# LATINX PSYCHOLOGY TODAY

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## $CELEBRATING \ AFROLATINIDAD \ IN \ LATINX \ PSYCHOLOGY$

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Conference Theme: "You Are My Other Me: Creating Communities of Healing"

### **FROM THE PRESIDENT:**

Querida Familia:

La Lucha continúa...The racist assault on our gente by the current administration indeed continues and seems to get worse each day. However, we are a resilient people and will continue to survive and thrive. This theme directed our conferencia in



Miami, Florida October 17-20 as we had local community members working to combat the forces that stand against us present their work to us in a variety of symposia addressing the issues affecting migrant farmworkers, family separation, unaccompanied minors, and working with immigrant populations in south Florida. We also featured Dr. Raúl Quiñones-Rosado who presented on **Racism: The Persistent Challenge to the Well Being of Latinx People.** Thanks to Dr. Lucinda Bratini, the Chairperson of one of our newest Special Interest Groups: Afro Latinx, for making us aware of the important work of Dr. Quiñones-Rosado and helping us recruit him for the Keynote presentation!

Given our location in Miami we also wanted to highlight the variety and presence of Afro Latinx populations throughout the conferencia, and throughout the region with presentations, music, and events. Recently, I have represented NLPA in attending events in Washington, DC. While there, I was able to visit the Museum of the American Indian, and the newly created National Museum of African American History and Culture which were both asombroso! While there, I purchased a book entitled *They came before Columbus: The African presence in ancient America* by Ivan Van Sertima (2003). In this important work, Van Sertima compellingly documents the African presence and legacy in the so-called "New World" centuries before Columbus and the slave trade. Visiting the National Museum of the American Indian, I was also reminded of our Latinx Indigenous roots and histories through displays on *Dia de los Muertos* in Mexico, *Inca Roads* in Peru, and the continuing presence and celebration of the Taino peoples in Puerto Rico and Cuba. (continue on page 2)

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NATIONAL LATINX PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION Thus, being aware of our history and its multiple dimensions contributes to our ongoing presence and resilience. Consequently, for the conferencia that has passed, Dr. Amado Padilla provided another Keynote address on **Celebrating the History of Latinx Psychology and the 40th Anniversary of the Arrowhead Conference.** The Arrowhead conference was the first conference to include representation from diverse Latinx groups, and some of our current members including Drs. Lilian Comas-Diaz, Ricardo Muñoz, Melba Vasquez, Jose Sapoznik, and Steve Lopez were in attendance.

I also wish to announce a new initiative that our organization will be undertaking featuring the work of our CNPAAEMI Leadership Development Institute - NLPA Fellow Dr. Luz Garcini. This project is entitled *From Science to Social Justice: Using Research to Inform the Needs of Latinx immigrants and communities.* Luz is currently a Post-Doctoral Fellow at Rice University concentrating on social determinants of health, Latinx health, health disparities, and methodology for hidden or hard-to-reach populations. She has extensive experience and expertise on the effects of trauma and loss on Latinx immigrant populations and we want to feature this work on our NLPA website and through news outlets to combat the negative stereotypes too often portrayed. So, stay tuned!

Finally, we will be honoring the legacy and life of our recently deceased colega Dr. Alberto Figurora-Garcia through the creation of a student scholarship in his name. His family generously designated that donations in Alberto's name be sent to NLPA, and at his recent memorial, I announced a donation from APA for a \$1,000.00 donation to this scholarship. Alberto's family was overjoyed, learning of the scholarship in his name.

As I said at Alberto's memorial "May the light and peace from the Giver of Life and the spirits of the four winds be with us all."

En Solidaridad,

**Brian McNeill, Ph.D.** NLPA 2019 President Professor Washington State University

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## CELEBRATING AFROLATINIDAD: BUILDING A RACIALLY INCLUSIVE LATINX PSYCHOLOGY

HECTOR Y. ADAMES<sup>1, 2</sup>

Editorial

We are excited to bring you the Fall/Winter 2019 issue of Latinx Psychology Today (LPT). The current issue is filled with powerful content focusing on the theme, Celebrating AfroLatinidad in Latinx *Psychology*. The invited article was authored by Helen A. Neville, PhD, professor of Educational Psychology at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and an eminent psychology researcher studying race and color consciousness. In her powerful piece, Dr. Neville describes the process in which people develop a Black racial consciousness which she names "awakening." She also outlines a research agenda to help advance scholarship focusing on the identities of AfroLatinx. This issue also includes moving articles centering the testimonios of two AfroLatinas in psychology (Sanchez & Madera), the importance of disrupting anti-Blackness in higher education (Bruno & Allen), and the unique experiences of Black Latina women who are survivors of interpersonal violence experience (Hernández-Martínez). The issue also provides a

timely article by De Los Santos, Delgado-Romero, Cardemil, Oh, and Stanley that describes future directions in Latinx Psychology using the Delphi methodology. We hope that this issue keeps us all actively caring for each other while creating ways to truly build a racially inclusive Latinx Psychology that informs theory, research, practice, and policy.

In closing, this issue concludes my five years of service as editor of LPT. It has been an honor to serve the association and our Latinx community in this role. LPT is a success because you all have supported the mission of the bulletin, submitted your work, and devoted countless hours to the review process. A big thankyou to the Dr. Nayeli Y. Chavez-Dueñas and the entire editorial team for your dedication, attention to details, service, and helping make LPT the success that it is.

> *; Juntxs Podemos !* Hector Y. Adames Editor

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## RACIAL-ETHNIC AWAKENING AMONG AFROLATINX PEOPLE: A CALL FOR MORE COMPLEX MODELS OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

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#### **INVITED ARTICLE**

"Being an AfroLatina means not having to apologize for my Blackness anymore. I've found pride in the not-soconvenient features I was told to hide, like my kinky curly hair, round lips, thick hips and wide nose. It means using my powerful voice to talk about the plight of AfroLatinos in the world through the lens of a woman, because we are a silent majority who matter too. Ultimately, this newfound identity is an opportunity to continue to find myself and inspire others to stop accepting the labels of society and do the same. Being an AfroLatina has changed my life, I will never be the same... and I'm thankful for that" -Christy Martinez, Bronx, New York (Estevez, 2018).

#### INTRODUCTION

Christy Martinez, like many women from Dominican households, was socialized to embrace pride in her ethnic and national heritage. And, like so many people whose cultures have been touched by white supremacy, she was also taught to deny her "Blackness after generations of exposure to political and societal anti-Blackness" (Estevez, 2018, para 7). I began the paper with Martinez's powerful narrative to illustrate that there is a process in which some embrace a positive Black racial consciousness or "newfound identity," especially in the face of anti-Blackness. That does not mean that all people of African descent begin their racial identity exploration from an anti-Black stance. In fact, many Black people have always had

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2. Address correspondence and reprint requests to: Helen A. Neville, PhD, Department of Educational Psychology, 1310 S. Sixth St. Champaign, IL 61820. Email: hneville@illinois.edu a positive sense of Blackness. Instead, I am interested in understanding the shifts in one's racial identity, such as the shift alluded to in Martinez's racial narrative. I also argue that shifts in one's racial consciousness occurs for people with a positive racial sense of self; thus, no matter where the starting point, people can develop new and deeper understandings of what it means to be Black. Exploring this process can help inform ways psychologists can promote racial pride among people from the African diaspora, which is important because research consistently suggests that a positive, internalized racial identity is associated with increased wellbeing (Nelson, Syed, Tran, Hu, & Lee, 2018; Smith & Silva, 2011).

I also opened with Martinez's narrative to uncover the often-invisible stories of people within AfroLatinidad. With notable exception (e.g., Adames, Chavez-Dueñas, Sharma, & La Roche, 2018; Chavez-Dueñas, Adames, & Organista, 2014; Comas-Diaz, 1994), there is little consideration in the psychology, Black Studies, and Latinx Studies of the racial identity of people who are members of both the African and Latin American diaspora. Adames and Chavez-Dueñas' (2017) C-REIL framework (Centering Racial and Ethnic Identity for Latinx populations) is one of the only social identity models to describe the ways in which ethnicity and race play intersecting roles in shaping the social identities of Latinx people. The model is also unique in that it allows for consideration of other social identities such as gender, class, and sexual orientation. My central goal of this paper is to build on this framework and address the gaps in the literature, including my own research, by complicating racial identity research in two critical ways: (a) describing the process in which people develop a new Black racial consciousness (i.e., awakening) and (b) outlining a research agenda to advance the literature on AfroLatinx social identities. An underlying assumption of my

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argument is that AfroLatinx as an identity encourages the simultaneous consideration of race, ethnicity, and culture in the awakening process. I first contextualize the exploration of AfroLatinx racial-ethnic identity before discussing the multidimensional nature of racial awakening. The latter is primarily based on findings from an international exploration of Black racial identity among nonLatinx individuals from Australia, Bermuda, South Africa, and the United States.

#### I SEE YOU! VALIDATING THE LIVED EXPERIENCES OF AFROLATINX PEOPLE

Christy Martinez is among a growing number of Latinx individuals who identify as Black. About one in four Latinx people in the United States (U.S.) identify as AfroLatino (Pew, 2016) and there are significant numbers of people of African descent throughout Latin America, including Brazil (~50%), Cuba (~35%) and Colombia (~10%; Busey & Cruz, 2017). However, the racism and colorism in Latin American countries (Adames et al., 2018; Comas-Diaz, 1994; Haywood, 2017) coupled with the rigid binary racial classification in the U.S., AfroLatinx people are often considered either not authentically Black (too light) or not authentically Latinx (too Black). And, there is limited space to hold simultaneous racial (Black) and ethnic-cultural (Latinx) identities. The C-REIL is one of the few models to account for this complexity. To illustrate, Gabriela, Panamanian woman, shared an example of being "too Black" to be considered Latinx:

I remember at a Hispanic Festival my sister and I were there and there were two young guys next to us (white Hispanic or white Latinos) and we were saying the words of the song and they were telling each other in Spanish, one guy said to the other guy in Spanish, that basically we couldn't be Hispanic. He said basically we may know the songs but we weren't Hispanic (Hordge-Freeman, & Veras, 2019, p. 9.)

Gabriela and her sister were rendered invisible by the two White Latinx men in this example. This is not an uncommon experience for people who are both African and Latinx. This notion of invisibility manifests when people view others as a racial stereotype and thus their individual strengths and talents of a person are not recognized, neither are the complexities of their larger intersectional social identities. Feeling invisible can lead to internal struggles as described in the psychotherapy case study with Vicente (Adames et al., 2018). Vicente immigrated to the U.S. from Colombia to "have some independence and feel free to date guys" (Adames et al., 2018, p. 76). However, being in the U.S. proved more challenging than expected. Because of American racism, he was deemed invisible in many public spaces. When probed about feelings of loneliness in the U.S., Vicente

noted: "I want to leave because of how I'm feeling here... I'm treated like crap and people just ignore me. Look, even when I go out to the clubs, it's like I'm not there... I just want to be me" (Adames et al., 2018, p. 76). Throughout the case study the therapist affirmed Vicente's lived experiences as reflected in his multiple and intersecting identities and in the racist and heterosexist systems of oppression shaping these experiences.

Therapy, taking a racial or ethnic studies course, and/or hearing others' stories can affirm one's humanity and alleviate some of the internal struggles from the repeated encounters with being dismissed or deemed invisible, much like the encounters described by Gabriela and Vicente. Through such exploration, Jasmyn Santiago from Florida arrived at a new sense of racial pride and consciousness:

And I love being Black—descendant of the most resilient people. Spreading my #BlackGirlMagic everywhere I go... Ultimately, I had to learn that being AfroLatina was truly something unique and beautiful. When I became comfortable with who I am, I realized I don't have to choose sides... I just am! I'm both and so proud of it! To choose one side over the other is deny parts of what makes me who I am. I am all-inclusive! I do not have to validate my blackness or my Hispanic roots to anyone (Estevez, 2018, para 22).

#### RACIAL AWAKENING AMONG NONLATINX BLACK ADULS

In this section, I use excerpts from the racial life narratives I conducted with over 60 Black individuals in four sites around the globe to illustrate the complexities of the concept of racial awakening across the lifespan. This type of racial awakening often resulted in feelings of Black consciousness as embodied in Jasmyn Santiago's firstperson narrative. The narratives presented in the first part of the paper only describe the after-effects of the awakening moment among AfroLatinx people, but not the process of coming to a new understanding of one's Blackness. In this section, I describe racial awakening as a process, but the discussion does not consider the complexities of Blackness for those within Latinidad. I end the paper, however, with an application of insights from the emerging research on AfroLatinx individuals to the Black racial identity research. The below quote from Andy (South Africa) captures the core racial awakening:

[Reading history] inspired me so much... When I see people like that you go "wow" I didn't know there are Black people who can actually do these things." ...So I learned to realize that, being Black is actually powerful, there's no limits, you're not limited by anything, you can do whatever you want (Andy, South Africa). Andy, who was in his early 30s at the time of the interview, first experienced a "wow" moment listening to an audio-recording of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech as a youth in the Transkei. Talking about race and listening to such material was prohibited under apartheid. Still, he managed to get his hands on the recording and it sparked a shift in his interpretative lens, which in turn triggered a cascade of changes. He began to read more about the history of Africans throughout the diaspora and pay closer attention to sports heroes at the time like Carl Lewis. Exposure to the talents and accomplishments of Black men in resistance struggles and in athletics opened up a world of possibilities of what Andy could achieve as a Black man.

A number of other narrators also described an "aha" moment in their racial life narratives. In addition to gaining clarity about the accomplishments of Black people or one's potential as a Black person in this world, these moments for some increased their understanding of race(ism). For example, Buck who is in his 20s and from the U.S. was an athlete as a youth who became aware of the existence of racism when his football team played against teams in communities known for their anti-Black racism. He explained, "That's when it really hit me like 'wow' this is really like the race thing really does exist." Narrative approaches to psychological research solicit stories about critical incidents or meaningful moments in one's personal journey. Andy's and Buck's "wow" experiences were certainly critical incidents, but they were much more. These moments had an enduring impact on the ways the men viewed the world and the choices they made. These incidents were transformative so much so that a few of the narrators named this process as "awakening."

Racial awakening reflects a profound change in one's awareness of the meaning of race and being Black. Similar to the "encounter" stage in Cross' (1971; 1995) Nigrescence model, awakening is triggered by a racialized experience that leads to a new interpretive lens in which to view race-ethnicity-culture. Racial awakening does not presuppose someone's previous ideological worldview as does "encounter." As such, it is not necessarily a transitory process in which one moves from the internalization of predominantly negative views of Black individuals to one in which an individual becomes immersed in Black culture. Someone can have a racial awakening in which they move from having a sense that they are Black to gaining clarity to their purpose and mission in life, which is racialized (Neville & Cross, 2017).

Mike (20s Bermuda) and Maria's (30s Australia) narratives illustrate the power of awakening in shifting one's life energy during adolescents. Mike described the process of moving from an uncritical understanding of what it means to be Black to questioning previous beliefs and actions. Well, I'm always looking at myself as Black, as a Black man that - I'm always looking at myself as somebody that should do something. But its' been a grey area in my life where I was just trying to do anything. I was always you know, I was poisoning people, with the poison. I did a whole pile of ignorance... and I didn't care, I felt good, I felt good on the gangster mentality... the turning point was when I was approached by one a community leader, he saw me and he knew I was outspoken so he was the one that got me involved in the youth program.

After attending the youth training program, Mike transformed his life from "being a negative Black man to being a positive Black man, and doing positive things, and trying to make a positive impact on the community in the whole of Bermuda."

Other narrators shared stories of gaining clarity about their racial-ethnic identity in an instance. Maria moved from the Torres Strait Islands to Brisbane as an emerging adult. Feeling somewhat lost and disconnected from her family as she embarked on this new journey, she experienced an awakening when she entered an art gallery. She described, "At that moment, what happened for me, when I saw Aboriginal creations, that shop, and when I walked in that shop it was like bam! I know what I want to do, when I saw that, you know?" Maria was raised by her grandmother in the cultural ways of her people, "we'd be right there watching the digging, and gardening and doing what she was doing" And, walking into the shop brought back all of her early teachings:

#### It was kind of like flooded, and everything came back in a sense of like, okay, I know who I am, I always knew who I was, but I kind of just woke up from a bit of a sleep.

This profound insight changed her career path and "awakened" her "spirituality." Maria's racial awakening in essence was an epiphany. A split-second "aha" moment which radically changed her life trajectory. Maria's experience neatly maps onto the six main epiphanic characteristics philosopher and psychologist McDonald's (2008) uncovered in the interdisciplinary literature including: (a) antecedent state reflected in anxiety and inner turmoil, (b) sudden and momentary occurrence, (c) transformation in one's identity, (d) increased clarity and awareness, (e) increased insight and meaning making, and (f) lasting change. Maria experienced some distress as a result of her transition to a new environment. The profound insight she gained in the moment of immersion in Aboriginal art in Brisbane helped her to gain clarity about where she had been and where she was going. Although change did not happen overnight, the insight she gained in that unexpected moment helped her to recreate and transform herself. Her transformation involved reconnecting to her indigenous (Black) roots and

understanding the role of this identity to how she currently viewed herself in the world.

#### **Racial Awakening as a Process**

Racial awakening is not limited to sudden and unexpected insights; it can also incorporate gradual and iterative changes in one's values and understanding of Black(ness). Mike's narrative reflects the concept of racial awakening as a process not an event. His shift in identity and meaning-making of himself as a Black man began with the comment about his potential and was constantly renegotiated as he traversed the youth leadership program and beyond. This type of insightful turning point in one's racial life story in many ways is consistent with Miller and C' de Baca's (2001) quantum change theory, particularly their "insightful" type of change. Both the racial awakening event and the insightful type of quantum change incorporate experiences that are within the normal range of everyday life and both provide the person with a different way of seeing or interpreting the world around them. In essence, Mike's "experience was not of a completed change but the opening of an evolution, a new capacity for seeing and understanding" (Miller & C' de Baca, 2001, p. 17).

Although Black identity is a lifelong process, racial awakening typically occurs during adolescence and early adulthood when people are primed to explore the meaning of their personal and social identities. It is during this developmental period that people often gain clarity about aspects of their identity and make choices that often influence the trajectory of their life. There is mounting cross-sectional and longitudinal research documenting the normal developmental process of exploring one's racialethnic-cultural group membership during this time period (Rivas-Drake & Umaña-Taylor, 2019). Adolescents also are beginning to think in more abstract and complex ways about the world around them including issues related to justice and the ways in which society is organized around social categories. While most adolescents begin to explore their social identities, not every adolescent experiences an "awakening" defining moment. And thus, racial awakening is more than exploration or increased awareness of social justice; it is a point in time in which intense clarity about the meaning of being Black begins and creates a drastic shift in not only one's awareness but also their worldview. Consistent with this perspective, not all narrators in the international project described a racial awakening moment, but the majority of those that did, described the process beginning in their teens or early 20s, including Andy, Mike, and Maria.

Moving away from adolescent development models, conceptualizations of racial encounter and theories of epiphanies and quantum change, a few narrators in my study viewed awakening as a continual re-evaluation of one's identity. And thus, there were not one or two defining moments that awakened a new sense of racial connection during adolescence, but rather a significant portion of their life narrative was a renegotiation of one's identity. Consistent with adult developmental theory suggesting that midlife is a time to reexamine one's values and reinterpret the meaning of one's experiences (e.g., Staudinger, 2001), several middle-aged narrators described awakening as a long-term project. Two of the women narrators even named a chapter in their racial life narrative as "awakening." For example, Suzie (50s Bermuda) named the fourth chapter (of five) of her racial life narrative,

"...awakening to my identity. It was just a gradual emergence into an identity, spurred by years of - in Canada, explaining myself or explaining Black people, and then my marriage, and then my interaction through my children with the private school experience."

This gradual process spanned her college years in Canada and her adult years when she returned to Bermuda. Growing up in segregated Bermuda, she always knew she was Black, and she attended a high school that instilled pride in their students and thus she always knew she was smart and talented. However, through the transition into adulthood and beyond her experiences taught her to gain a more nuanced understanding about race(ism), the positive strengths of Black-ethnic culture and contributions, and the influence of these on her own identity. Racial awakening from this perspective entails confronting the existential question related to the meaning of race ("Blackness"); it seems people in their midlife years are more likely to engage in this type of life reflection.

#### **Racial Awakening Triggers**

The racial awakening experience in the narrators' life stories was often triggered by an event, whether momentary (i.e., an epiphany) or a longer continuous period of time in a person's life. The event triggered a series of subsequent transformations in their racial schema and behaviors. One of the top triggers in the international study were **personal experiences and/or observation**. Narrators relayed vivid accounts of personal experiences that led to fundamental insights about how race-ethnicityculture played out in everyday life. Narrators shared stories about witnessing discrimination or the effects of racial policies; some retold painful stories in which they were discriminated against. And, for others, the strength and vibrancy of other Black people triggered a racial awakening.

Both **formal and informal education** also helped to "awaken" narrators to a new understanding of race, racism, and resistance. Formal education primarily consisted of taking courses and often led to greater independent study. Narrators described informal education

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experiences such as field trips, travel, and reading as aspects of awakening. Nise's (50s, Australia) narrative captured the role of informal education in the awakening process. During her time living in the U.S., commented, "And I blown away with all this history [U.S. history including civil rights events]. So I'm sort of 'Oh Wow.' And then just reading certain books..."

Some participants described gaining an increased awareness about race and Blackness through **becoming politically active** either in secondary school or college. Sher's (40s, South Africa) narrative captured the process that activism played in increasing one's awareness and education:

"Yeah so university, second year, eighteen years old, that's where my education happened. And you suddenly, there was this anger that comes from always having the wool pulled over your eyes for so long. And so I went to university, joined all of the boycotts after that and learned to sing all of the struggle songs and all of that. So that was my education."

Sher's experience captures the complexities of activism in promoting the dynamic process of awakening. For Sher, attending college helped her to critically think about race, primarily because of the realization that universities in South Africa were segregated (she attended an "Indian" university). This awareness led to anger and wanting to be more involved, which in turn facilitated the real education process or awakening.

In sum, racial awakening is part of the larger meaning-making process that some people engage in to understand themselves and the world around them. For adolescents and emerging adults, awakening may take the form of an epiphany or encounter and later in life racial awakening may resemble introspection about the process of becoming Black and all that might entail. Several critical events may trigger racial awakening including personal experiences with racism, education, and becoming politically active.

#### SETTING A RESEARCH AGENDA FOR RACIAL-ETHNIC AWAKENING AMONG AFROLATINX PEOPLE

In this section, I outline three areas I invite researchers to complete as a way of deepening our understanding of the complexities of developing Black consciousness within Latinidad.

1. Unpack the meaning of racial-ethnic consciousness among AfroLatinx people. I especially encourage researchers to conduct in-depth racial-ethnic life narrative interviews to explore how people make meaning of being Black within specific ethnic-cultural contexts. Such an exploration should consider how people are racialized

within their family, home, and host culture-if it is different from their home culture, and, how one understands themselves as AfroLatinx. I am reminded of Piri Thomas' (1967) classic autobiography, Down These Mean Streets, where he explored the themes of being racialized as Black within the U.S. as a person whose nuclear family represents a wide range of phenotypes. Flores and Román (2009) referred to this process as triple consciousness. Extending DuBois' (1903) concept double consciousness, they argued that triple consciousness in general captures one's awareness of self within three contexts Black, Latinx, and White. Angela Crawford (Chaer, 2018) reminds us, though, that considerations of one's identity should incorporate multiple intersectional layers in the meaning-making process that may extend these three identities:

As AfroLatinos in the U.S., many of us have more than a triple consciousness and that is a fight, so there's a sense of anxiety amongst us. For those of us who are undocumented, there is also a stressor of being Black in America, being Latino in America, and being undocumented in America (Chaer, 2018, para 5).

2. Explore a range of trigger events to the awakening process. Given the prevalence of anti-Blackness within the U.S. and throughout Latin America, it is easy to identify accounts of people retelling horror stories from their experiences within their family (e.g., being called ugly) and in society (e.g., being ostracized or discriminated against). Such experiences influence one's identification as Black; and, personal narratives suggest that while painful these experiences of discrimination may awaken someone to a critical understanding of the meaning of being Black. In addition, I encourage authors to expand the exploration to investigate positive triggers of this awakening process such as education, political activism and other events. Emerging research has uncovered the ways in which social media can promote racial-ethnic awakening. For example, Hordge-Freeman and Veras (2019) found a number of their participants gained a new understanding of being Black through exploring virtual communities:

I had never heard of AfroLatina until September of 2016. I saw it on Instagram and was in shock. I researched it so much and was like "WOW." That term seemed to completely describe me finally!!! I feel more confident now. From then on I've completely embraced this and felt less embarrassed about my origin (p.11).

For this person, having a label to describe her identity was a racial-ethnic epiphany that created a shift in her social identity and, through further exploration, an increase in her wellbeing. 3. Identify common racial-ethnic awakening stories. Are there prototypic awakening stories that help explain the process among AfroLatinx individuals? Understanding the antecedents and outcomes of the awakening stories or the arc of the AfroLatinx identity formation may be fruitful on a number of accounts (Cox. Cassablanca, & McAdams, 2013). The identification of common trajectories across stories and locales may help psychologists develop interventions to stimulate Black consciousness or racialethnic awakening that will promote positive outcomes (e.g., pride, wellbeing). I have not seen research on such awakening prototypic stories. However, based on the narratives shared in this article, I have some ideas I would like to explore. For example, I am curious if one prototype might encompass a "shame to pride" narrative. The arc in this hypothetical prototypic story might involve some of the following themes: the child is phenotypically different than the majority of its members (i.e., one of the only family members to be identifiable as having African ancestry), the person receives negative messages about Africa and Blackness throughout their childhood and adolescence, they internalize the anti-Black messages, they struggle with feelings of shame and alienation, some event provides them an opportunity to connect with other people of African descent, their sense of belonging increases, they begin to embrace multiple social identities, they experience enhanced functioning and wellbeing.

#### CONCLUSION

Feeling a sense of pride in one's racial and ethnic group membership is connected to positive psychological and educational outcomes among People of Color. Most of the empirical research on Latinx people in this area, however, centers on ethnic identity (e.g., meaning making about being Mexican or Puerto Rican) and most of the Black racial identity literature fails to consider one's ethnic identity (especially, a Latinx ethnic group). Drawing on insights from the C-REIL framework (Adames & Chavez-Dueñas, 2017) and on my previous research on racial awakening among nonLatinx Black adults (Neville & Cross, 2017), I argue that more research is needed to explore the racial-ethnic awakening process among AfroLatinx people. How do AfroLatinx individuals come to develop a positive social identity which integrates their African ancestry within a Latinadad context? Such work should include exploration of both ah ha moments or epiphanies and also more gradual awakening to a new Black consciousness. I call for psychologists to further interrogate the meaning and corollaries of adopting racialethnic pride, the triggers of the awakening process, and if there are awakening prototypes among AfroLatinx individuals.

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### AQUI ESTAMOS: DOS TESTIMONIOS DE AFROLATINIDAD

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#### INTRODUCTION

In this essay, two AfroLatinas, a graduate student and a professor, share testimonios related to our experiences as AfroLatinxs in the field of Counseling Psychology. In this piece, the term AfroLatinx refers to Latinx individuals of Afro-descendent ancestry (Seelke, 2008), who identify ethnically as Latinx and racially as Black or are perceived by others as Black (Borrell, 2005). In the United States, the AfroLatinx population has more than doubled over the past three decades and comprise more than 1 million of the Latinx population (Humes, Jones, & Ramirez, 2011; Logan, 2003). This number is expected to increase, as Latinxs represent the largest and fastest growing racial/ethnic group in the United States - over 57 million as of 2015 – (Krogstad, 2016), and are projected to triple by 2050, whereby they will account for 30% of the U.S. population (Krogstad & Lopez, 2014). Given the increasing recognition of AfroLatinxs in the U.S., it is imperative that we centralize the voices of AfroLatinxs within the field of psychology. AfroLatinxs fare worse than their non-Black Latinx counterparts with regard to socioeconomic status, anti-Black police brutality (Arauio & Borrell, 2006), education, and health outcomes. In addition to encountering a number of cultural barriers faced by many Latinxs in seeking adequate professional help (e.g., language, lack of access to healthcare agencies; Graham, Lanier, & Johnson-Motoyama, 2016), they may be required to devote additional energy to coping with racism and discrimination

*Testimonio* is a first-person narrative of experiences with oppression (including racism), resilience, and empowerment that is informed by liberationist theory (Saavedra & Pérez, 2012) and Black feminisms – facts, theories, and ideas produced by Black

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women (mainly African American) about their shared commonalities of experience with marginalization (Collins, 2000). We offer our testimonios as a way to recognize and acknowledge that as academics, researchers, and clinicians, our everyday lived experiences as AfroLatina women can create spaces that foster both collective healing and critical pedagogy. In particular, the goals of this essay are to highlight the intricacies of being AfroLatinx, namely, our strengths, accomplishments and resistance against invisibility, invalidation, mislabeling, racism, sexism, and homophobia within the field of psychology. Beginning with Dr. Sanchez's exploration of her journey as an AfroLatina psychologist and professor in the academy, followed by Noemí's story of her experiences as an AfroLatina graduate student in the South, this essay provides insight on navigating AfroLatinidad within Black (African American) and white (American and Latinx) spaces within psychology. We also provide suggestions for what psychologists can do to create safe and more inclusive spaces for AfroLatinxs.

#### WHO WE ARE

Our testimonios first came about through our conversations surrounding our mentor-mentee conversations, as well as conversations that took place in Dr. Sanchez' research lab. Noemí is an Afro-Dominican woman in her second year of the counseling psychology master's program and the first AfroLatinx student that Dr. Sanchez worked with in her entire twenty plus year career. Dr. Sanchez is an AfroNuyorican (New York born and raised Puerto Rican) tenured professor and area chair of a counseling psychology master's and doctoral program in at an R1 university in the South, and Noemí's first AfroLatinx professor. The work in Dr. Sanchez's Culture, Identity and Health research lab purposely centers the voices of African American and Latinx youth through participatory action research and infuses cultural frameworks and theories that frame culture as a resource, not a deficit. After many conversations over the past two years, we have decided to document our experiences through *testimonios* in order to build bridges of community and critical self-reflection.

#### Dr. Sanchez

As an AfroLatina psychologist and tenured professor who studies the impact of discrimination and mental and behavioral health disparities among diverse Black and Latinx adolescent and early adult populations, I'm often reminded of the ways in which my racial and ethnic backgrounds reflect an intersectionality that is often ignored and overlooked. This is not surprising when you consider that in psychology research and practice, race and ethnicity are often conflated, and this contributes to the monolithic ethnic grouping of all Blacks as African American and all Latinxs as Mexican American, without accounting for ethnic and cultural diversity and nuances in lived experiences. Given that I live and work in Texas, a state with a significantly large Mexican origin population, much of my research and clinical work are with Mexican origin youth. In this context, I am rarely perceived as Latina. Even when I disclose that I am of Puerto Rican background, Latinx youth often "forget" that I am Latina since I don't look like them and talk differently in both English (with a New York accent) and Spanish (with a Caribbean Spanish dialect). For me, I am keenly aware of the distinct dialect of Spanish spoken in Texas which is quite different than the Caribbean Spanish I grew up with (e.g., the use of mande vs. como to ask for clarification in conversation). Furthermore, I've learned about how important the Virgen de Guadalupe is among the Catholic Latinx community in Texas, as well El Día de los Muertos, neither of which are celebrated within Puerto Rican religion and culture. However, despite the subtle differences in language and the more obvious cultural differences in food, holidays, and how Catholicism is expressed, I do share similar values of familismo, simpatía, and personalismo, which allow me to connect in meaningful ways with my student and their families.

Given the relatively small African American population in Austin due to the extreme gentrification in this city, I work less directly with the African American community. However, when working with African American youth, my racial intersectionality is also frequently overlooked. To be Black in Austin is to be African American and to have deep roots in the South. My African features (phenotype and hair) allow me to blend in with the African American community seamlessly. Additionally, I face similar obstacles and barriers as African Americans with regard to anti-Black sentiment, racism and discrimination. My family and I have been racially profiled by the police in our own neighborhood, and we have been called the *n* word. On campus, I am frequently presumed to be a student (although I am nearing 50 years old), and when I teach undergraduate students, I'm rarely perceived to be the professor. Furthermore, there are times when some of my colleagues from my very own department, walk right by me without acknowledging or greeting me because they "don't see me."

However, despite the similarities in racial experiences with African Americans, I am very aware of our cultural differences and varying ethnic histories, migration patterns, and languages spoken. Another key distinction is that I was not socialized by my family on how to cope with anti-Black sentiment. Growing up, I was well aware of the stereotypes, prejudice, and racism against Puerto Ricans - we were poor, uneducated, gang members, and drug dealers. However, I was not equipped to deal with the additional stereotypes associated with being Black, such as being called a monkey, a *spigger* (Black and Latinx mix), or the *n* word. The macroaggressions that I experienced were not specific to the White American community where I went to school. They also occurred within my own family and in the Latinx community where I was also called names such as grifa (wooly/kinky haired) and bembe (big lips), which had anti-Black racial connotations.

The denial of Blackness within my family is reflective of *mestizaje* racial ideologies within the Latinx community – a form of colorblindness which minimizes and denies racial hierarchies within Latinx communities and the privileges afforded to lighter-skinned Latinxs (Adames, Chavez-Dueñas, & Organista, 2016). Growing up, I was told that, "Puerto Ricans are 1/3 Spaniard, 1/3 Taino Indian, and 1/3 African." We referred to ourselves as "Spanish" because that was the language that our family spoke (some of us better than others) and supposedly that's where we could directly trace our ancestors. We never talked about our African heritage with the exception of my father having an afro and African features (wide flared nose, full lips). Thanks to 23-and-me, I was able to get a more accurate breakdown of my ancestral genetic makeup, which is: 33% African, 23% Spaniard, and 17% Caribbean Native American. However, I didn't need a 23-and-me report to confirm what I already knew, that the world would see me and treat me as a Black woman.

It has taken me years to dismantle mestizaie racial ideologies within myself and to challenge them within my family. My journey toward embracing blackness was informed by exposure to powerful Black and Latinx peers and role models in high school and college who taught me about Latin American and Caribbean history. I learned about the varying racial ideologies in the African diaspora, including the Spanish speaking Caribbean, which differed greatly from the rigid racial binary that I grew up with in the United States. I also learned of the ways in which African culture deeply influenced and shaped Puerto Rican culture (language. food, religious practices, history). I realized that for me, there was no need to choose being Black over Latinx or vice versa, but it was essential for me to embrace both simultaneously.

As the first Black or Latinx woman in my department to get tenure and serve as Area Chair, I am often painted as the one who will fix all diversity related problems within our program. I live with the duality of

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having the privilege of job security and small-scale "soft" power which engenders training and educating future psychologists, yet still having very little power structurally. I continue to experience marginalization within my predominantly White and male academic space and I'm consistently asked to do service that has never been requested of my senior White male colleagues. However, I do my best to stay connected to professional, personal, and spiritual circles where I can build support and channel my energy for meaningful change.

I had hoped that in the 25 years since graduating college and now as an associate professor, there would have been advancements in the way researchers in psychology approach the study of race among Latinxs. However, despite the efforts the American Psychological Association (APA) has made toward developing national policies and practices to support the infusion of race and culture in research publications (see APA, Multicultural Guidelines: An Ecological Approach to Context, Identity, and Intersectionality, 2017) the field has been unsuccessful with regard to systematically addressing racism in Latinx psychology and reshaping research with Afro-Latinxs. I now realize how critical it is that I engage in conversations with colleagues and students about recognizing, resisting, and reconceptualizing dominant notions of race among Latinxs.

This summer, I attended the 2019 Association for Black Psychologists' (ABPsi) Annual Convention in Orlando, Florida. ABPsi is a professional association of African American psychologists founded in 1968 whose mission is to actively address the problems facing the African American community and challenging myths of black inferiority that persist in mainstream psychology (Black, Spence, & Omari, 2004). I was part of an Mbongi panel – a formal gathering of members of the ABPsi community to discuss important issues within ABPsi and the larger Black community. Our panel focused on the invisibility of AfroLatinxs within ABPsi and the importance of centering our voices within this realm with the aim to empower AfroLatinxs and stimulate resistance. During our panel at ABPsi, we made a call to the community to become more involved and supportive of their African brothers and sisters in the Spanish speaking African diaspora.

My heart raced as I faced an audience of over 160 people. It had been more then 20 years since my first experience at ABPsi and I shared with the audience my concerns and trepidations about whether there was a space for folks like me – AfroLatinxs – to be seen and accepted. Within this organization, I had felt like there was a very narrow prescription for Blackness, and that was to affirm an African American identity and Afrocentricims very specific to the U.S. diasporic experience. The experiences of AfroLatinxs were rarely, if ever, acknowledged and when they were, it was in a very superficial way and through a heavily voyeuristic lens (e.g., appreciation for the rich food and salsa dancing).

My spoken truth was met with overwhelming applause and an affirming "yes, we see you, we hear you, you are welcome." I was overcome with emotion when a couple of AfroLatinx women attendees approached me to express their gratitude for my "speaking truth to their experience." Some shed tears of relief que por fin someone was finally speaking about the AfroLatinx experience within ABPsi. I was affirming a consciousness that already exists among many AfroLatinxs. Some of the women discussed their struggles with having to "hide or play down their Latinx culture" in African American settings in order to fit in and felt that their experiences with immigration, acculturation and intergenerational conflicts were not always appreciated or well understood by the African American peers and community. In fact, some women shared that there were few or no services or resources (e.g., immigration services, church, schools) in Spanish in their African American neighborhoods. However, others who grew up in Latinx neighborhoods shared their experiences of ostracization and lack of visibility within Latinx community. In fact, one woman talked about how non-Black Latinxs would say disparaging things about her appearance in her presence assuming she didn't speak Spanish. Finally, the AfroLatina women shared that they had frustrations about not being able to find a salon that know how to do Black hair, including trenzas (braids). Overall, they found the Mbongi to be very energizing and empowering.

My talk at ABPsi was the first step in a public effort to speak truth to the invisibility of AfroLatinxs within psychology. However, the reality is that not only have I felt invisible within African American professional spaces, but I have experienced even greater invisibility within the National Latinx Psychologist Association (NLPA). The National Latinx Psychological Association is the first formally recognized national organization of mental health professionals, academics, researchers, and students whose objective is to generate and advance psychological knowledge and foster its effective application for the benefit of the Latinx population. Although NLPA prides itself of its rich diversity of membership with regard to national background, ethnic and cultural origin and political ideology, the acknowledgement of their rich racial diversity is not evident in their mission statement. Since I attended my first NLPA in 2012, I often find that I am one of a only handful of AfroLatinx psychologists at the conference. Similar to my experience within ABPsi, I have often felt marginalized and like an outsider. For example, despite my very common Latinx surname, many non-Black Latinx attendees often ask me "what brings you to this conference" or "what inspired you to work with Latinx populations," the assumption being, that I'm not Latina. At the last NLPA conferencia, I was fortunate to participate in the first AfroLatinx Siglo, founded by Dras. Lucinda Bratini and Mariel Buque. It was from this workshop that the idea for the Mbongi was generated as

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well as my desire to pitch the first Special Issue on AfroLatinxs in the Journal of Latinx Psychology.

Thus, the time has come to lift the veil of *mestizaje* racial ideologies that pervades much of the Latinx community – including the field of psychology. The process of uncovering and dismantling *mestizaje* ideologies within the Latinx community is to speak truth to the insidious anti-Black sentiment that the Latinx community holds about Blackness. Centralizing Black voices does not mean "turning against La Raza." Similar to the motives behind Black Lives Matter, centering AfroLatinidad means acknowledging the socioeconomic, educational, and health inequities faced by AfroLatinxs and the often-violent forms of racism and microaggressions that they experience daily. It means working to create an environment where AfroLatinxs do not feel like outsiders within their own communities but are acknowledged, included, and validated for their unique experiences. It's allowing them a seat at the table.

#### Noemí

The purpose of my testimonio is to provide an example of the psychological impact internalized racism can have on an individual and how it can easily be passed down through generations. Identifying as Afro-Dominican has been a process of peeling back the lavers of my history to be able to see that I already have a seat at the table of the rich African ancestry and legacy that I come from. I must have been four years old the moment I realized that I had a race. I recall watching my mother get ready for work and being in awe of her beauty. She seemed to effortlessly make every piece of clothing she put on look beautiful and I particularly loved her smooth dark complexion. On most days, I would tell her she was beautiful, and she would simply laugh and say, "yo soy Chita la Mona." Chita la Mona was a chimpanzee that was regularly casted in a Tarzan television series that was broadcasted in the late sixties. As a child, I did not know this, I assumed Chita la Mona must have been someone really famous and beautiful. On this particular day, I remember telling my mom she was beautiful and as always, she laughed and called herself Chita la Mona. However, she then proceeded to describe how ugly Chita la Mona was and how she (my mother) was also ugly. That was the moment I began to see myself as ugly since everyone always commented on how I was just a lighter skinned version of my mother. Since then, it has taken me about 25 years to unlearn and dismantle the internalization of such racist ideals within my family and community. It has taken my mother more than 50 years to finally believe that she is beautiful.

In Latinx culture, particularly among AfroLatinxs, the socialization within our families have often been about what we will do to erase the Blackness from which we come from. Our rhetoric has been: one drop of White blood makes us White whereas in the United States it is the opposite: one drop of Black blood makes you Black. On one side we have the internalization of racism by having one's personhood and identity being valuable because of the whiteness they may or may not possess. Often times this white identity is embedded into the very fabric of one's nationalism and pride, regardless of skin color. On the other hand, we have the internalization of racism by one's value being diminished based on the Blackness they possess. Specifically, in the Dominican Republic, this internalized racism led the dictator Rafael Leonidas Trujillo to carry out a "racial purification" process that killed thousands of Black Dominicans and Haitians (Nichols, 2015).

A couple of months ago, I had an encounter with a friend that highlighted some of the nuances of the Afro-Latinx experience. My friend, who is a white Latina, approached me with what she and another friend perceived was insecurity on my part due to my vocalizing anger and frustration in regard to race. Since I am a lesbian and have contemplated using a sperm donor for having children. I was honest about how I was very hesitant about acquiring sperm from a White sperm donor. I told her that I was sick and tired of hearing my family and community speak about "empureciendo La Raza" or "purifying our race" with White genes and that I didn't want to feed into that anymore. I wanted my children to physically have the African features and phenotype that I grew up believing was ugly. I wanted to redeem and heal my childhood and I believed that having Black children would allow me to do that. Since I am already light skinned, I did not want my children to look White, because it felt like I would be feeding into the same racist rhetoric and beliefs I no longer believed.

I sat there as she explained that she spoke with a friend, who is African American, and her friend stated that it seemed that I was insecure and overcompensating for being light skinned and being "mixed." Now I must admit, the words stung mostly because I had never met her friend and I wondered what I did to give off that impression. I was ashamed and wondered why I felt there was a gap in what I was expressing and how I was being perceived. It felt like her friend assumed I wasn't acknowledging my African ancestry when I felt that I was doing that by wanting to uphold those African roots within the family I was wanting to create. In her mind, my African ancestry was something that couldn't be taken from me and therefore, I should not feel that I have to cling to it the way I did. However, for me, it has always been different. My African ancestry is something that has often times been sought to be erased within my community and therefore I do feel the desire and need to cling to it.

If I were honest with myself, that period of my life was filled with anxiety as I tried to navigate my identity as an Afro-Dominican woman in Texas. I tried to drop my identity as an Afro-Latina and tried on other identities such as "mixed", and Black. But none of them felt right because I knew that these terms meant something completely different than what I knew I was. My anxiety began to subside as I embraced the

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complexity of my identity and the history of my ancestors, specifically within the Dominican Republic. I let go of the need to identify myself the way my North American peers needed me to so that they could understand my experience.

As I reflected on the incident with my friend, what I wish I would have said was this: the way I decolonize my idea of what it means to be Black will look very different than yours because I am Latinx. That difference doesn't mean I am negating the nuanced experience of African American identity development in this country. Nor am I saying that other's experiences are wrong or invalid. It simply means that my identity development and the way I navigate trying to dismantle and unlearn racist ideals within my community will look different because I am Afro-Latina and specifically Afro-Dominican. This is best exemplified in my desire to not give into my communities' beliefs about what is beautiful by wearing my hair natural and looking at non-White sperm donors, specifically Black sperm donors, to push back against the lie we are told about the need to purify the Dominican people of their Black ancestry. It also means educating Dominican youth on the rich African culture that is embedded into the choreography and rhythms of the Merengue, Bachata, Perico Ripiao, Palo, and Salsa they listen and dance to. It means that when I see Afro-Latinx people. I want to liberate them from the oppressive and racist beliefs I once had about my body and facial features by uncovering the beauty of our history through education and healing circles. Ultimately, it means that I am seeking to heal and reconcile two ethnicities rather than two races.

#### WHAT PSYCHOLOGISTS CAN LEARN FROM OUR EXPERIENCES

By revealing and writing our testimonios, we have found similarities that connect our lives and our academic spaces with each other—a bridge between the two of us. Even though our individual experiences are different, they are parallel, yet intersecting. For example, both of our *testimonios* point to feelings of otherness and the "burden of Blackness" within our families, communities and work environments, and the struggle to create a more whole identity, reflective of our intersectional identities as AfroLatinas. We both are navigating academic structures of power that are key in emerging oppressions, while ourselves embodying strength, empowerment, and healing of our ancestors and communities (Collins, 2000).

As researchers, practitioners, and activists we have an important role to play in advocating for social justice for AfroLatinxs. In particular, mental health professionals must be committed to healing the racebased trauma inflicted on AfroLatinxs within the Latinx community. In particular, they must utilize culturally relevant practices that account for the complex racial history faced by AfroLatinxs, as well as actively engage them in the counseling process. Utilizing an intersectionality framework allows practitioners to help AfroLatinxs acknowledge how racism, colorism, and discrimination add to cultural issues that they may be presenting with (e.g., acculturation, intergenerational conflict, etc). Additionally, working with AfroLatinxs to foster a positive Black racial identity is important as well, whether living in the U.S. or Latin America as positive racial identity has been correlated with higher self-esteem and mental health outcomes.

Dismantling *mestizaje* ideologies requires Latinx practitioners to understand their own racial biases and stereotypes. The practice of ongoing self-awareness is one of the benchmarks of feminist and multicultural counseling competency (Goodman et al., 2004; Sue & Sue, 2012). Central to this process is the examination of practitioners' stereotypes and an active commitment to working to change them (Betancourt, Green, Carrillo, & Owusu Ananeh-Firempong, 2016). They should also familiarize themselves with important AfroLatinx sociopolitical movements in Latin America and the United States, such as Black Futures Lab and Black Census Project that have contributed to the increased visibility of AfroLatinxs in recent years (Cuevas, Dawson, & Williams 2016; Humes et al., 2011). Examples of efforts to honor and celebrate the contributions of AfroLatinxs include El Dia Internacional de la Mujer Afrolatinx, AfroCaribena y la Disapora, and Afrodescendence month in Costa Rica.

Finally, within the leadership in psychology (APA, ABPsi, NLPA) there need to be dialogues and ongoing reflections and discussion about the processes of our engagement with AfroLatinxs through the lens of power and privilege. Whose voices are being heard? Whose are not? How do we bring in those on the margins? Having candid and frank discussions will allow for ongoing changes in structures and processes that create and support a culture of safety and trust for AfroLatinx and to do this emotionally challenging work together. Finally, Latinx psychologists need to collectively focus on raising critical consciousness of colonial mentality and mestizaje racial ideologies, recognizing the contexts of colonization and other forms of oppression, affirming individual and collective AfroLatinx identities, and working for personal and collective transformation (Comas-Díaz, 1996).

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# I NEED A MOMENT: BEING BLACK AND DISRUPTING ANTI-BLACKNESS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

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"It is in the faithful witnessing of the moments of resistance, failures, deceptions, triumphs, violence, love, and small histories that one actively participates in the affirmation of other voices and the substantiation of other truth. Without this kind of recognition, histories are erased, silenced, and ultimately invalidated as human experience" (Figueroa, 2015, p. 644).

#### INTRODUCTION

Research efforts towards uncovering the muted or silenced histories of Afro-Latinxs have increased tremendously since Michel Rolph Trouillot's 1995 book Silencing the Past, which critiques colonialism's role in the production of Haitian history. Likewise, more and more educators, in elementary, secondary, and higher education, are increasingly representing Afro-Latinx peoples within their own curricula. In this essay, the authors who are graduate students, program facilitators, and educators within the higher education system, attempt to problematize a moment of reckoning or witnessing that is occurring with the rise of such inclusion. We also highlight our professional experiences, which are situated within the intersections that meet our life experience of being an Afro-Puerto Rican born in the U.S. (first author) and a non-Latinx, U.S. born, Black American (second author). Latinxs are U.S. born, and while Afro-Latinxs or Black Latinxs exist, these are different histories than those of Black migrants from the Caribbean or the continent of Africa and even U.S. born Black American citizens. Blackness spans across geography and while the larger decolonial project of dismantling separation within the Black diaspora remains center in our projects, we

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3. Address correspondence and reprint requests to: Sarah Elizbeth Bruno, MA, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 500 Lincoln Dr., Madison, WI 53706 Email: sbruno@wisc.edu realize that our nationalities, positionalities, and overall identities contribute to our access and perspectives.

The outcome of including Afro-Latinxs in classroom curricula, has led to the moment where an Afro-Latinx student can recognize and accept themselves as Black and/or begin the process of unlearning harmful anti-black, racist, and colorist patterns of thinking that were the result of their socialization. This moment is an affective one that happens during a lesson but lingers long after the quarter or semester has ended. Afro-Latinx, interchangeably used with Black Latinx, researchers, educators, and activists have fought for this moment. However, as we point out, education systems are not effectively readying campuses, classrooms, or teachers with the training needed to support and encourage this type of emotionally and psychologically intensive journey.

Drawing from our experiences, we offer the reader models of addressing the emotional labor that is often not discussed in academic spaces that center Afro-Latinxs. We offer triumphs and side-steps that we have encountered as we push Afro-Latinidad into the larger Black diasporic discussion. It is our hope that more administrators and educators offer not only representation of Afro-Latinx experiences in their curriculum, but also ready themselves to support students as they digest and process what they are learning. We point towards solutions such as setting an intentional atmosphere in the classroom to discuss issues related to Afro-Latinxs and panels with Afro-Latinxs and experts in the field. In our professional experience, these have been successful because they allowed Afro-Latinx students to ask hard questions and engage in meaningful dialogue not only with those in authoritative positions, but also with peers.

#### A GLANCE AT HISTORICIZING THE NEED FOR AFRO-LATINX REPRESENTATION

Blackness and Latinidad are intertwined at their core, however, colonialism and postcolonialism have gone to exceedingly abundant lengths to sift them apart through erasure, anti-blackness, xenophobia, and colorblind ideologies (Bonilla-Silva, 2010; Chavez-Dueñas, Adames, & Organista, 2014; Comas-Diaz, 1996). Scholars have dedicated their careers to stitching these fissures back into semblance for decades. At the turn of the 21st century, with the groundbreaking edited collection The Afro-Latin@ Reader (Jiménez Román & Flores, 2010), Blackness within Latinidad, or Afro-Latinidad, was becoming more prevalent. The edited reader contained ethnographic vignettes, historiographical evidence, and also poetry to weave together how early Latinx scholars stumbled, some soared, but all were making sense of their own Blackness in the United States (U.S.). For example, in *Pedagogies of the Crossing*, Jacqui Alexander (2005) describes how Women of Color are not born, they are made. Women of Color (WOC) are made through the social and institutional racializing processes that they face. It is their lived experience navigating these structures that contribute to their racialized experience. Likewise, Afro-Latinxs who are descendants of African people, both inside and outside of the U.S. are made through racialization, familial histories, and biopower politics (Foucault, Bertani, Fontana, Ewald, & Macey, 2003). The constant process of othering and the strategies that Afro-Latinxs use in their everyday to combat systemic racism and the marginalization they face regardless of the context, produces another subjectivity that we attempt to zero in on in this article.

It is important to point out that Latinidad is not a racial category, but rather the subject of processes of racialization (del Río, 2016). Thus, Latinxs are members of a cultural ethnicity comprised of people who share a common language, often Spanish or Portuguese. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez shares, "My identity is the descendant of many different identities. I am a descendant of African slaves. I am the descendant of Indigenous people. I am the descendant of Spanish colonizers. I am a descendant of all sorts of folks. That doesn't mean I'm Black, that doesn't mean I'm Native" (Araujo, 2019, para. 4). This explanation of her heritage and racial identity helps contextualize the fact that the "one-drop rule" also known as the "one Black ancestor rule" or "hypodescent rule", which was a social and legal principle of the early 20th Century, does not inherently make oneself Black (Davis, 1991).

However, when Afro-Latinxs begin the process of discovering their Blackness, this journey of reflection and self-recognition varies individually but also collectively marked by the condition of (post)coloniality. Those who identify as Afro-Latinxs and study Afro-

Latinidad came together in *The Afro-Latin*(a), *Reader* (2010). The reader follows Afro-Latinx women who discussed the different fetishization and anti-Black attitudes of others in their communities. The everyday experience of getting their hair done, walking around their neighborhoods and being subject to catcalls, and what made these women desirable and to who, all play a part in the Black subjectivity, as Alexander (2005) described. showed how WOC are made. For example, "Latinegras", the chapter by Marta I. Cruz-Janzen, testifies to the attention to darker skin color within Latinx communities and their degrees of offensiveness. Cruz-Janzen describes how others read her and categorized her ultimately was internalized by her and attributed to her own anti-Black attitudes or refusal of Blackness. The Afro-Latin@ Reader served as an arena of what Yomaira Figueroa (2015) and Maria Lugones (2003) call "faithful witnessing," or "the act of aligning oneself with oppressed peoples against the grain of power and recognizing their humanity, oppression, and resistance despite the lack of institutional endorsement" (Figueroa, 2015, p. 64). The testimonies, studies, and overall edited volume allows the reader to witness how an Afro-Latinx can come to consciousness. In this paper, we concern ourselves with how to assist our Afro-Latinx students who are coming into their own Black Latinx subjectivities in our classrooms and campuses.

Just before the 2010 reader, edited by Miriam Jimenez Roman and Juan Flores, researchers wrote an article based on fieldwork in Puerto Rico where they sought to uncover how elementary classrooms were teaching or providing representation of Black Puerto Ricanness. In "Lessons of Slavery," Godreau et al. (2008) investigated how a school in Puerto Rico approached the origins of Blackness within Puerto Rico. The researchers found that Blackness on the archipelago (Puerto Rico) was tethered to folkloric art (music and dance), food, and a benevolent tale of slavery, wherein Puerto Rican enslavement was depicted as not having been "as bad" as in the United States. The article also noted how all but one teacher within the school discussed the ever-existing pressures of institutional racism and the impact of interpersonal discrimination (Godreau, Reyes Cruz, Franco Ortiz, & Cuadrado, 2008). The students participating in the study demonstrated a significant amount of difficulty when asked to explain their racial identity, but ultimately, they learned a great deal on the concepts of power, privilege, oppression, and a deeper understanding of the relationship between slavery and racism. This call for the inclusion of Afro-Latinx representation within the curriculum of institutions contributed substantially to the literature of classroom pedagogy.

#### PUTTING OUR VISION INTO PRACTICE: CENTERING AFROLATINXS IN THE CLASSROOM

Many Afro-Latinx educators try to answer this call for inclusion and likewise, so did Sarah Bruno through her lecture course "Latinx In Reggaeton and Hip Hop." She presented reggaeton and hip hop to undergraduate students through the framing of Audre Lorde, bell hooks, and Ann Stoler, alongside lyrics, music videos, and interactive class projects. There was a definitive point of attention made to Blackness and feminism throughout the Chicanx Latinx Studies course. Bruno was actively attempting to join efforts to present the representation that has long been asked for. As Bruno embarked on this journey of learning and unlearning with her students, she realized that the material was not only personal to her, but also to her students. She utilized texts that both assisted and challenged her and her students' relationships to and understanding of Blackness in Latinidad and the larger African Diaspora.

She created assignments that allowed students to work out their own ideas about Blackness, pop culture, and other class material, while also encouraging research and writing skills. For example, students were allowed to make playlists and mixtapes with listening guides, as well as visual art throughout the semester. Considering the historical and cultural contexts, utilizing music and art to further engage with the texts and the topics, was not only encouraged but required. Bruno wanted students to leave with a deeper understanding of the Caribbean and Latin American history that brought about Afro-Latinxs. Moreover, she wanted students to understand the ways in which colonialism and racism, which are ingrained in U.S. historically, have impacted and silenced Afro-Latinxs. In addition to race, gender was also interwoven into the course in order for students to leave with a more robust understanding of the diaspora and how women fit in to these genres and theoretical frameworks.

Throughout the course, Bruno observed her students navigate the material, describe the tensions they felt about their upbringing, and actively confront attitudes they had been taught. She learned about the anxiety and uncertainty students felt in moving forward and with who they were choosing to be now. These were college students who had actively refused their Blackness. They had long recognized themselves as Latinx but not as Black Latinx, often attributing darker skin or Black phenotypic features to the mestizaje narrative within Latin America (Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014). By the end of the semester, many of them had begun to have moments of recognition where they started viewing themselves differently. After challenging their thought patterns that were rooted in anti-Blackness, they now understood themselves to be Black Latinxs (and not just Latinxs), and for some, accepted the privilege they held due to their

proximity to whiteness. The course's readings, discussions, and assignments supported these student's ability to have this moment. Alexander (2005) discusses that witnessing and remembering is both a collective and individual act, that not only requires self-work, reflection and introspection, but the active engagement and interactions/dialogue with members of your community. Bruno's students were now choosing to witness and remember this part of themselves. However, what happens to these students who are coming into a racial consciousness, when they leave the classroom, or when teachers are not properly educated about Black Latinx?

Due to historical tensions, especially in larger cities where non-Black Latinx and Black populations are segregated, Afro-Latinxs might not have been in a space where their intersectional identities (Crenshaw 1991) have been able to coexist forcing an individual to choose or acknowledge one part of their identity. For instance, in New York and Chicago the tensions between Puerto Ricans and Black Americans continues to be prevalent in the city's spatial geography despite both groups facing immense gentrification and relocation. There are a number of factors that have contributed to these attitudes such as: anti-Blackness, the competition for the job market, not wanting to be on the bottom of a social hierarchy, gang relations, and white supremacy. These conditions are not only historically but also currently relevant to how Blackness and Latinidad interact with each other. Still, while these tensions have existed, there are numerous community-based efforts aimed at uniting and alleviating tensions within these communities. It is important to have an honest understanding of history and how it has not only shaped how Afro-Latinx see themselves, but also how they see others. This can also allow Black Latinxs to recognize the ways in which they have been hurt by anti-Black ideologies, as well as how their own internalized oppression may have been harmful to other Black people. How to reconcile this is something that needs more attention, particularly in the U.S.

Again, witnessing and recognition is both an individual and collective act, and we must be present as educators, program administrators, and practitioners in supporting students. In Eileen Findlay's 2012 article on race and Blackness, as she collected life histories of returning Nuvorican migrants living in Puerto Rico, she highlights the malleability of Blackness depending on interlocutors' geographies, their experiences of being racially categorized by others, and their own navigation of space. Here, geography means not only in the physical location but also their chosen and given social positionality (e.g., what and who exists there). These participants were Puerto Rican, all living amongst Puerto Ricans in New York, but some also hung out with Black Americans or interacted with them in the city. These interactions, along with their intimate social spaces and the ways they were raised culminated to their racial

consciousness. This consciousness could be the result of family nicknames that referred to them based on their skin color, along with who their friends or foes were. Findlay retells a participant's tale of their sister who during a class activity identified herself as Black and was then told by a teacher that she was in fact not Black but Puerto Rican. The child was confused by her teacher's remarks. However, she knew that her Blackness was different, but it was still Blackness. The student just did not have the vocabulary, the research, or the access we have today to assist her through those types of encounters. Perhaps she would be one of the students who would have taken Bruno's course and had "a moment," in which she learns how to articulate herself and her positionality.

#### SUPPORTING COLLEGE STUDENT DEVELOPMENT: CENTERING AFRO-LATINXS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Like Bruno, Brian Allen answered the call to centering the experiences of Afro-Latinxs in the field of Student Affairs/Higher Education. He created the *Ni Negro Ni Blanco* series at a private northeastern university that consisted of events, discussions and workshops centering the Afro-Latinx experience. The series began with the desire for Afro-Latinx students (both undergraduate and graduate) to have a community in which they could engage in critical dialogue surrounding their identity in an environment that prioritized their voices. The title of the series was not meant to convey the idea that Afro-Latinx were neither Black nor white, but to highlight the perpetuation of marginalization and othering that this population of students often encounter.

Allen met with many students who identified as Afro-Latinx who discussed the anti-Blackness that they endure within the Latinx community, while also simultaneously being othered in predominantly Black spaces on campus because of the perceived and sometimes actual privilege associated with Latinidad. Haywood (2017) concluded the intragroup marginalization that Afro-Latinx college students at predominantly white institutions are often subjected to, is a result of the colorism and anti-Blackness enacted within communities of color. The students in the series, among other Black and non-Black POC (People of Color) students on this campus, refer to this phenomenon as the "Diaspora Wars" and this was exactly what Ni Negro Ni Blanco's mission of promoting dialogue, equity, change, and community hoped to dispel.

*Ni Negro Ni Blanco* carried out its mission not only through programming but also by attending to how students were responding to and processing the discussions. The first event brought together professors teaching in the Social & Cultural Analysis department, who could provide theoretical and empirical insight, alongside Afro-Latina social (media) activists who had firsthand experiences with anti-Blackness, but who also have worked to raise awareness to dismantle anti-Black ideologies within Latinidad. Through a moderated discussion with four panelists, students were able to hear personal and scholarly accounts of racial paradigms within the Latinx community, observe opposing views from those who were discussing their thoughts on shifting mindsets within, and what exactly solidarity, advocacy, and liberation all require. Students were also encouraged to engage in such discussions by posing their own questions and sharing their thoughts and feelings that had built up as a result of being marginalized by their peers and others on campus.

The room became a very emotionally-charged space that required additional follow-up and programming. After speaking with one of the faculty panelists it was decided that: 1) a subsequent panel would be held to continue the conversation which ended without resolution, and 2) a space would be held for students to express how they felt about the panel discussion, as well as process their everyday experiences as Afro-Latinxs. Afterwards, students continued to echo the need for support for the campus' Afro-Latinx community due to diasporic conflicts present in many of the Black and Latinx specific communities and student groups on campus. In lieu of this, healing justice facilitators from an outside training group were consulted to engage Afro-Latinx students with frameworks to come together as a community and explore the complexities of race and ethnicity within their community. Through a closed facilitated healing justice workshop, exclusively for Afro-Latinx identified people, students were able to reflect on the oppression they've faced as a result of the intersectional impacts of white supremacy, anti-Blackness, and racism. Students shared that they were grateful for the space that had been cultivated for those attending to openly share their thoughts and feelings, while unpacking traumas related to their racial identity.

Students of Afro-Latinx identity navigating campuses must also navigate society, which views, and largely understands race only within the parameters of a Black and white dichotomy. Skin color and phenotype exist on a vast spectrum within Latin American communities and it is important to note that within any racialized group there exists a certain proximity to privilege that functions with the marginalization that they concurrently experience. For Afro-Latinx students, issues of racism, colorism, and anti-Blackness are nuanced and uniquely distinct from other non-AfroLatinxs and POC. The experiences of Afro-Latinxs are not universal amongst all peoples of color and are in fact context specific. Sundstrom (2008) argues, the Black-white binary "does not engender accurate descriptions of the United States' racial past or present, and it skews discussions of the future of race and racial justice" (p. 66). Therefore, it was absolutely necessary to develop a programmatic

series, such as *Ni Negro Ni Blanco*, that addressed the very unique and specific challenges that Afro-Latinx students face, and the requisite development needed to understand their Black identity.

#### THOUGHTS FOR THE JOURNEY

Afro-Latinx people of varying shades and skin tones remain largely invisible in higher education and are often subjected to social expectations that perpetuate colorist ideologies and negative stereotypes depending on the context they are situated within. Afro-Latinx students are forced to navigate a climate that does not recognize their physical presence or their academic needs, and require additional support negotiating pervasive racial, cultural, and ethnic categories. Diversity manifests into divergent socio-political challenges for the people and microcommunities that exist within Afro-Latinidad and it is crucial for this nuance to be addressed.

Further, when Latinxs identify themselves as Black, they should expect to be held accountable for the internalized oppression they previously demonstrated. This can be done first by recognizing their own harmful patterns of behavior, attitudes, and beliefs. Embarking on this journey of learning must be done with conviction. As institutions, educators, and mentors we must prepare both our students and ourselves. In light of this, it is important for Afro-Latinx students to have access to awarenessraising activities to better understand the nuances within such a heterogeneous community and learning opportunities with expansive course curricula that foster the inclusion of Afro-Latinx literature and scholarship. Garcia-Louis (2016) suggests that members of this racialized and minoritized group are expected to flourish while engaging institutional cultures that complicate their in-group acceptance. Thus, these students fall victim to the stringent homogenous racial lines that amplify the Black-white binary, which is severely damaging and further marginalizing to those caught in-between.

It is our hope that we have provided the stakes that are to be considered as more and more educators seek to provide Afro-Latinidad inclusive lesson planning and programming. It is not just a semester or event but a lifelong journey of learning and unlearning that is being prompted. More specifically, we recommend that as educators we respond to this call of action and consider the following: 1) the emotional labor students embark on to recognize themselves fully, 2) support students who are grappling to embrace their Blackness and who embark on their journey of acceptance, self-love, healing, and liberation, 3) continue facilitating opportunities for accountability but also reconciliation of Afro-Latinxs who are exploring their Blackness and have perpetuated harmful anti-Black behaviors prior to their "moment," and 4) have discussions within institutions on establishing support structures that consist of culturally competent and

responsive administrators and educators within the academy, as well as resources dedicated to helping Afro-Latinx students develop, own, and feel proud of their Black identity.

In order to develop a moralistic sensitivity to the exclusion many face within our communities, based on human-constructed racial color-lines, we must promote advocacy and solidarity for people within the Black Diaspora, reaching beyond solely Afro-Latinxs. Programmatic and educational initiatives that bring awareness to the diversity and difference within identity groups, like the Black diaspora, offer opportunities for enlightenment and facilitate the potential for coalition building and solidarity, which are in dire need on college campuses. If we are to move in the direction of liberation for all oppressed peoples, a praxis of radical empathy and accountability should be the basis for preventing the marginalization that many Afro-Latinxs have historically faced.

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## ¿ Y DÓNDE ESTÁN LAS AFROLATINAS EN EL TRABAJO DE PREVENCIÓN DE LA VIOLENCIA DOMESTICA ?

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#### "LAS NEGRAS NO SE CASAN"

En los Estados Unidos se habla de Latinxs y se asume que todos están incluidos e igualmente representados, lo que hace necesario visibilizar a los Afro Latinxs, que es el término utilizado por personas que se auto identifican como descendientes o con ancestros Africanos (Seelke, 2008). En este ensayo ofrezco una reflexión acerca de la mujer Afrolatina emigrante o/y negra y también sobre el uso de frases que permiten o justifican el utilizar violencia contra ellas. También, hago un llamado a la necesidad de reconocer la manera en que la mujer Negra y AfroLatina ha sido tratada, y de buscar formas de apoyarlas con los servicios adecuados.

"Las negras no se casan," es una frase que escuché de labios de una colega investigadora sobre una entrevista que recién había realizado a una participante que se identificaba como Afrolatina. El tema de investigación no estaba relacionado con la Afro latinidad y más bien era acerca de las relaciones saludables entre parejas de jóvenes latinx emigrantes, dentro del trabajo para la prevención de la violencia doméstica. Sin embargo, me resultó interesante, además de inquietante, escuchar de mi colega lo que la joven le había compartido, la joven había crecido escuchando que: "las mujeres Negras no se casan." Al escuchar esta frase, recordé nuevamente la dolorosa historia de abuso y violencia en contra de las mujeres Negras en Latinoamérica y pensé en el significado de lo que realmente se oculta detrás de este mensaje. Para mi, lo que ese mensaje quiere decir en realidad es que las

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mujeres Negras no sirven para el matrimonio, no merecen ser valoradas y tratadas con amor, igualdad y respeto, y por lo tanto, nadie se quiere casar con ellas (Comas-Díaz, 1996). Me pregunté si la gente que usa esa frase se dará cuenta de la violencia y el racismo que esconde. ¿Sabrán acaso de la larga historia de violencia que han experimentado las mujeres Negras? ¿Pensarán entonces que las mujeres Negras no experimentan violencia doméstica como lo hacen otras mujeres, porque no se casan o no tienen una pareja? También reflexioné sobre si esta sería la razón por la cual después de tantos años de trabajar con la comunidad Latina en el movimiento para erradicar la violencia doméstica, raramente he visto a mujeres Afrolatinas solicitando servicios, proveyendo servicios o menos aún, liderando dichas organizaciones. Me pregunté si esta frase contribuye a perpetuar la expectativa de que las mujeres Negras no son dignas de tener relaciones sanas y libres de violencia, a ocultar el hecho de que la mujer Afrolatina ha sufrido diferentes formas de violencia por siglos: violencia interpersonal, sexual, violencia por racismo, por la colonización y que esta violencia continúa siendo parte de nuestra realidad. Seguí reflexionando sobre la violencia existente en esas palabras, que, tal vez, se perciben con mucha validez y verdad: "las Negras no se casan". Recordé también otra frase que aprendí en mi país natal, Nicaragua: "lo personal es también político," y esto me llama a actuar y hacer un llamado al cambio, porque me vi incluida, después de todo yo siempre he sido llamada "la Negra de *la familia*". Pensé en cuántas mujeres Negras siguen experimentando en silencio, violencia en su hogar.

#### AFRO-NICARAGÜENSE

Mi historia en los Estados Unidos comenzó hace más de una década cuando llegue al que ahora llamo mi país, y aquí he descubierto que también soy miembro de una minoría, denominada Latinx. Antes de venir para acá yo era nicaragüense, ahora soy Latina. En los Estados Unidos aproximadamente 56.5 millones de personas conforman esta población y de ellos se estima que 19.5 millones provienen de en algun país en Latinoamérica (Pew Research Center, 2017). De acuerdo a otros datos nacionales, la población Afrolatina conforma alrededor de 1.2 millones de la población Latina en Estados Unidos (Humes, Jones, & Ramirez, 2011). Dentro de la complejidad y diversidad de la comunidad Latina me encuentro con el hecho de la casi imperceptible presencia racial y cultural de la comunidad de raíces Latinas Negras (Sánchez, Benbow, Hernández-Martinez, & Serrata 2019). Las realidades que enfrenta esta comunidad se ocultan al ser incluidas como parte de una homogénea población Negra estadounidense. Esta homogenización de todas las mujeres Negras repite el error de ignorar las diferencias culturales y de vida que existen entre nosotras (Lorde, 1984).

#### LATINAS Y LA PREVALENCIA DE LA VIOLENCIA DOMÉSTICA

La más reciente encuesta llevada a cabo por el Centro de Control de Enfermedades (CDC), revela que una de cada tres mujeres que se identifican como latinas han experimentado violencia doméstica en sus vidas (Smith et al., 2017). Nótese que estos son los resultados de quienes respondieron a la encuesta y que dentro de la categoría Latina se incluye a todas las mujeres que se identifican como miembros de este grupo étnico y no se incluye información sobre la raza. También sabemos que muchas sobrevivientes de violencia doméstica tratan arduamente de esconder los golpes y las cicatrices (Bryant-Davis, 2005). Es aquí donde esa piel negra y oscura sirve muchas veces para ocultar los golpes o marcas que serían pruebas innegables de la violencia doméstica que vive la mujer Afrolatina.

Muchas mujeres inmigrantes Latinas confrontan experiencias complejas de abuso y violencia de parte de sus parejas y se enfrentan a muchos retos al solicitar servicios (Alvarez & Fedock, 2018). Estudios revelan que son muy pocas las alternativas que son culturalmente apropiadas en el área de la prevención (Alvarez, Lameiras-Fernandez, Holliday, & Campbell, 2018). Por ejemplo, un reciente estudio con inmigrantes Latinas confirmo el beneficio y la importancia de ofrecer servicios culturalmente específicos e informados experiencias traumáticas (Serrata, Rodríguez, Castro & Hernandez-Martinez, 2019). Sin embargo, una pregunta que persiste es si dichas prácticas incluyen las necesidades de las mujeres que se identifican como Afrolatinas y que solicitan servicios a organizaciones que trabajan con mujeres que viven en situaciones de violencia doméstica.

Existe una fuerte posibilidad de que las Afrolatinas que son emigrantes en los Estados Unidos experimenten los mismos problemas que el resto de Las latinas, pero no existen estudios que nos permitan confirmarlo. Lo que sí sabemos, es que en una sociedad históricamente racista en la cual los mayores beneficiados son los blancos (Helms, 2008), no debería sorprendernos si las Afrolatinas experimenten el abuso y la violencia de una forma más institucionalizada y represiva que otras mujeres de otros segmentos de la población. El evidenciar este vacío de información me llevo a indagar y tratar de analizar el trabajo de las instituciones encargadas de prestar ayuda y servicios a las mujeres que experimentan violencia doméstica.

# El presente trabajo en violencia doméstica y sus alternativas

Creo necesario hacer notar que a pesar de la existencia de diversos centros de recursos y organizaciones que prestan servicios, sigue faltando atención a la diversidad racial y cultural de la población latina. Una visita al sitio del centro Nacional de Recursos Contra la Violencia Domestica (NRCDV) revela la existencia de una Red de organizaciones de intervención y prevención de la violencia doméstica. Dentro de esta Red se incluye a Casa de Esperanza como una entidad nacional enfocada en latinas y a Ujima- como el centro nacional enfocado en la comunidad Negra. Ambas organizaciones han dado importantes pasos para mejorar los servicios y prevención en torno a la violencia doméstica contra las Mujeres de Color y minorías en los EEUU. Pero las necesidades de las mujeres emigrantes Afrolatinas son enormes y requieren que haya un entendimiento profundo de la historia y el legado de esclavitud en Latinoamérica.

#### Afrolatinas a la cabeza de la organización

Hemos visto en la sociedad en general un interés en abrir un espacio a las mujeres Afrolatinas. Pero la realidad es que no me es posible identificar organizaciones o líderes en el movimiento que sean mujeres Afrolatinas, y en especial emigrantes, a pesar del llamado a incluir un análisis racial en nuestro trabajo (Ortiz, 2015).

¿Y la Psicología, a dónde nos deja? Recientemente, investigadores y psicólogos/as latinos/as han empezado a trabajar de una forma más intencional en el tema del racismo, su vinculación con el trauma, y han desarrollado posibles modelos de sanación exclusivamente para la comunidad Latina (Chávez-Dueñas, Adames, Perez-Chavez, & Salas, 2019). Pero, en términos de ofrecer apoyo y alternativas a la mujer Afrolatina que ha experimentado violencia doméstica, no existe mucho a lo que podamos recurrir a nivel teórico, práctico e institucional. Una propuesta que se ha planteado está dirigida a atender en el área de la violencia sexual (Sánchez et al, 2019), pero no existe un esfuerzo similar en el campo de la violencia doméstica. En términos de ofertas de modelos terapéuticos con Afrolatinas emigrantes se evidencia especialmente un vacío de recursos y servicios. Una buena noticia es que en el ultimo año. La Asociación Nacional de Psicólogos Latinos/as (NLPA) formó, por primera vez, un grupo de interés enfocado en la AfroLatinidad. Es un primer paso que se debe celebrar y apoyar: sin embargo, la misión. visión y objetivos del grupo son un trabajo en progreso.

Y, ¿para dónde vamos? Esperamos que este artículo sirva como un llamado a las organizaciones y personas que trabajan en el área de prevención de la violencia doméstica, para que comenzar a reconocer y dar espacios a las Afrolatinas de explotar su potencial de liderazgo, y que ellas mismas puedan responder a las necesidades de servicios e investigación. Primero, debemos de trabajar para cambiar estas ideas intrínsecamente racistas de que "las mujeres Negras no se casan," que informan y socializan opiniones racistas de las Afrolatinas, para dar a todas las latinas una oportunidad real de vivir libres de violencia doméstica.

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#### THE FUTURE OF LATINX PSYCHOLOGY: A DELPHI POLL

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#### **INTRODUCTION**

Since the founding of the National Latinx Psychological Association (NLPA), the field of Latinx psychology has seen a remarkable growth and resurgence (Delgado-Romero & Edwards, 2008; Chávez-Korell, Delgado-Romero & Illes, 2012; Miville et al., 2017). NLPA was founded in 2002 after the National Hispanic Psychological Association had lapsed into inactivity (Chávez-Korell et al., 2013). Since then, NLPA has held eight biennial national conferences, significantly increased its membership, and founded the Journal of Latinx Psychology (JLP) in 2011 (Delgado-Romero, Stanley & Oh, 2017). At the time of this writing, JLP is in the sixth year and volume of publication. As the organization grows in size and influence, it is the ideal time for retrospective (Cardemil, 2017; Delgado-Romero, Stanley & Oh, 2017) and prospective thinking about the history and future of Latinx Psychology.

A recent content analysis of the first four volumes of *JLP* indicated that there exists a wide range of topics, research methods, authors, and institutions that

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3. Address correspondence and reprint requests to: Jhokania De Los Santos, MA, Department of Counseling and Human Development Services, 408L Aderhold Hall, University of Georgia, Athens, GA. Email: jdelossantos@uga.edu have been published in the journal to date (Delgado-Romero et al., 2017). The content analysis painted a picture of *JLP* research as consisting of both quantitative and qualitative research focused on the psychological experiences of U.S. Latinx people. Delgado-Romero, Stanley and Oh (2017) were surprised to note that critical issues in Latinx psychology, such as undocumented status and gender role conflict, were only recently addressed in the journal. Once the content analysis of the first four volumes of *JLP* was completed, Delgado-Romero and colleagues (2017) recommended that the editorial team consider critical topics that have not been addressed in the journal via surveying the membership, issuing a call for special issues, or conducting a Delphi poll.

Although one can trace the roots of Latinx psychology to the 1930s (Padilla & Olmedo, 2009), NLPA has coalesced energy, focus, and a direction for Latinx psychology over the last two decades. Latinx psychology is an evolving field that contends with the diversity of experiences across subgroups, and articulates the evolution of advanced theoretical and practical understandings that contribute to the well-being of Latinxs in the U.S. Through development as a professional organization, collaboration with other ethnic minority psychological associations, American Psychological Association (APA), the NLPA biennial conferences, Latinx Psychology Today (LPT) and the JLP, NLPA has been able to foster and nourish expertise into a force of empowerment, inclusion and change. In this study, the Delphi method focuses on Latinx Psychology through the lens of NLPA, however, we acknowledge that there are other psychologists, researchers, and community members who contribute to Latinx Psychology generally, but not through NLPA.

Heath and colleagues (1988) summarized the Delphi method. The first step is to establish the criteria for an expert panel. Then the panel is contacted, invited to participate and given an anonymous questionnaire to complete and comment on. The conductors of the poll

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then summarize the answers and provide feedback to the expert panel. The panel is asked to integrate the feedback and reevaluate their answers in a second round. In this manner, consensus can be reached utilizing the advantages of group decision-making, without the disadvantages that is normally experienced by committees. The Delphi method utilizes the power of experts to reach a consensus about the future of a given area within a controlled communication environment. The use of Delphi methodology has been implemented in psychology as a reliable technique to predict the most important training, research, and clinical service directions (see Kaufman, Holden, & Walker, 1989; Heath, Neimeyer, & Pederson, 1988; Norcross, Pfund, & Prochaska, 2013, for more examples on Delphi method).

#### **METHODS**

In an attempt to garner a consensus about the future of Latinx psychology, NLPA experts were identified and then queried using the Delphi methodology to gain predictions of future directions and important issues in Latinx psychology (Linstone & Turoff, 1975). Careful identification and construction of an expert panel is key to the efficacy of the Delphi method. The inclusion criteria for this study's expert panel were one of the following: (a) authorship of an article published in JLP; (b) service on the editorial board of *JLP*; (c) service on the executive board of NLPA; or (d) service as the program chair for an NLPA conference. Unlike Heath and colleagues (1988) we did not focus on authorship position (e.g., first or second authors) because of the relative youth of JLP and the tendency for JLP authors to publish collectively as authorship groups rather than as sole authors (Delgado-Romero et al., 2017). Also due to the relative youth of JLP, we chose to be expansive rather than reductive as many potential authors may have vet to publish in the journal. We identified 60 eligible panelists who met the inclusion criteria, reached out to them via email, and 30 accepted the invitation to participate on the panel.

#### **The Expert Panel**

The following demographics are based on the initial sample of 30 participants. All 30 participants held a doctorate (26 PhDs, 2 EdDs, and 2 PsyDs) and reported an average of 16 years (SD = 8.34) of research experience in Latinx psychology areas. The expert panel was composed of 16 females and 14 males. Most participants reported primarily working at university departments (83%), followed by private practice (7%) and hospitals (7%). The experts represented a diversity of self-reported ethnicities: Mexican American (27%), Latinx (23%), Hispanic (13%), White (13%), Puerto Rican (10%), Guatemalan (3%), Chicano (3%), Chilean American

(3%), and Latino/Vietnamese (3%). Approximately half of the panel members, (47%) had written 2-4 research grants, (37%) have written 5-9 research grants, and (7%) have written 10 or more research grants. The panel member's number of publications varied (less than 5: 23%, 5~10: 27%, 10~19: 20%, more than 20: 23%), while a majority of panel members had more than 10 professional presentations (less than 5: 7%, 5~10: 17%, 10~19: 17%, more than 20: 53%). More than half of the panel members were members of NLPA (60%) and APA (53%). Members of the panel were also involved in other ethnic minority psychological associations (55%), specifically Division 45 of APA (Society for the Psychological Study of Culture, Ethnicity and Race; 37%) and SIP (Sociedad Interamericana de Psicología / Interamerican Society of Psychology; 10%).

#### The Delphi Procedure

*Round one initial questionnaire.* The initial questionnaire was developed from the content analysis conducted by Delgado-Romero, Stanley, and Oh (2017). In the first round of the Delphi poll, the expert panel ( $\underline{n} = 30$ ) were sent a link to the online questionnaire and asked to complete it.

The first section consisted of a list of general research topics that were covered in JLP in the first four volumes. Experts were asked to estimate if these topics would increase or decrease in frequency in the next 10 years and were also provided space to indicate additional topics that might increase or decrease. As established by Heath and colleagues (1988), participants were instructed to indicate what they thought would happen, rather than what they would like to have happen. That is, we emphasized probability over desirability to speculate what is probable within a given time frame in the future, instead of establishing what is desirable in the form of goals and priorities. The second section reviewed commonly used research instruments in JLP and again, asked for the probability that the use of these instruments would increase or decrease, as well as providing openended options. The third section covered commonly used general research methodology in Latinx psychological research. In the final section, experts were asked to respond to several prompts about future professional developments relative to research that were derived from the literature (Cardemil, 2017; Delgado-Romero et al., 2017; Miville et al., 2017). The expert panel was asked to comment on the following: potential special issues of JLP, influential institutions, individuals who show promise of becoming leaders in Latinx psychology, and nominations for additional journals and conferences where Latinx psychology research was likely to be found. In the case of influential institutions and leading individuals, the generated list was compiled based on results from a previous content analysis (Delgado-Romero et al., 2017), which were provided for the participants during round one.

For both the first and second round, the responses on the first three sections (i.e., general research topics, research instruments, and research methodology) were gathered using a 7-point Likert scale (1 = Great decrease to 7 = Great increase). For all the remaining sections, panelists' estimations were recorded in a similar way with modified descriptions (1 = Very unlikely to 7 = Very likely).

*Round two: The follow-up.* In the second round, the questionnaire consisted of the multiple-choice questions used for the first round, including research topics, research instruments, research methodology, and professional development. In addition, the mean values from the responses from the first round were also included on the round two questionnaire, as well as results from open ended responses. The second questionnaire was sent to 30 panelists and after a written reminder, the results of 15 (50%) panelists were used for the analysis of the second round.

#### RESULTS

Reaching a consensus is an important goal of Delphi methodology (Heath et al., 1988). This goal was achieved and illustrated by measuring and comparing standard deviations from the first and second round. Additionally, in providing feedback to the panel of experts from round one, we reduced disparity and encouraged consensus concerning future directions in Latinx psychology. For the data of this study, standard deviations between rounds decreased for 23 of the 30 items (77%). This indicates that panelist reached a stronger agreement after getting feedback on their responses from the first round. Feedback appeared to encourage consensus concerning the future trends of Latinx psychology.

#### **Research Topics**

Panelists predicted an increase in most areas related to research topics (see Table 1). The most likely research topics to increase in frequency were immigration (M=6.20, SD=1.05) and mental health (M=6.00, SD=0.97), which would moderately increase. The next highest prediction in this section was the research topics that were predicted to slightly increase, which consisted of discrimination (M=5.93, SD=1.06) and primary care (M=5.27, SD=0.93). There were topics that were predicted to remain the same (neither increase nor decrease in frequency) which included resiliency (M=4.93, SD=1.65), Latinx identity (M=4.73, SD=0.93), acculturation (M=4.47, SD=1.20), and spirituality (M=4.13, SD=1.02). By contrast, career development was predicted to decline (M=3.27, SD=0.93).

#### **Professional Developments**

In regard to professional developments (see Table 2), panelists predicted that all professional developments in the next 10 years are somewhat likely to occur, except for the increasing of federal grant funding for Latinx psychology research (M=3.07, SD=1.29), which was predicted to be somewhat likely to decrease. The most likely development was the focus on unique experiences relative to specific country of origin (M=5.67, *SD*=1.01). The number of bicultural and bilingual Latinxs increasing in the psychology field was also predicted as somewhat likely to occur (M=5.40, SD=1.45). The next development most likely to occur was the development of guidelines for NLPA regarding the reporting of participants demographics (M=5.20, SD=1.11). The other professional developments that was somewhat likely to occur included JLP achieving a high impact factor (M=5.13, SD=1.20) and NLPA growing significantly in size (M=5.07, SD=1.18).

Predicted Changes in Research-Related Topics in Rank Order Based on Round 2

	Rou	nd 1	Rou	nd 2	-	
Research Topics	М	SD	М	SD	Rank	
Immigration	5.77	1.52	6.20	1.05	1	
Mental health	5.57	1.50	6.00	0.97	2	
Discrimination	5.77	1.41	5.93	1.06	3	
Primary care	5.40	1.33	5.27	0.93	4	
Multigenerational families	5.03	1.28	5.20	0.98	5	
Academic achievement	4.87	1.38	5.00	1.21	6	
Resiliency	5.37	1.35	4.93	1.65	7	
Latinx identity	4.83	1.34	4.73	0.93	8	
Acculturation	4.60	1.23	4.47	1.20	9	
Spirituality	4.10	1.22	4.13	1.02	10	
Career development	3.63	1.35	3.27	0.93	11	
Assessment Instruments						
Patient Health Questionnaire-9 (PHQ-9)	4.89	1.01	4.73	1.39	1	
The Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale (CES-D)	4.46	0.82	4.40	0.88	2	
Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans-II (ARSMA-II)	4.04	0.94	4.33	0.70	3	
Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS)	4.25	1.15	4.20	0.83	4	
State-Trait Anxiety Inventory (STAI)	4.39	1.14	4.20	0.83	4	
Short Acculturation Scale for Hispanics (SASH)	4.21	1.35	4.13	1.02	6	
Marianismo Beliefs Scale (MBS)	4.00	1.49	4.00	0.82	7	
Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSE)	3.86	1.16	3.46	0.81	8	
Research Methods						
Mixed method research	5.64	0.72	5.60	0.88	1	
Qualitative research approaches	5.11	1.11	5.13	0.62	2	
Quantitative research	4.61	0.86	4.53	1.31	3	

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#### Table 2

Predicted Changes in Professional Developments in Rank Order Based on Round 2

#### Table 4

Prediction of Leading Institutions, Individuals, Journals, and Conferences in Rank Order

Round 2

	Round 1		Round 2		
Professional Developments	М	SD	М	SD	Rank
Focus on unique experiences relative to specific country of origin	5.43	1.08	5.67	1.01	1
Number of bicultural and bilingual Latinx will increase in the psychology field	5.32	1.14	5.40	1.45	2
NLPA guidelines re: reporting demographics	5.46	1.02	5.20	1.11	3
JLP achieving high impact factor	5.21	1.47	5.13	1.20	4
NLPA growing significantly in size	5.14	1.25	5.07	1.18	5
Focus on pan-ethnic experiences	5.04	1.40	4.93	1.12	6
Latinx research will increase in the continuing education and training for psychologists	4.82	1.17	4.60	0.88	7
Federal grant funding will significantly increase for Latinx psychology research	3.11	1.54	3.07	1.29	8
Professional Developments (continued)*					
Social justice $(n = 5)^{**}$	-	-	5.87	0.62	1
Community-based participatory research ( $n = 3$ )	-	-	5.4	1.2	2
Ethnicity and race $(n = 4)$	-	-	5.33	0.79	3
Research methods $(n = 3)$	-	-	5.33	1.35	3
Consultation $(n = 3)$	-	-	4.53	1.2	5

\*: These are the top responses from the open-ended question (i.e., "Other professional developments relative to Latinx psychology that you believe are likely to occur in the next 10 years") in Round 1. These items were included as parts of closed-ended question in Round 2. \*\*: *n* represents the number of panels whose response falls under this category.

#### Table 3

Predicted Likelihood of Special Issue topics in JLP in Rank Order

	Round 2		
Special Issues	М	SD	Rank
Documentation/Immigration ( $n = 5$ )	6.13	0.62	1
Research methods $(n = 6)$	5.87	1.02	2
LGBTQ/Gender Issues $(n = 3)$	5.73	1.12	3
Advocacy/Social Justice $(n = 5)$	5.67	0.7	4
Health $(n = 7)$	5.53	1.02	5
Intersectionality $(n = 5)$	5.47	1.09	6
Family $(n = 3)$	4.8	0.91	7
Impact of policy $(n = 3)$	4.6	1.54	8
Cultural values $(n = 3)$	4.6	0.88	8
Assessment $(n = 4)$	4.33	1.14	10

	Round 2		-
Institutions	М	SD	Rank
Arizona State University ( $n = 12$ )	5.6	1.25	1
University of Miami $(n = 3)$	5.6	0.49	1
University of Texas $(n = 5)$	5.33	1.25	3
University of Arizona $(n = 3)$	5.07	1.39	4
Harvard University $(n = 3)$	4.27	1.24	5
Individuals			
Adriana Umana-Taylor ( $n = 9$ )	6.53	0.81	1
Andrea Romero $(n = 3)$	5.87	0.96	2
Margarita Alegria $(n = 3)$	5.8	1.22	3
Cristalis Capielo ( $n = 5$ )	5.13	1.15	4
David Acevedo-Polakovich ( $n = 4$ )	5.07	1.06	5
Brandy Piña-Watson ( $n = 3$ )	5	1.03	6
Journals (other than JLP)			
Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology $(n = 13)$	6.33	0.57	1
Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences $(n = 9)$	5.73	1.34	2
The Counseling Psychologist $(n = 5)$	4.6	0.8	3
Journal of Counseling Psychology $(n = 5)$	4.13	0.72	4
Conferences (other than NLPA)			
APA Division 45 Research Conference $(n = 6)$	5.8	0.98	1
National Multicultural Conference and Summit $(n = 10)$	5.6	0.8	2
Teachers College Winter Roundtable Conference $(n = 5)$	4.93	1.18	3
Society for Research on Adolescence $(n = 3)$	4.87	1.26	4
American Counseling Association $(n = 3)$	4.87	0.96	4
American Psychological Association $(n = 10)$	4.33	1.4	6

It is also important to add the developments that were not originally listed on the initial questionnaire but were constructed as a result of the open-ended questions. The expert panel indicated that they thought that achievements in the following areas were likely to occur: social justice (M=5.87, SD=0.62), community-based participatory research (M=5.40, SD=1.20), ethnicity and race (M=5.33, SD=0.79), research methods (M=5.33, SD=1.35). The panels foresaw the following special topics to increase in the next ten years (see Table 3): documentation/immigration (M=6.13), research methods (M=5.87), LGBTQ/gender issues (M=5.73), advocacy/social justice (M=5.67), health (M=5.53), and intersectionality (M=5.47). Panelist nominations of leading institutions, individuals, journals (other than JLP), and conferences (other than NLPA) that would impact the future of Latinx psychology, resulted in a strong consensus (see Table 4).

#### DISCUSSION

The Delphi methodology is a widely used and accepted tool for gathering data from respondents within their domain of expertise. The technique can be used to move a given field forward, plan for the future, or even change the future by forecasting its events (Fish & Busby, 1996). This approach allows us to anticipate the future, and also act in ways that can create a preferable future based on responses from an expert panel. In this study, we sought to predict what is likely to continue and what is likely to change, with an emphasis on the probable.

We would like to put up for discussion some methodological issues to using the Delphi technique, which should be taken into consideration when interpreting the data. A first methodological issue that requires discussion concerns the selection of the panelists. The panel was composed primarily of those working in university departments. One disadvantage of this selection method is the limited number and position range of the individuals in this study, which makes inferences on a larger practical scale impossible. Therefore, predictions were more inclined toward teaching, training, and gatekeeping functions (e.g., journal editing) as opposed to practice considerations. It is also important to note that our experts' predictions do not reflect absolute changes, but instead focus on relative increases and decreases. For example, LGBT/Gender issues can be a research topic that could increase substantially in the next ten years but still might not be heavily published. Further research with an expansion of the number and position range of the participants' involved remains necessary.

A second methodological issue that requires discussion is the response rate. In the first round, the overall response rate was 50% (30 respondents). Due to the multiple feedback processes that are built-in and integral to the concept and use of the Delphi process, the potential exists for low response rates and striving to maintain robust feedback can be a challenge (Hsu & Sandford, 2007). In the second round, the overall response rate increased and was 53% (15 respondents). A possible explanation for this slight variability might be due to the time frames that the study was conducted (i.e., time during the academic year), which could explain the low response rate if the participants found the questionnaire to be too time consuming in the midst of beginning or concluding an academic semester. With regard to the time management between iterations, we gave the panelists two months to respond to each round. Although we lost nearly half of the participants in the second round, we were able to measure the stability of subjects' responses and achieve consensus on the topics in successive iterations (Scheibe, Skutsch, & Schofer, 1975).

Like any other survey method, the Delphi method has strengths and weaknesses. In our experience however, the benefits outweigh its drawbacks; and this method seems particularly relevant for psychology. Traditionally, there has been a divide between quantitative and qualitative methods. The Delphi method however, can straddle this divide by its procedural structure that incorporates both qualitative and quantitative methods to provide a more complete picture. In many ways the Delphi method provides and allows psychologists in the field to be adequately prepared to conduct research where it is needed and highlight the opportunities that exist within Latinx psychology. The stated intentions are to significantly prepare for any changing structures and to possibly capitalize on the dearth of research topics. In the next ten years, we expect an increase in research in immigration, mental health, discrimination, primary care, and an increase in mixed methods and qualitative research approaches. It's important to note that the top predicted research topics; immigration and discrimination are stressors, which are known to be detrimental to overall health and well-being.

Latinx psychology will clearly continue to change along the years, and it will continue to do so as the country enters a new period of socio-political reform and transformation. By reporting on the consensus of opinions of Latinx leaders, this poll predicts the course of Latinx psychology and offers the potential for influencing the actual development of the field. With respect to transformation, psychologists will not be alone in facing these changes, and we hope to have provided opportunities in these probable developments to help respond to the discipline that will determine the future for new generations of psychologists. We hope the results of this poll will lead to robust discussions and debate over the future of Latinx psychology and the role of NLPA and its' members in advancing Latinx psychology. We hope that some predictions, for example decreased federal grant funding for Latinx research, cause people to increase their involvement and advocacy for grant funding, and that

negative predictions might serve a challenge to change the *status quo*.

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