

# The Fallacy of a Raceless Latinidad: Action Guidelines for Centering Blackness in Latinx Psychology

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The psychological literature on AfroLatinidad is sparse. The absence of Blackness in Latinx Psychology is due in part to Mestizaje Racial Ideologies (MRIs), or the belief that all people of Latinx descent are racially mixed and therefore skin-color and phenotypical differences do not matter. This colonial and anti-Blackness ideology has been so deeply rooted in the Latinx ethos that its implications and manifestations are seldomly interrogated. In turn, we default to a praxis that often studies, describes, and conceptualizes Latinidad through racially homogenous and color-blind paradigms. Put succinctly, we produce and reproduce scientific knowledge that fails to capture the unique racialized experiences of Black Latinxs. To this end, the goal of this paper is to provide action guidelines that will help acknowledge and integrate Blackness into the field of Latinx Psychology and disrupt the pervasive raceless narrative of MRIs. To achieve this goal, a brief history of Blackness and anti-Blackness in Latin America are outlined, followed by a discussion on the invisibility of Blackness in Latinx Psychology. Drawing on theory of intersectionality, the *Centering Racial and Ethnic Identity for Latinxs* (C-REIL) framework, which underscores the role of race, ethnicity, racism and ethnocentrism in the study of Latinxs, is introduced as a prelude to five guidelines that include: (a) anchoring AfroLatinidad in historical knowledge, (b) dismantling anti-Blackness, (c) acknowledging and including the role of Blackness in Latinx Psychology research and practice, (d) valuing Blackness as a political stance, and (e) practicing Latinx Psychology without the White gaze.

## Public Significance Statement

This article aims to help disrupt the myopic pervasive anti-Blackness practice that studies and conceptualizes Latinidad through racially homogenous and color-blind paradigms by introducing ways to acknowledge and integrate Blackness into the field of Latinx psychology. Five guidelines to assist theorists, researchers, and practitioners of Latinx psychology to develop a more racially accurate and nuanced analysis of the Black Latinx experience are provided.

**Keywords:** AfroLatinxs, Blackness, racism, colorism, mestizaje

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Our colors are Black and Brown, the colors of the earth, the colors from which we take our history, our strength, our wisdom, and our hope.

—Marcos, 2002, p. 193

Latinxs can trace their rich history to three primary racial groups including Black, Indigenous, and White. As a result of the racial mixing that occurred during the period of colonization, Latinxs exhibit a broad range of physical characteristics that include variations in skin-color and phenotype, hair texture, nose width, eye color, and the like (Chavez-Dueñas, Adames, & Organista, 2014). As Díaz (2018) explains, *Latinidad* is an all-inclusive cultural identity term that describes people with roots in Latin America which is full of beautiful and “colorful cars, colorful houses, flowers everywhere . . . even the people are like a rainbow—every shade ever made” (p. 13). However, the Spaniards institutionalized a system of racial inequity and dominance that placed individuals with White and lighter skin color at the top and Black and darker-skin people at the bottom of the social hierarchy (Adames & Chavez-Dueñas, 2017). Simply put, “race” defined as the socially constructed ways that people are stratified and ranked into superior and inferior groups according to shared physical characteristics (e.g., skin color, facial features, hair texture) has social, political, and economic implications (Helms & Cook, 1999; Jones, 1997). Such classification has been utilized to justify the dehumanization, exploitation, and segregation of Black and Indigenous populations in the Americas (Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014; Soler-Castillo & Pardo Abril, 2009).

From its inception, the concept of race has generated and fueled racism, which social scientists describe as the interpersonal and institutional oppression of groups of people based on the belief of racial superiority (Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Carter & Pieterse, 2005; Helms & Cook, 1999; Jones, 1997). Undoubtedly, racism impacts Black, Indigenous, and other People of Color (BIPOC), from birth to death. To illustrate, a recent study conducted in the United States reported that African American, Latinx, and Asian infants were separated by race and ethnicity across neonatal intensive care units (NICUs; Horbar et al., 2019). This racial segregation affected the quality of health care received by infants. Even after accounting for geographical differences in the NICUs, Black

newborns were more likely to receive lower-quality care than White infants (Horbar et al., 2019). While these patterns of racial inequities are not new, they demonstrate the deleterious impact of racism across the life span, which create and sustain racial disparities in several areas including health, mental health (Brondolo, Ng, Pierre, & Lane, 2016; Horbar et al., 2019), education, employment, housing, and socioeconomic status (Alvarez, Liang, & Neville, 2016; Perry & Pickett, 2016; Santiago-Rivera, Adames, Chavez-Dueñas, & Benson-Flórez, 2016) and the judicial system (Alexander, 2010). In short, racism has been flawless in its operation, despite the lives of BIPOC being in peril because of its existence.

Latinxs are not immune to internalizing the illusion that race is inconsequential. Díaz's (2018) description of *Latinidad*'s richness, in part due to the vibrant colors of both Latinx culture and its people, contrasts with the reality of how Latinxs were socialized during colonization to internalize racial categorizations of dominance that were imported by the Spaniards and have persisted since then. In fact, Latinxs have been socialized to uphold *Mestizaje racial ideologies* (MRIs), or the belief that all people of Latinx descent are racially mixed and therefore skin-color and phenotypical differences do not matter (Adames, Chavez-Dueñas, & Organista, 2016; Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014). MRIs are evident in infamous theories such as *La Raza Cósmica* [The Cosmic Race] and *Racial Democracy* (Alberto & Hoffnung-Garskof, 2018; Freyre, 1986; Vasconcelos, 1925). For instance, *La Raza Cósmica* describes Latinxs as a “new mixed race” composed of the combination of all races (Vasconcelos, 1925). *Racial Democracy* posits that race and racial discrimination among Latinxs is not important since the mixture of the three racial groups make Latinxs a unique “meta-race,” a “post-racial race,” or a “race beyond races” (Alberto & Hoffnung-Garskof, 2018; Freyre, 1986).

Generally, *Racial Democracy* implies that racial discrimination within Latinxs (i.e. colorism) cannot occur since all Latinxs are of the same race. Accordingly, *La Raza Cósmica* and *Racial Democracy* attempt to minimize or negate the impact of race and racism on Latinxs through MRIs and work to dissuade the recognition of all skin colors and phenotypes as part of the essential fabric of *Latinidad*'s diversity.

Ultimately, MRIs contribute to the denial of within-group racial privilege, colorism, and the silencing and invisibility of people at the bottom of the social-racial hierarchy, such as Black Latinxs. Stated otherwise, Blackness, a social construct to represent the processes and practices in which people are racialized as Black in a given society and reflected in collective history and life experiences (Fanon, 1986; H. A. Neville, Personal communication, December 5, 2019), is framed by MRIs as outside of Latinidad. The narrative of MRIs has been so deeply ingrained in the psyche of Latinxs that Blackness is often rendered unremarkable. Yet, when race is discussed, Black Latinxs are expected to prove their Latinidad, while White and light-skin Latinxs are allowed to define their ethnicity without being doubted (Pelaez-Lopez, 2018).

MRIs are also prevalent in the field of Latinx Psychology. Specifically, Latinx Psychology often studies, describes, and conceptualizes Latinidad through racially homogenous (*mestizaje*) or color-blind paradigms (Adames & Chavez-Dueñas, 2017; Adames et al., 2016; Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014). Hence, the goal of this article is to help disrupt the pervasive raceless narrative of MRIs and introduce ways to center, uplift, and integrate Blackness into the field of Latinx Psychology. To achieve this goal, a brief history of Blackness and anti-Blackness in Latin America will be outlined, followed by a discussion on the invisibility of Blackness in Latinx Psychology. The *Centering Racial and Ethnic Identity for Latinxs* (C-REIL) framework (Adames & Chavez-Dueñas, 2017), which uses an intersectional lens that underscores the role of race, racism, ethnicity, and ethnocentrism in the study of Latinxs, is introduced as a prelude to action guidelines for centering Blackness in Latinx Psychology. Overall, our intention and hopeful expectation is that the content presented in this article enables theorists, researchers educators, and practitioners of Latinx Psychology to develop a more racially accurate, complex, nuanced, and inclusive analysis of Latinxs and in particular the Black Latinx experience.

### Blackness in Latin America

Archeological evidence suggests that the African presence in the Americas predates that of the Europeans (Barton, 2001). Archeologists in

Mexico posit that the first Africans in the Americas were the Olmecs civilization, which is considered the mother of Mesoamerica. The Olmecs predominantly included Black people who inhabited Central Mexico around 3,112 BC (Barton, 2001). Later in Latin American history, Africans arrived to the Americas as part of the military expeditions and explorations to the Caribbean. In fact, when Christopher Columbus sailed on his first voyage to America, he was accompanied by free Black explorers (Garofalo, 2012; Wood, 2010). Additionally, free Black people were part of the large expeditions led by Spanish and Portuguese colonizers, including Hernán Cortés and Francisco Pizarro, to the regions known today as Mexico, Central America, and South America (Garofalo, 2012; Wood, 2010). Thus, contrary to dominant beliefs, the history of Africans in the Americas did not begin with slavery and its callous system and institutions of human bondage. The annihilation of millions of Indigenous people through genocide, forced labor, and contagious diseases brought to the “New World” by the Europeans (Andrews, 2004; Casaus Arzu, 2009; Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014) contributed to the establishment of the Transatlantic Slave Trade. While a significant proportion of the Indigenous population died as a result of genocide, those that survived continued to experience abuse, racism, and inhumane labor conditions (Rodriguez, 2010; Soler-Castillo & Pardo Abril, 2009).

During the Transatlantic Slave Trade, the colonizers kidnapped, tortured, and forcefully transplanted millions of Black people from Africa to the Spanish colonies. Ultimately, slavery became the pillar of racial stratification known as the Spanish caste system (Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014; Rodriguez, 2010; Soler-Castillo & Pardo Abril, 2009). This hierarchical system was based on skin color and phenotypical characteristics wherein the Spaniards (elite Whites) and their descendants strategically occupied the top of the hierarchy. Such a system allowed the Spaniards to hold and control political, social, and economic power at the cost of impoverishing Indigenous and African communities (Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014; Ogbu, 1994; Soler-Castillo & Pardo Abril, 2009). The placement of an individual within the stratification system determined their access to power, privilege, and resources. One of the main tactics the

Spaniards used to maintain racial stratification throughout the colonial and postcolonial periods was the power to discriminate on the basis of skin color and phenotype (Casaus Arzu, 2009; Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014; Soler-Castillo & Pardo Abril, 2009). Hence, the darker a person was, the lower they would be placed in the system of stratification, resulting in less access to power. This hierarchy applied to Afrodescendants who were mixed with Whites (i.e. *mulatos*) or Indigenous (i.e. *zambos*), resulting in lighter-skin and thus being placed higher in the racial hierarchy than Black people who were not mixed with other races (Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014). Today, the legacy of racial stratification, established by colonizers, remains alive and continues to impact Black Latinxs and all Latinxs of African descent, to different degrees, depending on their skin color gradient.

Currently, Black Latinxs continue to be placed at the bottom of the racial hierarchy among the general Latinx population and within Latinxs of African descent. Hence, Black Latinxs are placed in the same position on the racial hierarchy as Black people from non-Latinx ethnic groups who share similar racialized experiences. The negative effect of skin-color differences among Latinxs suggests that being darker and having less European phenotypical features can negatively impact mental health (Araújo & Borrell, 2006; Montalvo & Codina, 2001), educational attainment, and income (Arce, Murguía, & Frisbie, 1987) and lead to more experiences of racial oppression (Telzer & Vazquez Garcia, 2009). To illustrate, an earlier study found that Latinxs with darker skin reported less educational attainment (9.5 and 7.8 years, respectively), lower income (\$12,721 and \$10,450, respectively), and higher levels of perceived discrimination than their lighter skinned and more European looking Latinx counterparts (Arce et al., 1987), a pattern found in more recent studies (see Borrell & Crawford, 2006; Cuevas, Dawson, & Williams, 2016). A study on corporate America found that among chief executive officers of Fortune 500 companies, only 1% were of Latinx descent and they were described as elite Cuban Americans who are racially similar to European Americans (Zweigenhaft & Domhoff, 2006). To this end, the road toward liberation for all Latinxs begins by acknowledging anti-Blackness, celebrating

the greatness of Black Latinx roots, and honoring the role of Blackness within Latinidad. The first step on this arduous process requires us to name, discuss, and address the collective history of anti-Blackness among Latinxs. We know that discussing anti-Blackness within the Latinx community will disrupt the status-quo where MRIs and color-blindness prevail. As a result, addressing anti-Blackness within Latinidad is likely to engender anxious or defensiveness feelings which we aspire to address in this paper. However, such learning can also motivate us to extend our social justice efforts to explicitly address racial injustice, reduce racism, and embrace the richness of our Black Latinx legacy.

### Anti-Blackness: The Legacy of Colonization

Latin America has a long-standing history of anti-Blackness, a form of colonial oppression that includes practices, policies, and dogmas that uniquely harm, disregard, reject, and devalue the lives and contributions of Black people. While anti-Blackness is not isolated from other forms of oppression, it is imperative to center it as a distinct form of racialized hatred that overlaps with other forms of oppression (e.g., gendered-racism). In other words, anti-Blackness is “a vestige of Spanish colonialism and nationalism that must be acknowledged but is often lost in the uncritical celebration of Latina/o *mestizaje*” (Lovell Banks, 2006, p. 203).

Anti-Blackness is evident in every aspect of contemporary Latin American societies. In media, Black Latinxs are often invisible and when included, they often represent harmful stereotypes about the group (Gates, 2011). Together, hurtful and toxic racialized stereotypes impact the perceptions of Black people both in Latin America as well as in the United States. To illustrate, in a speech advocating for Mexican immigrants, the former President of Mexico, Vicente Fox stated “Mexicans [in the U.S.] are needed to perform the jobs that not even Blacks want” (Houston Chronicle, 2005, para 1). After receiving considerable backlash for this anti-Black and racist statement, Mr. Fox admitted that his remarks had been “insensitive” (Lovell Banks, 2006). Nonetheless, within a month, another incident of anti-Blackness took place in Mexico where a series of postal stamps featur-



ing *Memin Pinguin*, a dark-skinned Black boy with cartoonish wide lips, big eyes, and simian body movements were published (Althaus & Hegstrom, 2005).

A history of anti-Blackness is also evident in the Dominican Republic where the concept of race has been used as a strategy to uplift Whiteness, which speaks to the “the overt and subliminal socialization processes and practices, power structures, laws, privileges, and life experiences that favor the White racial group” (Helms, 2017, p. 718). Case in point, while the population in the Dominican Republic includes one of the largest shares of Afrodescendants in Latin America, Dominicans are socialized to reject their African roots and their Blackness (Adames & Chavez-Dueñas, 2018; Torres-Saillant, 2010). The anti-Haitian sentiment fueled by Rafael Leonidas Trujillo, one of the most ruthless dictators in the history of Latin America, was responsible for the racially motivated massacre of the 1930s where 20,000 Haitians were killed (Peguero, 2004). More recently, anti-Blackness is exemplified by the Dominican Constitutional Court, which in 2013 passed a law declaring that anyone of Haitian descent born in the country after 1929 would no longer be considered a Dominican citizen (Adames & Chavez-Dueñas, 2018; Phillip, 2015). Subsequently, the government of the Dominican Republic has engaged in several raids to round-up undocumented Haitians and Dominicans of Haitian descent, as well as racially profiling dark-skin people who are perceived to be Haitian (Adames & Chavez-Dueñas, 2018; Phillip, 2015). The feelings of exclusion produced by anti-Blackness sentiment in the Dominican Republic are powerfully illustrated by Raquel Aristilde de Valdez, a bicultural Dominican Haitian woman who stated, “My skin color, my race, my physical features don’t say I am Dominican” (Castillo, 2016, para. 18). Raquel asserts that her birth certificate is the only proof of her Dominican citizenship. Unfortunately, accounts of anti-Blackness in Mexico and the Dominican Republic extend beyond examples provided in this text. The rhetoric of anti-Blackness is pervasive throughout Latin America and further fueled and supported by *White supremacy culture*<sup>1</sup> in the United States. However, with the established anti-Blackness comes an erasure of the beauty that comes from Latin America’s Afrodescendants.

## Blackness: A Lasting Legacy of Greatness

The legacy of Afrodescendants in Latin America is nothing short of extraordinary. Despite the horrific experiences of bondage, torture, and endless anti-Black sentiment, the richness that Africans add to Latinidad has never disappeared. Indeed, Latinidad is heavily influenced by the beauty of many African cultures and music (e.g., congas, maracas, marimbas, drums, merengue, salsa, bomba, plena, zapateado; Durán, 2008; Lechner, 2019). In addition, Latin America has been heavily influenced by blends of African and Indigenous cuisine that create the many exquisite dishes enjoyed by Latinxs (e.g., mangu, menudo, mofongo, mole poblano, quimbombo). Black Latinxs also created innovative ways to stay anchored in their spirituality that continue to be present in contemporary times such as Santería, Palo Mayombe, and Candomble (Baez & Hernandez, 2001; Castellanos & Gloria, 2018). In addition, spiritual beliefs related to the connection with the spirits of the dead and the ancestors, influenced by African spiritual traditions, are held by many Latinxs today (Baez & Hernandez, 2001). Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, Black Latinxs ignited the flames of resistance that contributed to the independence of many Latin American countries. To illustrate, many of the leaders of independence/liberators were Afrodescendants, including: Jose Maria Morelos y Pavon, who led the battle for independence in Mexico; Pedro Camejo, a Black Venezuelan who played a key role in the independence of his country; and Jean-Pierre Boyer, who freed the Island of Quisqueya known today as the Dominican Republic and Haiti. Given this history, it is evident that African traditions and values have enriched Latinx culture. Sadly, the contributions of Afrodescendants continue to be negated, denied, and or misattributed to other

<sup>1</sup> White supremacy refers to the cultural, economic, and political system that promotes dominance of people who are racially White (Grzanka, Gonzalez, & Spanierman, 2019). However, the language of White supremacy is often associated with explicitly racist, extremist individuals and/or groups (e.g., White nationalists), and often remains disconnected from the experiences of everyday White people. Thus, to connote the shared behaviors and ideologies that are pervasive under a system of White dominance we use the term *White supremacy culture* (Okun, 2001) throughout the article.

ethnic groups (Cruz-Carretero, 2006; Soler-Castillo & Pardo Abril, 2009). Similarly, Blackness and the AfroLatinx experience have been predominantly absent and made invisible in Latinx Psychology.

### **The Absence of Blackness in Latinx Psychology Protects Whiteness**

The field of psychology is built on paradigms and methodologies that center and protect Whiteness by failing to name and address racism and anti-Blackness, which in turn maintains and perpetuates society's racial hierarchy (Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014; Helms & Cook, 1999). This pattern is also observed by scholars in Latinx psychology who use racially accommodative language which are "the choice of words, concepts, phrases, and other language . . . that align racial attitudes, behavior, and aspirations with the prevailing racial ideologies, practices, and sanctions of the dominant [White] racialized group" (Cazenave, 2016, p. 23). For instance, racially accommodative language such as *proximity to whiteness*, *white passing*, and *white adjacent* are used to protect White fragility, which DiAngelo (2011) describes as a state in which any small amount of stress related to a racial encounter becomes intolerable. We contend that White fragility can take place not only interpersonally and intrapersonally, as described by the work of DiAngelo (2011), but also at the institutional level within psychology. In many ways, White fragility also contributes to the absence of Blackness in Latinx psychology.

Despite the increased focus on the rising demographic representation of Latinxs in the United States, most of the scientific literature across the social sciences has failed to specifically and explicitly address the experiences of Black Latinxs. Instead, Latinxs are often studied, framed, and described in racially homogenous ways. Within the field of psychology, the role of Blackness in the lives of Latinxs has also been neglected. For instance, the literature on Latinx identity focuses predominantly on ethnicity while neglecting the role of race (Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014). Similarly, when reviewing the growing body of literature that focuses on sexual orientation and gender diversity among Latinxs, the role of sexual orientation

and culture are emphasized (e.g., Toro-Alfonso & Varas-Díaz, 2004; Morales, Corbin-Gutierrez, & Wang, 2013) without explicitly considering the role of race in the lives of queer Latinxs (Adames, Chavez-Dueñas, Sharma, & La Roche, 2018). Likewise, the literature on Latinx women often fails to include the unique narratives of Black Latinx women, further contributing to the invisibility of their racial-gendered experiences (Chavez-Dueñas & Adames, 2020). Hence, the literature on Latinx psychology is saturated with paradigms that erase race and favor the strategic and racially singular narrative of *mestizaje*. In turn, a vicious cycle is created where Blackness is not discussed, considered, or integrated by researchers, practitioners, and students of Latinx psychology. The absence of Blackness within the field of Latinx psychology is not accidental. We contend that the psychology of Whiteness has hegemonized educational practices, framed theories of learning and healing, and monopolized how we train and study people within Latinx psychology. In addition, the collective history and current realities of anti-Blackness, coupled with MRIs contribute to the invisibility of Blackness in Latinx psychology. In order to begin to right this sordid history's wrong, Latinx psychology must adjust and center Blackness before continuing to fall too deeply into Whiteness.

### **Centering Blackness in Latinx Psychology: A Framework**

One of the most complex tasks of human development is to gain a deep understanding of one's personal and collective identities (Erikson, 1968; Jernigan, Green, & Helms, 2017; Parham, Ajamu, & White, 2011). Historically, scholars in Latinx psychology have predominantly focused on ethnic identity at the exclusion of racial identity, which yields an incomplete picture of the Latinx experience since individuals from this group are both ethnic and racial beings (Adames & Chavez-Dueñas, 2017). However, viewing Latinxs individuals as primarily ethnic beings ignores the racial heterogeneity present within this community which ultimately reinforces MRIs. Thus, breaking free from the bondage of MRIs and other racially accom-

modative practices requires the use of language, theories, methodologies, and frameworks that center and address the role of race and racism in the lives of Latinxs. Without this shift, scholars in Latinx psychology are implicitly supporting and creating loopholes that exonerate Whiteness and silence Blackness. However, making the shift is complicated given that Latinxs are “othered” for multiple reasons, including differences in race, skin color, ethnicity, immigration status, and the like (Chavez-Dueñas, Adames, Perez-Chavez, & Salas, 2019).

To begin, we will look at race and ethnicity among Latinxs. While some scholars use race and ethnicity interchangeably, the current consensus in the social sciences is that they are distinct yet closely intertwined concepts (Alvarez et al., 2016; Helms & Cook, 1999) with social consequences that affect the physical and psychological well-being of individ-

uals and communities (Perilla, Norris, & Lavizzo, 2002). To this end, we introduce the Centering Racial and Ethnic Identity for Latinxs Framework (C-REIL) in Figure 1 (Adames & Chavez-Dueñas, 2017) and use it to generate action guidelines to demarginalize Blackness in Latinx Psychology. The C-REIL framework, which has received empirical support (see Capielo Rosario, Adames, Chavez-Dueñas, & Renteria, 2019), considers the impact of skin color, race, ethnicity, and context on the Latinx experience. Theories of intersectionality, ethnic identity, and racial identity along with history serve as the foundation of the framework. Accordingly, the C-REIL consists of three parts that include: ethnic identity (Part-I), racial identity (Part-II), the interplay among race, ethnicity, and other social identities within a sociohistorical context that generates and often maintains oppression (Part-III), and the variations in

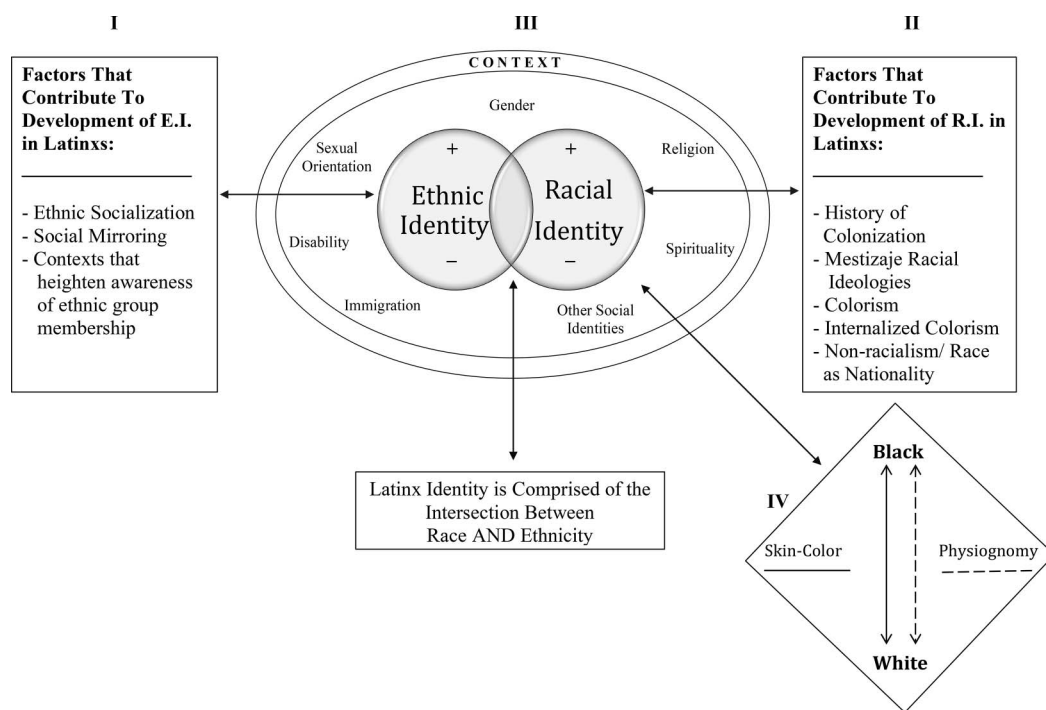


Figure 1. Centering Racial Ethnic Identity for Latinx Framework (C-REIL) From *Cultural Foundations and Interventions in Latino/a Mental Health: History, Theory, and Within-Group Differences* (pp. 131–161), by H. Y. Adames and N. Y. Chavez-Dueñas, 2017, New York, NY: Taylor & Francis/Routledge Press. Copyright 2017 by Taylor & Francis/Routledge Press. Adapted with permission.

skin color and phenotype within Latinx community (Part 4).

### Part 1: Latinx Ethnic Identity

Ethnic identity is an aspect of the self that consists of several components including: a sense of acceptance and congruence individuals hold about being members of an ethnic group (Helms, 1995), and the perceptions and feelings they have about the dominant group (Saddler, 2005). Among Latinxs, a number of factors contribute to the development of ethnic identity such as ethnic socialization, social mirroring, and context (Else-Quest & Morse, 2015; Umaña-Taylor, 2004; Winnicott, 2005). Ethnic socialization refers to the transmission of knowledge about one's historical and cultural roots as well as preparedness to experience ethnocentrism (Else-Quest & Morse, 2015). For Latinxs, the family often serves as the primary mechanism of ethnic socialization. However, a person's sense of who they are as an ethnic being is further influenced by how their group is portrayed in society, a concept known as social mirroring. When the narrative and images reflected in society are positive, individuals experience a sense of self-worth. Conversely, when reflections are negative, people find it challenging to maintain a positive sense of self (Winnicott, 2005). Lastly, the sociohistorical context in which individuals reside also contributes to the development of ethnic identity. Context moderates people's awareness of ethnic group membership and the connection they feel to that group (Adames & Chavez-Dueñas, 2017; Saddler, 2005; Umaña-Taylor, 2004). For instance, the recent wave of anti-immigrant sentiment and legislation that criminalize undocumented immigrants can lead to a heightened awareness about membership in an oppressed ethnic group. Hence, the current sociohistorical context can serve as a catalyst for Latinxs to begin questioning and exploring their ethnic identity.

### Part 2: Racial Identity Among Latinxs

The psychological concept that pertains to how individuals understand race and perceive themselves as racial beings is known as racial identity (Helms, 1995). As such, racial identity impacts people's intrapersonal and interper-

sonal reactions to racism (Helms & Cook, 1999). Thus, we need to consider how the meaning ascribed to race can change based on context, political climate, and historical period (Jernigan et al., 2017). To unpack the meaning of race and racial identity among Latinxs, an examination of (a) history, (b) racialized accommodative language and ideologies such as MRIs, (c) race as nationality, and (d) internalized racism is necessary.

As previously mentioned, Latinxs can be descendants of one of three primary racial groups including Indigenous, African, or White, or a combination among them. Thus, Latinxs' skin color and phenotype can range from the darkest African and Indigenous type to the lightest European type. The meaning Latinxs attribute to their membership in a racial group is deeply impacted by their complex history of conquest, colonization, racial stratification, and slavery. Consequently, Latinxs often struggle to identify themselves racially (Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014; Bonilla-Silva, 2014). To illustrate, in the latest report from the U.S. Bureau of the Census, 51% of Latinxs identified their race as "other" (Taylor, Lopez, Martinez, & Velasco, 2012). The struggle with racial self-identification and racial identity is evident by Latinxs (a) describing themselves as racially mixed; thus, falling prey to *Mestizaje Racial Ideologies*, (b) reporting their nationality as their race, and (c) considering Latinx as a race.

Racial self-identification, a component of racial identity development, is also impacted by colorism (i.e. within group racial discrimination) and immigration (Adames & Chavez-Dueñas, 2017; Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014). For instance, many Latinxs will experience being othered due to their ethnicity and country of origin and labeled *Latino/a/x* and/or *Hispanics* for the first time when they arrive in the United States. Hence, while panethnic terms may have political relevance and often provide a sense of unity among individuals who have experienced a history of oppression, discrimination, and invisibility in the United States, they also obscure within group racial differences (Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014). Nonetheless, some Latinxs continue to implicitly and explicitly believe problematic messages, stereotypes, biases, a phenomenon known as internalized racism (Helms, 1995; Jernigan et al., 2017; Thompson & Carter, 1997), while others engage in actions



that collude with White supremacy culture and benefit from white privilege, such as White Latinxs (Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014).

### **Parts 3 and 4: The Interplay Between Social Identities, Institutional Oppression, Socio-Historical Context, Phenotype, and Skin Color**

To understand and conceptualize the Latinx experience through time and sociohistorical context requires a push to expand beyond an identity-focused paradigm of *Latinidad*. To achieve this goal, the C-REIL framework integrates intersectionality as introduced and described by U.S. Black feminists and Women of Color social justice activists and scholars (Combahee River Collective, 1995; Crenshaw, 1991). From this perspective, all forms of oppression are viewed through a racialized lens. Hence, *Latinidad* requires an explicit focus on the racialized experiences of individuals, one that considers the ways in which skin color uniquely impacts Latinxs across the color gradient within a particular sociohistorical context. Put more succinctly, Latinxs' skin-color and phenotype will shape how sexism, heterosexism, ethnocentrism and other forms of oppression impact their lives in particular times in history. For instance, Black Latinx immigrants in the United States are likely to be uniquely impacted by multiple sources of oppression including anti-immigrant policies, increased racial hate crimes, and the current rise and endorsement of White supremacist ideologies (Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2019). Lastly, Part 4 depicts the complexity of variations in skin color and phenotype within the Latinx community.

### **Latinidad Is Not a Race but Latinxs Are Racial Beings: Action Guidelines for Centering Blackness in Latinx Psychology**

*Latinidad* has erroneously been used as a proxy for race, a practice that is pervasive in the Latinx psychological literature. In their influential text, Helms and Cook (1999) theorize why it's common for people to easily conflate race with other cultural terms. They state that "[race] is so emotionally laden that people try to find 'nicer' terms to substitute it" (Helms & Cook, 1999 p. 19), an assertion that has received em-

pirical support (Sue et al., 2011; Utsey, Gernat, & Hammar, 2005). In an effort to help center Blackness within Latinx psychology, the following action guidelines are offered. We use the American Psychological Association's (APA) concept of "guidelines" which refers to pronouncements, statements or declarations that suggest or recommend specific professional behavior, endeavors or conduct for psychologists and other related fields (APA, 1992). Guidelines are intended to facilitate the continued systematic development of Latinx psychology and help assure an aspirational standard of professional practice. To this end, the goals of the guidelines are to provide Latinx Psychology with ways to resist diluting, changing, or avoid sidelining the deep ways that race, racism, and colorism impact Latinxs across the skin color gradient, particularly people of African descent.

### **Guideline 1: Anchor AfroLatinidad in Historical Knowledge Regarding the Impact of Colonization, Slavery, and Racial Denial on Black Latinxs**

There is a need for scholars and practitioners to understand the profound impact that colonization and slavery has on the lives of Black Latinxs. Knowledge of such history can also help psychologists gain a more complex understanding regarding the surmountable possibilities that exist when a group of people are determined to overcome adversity. *Latinidad* often assumes that all members of the community share the same traditional cultural values, worldviews, and ways of coping and healing. However, such an assumption ignores the complex history of Black Latinxs throughout Latin America, including the fact that while many of the values and worldviews they practice today were modified in the Americas, they have their roots in the diverse cultures of Africa where they originated. Hence, it is critical for practitioners, scholars, and educators to inform themselves of the culture, traditions, and the unique ways in which Black Latinxs survived and thrived in different Latin American countries. Therefore, the following recommendation is proposed:

(1a) Scholars and practitioners of Latinx psychology are urged to gain a deeper understanding and appreciation of the worldview, values, and psychological strengths of Black Latinxs. It

is important to connect with the narratives of Black Latinxs themselves rather than focus on the interpretation of their history from the perspective of their oppressors. This can be accomplished by immersing in the art and written narratives of Black Latinxs, which document the history, stories, and culture of Black Latinxs in the United States and Latin America. (see Jiménez Román & Flores, 2010).

## **Guideline 2: Acknowledge and Help Dismantle Anti-Blackness Within Latinx Psychology Without Being an Opportunist**

While some scholars, practitioners, and educators in Latinx psychology have acknowledged and are beginning to address the role of race and racism (e.g., Capielo Rosario, Adames, Chavez-Dueñas, & Renteria, 2019; Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2019; Comas-Díaz, 1996; Sanchez & Awad, 2016), fewer have explicitly centered and discussed anti-Black ideologies and practices, which are prevalent in Latinx communities. To this end, it is important to keep in mind that any attempts to justify, negate, or rationalize the pain and suffering of Black Latinxs by failing to address anti-Blackness within Latinx communities is in many ways a form of collusion with the ideologies and practices of White supremacy culture. The following points will help name, address, and end anti-Blackness within Latinx Psychology:

(2a) There is a need to expand beyond the general recognition of racism as a social disease that harms all Latinxs and move to the provision of an analysis that explicitly acknowledges the ways that members of the Latinx community also engage in anti-Blackness. Doing so requires acceptance of responsibility for anti-Black socialization, biases, and prejudices, which are entrenched within the Latinx community (Althaus & Hegstrom, 2005; Lovell Banks, 2006). Discussions on racism that fail to specifically acknowledge anti-Blacks are likely to operate from the assumption that all Latinxs, regardless of skin color and phenotype, are racially discriminated against equally. This notion erases and invalidates the unique history and lived experiences of Black Latinxs.

(2b) It is important to remember that recognizing, addressing, and taking responsibility for one's individual and collective role in

anti-Blackness is likely to lead to feelings of guilt and discomfort. Such emotional reactions are likely because recognizing and taking responsibility for anti-Blackness requires acknowledgment of the ways that non-Black Latinxs have historically, and continue to, benefit from the oppression of Black Latinxs. It can be challenging and overwhelming for Latinx persons, who generally identify as a traditionally marginalized population, to view themselves as also capable of oppressing and benefitting from the harm caused to Black Latinxs. Such recognition can result in feelings of shame, guilt, and defensiveness; however, it is important to grapple with and address such feelings. When an individual prioritizes their desire to avoid personal discomfort over the need to develop a critical awareness regarding the racialized experiences of Black Latinxs and engage in actions that protect Black lives, the message essentially is, "our comfort is more important than the lives of Black People" (Vasquez, 2015, para. 81). Furthermore, an often-noted consequence of emotional avoidance regarding topics of racialized oppression, is silence. Remaining silent in the face of injustices and atrocities being committed against Black Latinxs (e.g., the expulsion of Dominicans of Haitian descent in the Dominican Republic; invisibility and erasure of Black Mexicans from history) reinforces the oppression of Black Latinxs. In other words, it is important to remember that attempting to justify, negate, or rationalize the pain and suffering of Black Latinxs is, itself, an example of White supremacy culture. Hence, if one believes in justice and freedom for all, then speaking up, engaging in actions that explicitly challenge anti-Blackness within our communities, and working to create policies, practices, and theories that center the racialized experiences of Black Latinxs are required.

(2c) The field of Latinx psychology must also assume responsibility for the ways in which the racialized experiences of Black Latinxs have been silenced and made invisible in our theories, intervention strategies, and scholarship. For instance, although the *Journal of Latinx Psychology* has published seven volumes with a few articles on Afro-Latinx, this is the first issue that exclusively

addresses topics related to race, Blackness, and AfroLatinidad.

Scholarship within the field should eliminate use of terminology and concepts that negate, exclude, or erase the racialized experiences of Black Latinxs, such as: all Latinxs are mestizos (i.e. MRIs), in Latin America race does not matter (i.e. racial democracy), under our skin we are all the same (i.e. color-blindness). For instance, we recommend that studies report the racial backgrounds of Latinx participants and collect data on their racial identity. The current research practice of only reporting national or ethnic origin when studying Latinxs fails to capture their racialized experiences. Such shifts in practice offer ways that non-Black Latinxs can support, advocate, and highlight the struggles that Black Latinx face without taking over their causes. Although support is essential, Black Latinxs do not need others to speak for them; they are their own best advocates and know best what they need. For example, we must learn to amplify the voices of Black Latinxs by ensuring that they are represented in research teams, editorial boards, and leadership positions. Implications of doing so are far-reaching. As a profession, centralizing the inclusion of Black Latinxs in the scholarship, which inevitably informs practical applications of Latinx Psychology, allows for relevant and responsive treatment approaches that help Black Latinxs cope with and heal from anti-Blackness.

(2d) Dismantling anti-blackness within Latinx psychology requires curiosity, discomfort, and unwavering determination. It also requires people to refrain from academically and professionally capitalizing from the pain and suffering of Black Latinxs to advance their career. Acknowledging and working to dismantle anti-Blackness does not make individuals experts on colorism, Blackness, and AfroLatinidad. To this end, it is imperative to resist becoming an opportunist by portraying yourself as a content expert on anti-Blackness and AfroLatinidad when it's convenient, popular, and self-serving. If you want to engage in scholarship in this area, question your motivation behind this new interest, and examine your own racial identity and how it influences your work on anti-Blackness and AfroLatinidad. Without the combination of deep personal introspection and a plan to develop a healthy racial identity (e.g., evolution of

a nonracist identity; Helms, 2017) you are engaging in anti-Blackness by toxically commodifying the lives of Black Latinxs.

### **Guidelines 3: Explicitly Acknowledge and Include the Role of Blackness in Latinx Psychology Research and Practice**

More studies that seek to inform theory, research, and practice on the Black Latinx community are needed. This first step necessitates that scholars in the field of Latinx Psychology demonstrate a commitment to developing self-awareness and insight related to their own avoidance, discomfort, and ultimate responses to discussions centered on race, racism, and colorism. To promote self-awareness among scholars who inform theory, research, and practice, assessment of one's own racial identity development allows individuals to understand their approach, reactions, and/or avoidance to conversations about race, racism, and colorism. In doing so, the field of Latinx psychology is better positioned to avoid use of psychological theories and research methods that lack relevance when approaching research that targets and informs practical applications for everyone in the Latinx community.

(3a) Through recognition of the conceptual differences between the social constructs of race and ethnicity, there is a need for an unwavering commitment to suspend the practice of using race and ethnicity as interchangeable and equivalent variables when studying Latinxs is paramount. Specifically, researchers are encouraged to ensure that Black Latinxs are proportionally included in the population samples of studies that seek to discuss Latinxs; otherwise generalizing conclusions to the entire Latinx community should not be made. However, it is important to note that acquiring a racially representative sample is not enough. Studies also need to capture race-specific life experiences that can affect how people respond to self-report measures (Helms, 2015). Within the Latinx community, this means that Black Latinxs' racialized experiences are different from non-Black Latinxs; thus, studies need to capture these variations if indeed we are committed to centering Blackness in Latinx studies. Hence, not considering the racialized equivalences "places one at risk of measuring and interpreting meaningless artifacts as if they were meaningful, or in other words,

committing a ‘cultural equivalence fallacy’” (Helms, 2015, p. 190).

(3b) Professionals who provide clinical services to Latinxs should strive to recognize both the racialized and ethnicized experiences of their clients. To achieve this goal, becoming familiar with the multidisciplinary literature in the social sciences and the arts that help capture the nuanced experiences of Latinx across the skin color gradient is necessary. Additionally, creating assessment tools that capture the impact of racism and colorism can assist practitioners to understand the ways in which symptoms are expressed or ultimately interpreted. In other words, addressing the impact of racism, and not solely ethnocentrism, relative to the onset, symptomatology, diagnosis, prognosis, and treatment becomes vital in supporting all racially minoritized individuals.

#### **Guideline 4: Recognize the Value of Blackness as a Political Stance Rather Than Just as a Demographic Characteristic**

Latinx psychology should use the concept of Blackness as a political stance; that is, one that centers the analysis of the racialized oppression experienced by Black Latinxs including their unique experiences of ethnocentrism, nativism, sexism, heterosexism, transnegativity, and the like. As such, the field acknowledges and is able to address the fact that Black Latinxs’ struggles often result from their membership in multiple socially constructed minoritized groups where race is a central component with social, personal, and political implications. Hence, centering Blackness in Latinx psychology can help move beyond the use of the term as a demographic characteristic. To accomplish this goal, we encourage scholars and practitioners in Latinx psychology to:

(4a) Recognize the importance and necessity of including Black Latinxs in research samples, case studies, and the literature. Just like non-Black Latinx scholars have made the argument that Latinxs need to be included in research, so too, the criticism applies to non-Black Latinx scholars who have neglected the racial diversity among Latinxs. Failure to expand beyond the practice of representation becomes just a futile demographic exercise, which mainly serves as a superficial act of inclusion to appear nonracist. Instead, scholars and practitioners in Latinx

Psychology should strive to connect, reconnect, or deepen their knowledge of Black Latinxs history, including the ways in which slavery, colonization, racial denial, racism, and colorism have impacted Black Latinxs. This includes working to understand the ways Black Latinxs are stigmatized and devalued as a group by both the dominant and Latinx cultures, and work to address the impact that such devaluation has on their health and wellness. Knowledge of history can facilitate the development of a nuanced understanding on the cultural and racial roots of Latinidad.

(4b) Create and use frameworks, theories, and research approaches that explicitly name social inequities and address the role of power in the lives of Black Latinxs. Such frameworks can facilitate the development of research agendas and treatment interventions using language that emphasize how overlapping forms of oppression impact Black Latinxs. For instance, in practice, psychotherapists can use an intersectional lens to frame and explore the presenting problems of their Black Latinxs clients. Such practice is essential for members of racialized communities who are often socialized to internalize and blame themselves for the challenges they face (Adames et al., 2018). Research approaches such as person-centered analysis, multilevel modeling, and qualitative methods within an interdisciplinary perspectives are ways for researchers to examine institutional and individual level factors that impact Black Latinxs (Torres, Mata-Greve, Bird, & Herrera-Hernandez, 2018).

#### **Guideline 5: Practicing Latinx Psychology Without the White Gaze**

The field of psychology is often described as an objective science that studies and creates knowledge that describes, explains, predicts, and controls human behavior and mental processes, which is then applied to all groups regardless of race (Helms, 2015; White & Parham, 1990). However, Black scholars posit that raceless or “traditional psychology was an attempt to explain the behaviors of Europeans from a European frame of reference” (White & Parham, 1990, p. 3; White, 1970). In addition, other Black scholars argued that psychology is rooted in a history and current practice that devalues and pathologizes people who are non-



White (Akbar, 2004; Helms & Cook, 1999; Parham et al., 2011; White, 1970). In many ways, Latinx psychology is no different from traditional psychology since most of the existing theories and models adhere to MRIs and color-blind perspectives. For example, dominant treatment approaches in Latinxs psychology (e.g., Falicov's, 1998 Multidimensional Ecosystemic Comparative Approach, Santiago-Rivera, Arredondo, & Gallardo-Cooper', 2002; Latino Transactional Model, Gallardo's, 2012 Latino/a skills identification stage model) do not explicitly address the role of race, racial identity, or colorism in treatment, which can lead to an incomplete understanding of Black Latinxs. In the tradition of Black psychology, as outlined by one of its cofounders Dr. Joseph L. White, psychological theory and application must derive its fundamental origins from the people it seeks to describe and understand (White, 1970). Thus, a Latinx psychology that is truly representative of all of its people cannot be expected to resemble and represent traditional psychology. To borrow from Toni Morrison's (2020) concept of writing without the White gaze, we offer strategies for individuals in the field of Latinx Psychology to practice without the White gaze.

(5a) The creation of psychological knowledge must represent the values, beliefs, and ways of thinking and behaving of the identified community it serves. The White gaze traps Latinx psychology in theories and frameworks that pathologize, dehumanize, and blame Black Latinx people for the challenges they experience due to racism. Instead, we must create a racially conscious strengths-based Latinx Psychology that centers the ways in which Black Latinxs have survived and thrived in spite of their marginalization and oppression.

(5b) Practitioners of Latinx psychology must expand their therapeutic stance from an intrapersonal understanding of Black Latinxs to one that also considers the ways in which overlapping institutional oppression impacts their health and wellness. This therapeutic stance can help give Black Latinxs permission to not blame themselves for living in a racially oppressive world that denies their humanity (Adames et al., 2018). Moreover, such a stance will assist providers in expanding their roles beyond the traditional one-on-one treatment modality. To this end, we encourage practitioners working

with Black Latinxs to embrace and engage in diverse roles such as counselor, teacher, guide, folk healer, advisor, advocate, witness, consultant, therapist, and the like to help address the client's needs.

(5c) Latinx psychology programs are encouraged to develop and integrate training that specifically and explicitly discuss the forms of historical and institutional oppression that impact Black Latinxs. For instance, training programs can create mission statements and program learning objectives that include both culturally responsive and racially conscious practices. Meeting this goal would require hiring and supporting Black Latinx faculty who can help design and shape programs to ensure that the needs and values of the community are not only included in the aspirational documents, but also integrated throughout the curriculum and practices of departments and institutions.

## Conclusion

The opulence of Latinx culture is evident in its history, traditions, and varied representation. The often untold social and political histories of Latinidad, outlined in this article, highlight the origin of African presence in the Americas prior to slavery. This included Black People who engaged in expeditions and exploration of Latin American and Caribbean, along with Spanish and Portuguese colonizers (Klein & Vinson, 1986). With colonization, however, the historical experiences of Latinxs shifted due to deliberate racial social categorization of Indigenous and Black groups, in an effort to exert social dominance and control. Thus, reminiscent of other cultures influenced by colonization, the lived experiences of Latinxs are also informed by the consequences of the imposition of social stratification, as defined by colonizers.

Despite the diverse historical roots of Latinxs, to date, much of the discourse regarding race and the experience of Blackness continues to focus on narratives of Black individuals whose ancestral heritage is linked directly to slavery in the United States (Gates, 2013). This is ironic given that historians estimate that of the approximate 10.7 million transported African slaves who survived the Middle Passage, a smaller percentage (~388,000) were transported to the United States (Gates, 2013; Klein & Vinson, 1986). The remaining number of

transported enslaved people disembarked in what is known as Latin America and the Caribbean. Thus, the widespread system of slavery and colonization, which defined racial hierarchies that upheld anti-Black sentiment, informs the realities subsequent generations of Latinxs, as well. Arguably, much of the lack of explicit recognition surrounding anti-Blackness among Latinxs is due to the minimization of this history. Consequently, despite the generational effects of socialized anti-Blackness, which are easily identifiable within modern Latin communities, (e.g., exclusion of darker-skinned Latinxs from popular media), the racialized experiences of Black Latinxs is often not taken into consideration, or openly discussed from a strengths-based perspective. The contributions of Afrodescendants in Latin America are not only invaluable and recognizable throughout Latinx culture, their influences are pervasive in the music, art, culinary practices, spirituality, and attitudes of resistance of Latinxs throughout history.

Within the field of Latinx psychology, increased awareness of rising demographic representation of Latinxs has led some scholars and practitioners to call attention to the need to center the Latinx experience (Falicov, 1998; Santiago-Rivera, Arredondo, & Gallardo-Cooper, 2002). In doing so, there is an effort to promote culturally relevant theories, which ideally inform culturally responsive research and practice targeting the Latinx community. Yet, the theories that underscore Latinx psychology (e.g., MRIs) have predominantly used to approach such concerns, as they relate to research and practice, fail to recognize the continuum of racialized experiences of Latinxs. Current practice tends to focus on the importance of ethnic identity as an integral component of the socialization and identification of Latinxs. When excluding race and racial identity from the heterogeneous racial narratives of Latinxs, Latinx psychology upholds education, training, and practices based on a White supremacist ideology (i.e. disregard of experiences of racial discrimination; exclusion of Blackness).

In an effort to center Blackness, the field of Latinx psychology must begin to integrate racial identity as a quintessential component of Latinx experience. The C-REIL Framework (Adames & Chavez-Dueñas, 2017) illuminates the importance of considering how skin color,

racial categorization, and context can inform the mental and physical health of Latinx individuals and communities. Recognizing that Latinxs are racial beings allows Latinx psychology to shift from the incorrect, yet prominent, assumption that Latinidad represents a monolithic and raceless experience to one that captures how the varied racialized experiences of Latinxs differ. This article offers five specific guidelines with the intent to facilitate this conceptual transition and inform future research and practice in Latinx Psychology.

Guideline 1 speaks to the importance of understanding how social and political histories inform the lived experiences of Latinxs, across generations. Current historical narratives are often written and taught within educational systems that serve to uphold predefined social hierarchies (e.g., racial stratification) that oppress certain groups (i.e. Blacks), thus affording privilege to those who represent the status quo or norm (i.e. Whites). As such, scholars contributing to the field of Latinx psychology must do their due diligence to uncover and tell the comprehensive and accurate history of Latinxs. This history is one that includes historical knowledge about the impact of colonization, slavery, and racism, as experienced by Black Latinxs. Not doing so will only serve to perpetuate the notion of racial denial among non-Black Latinxs while continuing to eliminate the Black Latinx experience.

Guideline 2 highlights the existing practice within Latinx Psychology to avoid discourse and scholarship that explicitly focuses on race and racism. Moreover, it proposes that there is a need to recognize the history and current existence of Anti-Black sentiment within Latinx communities. This will require Latinx psychologists to take develop critical racial self-awareness and take responsibility for the ways that discussions about racism have failed to acknowledge the fact that Black Latinxs have unique and painful experiences of racial discrimination, which continue, to date. Such acknowledgment is likely to lead to personal experiences of discomfort and/or shame, which will require intentional commitment to emotionally process and work through. The benefit of doing so is that the voices of Black Latinxs are upheld and prioritized on an individual and group basis, as well within Latinx scholarship and psychological practice.

Guideline 3 underscores the notion that through an accurate acknowledgment of the sociopolitical history of race and racism among Latinxs, and the relinquishing of anti-Black sentiment within Latinx psychology, the field can progress. More specifically, racially conscious and culturally relevant theory-driven research and racially and culturally responsive practical applications of Latinx psychology will serve to better and more effectively reach full representation within Latinx communities.

Guideline 4 offers a strengths-based approach to understanding and valuing the role of Blackness as a political stance, over its traditional use as a sociodemographic category. As such, researchers are urged to understand the difference between racial categorization (e.g., how one self-identifies) and racial identity development (e.g., information processing, thoughts, feelings, and behaviors individuals have when faced with racial stimuli). Exploring and describing Black Latinxs racial identity development will better serve to highlight how racialized experiences have informed individuals' understanding of- and identification with a particular racial group. Researchers are also urged to frame research using frameworks and theories that highlight how the experience of social inequity and disenfranchised power influences the lives of Black Latinxs.

Guideline 5 represents an important reminder to Latinx psychologists and its consumers, that currently, research and practice that is deemed culturally "appropriate" for Latinxs have been met with modified versions of traditional (i.e. Eurocentric) psychological approaches, which exclude race as a necessary component and often operate from a color-blind racial perspective. Although a focus on ethnic identity is relevant, it is not the sole determinant of Latinx identity. In order to fully represent and apply the Latinx experience, researchers and practitioners must expand the lens by which they understand the range of Latinx experiences. Subsequently, those working with Latinxs will learn to engage in the promotion of their health and wellbeing using roles that are most relevant for ideal treatment outcomes.

In closing, "we do not dream that the world will change, we dream with a community that has awakened their [racial] consciousness. If [racial] consciousness is gained by the people, then dreams are not necessary" (Marcos, 2002).

Instead, what's necessary is purposeful and conscious efforts to create the world in which our Black siblings deserve to live with dignity and human rights.

## Resumen

Dentro de la literatura científica de la psicología, es poca la información que hay sobre el tema de "AfroLatinidad." Por ejemplo, no existe el concepto de la "negritud" y esto se debe a la creencia de que toda persona Latina es de raza mixta, por lo cual ni el color de la piel ni las diferencias de fenotipo tienen importancia. Estas creencias se reconocen como Ideologías Raciales del Mestizaje, MRIs, por sus siglas en inglés. Las ideologías MRIs tienen su comienzo en la época Colonial y por tener tanto tiempo de existir son muy pocas las personas que dudan de ellas. A su vez, las manifestaciones e implicaciones de estas ideologías pasan desapercibidas. El resultado es que el tema se entiende, se estudia, y se describe en términos limitados los cuales desconocen las experiencias raciales de la población AfroLatina. La ciencia no avanza por querer producir y reproducir información basada en conceptos antiguos de una época de antaño. Este manuscrito contiene un resumen de la historia de la negritud en Latinoamérica, y una discusión sobre la carencia de información acerca de la negritud en la literatura científica de psicología. El manuscrito describe el modelo C-REIL, conocido en inglés como *Centering Racial and Ethnic Identity for Latinxs*, el cual recalca que los conceptos de raza y de grupos étnicos, son necesarios para cualquier estudio en la psicología Latina. La meta de este manuscrito es hacer las siguientes recomendaciones para integrar la negritud dentro de la rama de la psicología Latina: (a) anclar la AfroLatinidad en conocimientos y eventos históricos, (b) dismantelar creencias que van en contra de la negritud, (c) incluir la negritud dentro de la psicología Latina, (d) valorar la negritud en términos políticos, y (e) participar en la psicología Latina sin las limitaciones que se ocasionan por las creencias racistas anglosajonas.

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