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Abstract

In an effort to systematize and organize an exploration of alternate cultural paradigms from a Latinx perspective, the membership of the National Latinx Psychological Association was surveyed via its electronic mailing list in successive rounds. The first invitation asked members to identify alternate cultural paradigms they use in their work or are familiar with; a definition of alternate cultural paradigms and some examples were provided. Responses were summarized and redistributed to the entire list, seeking further input. This process was followed a total of four times. The range of contributions extended from journal articles, to books, to authors, individuals, and movements. The compiled responses were then analyzed using qualitative methodology in the form of thematic analysis. The resulting taxonomy addresses the promotion of health and wellness in Latinx communities through the use of alternate cultural paradigms, and culturally adapted treatments and interventions. The former is made of examples and sources that emphasize combatting oppression and inequities as well as the use of cultural traditions, norms, and specific values. Though not identified

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as exemplary of alternate cultural paradigms, the latter refers to evidence-based or widely used treatments that have been modified (i.e., *adapted*) in an effort to improve service efficacy with Latinxs.

Keywords

alternate cultural paradigms, Latinx psychology, National Latinx Psychological Association, evidence-based treatments, community-defined evidence

In an effort to appreciate alternate cultural paradigms related to Latinx Psychology, it is important to recognize and understand historical and current paradigms that guide Latinx psychological research and practice. Before doing so, it is befitting to question the singularity of the expression *Latinx psychology*. Mirroring the diversity of Latinx communities (see, for example, Adames & Chavez-Dueñas, 2017; Cerezo, 2020; Delgado-Romero et al., 2012), it might be more accurate to use the expression Latinx psychologies and, in doing so, honor the plurality and heterogeneity within. To acknowledge this diversity, and congruent with prior practices (e.g., Pickren & Rutherford, 2010), the capitalization of Latinx Psychology is used to signify an overarching umbrella that encompasses a sizable range of Latinx psychologies.

While Thomas Kuhn defined paradigms as the “universally recognized scientific achievements that, for a time, provide model problems and solutions for a community of practitioners” (Kuhn, 1970, p. viii), he did so from a largely unacknowledged, mainstream western perspective. Neglecting its own cultural roots made it noticeably difficult to acknowledge cultural differences. This, in turn, ignored different forms and sources of knowledge (i.e., alternate cultural paradigms), and made the dominant paradigm a hegemonic, universalist one. In rejecting the idea that western psychological foundations are universal, alternate cultural paradigms recognize and respect differential cultural norms that may address power inequities and improve treatment with underserved communities (Consoli & Myers, 2021).

Within Latinx Psychology for example, including *psychospirituality* or *familismo* as important considerations in psychological research and practice reflect strongly held cultural norms that better inform how to address well-being, mental health, and concomitant concerns among these communities (Comas-Díaz, 2008, 2016; Espín, 1997; Falicov, 1998). More broadly, alternate cultural paradigms offer an inclusive framework that affirms knowledge

across diverse groups, and invites a nomothetic and idiographic examination of communalities and singularities across and within cultures in a comprehensive and systematic manner (Myers, 2003, 2016).

Examples of prevalent alternate paradigms identified within Latinx Psychology include Liberation Psychology (Martín-Baró, 1994), Multicultural/Multiracial Psychology (Ramírez, 1998), and a Multidimensional Ecosystemic Comparative Approach (Falicov, 1998). Liberation Psychology (Martín-Baró, 1994) promotes the humble accompanying and bearing witness of historically marginalized and disenfranchised groups while requiring psychologists to mind oppressive power structures and actively challenge dominant structures through liberatory praxis.

Multicultural/multiracial psychology (Ramírez, 1998) posits that colonization shapes European and *mestizo* thinking, and subsequently influences different psychological research, practice, and even the views on diversity. Regarding diversity, colonizing forces imposed the arrogant, hegemonic paradigm where only one origin, knowledge, and truth existed resulting in labeling the *pueblos originarios* they forced themselves upon as “*ab-origenes*” (i.e., those without origin). At the opposite end of that approach, yet still oppressive nonetheless, is the exoticizing attitude. In contrast, multiracial psychology employs a developmental framework for understanding identity formation among mixed heritage individuals. Positive early childhood experiences in addition to positive parental attitudes toward diversity may allow for the development of pluralistic and intersecting identities. An increasing body of scientific literature has documented the noticeable well-being associated with the richness of such existence. The Multidimensional Ecosystemic Comparative Approach (Falicov, 1998) uses an integrative design, one in which each individual is viewed as unique, while considering and respecting their cultural differences from dominant cultural groups to understand culture and the people in it.

The three examples mentioned above share the goals of recognizing historical and diverse sources of knowledge, and affirming a holistic relationship with others and the environment that underscore not only independence but, most importantly, interdependence. Moreover, there is a shared aim in acknowledging hardships, together with the concomitant resilience of the various Latinx communities. Affirming a social justice framework and promoting the liberation from deeply rooted histories of colonization, oppression, and social inequities not just of Latinx communities but of all marginalized groups, is a major, shared objective of alternate cultural paradigms. It is worth noting that alternate cultural paradigms as discussed here are congruent with the articulation of cultural resilience offered by Elsass (1992).

Study

By engaging the members of the National Latinx Psychological Association (NLPA) in successive surveys for the purpose of co-constructing an ongoing list of perceived alternate cultural paradigms utilized in Latinx psychology, two objectives emerged from the data and for this article. The article seeks to articulate a possible taxonomy to organize the examples and sources obtained, and to advance the application of some alternate cultural paradigms relevant to Latinxs in the United States and to social scientists engaged in researching and serving the Latinx communities.

Method

The principal investigator and first author of this article was actively involved in the Council of National Psychology Associations for the Advancement of Ethnic Minority Interests (CNPAAEMI) from 2014 to 2016 in his capacity of President of NLPA (2014) and then chair the Council in 2016. Linda James Myers expressed the desire to see CNPAAEMI member organizations proactively address one of its charges, that is, to “promote research and understanding using alternative cultural paradigms” (www.apa.org/about/governance/bdcmt/ethnic-minority-interests). The president or designee of each member Ethnic Psychological Association sought to identify such paradigms. NLPA used surveys from members of its Association to inform the charge regarding its ethnic group. The first author of this article committed to identify alternate cultural paradigms employed in Latinx psychological research and practice. To do so, he singled some examples of alternate cultural paradigms in Latinx Psychology such as those mentioned in the introduction section of this article, as well as examples of Latinx specific professional literature utilized by researchers and professionals in the United States (see Padilla & Olmedo, 2009). He sent out a message with those examples to NLPA’s electronic mailing list, which at that time (from 2015 to 2016), ranged from 456 (54% professionals) subscribers in December 2015 to 586 (58% professionals) in August 2016. In that message, the principal investigator asked NLPA members to review the examples and to identify additional alternate cultural paradigms, as well as additional professional literature utilized in research and service provision with Latinxs in the United States. The responses received were incorporated into an updated list, which in turn, was redistributed to via NLPA’s email list for the purpose of seeking further information about alternate cultural paradigms, as well as materials and sources being used by organization members. This process was repeated four times, updating the list of examples and sources in every iteration. In

total, approximately 50 members (or approximately 10% of NLPA's membership at that time, no breakdown by demographics or affiliation status was available) contributed elements for the construction of the list that included authors, journal articles, books, individuals, and movements related to alternate cultural paradigms in Latinx Psychology. Finally, a taxonomy was constructed following Linda James Myers' criteria for alternate cultural paradigms (Myers, 2016; Myers et al., 2018) and a thematic analysis.

Results

The process detailed above produced a total of 33 examples or sources. A taxonomy was developed to organize them into a coherent thematic map through thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The overall, overarching theme was labeled "promoting health and wellness in Latinx communities," as the examples and sources focused not only on addressing the needs of the Latinx communities, but also in underscoring their strengths and resilience. This overarching theme was composed of three themes. The first theme sought to encompass the examples and sources that emphasize combatting oppression and inequities. The second theme included the examples and sources that utilized most directly culture specific values. These first two themes and the examples and sources that constitute them can be considered most congruent with the definition of alternate cultural paradigms, as they include theories or treatments that are informed by traditions, values, and cultural norms that are not overtly reliant on Western cultural values. The third theme encompassed a range of culturally-adapted treatments, and refers to evidence-based or widely used treatments that have been modified (i.e., *adapted*) to reflect the use of the Spanish language (e.g., service delivered in Spanish, use of *dichos* in illustrating evidence-based constructs) in an effort to improve service efficacy with Latinxs. The three themes overlap in acknowledging the importance of culture and context when working with Latinx communities and clients in both research and practice settings.

Alternate Cultural Paradigms. The first two themes may be considered the closest ones to at least aspects of Myers' (2016) definition of alternate cultural paradigms. These first two themes challenge the hegemonic discourse of the dominant psychological paradigm. The first theme focuses on combatting oppression and inequality, while the second theme focuses on the anchoring of psychology on cultural values that characterize Latinx communities. These first two themes encompass an initial list of 20 alternate cultural paradigms as reportedly utilized or referenced by psychologists working with Latinx communities. While not an exhaustive list, it includes paradigms of

note that may be highlighted in addressing one CNPAAEMI's goal, in this case as it relates to Latinx Psychology.

In promoting the health and wellness of Latinx communities, the first theme subsumes alternate cultural paradigms focused on combating oppression and inequality. Identified examples or sources include Liberation Psychology (Martín-Baró, 1994), Chicana/Latina Feminism (Castillo, 2014; Comas-Díaz, 2008, 2016; Espín, 1997, 1999; Espín & Dottolo, 2015), and Latinx Critical Race Theory (LatCrit; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001).

Liberation Psychology (Martín-Baró, 1994) was a commonly noted praxis paradigm, in addition to its analytical application (see, for example, Comas-Díaz et al., 1998) and its influence in specific areas of psychology such as community psychology (Montero et al., 2017). Liberation Psychology seeks to foster socio-historical *concientización* (conscientization) among marginalized and impoverished communities. Concientización seeks to expose the oppressive sociopolitical structures that perpetuate marginalization and poverty, and that ultimately foster further inequities (Martín-Baró, 1994). Liberation Psychology was born out of a sizable dissatisfaction with the dominant paradigm in social psychology, a primarily Euro/U.S.-centric one that asserted the neutrality of the discipline and the universality of its knowledge. The proponents of this alternate cultural paradigm in psychology expressed sizable concerns with what they perceived and experienced to be the irrelevance of traditional knowledge, not only because the limited population from which that knowledge was derived (e.g., undergraduate students, highly controlled conditions), but also because it was largely decontextualized. In turn, for liberation psychologists, the primary function of psychological knowledge is to serve the purpose of social transformation that would ultimately bring about a just world. Considering the plight of Latinx communities in the United States as a minority and minoritized population, the principles advanced by Liberation Psychology seem particularly relevant.

Another commonly noted paradigm utilized by psychologists serving and researching the Latinx communities is that of Chicana/Latina Feminism (Espín, 1997, 1999; Espín & Dottolo, 2015), inclusive of *Mujerista* Psychospirituality (Comas-Díaz, 2008, 2016) and *Xicanisma* (Castillo, 2014). Espín's work has focused on Latina values, reducing stigma against LGBTQ Latinxs, the impact of migration, and the dynamic interplay between race, class, cultural identity, sexuality, gender, and intergenerational differences. Most noticeably, Espín has addressed spiritual values and beliefs adhered to by migrant and non-migrant Latinas in the United States. In addition to advancing an *organized* psychology, Comas-Díaz has put forth a *mujerista* psychology by opposing neocolonizing theories and practices, deconstructing racial trauma, and promoting the reconstruction of spiritual

symbols to empower Latinas. Mujerista psychospirituality reflects the interplay between spiritual healing and mainstream psychology. *Xicanisma*, as articulated by Castillo and others is a sociopolitical movement in the United States that analyzes historical, cultural, spiritual, educational, and economic intersections of Mexican American women who identify as Chicana. The 20th anniversary edition of the original book titled *Massacre of the Dreamers: Essays on Xicanisma* (Castillo, 2014) describes the history of feminism, Chicana activism, spirituality, and the cultural perspective of Chicanas. Respondents mentioned the names of Gloria Anzaldúa, Nancy Felipe Russo, and Aída Hurtado as contributors to this important literature. In her book *Borderlands/La Frontera*, Anzaldúa (1987) addressed generational differences related to cultural expectations of women, framing it as cultural tyranny, as they are established by men in power. Russo (2009) focused on women's mental health, and resorted to feminist therapy as a multicultural biopsychosocial approach. She underscored the importance of recognizing multiple perspectives, such as individual, family, and social contexts to understand the relationship between gender and mental health, pushing back against traditional biomedical conceptualizations of mental health. Hurtado has contributed to the field of feminist theory through multiple publications, most recently with her book *Beyond Machismo: Chicana Intersectional Understandings of Latino Feminist Masculinities* (Hurtado & Sinha, 2016), providing insight on Latinx views of feminism and gender consciousness. Closely related to this alternate cultural paradigm is the work that has been done to challenge hegemonic masculinities by José Toro-Alfonso (2008), also mentioned by respondents.

Latinx Critical Race Theory (Solórzano & Yosso, 2001), centers on identifying multiple diversities within the Latinx community, situating the Latinx population in larger inter-group frameworks on both domestic and global settings. In an effort to promote social justice awareness and activism, Latinx Critical Race Theory challenges laws and policies directed toward the Latinx community, and encourages coalitional theory and practice, allowing for collaborative perspectives and interdisciplinary discourses on such laws and policies (Solórzano & Yosso, 2001). Moreover, Latinx Critical Race Theory promotes the accessible dissemination of important information to influential social and legal entities that may push for systematic changes in the best interest of Latinx communities.

A second theme of promoting Latinx health and wellness includes alternate cultural paradigms that utilize a range of cultural values. Examples that fall within this theme include Multicultural/Multiracial Psychology (Ramírez, 1998), Ethnopsychology (Díaz Guerrero, 1961), the Multidimensional Ecosystem Comparative Approach (MECA) that is the foundation of Latinx

Families in Therapy (Falicov, 1998), Cultural Psychotherapy (La Roche, 2012), and Community-Defined Evidence (Martínez et al., 2010).

The Multicultural/Multiracial Psychology articulated by Manuel Ramírez (1998) pays particular attention to *mestizo* perspectives in personality and mental health, placing an emphasis on the mind and body connection, spirituality, family, and community. His book explores psychology among indigenous populations in the Americas and the Caribbean, the foundations of multicultural/multiracial personality theory, research methods within this specific perspective, among other topics. Of particular note, the book refers to his neighborhood-based, culturally-responsive (NBCR) model (Ramírez, 1980) when describing the *mestizo* worldview and its relation to mental health. This is a prime example of using cultural values to inform models designed to address prevalent concerns among communities, while building upon their strengths. The model calls for a thorough ethnography of the community in which it will be implemented, conducting an assessment of clients that will utilize the intervention, implementing and assessing the intervention among the population of interest, and following up with clients to promote the intervention among other communities (Ramírez, 1998).

Psychologists that focus their work on Latinx populations are drawn to the work by Rogelio Díaz Guerrero, particularly his historic-bio-psychosocio-cultural theory of human comportment (Díaz Guerrero, 1972) which he later termed *Etnopsicología* [ethnopsychology] (Díaz Guerrero & Pacheco, 1994). In opposition to the traditional, dominant theory of psychological ethnocentrism, *etnopsicología* is culturally-oriented, meaning it is dedicated to transcultural psychology and understanding cultural factors influencing human behaviors. His text on the psychology of the Mexican (Díaz Guerrero, 1961), updated and retitled, *Under the Grip of Culture* (Díaz Guerrero, 2002), is a major point of reference for psychologists working with Mexican communities and beyond.

Another alternate cultural paradigm born out of its affirmation of cultural values is the Multidimensional Ecosystemic Comparative Approach (MECA) developed by Celia Falicov (1998, 2014) while working with Latinx families in therapy. In this model, each client is viewed as a unique person immersed in a context that helps appreciate their behaviors (Falicov, 1998). While clinicians consider and respect cultural differences in practice, they are encouraged to acknowledge each client's respective experiences that shape their own behaviors. The MECA posits that the cultural differences that characterize cultural groups must be honored through multidimensional, ecosystemic, and comparative models to gain a meaningful understanding of individual behavior. Said briefly, differing perspectives and contextual factors should be considered systematically when treating clients.

Cultural psychotherapy, pioneered by Martin La Roche (2012), was referenced by survey participants. Cultural psychotherapy aims to actively integrate various psychotherapeutic frameworks to facilitate aspiring psychotherapists' and practitioners' understanding of how to treat culturally diverse clients. La Roche is credited for introducing a logical theoretical model accounting for the influence of sociopolitical discrimination, economic inequities, and oppressive histories (i.e., cultural processes) within the psychotherapeutic process. To further tailor the therapeutic process to diverse clients in an effort to improve outcomes, La Roche (2005, 2012) highlights the importance of the psychotherapeutic relationship and tying in clients' unique history and experiences that shape their respective psychotherapeutic process. This unique understanding of the psychotherapeutic process is particularly relevant for working with Latinx communities.

Another example still within this theme is the crucial affirmation by Martínez et al. (2010) of community-defined evidence. While the dominant discourse has enshrined evidence-based practices, the pushback from practitioners led to the acknowledgment of practice-based evidence. Yet, the professional voice raised by Martínez, Callejas, and Hernández asserted the need to honor community voices to arrive at a more sophisticated definition of what constitutes evidence. As such, community-defined evidence is an alternate cultural paradigm that employs a bottom-up health approach to assess effective treatment among communities of color. This approach entails examining how community-based clinicians are actually working with clients of color, and referring to such practices in the development of culturally sensitive treatments (Martínez et al., 2010).

Other examples that fall within the theme of alternate paradigms utilizing cultural values include *Becoming Bicultural* (Smokowski & Bacallao, 2011), the *Ideal Image of the Nahuatl Sage* (León Portilla, 1980), and *The María Paradox* (Gil & Vázquez, 1996). Moreover, researchers and practitioners have put forth alternates such as relational cultural theory (Ruiz, 2005) and books and handbooks for scientist-practitioners, such as *Counseling Latinos and La Familia* (Santiago-Rivera et al., 2002), and the *Handbook of Chicana/o Psychology and Mental Health* (Velásquez et al., 2004).

To a broader degree, researchers Smokowski and Bacallao (2011) highlighted various works that utilize Latinx cultural values to provide insight on Latinx mental health or psychological issues prevalent among the community. Smokowski and Bacallao's (2011) book on *Becoming Bicultural* focuses on research that include models demonstrating Latinx cultural values at the outset, as opposed to modifying established theories to include Latinx values. For example, when describing the integration stage of bicultural development, researchers reference alternation theory which posits that individuals

may find value in maintaining their own cultural traditions while adapting to a different culture (Smokowski & Bacallao, 2011). In contrast to assimilation into a dominant culture, there is a strong encouragement for integrating both cultures, proposing a theory that takes Latinx cultural values into account when investigating acculturation processes that impact immigrant well-being. Such approaches may also be noted in works that tie in Native MesoAmerican Spirituality (León Portilla, 1980), specifically "*The Ideal of the Nahuatl Sage*," which describes the importance of treating communities at large in addition to individual progress. The spiritual world and practices are highlighted and valued just as much as research in regards to understanding human behavior, integrating both perspectives and helping others find balance between both worlds.

In line with the practice of integrating cultural beliefs with dominant Westernized views, comes work focused on merging Latinx traditions with new generational self-esteem among Latinas in particular, termed, *The María Paradox* (Gil & Vázquez, 1996). Under the overarching theme of promoting health and wellness among Latinx populations by using cultural values, the authors share in-depth examples of the emotional conflicts Latinas face when attempting to balance between the demands and values of two different cultures—their traditional Latinx values and Westernized worldviews. Moreover, the authors identified the social pressures and psychological barriers faced by Latinas that impede their sense of personal freedom and advancement of their professional development, concluding the book by sharing change and empowerment strategies that may combat difficulties in merging diverse values.

The aforementioned works speak to the importance of taking cultural values into account when describing character and behavioral development. This is further exemplified in the works of Ruiz (2005), who accounts for culture in personality development in presenting relational cultural theory (RCT). In a practical sense, clinicians may use RCT as a framework that includes Latinx cultural values to better understand relational structures Latinx clients may experience and the complexities of their personal lives (Ruiz, 2005).

Additional sources that are of practical value to clinicians come in the form of workbooks and handbooks, particularly with *Counseling Latinos and La Familia* (Santiago-Rivera et al., 2002) and the *Handbook of Chicana/o Psychology and Mental Health* (Velásquez et al., 2004). The book on *Counseling Latinos and La Familia* (Santiago-Rivera et al., 2002) provides a range of important concepts to affirm and utilize when working with Latinx families, and within each different topic, authors detail specific competencies to achieve in an effort to best serve this population. Moreover, the book

provides valuable guidance on different stages in the counseling process and areas in which practitioners may improve upon to better serve the Latinx community. Similarly, the *Handbook of Chicana/o Psychology and Mental Health* (Velásquez et al., 2004) speaks to understanding Chicana/o culture specifically, providing insight on assessment, risk, and prevention among this particular population, and highlighting effective interventions among men, women, and families. Furthermore, authors share updated works that pay importance to appreciating and acknowledging Chicana/o culture and experiences. This edited book contains a range of chapters authored by leading figures in Latinx research and practice addressing crucial topics such as folk healing and *curanderismo*, and ethnic identity development, among others.

Culturally Adapted Treatments. A third theme that arose out of the thematic analysis of the responses to the survey, and the subsequent examination of the recommendations by respondents encompasses culturally-adapted treatments for Latinx populations. These are evidence-based practices or widely used treatments that have now been tailored (i.e., *adapted*) to serve Latinx populations. The primary adaptation is reflected in the use of the Spanish language (e.g., service delivered in Spanish, use of *dichos* in illustrating evidence-based constructs) in an effort to improve service efficacy with Latinxs.

A total of 13 examples were provided by NLPA members, including psychoeducational approaches, health interventions, trauma, grief, family therapy, suicidality, HIV prevention, dual diagnosis, depression, smoking-cessation. Of note, several of the examples come from the widely cited *Cultural Adaptations: Tools for Evidence-Based Practice with Diverse Populations* (Bernal & Domenech Rodríguez, 2012). Also, survey respondents highlighted the work by Miguel Gallardo and colleagues (2012) in *Culturally Adaptive Counseling Skills: Demonstrations of Evidence-Based Practices*.

The work by Sáez-Santiago et al. (2012), adapting a psychoeducational intervention designed for parents of Latinx adolescents with depression is an example that falls within this theme. The *Taller de Educación Psicológica para Padres y Madres* [Psychological Education Workshop for Mothers and Fathers] was culturally adapted to enhance the impact and effectiveness of cognitive behavioral therapy (CBT) among Latinx adolescents diagnosed with major depression.

Researchers have also adapted interventions designed for physical health concerns in the effort to address health disparities, mainly in how racial minorities access health care for specific disorders. Among prevalent concerns, Type 2 diabetes demonstrates larger health disparities among racial minorities (Barrera et al., 2012). As such, researchers drew particular

attention to adapting the Mediterranean Lifestyle Program (MLP) for Latinas diagnosed with Type 2 diabetes, describing the conceptual framework, process, and methods utilized to best tailor this intervention for this specific population.

Another prevalent concern among Latinas specifically, is noted with trauma studies (Cuevas et al., 2011). Researchers have therefore taken an interest in adapting trauma interventions for this particular population. One notable study modifies the trauma empowerment and recovery model (TREM) intervention to appropriately treat Latinas with traumatic experiences (Wallis et al., 2012). Researchers refer to theoretical, cultural, procedural, and data-driven models to inform proper modifications to the previously established model. Further, researchers acknowledge both *etic* (i.e., outsider) and *emic* (i.e., insider) perspectives by reflecting core trauma concepts and integrating culture-specific concepts to meet cultural needs of this specific population. Moreover, researchers used the TREM intervention as a reference by which future studies may use to guide additional cultural modifications to established treatments. Theoretical and cultural models are used as a framework to guide the understanding of what works well and what may warrant changes when adapting interventions. Data-driven and procedural models actually provide insight into how such changes may be executed. All such models speak to how theory and procedures may be implemented in clinical practice (Wallis et al., 2012).

An additional example of integrating cultural values in treatment among Latinx populations is noted with Vázquez and Rosa's (2011) work on grief therapy among the Latinx community. Their book is organized into three parts, detailing cultural and psychological conceptualizations of grief, different experiences of grief, and grief within the family context. Understanding the cultural contexts and psychological components of grief allows for appropriate guidance to adapting treatments for Latinx communities. Researchers and clinicians may refer to this work to improve their professional approaches to Latinx clients experiencing grief, so as to improve investigative and psychotherapeutic services to this underserved community.

The group lead by José Szapocznik and Daniel Santisteban out of the University of Miami School of Medicine have been contributing to the evidence-based literature and culturally adapted treatments for several decades now. They started with what is known as bicultural effectiveness training (Szapocznik et al., 1984) and then progressed to culturally adapted brief strategic family therapy (Santisteban et al., 2003).

Research on Latinas attempting suicide (Zayas, 2011) has allowed for the development of a conceptual model that may be used as a framework to provide insight into the sociocultural processes impacting Latina adolescent suicide attempts. Such knowledge provides crucial information that in turn helps

clinicians better understand and address this troubling behavior among Latina adolescents (Zayas et al., 2005). The model itself draws on cognitive-developmental and developmental-systems theories established by Vygotsky and Bronfenbrenner, but uses both as foundational ground for understanding the cultural and contextual factors of the markedly high Latina adolescent suicide attempts. Embracing sociocultural contexts helps explain suicidal attempts. For example, focusing in such contexts brings out the cultural discontinuity between traditional gender socialization and modern Western norms that Latina adolescents may struggle balancing (Zayas et al., 2010).

Additional examples included the work by Victoria Mitrani in reducing health disparities and addressing HIV among Latinxs (e.g., Mitrani, 2009) and the work by Manny Paris and colleagues adapting Motivational Interviewing, CBT, and Integrated Dual Disorder Treatment for Latinxs (e.g., Samuel et al., 2014). Similarly, respondents singled out the work by Ricardo Muñoz on evidence-based treatment of Latinxs experiencing depression (e.g., Muñoz et al., 2007; Muñoz & Mendelson, 2005) or pursuing smoking-cessation (e.g., Muñoz et al., 2006).

Discussion

The thematic analysis of the survey responses and the systematic review of the proposed sources resulted in a taxonomy that sought to organize the various examples and sources representing Latinx Psychology, offered under the umbrella of Promoting Health and Wellness in Latinx Communities. Three themes were identified: combating oppression and inequity; theoretical developments and approaches born out of culture-specific values, norms, and traditions; and culturally adapted treatments. Arguably, only the first two themes and the examples that illustrate them meet at least some aspects of the definition of alternate cultural paradigms utilized for this study.

The resulting taxonomy is an initial attempt at organizing a growing body of literature and paradigms reflecting Latinx Psychology in research and clinical practice in the United States. While the structure is characterized by emphases, assigning a resource into one category does not exclude it from reflecting other possible categories. For example, classifying a resource as a primary example of the theme of combating oppression and inequity does not mean cultural values and spirituality may not be involved, or vice versa.

Since the collection of the data (2015–2016) that informs this study, NLPA has published its first Ethical Guidelines for working with Latinx populations (National Latinx Psychological Association, 2020). These Guidelines encourage NLPA members and those working with Latinx communities to demonstrate a commitment to seeking justice and liberating Latinxs and other marginalized groups through “psychotherapy, advocacy,

assessment, teaching, training, research, supervision, mentoring, and consultation” (p. 101). Members are called to recognize other sources of knowledge and include diverse cultural world views that also inform effective and efficacious psychological practices. Congruent with the findings from this study, the recently published Ethical Guidelines identify specific foundations that support the alternate cultural paradigms, informing ethical practices with Latinxs including the value of connectedness between all human beings (the law of In Lak’ech Ala K’in, or “I am you and you are my other me,” rooted in Mayan culture), collective consciousness, and cultural values (e.g., allocentrism, *familismo* or family interdependence, *respeto* or respect, *simpatía* or harmony in interpersonal relationships, *dignidad* or pride and self-respect).

Researchers have become increasingly aware of the dominance of White American samples in psychological studies, as well as the continued prominence of White males in the scientific evaluations of psychological treatments (Arnett, 2008; Thalmayer et al., 2021). Researchers understand that although treatments may work for one cultural group, the same may not apply for other groups including racial, ethnic, and cultural minorities/minoritized populations. Therefore, there is a pressing need to amplify the voices and needs of oppressed and marginalized groups. While there have been some responses to this lack of diversity and cultural inclusivity within the profession, standardized treatments are still imposed on cultural minorities seeking psychological services, resulting in disengagement and distrust of formal psychological treatment that consequently increase dropout rates. The field, as it is researched and practiced in the United States, has overlooked valuable alternate cultural paradigms and mostly focused on culturally adapted treatments. Neglecting cultural influences and lacking the humility to learn from diverse sources of knowledge raises unnecessary barriers in the journeys of access and utilization of mental health services and the affirmation of wellbeing.

The marked repercussions are too meaningful to be allowed to continue, which gives way to the current article’s call for promoting alternate cultural paradigms in the mental health field. It is imperative to recognize the knowledge, experience, and expertise of community members to understand how to best meet their needs, both in research and actual clinical practice. There is much value in learning from community members about best ways to approach their presenting mental health concerns, examples of how therapists have successfully helped them, and how to best incorporate their cultural values in treatment and the training of future mental health providers. If researchers and clinicians aspire to improve access to services among underserved populations, it is vital that we join in learning partnerships with the communities we intend to serve so as to listen and learn from their ancestral

wisdom, while seeking to overcome discriminatory and oppressive practices. Moreover, it is just as crucial to highlight and recognize researchers from marginalized groups that do not gain much attention compared to their mainstream White American colleagues. Professional diverse groups and committees within the field ought to continue promoting the works of their members, and colleagues among other fields and organizations ought to demonstrate their support by acknowledging and endorsing the advancement of alternate cultural paradigms in research and practice.

Limitations

While this article sought to identify alternate cultural paradigms used in Latinx Psychology and in serving Latinx communities in the U.S., it presents some important limitations. As the Argentine writer Jorge Luis Borges remarked frequently, omissions are what stand out the most among examples, and there are indeed many omissions in this article. For example, *testimonios* (approximately, first person narratives) (Aron, 1992; Cienfuegos & Moneli, 1983; Smith, 2010) was not mentioned directly as an approach even though it has been used for the treatment of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) (Agger et al., 2012). Nonetheless, an exhaustive list was beyond the aim and scope of this article.

It should be noted that the list presented here is compiled by academics and professionals in the field examining issues pertinent to Latinx Psychology and Latinx communities; it cannot be considered representative of the diverse communities serving and researching Latinxs in the United States. Although non-traditional research methods are valued, as they may reflect the efforts to overcome power dynamics, the list of examples and sources shared may not reflect wishes and values of a given Latinx individual. Furthermore, the Latinx population is not a homogeneous group: there are numerous communities within this population that differ in values and experiences and that embrace intersectional identities. Of note, some of the listed paradigms in this article are specific to some groups, and therefore cannot be generalized to all Latinx communities. Another limitation accounts for the level of human error that may have resulted in overlooking other resources, texts, authors, journals, and the like that were not included in the list of alternate cultural paradigms and culturally-adapted treatments for Latinx populations (see Zane et al., 2016). Finally, the data was collected during 2015 and 2016 and, since, there have been important publications that ought to be mentioned here. Specifically, Adames and Chavez-Dueñas (2017) have articulated what could well be considered an alternate cultural paradigm that explicitly considers the racialized experiences of Latinxs: the Culturally Responsive And Racially Conscious Ecosystemic (CREAR-CE) treatment approach. Moreover, there have been

important, recent developments with respect to Liberation Psychology, detailed in a comprehensive volume edited by Comas-Díaz and Torres Rivera (2020).

Since data collection for this study, NLPA has sought to raise its critical consciousness concerning Afro-Latinidad by releasing a special issue of its bulletin, *Latinx Psychology Today*, in 2019 titled “Celebrating Afro-Latinidad in Latinx Psychology” (available at www.nlpa.ws/latinx-psychology-today-bulletin). Also in 2019, a new Special Interest Group (SIG) within NLPA devoted to Afro Latinx was formed and led by Lucinda Bratini, with the support of then president Brian McNeill. The purpose of this new SIG is “to address the psychological implications of the historical and persistent invisibility, marginalization, and social exclusion of Latinx of African descent, also known as Afro-*descendientes*, Afro-Latinx, or Black Latinx.” This SIG enlisted Raúl Quiñones-Rosado to deliver a keynote at NLPA’s 2019 conference titled “Racism: The Persistent Challenge to the Well Being of Latinx People.” Moreover, Adames et al. (2021), published an article in NLPA’s *Journal of Latinx Psychology* titled “The fallacy of a raceless Latinidad: Action guidelines for centering Blackness in Latinx psychology,” further highlighting initiatives of building a more inclusive Latinx psychology.

Implications and Future Research

This article may serve as a starting point for the further organization of different sources for researchers and practitioners interested in systematizing the range of alternate cultural paradigms in Latinx Psychology and when working with Latinx communities. This is an initial, modest effort to develop a more formal, comprehensive list and, eventually, an organizing taxonomy that goes beyond psychology to encompass closely related fields within humanities and social sciences.

Future steps may involve further surveying the members of NLPA as well as the members of Latinx identified organizations such as LatNet within the American Counseling Association. Similarly, future surveys could gauge whether researchers and practitioners working with Latinx communities in the United States endorse or not the identified paradigms and ask for specific examples of how they go about doing so. It is possible that the additional information may serve in affirming or revising the current definition of alternate cultural paradigms.

Future work must be affirmative and inclusive of AfroLatinidad in all its forms while addressing and redressing colorism within Latinx communities. Furthermore, future work may address more directly and systematically the extent to which alternate cultural paradigms differ from culturally adapted treatments. In fact, future research could assess the extent to which both are

similar and dissimilar, and expand upon implications for psychological theory and applied practice. While both advance the work on Latinx Psychology, there may be value in differentiating between the two. At their core, alternate cultural paradigms in Latinx Psychology are developed by and for Latinx populations, informing theory through a cultural lens that reflect Latinx values. They are culturally congruent practices that are best characterized as alternate to mainstream, and can stand on their own right. Culturally adapted treatments on the other hand, are modified Westernized approaches tailored to different populations as needed, therefore attempting to incorporate Latinx values to established U.S.-centric treatments.

The benefit of this sustained effort is to acknowledge the suppressed if not oppressed alternate healing practices in Latinx Psychology, improving services to Latinx communities, and calling out the continued imposition of neo-colonial practices on Latinx communities. The diversification of psychology as a field requires the ongoing recognition of alternate sources of knowledge that challenges the hegemonic United States/Euro discourse. The appropriate and dignified recognition of all psychologies as indigenous would be an important step in establishing horizontal dialogues that would build a more complex plethora of healing practices (Christopher et al., 2014). Moreover, the continued and sustained elaboration of what constitutes alternate cultural paradigms in psychology, particularly as they relate to Latinx Psychology and to serving and researching Latinx communities, could be an important step in overcoming the unacceptable inequities in access, utilization, and rendition of service, as well as the limited representation of Latinxs in research, particularly research that is designed *for* rather than *with* Latinx communities. As the saying succinctly states it, “no more about us without us.”

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