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Cultural Homelessness, Self-Esteem, and Skin Color Satisfaction among Latinxs

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Tampa, Florida
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The Doctorate Program in Clinical Psychology
Florida School of Professional Psychology
at National Louis University

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL
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Clinical Research Project

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This is to certify that the Clinical Research Project of

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has been approved by the
CRP Committee on [Month, Day, Year of Defense]
as satisfactory for the CRP requirement
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Abstract

This study explored feelings of cultural homelessness, self-esteem, and skin color satisfaction among Latinxs. A close interest was placed in examining responses of participants who identified as racially Black or Afro-Latinx. Through an electronic survey, the study aimed to answer the four research questions: (1) Is there a correlation between cultural homelessness, self-esteem, and skin color satisfaction; (2) Do participants of different self-perceived skin colors differ in self-esteem, cultural homelessness, and skin color satisfaction; (3) Does age moderate the relationship between self-perceived skin color and self-esteem; and (4) Does age moderate the relationship between self-perceived skin color and cultural homelessness. Through a qualitative lens, the study was also interested in attitudes and preferences related to participants' race, ethnicity, and self-perceived skin color. In the final sample of 654, analyses revealed: (1) a statistically significant relationship among the primary variables; (2) a statistically significant difference among the three skin colors for skin color satisfaction; and (3) participants who reported having self-perceived dark skin color endorsed higher rates of skin color satisfaction compared to those with self-perceived light and medium skin color. These results may imply that (1) group-belonging, psychological well-being, and self-perception are intertwined experiences that should be taken into consideration, particularly in the Latinx collectivistic culture; (2) that Black Latinxs consistently endorse terms that acknowledge their African heritage, such as Afro-Latinx; and (3) individuals of darker skin have the ability to establish and maintain a positive sense of self even when faced with social factors, such as colorism and racism.

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CULTURAL HOMELESSNESS, SELF-ESTEEM, AND SKIN COLOR SATISFACTION

AMONG LATINXS

DEDICATION

I dedicate this labor of love to my ancestors, my parents, and the promising future of this

generation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thank you to my committee for giving me the opportunity to rise to my potential.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Background of the Problem

During the 15th century, the Trans-Atlantic slave trade forced approximately 12 million Africans to be enslaved and brought to the Western hemisphere, 90% of which became displaced in Latin America. Given the increasingly diverse make-up of Latin America during colonization, Europeans established a stratified social system based on race to maintain and power, privilege, and resources (Busey & Cruz, 2015; Chavez-Dueñas, Adames, & Organista, 2014). This system placed individuals of European descent at the top, Indigenous people in the middle, and African descendants at the bottom of the social system. To address the racial mixing between groups, skin color, and other phenotypic characteristics became a pivotal factor within the system; those of lighter skin color were more likely to be higher in the system compared to those of darker skin (Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014). Thus, racism and colorism became fundamental societal norms that carried Latin America well into the 18th century. The abolishment of slavery in Haiti in 1804 set the stage for the dismantlement of colonialism across Latin America, with Brazil the last country to abolish slavery in 1888. However, the effects of colorism, racism, and marginalization of Latinxs of African descent or Afro-Latinxs, continues to linger long after post-colonization and into present-day Latin America through lack of inclusion and representation, disparities, and discrimination.

Like Latin America, the United States has experienced a history of oppression, colorism, and marginalization of Indigenous and African people. Within the dichotomous racial order, shades of skin color became a secondary factor in the disbursement of social capital, privileges, and resources. However, while Latin America encouraged racial mixing and assimilation during

post-colonialism, the U.S. held rigid beliefs of maintaining racial purity and segregation (Frank, Akresh, & Lu, 2010; Godsil, 2006).

The presence of Latinxs of African descent in the U.S. can be traced back to 1613 and has significantly increased since then. According to the U.S. census, as of July 2016, there are 57.5 million individuals who identify as Hispanic (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017). People of Hispanic origin have become the nation's largest minority group, and 17.8 percent of the total population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017). Moreover, in 2014, the first nationally representative survey of Latinx adults in the U.S. revealed that one-quarter of all U.S. Latinxs self-identify as Afro-Latinx, Afro-Caribbean, or of African descent with roots in Latin America. However, when explicitly asked to report their race, 39% of these individuals endorsed their race as White, while 18% endorsed their race as Black (Pew Research Center, 2016).

The process of navigating group belonging and membership is an integral part of cultural identity and its development. The literature reflects Latinxs being cognizant of the dominant racial hierarchy and stigma of blackness in the U.S., resulting in avoidance with identifying as part of the Black racial group, and may identify with being racially White or may create a separate group entirely (Hiltin, Brown, & Elder, 2011; Stokes-Brown, 2012). Thus, navigating the current White-Black racial order of the U.S. may lead to experiences of exclusion, racial invalidation, microaggression, and feelings of cultural homelessness (Harris, 2017; Navarrete-Vivero and Jenkins, 2011). Challenging experiences navigating group belonging may lead to the use of coping strategies, such as racial and ethnic passing and code-switching, to evade microaggression and alleviate psychological distress and identity confusion (Dawson & Quiros, 2014; Ruiz, 1990).

Skin color stratification, commonly referred to as colorism, is the system that grants privileges and opportunities to those who possess lighter skin complexion while inflicting micro-aggressions and discrimination towards those of darker complexion. Colorism is recognized and internalized early in the lifespan and perpetuated by communities of color (Clark & Clark, 1947; Dawson & Quiros, 2014; Teplin, 1976). Moreover, external messages regarding darker skin negatively impact psychological well-being in adulthood, specifically self-esteem, feelings of attractiveness, and skin color satisfaction (Dawson & Quiros, 2014; Telzer & Vazquez Garcia, 2009). The lack of emphasis on preparation of bias, paired with internalized negative messages regarding darker skin color, may create vulnerability to societal bias, discrimination, low self-perception, and poor quality of life (Dawson & Quiros, 2014; Hughes, 2003; Perreira, Wassink, & Harris, 2018).

Statement of the Problem

European conquest and colonization in Latin America resulted in the enslavement of African and Indigenous people and racial mixing among these groups. Skin color and race became influential factors in the stratification of power and privilege where those of darker skin and mixed race were more likely to be marginalized and left socially disadvantaged (Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014). For Latinxs who trace their origins to countries where racial boundaries are unclear and history of racial mixing is common, responding to questions related to race and ethnicity may be puzzling and challenging that may make it difficult to account for the presence of Afro-Latinxs in the U.S. The present literature on racial and ethnic identity development has sparsely explored the unique identity of Afro-Latinxs; Afro-Latinx embody being ethnically Latinx and racially Black, creating multiple marginalized identities. Given the dichotomy racial order of the United States, there is a need for further research examining feelings of group

identity, exploration, and belonging. Skin color is a racial variable that may contribute and exacerbate minority stress, resulting in an impact in the quality of life; thus, there is a need for research to shed light on the impact of skin color on group belonging and psychological well-being.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between cultural homelessness, self-esteem, self-perceived skin color, and skin color satisfaction among Latinxs, with interest to the unique experiences of participants who identify as racially Black and ethnically Latinx, or Afro-Latinxs. In addition, this study sought to explore attitudes and preferences related to racial and ethnicity identity, Afro-Latinx identification, and self-perceived skin color. Findings from this study have the potential to tackle unanswered questions regarding how to (1) inform evidence-based interventions in addressing the psychological and social needs of Latinxs, particularly Afro-Latinxs; (2) explore possible protective factors in the racial and ethnic socialization in the Latinx community; and (3) contribute to the current literature on the experiences of individuals across the African Diaspora. Four research questions (and respective hypotheses) were explored in this study.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

Research Question 1: Is there a correlation between cultural homelessness, self-esteem, and skin color satisfaction?

> **Hypothesis I:** There will be a negative correlation between cultural homelessness and self-esteem; as cultural homelessness increases, self-esteem decreases.
>
> **Null Hypothesis:** There will be no correlation between cultural homelessness and self-esteem; as cultural homelessness increases, self-esteem decreases.

Hypothesis II: There will be a negative correlation between cultural homelessness and skin color satisfaction; as cultural homelessness increases, skin color satisfaction decreases.

Null Hypothesis: There will be no correlation between cultural homelessness and skin color satisfaction; as cultural homelessness increases, skin color satisfaction decreases.

Hypothesis III: There will be a positive correlation between self-esteem and skin color satisfaction; as skin color satisfaction decreases, self-esteem decreases.

Null Hypothesis: There will be no correlation between self-esteem and skin color satisfaction; as skin color satisfaction decreases, self-esteem decreases.

Research Question 2: Do participants of different self-perceived skin colors (light, medium, and dark) differ in self-esteem, cultural homelessness, and skin color satisfaction?

Hypothesis IV: Participants with self-perceived dark skin color will have lower self-esteem, higher cultural homelessness, and lower skin color satisfaction compared to participants with self-perceived light skin color.

Null Hypothesis: Participants with self-perceived dark skin color will not have lower self-esteem, higher cultural homelessness, or lower skin color satisfaction compared to participants with self-perceived light skin color.

Hypothesis V: Participants with self-perceived dark skin color will have lower self-esteem, higher cultural homelessness, and lower skin color satisfaction compared to participants with self-perceived medium skin color.

Null Hypothesis: Participants with self-perceived dark skin color will not have lower self-esteem, higher cultural homelessness, or lower skin color satisfaction compared to participants with self-perceived medium skin color.

Hypothesis VI: Participants with self-perceived medium skin color will have lower self-esteem, higher cultural homelessness, and lower skin color satisfaction compared to participants with self-perceived light skin color.

Null Hypothesis: Participants with self-perceived medium skin color will not have lower self-esteem, higher cultural homelessness, or lower skin color satisfaction compared to participants with self-perceived light skin color**.**

Research Question 3: What is the impact of age and self-perceived skin color on self-esteem? Does age moderate the relationship between self-perceived skin color and self-esteem?

Hypothesis VII: Age will have a moderating effect on self-perceived skin color and self-esteem; as age increases, participants of medium and dark skin color will have higher self-esteem.

Null Hypothesis: Age will not have a moderating effect on self-perceived skin color and self-esteem.

Research Question 4: What is the impact of age and self-perceived skin color on cultural homelessness? Does age moderate the relationship between self-perceived skin color and cultural homelessness?

Hypothesis VIII: Age will have a moderating effect on self-perceived skin color and cultural homelessness; as age increases, participants of medium and dark skin color will have lower cultural homelessness.

Null Hypothesis: Age will not have a moderating effect on self-perceived skin color and cultural homelessness.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Historical Background

The Pre-Columbian Era is defined as the state of the Western World before the arrival of Christopher Columbus (Patterson et al., 2009). During this time, native groups such as Tainos, Incas, Mayans, and Caribs established comprehensive civilizations with societal norms, religions, languages, and agricultural and architectural advances that have influenced these sciences today (Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014). Meanwhile, across the world, Christopher Columbus planned four voyages across the Atlantic Ocean in hopes of finding a shorter route to Asia and its quality commodities. In Columbus's voyage for economic prosperity, he stumbled upon the Americas in the early 15th century and coined the land as the "New World." Unforeseen to Columbus, he would cross paths with the Indigenous groups, stimulating a cascade of events that transformed the Western World forever.

One transformative impact of the arrival of Europeans was the Columbian-Exchange; an interchange of plants, animals, technology, and ideas from one part of the world to another (Nunn & Qian, 2010). However, the exchange promptly escalated to an oppressive reign informed by White supremacy and Christian crusade that led to the conquering and enslavement of Indigenous people and their resources; through the use of firearms, violence, and the exposure to foreign diseases, Indigenous people were left vulnerable to attack. The increasing death toll among Indigenous people, paired with the high demand for labor to exploit resources, resulted in the catalyst to the largest commodity to the Columbian-Exchange: the enslavement of Africans through the Transatlantic Slave Trade (Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014).

The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade began in the mid-15th century, where approximately 12 million Africans were enslaved and brought to the Western hemisphere. Approximately 90% of

the slave trade was dedicated to uprooting Africans, primarily from Western Africa, to Latin America. This was because of the ample natural resources and ideal locations: countries like Brazil, Hispaniola, Colombia, Mexico, Cuba, became hotspots for the slave trade, with Brazil accounting for 40% of the overall trade. The enslaved Africans underwent inhuman conditions while being transported across the Atlantic, resulting in a high mortality rate even before reaching Latin American soil (Busey & Cruz, 2015). Those who survived the traumatic journey joined Indigenous people in enduring violence and enslavement by Europeans.

With Latin America now housing Indigenous people, Africans, and Europeans, Europeans set forth to colonize Latin America through a Eurocentric formula to decipher who, and to what extent, could access power and resources (Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014). The creation of a stratified social system placed individuals of European descent at the top, indigenous people in the middle, and African descendants at the bottom. However, because of the racial mixing among groups, the ability to distinguish between groups became challenging, making skin color and other phenotypic characteristics determinant within the system; those of lighter skin color were more likely to be higher in the system compared to those of darker skin (Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014). Thus, both racism and colorism became fundamental societal norms that carried Latin America well into the 18th century.

Despite its best efforts, the stratification system did not prevent acts of resistance by Indigenous and African people amid colonization. For example, Gaspar Yanga of Mexico and Zumbi Dos Palmares of Brazil organized communities of runaway slaves to fight against European rule, attacks, and enslavement (The Bernard and Audre Rapoport Center, 2008). One of the most monumental forms of resistance occurred between the years 1791 and 1804; Haitian slaves ensued a series of rebellions leading to Haiti became the first colony to gain independence

from French colonial rule and the first modern nation to be governed by people of African

descent (Knight, 2000). The abolishment of slavery in Haiti, along with the diminishing support

and confidence of colonization in the Americas by European rule, set the stage for the

progressive dismantlement of colonialism across the Americas. Brazil, the country populated

with the most enslaved people, took the longest to break down this engraved system, becoming

the last country in the Western hemisphere to abolish slavery in 1888 (Needell, 2010).

The abolishment of slavery in Latin America left Europeans vulnerable to a loss of

control and privilege. White superiority, racism, and colorism that once informed practices

during colonization were repackaged as *refinar la raza* or "refine the race" during post-

colonialism (Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014). This was intended to weaken the ability of

Indigenous and African people from obtaining power. Europeans encouraged racial mixing and

European immigration to densely populated indigenous and African areas. Ultimately, *refinar la

raza* was the belief that diluting Indigenous and African blood with another race would not only

erase the negative attributes of these races but achieve an erasure of their legacy over time

(Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014). Another goal of racial mixing was to conceal and deny the

stratified system Europeans had once implemented during colonialism. By changing the

narrative of racial and ethnic stratification to a societal belief of "we are all the same" would

encourage assimilation and reduce the risk of challenging the status quo (Chavez-Dueñas et al.,

2014). Nonetheless, implicit beliefs of colorism and racism in Latin America appeared explicitly

throughout history and society; the 1895 painting "Redemption of Ham" by Modesto Brocos

depicts the effects of *refinar la raza* and the glorification and favoring of lighter skin and

European descent across generations in Brazil (Cardoso, 2015). These reminders of colorism,

racism, and marginalization towards people of color in Latin America continue to linger today

through a lack of inclusion and representation, disparities, and discrimination against these groups.

Present-Day Latin America

The story of Indigenous and African people has been often untold and overlooked, making the task to recollect their experiences challenging. The legacy of racial mixing and stratification is still present in Latin American and the United States in the lived experiences of individuals who are ethnically Latinx and racially African, also known as Black Latinxs, Latinxs of African descent, or Afro-Latinx. For consistency, this study will refer to these individuals as Afro-Latinxs. It is important to consider the history of racial mixing in the Americas and that there is no certain way of knowing from observation to what degree someone is of African, European, or Indigenous descent. Therefore, the literature reviewed has relied on the self-report of participants to define what their lived racial and ethnic experiences are.

The preservation of power and privilege in Latin America can be attributed to concealment strategies that endorse invisibility, misrepresentation, and invalidation of oppressed and marginalized groups (Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014). Like microaggressions, concealment strategies may be overt or covert in nature and be implied and perpetuated unconsciously or consciously by both people and systems. To fully understand the effects of post-colonialism and concealment strategies in Latin America, Solar Castillo and Pardo Abril (2009) hypothesized five types of concealment strategies: Omission of Social Actors, Omission of Racist Practices, Naturalizations, Distortion, and Justification (Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014). For instance, the concealment strategy of distortion is reflected in poor accounting of African descendants on census reports across Latin America: in fact, it is only within the last two census reports that Latin American countries recorded ethnic and racial diversity (Pew Research Center, 2016). The

absence of questions related to ethnic and racial identity in government reports may have generational effects on the accurate distribution of funds and resources. Additionally, the omission of social actors represents the exclusion and suppression of the history of people of color, such as Marielle Franco. An Afro-Brazilian human rights activist, feminist, and politician, Franco dedicated her career to addressing the social issues of police brutality and racial profiling, as well as advocating for sexual and gender minorities and those living in poverty. She was assassinated in 2018 after the "Young Black Women Who Are Changing Power Structures" event where she openly challenged the government on how Black people and the poor are treated in Brazil (Faiola & Lopez, 2018). The death of Franco is a fatal representation of attempts to shut down the social actors that represent and advocate for the rights of Afro-Brazilians.

The historical context of Latin America, combined with present-day societal concealment strategies, create pervasive disparities that impact the overall quality of life. For example, when investigating educational attainment, a study on eight Latin American countries found that self-perceived skin color was strongly and negatively related to educational attainment and completion of primary and secondary schooling (Telles, Flores, & Urrea-Giraldo, 2015). Specifically, self-perceived darker skin color was consistently associated with less education (Telles et al., 2015). Monk (2016) found similar findings related to educational inequality in Brazil; when examining interviewer-rated skin color, the gap between the lightest and darkest-skinned participants, aged 25 and older, in average education was 22.9 months. Moreover, the results showed that skin color is not only a stronger predictor of educational attainment than a self-classified race but is also strongly associated with other socio-demographic controls such as net of respondent's parents' occupational status. These findings suggest that skin color plays a

pivotal role in social opportunities and quality of life in Latin America, and those of darker skin are most negatively impacted.

Research has shown that opportunities in the workforce are also influenced by skin color and race in Latin America. In Ecuador, the National Institute of Statistics and Census revealed that the unemployment rate was 7.9 percent for the general population but 11.0 percent for those of Afro-descent (Nopo, 2012). Moreover, in a study analyzing the effects of gender and ethnicity on wage earnings in Brazil, Soares (2000) found that, since the 1980s, Brazil has experienced a larger ethnic than gender earnings gap. More specifically, White women earned 79 percent of White men's earnings, while Afro-descendant men earned only 46 percent of White men's earnings. These results suggest that race plays a significant factor on income, even when other variables like education, experience, and the labor market are taken into consideration (Nopo, 2012).

United States History

Like Latin America, the United States has experienced a history of oppression, colorism, and marginalization of Indigenous and African people. Within the dichotomous racial order, shades of skin color became a secondary factor in the disbursement of social capital, privileges, and resources. African slaves of lighter skin were often selected for more desirable jobs, such as indoor housework and servitude. Working in proximity with Europeans led to more opportunities to learn and being informed on current events compared to their darker skin counterparts (Chavez-Dueñas et al. 2014; Keith & Monroe, 2016). The division of duties based on skin color created a wedge among slaves, impacting their ability to congregate, collaborate, and rise up against slavery. Thus, while the effects of the racial order are experienced by both

the majority and minority groups in a society, the stratification based on colorism may be more salient and recognizable within the minority group (Hunter, 2015).

Where the U.S. differs from Latin America is in its response to racial mixing: Latin America encouraged racial mixing and assimilation during post-colonialism, while the U.S. held rigid beliefs of maintaining racial purity and segregation. Given their lower rank in society, the consequences for racial mixing in the U.S. would fall upon the slave, who would face persecution, physical violence, and even death. Variations of the "one-drop" rule, where one drop of Black ancestry would make an individual automatically Black, created social and generational repercussions for children born of racial mixing (Frank et al., 2010). The race of the mother often determined the child's race and subsequently, their social standing. Female slaves were often victims of rape and sexual violence by White males; the children of racial mixing would ultimately be labeled as Black. Thus, despite having one parent of higher social standing, the children of racial mixing rarely benefited from such privilege. At best, skin color could offset the limiting factor of race by providing the child with similar benefits of light skin Black slaves (Ho, Sidanius, Levin, & Banaji, 2011).

The Emancipation Proclamation issued by President Abraham Lincoln in 1863 officially abolished slavery, freeing over 50,000 slaves in the United States (Shafer, 2019). However, new-found freedom was met with resistance because it became a threat to established hierarchical access to resources and privilege. To undermine the 13th amendment, Jim Crow Law was established in southern states to enforce racial segregation in public places and facilities, public transportation, and employment. As a result, people of color were subjected to few and inadequate resources, reinforcing their lower and disadvantaged social status (Godsil, 2006). The civil rights movement ended Jim Crow Law with the Civil Rights Act of 1964,

sparking hope of opportunity that the Black and White order of the U.S. would dissolve and a level playing field would take its place. However, like concealment strategies posed in Latin America, the U.S. expressed its oppressive and exploitative infrastructure implicitly and explicitly. This infrastructure is found through microaggressions, disparities, and oppression across various systems, such as schools, housing, incarceration, and in the workplace.

The presence of Latinxs of African descent in the U.S. has been traced back to 1613. The first Latinx of African descent in the U.S. is believed to have been Jan Rodrigues, who was born and raised in the Dominican Republic by a Portuguese father and African mother. Rodrigues became a translator for European merchants on the island, and as a free man, voyaged to Holland and stopped in what is present day Manhattan, New York in 1613. For context, Rodrigues arrived in the U.S. 12 years before the Dutch founded New Amsterdam and 51 years before the English renamed it New York. Rather than continuing the trip to Holland, Rodrigues chose to stay in New York to trade with Native Americas. In 2013, Rodrigues was recognized as the first non-indigenous, first African-descendant, first Hispanic-American and first Dominican settler in Manhattan, and several dozen blocks of Broadway in Upper Manhattan were designated as "Juan Rodriguez Way" (Stevens-Acevedo, Weterings, Alvarez, Alvarez, & Rodriguez, 2013).

The number of Latinxs in the United States has increased significantly since 1613; according to the U.S. census, as of July 2016, there are 57.5 million individuals who identify as Hispanic. People of Hispanic origin have become the nation's largest ethnic or racial minority, and 17.8 percent of the total population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017). As the census is the primary measure used to provide information on the demographic of the U.S., it is crucial to understand its history of integrating and interpreting the concepts of race and ethnicity and its impact on the lives of minority groups.

Since 1790, the census has informed social and political resources by providing a count and description of the population. The items on the census evolve to capture the experiences and identities of its respondents accurately. For example, the option to select multiple races on the census was introduced in 2000 in response to the increase in racial and ethnicity diversity (Hiltin et al., 2011). Today, the census views race and ethnicity separately but related; Hispanic/Latinx can be an ethnicity but not a race, and those who identify as Hispanic and Latinx can be of any race (U.S. Census Bureau, 2018).

Race serves to categorize people by their phenotypic differences based on genotypic variations between groups (Roth, 2012, 2016). As a social construct, what defines race fluctuates to reflect the social, political, economic, and ideological changes of a specific context. For instance, people from Ireland and Poland that typically fall under being racially White were once considered members of different racial groups. Despite the variability of race, it is a significant factor in various aspects of one's experiences and quality of life and determined by both self-identification and the observation of others (Roth, 2016).

Ethnicity is broadly defined as the grouping of people based on common country of origin, customs, language, and social views (Hitlin et al., 2011; Pearlman & Waters, 2012). Under the umbrella of ethnicity falls the terms Hispanic and Latino: Hispanic refers to people who descended from Spanish speaking countries, while Latino refers to a person who is from or descended from people from Latin America (U.S. Census Bureau, 2020). In recent years, the term Latinx has been introduced as a gender-neutral alternative, to be more inclusive of the LGBTQ+ population, and to challenge the inherently masculine term "Latino" to describe all genders in the Spanish language (Gamino Curevo, 2016; Latinx, n.d.). However, like the pan-ethnic label of Asian, the terms Hispanic and Latinx attempt to cover previously unrelated

groups under one umbrella (Roth, 2016), categorizing 33 Latin American countries, 19 of which are Spanish speaking, under one label runs the risk of overgeneralizing the experiences and customs between them.

For Latinxs who trace their origins to countries where racial boundaries are loosely drawn and history of racial mixing is common, answering questions related to race and ethnicity may be confusing and challenging. For example, the various ways that Latinx individuals view ethnicity and race may shed light on the variables that influence how they identify in the Black-White racial order. The Pew Research Center (2016) found that two-thirds of Latinxs (67%) reported that their Hispanic background is a part of their racial background, which is contrary to the current U.S. census classification of Hispanic/Latinx. Telles et al. (2015) found that across eight Latin American countries, various terminologies were used to classify race and ethnicity, and participants were more likely to identify ethnically rather than racially. Diversity among Latinxs may not only have an impact on the validity of the census but on other instruments used to assess psychological constructs and social experiences (Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2001). Thus, more research is needed to provide clarity on comprehending the complexities of ethnic and racial identification in Latinx populations, as well as exploring the most valid and representative method to capture those experiences.

Identity Development

How social systems address and express attitudes regarding race and ethnicity plays a significant role in identity development. Vygotsky's Social Learning Theory proposed that for children, cognitive development, learning, and the creation of meaning is informed by our social context and interaction (Vygotsky, 1978). Expanding on Vygotsky's research, Urie Bronfenbrenner (1979) proposed the Ecological Model where social contexts are defined by the

micro and macro systems that indirectly and directly affect cognition and identity development. Finally, Maria Root built on the work of Bronfenbrenner to illustrate the Ecological Model that reflects how social interactions specifically influence racial and ethnic identity development (Root, 1998). Under this premise, exploring racial and ethnic identity development across the lifespan may serve as a source of guidance in understanding the lived experiences of minority groups. For example, when analyzing the ethnic identity development of Mexican American children, Bernal, Knight, Garza, Ocampo, and Cota (1990) found that at an early age, the awareness of ethnicity, race, and group begins to form. More specifically, the ability to correctly self-assign an ethnic label occurred between the age of seven and eight years old, the ability to group oneself in an ethnic group begins at the age of six, and ethnic constancy begins at the age of eight. On the other hand, studies have shown that distinctions between race and ethnicity are not necessarily detectable by children, and that they view race and ethnicity as having significant overlaps conceptually (Quintana, 2008; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). More research is needed on the ethnic and racial socialization of Latinx children and how it may impact the identity development of Afro-Latinx across the lifespan. Moreover, there is a need in the literature to explore and compare how individuals in different phases of the lifespan experience feelings of group belonging, skin color, and psychological well-being.

The current identity models provide foundational information on the experiences related to ethnicity and race; however, across each model, there are limitations on capturing the rich history and experiences of Afro-Latinxs. For example, in 1937, Everett Stonequist introduced the first model of biracial identity development, The Marginal Person Model. In this model, biracial identity was conceptualized as being linked to two worlds but not truly belonging to either one, leading to feelings of identity confusion, low self-esteem, and reduced group

belonging (Stonequist, 1937). In 1990, Poston viewed Stonequist's model as one founded on deficit, as its primary design compared Black minority samples to a White majority sample as a reference point of identity development. Therefore, to provide a different perspective, and in response to the rise of biracial and multiracial people in the U.S., Poston (1990) proposed the Biracial Identity Development Model (BRIDM). The BRIDM contains five stages: Personal Identity, Choice of Group Categorization, Enmeshment/Denial, Appreciation, and Integration. The stages to this model rest on the assumption that biracial identity develops in a healthy fashion and that multiple factors influence identity, such as family and peer influences. Along a similar philosophy, Root (1990) proposed four Resolutions for Resolving Otherness that outlines positive outcomes to the tensions of biracial identity: (1) acceptance of the identity society assigns; (2) identification with both racial groups; (3) identification with a single racial group; and (4) identification as a new racial group. Although these perspectives on biracial identity development yield a more positive formation and outcome, there are some limitations to their generalizability; these models are based on the experiences of biracial people who were White and Black, White and Asian, or White and Latinx, leaving the experiences of those who are not mixed with White, such as those who are Latinxs of African descent, unaccounted for. In addition, a large portion of the literature defines a biracial identity as having two monoracial parents of different races, such as having a White mother and an Asian father. Given the history of racial mixing in Latin America, Poston's definition of a biracial identity does not fully encompass the blended identity of Afro-Latinxs.

To capture the psychosocial process that is found throughout racial identity development, Atkinson, Morten, and Sue (1998) proposed the Minority Identity Development Model (MIDM). The MIDM consists of five stages: Conformity, Dissonance, Resistance and Immersion,

Introspection, and Synergetic Articulation and Awareness. These stages not only highlight how individuals feel towards themselves and their identity, but also how they view others within their group, other minority groups, and the dominant group (Atkinson et al., 1998). Although this model does not provide applicability towards the unique developmental experiences that occur in any specific racial and/or ethnic group, it is a foundational tool that takes into consideration internal and external processes of development. Thus, as being both Black and Latinx are identities that are marginalized in the U.S., exploring racial and ethnic identity development through its minority status may yield informative insight on the identity development and lived experiences of Afro-Latinxs.

The Black Identity Development Model (BIDM) proposed by Cross (1971) illustrates five stages in the identity formation of African American adults: Pre-Encounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, Internalization, and Internalization-Commitment. The BIDM is based on Nigrescence Theory (NT), which rests on the assumption that self-concept has two parts: a general personality or personal identity (PI) component and a reference group orientation (RGO) or social identity component. Cross believed that understanding Black identity should be done primarily through the way a person thinks, feels, and acts regarding the various dimensions of a person's RGO (Vandiver, Fhagen-Smith, Cokley, Cross, & Worrell, 2001). One limitation of this model is that it was centered around the experiences of Black Americans thereby impacting its ability to be generalized to the experiences of Black people around the world, specifically Afro-Latinxs. Additionally, for Afro-Latinx who live in the U.S., the BIDM does not address ethnic identity development that parallels the development of racial identity, as well as the unique experience of navigating the U.S. racial order. Thus, Nigrescence, or the process of becoming Black, is not fully captured for Afro-Latinxs in this model.

The Latino/a American Identity Development Model (LAIDM) proposed by Ruiz (1990) is based on five stages of ethnic identity development: Casual, Cognitive, Consequence, Working Through, and Successful Resolution. The LAIDM was created based on research and cases from counseling sessions related to the identity formation of Chicano, Mexican American, and Latinx college students (Bernal, Knight, Organista, Garza, & Maez, 1987; Garcia, 1982; Keefe & Padilla, 1987; Rodriguez & DeBlassie, 1983). The LAIDM is grounded on four premises.

> (a) that marginality correlates highly with maladjustment (LeVine & Padilla, 1980); (b) that both marginality and the pressure to assimilate can be destructive to an individual (LeVine & Padilla, 1980); (c) that pride in one's own ethnic identity is conducive to mental health (Bernal, Bernal, Martinez, Olmedo, & Santisteban, 1983); and (d) that during the acculturation process, pride in one's own ethnic identity affords the Hispanic more freedom to choose (Bernal et al., 1983). (Ruiz, 1990, p. 4)

Thus, the premises underlying LAIDM acknowledge that, for Latinx mental health, the experiences of marginalization and assimilation can become risk factors. At the same time, satisfaction in one's ethnic identity may serve as a protective factor. Although this model reflects the ethnic identity development of Latinxs, it does not take into consideration the experiences of racial development that may be occurring concurrently. Moreover, the focus on Mexican Americans in Latinx research is aligned with the current demographics of Latinxs in the United States; in 2017, the Pew Research Center reported that out of the 58,838,000 people identified as Hispanic, 36,634,000 identified as Mexican (Pew Research Center, 2019). Although the findings from this population have been fruitful, more research is needed to reflect the ethnic development experiences of Latinxs from various countries of origin and how they may respond to the racial order of the U.S.

Adames and Chavez-Dueñas (2017) offered one of the first frameworks that honors both race and ethnicity in the identity development of Latinxs. The Centering Racial and Ethnic Identity for Latinx populations, or the C-REIL framework, incorporates: (1) historical context, such as racial mixing and concealment strategies; (2) current variables that define race, such as skin color; and (3) the influences that inform ethnicity, such as cultural variables and socialization, offered a vantage point to view the Latinx racial and ethnic experience (Adames & Chavez-Dueñas, 2017). Although this framework offers a comprehensive starting point to conceptualize Latinx identity, it does not offer direction on what the development of these two identities may look like and what are the possible societal and psychological implications of this development over time. Therefore, future research is needed to build on the C-REIL model that may offer examples of stages of development of ethnic and racial identity.

Given the limitations of the current racial, ethnic, and minority identity development models and the C-REIL framework, it is imperative that future research address the gaps related to the ethnic and racial identity development of Afro-Latinxs. Recruiting participants of African descent whose ethnic origins reside from various Latin American countries may begin to reflect a more accurate and holistic representation of the Afro-Latinx experience. Moreover, research on how racial and ethnic identity influence one another, particularly when confronted with the U.S. racial order, may provide clarity on how the two marginalized identities of being ethnically Latinx and racially Black develop over time.

Group Belonging

Group membership is an integral part of cultural identity and its development. More specifically, studies have revealed that Latinxs demonstrate a collectivistic culture and philosophy which influences identity development, values, and psychological well-being (Segal,

Gerdes, Mullins, Wagaman, & Androff, 2011). Regarding the U.S. racial order, the literature reflects Latinxs having cognizance of the dominant racial hierarchy and stigma of blackness that may result in an avoidance with identifying as part of the Black racial group (Stokes-Brown, 2012). For example, in 2014, the first nationally representative survey of Latinx adults in the U.S. was conducted; in this survey, one-quarter of all U.S. Latinxs self-identify as Afro-Latinx, Afro-Caribbean, or of African descent with roots in Latin America. However, when explicitly asked to report race, only 18% identified as being racially Black while 39% reported being racially White (Pew Research Center, 2016).

The process of being included or excluded from the Black-White line in the U.S. is two-fold; one must self-identify as part of the in-group, and the group must also identify one as one of them. The latter may carry more weight when gaining membership, and exclusion may be exercised by the group in power more to maintain the status quo (Frank et al., 2010; Sanchez, Good, & Chavez, 2011). Thus, although some Latinxs may classify themselves as White, it is only when that group comes to view them as such that the racial boundary is broadened (Roth, 2016). Moreover, Ho, Kteily, and Chen (2017) explored if and how Black and White Americans utilize hypodescents, which is the labeling of a biracial individual with their minority racial status as opposed to their majority racial status when categorizing biracial Black and White individuals. They found that Black participants were more likely to expand their racial group to include biracial individuals compared to White participants. Given that the Black racial group and the Latinx ethnic group are both considered minority groups in the U.S, more research is needed on how hypodescent is applied to Afro-Latinxs.

There may be a third option for Latinx navigating the racial order: opting-out of the Black and White group choices and identifying with a separate group entirely. Hiltin et al.

(2011) explored respondents' self-identification to race and ethnicity when presented with similar questioning found on the census. The study found that participants' responses to ethnicity and race changed when given the option to identify as "Other;" participants tended to identify as White more often when they were not given the option to endorse "Other" as their race (Hiltin et al., 2011; Stokes-Brown, 2012). Although participants tend to endorse a White racial classification, the option to classify as "Other" may shed light on the dichotomous nature of the U.S. evolving to reflect the increase in diversity.

Racial contestation is defined as an experience when an individual's racial self-classification does not coincide with how others perceive them racially (Vargas & Stainback, 2015). The conflict between self-identification and the identity prescribed by others may result in confusion and psychological distress. For example, Vargas and Stainback (2015) examined the relationship between racial contestation and group closeness among Latinx, Asian, Black, and White participants. They found that Latinxs endorsed experiencing some level of racial contestation more than the other three groups, and that on average, individuals who reported experiencing racial contestation felt less of an affective connection to other members of their self-identified group. Afro-Latinxs, being ethnically Latinx and racially Black, may experience racial contestation at a higher rate, resulting in feeling rejected and invalidated, as well as having a greater disconnect between them and their ethnic group.

Furthermore, Harris (2017) found that multiracial students on college campuses shared themes of invalidation, a lack of acknowledgement of their ethnic and racial identity and being automatically labeled as a monoracial identity by their peers. Students also reported difficulty feeling that they belonged at their respective campuses due to resources and spaces being structured for monoracial students. The tendency to associate multiracial people to one racial

category has been viewed as a micro-aggression called monoracism. Johnston and Nadal (2010) defined the experience as "a social system of psychological inequality where individuals who do not fit monoracial categories may be oppressed on systemic and interpersonal levels because of underlying assumptions and beliefs in singular discrete racial categories" (Johnson & Nadal, 2010, p. 125). Further research is needed to explore the mixed messages and micro-aggression regarding ethnic and racial identity, as well as the variables that may serve as a protective factor for well-being and belonging for Afro-Latinx/s.

Cultural Homelessness, a theoretical framework proposed by Navarrete-Vivero and Jenkins (1999), is characterized as "repeated experiences of rejection by multiple groups, feelings of not belonging to any group, struggles to attain membership within the desired group(s), and the felt need to find a cultural home among multicultural individuals" (p. 11). Navarrete-Vivero and Jenkins (2011) found that participants of multiracial status endorsed higher feelings of cultural homelessness compared to monoracial participants. On the other hand, they found that participants of multiethnic status endorsed lower feelings of cultural homelessness compared to monoethnic participants. Given these findings, they proposed that the effects of racial mixing in the U.S. appears to have a different and more negative effect for those who are racially but not ethnically mixed. Race, autonomous of ethnicity and culture, involves visible physical features that are difficult to change and may result in feeling alienated and invalidated by a self-identified group (Navarrete & Jenkins, 2011). For Afro-Latinxs, the physical feature of having darker skin may elicit a higher feeling of cultural homelessness, prompting the need for more research to provide clarity on cultural homelessness and its relationship with skin color in this population.

Latinx may engage in various coping strategies such as *passing* and *code-switching*, to evade psychological distress from negative experiences of attempting to attain group belonging. Racial passing involves the internalization of Eurocentrism and lighter skin as a reference point, and actively work to be seen, at minimum, as not Black (Greene, 1992). Like passing, code-switching is the attempt to alter one's racial and ethnic expression and identity based on social cues (Navarrete-Vivero & Jenkins, 1999). Fundamentally, the acts of racial passing and code-switching have been methods of survival to avoid imminent harm and discrimination but may also provide a secondary gain to power and privilege, acceptance into the majority or in-group, and to alleviate psychological and identity crises (Root, 1996). For Latinxs, racial passing may be seen in attempts to lighten skin by avoiding the sun, skin bleaching, straightening or chemically altering their hair, or altering their appearance surgically to be aligned with Eurocentric features (Dawson & Quiros, 2014).

On the other hand, the detection of racial passing and code-switching by others may result in being perceived as untrustworthy and ingenuine that may impact to what extent group membership and resource can be attained and group boundaries expanded (Albuja, Sanchez, & Gaither, 2018). For example, according to the Consequences stage of the LAIDM, Latinxs may suppress ethnic markers such as language, accents, and tradition to avoid discrimination and be accepted into a group. However, these behaviors may also result in a lack of ethnic identification and the parting of one's group (Dawson & Quiros, 2014; Ruiz, 1990). Therefore, engaging in coping strategies may be a protective factor or result in feelings of hopelessness and confusion, as they may face negative consequences depending on the context.

According to Newman and Newman (1976), the major developmental task in early adolescence is achieving a group identity by exploring and understanding group dynamics.

Given that group belonging is a salient experience to cultural identity, this developmental task may be particularly important for adolescents from minority racial and ethnic groups. Gillen-O'Neel et al. (2015) explored the development and perception of ethnic and racial identity among multiethno-racial adolescents compared to their monoethno-racial peers. Results showed that the participants did not develop conflicted or marginal identities or indicate that their identity varied. Furthermore, the findings from the study revealed themes related to positive feelings about group membership, belonging, and pride when describing their ethno-racial heritage and identity. These findings challenge the notion that racial and ethnic passing and code-switching is experienced by multiethno-racial youth. Given the increase in racial and ethnic diversity in the U.S., continued research is needed to clarify how minority groups, specifically Afro-Latinxs, navigate group belonging and engage in coping strategies and how it impacts identity development.

Skin Color

Skin color has been found to be a more salient marker for racial identification than ancestry and other phenotypic features (Feliciano, 2016; Telzer & Vazquez Garcia, 2009). Skin color stratification, commonly referred to as colorism, is the system that grants privileges and opportunities to those who possess lighter skin complexion while inflicting micro-aggressions and discrimination towards those of darker complexion. Historical ideologies of racism and Eurocentrism have enabled colorism to continually operate today and influence identity development, psychological well-being, and group belonging.

Commonly referred to as "The Doll Study," Clark and Clark (1947) conducted one of the first studies exploring racial differences, attitudes, and preferences among Black children of various skin colors. The Doll Study found that decisions of racial preference occur at an early

age, and regardless of skin color, the children tended to prefer the White doll and reject the Black doll (Clark & Clark, 1947). Building on the Doll Study, Teplin (1976) investigated the racial and ethnic preferences of White, Black, and Latinx school-age children using photographs. Results showed that Latinx children expressed a preference for photos of their in-group significantly less than Black and White children, and instead, endorsed preference for photographs of White children. Teplin hypothesized three explanations based on these findings:

> (1) the Latinx children have a negative self-concept or low self-esteem; (2) the Latinx children did not recognize the photographs of the Latinx children as being part of their ethnic group; and (3) Latinx children may not be accustomed to viewing inanimate representations of other Latinx children. (Teplin, 1976, p. 706)

Another consideration to Teplin's hypothesis is that Latinx children are indeed exposed to representations of other Latinx children, but those representations are mostly children of lighter skin tone. Therefore, when Latinx children are presented with images of darker skin Latinx children, they may reject such images due to both preference and familiarity of Eurocentric features from an early age.

The role of the family has been found to impact the socialization in childhood and the trajectory of racial and ethnic identity in adulthood (Wilder & Cain, 2011). For example, Dawson and Quiros (2014) carried out interviews with Latinx women of various phenotypes to explore the impact of colorism, privilege, and stigma on racial identity. Results showed that the physical features of the participants played a significant role in their early formation of racial and ethnic identity and how they were treated by their family and community. Messages endorsing white skin were equated with privilege, while darker skin signified stigmatization. Wilder and Cain (2011) had similar findings after conducting focus group interviews with Black women. One significant theme is the identification of maternal figures, such as grandmothers, aunts, and

mothers, as the primary perpetrators of skin tone bias and the learned association of blackness with negativity and lightness with ideal beauty (Wilder & Cain, 2011). Communities of color perpetuating themes of racism and colorism within their respective group may be a result of internalized oppression and eurocentrism that may lead to a lack of preparation against discrimination and societal bias from an outsider (Dawson & Quiros, 2014). For example, Latinx adults recalled a greater emphasis on ethnic and cultural socialization, rather than racial socialization and preparation of bias during childhood, compared to their African American counterparts. Having both racial socialization and preparation of bias was found to be a protective factor against internalized racism and impaired self-esteem for African American children (Dawson & Quiros, 2014; Hughes, 2003). The lack of emphasis on the preparation of bias in Latinx children may create reinforcement in the degradation of darker skin and marginalization of racial features by both the self-identified group and out groups.

On the other hand, communities of color have also been shown to foster resilience through positive messages regarding ethnic and racial identity and minority status. For example, Telzer and Vazquez Garcia (2009) examined the relationship between skin color and self-perception in immigrant and U.S.-born Latinx college women. The study found that racial and ethnic socialization moderated the relationship between skin color and self-perception among Latinx adults: individuals with darker skin who endorsed higher levels of racial socialization were more satisfied with their skin color and felt more attractive. Therefore, more research is needed to explore the barriers in preparation of bias and racial socialization among Latinx families as well as the impact of colorism on psychological well-being and feelings of belonging.

In addition to studying the impact of skin color across the lifespan, one common theme throughout the literature is the impact of other intersecting identities on the experiences of

colorism, such as race, class, and gender (Wilder & Cain, 2011). Regarding gender, the literature revealed that depressive related symptoms are reported at higher levels for Latinx women of African descent compared to European Americans and African Americans (Ramos, Jaccard, & Guilamo-Ramos, 2003). Moreover, Latinx immigrant participants with darker skin tended to have more negative self-perceptions. Participants of darker skin endorsed feeling less attractive, having a desire to change their skin color to be lighter, and having lower self-esteem compared to U.S.-born participants with darker skin (Telzer & Vazquez Garcia, 2009).

The devalued status of darker skin in Latinxs may have a negative effect on the quality of life and psychological well-being. For example, studies have shown that Hispanics of darker skin were found to be at risk of economic, educational, and other societal disadvantages (Painter, Holmes, & Bateman, 2015; Saperstein & Penner, 2012). Regarding health, Perreira et al. (2018) found that skin color had an effect within all self-reported races and ethnicities. More specifically, Hispanics of darker-toned skin had greater BMIs, higher odds of obesity, and poorer self-reported health than lighter-toned Hispanics. Furthermore, the literature on skin tone among minority groups has shown that darker skin individuals are perceived and treated more negatively than their lighter skin counterparts. The societal bias against darker skin may be attributed to observers evaluating darker skin as being more closely representative of the negative cultural stereotypes of that particular group (Hunter, 2007). Social bias and negative stereotypes based on skin color may lead to increased experiences of discrimination and barriers to social resources and opportunities.

According to Rivera-Santiago (1996), "It is important to conceptualize Latino ethnic identity and its development as complex and dynamic, involving many factors" (p. 14). Ethnicity and race intertwine in a distinctive way for Afro-Latinxs and creates unique

experiences and challenges. The literature on the experiences of Afro-Latinx has been informative but limited, reflecting a need to add to the research by exploring the history, identity development, and psychological well-being of this population. Torres et al. (2012) explored the identity development of Latinx adults and found an identity reconstruction process, referred to as the "looping effect." The looping effect, like "recycling" in Nigrescence theory, is a process where an individual re-evaluates previous periods in their development based on a new environment or life event. The study found that the Latinx identity was cyclical in nature, causing it to be revisited continually throughout the lifetime as change arises (Cross & Fhagen-Smith, 2001; Torres et al., 2012). The looping effect may provide a window of opportunity for interventions to reframe and redefine internalized negative messages regarding race and ethnicity. Future research is necessary to explore how the bicultural orientation of being Black and Latinx culture may impact the looping effect in the ethnic identity development of Afro-Latinxs adults.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODS

Participants

Participants in this study were at least 18 years of age and identified as ethnically Latinx. The sample was recruited via social media platforms, listserv, and email yielding 662 participants for the study. Of the 662 participants, eight individuals did not endorse being Hispanic or Latinx, which resulted in them being removed from the analysis, and creating a final sample of 654 participants. Table 1 describes the characteristics of the sample based on socio-demographic variables.

Table 1

Characteristics of the Socio-Demographic Variables

Variable		n	%	M	SD	Min	Max
Age		654	100	28.96	7.89	18	67
	Group 1	154	23.5	-	-	18	23
	Group 2	144	22	-	-	24	26
	Group 3	130	19.9	-	-	27	29
	Group 4	100	15.3	-	-	30	33
	Group 5	126	19.3	-	-	34	67
Gender		650	99.4	-	-	-	-
	Female	576	88.1	-	-	-	-
	Male	60	9.2	-	-	-	-
	Trans Male	1	.2	-	-	-	-
	"Other"	13	2	-	-	-	-
Education		654	100	-	-	-	-
	< High school degree	1	.2	-	-	-	-
	High school degree or equivalent	25	3.8	-	-	-	-
	Some college, no degree	94	14	-	-	-	-
	Associates degree	47	7.2	-	-	-	-
	Bachelor degree	255	39	-	-	-	-
	Graduate degree	232	35.5	-	-	-	-
Marital Status		654	100	-	-	-	-
	Single	474	72.5	-	-	-	-
	Married	152	23.2	-	-	-	-
	Widowed	1	.2	-	-	-	-
	Divorced	20	3.1	-	-	-	-
	Separated	7	1.1	-	-	-	-

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

Characteristics of the Socio-Demographic Variables

Variable		n	%	M	SD	Min	Max
Race & Ethnicity				-	-	-	-
	Latinx	654	100	-	-	-	-
	White	142	21.7	-	-	-	-
	Black	66	10.1	-	-	-	-
	Asian or Asian Indian	12	1.8	-	-	-	-
	American Indian or Alaskan Native	40	6.1	-	-	-	-
	Middle Eastern or North African	11	1.7	-	-	-	-
	Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander	5	.8	-	-	-	-

Note: Four (0.6%) participants failed to reported their gender. Participants were also asked to describe their nationality. Responses to this item ranged from themes of geography, country of origin, and nationality, making it unclear whether participants understood the question as intended. Thus, this question exhibited reduced validity and was excluded from the analysis.

Measures

Cultural Homelessness. Cultural Homelessness (CH) was measured using the Navarrete-Vivero and Jenkins Cultural Homelessness Scale (Navarrete-Vivero & Jenkins, 2011). This scale was developed based on Navarrete-Vivero and Jenkin's (1999) theoretical framework of Cultural Homelessness, which is characterized as the "repeated experiences of rejection by multiple groups, feelings of not belonging to any group, struggles to attain membership within the desired group(s), and the felt need to find a cultural home among multicultural individuals" (Navarrete-Vivero & Jenkins, 2011, p. 795). This fourteen-item instrument contains three criteria: (1) five items on lack of ethnic/cultural group membership and attachment; (2) eight items related to lack of a cultural home; and (3) one item reflecting a need for a cultural home. Participants respond to a five-point Likert-type scale, which ranges from strongly agree to strongly disagree: "Strongly Disagree" as 1 point; "Disagree" as 2 points; "Neutral" as 3 points; "Agree" as 4 points; and "Strongly Agree" as 5 points. As a categorical (presence or absence)

criteria, individuals are identified as CH when each of the three criteria is met to a moderate degree or higher than a mean score of 3. As a continuous scale, the CH score was calculated by taking the mean of the scores of all three criteria. A low score indicates low CH and a high score indicates high CH (Navarrete-Vivero & Jenkins, 2011). This scale was created and revised based on 448 participants who were enrolled as undergraduate students at a large state-supported midwestern university, with 23.9% of students reporting being of biracial composition. The Cronbach's alpha reliability of the overall scale was .84; a Cronbach's alphas of .71 and .84 for Criteria I and II, respectively, and with an overall inter-item correlation of .33–.78 (Navarrete-Vivero & Jenkins, 2010). The point biserial correlation between categorical CH status and the continuous CH score was .68 (p <.001). In the current study, the Cronbach's alpha reliability of the overall scale was .84; a Cronbach's alphas of .85 and .79 for Criteria I and II, respectively, and with an overall inter-item correlation of .14–.71. Finally, in the construction of the scale, a point biserial correlation analysis was conducted to explore the association between CH status (categorical presence or absence) and CH mean as a continuous variable. The analysis revealed that a notable amount of variance is lost when CH is defined categorically (r_{pb} = .50, p < .001), leading to the scale being used as a continuous variable (Navarrete-Vivero & Jenkins, 2011). In this study, the association between cultural homelessness status (categorical presence or absence) and cultural homelessness as a continuous variable was point-biserial r_{pb} = -.537, p < .01, showing that there was also a notable amount of variance is lost when CH is defined categorically. Therefore, cultural homelessness was used as a continuous variable during analysis, and as a categorical variable to gain additional descriptive information on the sample.

Self-Esteem Scale. Self-Esteem (SE) was measured using the Rosenberg's Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965). This unidimensional scale consists of ten items designed to measure

global self-liking and self-worth. This scale was created and revised based on 5,024 high school students from ten randomly selected schools in the state of New York (Rosenberg, 1965). Since its inception, this scale has been the utilized by studies related to the psychological well-being and self-perception of minority populations, particularly the Latinx community (Bracey, Bámaca, & Umaña-Taylor, 2004; Navarrete-Vivero, Jenkins, 2011; Telzer & Vazquez Garcia, 2009; Umaña-Taylor, & Shin, 2007). The stability of this scale was evaluated by Blascovich and Tomaka (1991), who reported test-retest reliability to be between .82 and .88, and an internal consistency reliability Cronbach's alpha of .77–.99. In the current study, the Cronbach alpha coefficient was .91. Participants respond to a four-point Likert-type scale, which ranges from strongly agree to strongly disagree; "Strongly Disagree" as 1 point, "Disagree" 2 points, "Agree" 3 points, and "Strongly Agree" 4 points. Scores are derived by reversing negatively worded items and then summing the scores for all ten items. Higher scores indicate higher self-esteem and lower scores indicate lower self-esteem (Rosenberg, 1965). For this study, self-esteem was used as a continuous variable.

Self-Perceived Skin Color. Self-perceived skin color was measured using Brunsma and Rockquemore's (2001) Self-Perceived Skin Color Scale. This 12-item categorical scale was designed to measure a participant's self-perceived estimation of their skin color across a skin color spectrum. This scale was created and revised based on 117 biracial students from two college institutions in Michigan. For analytical purposes, the 12 items were collapsed into three categories in which 1was light skin (0 to 4), 2 was medium skin (5 to 7), and 3 was dark skin (8 to 12), with the possibility of odd number ratings indicating a skin color between two categories. Higher scores indicate darker self-perceived skin color, while lower scores indicate lighter self-

perceived skin color (Brunsma & Rockquemore, 2001). For this study, self-perceived skin color was analyzed as a categorical variable.

   Skin Color Satisfaction. Skin color satisfaction (SCS) was measured using the Skin Color Satisfaction Scale (Falconer-Jameca & Neville, 2000). This scale measures the perception and satisfaction with one's skin color, particularly when compared with one's self-identified ethnic group. This ordinal scale was created and revised based on the responses from 124 African American women attending a large southern historically Black university. This instrument contains seven items. The first three items (Item A, B, and C) were derived from the Skin Color Questionnaire Scale [SCQ] (Bond & Cash, 1992), which are designed to assess skin color satisfaction, self-perceived skin color (light to dark), and ideal skin color. Four additional items (Items D, E, F, and G) were included to create a more stable measure of skin color satisfaction. Reliability was estimated to be .71 (Falconer-Jameca & Neville, 2000). In 2013, Mucherah and Frazier's analysis of the scale's reliability revealed a Cronbach's alpha coefficient of .70 when used with 328 adult women of African descent. In the current study, the Cronbach alpha coefficient was .62. Item A is rated from 1 (extremely dissatisfied) to 9 (extremely satisfied). Item B is rated from 1 (extremely light) to 9 (extremely dark). Item C ranges from 1 (much lighter) to 9 (much darker); high or low scores indicate a desire to be a different skin color. Items D, E, F, and G are rated on a 9-point scale, ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 9 (strongly agree). Items E and F are reverse scored so that a participant desiring either lighter or darker skin is coded as being dissatisfied with their skin color. The mean of the total scores is summed and averaged, with higher scores indicating more satisfaction with self-perceived skin color (Falconer-Jameca & Neville, 2000). For the purpose of this study, "African American"

was modified to "people who are Latinx" on Item B and G to be applicable to the population and the variable was analyzed as continuous.

Procedures

This study utilized a convenience snowball method. A recruitment flyer, along with a promotional description of the study was distributed through email, listservs, message boards, and social media platforms to reach eligible participants for the study. To increase participation, participants were given the option in the informed consent to pass along the survey link to other eligible participants to complete the survey. Social media platforms, such as GroupMe, Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, and Snapchat, were used during recruitment. The listserv and message boards that were targeted during recruitment were listservs and message boards that the researcher is currently a part of, such as the Florida School of Professional Psychology student listserv and the Students of the National Latino/a Psychological Association Facebook group. Through the snowball method, the survey had the possibility of being sent to other social media related websites and to other listservs and message boards.

The informed consent and survey were accessed through a protected electronic format on the SurveyMonkey.com engine. Participation in this study required individuals to review the written informed consent prompt that appeared prior to the survey. Once consent was agreed to, the following requirement was provided: the participant could proceed to complete the survey. The following information was included in the informed consent section: participants indicated that they had read the informed consent, their participation in the study was voluntary, and they were at least 18 years or older. The survey asked demographic information as well as questions related to four different categories (cultural homelessness, self-esteem, self-perceived skin color, and skin color satisfaction) to understand the relationship between variables. The development

of this study was informed by previous studies on multiculturalism and psychological well-

being. The scales used in this study were derived from experts in the field of multiculturalism

and psychological well-being (Brunsma & Rockquemore, 2001; Falconer-Jameca & Neville,

2000; Navarrete-Vivero & Jenkins, 2011; Rosenberg, 1965).

Completion of the survey was approximately 5 to 15 minutes. At the end of the survey,

the participants were provided with the contact information of the primary researcher if they had

any questions or needed additional resources. Once the survey was completed, a unique

identifier was assigned by the investigator to each survey to ensure that all surveys were

unidentifiable. As per institutional policy, all surveys and consent forms were secured in an

electronic format, and the data from online surveys were password protected. Data was stored

on a portable data storage device kept in a locked cabinet within the faculty co-investigator's

office on the campus premises. Data was then transferred to IBM Statistical Package for Social

Sciences (IBM SPSS) database for analysis. This transfer was performed by the study

investigator onto campus secured computers, and raw data was never transferred off the

premises. Data was only reported in summary format, with no identifying information included.

Raw data will be stored for three years in a locked file cabinet at the campus.

Data Analysis Strategy

The survey completed by participants included: (1) basic demographic information (age,

gender, marital status, education, and race); (2) one additional item related to nationality and

Afro-Latinx identification; and (3) four scales to ascertain cultural homelessness, self-esteem,

self-perceived skin color, and skin color satisfaction. Additionally, race, ethnicity, and self-

perceived skin color were also assessed as qualitative items to explore attitudes and preferences.

Themes from these items were subsequently reviewed and coded by the investigator.

Preliminary analyses were conducted to review the data for normality, linearity, univariate and multivariate outliers, homogeneity of variance-covariance matrices, and multicollinearity. These analyses resulted in no serious violations noted.

Correlational analyses were utilized to examine the relationship between the continuous variables, cultural homelessness, self-esteem, and skin color satisfaction. It was hypothesized that: (1) there will be a negative correlation between cultural homelessness and self-esteem; as cultural homelessness increases, self-esteem decreases; (2) there will be a negative correlation between cultural homelessness and skin color satisfaction; as cultural homelessness, increases skin color satisfaction decreases; and (3) there will be a positive correlation between self-esteem and skin color satisfaction; as skin color satisfaction decreases, self-esteem decreases.

A one-way multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was used to examine differences in cultural homelessness, self-esteem, and skin color satisfaction across the three categories of self-perceived skin colors (light, medium, and dark). For this research question, it was hypothesized that: (1) participants with self-perceived dark skin color will have lower self-esteem, higher cultural homelessness, and lower skin color satisfaction compared to participants with self-perceived light skin color; (2) participants with self-perceived dark skin color will have lower self-esteem, higher cultural homelessness, and lower skin color satisfaction compared to participants with self-perceived medium skin color; and (3) participants with self-perceived medium skin color will have lower self-esteem, higher cultural homelessness, and lower skin color satisfaction compared to participants with self-perceived light skin color. In this analysis, the independent variable was self-perceived skin color (light, medium, and dark), and the dependent variables were cultural homelessness, self-esteem, and skin color satisfaction.

Finally, two mixed model analysis of variance was carried out to explore moderating effects. One analysis was applied to observe the impact of age as a moderating effect on self-perceived skin color and self-esteem, in which it was hypothesized that age will have a moderating effect on self-perceived skin color and self-esteem; as age increases, participants of medium and dark skin color would have higher self-esteem. In this analysis, the independent variable was self-perceived skin color, the dependent variable was self-esteem, and the moderating variable was age. The other analysis was utilized to observe the impact of age as a moderating effect on self-perceived skin color and cultural homelessness, in which we hypothesized that that age will have a moderating effect on self-perceived skin color and cultural homelessness; as age increases, participants of medium and dark skin color will have lower cultural homelessness. In this analysis, the independent variable was self-perceived skin color, the dependent variable was cultural homelessness, and the moderating variable was age.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics

Cultural Homelessness. Normality was assessed for the continuous outcome variable of cultural homelessness ($M = 2.67$, $SD = .63$). Using the 5% trimmed mean of cultural homelessness (2.65) compared to the original mean (2.67), it was determined that there were not any extreme values influencing the mean of the data. The value for skew (.33) and kurtosis (-01) indicated scores clustered to the left at the low values and a distribution that is relatively flat. The K-S value (K-S = 0.06; $p = .000$) was non-significant, suggesting the distribution was normal. Furthermore, values on the normal probability plots followed a straight line, suggesting the distribution is normal (see Figure 1). The detrended normal Q-Q plot showed no clustering that indicated violations (Figure 2). Finally, a boxplot of the scores revealed three outliers but no extreme values (Figure 3).   Because of the relatively large samples size, the three outliers did nor influence the data significantly, resulting in the three outliers being kept in the analysis. Table 2 illustrates statistical characteristic of the variable as categorical, reflecting the number of participants that met criteria I, II, and III as well as full criteria for cultural homelessness.
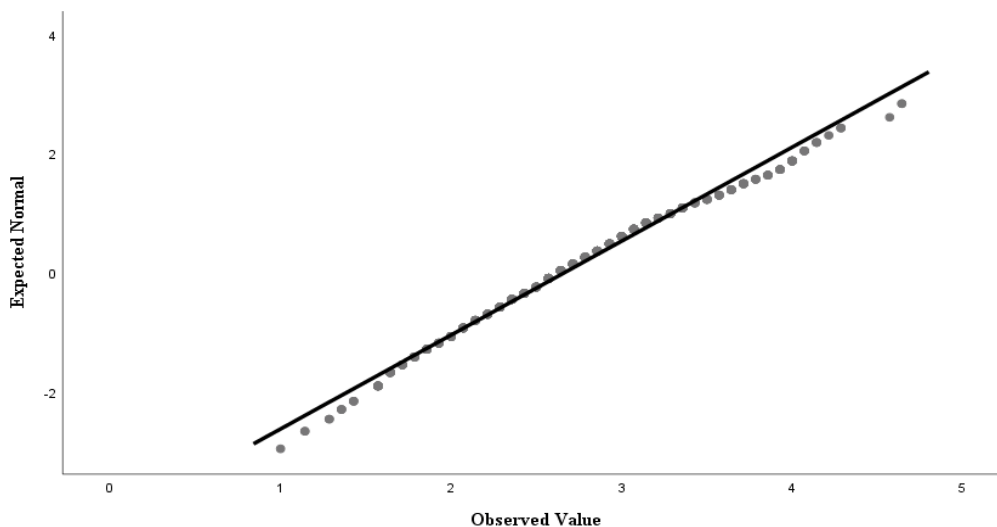

Figure 1. Preliminary Assumptions of Normality: Normal Q-Q Plot of Cultural Homelessness
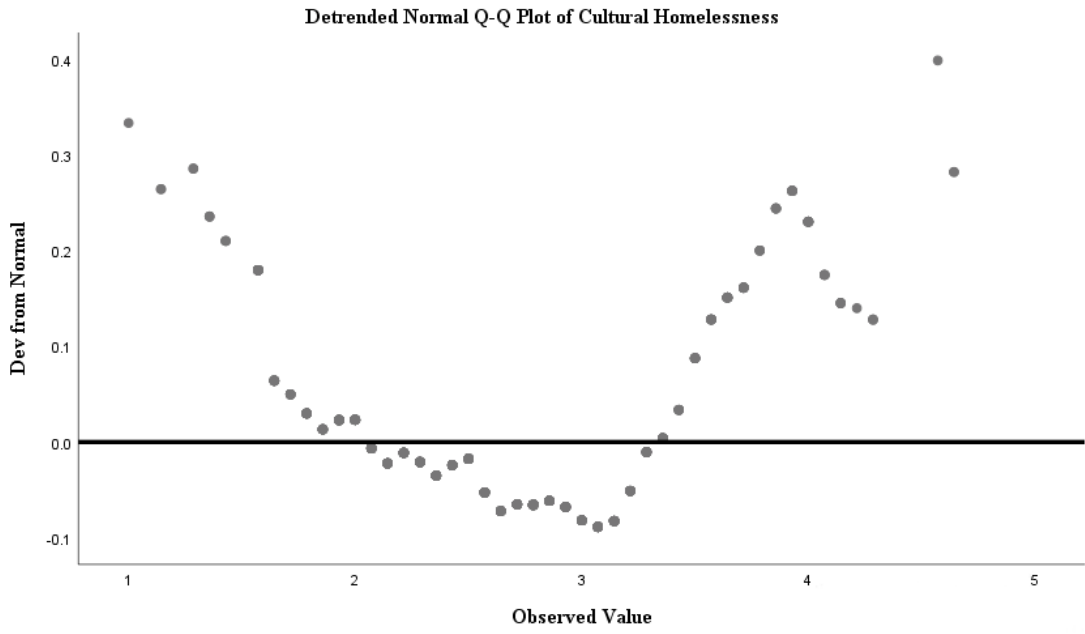
Figure 2. Preliminary Assumptions of Normality: Detrended Normal Q-Q Plot of Cultural Homelessness
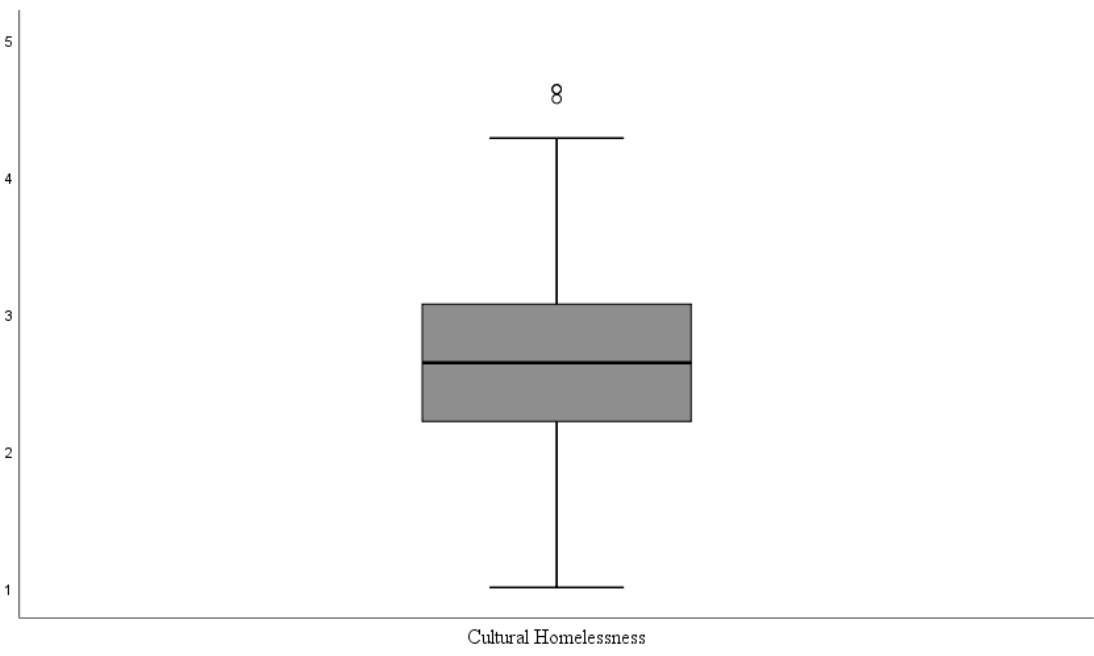

Figure 3. Preliminary Assumptions of Normality: Boxplot of Cultural Homeless

Table 2

Characteristics of the Cultural Homelessness Criteria as a Categorical Variable

Cultural Homelessness	n	%	*M*	SD
Criteria I	81	12.4	1.88	.33
Criteria II	279	42.7	1.57	.50
Criteria III	623	95.3	1.05	.21
All Three Criteria	55	8.4	1.92	.28

Self-Esteem. Normality was assessed for the continuous outcome variable of self-esteem ($M = 29.66$, S$D = 5.86$). Using the 5% trimmed mean of self-esteem (29.78) compared to the original mean (29.66), it was determined that there were not any extreme values influencing the mean of the data. The value for skew (-.15) and kurtosis (-.39) indicated a clustering of scores to the right at the high values, and a distribution that is relatively flat. The K-S value (K-S $= 0.05$; $p = .000$) was significant, suggesting a violation in the assumption of normality. According to Pallant (2011) and Tabachnick and Fidell (2007), a violation by the K-S value is common in large samples. Furthermore, values on the normal probability plots followed a straight line, suggesting the distribution is normal (see Figure 4). The detrended normal Q-Q plot showed no clustering that indicated violations (Figure 5). Finally, a boxplot of the scores revealed three outliers but no extreme values (Figure 6). Due to the relatively large samples size, the three outliers did not impact the data significantly, resulting in the three outliers being kept in the analysis.
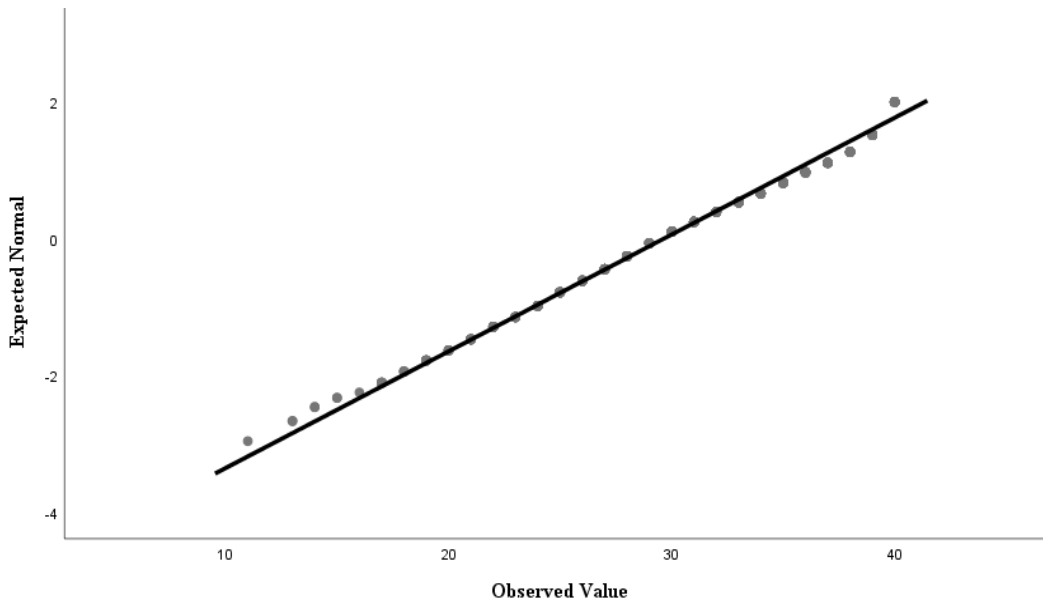
Figure 4. Preliminary Assumptions of Normality: Normal Q-Q Plot of Self Esteem

Figure 5. Preliminary Assumptions of Normality: Detrended Normal Q-Q Plot of Self-Esteem

Figure 6. Preliminary Assumptions of Normality: Boxplot of Self-Esteem

Self-Perceived Skin Color. When collapsed into three categories, 217 (33.2%) participants fell into the self-perceived light skin category, 181 (27.7%) participants fell into the self-perceived medium skin color category, and 256 (39.1%) of participants fell into the self-perceived dark skin category.

Skin Color Satisfaction. Normality was assessed for the continuous variable, skin color satisfaction ($M = 41.06$, $SD = 7.42$). Using the 5% trimmed mean of self-esteem (41.13) compared to the original mean (41.06), it was determined that there were not any extreme values influencing the mean of the data. The value for skew (-.07) and kurtosis (-.70) indicated a clustering of scores to the right at the high values, and a distribution that is relatively flat. The K-S value (K-S = 0.07; p = .000) was non-significant, suggesting the distribution was normal. Furthermore, values on the normal probability plots followed a straight line, suggesting the distribution is normal (see Figure 7). The detrended normal Q-Q plot showed no clustering that indicated violations in Figure 8. Finally, a boxplot of the scores revealed no extreme values or outliers (see Figure 9).
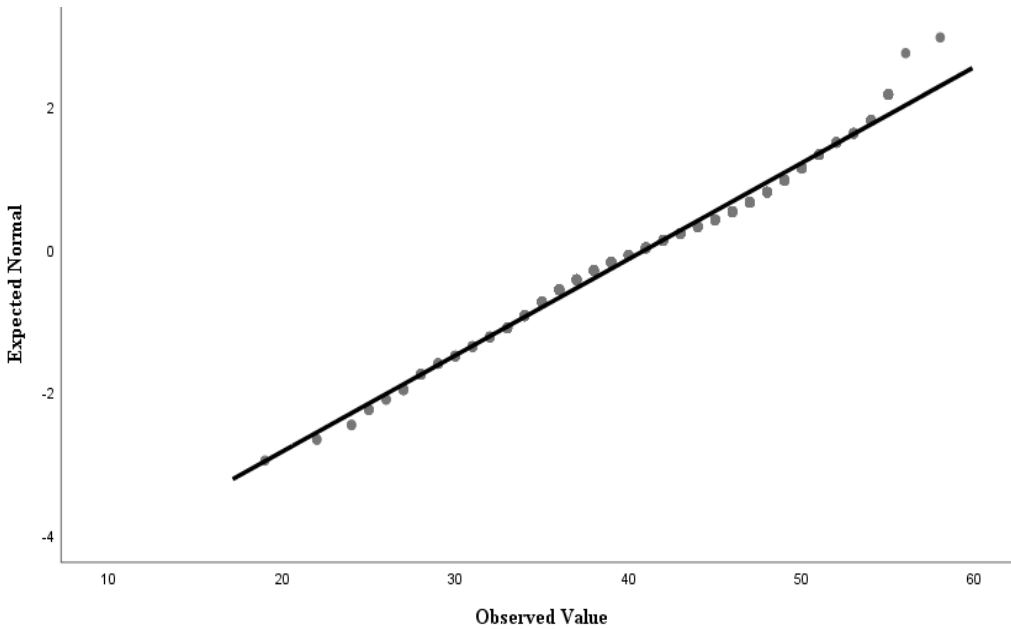
Figure 7. Preliminary Assumptions of Normality: Normal Q-Q Plot of Skin Color Satisfaction
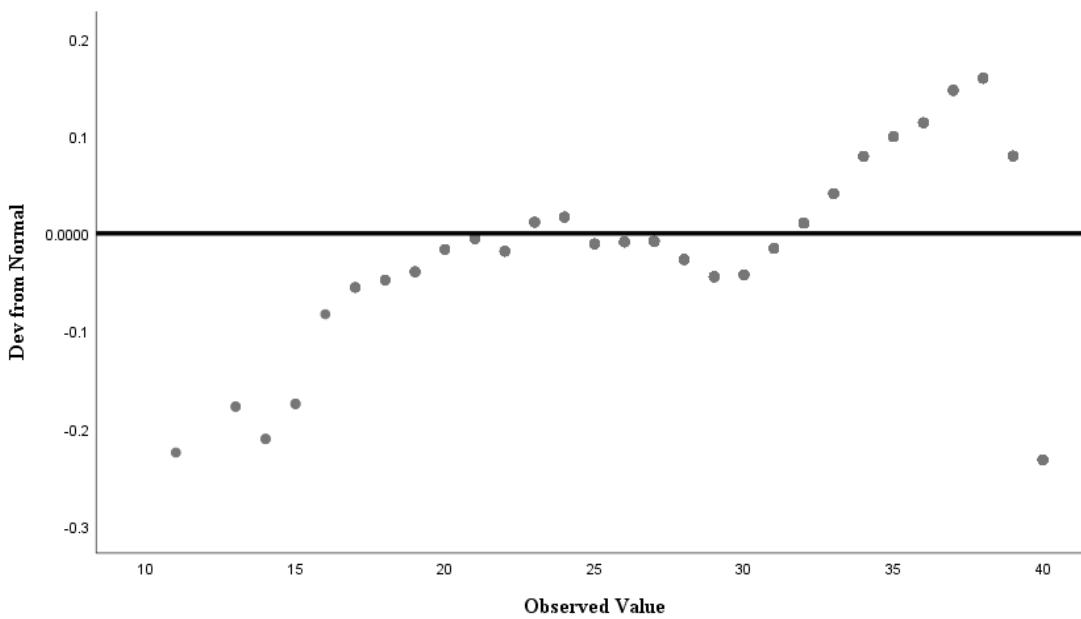

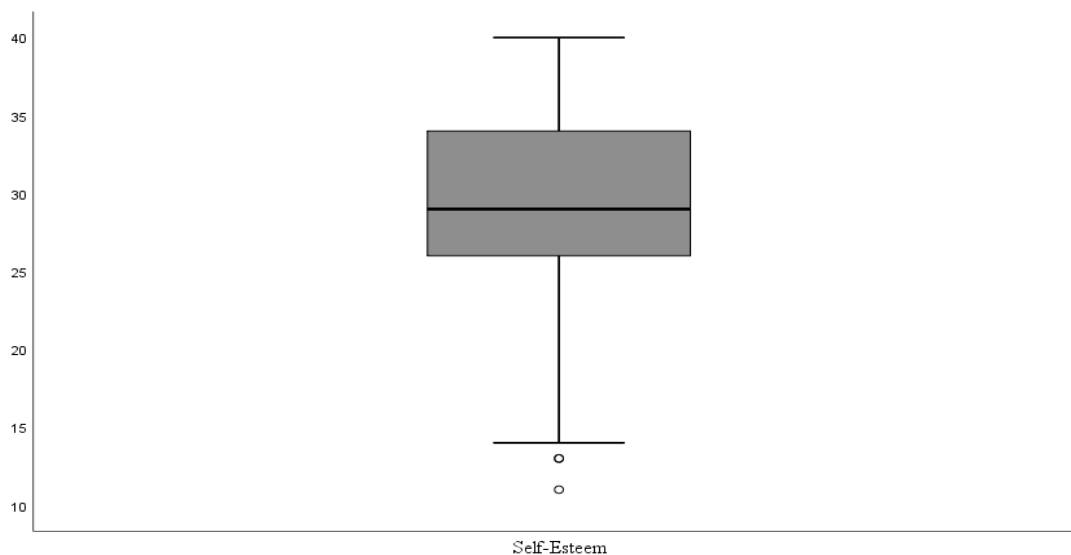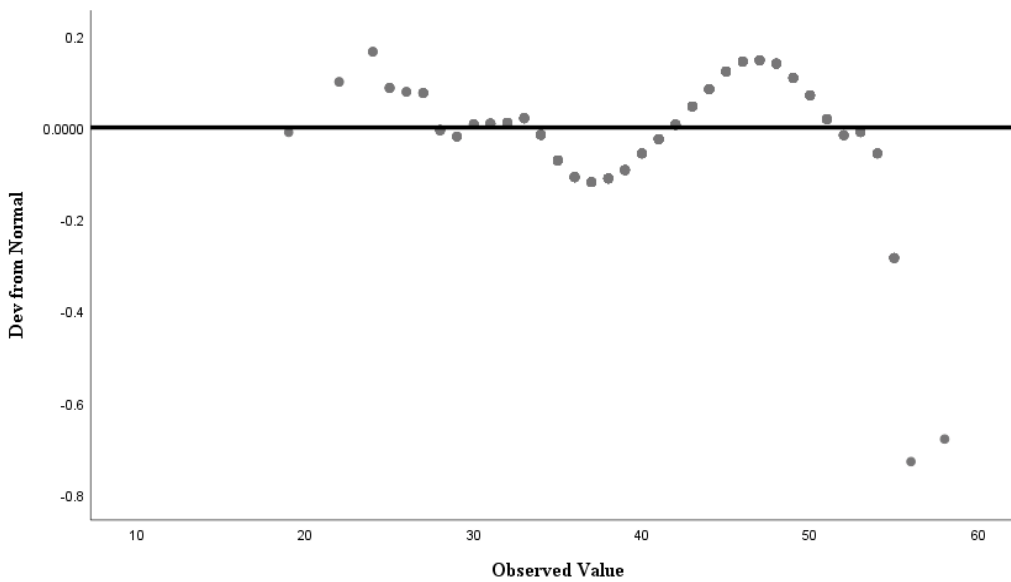*Figure 8.* Preliminary Assumptions of Normality: Detrended Normal Q-Q Plot of Skin Color Satisfaction
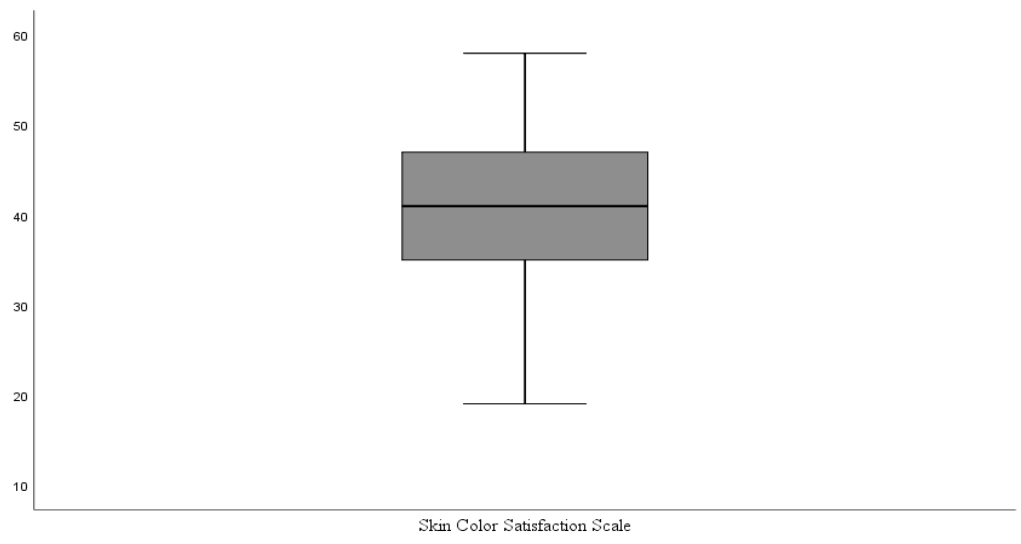
Figure 9. Preliminary Assumptions of Normality: Boxplot of Skin Color Satisfaction

Statistical Analyses

 Cultural Homelessness, Self-Esteem, and Skin Color Satisfaction. The first set of hypotheses were interested in the relationship between the primary variables. Preliminary analyses were performed for hypotheses I, II, and III that revealed no violation of the assumptions of normality, linearity, and homoscedasticity (Figure 10, Figure 11, and Figure 12).

Figure 10. Preliminary Analysis of Assumptions: Scatterplot of the Relationships Between Cultural Homelessness and Self-Esteem
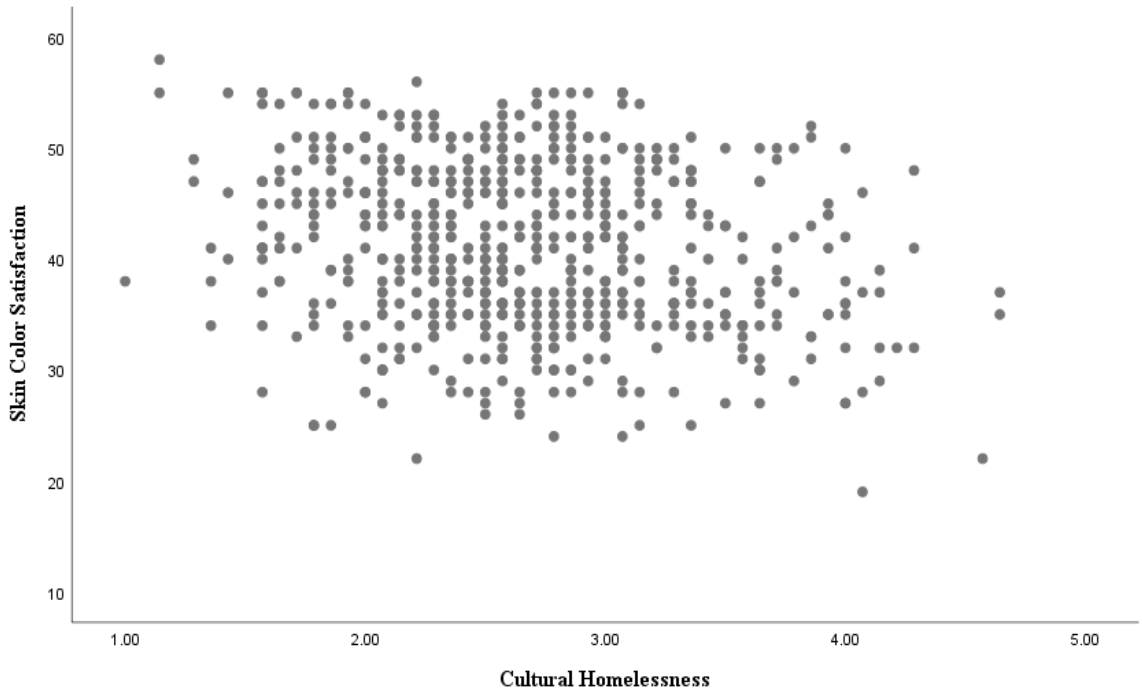
Figure 11. Preliminary Analysis of Assumptions: Scatterplot Test of the Relationship Between Cultural Homelessness and Skin Color Satisfaction
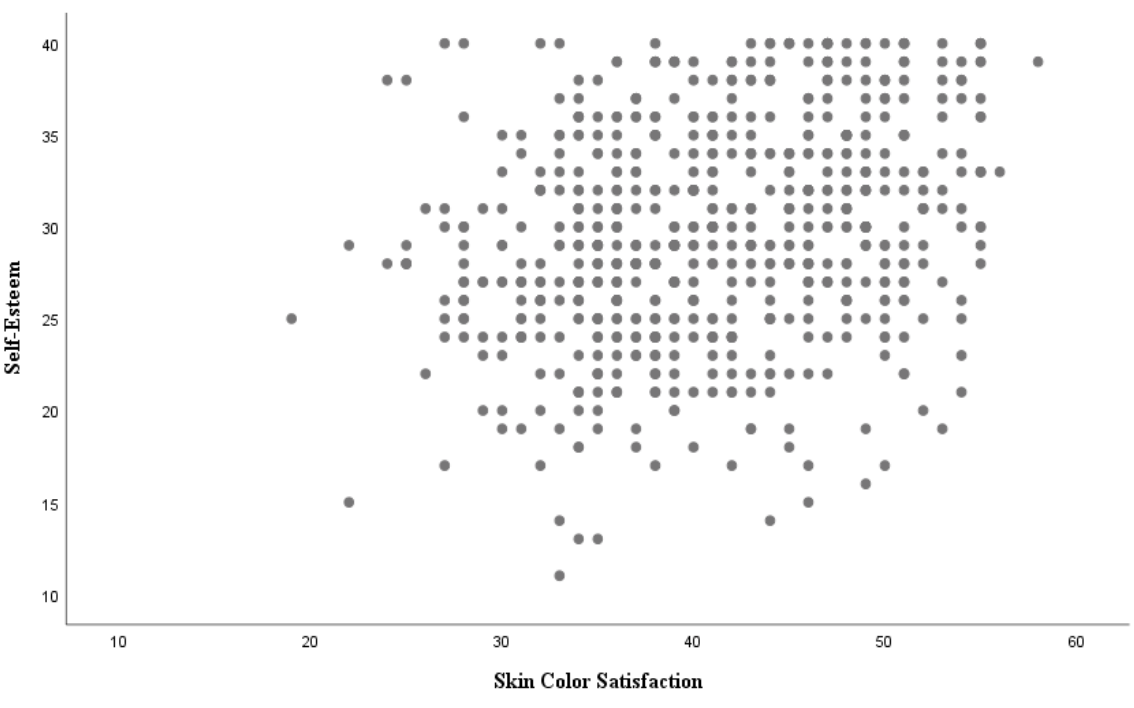
Figure 12. Preliminary Analysis of Assumptions: Scatterplot Test of the Relationship Between Self-Esteem and Skin Color Satisfaction

Hypothesis I indicated there would be a negative correlation between cultural homelessness and self-esteem; as cultural homelessness increases, self-esteem decreases. The relationship between cultural homelessness and self-esteem was investigated using the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient. There was a small, negative correlation between the two variables, ($r = -.27$, n = 654, $p < .000$) with higher levels of cultural homelessness associated with lower levels of self-esteem (Table 3). Cultural homelessness helped to explain nearly 7.29% of the variance in respondents' scores on self-esteem.

Hypothesis II indicated that there would be a negative correlation between cultural homelessness and skin color satisfaction; as cultural homelessness increases, skin color satisfaction decreases. The relationship between cultural homelessness and skin color satisfaction was investigated using the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient. There was a small, negative correlation between the two variables ($r = -.22$, n = 654, $p < .000$), with higher levels of cultural homelessness associated with lower levels of skin color satisfaction (see Table 3). Cultural homelessness helped to explain nearly 4.84% of the variance in respondents' scores on skin color satisfaction.
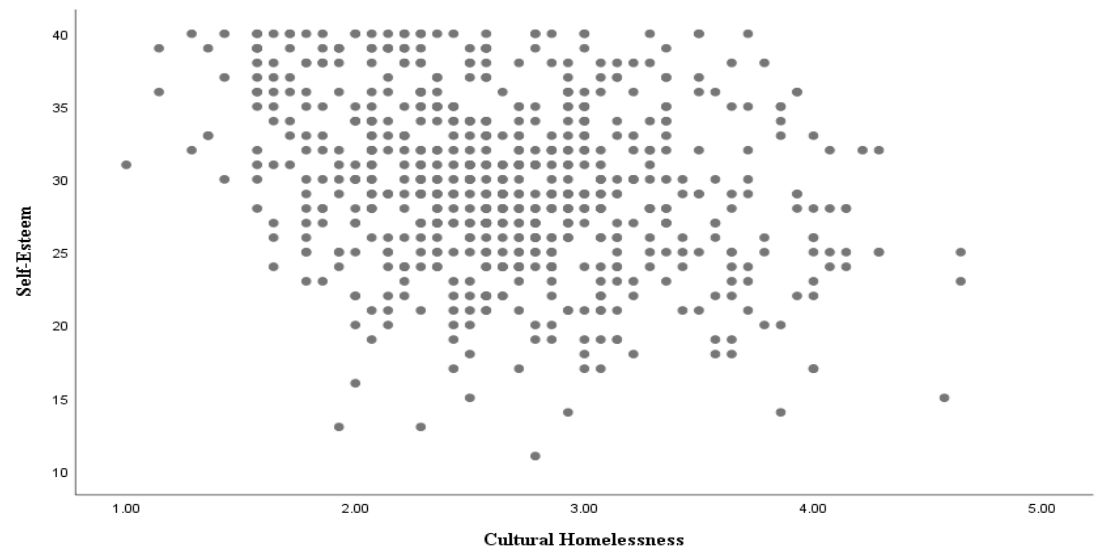
Hypothesis III indicated was that there would be a positive correlation between self-esteem and skin color satisfaction; as skin color satisfaction decreases, self-esteem decreases. The relationship between self-esteem and skin color satisfaction was investigated using the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient. There was a small, positive correlation between the two variables ($r = .28$, n = 654, $p < .000$) with higher levels of self-esteem associated with higher levels of skin color satisfaction (see Table 3). Self-esteem helped to explain nearly 7.84% of the variance in respondents' scores on skin color satisfaction.

Table 3

Correlation Matrix for Cultural Homelessness, Self-Esteem, and Skin Color Satisfaction

Variables	1	2	3
1. Cultural Homelessness	-	-.27**	-.22**
2. Self-Esteem	-.27**	-	.28**
3. Skin Color Satisfaction	-.22**	.28**	-

Difference across Self-Perceived Skin Colors. The second set of hypotheses centered on participants' self-perceived skin color across the primary variables. The hypotheses tested included: (1) Hypothesis IV: Participants with self-perceived black skin color will have lower self-esteem, higher cultural homelessness, and lower skin color satisfaction compared to participants with self-perceived light skin color; (2) Hypothesis V: Participants with self-perceived black skin color will have lower self-esteem, higher cultural homelessness, and lower skin color satisfaction compared to participants with self-perceived medium skin color; and (3) Hypothesis VI: Participants with self-perceived medium skin color will have lower self-esteem, higher cultural homelessness, and lower skin color satisfaction compared to participants with self-perceived light skin color. Preliminary assumption testing was conducted to check for normality, linearity, univariate and multivariate outliers, homogeneity of variance covariance matrices, and multicollinearity, with no serious violations noted. More specifically, there is a sample size of at least 20 in each cell, and there are nine cases in each cell, which meets the minimum required number of three cases in each cell for this study. For the univariate outliers, there were three outliers for cultural homelessness and three outliers for self-esteem, which posed a non-significant impact on the analysis. To test multivariate normality, Mahalanobis

distance was used to calculate: the maximum value for Mahalanobis distance (14.68) was less than the critical value (16.27), signifying that there were no substantial multivariate outliers. Moreover, a matrix scatterplot (see Figure 13) was created to test the linearity between the dependent variables and the plots did not show any obvious evidence of non-linearity; therefore, our assumption of linearity was satisfied.
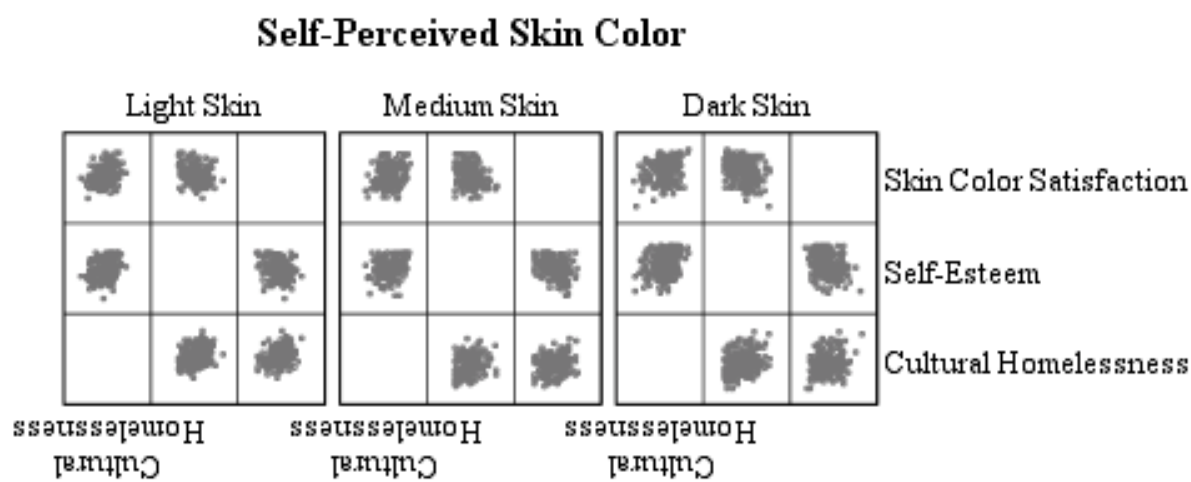
Figure 13. Preliminary Analysis of Assumptions: Matrix Scatterplot testing of linearity between the independent variables Cultural Homelessness, Self-Esteem, and Skin Color Satisfaction

A one-way between-groups multivariate analysis of variance was performed to investigate self-perceived skin color differences across the three dependent variables: cultural homelessness, self-esteem, and skin color satisfaction. There was a statistically significant difference between light, medium, and dark skin color on the combined dependent variables (F (3, 1298) = 25.83., *p* = .000; Wilks' Lambda = .80; partial eta squared = .11). When considered separately, the results for the dependent variables revealed null results for cultural homelessness and self-esteem (see Table 4). The only difference to reach statistical significance, using a

Bonferroni adjusted alpha level of .017, was skin color satisfaction, F (2, 651) = 74.38, p = .000, partial eta squared = .19.

Table 4

One-way between-groups Multivariate Analysis of Variance between Self-Perceived Skin Color and Cultural Homelessness, Self-Esteem, and Skin Color Satisfaction

	Cultural Homelessness			Self-Esteem			Skin Color Satisfaction		
	F(2, 651)	p	Partial eta squared	F(2, 651)	p	Partial eta squared	F(2,651)	p	Partial eta squared
Self-Perceived Skin Color	.71	.49	.002	.78	.46	.002	74.38	.000	.19

Subsequently, a one-way between-groups analysis of variance was conducted to explore the impact of self-perceived skin color on skin color satisfaction. Participants were divided into three groups: light, medium, and dark skin color. There was a statistically significant difference at the p < .05 level in skin color satisfaction scores for the three skin color groups (F (2, 651) = 74.38, p = .000). The effect size, calculated using eta squared, was .19, revealing a large effect size. Despite reaching statistical significance, the actual difference in mean scores between the groups was quite small (see Table 5). Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the mean score for light, medium, and dark skin for skin color satisfaction were significantly different from one another, respectively.

Table 5

Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD of Self-Perceived Skin Colors (Light, Medium, and Dark) and Skin Color Satisfaction

Self-Perceived Skin Color	Skin Color Satisfaction		
	M	SD	*p*
Light	36.82	6.94	.000
Medium	41.39	6.64	.000
Dark	44.37	6.55	.000

Note: The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Age, Self-Perceived Skin Color, and Self-Esteem. Hypothesis VII indicated that age will have a moderating effect on self-perceived skin color and self-esteem; as age increases, participants of medium and dark skin color will have higher self-esteem. Thus, a two-way, between-groups analysis of variance was conducted to explore the moderating impact of age on self-perceived skin color (light, medium, and dark) and self-esteem. Participants were divided into five groups according to their age (Group 1: <= 23 years; Group 2: 24-26 years; Group 3: 27-29 years, Group 4: 30-33, Group 5: 34 years and above). The interaction effect between age and self-perceived skin color was not statistically significant ($F_{(8, 639)} = .80$, $p = .61$). There was a statistically significant main effect for age ($F_{(4, 639)} = 10$, $p = .000$), which was medium in effect size (partial eta squared = .06), while the main effect for self-perceived skin color ($F_{(2, 639)} = 1.68$, $p = .19$) did not reach statistical significance. This means that participants with light, medium, and dark self-perceived skin color do not differ in terms of their self-esteem, but there was a difference in scores based on age group (see Table 6).

Table 6

Two-way between-groups Analysis of Variance: Main Effect of Age and Self-Perceived Skin Color on Self-Esteem

	Age			Self-Perceived Skin Color		
	F(4, 639)	p	Partial eta squared	F(2, 639)	p	Partial eta squared
Self-Esteem	10	.000	.06	1.68	.19	.005

As a result, a Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test was carried out to explore the relationship between age and self-esteem (see Table 7). Results indicated that the mean score for Group 1 ($M = 27.86$, $SD = 5.73$) were significantly different from Group 4 ($M = 30.61$, $SD = 5.62$), and Group 5 ($M = 31.99$, $SD = 5.69$). Additionally, the mean score for Group 2 ($M = 29.15$, $SD = 5.69$) and the mean score of Group 3 ($M = 29.38$, $SD = 5.74$) were significantly different from Group 5 ($M = 31.99$, $SD = 5.69$).

Table 7

Post-hoc Comparisons using the Tukey HSD of Age Groups and Self-Esteem

Age	Self-Esteem		
	M	*SD*	*p*
Group 1	27.86	5.73	.000
Group 2	29.15	5.69	.000
Group 3	29.38	5.74	.000
Group 4	30.61	5.62	.000
Group 5	31.99	5.69	.000

Note: The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Age, Self-Perceived Skin Color, and Cultural Homelessness. Hypothesis VIII indicated that age will have a moderating impact on self-perceived skin color and cultural homelessness; as age increases, participants of medium and dark skin color will have lower

cultural homelessness. Thus, a two-way between-groups analysis of variance was conducted to explore the impact of age and self-perceived skin color on levels of cultural homelessness. Participants were divided into five groups according to their age (Group 1: <= 23 years; Group 2: 24-26 years; Group 3: 27-29 years, Group 4: 30-33, Group 5: 34 years and above). The interaction effect between age and self-perceived skin color was not statistically significant (F (8, 639) = .53, p = .83). There was no statistically significant main effect for age, F (4, 639) = .97, p = .42, or for self-perceived skin color, F (2, 639) = .84, p = .43 (see Table 8).

Table 8

Two-way between-groups Analysis of Variance: Main Effect of Age and Self-Perceived Skin Color on Cultural Homelessness

	Age			Self-Perceived Skin Color		
	F(4, 639)	*p*	Partial eta squared	F(2, 639)	*p*	Partial eta squared
Cultural Homelessness	.97	.42	.006	.84	.43	.003

Group Characteristics Analyses and Additional Findings

Race and Ethnicity. The study was interested in participants' attitudes, preferences, and definitions of their race and ethnicity when given the opportunity to offer responses in their own words. As such, the investigator reviewed responses to the open-ended item, "how would you describe your race and/or ethnicity?" and subsequently coded six themes. Table 9 illustrates the six themes, their statistical characteristics, and quote examples by participants in the study.

Table 9

Characteristics of Race and Ethnicity as a Qualitative Variable and Quote Examples

Theme	n	%	Example
Ethnicity	459	70.2	"Hispanic/Latinx" "I don't understand what race is so I never know what to say. Latin[x] ethnicity."
Race	28	4.3	"Two or more races" "Black"
Both (Race and Ethnicity)	150	22.9	"Ethnicity: Afro-Cuban Chinese * Race: Asian * Cultural: Asian Latinx" "Mestizo (Indigenous and Spanish) Latina"
Adjectives and Definitions	16	2.4	"Brown, minority, full of life, hard work & dedication, determined" "Race is my exterior my ethnicity makes me who I am"
Geography and Location	214	32.7	"Latino/South American" "Afro-Caribbean"
Other Cultural Variables	17	2.6	"Third-generation Mexican American from West Texas" "White, Latino, Jewish"

Afro-Latinx Identity. The investigator created a 4-point categorical scale to explore Afro-Latinx identification to offer additional information on the sample: The item asked, "to what extent do you identify with any of the following: Afro-Latinx, Black Latinx, or Latinx of African descent?" Table 10 demonstrates the responses to this item.

Table 10

Characteristics of Afro-Latinx Identification

		n	%	*M*	*SD*
Afro-Latinx Identification		662	100	1.64	1.03
	Not at all	439	66.3	-	-
	Somewhat	95	14.4	-	-
	Moderately	56	8.5	-	-
	Completely	72	10.9	-	-

Black or African American Identification and Afro-Latinx Identification. A chi-square test of independence (with Pearson Chi-Squared) was conducted to explore the relationship between Black or African American racial identification, as measured by the demographic close-ended item, and identification with the term Afro-Latinx. Preliminary analyses were performed to ensure no violation of the assumptions of minimum expected cell frequency. The analysis found that 0 cells (.0%) had expected count less than 5 (the minimum expected count is greater than 5.58), indicating that there were no violations in assumptions. The analysis indicated that there is a significant association between the item "Black or African American" racial identification and Afro-Latinx Identification (χ^2 (3, n = 662) = 186.27, p = .000, phi = .53). Table 11 illustrates the relationship between the two variables in depth.

Table 11

Chi Square Test of Independence: Cross-tabulation of Black or African American Racial Identification and Afro-Latinx Identification

Black or African American			Afro-Latinx Identification							
			Not at all		Somewhat		Moderately		Completely	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Yes	66	10.1	7	10.6	8	12.1	14	21.2	37	56.1
No	596	90	432	72.5	87	14.6	42	7	35	5.9
Total	662	100	439	66.3	95	14.4	56	8.5	72	10.9

Self-Perceived Skin Color. The study was interested in participants' attitudes, preferences, and definitions to their self-perceived skin color when given the opportunity to offer responses in their own words. As such, the investigator reviewed responses to the open-ended

item, "how would you describe your skin color." Themes were coded into three categories, light, medium, and dark skin, to mimic the Self-Perceived Skin Color Scale to later compare in analyses. Table 12 illustrates the three themes, their statistical characteristics, and quote examples by participants in the study.

Table 12

Characteristics of Self-Perceived Skin Color as a Qualitative Variable and Quote Examples

Skin Color	n	%	Quote Example
Light	266	40.7	"White, have been told numerous times since I moved to the US, I am not white" "Light-Skinned/güerita"
Medium	349	53.4	"In the word[s] of my mother café con leche. Brown" "Trigueña"
Dark	31	4.7	"Morena/brown skinned" "I am dark skinned, dark enough that I can never pass as white but not so dark as to be labeled black if my hair is visible, as it is not phenotypically black."

Note: Eight participants failed to answer the question or the answer provided was inapplicable (1.2%).

Self-Perceived Skin Color Across Items. A chi-square test of independence (with Pearson Chi-Squared) was conducted to explore the relationship between self-perceived skin color, as an open-ended qualitative item, and responses to the Self-Perceived Skin Color Scale. Preliminary analyses were performed to ensure no violation of the assumptions of minimum expected cell frequency. The analysis found that 0 cells (.0%) had expected count less than 5 (the minimum expected count is greater than 9.41), indicating that there were no violations in assumptions. The analysis indicated that there is a significant association between the self-perceived skin color, open-ended item, and the Self-Perceived Skin Color Scale ($\chi2$ (4, n = 654) = 354.287, p = .000, phi = .51). Table 13 illustrates the relationship between the two variables in

depth; more specifically, participants who endorsed self-perceived dark skin color were most

consistent across items, followed by participants who endorsed self-perceived light skin color.

Table 13

Chi-square Test for Independence: Cross-tabulation of Self-Perceived Skin Color (Qualitative Item) and the Self-Perceived Skin Color Scale

Self-Perceived Skin Color (qualitative item)			Self-Perceived Skin Color Scale					
			Light		Medium		Dark	
	N	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Light	268	40.5	188	70.1	67	25	13	4.9
Medium	352	53.2	29	8.2	113	32.1	210	59.7
Dark	34	5.1	0	0	1	2.9	33	97.1
Total	654	100	217	33.2	181	27.7	256	39.1

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to explore the relationship between cultural homelessness, self-esteem, and skin color satisfaction among the Latinx population, with a focus among Afro-Latinxs. Differences in cultural homelessness, self-esteem, and skin color satisfaction across self-perceived skin colors (light, medium, and dark) were also examined. Finally, the study explored the impact of age and self-perceived skin color on self-esteem, and the impact of age and self-perceived skin color on cultural homelessness. Through a qualitative lens, this study was also interested in exploring attitudes and preferences related to racial and ethnic identity, and self-perceived skin color.

Conclusion

Cultural Homelessness, Self-Esteem, and Skin Color Satisfaction. Results supported the hypotheses regarding cultural homelessness, self-esteem, and skin color satisfaction. More specifically, a negative relationship between cultural homelessness and skin color, and cultural homelessness and skin color satisfaction, as well as a positive relationship between self-esteem and skin color satisfaction. However, all the correlations between these variables were statistically small. The small correlation may be attributed to the participants being of a non-clinical sample. The direction of the relationships was aligned with the literature and reiterates the importance of conceptualizing the Latinx experience as multifaceted by drawing from both social and psychological factors to create a holistic understanding of lived ethnic and racial experiences (Rivera-Santiago, 1996). For instance, environmental perspectives have demonstrated the importance of acknowledging how various systemic levels may impact psychological development of an individual (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Root, 1998; Vygotsky, 1978). Thus, these findings suggest that group belonging, psychological well-being, and self-

perception influence one another, and that it may be most useful to evaluate and treat these variables together rather than independently. The number of participants who met full criteria for cultural homelessness was statistically insignificant: this may be attributed to Latinxs in the study identifying more with their ethnic identity rather than their racial identity, which is aligned with the literature regarding preferences in identification for Latinxs (Telles et al., 2015). However, almost all the participants endorsed a need for a cultural home, echoing the literature regarding the importance of group belonging in collective cultures, particularly for Latinxs (Segal et al., 2011). The significance of having a cultural home may highlight that difficulty to attain a cultural home and belonging could be specifically difficulty for the Latinx collectivist culture. Therefore, future research may benefit from exploring differences in group belonging among Latinxs and risk factors, potentially acculturation, that may impede on the ability to connect to a cultural group and how it may impact self-esteem and skin color satisfaction (Telzer & Vazquez Garcia, 2009).

Difference across Self-Perceived Skin Colors. Data on self-perceived skin color across the three primary variables, cultural homelessness, self-esteem, and skin color satisfaction, revealed remarkable results on participant's self-perception. Aligned partly to Hypothesis IV, Hypothesis V, and Hypothesis VI, results revealed a statistically significant difference among the three skin colors for only one of the independent variables, skin color satisfaction. However, contrary to all three hypotheses, participants with self-perceived dark skin color endorsed higher rates of skin color satisfaction compared to those with self-perceived medium and light skin color. These results are a contradiction to the literature on darker skin Latinxs having a lower self-evaluation regarding their skin color, compared to their lighter skin counterparts (Dawson & Quiros, 2014). These findings may imply that although Latinxs of darker skin experience higher

rates of negative messages and consequences regarding their skin color, there may be protective factors in place to buffer the impact of these variables, and create an opportunity to develop a positive self-perception (Dawson & Quiros, 2014; Hunter, 2007). Therefore, it is recommended that future research explore potential protective factors that contribute to a positive self-image for darker skin Latinxs, such as access to an affirming cultural and racial group, early access to positive representation, initiatives, and messages surrounding dark skin Latinxs (Telzer & Vazquez Garcia, 2009).

       Age, Self-Perceived Skin Color, and Self-Esteem. The results did not support that age would have a moderating effect on self-perceived skin color and self-esteem. However, from the analysis, additional information regarding the variables emerged. More specifically, the analysis revealed a medium main effect size for age on self-esteem; participants in younger age groups endorsed lower self-esteem compared to older age groups. Future research is needed to explore what the risk factors are that contribute to younger Latinxs having lower self-esteem compared to older Latinxs. One possibility may be that younger age groups have less developed coping strategies and distress tolerance compared to older age groups, leading to increased vulnerability to psychological distress. Another consideration may be that difficulties in achieving the psychosocial developmental tasks of younger age groups and the process of achieving a self and group identity may lead to psychological distress that is exacerbated by a lack of internal resources and tolerance for distress (Newman & Newman, 1976). Furthermore, based on the literature on the looping effect, as one ages, individuals have increased opportunities to thoroughly contemplate on previous identity stages and create a more meaningful viewpoint of their experiences (Cross & Fhagen-Smith, 2001; Torres et al., 2012). Therefore, the looping effect may play a crucial role in the relationship between age and self-esteem. It is

recommended that future research explore the relationship among these variables, as it has the potential to provide guidance on protective and risk factors, from an ethnic socialization and identity development standpoint, related to younger Latinxs having lower self-esteem compared to older Latinxs.

   Age, Self-Perceived Skin Color, and Cultural Homelessness. The results did not support that age would have a moderating effect on self-perceived skin color and cultural homelessness. Although the study acquired a relatively large sample size, age of participants was skewed by primarily representing younger age groups. Thus, the findings from this analysis may be attributed to not having enough participants in the older age groups to offer a full scope of the impact of age across the lifespan as a moderating variable to the relationship among these variables. Thus, future research would benefit from recruiting older aged Latinxs, particularly through a random sampling, as it may offer more information on the relationship among these three variables by diversifying the sample socio-demographic characteristic of age. Additionally, the literature suggests that identity development is particularly relevant in adolescence and young adulthood and that the internalization of negative societal messages around dark skin color during childhood had a significant impact on self-perception in young adulthood (Dawson & Quiros, 2014). On the other hand, literature on the looping effect may serve as a protective factor for Latinxs through the lifespan as it has the potential to provide increased stability in self-perception and the acquisition of coping strategies to offset the effects of harmful societal messages (Cross & Fhagen-Smith, 2001; Torres et al., 2012). Thus, future research may benefit from exploring the relationship between age and self-perceived skin color through a longitudinal study to examine whether responses to self-perceived skin color is informed by the looping effect and changes across the lifespan. Furthermore, one possible

explanation on the statistically unremarkable main effect of age on cultural homelessness is that cultural homelessness being statistically insignificant in the study. However, given findings indicating that participants are more likely to identify with their ethnicity, and that a need for a cultural home was an overwhelming endorsed by most participants, future research may benefit from exploring the relationship between age and cultural homelessness in the context of a racial home as opposed to an ethnic home.

      Race and Ethnicity. When given the opportunity to describe race and ethnicity as an open-ended item, participants in this study were more likely to report their ethnicity. These findings imply that there is a closer identification with ethnicity for Latinxs, which is aligned with the current literature on preferences related to racial and ethnic identification (Pew Research Center, 2016; Telles et al., 2015). Participants also described experiences related to group navigation, particularly exclusion, invalidation, and acceptance informing their racial identity. Themes in responses to this item also reiterates the value of group belonging for Latinxs and how race is classified and experienced as a social construct (Feliciano, 2016; Roth, 2012, 2016; Segal et al, 2011; Telzer & Vazquez Garcia, 2009). Additionally, participants also provided additional information, such as nationality, country of origin, immigration status, language, and religion when asked to describe their race and ethnicity. These findings echo the literature on Latinxs definition of race and ethnicity also encompasses cultural factors and experiences and that Latinxs definition may not neatly align with how the U.S. currently defines and race and ethnicity (Telles et al., 2015; U.S. Census Bureau, 2018). One explanation to these findings may be attributed to the intricate history of racial mixing during post-colonization in Latin America that has now created unique definitions of race and ethnicity (Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014; Frank et al., 2010). Alternatively, despite the consistent identification to ethnicity, participants did

provide a racial identification when presented with the close-ended race and ethnicity item exploring socio-demographic characteristics, thus challenging the literature suggesting that Latinxs, particularly Black Latinxs, are more likely to deny or avoid reporting their race because of the negative stigma associated with Blackness (Hiltin et al., 2011; Stokes-Brown, 2012). One explanation to these contradictions may be that although Latinxs are more likely to identify ethnically, there is still an acknowledgement of race when specifically prompted, and future research is recommended to continue exploring attitudes and preferences related to racial and ethnic identification. Finally, responses to race and ethnicity as a qualitative item revealed themes of confusion, hesitancy, invalidation, pride, and indifference regarding racial identification. Given the literature on the racial order, these findings reiterate that the current definition of race in the U.S. is not aligned with how Latinxs perceive and experience race (Telles et al., U.S. Census Bureau, 2018). Future research may benefit from exploring how attitudes and preferences regarding race and ethnicity of Latinxs impact the validity of measures that are constructed to operationalize these terms, as well as measures that inform social and political representation and resources, such as the census.

   Black or African American Identification and Afro-Latinx Identification. A follow-up analysis was conducted to explore the relationship between self-identified Black or African American Latinxs, and identification with the term Afro-Latinx. Results revealed that there was a significant association between the item "Black or African American" racial identification and Afro-Latinx Identification, with over half of the participants having at least a moderate identification with the term Afro-Latinx. These findings may imply that Black Latinx acknowledge the African Ancestry and may consistently endorse racial identification terms that reflect their Blackness. However, these findings are contrary to the current literature on Black

Latinxs having a lack of consistency when reporting their race and Latinxs generally endorsing their race as White or "Other" (Pew Research Center, 2016). This discrepancy may be attributed to Latinxs being more inclined to identify ethnically, but not necessarily meaning that there is a lack of awareness and identification to their race. Future research is recommended to explore variables that may contribute to inconsistent racial identification across items, such as self-perceived discrimination, and racial passing and code-switching as coping strategies (Dawson & Quiros, 2014; Hughes, 2003; Ruiz, 1990). Moreover, for Black Latinxs in the study who identified with Afro-Latinx somewhat or not at all, this may be because of the term Latinx and Afro-Latinx becoming increasingly visible and popularized only within the past six years (Gamino Curevo, 2016). Future research maybe interested in continuing to explore attitudes related to these terms and across age groups and over time.

      Self-Perceived Skin Color. The exploration of self-perceived skin color as a qualitative item revealed additional information highlighting attitudes, experiences, and preferences related to skin color. More specifically, participants shared how social cues and the navigation of group belonging played a role on the participant's current description of their skin color. This finding is aligned with the literature suggesting that the classification and implications of the most visible characteristic of race and skin color is socially constructed (Feliciano, 2016; Telzer & Vazquez Garcia, 2009; Roth, 2012, 2016). Given study findings related to the importance of having a cultural home, and the current literature on the emphasis of ethnic and cultural socialization in the Latinx community, future research may benefit from continuing to examine how these variable relate to responses and attitudes related to self-perceived skin color (Dawson & Quiros, 2014; Hughes, 2003; Segal et al., 2011). Moreover, given the literature regarding the lack of emphasis of racial socialization and preparation of bias in Latinxs childhood, even when

findings have shown it to be protective factors for African American children, future research may benefit from exploring difference between ethnic socialization and racial socialization among Latinxs and how it may contribute to attitudes related to self-perceived skin color (Dawson & Quiros, 2014; Hughes, 2003).

  Self-Perceived Skin Color Across Items. A follow-up analysis was conducted to explore the relationship between self-perceived skin color as a close-ended item, and the Self-Perceived Skin Color scale. Resulted indicated that there was a significant association between the two variables. More specifically, participants of self-perceived dark skin were the most consistent across items, followed by self-perceived light skin participants. Previous findings in this study related to self-perceived dark skin participants endorsing higher rates of skin color satisfaction compared to their light and medium skin counterparts, may reflect that, in light of the literature on historical discrimination and negative messages surrounding darker skin, there is the possibility that darker skin individuals experience not only satisfaction, but an acceptance and embrace of their dark skin (Dawson & Quiros, 2014; Hiltin et al., 2011; Stokes-Brown, 2012). Thus, future research may benefit from continuing to explore factors that have the potential to protect consistent self-identification and positive skin color satisfaction among Latinxs of darker skin. One consideration for the direction of future research in this area may be the impact of racial socialization and preparation of bias, as it has been shown in African American children to be a protective factor to self-perception and psychological well-being (Dawson & Quiros, 2014; Hughes, 2003). On the other hand, these findings contradict the current literature regarding those of darker skin underestimating how dark their skin is on measures and exhibiting a preference for lighter skin (Dawson & Quiros, 2014; Teplin, 1976). One consideration is that an underestimation of skin color darkness may be a type of coping strategy that is utilized when

faced with a potential threat, but does not reflect the individual's actual self-perception and satisfaction with their skin color. More research is needed to clarify the use of coping strategies and skin color satisfaction across self-perceived skin color.

Furthermore, findings revealed that participants of self-perceived medium skin color exhibited the most inconsistency across items. These findings may highlight that variability in self-perceived skin color is less likely to occur for light and dark skin individuals, as it becomes increasingly difficult to negotiate outside of those skin color categories. Furthermore, according the literature, individuals who do not fit neatly into racial categories may experience higher rates of racial contestation and invalidation (Harris, 2017; Vargas & Stainback, 2015). The variability among self-perceived medium skin color participants may allude to more difficulties in racial group-belonging, such as racial invalidation, contestation, and exclusion compared to Latinx of self-perceived dark and light skin color. Thus, future research may benefit from exploring the relationship between experiences of group-belonging, and coping strategies, such as racial passing and code-switching across self-perceived skin color categories.

Limitations

One notable limitation of the study was age being remarkably skewed towards younger aged Latinxs, offering limited information regarding the experience of those in older age groups and how attitudes concerning group belonging and psychological well-being may vary across the lifespan. Moreover, the skewed sample may have impacted the statistical analyzes exploring the moderating impact of age on primary variables. The high number of younger age groups in this study may be due to the recruitment strategy being a convenient snowball method that may have limited the study reaching older age groups. Additionally, there were a high number of self-reported females in the sample that may be aligned with previous studies regarding ethnic

socialization, skin color, and having a higher number of female participants (Dawson & Quiros, 2014; Telzer & Vazquez Garcia, 2009; Wilder & Cain, 2011). Thus, future research may address the lack of range in socio-demographic characteristics of participants by utilizing random sampling to offer a higher likelihood of equal opportunity for Latinxs across these domains.

Socio-demographic items that were unclear or were written in a way that elicited responses that were not intended by the investigator, may have been a limitation to the study. For example, participant's gender was gathered to offer additional information on the sample. However, options for participants to choose from to report their gender was a mixture of both sex and gender. More specifically, the options for gender in the study were: Female, Male, Transgender Man, Transgender Woman, and Other. This inaccurate approach to exploring gender may be attributed to the high number of self-reported females in the study as it may have been an inflation based on not having a more accurate option to choose from to capture the participants' gender. It is recommended that future research explore gender with the correct options, or present gender as a qualitative item that allows all participants to define their gender in their own terms. Furthermore, using "and/or" rather than "and" when exploring race and ethnicity as a qualitative item may have implied that the participant had an option to choose which to describe or that race and ethnicity are mutually exclusive. Future studies may benefit from more specific instructions or separating race and ethnicity into two questions. Finally, the open-ended item exploring nationality became unreliable, as evidenced by participants reporting confusion or reporting their nationality or country of origin. Given the literature and study findings regarding how Latinxs define race and ethnicity, which may include cultural variables, future research may benefit from providing a definition of the term following the question item

to reduce the likelihood of variability in responses (Pew Research Center, 2016; Telles et al., 2015).

There were also notable limitations related to the primary variables of interest. For example, the Skin Color Satisfaction scale was created based on a sample of African American women and was modified to be applicable to this sample. However, using a scale on a sample to which it was not normed may have impacted its applicability. Evidence of reduced applicability is found in the lower reliability of the scale in this study compared to the original study and to what is typically acceptable (Falconer-Jameca & Neville, 2000; Pallant, 2010). Thus, future research encourages the continued use of this scale on Latinx samples to create norming data, or creating a new scale entirely that is founded on a Latinx sample and informed by the literature on Latinxs and self-perceived skin color. Moreover, the structure of the Self-Perceived Skin Color scale being comprised of words may have led to different interpretations. For example, one participant's interpretation of self-perceived "olive" skin color may be different to another participant's interpretation. The possibility of different interpretations of the same word may have also impacted the exploration of self-perceived skin color as a qualitative item, as responses to this item were coded by the investigator based on the three skin color categories from the Self-Perceived Skin Color Scale: light, medium, and dark. To reduce the possible risk of varying interpretations of the skin color options, future research may benefit from presenting the options as visual color cues as opposed to words.

Finally, coding and the role of the investigator regarding working with qualitative data revealed possible limitations and recommendations for future research. For the purpose of this study, the primary investigator was the only coder of the qualitative data. However, when coding qualitative data, it is best practice to have more than one investigator as it increases the

validity and reliability of the item (Stephens & Fernandez, 2012). Moreover, other studies have had not only the participant report their self-perceived skin color, but the investigator rate how they perceive the participant's skin color to be. Having more than one investigator code the participants' skin color responses, in combination with investigators rating participant's skin color, has the potential to strengthen the reliability and validity of the scores and provide additional information regarding the sample and their relationship with skin color (Stephens & Fernandez, 2012). Therefore, future research that is administered in-person may benefit from taking this approach when exploring self-perceived skin color to offer additional information on the sample.

Recommendations for Future Research

The study also provided valuable strengths that has the potential to add rich contributions to the current literature related to Latinxs. For example, the study, structured as a mixed-model research design combined with the relatively large sample size, offered a comprehensive exploration of important cultural factors and experiences to Latinxs. This study also has the potential to offer guidance to future research in the area of racial and ethnic identification of Latinxs living in the U.S., as well as creating direction to incorporate additional variables such as self-perceived skin color, coping strategies, and acculturation that may serve as risk or protective factors to Afro-Latinxs. Finally, this study revealed valuable findings that differs from the narrative of results that is typically found in the literature; more specifically, Black Latinxs consistently may embrace terms that celebrate their African heritage and Latinxs of darker skin endorsed higher skin color satisfaction compared to their light and medium skin counterparts. Thus, implications from this study encourage the movement of embracing and celebrating

Blackness and dark skin, particularly among young people, as it may serve as a protective factor to psychological well-being and normalize the thriving Black experience worldwide.

The implications from this study yielded recommendations for future research on the experiences of Latinx, particularly Afro-Latinxs. For example, exploring the experience of the primary variables based on country of origin, such as the experiences of Afro-Colombians compared to Afro-Cubans. Research based on country of origin may shed light on how, even within the general historical context of Latin America, individual countries may have different risk or protective factors related to skin color and racial identity. Additionally, results from this study implore the continued analysis of the experiences of Latinxs based on regions in the U.S., such as those residing in the South compared to Latinxs residing in the Northeast, as it may lead to information on how the U.S. racial order is may be experienced differently by Latinxs across the country. Finally, findings from this study encourage the continued exploration of the impact of the primary variables across the African Diaspora, such as Europe, Australia, and the Middle East.

Findings from this study offers fruitful implications when working with Latinxs, particularly Afro-Latinxs, in a clinical setting. For example, treatments and theoretical orientations that are founded on the exploration of social factors may provide validation and context to the identity development and psychological functioning of this population. Theoretical orientation may include Psychodynamic Theory, Interpersonal Process Theory, and Narrative Therapy, as well as Feminist and Strength-Based approaches. Additionally, clinical and social interventions that utilize resources that highlight Blackness in a positive and enriched way such as through movies, music, books, and events may lead to a corrective emotional

experience for Afro-Latinxs with regard to racial invalidation, group exclusion, and negative messages surrounding darker skin color.

Finally, based on findings on this study related to attitudes, experiences, and preferences on racial and ethnic identification, this study proposes an integrative identity model that highlights the concurrent development of ethnicity and race for Latinxs in the U.S.—the Integrative Race and Ethnic Identity Development Model. Informed by the looping effect, previous identity development models, and the C-REIL framework, the proposed stages are not linear, but rather are a part of a continuous spectrum of understanding one's racial and ethnic identity based on social experiences that may arise (Adames & Chavez-Dueñas, 2017; Atkinson et al., 1998; Cross, 1971; Cross & Fhagen-Smith, 2001; Poston, 1990; Ruiz, 1990; Torres et al., 2012). Although some stages may become vulnerable to psychological distress compared to other stages, the model in its entirety is not created to imply or assume pathology regarding an individual's relationship with racial and ethnic identification. Future research is recommended to explore the validity of the model through repeated testing on a Latinx sample. The proposed model is made up of six stages: Stationary, Curiosity, Rejection, Revert, Pre-consolidation, and Consolidation. Table 14 provides definitions for each stage, as well as examples of attitudes and beliefs regarding racial and ethnic identification based on responses from participants in this study that captures what an individual within the stage may possibly be experiencing. This model has the potential to become a clinical tool to assist in the conceptualization of a client's racial and ethnic identity and experiences. The model also has the potential to become a collaborative clinical tool and psycho-educational intervention that can strengthen the therapeutic alliance by assessing attitudes and experiences related to race, ethnicity, and other cultural variables that may impact group belonging, psychological functioning, and self-perception.

Table 14

Integrative Race and Ethnic Identity Development Model

Stage	Definition	Example
Stationary	Race is seen as dichotomous and individuals are more likely to define themselves by their ethnic identity or other cultural variables	"I identify my race/Ethnicity as Latinx or Chicanx" "I don't understand what race is so I never know what to say. Latin[x] ethnicity."
Curiosity	Individuals become curious of their racial identity. Social cues prompt them to choose a racial identification and attempt to join that given racial group.	"I don't know, I usually write Other. My mother is Mexican and my father is Puerto Rican." "Racially ambiguous but latinx, afrolatinx"
Rejection	An individual experiences racial invalidation, racial contestation, or denial of group membership, resulting in a rejection of race as part of their identity. Rejection may create psychological vulnerability.	"Not enough. I'm Mexican, Salvadoran, American. I look tan. I don't like [look] white nor do I look Mexican. Once I was giving a lesson to my students about racism and they said to me, "you wouldn't know bc [because] you're white" another time I acknowledged my "privilege" and my friends said "but you're not white." So I've never really been able to identify with a group."
Revert	Rejection reinforces a strengthened attachment to ethnicity to avoid invalidation, confusion, and other psychological distress.	"I'm a Latina with non-racial identification since I don't fit neatly into any of the categories."
Pre-Consolidation	An individual begins to combine historical context of racial mixing, and their lived racial experience. Ultimately, the individual acknowledges that they do have a racial identity.	"I would say I'm mixed. I used to only identify as Latina, not recognizing my African American side due to the fact that [I] was raised by my Latina mother. Now I identify as half black, half Puerto Rican or Afro-Latina."
Consolidation	Integration of racial and ethnic identity and a commitment to exploring racial ancestry and how it plays a role in the lived racial experience. The individual acknowledges that they may or may not fit neatly into the U.S. racial order. However, their integrated identity promotes stronger self-esteem and self-perception, creating an ability to adequately cope with potential future racial invalidations and contestants from others.	"I am a first-generation Latina woman with Dominican roots. My parents are both Dominican, and I was raised in the Dominican Republic (born in the U.S.). My ancestry is an amalgam of Africans, Native Americans and Europeans."

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