak English have a hard time dealing with the racism lie applied to them by the White establishment but also had to contend with persons like Andres who added to the burden of racism lie. Andres was impacted by racism because he believed the lie and found himself in situations where he could do to others as it had been done to him or others like him. He perpetuated the racism lie in the way he oppressed and felt superior to other children of Mexican ancestry who didn't speak

English as he did. He was not the only one impacted but he impacted the lives of those children that he targeted with his racism lie. He was making decisions from a racist perspective.

Practicing oppositional behavior. After experiencing humiliation and ridicule, Lucas aligned himself with other American children of Mexican ancestry to counter in some way the racist behavior of his teachers. Lucas' decision to express his feelings of alienation and separation led him to be further burdened with lower grades and being labeled a trouble maker.

Lucas tells us what happened to him after 4th grade in the next passage.

After the 4th grade I started losing interest in school. I wanted to have more friendships with my neighbors. They started teaching me oppositional behavior in the classroom. The teacher would say something and we would be in the back of the classroom laughing. We became a little clique to get back at the teachers. Afterwards we would talk about it to go over what had happened. What we didn't realize was that we were hurting ourselves. We were basically hurting ourselves because we were getting into more trouble; our grades kept going down; and we started being looked at as trouble makers. The 5th and 6th grades weren't very good for me. Then, right about that time, my parents decided to go back to California.

Lucas and his school buddies caught on to the racism lie and began to rebel it by coming together to counter it. Unfortunately, their understanding of the racism lie was limited because they held very little power compared to the power held by the racist school system. By making a decision to rebel against the system, Lucas and his buddies were destined to fail which they did both in reputation and school grades. Losing to the system made Lucas and his buddies feel guilty for having tried and lost in their fight against injustice. The racism lie impacted Lucas in his decisions that led him to rebel and to suffer the consequences of his failure to change the system. He paid the price of spending

low quality time in a school system that did very little for him after he was labeled a trouble maker.

Experiencing identity issues. Santiago learned English out of fear in order to survive which left him with identity issues that he has not resolved to this day.

I grew up mostly in Los Angeles and thought of everybody around me as Mexican, whereas my mother would say Mexicano. Everyone spoke Spanish but everything around us was in English. I went to a Catholic grade school and I always saw fellow Mexicans in grade school, except for one girl, Donna. I still remember her name she was the only Anglo I interacted with on a daily basis. Anyway, all of us spoke English at school without being told to do so it was something I did without any problems or any difficulties. Today, I still think of myself as being Mexican; I refer to myself as Mexican-American in the context of others; but I call myself a Hispanic in regards to the general community. I never did like the Spanish origin tag.

Santiago's life was impacted in very profound ways by the racism lie. Today as a mature adult he still struggles with his identity and tries to accommodate different situations with different identities to please the others in the situation because he is not really sure who he is in his own country. Believing the racism lie impacted his identity because he accepted all the labels prescribed by the lie that alienated him from his true identity of being an American like everyone else.

Choosing to hide from others. Pedro explains how embarrassed he felt when he got on stage to participate in a school play. He felt very ashamed of himself. This feeling stayed with him for a long time.

When we had to do the Christmas play and the students had to dress up as the three kings and all those things, I remember being part of the play. When I was on the stage, I remember trying to hide behind the other kids because I was so timid, shy and withdrawn and it was very embarrassing. I felt really ashamed of myself and I thought I would never get rid of that feeling. It stayed with me for a long time.

From previous information about Pedro, he believed the racism lie regarding skin color and had very strong negative feelings about dark skin. When he went on stage he felt ashamed of himself because his skin color was dark and was now on display before an audience. He assumed the audience would judge him just as harshly as he judged himself and others who had dark skin color. The racism lie impacted Pedro so profoundly that he wanted to hide his body from the world because he believed it was not beautiful; his skin was dark brown not White.

Unwilling to participating. Because Pedro was not confident about his proficiency in speaking English, he kept quiet in class, although he knew the answers to the questions being posed by his teacher. His self-imposed oppression regarding language impacted his participation in the classroom.

I was in elementary school and even though I knew the answer too many of the questions that the teacher(s) asked, I was hesitant to raise my hand and provide the answer. During those times I doubted myself and my focus was on being wrong rather than right. I also remember that since I was learning the English language at that time I was not confident that I would express myself well.

Intimidation is a tool often used in a racism system. Pedro believed the racism lie so he felled prey to fear and self-doubt. His silence kept him from engaging in the classroom losing the opportunity to learn new things and contribute to the classroom experience. Believing the racism lie impacted Pedro in weighty negative ways as connoted by his decisions. He decided not to participate, he doubted himself, he wanted to be wrong, and he lacked confidence in his English language skills. His education and future were impacted in a negative way by both the system and from his decisions.

The neighborhood and community setting. The impact from internalizing racial oppression and deciding to externalize it onto similar others and onto ourselves clustered

around acting superior because of language mastery, not making a decision to participate, excluding others, and discriminating because of skin color

Acting superior. In his neighborhood Mateo explains how he discriminated against others of Mexican ancestry because they didn't know how to speak English and they were recent immigrants. He used derogatory language to refer to them.

I remember in my childhood years when a family from across the border came and settled in our neighborhood. They must have been the only ones from Mexico at that time because we called no other family "Mojados." They were a rowdy group and did not know a word of English and although in time we would befriend them we would always call them Mojados; of course, not to their face, but nevertheless we would always use this derogative name to identify them or as a point of reference. This was perhaps as a result of the oppression we experienced and we wanted to feel superior to any newly arrived immigrants. Our parents spoke only Spanish at home and it was the only language we knew, but we quickly learned to master both languages; thus when the new arrivals came we used this to oppress them because we had learned the English language and they had not, creating a sense of dependency on us. In layman's terms we felt "mas chingones."

Mateo believed the racism lie and felt that he could behave as a racist against new immigrants from Mexico. He labeled them and referred to them in derogatory terms placing him in a falsely constructed position of power just as had been done to him. He used the racism lie to believe he could oppress them because he had learned to speak English and the new arrivals were dependent on people like him to communicate. His behavior towards the new immigrant arrivals communicated the false power he believed he held over them.

Not participating. In this example Andres tells how he doubted himself and kept himself from playing little league baseball because of his internalized beliefs about himself. He lost three years of participating in a sport that he really enjoyed.

Having been raised in a predominately White neighborhood with a few Mexican-American families my childhood games were those typically played by most

children: hide and seek; marbles; tops; kickball; etc. At age 7 I was introduced to sandlot baseball and began to hear about the more structured Little League baseball. The next year several of my White friends tried out and made little league teams in the organization in my neighborhood sponsored by the Austin Police Department. At age 9, after hearing from my friends how much fun they had playing Little League baseball, I began to think about trying out but was afraid about costs since I was from an economically challenged family of nine children and two parents. I had not visited the Little League field or watched my friends play and had little information other than what I heard from my friends. It was not until a friend took me to a game where I saw other Mexican-American kids playing and learned the uniforms were free and all one needed was a glove. Baseball shoes were also provided for children who were selected to play a league teams. At age 11, I tried out and was selected for a team and even made the all-stars as a shortstop. I felt disappointed and some anger for doubting my skills and fairness of selection process and loss of time participating in a game I truly enjoyed.

Andres was stuck in the racism lie he believed about himself regarding his skills and possibilities of getting selected to play in the Little League. For three years he wouldn't make a decision to attempt getting into the Little League because he feared being rejected. When he did decide to apply he was selected without fanfare. Andres was impacted by the racism lie he believed about himself which paralyzed his decisions and kept him from pursuing his dreams. He was disappointed and angry at himself having wasted so much time.

Excluding others. Pedro permitted the exclusion of some of his best neighborhood friends from participating in the groups where he was accepted but where his best friends were not accepted. He sacrificed his real friends in order to belong to an exclusive group.

As a child I began to associate with neighborhood peers and soon thereafter developed groups of friends which I favored over others who were "not my best friends". I recall several times when I went along with the group and excluded others because my "best friends" did not like them. Although I felt accepted by my group, I knew that it was not right to exclude certain individuals. I was afraid to confront my friends for fear that they would exclude me too.

Pedro believed the racism lie and it gave him the power to be part of a group of friends who excluded certain individuals who were Pedro's friends. He went along with the exclusion. Although he felt it was not right, his fear, another emotion produced by the racism lie, kept him from speaking in favor of his friends because he thought he would also be excluded. Pedro was impacted by the racism lie because he was making decisions based on the power and fear the lie made him feel...

Discriminating based on skin color.. Pablo excluded his friend who lived across the street from coming to play with him and his other friends because of his darker skin color. Pablo discriminated his friend because he judged him not to be good enough to play with him and the other children who had lighter skin color.

In my neighborhood there was a Mexican American family that lived across the street from where I lived. They were a large family who lived in a very small house and one of the children was a boy about my age. He was a nice boy but was much darker in skin color than I was. He was one of my many friends in the neighborhood and was always available to play with me if I asked him. There were other boys in the neighborhood who were lighter in skin color. Many times when I played with these boys, I would exclude my friend from across the street because I felt he was not good enough to be with the rest of us. On several occasions my friend would come out to his front yard and see me and my other friends playing in my yard and I would not ask him to come and play with us. I felt that if my friend with the darker skin joined us the other kids would stop being friends with me. So to be accepted by my lighter skin friends I would sacrifice the loyal friendship of the boy across the street. I still remember the sadness and hurt in his face when he would come out to his front yard and watch all the activity at my house.

Pablo believed the racism lie and was guided by its power when he judged and excluded his loyal friend and neighbor from playing with him and his lighter skin friends because his skin color was too dark. Even though Pablo had experienced this type of racism against him, he felt no compassion for his friend knowing how he had hurt him and knowing he had felt the same hurt himself. Pablo impacted the life of his friend by

applying the racism lie of skin color but even worse it impacted his life in a negative way because he was making decisions using the power of the racism lie to oppress others.

The family setting. As children the men experienced incidents of oppression within their families. The example provided deals with the impact of passing on the legacy of internalized racial oppression.

Passing on the legacy of the racism lie. Just like Mateo's father and Mateo we pass on to our children our beliefs which are profoundly influenced by our lived experiences involving the internalization of racial oppression. One of the most damaging impacts that internalized racial oppression has on us is believing that we don't belong in the country where we were born.

I remember my dad on one trip over there driving me in the truck. I remember to this day what he said, 'When somebody tells you to go back to where you belong, you belong here.' That has stuck with me until now. Anyway, we have all had similar experiences that I want to teach my grandkids. I want my granddaughter to remember that her grandfather once said to her when she was in the fourth grade that 'we did not come to the United States, it came to us.' Our grandchildren have not had the same experiences we did. I can still remember all those orchards and pecans, and all those things we used to pick in places like Elgin and Wisconsin. I remember all that, but the memories of my father are slowly fading.

The racism lie is so powerful that those impacted by it believed they did not belong here in the United States even though they had been born here. Mateo's father refused to believe the lie and advised his son to do the same even though he would suffer other aspects of the racism lie that would keep him marginalized, oppressed and poor throughout his life. Mateo was impacted by the lesson he learned from his father and now he has impacted the lives of his grandkids by passing on the same advice to them. The impact of the racism lie is passed on from generation to generation.

Impact the acts of racial oppression had on the men during their teenage years. Eighteen of the 30 incidents described in the teenage years happened in the school setting and 6 in the neighborhood setting. Of the 6 remaining incidents three happened in family setting and the other three in the work setting.

The schools setting. As teenagers the men made decisions triggered from dealing internalized racial oppression that impacted them or others in ways such as deciding who to date based on skin color, acting racist, manipulating friends and others, feeling contempt for similar others, changing name, not joining, and unwilling to help other students of Mexican ancestry.

Dating based on skin color. Pedro tells how he agonized about getting darker when he worked in the cotton fields during a summer when he was a teenager. He felt mortified, inferior and very dark in skin color. When he returned to school he felt so dark that he chose to date someone darker than him so he could feel superior.

When I was in junior high, my first year of summer vacation we were going to pick cotton. It was hot, and I mean it was really hot, and I already felt that I was dark enough. I felt my skin color was already dark, so I worried about how much darker I was going to be when I returned to school. I hated getting darker. It was always in my mind; I didn't even think about hunger. I had to control myself many times because I felt that my skin was cooking and that I was not going to be White. I had learned that not being White was a curse. I had grown up thinking that White was superior in some way. When I went back to school and began dating, my first relationship was with a girl who was as dark as me or even a degree darker. My first serious relationship wasn't with somebody like me; it was with someone that was similar to me in terms of intelligence and achievement.

Pedro was impacted by the racism lie to the point that his skin color consumed his thoughts and actions in order to limit and control the darkness of his skin because the darker his skin was the further away he was from being White and that translated to being cursed. The skin color racism lie not only impacted his beliefs but impacted the decisions

he would make regarding the girls he would date where skin color would be the deciding factor. Most likely those girls he dated who had darker skin than he experienced his racism.

Behaving like a racist. Andres decided to play the role of the racist by verbally oppressing a fellow student of Mexican ancestry who had dark skin and was dating a White girl. He took it upon himself to try to break up this relationship that embarrassed him because he had overheard the girl's parents saying that relationship was the reason they didn't want their daughter going to a school where Mexicans attended.

During my high school years several of my male Mexican-American friends began dating White female students. Most of my male Mexican-American friends were light-skinned college-bound student athletes. One exception was a male Mexican-American friend who was very muscular but very dark skinned who was dating a very light-skinned White female. I recall making fun of my friend and joking with other students about how funny it looked to see them walking hand in hand in our schools hallways. Finally, one day I stepped up to him and told him how embarrassing it was to me and others to see them in public because of their color differences. This was especially so when we attended events at other high schools and we would hear other students say 'what is that Mexican doing with a White girl?' I informed him we had heard parents say that 'this is why I won't let my daughter attends school with Mexicans.' I still remember the look on his face and his response of 'we love each other.' I rebutted 'yes but you are embarrassing us. You can see each other but do not make it so public.' I remember feeling righteous but also feeling that most probably had lost a friend and maybe two. At the time, I did not think of this incident as a racial action but now know it was definitely such and also selfish.

The racism lie was imbedded profoundly in Andres' beliefs to the extreme that he defended, protected, perpetuated and maintained the lie justifying his actions against his friend as a righteous act. He was so much impacted by the racism lie that he took it upon himself to judge his friend and to shame him for having a romantic relationship with a White girl. Even though it was none of his business, he felt embarrassed about such public display between his American friend of Mexican ancestry and the White girl, he

assumed he had the power to impose his racist beliefs in order to control his friend's behavior that contradicted the racism lie. Andres displayed the racist skill set he used in carrying this act of injustice which included intolerance, in your face false judgment and accusation, arrogance and plain stupidity all the way around. Fortunately, his friend countered his oppression by responding that they were in love. Love always trumps the racism lie.

Manipulating friends and others. In this example Andres decides to run for student council president hoping he would get the support and votes of his friends of Mexican ancestry who were members of the opposite party. Because of his manipulative actions he lost the election.

In the ninth grade junior high school I ran for student council president. Our school had a two-party system in which candidates for president and vice president ran in a primary in either the Senate party or Confederate party. The student membership of the Senate party consisted mostly of Mexican-Americans and the Confederate party mostly of White students. White students were the majority in the school and because I considered myself popular with both the Mexican-Americans and White students, I decided to run for council president in the Confederate party and hoping to be the first Mexican-American to be the presidential candidate for the Confederate party and second Mexican-American student council president. My thinking was that if I were elected as the Confederate party candidate, White students were the majority and would vote for the Confederate party candidates and the Mexican-American students who were my friends would also vote for me. My thinking was flawed because I assumed that Mexican-American students would vote in a higher number than usual and some White students would not vote. Though I was successful in been selected as the first Mexican-American presidential candidate for the Confederate party, I did not win the election. I was hurt by the White students who did not vote for me, those Mexican-American friends whom I thought would vote for me and didn't vote for me and mostly myself for underestimating my fellow Mexican-American students.

The racism lie led Andres to believe that Americans of Mexican ancestry could be betrayed and manipulated to get their votes and that he could rely on the votes of the White students to get elected for student council president. Andres was impacted in a

negative way for believing the racism lie. He lost the opportunity to serve his fellow students as president of the student council.

Feeling contempt for similar others. Santiago attended a Catholic school which led him to think and act as if he was much better than the students of Mexican ancestry that attended a public high school by expressing contempt when referring to that school.

When Santiago was a teenager he remembers the following situation: While attending a private high school, I became aware that a near-by public high school [later identified by a very successful Calculus teacher] was low-performing and attended by primarily Mexican American students. I felt very fortunate to attend the school I did and was of the opinion that the students needed to apply themselves as much as I did. I suspect that I would sometimes refer in conversation to "that school."

By believing the racism lie Santiago assumed that he was superior to other Mexican American students who attended public schools because he attended a private school. Santiago was impacted by the racism lie because he believed he was superior to other Americans of Mexican ancestry based on assumptions formed from abstract misjudgments.

In this example Pablo treats a whole group of fellow students of Mexican ancestry differently because they had darker skin color than he. He would only befriend those with lighter skin color and would treat those who were darker with contempt.

When I entered middle school I made many new friends and they were all Mexican American varying in skin color tones from very light to very dark. My preference was to befriend the lighter skin students because I associated Whiteness with human value. I thought that surrounding myself with the lighter skin color persons my human value would increase since I was much darker than they were. Based on this premise I would determine who I would befriend and who would be excluded. Many times I felt excluded by the lighter skin color students that I tried to befriend just as the darker skin color students who tried to befriend me. I remember there was a girl who had a crush on me and she tried to get close to me many times. Even though she was very bright and very beautiful she was four or five shades darker than me so I would treat her with contempt never giving her the time of day. I felt she was below me due to her skin color

because I was special even though I was also dark in skin color. Many times I received information that she liked me and wanted to go out with me but I always ignored her. I would have been embarrassed to have been seen in her company by my lighter skin friends but I also felt ashamed for the way I treated this beautiful person whom I judged based on her skin color.

Pablo believed the racism lie and acted in cruel ways to exclude those who did not meet the skin color demands of the racism lie. Since he also owned dark skin, he too had experienced the cruelty of exclusion. His decision to ignore the dark skin girl who liked him, kept him faithful to the racism lie he believed never considering the content of her character. Skin color decisions impacted Pablo's life profoundly, because his choices limited the persons who could enter his life just as he was limited to enter in other person's lives who excluded him.

Changing name to appear White. During his high school experience, Santiago changed his name from Santiago to James just to be more White like the girl that he was dating.

During the summer before my high school junior year, I met a blond girl while on a Boy Scout camping trip. Since she had shared her address and telephone, as well as a reasonable drive from home, I found myself invited to join her and friends at periodic parties on weekends. While there were no issues of emotional attachments, I do remember making the song 'Donna' my musical theme song. I attended a number of parties, but never went at other times; I spent a number of hours on the phone with this girl during my junior high school. Interestingly, it was during this school year that we ordered our school jackets on which I willingly wore my stitched name James instead of Santiago, the name I fully resumed by my Senior year. While I do not recall explaining to myself why I changed my name for the jacket, I would suspect that (1) I wanted to be like the people in the girl's group- American, (2) without bringing attention to being a Mexican. I do not remember anyone in the group or within the girl's family circle that was Mexican, while everyone around me was an Anglo. In contrast everyone around me in my daily life was Mexican, except in my classroom where I had five Japanese-Americans and one Black American classmate friends. I do not recall explicitly being asked about my jacket name choice by family or classmates. However, I would suspect that when I first wore the jacket, it must have raised questions. My recollection is that I did not mention my intention or actual request to my parents, but recall it as something I was doing for myself. I believe I

decided this expecting that my parents would disapprove. My decision to use the name James was made consciously, but without objection of my peers. However, once received, I wore the jacket and periodically would have to explain the difference in stitched name and my given name. I remember wearing my jacket during my senior year and thereafter a brief period with a mental awareness that James was not my real name. Of interest is that for about three decades a sister (3rd in birth order) called me and knew me as James. It was not until we resumed very frequent communications that she again calls me Santiago. Oh, by the way since I still have the jacket, it periodically serves to remind me of the time when I obviously felt inferior wanting to be an Anglo while being a victim to my inability at that time to integrate my ethnicity into the larger society.

Santiago believed the racism lie to the extent that he was willing to change his name from Spanish to English to feel that he was Anglo. The racism lie impacted Santiago so profoundly that he wanted to change his identity in order to feel self-worth.

Unwilling to join. Pedro did not participate in school organizations because he did not relate to his peers both White and of Mexican ancestry. He isolated himself.

Although I was popular among my peers (mostly Mexican American youth) I was not very confident around the White kids in school. Therefore, I did not join school organizations which were mostly led by White kids. There were very few role models (other Mexican American kids) that were in school organizations and the ones that did join did not grow up in the barrio as I did. As a result I always felt isolated from some of my peers in school.

By believing the racism lie Pedro felt threatened by the White kids in school so he went about denying himself the opportunity to participate in the different school organizations. His life was impacted by the racism lie because he not only kept himself isolated but also limited his social and academic growth. His decision impacted those who would benefit from his contributions, including himself.

Unwilling to help students of Mexican ancestry. In his teenage years Pedro was unwilling to help academically challenged students of Mexican ancestry if they in some way appeared to be White in his mind.

During this time relationships were or appeared much more competitive. I soon realized that I was much better academically than most of my peers. I remember I had grown up feeling inferior to some of the White students in school. I recall that I was not as willing to help other Hispanic students when they were challenged academically if they in some way appeared to be “White” in my mind. It did not feel right to behave that way but I justified it.

The racism lie led Pedro to decide who would receive his assistance and who would not receive it based on skin color. In this case the lighter skin students of Mexican ancestry were not included in his list of those he would help. Pedro was impacted by the racism lie to the extent that his decisions to help his peers were based on skin color.

The neighborhood and community setting. As teenagers in their neighborhood and community the men describe being impacted by taking the blame and feeling contempt.

Taking the blame for lack of courage. In this incident in Mateo’s life, he takes the blame for not having the courage to challenge an existing code that prohibited students of Mexican ancestry from eating at a local restaurant where only Whites were allowed to eat.

I remember as a young man realizing that we were technically recognized and labeled as White, but I also knew that was in name only. There were several restaurants, swimming pools and movie houses that we knew were off limits to us. One place in particular was the Pig Stand in south Austin which was a hangout for White students that we dared not visit. On one occasion several of us decided to challenge the existing code of White privilege, only to reach the front door and turn around like scared chickens. This was during the height of the Chicano Civil rights movement and we thought we were brave enough to challenge the institutions. Looking back I realize we were not yet ready to become activists and I personally blame myself for our failure to confront racism.

At that time we were not able to intellectualize our behavior; it was years later that we understood that the system was set up for us to fail. That affected my life and after the military I became an activist and have been one ever since.

The Chicano Civil Rights Movement was an effort on the part of some members of the American population of Mexican ancestry to fight racism via a social/political approach.

Mateo was a teenager when this was occurring and did not possess the maturity to fully comprehend the dynamics of such a movement but was caught up in the whirlwind and wanted to show how he and his friends were in solidarity with the movement. Being a believer of the racism lie, he labeled himself and his friends as cowards for their failure to challenge and existing racist code at a local restaurant. The incident impacted Mateo in such a way that he blamed himself for their failure to confront racism. As a result of this incident Mateo became an activist who has constantly worked to overcome racism in his community.

Feeling contempt. Pablo mistreated a fellow student of Mexican ancestry in a very contemptuous way when the young man explained that he did not speak Spanish. How could this be when this fellow was darker than Pablo?

I remember meeting Eugene from San Antonio, Texas. I asked him in Spanish where he was from and he replied that he didn't know how to speak Spanish. He caught me by surprise because I had never met a Mexican American who didn't speak or understand Spanish which was a wrong assumption on my part. After my initial reaction which was generated from contempt, I apologized, and he explained to me that his parents never spoke Spanish at home so he never learned it. His parents believed that speaking Spanish would be a detriment to their children so they opted to speak English only in their home. The only problem was that he had dark skin and his last name was Martinez and it didn't matter if he only spoke English, he would still feel excluded just as the rest of us.

Although Pablo believed the racism lie, he was aware of the damage it did to him and to other non-White persons. From his own experience, he decided in his teenage years that he would dominate both the Spanish and English languages as best he could because he felt that knowing the two languages best illuminated his identity. After insulting Eugene for not knowing how to speak Spanish and later apologizing to him, Pablo understood the decisions Eugene's parents had made regarding the use of the Spanish language in their home. They believed the racism lie and applied it convinced that their decision would

help Eugene be included by the majority. Unfortunately, according to Pablo, language is only one of the many attributes attacked and damaged by the racism lie. Skin color is the attribute of choice used by the racism lie to exclude non-White persons, and according to Pablo, Eugene would not be able to avoid such exclusion even though he only spoke English. Pablo's stance regarding racism impacted his own development and sense of identity in the mist of the constant and continuous confusion the racism lie created in his head and world around him. Pablo's contempt for Eugene was diffused through their communication and understanding of what had happened in Eugene's life.

The family setting. As teenagers in the family setting the men describe being impacted by committing racial discrimination.

Committing racial discrimination. Again in this example, Lucas tells us how his family discriminated against others in his neighborhood because their ancestry was closer to Native Americans than to Mexicans and their skin color was darker than the members of their family. The neighbors were judged harshly by Lucas' family.

It was funny because we had some neighbors who were Indian or Native American or whatever and they had a compound. We lived in the middle of town in a bunch of lots that were right next to each other, 50 foot lots with little houses on them. We lived in one of those houses. But the people who lived across the street bought several of the lots back to back. They had several acres of land where they built several little houses. They had their extended family living out there. I remember my father telling us he didn't want us going over there because they had darker skin and we were much better than they were. Even my grandmother had problems with some of those Indios. I think it was also because they had other customs, they were more violent, there was a lot of alcohol abuse and there was even some drug use. There were a lot of negative factors that my parents and my grandmother believed about them which kept us from associating with them. But of course, we had other neighbors who were lighter skinned and it was okay for us to go visit with them. In fact, we were encouraged to go over there and watch TV.

Lucas' family believed and practiced the racism lie. They excluded their Native American neighbors based on negative judgments and assumptions about their way of life but mainly because their skin color was darker than theirs. On the other hand, they encouraged their children to befriend the lighter skin color kids in the neighborhood. Lucas was impacted by following his parent's decisions because he too was able to act as an oppressor by excluding his Native American neighbors. Most likely his perception of Native Americans was henceforth influenced by the negative judgments and assumptions passed on to him by his parents even though Lucas' grandmother was Native American...

Impact the acts of racial oppression had on the men during their adult years.

Sixteen of the 29 incidents happened in the employment setting; 8 in the neighborhood/community setting and the last 5 in the education setting. As adults, the men experienced acts of oppression from the White community, from Americans of Mexican ancestry and from themselves.

The work setting. The men experienced many different acts of oppression as adult workers. As a consequence the men were impacted by misusing their power, judging with extreme harshness.

Misusing position power. Mateo relates how he belittled a family of Mexican ancestry who wanted to buy a house and used his power as a real estate broker to keep them from them from purchasing a house.

For over 32 years I was a Real Estate Broker and sold homes, land and commercial properties. I was in a position of being able to help potential homeowners obtain the American dream of home ownership. I was also in a position of power and I am ashamed to admit that on one occasion I used my knowledge and experience to refuse to help a young couple obtain a home based only on their arrogant behavior. I have often thought of what I did and sometimes after analyzing the circumstances of my behavior I realize that I did act as a shit head and have been remorseful of my actions ever since; and I wonder if I did not

push them into behaving the way they did. They were poor people with limited credit and they wanted to display their pride and all I did was belittle them until they stormed out of my office. After this experience I promised myself to never treat people in this manner ever again, and I never did. I was so ashamed of my behavior that it affected my life and after that I have bent over backwards in my efforts to help under privileged families.

Believing the racism lie led Mateo to misuse his position power to humiliate and discriminate against young person's wanting to buy their first home thus limiting their future stability and growth opportunities. Although his behavior was despicable he learned from that experience by bringing it to a conscious level and modifying it for the better. After negatively impacting the lives of several young couples of Mexican ancestry, he changed his behavior and attitude thus impacting his own life for the better.

Judging with extreme harshness. In this example Felipe has learned not to trust politicians of Mexican ancestry because they lie and use their power to control.

The most provocative thing I learned was not to trust Hispanic elected officials. They speak with a fork tongue because they become the gatekeepers and are allowed to make themselves look good with issues of employment, health and other issues that impact the community.

By believing the racism lie, Felipe judged all elected Hispanic officials in a very negative ways. His opinion of them was they were liars, gatekeepers and self-aggrandizers. The racism lie impacted Felipe into not trusting Hispanic elected officials leaving him totally voiceless in a community where he was already voiceless.

Santiago is insulted because a fellow American of Mexican ancestry does not speak Spanish and proceeds to admonish him for his lack of interest in his culture.

A recent, newly minted Hispanic Ph.D. research fellow had arrived in the building I worked at. Some of my fellow Hispanics took him for coffee. In the process, he revealed that he did not speak any Spanish. I felt insulted that a family would not pass on the culture and its language; that a person would not be interested in their family's cultural and linguist background; and that a person who does not share

the language and the foods be called a Hispanic. The group, including myself, berated him for not taking an interest in learning Spanish.

Santiago, just like Pablo, had concocted a list of reasons why Hispanics should maintain their culture and language even though the racism lie expected the opposite from them.

Americans of Mexican ancestry are caught between two powerful forces: one that negates who they are because it is driven by the racism lie and the other counters the lie but is driven by a power source that is constantly weakened by the racism lie. Efforts to correct the outcomes of the racism lie are usually harsh.

The neighborhood and community setting. In our neighborhoods/communities the men were impacted by giving up, acting powerful, judging, avoiding, and unwilling to perform menial tasks.

Accepting defeat. As citizens and tax payers one would think that city government existed to support our business efforts to make our communities better places for all. Unfortunately, Lucas' experience demonstrates the opposite because of his Mexican ancestry. He was left feeling discriminated and deprived by these actions. As a result Lucas gave up by boarding up the property and leaving it abandoned.

Later on I bought a property down town next to a house I owned and rented to college students. The property became available and I was a good friend of the owner. He held it for me until I could afford to buy it. After I bought it and went to the city to try to get the electricity set up so I could start doing some work on the property it was flatly denied. The thing was that the property was in a good location and had the potential of becoming a commercial property and being sold at a higher price. I just wanted to go in there and do some work. Well, the City Inspector and the Fire Marshall immediately deemed the structure unsafe and told me all the things I needed to do to fix it. I explained that I had just bought the property and it had been sitting like that since 1998. They told me that I was now the owner and had to do something to fix it. So, anyway I then started talking to another manager at the city and was told to board it up and leave it like that because there were a lot of people who wanted that property but didn't get it because I had bought it. So, I haven't done anything with it. I think this turned out into a negative thing not so much because I had obtained something that someone

else wanted but that statistically because of the color of my skin I just couldn't have that property.

The racism lie is powered by injustice and Lucas was impacted by the government systems that delivered the injustice that trapped him economically because they wouldn't deliver the services that would help him move his investment to prosperity. Lucas was impacted with financial burden created by the racism lie that led him to give up and take the loss.

Acting powerful. Andres' involvement in local politics and misinformation he possessed gave him the right to accuse and insult members of La Raza Unida party who were working the polls to get Americans of Mexican ancestry elected into office.

At the age of 27, I began to develop a greater interest in local elections especially as they affected Mexican-Americans. Mexican-Americans began to seek local offices and when necessary ran in local primaries as Democrats. A foothold was established in each strata of local government by Mexican-Americans in difficult times through hard work, grassroots involvement and minimal funds. There was pride in ownership of hard-fought races by local and most new comers to the Mexican-American community in Austin, Texas. However, in the mid-1970s, another Mexican-American political party in Texas, La Raza Unida, came into Austin and began to run their candidates against local Mexican-American Democrats which threatened our progress and angered me because of the struggle we had endured. This anger became more pronounced as I heard rumors of funding from the Republican Party being infused into La Raza Unida campaigns as a strategy to split the Mexican-American vote. During one primary election in which I was working for a Democratic candidate, I was asked to intervene on a situation that was reported by voters wanting to vote for the Mexican-American Democrats running for office. I was advised that Raza Unida poll workers were asking voters if they were there to vote for the Mexican-American candidates. If the answer was yes, then the voters were processed to vote in the Raza Unida primary. When voters failed to see the names of the Mexican-American candidate for whom they wanted to vote they were advised they had to vote for the Raza Unida candidates. I confronted the Raza Unida poll workers and accused them of dirty politics and their actions were holding down our people. I further questioned their citizenship status and called them uneducated meddlers. I later learned that the male worker was a licensed architect and his wife a professional with a degree in library science. Both had been involved in historical fight for civil rights in Crystal City Texas. Later as I learned more about the heroic actions of these two

individuals, I was ashamed that I acted so harshly at these two Mexican-Americans.

Believing the racism lie drove Andres to assume that he could challenge the work of those trying to help the community by accusing them of dirty politics, not being citizens, being uneducated meddlers and holding down Americans of Mexican ancestry all because he was misinformed of who these people were and what they were trying to do. Andres was impacted by the shame he felt for having behaved the way he did against other Americans of Mexican ancestry who were trying to counter the racism lie.

Judging and labeling. In this short scenario Pedro explains how he judged Americans of Mexican ancestry when his values were not replicated by them.

I grew up with a strong work ethic and sense of personal responsibility. Sometimes when I judged another Hispanic as not ‘pulling their weight’ I tended to label them as “irresponsible” instead of helping them become more proficient in whatever they were undertaking.

Believing the racism lie permitted Pedro to pass judgment against himself and others like him. When another Hispanic did not perform by the standards he believed were expected by the racism lie, he would pass judgment and label the person irresponsible. Pedro impacted the lives of other Americans of Mexican ancestry by judging them and labeling them in negative ways.

Avoiding due to false assumptions. Pablo avoided socializing with fellow Americans of Mexican ancestry because he had judged them to be too negative to befriend them. His lack of understanding of the socio-psychological phenomenon that consumes us led him to behave this way.

I adapted a practice of very limited and superficial involvement with other Mexican Americans throughout my adult years because I felt that every time I allowed myself to socialize or work with Mexican Americans the experience of most encounters would turn negative i.e., disagreement, embarrassment, criticism,

argument, contempt, humiliation, discrimination and/or disparagement. To avoid the bitterness that resulted from these relationships, I minimized my exposure to them by keeping Mexican Americans at an arm's length. Rather than looking for peaceful solutions, consensus or even compromise, it was easier not to deal with a group of people that was confused, bitter, sad, and tormented by their Mexican-ness. By excluding this community from my life, I added oppression to the lives of a people that were already the targets of oppression by the wider community which included me. My passive aggressiveness towards my own community prolonged my acceptance and recognition of the injustices, neglect and suffering the Mexican American community had endured for almost two centuries.

By believing the racism lie, Pablo excluded Americans of Mexican ancestry from his circle of friends because he judged them and then labeled them as confused, bitter, sad, and tormented and he didn't want to add to his own bitterness, anger and confusion that already existed in his life because of the lie. Behaving this way towards other Americans of Mexican ancestry impacted his and their lives because exclusion is oppression and Pablo was oppressing himself and all those that he wouldn't allow in his life. Pablo's example demonstrates what happens in the relationship dynamic among members of a minority group in the United States.

Unwilling to perform manual traits. Pedro had gotten an education and now he was unwilling to perform manual traits he had learned from his father in the upkeep of his new house.

I married at the age of 23 years old and immediately began a family. I remember the first home I ever owned a few years later and feeling that I now had a big responsibility to maintain the house, yard and anything else that needed fixing. Although as a young man I had helped my father with carpentry, electrical, plumbing and other work, I still felt inadequate at doing handy work on my own. I always felt that it was beyond my skill to take on this kind of work despite the fact that I had succeeded at many other tasks. I could not see that I could build on the confidence I already had in performing other tasks.

The racism lie influenced Pedro believe that manual labor was for the uneducated but mostly for minorities and he was a minority but was educated and this type of work was

beneath him. Even though he had obtained an education which didn't exempt him from being an American of Mexican ancestry, he was trying to exempt himself from being an American of Mexican ancestry who earned his livelihood from performing manual labor. Therefore, he resisted any association with having to perform manual labor because it reminded him of his roots and that was humiliating to him.

The educational setting. As adults seeking to get promoted or getting and education the men were impacted by overcompensating and by denying themselves the recognition of their achievement.

Overcompensating in order to be included. In order for Santiago to get promoted after he was passed over even though his credentials were stronger than those of his competitors, he decided to become a Super-Mex and go get another Master's degree to overcompensate in credentials for the next opportunity. He sacrificed time with his family to achieve this promotion.

When I applied to transfer from one service for a direct commission to become an officer in another service, it was with much pride. I was well aware that such goals sometimes require many layers of review before one pins on the rank and is given a duty station. Thus, I explained away the many months of waiting for the opportunity to join the officer ranks. Once on board, I came to learn that other candidates had waited for about half the time I did for their commission. After time had passed and I became eligible for promotion, I submitted the required official records, and waited for the big promotion. People I knew received promotions, but not me. Not seeing your name on the promotion list makes for a lot of disappointment, especially when you know some of the people promoted and are personally aware of their work attitudes and behaviors. As a result, I concluded that I needed to see myself as having to become Super-Mex. I had heard the term previously with references to Hispanics seeking work positions in and out of government where in order to be considered for selection, a person of color had to possess more than the minimum required for the applicant pool. I decided that the only option I had to ever get promoted was to get another Master's degree knowing that I would have to pay for it personally and figure the time schedule around work, family, and children required. This resulted in finding a week-end program, paying out-of-state fees, but graduating three years later.

The outcome of becoming Super-Mex was that at the next scheduled promotion board after my new masters' degree, I was promoted. The degree has not provided more value since I already possessed a masters'. However, people get impressed when I mention the university's name - I was left with the proposition that the name recognition provided the promotion board members the psychological permission to promote me given that the degree content was not a requirement for my duties.

The architecture of the racism lie is dynamic, thus capable of adapting itself to achieve its irrational goals through human beliefs and behavior. In Santiago's case he was willing to become Super-Mex in order to comply with the lie's expectations of him in order to achieve the same promotion that was a straight forward shot for Whites. Santiago was impacted by the time, expense and effort he had to invest in earning another Master's degree in order to get a promotion because this additional, but unnecessary credential made it easier for the promotion board members to justify their decision of promoting a minority.

Denying self of recognition. Pablo tells us that his efforts to become a responsible educated citizen were met with indifference and neglect. His accomplishments were marred by the lack of joy that comes with not belonging. He expressed feeling neglected, abandoned, invisible, and experiencing a sense of loss. Pablo decided not to attend the graduation ceremonies denying himself and his family the recognition that comes with achievement.

Graduation day was uneventful. The conclusion of a task that took 5 years to accomplish was anticlimactic. I was the first of the children in my family and extended family to obtain a college degree, yet the joy and excitement was not there because the process to obtain the diploma was driven by the neglect and abandonment of the White administration, the White faculty, and the White student body who were all blind to my presence at the University. Although I graduated I felt I had wasted my time and they had wasted my life. The diploma was mailed to my house, since I did not attend the graduation ceremony. At the end of the semester, I packed my bags and headed for Laredo. I was glad to be home for Christmas.

The extended experience of obtaining an education in an institution of higher learning that was driven by the racism lie left Pablo drained of any excitement and joy for having achieved an important milestone in his life. His life was impacted because he had to endure the wrath of the racism lie for five years in order to graduate. He not only earned his bachelor's degree but lived an experience that left him bitter, sad and angry.

Impact the acts of racial oppression had on the men during their mature adult years. Seven of the 16 incidents described in the mature adult years happened in the employment setting; 5 in the education setting; 4 in the neighborhood/community setting and non in the family setting.

The employment setting. As mature adults our experiences at our places of work impacted us in such a way that we had to leave.

Deciding to leave employment. Santiago retired because he felt very frustrated with the false promises made by the university administration.

There was agreement on their part that becoming a Hispanic serving institution should become a university priority. It was a very professional venue and the meeting was held in the president's conference room. The tone was that of agreement. The university would make it a priority to become a Hispanic serving institution. Nothing was ever done formally except the president would mention in his speech that the goal of the university was to become a Hispanic serving institution. The fact that nothing was done and no one was interested in changing anything gave me a lot of frustration. It was all talk and no action. I became frustrated and said to hell with it and retired.

The racism lie drove Santiago to retire from his job at the university. He was impacted by the hypocrisy that came from the racism lie and was used to perpetuate itself by promoting the targets of the lie. The lie was used to justify and obtain funds for the institution without making any changes to improve the lives of those students targeted by

the racism lie within the institution. Santiago was impacted economically, academically, socially, and personally by his decision to retire before his time.

The educational setting. As mature adults some of the men wanted to return to school to do graduate work but did not because they lacked self-confidence.

Lacking self-confidence. In the following example Andres tells us how his lack of self-confidence kept him from pursuing a master's degree. He feels angry at himself for not having pursued a higher education for giving up.

I have often thought of returning to school to obtain a graduate degree even after I reached the age of 50. What prevented me from doing so at this advanced age has not only been my feeling too old but also a lack of confidence in myself. One discipline in which Mexican-Americans have significant success is education especially in graduate degrees. However, very few have advanced degrees in the discipline of business administration which is my field at the University of Texas in the college of this administration enrollment is limited in this highly competitive undergraduate program and more so at the postgraduate levels. There are very few Mexican-Americans with MBAs and less with doctoral degrees. My reservations have also included my struggles with a master's degree program and also with a low number of Mexican Americans in this field of study.

My feelings are of anger, no-confidence, fearing failure as well as it may now be too late since I'm now retired and see no economic benefit but only the potential benefit of accomplishment of a dream.

By believing the racism lie Andres postponed getting into graduate school to pursue a Master's degree. His dream was impacted by not believing in his capability to achieve a higher education degree. He was left with feelings of anger, lack of self-confidence and fear of failure. By not pursuing his dream he short changed himself, his family and his community because his potential was left untapped.

The neighborhood and community setting. As mature adults some of the men were impacted by the perceptions they have about Americans of Mexican ancestry in their community and how these persons survive in a competitive environment.

Making false assumptions about similar others. Andres like many of us sometimes get frustrated by the lack of appreciation we perceive the new comers not to have for those of us who have suffered racial oppression and have tried to make opportunities in spite of our struggles and social-psychological injuries.

Several Mexican-Americans new to the Austin area have commented that it was difficult to integrate into the local Mexican-American community. There is a perception that it takes a long time for new comers to be accepted by those Mexican-Americans born and raised in Austin. This lack of welcoming and acceptance is more pronounced for recent immigrants from Mexico. As a local, raised in Austin, I confess that I too have felt resentment towards newcomers and recent immigrants. My resentment is based on my thinking that they have no awareness of the hard battles fought for the advancement of the Mexican-American community. As the number of recent immigrants from Mexico grows, so does their economic influence on business. One example is in the area of entertainment like nightclubs and radio stations. More acculturated Mexican-Americans prefer a blend of Mexican and American sound known as “Tejano” music. Due to the economic influence and based on their large number, most Spanish language radio stations play Mexican music and currently 2013 there is only one AM station that plays the Tejano sound. I personally confronted a longtime Mexican-American business owner and friend about not advertising his business on the one local Tejano Station. I also advised him I was thinking about not patronizing his business until he demonstrated support for our music. As I reflected on my action I realized that this Mexican-American businessman running a small family-owned business with a limited advertising budget had to advertise where his dollars would have the maximum benefit for his business. I felt ashamed and ignorant because he knew more about his business than me. This realization made me apologize to the business owner.

The racism lie led Andres to believe that he had the power to control business decisions in the community because it affected his music preference. He was unhappy with the influence unwelcomed new immigrants from Mexico were having on the Austin music scene. He wanted to impose Tejano music through the air waves because Americans of Mexican ancestry had fought very hard to advance social, economic, and political justice in the United States and it was only fair that preference be given to their music. The racism lie impacted Andres to take action against a business owner only to later retract

himself and to judge and resent all new immigrants from Mexico by using the racism lie to justify his feelings.

Summary of section. The information gathered in response to the third question posed in this research provided examples of the impact the acts of racial oppression and the feelings triggered by them had on the lives of the nine men, in other words, the impact internalizing racial oppression had on the men. Again, the information to document and describe the impact was obtained from examples provided in the data examining the four phases of their lives and the four perspectives within each phase. As a consequence of believing the racism lie imposed through acts of racism and affirmed by the feelings the racism acts triggered, the men's decision making competence was impaired by the false beliefs they had developed about themselves. In addition, the internalization of racial oppression had taken place and decisions made by the men were further influenced by the racism lie which enabled the men to commit acts of racial oppression against other Americans of Mexican ancestry and onto themselves. Examples of the ways the men were impacted by the acts of racism they experienced include: feeling superior to others, practicing oppositional behavior, experiencing identity issues, choosing to hide from others, unwilling to participate, acting superior, excluding others, discriminating based on skin color, passing on the legacy of the racism lie, dating based on skin color, behaving like a racist, manipulating friends and others, feeling contempt for similar others, changing name, unwilling to join, unwilling to help students of Mexican ancestry, taking the blame, committing racial discrimination, misusing power, judging with extreme harshness, giving up, acting powerful, judging, avoiding, unwilling to perform manual traits, overcompensating in order to be included, self-denying,

deciding to leave employment, lacking self-confidence, and making false assumptions about similar others.

Summary of Chapter

This chapter contains the data that answer the three questions in the research. Through the use of examples contained in the data different scenes from the men's life histories were selected to correspond to the four human developmental phases (childhood, adolescence, adult and mature adult) examined and the four social settings (school, employment, family and community) where they occurred. Each of the selected scenes was labeled to report the subject matter it represented within the context of internalized racial oppression. Within each example an explanation was provided from a critical race theory perspective which was driven by the assumption that racism is a lie. The first question posed by this research provided the qualities the men described in the incidents they encountered where acts of racial oppression were directed at them whether from White Americans, other Americans of Mexican ancestry or themselves. The second question posed by this research described the feelings the men experienced from the incidents where acts of racial oppression were directed at them. The third question posed in this research provided examples of the impact the acts of racial oppression and the feelings triggered by them had on the internalization of racial oppression in their lives. The examples provided in the second question that described the feelings experienced by the men a connection was made with the work of Kaufman (1990) based on shame.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study is to contribute to the understanding of how internalized racial oppression, a product of habitus and shame, happened and evolved in the life experiences of nine American men of Mexican ancestry. This research attempted to answer three research questions in order to describe and document how the internalization of racial oppression played out in the lives of the nine men who participated in the study. The three research questions were: (1) what acts of racial oppression did the nine men describe experiencing? (2) What did the men describe feeling from the acts of oppression they experienced? And (3) what did the men describe as the impact of internalizing racial oppression in their lives?

In order to document and describe this social-psychological phenomenon of internalized racial oppression in the lives of nine American men of Mexican ancestry collaborative inquiry as explained by Bray, Lee, Smith and York (2000) was used to conduct this research. The specific collaborative inquiry model used for this research focused on harvesting the reflective synergy (Mealman & Lawrence, 2002) which was generated through the performance of iterative cycles on what was being presented by each one of us to all of us. This methodology enabled us, as a traditionally oppressed population to explore and expose the experiences resulting from racial oppression and internalized racial oppression along with the beliefs imbedded in our consciousness as a

result of believing the racism lie. We were able to critically reflect on the shared information in a safe space. It also allowed us to create new knowledge and understanding about an experience that is not generally represented in the dominant or wider population.

The participants in this co-inquiry were chosen through the process of purposeful sampling (Maxwell, 1996). The selection took into consideration the men's ability and willingness to provide important information about their life experiences in both the White culture and the Mexican American Culture. The age of the eight men ranged between 55 and 65. The selection process considered other important factors such as interest in the research topic, enthusiasm about doing this research, commitment to carry out the research, motivation based on a thirst for knowledge about self and community, ability to be reflective throughout the research process, and ability to articulate the thoughts obtained from the reflective process.

Comparison of Findings to Literature

The men described experiencing four patterns of racial oppression in their lives. First, racial oppression was directed at them from members of the White population; second, they were targets of the internalized racial oppression replicated by other Americans of Mexican ancestry; third, they directed their internalized racial oppression onto other Americans of Mexican ancestry and other American minorities and; fourth they directed their internalized racial oppression onto themselves.

The men experienced acts of racial oppression in the four phases of their lives: childhood, teenage, adulthood and mature adulthood years. Within each of those phases, the life experiences exemplifying acts of racial oppression, the internalization of racial

oppression and acts of internalized racial oppression were provided from four perspectives: school, employment, family, and neighborhood and community. The acts of racial oppression and internalized racial oppression directed against the men were from two different modalities: force and deprivation (Hanna, Talley & Guindon, 2000). The information gathered to answer the first question ‘What acts of racial oppression did the nine men describe experiencing?’ listed the qualities of the acts of racism experienced by the nine men. They included neglect, exclusion, stereotypes, gentrification, separation, slurs, degradation, suppression, misguidance, disrespect, intolerance, contempt, rudeness, punishment, treachery, deceitfulness, duplicity, prejudice, injustice, abhorrence and others.

Oppression by force includes imposing objects, labels, roles, experiences, or a set of living conditions that are unwanted, painful, and negatively influence the psychological and physical well-being of others (Hanna, Talley & Guindon, 2000). Examples include bullets, shackles, fists, unhealthy food, messages that cause or sustain pain along with low self-efficacy and reduced self –determination, hard labor that is demeaning, job roles that are degrading, media images that are negative, and messages that foster and maintain distorted beliefs (Hanna, Talley & Guindon). The research data provided many examples of this type of oppression. As a boy Andres was attacked by three White boys while swimming at a local pool holding him under water to let him know they didn’t want Mexicans swimming at that pool. They endangered Andres’ life and humiliated Andres publicly. Mateo avoided attending the first day of school for fear of being asked what he did during the summer. He was embarrassed to report his activities because he had been working in the fields picking different crops during his summer vacation and he believed his job was demeaning and degrading so to avoid experiencing being humiliated one more

time from his teacher and peers he just skipped that day of school. Pablo reported being mistaken for another university student who was of Mexican ancestry and was told by the White man, an adjunct faculty, that “all of you orangutans look the same to me.” The racist message received by Pablo was negative and degrading fostering and maintaining distorted beliefs about himself and others like him.

In the second modality, oppression deprives others of objects, labels, roles, experiences, or a set of living conditions that are desirable and positively influence their psychological and physical well-being (Hanna, Talley & Guindon, 2000). Examples include: deprivation of loved ones, respect, or dignity; neglect such as deprivation of love, care, support, or vital services, as well as basic material needs such as food, shelter, and clothing; deprivation of a commodity such as a house or car, or a plot of land in a desirable neighborhood; deprivation of one’s children, parents, friends, freedom, or even one’s childhood; deprivation of religious or spiritual practices, and deprivation of desirable jobs because of the dominant majority’s overt or covert beliefs that inferiority is attached to culture, race, gender, disability or sexual preference (Hanna, Talley & Guindon). The research data provided several examples of this type of oppression against the nine men. Felipe would hide with other students of Mexican ancestry to eat their taco lunches while in high school, to avoid being disrespected and humiliated by White students who would call them taco vendors when they saw them eating the food they had brought from home because they couldn’t afford the food at the cafeteria. Lucas was very good in math, yet his White teacher rather than supporting and recognizing his abilities would find ways to undo his success through the use of ridicule in order to create a lie about him before his classmates. Felipe fell in love with a White girl when he was in the 6th grade. When her

parents discovered that he was of Mexican ancestry they moved to another city. She wrote many letters to him trying to explain their departure but they were intercepted by her mother. Felipe believed that he couldn't have a romantic relationship with a White girl because he was seen as inferior.

According to Feagin's (2006) comprehensive theory of racial oppression in the United States, he theorizes how major institutions have been built upon racial oppression which was not an accident of history, but was created intentionally by White Americans. In Feagin's view, White Americans labored hard to create a system of racial oppression in the 17th century and have worked diligently to maintain the system ever since. While Feagin acknowledges that changes have occurred in this racist system over the centuries, he contends that key and fundamental elements have been reproduced over nearly four centuries, and that U.S. institutions today reflect the racial hierarchy created in the 17th century. Today, as in the past, racial oppression is not just a surface-level feature of this society, but rather pervades, permeates, and interconnects all major social groups, networks, and institutions across the society. (Feagin, 2006)

Based on Feagin's (2006) analysis the qualities of the racism acts were repeated over and over to perpetuate the racism lie in the minds of the nine men who participated in this study. According to Gillborn (2008) "traditionally, racism has often been viewed as involving two key characteristics: a belief in the existence of discrete human races and the idea that those 'races' are hierarchically ordered" (p. 3). In order to perpetuate the falsehoods that racism espouses, these qualities of oppression represent the patterns that maintain and perpetuate racial oppression and internalized racial oppression.

In addition, when I read Bourdieu's theory on habitus, it immediately connected with my life and the lives of those who participated in this research. It is not by accident that we are in a group of people in this country who experience a treatment different from the wider community. Pickel provided information on the theoretical meaning of habitus which he says:

...lies in the fact that habitus is above all a social thing. A habitus emerges in concrete social systems—a family, a firm, an artistic subculture, a socioeconomic class, a political organization, or a society. It is this concrete social system that marks the context in which we can draw up a model of a system-specific habitus, based on a wide range of observations and conjectures. Habitus has major effects in the biological, psychological, social and symbolic systems governing human behavior. (Pickel, 2005, p. 439)

Our history as Americans of Mexican descent in the U.S. is filled with experiences that have denied our presence and our stake in this nation even though one-third of the land that makes up this country belonged to Mexico prior to 1836. The relationship between those who took over these lands and those who remained behind in these lands never developed into one of respect, rather one of separation and oppression. So approximately 175 years later, a child born into a family of Mexican ancestry in the United States, therefore is born into a group of people who is not recognized, accepted, or cared for by the wider community. Within our habitus, we have many opportunities to replicate and perpetuate those racist actions that we have learned in other habitus that we intersect in our daily lives, which contain social structures that are constructed upon racial oppression. We bring it all to our homes and to our families giving us the opportunity to further contaminate our family habitus with internalized racial oppression.

The information gathered in response to the second question 'What did the men describe feeling from the acts of oppression they experienced?' described the feelings the

men experienced from the incidents where acts of racial oppression were directed at them. Examples were once again gathered from the information contained in the four phases of their lives and the four perspectives within each of those phases. The feelings they experienced from the acts of racial oppression directed at them mainly influenced the emotions of shame and fear in profound negative ways serving to affirm their beliefs about themselves as derived from the racism lie.

Kaufman (1996) provided the following explanation regarding the role shame has in the lives of minorities. He takes what Freire described on a socio-cultural political economic level and mapped it at the psychological level.

Given the unique experience of particular minorities living in American society, we need to examine the role of shame in profoundly shaping the evolving identities of racial, ethnic, and religious minorities. Just as shame is a societal dynamic, impacting the lives of various minority groups that inhabit a given society, shame is equally a force in culture generally. Every culture experiences shame, but differently. Cultures utilize shame as a means of furthering social control, as an important socializing tool; cultures also pattern shame quite distinctively. (Kaufman, 1996, p. xi)

The feelings the men described being triggered by the acts of racism directed at them included feeling fearful, terrified, intimidated, scared, lost, entrapped, the victims of injustice, pressured, alienated, different, ridiculed, patronized, emotional and physical pain, humiliated, mocked, devastated, discriminated against, bitter, distressed, angry, cursed in a universal way, vengeful, abused, disgusted, abandoned, impatient, unsupported, disillusioned, threatened, weary, defeated, discouraged, anxious, disappointed, voiceless, poor, hatred, frustration, indignation, unaided, reactive, guilty, isolated, afraid, unwelcome, unwanted and filled with contempt. Most of these feelings are described by Kaufman as contained in the shame emotion. Kaufman further provided the following explanation about the impact of shame.

Shame is the affect of inferiority. No other affect is more central to the development of identity. None is closer to the experienced self, nor more disturbing. Shame is felt as an inner torment. It is the most poignant experience of the self by the self, whether felt in the humiliation of cowardice, or in the sense of failure to cope successfully with a challenge. Shame is a wound made from the inside, dividing us from both ourselves and others. (Kaufman, 1996, p. 16)

The repetition and replication of acts of racism perpetuate not only the racist acts but also the feelings triggered by those same acts of racism. The feelings triggered by the acts of racial oppression directed at the nine men in this study align with the feeling described by Kaufman (1996) which become internalized and shape the emotion of shame in negative significant ways which damages the identity, ideology and self-esteem of the individual and the group. These findings suggest patterns of feelings that are triggered within the individuals who experience acts of racism in their daily lives disturbing the affect of shame and increasing it to become the most important psychological component that perpetuates internalized racial oppression.

I was also surprised by Kaufman's explanation of how the human emotion called 'shame' is so huge and so damaging to the human spirit. Kaufman (1996) states: "Because shame is central to conscience, indignity, identity, and disturbances in self-functioning, this affect is the source of low self-esteem, poor self-concept or body image, self-doubt and insecurity, and diminished self-confidence" (p. 5). He says that just as it impacts the individual, it impacts families and communities and cultures and what's more it is something passed on from generation to generation. We hold it in our mentality and we recognize it as part of our personality. As a people of Mexican ancestry living in the United States, we hold in our minds not only the damage that is done by acts of racial oppression, but most importantly the damage that it does to us as individuals and as a population as far as our identity, our ideology, and our self-esteem. Having identities

shaped by shame keeps us from knowing who we truly are. Having ideologies shaped by shame keeps us from knowing where we stand. Kaufman states that:

Ideologies transcend both the person and society, linking them tightly together within a cosmology that both communicates and defines each person's place in the universe, delineates how to evaluate what is good and what is bad, and determines positive sanctions for conforming to the prescribed ideology and negative sanctions for deviating too sharply from it. Ideology unites identity and culture. (Kaufman, 1996, p. 298)

Having self-esteem shaped by shame keeps us from feeling we belong. Kaufman explains:

In the context of normal development, shame is the source of low self-esteem, diminished self-image, poor self-concept, and deficient body-image. Shame itself produces self-doubt and disrupts both security and confidence. It can become an impediment to the experience of belonging. (Kaufman, 1996, p. xvi)

The information gathered in response to the third question 'What did the men describe as the impact of internalizing racial oppression in their lives?' provided examples of the impact the acts of racial oppression and the feelings triggered by them had on the lives of the nine men. Again the information to document and describe the impact was obtained from examples provided in the data examining the four phases of their lives and the four perspectives within each phase. As a consequence of believing the racism lie imposed through acts of racism and affirmed by the feelings the racism acts triggered, the men's decision making competence was impaired by the false beliefs they had developed about themselves. The role the oppressed play in the process of their own oppression and the oppression of their own community is called internalized oppression "a concept currently widely used across a variety of disciplines and critical projects including contemporary critical pedagogy (see, for example Freire, 1970; McLaren,

1998; Tatum, 1997; Young, 1990), to describe and explain the experience of those who are members of subordinated, marginalized, or minority groups” (Tappan, 2006, p. 2116).

The men in this study committed acts of internalized racial oppression against other Americans of Mexican ancestry. Mateo belittled a family of Mexican ancestry who wanted to buy a house when he misused his power as a real estate broker to keep them from them from purchasing a house. Santiago was insulted because a fellow American of Mexican ancestry did not speak Spanish and proceeds to admonish him in the presence of others for his lack of interest in his culture. Andres’ involvement in local politics and the misinformation he possessed gave him the right to accuse and insult members of La Raza Unida party who were working the polls to get Americans of Mexican ancestry elected into office. Pablo excluded Americans of Mexican ancestry from his circle of friends because he judged them and then labeled them as confused, bitter, sad, and tormented and he didn’t want to add to his own bitterness, anger and confusion that already existed in his life.

According to Pheterson’s classic summary of internalized oppression the men committed acts of internalized racial oppression against themselves.

Internalized oppression is the incorporation and acceptance by individuals within an oppressed group of prejudices against them within a dominant society. Internalized oppression is likely to consist of self-hatred, self-concealment, fear of violence, feelings of inferiority, resignation, isolation, powerlessness and gratefulness for being allowed to survive. Internalized oppression is the mechanism within an oppressive system for perpetuating domination not only by external control but also by building subservience into the minds of the oppressed groups. (Pheterson, 1986, p. 148)

The men in this study committed acts of internalized racial oppression against themselves. Santiago was impacted by the time, expense and effort he had to invest in earning another Master’s degree in order to get a promotion because this additional, but

unnecessary credential made it easier for the promotion board members to justify their decision of promoting a minority. Pablo decided not to attend his college graduation ceremonies denying himself and his family the recognition that comes with achievement because he felt he didn't belong. Santiago retired from his job because he felt very frustrated with the false promises made by the university administration thus impacting him economically, socially and personally.

In general the men described feeling superior to others, practicing oppositional behavior, experiencing identity issues, choosing to hide from others, being unwilling to participate, acting superior, excluding others, discriminating based on skin color, passing on the legacy of the racism lie, dating based on skin color, behaving like a racist, manipulating friends and others, feeling contempt for similar others, changing their name, being unwilling to join school organizations, being unwilling to help students of Mexican ancestry, taking the blame, committing racial discrimination, misusing power, judging with extreme harshness, giving up, acting powerful, judging, avoiding, being unwilling to perform manual traits, overcompensating in order to be included, denying self, deciding to leave employment, lacking self-confidence, and making false assumptions about similar others. The impact internalized racial oppression had on the men is contained in the pattern of choices made by them.

Internalized Oppression: Socio-cultural or Psychological?

The role the oppressed play in the process of their own oppression and the oppression of their own community is called internalized oppression "a concept currently widely used across a variety of disciplines and critical projects including contemporary critical pedagogy (see, for example Freire, 1970; McLaren, 1998; Tatum, 1997; Young,

1990), to describe and explain the experience of those who are members of subordinated, marginalized, or minority groups” (Tappan, 2006, p. 2116). Internalized oppression has been described as socio-cultural versus psychological and is constantly and continuously encouraged in minority communities through the ongoing processes and relationships between minority communities and the privileged and powerful communities. Privileged and powerful communities who have internalized domination by accepting their community’s socially superior status as normal and deserved (Griffin, 1997). “Socio-cultural” refers to systematically embedded forces in the structures of our social lives, and “psychological” refers to the victim’s reaction to oppression which classifies that reaction as a psychological problem created by the victim, therefore belonging to the victim. As a result, the production and reproduction of oppression is supported and maintained by the privileged and powerful communities through the systemic, structural, and institutionalized forces created to protect privilege (Tappan). Traditionally internalized oppression has been explained wholly as internal, profound, fixed psychological qualities of the oppressed (Tappan). Using Bonilla-Silva’s (2003) argument that “whereas for most Whites racism is prejudice, for most people of color racism is systemic or institutionalized” (p. 8), Tappan points to the socio-cultural aspect of internalized oppression that has been obscured by the psychological aspect, and emphasizes that any elucidation to the quandary of privilege and oppression must address structural and systemic change as it does on personal alteration.

Little information was found in the literature regarding the impact internalized racial oppression had on the day to day decisions made by members of minority groups regarding their lives. The information gathered to answer the third question suggests that

many of the decisions made by the nine men did not serve their personal interests and those of other Americans of Mexican ancestry in their families and communities.

Model

The model provided in Figure 1 tries to capture in a diagram the findings of this research. The model contains two spheres. The smaller sphere is located within the bigger sphere. The bigger sphere represents a belief system founded on the truth about racism and perpetuates individual and collective social-psychological freedom. The smaller sphere represents a belief system founded on the lie practiced through racism which perpetuates individual and collective social-psychological bondage. This sphere sustains the falsehoods promoted by racism against persons of color and others in order to exclude them from exercising privilege and power. Within this sphere two social-psychological processes are exemplified in a simplistic way in order to be able to envision the complexity and convoluted-ness the racism lie sphere requires in perpetuating itself through individual, collective and systemic forces against those targeted for exclusion and thus oppression.

The first of the social-psychological processes demonstrates through a causation link the perpetuation of privilege and power for members of the White establishment. Through preferential racial acts grounded in the belief systems and established practices of that group, members of the establishment are able to feel included and experience social-psychological wholeness leading them to believe or internalize racial privilege, power and superiority.

The second social-psychological process is a creation of the first process since the members of that group have determined the rank persons of color and others have in the

race hierarchy due to the power they assume from believing their own racism lie. In the second social-psychological process members of the excluded population, like the nine American men of Mexican ancestry in this research, experience individual, collective and systemic oppression from members of the White establishment as a way of life. Again through a causation link, the second social-psychological process demonstrates the perpetuation of internalized racial oppression, shame and powerlessness for the members of the excluded group. Through oppressive racial acts grounded in the belief systems of the White establishment, members of the excluded groups experience acts of racial oppression through oppressive social-cultural scenes that induce self-diminishing feelings that inflame the shame emotion contributing to the internalized beliefs of powerlessness and inferiority which underpin internalized racial oppression.

In addition, both of these social-psychological processes contribute to the perpetuation of their own version of racism lie through cycles of replication. The members of the White establishment replicate those acts of inclusion and wholeness amongst themselves to reinforce the internalization of privilege and superiority. The members of the excluded groups also replicate those acts of racial oppression they have internalized. They replicate and direct acts of internalized racial oppression at others like them and at themselves. So, not only do the excluded groups endure the individual, collective and systemic racial oppression they receive from the White establishment but also from within their group who replicates the internalized racial oppression on one another and onto themselves because they believe the racism lie. In other words through their own actions they add to the bank of diminishing feelings that further inflame the

shame emotion that further exacerbates their internalized racial oppression, powerlessness and inferiority.

The model also suggests that through critical reflection, critical pedagogy and other critical examining processes the individuals and collectives trapped in the cycles of replication within the sphere representing the belief systems founded on the racism lie could be enabled to escape the individual and collective social psychological bondage the racism lie has on their lives. Examining and eliminating many of the social-cultural beliefs imbedded in our individual and collective attentions could change how we perceive ourselves and find ways to create psychological antidotes and vaccines that would prevent us from internalizing racial oppression. By moving into the sphere where the belief systems expose the truth about the racism lie, it is possible to experience individual and collective social-psychological freedom. This freedom could enable past captives of the racism lie to live from a perspective of wholeness, equality, respect, compassion, enlightenment, empowerment and other positive attributes that exemplify the golden rule of loving your neighbor as yourself.

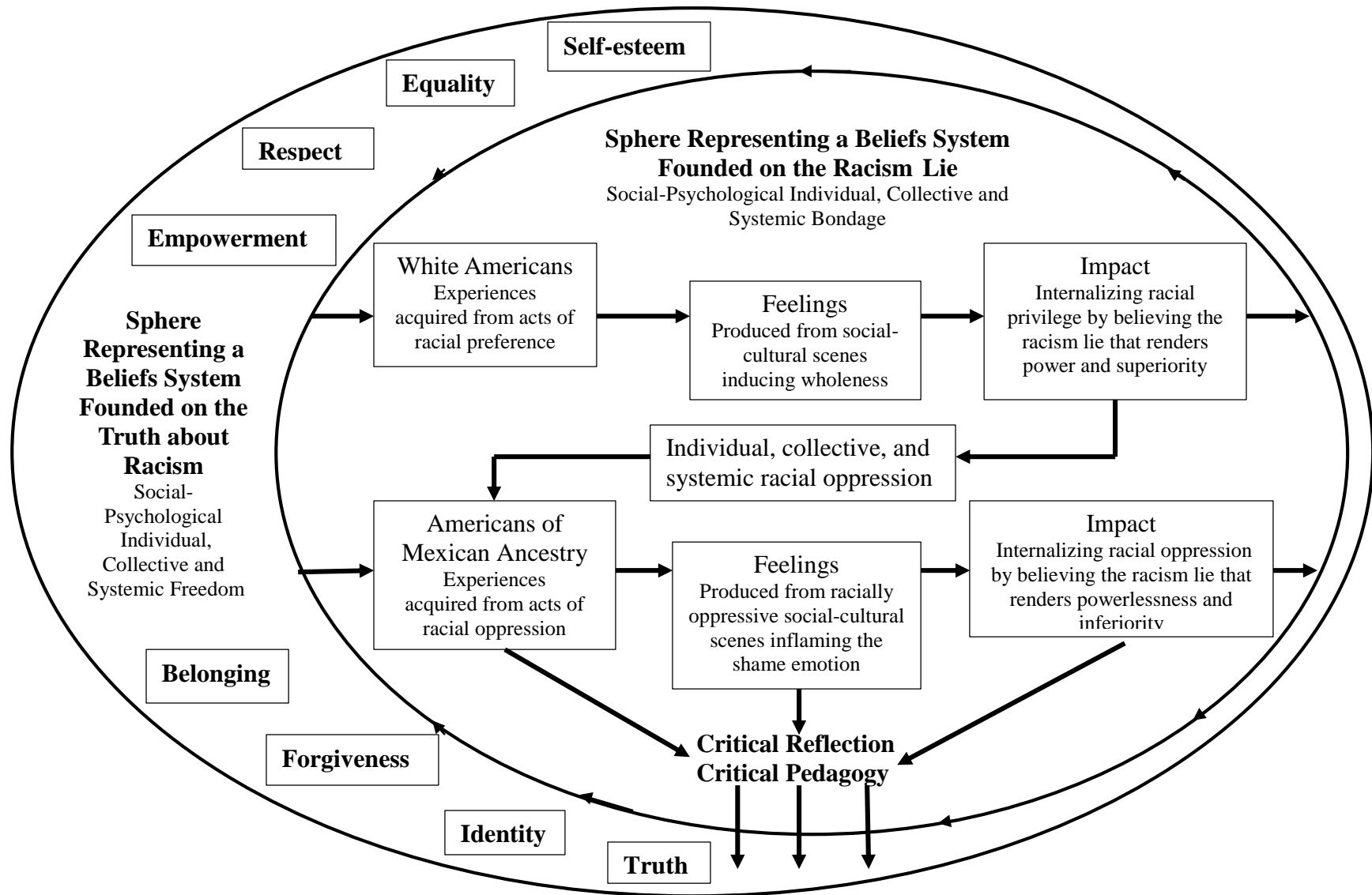


Figure 1: Model Suggesting Causation Links

Implications

Research. This research allowed me and the other eight men to delve into our experiences as children, teenagers, adults and mature adults covering an average life span of 60 years. Most of the men were born in the 1940s. These data are limited to the experiences of 9 mature adult American men of Mexican ancestry. This implies that similar studies could be conducted with younger men of Mexican ancestry from different generations. It also implies that similar studies could be conducted on American women of Mexican ancestry from different generations. Comparing the findings of studies like these could shed greater understanding of the underpinnings of internalized racial oppression.

The findings imply need for research that find ways to help young parents of Mexican ancestry understand internalized racial oppression so they avoid contributing to the cycle of internalized racial oppression perpetuated by the family.

The findings also imply the need for research that finds ways to protect our children and teenagers from these internal social-psychological injuries while in the care of our public educational systems. Such as developing guidelines that clearly demonstrate the processes of how racial oppression is internalized and the psychological damage it does to individuals and collectives. This information could be prepared for home use and classroom use. This would be in addition to the efforts already in place through bilingual education. We must find other solutions to helping children and teenagers of Mexican ancestry recognize, avoid, suppress and repel acts of racial oppression and the internalization of racial oppression.

Practice. The research suggests that the American population of Mexican ancestry will have additional information about racial oppression and internalized racial oppression that describes the social and psychological aspects of these phenomena.

Another implication is that we must educate the Mexican American population about their experiences deriving from racially oppressive social cultural interactive scenes and scripts and how they induce shame, powerlessness and internalized racial oppression that are stored, reproduced, elaborated and exaggerated in our minds and are then replicated in our behaviors and in the behaviors of others in our population.

We need to develop strategies to inform the American population of Mexican ancestry about how these negative scripts are internalized psychologically and ways to resist them through a conscious effort. Next educators, parents, and community members must find additional methods and techniques for examining our interpersonal behaviors to ensure we are not reproducing and replicating those negative scripts. Another implication is find ways to inform Americans of Mexican ancestry on how to avoid the reproduction of racially charged social-cultural scenes and how to avoid their internalization. Yet another implication suggests that we need to find ways through families, educators, employers, and communities to introduce social cultural interactive scripts within the habitus we intersect in our daily lives that induce power and wholeness so we can repeat these in our behaviors and externalize them socially. Last, it is important to find ways to help us internalize these positive scripts in our minds and reproduce them in our personal actions so as to enable us to restore our identities, ideologies and self-esteem.

Reflections on the Journey

When I began this journey I was an angry man who felt entrapped in a society that did not value me or others like me because of our skin color and ancestry. At the age of 59, after I had completed three years of studies in a doctorate program where I encountered overt acts of racism from members of my cohort, I decided to replace my anger with courage and take on the topic of internalized racial oppression for my dissertation. I decided to take on this topic because I realized that I believed the racist words and actions directed at me as true and personal and I wanted to find out why they affected me in such a profound way.

As I researched the topic of internalized racial oppression in order to prepare my proposal, the more interested I became in the topic and the more convinced I became about doing this research. Once my proposal was approved by the members of my committee, I searched for the men who were going to participate as co-researchers in the process of collecting the data for the study. I was able to present this topic to several men of Mexican ancestry in my circle of acquaintances and friends and was able to find eight men who met the qualifications and were willing to dedicate some of their time to exploring this topic. We set a date to meet continuously on a weekend for three days until we were able to complete the objectives of the proposal. We used a methodology founded in collaborative inquiry that was propelled by reflective synergy which was obtained through the performance of iterative cycles on each of the life histories presented by each of the men and myself. This part of the journey was especially transformational because all of the Subject/Co-researchers and I were affected by the knowledge we discovered about ourselves through this process. From that experience forward, I began to see my

life differently because I discovered that I was not alone in my life experiences and the perspectives I had developed to explain and justify them.

After spending many hours transcribing the data and then coding it, I tried to make sense of the data using the internalized racial oppression lens, the habitus lens and the shame lens. From the literature review I had learned to use different perspectives to analyze the data. I spent months and years viewing the data in ways that were not making sense. It was not until about a year ago that I applied the Critical Race Theory lens to analyze the data that it began to have meaning. Even though I was making progress I still was not satisfied with the outcomes from the perspective I was using. It was not until I traveled to Cuernavaca, Morelos, Mexico in May of 2014 that I became aware of “Caminando Unidos” and the methodology they were using to transform the lives of the destitute children they served and were having great successes. It was there I realized I had spent 66 years of my life believing a lie that kept me in social-psychological bondage. The lie was racism and I had now come to understand that I lived in a country and society that was founded on racism or falsehoods concocted about persons of color to oppress them by force and deprivation in order to ensure their place in the racially constructed hierarchy in order to protect and perpetuate by the lie. Uncovering this truth was a turning point in my research and in my life because now I had found a new lens I could apply in using the Critical Race Theory perspective. I discovered that a few others had classified racism as a lie believed by all who lived by the lie both in internalized racial privilege and internalized racial oppression. By understanding this phenomenon I have been able to modify my world view and have learned that I don’t have to absorb all of this non-sense because it is a lie and that it is possible to change my beliefs and place

them where the truth is found. I have learned that in order to live in the truth I must forgive myself for having believed all those lies, I must forgive all those who perpetuate and benefit from the lie and forgive all those, who like myself, believed the lie and suffered the life limitations created by believing the lie. This forgiveness which I have already experienced has allowed to me to develop a great love for myself and my fellow brothers and sisters. This journey has been one of transformation and transcendence in my life.

Summary of Chapter

This chapter discussed the purpose of the study and the research questions designed to produce descriptions of the acts of racial oppression directed at the men, the feelings resulting from internalizing these acts of oppression, and the impact internalizing these feelings had on their lives. Also included was a short description of the methodology used to conduct the research. A comparison of the findings to the literature demonstrated how the findings contained in the answers to the research questions related to previous research. It also looked at information that examined the underpinnings of internalized racial oppression from a socio-cultural and psychological point of view. A model suggesting causation links was introduced to capture the findings of this research. Finally, implications for both research and practice were provided emphasizing the need for future research to expand our knowledge regarding the underpinnings of internalized racial oppression from a social-psychological perspective and to create practices that inform the American population of Mexican ancestry of ways to recognize, resist, avoid replication, and overcome the social-psychological bondage derived from internalizing racial oppression.

APPENDIX SECTION

APPENDIX A

Participant's pseudonym	Age	Education	Marital Status	Children	Religion	Military
Mateo		HS	Divorced	Yes	Catholic	Yes
Lucas	55	Some college	Married	Yes	Catholic	No
Marcos		MS	Married	Yes	Catholic	Yes
Andres	64	BBA	Married	Yes	Catholic	No
Juan		MS	Married	No	Catholic	Yes
Felipe	59	BA	Married	Yes	Catholic	Yes
Santiago		Ph. D	Divorced	Yes	Catholic	Yes
Pedro	57	Ph. D	Married	Yes	Catholic	No
Pablo	58	MSIS	Married	Yes	Catholic	Yes

APPENDIX B

Research Consent Form

Title of Project: Internalized Oppression in the Mexican American Community

Introduction

This research consent form is for the Mexican American men living in Austin, Texas whom I am inviting to participate in my doctoral dissertation qualitative collaborative inquiry study, titled “Internalized Oppression in the Mexican American Community.” Please read carefully the following information before you decide whether or not you consent to participate.

Contact Information

If you have any questions now or in the future about your involvement in this research you may contact:

Principal Investigator: Lucio Varela

2616 Lazy Oaks Drive, Austin, Texas, 78745

(512) 442-0511- lvarela83@sbcglobal.net

Name of Organization: Texas State University

Name of Chairperson: Dr. Ann Brooks,

Educational Administration and Psychological Services

Department

Academic Services Building South 323,

Texas State University

601 University Drive

San Marcos, Texas 78666,

Purpose of Research

You are invited to participate in a study that involves researching internalized oppression in the Mexican American community. The purpose of this research project is to contribute to the understanding of how internalized oppression functions and contributes to the limited life experiences of persons and communities of color in the United States. We will examine the question of how we the members of the Mexican American community internalize oppression and in turn use that internalized oppression to oppress ourselves and others in our community.

Selection of Participants

You were selected as a possible participant in this study because you are a Mexican American man between the ages of fifty five and sixty five who has lived in Austin, Texas for the past three decades. You have shown to be enthusiastic about doing this research and have expressed commitment to carry out the research.

Procedures

If you decide to participate, the eight subject co-researchers and the principal researcher will meet, at no cost to you, for a one weekend retreat session at a central Texas facility. The location and dates of the weekend retreat will have been decided by you and the other subject co-researchers, through consensus, prior to you being asked to sign this research consent form. Data will be collected continuously from the beginning to the end of the retreat. During the retreat, we will share our life histories in relationship to both our White culture and our Mexican American culture experiences. We will collect and analyze the data simultaneously. For each life history shared, the research collaborators

will engage in a dialogue and reflection process to analyze the data, identify common themes and weave them together.

Benefits to Participants

By participating in this study, you will have an opportunity to reflect on and share the critical events, thoughts, feelings, and meanings significant to you in the development of your Mexican American ness. The result of this study will provide the framework to understand the learning experiences that have shaped and formed our Mexican American ideologies. In addition, you will spend a weekend beginning Friday at 5:00 PM to Sunday noon at a facility conducive to delivering a professional collaborative inquiry process and to providing you with a comfortable place to rest and socialize during non-research periods.

Risks to Participants

There are minimal physical and psychological risks to you during your participation, cooperation, and collaboration in this research. Should you experience stress or trauma as a result of sharing your life history or learning about others' life histories through the collaborative inquiry process that will help us document and describe the socio/cultural aspects of internalized oppression which we all experience, Dr. Israel Najera, Senior Staff Counselor with the Texas State University Counseling Center, will be available to assist you. Other mental health referral sources are: Capital Area Mental Health Center (512)302-1000, Carolyn Poole LPC LCDC (512) 327-2272, and Austin Counseling and Psych Services (512) 345-8195.

Voluntary Participation

Your decision to participate in this research is voluntary therefore your participation or non-participation will not prejudice your future relations with Texas State University or your relations with me.

Right to Refuse or Withdraw

If you decide to participate in this research study, you are free to discontinue participation at any time without prejudice.

IRB Contacts

Any questions you may have about the research and research participants' rights, and research-related injuries, you should direct to one or both of the Internal Review Board (IRB) co- chairs, Dr. Eric Schmidt (512 245-3979 – es17@txstate.edu) and/or Dr. Lisa Lloyd, (512-245-8358 – LL12@txstate.edu), or to the OSP Administrator, Ms. Becky Northcut, at (512-245-2102 - ospirb@txstate.edu).

Confidentiality

Any information obtained in connection with this study that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission. Your name and work affiliation will not be disclosed. In the sessions occurring the weekend of the collaborative inquiry retreat, the group will be videotaped and audio taped together as we conduct the research. After the retreat, the tapes will be transcribed. During the transcription process the tapes will stored securely under lock and key in the residence of the researcher. The tapes will be destroyed after they are transcribed. If the researcher desires to publish any of the data derived from the dissertation project, this will be done with the full approval of the participants.

Certificate of Consent

This research has been reviewed and approved by Texas State University's Institutional Review Board. The IRB approval number for this research is

_____.

*I have read all the information provided on this form, am at least 18 years of age, and **consent** to participate in this study.*

Signature

Date

Please print your name here.

If you do not consent to participate, you do not need to sign this form.

Signature of researcher _____

Date _____

APPENDIX C

CRITICAL INCIDENT: WAYS WE OPPRESSED OTHER MEXICAN AMERICANS

(Check one - ☐ Childhood years ☐ Teenage years ☐ Adult Years ☐ Mature Adult Years)

Think back to each of the above phases of your life and try to remember a time when **you felt superior to another Mexican American and victimized that person** through your words or actions. Briefly describe this episode in vignette form, making sure you include a description of the situation, description of your feelings and what you did or said.

Please write your response below. You can exceed the space provided on this page and you can provide more than one example for each phase of your life if you are so inclined. The more information I collect the better the research. Save the critical incident data for each phase you write about and send me the four documents you will generate for the chapter that will talk about the ways we oppressed other Mexican Americans.

This is a difficult thing to ask of ourselves because it involves self-critical reflection and sharing it with others, but this information is most important to this research because it will answer that part of the question that asks what we did with the oppression we internalized. How did we use it against other Mexican Americans? To provide a response, we must be willing to search deep and carefully and must be willing to offer it as honestly as possible even though our oppressive words and or actions may be hard to admit and share. This reflection will most likely trigger shame and hurt, but more important it will generate awareness.

Critical incident form Stephen Brookfield (1990). *The Skillful Teacher*. San Francisco: Josey-Bass.

CRITICAL INCIDENT CODING:

The situation

The emotions felt

Words and actions

Additional codes

CRITICAL INCIDENT: **WAYS WE OPPRESSED OUR SELVES**

(Check one - ☐ Childhood years ☐ Teenage years ☐ Adult Years ☐ Mature Adult Years)

Think back to each of the above phases of your life and try to remember a time when you thought or felt inferior and/or victimized by **you** through **your own** thoughts and feelings about **you**, and therefore **affecting your decisions and consequently limiting your life experiences**. Briefly describe this episode in vignette form, making sure you include a description of the situation, description of your thoughts and feelings and what you did to limit your persona's voice or participation.

Please write your response below. You can exceed the space provided on this page and you can provide more than one example for each phase of your life if you are so inclined. The more information I collect the better the research. Save the critical incident data for each phase you write about and send me the four documents you will generate for the chapter that will talk about the ways we oppressed ourselves.

-his is a difficult thing to ask of ourselves because it involves self-critical reflection and sharing it with others, but this information is most important to this research because it will answer that part of the question that asks what we did with the oppression we internalized. How did we use it against ourselves? To provide a response, we must be willing to search deep and carefully and must be willing to offer it as honestly as possible, even though our oppressive thoughts and/or actions against our selves may be hard to admit and share. This reflection will most likely trigger shame and hurt, but more important it will generate awareness.

Critical incident form Stephen Brookfield (1990). *The Skillful Teacher*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

CRITICAL INCIDENT CODING:

The situation

The thought and emotions felt

Words and actions

Additional codes

APPENDIX D

Internalized Oppression in the Mexican American Community				
Childhood Life History Presentation Notes & Comments				
Name of Presenter:		Name of Co-Researcher:		
Date: Time: White Community Experience: ____ Mexican American Experience ____				
Notes from presentation		Comments on notes from presentation		
Circle topics below you heard in presentation				
Ancestry	Education	History	Legal system	Punishment
assumptions	Employment	Honesty	Love	Racism
Beliefs	Facial features	Hope	Mercy	Religion
Body shape	Fairness	Illness	Mexican	Sex
Brown	Family	Inventiveness	Mexican	Sincerity
Business	Fear	Involvement	American	Skin color
Change	Food	Joy	Mission	Sports
Charity	Followers	Judgment	Money	Suffering
Chicano	Forgiveness	Justice	Movies	Talent
Community	Friends	Kindness	Music	Time
Compassion	Generosity	Knowledge	Neighborhood	Values

Crime	Gentleness	Laborers	Non	Vengeance
Crying	Gossip	Language	professionals	Wisdom
Death	Greatness	Laughter	Opportunity	Women
Discussion	Happiness	Leaders	Peace	
Dress	Heroes	Learning	Politics	
			Professionals	
			Prejudice	

Internalized Oppression Definition

- Involuntary reaction to oppression originating outside one's group and resulting in group members loathing themselves, disliking others in their group, and blaming themselves for the oppression.
- Consists of self-hatred, self-concealment, fear of violence, feelings of inferiority, resignation, isolation, powerlessness, gratefulness for being allowed to survive, and subservience.

Internalized Oppression by Force

- Imposing objects, labels, roles, experiences, or a set of living conditions that are unwanted, painful and negatively influence the psychological and physical well-being of others.
- Examples include bullets, shackles, fists, unhealthy food, messages that cause or sustain pain, along with low self-efficacy and reduced self-determination, hard labor that is demeaning, job roles that are degrading, media images that are negative, and messages that foster and maintain distorted beliefs.

Oppression by Deprivation

- Deprives others of objects, labels, roles, experiences, or a set of living conditions that are desirable and positively influence their psychological and physical well-being.
- Examples include deprivation of loved ones, respect, or dignity; neglect such a deprivation of love, care, support, or vital services, as well as basic material needs such as food, shelter, and clothing; deprivation of a commodity such as a house or car, or a plot of land in a desirable neighborhood; deprivation of one's children, parent, friends, freedom, or even one's childhood; deprivation of religious or spiritual practices, and deprivation of desirable jobs because of dominant majority's overt and covert beliefs that inferiority is attached to culture race, gender, disability or sexual preference.

Internalized Oppression in the Mexican American Community Data Analysis				
Process Form				
Reflective Synergy: A Research Model for Collaborative Inquiry				
Name of Presenter:			Name of Co-Researcher:	
Date:	Time:	Childhood Life History	White Community: ____	M. A. Community: ____

1. Dialogue: Explore more deeply the ideas that were generated from the childhood life history. Determine direction for the inquiry topic.
2. Reflection: Co-Researchers write your thoughts on how this information relates to Internalized Oppression in the Mexican American community. You think peace may include metaphors, and other artistic forms of expression to access and to articulate ideas, feelings, or knowledge that words cannot represent.
3. Reflection: Now borrow another Co-Researcher's Data Analysis Process Form and review what was written in #2. Reflection. Extend the ideas in writing. Questions notes and comments are identified for subsequent conversation.
4. Dialogue: Co-Researchers engage in dialogue about the writings and identify salient themes that emerge. Clarification and expansion of ideas expressed non-verbally and non-rationally also occur as part of this dialogue process.
5. Reflection: Co-Researchers individually reflect on and write about the themes.
6. Dialogue: Co-Researchers: engage in dialogue around each theme where emergent ideas and insights are more fully explored, critiqued, and extended.
7. Reflection: Co-Researchers individually analyze the data, adding further insights.

8. Dialogue: Researchers collectively analyze the data and weave the themes together.				
Internalized Oppression in the Mexican American Community				
Teenage Years Life History Presentation Notes & Comments				
Name of Presenter:			Name of Co-Researcher:	
Date: Time: White Community Experience: ____ Mexican American Experience ____				
Notes from presentation			Comments on notes from presentation	
Circle topics below you heard in presentation				
Ancestry	Education	History	Legal system	Punishment
Assumptions	Employment	Honesty	Love	Racism
Beliefs	Facial features	Hope	Mercy	Religion
Body shape	Fairness	Illness	Mexican	Sex
Brown	Family	Inventiveness	Mexican	Sincerity
Business	Fear	Involvement	American	Skin color
Change	Food	Joy	Mission	Sports
Charity	Followers	Judgment	Money	Suffering
Chicano	Forgiveness	Justice	Movies	Talent
Community	Friends	Kindness	Music	Time

Compassion	Generosity	Knowledge	Neighborhood	Values
Crime	Gentleness	Laborers	Non	Vengeance
Crying	Gossip	Language	professionals	Wisdom
Death	Greatness	Laughter	Opportunity	Women
Discussion	Happiness	Leaders	Peace	
Dress	Heroes	Learning	Politics	
			Professionals	
			Prejudice	

Internalized Oppression Definition

- Involuntary reaction to oppression originating outside one's group and resulting in group members loathing themselves, disliking others in their group, and blaming themselves for the oppression.
- Consists of self-hatred, self-concealment, fear of violence, feelings of inferiority, resignation, isolation, powerlessness, gratefulness for being allowed to survive, and subservience.

Oppression by Force

- Imposing objects, labels, roles, experiences, or a set of living conditions that are unwanted, painful and negatively influence the psychological and physical well-being of others.
- Examples include bullets, shackles, fists, unhealthy food, messages that cause or sustain pain, along with low self-efficacy and reduced self-determination,

hard labor that is demeaning, job roles that are degrading, media images that are negative, and messages that foster and maintain distorted beliefs.

Oppression by Deprivation

- Deprives others of objects, labels, roles, experiences, or a set of living conditions that are desirable and positively influence their psychological and physical well-being.
- Examples include deprivation of loved ones, respect, or dignity; neglect such a deprivation of love, care, support, or vital services, as well as basic material needs such as food, shelter, and clothing; deprivation of a commodity such as a house or car, or a plot of land in a desirable neighborhood; deprivation of one's children, parent, friends, freedom, or even one's childhood; deprivation of religious or spiritual practices, and deprivation of desirable jobs because of dominant majority's overt and covert belief's that inferiority is attached to culture race, gender, disability or sexual preference.

Internalized Oppression in the Mexican American Community Data Analysis				
Process Form				
Reflective Synergy: A Research Model for Collaborative Inquiry				
Name of Presenter:			Name of Co-Researcher:	
Date:	Time:	Teenage Years Life History	White Community: ____	M. A. Community: ____

<p>1. Dialogue: Explore more deeply the ideas that were generated from the childhood life history. Determine direction for the inquiry topic.</p>
<p>2. Reflection: Co-Researchers write your thoughts on how this information relates to Internalized Oppression in the Mexican American community. Your think piece may include metaphors, and other artistic forms of expression to access and to articulate ideas, feelings, or knowledge that words cannot represent.</p>
<p>3. Reflection: Now borrow another Co-Researcher's Data Analysis Process Form and review what was written in #2. Reflection. Extend the ideas in writing. Questions notes and comments are identified for subsequent conversation.</p>
<p>4. Dialogue: Co-Researchers engage in dialogue about the writings and identify salient themes that emerge. Clarification and expansion of ideas expressed non-verbally and non-rationally also occur as part of this dialogue process.</p>
<p>5. Reflection: Co-Researchers individually reflect on and write about the themes.</p>
<p>6. Dialogue: Co-Researchers: engage in dialogue around each theme where emergent ideas and insights are more fully explored, critiqued, and extended.</p>
<p>7. Reflection: Co-Researchers individually analyze the data, adding further insights.</p>

8. Dialogue: Researchers collectively analyze the data and weave the themes together.

Internalized Oppression in the Mexican American Community				
Adulthood Life History Presentation Notes & Comments				
Name of Presenter:			Name of Co-Researcher:	
Date: Time: White Community Experience: ____ Mexican American Experience ____				
Notes from presentation			Comments on notes from presentation	
Circle topics below you heard in presentation				
Ancestry	Education	History	Legal system	Punishment
Assumptions	Employment	Honesty	Love	Racism
Beliefs	Facial features	Hope	Mercy	Religion
Body shape	Fairness	Illness	Mexican	Sex
Brown	Family	Inventiveness	Mexican	Sincerity
Business	Fear	Involvement	American	Skin color

Change	Food	Joy	Mission	Sports
Charity	Followers	Judgment	Money	Suffering
Chicano	Forgiveness	Justice	Movies	Talent
Community	Friends	Kindness	Music	Time
Compassion	Generosity	Knowledge	Neighborhood	Values
Crime	Gentleness	Laborers	Non	Vengeance
Crying	Gossip	Language	professionals	Wisdom
Death	Greatness	Laughter	Opportunity	Women
Discussion	Happiness	Leaders	Peace	
Dress	Heroes	Learning	Politics	
			Professionals	
			Prejudice	

Internalized Oppression Definition

- Involuntary reaction to oppression originating outside one's group and resulting in group members loathing themselves, disliking others in their group, and blaming themselves for the oppression.
- Consists of self-hatred, self-concealment, fear of violence, feelings of inferiority, resignation, isolation, powerlessness, gratefulness for being allowed to survive, and subservience.

Oppression by Force

- Imposing objects, labels, roles, experiences, or a set of living conditions that are unwanted, painful and negatively influence the psychological and physical well-being of others.

- Examples include bullets, shackles, fists, unhealthy food, messages that cause or sustain pain, along with low self-efficacy and reduced self-determination, hard labor that is demeaning, job roles that are degrading, media images that are negative, and messages that foster and maintain distorted beliefs.

Oppression by Deprivation

- Deprives others of objects, labels, roles, experiences, or a set of living conditions that are desirable and positively influence their psychological and physical well-being.
- Examples include deprivation of loved ones, respect, or dignity; neglect such a deprivation of love, care, support, or vital services, as well as basic material needs such as food, shelter, and clothing; deprivation of a commodity such as a house or car, or a plot of land in a desirable neighborhood; deprivation of one's children, parent, friends, freedom, or even one's childhood; deprivation of religious or spiritual practices, and deprivation of desirable jobs because of dominant majority's overt and covert beliefs that inferiority is attached to culture race, gender, disability or sexual preference.

Internalized Oppression in the Mexican American Community Data Analysis	
Process Form	
Reflective Synergy: A Research Model for Collaborative Inquiry	
Name of Presenter:	Name of Co-Researcher:

Date:	Time:	Adulthood Life History	White Community: ____	M. A. Community: ____
<p>1. Dialogue: Explore more deeply the ideas that were generated from the childhood life history. Determine direction for the inquiry topic.</p> <p>2. Reflection: Co-Researchers write your thoughts on how this information relates to Internalized Oppression in the Mexican American community. Your think piece may include metaphors, and other artistic forms of expression to access and to articulate ideas, feelings, or knowledge that words cannot represent.</p> <p>3. Reflection: Now borrow another Co-Researcher's Data Analysis Process Form and review what was written in #2. Reflection. Extend the ideas in writing. Questions notes and comments are identified for subsequent conversation.</p> <p>4. Dialogue: Co-Researchers engage in dialogue about the writings and identify salient themes that emerge. Clarification and expansion of ideas expressed non-verbally and non-rationally also occur as part of this dialogue process.</p> <p>5. Reflection: Co-Researchers individually reflect on and write about the themes.</p> <p>6. Dialogue: Co-Researchers: engage in dialogue around each theme where emergent ideas and insights are more fully explored, critiqued, and extended.</p>				

7. Reflection: Co-Researchers individually analyze the data, adding further insights.
8. Dialogue: Researchers collectively analyze the data and weave the themes together.

Internalized Oppression in the Mexican American Community				
Mature Adulthood Life History Presentation Notes & Comments				
Name of Presenter:		Name of Co-Researcher:		
Date: Time: White Community Experience: ____ Mexican American Experience ____				
Notes from presentation		Comments on notes from presentation		
Circle topics below you heard in presentation				
Ancestry	Education	History	Legal system	Punishment
Assumptions	Employment	Honesty	Love	Racism
Beliefs	Facial features	Hope	Mercy	Religion
Body shape	Fairness	Illness	Mexican	Sex
Brown	Family	Inventiveness	Mexican	Sincerity
Business	Fear	Involvement	American	Skin color

Change	Food	Joy	Mission	Sports
Charity	Followers	Judgment	Money	Suffering
Chicano	Forgiveness	Justice	Movies	Talent
Community	Friends	Kindness	Music	Time
Compassion	Generosity	Knowledge	Neighborhood	Values
Crime	Gentleness	Laborers	Non	Vengeance
Crying	Gossip	Language	professionals	Wisdom
Death	Greatness	Laughter	Opportunity	Women
Discussion	Happiness	Leaders	Peace	
Dress	Heroes	Learning	Politics	
			Professionals	
			Prejudice	
Internalized Oppression Definition <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Involuntary reaction to oppression originating outside one's group and resulting in group members loathing themselves, disliking others in their group, and blaming themselves for the oppression. ■ Consists of self-hatred, self-concealment, fear of violence, feelings of inferiority, resignation, isolation, powerlessness, gratefulness for being allowed to survive, and subservience. 				
Oppression by Force				

- Imposing objects, labels, roles, experiences, or a set of living conditions that are unwanted, painful and negatively influence the psychological and physical well-being of others.
- Examples include bullets, shackles, fists, unhealthy food, messages that cause or sustain pain, along with low self-efficacy and reduced self-determination, hard labor that is demeaning, job roles that are degrading, media images that are negative, and messages that foster and maintain distorted beliefs.

Oppression by Deprivation

- Deprives others of objects, labels, roles, experiences, or a set of living conditions that are desirable and positively influence their psychological and physical well-being.
- Examples include deprivation of loved ones, respect, or dignity; neglect such as deprivation of love, care, support, or vital services, as well as basic material needs such as food, shelter, and clothing; deprivation of a commodity such as a house or car, or a plot of land in a desirable neighborhood; deprivation of one's children, parent, friends, freedom, or even one's childhood; deprivation of religious or spiritual practices, and deprivation of desirable jobs because of dominant majority's overt and covert beliefs that inferiority is attached to culture race, gender, disability or sexual preference.

<p align="center">Internalized Oppression in the Mexican American Community Data Analysis</p> <p align="center">Process Form</p>				
<p align="center">Reflective Synergy: A Research Model for Collaborative Inquiry</p>				
<p>Name of Presenter:</p>			<p>Name of Co-Researcher:</p>	
<p>Date:</p>	<p>Time:</p>	<p>Mature Adulthood Life History</p>	<p>White Community: ____</p>	<p>M. A. Community: ____</p>
<p>1. Dialogue: Explore more deeply the ideas that were generated from the childhood life history. Determine direction for the inquiry topic.</p> <p>2. Reflection: Co-Researchers write your thoughts on how this information relates to Internalized Oppression in the Mexican American community. Your think peace may include metaphors, and other artistic forms of expression to access and to articulate ideas, feelings, or knowledge that words cannot represent.</p> <p>3. Reflection: Now borrow another Co-Researcher’s Data Analysis Process Form and review what was written in #2. Reflection. Extend the ideas in writing. Questions notes and comments are identified for subsequent conversation.</p> <p>4. Dialogue: Co-Researchers engage in dialogue about the writings and identify salient themes that emerge. Clarification and expansion of ideas expressed non-verbally and non- rationally also occur as part of this dialogue process.</p>				

5. Reflection: Co-Researchers individually reflect on and write about the themes.
6. Dialogue: Co-Researchers: engage in dialogue around each theme where emergent ideas and insights are more fully explored, critiqued, and extended.
7. Reflection: Co-Researchers individually analyze the data, adding further insights.
8. Dialogue: Researchers collectively analyze the data and weave the themes together.

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