

AN ANALYSIS OF COLORISM IN THE MEXICAN IMMIGRANT COMMUNITY

**A Community Based-Research Project
Conducted in Yakima, Washington**



DIANA GIL VARGAS



ABSTRACT

My research poses the following question: how does colorism affect the Mexican immigrant community in Yakima, Washington? Colorism is the allocation of privilege or disadvantage based on one's skin color. In Yakima, Mexican immigrants suffer marginalization not only based upon their class and citizenship, but also their skin color. This latter form of discrimination rarely appears in the scholarly literature or in public discussions of immigrant rights. To learn how colorism as a form of racism and discrimination impacts the lives of Mexican immigrants, I conducted two focus groups in Yakima, Washington in partnership with a non-profit organization called La Casa Hogar which provides educational services to the Latino population in the area. The results of my research show that participants connected colorism to different forms of discrimination that intersect with age, gender, language, and [dis]ability, etc. Additionally, themes emerged from participants' experiences about how discrimination exists in the work place, within the family and the Mexican culture, and how racist rhetoric is communicated. All these themes turned into a discussion of how discrimination effects Mexicans physiologically, mentally and emotionally. This research deepens our understanding of this important issue and to remind professionals such as policy makers, planners, and educators that social constructs around skin color continue to negatively affect marginalized communities of color.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	2
INTRODUCTION	1
METHODOLOGY	3
Focus Group Setting	3
Recruitment Process.....	4
Focus Group Preparation	4
Analysis through Coding	5
Methodology Recommendations	5
RESEARCH ANALYSIS FINDINGS.....	7
Effects of discrimination within the Mexican community.....	8
Discrimination within the Mexican Culture	11
Discrimination in the Work Place	13
Communication and expression of racist language	14
Conclusion and Recommendations	16
LITERATURE REVIEW.....	18
Internalized Racism and Oppression	18
Systematic Internalized Oppression	18
Manifestations of Internalized Oppression	20
Racial Categorization of Mexican Immigrants.....	22
Explanation of Racialization	22
Racialization of Mexican Americans	23
Race Relations and Mexican Immigration in the United States.....	23
1848-1909: Mexican American War and the First Mexican Americans.....	23
1910-1929: Mexican Immigration.....	24
BACKGROUND HISTORY.....	26
Colorism in the United States	26
Colorism in Mexico.....	27
Works Cited.....	29
Appendix.....	30

INTRODUCTION

My senior project focuses on analyzing the effects of colorism in the Mexican immigrant community by conducting primary and secondary research. According to Richard Harvey, “Colorism is the allocation of privilege and disadvantage according to the lightness or darkness of one’s skin.” (430). The cultural and political practices based on colorism produce inequality and discrimination, disadvantaging communities of color throughout society. I’ve found that colorism functions on two levels, culturally and institutionally. Richard Harvey explains in his work “A New Way Forward” that institutional colorism “is an organization or school using skin tone as a factor in admittance and being willing to allow individuals of an undesirable skin tone into the organization” (447). Therefore, institutional colorism creates disadvantages and privileges among communities of color in which people of color with light skin tend to attain educational, job, and housing opportunities, whereas people with darker skin struggle to attain the same opportunities. Additionally, as defined by Harvey, “cultural colorism might occur when a group of people with a less desirable skin tone is negatively portrayed in the media or, conversely, the common representations of beauty are consistent with the more desirable skin tone” (447). To clarify Harvey’s definition, darker skin tone is not less desirable rather it’s seen as less desirable because lighter skin tends to be seen as beautiful and more desirable, hence producing more privileges for people. This can cause psychological trauma for people of color with dark skin to change and alter one’s physical appearance to attain a whiter resemblance. Additionally, cultural colorism, unlike institutional colorism, is based on more informal practices such as friendship networks, marriage, and everyday social interactions. Because cultural colorism is directly impacted by institutional colorism this can cause resentment and hate to arise within the same racial and ethnic groups. Colorism is a complex social construct that has caused great harm to communities of color because this system was created to privilege white people at the expense of marginalizing and discriminating against people of color based on skin color. Although we have made progress in the United States, colorism continues to exist through new forms that not only discriminates against people of color based on skin color, but class and citizenship. This only continues to marginalize communities of color through discrimination and inequality. To better understand how colorism affects a marginalized community, I focused on researching and analyzing the Mexican immigrant community from Yakima, Washington.

Colorism affects immigrants in the U.S. differently because they have a different understanding of how colorism functions due to the racialization system from their country of origin. When immigrants migrate to the U.S. they may either experience different or similar circumstances of discrimination because their racialization in a new country can change. As a Mexican immigrant, myself, I am aware of how institutional and cultural forms of colorism and discrimination impacts my community. However, I've noticed that some Mexican immigrants have a different understanding of this process in which racist and discriminatory actions are accepted or viewed as normal. This is a problem because if Mexican immigrants experience discrimination at work, school, or society based on their skin color, physical appearance, and language, such actions go unreported or are not discussed. Part of my primary research is to learn how Mexican immigrants understand discrimination and how it impacts their lives.

METHODOLOGY

Focus Group Setting

The primary research for this study was conducted in Yakima, WA in collaboration with La Casa Hogar (LCH), a non-profit organization that provides educational services for the Latino population in Yakima. My two-year relationship with the organization allowed for a successful partnership and implementation of the qualitative research methodology. Additionally, with the support from the Executive Director, Program Coordinator, and entire LCH staff, allowed for open transparency and communication throughout the project.

I coordinated and facilitated two focus groups with a total of 13 participants. The first focus group was facilitated in the morning with 11 participants, all of whom were women. The age ranged from early thirties to mid-eighties. The second focus group was facilitated in the evening and I only had two participants. Both participants were male and they were 24 and 36 years old. Originally I anticipated six participants from both focus groups because within the Latino community it can be difficult to recruit participants for research and community engagement activities. The community comes from a working and labor class, which can make it difficult for them to participate in anything other than work or family related activities. Additionally, childcare, language, and differing educational backgrounds can contribute to low turnout rates. However, the turnout rate overall was more than anticipated which led to a great conversation.

I asked a total of seven open ended questions that all related to racism, discrimination, and colorism. For the first focus group, not all questions were asked because we ran out of time whereas with the second focus group all the questions were asked and stayed under the one-and-a-half-hour timeframe. This difference in time variation is due to the number of participants that participated in each group. Another important component that helped enrich the focus group conversations was the Class Coordinator's contribution in the discussions. Having her engage in the conversations I think helped research participants feel comfortable in the discussions because she would answer questions or provide her own perspective. She would also ask participants follow-up questions as well as address questions to the entire group. Therefore, when conducting research that involves participation with an organization and accessing community participation

it's important to build a relationship and trust with the organization and set a mutual understanding of people's involvement and purpose of the project.

Recruitment Process

Before conducting my focus groups, I worked on the recruitment process two weeks prior to the focus groups. For one week, the Class Coordinator promoted my research and focus groups to participants of La Casa Hogar. The following week (during spring break) I visited La Casa Hogar to recruit participants and conducted my focus groups that same week. Weeks before the recruitment process I created flyers in Spanish (see appendix) for La Casa Hogar to distribute the information to their student participants. Interested participants were required to fill out a contact and demographic survey (see appendix) to participate in the focus groups. The contact information was to contact participants to remind them about the focus groups, update participants on changes, and for participants to contact me (my contact information was provided on the flyers). Additionally, on the survey I asked participants to provide their demographic information such as their age, gender, country of origin and region to provide an overview analysis of participants in my final report. Because I had participants provide personal information such as their names I used pseudonyms for each participant in my report to keep them anonymous.

Focus Group Preparation

Other ways that I prepared prior to conducting my focus groups was by traveling to Yakima during winter quarter to discuss my research with the entire staff of La Casa Hogar. This provided me with the opportunity to address questions and receive feedback from the staff on how I could best prepare for my focus groups. Because I was aware that in discussing experiences of discrimination and racism can trigger traumatic experiences I met with a counselor from the UW Counseling Center to learn of strategies for how to facilitate discussions about discrimination and racism. Additionally, during Winter quarter of 2018 I took a history course called Modern Mexico to learn more about the culture, society, and racial structure in Mexico. This course allowed me to learn more about how colorism is practiced in Mexico and that colorism translates to pigmentocracia in Spanish. I also wrote a two-page report specifically

on pigmentocracia and my final essay, a seven-page report, on the intersection of pigmentocracia, discrimination, and mestizaje in Mexico. This consisted of reading creditable and scholarly works, mostly in Spanish and English. Taking this course helped me prepare for my focus groups and translating materials to Spanish such as my flyers, demographic survey, my open-ended questions, and audio recordings. Additionally, I had the opportunity to take a 2017 summer course called “Engaged Scholarship: Conducting Research for Equity” through the Center for Communication, Difference, and Equity in the Communications department. This course taught me the process for how to conduct my methodology (focus groups) and how to analyze my research (coding). Lastly, I was IRB exempt to conduct my research.

Analysis through Coding

Lastly, I conducted coding, to organize my data and find common themes. Before I conducted coding, I first transcribed and translated both audio recordings to help code my data. Therefore, I applied codes to different words, phrases, sentences, and paragraphs to help me identify patterns and themes in the data related to examples of discrimination, racism, and colorism. Because I hypothesized that participants would use their own experiences to describe different situations related to colorism rather than using academic terminology such as the word colorism, I also used In vivo coding which involves using participant’s own words and phrases as codes to describe conceptual categories. In vivo coding thus focuses on gathering and describing local knowledge and community meanings which helped me learn how the Mexican community defines and identifies discrimination and colorism.

Methodology Recommendations

Recommendations I would make for future research opportunities would be recruiting participants one month in advance to increase focus group attendance. This is especially important when time and traveling is a challenge. I would also conduct follow-up interviews with participants because it would provide opportunities to clear up statements or ask for more clarity or details on information. Lastly, I would like to have a more integrated discussion between women in men because for my first focus group I only had women participate and only men for my second focus group. This change also presents an obstacle because it’s voluntary

participation meaning participants cannot be forced to attend. That is why it would be important to consider participant recruitment strategies to help increase, primarily men, participation.

RESEARCH ANALYSIS FINDINGS

The focus of my research is to learn how colorism effects the Mexican immigrant community of Yakima, Washington. In addition to answering my main research question it is also important for me to learn how research participants identify and define colorism and discrimination because academic terminology is not always the language they use to describe their experiences. For example, I found that most research participants did not know the word *pigmentocracia* (colorism) is the term used to describe discrimination based on skin color. Instead research participants say “*la discriminacion contra el color de piel*” (discrimination based on skin color). Learning how research participants utilize language to describe their experiences and their vocabulary is important bridging the gaps in academic work with local knowledge.

The way in which I collected my data was by asking a series of six open ended questions to participants to investigate how colorism continues to affect people within the Mexican community. What I found was that participants linked colorism to different forms of discrimination. For example, research participants identified that discrimination is expressed through body language and the way racist rhetoric is expressed and communicated. Additionally, research participants stated that discrimination is the cause of being treated poorly and not being accepted based on one’s skin color, gender, physical appearance, religion, [dis]ability, immigration status (being undocumented), age, sexuality, and language (not able to speak fluent English). The connection research participants made with colorism and other forms of discrimination demonstrates how intersectionality plays a big role in the lived experiences of the research participants. In the book *Intersectionality* (2016) by Patricia Hill Collins and Sirma Bilge they define intersectionality as:

“a way of understanding and analyzing the complexity in the world, in people, and in human experiences. The events and condition of social and political life and the self can seldom be understood as shaped by one factor. They are generally shaped by many factors in diverse and mutually influencing ways. **When it comes to social inequality, people’s lives and the organization of power in a given society are better understood as being shaped not by a single axis of social division, be it race or gender or class, but by many axes that work together and influence each other.** Intersectionality as an

analytic tool gives people better access to the complexity of the world and of themselves”
(Hill Collins and Bilge 2016: 11, emphasis added)

As Hill and Bilge state, the life events and conditions experienced by people are not the result of one factor, rather, they are shaped by the interaction (or intersection) of many factors, especially when it comes to social inequality. Different social divisions such as race, gender, class, and other social constructs influence each other in specific ways. Therefore, as I analyze my findings, I identify four themes that came up from my focus groups that demonstrate how colorism and other forms of discrimination intersect in the experiences within the Mexican immigrant community that I worked in. The themes of my analysis include 1) effects of colorism and discrimination, 2) discrimination within the Mexican community, 3) discrimination in the workplace, and 4) communication of racist rhetoric. Below I analyze each theme by utilizing quotes and statements made by participants and scholarly work to support my findings.

Effects of discrimination within the Mexican community

In the first focus group, each participants discussed how the effects of discrimination impact their lives mentally, emotionally, and physically. I will use three examples that capture their concerns.

One of the questions that I asked research participants was if they believe discrimination exists within the Mexican community and most participants strongly answered YES. For this question Jennifer shared the challenges of raising her bi-racial grandchild in a Mexican and white family. One of the issues that Jennifer has noticed is that her white in-law(s) use racist language that her grandchild understands to segregate him from interacting with other Mexican children. For example, one of her in-laws will say things to her grandchild like “*los ninos mexicanos son fuchi*” which translates to “Mexican children are yucky.”

E.J.R. David and Annie O. Derthick (2018) discuss in their book *The Psychology of Oppression* that youth under the age of 18 in the United States may be “vulnerable to exploitation because they are often powerless and voiceless when it comes to making decisions that may significantly impact their lives.” (32) Therefore children can become vulnerable to interpersonal oppression, which is “driven by and expressed as stereotypes (biased thoughts or cognitions), prejudice (biased attitudes or affect), and discrimination (biased actions or behaviors).” (David and Derthick, 77) Interpersonal oppression operates when more powerful and privilege people

engage in biased thoughts, attitudes, and behaviors towards other individuals at an interpersonal level. The example that Jennifer shared demonstrates how her grandchild is vulnerable to interpersonal oppression because her white in-law(s) are utilizing their power and privilege to inflict racist and biased behaviors toward their grandchild. Jennifer did not go into more detail as to how her white in-law(s) have their grandchild differentiate himself from other Mexican children since he is bi-racial. My assumptions are that beyond utilizing racist rhetoric the child can understand, the in-laws probably tell their grandchild to not interact with Mexican children of darker skin color, children that “look Mexican,” and that don’t speak English—or this is the messaging they are giving to their grandchild. This example points to the simultaneous function of colorism within the Mexican immigrant community, and between their communities and the dominant White communities. I posit that White racism perpetuates colorism and other forms of discrimination within and beyond immigrant communities. Understanding the nuances of this relationship in the community I worked with requires additional research.

After Jennifer shared her story Julia discussed how she not only believes discrimination exists between Mexicans, but it’s something that’s also experienced within one’s family. The Class Coordinator became interested in Julia’s statement that she asked participants “what comments do you think are made to children that exposes children to racist rhetoric or to engage in early forms of discrimination? Participants mentioned the following examples below:

- > your brother can do it because he is older;
- > your sister is smarter than you;
- > leave food for your brother because you are fatter than him; and
- > don’t interact with that kid because he or she is ugly, fat, or dark-skinned.

In the examples that participants shared we see that in each comment an adult identifies an action, skill, or characteristic such as skin color, gender or appearances that differentiates a child from another. As we saw from Jennifer’s example, telling a child that kids from another race are “disgusting” can cause children to resent, hate, or look down on kids from another race. Jennifer shared that at one point her grandchild began to resent Mexican children, which she disliked because she didn’t want him to grow up resenting his own culture, ethnicity, and people. This resentment that children and people develop relates to internalized oppression which David and Derthic (2018) describe the process where “the oppression that permeates the environment is able to seep into oppressed individuals who, in turn, begin to think, feel, and behave in biased

ways towards themselves and their own group.” (David and Derthick, 86) Internalized oppression can also have mental, emotional, and physical consequences on a person that internalizes stereotypes, for example, or perpetuates stereotypes or biases within their own community.

As the conversation continued the Class Coordinator mentioned that in our culture (Mexican culture) we have a tendency to identify and address children by the way they look instead of addressing them by their name. The discussion then focused on the issues of nicknames. In the Mexican culture, it’s common for people to create nicknames for other people especially for kids at a young age. However, some nicknames are not always endearing. For example, some common nicknames are *fea/o* (ugly) *gorda/o* (fatty), *negro* (black), *guero* (a person that’s light skinned). These nicknames are based on the appearance and skin color of people, which can be offensive for some as they align with discriminatory processes. Therefore, participants asked if nicknames are a form of discrimination? Some participants and the Class Coordinator stated that nicknames are not a form of discrimination because it’s part of “our” (Mexican) culture—which contradicts the previous perspective that “our” culture is racist. However, some researcher participants pointed out that some nicknames can have negative consequences especially for kids who may not be aware of the meaning behind their nickname. For example, Jessica discussed her dislike for nick names by sharing the example of her neighbor. Jessica stated that one of her neighbors address one of her nephews as *chimuelo* (toothless). She expressed how she finds that nickname inappropriate because, for one, it’s a nickname the child will outgrow because he will grow in new teeth. Secondly, nicknames such as *chimuelo* can make kids feel insecure or ashamed of their body changing. This can also open some opportunities for children to be bullied based on their nicknames. Therefore, Jessica said that it’s best to address kids and people by their name to prevent unintentional harm. Hearing Jessica’s experience the class coordinator shared her experience of the time she was nicknamed as *bruja* (witch). When she was little the class coordinator suffered an accident that resulted a broken nose. From this incident, she was given the nickname *bruja* from her brothers because supposedly witches have crooked noses therefore she fit this stereotype. The class coordinator remembered believing she was a witch and ugly because she saw *brujas* as ugly. With time the class coordinator realized she wasn’t a witch or ugly, but agreed that nicknames can leave negative effects on people.

Therefore, I believe that more research can be done to investigate if nicknames are a form of discrimination and the consequences they produce. Additionally, in this section we see how discrimination also exists within bi-racial families and specifically how children are vulnerable to interpersonal oppression and the power and privilege people use to engage in biased thoughts, attitudes, and behaviors towards other individuals at an interpersonal level. Furthermore, research participants talked about how children and people are affected by internalized oppression. Lastly, although more research should be done on the effects of nicknames, I identified how nicknames can produce negative consequences on children even if a community considers it a part of one's culture. Because nicknames are based on the appearance and skin color of people that map onto systems of racism, they can have mental, emotional, and physical consequences for children and adults. It can also perpetuate discrimination such as colorism within one's own community.

Discrimination within the Mexican Culture

One of the questions that I asked participants is if they believe that discrimination exists within Mexicans and most participants strongly agreed. Some participants utilized examples from when they lived in Mexico to discuss how colorism exists within the Mexican community. Jose one of the research participants shared how he witnessed seeing his co-workers discriminate against Afro-Mexicans (Mexicans of African descent) in Mexico. When I asked him why his co-workers discriminated against Afro-Mexicans he stated that he believes they were discriminated not only based on their darker skin color, but also due to their African descent. More research can be conducted to understand how colorism exists within the Mexican culture in Mexico between different ethnic groups. In the article "Mexico Negro: From the Shadows of Nationalist Mestizaje to new Possibilities in Afro- Mexican Identity," Bobby Vaughn (2013) discusses Mexican *mestizaje*, an ideological project that is based on tenets that distinguishes the mestizo from the non-mestizo, including Afro-Mexicans. Vaughn states

“[the first tenet] is the idea that Mexico is a unified national community of a particular racial character- a mixed Cosmic Race producing the so called mestizo nation. The second important feature of Mexican mestizaje flows from essentially a doubling down on the first feature, namely, that the “non-mestizos” in modern Mexico. The foundational

architects of this ideology in the 1920s were clear that neither indigenous people nor black were envisioned as part of this modern Mexico” (229)

Essentially what Vaughn is describing is that Mexico produced a racial ideology to create a national identity, the mestizo, to be considered as a nation of mixed races. However, the issue that arose in creating a national identity through mestizaje is its purpose to exclude and discriminated people that did not fit the mestizo identity such as Afro-Mexicans among other populations. The point of bringing this up is that colorism and other forms of discrimination Afro-Mexicans experience is partially rooted in the ideology of mestizaje which produced a caste system meant to exclude and discriminate against people based on race, skin color, class, and gender. Which is one example that shortly explains why Afro-Mexicans experience colorism by Mexicans of mestizo identity. Furthermore, while the mestizaje ideology privileges mixed identities (in contrast to the privileging of racial purity in the US), national belonging is still based on a specific racial identity.

Jose further discussed how indigenous people are another group that are discriminated a lot in Mexico not only based on their skin color but their indigenous appearance and language. He stated that indigenous people are negatively stereotyped as being illiterate and uneducated because most Mexican people will make the following comments to indigenous people “*no sabes nada porque eres indio*,” which translates to “you don’t know anything because you are Indian.” Thus, indigenous people are not only discriminated against based on skin color, their indigenous appearance, and language, but are also stereotyped as illiterate based on the association that if someone is indigenous therefore they are “uneducated.”

In both examples, we see how Afro-Mexicans and Indigenous people do not only experience one form of discrimination such as colorism and appearance, but also due to their indigenous and African descent and native language. These different forms of discrimination that are experienced demonstrate how “people’s lives and the organization of power in a given society are shaped not only by a single axis of social division, be it race or gender or class, but by many axes that work together and influence each other” (Hill Collins and Bilge, year:11). Therefore intersectionality is one way to understand the complexity between colorism and different forms of discrimination that are experienced.

Discrimination in the Work Place

When I asked participants in two separate questions how they define and identify discrimination and if they could share a time they've experienced discrimination, primarily women participants discussed how they've experienced colorism from their Mexican co-workers and ageism and gender discrimination from employers. Below I utilize research participants' experiences to discuss these three forms of discrimination acted by their co-workers and employers.

Elena discussed her experiences of colorism from her Mexican co-workers. She explained that many of her co-workers stereotype her as being indigenous primarily of Oaxacan descent even though she is not from that region of Mexico or identifies as indigenous. It is important to note that this stereotype is also experienced in Mexico and is used to offend or discriminate against indigenous people and people with dark skin because it associates dark skin with negative attributes. Additionally, not only is dark skin associated with indigenous descent, indigenous people are stereotyped as being uneducated and illiterate (as explained from the previous theme). Elena expressed her frustrations with the discrimination and stereotypes she experiences from her Mexican co-workers because she cannot understand why people from the same ethnicity and nationality discriminate against each other.

In Mireya Loza's book *Defiant Braceros* (2017) she shares a similar experience, but from the male perspective. She shares Jesus Topete's protagonist narrative and experience in the bracero program and popular held notions of race in Mexico. Loza describes the protagonist's time in California where he worked with other braceros. Loza adds that the protagonist became deeply disappointed when indigenous women of Nahua Mexico began working with the bracero men instead of beautiful "*gringas*" (white women). He referred to the Nahua women as "*chichimecas*" which is a term used to refer to the Nahua people of Mexico, but it's also used as a derogatory term to indicate indigeneity. The protagonist used the term to discriminate against the women and additionally emphasized racist concepts of idealized Mexican beauty in which indigenous women are unattractive. He went as far as to claim that some of the men in the camp were better looking than the Nahua women (Loza, 23). This example demonstrates how perceived notions of race in the Mexican community are used to discriminate against indigenous people, in this case women as unattractive and undesirable.

Three other research participants, Josefina, Michelle, and Ana discussed how they've experienced ageism and gender discrimination from employers. Josefina discussed the time she helped her 60-year mother search for a job. During one in-person job search an employer told Josefina that her mother could not apply for a job position because she was too old and it was a labor intensive position meant for men not women. In another example Michelle shared a time when she felt discriminated due to her gender and appearance because during an in person job recruitment she noticed that people who were selected for agricultural positions were mostly tall people and men. Michelle felt that because she is a short woman she did not get selected for fruit picking, primarily because it's assumed from her experiences that you must be tall to pick fruit and if you're a man it's even better. Lastly, Ana, a much older (in age) research participant, discussed in emotional tones a time when she was discriminated and treated poorly at a job because of her age. Ana did not get into the details of the job or the poor treatment she experienced because in simply remembering this experience she became teary eyed and emotional bringing up this experience.

In this example once again research participants not only discussed how they've experienced colorism but connected it to other forms of discrimination that they've experienced in the work place by their Mexican co-workers and employers. Additionally, the connection research participants made between colorism, ageism, and gender discrimination demonstrates how various factors intersect with each to form complex experiences of discrimination.

Communication and expression of racist language

Some participants discussed that discrimination is not just the unjust treatment based on race, age, sex or skin color, but how racist rhetoric is used to attack a person or a group of people. This theme came from research participants discussing that communication of racist language is used to discriminate against people. They explained that whoever utilizes racist rhetoric (whether it's a person, institution, or administration) it promotes discrimination; and, once discrimination is promoted, it perpetuates discriminatory actions. Therefore, discriminatory actions continue to increase racist rhetoric.

For example, when I asked participants to share experiences of a time they were discriminated against, participants centered part of the discussion on Trump's anti-immigrant rhetoric. Maria discussed that days after Trump took office she felt humiliated after being

attacked at a park. Maria was walking on the Greenway, a trail in one of Yakima's parks, when she heard and felt something land in front of her. She thought a pinecone had fallen from one of the trees, but when she looked closer at the object she noticed it was a slice of pizza. Feeling confused about what happened, she realized that someone from one of the nearby hotels had intentionally thrown a slice of pizza at her, but missed. She felt humiliated by the action that she did not know what to do. However, two white bystanders saw the entire encounter and went to the hotel to report the action.

After Maria shared her experience the Class Coordinator asked participants if they believe actions of discrimination have increased after Trump took office. Most participants said yes. One participant explained that during Trump's campaign for Presidency and after his election into office "hate has unleashed." The above examples highlight how the racist rhetoric Trump has used about immigrants and the Mexican community has signaled an "ok" for people to be openly racist towards a specific ethnic or racial group and to act on their racist actions. Maria believes she was attacked because she is Mexican, and something like this hadn't happened to her before especially before Trump came into office. After Maria shared her experience, other participants added that once Trump became president discriminatory actions have increased and have become more visible. Participants from the first focus group did not elaborate if these actions have happened to them personally or they witnessed them, but on numerous occasions participants brought up the racist rhetoric they've heard from people such as "go back from where you came from" and "go back to your country."

In the second focus group both participants stated that they have witnessed other Mexicans being discriminated by Americans. In one instance Juan shared a time when he was outside a grocery store and noticed that a driver was speeding down the store's parking lot, almost hitting a woman walking by. The lady yelled at the driver (man) to slow down. The driver yelled back at the lady "to go back to [her] your country." When participants refer to American(s) they are describing the uncontested identity of a white U.S. born citizen who speak fluent English. Furthermore, there seems to be a link or connection between the way someone looks and the racist rhetoric that is used to discriminate against them. The question that came up for me is how did the American driver know or assume that the lady wasn't American? My assumption is that because the lady "looked Mexican" or not American (white) this resulted in the racist action and commentary that was used against her. As such, colorism and discrimination

based on someone's physical appearance and characteristics among other factors results in the way racist language is communicated and utilized to discriminate.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The initial focus of my research was to learn from the Mexican community in Yakima how colorism affects their lives. What I found was that research participants linked colorism to different forms of discrimination. Therefore, intersectionality became an important element to understand because "social inequality, people's lives and the organization of power in a given society are better understood as being shaped not by a single axis of social division, be it race or gender or class, but by many axes that work together and influence each other." (Hill Collins and Bilge 2016: 11) Therefore, by examining each theme, I found that colorism does, in fact, impact family, community, and work relations within the Mexican community, and others. This included some Mexicans stereotyping dark skin with negative attributes and indigenous people as illiterate and uneducated. As well as discriminating against indigenous people and Afro-Mexicans not only based on skin color, physical appearance, and language, but also African and indigenous descent. Internalized oppression also plays a role in how colorism, interpersonal oppression, and nicknames have negative consequences on children's mental, emotional, and physical well-being as well as on adults. Lastly, I found that the way in which racist rhetoric is utilized to discriminate against the immigrant and Mexican community perpetuates actions of discrimination from occurring which only increases and reinforces racist rhetoric.

I would need to conduct further research to better understand how racist rhetoric is expressed and communicated in the lived experiences of research participants. Additionally, more research should be conducted to investigate if nicknames are a form of discrimination and what consequences they have because it's clear that some nicknames are formulated based on negative social stereotypes. The issue that arises is how research participants consider nicknames to be a part of the Mexican culture. If it's an important component to the Mexican culture it's also important to consider finding ways to disrupt the ways in which it continues to perpetuate negative effects on children and adults. Lastly, because it's clear that colorism does exist within the Mexican culture, it's important to find ways to also disrupt colorism and other forms of discrimination from occurring. Discussing these issues within one's family and community are

options to consider as it can provide educational opportunities for people to become aware of the consequences and effects they produce.

As I finish this phase of my senior project, I realize I need to conduct additional research to answer questions and fill gaps that exist. Conducting this research also made me realize the importance of providing the space for people to discuss the issues of colorism and how research participants have experienced colorism and other forms of discrimination. At the moment I may not be able to provide much support to people affected by these issues, but by conducting more research I hope that I can help make a difference within my own community. This includes sharing my findings with the staff of La Casa Hogar and research participants. I hope that by discussing my findings, it can create opportunities for the Mexican community in Yakima that can help address the issues of colorism and its intersections with other forms of discrimination that fits their needs and goals.

LITERATURE REVIEW

To understand how colorism affects Mexican immigrants my literature review analyses how internalized oppression and discrimination contributes to racist actions being viewed as normal by Mexican immigrants and American society. Additionally, I discuss how the effects of internalized oppression are then practiced within the Mexican immigrant community. Secondly, I provide a section on the racialization of Mexican immigrants by providing past history to explain how immigration policy and rhetoric is used to define the “other”. Thirdly, I include history of the race relations between Mexico and United States with a short timeline of Mexican immigration in the United States to demonstrate how colorism hinders the relationships between Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants in U.S. society. Lastly, because I am analyzing the effects of colorism in the Mexican immigrant community I provide background history and context for how colorism derived in both Mexico and the United States.

Internalized Racism and Oppression

Systematic Internalized Oppression

In Laura Padilla’s article “But You’re Not a Dirty Mexican”: Internalized Oppression, Latinos and Law”, she discusses how internalized oppression and discrimination causes marginalized groups to turn on themselves and worst of all to believe that they are “subhuman, inferior, incapable of dignified tasks, and a burden to society”. (Padilla, 61) For the marginalized that experience discrimination and oppression can undergo physical and psychological harm. Padilla defines internalized oppression as the “dominant key players starting a chain of oppression through racist and discriminatory behavior. Such behavior can range from physical violence prompted by the victim’s race, to race-base exclusion, to derogatory race-based name calling and stereotyping that causes fear created by those stereotypes”. (Padilla, 66) For example, in the United States Mexicans are often negatively stereotyped as illegals, wetbacks, and drug dealers. Such stereotypes are then used to support invalid claims that we should be deported back to Mexico because we bring harm and contribute poorly to society. In utilizing such racist stereotypes and name calling, it not only perpetuates fear in society that we are a harm, but our well-being is also at risk. Internalized racism and oppression can be exercised through racist policies that deem such behavior as acceptable.

For example, in Tomas Jimenez's book *Replenished Ethnicity: Mexican Americans, Immigration, and Identity* he discussed that during WWII the United States suffered a shortage of agricultural workers after thousands of U.S. service members fought overseas. With a demand for agricultural workers the United States and Mexico negotiated the Emergency Farm Labor Program known as the "bracero program". This program created an opportunity for Mexicans to come to the United States in search of work. After WWII growers requested that lawmakers extend the program to have a steady supply of labor for postwar economic expansion. Congress extended the program, but issues began to arise with employers hiring authorized and unauthorized migrant workers. Although growers were satisfied with the large and readily available labor force Americans began to grow dissatisfied with the increased Mexican population and demanded the government do something about it. Therefore, the U.S. attorney general initiated a task to remove unauthorized workers and to replace them with legal Mexican labor. This task became known as Operation Wetback which deported thousands of Mexican immigrants. Not only was this policy racist, but it began to label Mexican immigrants as "wetbacks" and "illegals". The point here is that when government enacts discriminatory and racist policies society not only perpetuates such name calling and stereotypes, but deems such behavior as acceptable.

In the book, *Internalized Oppression: The Psychology of Marginalized Groups* by E.J.R. David, argues that racist and discriminatory laws contribute to the oppression of Latinos/nas in the United States. David defines oppression as "both a state and a process, with the state of oppression being unequal group access to power and privilege, and the process of oppression being the ways in which inequality between groups is maintained". (David, 3) Therefore, oppression occurs when one group has more access to power and privilege than another group and uses that power to maintain the status quo. Therefore, in Jimenez's example of Operation Wetback it perpetuated the oppression of Mexican immigrant in the U.S. by using systematic power to deport Mexican laborers.

The relationship between both Padilla's and Jimenez's arguments is that policies like, Operation Wetback, are a form of oppression created through racist and discriminatory actions that perpetuate internalized racism and oppression because it's viewed as acceptable even though it's not. Internalized racism and oppression relates to my work of research because it

demonstrates how colorism has manifested it's self by accepting new forms of discrimination and racism through the oppression of the marginalized.

Manifestations of Internalized Oppression

In David's book, he discusses that systematic inequities make it difficult for most Latinas/os to gain social mobility. Part of the issue is that the educational, economic, and judicial inequities make the social issues that Latinas/os face a systematic issue. Therefore, David claims that when "systematic, historical, and contemporary oppression is coupled with a dominant discourse that idealizes rugged individualism and Euro American values, oppression is internalized". (David, 119) David explains that when Latinas/os internalize oppression some accept notions that blame their cultural heritage for their sociopolitical circumstances and limited opportunities for social advancement. David uses interviews from researchers to illustrate the different manifestations of internalized oppression in the Latina/o community. In one example David explains that denial of cultural heritage is promoted through the loss of Spanish fluency. He states that Latinas/os do not have to speak Spanish to be a proud Latina/o but points out that research had found a correlation between Spanish fluency and ethnic identity. To showcase this example David uses the example of SGP a Latina graduate student who describes her experience with Latina/o parents that believe Spanish is a roadblock to their children's success:

I have met many Latina/o parents who do not want to teach their children Spanish, believing their children will be more successful in education and in life if they speak English only. What these parents neglect are the cognitive and economic benefits of being bilingual. By denying their cultural heritage these Latina/o parents accept the oppressive notion that their cultural heritage is, in some way, an obstacle to their children's success in the United States (121).

Another manifestation of internalized oppression comes from the idealization of white skin color and other typical European physical features that are seen as the standard of beauty. David explains that some Latinas/os who are able to pass as white experience the rewards of privilege and social mobility that dark-skinned Latinas/os cannot attain. Furthermore, the preference and idealization for European features is manifested through cosmetic practices. Some Latinas/os take drastic measures such as using whitening creams to lighten one's skin to either access white privilege or fit into the standard of European beauty. Avoiding the sun,

bleaching one's hair, and using colored eye contacts are other practices that are used to attain more European features. David uses the following example of CPH-D to show how internalized oppression is used within the Latina/o community:

I had a Latina colleague whose mother frequently criticized her for being dark-skinned. My colleague internalized these negative messages and avoided being out in the sun whenever possible. She had a boyfriend who was an avid surfer. Whenever she went with him to the beach she would hide inside a mummy sleeping bag so she would not tan.

SGP added:

I recall an instance in high school when I returned from vacation and had noticeably tanned. A classmate remarked how I had gotten so dark. I remember feeling ashamed and embarrassed and not really understanding why. For the next couple of years, I made a conscious effort to stay out of the sun so that I could go back to being lighter skinned and more "white". It wasn't until I went to college, took Chicana/o studies courses, and joined cultural organizations that I realized the beauty of my culture. These experiences in college increased my self-confidence and helped me to accept my features, my skin color, and my ethnic identity (123).

The testimony that David presents is an example of how colorism continues to affect the Latina/o community. Colorism in this case affects Latinas/os at an interpersonal level in which other Latinas/os discriminate against darker skinned Latinas/os. It also shows how internalized oppression is practiced within the Latina/o community by the negative remarks and comments made by family members and classmates regarding dark skin. Furthermore this highlights how those who have internalized the oppression take it out on other Latinas/os and causes others to internalize oppression. This causes Latinas/os affected by colorism and internalized oppression to seek out unrealistic solutions like we saw with CPH-D and SGP that does not solve the issue. Instead it affects the physical, mental, and emotional health of those affected by the racist systematic issues. Also, not all Latinas/os get the opportunity to attend college, self-explore one's culture, and realize the beauty, of one's culture like SGP got to experience. Although higher education is not an accessible opportunity for everyone to overcome the effects of colorism and internalized oppression, education regarding these issues is a crucial process in doing so.

Racial Categorization of Mexican Immigrants

Explanation of Racialization

Linda Burton explains in her study, *Critical Race Theories, Colorism, and the Research on Families of Color*, that, critical race theories such as race and ethnicity are social constructs that are constantly redefined in multiracial societies, like Mexico and the U.S. The consequences of redefining race and ethnicity is that it creates processes and mechanisms that are inherent to racialization practices in which Burton states, “Racialization, or the assignment of racial meaning to real, perceived, or ascribed differences produces hierarchies of power and privilege among races” (Burton, 445). Burton claims that regardless of how race and ethnicity are defined they are social constructs that produce racial hierarchies that create racism, discrimination, and perpetuate inequality in society. However, Burton takes into consideration that racial hierarchies (race and ethnicity) vary in different countries by exemplifying the case of Latin American immigrants that migrate to the United States. Latin American countries have “developed rules of racial recognition and elaborate color caste systems that sanction differential opportunity and social status based on skin tone gradations and phenotypic characteristics” (Burton, 445).

Consequently, some Latino immigrants that migrate to the United States struggle to understand their position and power in American racial hierarchies because the structure in each Latin American country is different. For example, in the United States Latinos such as Brazilians, Puerto Ricans, and Mexicans tend to be generalized as “Latinos” or “Hispanics” or both based on their nativity and cultural heritage. The issue of generalization that Burton points out is that it imposes expectations based on racialization experiences on individuals that may not apply. Burton’s work relates to the premise of my research that Mexican immigrants understanding of colorism is different because racialization of their home country and United States is different. Therefore, this can explain why some Mexican immigrants accept racist and discriminatory behavior as normal because either they don’t understand how they fit into the racial categorization or have kept the views from their country of origin and assume such behavior is universal. This is what I seek to further learn from my primary research.

Racialization of Mexican Americans

After the declaration of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Anglo Americans recognized Mexicans as racially different, but found that they shared similar practices (such as religion) to maintain some economic and social relationships. However, because the racial status of Mexicans was ambiguous to Anglo Americans they used this racial difference as justification for granting and denying Mexicans citizenship rights after the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Anglo Americans racially recognized that the Mexican population consisted of light-skinned *rancheros* (farmers) who owned land and dark skinned laborers that looked indigenous based on their skin color and facial features. The racial and class distinction Anglo Americans made between Mexicans demonstrates how institutional colorism was utilized to debate over the race and citizenship of Mexicans. Anglo Americans were more compelled to grant citizenship status to wealthy, land-owning, light-skinned Mexicans instead of dark-skinned Mexicans that were considered poor or working class. Institutional colorism at this point was not only utilizing race as a form to discriminate against Mexicans but also through class and citizenship. The reconstruction of institutional colorism not only began to racially categorize Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants, based on race, class, and citizenship status but as Margaret Hunter points out that in various legal cases the racial identity of Mexican Americans was inconsistent by saying, “Anglo judges would declare Mexicans as whites when it disabled them from demanding minority rights and later would declare them non-white when it restricted their access to rights reserved for whites only.” (24) Not only did the re-racialization marginalized Mexican Americans in their own land but were created as outsiders, as non-American.

Race Relations and Mexican Immigration in the United States

1848-1909: Mexican American War and the First Mexican Americans

In the mid-nineteenth century, the United States adopted the puritan ideology of Manifest Destiny to increase its landmasses in order to expand dominion, democracy, and capitalism across the entire North American continent. Manifest Destiny, a racist ideology, rests on the assumption of white superiority over all other peoples of color including Mexicans. This ideology “commingled strain of racism and capitalism to create an ideology that justified a

massive land grab and oppression of American Indians and Mexicans.” (Hunter, 24) The United States wanted to expand its territories southwest of Mexico and with Manifest Destiny they knew they could. This resulted in the Mexican American war that lasted for two years. The war ended with the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo which resulted in Mexico ceding what is now California, Nevada, Arizona, Utah, New Mexico, Texas, and Colorado. Additionally, the treaty stated that all Mexicans that chose to stay in the United States after the war would be granted full citizenship rights. It’s estimated that fifty thousand Mexicans remained in the former Mexican territory and were granted U.S. citizenship status therefore becoming the first Mexican Americans (Jimenez, 33). However, the racial categorization of Mexicans due to institutional colorism granted unequal citizenship which is discussed in the Racial Categorization of Mexicans section.

Furthermore, although some Mexicans were granted citizenship status they became second class citizens that became socially, economically, and politically displaced. With a growing number of white settlers moving West, Mexican Americans began to get displaced and forced to live in barrios (ghettos). Additionally, white settlers intentionally created a legal system that stripped former Mexican American land owners away from their properties by presenting all legal documents in English and not providing any form of translation for Mexican Americans to comprehend. Mexican Americans began working in a diversified market economy different from the pastoral economy they once knew by being forced to work the least desirable and backbreaking jobs.

1910-1929: Mexican Immigration

Years after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo political and economic changes in the United States and Mexico activated Mexican migration. During this time Mexico’s President, Porfirio Diaz, intentions was to increase foreign investments. Diaz’s liberal economic policies was to create railroad lines that expanded towards northern and southward regions to help increase the wealth of landowning haciendas. This soon promoted trade with the United States by the expansion of Mexico and U.S. rail lines connecting to build a relationship out of pure economic interest. Consequently, “Diaz regime made matters worse by enacting policies that continued to help hacendados at the expense of campesinos.” (Jimenez, 34) This caused poor

campesinos to seek employment, better wages, and lower costs of living north of Mexico because they could no longer compete with hacendados owning land for foreign investment. This caused economic disparities to arise in Mexico between the poor landless Mexican's and the elites of Diaz's regime. This ultimately resulted in the Mexican Revolution that caused thousands of Mexicans to flee to the United States. Conversely, the United States was experiencing labor shortages due to the deployments of World War I, and Mexico became the backbone source of labor. "Industrialists, agriculturalists, and politicians in the United States idealized Mexican laborers, not only because of their work habits and their willingness to take backbreaking jobs, but also because they were seen as a temporary labor population and therefore as a source of minimal social disruption." (Jimenez, 34) Although the Mexican immigrant population was growing the United States was concerned with limiting the migration of southern and eastern European immigrants from settling in the East Coast and Midwest. As a result, Congress passed a head tax and literacy test not only to limit European migration, but because "Americans became increasingly weary of the European newcomers, who were regarded as inferior, uncivilized, racially distinct, and unassimilable." (Jimenez, 36). However, policy lawmakers recognized the need for agricultural labor and therefore exempted Mexican agricultural workers from this. The relationship between the United States and Mexico hasn't been mutual, instead it's been out of economic interest for dominion of land and control. As seen so far the United States in the 20th century was welcoming to immigrants seeking refuge or because of labor, but once immigrants begin to over populate there has been resistance to limit and deport people. This relationship between the United States and Mexican immigrants is further explored in my analysis during the Great Depression and World War II. During these time periods I will demonstrate how tensions between Mexican immigrants and Americans increase and within society.

BACKGROUND HISTORY

Colorism is a form of discrimination in which people are treated differently due to the lightness and darkness of one's skin color. As a result, colorism produces inequality because it's a hierarchical system that puts light skinned people of color on top and dark-skinned people of color at the bottom. Consequently, light-skinned people of color tend to be the privileged group, attaining greater socioeconomic mobility, education, housing, and job opportunities. Whereas, dark-skinned people of color struggle to achieve the same life opportunities due to their skin color. I argue that colorism is a byproduct of racism which is "the belief that some race or races are superior or inferior to others." (Harvey, 435) Although colorism and racism are distinct, they are responsible for discrimination in which Margaret Hunter explains that discrimination exists and operates on two levels based on race and color. "The first system of discrimination is the level of racial category (i.e., black, Asian, Indian, etc). The second system of discrimination is at the level of skin tone- darker skin or lighter skin." (Hunter, 7) Hence racism and colorism not only discriminates against people of color based on their racial and ethnic identity, but also on the lightness and darkness of one's skin. I provide background history of how colorism originated in both the United States and Mexico.

Colorism in the United States

In the United States, skin color stratification originated from slavery through the dehumanization of African Americans "on the basis of race, and the control of women's sexuality and reproduction." (Hunter, 17) Sexual violence was used as a violent method of social control that produced two primary effects. The first effect produced racially mixed children from white men (slave owners) and black mothers (slaves). Sexual violence not only increased the diversity of skin tones in the black community, but was utilized to reproduce more slaves for labor production. The Rule of Hypodescent or the One Drop Rule that "was first developed to ensure that there would be a surplus of people who, by being defined as black, could be "legally" enslaved". (Hunter, 18) During the 19th century, states used blood fraction, appearance, and personal associations to determine a person's race. "The most common blood fraction for determining if a person was black was one-eighth or more Negro blood". (Brown, 58) Not only did the One Drop Rule enslave African Americans but was later utilized as a method to prevent

African Americans from gaining access to institutional resources and political power. The second effect of sexual violence created a color hierarchy that produced systematic privilege of light skinned African Americans over dark-skinned African Americans because of their connection to white slave owners. Some privileges light-skinned African Americans received resulted with “opportunities for manumission, less violent treatment by overseers, less stressful work tasks, access to education, and opportunities for skilled labor”. (Hunter, 19) Institutional colorism played a crucial role in the privileges light-skinned African Americans received because in 1850, mulattos or mixed bloods (light skinned African Americans) constituted 37% of the free Negro population. (Hunter, 19) Light skinned African Americans that were freed from slavery began to uphold leadership positions and establish themselves economically. However, the institutional effects of colorism inflicted discrimination between light-skinned and dark-skinned African Americans because dark skinned African Americans were not able to gain some of the same freedoms light skinned African Americans gained through their connection with whiteness. Hence the policies and connection to whiteness resulting from colorism began to affect African Americans interpersonally in which “a group of people with a less desirable skin tone is negatively portrayed.” (Harvey, 447) In this case dark-skinned African Americans during slavery were portrayed as less deserving of gaining freedom or gaining other privileges because they lacked the connection of whiteness light-skinned African Americans had.

Colorism in Mexico

After Mexico was colonized by Spain, Mexico became known as the “New Spain” where its multi-ethnic society consisted of Spanish Europeans, indigenous peoples and African slaves. The Spanish constructed a racial hierarchy to justify their conquest of Mesoamerica and to dominate all peoples of color. The Spanish justified the colonization of the “other” by “portraying themselves as civilized Christians on a mission to save the savage and heathen dark “Other” (Hunter, 21).

To dominate and terrorize indigenous people, women in particular were raped by European white men as a means of Spanish control. The raping of indigenous women and some consensual relationships resulted in a new racially mixed population known as the mestizo. Mestizaje became a socio-political process of racial mixing or whitening to raise the status of

Mexico. With the social classifications and racial labels multiplying, Spanish colonists created a system of hierarchical classes called “sociedad de castas” (society of castes, or breeds) in which institutional colorism came to exist. “During the postcolonial period, when most Latin American countries became independent republics, those in power had to reconcile the racial mixture of their populations with the popular theories about the inferiority of [colored people].” (Norwood, 30) As a result ‘New Spain’ invoked the notion of “progressive mixture” which acknowledged the mixed nature of [Latin America] but also assumed state of increasing ‘whiteness’” As a result many countries embraced European immigration to quickly increase the process of blanqueamiento (“whitening”).

Mexico’s process of institutional colorism slightly differs from the United States because although both countries’ motive was to racialize all peoples of color, specifically blacks and natives, Mexico encouraged racial mixing to hasten the process of whiteness to create a national identity and become an independent republic. Whereas, the United States perpetuated the One Drop Rule to enslave blacks and prevent the intermixing of whites and blacks from “tainting” white race purity.

Works Cited

- Brown, Kevin D. "The Rise and Fall of the One-Drop Rule: How the Importance of Color Came to Eclipse Race." *Color Matters: Skin Tone Bias and the Myth of a Postracial America*, Routledge, 2014, pp. 44–94.
- Burton, Linda., et al. "Critical Race Theories, Colorism, and the Decades Research on Families of Color." *Journal of Marriage and Family*, vol. 72, no. 3, 2010, pp. 440-459.
- David, E.J.R. *Internalized Oppression: The Psychology of Marginalized Groups*. Springer Publishings Company, 2014.
- David, E., & Derthick, Annie O. (2018). *The psychology of oppression*. New York, NY: Springer Publishing Company, LLC.
- Echeverría, D. (2017). Mireya Loza. Defiant Braceros: How Migrant Workers Fought for Racial, Sexual, and Political Freedom. *The American Historical Review*, 122(3), 861-862.
- Harvey, Richard., and Rachel E. Tennial. "A New Way Forward: The Development and Preliminary Validation of Two Colorism Scales." *Color Matters: Skin Tone Bias and the Myth of Postracial America*. Taylor & Francis Group, 2013, pp. 430-469.
- Hill Collins, P., & Bilge, Sirma. (2016). *Intersectionality* (Key concepts (Polity Press)). Cambridge, UK; Malden, MA: Polity Press.
- Hunter, Margaret L. *Race, Gender, and the Politics of Skin Tone*. Routledge, 2005.
- Jimenez, Tomas R. *Replenished Ethnicity: Mexican Americans, Immigration, and Identity*. University of California Press, 2010.
- Norwood, Kimberly Jade. "The Ubiquitousness of Colorism Then and Now." *Color Matters: Skin Tone Bias and the Myth of Postracial America*, edited by Violeta Solonova Foreman, Taylor and Francis, 2013, 28-46.
- Padilla, Laura M. "But You're Not a Dirty Mexican: Internalized Oppression, Latinos & Law." HeinOnline, 2001, pp. 59–113.
- Vaughn, Bobby. *Mexico Negro: From the Shadows of Nationalist Mestizaje to New Possibilities in Afro-Mexican Identity*. GALE, 2013, pp. 227–240, *Mexico Negro: From the Shadows of Nationalist Mestizaje to New Possibilities in Afro-Mexican Identity*.

Appendix

Focus Group Questions:

1) What is discrimination? - How do you define discrimination?

¿Que es la discriminación? - ¿Como identifican la discriminación?

2) What is racism? - How do you identify racism?

¿Que es el racismo? - ¿Como identificas el racismo?

3) Can you recall a time when you experienced racism and discrimination? If so, and you feel comfortable can you please share?

Puedes recordar si alguna vez fuiste discriminada/o?

4) In any of your experiences do you recall being discriminated against based on your skin color? If so, please describe your experience.

Recuerdas haber sido discriminada/o por el color de piel?

5) If you think you were discriminated against but not based on your skin color what do you think the discrimination was based on?

Si fuiste discriminada/o, pero no piensas que fue por el color de tu piel entonces por qué piensas que fuiste discriminada/o?

6) Do you think discrimination exists within other Latinas/os or Mexicans?

- If no can you explain?
- If yes, how so?

Piensas que la discriminación existe entre otros Latinas/os o mexicanas/os?

- Si piensas que si puedes explicar como
- Si piensas que no puedes explicar

7) How does discrimination exist in the American society?

¿Como piensas que la discriminación existe en la sociedad americana?

Image one: Flyer for recruitment process for focus groups.

BUSCANDO PARTICIPANTES PARA GRUPOS DE ENFOQUE

DESCRIPCION DE PROYECTO

¿Le gustaría participar en un grupo de enfoque?

Participe en uno de los grupos que se enfocaran sobre como la pigmentocracia afecta a la comunidad inmigrante mexicana. Los temas serán sobre el racismo y discriminación. Si tiene interés de participar por favor llene la forma de estudio y favor de regresarla a Angélica.



ELIGIBILIDAD

- Inmigrantes Mexicanos
- Adultos (18 años+)
- Mujeres y Hombres
- No es necesario saber sobre la pigmentocracia

PERSONA DE CONTACTO

Diana Gil
Teléfono: (509) 834-9861
Email: gildiana1209@gmail.com

GRUPOS DE ENFOQUE SERÁN

- Jueves 22 de marzo
- Opción 1 a las 9:00-10:30am
- Opción 2 a las 6:00-7:30pm
- Lugar: La Casa Hogar

Image two: This is the Spanish survey I used to recruit participants for my focus groups

Cuestionario Para Grupos de Enfoque

Información sobre la estudiante:

Mi nombre es Diana Gil y estoy estudiando en la Universidad de Washington en Seattle, Washington. Para mi estudio estoy investigando como los efectos de la pigmentocracia afectan a la comunidad mexicana inmigrante de Yakima. La pigmentocracia es el privilegio y discriminación asociado con el tono de piel. La pigmentocracia causa que varias comunidades sean discriminadas por el tono de piel por la sociedad (americana) y entre la misma comunidad. Por ejemplo, es más probable que mexicanos con piel oscura sean discriminados por la sociedad y por la misma raza (por otros mexicanos) que mexicanos con piel clara. Por eso quiero investigar como la pigmentocracia afecta a la comunidad inmigrante mexicana para entender como la discriminación y racismo existe en nuestra comunidad y en la sociedad americana. Los grupos de enfoque serán informales y no es necesario que sepa sobre la pigmentocracia.

Información sobre grupos de enfoque:

Este cuestionario será anónimo y ninguna de sus respuestas serán compartidas fuera de este estudio. La información de contacto será para que la o lo contacte y pueda mandarle recordatorios sobre el grupo de enfoque. La información demográfica será usada para incluir en mi reporte información sobre los participantes generalmente (ejemplo: de los ocho participantes seis eran mujeres y dos hombres). Su identidad permanecerá anónima. Si tiene preguntas contácteme. Acuérdesse, es solo necesario participar en uno de los dos grupos de enfoque. Los grupos de enfoque serán en La Casa Hogar y durarán una hora y media. Por favor llene toda la forma y gracias por su participación.

Persona de contacto

Diana Gil
Teléfono: (509) 834-9861
Email: gildiana1209@gmail.com

Información de contacto

Nombre y apellido:

Domicilio:

Número de teléfono:

Correo Electrónico:

Información Demográfica

Genero

- ☐ Mujer
- ☐ Hombre
- ☐ Otra respuesta

Raza/Etnicidad

- ☐ Mexicana/o
- ☐ Latina/o
- ☐ Hispana/o
- ☐ Otra respuesta

Años de edad (tiene que tener 18 años o más para participar):

País de origen y región (ejemplo país: México región: ciudad de México):

¿Cuántos años tiene viviendo en los estados unidos?:

Horario para los grupos de enfoque (marque una opción)

- ☐ Opción 1: jueves 22 de marzo a las 9:00-10:30am
- ☐ Opción 2: jueves 22 de marzo a las 6:00-7:30pm

Image 4: This is the English version of my survey

Questionnaire for Focus Groups

Information about the student:

My name is Diana Gil and I am studying at the University of Washington in Seattle, Washington. For my research, I am investigating how the effects of colorism affect the Mexican immigrant community of Yakima, Washington. Colorism is the association of privilege and discrimination based on one's skin tone. Several communities of color especially for dark skinned people of color are discriminated against by society and people within their own community due to their dark skin. For example, it's more likely for dark skinned Mexicans to be discriminated against by society and people within their own community than some light skinned Mexican. That is why I want to investigate how colorism affects the Mexican immigrant community to understand how discrimination and racism exists in our community and in American society. Each focus groups will be informal and you do not need to know about colorism to participate.

Information about focus groups:

This questionnaire will be anonymous and none of your answers will be shared outside of this study. Your contact information will be used to remind you about the focus groups the day before. Your demographic information will be used in my final report to provide an overview of the number of participants that participated in the focus groups. Your identity will remain anonymous. If you have questions, please contact me. Remember, it is only necessary to participate in one of the two focus groups. Focus groups will be at La Casa Hogar and will last about one hour and a half. Please fill out the entire form and thank you for your participation.

Person of Contact

Diana Gil
Phone: (509) 834-9861
Email: gildiana1209@gmail.com

Información de contacto

First and Last name:

Home Address:

Primary phone number:

Email:

Demographic Information

Gender

- ☐ Female
☐ Male
☐ Other response

Race/Ethnicity

- ☐ Mexican
☐ Latina/o
☐ Hispana/o
☐ Other response

How old are you? Are you over 18 years of age?:

Country of Origin and region (example: country- Mexico and region- Mexico City):

How many years have you lived in the United States?

Schedule for focus groups (check one option):

- ☐ Option 1: Thursday, March 22 at 9:00-10:30am
☐ Option 2: Thursday, March 22 at 6:00-7:30pm