



Butler University

Digital Commons @ Butler University

---

Undergraduate Honors Thesis Collection

Undergraduate Honors Thesis Collection

---

5-2022

## Hispanic Hoosiers: Ethnonym use among the Hispanic population in the Midwest

Ericela Yetlanezi Sahagun

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.butler.edu/ugtheses>



Part of the [Linguistic Anthropology Commons](#), and the [Social and Cultural Anthropology Commons](#)

---

BUTLER UNIVERSITY HONORS PROGRAM

Honors Thesis Certification


Please type all information in this section:


Applicant \_\_\_\_\_ Ericela Sahagun  
(Name as it is to appear on diploma)

Thesis title Hispanic Hoosiers: Ethnonym use among the Hispanic  
population in the Midwest  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Intended date of commencement \_\_\_\_\_  
May 6, 2022

Read, approved, and signed by:

Thesis adviser(s) \_\_\_\_\_  \_\_\_\_\_ May 1, 2022  
Date

Reader(s) \_\_\_\_\_  \_\_\_\_\_  
Ageeth Sluis Date  
May 4, 2022  
Date

Certified by \_\_\_\_\_  
Director, Honors Program Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**Hispanic Hoosiers: Ethnonym use among the Hispanic population in the Midwest**

A Thesis

Presented to the Department of Anthropology, History, and Classics

College of Liberal Arts and Sciences

of

Butler University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the requirements for Departmental Honors

Ericela Sahagun

Dr. Tom Mould

May 2, 2022

## **Introduction**

Ethnonyms are names applied to a given ethnic group. More importantly, they are a way in which individuals define themselves and discover who they are. Ethnonyms are powerful because they can index people according to specific social groups both esoterically (as adopted by themselves) and exoterically (as ascribed by others). Existing research emphasizes the relationship between language and terms that individuals use to express aspects of their identity, such as race and ethnicity. These terms are significant in understanding how identity is defined and reinforced by language. (Montoya and Rinderle 2004) Within marginalized communities, ethnonyms contribute to larger discussions highlighting pressing issues in our country such as immigration and racism.

Research on ethnonym usage among Hispanics in the U.S. is suggestive rather than conclusive. Within this population, further analysis is needed in regard to how ethnic identity is related to ethnonym choice and use. (Montoya and Rinderle 2004) However, previous literature has identified potential factors that shape these choices including immigration, non-familial contact, familial contact, nativity and generational degree, degree of acculturation or assimilation, and self-perception. My research confirms factors such as familial contact and generational degree being relevant to those in the Midwest.

Furthermore, my findings suggest additional factors like residency and legal status, language, ideological alignment with personal values, and both external and internal pressures. In addition, the midwestern focus of this project suggested the influence of regional and cultural factors. My research uncovered how members of Hispanic communities in the Midwest select and use ethnonyms as part of their process for constructing a sense of their ethnic identity. This project evaluates the range of these

factors considered in ethnonym choice in the Midwest. This analysis aims to provide a more complete picture both holistically and regionally in an area outside the U.S. southwest where the bulk of scholarship has focused.

My research focused on the pre-existing ethnonyms Latino, Hispanic, Chicano, Latinx<sup>1</sup>, but open-ended questions on the survey and in interviews allowed for analysis of additional terms, specifically Mexican and Mexican American. Furthermore, my study includes a crucial regional focus often ignored by the literature by focusing on the Midwest generally, and Indiana specifically. Indiana tells a contrasting story of Hispanic immigrants in the US, as immigrants in Indiana are smaller in number and still in the process of establishing themselves as a coherent social and political group.

Researching evolving Hispanic identities in the United States is essential in understanding the growing minority populations. The US Census Bureau projects that in approximately 30 years, the Hispanic population will comprise 24.6% of the US population, surpassing the African American population as the largest racial or ethnic minority group in the U.S. According to the US Census Bureau, there are currently five million Hispanics residing in the midwestern region of the United States. (Coronado and Martinez 2018) It also contributes to research in linguistic anthropology in explaining the meaning, function, and power of ethnonyms.

### **Note on terminology**

This project demonstrates that no single ethnonym can accurately describe this varied ethnic group in the U.S. and that ethnonym selection is dependent on a myriad of

---

<sup>1</sup> This project initially aimed to analyze the word Chicanx. However, sufficient data for this ethnonym was not collected.

factors. Selecting one ethnonym to refer to this group is therefore problematic as it risks suggesting that there is a single “correct” term. I will attempt to avoid using a single generic term and refer generally to this “ethnic community” when possible. However, for clarity, there are times when a single ethnonym is helpful. In these cases, I will use Hispanic in order to refer to this group since data from my survey showed “Hispanic” to be the most regularly used ethnonym among research participants. This choice aligns with national data, as well as the official use of “Hispanic” by the US Census.

## **Methodology**

This project began as an exclusively qualitative ethnography, but due to the COVID-19 pandemic, shifted to use both qualitative and quantitative research methods since face to face interviews and traditional ethnographic methods were not possible with social distancing and isolation. My first method utilized qualitative research by collecting and analyzing a series of emailed conversations over the course of a month in July, 2020. These conversations occurred between scholars on a closed listserv on the topic of ethnonyms in the Hispanic community. All identified as a part of this ethnic community, and all gave permission for me to use their comments. These conversations displayed many of the themes identified through my preliminary research such as generational status, nativity, and ethnic identity as factors influencing ethnonym choice. Open coding was then applied in order to find the themes and patterns that shape the adopted ethnonyms individuals use. The analysis of the qualitative data along with the results from my literature review assisted in the formulation of a quantitative survey. The survey posed questions aimed to capture the variety of beliefs and opinions currently known,

while providing opportunities for open-ended responses to allow for novel data. Additionally, I collected demographic data in search of additional patterns and correlations that may affect ethnic identity such as age, gender, socioeconomic status, familial status, community affiliation, and whether they are first, second, third generation (or even farther distanced).

The research conducted is exploratory, therefore the sample size is not widely generalizable. This survey was distributed to college students aged 18-25 who attend a university in Indiana. The purpose of targeting this demographic was to explore the construction of Hispanic identity through ethnonyms outside of the southwest, where the bulk of research has been conducted. Data collected includes students who were born or raised in neighboring midwestern states, other US states, or even other countries. In regards to the survey, 34% were born and raised in Indiana while 31% moved as an adult. The greater majority of survey takers represent those who have spent a majority of their lives in the midwest. Additionally, a large portion of respondents also represent those who have recently moved to the region, thus offering a midwestern perspective that is more recent.

In order to find participants, I reached out to Hispanic student organizations on college campuses in Indiana. Student organizations who agreed to participate received the link to the survey via email and sent it out to their list of subscribed contacts. From these student organizations, I received 70 survey responses. The survey included a space where respondents could volunteer to provide further information through a phone interview. This gave me an additional opportunity to collect qualitative data that the survey was not able to record. Through this method, the identity of the respondent was no

longer anonymous, but the phone interviews remained confidential and the participating respondents received pseudonyms. I spoke to five individuals who took the survey. Oscar, Dulce, Santiago, Jacobo, and Angeles all identify as Hispanic individuals who were born and raised in the midwestern region of the United States. Both Dulce and Jacobo are proud Chicagoans while Oscar, Santiago, and Angeles have all spent a majority of their lives in Indiana. Additionally, they all attend a predominantly white institution (PWI) in Indiana. Semi-structured interviews were conducted both via Zoom and in-person following COVID-19 protocols. Interviews were then transcribed and analyzed using open coding in order to identify themes and patterns.

## **Defining Terms**

### ***Hispanic***

Hispanic has been connected to Spanish culture and heritage in both survey responses and existing literature. When speaking to the ethnonym Hispanic, participants spoke of Spanish descent. Some responses indicated being born in a Spanish speaking country or originating from a Spanish speaking country, having Spanish (Spain) cultural heritage, and having “direct ties to Spain.” These responses center around the idea that defining Hispanic means focusing on its connection to Spain. This connection is demonstrated culturally and also linguistically.

Nonetheless, respondents also identified language as being a determining factor in defining Hispanic as an ethnonym. Coding open-ended questions on the survey revealed that when asked to define Hispanic, 62% of respondents indicated the term’s affiliation with “Spanish speaking.” The relationship between “Hispanic” and the Spanish language



has been studied extensively by scholars. The use of Spanish has been associated with Hispanic culture, especially in the context of the United States. (Frazer 1996) At times, this association appears as geographic, within local communities, or through familial generations.

More significantly, research has shown that within Hispanic speech communities, Spanish is the primary language of communication. Literature demonstrates that language largely influences identity development. This is particularly true for Spanish speakers and members of these ethnic communities. In existing literature, scholars emphasize the role that immigration and community play in the retention of Spanish. Monolingual Spanish speakers along with the isolation and language barriers presented from other local communities are among the most influential factors maintaining the language. (Gurin, Hurtado, Peng 1994; Carter, Moriello, Wolfram 2004)

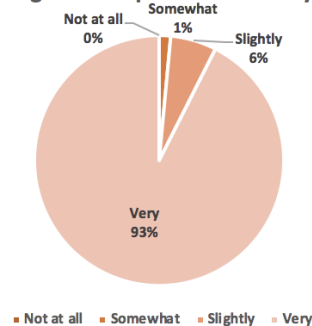
Scholars also acknowledge the role that certain community members play in the retention of Spanish, most notably: parents. Language, specifically that spoken by parents, are large influences on an individual's identity. (Bedolla 2003; Carter, Moriello, Wolfram 2004; Torres 2003; Suárez-Orozco 2001) "Emerging Hispanic English" explained that within their study, children raised by Spanish-speaking parents use Spanish exclusively in their communities and at home. (Carter, Moriello, Wolfram 2004; 344) When it comes to the defining characteristics of the term Hispanic, the direct connection between language use and parental relationships is notable through ethnonym choices of the parent, passed down to the child.

Based on existing literature, Hispanic carries definitions that allude to government

documents, heritage, and nativity, most notably. Towards the end of the 20th century, the US government had established the term Hispanic to index Spanish-speaking individuals. As a result, Hispanic became the term commonly found on government documents that refer to Spanish-speaking communities across the country. (Martinez-Brawley & Gualda 2011, Martínez and Vidal-Ortiz 2018) Similar sentiments were spoken through the survey as respondents indicated that they associated the ethnonym with government and documents. When respondents were again asked to define each term in their own words, two common themes emerged. First, many responses characterized Hispanic as a label used by the government. Secondly, participants explained that they felt it was imposed by the government.

Respondents were asked about their familiarity with the given ethnonyms. In the

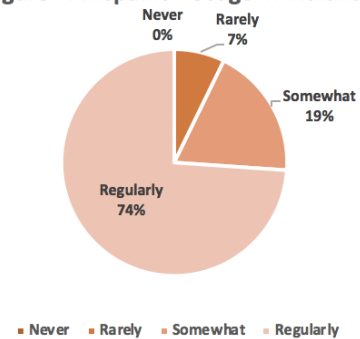
**Figure 1: Hispanic - Familiarity**



survey, this was presented on a scale as “not at all,” “slightly,” “somewhat,” and “very.” Among the ethnonyms studied, the survey revealed that Hispanic was the most familiar and widely used among respondents. When asked about Hispanic, 88% of the respondents indicated that they were

“very” familiar with the ethnonym. In addition, respondents were asked to indicate the level of usage for each ethnonym in the United States, as well as Indiana. In these questions, ethnonym usage indicates how often the respondent hears the term being used, including situations in

**Figure 2: Hispanic - Usage in Indiana**



which they use the term to refer to others and themselves. The options on this scale were, “never,” “rarely,” “sometimes,” and “regularly.” Figure 2 shows 74% of the respondents specified that Hispanic is used “regularly” in Indiana.

Percentages and figures represent quantitative data that demonstrate the familiarity of the ethnonym Hispanic. Nonetheless, this was not the only area in which respondents indicated their common use of Hispanic. Open ended questions examined how individuals chose which terms they identified with and how they did so. In order to better understand ethnonym choice, one of the questions on the survey asked, “How did you decide on your preferred term?” A handful of responses clearly stated that, “Hispanic is more widely known,” thus establishing that both quantitative and qualitative analysis of the survey presume Hispanic as the ethnonym that observed the most popularity.

One of the participants, Santiago, described his upbringing in Lafayette, Indiana. Though he characterized Lafayette as a sizable city, the smaller Spanish speaking enclave he grew up in largely influenced his ethnonym selection. He credits this to the strong sense of community among Hispanic families created by language and shared experiences. Growing up in these communities allowed him to understand the importance of his Spanish language, thus influencing him to identify with the term Hispanic.

In defining Hispanic, both survey takers indicated that Hispanic is largely associated with language, specifically Spanish, while also holding a connection to Spain. Due to factors such as government and family, Hispanic is identified as the most familiar ethnonym out of all that were focused on in this particular study. Interviewees also spoke about their relation and reasoning behind utilizing Hispanic as a term to identify with,

much of which had to deal with language among other factors that will be introduced later on.

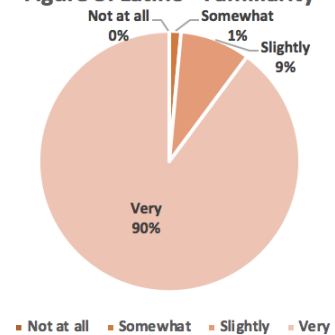
### ***Latino***

Hispanic is defined primarily by language use, while Latino was defined by geography. Scholars Gualda and Martinez-Brawley explained that the ethnonym Latino, “has been used as an aggregate by the Bureau of the Census to identify individuals coming from different countries and dependencies” of Latin origins. (Martinez-Brawley & Gualda 2011; 158) Historically speaking and according to sectors of the US government, Latino is distinguished by its geographical factors such as country of origin.

The survey revealed quantitative data that supports this definition of Latino. When asked to define Latino in the open-ended section, “Latin American descent” or “Latin American heritage” were used most often. In his interview, Santiago explained that “Latino is in terms of geography” Furthermore, interviews with both Dulce and Angeles revealed their definition of Latino as an individual from Latin America.

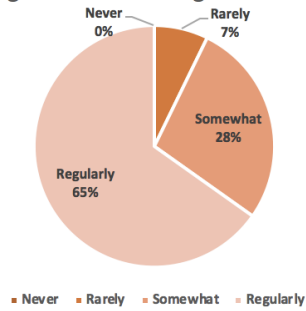
Among ethnonyms included in the survey, the term Latino was the second most popular among participants. Figure 3 exhibits 90% of respondents indicating that they were “very” familiar with the ethnonym. This percentage presents Latino as having more familiarity than

**Figure 3: Latino - Familiarity**



Hispanic. Regardless of familiarity with Latino, Figure 4 demonstrates that 65% of participants indicated regular usage of the ethnonym in Indiana. These pieces of

Figure 4: Latino - Usage in Indiana



information are able to express further than familiarity, as they are able to demonstrate the active use of certain ethnonyms, like Latino, in Indiana.

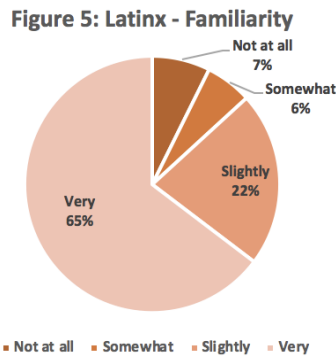
### *Latinx*

Latino is a term that has been established in the United States as an ethnonym widely used. Nonetheless, in recent years Latinx has gained national popularity in some primarily institutional contexts. Its roots trace back to the late 1990s on the internet, reaching online forums for Latina feminists in the early 2000s. (Martínez and Vidal- Ortiz 2018) Latinx is viewed as an alternative to Hispanic and Latino and most notably serves as a gender and LGBTQ+ inclusive term. (de Onís 2017, Pew Research Center 2009) Roy Pérez, scholar of Ethnic Studies in the U.S. noted the, “‘x’ signifier as a reclamation of all kinds of erasure.” (de Onís 2017) Advocates of Latinx, largely rally around the ethnonym’s ability to account for those who have been marginalized or excluded from public narratives. This includes members of the LGBTQ+ community.

Latinx’s inclusivity is perceived as a positive attribute of the ethnonym, but that’s not to say there are negative connotations as well. As explained by public surveys and recent scholarly research, the use of Latinx among Spanish dominant populations has faced pushback by this community. Scholars have noted that the ethnonym does not correlate with the syntax of the Spanish language, thus creating a gap in term usage when it comes to Spanish speakers using the ethnonym. (de Onís 2017) Additionally, scholars

indicate that Latinx is a term imposed on immigrant communities, which is important considering the existing vulnerability of this population in the US. As a result, Latinx represents an individualized term and struggles to mobilize larger populations of Hispanic identifying individuals. (Martínez and Vidal- Ortiz 2018)

According to data collected by Pew Research Center, a recent survey taken by

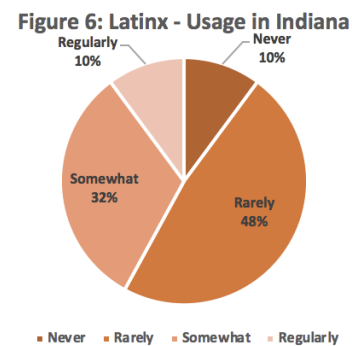


identified US Latinos indicates that 76% of this sample size had not heard of the term Latinx.

Comparing these statistics to Figure 5, only 65% of participants are “very” familiar with Latinx.

Despite the majority of the sample size exhibiting familiarity

with the ethnonym, Figure 6 demonstrates its active usage in Indiana. This chart indicates that 48% of participants identified Latinx as a term that is “rarely” used in the state. This shows that Latinx may be known in the region, but it does not get used to a similar extent as ethnonyms such as Hispanic or Latino.



In addition, Latinx is another term that has often been connoted as a political ethnonym, possibly because of its allusion to public policies made around language within the LGBTQ+ community. (de Onís 2017) Latinx’s inclusion of gender neutral identities and emphasis on inclusivity are the factors that more prominently define the emerging ethnonym. The survey I conducted indicated that 41% of the responses

associated Latinx with being “gender neutral.” Interviews also revealed Latinx’s inclusive nature to the LGBTQ+ community. Jacobo stated that, “I am trying to use Latinx a little more just to be more inclusive, to my trans brothers and sisters, and non binary.” Jacobo experienced external pressures in academia to use inclusive terms such as Latinx. Pressures to use this ethnonym is another common theme found in the survey. When explicitly asked if an individual felt pressure to use any particular term, respondents replied with Latinx. One response said, “to be inclusive of people who do not identify as male or female.” For members of these ethnic communities, Latinx has widely been defined by its inclusive nature. In sum, the importance of inclusivity is what makes Latinx distinct from Latino.

Not only did data reflect the questioning perspectives around Latinx, but it also provided further insight as to what aspects of the ethnonym individuals were uncomfortable with. Interviewees and respondents discussed whether Latinx is truly appropriate to identify these ethnic communities. This is due to its definition which indicates who created it and who it is intended to be for and used by. When asked about Latinx in her interview, Dulce questioned its importance to greater ethnic populations around the US. She said she wasn’t sure, “How important it [Latinx] is to people that that term is supposed to encapsulate.” In her experience, Dulce has predominantly seen Latinx be used in spaces of higher education. She also noted that she perceives Latinx to be rooted in social issues such as class. As a result, it’s not her ethnic community she is observing use the ethnonym. Rather, she revealed that Latinx is used most outside of the communities that it is intended to resonate with.

In comparison to other ethnyonyms being studied in this particular project, Latinx

presents itself as the newest term, having origins within the recent decades. It has established itself as an inclusive term meant to serve the LGBTQ+ community. Due to its recent, evolving history, Latinx remains in the process of building an audience foundation that serves the populations it first set out to include. Both the positive and negative perceptions that Indiana community members hold on the term will be further discussed in the sections continued.

### *Chicano*

For members of these ethnic communities, Chicano is an ethnonym that speaks to a bicultural identity - Mexican and American. Chicano is often defined as an individual with Mexican ancestry living in the US. (Arce 1981) Surveys and interviews illustrated that Chicano is perceived as more than a term indicating bicultural identity of being both Mexican and American. For individuals from the Midwest, Chicano is associated with its political history and geographic ties to the west coast of the US.

Existing literature in the field of Chicano studies contributes to the understanding of the West Coast being rich in Mexican American history, more so than other regions of the US. Following the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in the late 19th century, the United States continued receiving migrants from Mexico. This population steadily rose and would eventually see prominent communities in the southwest. (Jiménez 2010) The term “Chicano” began gaining popularity in the 1960s and ‘70s in the southwest U.S. due to political movements such as the Chicano Movement. During this time, Chicanos raised awareness of the experiences of individuals with Mexican descent in the United States. Furthermore, this ethnonym derived in the Chicano Movement and was politically



charged in order to serve as a symbol for the Chicanos who identified with it. The movement took inspiration from other demonstrations of activism occurring in this time period such as the Civil Rights, Black pride, and anti-war movements. (Arce 1981; Gurin, Hurtado, Peng 1994; Jiménez 2003)

Understanding the history around Chicano reveals factors that influence one's identity. In the survey, respondents defined Chicano through factors such as region, history, and politics. When asked to define the ethnonym, participants referenced factors such as "regional" and "political." Additionally, a few interviewees had familiarity with Chicano being widely used on the west coast. In speaking to Dulce from Chicago, she said, "I feel like Chicanos are predominantly in the West Coast or just like in California," Angeles, born and raised in the Midwest, also identified California as being an epicenter of Chicano culture. Scholars have noted that the continuous immigration from Mexico has established cultural contact and preservation in the west coast of the U.S. Continuous waves of immigration since the late 19th century has thus established the west coast as the core for Chicano culture. (Arce 1981)

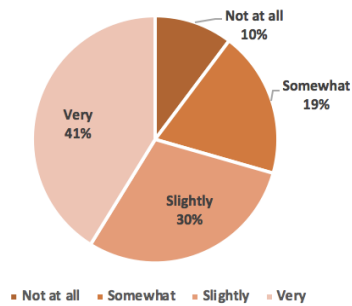
The geographical element associated with Chicano is the factor that generally stands out for people living in Indiana. Nonetheless, Chicanoan Jacobo illustrates how the west coast has majorly shaped the history of Chicano. Oftentimes, Chicano has a direct connection to advocacy and its political history. Jacobo said, "So many movements for advocacy for Mexican people in America were started in the West Coast," adding, "There's so much history of Mexicans in the West Coast... I feel like that's what makes you kind of Chicano." Jacobo expands on the regional distinction of Chicano. His knowledge of political movements originating on the West Coast led him to directly

associate the ethnonym with a particular region in the United States.

Chicano became a popular term in the late 20th century due to its political association and affiliation with cultural pride. However, interviewees and survey respondents explained that its popularity doesn't translate to the extent of terms like Hispanic or Latino. Moreover, for individuals like Jacobo, his disassociation with the west coast and prominent Chicano history is what led him to have difficulties seeing himself as Chicano. Jacobo himself resonates with growing up having a Mexican American experience. Despite this, through Chicano's definition indexing a Mexican American identity, Jacobo does not perceive himself with the ethnonym. Speaking to him revealed that growing up in Chicago and his perception of a "Chicano experience" did not align. As a result, he does not have a similar comfort using the ethnonym.

The geographical influence that Chicano carries can be seen in data collected on

Figure 7: Chicano - Familiarity

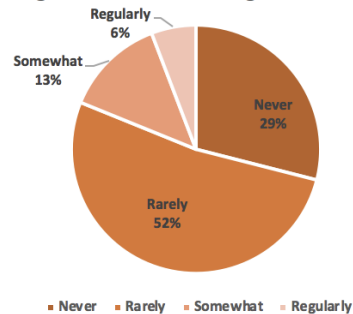


the survey. Figure 7 shows varying familiarity with the ethnonym among survey respondents. Despite 41% of participants being "very" familiar with Chicano, 10% expressed they are "not at all" familiar with the term. This particular data point

was the

largest for all ethnyms, which shows lower levels of familiarity of Chicano. Additionally, Figure 8 exhibits that only 28% use Chicano "regularly" in Indiana. The majority indicated that the ethnonym is "rarely" used in the state,

Figure 8: Chicano - Usage in Indiana



again offering the highest percentage for this particular option on the survey. The data presented through both Figures 7 and 8 identify some of the lowest levels of familiarity with Chicano as compared to other ethnonyms, which parallels the low usage of the ethnonym in Indiana.

Unlike its counterparts, Chicano has carried a meaning heavy on history, specific to a particular region in the United States. As demonstrated by survey takers and interviewees alike, Chicano has a deep connection to the west coast of the US and the political history of Mexican Americans in that region.

## **Factors And Processes For Ethnonym Selection**

Connotative and denotative definitions of ethnonyms both have an influence on how an individual selects a term to identify with. How individuals go about the process of choosing an ethnonym also provides further insight on their identity. Some factors that influenced people living in the Midwest were family, language, region, residency or legal status, ideological alignment with personal values, and external pressures.

### ***Family***

Culturally, family is an essential component within these ethnic communities and has been recognized as one of the main influences of identity construction.

(Suárez-Orozco 2001; Torres 2003) These communities in the Midwest turn to the influence of family members when considering personal ethnonym usage. Furthermore, it was revealed that this influence is exhibited by one's relationship to their parents.

According to the survey, 64% of respondents indicated one or more ethnonyms matched

with the self identified ethnonyms their parents used. Survey responses also indicated certain pressures from parents in an individual's ethnonym preference. One participant referenced when they were growing up, they perceived their term choice to be "dependent on what my mother was or what my father was." In his interview, Angeles said that his parents use the term Mexican in identifying themselves. Furthermore, he expressed similar sentiments of also wanting to identify as Mexican due to the exposure of his parents utilizing this term.

Family, and parents in particular, was a central theme to Santiago's story growing up Latino in Lafayette. His experience living in Indiana was impacted by the decisions made by his parents from economic and social standpoints. He stated, "I think the Latino experience in Indiana depends on a few different things. I think a lot of it depends on your parents though." Being first generation in the US, Santiago had to navigate through a new country alongside his parents. He explained that the acquisition of English and acculturation, or lack thereof from his family impacted his upbringing as an immigrant.

Vasti Torres researches the influence of family on the construction of ethnic identity among Latino college students. She finds that familial exposure to culture, particularly coming from parents, serves as a prominent influence towards identity formation. In her study, "All of the students credited their parents for their views on ethnicity and its role in their life." (Torres 2003) Torres further explained that this exposure and learning was through participation in culturally relevant activities, speaking Spanish, and aligning with the ethnicity their parents identified with. Though all factors present themselves as significant, alignment with the ethnicity of parents is the most relevant to individuals like Santiago and Angeles. The two spoke of the influence their

parents had on their understanding of self in the early stages of their identity construction.

### ***Generational Status***

Generation of family members of the US, most notably parents, was another factor that individuals living in Indiana took into consideration. For the purpose of this paper, I observe the definitions provided by Pew Research Center. “First-generation” immigrants refer to individuals that came to the US from another country. “Second generation” refers to individuals who were born in the US and have at least one first-generation parent. (Pew Research Center 2022) In an interview with Jaime from Indianapolis, he explained the impact his family had on his ethonym choice. He justified his term preference being a result of being exposed to cultural traditions passed down generationally through parents and grandparents. He uses the term Mexican because he was, “Exposed to cultural traditions, passed down by my parents and grandparents,” Growing up around the traditions and practices of his family members had predominantly dictated the way Jose chooses to identify with the term Mexican.

For Angeles, he also took into strong consideration the influence of generation on his personal analysis of identity. He thinks of his parents as first generation because they were the first in his family to be in the US. For him, maintaining the traditions and values that his mother taught him from living in Mexico is critical in the construction of his ethnic identity. Identifying as Mexican is among the most significant ways that Angeles stated he could demonstrate the values of his heritage.

Despite this, he demonstrated a level of discomfort identifying as Mexican because he was born in the United States. As he stated, his parents are first generation

and thus have a closer tie to Mexico. While Angeles is only second generation, he expressed a disconnect to Mexico and felt as though he would be a “visitor” if he were to return to the country. Through his explanation, Angeles is finding challenges in balancing his own experiences in the US, with the experiences of his parents. Though he wants to establish an identity of his own, and often feels he needs to, Angeles has also felt the impact of his parents immigration and acculturation to this country. He is battling pressure to use Mexican, while simultaneously being reminded that he is second generation in the US. The ways in which Angeles wants to accurately demonstrate this identity is reflected in his choice of ethnonym.

Lisa Garcia Bedolla’s study, “The Identity Paradox: Latino Language, Politics, and Selective Dissociation” offered further insight on the intersection between generation and ethnonym. In asking participants which terms they preferred to identify with, Bedolla found that respondents who identified as being first generation primarily used Mexican, while the most popular term among all subsequent generations was Mexican-American. (Bedolla 2003) Angeles’ familial experiences align with Bedolla’s findings in regard to his ethnonym choice, as well as his parents. As a first generation immigrant, his mother has a closer relationship with Mexico and thus identifies with the term “Mexican.” On the other hand, Angeles is second generation and is conflicted with his own identity. The role that generational status plays in identifying with Mexican specifically, has been noted by scholars Ortiz and Telles. Their research indicates that generational status does not have an impact on identifying with Mexican. Nonetheless, the experience of Angeles suggests that generational status may have an impact on the identity construction of Hispanic individuals in the midwest. This study demonstrates the gap within research when it

comes to parental and generational influences by larger data collections such as the census or other scholarly works. (Ortiz and Telles 2012)

### ***Residency and Legal Status***

Results from the survey and interviews show that factors around living in the United States influence ethnonym usage for members of these ethnic communities in the Midwest. Findings demonstrated that residence in specific regions of the US impacted the usage of Chicano. Similarly, factors such as nativity, residency, and legal status can affect one's outlook on certain ethnonyms. Particularly, findings established that residency and legal status impacted perspective and opinion on Hispanic and Chicano. This resulted in pressure to either use or shy away from either of these terms.

Santiago spoke of not being able to identify with Chicano based on narratives that he has observed. He said that, "Some people will literally come here quote on quote illegally, somewhere along the way find a way to become legalized and then look down on people that do the exact same thing that they did" He revealed that once an individual becomes legalized in this country, they then look down on individuals that have gone through a similar immigration process, but are still considered undocumented. As an undocumented individual himself, Santiago expanded on this by stating that the most he could adopt an "American" identity, is by utilizing Mexican American.

Angeles revealed an experience of self policing when it comes to identifying with the home country of himself, or rather, his parents. He recounted an interaction he had with an undocumented individual in high school by saying, "I felt attacked because this person was telling me basically 'you and me are not the same.'" It is stated that he and

Angeles are not the same because they have different experiences with being of a Hispanic background. In this particular example, the individual was denying Angeles of his Mexican heritage. Angeles was born and raised in the US and thus experienced the privileges of being in the US, while the individual with DACA does not get to experience this. Angeles is left to consider which terms he wants to use based on his heritage, while also being denied access from using other terms. This inability to access particular ethnonyms impacts the larger issue of having accessibility to his culture.

Scholars Patricia Gurin, Aida Hurtado, and Timothy Peng offer insight on ethnicity and social identity among Mexicans and Chicanos. Through studies conducted, they are able to suggest that those born in Mexico have a stronger sense of Mexican nationality. (Gurin, Hurtado, Peng 1994) This speaks to the experiences of both Santiago and Angeles. Having been born in Mexico, Santiago maintains a strong connection to that aspect of his identity, thus making it more difficult for him to adopt ethnonyms that solely focus on having more of an “American” identity. On the other hand, Angeles cannot resonate with a similar home country connection as Santiago. Angeles was born in the US, which has served as a barrier in being able to identify with his Mexican heritage without input from others. Another finding of Gurin, Hurtado, and Peng was that a 2+ generation Chicano’s relationship with Mexico is often broken or judged since it isn’t as strong as the one that a first generation immigrant would hold. (Gurin, Hurtado, Peng 1994) This again, speaks to the experience of Santiago. Since Santiago himself is a first generation immigrant in the midwest, his relationship with Mexico is stronger than Angeles, for example, who is considered second generation.



### ***Regional and Cultural***

Through the methodology utilized for this research project, information was gathered throughout Indiana, and at times the greater Midwest region. Focusing on this geographic region of the United States provided further insight on how members of these ethnic communities interpret and decide which ethnonyms they identify with. This was predominantly seen with the ethnonym Chicano. Survey and interview data indicated that individuals in Indiana expressed a lack of regional connection to Chicano making them less comfortable and less likely to use the term. This is not surprising, considering that Chicano has commonly been linked with the west coast of the US, moreso the southwest. (Carter, Moriello, Wolfram 2004; Martinez-Brawley & Gualda 2011) One individual stated, “I’m not from the west coast/LA so I’m not Chicana” For this particular individual, having a connection to the geographic western states of the country is essential in identifying with being Chicano. The question “How did you decide on your preferred term?” on the survey suggests that the geographical factor of Chicano influences how some respondents in the Midwest perceive the ethnonym. Responses displayed that there is a weaker connection between individuals in Indiana and the term Chicano as a result of geographic location. In other words, participants shared that the combination of residence in the Midwest, along with knowledge of Chicano being more popular in the west coast has resulted in less usage of the ethnonym. Participants do not feel as strong of a connection with Chicano as perhaps their counterparts living in the west coast may strongly hold. Interviewees and survey respondents demonstrated that because of the regional connection this term carries, usage of Chicano is done with more caution and consideration than with other ethnonyms. Individuals in Indiana expressed

the lack of regional connection to Chicano made them less comfortable and less likely to use the term.

Jacobo and Dulce, both born and raised in the Chicago area, shared knowledge on the history of Chicano, but neither identify with the term. They expressed a lack of comfort using the ethnonym because they do not have a strong connection to it, which ultimately impacts their confidence in using it. Dulce explains that she grew up in Chicago where the term is not prevalent, but that when she did hear it used, it was in reference to people living on the west coast.

Jacobo understands the definition of Chicano through its identification of an individual who is Mexican American. Despite being able to resonate with this aspect of Chicano, he still cannot identify with the ethnonym due to a regionalism with the term that he identifies. He says, “I don’t feel like I grew up in Chicano culture.” Jacobo goes on to point out essential factors that Chicano carries such as its history in political movements and direct connection to the west coast. He recognizes that residing on the west coast is an essential aspect of being Chicano which is an essential factor of the ethnonym that was missing in his upbringing in the Midwest.

### ***Language***

Language is a factor that individuals of these ethnic communities strongly consider. As stated previously, this is especially true considering the term itself, Hispanic. Again, the survey displayed that over half of the responses defined Hispanic as “Spanish speaking.” Moreover, findings uncovered that identifying with Hispanic is done with intention in the Midwest. This intention aims to emphasize the importance of the Spanish

language in one's Latino culture.

The direct connection between Spanish and one's culture is demonstrated through Santiago's experience growing up as a dominant Spanish speaker in Indiana. In his interview, he reiterated that Spanish is an integral aspect within the definition of Hispanic. Furthermore, his sense of culture is tied to both his knowledge and use of Spanish. Because of this, Santiago identifies with Hispanic more so than other terms. For him, opting to use Hispanic demonstrates the pride he has for his culture, specifically speaking to the importance of language in his ethnic upbringing.

Angeles was another individual who expressed the importance of language in the definition of Spanish. Nonetheless, his approach differs from Santiago's. Angeles said that, "In terms of when someone's asking about my language background, I would say that's the only time I use Hispanic." In this quotation, he is speaking to his own experience associating Hispanic with his language background of being a Spanish speaker. On the contrary, the survey mentions other ways in which language is associated with the ethnonym. When respondents were asked if they felt any pressure to use a specific term, One individual indicated that they did not feel pressure to use a particular term, but did feel pressure not to. Rather, they felt pressure to not use Hispanic. They stated, "I feel pressure to not use Hispanic considering I do not speak Spanish fluently" Another individual said, "I have been told I cannot refer to myself as 'Hispanic' because I do not speak fluent Spanish." These responses differ from what was said by Angeles and Santiago, but there are similarities when it comes to the identified relationship between Hispanic and language background. This individual feels it is significant to not use Hispanic simply because they do not speak fluent Spanish. Similar to Angeles, the survey

response clearly indicates that there is a strong correlation between Hispanic and having a Spanish speaking background.

Angeles offered an additional perspective that speaks to the experiences of older generations of Spanish speakers living in the United States. He stated that he has observed older generations, particularly family members, using Hispanic more than other ethnonyms. Both Angeles and scholars hypothesize that this is due to the consumption of mass media by Spanish speaking populations. Angeles credits television networks such as “Univision” for wide usage, and therefore indirect influence, of the ethnonym Hispanic. Previous studies have supported this claim by concluding that Hispanic is the, “Term used most notably in Spanish language television programming” (Carter, Moriello, Wolfram 356) The importance of Spanish in its relationship to the ethnonym Hispanic had already been established. Nonetheless, these ethnic communities in Indiana further identify the importance of this relationship when it comes to intention. Interviews indicate that using Hispanic is a choice made to affirm the significance of Spanish in one’s culture or heritage, or to appeal to larger audiences that can resonate under a shared language.

### ***Ideological Alignment With Own Values***

The factors discussed above have the power to encourage or discourage the adoption of certain ethnonyms. Survey responses and interviews indicated that Latinx was a term that most individuals refrained from using. Participants identifying with these ethnic communities commonly questioned the use of Latinx due to negative responses from older family members indicating little familiarity with new and evolving terms.

Interviewees particularly took into consideration older community members. Participants stated that much of their ethnic communities are not familiar with new and evolving terminology like Latinx.

In his interview, Santiago questioned the efficiency of Latinx for his community peers. He said, “If only a third of our community, let’s say as representative, even knows the term Latinx exists, it just doesn’t feel appropriate to say, ‘oh Latinx people.’ ‘Cause then they’re like ‘What do you mean? What does that mean? I’ve never heard of that.’” He raises a discussion around the ability of the ethnonym to speak for this ethnic community. In his experience, he has a difficult time visualizing how Latinx could accurately represent this population, when there are some individuals who do not fully understand what the ethnonym means. In this statement, Santiago is expressing the repercussions of Latinx. The term was intended to be inclusive of other identities, but he stresses that it could act to exclude if members of the intended community are unsure of the term’s definition.

The survey provided additional support that demonstrates the ineffectiveness of Latinx to encompass all Hispanic identifying individuals. One of the open-ended responses indicated that Latinx may not be the best ethnonym fit to holistically describe these ethnic communities. The respondent stated, “I have seen the research that shows that only 3% of Latinos actually identify as Latinx. That makes it very difficult for me to justify describing the “Latino community” as Latinx because the reality is that most of the people in this community do not resonate with the term.” Like Santiago, this individual is highlighting the low recognition and subsequent low usage of Latinx in their ethnic communities. Similarly, Jacobo noted that, “Certain people wouldn't use Latinx

because they don't know what that is” Its low usage is a result of the ethnonym having difficulties resonating with its intended audience and vice versa.

Both existing literature and survey respondents demonstrated that Latinx was created to be inclusive of the trans and non-binary communities. Despite this, Jacobo recounted that he has experienced Latinos, and specifically Mexicans who are more close minded to learning and understanding of trans and non-binary identities. Research has shown Latino communities to display higher rates of internalized homophobia in comparison to their Black and White counterparts. Scholars have indicated that this is a result of both socioeconomic covariates and affiliation with religious settings. (Barnes and Meyer 2012) Accordingly, some of the negative reaction to “Latinx” may stem from implicit or explicit bias against transgender and non-binary peoples.

Among those I spoke with, Santiago was the most passionate regarding the origins of Latinx and its current trajectory when it comes to audiences. When speaking about his own ethnic community, he said, “It just doesn’t feel right because I don’t think they actually identify as that. I don’t think that term actually resonates with them.” Santiago mostly spoke about those who are immigrants to the US or indigenous to South America and do not even speak English. He touches back on what he previously said regarding the lack of understanding that these populations have on Latinx and its purpose as an ethnonym. This lack of understanding that does not get translated to the communities that the term Latinx is intended to serve, is what has commonly been identified as the ethnonyms biggest issue.

### ***External Pressure in Specific Social Contexts***

Selecting ethonyms is a process that can be influenced by factors such as language, parents, and legal status. Aside from these factors, data from the survey and interviews show that external pressures are another factor that greatly influences ethnonym choice for individuals in the Midwest. Respondents spoke of external pressures that derive from various factors such as social environment, education level, and peers. Pressure to use or not to use a specific ethnonym was present for all terms studied in this project. However, Latinx was a term that was unanimously identified as a term that respondents felt pressure to use in various settings. Due to data collected on Latinx through surveys and interviews, many individuals in the Midwest have reservations about using the ethnonym.

Many of these reservations arise in settings of higher education and academia. Among these ethnic communities in Indiana, Latinx is a term that is not unanimously accepted, but expected to be used due to its majority use in academic settings. Survey results demonstrated that Latinx is not as widely accepted as other ethnonyms in the Midwest. This particular question indicated that 57% of respondents collectively said that Latinx is rarely and never used in Indiana. Latinx is not widely accepted throughout Indiana which is evident in the lack of usage exhibited by this question.

The low usage of Latinx was established by survey respondents and interviewees alike. Moreover, the use and influence of Latinx in academic settings was a common factor that applies pressure to ethnic communities in the Midwest. Beginning with the term's definition, many survey respondents indicated that Latinx is used in higher education. Furthermore, they found it essential to point out that they learned the ethnonym was made by white people and mostly used by them. This is a common assumption made,

as the term has origins among Latina feminists in the early 21st century. (Martínez and Vidal- Ortiz 2018) Nonetheless, Latinx has origins in its respective ethnic community, but is showing greater usage in outsider communities, many of which happen to be spaces of higher education.

Both Dulce and Santiago attend PWI's (Predominantly White Institutions) in the greater Indianapolis area. In her discussion of Latinx, Dulce noted that the majority of her ethnic community back in Chicago does not use the ethnonym regularly. Despite this, Dulce has observed individuals at her university using the term more so than the community itself that it was originally intended for. Santiago expressed similar sentiments in sharing experiences working at his university. Working closely with diversity, equity and inclusion student boards on his campus, Santiago shared that these extracurricular activities increase the level of external pressures he experiences with the term Latinx. When it comes to identifying himself, he said, "I definitely think there is pressure there, to say 'I am a Latinx man', instead of saying a Latino." He further explained that due to his background advocating for DEI initiatives, he feels as though he is expected to adopt evolving terminology that promotes inclusivity. As a result, he is stuck dealing with pressures from his workplace that conflict with his personal understanding of his identity and what ethnonyms to use.

As demonstrated through the survey and interviews, external pressures often negatively impact individuals. Among the most influential pressures is judgment around the use of Latinx, or lack thereof. Data collected also revealed that some participants expressed a social pressure to identify with Latinx and have endured judgment for not identifying with it. Santiago spoke of enduring these judgments when he said, "There



tends to be some side eyeing or like some shade thrown when you don't really identify with that [Latinx]. So I definitely feel pressured," Here, Santiago is recounting ways in which he has visibly received disapproval from others solely from his lack of use of Latinx. Oscar's experience with judgment and pressures spoke to the same ethnonym. In his interview, he explained that he felt he was always combating others who perceived him as "bad" if he did not identify with Latinx. Not only has Oscar faced judgment, but these pressures have also impacted his self perception. Others are telling him that he is a "bad" person because he is choosing to not use Latinx, which is perceived to be the most inclusive and up-to-date term at the moment. The shared experiences of Oscar and Santiago both demonstrate how pressure and judgment further influence how individuals choose an ethnonym. Ultimately, this also impacts how they perceive themselves and their identity.

### ***Implicit Pressure from Official Use***

Qualitative analysis of interviews disclosed some individuals also experience pressure to use Hispanic when dealing with government documents. Angeles, a 20-year-old from Indianapolis, revealed that he felt pressure to select and identify as Hispanic when he received the COVID-19 vaccine due to the consistency of seeing the word Hispanic on government documents. This pressure was also exhibited on the survey. When asked a question regarding any specific pressures experienced by external or internal factors, one respondent stated, "On forms, especially government forms, I often feel pressured to check the "Hispanic" box," Another response demonstrated that Hispanic is the participant's preferred ethnonym since they see it every time they have to

fill out a government form. Both quantitative and qualitative data received from surveys and interviews demonstrated the relationship between Hispanic and government.

## **Codeswitching**

To battle pressures from both outside and inside the community, many participants relied on code switching to navigate the complexities of ethnonym choice and identity politics. One survey respondent simply stated, “I wouldn't call it ‘pressure’ so much as some contexts require different language.” As stated earlier, this was most prevalent with the term Latinx with few mentions of Chicano. Interviewees expressed that identifying with Latinx is very intentional when the respondent is in an academic setting.

One survey respondent said that they feel pressure to use the ethnonym, “in a university setting with younger people.” Jacobo added that being a college student, his observation of Latinx used more in academia has greatly influenced him to adopt the term under these circumstances. Dulce also revealed that she began using Latinx as an umbrella term once she got to college. Using the ethnonym as an umbrella term, Dulce is implying that Latinx is a more appropriate term to use publicly in academia than Hispanic or Latino, for example. One survey response stated, “In university settings with younger people I tend to use Latinx, but at home and with elderly I tend to use Latino more.”

Finally, Santiago offers a perspective that is representative of his institution. Working in DEI for his university, he mentioned an expectation to use Latinx, “In the Diversity Center where I’m doing work. I mean the expectation is you refer to everyone as Latinx to be inclusive, right?” Not only is the usage of Latinx pressured by members

of academic communities, but its use has also been presented as an expectation. As demonstrated by Dulce and Santiago, they utilize Latinx in specific situations. Despite this, they both prefer other ethnonyms. Dulce identifies with Latino while Santiago has a strong connection to Hispanic.

Similarly, the survey demonstrated instances where respondents were apprehensive about their use of Latinx. One participant stated they felt pressure to use Latinx around certain friends. They said, “I feel like I have to be aware with the terms I use and to be very inclusive in using Latinxs instead of Latinos.”

### **Persistent Challenges With Ethnonyms**

Between pressures, judgment, and various external factors such as legal status and family influence, ethnonym choice has proven to be a difficult task for many individuals in the Midwest. Interviewees expressed that establishing ethnic identity isn't easy. They expressed that ethnonym selection is attempting to balance what you want to adopt with what's constantly being ascribed to you. Santiago says, “It hasn't been easy because it's balancing who you are, what you care about, versus what other people tell you to care about, what other people tell you are wrong.” Santiago stressed the importance of language in his conception of his ethnic identity and wanting that aspect of his culture to be visible in his ethnonym choice. Pressures from outside and inside his ethnic community have made this balance particularly challenging. Angeles similarly spoke to ascribed ethnonyms in his interview. He said, “I had to choose it because I had to fit into a box for other people,” Ascribing not only came from outsiders, but also members of his own community. Angeles stated that the act of choosing an ethnonym has never presented

itself as a single event. Rather, he has consistently faced challenges when it comes to deciphering between self input and the opinions of others on his ethnic identity and ethnonym choice.

## **Conclusion**

For Hispanic individuals in Indiana, selecting ethnyms is not simple and direct. The process of choosing an ethnonym continues to evolve as new terms arise. Angeles emphasizes this change in language when he says, “I don't think the way we're doing right now is functioning.” He added that finding or creating new terms is a feasible task for this Hispanic community. Despite this, he personally did not have any ideas on more suitable terms for this community. In her interview, Dulce similarly noted that there are no terms that capture the diversity of the Hispanic community, further justifying the lack of appropriate terms to use. She ended our conversation by saying that there is work to be done by Hispanic communities in order to better demonstrate Hispanic experiences in the United States. Some participants questioned the accuracy of current ethnyms for Hispanic individuals and their abilities to encapsulate the diverse identities within the community. Nonetheless, the prevailing conversations around evolving ethnyms within this community demonstrates the importance of these terms in expressing one's ethnic identity.

Interviewees and respondents indicated their understanding of ethnyms such as Hispanic, Latino, Latinx, and Chicano. Based on the survey results, Hispanic and Latino are the ethnyms most “regularly” used among respondents in Indiana. On the other

hand, dialogue found within survey responses and interviewees demonstrated the history, pressures, and regional influences that impact the definitions for Chicano and Latinx.

More importantly, among Hispanic communities in the Midwest there are various factors that contribute to ethnonym choice. Previous literature suggested factors such as immigration, nonfamilial contact, familial contact, nativity and generational degree (Jiménez 2010, Torres 2003.) My project similarly found family and generational degree to be influential factors when it comes to ethnonyms. Generational status, residency and legal status, and residency and culture are newly introduced factors. These particular factors were also unique to the regional focus of my project. With a concentration on the midwestern region of the United States, these particular factors offered new evidence that speaks to identity formation of Hispanics in this region through the use of ethnonyms.

Language proficiency, specifically in terms of Spanish, is a factor that suggests further research is needed. Qualitative analysis of interviews and open ended questions demonstrate the heavy influence that the Spanish language has on ethnonym choice. However, quantitative data indicates that Spanish does *not* have a large impact on ethnonym usage. Clearly additional research is needed.

I recognize that this project serves as a starting point for future qualitative and quantitative research on this ethnic community in the Midwest. One of the main shortcomings was the lack of information collected around codeswitching. The issue of code switching is a fruitful area of future research. Code Switching was not addressed under specific questions in the survey, but the complexity of factors involved in ethnonym selection suggests that individuals may use different terms in different situations. For example, students might use Latinx in a college setting, but return to

Latino or Hispanic among family members. Researching code switching would provide further insight on the evolving construction of ethnic identity in the U.S.

Ethnonyms provide further insight on the ways in which individuals define themselves. They remain powerful identity markers through their abilities to speak to one's ethnic and cultural background. Ethnonyms remain an evolving method of identity. Members of Hispanic communities in the Midwest continue to analyze existing ethnonyms, as well as recently emerging terms. Understanding the methods of identity formation for these communities offer further insight on the diverse identities of the region.

## Bibliography

- Arce, Carlos H. "A Reconsideration of Chicano Culture and Identity." *Daedalus*, vol. 110, no. 2, 1981, pp. 177–191. *JSTOR*, [www.jstor.org/stable/20024728](http://www.jstor.org/stable/20024728).
- Barnes, David M., and Ilan H. Meyer. "Religious affiliation, internalized homophobia, and mental health in lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals." *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 82, no. 4 (2012): 505.
- Bedolla, Lisa Garcia. "The identity paradox: Latino language, politics and selective dissociation." *Latino Studies* 1.2 (2003): 264-283.
- Contreras, Russell. "Axios Latino: The Latinx Debate and Other Topics You Should Know Today." *The Limited Times*, The Limited Times, 4 Jan. 2022, <https://newsrnd.com/news/2022-01-04-axios-latino--the-latinx-debate-and-other-topics-you-should-know-today.H1GVJXf2t.html>.
- "Definitions." *Pew Research Center Methods*, Pew Research Center, 2022, <https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/demographic-research/definitions/>.
- Gurin, Patricia; Hurtado, Aida; Peng, Timothy (1994). "Group Contacts and Ethnicity in the Social Identities of Mexicanos and Chicanos." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 20(5): 521-532. <http://hdl.handle.net/2027.42/68824>.
- Jiménez, Tomas R. *Replenished Ethnicity: Mexican Americans, Immigration, and Identity*. 1st ed., University of California Press, 2010. *JSTOR*, [www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/j.ctt1ppp60](http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/j.ctt1ppp60).

- Martinez-Brawley, Emilia E., and Estrella Gualda. "Latinos in the US and Spain: demographics, designations and political identities." *European Journal of Social Work* 14.2 (2011): 155-175.
- Martinez, Ruben O. and Juan D. Coronado. "Latinas and Latinos in the Midwest: *Pocos, pero bien Contados*." *Diálogo*, vol. 21 no. 1, 2018, p. 3-6. *Project MUSE*, doi:10.1353/dlg.2018.0001.
- Noe-Bustamante, Luis, et al. "Latinx Used by Just 3% of U.S. Hispanics. About One-in-Four Have Heard of It." *Pew Research Center's Hispanic Trends Project*, Pew Research Center, 18 Aug. 2020. [www.pewresearch.org/hispanic/2020/08/11/about-one-in-four-u-s-hispanics-have-heard-of-latinx-but-just-3-use-it/](http://www.pewresearch.org/hispanic/2020/08/11/about-one-in-four-u-s-hispanics-have-heard-of-latinx-but-just-3-use-it/).
- Ortiz, Vilma, and Edward Telles. "Racial identity and racial treatment of Mexican Americans." *Race and social problems* 4.1 (2012): 41-56.
- Rinderle, Susana, and Danielle Montoya. "Hispanic/Latino identity labels: An examination of cultural values and personal experiences." *The Howard Journal of Communications* 19, no. 2 (2008): 144-164.
- Suárez-Orozco, Carola, and Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco. *Children of Immigration*. Harvard University Press, 2001. *JSTOR*, [www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctvjz82j9](http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctvjz82j9).



Torres, Vasti. "Influences on Ethnic Identity Development of Latino College Students in the First Two Years of College." *Journal of College Student Development*, vol. 44 no. 4, 2003, p. 532-547. *Project MUSE*, doi:[10.1353/csd.2003.0044](https://doi.org/10.1353/csd.2003.0044).