EXPLORING THE EXPERIENCES OF LATINA FEMINISTS IN PSYCHOLOGY:

NAVIGATING INTERSECTING IDENTITIES, UNDERSTANDING LATINA FEMINISM,

AND IMPLICATIONS FOR ALLIES

by

BROOKE SARAH RAPPAPORT

(Under the Direction of Edward Delgado-Romero)

ABSTRACT

Current criticisms of feminism highlight feminism's exclusion of considering intersectionality. This project centered on the intersection of feminism and being Latina. Using Consensual Qualitative Research methodology, the purpose of this study was to investigate how Latinas who identified as feminist psychologists negotiated their feminist identities while considering cultural ideals and salient identities. In line with research highlighting the promise of qualitative research with Latinx populations, the present research was grounded in critical Latinx perspectives such as *la conciencia de la mestiza* (e.g., Anzaldúa, 1987). This research aimed to make the experiences of Latina feminist psychologists audible and visible through the use of *testimonios* and sharing of *papelitos guardados* (Latina Feminist Group, 2001). Additionally, this dissertation explored implications for feminist allies in psychology in understanding Latina feminism outside of the privileged perspective often utilized in mainstream feminism. Data analysis yielded fifteen domains. These domains revealed how Latina feminist psychologists capture and conceptualize the meaning of their feminist identities, develop a mestiza consciousness, and their expectations of feminist allies. Results highlighted themes that extended

beyond the research questions as well. Implications are discussed, limitations are highlighted, and directions for future research are presented.

INDEX WORDS: Latina, feminism, ally, Consensual Qualitative Research

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B.S., Tulane University, 2012

M.S., Tulane University, 2013

A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial

Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2019

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August 2019

DEDICATION

This dissertation project is dedicated to the women who so openly shared their experiences with me and those who have not yet been in a position to share. It is my hope that this project will be a springboard to learning more about the experiences of those who identify differently than me.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are many people who have supported me throughout this doctoral and dissertation journey. My advisor and dissertation chair, Edward Delgado-Romero, has continuously provided the mentorship and guidance I needed throughout this journey. Thank you for always reaching out, responding so promptly, sharing opportunities with me, and encouraging me. I came to the University of Georgia because of you, and I am so happy that I did. To Dr. Campbell and Dr. Singh, my dissertation committee members, thank you for your support throughout this dissertation project. Dr. Singh, thank you for all you do as the Dean of Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion. You have provided so many opportunities at the college that I have taken advantage of that have led to my growing cultural competency. I look up to you so much. Dr. Campbell, thank you for stepping in at the last minute and being such a lifesaver!

I also want to thank my family for their support over the last four years. Even though you never fully understood what I was doing, you always remained interested and engaged. Mom, Dad, Melissa, Pete, Mikey, and Ali, thank you for your patience with me when I didn't want to explain something to you or when I acted like a know-it-all. Mom and Dad, thank you for your openness in learning about multiculturalism, social justice, and language to use in your everyday lives. I feel so fortunate to have people in my life that model for me how to care for others.

I have been surrounded by such great people at the University of Georgia over the last four years. Thank you to the ¡BIEN! Research Team. It has been so fulfilling to be surrounded by such motivated and social justice-oriented folks who know how to work hard and play hard. Thank you to those who came before me in ¡BIEN! who have served as role models. Thank you

to DR and Dr. Campbell for everything you provide to the ¡BIEN! team. And thank you DR for sharing your family with us, Angie, Javi, Isa, Nick, Emma, Gil, who have become my family in Athens. I want to thank my friends in the program (you know who you are) for being so real. Thank you, Dr. Spears, for being a consistently genuine, authentic, and helpful mentor for me. Thank you to Dr. Heckman for being a source of support throughout the doctoral journey. A special shout out for my research team that provided me with so much help and support while working on this project: Grace-Ellen, Maritza, Keishla, Lauren, Beth, Bekah, Jhokania, and Marlaine.

Wherever I live, it has been important for me to build community. Thank you to the places that I've lived: Framingham, MA; Amherst, NH; New Orleans, LA; Athens, GA. I have been inspired by the people and culture of all of these locations. Thank you to my besties from all of these places (you know who you are). Special shout-out to the baristas at Sips in Athens and the bartenders at Normal Bar. I look forward to building community in Denton, Texas and beyond.

Thank you to the nine women who so openly shared about their experiences in answering my dissertation questions. I would not have been able to complete this project without you. Thank you for being inspirations to me. And thank you to NLPA for being an incredible organization that connected me to these participants.

Finally, thank you to Dr. Lisa Molix, my undergraduate and master's advisor at Tulane University. You were the first person to encourage me to continue in my graduate studies. Without you, I do not know that this is the path I would have pursued. Thank you for being a mentor and becoming family. And thank you for also sharing your family with me.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Sitting out on the porch that night, what made me at home and filled me with ease where I forgot about myself in a fine and fluid way was not just that the Spanish sounds wrapped around the English like tortillas steaming in flour sacks, not just that we all had worked hard to get here from hard-working homes, not just that we understood the meaning of familia, but that we were women—somos mujeres. This is what women's culture means to me (Moraga, 1983, p. 128).

The above quote is from Moraga's (1983) influential work, *Loving in The War Years: Lo Que Nunca Paso Por Sus Labios*. Although first written in 1983, this work is still relevant as it portrayed Moraga's identity development as a queer woman and Chicana feminist. Moraga's experiences, as demonstrated above, connected her cultural and ethnic identity with her experience as a woman. Moraga, along with Anzaldúa (2007), are known within the Latinx community as two foremothers of the Chicana/Latina feminist movement. They melded their various intersecting identities, including their Latinx heritage, with their experiences of gender, to describe and create their own version of feminism that deviated from traditional feminism.

A mainstream view of feminism originated from a privileged point of view, representing the wants, needs, and desires of those women in dominant groups (i.e., White women), and often excluding the voices of women of color from mainstream feminist thought and rhetoric. For example, equal pay has been an important concern for many people who identify as feminists. In 2016, women earned 80.5 cents for every dollar that a man earned (Institute for Women's Policy

Research, 2018). While this 19.5% pay gap is infuriating, this aggregate number ignores the pay gap for women of color. In fact, in 2012, for every dollar a man earned, African-American women earned only 64 cents and Hispanic/Latina women earned only 55 cents (Hines, 2013; Hurtado, 1996). Even in 2017, Black women earned 67.7% and Hispanic/Latina women earned 62.1% of what a White man earned (Institute for Women's Policy Research, 2018). Yet this discrepancy is often ignored in the gender pay gap debate. For example, April 10, 2018 in the United States was known as Equal Pay Day. This date marked the point within the current year that it would take a woman to make what a man earned in the previous year (Zillman, 2018). While this date may seem significant, it failed to consider the amount of time it would take a woman of color to reach the same amount of pay as her White, male counterpart. Clearly, the predominant feminist argument for equal pay in the United States has failed to consider intersectional identities and the multiple oppressions within the broad category of being a woman. The gender pay gap is one present-day example of how mainstream feminism operated from a privileged point-of view, ignoring the experiences and challenges faced by women of color.

This dissertation is centered on the intersection of feminism and being Latina. Some women stated that these two terms were a contradiction (see Arredondo, 2009). For example, traditional gender roles, particularly *machismo* and *marianismo*, within Latin American culture were often examined in social science research. *Machismo* has been classified by the "social domination and privilege that men have over women in economic, legal, judicial, political, cultural, and psychological spheres" (Cianelli, Ferrer, & McElmurry, 2008, p. 2). *Machismo* may have played out in an overt manner or may have been subtler within Latin American culture, having both negative and positive outcomes (Cianelli et al., 2008; Villegas, Lemanski, & Valdez, 2010).

Traditionally, boys were socialized from a young age to act out aggressively, demonstrating their dominance and strength; as men aged, there was an expectation of maintained dominance, independence, and sexual freedom. However, *machismo* also promoted the involvement and pride in fatherhood and welfare of the family (Villegas et al., 2010). In fact, Anzaldúa (2007) noted that being *macho* for men like her father "meant being strong enough to protect and support my mother and us, yet being able to show love," (p. 105) but the term was co-opted by White people in the U.S. to denote stereotypical and dysfunctional Latino masculinity that is hypersexual, violent, and paternalistic. Latinx[1] researchers recast the concept and used a different conceptualization to produce starkly different research results. For example, when the concept of *caballerismo* (being a gentleman) was used in research it had positive outcomes including greater satisfaction with social support and greater satisfaction with life (Estrada & Arciniega, 2015).

On the other hand, there was an expectation that women would remain demure, passive, and dependent within Latinx culture (Cianelli et al., 2008). Girls were socialized from a young age to be submissive to their husbands in order to be respectable wives and mothers, in effect remaining dependent on men (*respeto*; Cianelli et al., 2008; Castillo et al., 2010). Within the ideal of *marianismo*, women were not only expected to remain psychologically dependent and submissive, but also physically dependent and submissive, which contributed to societally acceptable mistreatment of women by men in the Latin American community (Cianelli et al., 2008). Nevertheless, there were also positive outcomes of the ideal of *marianismo*. Similar to

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[1] *Latinx* will be used to describe the umbrella term for the Latina/o community. The term operates from a social justice perspective and aims to be more inclusive than the gender binary present in the commonly used Latino/Latina/Latin@ (Ramirez & Blay, 2016).

machismo, *marianismo* promoted the well-being of the family (*familismo*); the woman was expected to protect, nurture, and sacrifice for the family (Castillo et a., 2010). Additionally, *marianismo* promoted collectivism. Castillo and colleagues (2010) noted the multidimensional nature of *marianismo*, indicating that *marianismo* may not have been as simple to understand as other research suggested. The dichotomy of the good, submissive, dependent, respectful wife, and mother (akin to *la virgen* – the virgin Mary), and the bad, promiscuous, independent woman - *la puta* (a whore)*,* in Latinx culture mirrored dualistic stereotypes of other U.S. racial and ethnic minority groups (Anzaldúa, 2007) such as the Mammy vs. Jezebel stereotype in Black culture (West, 1995), the Dragon Lady vs. the Lotus Blossom baby stereotype in Asian American culture (Kim & Chung, 2005), and the Indian princess vs. Squaw/drudge stereotype in American Indian culture (Merskin, 2010). This Madonna/virgin-whore dichotomy is not unique to ethnic minority groups and can also be seen in many Western cultures embedded with underlying Christian values and patriarchy, including White women in the United States (Arrizón, 2008; Conrad, 2006). The presence of duality is prevalent and serves to limit the roles and power of women within patriarchal societies.

Given strict traditional gender role expectations, it may seem impossible to identify as a feminist while also identifying as Latinx. However, many Latinx people were able to form a type of feminist identity, negotiating cultural ideals while forming a personal identity. Although those in the Latinx community may not have defined feminism in the same manner as their White counterparts, they were able to blend their various and intersecting identities to form one that worked for them. In her dissertation, Erin Schwartz Forehand (2012) examined the relationship between womanist identity and ethnic identity in African American and Latina women. Results indicated that there was a positive correlation between ethnic identity and womanist identity such

that women who identified more strongly with their ethnicity were more likely to be in the internalization stage of womanist identity development. The internalization stage occurred when a woman was able to identify her own personalized definition of womanhood without reliance on conventional gender roles or traditional feminism (Forehand, 2012). Clearly, development was taking place for these women of color, but raised a question surrounding preferred terminology: was feminism, womanism, *mujerismo*, or another term most appropriate for Latinas who identified with feminist ideals?

Patricia Arredondo (2010) noted her own feminist identity development. Arredondo's traditional mother and feminist father and grandmother laid the foundation for her feminist identity, demonstrating how to preserve traditional cultural values and ideals while maintaining a voice, professional success, and drive to help others. In conjunction with her family's modeling, Arredondo noted the importance of reading feminist scholarship by those who have also had to navigate various cultural expectations. Gloria Anzaldúa's *Borderlands/La Frontera* has been cited as one of the most influential works for feminist identity development for Latinas (specifically, Chicanas), as demonstrated by Arredondo's praise for Anzaldúa in her 2002 Division 45 Presidential Address (Arredondo, 2002). In a 2016 article interviewing Arredondo, she notes that icons like Anzaldúa were "learned persons, transmitters of culture and knowledge" who "gave away a lot" to provide "representation and meaning…that transcended who they were" (Delgado-Romero & Romero-Shih, 2016, p. 1231). Arredondo intentionally discussed the borderlands she had to navigate "as a highly ambitious Mexican American woman" (p. 1234). Arredondo stated that many Latinas live in the borderlands or *entre fronteras* (between borders) as people who face oppression based on ethnicity and gender, and potentially other dimensions such as socioeconomic status (Arredondo, 2002).

Anzaldúa (2007) defined a borderland as "a vague and undetermined place created by the emotional residue of an unnatural boundary…in a constant state of transition…[where] the prohibited and forbidden are its inhabitants" (p. 25). The inhabitants of the borderlands were labeled as the "other" or as an "alien" by the dominant, White people and ultimately found themselves not belonging within the mainstream. With regard to feminism, many Latinas found themselves stuck in the borderland; mainstream feminism did not speak to their struggles and needs but ignoring any type of women's movement was out of line with their values and desires.

Assuming that all Latinas had the same experiences within their traditional cultures represents a form of essentialism within the Latinx community. Even though Latinas may share a pan-ethnic designation in the U.S., it does not mean that their various other identities intersect in the same way (The Latina Feminist Group, 2001). A crucial component of feminism is giving voice to the unique experiences of individuals within any given community, emphasizing intersectional identities, and varied histories.

Psychology is a field that is at the forefront of understanding the lived experiences and developmental stages of those it studies. Various subfields of psychology, namely counseling psychology, have rich histories of incorporating social justice and multicultural perspectives into their work (Delgado-Romero, Lau, & Shulman, 2012). In her 2012 APA presidential address, Melba Vasquez (2012) addressed APA's value of tackling social justice concerns, most notably in recent decades, by highlighting the mission, vision, and core values of psychologists in APA. Joining together multicultural and feminist psychology allows for psychological research to focus on the intersectionality of various social identities and areas of diversity; this allows for the field of psychology to capture the experiences of a greater number of people, ultimately operating from a social justice perspective. Interviewing psychologists, namely ethnic minority

feminist psychologists, began to bridge the gap between multicultural psychology and feminist psychology. Because psychology is at the forefront of these movements, Latina feminist psychologists offered unique and well-informed perspectives to begin to capture the reality from the perspective of those who lived it.

In line with an emphasis on social justice within counseling psychology, the study of ally development and the role of allies is a growing area within multicultural research. In July of 2017, *The Counseling Psychologist* (TCP) featured a Major Contribution about the current perspectives of White allies within the field. TCP not only featured research from the perspective of White psychologists who have been identified as allies but included responses and perspectives from leaders in the realm of multicultural psychology from various racial and ethnic backgrounds. Spanierman and Smith (2017) highlighted the future for ally-related research, practice, and teaching in order for psychologists to operate from a social justice perspective.

Problem Statement

Although there have been many narratives written about Latina women's experiences of developing feminist identities, there have been relatively few (i.e., Kayumova et al., 2015; Bondy, 2016; Monago, Brown, & Leaper, 2009) psychological studies of Latina feminism in the United States. Additionally, there were no psychological studies examining the implications of understanding Latina feminism for feminist allies within a specific discipline. In this case the discipline was psychology.

Statement of the Purpose

The purpose of this study was to investigate how Latinas who identified as feminist psychologists negotiated this identity in relation to other identities that they possessed. In particular, this study explored how Latina psychologists navigated a feminist identity while

considering significant cultural ideals. This study used interviews to understand in depth how these Latina psychologists in the United States defined feminism and to understand what it meant to each individual. Just as The Latina Feminist Group (2001) used *testimonios* (testimony) to allow Latina feminists to share their *papelitos guardados* (secrets)*,* this research aimed to make the experiences of Latina feminist psychologists audible and visible. The use of storytelling or *cuentos* is an important component to Latinx culture (Anzaldúa, 2007). In understanding the meaning that Latina psychologist feminists placed on the word feminism, it was important to explore whether feminism was the best word choice for their experiences. For example, the term feminism has been rejected in favor of the term womanism by some Black scholars and activists (Scholz, 2012). Likewise, Comas-Díaz (2008) noted that some Latina feminists preferred to use the term *mujerista* to capture their feminist identity as it related to their culture and spirituality.

Additionally, this study explored implications for feminist allies in psychology in understanding Latina feminism. Because feminism operated from a privileged perspective that considered the experiences of those in dominant groups (e.g., White, heterosexual, middle-class), understanding the role that feminist allies can take in being allies to the Latinx community from a feminist perspective was important. Furthermore, there is a growing emphasis on ally development within multicultural psychological research, practice, and teaching (e.g. Spanierman & Smith, 2017).

The method used in this study was Consensual Qualitative Research (CQR). CQR is an inherently feminist and multicultural research methodology that accounts for the unique experiences and lived realities of the participants involved (Hill, 2012). In particular, CQR emphasizes building consensus and sharing power, two feminist principles (Hill, Thompson, & Williams, 1997; Ali, Mahmood, Moel, Hudson, & Leathers, 2008). CQR utilizes a team to

analyze and audit data, reducing the skewed results that could come from a researcher's biases and expectations. Moreover, CQR aims to give voice to participants without making sweeping generalizations about entire groups of people.

Definitions

Latinx described the umbrella term for the Latina/o community. The term operates from a social justice perspective and aims to be more inclusive than the gender binary present in the commonly used Latino/Latina/Latin@ (Ramirez & Blay, 2016).

Latina was used to refer to women "whose heritage is related to Latin America, which encompasses many nationalities and those with indigenous roots" (Arredondo, Gallardo-Cooper, Delgado-Romero, & Zapata, 2014, p. 51). All participants self-identified so that they could label their ethnic and racial identities and gender as they identified, instead of as pre-determined by the researcher.

Latinidad was defined according to Rodriguez (2003) as "a particular geopolitical experience…[that] also contains within it the complexities and contradictions of immigration, (post)(neo)colonialism, race, color, legal status, class, nation, language, and the politics of location" (pp. 9-10). Stated simply, *latinidad* refers to the cultural experience and understanding of being *Latinx.*

Feminism was defined according to the definition developed by bell hooks (1984):

Feminism is the struggle to end sexist oppression. Its aim is not to benefit solely any specific group of women, any particular race or class of women. It does not privilege women over men. It has the power to transform in a meaningful way all our lives. Most importantly, feminism is neither a lifestyle nor a ready-made identity or role one can step into

Ally was used to mean a member of a dominant group who supports and advocates for members of marginalized groups.

Mujerista referred to the term developed by Latina feminists to break away from the colonialism associated with the term feminist. According to Lillian Comas-Diaz (2008), "*mujeristas* identified their marginalization from White feminism, ethnic minority patriarchy, dominant communities' oppression, neocolonization, and economic domination as impetus for their psychopolitical baptism" (p. 15).

Privilege was defined as an unearned advantage and conferred dominance of one group over another based on arbitrary categorizations and characteristics. This definition is congruent with McIntosh's (1988) definition.

The terms *target, marginalized, and oppressed* groups/identities were used interchangeably to represent groups and identities that are non-dominant.

Research Questions

This research explored the following questions:

1. How do participants capture and conceptualize the meaning of their identity as it relates to feminism?

2. How do participants understand the development of their mestiza consciousness in regard to their identities as women who are Latina, feminist, psychologists?

3. What are participants' expectations of feminist allies?

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELEVANT RESEARCH

History of Mainstream Feminism in the U.S.

When discussing feminism, there is not one single definition or conceptualization of the term; therefore, context matters. In this first section, historical context will be examined.

The Waves of Feminism

Oftentimes, the history of feminism is described as occurring in waves. Some view these waves as occurring chronologically, whereas others view the waves more thematically (Scholz, 2012). Regardless of the way in which one views the trajectory of the feminist movement in the United States, it is important to be knowledgeable of the history of the movement to be able to understand feminism today.

The Women's Rights Movement, where the first wave of feminism originated, began in the early to mid 1800's, inspired by the abolitionist movement. During the first wave of feminism, the primary focus was White women gaining equality as human beings with full rights: civil, intellectual, social, economic and legal (Scholz, 2012).

Inspired by the Civil Rights Movement, the second wave of feminism focused on activism that examined various sources of oppression facing women. However, this view of various oppressions was quite narrow and assumed that all women had the same experiences of gender, class, and race (Scholz, 2012; Eagly et al., 2012; Munroe, 2013). During the second wave of feminism, psychological research regarding women's issues picked up and began to

operate from a strengths-based perspective, instead of one that focused on women's deficits (Eagly et al., 2012).

Instead of uniting in sisterhood to fight one shared cause, the third wave of feminism began to challenge the language and thought previously associated with feminism. The third wave of feminism began to examine how feminism itself was not inclusive and was instead oppressive to those of marginalized identities (Scholz, 2012; Eagly et al., 2012). Additionally, the third wave of feminism advocated for women's agency in their own creation of a feminist identity (Scholz, 2012). Anzaldúa's (2007) work emerged during the third wave of feminism, offering the new perspective of Chicana and Third World feminism for those who did not identify with the mainstream. It described intersectionality in a manner that White feminist scholars ignored (Munroe, 2013). *Borderlands* (Anzaldúa, 2007) has been cited by numerous Latina feminists, especially in the field of psychology, as being the most influential work in their own feminist identity development (Delgado-Romero & Romero-Shih, 2016).

The fourth wave of feminism is the wave of modern day feminism. Some argued that the fourth wave represented a celebration of women's accomplishments and potential while others argue that today's feminism can be classified as post-feminism in which feminism is exploited to target women's power in the promotion of products directed specifically toward women (i.e., athleisure wear, soap, pens; Scholz, 2012). Regardless of how one classifies this fourth wave, the internet and social media play a significant role. Munroe (2013) notes the "call out" culture in which people engage in activism and discourse challenging sexism and misogyny within society. This new approach to feminism has led to systemic change, including forcing Facebook to reexamine their terms of service and the launch of the #MeToo and #TimesUp movements.

Feminist Schools of Thought

Although much of feminist development has been fairly homogenous, there are a multitude of schools of feminist thought. Some feminists endorse solely one school of thought, while others blend them together. Schools of feminist of thought differ from the waves of feminism. Examples of feminist schools of thought include: liberal feminism, Marxist feminism, radical feminism, socialist feminism, cultural feminism, womanist theory, postmodern feminism, and Third world and postcolonial feminism. The school of thought with which one identifies is based on one's motivation for dismantling oppression. Regardless of the school of feminist thought that one endorses, it can be agreed upon that a component of society and culture is damaging for women and change is necessary (Scholz, 2012).

In Sum

Overall, the history and development of the waves of feminism and many feminist schools of thought operated from a privileged perspective, assuming that women experienced the world in the same way, especially when considering race and class. Though the development of the feminist movement was crucial for the improvements seen for women in the United States, it tended to ignore the experiences of women with marginalized identities, those who may not fit in perfectly with mainstream ideas of feminism. Because of this exclusion, many people, including women of color, have been hesitant to endorse feminist identities.

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Feminism for People of Color

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The history of mainstream feminism was grounded in a movement created by and for White women. The mainstream feminist movement was based in privilege, accounting for the experiences of White, middle-class, heterosexual women and excluding women of other identities, including women of color. While the mainstream feminist movement stemmed from

the oppression that women faced when compared to White men, it assumed that all women had the same experiences of oppression without considering intersectional perspectives. Therefore, White women were privileged in comparison to women of color but oppressed in comparison to White men. Because of various intersectional identities, many women of color had concerns that mainstream feminism ignored (The Latina Feminist Group, 2001). Although the intentions of mainstream feminism were to fight for women, the impact of this White movement was in some ways both racist and homophobic. Mainstream feminism often favored gender oppression as the sole focus of the movement, rather than considering socioeconomic and political forces that may have been differentially impactful and salient for women of color (Hurtado, 1996). For example, Latinas often focused on issues, such as the impact of immigration on Latinx women, that seemed primary to those affected as opposed to simply feminist issues (Charleswell, 2014). Moreover, as a result of racism and sexism, women of color were more likely to "bear more economic burdens than any other group in this country" (Hurtado, 1996, p. 5) and thus differentially faced the impact of oppression.

By way of illustration, in the example used in the introduction, White women rightfully protested the wage gap between men and women; however, they failed to consider the additional burden that women of color faced simply because of their color. In examining the intersection of race and gender, one can remember Sojourner Truth's powerful "Ain't I a Woman" speech from 1851. Even though scholars are unable to agree upon the actual transcript of Truth's speech (Siebler, 2010), the impact was clear: as a Black woman, was Truth viewed as a woman in the same manner as her White counterparts? The women's rights movement at the time focused on issues for women, with the underlying qualifier that women included those who were White. As a former slave, could Truth be viewed as a woman too, or only as a Black female? These

questions highlight the underlying exclusion of women of color from the mainstream women's movement.

Feminist Schools of Thought for People of Color

While many schools of feminist thought were developed and maintained by privileged perspectives, there are two specific schools of thought that focused on those with marginalized identities. Womanist theory was rooted in Black Liberation Theology and challenged traditional notions and expressions of feminism, while simultaneously rejecting the term feminism (Scholz, 2012). Womanism infused Crenshaw's (1991) intersectionality, emphasizing the necessity of acknowledging both race and gender in Black women's experiences and fight for equality (Rousseau, 2013).

Another school of feminist thought that operated from a multicultural perspective is Third World and postcolonial feminism (Scholz, 2012). Third World feminism made central the history of colonialism and genocide against groups of color at the hands of Europeans. White feminists, aside from Jews, did not have to make this history of genocide central to their feminist focus (Moraga, 1983). Third World feminism, like womanism, emphasized the "simultaneity of oppression" (p. 128) that women of color experienced. This type of feminism operated from a global perspective, considering the experiences of women outside of the U.S. and other Western societies. Third World and postcolonial feminism focused on the exploitation and poverty of women, the majority of those in poverty, around the world; this type of feminism emphasized that many women do not have the resources, agency, or ability to be part of other feminist movements (Scholz, 2012).

Overall, feminism for people of color differentiated itself from mainstream White feminism in numerous ways. Feminists of color aimed to operate from a strengths-based

perspective, rather than a deficit perspective. Additionally, they fought and advocated for their rights in various settings, including their communities, the academy, and electoral politics. Feminists of color operated on egalitarianism, favored reciprocity, and sought to empower all, instead of undermining some, to create a truly inclusive paradigm (Hurtado, 1996).

Latina Exclusion from Feminist Movement

Women who did not identify as White, middle class, and heterosexual were often excluded from the mainstream feminist movement; Latinas were no exception. There were many specific examples of Latina voices, experiences, and struggles being ignored.

The reproductive rights movement, for example, did not apply to the experiences of many Latinas. Latina women often faced a number of barriers that made access to reproductive healthcare nearly impossible: lack of health insurance, lack of access to transportation, linguistic barriers, immigration status, poverty, a lack of information about providers, and a scarcity of bilingual and bicultural health providers were just a few barriers facing women who identified as Latina (Hooton, 2005).

Although mainstream feminist movements emphasized reproductive choice as empowering, many women of color did not have the same options for choice that White, middle class women had. For example, there was a history of Latina women in the United States being coerced and/or forced into sterilization; additionally, because of limited access to adequate healthcare, many Latina women may not have had the choice to prevent or terminate unwanted pregnancies (Hooton, 2005). Moraga (1983) noted that feminists of color "have been actively involved in reproductive rights, especially sterilization abuse, battered women's shelters, rape crisis centers, welfare advocacy" (p. 106) that was not centralized within mainstream feminism. Overall, the reproductive rights movement within the feminist movement took an individualistic

approach that may be appropriate for middle class, White women, but was not appropriate for many women of color who favored collectivist approaches.

Understanding the Latinx Population from a U.S. Perspective

In order to understand how Latinx feminism has developed in the United States, it is first important to more deeply examine the history and current state of the Latinx population in the United States. The Latinx population makes up a unique group within the United States because it is an ethnicity, made up of various races and heritages (Arredondo, Gallardo-Cooper, Delgado-Romero, & Zapata, 2014). Unlike other racial and ethnic groups that came to the United States by way of slavery or migration, the history of the Latinx ethnic group is largely a result of colonization. Most Latinx people are descendants of the Spanish colonizers of indigenous populations in Latin America (Petrillo, 2009; Arredondo et al., 2014). Some that identify as Latinx have historical roots in the present-day United States, while others have roots in different Latin American cultures. Regardless of where these indigenous roots lay, the Latinx population has a history and current status as a disenfranchised group in the United States.

According to the 2010 United States Census, the amount of Latinx people in the United States "increased in all 50 states and the District of Columbia from 2000 to 2010, and Latinos accounted for more than 58% of the growth in 33 states" (Arredondo et al., 2014, p. 4). Additionally, 2010 Census data indicates that Latinx age 18 years and younger make up more of the United States population (16.9 % of population) than their white counterparts (10.05% of population; Arredondo et al., 2014). This growth in Latinx youth in the United States is consistent with reports that in the year 2042, those who are considered racial/ethnic minorities in the U.S. will outnumber non-Latinx Whites. It is predicted that by the year 2050, the Latinx population will make up 30% of Americans, as compared to 15% in 2008 (Roberts, 2008). These

predictions are consistent with the 2010 Census data that demonstrated that Latinx people made up almost half of the immigrants in the United States, both documented and unauthorized. Moreover, those who have immigrated to the United States are parents to children born in the United States: American citizens. Given the history of oppression of Latinx people in the United States and their growing population, this is a group that is important to better understand within their distinctive context.

Latinx or Hispanic is a pan-ethnic term that might obscure national, regional, racial, ethnic and cultural differences between Latinx people. Each country in Latin America has a unique history with Spain or Portugal, the United States, or other colonizers. Each of the 27 countries has indigenous people that were either wiped out or exist in some form, has some influence of the transatlantic slave trade, and has a unique political history. While at the same time that Latinx people differ in many respects by country of origin or time of immigration to the U.S., it seems that pan-ethnicity is also an emerging and real identity endorsed by generations after immigrations, especially those that choose to live outside of ethnic enclaves like Miami (Diaz McConnell & Delgado-Romero, 2004). Thus, one cannot assume that all Latinx people are alike, nor can one assume that they are not.

<div align="center">**Latina Feminism**</div>

History of Latina Feminism in the United States

Various movements have taken place in the United States that can be classified as Latina feminist movements. Beginning in the late 1960's-1970's, the Chicana feminist movement was one of the first Latina feminist movements that took place in the United States (Charleswell, 2014; The Latina Feminist Group, 2001). During this time, the male-dominated Chicano movement was taking place primarily in the Southwestern United States; the Chicano movement

fought for access to educational, social, political, and economic resources for Chicanos. However, the Chicano movement failed to fight for women's issues, such as reproductive rights. Martinez (2000) noted a contradiction present within *Chicanismo*: "to the extent that Chicano nationalism embraced, justified, and perpetuated sexist norms, Chicanas found their contributions trivialized, subordinated, and often ignored" (p. 109). Not only were Chicanas excluded from the mainstream feminist movement, but their own ethnic movement ignored the intersectionality of ethnicity and gender that Chicana women experienced. Moreover, Chicana women were accused of diluting the fight of the Chicano movement and selling out to the women's movement (Martinez, 2000).

The contemporary Chicana feminist movement is rooted in valuing the unique experiences of Chicana women in their roles of family members, within their communities, and within the greater society (Delgado Bernal, Elenes, Godinez, & Villenas, 2006). Present day Chicana feminism makes the personal political with origins stemming from *El Movimiento* (Mexican American civil rights movement) and combines the history of oppression with pride to make important advances for the community (Martinez, 2000; Delgado Bernal et al., 2006). Works by prominent Chicana feminists, such as Gloria Anzaldúa and Cherríe Moraga, inspired Latinx feminists who did not identify as Chicana themselves. Anzaldúa discussed the concept of *mestizaje,* the exchange of cultural ideals from one group to another, the navigation of "the borderlands" between two cultures, and the development of *la conciencia de la mestiza* (Anzaldúa, 2007; The Latina Feminist Group, 2001; Martinez, 2000). The concepts of *mestizaje* and the borderlands accounted for various intersecting identities such as social class, race, gender, indigenous heritage, and national origin that influenced one's Latina and feminist identity development (Gillman, 2010).

During the same time, the Puerto Rican organization, The Young Lords, was formed by young people (under 20) in New York. Within this organization, the Women of the Young Lords formed; this group fought for social justice issues for all with a focus on challenging *machismo*, sexism, and patriarchy (Charleswell, 2014). Prominent leaders emerged within this community including Connie Cruz, Luisa Capteillo, Denise Oliver, and Bianca Canales. Although the Young Lords remained dominated by men, the Women of the Young Lords were able to challenge the chauvinism and patriarchy present in the group (Charleswell, 2014).

Across the United States, the pioneers of the Latina feminist movement could be identified, even if those women did not identify as feminists themselves. The work and activism of Latinas such as Nina Otero-Warren, Jovita Idar, Maria Rebecca Latigo de Hernandez, Gloria Anzaldúa, Dolores Huerta, and Cherríe Moraga were extremely influential in the development of a feminist movement for Latina women in the United States (Charleswell, 2014; The Latina Feminist Group, 2001). Through narratives, political movements, and artistry, the pioneering Latina feminists were able to begin spreading an important message and open the door for future Latina feminists.

Present Day Latina Feminism in the United States

Latina feminism advocated for the recognition of the full humanity of women and girls and the removal of sexism, racism, ableism, classism, and discrimination based on sexual orientation (Charleswell, 2014). Unlike mainstream feminist movements, much of Latina feminism took place in a non-academic setting; instead of focusing on academic theory, the actions and focus of Latina feminism was based on lived experiences. Additionally, present day Latina feminism remains grounded in Chicana feminism (Ortega, 2015).

Intersectionality

Intersectionality is an important consideration when examining Latina feminism. When discussing Latina women navigating their multiple social identities, or group memberships, phrases such as "mestiza consciousness," "differential consciousness," and "a state of '*concientización*'" have been used (Hurtado, 1997, p. 313). It is necessary to understand the unique position that women of color, including Latinas, find themselves in. Crenshaw (1991) noted:

> The concept of political intersectionality highlights the fact that women of color are situated within at least two subordinated groups that frequently pursue conflicting political agendas. The need to split one's political energies between two sometimes opposing groups is a dimension of intersectional disempowerment that men of color and white women seldom confront. Indeed, their specific race *and* gendered experiences, although intersectional, often define as well as confine the interests of the entire group. (pp. 1251-1252)

Furthermore, when conceptualizing the experiences of Latinas, it was important to consider how the Latina woman understood intersectionality while living in the borderlands between cultures. In addition to understanding the intersectionality of her identities, the Latina woman developed a *mestiza consciousness*. Anzaldúa (2007) stated:

> The new *mestiza* copes by developing a tolerance for contradictions, a tolerance for ambiguity. She learns to be an Indian in Mexican culture, to be Mexican from an Anglo point of view. She learns to juggle cultures. She has a plural personality, she operates in a pluralistic mode—nothing is thrust out, the good the bad and the ugly, nothing rejected,

nothing abandoned. Not only does she sustain contradictions, she turns the ambivalence

into something else (p. 101).

The mestiza consciousness that developed was unique to each individual and the borders that she

was straddling. It was important to consider the unique geographical and historical borders that

were at play (Martinez, 2000).

Hernandez Castillo (2010) noted that indigenous feminism was distinct from its urban,

middle-class counterpart, even if the indigenous and urban women came from the same country.

When discussing intersectionality, one typically considered multiple identities and oppression,

such as gender and ethnicity, but often failed to consider class and indigenous culture struggles.

When discussing Latina feminism, it was important to consider all of these multiple and

intersecting identities, oppressions, and privileges. One's "interlocking oppression[s]" (Collins,

1986, p. S19) must have been considered as a complex spider web, not just simply as the

intersectionality that was commonly discussed (Charleswell, 2014). Mainstream Latina feminism

was criticized for being exclusive: "the ethnocentrism of urban feminism is being questioned,

and the movement is being challenged to reexamine the importance of race and class in

understanding the processes of women's identity formation in multicultural Latin America"

(Hernandez Castillo, 2010, p. 544). Instead, The Latina Feminist Group (2001) emphasized the

importance of utilizing a pan-Latina framework that accounted for understanding the multiple

sources of oppression that Latina women faced, without assuming that all members of the same

ethnic group experienced the world in the same way.

Views of Feminism within Latinx Community

Past research examined the identification as feminist and role of feminism within the

Latinx community. In their research on views of feminism within the Latinx community,

Robnett, Anderson, and Hunter (2012) found that women who felt more hostility toward men had more stereotypical views of feminists which in turn predicted lower levels of feminist identity. Robnett and colleagues noted that this view of feminism may have stemmed from the traditional value of *marianismo* found within the Latinx community. Further, Robnett et al.'s (2012) work suggested that the role of ethnic identity and marginalization that occurred during the second wave of feminism related to Latina participants' negative views of feminism; again, the intersectionality of various identities could not be ignored. Research by Forehand (2012) indicated that although Latina women had strong identification with their ethnicity, they did not endorse measures of womanist identity. This does not mean that they did not care about womanist or feminist values, but the measure that has been used to capture the experiences of Black women did not capture the experiences of this sample of Latinas.

Other researchers found that various views and definitions of feminism existed for their sample. Specifically, Monago and colleagues (2009) found that their adolescent sample endorsed one of five views of feminism: "feminism as equality" (p. 757), "feminism as femininity" (p. 760), "feminism as female empowerment" (p. 760), "feminism as bias" (p. 764), and "feminism as sexism" (p. 764). This study by Manago et al. (2009) demonstrated the disagreement and confusion related to the definition and view of feminism within a younger Latina generation. However, those that defined feminism as equality or empowerment made up 66% of the adolescents that endorsed a feminist identity. Clearly there was agreement with the message of feminism within the adolescent Latina population, but the term feminism may have been a deterrent to identifying as such.

Latinas, Feminism, And Psychology

Though the history of psychology is filled with systematic oppression and discrimination (see Guthrie, 2003), modern day psychology aims to operate from multicultural and feminist lenses. A popular area of psychological research surrounds racial identity development and acculturation, demonstrating this shift in the field of psychology (Reynolds & Constantine, 2004). The development of multicultural and feminist psychologies stemmed from various social movements that contested the status quo within society; although their histories are similar, multicultural and feminist psychology have not operated together, remaining disconnected entities (Reynolds & Constantine, 2004; Silverstein, 2006). Typically, when the term multicultural has been operationalized, it focused on race and ethnicity, ignoring other areas of diversity (Silverstein, 2006). In fact, the original APA Multicultural Guidelines (2002) referred almost exclusively to race and ethnicity as the areas of focus in multiculturalism, though the updated Multicultural Guidelines (APA, 2017) emphasize intersectionality and highlight the complexity of diversity. Just as multicultural psychology has historically given the most attention to race and ethnicity, feminist psychology has almost exclusively focused on the experiences of White, middle-class, women. Silverstein (2006) declared that "feminism is at the heart of multiculturalism because the goal of both movements is to equalize power and privilege for marginalized groups" (p. 22), so these two areas must work in tandem in order to implement the social justice ideals of psychology into action.

Counseling psychology has a particularly unique history of incorporating social justice, feminist, and multicultural ideals into research and practice. The core values of counseling psychology are wide-ranging, inclusive, and incorporate an understanding of one's social setting, an honoring of diversity, operation from a strengths-based perspective, and a focus on prevention

rather than remediation (Delgado-Romero, Lau, & Shullman, 2012). Because of these core values, social justice, advocacy, and ally work have become important branches of counseling psychology. Counseling psychology not only espouses these core values and tenets, but demonstrates this commitment in areas of research, member diversity, and leadership (Delgado-Romero et al., 2012). Counseling psychology was integral in the formation of various ethnic minority psychological associations and conferences within APA, such as the National Latinx Psychological Association (NLPA), the Society for the Psychological Study of Ethnic Minority Issues (APA Division 45), and the National Multicultural Summit and Conference (Delgado-Romero et al., 2012). Moreover, within APA Division 17: Society of Counseling Psychology exists the Section for the Advancement of Women. Additionally, APA Division 35: Society for the Psychology of Women has overlap in membership, research, and advocacy with counseling psychology.

The formation of the current National Latinx Psychological Association in 2002 reflects the values held within counseling psychology merged with Latinx cultural values. Two prominent counseling psychologists, Melba Vasquez and Patricia Arredondo, were key founders of NLPA and have made important contributions to multicultural psychology (Chavez-Korell, Delgado-Romero, & Illes, 2012). Not only does NLPA reflect multicultural psychology, but it represents one of the few psychological organizations that successfully blends multiculturalism and feminism; NLPA infuses cultural ideals of *familismo* (family connection) and *personalismo* (interpersonal relationships) with feminist ideals including gender equality and consciousness-raising (Clay, 2011). Additionally, NLPA has consciously adopted a feminist, empowering, respectful approach that promotes gender equity (Miville et al., 2017). The founders of the National Latinx Psychological Association consciously challenged the typical Latinx language

and NLPA has placed women in important leadership roles within the organization. Moreover, the leaders within NLPA purposely placed Latina in front of Latino in the original name of the organization (National Latina/o Psychological Association) to challenge traditional male-centric language. The organization recently voted to update the name to include Latinx instead of Latina/o to be more gender-inclusive. Chavez-Korell and colleagues (2012) noted that "NLPA members are committed to addressing social justice issues such as immigration, ethical treatment of immigrants (regardless of documentation status), health disparities, and the reduction of prejudice/racism" (p. 680). These members were able to fuse together the values of counseling psychology, feminist psychology, and multicultural psychology in the study of Latinx psychology. Moreover, woman members of NLPA who identified as Latina psychologists offered a unique perspective into their intersecting identities; these psychologists were able to uphold these values in their research, practice, and mentoring.

Ally Development

Because Latinas had often been excluded from the mission of mainstream feminism, it was important to examine ways in which this population could be better included, and advocated for, within the feminist community. Previous research (e.g., Boutte & Jackson, 2014) examined the role of White allies with racial minorities and other research (e.g., Croteau, Lark, Lidderdale, & Chung, 2005) examined the role of heterosexual allies within the LGBTQ+ community. Others (e.g., Jenkins, 2009; Reason & Broido, 2005) have outlined general guidelines for becoming an ally in various communities. However, there was limited research on the role of allies within the Latinx community; it is possible that there was no previous research on the role of feminist allies. Furthermore, there was no research found on the intersections of Latinas, feminism and psychology.

What Is an Ally?

Jenkins (2009) defined allies as "people whose orientation is *outside* of the oppressed group…who recognized [their] privileges and works in alliance with members of oppressed groups to stand against oppression" (p. 27). Although allies were not members of the target, or oppressed group, they actively associated with the marginalized group to assist in the target groups' cause (Jenkins, 2009). LGBTQ+ allies, for example, have participated in schools' gay-straight alliance. Allies have the opportunity to be a listening ear for someone to express their struggle, or a voice for those who do not feel safe enough to speak out against the oppression they face; allies must challenge others with specific privileges to do the same (Bowman, 2005; Tatum, 1994). Allies are often forced to realize that the world that may seem safe and welcoming to them is not for someone with a marginalized identity (Bowman, 2005). Specifically, Tatum (2007) defined a White ally as "a White person who understands that it is possible to use one's privilege to create more equitable systems" (p. 37). Furthermore, Spanierman and Smith (2017) aspirationally described White allies as people who:

> (a) demonstrate nuanced understanding of institutional racism and White privilege…, (b) enact a continual process of self-reflection about their own racism and positionality…, (c) express a sense of responsibility and commitment to using their racial privilege in ways that promote equity…, (d) engage in actions to disrupt racism and the status quo on micro and macro levels…, (e) participate in coalition building and work in solidarity with people of color…, and (f) encounter resistance from other White individuals. (pp. 608-609)

This definition of White allyship included a great amount of self-reflection and active engagement; being a White ally is not a passive role.

It can be argued that within the field of psychology being an ally is an ethical obligation. The Ethical Principles of Psychologists and Code of Content (APA, 2010) listed five aspirational principles; though these principles are not obligatory, they guide and inspire psychologists to act in an ethical manner to uphold the professional ideal. Specifically, Principle D: Justice and Principle E: Respect for People's Rights and Dignity demonstrated the desire for psychologists to be allies. Principle D helped ensure that all people were able to benefit from psychological contributions and encouraged psychologist to address biases so that they did not practice or research unfairly. Principle E was even more applicable to the role of psychologists as allies. Principle E promoted necessary safeguards to avoid taking advantage of vulnerable populations. Principle E emphasized the importance of considering culture when working with and/or researching others; considering culture also helped psychologists avoid prejudiced or discriminatory work.

The Multicultural Guidelines: An Ecological Approach to Context, Identity, and Intersectionality (APA, 2017) reflect the evolution of the field of psychology as a multiculturally competent organization. The ten guidelines provided by the American Psychological Association are congruent with the stages toward becoming an ally, indicating that ally development is imperative for culturally competent psychologists. The ten guidelines include appreciation for intersectionality; understanding of and moving beyond the biases associated with being cultural beings; understanding of language and communication; awareness of others' environments; recognition, understanding, and addressing power, privilege, and oppression of the past and present; promotion of culturally competent interventions; understanding and incorporation of a developmental perspective; incorporation of culturally competent research, teaching, supervision, consultation, assessment, diagnosis, etc.; and operating from a strengths-based

perspective. The updated multicultural guidelines are congruent with the values of Counseling Psychology.

Becoming an Ally

Similar to other identities, an ally identity progresses developmentally. One does not become an ally overnight, nor ever arrive at being a perfect ally with nothing new to learn. The process of becoming an ally is complex, challenging, and can be uncomfortable; however, the benefits of becoming an ally outweigh the costs to reach that point.

The first stage in developing as an ally is looking inward and examining one's own values, beliefs, biases, and privileges (Bowman, 2005). One is unable to begin to understand or know the experiences of another until they[2] have taken a critical examination of themselves (Bowman, 2005). The process of self-understanding involves reflecting critically on these areas while maintaining motivation, confidence, and clarity to help the greater society, moving beyond personal interest or gains (Reason & Broido, 2005). This self-reflection phase is often challenging; many allies are forced to examine areas of privilege and bias for the first time. Developing allies may begin to feel guilty and dehumanized after learning about institutional oppression, fearing rejection from the marginalized groups (Boutte & Jackson, 2014). Perez (2005) commented on his own development as an LGB ally: "I painfully realized that my biases and homophobia were the same oppressive forces as the racial discrimination and prejudice that I experienced. And I realized that as long as I subscribed to my own heterosexism and homophobia, I was also an oppressor of others and 'one of them'" (p. 112). Although Perez

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[2] The third-person plural pronoun (e.g., they, them, their) will be used throughout this dissertation as a singular third-person pronoun in an attempt to be more gender inclusive (APA, 2015)

remembered this self-reflection as painful, the awareness of oppression motivated his desire to become an ally.

Once a developing ally examines their biases, privileges, beliefs, and values, they must have a meaningful interaction with someone who is different from them; this interaction must be genuine, not forced (Bowman, 2005). This interaction with a member of a marginalized or oppressed group allows the developing ally the opportunity to be a witness to the daily experiences of someone with a marginalized identity. The developing ally may begin to see ways in which the greater society may ignore or be oblivious to the lived reality of the target member (Reason & Broido, 2005). As the ally continues to engage in their own self-exploration and interacts more with members of marginalized populations, they may begin to engage meaningfully with both the oppressed and target populations.

Advice for Allies

Various researchers have offered advice, insight, and suggestions for the developing ally. When discussing ally development for White individuals, Boutte & Jackson (2014) offered many suggestions:

1. It is imperative that allies not be silent on issues related to race.

2. Become familiar with relevant research, policies, and practices regarding the topic and examine the normalization of oppression and injustice in all systems with which individuals interact.

3. Understand that during the process of ally development, one may lose friends; being an ally requires action that may not be appreciated by non-allies.

4. Continue to challenge biases, unlearn racism, and create new and positive definitions of your own identity.

5. Relinquish positions of privilege.

6. Allow those in marginalized positions to have their voices heard; do not upstage them (pp. 632-637).

Reason and Broido (2005) offered suggestions for motivating and enlightening members of dominant groups:

1. Have uncomfortable conversations about power, privilege, and oppression with dominant group members.

2. Raise awareness by pointing out examples of power and privilege.

3. Learn about the history of various social justice movements, paying attention to involvement of dominant group members. Share that information with other dominant group members to inspire dominant members to spark change.

4. Educate those who make inappropriate comments without demeaning or embarrassing them.

5. Confront dominant group members in a manner that is non-threatening so as to not illicit defensive reactions.

6. Demonstrate ally behavior as the norm.

7. Continue to work as an ally without giving up even when the work seems especially challenging. (pp. 84-85)

Additionally, Reason and Broido (2005) offered suggestions for allies in supporting members of target groups:

1. Listen to members of target groups. Allies always have space to learn from others.

2. Become friends with individuals who differ from you (visibly or invisibly).

3. Make your alliance seen without taking away from the target group. Join the target group instead of speaking for them or overpowering them.

4. Learn about the history of the target group to be able to adequately support them. Connect target group members with resources that may be of help to them.

5. Target group members may be hesitant about your support; do not expect positive response from the start.

6. When you make mistakes as an ally, apologize, learn, and continue to move forward.

7. Do not give up on being an ally. Continue to be an ally even when it seems difficult. The perseverance will help build trust between the ally and target group. (p. 86)

Allies can never fully understand the experiences of those members of marginalized and oppressed groups, but they can be a powerful voice and support. Allies have a choice in embracing the ally identity whereas many members of marginalized groups lack the choice to be a part of the target group or not. As such, it is important for allies to challenge their fellow dominant group members' misperceptions and misinformation and encourage them to become allies too. When discussing her involvement as an LGB ally, Bowman (2005) stated, "I know I can be WITH my LGB students and friends, I can SUPPORT them, I can SHARE in their joys, pains, and glories, but I remain quite aware that my status is at best honorary. Allies who forget this may be challenged about their motives, either directly or indirectly, by members of the LGB community" (p. 39; emphasis from quote). Allies have the unique role of both encouraging and challenging dominant group members while also supporting and encouraging target group members.

Allies in the Helping Professions

Within the helping professions, developing as an ally is crucial to becoming a culturally competent professional. Research suggests that the therapeutic relationship, or relationship between client and therapist, is the chief determinant for successful outcomes in therapy (Martin, Garske, & Davis, 2000). In order for this effective relationship to develop, it is important for the counselor to have a certain level of understanding of a client's experience (Goodman, 2005). If mental health professionals do not take the time to examine their own values, beliefs, biases, and privileges before meeting with clients, a barrier will inherently be present. It is important that a culturally competent counselor acknowledge their knowledge and awareness of their identities and demonstrate knowledge and awareness of target group member's experiences (Goodman, 2005; Spanierman et al., 2017). Members of target groups are often more aware of oppression and discrimination that takes place in comparison to dominant group members; by acknowledging that members of target groups experience the world differently and acting as an ally will help create a safe space for clients with marginalized identities.

When mental health professionals remained neutral and tolerant or disclose a type of colorblindness ("I treat all clients the same"), an unsafe space was created (Goodman, 2005; Berkowitz, 2005). Instead, counselors must make their ally identity clear to the client. As Berkowitz (2005) noted, "being an ally is an active and conscious process in which I must take responsibility for demonstrating and acting on my convictions, in the therapy hour, with friends and family, and in professional circles" (p. 31). Helping professionals were often directly influenced by their clients' well-being and healing process, so helping professionals must clarify their ally identities for clients to promote their growth.

As helping professionals, psychologists not only work as clinical practitioners, but can also take on the role of teacher, mentor, and researcher. Regardless of the role, psychologists that identify as White allies must balance the expertise that they have with a level of humility that comes with being a member of a dominant group. In their qualitative research with psychologists that were identified as White allies by psychologists of color, Spanierman and colleagues (2017) found that these White scholars balanced humility and expertise in their mentoring role with students of color and "the next generation of White racial justice allies," (p. 644) for example.

Helping professionals, including mental health clinicians and academics, have unique opportunities to be allies. Because multicultural alliance and activism is a central component to much of this type of training, those in the profession are more aware of the necessity for allies. Many professionals choose to join professional associations that work toward social justice for marginalized group members, such as the National Latinx Psychological Association or the Division 17 (Counseling Psychology) Section on Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Awareness (Perez, 2005). Joining these professional organizations helps to bridge the research, practice, and activism gap and encourages the involvement of allies.

Ambivalence About the Role of Allies

Understandably, those from marginalized groups have expressed uncertainty related to the roles and motivations of those who claim to be allies. Discussions of the well-meaning White individual, for example, demonstrated the good intentions behind paternalistic acts that perpetuate the altruistic "White savior" stereotype (Spanierman & Smith, 2017). Especially in present times, being an ally seems to be a performative act, or something that people do to garner praise, without actually leading to structural and systemic change. Additionally, the widespread claim by liberal White people that their progressive values automatically make them anti-racist,

failed to recognize the ways in which they engaged with a fundamentally racist system and society (Sullivan, 2014). Sue (2017) noted that those who are passive bystanders in the face of racism, though not overtly discriminating against others, have done nothing to dismantle the system and benefitted from White supremacy just as those who were overtly racist did. Oftentimes, the label of ally has been self-identified (Helms, 2017). This means that anyone who wants to adopt this label can, without any vetting process or cooperation or consent with the people one is purported to align with.

Within the field of psychology, multicultural scholars noted that while many allies are influenced to take on that role by mentors, many others become allies in more serendipitous and unintentional manners (Cross & Reinhardt, 2017). This perpetuated the notion that those in positions of power did not want to give up that power or dominance to create a more equitable society. Additionally, multicultural scholars (e.g., Sue, 2017) noted that while many claim to be White allies, there was actually a very small pool of individuals that could actually be identified this way both personally and professionally by individuals of marginalized identities.

Moving from Ally to Activist

Developing into an ally is a crucial component of becoming a social justice advocate. However, is becoming an ally enough? When does one expand upon their ally identity and become a social justice activist? In his narrative related to his LGBT+ ally development, Ruperto M. Perez (2005) noted that his "dedication seems to have moved on from alliance to activism" (p. 112). How are alliance and activism different?

Perez (2005) classified activism as more action-oriented, being an "agent of social change and advocacy" (p. 112). Jenkins (2009) defined an action-oriented agent of change as "one who acts or has the power or authority to act" (p. 28). In addition to remaining empathic

and supportive like an ally, an activist moved a step farther to enact change; this agent of change could have been a member of the target group or an outsider. One goal of activism was to force systemic change. In becoming an activist, it was important that one continued to examine areas of personal bias and prejudice as one continually did as an ally (Perez, 2005). Challenges with confronting discrimination and racism were difficult and felt risky but were not to be avoided by White allies (Spanierman et al., 2017).

Within the helping professions, such as counseling psychology, there are many avenues for allies to become more active. First, one could continue to self-reflect and self-examine and engage in difficult discussions of prejudice and oppression with others. Research was another area in which counseling professionals could become more active. Research could inform others in the profession and also have significant implications for laypeople; for example, research could lead to funding for programming aimed at helping oppressed groups (Perez, 2005).

Allies and activists were important for promoting the well-being and safety of those of marginalized identities: "Allies play a vital role in social movements. Little will change until those in power recognize the injustice and begin to fight against the structures that maintain their power" (Reason & Broido, 2005, p. 88). Just as women's movements relied on men to dismantle the perpetuation of stereotypes in male-dominated spheres (e.g., locker rooms), racial justice movements need White people to speak out in White spheres (Sullivan, 2014).

Consensual Qualitative Research

As noted by McLeod (2011), "the primary aim of qualitative research is to develop an understanding of how the social world is constructed" (p. 3). A relatively newer area of qualitative research falls under the category of Consensual Qualitative Research (CQR). CQR methodology is an inductive, or bottom-up, approach to research that describes particular

phenomena and draws conclusions based on the data that is collected (Hill, 2012). CQR methodology uses open-ended, rather than close-ended, questions to collect rich data based on participants' lived experiences. Instead of forcing participants to place themselves in pre-set categories, CQR uses the participants own narratives to capture a more accurate and rich understanding and description of experiences. Rather than collecting data from hundreds of participants that can be generalized at a population-level, CQR requires a smaller number of participants that can be examined more in depth in order to better understand the individual participant's worldview. Recruitment is specific and results in selection of a group that can comprehensibly discuss their experience of the specific phenomenon (Hill, 2012).

Consensual Qualitative Research is quite applicable to operating from a social justice perspective. Unlike quantitative methods, CQR gives an in-depth perspective into individuals' specific experiences, attitudes, and beliefs. CQR provides rich, detailed information that captures inner events and secrets of participants' that would not be observed or captured in quantitative methodology. CQR is a methodology that has been used with phenomena that have not been studied in great depth (Hill, 2012).

Consensual Qualitative Research Paradigm

Consensual Qualitative Research (CQR) is a qualitative methodology that developed following other qualitative methodologies. When discussing qualitative research, it is important to consider the importance of operating from a specific research paradigm. Kuhn (1970) defines a paradigm as "the entire constellation of beliefs, values, techniques and so on shared by the members of a given community" (p. 175).

Similar to other research paradigms, CQR has various assumptions about how to view and study the word. All research paradigms examine the ontology, epistemology, axiology,

rhetorical structure, and methodology. The ontology, or nature of reality, in CQR is that there is not one definition of the truth. Instead, each individual participant has a unique experience. Researchers must honor the uniqueness of each participant's truth while also finding commonalities between different participants' truths (Hill, 2012). Epistemology can be defined as the relationship between the researcher and participant. In CQR, the researcher and participant influence each other. The researcher is able to gain an in-depth understanding of the research phenomenon through interviews and analyses; the participant is able to learn more about their unique lived realities through the probing, follow-up questions that the researcher asks the participant (Hill, 2012).

The axiology in CQR, or the role of the researchers' values, is addressed upfront. In CQR, the researchers explicitly and continually explore and discuss their biases. They acknowledge that biases are present and through this process are able to bracket their biases so as to not skew the research. The rhetorical structure refers to the language that the researchers use when presenting the information. In CQR, the rhetorical structure takes a direct approach: results are objective, interpretations are specific to the project, and the third person is used (Hill, 2012). Methodology refers to the procedures of the research.

The CQR Team

An important component of Consensual Qualitative Research is the team. As indicated by the name, CQR relies on the perspectives of many to be in agreement. There are typically 3 primary team members that conduct the analysis and one or two auditors to check and verify the primary team's work. The team ensures that the voices of the participants are captured instead of being adapted to fit the researchers' hypotheses. Finding agreement among all team members can be both challenging and beneficial. Schielke, Fishman, Osatuke, and Stiles (2009) define

consensus as "an unforced unanimous decision" (p. 558). The use of the team coming to

agreement in CQR represents a feminist and multicultural approach to psychological research;

the team must hold the values of mutual respect, equal involvement, and shared power amongst

team members (Hill, 2012). In qualitative research, trustworthiness or credibility is the

equivalent of validity in quantitative research. The utilization of the team allows for this

credibility to be clear since it is agreed upon by multiple reviewers (Hill, 2012).

The team can be created in numerous ways. Often for the purposes of dissertation

writing, the team is formed from already established research laboratories or teams. The team

can be formed at various times in the research process. Compensation for participation on the

research team typically comes in the form or authorship, reciprocal participation in other

research, or course credit (particularly for undergraduate team members).

In order for the team to function successfully, Hill (2012) notes three steps: (1) a shared

goal or vision, (2) commitment to the team and/or project, (3) trust among team members. The

primary goal of CQR research is to give voice to those whom participate in the research. In

giving voice to these participants, new and rich information can be learned about the particular

group and can lead to important future research, developments, and implications. An underlying

vision or goal may also be the possibility of publication, research experience for team members,

and the completion of a dissertation. Commitment to the team and project is made evident

through the agreement and commitment to meet regularly and respect for the timeline. In order to

remain committed, team members agree on the duration of the project and structure of the group.

In addition, all team members commit to sharing the workload and working together face-to-face

instead of remotely. When the goal for the project and commitment to the team is established,

trust can begin to form among team members. Trust is established when all team members make

equal contributions, are sensitive to nonverbals, mediate group dynamic problems, and support and respect each other. Some conflict among the team is inevitable and can be constructive; however, when conflict impedes upon the productivity and trust of the group, it is important for other group members to intervene (Hill, 2012).

CQR as Multicultural and Feminist

As previously noted, CQR methodology is inherently multicultural and feminist. In addition to the role of the team, in CQR there is a strong emphasis on role of culture within the data collection and analysis process. Because the aim of CQR is to capture the lived experiences and realities of the participants, it is important to include the participant's culture and address their multiple and intersecting identities. Additionally, CQR emphasizes the importance of ethics and trustworthiness (Hill, 2012).

Unlike other methodologies, CQR requires that researchers continually return to the raw data to be sure to give voice to the participants and stay true to their realities. CQR emphasizes the importance of the researchers addressing and challenging their own biases throughout the process. Returning to the raw data allows for resolutions of confusions throughout the process and remaining consistent with the reported data (Hill, 2012). Within each step of CQR, both biases and expectations are addressed. Hill et al. (1997) defines biases as "personal issues that make it difficult for researchers to respond objectively to the data" (p. 539). On the other hand, they define expectations as "beliefs that researchers have formed based on reading the literature and thinking about and developing the research questions" (Hill et al., 1997, p. 538). Reporting expectations is a routine component of research, however, addressing biases is less commonplace in research. Reporting biases may be difficult because they hold a negative connotation that may make researchers resistant to discuss. CQR emphasizes the importance of addressing

expectations and biases at all stages of the research process. For example, it is important that team members have varied biases and expectations and that each member addresses their biases and expectations. Reflecting upon individual biases and expectations according to a predetermined rationale and process set by team members is crucial for self-knowledge throughout the research process. It is also imperative that team members continually revisit their biases and expectations throughout the data collection and analysis process in order to give voice to the interviewees and identify areas in which a researcher's biases or expectations could be an obstacle to accurate data. The team works together to address, disclose, and debate biases and expectations so as to not cloud judgment (Hill, 2012).

As discussed in feminist discourse, examining the roles of power differentials is incredibly important for CQR. In particular, it is important for the research team to examine each member's role. If the team consists of students of various degree levels (undergraduate, master's, doctoral), it is important to address these differences from the start. It is also important for the principle investigator to discuss their role on the team (Hill, 2012). Hays and Singh (2012) note that CQR is unique in its emphasis on power throughout the research process. This sharing of power allows researchers at all levels to share their experiences, thoughts, and opinions, while noting their biased perspectives. Utilizing a multicultural framework to address the role of each team member's culture is also of utmost importance (Hill, 2012).

CHAPTER III

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to explore how self-identified Latina, feminist psychologists conceptualized and navigated their feminist identity as it related to other salient identities they held. Additionally, the study aimed to uncover expectations and implications for feminist allies. In this chapter, the research sample, design, data collection procedures, data analysis, and researcher subjectivity are described.

Research Design

Given the topic and research questions presented in this project, qualitative approaches to research were most appropriate. Counseling psychology has called for the inclusion of qualitative methodology to study the human experience from a more exhaustive and complex perspective (Morrow, 2007). Qualitative research is in line with the values of counseling psychology, particularly the emphasis on multicultural and social justice-oriented research that may not be fully captured using quantitative methods (Morrow, 2007; Lincoln, 2010). Two specific characteristics of qualitative research that follow this emphasis on multiculturalism and social justice include the importance of context and the humanness of research (Hays & Singh, 2012). Qualitative research is useful for understanding research questions related to the *what* and *how* of a phenomenon versus the *why* (Hays & Singh, 2012). The emphasis on these types of research questions is particularly important when studying underrepresented and understudied groups. In their recent article, Delgado-Romero, Singh, and De Los Santos (in press) discuss

recommendations for qualitative research with Latinx samples. These researchers note that qualitative research is appropriate for exploring Latinx culture for a multitude of reasons, including: its compatibility with the value of *personalismo* (close personal relationships), its emphasis on *platicando* (small talk) and building rapport through interviews, and participating in storytelling though *testimonios* (testimonies) and *cuentos* (stories). Delgado-Romero and colleagues (in press) recommend among other considerations that when working with Latinx samples, qualitative researchers embrace intersectionality, consider the role of language, foster diverse research teams, and build trust.

Consistent with research about qualitative studies and specifically, qualitative research with Latinx samples, the design for the present study followed the Consensual Qualitative Research (CQR) design as outlined by Hill (2012). The CQR methodology is appropriate for developing areas in the field in order to gain a better understanding of a particular phenomenon in depth. Because there was limited research on the development of Latina feminism and no prior research on implications for feminist allies, CQR methodology allowed for the development of new theories.

The steps of CQR have been outlined by Hill (2012). In the first stage of CQR, a topic was chosen and review of the literature was conducted. Next, a research team was selected. Once the research team was selected, the interview protocol was developed and pilot-tested. A target population was selected and criteria for selecting participants from that population was developed. Participants were then recruited; interviews were conducted and transcribed. Finally, within this first stage, transcripts were sent back to participants for corrections and additions that needed to be included.

Instruments

Because CQR methodology is qualitative in nature, there were no specific instruments utilized for data collection. Instead, an interview protocol was developed and piloted in the winter of 2016-2017 (Hill, 2012). CQR is an inductive, not deductive, approach to collecting data so conclusions were drawn based on information provided, instead of aiming to support or refute current theories.

Research Team

The type of team used for this project was a set team. There are two types of set teams: one that works on the study from start to finish or one in which one or two researchers conduct the interviews and then are joined by one or two more researchers and auditors. The latter is typical for dissertation research and was utilized for the present research. One advantage of this type of team is that all members become immersed in the analysis of data. On the other hand, a disadvantage is that data analysis may become repetitive and may not be the most efficient.

The research team was established before data collection began. Originally, data was going to be collected at the 2016 Biennial NLPA conference, so a team was formed prior to the conference. All members of the research team were members of the ¡BIEN! research team at the University of Georgia, which consists of doctoral, master's, and undergraduate students. All members of the recruited team were volunteers. The team consisted of two assistant researchers and two auditors. Each member of the team wrote a subjectivity statement that was shared with other members of the team and processed as a group. However, data collection did not take place at the 2016 Biennial NLPA Conference as planned. The potential participants wanted to use the time at the conference for networking and connection; I respected their wishes to collect data at a different time.

Because data collection and analysis took place at a different time than expected, the research team had some changes. Both auditors stayed on board, as well as one of the assistant researchers. One of the assistant researchers had other commitments and was replaced with two additional assistant researchers. After the first phase of analysis, the remaining original assistant researcher was living in another city and unable to continue with the remainder of analysis. The final research team consisted of the primary researcher, two new assistant researchers, and two original auditors. At the final stage of analysis, two additional auditors that were less familiar with the project assisted to ensure that the data analysis made sense from an outside perspective.

Constructivist and Post-Positivist Elements

A research paradigm is the worldviews and grounds by which qualitative methodology operates. It includes the relationship between researcher and participant, the researcher's subjectivity, the researcher's view on reality, and the process and procedure by which the researcher collects information about a particular phenomenon. There are varied research paradigms which can all be viewed along a continuum (Williams & Morrow, 2009). Consensual Qualitative Research is a qualitative approach that combines elements of post-positivist and constructivist methods. Ponterotto (2005) notes that CQR tends to fall somewhere between post-positivist and constructivist paradigms yet leans more toward post-positivism. Because CQR is a methodology that is based on agreement between team members and auditors, it posits that there is one true reality. This classification emphasizes CQR's post-positivist ontology (Ponterotto, 2005). The epistemology of CQR, which follows a somewhat brief (~60 minute) semi-structured interview protocol that does not lead to much interaction between the research and participants, falls between constructivist and post-positivist. The rhetorical structure, which includes frequency tabulations and only minor inclusions of direct quotes from participants, similarly falls

between the two paradigms. The axiology leans more toward constructivism because the researchers acknowledge their biases. The method falls between constructivism and post-positivism because the interviews all use the same semi-structured interview protocol which aims to answer the questions based on the initial literature review, instead of changing between interviews (Ponterotto, 2005).

Though some (e.g., Ponterotto, 2005; Morrow, 2007; Hill et al., 2005) classify CQR as falling between post-positivist and constructivist paradigms, others view CQR as leaning more towards constructivist and believe it is better classified within an interpretivist paradigm (Williams & Morrow, 2009). Because CQR includes aspects of both qualitative and quantitative research, it is the research design in counseling psychology that is closest to post-positivism, yet CQR's emphasis on researcher subjectivity lends itself to the interpretivist-constructivist paradigm (Morrow, 2007). Even with disagreement about the paradigms that make up CQR, this research methodology is used commonly among those in the field of counseling psychology.

Description of the Sample

The sample for the present study consisted of psychologists who identified as Latina, a psychologist and feminist. Although males can also identify as feminists, the present study focused solely on those who identify as women, regardless of sex assigned at birth. These psychologists were members of the National Latinx Psychological Association (NLPA) because they were representative and committed to the three identities being examined. Also, as psychologists, the participants were familiar with the role of allies. A basic demographic form was not used for this project, although some demographic data was collected by virtue of interview questions.

Data Collection

Data collection took place between February 2017-August 2017. Participants were recruited through the NLPA listserv and personal e-mail communication. Interviews took place over the phone or Skype (n = 8) or in person (n = 1). All interviews were audio recorded with the participants' consent. All interviews were transcribed. Interviews were transcribed by the primary researcher, assistant researchers, or a summer graduate assistant on the ¡BIEN! Research Team. The primary researcher proofread all transcripts.

Statistical Treatment

There were two stages of data analysis that took place. The first type of analysis was within-case analysis in which the team developed domains and constructed core ideas for each case. Auditors then checked the domains and core ideas for each case and these domains and core ideas were edited based on the audit (Hill, 2012). The second type of analysis was cross-analysis in which categories within the domains were developed across all cases; the auditors verified this cross-analysis, and the cross-analysis was revised in accordance with the audit. The data analysis followed the processes as outlined by Hill (2012).

Domain Development and Coding

The first step of data analysis was developing domains and sorting data into each domain. Hill and colleagues (2012) proposed two approaches to developing domains. The first is to create a list of domains, or meaningful topics, based on a review of literature and the interview protocol. The second approach is to read through the interview transcripts and create domains based on the data that was collected. For this project, the second approach was used. Each member of the research team read the same two interview transcripts to begin. While reading through the transcripts, each team member noted topic areas that arose. After creating our own

lists, the team met to review the topic areas that we noted based on reviewing these same two interview transcripts. After meeting and agreeing on preliminary domains, we reviewed the remaining interview transcripts and edited the domain list. We reached stabilization with the domain list after reviewing approximately six out of the nine interviews. After creating the domain list, we sent the list and interviews to the two primary auditors who reviewed the list and provided us with feedback.

After incorporating the feedback from the auditors into our domain list, the research team began coding the data into the domains. Due to busy graduate student schedules, data was coded separately and reviewed together. The research team created a color-coding system with a color assigned to each domain. This allowed team members to consistently code data and allowed the primary researcher more consistency when comparing codes. Using the color-coding system also encouraged the team members to code each chunk of data within only one domain, helping us to avoid too much double or triple coding of data. Data that did not fit into any of the created domains was placed in the "Other" domain. This data was saved and revisited during the cross-analysis.

After each team member coded the data into each domain, data was sent to the primary researcher. At this point, the primary researcher reviewed all coded data to create a consensus version of each case. This required that the researcher create an Excel file in which data was placed in a table, sorted by domain, with each case, line number, and raw data. Each tab at the bottom of the Excel file represented one domain. Data that was double or triple coded was included in each domain on the Excel file for which it was assigned. Again, due to scheduling conflicts, many meetings between the research team took place via telephone and Internet communication. For example, when there was conflict between how raw data was coded, the

primary researcher created a Google poll that allowed the research team to vote on where they believed data best fit. The research team members were able to write in any explanations to defend their positions. If at least three out of four team members agreed on the placement of a block of data within a domain, it was assumed that consensus was reached. However, any vote that had less than three team members agree required formal discussion via conference call. As recommended by Hill et al. (2012), data was not sent to auditors at this point in analysis.

Constructing Core Ideas

The next step in the data analysis process was to construct core ideas, or summaries, of each chunk of data. These summaries of data points allow the researchers to more easily compare data across cases by putting the data into a simpler form that includes more context than the conversational nature of the interview. The core ideas, if constructed properly, were able to stand on their own without reading the rest of the interview. Hill et al. (2012) noted that there is a shortcut that can be used when constructing core ideas. Instead of meeting as a research team and reaching consensus together, one member of the team can construct all core ideas and team members can serve as auditors. For this dissertation project, the primary researcher constructed all core ideas and the research team served as internal auditors. The research team noted any places where they disagreed, and the team met via telephone to discuss how the core ideas could best be updated. At this point, the research team consisted of the primary researcher and two other graduate student researchers. One research team member was unable to continue working with the team because of changes to her schedule.

For data that was double or triple-coded, the core ideas were constructed for each specific domain. This means that even if the data was the same, the way it was summarized was in relation to the domain that was represented.

After the research team came to consensus about the core ideas that were constructed, the data was sent to the external auditors. Upon receipt of feedback from the auditors, changes were made to the core ideas when all three members of the research team agreed on the changes to be made.

Cross-Analysis

The most complicated step of the data analysis following CQR methodology is the cross-analysis, categorizing common themes across cases (Hill et al., 2012). The first step in the cross-analysis is to combine data across all cases into one, monster document. A similar format as the original table for the data was created, except that all cases were combined within each domain. The raw data was deleted from this version and only the core ideas that were constructed remained as the data in the table.

The research team met in person to begin the cross-analysis process. After combining all data into the monster document, categories and sub-categories within each domain were created by the research team. Beginning with one domain, the research team reviewed the core ideas to see common themes around which the data clustered. Each team member individually reviewed the data for a domain and created a list of themes. Next, each team member would read aloud their list of themes. If at least two of the three team members identified a similar theme, it was made into a category. Those that did not have that original consensus were discussed by all team members and determined whether or not they should be included. This process continued for three domains. Once the team members understood the process, they continued individually with each domain. After completing each domain, the team met to discuss in the same manner and reached a consensus about the categories and sub-categories that were created. At this time, the

list of categories and sub-categories for each domain was sent to the auditors to review. The research team incorporated feedback from the external auditors.

The next step was to separate core ideas into as many discrete units, or separate ideas, as possible. The primary researcher completed this task and the research team reviewed the data to be sure that they agreed. After breaking the core ideas into discrete units, each member of the research team coded the discrete units into the categories. Each team member worked in the same order, focusing on one domain at a time. Because the data consisted of 16 domains, 16 separate cross-analyses were conducted.

After completing this process for each domain, the research team members e-mailed their data to the primary researcher who created a consensus version of the data with each discrete unit separated into categories. If two out of three members of the team agreed about the placement of data, this was considered to be reaching consensus. After the primary researcher integrated the data from all team members, the team met to discuss areas in which they disagreed and updated the categories. The team was able to research a consensus about placement of data into the categories and sub-categories. Sorting the data into categories helped the team solidify categories that were good fits and delete categories that did not fit the data. The research team agreed that the originally created categories were too specific and worked to make the categories more general.

The cross-analysis was sent to the same two external auditors that audited the previous versions of the data. At this stage, a third external auditor who was familiar with qualitative research was added to offer a perspective from someone who was more removed from the data and process. Findings from the auditors were integrated.

The final stage of cross-analysis involves a frequency check to determine how representative the categories are for the sample in the study. For each domain, the primary researcher counted how many times core ideas for different participants were sorted within each category or sub-category. Each participants' data was only counted once per category, even if they had more than one core idea per category.

There are three frequency categorizations in CQR methodology. The first is the *general* category which is the label assigned if all or all but one participant's core idea falls within a category (n=8 or 9). A category that has data from more than half of participants but less than the general category is classified as *typical* (n= 5-7). If a category consists of data from at least two participants but less than half (n=2-4), the frequency is classified as *variant* (Hill et al., 2012). The use of frequencies to describe data is a hallmark of CQR, and what distinguishes CQR from other qualitative methodologies.

After classifying each category by frequency, a table was created to present the data, sorted into categories for each domain. This final table was sent to the dissertation chair, Edward Delgado-Romero to review, who had read every iteration of the research project and was familiar with CQR and qualitative methodology. Upon reviewing and meeting with Delgado-Romero, it was decided that some categories and sub-categories could be collapsed to avoid repetition and present the data in a stronger manner.

Researcher Subjectivity

Consensual Qualitative Research emphasizes the importance of all researchers involved in a project addressing their biases and expectations throughout the project; by addressing biases upfront, researchers avoid skewing the narratives of the participants interviewed in order to give voice to the lived realities of the participants (Hill, 2012). Being able to address various biases

and expectations that I hold has required an in-depth examination into my personal beliefs and values while examining my social identities and areas of privilege; this examination takes place continually.

At its simplest form, my social identity is as follows: White, heterosexual, cisgender, able-bodied, American, feminist, Jewish, atheist, woman, without significant mental health concerns, from an upper-middle class, highly educated family from the Northeast. When I first began this project, this was the view I held of myself as a social and cultural being. I was able to see all of the areas that I held privilege, and the areas where I have faced minor marginalization (religion and gender). Yet in interviewing my participants and analyzing the data, I have been able to take more time to reflect on where I come from, who I have become, and how I envision myself evolving as a cultural being.

Being born and raised in Framingham, MA has impacted the lens through which I view the world. I often felt embarrassed growing up when I would tell friends from wealthy neighboring towns that I lived in Framingham, which they would commonly refer to as "the ghetto." Reflecting back on these exchanges with friends, I am struck by the ease with which my peers from neighboring towns used the term "ghetto" to describe a town that is known for its racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic diversity. We were socialized to believe that anything that veered from White and rich, the norm, was problematic. I now wonder how others' perceptions of my town impacted my own perceptions at the time.

Although I counted down the days until I was able to leave Framingham for college, I am thankful for the decision my parents made to raise their children in this town. Although I lived on the North side of town, which was known for being more rural and wealthier, I was surrounded by classmates of various backgrounds. Walking down the hallways, I would often hear languages

other than English. In fact, over 40% of students at Framingham High School have a language other than English as their first language (Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education). Discussions about diversity were commonplace in classrooms; teachers emphasized the uniqueness of Framingham and encouraged students to take pride in being in this environment.

Even though I heard the messages about valuing diversity, I surrounded myself around other students that looked like me and shared backgrounds. Looking back, I am able to see the ways in which my own implicit biases may have played out with who I selected to be my friends, and I am also able to see the ways in which white supremacy infiltrated the public-school system. Early on, I was deemed a high-achieving student and placed in AP and Honors classes. Most of the other students who filled this high achieving pipeline were also White or of Asian descent. Though my town and school were racially, ethnically, linguistically, and socioeconomically diverse, my classes certainly were not. The cafeteria at lunch reflected this segregation. This school experience seems like breeding grounds for the stereotypical "well-meaning White person" who believes that given their upbringing and liberal worldviews that they cannot perpetuate systems of oppression. It has taken until graduate school for me to examine ways in which I subscribed to this worldview.

Throughout the interviews that I conducted for my dissertation, participants wondered about the intentions of people who claim to be allies. In hearing participants wonder about ally motivation, I took time to reflect on my own ally development. As previously mentioned, growing up in a town that valued diversity impacted my own development. While I may not have had the awareness growing up to recognize and explore my own privilege, I was aware that people with different backgrounds were in fact people. This has allowed me to have empathy for

others, especially when those of marginalized backgrounds are dehumanized. Similarly, my own Jewish cultural background has emphasized the importance of caring for others who are marginalized. Though I do not identify as religious, there are still aspects from my Jewish culture that influence how I treat others. The first is *tikkun olam* which means to heal the world. As a child, *tikkun olam* meant collecting *tzedakah,* charity, to donate to those in need. Giving *tzedakah* is considered to be a *mitzvah,* a good deed. As I have gotten older, I have seen that the value of *tikkun olam* has manifested in different ways. Living in New Orleans post-hurricane Katrina meant that I did work helping to rebuild a city and help people who lost most physical possessions and loved ones. New Orleans is the city that promoted my growth in early adulthood. Whether I was helping to rebuild homes or work with children and teens who were separated from their families, I implemented *tikkun olam* as I learned to be a social justice advocate. Presently, *tikkun olam* is present in my work as a graduate student in my clinical work, research, and teaching. I have also aimed to help and heal others by become involved in social justice movements in the Athens community.

In order to be an ally to others and practice *tikkun olam*, I have also had to implement a practice of *tikkun atzmi*, or healing the self. Though this second *tikkun* is something I have recently learned about, I have been able to take time to reflect upon how I care for myself. Self-care is a value held by helping professionals, though it may be hard to implement in real life. I believe that implementing self-care has been one of my strengths in my adult life. I am able to care for myself by practicing yoga, exercising regularly, eating food that makes me feel good, surrounding myself with supportive people, doing activities that I enjoy like watching tv or socializing with friends. By caring for myself regularly and intentionally, I practice *tikkun atzmi*. In order to practice *tikkun olam* and begin healing the world, being in a place in which I

successfully heal and care for myself is of utmost importance. I believe that in order to care for others, one must care for themself. However, I also believe that these two practices can occur concurrently. As I reflect, grow, and care for myself, I am ultimately able to care for others. Similarly, caring for and helping others is a way that I care for myself; they are parallel processes that both matter.

Judaism often reminds Jewish people never to forget their history. Specifically, the stories within the Torah and other Jewish texts note the history of persecution of the Jewish people. With Biblical events such as the Jews' exodus from Egypt to recent historical events, such as the Holocaust, and current anti-Semitism, Jewish people are always told to remember where they come from. Having this message instilled in me as a child may have inspired my interest in helping others and being an ally to those who experience mistreatment. I do not experience discrimination on a daily basis and my Jewish identity is mostly invisible. Therefore, I have a sense of relative safety. Yet, given the history I was taught, I can imagine what it would be like to be discriminated against or mistreated based on an identity I hold. As a person with all of the privilege that I hold allows me to take a stance against the marginalization of others that is present.

In addition to my Jewish culture, my family of origin has played a role in my motivation to be an ally to those who face marginalization. My parents modeled how to be helpers that promote social justice in their professional lives. As a teacher, my mom worked primarily with students from low-income families who spoke English as a second language. My dad, a criminal defense attorney, represented clients that faced marginalization based on race/ethnicity, language, and socioeconomic status. Both of my parents could have chosen to work with populations that would have led to higher salaries and more prominence in dominant

communities, yet they chose to work with populations that are often forgotten in mainstream U.S. society. Though it may not have been conscious on their part and they may not have had the language to express this way of being, my parents modeled for me how to use their positions of privilege to help people that may not have the same benefits in society. Being an ally in this way was the norm to me so I did not necessarily think of another way to act.

Although giving back to the community in which I reside has been important to me since childhood, it was not until graduate school at the University of Georgia that I was able to examine ways in which I may have been working *for* these communities instead of *with* them. In recent years, I have examined ways in which my actions, though well-intentioned, may not have had the impact I would want, and actually perpetuated systems of white supremacy. In order to continue developing as a culturally competent professional and person, I have been taking time to learn more about systems of oppression and reflect upon my privilege. Becoming involved with local organizations in the Athens community, working with the ¡BIEN! research team, and joining a social justice book club are ways in which I have taken steps toward educating myself, instead of relying on others to teach me. One of the more impactful steps I have taken in my own growth and reflection has been participating in the Exploring White Privilege Group at the College of Education at UGA. Having this space to talk with other like-minded individuals and process our experiences has been helpful. A space was created in which we were able to ask questions and make mistakes with each other to avoid harming others. I have learned, for example, that I may be able to use my privilege most successfully to influence other people with similar shared privileged identities; I have safety to confront people with privilege, which my peers of marginalized identities may not have. This is one way in which I can work *with* these communities.

Working on this dissertation project has forced me to confront biases. I have had to take time to reflect on defensiveness that came up for me during interviews and data analysis. For example, hearing participants share their distrust of White self-identified allies forced me to think about ways in which I have inappropriately taken up space or silenced those from marginalized groups. I also wondered what made me an ally and thought about how I adopted this label on my own. Sometimes confronting privilege can create defensiveness, but this discomfort ultimately leads to growth.

Additionally, I have been forced to be more flexible as it relates to time. As a White person of European descent, I view time as concrete and inflexible. However, in working with more people of color and specifically working on this project, I have learned that different cultures view the concept of time differently. This observation is consistent with Jones' (2003) TRIOS model. For example, as I previously mentioned, I planned to collect data at the NLPA Biennial Meeting in October of 2016. However, once I arrived at the conference and began networking, I learned that potential participants were interested, but did not want to participate during the conference. I had envisioned collecting my data within two days, but instead collected data over a six-month period. The participants viewed time differently than me, and I learned how to be more flexible and adjust my timeline accordingly. Additionally, this demonstrated the difference between my individualistic worldviews and the participants' more collectivist worldviews. Whereas I envisioned the NLPA conference as a time to conduct research and move forward with my own project, the participants viewed NLPA as a time to create community and celebrate with friends. It was challenging for me to feel set back on my timeline. I expected that the dissertation project would take under a year to complete after proposing, but it instead took close to two years.

Having a team to help with this project has helped with the process, as has having Dr. Delgado-Romero and our ¡BIEN! team. I am human. I will always have biases. I will operate from a specific worldview. Yet, as I continue to evolve and develop, I hope to continue being able to reflect upon and critique my perspectives and experiences.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Introduction

This chapter presents results from interviews with a sample of women (n = 9) who self-identify as Latinas, feminists, and psychologists. The purpose of this research study was to investigate how feminist Latina psychologists navigated their various intersecting identities. In particular, this study explored how Latina psychologists negotiated their feminist identity while considering significant cultural ideals. Additionally, this study explored implications for allies in psychology. Specifically, this research project explored ways in which allies from dominant groups can make feminism, and society, more inclusive, especially for those that identify as Latinx. The primary research questions guiding this study were:

- How do participants capture and conceptualize the meaning of their identity as it relates to feminism?

- How do participants understand the development of their mestiza consciousness in regard to their identities as women who are Latina, feminist, psychologists?

- What are participants' expectations of feminist allies?

This research project included semi-structured interviews (Appendix A). Specific participant demographic information was not collected. Each of the interviews lasted between 45 minutes and 1 hour and 30 minutes, depending on the length of time the participant wanted to spend being interviewed. Interviews took place over Skype, telephone, or face-to-face. Interviews were completed between February 2017 and September 2017. All interviews were audio recorded by

the primary researcher. Interviews were transcribed by the primary researcher and members of

the research team. Each interview was reviewed by a second team member for accuracy. Each

participant was e-mailed a copy of the transcript for member checking to be sure that

participants' experiences were accurately represented (Hays & Singh, 2012; Williams &

Morrow, 2009). Participants were able to e-mail back feedback and changes to be made. All

participants chose a nickname to use for identification; participants were able to use their real

name if they preferred. Table 1 provides a list of participants' chosen names.

Table 1.

Summary of Participant Nicknames

Participant Number	Participant Nickname
1	Graciela
2	Michelle
3	Lourdes
4	Lifelong Learner
5	Estrella
6	Camella
7	Angela
8	Celia
9	Elizabeth

Table 2 provides a summary of participant demographic information. Because a demographic form was not completed, the table represents demographic information that was shared during interviews.

Table 2.

Summary of Participant Demographics

Participant Name	Gender	Sexual Orientation	Degree	Current Position	Current Geographic Region	Immigrant Status	Family Origins
Graciela	Woman		Psy. D.	University Counseling Center	West Coast	Born in Mainland U.S.	
Michelle	Woman	Queer	Ph.D. Counseling Psychology	Private Practice and University Counseling Center	West Coast	Born in Mainland U.S.	Mexico
Lourdes	Woman		Ed.D. Counseling Psychology	Professor	Southwest	Born in Mainland U.S.	Mexico
Lifelong Learner	Woman		Ph.D. Counseling Psychology	Professor	Southwest	Born in Mainland U.S.	Mexico
Estrella	Woman	Heterosexual	Ph.D. Counseling Psychology	Professor	Southwest	Born in Puerto Rico	Puerto Rico and Cuba
Camella	Woman	Bisexual	Ph.D. Counseling Psychology	Private Practice	West South Central	Born in Mainland U.S.	Mexico
Angela		Heterosexual	Ph.D. Counseling Psychology	Private Practice	Southeast	Born in Colombia	Colombia
Celia	Woman	Queer	Ph.D. Counseling Psychology	Professor	West Coast	Born in Mainland U.S.	Guatemala and Puerto Rico
Elizabeth	Woman		Psy.D.	Psychologist in Federally Qualified Health Center	West Coast	Born in Mainland U.S.	Mexico

The research methodology selected for this project was Consensual Qualitative Research (CQR). CQR is a methodology created by Hill and colleagues in 1997 and combines phenomenology, grounded theory, and other approaches (Hays & Singh, 2012; Hill, Thompson, & Williams, 1997). CQR requires researchers to remain close to the data without making too many interpretations. Additionally, the methodology requires consensus between all members of the research team. This allows for consistency among the data points and sharing of power between team members (Hays & Singh, 2012).

Fifteen domains emerged from the data. Table 3 provides a summary of results across domains, categories, and sub-categories. Included in this table are the frequencies for each category and sub-category. The frequency labels used are *general, typical,* and *variant*. The *general* label is used for any category with all or all but one participant with the idea. The *typical* label is used if an idea is stated by more than half of the participants. The *variant* category is used for an idea from at least two of the participants but less than half.

Table 3.

Summary of Domains, Categories, and Subcategories from the Cross-Analysis

Domains	Categories	Sub-Categories	Frequency
Feminism			
	Feminism as Salient Identity		General
		Development	General
		Intersectionality	General

Conflict with Feminism	Typical
Feminism as For/By White Women and Only Cis Women	Typical
Developing Personal Definitions/Meanings of Feminism	Typical
The "Label"	Variant

Gender Identity and Gender Dynamics

Navigating a Variety of Gender Roles/Norms	Typical
Within Family and Labor at Home	Typical
Gender Socialization	Variant
American/U.S. vs. Latinx Expectations of Women	Typical

Family

Members of Family	General
Family and Gender	Variant
Roles/Dynamics	Typical
Family Support/Influence of Feminism	General
Expectations	

Education	Typical
Family Roles	Variant
Family Origins	Typical
Mentorship and Influences	
People and Mentors	General
Female and Feminist Leaders and Mentors	Typical
Readings/Literature	Typical
Life Experiences	Variant
Salient Identities and Identity Development	
Cultural Identity in Regard to U.S.	Variant
Mestiza Consciousness/Borderlands/Intersectionality	General
Shifting Identities	Typical
Identity Development	Typical
Latinidad	Typical
Colorism/Physical Appearance	Variant
Identity and Family	Variant

Context-Specific	Typical
Identity Challenges	Typical
Identity Saliency	General
Multiculturalism and Cultural Influence	
Conflict and Challenges Based on Culture	Variant
Dynamic Views of Culture and Multiculturalism Based on Geographic Location and Family Background	Typical
Allies	
Allies of Color	Variant
Characteristics of True Allies	General
Self-Reflection and Self-Awareness	Variant
Humility	Variant
Listening	Variant
Genuineness and Authenticity	Typical
Allies in Workplace	Typical
Problems with Allies	General

Self-Interest and Self-Identified	Typical
Distrust of Ally Motivation	Variant
Reciprocity	Variant
Participants' Role as Ally	Variant
White Allies	Variant
Positive Experiences with White Allies	Typical
Feminist Allies	Variant
Education and Psychology Journey	
Educational Trajectory	Typical
Deciding to Pursue Psychology	General
Generational Status as Student	Typical
Navigating Educational System	Typical
Difficulties/Struggles/ Discrimination	Typical
Programs of Study and Chosen Major	General
K-12 Education	Variant
Personal Life	

Romantic Relationships	Typical
Social Relationships	Typical
Self-Care	Variant
Expectations of What Personal Life Should Look Like	Variant
Conflict	Variant
Views of Self/Personal Qualities	Typical
Professional Life	
Career Trajectory	Typical
Current Career	Typical
Past Jobs/Careers	Typical
Identities Intersecting with Career	General
Gender and Feminism	Typical
Being a Minority in the Workplace	Typical
Incorporating Social Justice and Multiculturalism	Typical
Workplace Relationships	General
Psychologists Hold Various Roles	Variant

Personal x Professional Intersection	Typical
Language	
Code-Switching	Typical
Language and Family	Typical
Bilingualism and Profession	Variant
Discrimination	Variant
Privilege	
Navigating Space in Between (*Nepantla*) or Privilege is Space Dependent	Variant
SES, Education, and Career	Typical
Privilege and Positionality to Support Others	Typical
Isolation and Oppression	
Lack of Representation/Difficulty Related to Identities	Variant
Fear of Speaking Up and Feeling Alone	Typical
Supporting Others Through Their Experiences of Isolation	Variant
Others' Perceptions and Expectations	General

Intersection of Identities Leads to Isolation/Oppression	Typical
Protection from Discrimination/Mistreatment	Variant
Community	
NLPA	Variant
Geographic Location	General
Conflict, Challenge, and Isolation Within Community	Typical
Support	Typical
From Other POC and Based on Shared and Marginalized Identities	Typical
Participation in Project	
Reason for Participating	General
Impact of Participating	Typical

Domain 1: Feminism

This domain arose from the semi-structured interview questions related to the first research question. Participants generally endorsed a feminist identity, though this identity may not have held the same meaning for each participant and may have changed over time.

Feminism as a Salient Identity

All but one participant specifically discussed feminism as a salient identity. In this discussion of feminism, the eight participants who discussed their feminist identity specifically used the term feminist in some manner to describe how they identified. Some participants used descriptors such as third-wave, multicultural, or intersectional to describe their feminist identity.

Development of Feminist Identity. All nine participants discussed the development of their feminist identities. Some participants could not identify a time when they began identifying as feminists and identified this way for as long as they could remember. Other participants developed a feminist identity later in life. Some participants began to identify as feminists after beginning clinical work with women and seeing the inequalities they faced while others learned about feminism during their undergraduate and graduate educations.

Intersectionality of Feminist Identity. All but one participant discussed intersectionality as it relates to their feminist identity. Participants discussed how their feminist identities related to other identities that they held. They discussed the importance of considering other variables associated with identity when understanding feminism. One participant, Estrella, stated, "feminism isn't just black and white and so you have all these identities and there are things competing." Michelle noted that feminism "is often about gender but… [the way in her graduate training] we always processed it was always around these different variables." Angela mentioned the importance of considering how her gender identity influences her views on feminism and how that may conflict with her Catholic upbringing.

Conflict with Feminism

Five out of nine participants noted general conflicts with feminism. Three participants noted ways in which traditional feminism did not fit the way they identified. For example,

Lifelong Learner stated that seeing women burning their bras and wearing short shorts was too strident and in conflict with their Latinx cultural values:

> Latinas were like 'Oh My God that's indecent, you know' (laughter)… You know this idea that you can show whatever part of your body you want, and you can get away with it, I didn't agree with that. And so, there were so many things in feminism that were scary, were strident, and too out there, and not modest enough.

Other participants spoke about traditional feminism not always fitting perfectly, but the mujerista movement not fitting their ideals either. Lourdes stated: "And I think… the Latina ideology through mujerista sounds a little at times limiting because it's only about liberating other Latinas and I don't see that as how I limit myself…I really want for…all women to feel liberated and empowered." Celia stated that she does not connect with the mujerista movement "because it feels so straight…and I am not straight at all and I haven't been since like 15." While Celia was the only participant to discuss the heteronormativity of the mujerista movement, seven out of the nine participants noted how feminism in general was created for and by White, cisgender women.

Feminism as For/By Only White Cisgender Women. A major criticism of feminism made by the participants was its exclusionary nature. Out of the nine participants, seven commented on feminism being for and by White women and only cisgender women. Graciela stated: "[I] certainly don't see feminism as being entirely inclusive of everybody." Camella specifically noted "the historical origins of feminism as being a white women's movement" with Lifelong Learner adding that she never "connect[s] with traditional white feminists or their movement." These seven participants highlighted the lack of representation of those who do not

identify as White or cisgender in the feminist movement. They noted how much stronger the feminist movement would be if all people were made more visible. Specifically, Celia said:

> I mean so I can think of all the trans women of color that I know, like Latinas, and I used to only work with trans women… and like they need to feel welcomed and if a movement actually centralized their voices, we would be the most badass movement because we would consider all the ways the system doesn't work with marginalized groups.

For these Latina feminist psychologists, representation of more than just White women was important.

Developing Personal Definitions and Meanings of Feminism

Seven out of nine participants discussed developing their own definitions and meanings of feminism. Angela stated that she has her own definition of feminism but did not elaborate further. Estrella observed her own version of feminism manifest in boundary setting. Michelle's version of feminism is more compatible with *mujerismo* because of the incorporation of spirituality. Lourdes' definition of feminism centers on addressing inequities and a "desire for personal or self-empowerment for women collectively." Both Lifelong Learner and Elizabeth defined their version of feminism as being related to equality for all. Lifelong Learner classified herself as a "feminist on the sidelines" which means that she fights for her rights and other women's rights but does not want to be part of a specific movement. Similarly, Elizabeth stated that she is not a vocal feminist, but demonstrates her feminist identity in more subtle ways, such as where she chooses to spend her money.

Graciela defined feminism as follows:

Well for me it means appreciating all aspects of what it means to be a woman or somebody who…either identifies as a woman so…maybe someone who's gender non-

conforming… It means looking at the separate intersections of identities and how we are

not created equal and yes, while some of us might be connected based on our biological

sex organs, that doesn't create a unique experience for everybody and so I think…we

really have to recognize that um there's certain discrepancies and disparities that exist…

just being aware of our own privileges I think but I think it's not all encompassing. It's

not a perfect term but it certainly for me means being active and being aware of all the

difference, where we mess up and um where we can help people and bring each other up

as well.

Though these seven participants all identify as feminists, the meaning of feminism is different

for each of them.

The "Label" Associated with Feminism

Four out of nine participants commented on the label associated with the term feminism.

Three of these four participants noted that when they began to identify as feminists, there was

not another term they were familiar with that captured this identity. Thinking about the feminist

label forced one participant in particular to think about how she used this term. Another

participant stated that she never uses the term feminist on its own and prefers some type of

qualifier with this feminist label.

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Domain 2: Gender Identity and Gender Dynamics

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Navigating a Variety of Gender Roles and Norms

Five out of the nine participants discussed the various gender roles and norms they have

navigated or witnessed members of their families navigating. Four out of these five discussed

navigating these gender norms in professional settings. One participant, Lourdes, talked about

how she saw the pressure her female therapy clients experienced to conform to traditional gender

roles while Celia noted the caretaking and emotional labor that women are often responsible for in her department. Angela described her parents' more progressive gender roles in their business; Angela's father valued the hard work of women and hired women exclusively to work in his factory.

In addition to navigating these gender norms in a professional setting, some participants also discussed how gender norms and roles shifted over time. Lifelong Learner has a husband who caters to her and takes on domestic tasks in the home, which is different than her more traditional family is used to. Estrella recounted the story of her feminist mother having different expectations for higher education for her son than her daughter and how she needed to change those expectations so that both children had the same opportunities. Angela told of her parents' shifting roles as her mother became unable to care for herself and the home as she was once able; Angela's father was able to step up and take on more of the labor in the home.

Gender Roles Within Family and Labor at Home. Within the category of navigating a variety of gender roles, the specific sub-category that emerged was related specifically to gender roles within the family and labor in the home. Seven out of the nine participants discussed this sub-category, though it was discussed differently among participants. Some participants discussed the traditional gender roles they witnessed in their homes growing up. There were expectations of what tasks men and women had within the family. Some participants discussed their traditional parents not understanding their desires for higher education instead of focusing solely on marrying and having biological children. Other participants noted the non-traditional gender roles in their homes. These participants watched the women take on leadership roles within the family or watched their fathers take care of home tasks such as cooking. One

participant described her struggle with her parents' traditional gender roles in the home, despite their more progressive gender roles outside of the home:

> I couldn't understand why my mom would cater to my dad so much. My dad was an able-bodied man who worked just as hard as my mom. Because my mom worked really hard. My mother and dad always worked together in their business. They had a business and all the time, you know, my mom worked alongside him doing whatever he needed to be done. So, I couldn't understand why when they would come home my dad would sit and read the paper and my mom would cook and clean the home and do this and do that. And she would get aggravated because she had so much to do but she would never make him do anything.

Though this participant and her mother were both aggravated by her father's role in the home, nothing was done to change it. However, when her mother became unable to perform the home tasks later in life, her father stepped in and now cares for her mother in the way her mother once cared for him. The participant later learned that these traditional gender roles were the way in which her parents demonstrated their love and respect for one another.

Another participant discussed how her father had a traditional dynamic in his own relationship but expected differently for his children:

> And he has always been unwavering in his support and pretty progressive in a lot of ways. It's weird because he still has these weird gender dynamics with my mom but for me somehow, he treats me as like special and different, you know. Like I'm his daughter and he doesn't want me to be in those kinds of dynamics. Like I sometimes think he is definitely delighted that I'm not in a relationship with a guy. Which is really funny… I

think he worries that I wouldn't have my freedom and I wouldn't have the things he

would want for me. You know, like my life and my career.

This sentiment was shared throughout other interviews. Parents of participants did not always

hold the same expectations for themselves as they did for their children, though some parents had

more traditional expectations for their children, the participants, than themselves.

Gender Socialization

Four out of nine participants discussed the ways that they observed themselves or others

be socialized to behave like women were supposed to. Two participants noted the ways in which

women are socialized to be nurturers, caring for others, including partners. Lifelong Learner

stated that this did not seem very feminist to her but was something she still did. Lourdes

commented on women's voices; she stated that it is important for women to counter their softer

voices with more decisiveness to be taken seriously.

Another participant, Estrella, reported that she was socialized to be strong and

independent because that is how all of the other women in her family were. Estrella was unaware

that there was another way of being for women. Angela became aware of the ways in which

women were socialized when she would hear her parents discussing their friends' dislike of

women working at their factory. She had previously assumed that it was normal for women to

work outside of the home and did not realize that this may have been frowned upon until

listening to her parents discuss their friends' views.

U.S. versus Latinx Expectations of Women

There were five participants that discussed the difference between U.S. and Latinx

expectations of women. Two participants specifically discussed their understandings of

marianismo and how it related to their experiences. Lourdes discussed the "innate powers that

come with…being a Latina" and how it related to a recent book chapter she wrote about the Maria Paradox. According to Lourdes, the Maria Paradox has its own ten commandments that state women should be long-suffering, never ask for help, nurture, etc.; these are the Latinx expectations of women, but Lourdes notes that "women, Latinas, have worked around those." Lourdes stated

> [I] learned a lot about multitasking which I think women in general do…I've learned about networking…and being resourceful because that was required in order to get things done…Even though the 10 commandments say don't ask for help. You know, there are many times where as a woman, I've had to ask in order to…get something done.

Lourdes learned how to blend the Latinx expectations of women with a more progressive perspective in order to be successful from a U.S. point of view. Estrella stated that she did not learn about *marianismo* until higher education because as a Caribbean woman, there were different expectations of women that were not in line with *marianismo*. Specifically, Estrella stated,

> …you know the sort of traditional women role in other countries as compared to Cuba, Puerto Rico, it has nothing to do…that whole staying silent and not saying anything. Like are you kidding me? It was the woman in the house that was like I'm going to tell you what and you're going to sit there and listen to me. (laughter) So I always had very strong women around me. The expectation was always that I was also going to be a strong woman. It wasn't even an expectation that I was going to be; it was a notification…

The Latinx expectation of women in the Caribbean differed from the traditional Latinx gender roles as described in marianismo/the Maria Complex, complicating our understanding of gender dynamics within Latinx families.

Other participants reported about learning that Latinx expectations were different than U.S. expectations of women and men, whether it was who worked outside of the home or the rights that individuals had. Lifelong Learner noted how her family members struggled with the intersection of gender and authority. She shared the following anecdote about a visit with her family at work:

> I was Associate Dean… of the graduate college and my aunt and uncle who are not real comfortable in academic settings came to visit with my mother. And… my uncle thought…I introduced everyone around and then my boss, the dean, comes in. She's small, she's tiny and she's from India… she makes the time to come and say hello, which was really generous because she's real busy. Then somebody who works for me comes in. He's an older white gentleman… And then my uncle is very deferential and I'm looking at that and then after he leaves he says, "oh so that's your boss." And I said, "no, I'm his boss." And he said and "he's the big boss." And I said, "No! He works for me." And he says but "he's the big boss." And I'm like, "No! Ramona is." And he didn't even take notice of my boss 'cause she was small, and from Southern India, and she was tiny with a dark complexion. And he just completely disregarded her entirely. And I was… and my aunt is like "No! Ramona the tiny woman from India is."

This story demonstrates that Lifelong Learner's uncle expected that a White man would have more power in the workplace than both the Indian and Latina women, demonstrating these more traditional views of women's roles.

Domain 3: Family

Members of Family

All nine participants discussed their family members. Participants shared about members of their families of origin including parents and siblings. Grandparents, cousins, aunts, and uncles were also discussed. Within these discussions, participants also shared about family careers and family marriages. Participants were not specifically prompted about their families in the interview but were asked about their upbringing which ultimately led all participants to discuss family.

Family and Gender

Gender was explored as it related to the participants' families. Four out of nine participants spoke about family and gender more broadly. For example, Lifelong Learner described the men in her family as chauvinistic and Lourdes described the domestic violence that many of her aunts experienced from her blue-collar uncles. Participants spoke more specifically about gender roles and dynamics within the family and family support and influence in their feminist identities.

  Roles and Dynamics. Seven participants discussed gender roles and dynamics, specifically within their families. Five of these seven participants spoke about members of their families empowering them to do whatever they wanted with their lives, regardless of their gender. For example, Michelle shared,

> …my parents were always just affirming me and believed that I could achieve anything and that nothing could get in my way and that I deserved, you know, like I just was entitled to have these equal rights. And I just remember being a kid and they always

raised me up to believe that I had these rights, that I had these entitlements, that I had the right to this space.

Similarly, Camella shared that because of her family dynamics, she and her sisters "grew up knowing women had a place at every table."

The remaining two participants discussed challenges they faced with the gender roles and dynamics that played out within their families. Lifelong Learner described that her parents were criticized for their gender roles. Lifelong Learner's mother worked a white-collar job while her father worked a blue-collar job; her mother 'wore the pants' in their relationship. Lifelong Learner believed that this gender dynamic and the criticism her father received from other family members may have contributed to her parents' divorce. Angela described her frustration with her father's progressive gender dynamics outside of the home, but traditional views about his own marriage. Angela's father received backlash from people about the way he ran his business by employing women yet could not understand Angela's frustration about his views of women in the home.

Family Support and Influence of Feminism. Eight of the nine participants disclosed that their families were influential in the development of their feminist identities. Seven of the eight participants stated that their parents specifically inspired their feminist identities, though it may not have been explicitly stated or related to feminism at the time. In fact, some participants mentioned that their parents would not identify as feminists themselves even though they believed in feminist values. However, others, like Graciela and Estrella, had parents who were actively involved and dedicated to feminist movements. Some participants, like Celia, divulged that witnessing their family members experience hardship inspired them to be feminists:

I really think that my mom and my aunt were crucial. To see them really struggle, you

know. And it was really hard because it's not just about them being women but to be

women that were at one point…undocumented. My mom having very little formal

education and my tía had more but maybe had a sixth-grade education, eighth-grade at

most. So like all the ways being a woman impacted them. And um you know throughout

their lives. And then arriving in the U.S. and being women of color and their background

and being undocumented

Celia observed her mother and aunt struggling as undocumented women of color and realized

that caring about and fighting for women was crucial.

Some participants noted that it was not just women in their family that inspired their

feminist identities. In fact, some male family members were critical in this identity development.

Estrella noted that her father and uncles were instrumental in teaching her about feminism. Celia

highlighted her father's support and lack of machismo as important influences to her

development.

Expectations Within Family

Though many of the participants were able to discuss their family support of feminism,

they also highlighted expectations that their families held for them including expectations related

to education and family roles.

Expectations about Education. Six participants discussed their families' expectations of

them as it related to their education. Five participants mentioned their parents' support of their

education, though three of those five had parents that did not fully understand what achieving a

higher education meant.

Expectations about Family Roles. Four participants talked about expectations that their families held about the participants' roles within their families. Participants disclosed expectations to have biological children, be married, and care for aging/sick parents. In fact, Lifelong Learner shared that her extended family believed she struggled with infertility because she waited to have children and focused on her career first. Lourdes and Camella described their families' expectations that they would have biological children. Camella's parents could not understand why she would choose to adopt her children and be a single parent by choice.

Family Origins

Seven participants mentioned their families' location of origin. One participant was born in Colombia. Three participants shared that their parents were immigrants to the United States from countries and territories including Mexico, Guatemala, and Puerto Rico. Two participants said that their parents were raised in the United States in Texas and New Mexico. One participant shared that her grandmother was from Oaxaca, an Indian community in the south of Mexico. Though all nine participants identify as Latinx, their family origins were not the same.

Domain 4: Mentorship and Influences

Influential People and Mentors

Eight of the nine participants referred to specific people and mentors that influenced them in their development. Three participants shared about supportive mentors they encountered in their graduate and professional training. Two participants acknowledged that they faced difficulty in finding and working with mentors. Lifelong Learner shared that she has difficulty with mentors because she finds them to be bossy and questions their motives for mentoring her. Estrella stated that she was unable to find mentorship during her undergraduate studies. Two participants talked about different mentorship styles. One observed that Latinas mentor

differently by blending their personal and professional lives. The other shared her experiences with different mentors and advisors to demonstrate that they each provided something different for her. Mentorship is not one size fits all.

Female and Feminist Leaders and Mentors. Five participants specifically described women who were influential to them. Three participants identified people professionally who influenced their feminist identity. Camella and Angela described professors, advisors, and faculty who were feminists and changed their views of feminism. Lourdes spoke about her experience with feminist psychologists and sociologists, such as Jean Baker Miller who inspired Lourdes to focus on female leadership and empowerment. Others were influenced by more informal mentors, including family members like the vocal, strong Caribbean women in Estrella's family or the family members of Lifelong Learner who held feminist values without identifying as feminists.

Influential Readings and Literature

Five participants identified various pieces of literature that influenced their feminist identity development. Two participants specifically identified the work of Lillian Comas-Díaz as influential and one identified Gloria Anzaldúa's writing as influential. The five participants noted that reading feminist scholarship and learning feminist theory was crucial in this aspect of their feminist identity development.

Significant Life Experiences

Two participants discussed the impact of significant life experiences on their feminist identity development. Graciela recounted learning about feminism through the National Organization of Women (NOW); NOW provided Graciela and her sister with the language to refer to themselves as feminists in their childhood. This experience demonstrated to Graciela the

importance of social justice and is something she continues to practice. Lifelong Learner detailed an experience that played a role in her entering a helping profession. Lifelong Learner's mother worked as a social worker and Lifelong Learner would often spend time at her mother's office after school. She remembered:

> I would sit in her office and wait for her and listen to her on the phone and sometimes she would speak to clients and I would go outside and wait in the lobby. Just sit in the lobby and wait. And I remember my mother saying to me…I said somebody smelled, that they smelled bad, and my mom got really angry and she said she never wanted to hear me say anything like that again. That… these people are good people…they just need a little bit of help. That they were suffering.

This experience in childhood was significant in Lifelong Learner's professional development.

Domain 5: Salient Identities and Identity Development

Cultural Identity Within the United States

Three participants described their cultural identity as it related to a United States context. Estrella, born and raised in Puerto Rico, moved to New Jersey for college; this transition was challenging for her. Estrella described having a colonial mentality and realized that the way she perceived herself was different than those who lived on the mainland of the United States. For example, Estrella shared:

> I arrived in New Jersey and was told that I was a woman of color. I remember the moment… I was in a dorm room that was jammed with two African American women, a Latina woman…born in the U.S., and me. (laughs)... I said, "as a white woman blah blah blah" … because I was trying to acknowledge a privilege, and the Latina woman almost had me for dinner. I mean she became automatically enraged and basically said, "how

could you call yourself white? You're Latina!" and I said, "of course I'm Latina I was

born and raised in Puerto Rico I have no doubt that I'm Latina but look at my skin, like

what do you want me to tell you? I don't know what to tell you" and she was like, "you

are a woman of color." (laughter)

Estrella conceptualized her identity differently as someone born and raised in Puerto Rico than

someone born and raised in a mainstream U.S. culture.

Angela shared a similar story of her perception of herself changing when she moved to

the United States from Colombia. Before moving, Angela felt proud to be Colombian, but when

she moved to the United States, the show *Miami Vice* was very popular. She realized at this time

that people in the U.S. viewed Colombians as drug traffickers. Angela stated, "I was really

embarrassed to tell people I was from Colombia because immediately people would assume that

I somehow was connected or had done drugs or knew somebody that did drugs or dealt drugs."

This stereotypical negative representation of Colombia in the mainstream U.S. culture impacted

Angela's interactions with others and her own views on her culture.

Mestiza Consciousness, Borderlands, and Intersectionality

All nine participants discussed their identity as it related to mestiza consciousness,

borderlands, and/or intersectionality. Participants discussed their various identities as both a

source of pride and struggle. For example, Michelle stated that she is proud to be

Mexican/Latina, but the intersection of her class, education, heritage, and experiences make it

difficult to put herself into boxes. She struggles when she has to separate her identities. For

example, as someone who identifies as Latinx and queer, at conferences Michelle is often forced

to choose between programming that matches her identities because the programming is not as

intersectional. Similarly, Angela, Elizabeth, Celia, and Graciela mentioned struggling to navigate

their intersecting identities and struggling to compartmentalize various aspects of their identities yet still appreciating these intersecting identities. Others discussed past struggles with intersectionality. For example, Celia talked about the intersection of religion and sexual orientation as troublesome earlier in her development.

Estrella, Camella, Angela, and Elizabeth spoke specifically about the development of their mestiza consciousness. Estrella noted that her mestiza consciousness development was more of a conscious process and she relied on readings, work, talking to people, webinars, and putting herself out there to explore it. Estrella was unable to think of a time when her identities as a Latina, woman, feminist, and psychologist were in conflict. Camella stated that though she always holds the same identities, her experience of her mestiza consciousness depends on where she is. When Angela thought of her mestiza consciousness, it related closely to intersectionality and less to the mestiza experience because of the inclusion of race. Elizabeth's mestiza consciousness development was influenced by reading works by feminist authors who wrote on the topic.

Lourdes and Angela discussed their experiences in the borderlands. Lourdes thinks of herself as being raised biculturally because of her Mexican-American borderland identity. She said, "I really love the concept of borderlands. And what it does is really authenticate life experiences…I think the borderlands applies to almost anyone when you see that there's a part of your identity that you have to manage differently…in a society that is not so accepting of differences." Like Lourdes, Angela felt that she was on the bridge straddling two cultures. When she is in the United States, she is viewed as a foreigner yet when she goes back to Colombia she does not quite fit in. Straddling the borderlands can be especially challenging when there is not a place where one feels she can fit.

Shifting Identities

Six participants highlighted a shift in how they or their families identified over time. Four participants credited this shift in identity with specific events such as moving locations, attending graduate school, and entering different professional realms. These events impacted how the participants perceived themselves and how they identified socially. Two participants discussed a shift in religion. Lifelong Learner highlighted her family's conversion to a fundamentalist religion while Celia mentioned her move away from the Catholic church for a specific period in her development.

Identity Development

In addition to discussing how their identities have shifted over time, participants also shared about the process of their identity development. Five participants discussed their own identity development and identity development in general. Participants discussed what contributed to their identity development. One participant discussed her authored identity development model. Another wondered about the role of *marianismo* in her identity development. One participant credits being raised in a Latino area with fairly progressive parents as crucial for her identity development and allowing her identities to be more congruent. Two participants discussed experiences of discomfort or making errors in relation to navigating their identities and learning from them.

Latinidad

Five participants spoke directly about their identities as Latinas and all that comes with this identity. Three participants shared that being Spanish-speaking connects them with this notion of *latinidad*. Others shared that learning about the history and culture associated with their countries of origin connected them to being Latina. Angela became connected to *latinidad* when

she met an American-born Colombian in college who took pride in his Colombian heritage. At the time, Angela was attempting to hide this part of her identity. Witnessing her friend's Colombian flag in his dorm room and his ability to speak Spanish juxtaposed Angela's own experience. Angela now sees how her children connect to this sense of *latinidad*. Her red-haired, half-American son wears a button on his backpack that says, "soy Latino" and her daughter became a Colombian citizen. *Latinidad* looked different for the participants but demonstrated a sense of pride in identifying as Latina.

   Colorism and Physical Appearance. Four participants specifically spoke about colorism and physical appearance as it related to this sense of *latinidad*. Two participants talked about not being viewed as Latinx because of a lighter skin complexion. Because they may not be initially identified as Latinx, it becomes important to confront the status quo and use their light-skin privilege to challenge others. Lourdes discussed how her skin tone reflects the Indian heritage in her family. She identifies as having dark skin although others may not agree with her classification of her color. Camella shared that although she is American, she has been asked to show her green card by officials to prove that she is in the U.S. legally. She believed that the officials viewed her as undocumented because of her skin color and physical appearance.

Identity and Family

   Four participants indicated a component of their identity as it related to family. Participants discussed their identities based on their maternal status and marital status. They also compared the ways in which they identified to ways in which family members identified. One participant shared that she saw a therapist during her master's program to process intergenerational issues at home and create a personal identity separate from her family, specifically her mother.

Context-Specific

Five participants indicated that their identities are context-specific. For example, in professional settings, Michelle has had to choose whether being Latina or queer is more salient when working with specific clients. Lifelong Learner mentioned that she experiences clashes with her cultural identity when she is with her parents and her gender identity when she is focused on her cultural background. Angela highlighted challenges she has faced as a Latina based on cities in which she has resided. Celia dated someone transgender in the past which meant during that time she was in Whiter spaces and more aware of being Latina. At work, she has been made more aware of her gender identity when she has taught statistics classes and had to correct men. Camella highlighted the impact of social location on identity:

> …Sometimes like social location is such that…one of my identities will be more visible or more prominent than others. So… the women's march. I felt the collective like womanhood. But then I go to a march on SB4, which is in Texas, where I'm at, is the senate bill that allows for law officials to ask people to show them their papers without cause. When I'm going to a march or protest about that it's about my Latinoness, right?... A lot of it depends on my social location. You know if I'm a at a bank asking for a loan…I am quite aware that I'm being viewed as woman, as a middle-aged person, as a Latina, as a single mom, you know, or a single-income person but when I'm in front of my students and I'm teaching a course, I am the professor. I'm in a relative position of privilege. I've got all those things but also a professor, a person who has an evaluative role over the students' learning.

Clearly, context matters when discussing identity saliency

Identity Saliency

Eight of the nine participants spoke about their salient identities. Michelle identified as a female, Latina, and psychologist. Graciela identified as a first-generation, Mexican-American, queer woman. Lifelong Learner classified being Latina as a more salient identity than being a woman. Camella classified herself as cisgender, female, bisexual, Latina, Mexican-American, and able-bodied. Celia stated that her most salient identities were being Latina and being queer. Elizabeth identified as Mexican. Estrella did not explicitly state her salient identities but noted that she had not experienced true identity conflicts. Angela stated that her identity was personal to her.

Identity Challenges

Seven participants brought up identity challenges. Celia recounted that she experienced identity conflicts when she was younger but no longer finds that her identities are in opposition. Similarly, Estrella noted that she had value conflicts in the past but never identity conflicts. Camella stated that she has faced challenges but was unable to pinpoint what identities led to these challenges. Lourdes aimed to examine how other Latinas experience identity-related struggles. Elizabeth highlighted the importance of having a strong support system to process her identity-related conflicts with; Elizabeth struggled with her personal identity and feeling pressure to present herself as less of a cultural being. Graciela questioned her qualifications for a position when her director prided himself on hiring more than one Latina; she wondered whether she received the position because of her identity as a Latina or because she was truly qualified for the position. Angela has struggled with how others perceive her identity. For example, Angela's White, male business partner was praised for being open-minded for going into business with a

Latina; Angela was surprised that she was viewed first as a Latina and not as a successful psychologist, as she viewed herself.

Domain 6: Multiculturalism and Cultural Influence

Conflicts and Challenges Based on Culture

Four out of the nine participants shared instances of conflict or challenge that they experienced based on their culture or cultural identity. Two participants spoke about the conflict at the intersection of their gender and ethnic identities. This conflict comes from expectations that are held in their cultures, such as women being expected to marry, have biological children, and work only in the home. Angela shared about the conflict she had when she moved to the United States from Colombia and when she moved from more progressive cities in the United States to her current more conservative Southern city. She struggled with her Colombian identity when she moved to the U.S. and learned about portrayals of her country of origin. She has also struggled to keep her cultural identity alive in her children who are U.S.-born with a White, Irish father. Elizabeth classified herself as analytical to a fault when thinking about her identities and culture. She stated that this can be a distraction from more pressing concerns. She also shared that she often sees her mom in her patients and makes assumptions about her patients' cultural experiences because of this.

Dynamic Views of Culture Based on Geographic Location and Family Background

Six of nine participants told of the impact of their geographic location and family background on the formation of their cultural identities. All of these participants spoke specifically about their environments growing up. Lourdes spoke of the influence of growing up in an immigrant community in the Midwest. Lourdes was able to stay in touch with her Mexican culture through family activities and connection, but she also learned how to be with other

cultural groups; for example, Lourdes' surroundings in her small town allowed her to learn about the Slovenian language, traditions, and foods. Lourdes noted that "thematic to all my moves has been the immigrant focus. And I found that in Boston and subsequent cities I've been to—always ended up looking for connections that connected me that really led me to immigrant communities in those cities." Similarly, Angela spoke of the importance of finding ethnic enclaves in various cities in which she has resided, such as the North End in Boston and China Towns in various cities.

Lifelong Learner shared of the rich New Mexican culture that influenced her cultural identity. Though Lifelong Learner grew up in Colorado and attended boarding school in Arizona, the New Mexican culture has stayed with her. She classified New Mexican culture as a combination of Hispanic, Spanish, and indigenous cultures. Lifelong Learner highlighted the ways in which her food demonstrated this unique cultural background; enchiladas in New Mexico are served flat rather than rolled and tacos are filled with *calabacitas* (Mexican squash) and corn instead of tomatoes. Camella also shared of the importance of food; she stayed connected to her culture by eating a lot of Mexican food growing up.

Domain 7: Allies

Allies of Color

When asked about people who have served as allies for the participants, four participants identified allies of color. Three participants specifically identified African American/Black allies; one of these three also identified American Indian and Asian allies. The other participant identified allies of color in general without identifying specific racial groups. These four participants noted that allies of color may be able to better identify with their experiences as

Latina women. However, one participant noted that just because someone identifies as a racial or ethnic minority does not automatically make them an ally.

Characteristics of True Allies

All nine participants identified characteristics of someone who is considered a true ally. For Graciela, allies are aware of their privileges, opportunities, and blind spots. They are able to recognize that people of color may want to spend time and feel safer with each other. Michelle considers an ally to be someone who joins Michelle in her own fight as if it were their own. Lourdes noted that the multicultural movement represents allies as being multicultural. She stated that she believes true allies are walking a borderland between their own culture and someone else's. Lifelong Learner expected to experience a sense of trust from her allies. Estrella recommended that allies immerse themselves in uncomfortable situations in order to grow. Camella believed an ally is someone who is able to move beyond tolerance and instead celebrate, support, advocate for, and actively seek communion with others. Angela described an ally as someone who does not make assumptions about her. Celia defined an ally as someone who really cares and is willing to change and be involved in a community with different people. Elizabeth highlighted the importance of consistency in allies: consistency in their beliefs and actions and consistency across settings.

Self-Reflection and Self-Awareness. Four participants highlighted self-reflection and self-awareness as important characteristics for allies to hold. Participants noted that it is important for allies to be able to recognize what they do not know or experience but also be able to acknowledge discrimination that the participants experience. Self-examination is critical according to one participant as is living in line with the values encompassing being an agent of change.

Humility. Three participants expressed the importance of humility in allies. Both Graciela and Michelle spoke about making mistakes; they both noted that everyone makes mistakes. Allies must recognize that they will make mistakes; it is important that allies remain open to feedback and focus on recovery and restoration after a mistake is made. They both noted that no one knows it all, so it is important for allies to be open to learning from mistakes that they make. Estrella recommended that allies lean into and seek out discomfort in order to develop in their understanding of others' experiences.

Listening. Three participants described that being able to listen is a characteristic of a true ally. Elizabeth noted that having someone listen to her felt validating. Estrella highlighted the importance of listening in order to understand instead of listening to be able to respond; she often challenges her students to work on their listening skills in order to be better helpers. Michelle reported that having someone listen to her demonstrates compassion, understanding, and engagement; having someone listen to Michelle makes her more open to answering questions they may ask.

Genuineness and Authenticity. Out of nine participants, five emphasized genuineness and authenticity as traits of sincere allies. Michelle identified allies who were aligned with her as demonstrating authenticity. Lourdes stated that coming from a caring place instead of patronizing someone demonstrates genuineness. Lifelong Learner believed that being genuine was something that would come naturally and did not require any type of special skills. Genuineness and authenticity to Celia was "not [about] what people do in the moment but…whether they have an open heart." Elizabeth noted that often White people are curious but lack the sincerity. Curiosity on its own is not enough, but when someone is both curious and sincere then their efforts seem genuine.

Allies in the Workplace

Five participants identified allies in their places of work. Three of these participants noted some colleagues who are of equal status as allies. Two participants highlighted advisors and professors who have been allies to them. One participant observed allies on campus in the Diversity Dialogues that she leads and the Students for Social Justice group on her campus. One participant stated that in the workplace there are people who do not meet her definition of an ally, but she is still able to maintain a professional relationship with them.

Problems with Allies

When prompted to discuss unhelpful allies, eight participants shared experiences. Three participants specifically spoke about their struggle to find allies that met their characteristics of a true ally. One participant shared that she has joined professional organizations for women with members who claim to be allies but they typically ignore multicultural perspectives in their advocacy work. Two participants noted that some allies are afraid to make mistakes or be uncomfortable which may hold them back from developing further. One participant noticed the frustration she experiences when allies are not consistent across various settings and another felt that some so-called allies made assumptions about her or viewed her as less-than. One participant shared, "It's always awkward to have an ally…who needs a shit-ton of validation that they're doing it right or correctly… and so, you know, it ends up being a lot more emotional on my end then I don't find it very appealing anymore." Allies in this instance expect the person that they are supposed to be helping to provide them with support and praise.

Self-Interest and Self-Identified. Five participants stated that self-identified allies who operate from a superficial or self-interested position are problematic. Three participants noted that they often interact with people who have appointed themselves allies but their actions do not

demonstrate qualities of allies. Two other participants shared that they often see allies who are eager to help but do not ask what the target person needs. These so-called allies seem to do things for their own benefit instead of the benefit of those in the marginalized positions.

Distrust of Ally Motivation. Four participants spoke about distrust that they feel toward alleged allies and what motivates them to help. Graciela believed that the current political climate, especially post-2016 presidential election, made her leery of who she was able to trust. Similarly, both Celia and Elizabeth shared that they are careful about who they allow in their communities and have difficulty trusting people; it is important that allies actually practice what they preach. Lifelong Learner spoke at length about her skepticism toward allies:

> I would say I'm mistrustful of good intentions in white allies. You know white allies and
> their good intentions… because I feel like there is something underneath it that I don't
> understand. And…I would say I generally push white allies away and I think, because I
> don't understand that motive and it seems weird and suspicious to me. Like, they really
> want to recruit me to something.

She continued to share that she often feels that allies are disingenuous and try to become immersed in her world by pretending to be something they are not; for example, Lifelong Learner has had experiences with White people pretending to be Latinas. Experiences like these have made Lifelong Learner and other participants question the motives of those who claim to be allies.

Reciprocity

Four participants discussed the importance of reciprocity between those who identify as allies and those they are attempting to help. Lourdes classified this reciprocity as sharing between both parties. Estrella noted that being an ally should be a mutually beneficial process.

Celia shared an example of a relationship with one of her allies that is bidirectional and allows them to own their emotions and conflicts and process them together. Lifelong Learner believed that the term ally focuses too much on charity instead of partnership. She highlighted the need for mutual give-and-take. Lifelong Learner stressed that people help others because they have a relationship: "It's because they like me personally and I like them personally. So I think it starts with friendship." When asked about a better term than ally, Lifelong Learner stated, "How about a friend or a team member? Which is more equal. You know with a team is a more equal thing and um, and a friend. You know when you have friends it's a give and take." According to these participants, having a reciprocal, two-directional relationship, like a friendship, is important.

White Allies

Three participants broadly spoke about their experiences with White allies. Michelle noted the importance of White feminists to include other voices to make feminism more inclusive. Lourdes reflected on her role in unpacking allyship among her White students and motivation for White people to become allies. She noted that oftentimes when people hear the term ally, they automatically connect it to White people, but that does not have to be the case. Lifelong Learner struggled to think of a White ally when prompted.

Positive Experiences with White Allies. Six participants shared about positive experiences with White allies. All six identified White allies who were colleagues, supervisors, or other psychologists. When discussing these positive experiences with White allies, each participant highlighted the characteristics of true allies that they had identified. Participants noted the support, safety, affirmation, and validation they experienced with these allies.

Feminist Allies

When asked how feminism can be more inclusive, four participants described the role that feminist allies can take. Michelle, Celia, and Elizabeth highlighted the importance of feminist allies making more space for intersectionality, centralizing the voices of those who are marginalized, and listening to their marginalized counterparts. Estrella believed that a distinction between White feminists and other feminists was not as important as focusing on building ally skills. Michelle also discussed the importance of feminist allies including the voices of those who may not identify with the feminist label but hold feminist values.

Participants' Role as Ally

Four participants recognized their own roles as allies to others. Lourdes started the Diversity Dialogues at her university which have helped to empower allies. In viewing herself as an ally to others, Estrella stated, "I don't see myself as a savior. I see myself as a bridge like as a subversive (laughter)… tool, right? So there are these amazing people and they're waiting in the wings and I'm like (laughter) the bridge out further crossing um so yeah, it's… it's…beautiful…" Estrella uses her privilege and power where she has it to advance those who may not have the same privileges and opportunities otherwise. Similarly, Angela tries to be an advocate as a psychologist for others regardless of who they are; she believes it her responsibility as a psychologist to help others who may experience oppression. Celia shared that when she was in graduate school, she worked for disability services and tried to create a disability student union. For Celia, it was important to act as an ally in an area where she held privilege to be in a position where she might feel uncomfortable and make mistakes. Celia reported that she was grateful for that experience and it influenced her desire to centralize the voices of trans women, African American women, immigrant women, and undocumented women.

Domain 8: Education and Psychology Journey

K-12 Education

Four participants shared of experiences in their education through high school. Lifelong Learner went to religious schools throughout the entirety of her education. Through eighth grade, Lifelong Learner attended a two-room school with thirty children in total for all grades. Beginning in ninth grade, she attended boarding school which was common for her religion. Lifelong Learner classified her educational experience in her K-12 education as formative and protective.

Estrella was educated in Puerto Rico until she went to college in New Jersey. Angela moved from Colombia to New York City and attended New York City public schools; she classified this experience as wonderful and diverse. Later, Angela attended high school in Florida. When Celia was in high school, she received a fee waiver for college applications and had to apply to college as part of a class assignment. Celia remembered this assignment as foundational in her educational journey.

Educational Trajectory

Seven out of nine participants discussed their journeys in higher education. Five participants shared of non-traditional paths taken in their education, whereas three shared that they took a more traditional path in higher education. Three participants took time off and worked between their undergraduate and graduate degrees. Two of those three worked in positions related to mental health, whereas another worked as a high school Spanish teacher. Another participant began in higher education studying journalism and working on research related to advertisements. Alternatively, one participant started her higher education journey at a community college before transferring to a four-year college and following a more traditional

higher education trajectory. This participant and two others chose not to take time off between their undergraduate and graduate degrees.

Deciding to Pursue Psychology

All nine participants described their processes related to entering the field of psychology. Graciela always loved reading and assumed she would be an English major. However, when a friend complimented her on being a good listener, Graciela decided that pursuing psychology would be a good career path for her. Because she had only heard of clinical psychology, she pursued that field of psychology. Lifelong Learner, like Graciela, was also encouraged by her passion for helping her friends when she decided to pursue psychology. Michelle believed her temperament and personality fit with psychology. She originally was interested in biomedical engineering but wanted to be able to help others. A research project involving Cognitive Behavioral Therapy (CBT) interventions combined Michelle's interest in research associated with natural sciences and helping associated with social sciences.

Lourdes was interested in counseling before psychology. However, once she took introductory psychology and abnormal psychology courses, she decided to pursue psychology. Likewise, Estrella, originally studying journalism, fell in love with psychology after taking a social psychology course as a master's student. This inspired her to apply for psychology Ph.D. programs. Throughout her Ph.D., Estrella fully immersed herself in psychological literature and fell deeper in love with the field. Camella took her first psychology course in high school, prompting her to major in psychology in college; she always performed well in her psychology courses and found the subject validating and reinforcing. Angela, originally a Management Information Systems major, took a psychology course while exploring major options; after

taking her first psychology course, Angela switched her major to psychology and decided that she wanted to be a psychologist.

Lourdes additionally chose to pursue psychology because of the presence of mental illness in her family and wanted to understand why people think and behave the way that they do. Lifelong Learner was also influenced by her desire to understand people's behavior; she specifically credited watching TV about White families and wanting to understand their dynamics as prompting her interest in psychology. Lifelong Learner ultimately pursued counseling psychology because it had more people of color and seemed more relaxed than clinical psychology.

Celia's father wanted her to work as a parole or police officer upon graduating from college. Celia convinced her father that a psychology major and being Spanish-speaking would lend itself to success in that career. Elizabeth was interested in psychology because she wanted to be able to give back to the Latinx community. After researching the field of psychology, she believed the field would allow her to give back and would be a good match for her personality and analytic nature.

Each Latina psychologists' journey to pursuing psychology unfolded differently.

Programs of Study and Chosen Majors

All nine participants described their various programs of study and chosen majors. All participants attended different undergraduate and graduate institutions. Four participants shared where they attended college and six shared where they attended graduated school. All participants have a doctoral degree but only four specified the type of degree they received. Three participants shared where they completed their internships.

Generational Status as a Student

Five participants commented on their generational statuses as students. Four of these five participants noted that they were first-generation college students. The other participant shared that both of her parents have more than a college degree, so she never considered not going to college; she realized later in life that not everyone earned a Ph.D.

Navigating the Educational System

Five participants shared about experiences with navigating the educational system. Four participants spoke specifically about the support they received within this system. Three participants, Estrella, Camella, and Lifelong Learner, spoke about support they received from advisors and professors. Lifelong Learner also received support from the friends she made in boarding school. Both Michelle and Angela stayed close to home for college.

Difficulties, Struggles, and Discrimination. Five participants recounted difficulties, struggles, and experiences of discrimination that they faced while navigating the education system. Some had difficulty finding support on campus while others struggled with research opportunities. Two participants specifically spoke about being unsure if they belonged. Lifelong Learner recounted:

> I was a strong student but this whole idea of graduate school, I didn't even know what it was. Like what is graduate school? What does that mean? And I had always felt, I think because I can pass for White, I'm very fair-skinned, I think people think I know what is going on and I don't, and I'm embarrassed to say. So, you know when I was younger I started like going along pretending and following along with people and I had a lot of misperceptions I think about education and what one was supposed to do.

Although others may have thought Lifelong Learner had it all together, she was secretly struggling to navigate a system that she did not understand, without anyone to lean on.

Domain 9: Personal Life

Romantic Relationships

Six participants reflected upon their romantic relationships. Two participants shared that it is important to them that their romantic relationships demonstrate feminist ideals, such as egalitarianism. Two participants discussed when they met their husbands: one was in undergraduate and the other in her doctoral program. Lourdes discussed her two divorces; she did not feel that she was able to live a fulfilled life in those relationships. She knew that her career was something she could fall back on and live a full life. Celia specifically described her relationship with a woman in college that led to fractured relationships with her roommate and family members. She described the discomfort and shame she felt during this period of time and throughout her coming out process.

Two of the participants described romantic relationships with men. The other two participants described romantic relationships with women. One of these two has dated people who identify as transgender as well, so she is typically in spaces with sexual and gender diversity present.

Social Relationships

Five participants described their social relationships during their interview. Two participants recounted experiences with friends in high school and college. Two participants discussed present friendships. One of these participants described her friends as also being queer and highly educated; she stated it was grounding to have friends who hold similar identities. The other participant described two close friends who are White and queer; these friends have been

supportive and self-aware. The last participant expressed the importance of being intentional with focusing on small, daily interactions with people in her personal and professional life.

Self-Care

Out of nine participants, four described how they care for themselves. Two participants described the importance of improving themselves through learning and studying. One of these two participants espoused the importance of prioritizing her mental health. Another participant stated that she enjoys dancing and socializing. The fourth participant shared that it is important for her to find a work-life balance; she stated that she can relax at night after she finishes analyzing data.

Expectations of How Personal Life Should Look

Four participants explained the expectations that they and others held about what their personal lives should look like. Specifically, the participants described expectations related to motherhood and marriage. Three participants described the ways in which people judged them for putting their careers ahead of motherhood. Two of the participants do not have biological children; for one it did not happen and the other is not ready for children yet. The third participant described the shame that her family placed on her when she struggled with infertility. They blamed the participant for waiting too long to start a family. Additionally, this participant described the expectation that feminists cannot be mothers; the participant stated that this is a common misperception in her community.

Three participants discussed expectations related to marriage. Two spoke of their own expectations related to their romantic relationships, with one stating that she did not believe she should be limited in relationships and the other questioning if there will be safety for her to

marry within a few years. The other participant discussed the flack she received from her community for waiting so long to be married (age 27) and putting her career first.

Outside of motherhood and marriage, participants also described other expectations of what their personal lives should look like. One participant described her love for cursing because it counters expectations that people hold of her. Another spoke of her coming out process; she shared that her father was always supportive of her sexuality, but her mother took about five years to be supportive. This participant's sexuality was not what her mother expected for her daughter.

Conflict

Four participants spoke about conflicts they experienced in their personal lives. Graciela described struggling socially at times because she has different worldviews and way of being than many of her Latina-identified friends which makes her feel misunderstood. Graciela struggles with her feelings of apathy and wanting to take action; she is hard on herself when she does not stand up for something important to her, but also does not always have the mental or physical energy to engage.

Elizabeth shared the imposter feelings she experiences in her personal life. For example, when Elizabeth chose to socialize at a wine bar that was filled with White people, she questioned whether she fit in and if that was an appropriate environment for her. In some regards, Celia also felt like an imposter during college when she was living a double life. With her family, she was closeted, but with her friends and girlfriend, she was open about her sexuality. Living this conflicted life was very difficult for Celia.

To counter some of these conflicting feelings participants described, Estrella suggested aiming to pay attention to micro-behaviors and interactions on a daily basis and calling them out to avoid major disputes and disagreements.

Views of Self and Personal Qualities

Five participants described specific traits and qualities that they hold. Michelle described herself as a curious and precocious bookworm. Lourdes thought of herself as a very emancipated woman. Lifelong Learner liked that she curses a lot and that it surprises people. Camella stated that she had not missed opportunities, the way her family members had suggested (*se te paso el tren*). Elizabeth stated that she feels comfortable in her own skin and feels comfortable speaking up about important issues when she is in settings in which she has control.

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Domain 10: Professional Life

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Career Trajectory

Eight participants specified their varied career paths. Seven described their current positions and six described past careers and jobs they held.

Current Career. Four participants currently practice as psychologists. One works full-time at a college counseling center, one works in a college counseling center and is starting her own private practice, one works in private practice, and one works in a primary care clinic. Three participants hold academic positions. Two participants did not comment on their current careers.

Past Jobs and Careers. Six participants described past careers and jobs they have held. Two participants described jobs outside of psychology. The other four described working in different locations and roles as psychologists before their current roles.

Identities Intersecting with Career

Seven participants evaluated the intersection of identity as it relates to their careers. Two participants shared that being a psychologist is a salient dimension of their identity. Another participant noted how she carries her identities in all aspects of her professional life; many clients seek her out because of her openness in her social identities. Two participants highlighted how their scholarship relates to their identities; one is able to write about her identities in introduction and discussion sections and the other's research is inspired by her own social identities. One participant shared that she had struggled with managing her various social identities in her professional life. Another shared that she always tries to consider her client's identities in their work together.

Gender and Feminism. Gender and feminism were the specific identities that eight participants discussed when examining how their social identities intersect with their careers. All of them stated that their feminist identities play out in their work as psychologists; they are not able to separate these two aspects of their identities. Three participants mentioned empowering women as a dimension of incorporating feminism in their professional lives. Two participants described publications they have worked on that incorporate feminist perspectives.

Being a Minority in the Workplace

Highlighted by five participants were their experiences of being minorities in their workplaces. Graciela described feeling isolated as a Latina psychologist, especially as she currently works in an environment without other people of color. Lourdes, on the other hand, is used to being a minority person in predominantly White spaces; though she is comfortable in these spaces, she is aware that her competence and self-assuredness make some people uncomfortable. Estrella was typically perceived as a "safe" minority because of her visible

features to not make her present as an "other." Estrella uses this perception by others to provide

opportunities for people who are not viewed as "safe" as she is. Elizabeth described feeling like

she had to hide herself as a cultural being in order to be viewed as a "standard professional."

Celia highlighted the importance of being in perfect shape on paper so that she would not be

discriminated against in the workplace. Celia has made it her goal to continuously publish and

receive grants so that no one can mess with her. As one of few minorities at her university, Celia

has been expected to do minority-related work. She said,

> …when I first came to be a professor people would ask me to do the multicultural courses
>
> and I have that experience but at a certain point I was like I don't want to. Like I don't
>
> want to teach people about their Whiteness or I don't want to teach people about their
>
> straightness, you know? It just doesn't do it for me…I think some of it was like realizing
>
> that if I had solid teaching evals [sic] in ethics and like the statistics and stuff that my
>
> identities would then have been like… it's almost like you would have become Oprah.
>
> Like nobody cares that Oprah's Black anymore, right?

Celia has had to prove that she is a successful psychologist, regardless of her identities. Like

Elizabeth, Celia has worked to be viewed as a standard professional instead of always being

identified by her marginalized identities.

Incorporating Social Justice and Multiculturalism

Six participants shared ways in which they incorporate social justice and multiculturalism

into their professional work. Five participants specifically described how they incorporate social

justice and multiculturalism into their clinical work. Examples include providing

psychoeducation to empower clients, processing discrimination at both societal and individual

levels, advocating for clients outside of session, asking about family culture, and asking clients

about their experiences instead of making assumptions. Participants shared that outside of clinical practice, they are also able to incorporate social justice and multiculturalism. For example, one participant brings an immigration lawyer to the class she teaches about multicultural psychology, so students have a different perspective. Another participant described organizing meals for students when she observed a contentious environment between students of different cultural backgrounds. Estrella noted about incorporating social justice in her professional work, "It's who I have become…and so it appears natural."

Workplace Relationships

Participants described the relationships that have developed in their different workplaces. Three participants shared about conflict they experienced with colleagues while two participants spoke about support they received from colleagues in their workplace environments. Four participants spoke directly about their experiences with students, mentees, and supervisees. These participants have developed mentorship roles to provide support to those that they teach, advise, and supervise in order to provide them with support as their careers develop. One participant shared how she has struggled in negotiating her role as a supervisor; she described the difficulty she experienced in creating boundaries that allowed her to be a feminist supervisor with an appropriate amount of support and challenge. As she has developed, this participant has established more solid boundaries with her supervisees. Overall, these four participants classified their relationships with students, mentees, and supervisees to be positive.

Psychologists Hold Various Roles

Eight participants described the various roles that they hold as psychologists. Five participants spoke directly about their role as therapists. Some described their theoretical orientations, training backgrounds, the clients they work with, and the type of counseling they

provide to clients. Three participants highlighted their roles as mentors and teachers. Lifelong Learner described her mentoring style as direct and strong, but nurturing. Estrella classified herself as a mother hen when mentoring students; she has created a familial and inclusive environment with her research team that includes movie nights. Both participants described their intentionality in recruiting and working with diverse students.

As teachers, Lifelong Learner and Camella described incorporating their feminist values. For example, Lifelong Learner included her cell phone number on her syllabus so students can reach out if they have concerns; she wanted her students to know that she was available to them. Camella reflected upon the privilege she experiences as a professor in an evaluative role with her students; examining this power differential demonstrates Camella's feminist thought process.

Three participants discussed their roles as researchers. They all described their love for conducting research that helps people. They are able to connect research to improving mental health, teaching about the most up-to-date findings, and helping their communities.

Personal x Professional Intersection

Only two participants directly spoke about the ways that they blend their personal and professional lives. Lifelong Learner noted that this blending is consistent with her Latinx cultural values. She demonstrated this integration at conferences. When Lifelong Learner traveled to APA, she invited three students in the past to share a room with her; she recognized that her students would not be able to afford a hotel room, so she offered for them to stay with her. Correspondingly, Estrella created a family environment with her research team that includes her partner and children. Estrella's children had personal relationships with her students; Estrella served as a maternal figure for her students and allowed them to process their personal struggles,

while also being a professional mentor. Estrella stated that it is a beautiful gift that her children have grown up in this diverse environment.

Domain 11: Language

Code-Switching

Five participants described code-switching processes that take place for them. Three participants discussed code-switching in professional environments. One shared that it is challenging when she is unable to code-switch in professional environments; two spoke about the ease of bilingual therapy sessions when both therapist and client are able to easily switch between English and Spanish. Two participants discussed the difficulty with having words that do not accurately translate between languages. The last participant discussed growing up speaking predominantly in English and the difficulty she experienced with family who spoke only in Spanish; this participant would typically respond to Spanish with English, though she is more confident in her Spanish abilities now.

Language and Family

Five participants shared about the use of language within their families. Four out of these five participants grew up speaking Spanish as their first language. One of these participants was born and raised by U.S.-born parents who were fluent in English but still spoke Spanish in the home. For Lifelong Learner, although her first language was Spanish, she and her siblings spoke more English than Spanish. This created tension with her extended family who highly valued speaking Spanish. However, her cousins would spend the summers with her family in order to speak English. Estrella shared about adjusting linguistically; as someone born and raised in Puerto Rico but spent a lot of time traveling to the mainland U.S. with her family, she learned how to pick up accents and speak like a native speaker. Camella stated that she grew up speaking

Spanish at home and with extended family members, even when her father's work brought her to different countries. Angela spoke about keeping her Spanish language alive for her children. Both of her children were born in the United States and have an American father and Colombian mother. Her children grew up speaking Spanish; her son continued to study and practice his Spanish, but her daughter became defiant, refusing to speak Spanish in order to fit in better with her peers. She was unsure how bilingual her children would be but hoped that she would be able to keep the language alive for future generations.

Bilingualism and Profession

When discussing their professional lives, four participants discussed how being bilingual impacts them in their professions. All four described speaking Spanish with clients who request sessions in Spanish. One participant shared that being able to speak in Spanish allows clients to have more freedom. Angela noted that many Spanish-speaking clients do not have as many opportunities to speak in Spanish with professionals so being able to provide that service can be empowering for clients. However, she stressed the importance of not making assumptions about what language a client wants services conducted in. Additionally, one participant described being a bilingual professional as a strength; she believed her clients were grateful for her ability to converse with them in Spanish and this has brought the participant confidence as a professional.

Discrimination

Though there have been many benefits associated with the participants' experiences related to language, three shared experiences of language-based discrimination. Lifelong Learner described experiencing prejudice as a Spanish-speaker in Colorado, whereas her family in New Mexico did not have this same experience. The next two participants described experiencing discrimination because of their accents. Estrella adapted her accent based on where she was

living. She wanted to be a journalist so once she left Puerto Rico for New Jersey, she worked hard to adjust her accent to fit in. Once she moved to Colorado, she was made fun of for her accent and pronunciation of words in a New Jersey accent. She eventually stopped caring and found an environment where she would be appreciated, but still had to learn to navigate this criticism. Angela moved to New York City from Colombia during elementary school; because she did not speak English, no private schools accepted her as a student. During her doctoral studies, Angela was told by one of her classmates that she would not match for internship because of her thick accent. Though Angela did match for internship, she still expressed her surprise about the way her classmates perceived her. Instead of viewing her bilingualism and accent as a strength, they considered them a hindrance, which it turns out, they were not.

Domain 12: Privilege

Navigating the Space in Between (*Nepantla*)

When discussing privilege, three participants discussed the space-dependent nature of privilege and the in-between position they sometimes find themselves in. Michelle shared that she sometimes feels displaced because of her privilege; she was still figuring out how to navigate her privilege in various spheres of her life. Lifelong Learner reported the tension she felt as a Latina in New Mexico versus in Colorado; in New Mexico, Latinos were in charge and made the rules, but in Colorado, she was viewed as less-than for being Latina. In one state, Lifelong Learner was in a position of privilege, but in the other she experienced oppression. Angela described immigrating to the United States from Colombia. Angela viewed moving to the United States as a privilege and great opportunity. Angela found herself feeling both privileged to be in the United States, but also unsure of herself once she learned of American perceptions of Colombians.

Socioeconomic Status, Education, and Career

Six participants described experiencing privilege related to their socioeconomic status, education, and/or career. Graciela, Lourdes, and Elizabeth acknowledged being in positions of privilege based on their educational level and career. They described having less to prove because of these positions and at times being able to remove themselves from certain issues and conflicts. Camella described the evaluative position of being a professor that gives her power and privilege over her students. Michelle and Estrella described steps they have taken toward examining their privilege. Michelle recounted an identity-related activity in graduate school that helped her become more aware of privilege that she holds, especially as it related to her changing socioeconomic status. Estrella, on the other hand, grew up in a home with two highly educated parents; though she experienced periods of poverty, it was temporary, and she was never forced to support her family. Acknowledging privilege has been a conscious process for Estrella; her parents raised her with the language to talk about her privileges related to her sexual orientation, ability, and socioeconomic status.

Privilege and Positionality to Support Others

Five participants discussed holding positions of power that allow them to support others who may not have this same privilege. Graciela reported that her own privilege has allowed her to remove herself from some situations, but she has recognized that her students do not have the same privilege to avoid oppression. She explained that she advocates for her students and aims to give back to people and provide them with hope. She is also able to use her positionality to advocate for colleagues who are of lower status and point out instances of discrimination to colleagues with more privilege who can take the advocacy a step further. Likewise, Lourdes

noted that she experiences privilege based on her positionality; for Lourdes, her positionality comes with a responsibility to make change and give voice to women.

Estrella shared how she aims to be a bridge for her students with marginalized identities. The process of becoming a bridge involved consciousness building for Estrella. She highlighted the importance of using her position of privilege to listen to the needs of those who are more oppressed. Celia noted that she experiences privilege as someone who is cisgender; using this privilege can help her create safe spaces for trans* individuals. Celia stressed that many Latinx people experience positions of privilege, though they may struggle to recognize it. Coming to terms with privilege as members of traditionally marginalized groups can be a struggle. Recognizing ways in which her privilege has changed over time has been a challenge for Michelle. She stated,

> …sometimes I find myself being influenced by my privilege, especially now when it comes to socioeconomic privilege… I'm thinking about where I was as a child and where I was growing up and how I see other individuals …because those are no longer an issue for me sometimes feeling like I don't always have a space in social advocacy if that makes sense. Or sometimes I feel like almost displaced around…because when it comes to especially students who are undocumented or students that identify as Latinx, I think sometimes it's very common to have those layers around SES status. And so now that yes, I have those identities, but now that my SES status is different, sometimes I'm still trying to figure out what my place is in that advocacy role

While the participants are knowledgeable of their positionality, figuring out what to do with the privilege, especially when it has changed over time or is a new awareness, can be an undertaking.

Domain 13: Isolation and Oppression

Lack of Representation and Difficulty Related to Identities in the Workplace

Four participants described difficulty and lack of representation of people with similar marginalized identities. Lourdes shared that she has experienced challenges in the workplace as a woman of color and has noticed the social impact this holds; she noticed people were uncomfortable working with her because of this. Because Latinos only make up 5% of the faculty on Celia's campus, she described feeling pressure to always say and do everything correctly; people were already judging her, so she wanted to be sure she did not confirm any negative stereotypes that were held of Latinas. Elizabeth noticed that different settings triggered different insecurities related to her identities; for example, when in a room of medical doctors, Elizabeth feels threatened as a woman whereas when she is in a room full of people of color, she is more conscious of her Latina identity. Both Graciela and Celia highlighted the emotional labor of being the only people of color in their workplaces. They are expected to be the multicultural experts because they hold marginalized identities, which ignores their professional interests and competencies.

Fear of Speaking Up and Feeling Alone

Seven participants explained ways in which they feel alone or afraid to speak up because of their marginalized identities. Michelle, Lifelong Learner, and Graciela shared experiences of isolation both in the workplace and in their personal lives. Michelle and Graciela shared that not having other people of color around them is difficult. Lifelong Learner said that she felt isolated within her own community.

Graciela, Celia, and Elizabeth described instances in which they were afraid or unsure if they were able to speak up about their experiences or feelings because of their positionality. For

example, a colleague who is also a woman of color violated Celia's personal boundaries. This woman was in a higher position, so Celia was unsure of how to handle the situation. Elizabeth spoke up about situations in the past and experienced backlash which made her feel vulnerable and afraid to do so again. Graciela described relying on identified allies to speak up when she felt it was unsafe for her to do so.

Lourdes has worked throughout her career to convey to students and family the importance of using their voices. This demonstrated her current positionality. Angela noted that people with marginalized identities may also contribute to the culture of isolation and fearing speaking up because they fear losing whatever they have.

Supporting Others Through Their Experiences of Isolation

Three participants discussed instances in which they have supported others through their experiences of isolation. Graciela described her current work environment in which she is surrounded mostly by White colleagues. There is an African American postdoctoral fellow; Graciela and this postdoc support each other through experiences of microaggressions and other mistreatment in the work environment. Michelle also shared feeling isolated in her workplace; she stated that she uses this feeling of isolation to connect with her clients who have similar experiences. Correspondingly, Elizabeth described pulling from her own experiences to process with clients about discrimination.

Others' Perceptions and Expectations

When discussing experiences of isolation and oppression, all nine participants described others' perceptions and expectations contributing to being "othered." Two participants, Estrella and Angela, discussed the ways in which people made fun of their accents. Angela shared that even though she has lived in the United States for longer than she lived in Colombia, she is

constantly asked where she is from. Graciela and Lourdes shared experiences of colleagues viewing them as less-than. Lourdes recalled that when she worked in a provost's office with mostly White colleagues, she experienced them as patronizing; for example, one of Lourdes' White colleagues would regularly buy coffee for the office, but in the entire three years Lourdes was there, never once asked her what she wanted or brought her anything. Michelle and Lifelong Learner discussed the impact of Whiteness. Michelle was teased growing up for "acting White" because she was a bookworm, excelled in school, and enjoyed nicer things that were considered White. Lifelong Learner was told that she succeeded as a woman by "marrying up" by marrying a White man.

Camella shared two instances of being perceived by others in an inaccurate and negative manner. The first was when she was working on her car and needed a new part. She went to the autobody shop with grease on her hands and clothing; when she asked the clerk for a car part, he assumed that she was running an errand for her husband. Camella received the message from this man that as a woman, she was not capable or competent to work on cars. Another instance of this type of treatment occurred when Camella was pulled over on multiple occasions by immigration officials, asked to present her green card, and threatened with deportation. The officials could not understand how someone who looked like Camella could have been born and raised in the United States. One of Angela's classmates in her master's program told her that she was accepted only because she was a Latina; the classmate perceived Angela's presence as fulfilling a quota instead of being based on merit. Celia and Elizabeth broadly mentioned being judged by others and experiencing marginalization, though they did not share specific examples of how that manifested.

Intersection of Identities Leads to Isolation and Oppression

Participants typically responded that the intersection of their identities lead to instances of isolation and oppression. Four participants described challenges they have faced in navigating their various identities. Participants shared that though they are aware of areas in which they experience privilege, some identities present them with marginalization. Some discussed how being Latinx-identified women created this marginalization while some had added dimensions of being first-generation, queer, with a darker skin tone, and/or from a family with little formal education. Camella shared a troubling interaction with a professor related to the intersection of her ethnicity and gender, "I had an undergraduate professor tell me in front of other students that he didn't believe in educating pre-menopausal Hispanic women because all we did was use our uteri." Other participants shared similar discriminatory and prejudiced experiences.

Two participants shared that navigating their various identities related to living in the borderlands, straddling two cultures, and not knowing where they fit in. Angela noted that when she attended her grandfather's funeral in Colombia, she felt like an outsider even though she did not have to explain her accent, appearance, or pronunciation of her name; she felt like an outsider both in the United States and Colombia.

Protection from Discrimination and Mistreatment

Though all participants were able to recount feelings and experiences of isolation and oppression, four participants shared how they protect themselves from discrimination and mistreatment. Because they have experienced marginalization, they have created strategies to protect themselves. These strategies include developing awareness of oppression, refining generalizable skills that can be used to succeed anywhere, and remaining defiant. Participants

stated that if they were to lose these strategies, the oppression would take a toll on their mental health and self-esteem.

Domain 14: Community

National Latinx Psychological Association (NLPA)

Four participants shared about the community they experience through their membership in NLPA. Michelle became involved in NLPA at the end of graduate school to connect with other Latinx-identified psychologists. Michelle, Lifelong Learner, and Celia indicated that NLPA has allowed them to connect with people with similar identities and is a place where they experienced safety. Lourdes has been involved in NLPA since its inception. Lourdes highlighted the role of allies in NLPA while also noting the beauty of an organization that brings people together who care about mental health issues for the Latinx community. Overall, all four participants spoke highly of the NLPA organization and community.

Geographic Location

Participants generally shared about their geographic locations. Six participants disclosed the locations where they were born and raised. Five shared where they lived as adults and/or current locations. Participants are from different locations: seven were born in the mainland United States, one was born in Puerto Rico, and one was born in Colombia. All nine participants currently reside in the United States, with the most participants living in California (n=3). Four participants discussed the significance of living in particular locations. For example, Lourdes stated that Boston was a formative place for her academically, socially, and culturally and Estrella discussed being well-suited for living on the West coast because of the regular interactions with nature that she is able to have. Michelle shared that it was important for her to

attend graduate school in Texas so that she could be near family support. Celia discussed the safety that living in the Bay Area provided her.

Conflict, Challenge, and Isolation Within Community

Participants typically described conflicts, challenges, and isolation they experienced within their own communities. Two participants recalled being one of few people of color growing up, leading to facing prejudice. One participant noted the racial tensions and cultural misunderstandings that she witnessed growing up in an immigrant community. Three participants recounted experiences of discrimination when they moved to or visited different states and cities. Two participants described feeling isolated or rejected from their own communities; they struggled to find people in their communities who could relate to and understand them. Celia specifically noted the ways in which she observed members of her community "impacted by a world of rejection." Celia viewed her community as family and noted that she intervenes when necessary by helping community members pay their rent; she researches health disparities among women of color in order to help these community members improve their lives.

Support

Participants typically spoke about support they felt within their communities. Graciela and Estrella discussed the sense of community that was created in their work environments. In Graciela's previous workplace, colleagues of color created a network of support in which they could process and connect over shared experiences. Estrella described the community she created with her lab that felt like a family.

Michelle and Celia described the support they feel due to their current geographic locations. Both participants currently reside in California, which they consider to be significant

influence on their support systems. Both have been able to connect with other Latinx-identified individuals with similar life experiences. Celia has always resided in Latino areas and stated that leaving that sense of community would be harmful for her. Elizabeth, like Celia and Michelle, has a strong support system in her community that she utilizes when she experiences threats to her identities.

From Other People of Color and Based on Shared and Marginalized Identities. Six participants described experiencing support in their communities from other people of color and other people with whom they share identities. Four participants specifically described their friends and support systems to be made up mostly of people of color. Graciela shared about her support system and provided advice for White people:

> You know, recognize that we can still be professional and still code-switch and all that, that's something some people have a hard time recognizing that…and that we might feel more safety and for our own kind of restoration and preservation we might need to be away from y'all—you know, nothing personal! But I just might need to talk to some people who speak Spanish right now

Being around people who shared her identities provided a sense of renewal and protection for Graciela. Other participants noted that in addition to connecting with other people of color, receiving support from people with a similar socioeconomic background, especially a changing socioeconomic status, was protective and helped them cope with identity conflicts.

Three participants highlighted the importance of connecting with other women. Angela described her involvement in one of the professional women's groups in her community that meets monthly for a potluck. The group is made up of professional Spanish-speaking women and has become a place where Angela and her peers can share and process their experiences in town.

Celia has also formed strong relationships with women in her community, but all of the women in her community are queer and some are outside the gender binary, identifying as trans*.

All six of these participants noted the importance of finding support from people who have similar or shared experiences.

Domain 15: Participation in Project

Reason for Participating

Participants generally described their reasoning for participating in the present study. There were five explanations provided for participants choosing to participate. Five participants described a personal connection. For four participants, the personal connection was how well the topic related to their own identities; participating provided participants with the space to process their identities and experiences. One participant was motivated to participate because of her personal connection to the dissertation chair.

Five participants described being motivated to participate in order to give back. Two participants remembered help that they received on their own dissertations, so they wanted to pay it forward. One participant disclosed that she has 9 graduate students in her lab, so she believed that if she facilitated this research process that others would do the same for her students. One participant shared that she tries to participate in one interview per month as her investment into qualitative research. Another participant conducts research projects often and believed it would be good karma to give back to others.

Three participants decided to participate because they were interested in the research topic. They believed the topic was unique and felt deeply connected to Latina feminism in their personal lives and research.

Five participants described the importance of qualitative research as a motivator for their participation. Two participants conducted qualitative research and remembered how difficult recruiting participants was. One participant described the importance of qualitative research, so she wanted to support it. Another participant described herself as "a sucker for a good interview (laughs)…and I'm a sucker for women wanting to do their qualitative research on this topic." Another stated that she was glad to see this topic researched qualitatively because it came from a place of appreciating instead of reducing. This participant believed that studying underexamined topics and populations was important from a qualitative approach and could ultimately lead to new theoretical principles being discovered.

Impact of Participating

Participants typically described the impact that participating in the research project had on them. Six participants shared that participating in the project allowed them to reflect on their own intersecting identities. Participants explained that this reflection allowed them to consider their experiences, beliefs, and identities in a new manner; some were forced to make connections and articulate ideas that they had not yet articulated. Participants described feeling more insightful and reflective after participating. One even noted that reflecting on her own identities allowed her to model for her students how to reflect in that manner.

Three participants described participating in the project as therapeutic and validating. Two of these three participants stated that they often feel isolated when thinking about the topics discussed in the project; participating made them feel less alone and helped them to realize that there are other people who identify similarly. Three participants planned to continue exploring topics discussed in the interview after participating. Two specifically shared that they were going

to think more about their feminist identities and read more about Latina feminism to feel less

isolated.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

Feminism is an ideology that was created for and by White women. Often those who identify outside of a mainstream privileged view of feminism (White, middle class, heterosexual, cisgender, etc.) are excluded from discussions of feminism. It is important to note that this privilege is relative to women; White women experience oppression when compared to White men. Though some may believe that identifying as both Latina and feminist would be a contradiction (see Arredondo, 2009), in fact, there are many who have formed feminist identities while navigating significant cultural ideals. Arredondo (2002) described this navigation of and straddling between various identities as living *entre fronteras* (between borders), or as Anzaldúa (2007) coined, living in the borderlands. Anzaldúa (2007) defined a borderland as "a vague and undetermined place created by the emotional residue of an unnatural boundary…in a constant state of transition…[where] the prohibited and forbidden are its inhabitants" (p. 25). Those who lived in the borderlands were "othered" by the dominant group, White people. With regard to feminism, many Latinas found themselves stuck in the borderland; mainstream feminism did not speak to their struggles and needs but ignoring women's struggles was out of line with their values and beliefs. Therefore, an exploration of Latina feminism was crucial.

A decade ago, the Pew Hispanic Center stated that there were approximately 14.4 million Hispanic women living in the United States (Gonzales, 2008). With data suggesting that the Hispanic/Latinx population in the United States is continuously growing, it can be estimated that there are even more Latina women in the United States 10 years later. To assume that all women

who identify as Latina have the same experiences as it relates to feminism and culture would implement an essentialist view of *latinidad*. It is important to remember that not all Latinas have the same identities and experiences (The Latina Feminist Group, 2001). Thus, for this project it was important to sample from a selective group of Latinas.

Psychology is a field at the forefront of understanding the lived experiences and developmental stages of those it studies. Specifically, counseling psychology has a history of incorporating social justice and multicultural perspectives to focus on intersectionality of identities (Delgado-Romero, Lau, & Shulman, 2012). Additionally, recent multicultural psychological literature has focused on the role of allies (e.g., Spanierman & Smith, 2017). Therefore, interviewing Latina feminist psychologists offered a well-informed perspective of the constructs of interest: feminism intersecting with other salient identities and the role of allies. Because of their familiarity with the topics, Latina feminist psychologists were able to serve as a bridge between the borderlands and dominant culture.

The purpose of this study was to investigate how Latinas who identified as feminist psychologists negotiated their feminist identities with their cultural ideals and other salient identities. Given the rise in ally-related research, practice, and teaching this study also explored implications for feminist allies in psychology in better understanding Latina feminism. The research questions were: a) how do participants capture and conceptualize the meaning of their identity as it relates to feminism? b) how do participants understand the development of their mestiza consciousness in regard to their identities as women who are Latina, feminist psychologists? c) what are participants' expectations of feminist allies?

Summary of Results

Employing Consensual Qualitative Research (CQR) data analysis, fifteen domains emerged from the data. The findings of this study indicated that the experiences of Latina, feminist psychologists are varied and complex. There were not concrete answers to the research questions, as each participant had a unique perspective; however, there were common themes and trends. Though the findings extended beyond the research questions, I will primarily summarize the results that relate directly to the target questions.

Capturing and Conceptualizing Meaning of Feminist Identity

The sample of Latina feminist psychologists captured and conceptualized the meaning of their feminist identities differently. The primary domains that answered the first question were Feminism, Gender Identity and Gender Dynamics, Family, and Mentorship and Influences. Overall, participants generally classified being feminists as a salient identity. All participants discussed the development of this salient identity with all but one discussing how their feminist identity intersects with other identities they hold. All but two participants classified traditional feminism as a movement for women with privileged identities. All but two described how they created their own definitions and meanings of feminism to capture their feminist identities. Gender identity and dynamics contributed to participants' conceptualization of feminism, including navigating various gender roles and negotiating U.S. and Latinx expectations and cultural ideals. Family support and influence was significant in the participants developing as feminists. Feminist mentors, leaders, authors, and life events also contributed to participants' understanding of their feminist identities.

Developing a Mestiza Consciousness

Participants described the development of their mestiza consciousness, or their blending of identities and cultures to form their own cultural identities. The primary domains that answered the mestiza consciousness question were Salient Identities and Identity Development and Multiculturalism and Cultural Influence. Aspects of other domains also informed answers to the questions related to mestiza consciousness.

Participants described how their identities developed and shifted over time. The formation and experience of participants' mestiza consciousness was context-dependent. Understanding how participants' identities intersected and experiences of living in the borderlands, straddling more than one culture, formed their understanding of their own mestiza consciousnesses. Participants came to understand their *latinidad* in a variety of manners, including an examination of colorism and physical appearance. Some participants experienced challenges related to their various identities, but most noted that as they became more secure in their professional positions and as their identity development progressed that they experienced less conflict and challenge based on their culture and identities.

Contributing to participants' mestiza consciousness were experiences in their professional lives, such as being minorities in the workplace and how their identities intersected with their careers. Participants described the emotional labor and isolation associated with being the only person of color in a work environment. Participants shared that because of these experiences, they aimed to incorporate social justice and multiculturalism into their various professional roles.

Participants' identities were also influenced by language, particularly their ability to code-switch with different people. Participants described the concept of *nepantla*, or the in-

between space, that they navigated when thinking about areas where they experienced

marginalization juxtaposed with their privilege.

Expectations of Feminist Allies

Before sharing their expectations of feminist allies, participants recalled experiences they

had with people they consider to be allies. Participants described having both allies of color and

White allies. Participants identified allies in various settings, including the workplace.

Participants' recounted how they have used their positionality and privilege to serve as allies to

others.

Participants highlighted characteristics of true allies and allyship: self-reflection, self-

awareness, humility, listening, genuineness, authenticity, and reciprocity. They highlighted the

importance of finding a supportive community. Sometimes this community is made up of others

who hold marginalized identities; participants described the importance of true allies

understanding their need to at times be surrounded by people who hold non-dominant identities.

Participants also noted problems that they have experienced with people who claim to be allies.

These problems with allies included allies being self-interested or motivated for personal interest

and self-identified and not appointed by someone in a marginalized position. Additionally,

participants noted their distrust of ally motivation.

When asked specifically about expectations of feminist allies, participants highlighted the

importance of feminist allies making more space for intersectionality, centralizing the voices of

those who are marginalized, and listening to their marginalized counterparts. Ally skill building

was suggested, as was moving beyond the feminist label to include people who may not identify

with the term feminist but hold similar values. One participant noted that if feminism became

more intersectional and inclusive, "we would be the most badass movement because we would consider all the ways the system doesn't work with marginalized groups."

Moving Beyond the Research Questions

Though the interview protocol was created based on the research questions, data analyses yielded domains that did not directly answer the research questions. These domains provided important information about significant facets of participants' lived realities. Participants discussed their education and what lead to them becoming psychologists. They shared about aspects of their personal lives including relationships, challenges, and personal qualities while also noting salient aspects of their professional lives including their career trajectories, being a minority in the workplace, and their various roles. Participants described the role of language in their personal and professional lives. They described areas in which they hold privilege while also noting experiences of isolation and oppression. Participants described the importance and impact of their various communities, past and present. Finally, participants were able to reflect upon their participation in the research project.

<div align="center">

Implications

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Through interviews with Latina feminist psychologists, the findings from the present study offer an updated perspective of how these Latina feminists conceptualize their feminist identities, how their feminist identities intersect with other salient identities, and their expectations of feminist allies. The sample for the study represented a group who was familiar with discussing these concepts which lends itself to exploring a topic that has not been examined in this manner.

The first two research questions related to participants' understanding of their feminist identity and the influence of other salient identities and cultural ideals in developing a mestiza

consciousness. After interviewing nine participants, transcribing interviews, and analyzing all data, it became clear that there were no clear-cut answers to these questions; although the participants were pulled from a specific group, their experiences and conceptualizations varied. Though it could be seen as discouraging or a failure to not have one way to answer these research questions, in fact, this lack of concrete answers is quite noteworthy: it demonstrates the necessity of using qualitative methodology. If these research questions had been examined using quantitative measures, participants would have been forced to answer questions that were created based on past research and literature. This forced-choice may not have accurately captured the participants' experiences. Instead, they were able to discuss their experiences in an open-ended manner, without worrying if they fit into a preconceived category. Furthermore, other qualitative methodologies and approaches to analysis may lend themselves to more concrete answers to the research questions. Therefore, this may be an option for future research.

In addition, the diversity of participants' responses demonstrates how our understanding of culture is too limiting. Based on previous literature, one would assume that participants would have experienced major conflicts between their feminist identities and traditional Latinx cultural values, such as *marianismo, machismo,* and *caballerismo.* In fact, many participants stated that they did not experience major conflict between cultural ideals and their feminist identities; while some noted how they may not have fulfilled family expectations (e.g., motherhood, marriage), they still received support from their families. Moreover, many participants spoke specifically about support they received from men in their cultures who promoted feminist ideals. Furthermore, it could also have been assumed that most participants would have endorsed a *mujerista* identity over a feminist identity because *mujerismo* would have been more in line with Latinx cultural values. However, only one participant endorsed a *mujerista* identity. It also

seemed that participant's experiences were more similar based on their stage of professional development (e.g., early career professional) more so than the setting in which a psychologist worked (i.e., clinical vs. academic position). All of this suggests that making assumptions about how members of a specific group will identify based on traditional ideals is restrictive.

Perhaps because this sample represents a group of highly educated women in a field, psychology, that promotes progressive values, they have adopted these same values in their personal worldviews. It would be interesting to see if different samples of Latinas would endorse more traditional cultural stereotypes. Does identifying as a feminist automatically mean that one endorses more progressive and less traditional worldviews? It is important to consider how the results of this research would differ if more intersectional identities were examined more deeply, such as socioeconomic status and queer identity. One must also consider how results would vary if trans* Latinas were included in this dissertation research. The added layers of salient identities aside from being Latina, feminist, psychologists would add depth and complexity to the findings of this research and demonstrate even more varied lived realities.

Furthermore, participants overwhelmingly described the influence of language. For example, many participants described their family members as holding feminist perspectives, but not identifying with the term feminism. This poses the question of the value that the dominant culture places on terminology. Would it be better to ask questions related to feminist concepts and values, without using the terminology specifically? Can participants' identities be separated in order to explore their mestiza consciousness development? It seems that psychologists, because of the professional value of awareness-building and reflection may be able to take this approach to examining their identities and intersectionality, but it may not be applicable to other

populations. Even with this practice in reflection, participants shared that reducing themselves to individual identities was limiting and did not accurately capture their identities as a full person.

Participants were able to provide more concrete responses related to their expectations of feminist allies. Discussing a topic unrelated to personal identity may be easier to quantify and be less subjective. Not only were participants able to identify characteristics of true allies, but they also identified ways in which supposed ally efforts can be unhelpful. The identified characteristics of true allies and allyship are self-reflection, self-awareness, humility, listening, genuineness, authenticity, and reciprocity. The following characteristics were reported as problematic: allies who are motivated out of self-interest, allies who are self-appointed, and allies who have questionable motivation for their efforts. Having these identified positive and negative classifications can lead to development of tools for allies. For example, a measure can be created based on these characteristics that helps people identify allies, which may alleviate the problem of allies identifying themselves in this way. Having a quantifiable ally measure may allow those in marginalized positions to have more trust toward allies because they will exemplify the identified qualities instead of just adopting a label.

Participants also provided specific recommendations for feminist allies. These recommendations included feminist allies making more space for intersectionality, centralizing the voices of those who are marginalized, and listening to those who are marginalized. Participants suggested ally skill-building and training but did not provide specific ways to implement this. Noticeably missing from participants' recommendations was a focus on allyship being action-oriented. Participants did not highlight the importance of active engagement as described by Spanierman and Smith (2017) but focused instead more on giving voice to those

who are marginalized. Among this selection of participants, it seemed that they expected feminist allies take a step back to give voice to those who are underrepresented.

The findings of this study suggest important implications for clinical settings. Firstly, it is important for clinicians to avoid making assumptions about clients' identities and experiences based on demographic information collected at intake. As this research demonstrates, just because someone identifies as Latina, it does not mean she will experience the world in the same way as another who identifies similarly. Additionally, the identified traits of allies, self-reflection, self-awareness, humility, listening, genuineness, authenticity, and reciprocity, are consistent with ideals of feminist, relational-cultural, and person-centered therapy models. Therefore, clinicians are able to serve as allies for clients even if they do not hold marginalized identities. Discussing multicultural and social justice concerns, along with clinicians' stimulus value can provide clients with affirmation in therapy.

In addition to clinical settings, similar implications apply to training programs. Faculty and persons involved in training must serve as allies for their students, especially those with marginalized identities. Similar to a clinician, a faculty person can demonstrate their role as an ally by engaging in their own self-reflection and awareness building alongside students. Also, listening to student concerns and providing a genuine, authentic, reciprocal space is impactful. The stimulus value of the program, such as e-mail signatures and social justice paraphernalia in offices can provide students with an encouraging environment. Similarly, multicultural course material must move to focus on varied lived experiences within particularly groups, considering various intersectionalities, to avoid promoting stereotypical views of a population. Because faculty and those involved in training are in a position of power and hold privilege, being an ally to students with less power and who may experience marginalization is of utmost important.

Because the psychology workforce is made up of only 16% psychologists of color (APA, 2018), it is imperative that White psychologists create space for those with marginalized identities to have a place in the field. This research also demonstrates the importance of teaching students about qualitative methodology and supporting students who pursue qualitative dissertations; this study demonstrates the richness and nuance that qualitative research elicits.

One component of this research that is important to mention is that I am not a member of the group that was being studied. In line with previous ally research, the goal of this project was to centralize voices of those from an underrepresented group and allow participants to speak for themselves instead of making sweeping generalizations and assumptions. While most participants were open and understanding of the principal researcher's outsider role, this may not have been made clear enough. For example, one participant expressed,

Well the thing that [surprised] me was that you're not Latina. When you identified as a White woman ally, and I thought "oops I said a bunch of things in Spanish that you might not know," I don't know what your Spanish language skills are, but I thought, "oh" maybe you may want to say that earlier on so that people don't code-switch on you.

This participant's open statement clarified the need to be completely transparent about researcher group membership from the start. Though it seemed clear to me that recruitment materials made my dominant group membership known, this should have been explicitly stated at the start of each interview instead of reminding participants before the last research question. Transparency is one way to demonstrate authenticity and genuineness, two components of being an ally. If a researcher wants to be identified as an ally, bringing these qualities of allies to the research process is important.

Surprisingly, only two participants discussed the intersection and blending of their personal and professional lives. Based on experiences at the NLPA conference and on the ¡BIEN! research team, this communal approach was expected to be discussed by more participants. Perhaps the questions asked during the interviews did not lend themselves to discussing how participants blend their personal (i.e., *familismo*) lives with their professional (i.e., work) lives. Future research should structure questions to explore this blend.

Limitations

Hill and colleagues (2005) noted various limitations to implementing the CQR methodology. The first limitation they noted is the time commitment involved. Because CQR is a qualitative methodology, the data collection (interviews) and analyses (interview transcription and two types of analysis) take time. Each interview lasted between 45 minutes and 1.5 hours and data collection took place over the course of 7 months.

A second limitation of the CQR methodology is that the tasks may become repetitive (Hill et al., 2005). This was true of the present study. The lead researcher and team members often discussed the tedious nature of the project. Because team members were minimally compensated, the repetitive nature of this project was challenging for the team. However, the benefits of this research are worth the tediousness as Latina feminism among psychologists and implications for feminist allies is an understudied area in the field of counseling psychology.

A third limitation of CQR methodology for this study was that no members of the team had prior training in CQR methodology. The principal researcher followed the guidelines outlined by Hill (2012) to ensure that all members of the team were knowledgeable about the steps of the research methodology. Some of these guidelines included reading about CQR methodology and research, practicing making consensual decisions as a team before analyzing

data, and being open and available to consultation (Hill, 2012). In general, CQR methodology

lacks clear-cut guidelines which was difficult for the researchers since we did not have extensive

training in this methodology (Hill et al., 2005).

Outside of the methodology used, a limitation of the present study was that data was

collected from a specific population that may not be generalizable to a larger group.

Psychologists who identify as Latina and feminist may have unique experiences and points of

view that those outside of this specific community may not have. As noted by Hill and

colleagues (2005), the findings of this study would be difficult to combine with findings of a

different study because of the specificity. However, this limitation is also a strength of CQR; it

captured the lived realities, narratives, and secrets of the specific participants, instead of the

larger population.

Another limitation to the present research was that I am not a member of the community

in which I researched. I am neither Latina nor a psychologist (yet); I am an outsider looking in.

However, because I used a qualitative methodology that allowed for the participants'

perspectives to be expressed respectively, I hope that my status as an outsider did not limit the

findings. I strategically created a research team that included team members who identify as

Latina feminists to assist with this limitation.

Recommendations for Future Research

The present research project exploring the experiences of Latina feminists, how they

develop a mestiza consciousness and navigate their various identities, and implications for

feminist allies presents opportunities for continued future research on the topic. First, because it

was challenging to draw concrete conclusions related to the first two research questions, there

may be different approaches that can be taken to understanding how Latina feminists

conceptualize and capture the meaning of their feminist identity and how they developed their mestiza consciousness. One approach that may lead to more unified conclusions would be implementing focus groups. Focus groups would allow this specifically identified and selected group of participants to discuss with each other their experiences and understandings of the research questions. Focus groups would be consistent with the collectivist Latinx culture. Participants' ability to have these discussions with members of the same group instead of only with a White doctoral student researcher would leverage power dynamics and potential identity conflicts. Additionally, focus groups could challenge participants to explore and process their own beliefs, values, and experiences in a more in-depth manner.

Interestingly, while completing this dissertation project, it was announced that a book by Lillian Comas-Díaz and Carmen Inoa Vazquez entitled *Latina Psychologists: Thriving in the Cultural Borderlands* was released on June 20, 2018. This book includes *testimonios* from twelve Latina psychologists who discuss their cultural, gendered, and social experiences and how they have navigated the borderlands as psychologists. The book incorporates Latina feminist psychology perspectives. Combining the current research project with this book can glean more insight into the experiences of this population. Furthermore, it may lead to more concrete conclusions and lead to further study of this population. Using this research project and this book, scales may be developed to understand how Latina psychologists navigate the cultural borderlands. Clearly this is an area of growth within the field of psychology.

Another future direction this research could take would be to expand the sample from which data is collected. Latina feminist psychologists represent a specific sample. How would non-psychologist Latina feminist experiences and identities compare to those of psychologists? How might this look with a different racial or ethnic group, such as Asian American women?

How would this look for people who identify as transwomen, Latinx feminists? Some participants suggested that women who experience more marginalization may not have the privilege to focus on women's issues. This means that those who hold multiple marginalized identities, such as lower socioeconomic status, less education, undocumented status, transgender, etc. might conceptualize and capture feminism differently than their counterparts with more privilege; moreover, they may not be in a position where feminism seems particularly salient or important for their own survival.

Finally, the study of ally development and allyship is an area that warrants future research and practical application. Given participants' ability to answer questions related to ally characteristics in a concrete manner, following up with quantitative methodology could be useful. It would be interesting to follow up with others who hold marginalized identities to glean their views on allies and characteristics of allies. This information could help with the development of a scale measuring one's ally-identity. This would be a useful tool because it is a formal measure that could classify allies instead of those who want to be allies identifying themselves; this would help alleviate one of the problems highlighted by the participants. Additionally, future research, similar to *The Counseling Psychologist* special issue about allies could investigate further about ally motivation. Those who identify as allies, whether self-appointed or acknowledged by a member of a non-dominant group, could qualitatively discuss why they want to be allies and how they work to achieve this identity. Hearing directly from allies could build trust with those who allies want to help.

Moreover, there have been discussions in academia and beyond regarding the term ally. For some, it seems too passive and can be held by anyone who wants without proof. In March 2018, the University of Georgia's College of Education held the thirteenth Diversity, Equity, and

Inclusion Conference. To close out this conference, a panel comprised of author Angie Thomas, professor Dr. Bettina Love, psychologist Dr. LaKeisha Gantt, and facilitator Dr. Sherri Williams, held a Kitchen Table Conversation entitled "In Conversation about Sustaining Racial and Social Justice Action in Education and Society." During the discussion, Dr. Bettina Love proclaimed that allies were no longer needed; instead, there was a need for co-conspirators, or those who fight for justice and equality as if it was their own problem they are fighting for. Being a co-conspirator is active whereas being an ally is passive. Future research and ally development workshops should include this active perspective to working with those who are marginalized.

Closing Thoughts

Working on this dissertation project that centered on a group to which I do not belong forced me to reflect upon and evaluate the meaning I have associated with my own identities and assumptions and biases I hold toward other groups. This project has challenged my beliefs about the way the world works. In particular, I have been challenged to examine the meaning of feminism in a new manner; I recognize that my view of feminism, empowerment and equity for all, stems from a U.S. and individualistic perspective. I am beginning to understand that not everyone has the privilege to view the world and concepts like feminism from this point-of-view.

Moreover, I have been challenged in my conceptualization of allyship. As a self-identified ally, I now question what this label means and if those who are members of non-dominant groups would also classify me this way. I am continuing to learn more about the concept of co-conspirator. I hope to continue researching ally development as a psychological concept and learn how best to use my positions of privilege to work with those who experience less privilege. How can I centralize voices of those who are othered? How can I join the fight with those who experience this marginalization and avoid using my privilege to take over?

Working on this project has allowed me to grow and develop. Because of my questions regarding my role as an ally and the privilege I experience, I have sought out opportunities to learn more and become engaged in the Athens community. I have also thought more about the performative nature of allyship. After hearing from participants, I began to question my own motivation for acting in a certain way. How did a Facebook post or "like" help someone who was marginalized? Maybe I was just engaging with social media in this way to appear "woke." Given this self-reflection, I began to incorporate more action into my beliefs, becoming more involved in local politics and organizing, joining campus groups that would challenge my beliefs and force me to have difficult dialogues, and ultimately taking a step back to listen to others who experience less privilege to avoid making assumptions about what needs to be done.

Reflection has been a crucial component to working on this project. As someone who tends to be more pragmatic and objective, taking time to examine my subjectivity, biases, and development has been a valuable challenge. I will continue to reflect after completing this dissertation project and throughout my career as a psychologist.

Most importantly, I have recognized the role that allies must play in making important social change in society. Until those who experience privilege are able to use that privilege to amplify the voices of those who experience marginalization and care about creating justice for all, change will not occur. Social change involves those in power to be willing to share the power with others; allies, advocates, activists, and co-conspirators can work to make change that benefits the vision of liberation for all.

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APPENDIX A

Interview Protocol

Opening Questions

Basic introductions

1. What is your educational background? Degree? Current job/position?

2. How did you get into the field of psychology? What was your path?

Main Topic of Interest

1. Feminism is an ideology/movement that was created by and for White women. Oftentimes, women of color feel excluded from traditional feminism. Because of this, many women of color have rejected a feminist identity in favor of a womanist or mujerista identity. How do you conceptualize/capture the meaning of your identity as it relates to feminism?

    a. Do you think that the word feminism is appropriate for the way you identify? If not, what term do you prefer to use to capture this identity?

    b. When did you first begin to identify as a feminist (or other word)?

    c. Who/what inspired this identity?

    d. How does this identity play out in both your personal and professional life?

    e. Thinking about your various social identities in relation to you feminist/mujerista/other way of capturing "feminist" identities,

        i. Do you believe that the co-existence and intersectionality of various identities can be adequately represented in feminism?

        ii. How do these multiple intersections relate to being a Latina feminist (if the individual identifies that way)?

2. In her famous work Borderlands: La Frontera, Gloria Anzaldua discusses the concept of *mestiza consciousness* that challenges the way those with multiple, potentially opposing cultures/identities experience the straddling between two or more cultures. The *mestiza consciousness* challenges individuals to change the way they see themselves, how they behave, and how they perceive reality in order to break down dualistic/black-and-white thinking. Mestiza consciousness parallels Crenshaw's description of intersectionality. How has your mestiza consciousness developed in regard to your identities as female, Latina, feminist/mujerista, psychologist?

    a. What challenges have you face in navigating these identities?

    b. What does it mean to you to have these different identities?

    c. How have your social identities been in opposition with each other? How do you manage/cope with this?

    d. How do these intersecting identities influence your work as a psychologist?

3. Can you identify anyone who has been an ally to you (professionally and/or personally)?

    a. What makes them an ally?

    b. What has been helpful/unhelpful from ally efforts?

    c. How can allies support Latina feminists? What are your expectations?

Closure Questions

1. Why did you choose to participate in this study?

2. How has participating in this interview affected you?