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U.S. LATINO PSYCHOLOGY

DEVELOPMENTAL AND COMMUNITY-BASED PERSPECTIVES

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A View From Within and From Without

The Development of Latina Feminist Psychology

Aída Hurtado and Karina Cervantez

The field of Latina[1] feminist psychology is relatively new, developed in the 1980s in tandem with the field of feminist psychology (Russo & Vaz, 2001). Although during the inception of the field there were not many Latina psychologists—and the number remains low—the few that were present had a significant role in developing the field of feminist psychology and were part of the broader intellectual movement to increase diversity in all academic fields. According to Russo and Vaz (2001),

> Diversity has become a concept that encompasses the complexities of dealing with effects of multiple and intersecting social categories. The term is used as shorthand to describe approaches that examine effects of different combinations of these categories. Although attempts to "understand diversity" often incorporate the categories of gender, race, and class, a whole host of social dimensions can be added to the mix. . . . One dimension of diversity of special interest to feminists reflects inequalities in power and privilege. Feminist psychologists have a basic commitment to social action. (p. 280)

Latina feminist psychology is committed to diversity as delineated by Russo and Vaz (2001), with added emphasis on Latino cultures and histories, the importance of the Spanish language, and the examination of structural variables that affect power and privilege for the Latino/a populations in the United States. For Latinas, the relevant social categories that affect access to power and privilege in U.S. society are gender, ethnicity, race, class, and sexuality (and in some cases physical ableness). Latina feminist psychology has been concerned with exploring the consequences for women's lives when these categories intersect. For purposes of this review, we cover the research areas that have received the most attention: the influence of cultural values on identity, identity's influence on therapeutic approaches with Latinas, and feminism, including feminist theory.

We begin by providing a historical overview of the assimilation/acculturation frameworks, the predominant theoretical approaches used in the 1970s through the 1990s to study Latinos/as' identities. We continue the section on identity with Tajfel's (1981) social identity theory, a more

contemporary approach than the assimilation/acculturation frameworks, to study Latinos/as' identifications. We outline the distinction, originally made by Tajfel and used by many social psychologists, between *personal* and *social identity*—a distinction that practitioners have used in developing therapeutic approaches that take into account Latinas' social identities, especially those that are a source of stigmatization, like race, class, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality.

The contributions of Latina feminist psychology to feminist theory are also discussed. In particular, the writers of Latina feminist psychology have expanded the definition of feminism. These writers place an emphasis on the history of the different Latino/a groups in the United States and advocate the inclusion of language and culture in the definition of feminism. Many of the writers of Latina feminist psychology have adopted borderland theory, as proposed by creative writer and essayist Gloria Anzaldúa, to further expand the concept of intersectionality first introduced by African American feminists. Borderland theory and intersectionality recognize that Latinas, as well as other women, suffer subordination based not only on their gender, but also on other stigmatized social categories, primarily race, class, ethnicity, sexuality, and physical ableness—the same social categories Tajfel (1981) proposes as constituting individuals' social identities. We conclude by summarizing the main concepts covered in this review of Latina feminist psychology and provide some areas for future research.

A View From Within and From Without: The Writers of Latina Feminist Psychology

The writings in these areas have been produced by Latina as well as non-Latina writers, providing a variety of perspectives from within the group as well as outside of it. The writers of Latina feminist psychology have differences in terms of race, class, ethnicity, age, and specialty within psychology. However, they also have an overarching commitment to analyzing gender as an integral part of other social categories. The approach taken by the writers of Latina feminist psychology, regardless of differences in backgrounds, is what Russo and Vaz (2001) call *diversity mindfulness,* which

> . . . involves the process of perceiving and processing a multiplicity of differences among individuals, their social contexts, and their cultures. Diversity-mindfulness from a feminist perspective incorporates the feminist values of diversity, egalitarianism, and inclusiveness into critical analyses. It also recognizes the need for complex, context-based viewpoints that are incongruent with traditional intrapsychic theorizing and reductionist research methods (Comas-Díaz, 1991; Espín, 1997; 1999; Landrine, 1995a; Mays & Comas-Díaz, 1988; Reid & Comas-Díaz, 1990; Russo & Dabul, 1994; Worell & Etaugh, 1994). (p. 281)

In an effort to adhere to diversity mindfulness, most non-Latina writers have partnered with Latinas to insure that in producing Latina feminist psychology they have done justice to the complexities of Latinas' lives and experiences.

Studies do not need to adhere simultaneously to all of the principles outlined by Russo and Vaz (2001) in their concept of diversity mindfulness; rather, it is a theoretical and empirical standpoint in which self-reflexivity and inclusivity are built into the process of theorizing and conducting empirical research. The hope is that inserting diversity mindfulness into research practices will result in more egalitarian and fair-minded scholarship than has been conducted in the past. As an integral part of diversity mindfulness, the writers of Latina feminist psychology employ a variety of research methods. For example, Espín (1996) conducted life histories with lesbians who immigrated from Cuba to avoid the stigmatization and political repression in their native country because of their sexuality. She was interested in documenting the identity changes undergone by her respondents as a result of the immigration process and coming out as lesbians upon their arrival to the United States. Hurtado (2003b) conducted qualitative interviews with 101 educationally successful Chicanas (Mexican-descent Latinas) to explore their views on feminism from an intersectional perspective. Pastor and her colleagues (2007) used participant action research (PAR) to develop a collaboration between academic researchers and middle and high school students to examine the obstacles and inequalities students face in school. The academic researchers teach the students research methods, and the research team produces art pieces (spoken words and such as poetry readings), perform their work. In addition, the

students collaborates on the writing of the final product for academic publication. Latina feminist psychology use of the variety of research methods is an integral part of producing a more egalitarian scholarship than is usually produced by a narrower range of research methods (Fine, 2006).

We now address identity as one of the major research areas in Latina feminist psychology.

Identity

A Brief History of the Acculturation/Assimilation Frameworks in the Study of Latino/a Identity

One of the earliest areas of focus in the study of Latinas was the issue of identity. Most researchers adhere to the classic definition of assimilation as "a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons and groups, and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life" (Park & Burgess, 1921, p. 735). The assimilation/acculturation framework was furthered developed in Milton Gordon's influential book, *Assimilation in American Life* (1964). The early research on Latino/a identity explored the process of cultural assimilation within Latino/a communities and focused on the degree to which individuals changed their personal identities to reflect the values and attitudes of the white mainstream. Early assimilation measures listed traits (e.g., work ethic, future orientation, achievement motivation) associated with white, middle-class culture and asked Latinos/as to rate themselves on these personal dimensions (Schlachet, 1975; Wallendorf & Reilly, 1983). Many studies highlighted the negative aspects and psychological difficulties encountered by individuals who did not incorporate these (considered white) cultural values quickly enough to succeed in U.S. society (Montgomery, 1992; Portes & Zhou, 1993). Later studies refined the concept of assimilation and included the process of acculturation. It was assumed that it was feasible for individuals to have more than one language and more than one set of cultural values and norms without conflict (Chun, Balls Organista, & Marín, 2003). According to this research, the most appropriate adaptation for Latinos/as was to become bicultural in U.S. mainstream culture and in the culture of their national origin (see Hurtado, 1997, for a historical review of the concepts of assimilation and acculturation).

However, even in Gordon's elaboration, the assimilation and acculturation frameworks did not address gender, and the frameworks were "uncritically applied to all [ethnic] groups" to explain their cultural adaptations "regardless of race, history in the U.S., forms of incorporation in the U.S., or reasons for immigrating" (Hurtado, 1997, p. 301). The exclusion of gender posed a special set of questions for Latina women. The assimilation/acculturation framework conceptualizes Latino cultures, regardless of national origin, as having rigid familial roles and extreme physical and psychological restrictions based on gender (Fine, Roberts, & Weiss, 2000). Latinas were forced to negotiate archaic notions of womanhood that placed enormous psychological stress on them. Undoubtedly, the issues of acculturation stress and its mental health consequences were an important area of study. By emphasizing maladaptation as a result of not assimilating quickly enough into U.S. middle-class values and culture, the full diversity of cultural adaptations to intergroup cultural contact was weighed heavily toward a "cultural deficit" framework (Valencia, 1997). The more Latinos/as retained their culture, the less likely they were to function well and succeed in U.S. society.

Feminist Deconstructions of the Assimilation/Acculturation Frameworks

Latina feminist psychologists struggled with the limitations of the assimilation/acculturation frameworks, which examined only one social category at a time and did not take into account the complexity of Latinas' multiple social identities. During the 1980s, as Latina feminist psychologists began questioning the usefulness and completeness of the assimilation/acculturation paradigm, the feminist movement was in full swing in the United States as well as in other countries, including Latin America (Alvarez, 2000; Colón Warren, 2003). Although the feminist agendas in the United States and Latin America differed, they also had important similarities—an emphasis on "expanded schooling, housing, health, birth control, and other social services" for women (Colón Warren, 2003, p. 665). As such, patriarchal privilege, rather than culture alone, came within the scope of

analysis to explain the condition of Latinas in the United States (Hurtado, 1996a).

Although both Latin American and U.S. feminist psychology moved away from purely cultural explanations for gender relations in their respective communities, they nonetheless also critiqued Latino culture regardless of national origins. Latin American and the writers of U.S. Latina feminist psychology have always stressed the fluid and changing nature of culture, placing emphasis on cultural change (not only on cultural maintenance). Their critique is especially poignant when the cultural practices and norms are sexist, homophobic, classist, or otherwise oppressive. The critique of Latino culture, however, was within the framework of cultural solidarity and maintenance (Hurtado, 2003b) rather than advocating assimilation into hegemonic, white, middle-class, U.S. cultural practices and norms. After all, U.S. culture is also based on patriarchy, a system that gave birth to the white (mostly middle-class) feminist movement (Mankiller, Mink, Navarro, Smith, & Steinem, 1998).

Many Latina and non-Latina psychologists began to address Latinas from a feminist perspective, analyzing their condition as women existing within certain cultural groups and as individuals imbedded in multiple social systems that systematically blocked their access to economic and social resources (Hurtado, 1996b). At this point, research on Latinas was moving toward a diversity of analyses and expanding the examination of identity beyond mere culture to include issues of gender, class, ethnicity, race, sexuality, and physical ableness—a paradigm that later came to be known as *intersectionality* (Collins, 2000; Crenshaw, 1989, 1995; Hurtado, 2003b).

Latina Feminist Psychology and Social Identity Theory

Besides the consideration of multiple social categories as part of Latinas' identity, another important theoretical development was the distinction made by some researchers between personal identity and social identity, both components of an integrated self (Hurtado & Gurin, 2004). Social psychologists argue that although personal and social identity are not entirely independent of each other, neither are they one and the same (Tajfel, 1981). Personality and developmental psychology do not necessarily make the same level of distinction between personal and social identity made by Tajfel (1981) and his adherents. The writers of Latina feminist psychology, however, have found Tajfel's proposed theoretical distinction very helpful in avoiding dispositionalism—that is, the tendency in the field of psychology to overattribute all behavior to individual characteristics (mostly encased in the concept of personality or in such personality traits as self-esteem) and to underestimate the influence on behavior of social context and structural variables (Haney & Zimbardo, in press).

The distinction between personal identity and social identity stems from Henri Tajfel's (1981) social identity theory, which posits that personal identity is that aspect of self composed of psychological traits and dispositions that give rise to personal uniqueness. Personal identity is derived from intrapsychic influences, many of which are socialized within family units, however they are defined (Hurtado, 1997). From this perspective, human beings have a great deal in common, precisely because their personal identities are composed of universal processes, such as loving, mating, doing productive work—activities that are considered universal components of self. Personal identity is much more stable and coherent over time than social identity. Although social context may affect the degree to which an individual's personal identity is manifested, most individuals do not have multiple personal identities (Hurtado, 1996b); that is, a shy person may be less or more shy depending on the social context, but getting rid of shyness often takes years of professional treatment (Henderson & Zimbardo, 2001; Zimbardo, 1990).

In contrast, *social identity* is that aspect of self derived from the knowledge of being part of social categories and groups, together with the value and emotional significance attached to those group formations (Hurtado, 1997). Tajfel (1981) argues that social identities are the outcome of three social psychological processes. The first is *social categorization*. Nationality, language, race and ethnicity, skin color, or other social or physical characteristics that are meaningful in particular social contexts can be the basis for social categorization and thus the foundation for the creation of social identities. For example, Colón Warren (2003) writes about the differences in the assignment to the race category "black" of Puerto Ricans in the United States versus those in Puerto Rico:

> The dichotomous racialization that is imposed in Puerto Rico by dominant (white) sectors in the United States on African Americans, as well as on colonized populations and "unassimilated" migrants (Briggs, 2002; Santiago-Valles, 1999a, 1999b), contrasts with the hierarchy of racial mixture in Puerto Rico. On the Island, race ranges along a continuum from white to Black, running through a variety of categories related to the presence of particular pherotypical traits, such as mulatto, *trigueño* (lighter skinned or as a euphemism for Black), or *grifo* (tight, curly hair) (Jorge, 1986). It is also more evidently a social definition, based on behavior as well as on physical characteristics, so that moving from a lower to a higher social status could allow for a person's whitening (Suárez Findlay, 1999). (p. 668)

As a result of these differences in race assignment, from a continuum in Puerto Rico to a dichotomous one in the United States, Puerto Ricans migrating to the U.S. mainland from the island have to readjust their self-perceptions around issues of race—from a phenotypic description (e.g., *morenito*, "a bit dark") to the racial category "black." Tajfel (1981) would call the change in "race" assignment joining a stigmatized social category tied historically to the institution of slavery and thus also tied to negative political and social connotations.

Another process underlying the construction of social identities is *social comparison*. In this process, a group's status, degree of affluence, or other characteristic achieves significance *in relation to* perceived differences and their value connotations from other social formations. For example, Hurtado (2003b) found in her qualitative study of educated Chicanas that participants considered themselves "middle class" when they lived in predominantly working-class communities. Upon entering institutions of higher education attended largely by middle- and upper-class white students, the participants shifted their comparison from neighborhood to college peers and reassessed their class identification, most often from middle class to poor or working class.

The third process involves *psychological work*, both cognitive and emotional, that is prompted by what Tajfel (1981) assumes is a universal motive—the achievement of a positive sense of self. The social groups that present the greatest obstacles to a positive sense of self are those that are disparaged, whose memberships have to be negotiated frequently because of their visibility, and that have become politicized by social movements. These group memberships are the most likely to become problematic social identities for individuals. Stigmatized social categorizations have to be negotiated every time they become socially relevant. For example, a Latina student entering an all-white university classroom headed by a white professor will more than likely immediately focus on her *latinidad*. Were she to enter a classroom either with all Latinos/as or with students of varying ethnicities, her *latinidad* might not be as socially relevant in the classroom and therefore, according to Tajfel (1981), might not require psychological work.

Moreover, stigmatized social identities become especially powerful psychologically; they are easily accessible and dwelt upon, are apt to be salient across situations, and are likely to function as schemas, frameworks, or social scripts (Gurin, Hurtado, & Peng, 1994). For example, a poor Latina with a physical disability is more likely to reflect on her social identities than is a wealthy, white, heterosexual male with no physical impediments. Unproblematic group memberships—ones that are socially valued or accorded privilege and are not obvious to others—may not even become social identities. Until very recently with the emergence of whiteness studies, being racially white was not the subject of inquiry, and it is still not widely thought of as a social identity (Fine, Weis, Powell Pruitt, & Burns, 2004; Hurtado & Stewart, 2004; Phinney, 1996). Although there may be different groups of whites, for example, varying by class—poor whites versus middle-class whites—the privileges accrued because of the racial benefits of whiteness are not easily articulated by its possessors, regardless of class, because white race privilege is considered the norm in the United States (McIntosh, 1992).

Social identities gain particular significance when they are based on what sociologists call *master statuses*. Race, social class, gender, ethnicity, physical challenges, and sexuality are the social identities assigned master statuses because individuals must psychologically negotiate their potentially stigmatizing effects. In the United States, as in many other countries, master statuses are used to make value judgments about group memberships. Tajfel's theory of social identity, which has been elaborated upon by others (Gurin et al., 1994; Hogg, 2006, 2008; Hurtado, 1997), provides a sophisticated framework for understanding how individuals make

sense of their group memberships—both unproblematic and stigmatized ones.

Personal identity and social identity has been used in Latina feminist writings to understand individual outcomes (microprocesses) as a result of cultural and language practices among Latinas. Social identity has been used to understand group outcomes (macroprocesses) based on memberships in ethnic, race, class, sexuality, and physical ableness. The distinction between personal and social identity prevents the treatment of all social issues as rooted in individual psychologies correctable only by reshaping individual behaviors and leaving structural forces unexamined. In addition, this theoretical distinction validates *individual-level interventions* therapy in Spanish, such as increasing women's sense of self-efficacy and empowerment (Enns, in press) as solutions to Latinas' gender socialization when it results in negative consequences, such as remaining in a violent relationship with a partner (Flores-Ortiz, 2004). The theoretical distinction also validates *group-level interventions* such as providing workshops on the academic requirements for college admission to Latina mothers who have not had the opportunity to obtain education to help their daughters succeed educationally (Hurtado, Cervantez, & Eccleston, in press). Most recently, the writers of Latina feminist psychology have begun to explore the connections between individual and social identities, expanding the study of identity to be more inclusive and well-rounded rather than simply focusing on individual identity or on social identity (Azmitia, Syed, & Radmacher, 2008).

We turn now to the application of Latina feminist psychology by practitioners and how it addresses the obstacles encountered by Latinas in the United States.

Identity and Therapeutic Approaches With Latinas

Psychology as a discipline focuses on the understanding of individual behavior, and has developed powerful techniques of intervention to alleviate individual maladies, be it in the clinical area, in public health, or in school settings, among many other arenas. Latina feminist psychology has become very important in developing the appropriate therapeutic interventions by highlighting the importance of culturally sensitive modes of treatment, and by placing gender at the center of analyses rather than treating it as a "background" or "control variable" (Leaper, 1996). Instead, gender is conceptualized as a "relational social location rather than a fixed biological category" (Hurtado, 1997, p. 31). Stewart (1994) advocates treating "gender as defining power relations and being constructed by them" (p. 12).

In developing intervention techniques, the writers of Latina feminist psychology have also expanded the definitions of approved clinical practices. Vasquez (2007), for example, complicates the ethics code of the American Psychological Association (APA) in reference to the boundaries that are appropriate to cross between therapist and client when dealing with culturally diverse populations. Vasquez argues that a frequent challenge for psychotherapists is "whether or not to rigidly apply boundaries" or allow for more flexible ones that "one crosses from time to time" depending on the client's cultural and language background. A therapist's lack of cultural knowledge may lead to inappropriately applying boundaries that may cause clients of diverse backgrounds to feel discomfort and block the building of rapport in the therapeutic situation. Vasquez provides the example of gift giving between clients and therapists, an action that is usually discouraged because clients pay for services and because it may result in the therapist's inadvertent (or purposeful) exploitation of the client. Vasquez, however, argues that ultimately the "context of receiving gifts is crucial" (p. 407) for deciding whether it is an appropriate action or not. To illustrate this point, Vasquez provides the following example:

> . . . if a Latina client who works near a restaurant brings tacos because I squeezed her in during my lunch hour when she was in crisis, it may not be necessary to spend half an hour processing the meaning of the tacos. We know that she felt appreciative; that it was a relatively easy, warm gesture, and that food is a common gift among Latinas. Sometimes a taco is just a taco! (p. 407)

The challenge, therefore, is for therapists to know when "a taco is just a taco" and when it may have other psychological meanings that need to be explored in a therapeutic setting.

Latina feminist psychology not only emphasizes culture in considering therapeutic interventions but also is concerned about the sociopolitical

experiences of clients as they enter the relationship with the therapists (Flores-Ortiz, 2004). Vasquez argues that if the therapist rejects the client's offering of the taco, the therapist's action would reinscribe the power differential between therapist and client. The potential perceived rejection of the gift may remind the client of her inferior status in society as a Latina, possibly shaming her and causing her to re-experience instances of discrimination. By accepting the taco, the therapist is acknowledging an act of kindness and thoughtfulness and creating a bridge of understanding rather than doubting the client's motives. The APA's ethical rule of not accepting gifts then becomes ambiguous because it is potentially detrimental to culturally diverse clients.

Comas-Díaz (2000) argues that given the structural discrimination that many people of Color[2] suffer in the United States (and in the world), psychologists cannot ignore the "group trauma" produced by such treatment. The experience of racism and discrimination, according to Comas-Díaz, leads to this:

> People of color are often exposed to imperialism and intellectual domination at the expense of their cultural values (Said, 1994). Furthermore, they are subjected to the cultural Stockholm syndrome, a condition in which members of an oppressed group accept the dominant cultural values, including the stereotypes of their own group (DiNicola, 1997). The cultural Stockholm syndrome involves being taken hostage by other people's cultures and perceptions of themselves, while coming to internalize and believe them. Hence, politically repressing people of color can lead to terrorism, maintaining the privileges of the dominant group, and silencing cries for racial social justice. (p. 1320)

Congruent with the writings of others in the field of Latina feminist psychology (Flores-Ortíz, 2004; Vasquez, 2006), Comas-Díaz (2000) argues for an *ethnopolitical approach* in restituting Latinas' identity after they have suffered the effects of "oppression, racism, terrorism, and political repression" (p. 1320). According to Comas-Díaz,

> By acknowledging racial, ethnic, and political realities as they interact with socioeconomic, historical, psychological, and environmental factors, this approach expands the individual focus to a collective one, one that is national as well as international. An ethnopolitical model can serve as the basis for psychologists to aid people who have suffered racism, discrimination, and repression. (p. 1320)

The ethnopolitical approach "names the terror [of oppression], developing a language that gives voice to the silenced traumatized self" (ibid.). This broader conceptualization of identity, which takes into account history as well as the sociopolitical context in which Latinas exist in the United States (and all of Latin America), leads to a diversity of therapeutic interventions, and, in fact, redefines therapy from the individual to the social and collective (Comas-Díaz, 1988, 2000; Flores-Ortiz, 2004; Vasquez, 2002). To alleviate the pervasive identity conflicts created by colonization in the forms of "identity conflicts," "shame," "rage," pressures to "assimilate" and abandon one's native culture and language, identity "ambivalence," and "alienation" (Comas-Díaz, 2000, p. 1320), the writers of Latina feminist psychology advocate using a variety of therapeutic interventions. As Comas-Díaz (2000) summarizes,

> Ethnic and indigenous psychologies provide a culturally relevant lens validating both the importance of racial and ethnic meanings and the historical and political contexts of oppression. Because working with victims of political repression forces individuals to confront questions of meaning, the spiritual beliefs of people of color are rescued and affirmed as examples of indigenous psychological approaches (Ho, 1987). Psychologists can help trauma sufferers find something of value in the traumatic experience through a renewed awareness of their strengths. (p. 1322)

Comas-Díaz, Lykes, and Alarcón (1998) propose that for some individuals indigenous approaches to psychic healing helps them remember and "retell their cultural memories," which aid in "identity construction" (Comas-Díaz, 2000, p. 1322). For other individuals who lack exposure to their indigenous origins, therapy may include the act of discovery and recuperation of culture, language, and history. Indigenous approaches may also be better suited to poor and working-class individuals whose life

experiences may have been especially brutal because of poverty. For example, Comas-Díaz uses the Puerto Rican concept of *dusmic strength* with working-class clients to facilitate the "transformation of aggression and desperation into self-affirmation and hope," thus illustrating "an indigenous spiritual approach to trauma" and "making meaning out of trauma" (ibid.).

According to Comas-Díaz (2000), the goal of these diverse therapeutic interventions is for

> [i]ndividual and collective identities . . . to be reformulated in order to achieve liberation. Therapeutic decolonization entails raising consciousness of the colonized mentality, correcting cognitive distortions, recognizing the context of colonization (including post-colonization stress disorder) . . . increasing dignity and self- and social mastery, and working for personal and collective transformation. (pp. 1320–1321)

Other writers advocate the restitution of self through the use of indigenous art forms, such as dance (Roberts, 2005), visual art (Hurtado & Gurin, 2004), and spiritual practices based on wholeness and rooted in the epistemology and ontology of indigenous cultures, to foster the acquisition of both knowledge and wisdom, and the use of diverse forms of contemplative practice to elicit deep awareness, social consciousness and transformation in self and others (Rendón, 2008). As stated earlier, Latina feminist psychology does not advocate the uncritical consumption of indigenous practices and cultures but rather conceptualizes all cultural practices and norms as changing, fluid, and applicable to different individuals according to their varying social identities examined through an intersectional lens.

Latina Feminist Psychology and Contributions to Feminist Theory

Psychology as a field developed most of its research methods and theoretical paradigms with predominantly white, middle-class populations (Guthrie, 2003). Much of the initial impetus for the development of Latina feminist psychology was to expand the topics that should be included in research by elucidating the restrictions imposed by psychology's historical tradition of ignoring diversity. The contributions of Latina feminist psychology were not independent of the contributions made by other psychologists of Color, especially African American psychologists. Writers in both fields often worked in collaboration by developing new methodologies and theoretical paradigms to fully capture the experiences of their constituencies (Mays & Comas-Díaz, 1988).

Defining Latina/Chicana Feminisms

Adhering to a diversity mindfulness paradigm also opened up the question of the potential variety in the definitions of feminism. Chicanas (Mexican-descent Latinas) in the humanities and the social sciences are the most prolific writers in this area. The project taken up by these writers is to avoid defining feminism singly and instead to examine the antecedents that led to a diversity of definitions and feminist actions. The consideration of the different historical trajectories in the United States of the various Latino/a groups is an important component in defining feminism (Hurtado & Roa, 2005). Of special significance is the history of colonization suffered by various groups of Color. As Comas-Díaz (2000) states, "As conquered enemies, Native Americans, African Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans have been subjected to repression by the U.S. government, which has designated them as savages, slaves, and colonized entities" (pp. 1319–1320). For Chicanas, the colonization of the Southwest territories that previously belonged to Mexico at the end of the Mexican-American War in 1848 became a pivotal moment in creating the group's inferior status in the United States. Mexican nationals lost their Mexican citizenship and became culturally and linguistically conquered on their own land (Flores-Ortiz, 2004). For Puerto Rican women, the relationship between Puerto Rico as a protectorate of the United States with no official representation in the U.S. government also influenced the group's gender relations. Mostly because of economic necessity, large numbers of island residents, who are legally U.S. citizens, have historically migrated from Puerto Rico, mainly to New York City. The migration from their home country, where individuals are national citizens, to the status of "labor migrants" in the United States (regardless of their legal status as U.S. citizens)

disrupts the Puerto Rican cultural patterns and social norms developed in their native country. Puerto Rican men migrating from the island to the mainland, in particular, find it difficult to enact their manhood in the United States. The lack of adjustment to their newfound situation in the United States frequently leads to family discord and even domestic abuse (Weis, Centrie, Valentin-Juarbe, & Fine, 2002).

Other groups of Latinas (e.g., Salvadorans, Guatemalans, Colombians), who immigrated from their home countries because of economic pressures or political persecution have yet another set of influences that affect their definitions of what constitutes feminism. Many are forced to leave families behind and readjust their beliefs about gender relations as they struggle economically in the United States. Latinas' varied histories, however, do not deter them from having certain concerns in common as a group when defining feminism and feminist actions. In the following sections, we summarize three major components of defining Latina feminisms: the importance of history, the importance of culture and language, and the importance of coalition building to bring about social justice.

The Importance of History for the Definition of Latina Feminisms. As with white feminisms, the recuperation of white women's history was a central component of defining first-wave feminism (Mankiller et al., 1998). History can frame the origins of gender relations and the background for normative gender practices. History can also provide examples of individuals who have questioned the restrictions imposed by gender. Historical analysis can provide a map for understanding as well as for resisting the current gender arrangements. Latina feminist psychology has highlighted the historical origins of such cultural beliefs as the value of Latinas preserving their virginity until marriage. For example, in the case of Chicanas, the historical figure of La Malinche became pivotal in understanding the logic behind women's sexual restrictions. La Malinche was an Aztec woman who "conspired" with Hernán Córtez in the conquest of Mexico by acting as his translator. Malinche's actions of betrayal of her people and her indigenous nation gave rise to the notion of *malinchismo,* women's unbridled tendency to betray unless under patriarchal control. Virginity, then, becomes the symbol of loyalty (in body, mind, and spirit) only to the husband and to no other man (Hurtado 1996a, 2003b).

Flores-Ortiz (2004) further extends the analysis of La Malinche in the construction of Chicanas' womanhood. She draws on her work as a clinician treating Chicanas who have suffered domestic violence and highlights the importance of history in understanding why women suffering interpersonal violence are reluctant to leave the situation. From Flores-Ortiz's perspective, intimate violence for Chicanas is located in the "historical legacy of oppression and colonization" (p. 271). The historical experience of conquest by the Spaniards and the imposition of Catholicism on indigenous people produced culturally specific definitions of womanhoods—what cultural theorists have called *gendered subject positions* for Chicanas (Hurtado, 2003b). Chicana feminists propose that *marianismo* and *malinchismo* dichotomize women's womanhood into the "good woman" and the "bad woman" according to sexuality (Hurtado, 1996a). *Marianismo* is the veneration of the Virgin Mary (Nieto-Gomez, 1974). Her Mexican counterpart, La Virgen de Guadalupe, is the role model for Chicana womanhood—she is the mother, the nurturer, the one who endures pain and sorrow, the one who is willing to serve (ibid.). These values, rooted in the practice of Catholicism, become an integral part of what constitutes for Chicanos/as the most desirable womanhood (Córdova, 1994). To be a "good woman" is to remain a virgin until marriage and to invest devotion, loyalty, and nurturance in the family, specifically the definition of family adhered to in Mexican/Chicano communities, which includes extended networks of kin as well as friends (Baca Zinn, 1975). The unearthing and understanding of history becomes essential in constructing a culturally specific feminism that speaks to Latinas because it is rooted in their group's history as well as in cultural and linguistic practices.

The Importance of Culture and Language. The writings in Latina feminist psychology emphasize the importance of Latino/a cultural traditions (regardless of the national variations) in influencing perceptions and behavior (Niemann, Romero, Arredondo, & Rodríguez, 1999). Many writings have addressed the significance of cultural practices and norms, as well as the use

of Spanish, on mental health (Flores-Ortiz, 2004; Russo & Tartaro, 2008), domestic violence (Flores-Ortiz, 2004; Vasquez, 1998), and gender relations in families (Hurtado, 2003b; Steinberg, True, & Russo, 2008). While recognizing that some aspects of Latino/a culture can have detrimental effects on women (as do all other patriarchal cultures), many writers have also highlighted the positive aspects of Latino/a cultures (such as the emotional and social support given in families) and have avoided simply applying a deficit framework to their analysis (Vasquez, 2002). The struggle has been to define feminism in culturally specific ways to make it applicable to the group and therefore more likely to be of use to Latinas (Hurtado, 1996a, 2003b). For example, Hurtado argues that definitions of feminism should include, or at least grapple with, the incongruence between how poor, immigrant women live their lives—often exhibiting such feminist characteristics as individual agency, fighting patriarchal control of their lives, seeking economic independence, and forming alliances with other women—and the fact that these women do not have readily available either the label *feminist* or the framework of feminism to understand their actions (Hurtado, 2003a). Perhaps by identifying as feminist, these women would benefit from joining a larger community of resisters to patriarchal norms. After analyzing the life story of Inocencia, a 68-year-old, poor, Mexican, immigrant woman, Hurtado concludes,

> It is important to recognize there are many feminisms and that their definitions are currently in flux. . . . [T]he definitions of feminism, feminist identity, and feminist consciousness should remain flexible to maximize the inclusion of a diversity of women's experiences. . . . [T]he inclusion of the cultural, artistic, and scholarly productions of Women of Color are essential to informing these evolving definitions. The story of Inocencia's life, as well as those of the lives of many other women like her who do not have access to the academy are not the usual topics of study, needs to be an integral part of the process of definition and inclusion. (p. 287)

Similarly, other writers have emphasized integrating in the definitions of feminisms the experiences of working-class Latinas (Ginorio, Lapayese, & Vásquez, 2007), young Latinas (Pastor et al., 2007; Rubin, Nemeroff, & Russo, 2004; Tolman, 2002), the incarcerated (Fine et al., 2003; Fine & Torre, 2006), political refugees (Espín, 1999), labor immigrants (Flores-Ortiz, Valdez Curiel, & Andrade Palos, 2004) and lesbians (Espín, 1997). By emphasizing the diversity of Latinas' lived experiences, and therefore variations in exposure and knowledge of Latino/a culture and language, feminism and feminist actions could be expanded and could more likely apply to, and be used by, these varied constituencies.

When the diversity of women's lived experiences are included in the definitions of feminisms, it becomes apparent that there is not just one definition of *womanhood* but rather variations determined by culture and language as well as by sexuality and social class within cultures. Thus, Latina feminist psychology's view of culture and language is multidimensional and layered. The writers of Latina feminist psychology adhere to a paradigm of culture that privileges lived experience as the basis for embodying culture and language. From this perspective, special attention must be directed, when examining Latina's culture, to regional and national origins, class background, gender, and sexuality. It is understood that, like all cultures, context is determinative in accurately assessing its impact on behavior. Furthermore, language also has variations by speech style and degrees of mastery. Not all Latinas speak Spanish, and Spanish-English bilingualism is a matter of degree as well as familiarity with different speech styles. Latina feminist psychology does not adhere to a linear acculturation model. Instead, there are many potential cultural adaptations influenced by context and exposure to the culture and language of origin (Gurin et al., 1994). For example, using a national, representative sample of Mexican descent, respondents, Gurin, Hurtado, and Peng (1994) conducted factor analyses of social identity labels between two subgroups of the Mexican-descent population. The results supported the study's prediction that the identities of English-dominant persons born in the United States (Chicanos/as) would be more differentiated than those of Spanish-dominant persons born in Mexico (Mexicanos/as). The experience of historical and structural discrimination undergone by Chicanos/as gave them a wider array of ethnic and social identity categorizations. Mexicanos/as, on the other hand, primarily had a national identity tied to their country of origin.

The Importance of Coalitions to the Definition of Feminisms. The experience of oppression based on a multiplicity of group memberships informs Latina feminist writers of the overlapping interests they may have with other subordinate groups. The definition of feminisms in Latina feminist writings is aligned with an analysis of power and privilege (Russo & Vaz, 2001) and therefore, they are committed to working in academic and political coalition with similarly situated groups. The coalition may take the form of finding similarities in the condition of Latinas with other women of Color (Comas-Díaz & Greene, 2000) and in working with white feminists to push forward a social justice agenda (Russo & Denmark, 1987).

Comas-Díaz (2000) argues that "similar to other survivors of torture, people of color need to learn to reject the feelings of inferiority instilled in them" by the historical experience of colonization and its concomitant "political repression" (p. 1322). As part of this work, oppressed people need to reject the negative attributions imputed to their identities and communities and instead "develop solidarity with other oppressed groups, thus restoring their sense of continuity with their collective identity, both local and global" (ibid.). To do coalitional work, "ethnic minorities . . . need to confront and overcome ingrained feelings of division and suspicion instilled by their ancestral history of threatened survival" (ibid.). The coalitional work is with other feminists of Color as well as with white feminists (Hurtado & Stewart, 2004).

An integral part of feminist coalition building as part of the definition of feminism is the incorporation of Latino men in feminist analyses and scholarly production. While the writers of Latina feminist psychology have written powerful critiques of the sexist elements in Latino/a culture (Fine et al., 2000; Hurtado, 2003a, b), there is an emphasis on honoring Latino/a cultures, selectively cultivating those cultural aspects that have allowed Latino/a communities to survive oppression, such as caring for family members, sharing resources with extended family, and parents' support to ensure their daughters' educational success (Cantú, 2008; Hurtado, Hurtado, & Hurtado, 2008).

Examining culture within a structure of patriarchy results in a more complicated analysis of masculinity than is ordinarily found in white feminist writings and its relationship to feminism. Instead of perceiving Latino men only as beneficiaries of patriarchy, Latino men's vulnerabilities are also taken into account in analyses of oppression. Hurtado & Sinha (2006) find that Latino families privilege sons by requiring fewer household chores and by giving them more freedom and fewer rules than they require of their daughters. These young men, however, are also more likely to be harassed by police, to be less close to their parents, and to have fewer close friends than their sisters—all of which leads to less educational success for young Latino men.

The recognition of multiple feminisms by Latina feminist psychology is necessary because the variety of womanhoods implies that there must also be multiple masculinities. To be sure, not all womanhoods are equally valued (Hurtado, 1999); this, too, is the case with non-hegemonic masculinities (Hurtado & Sinha, 2008). Of course, the systems of patriarchal privilege reward all masculinities at some level (just as all womanhoods/femininities are ultimately a source of restriction, even if it is through seduction [Hurtado, 1996a; Rubin, Nemeroff, & Russo, 2004]). Nonetheless, Latina feminist psychology embraces the deconstruction of masculinity as part of defining feminism (Hurtado & Sinha, 2008). As such, Latina feminist psychology includes men, masculinity, and gender relations within Latino/a communities as an integral part of the Latina feminist project within psychology (Weis et al., 2002).

We now turn to the contributions to feminist theory made by the writers of Latina feminist psychology.

Contributions to Feminist Theory: Borderlands Theory and Intersectionality

Latina feminist psychology has a commitment to interdisciplinarity (Azmitia, Syed, & Radmacher, 2008). The writers of Latina feminist psychology easily transcend disciplinary boundaries, venturing into other social sciences as well as the humanities (Vera & de los Santos, 2005). An important theoretical integration has been the work of Gloria Anzaldúa—writer, public intellectual, and one of the first Chicanas to publicly claim her lesbianism (1987, 2000). Anzaldúa wrote extensively on borderlands theory, as scholars in the humanities call it, before her untimely passing at the age of 61. Borderlands theory is based on the experiences of Chicanas

who have grown up in South Texas on the border between the United States and Mexico (Martinez, 2005). Hurtado (2003b) summarizes Anzaldúa's geographical location as the source of her theorizing:

> The history of conquest, which basically layered another country over a preexisting nation, gave Chicana feminisms the knowledge of the temporality of nation-states (Klahn, 1994). The political line dividing the United States from Mexico did not correspond to the experiential existence on the border. Chicana feminists declare the border the geographical location (*lugar*) that created the aperture for theorizing about subordination from an ethnically specific Chicana/*mestiza* consciousness. (p. 18)

Anzaldúa (1987) argues that living in the borderlands creates a third space between cultures and social systems (Lugones, 2003) that leads to coherence by embracing ambiguity and holding contradictory perceptions without conflict. *La frontera* (the border) is also the geographical area that is most susceptible to hybridity, neither fully of Mexico nor fully of the United States. As Gloria Anzaldúa claims, *la frontera* is where you "put chile in the borscht/eat whole wheat tortillas/speak Tex-Mex with a Brooklyn accent" (Anzaldúa, 1987, p. 195). The word *borderlands* denotes that space in which antithetical elements mix, not to obliterate each other nor to be subsumed by a larger whole but rather to combine in unique and unexpected ways (Hurtado, 2003b).

Living between two countries, two social systems, two languages, two cultures, results in understanding experientially the contingent nature of social arrangements (Martinez, 2005). Anzaldúa uses the borderlands as a metaphor for all social crossings and the knowledge produced by being within a system while also retaining the knowledge of an outsider who comes from outside the system. This "outsider within" status gives Latinas' sense of self a layered complexity that is captured in Anzaldúa's concept of *mestiza consciousness*, as summarized by Hurtado (2003b):

> It was at the border that Chicanas/*mestizas* learned the socially constructed nature of all categories. By standing on the U.S. side of the river they saw Mexico and they saw home; by standing on the Mexican side of the border they saw the United States and they saw home. Yet they were not really accepted on either side. Their ability to "see" the arbitrary nature of all categories but still take a stand challenges Chicana feminisms to exclude while including, to reject while accepting, to struggle while negotiating. Chicana feminists variously called this *facultad* (ability) a *mestiza* consciousness (Anzaldúa, 1987), differential consciousness (Sandoval, 2000), and *conscientización* (Castillo, 1994, 171). The basic concept involves the ability to hold multiple social perspectives while simultaneously maintaining a center that revolves around concrete material forms of oppression. (p. 18)

Gloria Anzaldúa developed borderlands theory by examining her experiences as the daughter of farmworkers living in extreme poverty in South Texas. Other writers, however, have used borderlands theory to describe any kind of social, economic, sexual, and political dislocation. Many of Anzaldúa's insights apply to individuals who are exposed to contradictory social systems.

Borderlands theory is particularly important for social action and coalition building. There are no absolute "sides" in conflict, but rather, contingent adversaries whose perceptions can be understood by examining (and empathizing) with their subjectivities. Furthermore, no one is exempt from contributing to oppression in limited contexts (Perez, 1999). As such, self-reflexivity and seeing through the "eyes of others" becomes essential to gaining a deeper consciousness than staying within one's social milieu. As explained by Anzaldúa,

> "[I]t is not enough to stand on the opposite river bank, shouting questions, challenging patriarchal, white conventions. A counterstance locks one into a duel of oppressor and oppressed; locked in mortal combat, like the cop and the criminal, both are reduced to a common denominator of violence. The counterstance refutes the dominant culture's views and beliefs, and, for this, it is proudly defiant. . . . But it is not a way of life. At some point, on our way to a new consciousness, we will have to leave the opposite bank, the split between the two mortal combatants somehow healed so that we are on both shores at once and, at once, see through serpent and eagle eyes. . . .

> The possibilities are numerous once we decide to act and not react." (1987, pp. 78–79)

Gloria Anzaldúa speaks of a mestiza consciousness that both embraces and rejects simultaneously so as not to exclude what it critically assesses. A mestiza consciousness can perceive multiple realities at once (Barvosa-Carter, 2007). Anzaldúa's work integrates indigenous Aztec beliefs and epistemologies to circumvent linear, positivist thinking that does not allow for hybridity, contradiction, and ultimately liberation from existing social arrangements (Hurtado, 2003b; Martinez, 2005). Chicanas' bodies become a *bocacalle*—crossroads (Arredondo, Hurtado, Klahn, Nájera-Ramírez, & Zavella, 2003). As Martinez (2005) analyzes,

> The "borderlands" signify Anzaldúa's family of oppression, her memory of brutal backbreaking work, and her knowledge of border history. The "borderlands" are the site of her worst struggles with racism, sexism, classism and heterosexism: "[*La*] *mestiza undergoes a struggle of flesh, a struggle of borders, an inner war. . . . The coming together of two self-consistent but habitually incompatible frames of reference causes un choque,* a cultural collision" (1987, p. 28). Yet, this crossroads is also the site of her greatest strength. This "floundering in uncharted seas," this "swamping of her psychological borders" (1987, p. 79) creates the other ways of coping and seeing the world. It forces the *mestiza* consciousness into existence in a psychic birthing and synthesis to become a reflection of the "borderlands" themselves—a juncture, a crossroads, and a consciousness of multiple voices and paradigms. (pp. 559–560)

Through borderlands theory, Anzaldúa (1987, 2000) provided the experiential documentation of Tajfel's (1981) social identity theory. Tajfel did not address extensively what it means to individuals, let alone women, to carry the burden of stigma when they have no control over how others categorize them into social groups. Furthermore, Tajfel did not explore how individuals cope with the incongruence between their private self-perceptions (say, as competent, intelligent, logical individuals) and others' negative perceptions shaped by the individuals' stigmatized social identities. Anzaldúa proposes that one possibility among many is to use the contradiction to one's advantage and rise above the negative assignation to develop a complex view of self.

In many ways, Anzaldúa's work exemplifies the poetics of political resistance and rescues Chicanas' (and other Latinas') potential stigma from their derogated social identities (Bost, 2005; Tajfel, 1981). Anzaldúa presages the concept of intersectionality, discussed in the following section, by attributing Chicanas' subordination not only to patriarchy, but to the intersection of multiple systems of oppression that include gender, race, ethnicity, class, and sexuality.

Borderlands Theory and Intersectionality. Latina feminist psychology joined the increasing chorus within the academy to think in more complicated ways about gender and sexuality that go beyond the dichotomy (and tradition) of conducting research based on "sex differences" between men and women (McCall, 2005) and taking heterosexuality as the desired norm. The call for examining gender within embedded social systems of power, privilege, and complexity is embodied in the concept of intersectionality and dovetails theoretically with Tajfel's (1981) social identity theory (Hurtado, 2008a). The core of intersectionality is that women's (and most recently, men's) multiple social locations intersect, depending on context, to influence perceptions, behavior, access to resources, and in many ways, to determine life chances.

Borderlands theory has been applied to understand Latinas' multiple identities as proposed by intersectionality. Instead of expecting only conflict between social identities—say, race and gender—borderlands theory proposes that many Latinas manage the disjuncture created by their multiple identities in creative and politically progressive ways to gain a deeper understanding of social reality that may lead to a commitment to social justice (Hurtado, 2003a). For example, Hurtado (2008a) examined the impact of Chicanos' multiple identifications on their political consciousness that led to a commitment to social action, not only on behalf of their ethnic communities, but also on behalf of other oppressed groups as well. In her study, 93% of the participants were committed to working on behalf of Latino issues, and 92% were committed to working on behalf of gender issues, poverty, and social justice in general.

Intersectionality in its most direct form (and the form usually applied in psychology) takes gender, race, and ethnicity (and sometimes class) as variables to be examined and, often, controlled in quantitative analyses (McCall, 2005). In its most sophisticated forms, intersectionality advocates a definitional, context-based analysis of all phenomena that involve derogated intersecting social categories based on gender, race, class, sexuality, and physical ableness (Hurtado, 1997). Hurtado and Sinha's (2008) study illustrates the latter approach to analyzing intersectionality, focusing on a particular *identificational intersection.* In this study, the views of young, educated, working-class Latino men on manhood were examined by asking the open-ended question, "What does manhood mean to you?" They did not specify a particular context (e.g., in your family, in your culture, in your peer group) or a particular developmental stage in their life (e.g., "while you were growing up"). The question asked the Latino men about their perceptions of a particular facet of their identity. The question required the respondents to take into account how their gender, race, class, sexuality, ethnicity, and social class intersected with their concepts of manhood. The respondents spoke eloquently and freely about how their definitions of manhood were influenced by all their social identities: Of the 36 respondents, 36 mentioned their race, 32 mentioned their ethnicity, 22 mentioned their social class, and 8 mentioned their sexuality. Furthermore, rather than mentioning each social identity separately, the participants' comments on their social identities and definitions of manhood were relational and embedded in rich, textured narratives.

The theoretical framework of intersectionality facilitates an understanding of the social and economic conditions of women of Color in general and of Latinas specifically (Anzaldúa, 1987; Castillo, 1995; Collins, 2000; Pesquera & Segura, 1993; Sandoval, 2000). Sociologist Patricia Hill Collins (2000) broadly describes several components of intersectionality:

> The very notion of the intersections of race, class, and gender as an area worthy of study emerged from the recognition of practitioners of each distinctive theoretical tradition that inequality could not be explained, let alone challenged, via a race-only, or gender-only framework. No one had all of the answers and no one was going to get all of the answers without attention to two things. First, the notion of interlocking oppressions refers to the macro-level connections linking systems of oppression such as race, class, and gender. This is a model describing the social structures that create social positions. Second, the notion of intersectionality describes micro-level processes—namely, how each individual and group occupies a social position within interlocking structures of oppression described by the metaphor of intersectionality. Together they shape oppression. (p. 82)

Intersectionality theorists like Patricia Hill Collins argue that gender-only or race-only analyses lead neither to an understanding of the position of all women nor to a dismantling of the structures that oppress them. Intersectionality theorists also refuse to "rank the oppressions" (Moraga, 1981, p. 29) and instead argue that membership in oppressed groups intersect in significant ways that affect women's experiences of oppression. Theories of intersectionality have also been applied to understand categorical differences between women in different nation-states. For example, Rosa-Linda Fregoso (2003) problematizes the human rights paradigm applied by "First World Feminists" to women worldwide:

> Claiming a singular transnational identity for women ignores the profound differences among women across the globe, but especially within specific localities. . . . Although First World Feminists have contributed significantly to "the theoretical and practical revision of international rights law," especially in their redefinition of women's rights as human rights, the challenge today involves framing women's international human rights within very complex and specific cultural contexts. (p. 23)

By applying the concept of intersectionality, Fregoso avoids homogenizing all Mexican women. Thus, she can analyze more specifically why young, working-class, dark-skinned Mexican women, rather than wealthy, light-skinned Mexican women, were the victims of "feminicide" in the border city of Ciudad Juarez (across from El Paso, Texas). For Fregoso, intersectionality provides a theoretical bridge for identifying variations based on class and race among different Mexican women, giving rise to a deeper analysis of the more than 400 murders

of women, as compared with the one provided by human rights discourse.

Connecting Intersectionality and Social Identity Theory. As discussed earlier, in social psychology the stigmatized social identities of sexuality, class, gender, race, ethnicity, and physical ableness are the ones that influence an individual's construction of self. The degree to which different stigmatized social identities gain significance is largely context dependent (Hurtado & Gurin, 2004). As noted, Mexican immigrants do not think frequently about being Mexican in Mexico. In fact, having a Mexican national identity does not carry negative connotations and therefore may not even be a social identity in the strictest use of the Tajfelian definition. However, upon entering the United States, the category of Mexican becomes salient and requires negotiation because of its negative implications within the U.S. context. Therefore, social identity can be conceptualized as a moving, fluid, amorphic "amoeba" that changes shape, making one (or more) social identities especially relevant depending on the context. From a social psychological point of view, intersectionality refers to the following constellation of social identities Tajfel (1981) sees as the primary basis for stigmatization: class, race, sexuality, gender, ethnicity, physical ableness.

In summary, Hurtado (1996a, b; 1997, 2003b; in press; Hurtado & Gurin, 2004) purposely links mestiza consciousness and intersectionality through Tajfel's (1981) social identity theory. By linking these three currents of intellectual production, she is able to make systematic empirical predictions about Latinas' social identifications based on Tajfel and his colleagues' exposition of the dynamics of social identities in intergroup relations and relations of domination. Many feminist scholars in various disciplines are exploring these proposed connections by taking different nodes of these linkages and exploring them in depth. McCall (2005), a sociologist, explores the nature of intersectionality in creating social inequality in different groups as categorized by social identity theory (gender, ethnicity, and race). Shields (2008), a psychologist, explores the issue of method for exploring intersectionality through social identities. Barvosa-Carter (2007), a political theorist, uses the concept of multiple social identities, borderlands theory, and its implications for "relational autonomy," a reconceptualization of autonomy as based not only on individual will, but also on the social commitments individuals have to others. Martinez (2005), a sociologist, connects borderlands theory and intersectionality to the process of subordinate groups creating alternatives modes of cultural adaptations to circumvent stigma while creating a positive collective identity with their ethnic and racial groups. (Mitchell & Feagin, 1995). The marriage of borderlands theory, social identity theory, and intersectionality is resulting in many fruitful derivations sure to yield exciting new veins of research in psychology as well as other fields.

Future Directions in Latina Feminist Psychology

In many respects, Latina feminist psychology is in its infancy. As a field, it has developed an impressive volume of scholarship, much of it incorporating theoretical and empirical developments in other disciplines. The challenges that still remain are to further develop the methodological innovations used only recently to analyze research questions by applying a Latina feminist lens. For example, how might the insights gained by using PAR (participant action research) be used with predominantly Spanish-speaking women? Will the collaborative basis of defining research questions and techniques for data gathering used in PAR translate with Spanish speakers, whose cultural frameworks may be different, regardless of class, from those of English speakers? Another potential methodological application to Latina feminist questions is the field of psychology's ability to design interventions in different social spheres—say, education or health—which can be measured pre- and postintervention to assess the interventions' effectiveness. Is it possible to design feminist interventions using this paradigm to address issues in Latina communities? For example, is it possible to design a feminist curriculum that addresses the negative stereotypes of Latinas in the media to educate young Latinas in resisting dominant images and inoculating them against the detrimental effects of media (Hurtado, 2008a)?

Another area of research that merits attention from the writers of Latina feminist psychology is the high rate of intermarriage among Latinas/os. Demographers estimate that the Latino/a population currently represents 15% of

the total U.S. population (45.5 million out of 301,621,157), surpassing the 40.7 million African Americans representing 13.5% of the total U.S. population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2006a, b; U.S. Census Bureau, 2008a, b). By 2050, it is estimated that Latinos/as will constitute 29% (128 million) of the U.S. population. The growing number of Latinos/as in the United States increases the importance of Latinos/as' intermarriage with other groups (Lee & Edmonston, 2006). The most recent research on intermarriage has been conducted mostly by sociologists and demographers (Jimenez, 2004; Lee & Bean, 2007; Lee & Edmonston, 2006; Qian, 2005; Qian & Cobas, 2004). Their findings indicate that Latinos/as intermarry predominantly with whites (Lee & Bean, 2004). The intermarriage rates of Latinos/as are second only to those of Asian Americans (although Asian Americans account for fewer than 4% of the U.S. population) and well below the intermarriage rates of African Americans (Lee & Bean, 2007). There are, however, several important caveats to the increase in Latino/a intermarriage rates as an indicator of the group's further integration into U.S. mainstream society. First, a substantial number of the offspring of Latino/a and white intermarriage identify as Latino/a, potentially increasing the numbers of the U.S. Latino/a population (Lee & Edmonston, 2006). Another important finding is that there is a "color line" in Latino/a and white intermarriage. Using U.S. Census data, Qian (2005) finds that for Latinos/as, "the lighter the skin color, the higher the rate of intermarriage with white Americans" (p. 35). Furthermore, "Hispanics who do not consider themselves racially white have low rates of intermarriage with whites" (p. 35). Finally, researchers on intermarriage find that the larger the ethnic and racial group, the more likely they are to find marriage partners within their own ethnic and racial group (Qian, 2005). As the Latino/a population increases faster than other ethnic and racial groups in the United States, will their intermarriage with non-Latinos/as decrease, thus slowing down their integration into the U.S. mainstream? There are many psychological questions to be addressed in research exploring these trends and their meanings for all aspects of the Latino/a population. This can be fertile ground for Latina feminist psychology to insert an analysis that addresses psychological questions using an intersectional lens that simultaneously addresses issues of gender, race, class, ethnicity, and sexuality.

Conclusions

The field of Latina feminist psychology is relatively new. Only within the last 25 years have psychologists focused on Latinas from a feminist perspective. The writings have come from both Latinas and psychologists of other ethnic and racial backgrounds. Latina feminist psychology emphasizes the areas of study, rather than the ethnicity and race, of the writers producing the scholarship. Viewing Latinas from the perspectives of writers within their own ethnic and racial group as well as from the perspectives of writers outside the group has ensured a broad and layered coverage of these areas of scholarship. Furthermore, it is also one of the areas of study within psychology that has produced significant collaborations between writers of different ethnic, class, sexuality, racial, and psychology backgrounds. As such, many of the proposals promoted in these writings are actually embodied in the scholarship produced.

Latina feminist psychology has made many contributions. The diversity of perspectives has resulted in a rich and innovative area of theorizing and research that has enriched the fields of psychology as well as ethnic studies, feminist studies, sociology, education, anthropology, and other related disciplines. The goal of this literature is to effectively capture the complexities of Latinas' lived experiences to better serve them and also to carry forward a social justice political agenda (Comas-Díaz, 2000; Russo & Vaz, 2001; Vasquez, 2002).

Notes

1. In this chapter, the ethnic label *Latino/a* is used as an encompassing term to refer to individuals in the United States with ancestry from any Latin American country. When the literature quoted refers to specific Latin American groups (e.g., Puerto Ricans, Salvadorians, Mexicans), the specific national label will be used. In addition, there is a large amount of literature produced on Chicanas (women of Mexican ancestry either born or raised in the United States) and feminism. This literature is covered extensively in this review. It is important to note that the ethnic label *Chicana* also denotes individuals' political

consciousness about not fully being part of either Mexico or the United States, but of both countries simultaneously.

2. We use *people of Color* to refer to the following ethnic groups: Chicanos/as (and Latinos in general), Asians, Native Americans, and African Americans. Therefore, *Color* refers to the groups' ethnicities, which are conventionally capitalized (Hurtado, 1996a).

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