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Applying Critical Consciousness Through the Use of Testimonios to Rethink Latinx Cultural Values

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Latinx communities are not a monolith and should not be reduced to a constellation of value systems. In this article, we identify some of the values associated with Latinx communities. We provide an overview regarding the ubiquity of Latinx cultural values and how they have been conceptualized and utilized within the field. We also specify some of the criticisms and shortcomings leveled in the professional literature as it relates to these values. Subsequently, we discuss critical consciousness in an effort to examine the values frequently ascribed to Latinx communities using personal testimonios, reflection questions, and a community movement. We take ourselves to task by employing a critical consciousness lens to consider the potential colonial roots of the few, specific values reflected in the testimonios, and how these values may be oppressive while perpetuating stereotypes. We end by discussing the importance of not leaving Latinx cultural values unexamined by educators, researchers, and practitioners and encouraging readers to consider the roots and implications of Latinx cultural values while striving for liberation from oppressive colonial narratives.

Public Significance Statement
The Latinx communities are among the fastest growing in the United States. The psychological study of Latinx communities has focused on cultural values assuming their universality and centrality to all Latinxs. This article examines often-cited Latinx cultural values (e.g., familismo, marianismo, respeto) through a critical consciousness lens with the aim of exposing problematic elements and fostering liberation within the diverse Latinx communities in the United States.

Keywords: colonialism, critical consciousness, cultural values

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While examining the lived experiences of many communities, including Latinxs in the United States, practitioners and researchers alike have honed in on cultural values and the role such values play in cultural identity. In fact, much of the psychological literature on Latinxs in the United States addresses the topic. However, we argue, based on our personal and professional experiences, that what has been published on the subject creates the impression that there is a monolithic view of the Latinx diaspora through ascribed cultural values. This monolithic understanding of Latinx communities, as it relates to these values, has remained largely unexamined and does not consider the colonial roots wherein these values were created, promulgated, and reinforced by systems of oppression. To this end, this article provides a critical view of such values. Specifically, using reflection questions, select personal testimonios, and a community movement, we bring about critical consciousness for ourselves and, we hope, for the field. Moreover, we encourage scientists and practitioners to advance critical examinations of what have been characterized as Latinx cultural values in order to fully understand the roots, utility, and implications of such values.

Latinx Cultural Values

The Latinx communities in the United States are heterogeneous groups that represent diverse ancestral heritages, varying histories of colonization, politics, traditions, and migration patterns to and from Latin America (Delgado-Romero et al., 2018; Santiago-Rivera et al., 2002). Yet, the psychological literature that has been generated by practitioners and researchers alike often sets aside this heterogeneity in favor of heuristic and parsimonious models that attempt to capture perceived similarities across Latinx groups based on value systems, beliefs, and behaviors (Añez et al., 2008; Delgado-Romero et al., 2021). These perceived similarities are reflected in the concept of Latinidad when referring to the identity of Latinxs in the United States. According to Flores (2021), the term Latinidad, when used acritically by practitioners and researchers, promotes a cultural framework that furthers a monolithic and panethnic view of Latinx communities. Rooted in a Eurocentric lens, the term Latinidad was developed in the early 19th century as an effort to create a postcolonial identity, culture, and discourse that portrayed an educated and largely White society distant from any Black and Indigenous influences (Flores, 2021). In other words, power structures populated by European Americans sought to systemically erase Black and Indigenous communities through Latinidad. Furthermore, scholars have criticized the construct "Latin America," in contrast to, for example, Abya Yala, by noting the construct's roots in White supremacy, colonialism, and a self-representation of the European diaspora in the Americas (Mignolo, 2005). Alternatively, there is some sociopolitical utility to being conceptualized as a nationwide minority. For example, Gómez (2022) underscored the racialized nature of the United States that reinforces a racial hierarchy. Therefore, this necessitates a collective agenda for resistance, negotiation, advocacy, and equity. Nevertheless, we argue that much of the current literature in psychology, including Latinx psychology, has not critically examined such roots. Instead, many practitioners and researchers have continued to affirm traditional Latinx cultural values, and, most recently, Latinidad.

The grouping of diverse Latinx communities through the concept of Latinidad has resulted in the simplification of what are complex, at times contradictory, and diverse sociopolitical and sociohistorical realities of such communities (Beltrán, 2010). Specifically, value constructs like *caballerismo*, *confianza*, *fatalismo*, *familismo*, *colectivismo*, *machismo*, *marianismo*, *personalismo*, *respeto*, and *simpatía* and their characterizations have become synonymous with a veritable common Latinx identity or Latinidad. Yet, the roots of such values and their purpose have remained largely unexamined and have simultaneously suppressed the diversity within the Latinx diaspora.

Understanding Latinx Cultural Values

Cultural values involve beliefs and principles that guide gestures, behaviors, decisions, rituals, and customs (American Psychological Association [APA], 2023a; Falicov, 2014). Falicov (2014) noted that these values are historically and socially constructed by both external groups as well as within group members, while Adames et al. (2014) acknowledged that cultural values are informed by a number of factors, such as levels of acculturation and stages of ethnic–racial identification. While an extensive discussion of cultural values associated

with Latinidad is beyond the scope of this article, as they are amply discussed in the Latinx psychology literature, to provide some context for this article, in this section we provide a brief discussion of some commonly ascribed values, including familismo, colectivismo, fatalismo, machismo, marianismo, caballerismo, personalismo, and simpatia.

Psychological and social–behavioral mainstream research has conceptualized the construct of familismo as one that emphasizes the family (Cuéllar, Arnold, & González, 1995) and involves maintaining close relationships with immediate and extended family members (Duarté-Vélez et al., 2010). It includes a broad network of members, such as grandparents, godparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, and family friends (Adames et al., 2014). Familismo is said to promote a collectivistic orientation that prioritizes the needs of the family (Connally et al., 2013). Familismo often serves as a form of pride for individuals that influences their ethnic identity formation and is associated with food, music, celebrations, traditions, and family and friends (Rinderle & Montoya, 2008). Researchers also noted that Latinx individuals may draw sources of psychological, social, and emotional support from their families, and it underscores a sense of strong commitment and loyalty toward their family (Barrera & Longoria, 2018). Relatedly, the construct of colectivismo underscores community and interdependence that may consist of family, ancestry, and extended networks as a form of social support (Falicov, 1998). Scholars have described colectivismo as an aspect of familismo that underscores the social ties within the Latinx community (Calderón-Tena et al., 2011). Colectivismo encourages prosocial behavior by increasing an individual's sensitivity toward the needs of others in their community.

Fatalismo describes the belief system for Latinx individuals that destiny is beyond their control, unmodifiable, and inevitable (Cuéllar, Arnold, & González, 1995). Fatalismo is often tied to religiosity and rooted in a belief that destiny is predetermined by a higher power (Rosales & Calvo, 2017). For example, Cuéllar, Arnold, and González (1995) developed a subscale of fatalismo, where sample items describe no utility in planning for the future and uncertainty of what the future may hold, as it is predetermined by God.

The constructs of machismo and marianismo are often discussed in the literature around Latinx cultural values and gender. Fragoso and Kashubeck (2000) defined machismo as the belief and value system regarding masculinity and how men should behave in society. Machismo can be described as a set of behaviors that dictate the "socially approved way of being a Latinx man" (Estrada et al., 2011, p. 358) and possess both positive, or prosocial behaviors, and negative, or antisocial behaviors (Fragoso & Kashubeck, 2000). The negative ones include being a womanizer, aggressive, sexist, or suppressing emotions (Cuéllar, Arnold, & González, 1995), while the positive attributes include bravery, courage, strength, generosity, respect, and independence (Englander et al., 2012). Machismo is often linked to marianismo (Barrera & Longoria, 2018) and can be described as the gendered role expectations set upon Latinx women and its central narrative is that of the self-sacrifices women make for their families and others (González, 2014). Marianismo also captures the positive and negative aspects of Latinx femininity (Da Silva et al., 2021) and is hallmarked by behaviors for women in society such as home-making and care-taking activities, being submissive, gentle, shy, moral, and sentimental. As a psychological construct, marianismo is associated with five dimensions: the family, virtuosity/chastity, subordination, self-silencing, and spirituality (Castillo et al., 2010).

Caballerismo is conceptualized as the positive aspect of Latinx masculinity and stems from the word *caballero*, or horseman, associated with chivalrous behavior (Arciniega et al., 2008). Specifically, caballerismo includes social responsibility, protection of the family, problem-solving, coping, and providing (Arciniega et al., 2008). The construct was introduced by Arciniega et al. (2008), and they developed a psychometric measure with a sample of Mexican Americans to capture the beliefs and behaviors associated with caballerismo, such as exhibiting loyalty within a marriage, respecting elders, showing affection to children, wanting their children to have a better life than theirs, and honoring and defending one's family.

Personalismo refers to the construct of Latinx individuals interacting with others in a way that is warm, trusting, and caring (Consoli & Sheltzer, 2017). It is hallmarked by sincerity and authenticity in relationships that express emotional support, loyalty, and favors. Personalismo includes behaviors such as small talk, physical contact, and family obligations (Davis et al., 2019) and

characterizes an other-oriented stance for personal relationships (Paniagua, 2013). The emphasis on good manners, greeting others in a friendly fashion, and asking and receiving favors are attributes of behaviors associated with personalismo (Cuéllar, Arnold, & González, 1995).

Finally, simpatía is often understood by researchers as a preference for relationships that are warm and free of criticism and confrontation (see Acevedo et al., 2020, and their Simpatía Scale). It emphasizes assuming dignity, treating others with respect, maintaining harmony within interpersonal relationships, and being polite and pleasant (González, 2014; Marin & Marin, 1991). Further, simpatía prioritizes individuals being easygoing, buena gente (i.e., being a nice person), friendly, fun, and aiming to minimize hostility (Gonzalez & Acevedo, 2013). Extant research literature centers these values when discussing Latinx populations, which we highlight next.

The Scope of Cultural Values Ascribed to Latinx Communities

In this section, we document multiple examples of the ubiquitous presence of these Latinx cultural values throughout the psychological literature (e.g., how the cultural values aforementioned are psychometrically measured and applied scientifically and clinically). To begin with, a plethora of instruments have been developed to assess such hypothesized cultural values. One of the most commonly used instruments is the Multiphasic Assessment of Cultural Constructs (Cuéllar, Arnold, & González, 1995), which assesses cultural constructs such as familismo, fatalismo, machismo, and folk beliefs. Similarly, the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans (Cuéllar, Arnold, & Maldonado, 1995; Cuéllar et al., 1980) is grounded in cultural values of familismo and personalismo.

Furthermore, scholars of Latinx psychology have written extensively about Latinx cultural values, and well-established outlets such as the *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* and the *Journal of Latinx Psychology* have featured numerous articles on the subject. Specifically, at least 536 research articles published in the *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* referenced cultural values (as of July 11, 2023). Additionally, a search on APA PsycNet for the *Journal of Latinx Psychology* revealed that the term "familism/familismo" was ranked 15 out of the 25 most used keywords in the Journal's publications, with the most frequently cited article discussing familism/o across the life span (as of July 11, 2023).

Several well-established, oft-cited books have centered Latinx cultural values in training, research, and practice. For example, *Latino Families in Therapy* (Falicov, 2014) offers a comprehensive clinical framework for working with Latinx individuals and families. The book includes several references to respeto, machismo, marianismo, and familismo. Meanwhile, *Culturally Responsive Counseling with Latinas/os* (Arredondo et al., 2014) guides mental health professionals in developing cultural competence by effectively and ethically integrating Latinx cultural values into their treatment. Similarly, the *Handbook of U.S. Latino Psychology* (Villarruel et al., 2009) considers the roles of these values, with one chapter by Betancourt and Flynn (2009) discussing the role of culture on the psychology of health and observing how respeto and familismo mediated alcohol use. Another chapter (Kuperminc et al., 2009), focusing on risk, resilience, and positive development among Latinx youth, highlighted how familism/o can have both protective and risk functions. Finally, *Cultural Foundations and Interventions in Latino/a Mental Health* (Adames & Chavez-Dueñas, 2017) highlights the powerful influences of Latinx cultural values on group norms, perceptions, styles of communication, and treatment outcomes, advising clinicians to assess how levels of acculturation and stage of ethnic and racial identity moderate these values.

Extant literature highlights the ubiquity of these values in research with Latinx communities. For example, Adames et al. (2014) considered the role of Latinx cultural values in palliative health care, Rosa and Fuentes (2020) reviewed these values in the well-being of Latinx caregivers affected by dementia, and Adames and Chavez-Dueñas (2017) considered the application of these values in mental health care. In yet another example, Miville et al. (2017) examined how these values aligned with liderazgo, a culturally congruent leadership style that informed the inception and evolution of the National Latinx Psychological Association (NLPA).

Some scholars have argued that these Latinx cultural values can serve as protective factors. While summarizing all the literature in this area is not the intended purpose of this article, we

provide a few examples to support this assertion. Specifically, Chang et al. (2016) explored the roles of ethnic variables on depressive symptoms and suicidality and concluded that behaviors associated with familismo and respeto may protect Latinx college students from suicidal behavior. Additionally, colectivismo within the Latinx community has been found to be a protective factor against possible negative health outcomes. Similarly, Lorenzo-Blanco and Unger (2015) found that collectivistic values were associated with perceived disapproval of smoking in a sample of Latinx immigrant youth. Further, social support within Latinx communities has been found to be associated with positive mental health for Latinx sexual minority individuals (Zea et al., 1999). Latinx cultural values have also been linked to increased prosocial behavior (Streit et al., 2020), and a recent meta-analysis found that higher levels of familismo seem to lower negative outcomes (e.g., internalizing and externalizing symptoms; Cahill et al., 2021). Furthermore, Latinx cultural values have been associated with lower sexual risky behavior within Latinx youth (Ma et al., 2014). Finally, within the context of therapy, Latinx cultural values (e.g., familismo) coupled with a strength-based approach to treatment can lead to more culturally competent care (Lauricella et al., 2021).

Alternatively, some scholars have cautioned that a strict adherence to some Latinx cultural values may be associated with problematic outcomes. For instance, Moní et al. (2018) examined the role of acculturation in the academic success of Latinx college students. With respect to familismo, they advised differentiating between home support and parental involvement, noting that parental involvement, while helpful in the earlier school-age years, may be detrimental at the college level. The authors also encouraged the promotion of both heritage and host cultural values to ensure optimal academic success. Furthermore, Gelman (2014) also called for a more critical understanding of familismo as it relates to Latinx caregiving in families experiencing Alzheimer's. Her qualitative study found compelling within-group differences, where some Latinx caregivers credited familismo as a key influential value in the caregiving process, while others factor familismo into their caregiving decisions and (Gonzalez, 2023) practices. However, a larger third group of caregivers deemed familismo to be a complicating factor, causing considerable distress. While they agreed with the ideals associated with familismo, it did not translate into concrete support and resources for them.

The research on gendered Latinx cultural values has also revealed adverse associations. Nuñez et al. (2016) examined the problematic relationship between gender role socialization and negative cognitive–emotional factors in Latinx individuals. The authors found that the more traditional elements of machismo and marianismo were associated with concerning outcomes, with machismo being associated with interpersonal hostility and cynical mistrust, while marianismo was related to cynical mistrust. The previously cited work by Kuperminc et al. (2009) on risk, resilience, and positive development among Latinx youth pointed out the troubling implications associated with traditional gender roles (e.g., machismo) and sexual behavior.

Together, this literature and scholarship on Latinx cultural values underscores the prominence and often contradicting association between Latinx ascribed cultural values and psychological functioning. It seems timely to engage in a critical analysis of these values to further explore their etiologies and how they can be useful and/or problematic. To do so, we apply a critical consciousness lens to our own experiences by sharing our personal and professional experiences with these values as well as how they may be linked to colonialism.

Responding to a Call: Critical Consciousness as a Method for Examining Latinx Cultural Values

In an effort to address the multiple anti-Black atrocities that took place over the course of 2020 and beyond in the United States, numerous psychologists and their organizations explored how to center equity, diversity, and inclusion (EDI) in their efforts. Specifically, the American Psychological Association (APA) released specific resolutions that provided frameworks for addressing racism (APA, 2021a) and EDI (APA, 2021b), discussed psychology's role in oppression (APA, 2021c, 2021d, 2021e), advanced health equity (APA, 2021e; APA, 2023d), and honored indigeneity (APA, 2023b). Additionally, two statements from the NLPA urged professionals and trainees to engage in critical consciousness to break the silence that furthers anti-Blackness and work toward addressing

colonizing forces in the field (National Latinx Psychological Association, 2020a, 2020b).

Several scholars have responded to these notable calls. For example, Fuentes et al. (2023) discussed how the Open Science Framework can decenter White supremacy norms and address EDI in this prevailing framework, while Gullion and Tilton (2020) urged for more deep and meaningful self-reflexivity among researchers as well as for more community-based approaches, advising scholars to do research "with people" rather than "on people." Interestingly, to prevent epistemicide, Gonzalez (2023) took steps to preserve Taino psychology, noting

> Centering Indigenous cultures calls us to question our western-dominated research, research methods, academia, and our own critical self-reflexivity. We can do research in a different way than what we are either used to or what is expected of us. Incorporating Indigenous knowledge gives us an opening to do the work differently.

Relatedly, Neeganagwedgin (2015) adopted an Indigenous research methodology to secure the testimonios of ten Taíno individuals with the aim of reclaiming and reconstructing Taíno nationhood and identity to facilitate spiritual wellness and self-determination. To further facilitate these efforts, Acevedo-Polakovich (2023) provided strategies for publishing decolonizing, decolonized, post-colonial, and Indigenous Latinx psychology.

Recently, the *American Psychologist*, in an effort to highlight the contributions of Black psychologists, released a special issue dedicated to prominent Black scholars who have investigated race-related issues, developed African-centered frameworks, engaged in scholarship to better understand Black communities, and contributed to the intersectionality literature (Tyrell et al., 2023). Additionally, the APA (2023c) recently released a call for papers for an *American Psychologist* special issue titled *Towards a Decolonial Psychology: Recentering and Reclaiming Global Marginalized Knowledges*, which aims to challenge mainstream psychology by disrupting Eurocentric psychological frameworks while centering alternative knowledge frameworks that highlight the influences of racism, colonialism, and coloniality.

Aligned with these endeavors, we rely on our personal testimonios and critical consciousness as our primary methods (epistemology) to discuss the value and usefulness of what we know and what we have been taught about Latinx cultural values (axiology). Our testimonios are congruent with Indigenous and African axiology because they allow us to engage in a discussion from a one-to-one relational stance (Jones & Nichols, 2013) and combine our *corazón* with our head (sentipensante [sensing/thinking]) to explore the subject at hand (Rendón, 2008), thus representing a needed departure from Western European modes of thinking and learning.

Defining Critical Consciousness

Critical theory, particularly in the Marxist tradition and the Neo-Marxist perspective, has sought the liberation and emancipation of people, exposing the power structures that have benefited from the oppression and domination of the masses for the benefit of a few, as found in colonialism. Such critical social analysis has been used by many social and political movements as well as by scientists and practitioners within the humanities, social sciences, and health sciences. The seminal works in pedagogy of liberation (Shor & Freire, 1987), community social psychology (Moane, 2003; Montero, 1994; Serrano-García & Lopez Sánchez, 1990), and psychology of liberation (Martín-Baró, 1986) are, to a large extent, founded on critical theories and are particularly helpful in exposing colonialism and its effects. For example, Freire developed the construct of *conscientização* to capture the process of gaining consciousness of oppressive structures, such as those that benefit from illiteracy and poverty of the masses, and to support transformative praxis that brings about just communities.

Similarly, Montero (1994) as well as Serrano-García and Lopez Sánchez (1990) pursued the empowering of oppressed communities through the challenging of power dynamics, praxis, critical engagement, and decolonization. Meanwhile, Martín-Baró sought to expose abuses carried out by dictatorial regimes in the name of national security that ultimately perpetuated poverty of the masses and their oppression (Comas-Díaz & Torres Rivera, 2020).

More recently, Diemer et al. (2006) have defined critical consciousness as "the capacity to critically reflect and act upon one's sociopolitical environment" (p. 445), while French et al. (2020) identified critical consciousness as a core strategy for advancing radical healing in communities of color, who have suffered from colonialism. They noted that "one must reflect on sociopolitical

realities, deeply questioning and discerning for oneself (although often with others) how and why power relations are structured and maintained, in order to begin the process of radical healing" (p. 25). As such, critical consciousness can help understand and interrogate how the European colonization of the Americas created oppressive sociopolitical realities and a set of morals and values that help sustain these realities (Capielo Rosario et al., 2024). For example, this perspective allows professionals to examine how the colonization of the Americas was founded on a violent epistemic embargo that relegated Indigenous and African civilizations as inferior to White, European civilizations and disrupted and distorted all aspects of self and society (Mignolo, 2002, 2007). Therefore, it is critical for the field to understand how the values ascribed to our communities might have been influenced or reflect aspects of this brutal past.

Jemal (2017) analyzed the literature on critical consciousness and observed that the construct is quite complex, involving deep reflection, action, praxis, introspection, and empathy. This scholar proposed an overarching construct, transformative potential, that not only builds on our current understanding of critical consciousness but also addresses its deficiencies and limitations. Building on the interdisciplinary nature of critical consciousness and integrating an ecological approach, this construct includes a social analysis of both oppression and privilege, keeping in mind the intersectionality associated with the relevant identities of the oppressed, the oppressor, the bystanders, and the allies. Essentially, the transformative potential "acknowledges the interdependence of human existence, that the liberty and humanity of the oppressed are coupled with the liberty and humanity of the oppressor" (p. 619). Through its ecological lens, the framework considers the interrelatedness of the various systems (i.e., micro, meso, exo, macro), so that micropractices can be understood within the larger societal levels and vice versa.

According to Jemal (2017), transformative potential involves two dimensions, with each having three levels: transformative consciousness (denial, blame, critical) and transformative action (destructive, avoidant, critical). In the context of transformative potential, critical consciousness and critical action are "the highest levels of each dimension and produce the most transformative potential" (p. 603). Given the prominence and complexities of Latinx cultural values, it is important to pursue critical consciousness of what have been frequently referred to as Latinx cultural values in the hopes of achieving critical transformative action, while exposing the possible neocolonizing actions in the acritical endorsing of such values as a whole. To do so, we now share testimonios from the first four authors, with the last author serving in a consultative role. Specifically, we resort to critical consciousness to challenge ourselves to new and liberating understandings of the events that would then allow us to engage in transformative actions and model for practitioners in the Latinx psychology field how to utilize critical consciousness in their professional efforts. We emphasize that our testimonios are only examples of critical reflection on some cultural values rather than an extensive critique of all the values associated with Latinxs.

Advancing Critical Consciousness Through the Use of Thick Testimonios

As argued, a critical consciousness approach is paramount to our attempts of understanding Latinx cultural values and moving toward a Latinx psychology that is liberating and transformative. In applying this critical consciousness, we realize that our lived experiences are informed and shaped by language, relationships, and culture. Narrative therapists, who are guided by social constructionism, often differentiate between thin narratives and thick narratives, or, to use a more culturally congruent term, testimonios (Blackmer Reyes & Curry Rodríguez, 2012; Cervantes, 2020). Huber (2009) defined testimonios as verbal journeys of witnesses who speak "to reveal the racist, nativist, classist, and sexist injustices they have suffered as a means of healing, empowerment, and advocacy for a more humane present and future" (p. 713).

Cervantes (2020) viewed testimonios as culturally responsive tools that disrupt oppressive structures and toxic narratives while facilitating the well-being of individuals and the liberation of their mind, body, and spirit. Thin testimonios are typically imposed by society, are stigmatizing, center deficiencies, and are authored by the oppressor (Goldenberg & Goldenberg, 2013). For example, under the Trump presidential campaign, immigrants were often characterized as problematic, violent, and criminal. Thick testimonios, however, dismantle these narratives

and promote a more complex portrayal of reality. Thick testimonios consider the lived experiences of individuals, recognize the role of oppressive structures, and offer reframesthat favor strengths, resiliency, and resistance (Goldenberg & Goldenberg, 2013). Continuing with the immigrant example, a thick testimonio would consider colonization, neocolonizing U.S. policies toward Latin America, as well as bias and discrimination in this country, as they honor immigrants and the complexities of migration phenomena. Furthermore, a thicker testimonio would recognize their psychological strengths, acknowledging their perseverance, resilience, adaptability, and hope (Adames & Chavez-Dueñas, 2017). This thick testimonio-building process applies critical consciousness, leading to transformative testimonios. In this section, we share select testimonios of our own to help situate our critique of a few Latinx cultural values and start "thickening" our own Latinx narratives. By doing this publicly, we invite readers to engage in similar critical reflections of the Latinx values they endorse.

"Professor, I Can't Go.": Considering Machismo, Marianismo, Personalismo, and Respeto

I, the first author—male and Puerto Rican, recall an experience I had with Marisol Cuevas [pseudoname], a first-generation college student whose parents came to the United States from South America. Marisol and I secured a modest internal student–faculty grant to assess the academic needs of students at a small urban academy near the university. Our project led to a poster acceptance at the NLPA Conference. The preparation for the poster was going well when, a few weeks before the conference, Marisol came to my office and announced, "Professor, I can't go." I tried to explore the reasons behind this decision, but Marisol just kept saying that her parents were not comfortable with her traveling with a stranger. While she was careful not to disrespect her parents, it was evident that Marisol felt conflicted and disappointed by her parents' decision, so I offered Marisol an opportunity to meet with her and her parents. She was open to the meeting, and her father accepted the invitation. I opened our meeting by exploring Mr. Cuevas' dreams for his daughter, and he enthusiastically shared that he wanted his daughter to succeed and surpass their current standards of living. In that meeting, Marisol presented her research to her father and answered his questions; I also highlighted how her attendance at the conference aligned with Mr. Cuevas' dreams for his daughter.

With awe and orgullo (pride) toward her work, Mr. Cuevas agreed to allow Marisol to attend the conference; however, there were a few conditions. Specifically, he would drive Marisol to the airport; she had to share a room with another woman; and she had to call the parents everyday. All parties were conformable with these terms, so she attended the conference. Notably, she presented her work, earning an award for her poster. Later, she secured her masters and doctoral degrees and is now a practicing psychologist. Marisol described this experience as "life-changing" and credits her NLPA conference experience as the "initial spark" to her journey of becoming a psychologist. This experience and others like this one inspired me to reconsider my unexamined "loyalty" to Latinx values, which I revisit later in this article.

A Recovering Prejudist: Considering Machismo, Marianismo, Respeto, and Caballerismo

I, the second author, grew up in a conservative Catholic environment in Argentina, one that supported the values of machismo and marianismo, both obscured by respeto and caballerismo (i.e., so-called benevolent machismo), and practices such as charity. For me, the teachings of a few Spanish priests who exited Spain, escaping Franco's dictatorship, facilitated the questioning of those values and practices. Some of these priests eventually left the church as they became increasingly disillusioned not only by organized religion but also by what they had come to see as misogynistic values and the paternalistic character of some practices fostered by the church, such as charity, poignantly exposed by Atahualpa Yupanqui in a line of *Milonga del Solitario*, "Desprecio la caridad por la vergüenza que encierra" (I despise charity for the shame that it encloses). The priests' own processes of gaining critical consciousness of some values and practices were not lost on me. The community engagement encouraged by the priests put me in touch with liberation theology. I began working on community organizing and building cooperatives at age 15;

these horizontal contexts consistently challenged and dismantled the misogynistic and vertical (i.e., paternalistic) values and practices I had been exposed to. I have continued to advance the communal, collective sense that this alternative upbringing instilled in me, furthered later on by the work of Martín Baró's Liberation Psychology, and perhaps best expressed in Bertolt Brecht's famous line—"All of us or none." Yet, despite the social consciousness that those experiences facilitated in me, overcoming the misogynistic values and paternalistic practices associated with a conservative religious upbringing, furthered by military dictatorships, continues, and is a work in progress for me.

"Aún Así Tenemos Que Respetarlos [Still, We Have to Respect Them]": Considering Respeto

I, the third author, recall an interview I conducted with a male participant during a qualitative study I led on the impact of coloniality on Puerto Rican individuals and collective self. The above words were uttered by the participant, referring to the respect and deference Puerto Ricans ought to feel toward the United States. What makes the participant's comments so jarring is that his words came right after he had just spoken about how U.S. colonialism had negatively impacted Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans. But showing deference and respect to the oppressor is nothing new for me. Growing up in Puerto Rico, I was inculcated with narratives that binded Puerto Rico's survival to its relationship with the United States (e.g., federal funds, military protection). Therefore, as Puerto Ricans, we should feel nothing but respect and gratitude for the United States even when U.S. interventions have resulted in the economic, political, and cultural exploitation of Puerto Ricans both in Puerto Rico and the United States (Capielo Rosario et al., 2022). By this same logic, resistance and protest against these conditions were nothing but a sign of disrespect to our supposed benefactor.

#DejaLaChancla/#EndChanclaCulture; A Grassroots Movement: Considering Familismo and Respeto

Thinking back to the family parties of my childhood, I, the fourth author, remember having to hug and kiss every person in the house, whether I wanted to or not. My comfort was never considered. If I refused, not only did I incur the wrath of my parents, but I was automatically seen as malcriada [insolent] by our extended families. Corporal punishment (e.g., via la "chancla") was a primary tool for inculcating respeto and correcting these supposed malascrianzas [disrespectful behaviors]. We never stopped to consider the harm. We never stopped to consider the roots of the behavior. Everyone was simply concerned with inculcating the values of familismo and respeto.

A Critical Consciousness View of Latinx Cultural Values

As highlighted earlier, the Latinx psychological literature on cultural values has undoubtedly made significant contributions to our understanding of the lived experiences of Latinx communities. However, through our critical reflections of the current understanding of cultural values within Latinx psychology, we have come to appreciate how the emphasis on cultural values without critically contextualizing them may uphold the same oppressive theories and praxes we are attempting to transform. This concern is most evident in the prolific presence of psychological models that place these values as the main determinants of psychological outcomes or primary targets of psychological interventions with Latinx communities, as previously discussed. We hold that this practice is often done without attention to within-group diversity (e.g., race, skin color, gender, country of origin), intersectionality, or historical context. We assert that this uncritical conceptualization and application of Latinx cultural values has often led to the psychologization of these values. De Vos (2014) defined psychologization as "the spreading of the discourse of psychology beyond its alleged disciplinary borders. In this way, psychologization is the (unintentional) overflow of psychological theories and praxes to the fields of science, culture, and politics and/or to subjectivity itself" (p. 1547). We also contend that this uncritical conceptualization and application of Latinx cultural values has led to the pathologization of Latinx culture and, ultimately, the repeated colonization of Latinx culture and psychology.

If understood through the lens of critical consciousness, the dominance of these prominent cultural values in Latinx psychological research and practice could be understood as the consequence

of a process of psychologization that has essentialized and overgeneralized these values. To illustrate, in our review of the extant literature on these values, we observe how they are often described as inherent characteristics that influence all aspects of Latinx functioning (e.g., interpersonal dynamics, understanding of the self, help-seeking behaviors, academic performance). The universality of Latinx cultural values is also noted in the literature and psychological models that presume the generalization and validity of these values across all locations. That is, these values become synonymous with the very origin of Latinx identity. The power of the totalistic nature of our current understanding of Latinx cultural values is also manifested in Latinx individuals' acceptance and reproduction of the same discourses the field has generated around these values. Within these conditions, beliefs, attitudes, and actions that fall outside the limits established by our current understandings of these cultural values become subject to skepticism about their legitimacy and capacity to explain the breadth and depth of Latinxs' lived experiences (Capielo Rosario et al., 2024; Maldonado-Torres, 2007).

The uncritical acceptance of Latinx cultural values has also set the stage for the pathologization of Latinx individuals and communities. Perhaps this is most palpable in the interpretation of these values as a primary determinant of the persistent health disparities found among Latinx communities (A. E. Abraído-Lanza et al., 2007; Adames & Chavez-Dueñas, 2017). For example, scientific discourse on Latinx docility and external locus of control as a function of fatalismo has been used to explain health disparities, such as cancer (e.g., Chen et al., 2018; Yanez et al., 2016), diabetes (e.g., Moreira et al., 2018; Schwab et al., 1994), and other chronic diseases (e.g., Gutierrez et al., 2017). A similar rationale has been offered to explain lower rates of medical and psychological health help-seeking behaviors (e.g., A. F. Abraído-Lanza et al., 2015; Anastasia & Bridges, 2015). Moreover, gendered Latinx cultural values of marianismo and machismo have also been wielded to interpret rates of substance use (e.g., Nagoshi et al., 2022; Perrotte et al., 2018) and domestic violence (e.g., Alvarez et al., 2021; Da Silva et al., 2021). Abreu et al. (2020) also called attention to how marianismo and machismo have been used to characterize Latinx individuals as inherently homophobic and transphobic. While we doubt that this was a deliberate effort, the ahistorical and acontextual interpretations of Latinx attitudes, beliefs, and actions have contributed to uphold a portrayal of Latinx populations and culture as generally backward, submissive, and complacent (General Psychology Otherwise: A Decolonial Articulation, 2021), perpetuating colonizing ideology.

Together, the generalization, essentialization, and pathologization of Latinx cultural values could be understood as forms of epistemological embargos that sustain colonial domination by distorting what Latinx populations consider valuable and desirable (axiology) and the reality of Latinx lived experiences and being (ontology). Together with other authors (e.g., Okazaki et al., 2008), we call attention to and argue that much of what is presently understood as culture and its respective cultural values are a creation of colonization, as the colonization of the Americas imposed narratives and ideologies generated by Western, White Christian men while rejecting, subjugating, or appropriating knowledge, economies, politics, social structures, and subjectivities of others (General Psychology Otherwise: A Decolonial Articulation, 2021; Maldonado-Torres, 2007). Under these conditions of colonialism, Indigenous and Black populations were cast as docile yet always threatening beings that could only make subpar contributions to greater society (Maldonado-Torres, 2007). Other critics have focused on the need to examine how culture and cultural identity have been distorted and altered by colonialism (e.g., Goodman & Gorski, 2014).

Scholars have also detailed how the colonization of Latin America was a project of axiological, epistemological, and ontological violence that continues to alter the way the discipline conceptualizes Latinx culture, values, and social structures (Adames & Chavez-Dueñas, 2017; Maldonado-Torres, 2007). Therefore, psychologists must appreciate how the formulation of cultural identity and values is informed by the social, historical, political, and economic reality of colonial domination (Capielo Rosario et al., 2024). For example, Adames and Chavez-Dueñas's (2017) review of precolonial and postcolonial Latin American civilization provides multiple examples of how Indigenous and African identity, knowledge, valorization of nature, spirituality, and social structures were distorted to ensure and expand White, European domination. Zambrana (2021) asserted that another strategy of colonial control

in the Americas is to conceal and control the forces and movements of resistance that have always been present and have created the necessary social conditions to affirm the self-assertion, courage, and strength necessary for liberation.

As argued by Jemal (2017), to live up to the spirit of critical consciousness, one must accompany critical reflection with action. Therefore, providing guidance on how to more accurately capture and conceptualize the impact of colonization and the legacies of Latinx resistance against colonial oppression is necessary in order to facilitate action and transformative change in the understanding of Latinx cultural values. This critical evaluation could be informed by three key reflection questions: (1) Are these values a response to Latinx sociopolitical realities? (2) Who and what systems benefit from our current conceptualizations of these values? and (3) What are the conditions of oppression and resistance being obscured by these conceptualizations? Using these questions as a potential starting point, Latinx psychology could conceptualize fatalismo as a response to and consequence of persistent political exclusion and economic exploitation. This approach allows the field to acknowledge collective survival and resistance against oppression and reject the myth of a helpless Latinx community.

Additionally, the complexities associated with marianismo have evolved to reveal significant tensions. Some critics have called for the adoption of mujerismo, a Latinx feminism, as these scholars have maintained that an overemphasis on gender without considering intersecting identities and sociocultural location is problematic (Bryant-Davis & Comas-Díaz, 2016; Chavez-Dueñas & Adames, 2021). Hence, mujerismo, based on feminist and womanist tenets, calls attention to and aims to dismantle oppressive patriarchal and colonial forces and advocates for the liberation of women. Moreover, it centers the lived experiences of Latinas with the ultimate aim of broadening critical consciousness and advancing social change. Essentially, caballerismo, machismo, and marianismo could be understood as mechanisms of sexual control and patriarchy that marginalize and obscure diverse, always-existing expressions of womanhood, masculinity, gender expression, and matriarchal social structures. In the next section, we revisit our testimonios and explore other problematic aspects associated with an uncritical application of Latinx cultural values.

Revisiting Our Testimonios and Related Values Through a Critical Consciousness Lens

Over the past 2 years, we engaged in an ongoing peer consultation process through video conferencing and email exchanges, reflecting on our lived experiences as they relate to Latinx values. We have questioned and challenged our mindsets, teasing out personal, familial, and structural messages that informed our connections to these values, with a special emphasis on understanding the colonial origins of some Latinx values and their possible, ongoing neocolonizing quality. Without "romanticizing" our Indigenous heritage (Acevedo-Polakovich, 2023), we also mourned values that we will never know, as they have been lost to colonial invasion and time. The last author opted not to share a testimonio and instead agreed to serve as a critical collaborator, offering a "sounding board" for us to help develop our testimonios and revisit them through a critical consciousness lens.

Revisiting "Profesor, I Can't Go"

In this testimonio, I respected Mr. Cuevas's wishes; yet, I went against the cultural value of respeto and gently challenged Mr. Cuevas on his belief system, highlighting the tensions between his dreams of Marisol's success and what may be associated with machista beliefs. Conceptualizing Mr. Cuevas' behaviors as machista obfuscates his desire for protection, care, and love of Marisol and typecasts Mr. Cuevas as an oppressive and rigid Latinx father. Additionally, the triadic conversation between Mr. Cuevas, Marisol, and I might be seen as a form of resistance to the typical conceptualization of Latinx behaviors of avoiding conflict (personalismo) and a dismantling of hierarchy and a movement toward egalitarianism and collectivism to work together toward Marisol's success and her goals. Additionally, at first glance, it appears that Marisol's voice is largely absent from the testimonio potentially underscoring beliefs of marianismo and allowing two male authority figures to engage in decision making for her, which could lead to further pathologization. However, conceptualizing Marisol's behavior from the construct of marianismo usurps Marisol's agency, resistance, persistence, and hard work in navigating academia as a first-generation Latina. While Marisol did not make her interest in going to the conference

explicit, she showed courage by bringing her direct concerns to the professor instead of graciously declining or indirectly suggesting a schedule or family conflict (i.e., personalismo and simpatía).

As noted earlier, this testimonio motivated me to engage in critical consciousness, which raised some perplexing questions regarding Latinx cultural values and the potential reductionistic conceptualizations of Latinx people. For example, had I assumed an uncritical stance, I would have deferred to the father and not challenged the patriarchal values and structures that he had put in place for his family. While the father was trying to protect his daughter, in what ways were the concerns associated with preserving sexual purity, virtues, and chastity? What roles did compliance and obedience play? How might these prescribed gender roles maintain the patriarchy, promote subordination, and continue the oppression of Latinx women? Additionally, when the father noted that he wanted his daughter to surpass the family's current "standards of living," what definition of success was the father adopting, and how werehis notions informed by colonial and capitalistic ideologies?

As an individual and professor, this lived experience has inspired me to deconstruct much of what I have learned about Latinx values. In my teaching and mentoring, I urge my students to thicken their understanding of their identity by disentangling the multiple societal messages they receive about their cultural backgrounds and consider the original instructions of their ancestors (Henderson et al., 2021) without romanticizing them (Acevedo-Polakovich, 2023). For me, it involves disentwining colonial, Black and Taíno influences. My critical consciousness journey is now guided by this powerful quote—*Heal. So we don't have another generation of trauma passing itself off as culture* (unknown). Through critical consciousness, psychologists in various settings (e.g., training, practice) can explore where pernicious identity forces originated from, examine their deleterious influences, and consider ways to dismantle them to ensure the full liberation of the Latinx community.

Revisiting a Recovering Prejudist

Immigrating to the United States and landing eventually in San Francisco, California, was as challenging as it was liberating. While I thought I had a relative sense of myself as a cultural being, soon I learned that I was carrying within me assumptions about sex, gender, and social norms that were oppressive and discriminatory. I am forever grateful to the kindness of clients, who stretched my markedly limited latitude of acceptance, to the therapists who helped me along the way, to the students, the partners, the colleagues, the formal and informal mentors, the research participants, and to the privilege of having been able to travel far and wide, mostly throughout Latin America, thus far.

Jane Carlisle, the founder of the *Educational Program to Increase Racial Awareness* at the University of California in Santa Barbara, introduced me to the construct of a recovering prejudist in 1990. Since then, I have worked to be candid and honest about ways in which the prejudices within and around me operate and are perpetuated in my personal and professional life. In doing so, I have raised critical questions about the values ascribed to Latines in the United States (e.g., Consoli & Sheltzer, 2017), as many seem to be the product of the master's or colonizer's discourse (i.e., machismo), one that keeps vast segments of the U.S. populations oppressed (i.e., marianismo, respeto), while profiting from double standards and unfair labor practices (i.e., *aguante*, *echarle ganas*). I remain concerned by some oppressive aspects of fatalismo and frankly disturbed by some similar aspects of religiosity, many of which have been poetically yet unrelentingly articulated by Uruguayan singer–songwriter Jorge Drexler in his famous *Milonga del moro judío*.

Revisiting "Aún Así Tenemos Que Respetarlos [Still, We Have to Respect Them]"

A critical examination of the use of respeto in reference to U.S. colonialism and occupation in Puerto Rico must be accompanied by an understanding of the U.S. response to Puerto Rican anticolonial resistance. When examined along its historical context, respeto to the United States could be even understood as an adaptive response to the U.S. violent repression of Puerto Rican anticolonial and proindependence activists and movements. Political violence as a form of colonial control in Puerto Rico has also been accompanied by economic and legal policies that have made Puerto Rico exclusively and purposefully dependent

on U.S. capital, food and product imports, entitlement programs, and even a national identity (Capielo Rosario et al., 2022). Thus, respeto toward the United States could be simultaneously understood as a proxy of the vulnerability Puerto Ricans may experience as a result of systemic economic and political disempowerment and a way to convey loyalty and belongingness to the United States. When narratives of respeto are reproduced by Puerto Ricans within this context of ongoing colonial oppression, respeto also creates conditions of within-group conflict and fragmentation. That is, movements of resistance and protest against colonial conditions in Puerto Rico end up facing opposition from the members of the same community. For example, Puerto Ricans who engage in anticolonial protests are frequently described as ungrateful, quarrelsome, and disloyal. Therefore, respeto in reference to the United States appears to serve two functions: (a) separating the United States from their responsibility in creating harsh conditions in Puerto Rico and (b) undermining resistance by obstructing intergroup solidarity. My experience provides another compelling example of how the uncritical adoption of Latinx cultural values could serve as a mechanism of colonial oppression.

After the participant I was interviewing talked about the need to respect the U.S. government in spite of the atrocious consequences U.S. colonial policies have had on Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans, I could sense that the participant himself struggled as he explained this to me. I felt pain and anger. Since concluding this study, I have had to spend time reflecting on my emotional reactions. During this long and ongoing reflection, I have been able to understand that my pain and anger were really fear about what I thought would happen to Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans if Puerto Rico were to no longer be associated with the United States. In other words, I still find myself operating within the same colonial logic of having to respect the colonizer because my individual and collective survival are dependent on it. But instead of despair, this reflection has energized me to dedicate my work and service within and outside of academia to engage in collective *disrespect* of colonial norms. This disrespect, in turn, has turned into a hopeful envisioning and acting that demands Puerto Rico's decolonization and independence from the United States. This has allowed me, individually and with the support of other Puerto Ricans in the U.S. diaspora, to bravely and directly speak and act against neoliberal and colonial policies in Puerto Rico.

Revisiting #DejaLaChancla/ #EndChanclaCulture: A Grassroots Movement

In line with our critical consciousness aim, I include here an example of a grassroots movement to challenge Latinx cultural values. In 2018, LatinxParenting was founded to decolonize Latinx families and advocate for nonviolent parenting (Latinx Parenting, 2021). Through its workshops, trainings, and social media advocacy, LatinxParenting directly tackles the generational trauma that is reinforced by the values of familismo, respeto, marianismo, and machismo, and its efforts can be summed up with its oft-used social media hashtag, #EndChanclaCulture (Latinx Parenting, 2018).

The #EndChanclaCulture hashtag and larger movement represent a disruption in the status quo of Latinx parenting. While the hashtag specifically references corporal punishment, the movement encompasses children's bodily autonomy. These movements call on communities to acknowledge the physical and psychological trauma of corporal punishment. LatinxParenting provides programming and psychoeducation to aid in the movement. Furthermore, the movement challenges the hierarchical nature of respeto by emphasizing that children also deserve respect. To that end, the movement recommends that children be allowed to determine who they have physical contact with, when, and how. Through its #EndChanclaCulture movement, LatinxParenting is challenging the status quo and calling on us to challenge traditional values.

I first heard of the #EndChanclaCulture movement as a graduate student. This movement sparked in me a drive to do better for the next generation. I am continuously more aware of how these colonial values and histories have impacted my life and family. It fills me with pride to see my cousins allowing their children to define and enforce their boundaries. I am proud to be part of encouraging a healthier generation of my family and my community, to be part of the conversation. As LatinxParenting has called us to, I am doing the work to heal myself and help those around me heal themselves so we do not pass on these elements of our trauma to the next generation.

As a community-based clinician, I bring this knowledge into my practice. As I work with my youth clients and their family, school, and community systems, I am conscious of the colonial values and histories that impact their upbringings and their behaviors. I can draw on movements like #EndChanclaCulture, which have democratized decolonial psychology, as resources in working with clients, caregivers, teachers, and my own family. I encourage practitioners to examine the colonial roots of these harmful parenting practices. We need to look to organizations and practitioners already doing the powerful work of bringing decolonial and liberatory praxis to our communities. Psychologists need to recognize the power, strength, and knowledge coming from our communities and from the licensed social workers, marriage and family therapists, as well as professional counselors, who are often more embedded in our communities. We need to come together as a field to support and advance these liberatory efforts.

Future Directions

Our critique calls on psychologists and other mental health professionals to consider the historical context and potential colonial roots of values ascribed to Latinx communities. This examination should include the application of quantitative and qualitative methods that can help us understand the interconnection between the endorsement of Latinx cultural values and colonial oppression. For example, because colonialism centers on patriarchal norms, a potential empirical extension of our article is examining the association between colonial mentality (internalization of the cultural and racial superiority of the colonizer; David, 2008) and adherence to gendered values such as marianismo and machismo. Similar examinations should be conducted to help us understand different dimensions of respeto. To illustrate, helpful respeto (e.g., facilitate open and positive communication) and unhelpful respeto (e.g., when it impedes the questioning of oppressive power dynamics or hurtful family dynamics), and how endorsement of unhelpful forms of respeto may be associated with other psychological outcomes.

These efforts should be accompanied by research methodologies and clinical interventions that move away from solely considering Latinx values as determinants of Latinx identity, mental health outcomes, and/or behaviors. That is, researchers and clinicians should put greater emphasis on learning, understanding, and integrating Indigenous and Afro-Latinx knowledge. This would not only represent a departure from scientific and practice patterns that essentialize Latinx experiences, but it also opens an opportunity for all to explore and learn cultural knowledge, patterns, and traditions beyond those of the colonizers. If the focus on current Latinx values is necessary, we encourage researchers and clinicians to contextualize their findings by considering the sociopolitical and historical realities of Latinx individuals and communities.

Closing Summary

This article strives to bring critical consciousness to Latinx cultural values so that Latinx psychology can have greater clarity around their roles and functions. Highlighted in the 2008 NLPA conference theme, *La Cultura Cura* [culture heals], however, when left unexamined, culture can also be oppressive through prescriptive and inflexible social norms and values that benefit colonial discourses, perpetuate oppressive practices, and silence their critical examination. Accordingly, psychologists must "thicken" their understanding of Latinx culture, identity, and values through critical consciousness, so individuals, practitioners, and communities can explore and freely choose values, beliefs, and behaviors that contribute to optimal psychological and physical well-being and ultimately liberation.

Resumen

Las comunidades latinas no son un monolito y no se deberían reducir a una constelación de sistemas de valores. En este artículo, identificamos algunos de los valores asociados con las comunidades latinas. Proporcionamos una perspectiva general sobre la omnipresencia de los valores culturales latinos y de cómo estos se han conceptualizado y utilizado dentro del campo. También especificamos algunas de las críticas y deficiencias señaladas en la literatura profesional en relación con estos valores. Posteriormente, hablamos sobre la conciencia crítica en un esfuerzo por examinar los valores frecuentemente atribuidos a las comunidades latinas utilizando testimonios personales, preguntas de reflexión y un movimiento comunitario. Aceptamos la tarea de emplear una lente de conciencia crítica para analizar las posibles raíces coloniales de los pocos valores específicos reflejados en los testimonios, y cómo estos valores podrían ser opresivos, a la vez que perpetúan los

estereotipos. Terminamos hablando acerca de la importancia de no dejar los valores culturales latinos sin ser examinados por educadores, investigadores y profesionales y alentamos los lectores a analizar las raíces y las implicaciones de los valores culturales latinos, mientras se esfuerzan por liberarse de las narrativas coloniales opresivas.

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