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## Intragroup Xenophobic Attitudes, Ethnic Identity, and Substance Use Among Latinx Adolescents

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### Abstract

This study examined intragroup xenophobic attitudes, ethnic identity, and substance use ( $N = 905$ ). Based on cognitive dissonance theory, we hypothesized that intragroup xenophobic attitudes among Latinx individuals would be associated with higher levels of substance use (SU) in early adulthood, and that ethnic identity would increase the strength of that association. We found that in 10<sup>th</sup> grade, xenophobic attitudes were higher among respondents with lower ethnic identity, a longer family history in the U.S., and *less* stress. In a longitudinal analysis, SU in emerging adulthood was highest among males, those reporting higher stress in 10<sup>th</sup> grade, and a longer family history in the U.S. There was a significant interaction of ethnic identity and xenophobia on substance use ( $\beta = -.12, p < .001$ ) indicating that substance use was higher among Latinxs with low ethnic identity who harbor xenophobic attitudes. Findings are explained using system justification theory since intragroup xenophobia appears to operate as a coping strategy that is maladaptive for Latinx individuals reporting low ethnic identity but somehow useful to those with high ethnic identity.

### Keywords

attitudes; substance use; xenophobia; immigrants; alcohol; tobacco; marijuana

Xenophobia is negative affect (e.g., fear, hostility) felt toward people who are perceived as foreigners and refers to a sentiment of antagonism toward immigrants and people from other countries (Lee, Lee, & Tran, 2017, p.144). Fear and dislike of foreigners can occur when residents of a community feel threatened by changing demographics and increasing racial/ethnic diversity (Segal, 2010). As the demographic composition of the U.S. is rapidly changing due to the growth of immigrant groups living in the U.S., social psychology research on immigration and intergroup relations has increased. However, few studies have examined the motives and outcomes of people who are simultaneously the targets of xenophobia and the holders of xenophobic attitudes themselves. Individuals who report anti-

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**Ethical approval:** “All procedures performed in studies involving human participants were in accordance with the ethical standards of the institutional and/or national research committee and with the 1964 Helsinki declaration and its later amendments or comparable ethical standards.”

**Informed consent:** “Informed consent was obtained from all individual participants included in the study.”

immigration ideas while belonging to an immigrant group (i.e., they or their parents were born in a country other than where they reside) might have internalized the racial hierarchy of the United States (Lee, Lee, & Tran, 2017; Pyke, 2010) and could therefore be experiencing more cognitive dissonance, self-blame, and stress that potentially leads them to engage in unhealthy behaviors including substance use (Glantz & Schwartz, 2008; Richards, Stipelman, Bornovalova, Daughters, Sinha, & Lejuez, 2011). According to the latest report from *Monitoring the Future*, Latinx 8<sup>th</sup> graders report the highest rates of experimenting with nearly all classes of drugs compared with Whites and African Americans (Johnston, Miech, O'Malley, Bachman, Schulenberg, & Patrick, 2018). The aims of the present study were to investigate first, who are the Latinxs with xenophobic attitudes, and then, to what extent are Latinxs engaging in substance use if they hold xenophobic attitudes given their ethnic identity?

## Xenophobia and Substance Use Among Latinx Adolescents in the United States

There is documented evidence of existing intragroup prejudice —prejudice against members of one's own group— among Latinxs in the United States (Basáñez, Warren, Crano, & Unger, 2013; Hovey, Rojas, Kain, & Magaña, 2000; March & Graham, 2015; Uhlmann, Dasgupta, Elgueta, Greenwald, & Swanson, 2002). In the present study, we use the term intragroup xenophobia to refer to Latinxs' negative attitudes about immigrants because Latinxs are considered an immigrant group in the United States<sup>1</sup>, so we assume that by expressing opposition to immigrants, Latinxs are, to some extent, opposing their own group. Additional evidence of such perplexing attitudes can be found in a study by Kravitz and Klineberg (2000): American-born Latinxs and Latinx immigrants expressed less support for affirmative action programs than African Americans did—even though both groups reported similar levels of discrimination and although all respondents were told affirmative action would benefit their own group. Intragroup attitudes toward immigration are also complex. In 2013, a Pew Research Center survey found that among third generation Latinxs, 32% said unauthorized immigration produces negative effects for Latinx individuals already living in the U.S. (Lopez & Gonzalez-Barrera, 2013). It matters to understand intragroup affect because it could have behavioral consequences. In 2016, nationwide, a large minority of Latinxs (28%) voted for a Republican presidential candidate (Krogstad & Lopez, 2016) who explicitly used an anti-immigrant rhetoric directly targeting Latinxs during his political campaign. Presumably, those voters either downplayed the candidate's aggressive rhetoric or agreed with his views. To study intragroup xenophobia, it is useful to consider research in intergroup processes that examines the role of exclusion in maintaining ingroup inclusion (i.e., REMII; Pickett & Brewer, 2005). Based on this model, one can speculate that Latinxs who develop anti-immigrant attitudes do so to distance themselves from their own stigmatized ingroup and to communicate their *desired* group identity and loyalty to a mainstream group. That is, according to REMII, when people feel peripheral/marginalized (e.g., Latinxs) and sense that their social identity as members of a desirable group is not

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<sup>1</sup>Some people might argue Latinxs are not immigrants in the U.S. because of this ethnic group's long ancestry since the territory of California was part of Mexico until 1848. However, most recent immigrants to the United States have been Latinxs from Mexico and Central America.

fully recognized by core members of that group (e.g., Latinxs feeling they are not recognized as U.S. nationals by mainstream Caucasian Americans) they tend to adopt coping strategies –as defense mechanism– that exclude and denigrate out-group members (e.g., expressing xenophobia against non-U.S. nationals). Thus, xenophobic Latinxs may be trying to prove to their fellow Americans that they are more loyal to their national identity than to their ethnic group. This attempt may be a challenging stance that could relate to considerable stress and detrimental health outcomes if it turns out to be an ineffective coping mechanism.

Among immigrant groups' members, it is reasonable to expect that harboring xenophobic attitudes should lead to *cognitive dissonance* to some extent since they are members of an immigrant group themselves. In theory, the experience of cognitive dissonance produces a negative intrapersonal state (Elliot & Devine, 1994; Festinger & Carlsmith, 1959) because people prefer to hold beliefs that congruently correspond with their feelings. Thus, people presumably engage in behaviors to reduce dissonance by either changing their cognitions or by somehow removing the source of negative affect produced by dissonance. Light-skinned Latinx individuals or those with a longer history since immigration could experience less dissonance if it is easier for them to disidentify with their ethnic group and downplay their ethnicity. However, according to a nationwide study based on a probability sample, over 70% of U.S.-Latinxs are phenotypically distinct from the dominant majority of U.S.-White/Caucasians (Arce, Murguía, & Frisbie, 1987). If for most Latinxs it is difficult to downplay their ethnicity, then those who hold xenophobic attitudes could be experiencing considerable cognitive dissonance. Experimental evidence from a sample of immigrant groups in America found that concerns about national identity belongingness had enough consequence to produce risky health behaviors (Guendelman, Cheryan, & Monin, 2011).

Given the racial hierarchy of America (Bonilla Silva, 2004) and the lack of Latinx presence in mainstream media (Entman & Rojecki, 2000; Smith, Choueiti, Pieper, 2017), it may be difficult for Latinx youth who hold xenophobic attitudes to correct their misunderstandings and adjust their cognitions to restore cognitive balance directly. When people perceive that confronting a problem (e.g., cognitive dissonance) directly is too difficult they sometimes use distraction coping strategies (e.g., substance use). Thus, we expect to find more *substance use* among the segments of the Latinx population who report high ethnic identity while simultaneously harboring xenophobic attitudes.

## The Role of Ethnic Identity

Multiple studies have reported that a strong ethnic identity is protective against substance use among Latinx adolescents (Acosta et al., 2015; Brook et al., 2010; Fisher, Zapolski, Sheehan, & Barnes-Najor, 2017; Guilamo-Ramos, 2009; Love et al., 2006; Marsiglia et al., 2004; Zapolski et al., 2017). However, the meanings that people give to their cultural identities could be fluid (Schwartz, Vignoles, Brown & Zagefka, 2014) and their outcomes could also be influenced by how they interpret the role of minority groups in the broader society. We examined the role of ethnic identity and of xenophobic attitudes as well as their interaction, to see the extent to which ethnic identity is protective against substance use depending on whether people feel their ingroup of immigrants plays a valuable (vs.

parasitical) role in America (Brewer, von Hippel, & Gooden, 2005). Our measure of ethnic identity is meant to capture the extent to which people acknowledge sharing a social identity with their ethnic group and whether they report feeling ‘proud’ of that heritage (Phinney & Ong, 2007). It is possible for Latinx individuals to have a clear sense of ethnic identity and to simultaneously be highly patriotic Americans who report high levels of national identity (Fuller-Rowell, Ong, & Phinney, 2013). However, some people might confuse patriotism with xenophobia. We expect xenophobia to be particularly dissonance-inducing when people simultaneously hold a strong ethnic identity.

## Hypotheses

Based on cognitive dissonance theory, we expected to find that xenophobic attitudes combined with high levels of ethnic identity should relate to more substance use –assuming people seek to self-medicate to reduce the unpleasant experience of cognitive dissonance. However, based on system justification theory (Jost, 2017) we also speculated that xenophobic attitudes could be serving as a mechanism to cope with stress since xenophobic ideas might provide cognitive closure and a simple explanation for situational factors that are otherwise too complex to understand (e.g., inequality and unfair discrimination)<sup>2</sup>. Thus, we speculated that for Latinx youth with low ethnic identity, xenophobia might help them rationalize their place in U.S. society and serve them as an ideological strategy. To the extent that such strategy is effective, we should see that xenophobic attitudes combined with *low ethnic identity* should be associated with less substance use –because these subjects should experience less cognitive dissonance. To examine these hypotheses, we first examined the correlates of xenophobic attitudes among Latinx adolescents in Southern California and then analyzed the extent to which the interaction of xenophobic attitudes and ethnic identity could predict substance use later in time, during emerging adulthood.

## Method

### Participants

Beginning in 2005, data were collected from a panel of adolescents enrolled in high school in Los Angeles who agreed to participate in Project RED: A Longitudinal Survey of Adolescents in Los Angeles, California (Unger et al., 2009). Students were recruited from seven high schools in Los Angeles County with a population of at least 70% Latinx students. Across the seven schools, 1,947 individuals participated in the study while attending 10<sup>th</sup> grade (during the second wave of data collection, when xenophobia was first assessed). In 2010, participants were re-contacted and invited to participate in a study about their transition to emerging adulthood (EA). After attempting to contact all respondents from the original study who had valid contact information, 1,386 of them completed the new survey providing data for the first wave of EA which was collected between 2010 and 2012, when the average age of the sample was 19 years old. In that fifth wave of data collection, 1,182 participants (85%) self-identified as Latinx. The inclusion criteria for the analytical sample was to have self-identified as Latinx (that was Hispanic in the survey) after being instructed

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<sup>2</sup>Jost & Banaji (1994) discovered a strong tendency for people to justify unfair practices based on “just world beliefs.” We did not measure system justification directly, but we think such ideas help explain why xenophobia might prevail among immigrant groups.

to select only *one* term that best describes you. Participants were offered the following answer options: “‘American Indian/Alaskan Native’, ‘Black’, ‘Hispanic’, ‘Native Hawaiian/PI’, ‘White’, ‘Other’, ‘Can’t choose’, ‘Don’t know’.” We are reporting results from a secondary data analysis approved by the Institutional Review Board (protocol #HS-048052).

### 10<sup>th</sup> Grade Measures Analyzed as Covariates

**Perceived stress.**—Stress was measured with Cohen’s (1983) 10-item perceived stress scale ( $\alpha = .72$ ). Answer options were on a 5 point scale (1 = Never, 5 = Fairly Often) and the composite was created by adding all the variables. Sample items included “In the past month, how often have you... felt nervous & stressed?”, “...found that you could not cope with all the things that you had to do?”, “...been angered because of things that were outside of your control?” and “...felt difficulties were piling up so high that you could not overcome them?”

**Gender.**—Gender was coded as 0 = female, 1 = male.

**Generation status.**—To measure generation status (GS), respondents were asked whether they and each of their parents were born in the U.S. or in another country. A GS variable was computed producing four categories (1 = GS 1 included foreign-born respondents with two foreign-born parents; 2 = GS 2 consisted of respondents born in the U.S. from two foreign-born parents; 3 = GS 2.5 consisted of U.S.-born respondents with one foreign-born and one U.S.-born parent; 4 = GS 3 referred to respondents born in the U.S. from two U.S.-born parents).

**Socioeconomic Status (SES).**—SES was the ratio of the number of rooms in the respondent’s home to the number of people living in the home. Although these items are not ideal measures of SES they were deemed the best available predictors of SES available in the dataset since other indicators attain low internal reliability (Myers & Lee, 1996).

### 10<sup>th</sup> grade Measures Analyzed as Predictors

**Xenophobic Attitudes About Immigration.**—Attitudes about immigration were measured in 10<sup>th</sup> grade and in Emerging Adulthood (EA1) with the Attitudes Toward Immigration Scale (ATIS; Hovey, 2000). Sample items included “Immigrants drain the United States of valuable resources” and “Immigrants take jobs from those who need them.” Answer options were on a 4 point scale (1 = Strongly Disagree, 4 = Strongly Agree). The alpha of the full ATIS scale was .63. However, to examine intragroup xenophobia, we selected eight of those ten items to form a xenophobia composite by adding all items. The Cronbach’s alpha of the modified scale was .69. The two ATIS items that were excluded were “One of the good things about America is that it can be the land of opportunity for many people” and “There is no such thing as a typical American” because they were ambiguous and do not necessarily express if they feel positive or negative about immigrants. People might agree with the first statement thinking that “many people” includes immigrants, but others could think those opportunities should only be given to U.S.-born individuals. Likewise, agreement with the second phrase can mean that immigrants are just as American as U.S.-born Americans, but it could also simply reflect acknowledgement of

diversity within U.S.-born Americans but no desire to include immigrants in their conceptualization of America. Thus, since those items do not allow making conclusions about whether people had positive or negative attitude about immigrants, we could not use them to measure xenophobia. A sensitivity analysis showed that the magnitude and significance of our findings were similar when the two ATIS items were included or excluded.

**Ethnic Identity.**—A composite was created using Phinney’s 12-item ethnic identity scale, the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney & Ong, 2007). Sample items include, “I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group,” “I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to,” “I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.” These items were on a 4 point scale (1 = Strongly Disagree, to 4 = Strongly Agree) and were summed to calculate each participant’s ethnic identity score. The scale’s coefficient of internal reliability was good ( $\alpha = .81$ ).

### Measure Analyzed as Dependent Variable

**Substance Use.**—Self-reports of past-month substance use (i.e., cigarettes, alcohol, marijuana) were measured twice, first when respondents were in 10<sup>th</sup> grade and then three years later when they were Emerging Adults (EA). Composites were made for each of the two years examined in our study, using the following three established questions used in the Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance System (YRBSS): “During the past 30 days how many days did you smoke cigarettes?” “During the last 30 days how many days did you have at least 1 drink of alcohol?” and “In the last 30 days how many times have you used... marijuana?” Answer options for the first two questions ranged from 1 (= 0 days), to 7 (= All/30 days), and for the third question they ranged from 1 (= 0 times/Never) to 6 (= more than 40 times), so the three variables for each year were standardized using z scores before adding responses into a composite. The internal consistency of the scales was acceptable (10<sup>th</sup> grade alpha reliability = .62; EA1 alpha reliability = .60).

### Data Analysis

Two separate multiple regression analyses were performed using an ordinary least squares estimation method. To answer the first research question (i.e., who are the Latinxs with xenophobic attitudes), we first examined a cross-sectional model with xenophobic attitudes as the dependent variable. To answer the second research question, we estimated the extent to which xenophobia and ethnic identity related to substance use in emerging adulthood (EA). To do so, we created an interaction term of ethnic identity and xenophobia by multiplying their two centered variables (Kraemer & Blasey, 2004) and examined EA substance use as the dependent variable. Covariates were entered in the first step of the regression model, the centered variables were entered in the second step, and the interaction term was entered in the third step of the model.

The two substance use composites were log-transformed as the original composites had large skewness (3.30 in 10<sup>th</sup> grade, 1.90 in EA1) and kurtosis (13.11 in 10<sup>th</sup> grade, 4.11 in EA1) because most participants reported low levels of substance use ( $mean = 3.79$ ,  $SD = 1.99$  in 10<sup>th</sup> grade;  $mean = 4.00$ ,  $SD = 1.94$  in EA1).

## Results

The analytical sample included Latinx respondents with complete data ( $N = 905$ ); females = 556; U.S.-born = 87%. Demographic characteristics of the sample of participants are summarized in Table 1.

### Who are the Latinx Youth Reporting Xenophobic Attitudes?

Xenophobic attitudes were normally distributed with scores ranging from 3 to 32,  $mean = 14.56$ ,  $SD = 3.68$ ). The multiple linear regression model with xenophobia as the dependent variable was statistically significant (Table 2) and the covariates were gender, generation status, SES, perceived stress, ethnic identity, and 10<sup>th</sup> grade substance use. Xenophobic attitudes were significantly higher among respondents with lower ethnic identity ( $\beta = -.20$ ,  $p < .001$ ), a longer family history in the U.S. ( $\beta = .16$ ,  $p < .001$ ), and lower perceived stress ( $\beta = -.08$ ,  $p = .013$ ). Gender, SES, and 10<sup>th</sup> grade substance use were not significantly associated with xenophobic attitudes.

### Longitudinal Predictors of Substance Use in Emerging Adulthood (EA)

The multiple linear regression with substance use (SU) in EA as the dependent variable was statistically significant in the final step of the model ( $R = .37$ ,  $p = .002$ ) (Table 3). Covariates included gender, generation status, SES, perceived stress, and 10<sup>th</sup> grade substance use.

Substance use in emerging adulthood was higher among males ( $\beta = .25$ ,  $p < .001$ ), those with a longer family history in the U.S. ( $\beta = .07$ ,  $p = .037$ ) and those who reported higher substance use in 10<sup>th</sup> grade ( $\beta = .23$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Perceived stress and SES were not significantly related to SU. There was also a statistically significant interaction of ethnic identity and 10<sup>th</sup> grade xenophobia ( $\beta = -.10$ ,  $p = .002$ ) on substance use. We plotted the interaction to see the extent of substance use at above average levels of xenophobia (vs. below average) given low vs. high ethnic identity scores. Visual inspection of the interaction suggests that xenophobia was a risk factor for substance use but particularly among those with *low* ethnic identity (Figure 1).<sup>3</sup>

## Discussion

Latinxs are the largest immigrant group in the United States today (Lee, Lee, & Tran, 2017) yet the mechanism by which psychological processes related to the immigration experience affect their engagement in risky behaviors remains unclear (Schwartz et al., 2014). The present study explored that mechanism. We found an interaction of ethnic identity and xenophobia suggesting that Latinx individuals who had xenophobic attitudes were more likely to use substances if they had also reported a *lower* level of ethnic identity instead of a higher one. We had imagined that cognitive dissonance would be stronger among xenophobic Latinx youth reporting high ethnic identity, but our findings suggest the consequence of cognitive dissonance might operate even more strongly among people who

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<sup>3</sup>The interaction was plotted using an online worksheet ([www.jeremydawson.co.uk/slopes.htm](http://www.jeremydawson.co.uk/slopes.htm)) that plots two-way interaction effects for standardized variables. Xenophobia was entered as the moderator and ethnic identity as the independent variable. The simple slopes analysis indicated the point estimates were significantly different.

do acknowledge Latinx membership (by identifying as such in the demographic questions of the survey) while simultaneously scoring low in the ethnic identity scale –which taps into the psychological experience of being Latinx rather than the objective fact. That is, if people cannot feel ethnic enough but they clearly know they are part of an immigrant group and they have negative ideas about immigration, then they are at *more risk* of substance use than those who can feel proud of their heritage.

In 10<sup>th</sup> grade, Latinx students with lower levels of ethnic identity were more likely to report xenophobic attitudes than their highly ethnically identified peers. This finding is not surprising since individuals use social groups as a source of self-esteem (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) so people who cannot use their ethnic group as a source of esteem are bound to search for other sources –and one common strategy of compensation is to engage in downward comparisons that denigrate others (Wills, 1981). According to intergroup processes literature, peripheral group members who do not identify with their minority group tend to engage in behaviors to communicate loyalty to the superordinate group that they perceive as more prestigious in society (Pickett & Brewer, 2005; Brewer, von Hippel, & Gooden, 2005). Xenophobic ideologies may facilitate downward comparisons that could temporarily seem useful: Our cross-sectional analysis indicated that people reporting high xenophobia also reported *less stress*. However, our longitudinal analysis suggests that in the long run, using xenophobic attitudes as a type of downward comparison strategy appears to be maladaptive –at least for individuals who report low ethnic identity: Among them, xenophobic attitudes were positively related to substance use.

More research is needed to understand why some Latinxs individuals in the U.S. hold xenophobic attitudes, whether system justification is one of the causes and the extent to which these concerns relate to risky health behaviors. We assume one reason why individuals with low ethnic identity and high xenophobia might self-medicate via substance use could be that they self-blame because they do know they are part of an immigrant group, but they are unable to benefit from the warmth and comfort of feeling part of the Latinx community. Latinx adolescents would benefit from culturally informed substance use prevention interventions that combat xenophobia by correcting misperceptions about the role of Latinx values in American society.

The exploratory nature of our study opened new research questions that deserve investigation. For example, why were students who reported *less stress* in 10<sup>th</sup> grade more likely to report xenophobic attitudes than students reporting higher levels of stress? One possible explanation comes from system justification theory because system-justifying ideas like xenophobia might enable people to consider hierarchy-enhancing policies as a normal outcome in a just and fair world (Cherney & Hamilton, 2009; Jost, Becker, Osborne, & Badaan, 2017; Jost, 2017; Jost & Hunyady, 2018) so it is possible that having an ideology that legitimizes inequality and institutional discrimination could reduce stress among those who think there is nothing they need to do because benevolent authorities are already in charge. Measures of system justification would have to be compared with measures of negative attitudes about immigration to verify if both are in fact rooted in similar beliefs about fairness in society.



In response to the call for research on the sources of psychological resilience among Latinxs (Kitayama & Salvador, 2017), future research should examine the effect of disseminating accurate information about social justice and the assimilation of immigrant groups in the U.S., as it might attenuate system justification beliefs that seem to be linked to xenophobia in modern societies (Sánchez, 2011). System justification beliefs are highly malleable (Jost, Becker, Osborne, & Badaan, 2017) and prior research has found that such beliefs about societal-level fairness are predictive of health behaviors (Godfrey, Santos, & Burson, 2017) so more research is needed on the potential health benefit of learning information that changes attitudes about immigration. However, we presently do not have enough data to conclude that inducing less system-justification-beliefs and creating better political awareness about the unfair distribution of opportunities would end up necessarily making Latinx youth feel empowered (vs. devastated).

We focused on a malleable variable, attitudes about immigration, and compared its role to relatively fixed variables, such as generation status because we believe the assessment of attitudes and cultural orientations/values is an increasingly promising way to understand health behaviors compared with traditional acculturation measures. The prospect of designing interventions to change adolescents' attitudes about immigration must directly combat the myths behind xenophobic beliefs and challenge the notions about what it means to be Latinx in America. As the U.S. becomes more culturally diverse, understanding the motivations of Latinxs –many of whom are influenced predominantly by values characteristic of cultures of joy (Basáñez, 2016), will improve our diagnosis of health risks, and improve our ability to change health outcomes. For now, our study suggests that part of the reason why ethnic identity is not always directly related to substance use among Latinxs is because identity interacts with political attitudes about immigration.

## Limitations

Our analytical sample included only participants with complete data in the variables we examined in 10<sup>th</sup> grade and during emerging adulthood, and there was a considerable amount of missing data, so our findings must be interpreted with caution as they can only be generalized to groups with similar characteristics. Another limitation is that these data are not free from self-report bias, so it is possible that some people held xenophobic attitudes or used substances but did not answer the survey truthfully. Further, our measure of substance use included cigarettes, alcohol, and marijuana which obtained a low intercorrelation alpha statistic and that is not optimal. However, it is not uncommon in substance use research. In addition, access to a more diverse sample in terms of socioeconomic status would be beneficial, as the sample in our study reported very low levels of SES compared with the national U.S. average.

## Conclusion

To improve our ability to understand the mechanism by which attitudes are related to substance use, future research should obtain measures of system justification and self-perception of Americanness to further investigate how Latinx individuals interpret their role within the American society. One step in that direction was taken by Fuller-Rowell, Ong and

Phinney (2013) as they investigated the role of national identity, discrimination, and the development of ethnic identity. That study found that at *all* levels of national identity, Latinx individuals who perceived high levels of discrimination ended up developing a *stronger* sense of ethnic identity over time. If ethnic identity in Latinxs is a symptom of collective oppositional identity (Ogbu, 2004) rather than an example of multicultural integration then we should not be surprised to find that ethnic identity alone does not serve as a protective factor against substance use. Future studies must integrate those findings to better understand the concerns that are leading to substance use among the Latinx population and other immigrant groups in America.

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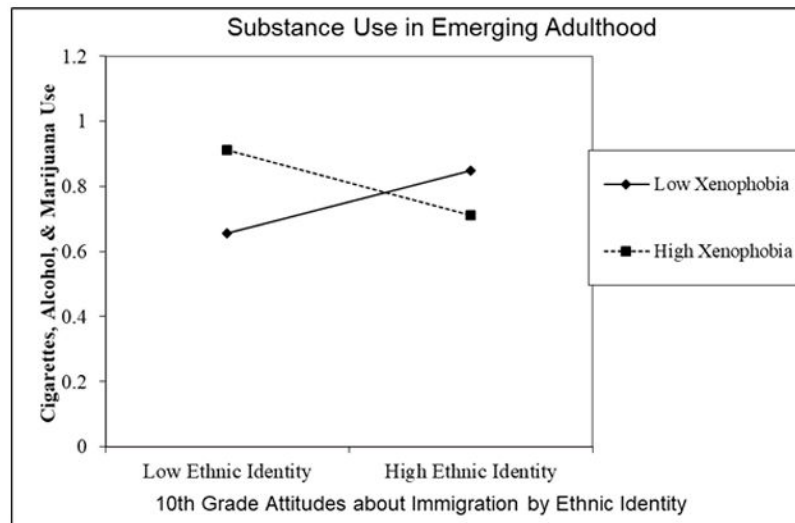
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**Figure 1.** Interaction of 10<sup>th</sup> grade ethnic identity and xenophobic attitudes on substance use (i.e., Past 30 day use of cigarettes, alcohol, & marijuana) in emerging adulthood among Latinxs in California (2006-2012), controlling for gender, generations status, SES, perceived stress, and 10<sup>th</sup> grade substance use ( $N=905$ ).

**Table 1.**

## Demographic characteristics of participants

| <b>Gender</b>                                    | <b>n</b> | <b>Mean</b> | <b>SD</b> | <b>Median</b> |
|--|----------|-------------|-----------|---------------|
| Female   | 556      |             |           |               |
| Male   | 349      |             |           |               |
| <b>Generational Status (GS)</b>                  |          |             |           |               |
| GS 1   | 12%      |             |           |               |
| GS 2   | 68%      |             |           |               |
| GS 2.5   | 11%      |             |           |               |
| GS 3   | 9%       |             |           |               |
| Socioeconomic Status (SES) (range from .17 to 5) |          | .84         | .79       | .75           |
| Xenophobia (range from 3 to 32)                  |          | 14.56       | 3.68      | 15            |
| Perceived Stress (range from 1 to 5)             |          | 2.75        | .62       | 2.70          |
| Substance Use (range from .69 to 2.61)           |          | 1.29        | .41       | 1.27          |

**Table 2.**Correlates of 10<sup>th</sup> grade xenophobic attitudes among Latinx youth in California (2006-2008) (*N* = 905)

| Linear Regression Model predicting<br><i>Xenophobic Attitudes</i> |   |                        |                                    |
|---|---|------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Step  | Predictors                              | <i>R</i> <sup>2a</sup> | $\beta^b$<br><i>p</i> <sup>c</sup> |
| 1   |   | .079                   |                                    |
|   | Gender                                  | .018                   | .595                               |
|   | SES                                     | .001                   | .964                               |
|   | Generation Status                       | <b>.160</b>            | .000                               |
|   | Ethnic Identity                         | <b>-.195</b>           | .000                               |
|   | Perceived Stress                        | <b>-.084</b>           | .013                               |
|   | Substance Use in 10 <sup>th</sup> grade | .026                   | .428                               |
|   | Total <i>dR</i> <sup>2</sup>            | .079                   | .000                               |

<sup>a</sup>Change or increase in the R squared that is associated with the variable added to the model

Gender is coded 0 = female, 1 = male

<sup>b</sup>Beta coefficient

<sup>c</sup>Significance level *P* values associated with the t-test

<sup>d</sup>Coefficient of determination multiple R squared is the proportion of variance that can be predicted in the dependent variable with this sample using this linear regression model



**Table 3.**

Longitudinal predictors of Substance Use in Emerging Adulthood) among Latinx individuals in California (2006-2012) ( $N = 905$ )

| Step | Variable   | $R^2$  | Final $\beta$ |
|------|--|--------|---------------|
| 1    |  | .128** |               |
|      | Gender   |        | .245**        |
|      | SES  |        | .021          |
|      | Generation Status                                  |        | .067*         |
|      | Perceived Stress                                   |        | .039          |
|      | Substance Use in 10 <sup>th</sup> grade            |        | .227**        |
| 2    |  | .001   |               |
|      | Xenophobia Centered                                |        | .031          |
|      | Ethnic Identity Centered                           |        | -.002         |
| 3    |  | .010** |               |
|      | Interaction term<br>(Xenophobia X Ethnic Identity) |        | -.009**       |
|      | Total $R^2$  | .139** |               |

\*  
 $p < .05$

\*\*  
 $p < .01$