Showing Up: A Theoretical Model of Anti-Racist Identity and Action for Latinx Youth

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Abstract

Historical and contemporary political events underscore that Latinx people do not necessarily view race and racism in the United States through a shared lens with other Latinx people and other communities of color. Thus, it is critical to understand how Latinx youth develop attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors that challenge white supremacy—or anti-racist identities and behaviors—that actively disrupt racial oppression communities of color face as well as their own communities. In this paper, we review theoretical mechanisms by which Latinx youth may develop anti-racist identities and engage in anti-racism actions on behalf of their own ethnic/racial communities and other communities oppressed by white supremacy. We conclude by offering suggestions for how institutions may support Latinx youth's anti-racist identities and actions.

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> I engage [in anti-racism action] through a more Indigenous lens because that is where my own heritage comes from and much of the oppression today in both Latin America and the U.S. is towards darker and often more Indigenous Latinos...I show up because liberation for me is really understanding and challenging the current label of "Latino."
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> –Juan, Latino youth community organizer in Pittsburgh, PA

As Juan's quote suggests, some Latinx youth have a critical analysis of what it means to be Latinx in the U.S. and have reflected on the role Latinx youth have in the liberation of communities marginalized by white supremacy. His reflections inspire the following questions: How do Latinx youth see their role in disrupting white supremacy and in movements that honor Black and Indigenous lives? How do Latinx youth develop a sense of agency to disrupt racial injustices that directly impact their own ethnic/racial communities and other communities of color? Historical and contemporary political events underscore that Latinx people do not necessarily view race and racism in the United States (U.S.) through a shared lens, much less one of solidarity with Black and Indigenous people, or with other people of color. To understand this variation, there is a need to explore how Latinx youth develop a capacity for anti-racist identities and actions that involves challenging anti-Blackness and anti-Indigeneity, which serve to perpetuate white supremacy.

Anti-racism behaviors occur on individual, communal, and political levels (Aldana et al., 2019). Youth may enact these behaviors by themselves, with other youth and/or adults within school or community organizing groups or leadership settings, with others online, or in the streets through protests or other organizing events (Aldana et al., 2019; Anyiwo et al., 2020). Anti-racism actions are similar to other youth civic behaviors (e.g., activism, critical action) that aim to advance social change in collectives or individually (Mathews et al., 2021). However, anti-racism actions are unique from these broad civic behaviors, as they are not power neutral: they aim to disrupt white supremacy and promote the liberation of people of color (Aldana et al., 2019). We conceptualize Latinx anti-racist identity as involving a politicized understanding of one's ethnic/racial identity, a critical analysis of racism, and a sense of emancipatory agency and commitment to disrupt racism. Youth's anti-racist identity informs, and is informed by, their involvement in anti-racism actions, or behaviors that actively challenge interpersonal and systemic white supremacy as well as the resulting disadvantages ethnically/racially marginalized people face (Aldana et al., 2019).

In this paper, we articulate theoretical mechanisms by which Latinx youth may develop anti-racist identities and engage in anti-racism actions on behalf of their own ethnic/racial communities and other marginalized communities oppressed by white supremacy. To do so, we draw on theory and research on ethnic/racial identity (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014), intersectionality (Crenshaw, 2005), liberation psychology (e.g., Comas-Díaz & Torres Rivera, 2020), critical consciousness and sociopolitical development theories (Freire, 1972; Watts et al., 2003), and allyship (e.g., Fish et al., 2021) to understand the psychological processes necessary for Latinx youth to develop anti-racist identities and actions. We weave these literatures together to present a theoretical model of Latinx youth's anti-racist identities and actions (see Figure 1). The model recognizes that there are complex, dynamic, and cyclical relations between historical, societal, contextual, and psychological factors that shape youth's anti-racist identities and anti-racism actions, and that youth's social positions in the U.S. racial hierarchy inform associations between these processes. In the following sections, we begin with an overview of terminology and concepts that are germane to the model. We then delineate the components of the model and the theoretical and research basis for each component. As we describe these processes, we consider how they might differ for youth with different skin tones, racial (e.g., Black, Indigenous, White), and ethnic (e.g., Mexican, Puerto Rican) backgrounds as well as different

generational and citizenship statuses. In doing so, we consider how Latinx youth may conceive of their role in the U.S. racial hierarchy, their experiences with different manifestations of white supremacy (e.g., anti-Blackness, anti-Indigeneity), their commitment to dismantle racism, and their engagement in anti-racism actions. We conclude by offering suggestions, or possibilities, for how institutions (e.g., schools) may support Latinx youth's anti-racist identities and actions.

Defining and Complicating Terms and Constructs

The terms Latino/a, Hispanic, Latinx, and Latinidad are panethnic and panracial labels/terms that have been created to group communities with assumed shared social, economic, and cultural experiences with the aim to serve social and political purposes (Mora, 2014; Mora et al., 2021). For example, the panethnic and panracial labels Hispanic and Latino were nationally institutionalized in the 1970s as Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban leaders as well as the U.S. Census Bureau aimed to distinguish the data of people in these groups from White Anglo-Americans (Mora, 2014). The term Latinx is a panethnic label that describes Latino and Hispanic people that aims to be more inclusive and critical of differential experiences in regard to gender, sexuality, ethnicity, language, culture, and phenotype within Latino and Hispanic communities (Santos, 2017; Salinas & Lozano, 2019).[1] Research on the history of the term indicates that it has been used among queer communities in Latin America and that low-income Latinx people, as opposed to higher income Latinx people, are more likely to use the term Latinx to describe themselves (Mora et al., 2021; Santos, 2017). Notably, the use of the term is associated with people's political ideology, generational status, income, ethnicity, and age (Mora et al., 2021). For instance, people in Generation Z (i.e., individuals born after 1995) are more likely than other older cohorts to use Latinx to describe themselves (Mora et al., 2021).

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[1] Within U.S. and global contexts of white supremacy, there is variability in how people who are considered Latino or Hispanic identify with panethnic and panracial labels. The majority of Hispanic and Latino adults (61%) report preferring the term Hispanic to describe the Hispanic/Latino population, 29% prefer the term Latino, and 5% of people prefer other terms. Among adults who self-identify as Hispanic or Latino, 76% have not heard of the term Latinx, 20% have heard of the term and do not use it, and 3% use the term to describe themselves (Noe-Bustamante et al., 2020). Other research finds that the use of the term Latinx is more common than previous work suggests, in that approximately 25% of U.S.-born Californians use the term Latinx to describe themselves. Meanwhile, 54% of Latino and Hispanic adults most often use their family's country of origin (e.g., Venezuelan, Puerto Rican) to describe themselves (Lopez, 2013). These findings underscore that Latinx people's use of panethnic and panracial terms is complicated, nuanced, and remain largely misunderstood. These findings also underscore the limited research on how Latinx youth conceive of and use panethnic and panracial terms.

As we describe the theoretical model, we use "Latinx" because it carries "symbolic qualities as…a tool in…the fight against intersecting forms of oppression affecting diverse members" of this community (Santos, 2017, p. 7). Indeed, Latinx communities are quite diverse and thus are differentially impacted by systems of oppression. Currently comprising over 18% of people in the U.S. (U.S. Census Bureau, 2019) and more than 1 in 4 children under the age of 18 (National KIDS COUNT, 2019), the largest Latinx communities can trace their ancestry to Mexico, Puerto Rico, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and El Salvador, although there are regional differences in the representation of these different nationalities. Latinx people are of different generational backgrounds, including immigrants (33%; Noe-Bustamante & Flores, 2019), children who were born in the U.S. but have at least one immigrant parent (31%), and children of U.S.-born citizens (34%; Trevelyan et al., 2016). Some Latinx people consider themselves indigenous to North American land because the U.S.-Mexico border crossed them and not the other way around (see Cisneros, 2014). There is also linguistic diversity among Latinxs, including not only English and Spanish repertoires, but also myriad Indigenous languages such as Quechua, Guaraní, and Nahuatl. Latinx people also have diverse phenotypes, including skin tone, eye and hair color, and hair texture (Hordge-Freeman & Veras, 2020; Lopez et al., 2018). As a result of this demographic diversity, Latinx communities are diverse in social identity and experiences.

Ultimately, we use the term Latinx because it may create possibilities for youth to develop an intersectional analysis of white supremacy and other forms of oppression that creates a sense of solidarity with other Latinx people, particularly those who are pushed out of Latinidad (e.g., Afro-Latinx people) and with other communities of color who are not Latinx (Mora et al., 2021; Ramos, 2020; Vidal-Ortiz & Martinez, 2018).[2] As described below, there are tensions in the use of the term Latinx when describing diverse communities who have ancestral connections to Latin America and the Caribbean. These tensions are observed whenever terms are used to assume shared social experiences based on ancestral connections to certain regions of the world (see Mora, 2014 and Ocampo, 2016 for examples about Latinx and Filipino/x people). Additional considerations for the use of panethnic and panracial terms while engaging in

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[2] See the Supplemental Files for our Positionality statements, or a discussion on how our own identities as Latinas inform our theoretical model.

research and practice with Latinx youth are provided in the "Conclusions and Recommendations for Future Research and Practice" section.

Similar to panethnic and panracial terms, the terms people of color (POC) and BIPOC (Black, Indigenous, and other People of Color) aim to capture shared and unique experiences among communities marginalized by white supremacy. Latinx people are often assumed to belong to the POC and BIPOC communities, although there are indeed Latinx people who identify as White and are perceived to be White (Adames, et al., 2021; Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014). The decision to self-identify as White on official documents has been shown to be contentious among Latinx young people who are primarily 2nd and 3rd generation and of Mexican heritage, in part because they do not personally feel connected to whiteness and nor do they feel they receive the benefits of whiteness (Flores-González, 2017). Nevertheless, young people may choose to identify as White in a given situation because they do not feel a right to claim Black or Indigenous ancestry based on their phenotype or a lack of recent ancestral connections to such communities (Flores-González, 2017). Given the widespread use of these panethnic and panracial terms through U.S. federal government documents, community organizations, schools, media outlets, and social discourse, people have adopted them to describe themselves and others (Flores-González et al., 2014; Mora et al., 2021). Doing so creates and reinforces a reality that people who identify as such share experiences with others who also identify similarly, and that they have unique experiences from those who do not belong to these shared communities (Mora, 2014).

People's use and understanding of panethnic and panracial labels are intertwined with their notions of race and ethnicity (Min, 2014; Mora et al., 2021). Race is often defined as a social construction that categorizes people in groups based on phenotype (Tatum, 2017), and skin color is often considered a key phenotypic marker of racial groups. Yet, racial groups are also categorized based on their hair texture, body size, accent, style of speech, language spoken, style of dress, and walking style (Bonds & Inwood, 2016; Hochman, 2019; Rosa, 2018). Ethnicity is defined as a social construction based on cultural criteria, such as language, customs, and shared ancestral history (Tatum, 2017). Although the constructs of race and ethnicity are social and political constructions, they have real implications for the social, political, and economic success and wellbeing of racial and ethnic groups (Tatum, 2017).

Academic distinctions between race and ethnicity do not always adequately reflect the social categories Latinx people use to describe their race and ethnicity and their social, economic, and political experiences in the U.S. (Flores-González et al., 2014; Hitlin et al., 2007; Mora et al., 2021). For example, the terms "Hispanic" and "Latino" have been used to describe panethnic groups by academics and in government protocols (e.g., U.S. Census), but some Latinx people in the U.S. use these terms to describe their race (Flores-González et al., 2014; Hitlin et al., 2007). This disconnect between scholars' conceptions of race and ethnicity and Latinx people's understanding of these concepts underscores that these social phenomena are fluid and contextually bound (Bonilla-Silva, 2017; Flores-González, 2017; Mora et al., 2021). Also, race and ethnicity are historical and sociopolitical constructs that were intended to be confusing and contradictory by design in order to advance the social, economic, and political interests of White people, particularly White men (Bonds & Inwood, 2016).

Being Latinx in the Context of White Supremacy, Anti-Blackness, and Anti-Indigeneity

Notions of race and ethnicity within Latinx communities are developed within the context of white supremacy, anti-Blackness, anti-Indigeneity. White supremacy is defined as

> a political, economic, and cultural system in which whites overwhelmingly control power and material resources, conscious and unconscious ideas of white superiority and entitlement…and relations of white dominance and non-white subordination are daily reenacted across a broad array of institutions and social settings. (Ansley, 1997, p. 592)

It dictates which phenotypes, body types, languages, accents and ways of speaking, value systems, religions, and genders are more valuable than others, shaping people's access to resources and ultimately their ability to live healthy and long lives (Bonds & Inwood, 2016). Thus, our conceptualization of white supremacy includes racialization processes, or the ongoing sociohistorical process through which bodies, language, culture, and social structures come to be assigned racial meaning and significance, which aim to serve the interests of White people (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Hochman, 2019). Anti-Blackness is "a form of colonial oppression that includes practices, policies, and dogmas that uniquely harm, disregard, reject, and devalue the lives and contributions of Black people" (Adames et al., 2021, p. 29). Similarly, anti-Indigeneity in Latin America results in the systematic political and economic disenfranchisement of Indigenous people and devaluation of their appearance, languages, and cultural ways; this devaluation carries over into the U.S. context (e.g., Barillas Chón, 2010, 2019; Sanchez, 2018).

A settler colonial perspective highlights inextricable links between anti-Blackness and anti-Indigeneity, as the project of white supremacy was advanced through the enslavement of African people and genocide of Indigenous communities, and their subjugation continues today via ongoing oppressive structures (Bonds & Inwood, 2016).

Mestizaje racial ideologies—or color-evasive practices and attitudes rooted in beliefs that Latinx people do not have races because they are a mixture of races and thus racial differences ostensibly do not matter—operate in the context of global white supremacy along with anti-Blackness and anti-Indigeneity (Adames et al., 2021). People with racial and sociopolitical power and privilege, such as Spanish people and Latinx people with White phenotypic characteristics, have dictated the boundaries of Latinidad, and those who uphold whiteness as a norm or aspiration to achieve perpetuate mestizaje racial ideologies (Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014). Thus, white supremacy is multidimensional. That is, this system of dominance and subjugation underlies people's life chances based historical and contemporary sociopolitical decisions and practices (e.g., hypodescent laws, the forced sterilization of Puerto Rican women) that create and shape racialized realities, which result in the cumulative and invisible power of whiteness and the degradation of People of Color. Power based on phenotype is also interlocked with other manifestations of white supremacy that do not appear to be about skin color, such as the institution of policies that prevent youth from speaking Spanish or Indigenous languages in school, or laws that make people who are assumed to be undocumented "show their papers." The latter manifestations of white supremacy are part of broader racialization processes that attempt to strip communities of their culture, language, and livelihood (Hochman, 2019).

Given that Latinx people are impacted by white supremacy (García Coll et al., 1996), a lurking question is: What is whiteness in the Latinx community? How does it function? Indeed, Latinx people can be of different racial backgrounds, such as identifying as Black, Asian, or White (Adames et al., 2021; Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014). Further highlighting the complexity of race and ethnicity in Latinx communities, previous research shows that 2nd and 3rd generation U.S. Latinx youth (primarily Mexican heritage) describe their racial group as Latino, because they report being racialized as Latinos, not as White, Black, or Asian people (Flores-González, 2017). The racialization of Latinx people is often rooted in people's stereotypes and prejudices about who Latinx youth are (e.g., undocumented, gang members, criminals), how they look (e.g., brown), where they are from (e.g., Mexico, inner cities) and how they are presumed to behave

(Flores-González, 2017; Rosa, 2018). Such stereotypes and prejudices towards Latinx youth are part of a broader context of xenophobia (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2018). Ultimately, through the proposed model, we aimed to articulate how Latinx youth's feelings of connection to others who consider themselves Latinx and to other communities of color may provide affordances to promote the wellness and liberation of Latinx communities as well as that of other minoritized communities.

(Politicized) Ethnic/Racial Identity: A Developmental Piece of the Puzzle

> To me ethnicity means that I have an amazing history and that the family members, traditions, music, and other people that surround me have something to show me...Being Latina also means that during these controversial times I must pay close attention to what is occurring politically, as it will affect both me and others...

> –Latina adolescent research participant in the Midwest

From a developmental standpoint, before youth learn about white supremacist systems, they learn about their social identities. That is, they learn who they "belong" to and who "belongs" to them, in terms of myriad social categories. As youth construct more sophisticated understandings of those groups and categories, they are able to discern the broader social forces that underlie injustice (Constante et al., 2021; Quintana & Segura-Herrera, 2003; Rivas-Drake, Pinetta et al., 2021). Certainly, youth need not explicitly recognize the forces of oppression to experience their impact. Irrespective of whether Latinx youth recognize these forces, white supremacy directly and indirectly shapes their daily contexts through, for example, the resources and value placed on the homes they inhabit, the schools they attend, and the extent to which they enjoy relative freedom of movement across diverse social settings (García Coll et al., 1996; Rios, 2011; Spencer, 2007; Stein et al., 2016). Thus, what appears to be solely an internal process of self-definition is not; it is of course circumscribed by the realities of segregation, exclusion, and other forms of subjugation. Moreover, the extent to and ways in which these conditions are rooted in anti-Blackness, anti-Indigeneity, and white supremacy may be obvious to some Latinx youth and less so to others. Accordingly, we argue that a politicized ethnic/racial identity may inform youth's appraisal and understanding of these social conditions and forms of oppression.

The development of an ethnic/racial identity is a normative task among Latinx youth, as it is with other minoritized youth (Rivas-Drake et al., 2014; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). As

youth navigate their social worlds, writ large, they engage in psychological meaning-making processes and construct a sense of the importance and meaning of race and ethnicity in their lives. How might ethnic and racial identity play a role in the development of anti-racist identities and capacities for anti-racist action? From a developmental perspective, two facets of ethnic/racial identity (ERI), in particular, may be crucial linchpins: resolution and centrality. Resolution refers to youth's sense of clarity about their ethnic/racial identity, and centrality refers to the extent to which they normatively define themselves in terms of ethnicity and race (Rivas-Drake et al., 2014). Both resolution and centrality are thought to become more salient aspects of ERI during adolescence relative to childhood, as youth gain new cognitive and socioemotional capacities to make meaning of ethnic/racial experiences not only at home but also in school, among peers, and in the community (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). In addition, although resolution is theorized to increase with age, centrality is thought to shift as a function of ecological characteristics (e.g., composition) and experiences (e.g., discrimination), which change in nature and quality during adolescence (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Among Latinx youth, centrality tends to be stable (e.g., Stein et al., 2017), whereas resolution increases over the course of adolescence (e.g., Bañales et al., 2020; Constante et al., 2020; Gonzales-Backen et al., 2016).

As Latinx youth gain opportunities to make meaning about their ethnicity and race in relation to others both within and outside their groups, they can develop a sense of resolution—a clear sense of how their ethnic/racial group matters in their lives. Similarly, as youth have more experiences at home or elsewhere that reinforce the relevance of ethnicity and race to their sense of self, they may also form a stronger sense of centrality (e.g., Rivas-Drake et al., 2009). Latinx youth who identified with a Latin American national origin label (e.g., Mexican, Cuban) reported higher levels of ethnic centrality than those who identified as White (Stein et al., 2017). However, ethnic/racial identity resolution and centrality among Latinx youth must be considered in the context of racialization processes, more generally, as people's notions and awareness of race and racism in the U.S. may inform their ethnic/racial identity (Bañales et al., 2021; Quiñones-Rosado, 2020). Accordingly, an understanding of the psychological processes that inform Latinx youth's anti-racism action development requires grounding in interdisciplinary and intersectional perspectives.

Considering ERI identity resolution first, Mathews and colleagues (2020) posit that youth's development of an ethnic/racial resolution that is rooted in a racialized and politicized

history—such as the role of group members in contemporary and historical social movements—can motivate youth to challenge social inequities (i.e., critical action). Similarly, the authors argue that knowing about the historical and contemporary marginalization of particular ethnic and racial groups can underlie the kind of identity resolution that advances critical action among youth. They note that an ahistorical, apolitical, and de-racialized identity resolution is less likely to yield critical action, which encompasses anti-racism action (see also Quiñones-Rosado, 2020 and van Zomeren et al., 2008).

Turning to centrality, viewing ethnicity/race as an important part of their sense of self may be an important element of anti-racism identity and action among Latinx youth. Youth with a central ERI are more likely to reflect on their membership in their ethnic/racial group, including how they and other members of their ethnic/racial group are treated by people from other groups (van Zomeren et al., 2008). Among Latinx college students, for example, a stronger ERI centrality was correlated with more negative public regard perceptions (or the extent to which youth believe that others view their racial or ethnic group negatively) and greater perceptions of language barriers to upward mobility (Rivas-Drake, 2011). Youth's public regard perceptions draw on skills involved in critical analysis of social oppression processes (Mathews et al., 2019). To engage in anti-racism action, it is necessary to be aware of one's own racial experiences relative to others (Quiñones-Rosado, 2020). Such awareness may be informed by having a more central ERI, as it shapes one's ability to appraise events as racialized as they are more attuned to information about race (e.g., Sellers et al., 1998; Tran & Curtin, 2017). The internalization of ethnicity/race as a critical aspect of one's identity, coupled with awareness of the status and power disparities faced by one's group, has been theorized to relate to greater likelihood of participating in community actions for social change (Gutierrez, 1990; Hope & Spencer, 2017; Stürmer & Simon, 2004). Empirically, some research suggests that, among racially marginalized youth, stronger ERI centrality is associated with greater critical consciousness (Kiang et al., 2021) and with being more likely to engage in activism or collective action (Tran & Curtin, 2017).

Yet, the nature of youth's centrality is important to unpack. This is because when Latinx youth indicate that ethnicity/race is central to their identity, they may have several racial and ethnic reference groups in mind—ranging from a specific national origin to a panethnic category that cross-cuts nationalities, racial experiences, and immigrant statuses. Thus, just as with

identity resolution, having a general sense of ethnic and/or racial centrality would be insufficient for advancing anti-racist identities and actions among Latinx youth. For ERI processes (e.g., resolution, centrality) to ultimately promote anti-racism action, they should include an analysis of racial power and oppression and youth's own position in racial hierarchies structured by anti-Blackness and anti-Indigeneity, as well as youth's sense of responsibility to disrupt white dominance (Quiñones-Rosado, 2020).

Resolution and centrality of Latinx identity in intersectional context. Multilayered and indeed intersectional lived experiences of inequality underlie youth's formation of identity resolution and centrality (Rivas-Drake, Agi, & Montoro, et al., in press; Velez & Spencer, 2018). The foundation for youth of color to adopt intersectional orientations toward their multiple identities is laid in childhood. For example, previous work has shown that 5-12 year old children from a pooled ethnic/racial minority (predominately Latinx) sample considered their ethnicity to be as central to their self-concept as their gender (Turner & Brown, 2007). In addition, prior work has shown that 12-13 year olds apply stereotypes to fictional targets in an intersectional manner (Ghavami et al., 2018). As young people develop the cognitive capacities to view their own multiple social identities in a more synthetic rather than merely additive manner (i.e., being an immigrant Venezuelan versus being Venezuelan and being an immigrant), the possibility for intersectional thinking about their identities increases. Although such capacities are fully online by early adulthood (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014), variability in youth's integration of their multiple identities during adolescence, in particular, is likely a function of both cognitive capacities and social experiences. Ultimately, from an intersectional cultural ecological perspective, exposure to models of peers or young adults who express intersectional identities may support adolescents' capacity to do the same (Velez & Spencer, 2018). Further, such expression is likely to vary by youth's perceptions of supportiveness and acceptance (or rejection) by significant others for particular intersectional identities (e.g., Zhao et al., 2021).

Intersectional experiences underscore the need to consider how Latinx youth conceive of race in order to understand how they define their racial community, their clarity about, knowledge of, and sense of belonging to certain racial communities, and, in turn, their involvement in anti-racism (Rivas-Drake, Pinetta et al., 2021). As youth learn about how the experiences of people in their Latinx ethnic group (e.g., Dominican) are similar or distinct from those in other Latinx ethnic groups (e.g., Guatemalan), they may develop a sense of identity

resolution in reference to being Latinx, in general, in addition to that of a particular ethnicity. For some youth, identifying with a panethnic/panracial label, such as Latinx, could potentially be beneficial for anti-racism actions if it means that their racial experiences are connected to other Latinx people, regardless of being Mexican, Guatemalan, Puerto Rican, and so on. Identifying with the panethnic/panracial label of Latinx (or other panracial or panethnic terms) may validate or better capture their experiences as a racial other in the U.S. (Flores-González et al., 2014), which provides a framework to understand shared racial experiences with others who also identify with the same panethnic/panracial label. This framework may promote a sense of belonging with other Latinx people who are othered on the basis of their race, which may inform their involvement in anti-racism that directly impacts Latinx people, broadly (e.g., Junn & Masuoka, 2008; Min, 2014). Indeed, later generation Latinx youth who are further removed from their families' immigration experience, less aware of their families' cultural traditions, or contest that the border crossed them and not the other way around—and thus do not consider themselves of immigrant origin—might be especially likely to use panethnic labels in describing and reflecting on their ERI. Youth who endorse a broad (inclusive) conception of Latinx identity might be more likely to develop broad collective identities, such as an identity as a BIPOC person or a POC, that includes a recognition that other racial groups also experience racial oppression, and that this shared oppression is rooted in the common source of white supremacy. This recognition may result in a commitment to and engagement in behaviors that challenge the source of shared racial oppression: white domination.

To be sure, there are certain Latinx people who are given greater access to the use of the Latinx panethnic label by other Latinx people, which is grounded in oppressive notions of who Latinx people are and should be. A stereotypical Latinx person is often conceived as someone who speaks fluent Spanish (or speaks Spanish in certain ways), has tan skin, dark eyes, and engages in cultural practices that connect them to their specific ethnic group's culture (Flores & Rosa, 2015; Flores-González et al., 2014; Salas Pujols, 2020). Thus, the use of panethnic labels rooted in stereotypical notions of Latinidad excludes youth who are Black and/or Indigenous, those who do not speak the so-called "correct" Spanish (e.g., Spanglish) or do not speak Spanish at all, those who speak Indigenous languages, and those who are not aware of or do not practice the cultural traditions of their ancestors. Indeed, the use of the panethnic label of Latinx may uphold mestizaje ideologies, as these ideologies minimize or deny the racial privilege of White

Latinx people or those with lighter skin and other European features, thereby rendering Afro-
and Indigenous Latinx people's racial experiences invisible and ultimately maintaining white
supremacy (Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014). White Latinx youth and lighter-skinned Latinx youth
who identify with the panethnic label of Latinx must be especially critical about the ways in
which their racial experiences are unique from Black, Indigenous, brown, or darker-skinned
Latinx youth. Youth who identify with the panethnic label Latinx could receive sociopolitical
and socioemotional benefits, such as a sense of belonging that is continually reinforced and
ultimately emerges in a highly central Latinx identity (Flores-González et al., 2014); however,
there must be critical attention to the ways in which certain Latinx youth are excluded from
membership and thus from possible positive outcomes associated with identifying with Latinx
communities. Indeed, those whose Latinx-ness is continuously not assumed or even denied due
to having features or experiences that do not conform to stereotypical Latinx phenotypes and
experiences may ultimately develop a resolved identity that includes an understanding that the
panethnic category of Latinx is one that excludes people like them and a weaker sense of Latinx
centrality (or importance to their self-concept) may develop.

Critical Analysis of Racism: A Key Ingredient

Rooted in the tenets of liberation psychology (Fanon, 1952; Martín-Baró, 1994), critical
consciousness and sociopolitical development refers to young people's ability to critique systems
of oppression (i.e., critical analysis or reflection), their sense of motivation, commitment, and
beliefs in one's capacity or social responsibility to address social injustice (i.e., critical/political
agency or efficacy), and involvement in behaviors that challenge these forces (i.e., critical action,
activism) (Freire, 1972; Watts et al., 2010; Watts & Flanagan, 2007). Given foundational
questions about the ways in which marginalized people develop sociopolitical processes about
issues that negatively impact their lives (Friere, 1972), resulting developmental theory and
research has primarily focused on Black, primarily African American, youth's development of
these processes (Anyiwo et al., 2021; Hope et al., 2020). However, there is emerging research
focusing on Latinx youth and young adults (Bañales et al., 2019; Constante et al., 2021; Hordge-
Freeman & Loblack, 2020; Diemer & Rapa, 2016; McWhirter & McWhirter, 2016; McWhirter
et al., 2019; Pinedo et al., 2021) and youth of color broadly (e.g., Anyiwo et al., 2020; Mathews
et al., 2020). Despite these advancements, there is limited theoretical and empirical work that
deconstructs within-group differences in Latinx youth's critical consciousness development,

especially critical racial consciousness. Accordingly, the proposed theoretical model (see Figure 1) includes Latinx youth's critical analysis of racism as a key ingredient in their anti-racism identity and action development and situates this analysis of oppression in youth's emergent understanding of what it means to Latinx youth in the U.S. Our conceptualization of a critical analysis of racism is grounded in multiple bodies of research on youth critical consciousness, sociopolitical development, color-evasive ideology, and anti-racism activist development among college students and other adults (Bañales et al., 2021; Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014; Freire, 1972; Ginwright & Cammarota, 2002; Neville et al., 2013; Watts et al., 2003).

Informed by the above literatures, we argue that Latinx youth's critical analysis of racism is multidimensional: it includes the ability to recognize racial issues, experiences, dynamics, and disparities that are blatant and subtle; a recognition of institutional and structural racism; and an understanding of how different levels of racism are interconnected (Bañales et al., 2021; Neville et al., 2013; Spanierman & Smith, 2017; Watts et al., 1999). Foundational to a critical analysis of racism is an understanding that White people are the beneficiaries of unearned racial privileges that are rewarded through daily life experiences (e.g., not having to show identification when identification protocol is mandated) that are fueled by the structure of institutions (e.g., policies that enable people to ask for identification from those who look "suspicious") (Neville et al., 2013; Tatum, 2017). Thus, a critical analysis of racism among youth does not only recognize that POC people are disadvantaged by racism as a system of oppression, but also that White people are advantaged by this system of privilege (Bañales et al., 2021; Quiñones-Rosado, 2020). Accordingly, an understanding of social, economic, and political power—and how White people hold this power—is essential in Latinx youth's critical analysis of racism. In addition to being multidimensional, we conceive of a critical analysis of racism among youth as including an intersectional understanding of differential racialization, or the ability to identify that social groups are racialized in differing ways at different times to serve the interests and needs of whiteness (Bañales et al., 2021; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Thus, youth's critical analysis of racism is informed by a critical understanding of the nature and functioning of whiteness as a sociopolitical tool that is used to dictate which groups have full versus conditional access to whiteness during certain contexts and periods of time.

A critical analysis of racism is predicated on youth's racism awareness, or the ability to recognize race-related phenomena, issues, or disparities in society, the country, and the world

(Rowley et al., 2008; Hope et al., 2014). Racism operates on interpersonal, cultural, institutional, and structural levels (Jones, 1983; Neblett, 2019), and youth may learn to recognize these levels of racism throughout adolescence (Bañales et al., 2021; Constante et al., 2021; Richards-Schuster & Aldana, 2013). Interpersonal racism involves people's endorsement of stereotypes, prejudice, and involvement in verbal and physical forms of racial discrimination (Bonilla-Silva, 2017; Jones, 1983; Tatum, 2017). Youth who recognize interpersonal racism display an individual-level analysis of racism, as youth are aware that racial beliefs (stereotypes) and attitudes (prejudice) are endorsed by individuals and may be enacted between people (e.g., use of racial slurs or mistreating someone on the basis of their race) (Bañales et al., 2021; Tawa et al., 2012). Indeed, Latinx youth recognize that people mistreat them and other ethnically/racially marginalized communities through individual-level forms of racism (Constante et al., 2021; Douglass & Umaña-Taylor, 2017; Rivas-Drake et al., 2009; Seaton et al., 2013).

Cultural racism includes beliefs and images that convey White people as more intelligent, attractive, and more socially desirable than POC and this worldview is embedded in the functioning of institutions and the everyday practices (Jones, 1983). Cultural racism is likened to "smog in the air," as its manifestations are deeply ingrained in society and are rendered invisible (Tatum, 2017). Examples of cultural racism include tropes of Latina women as "spicy" or "submissive" on television shows. Latinx youth who recognize that their schools have textbooks that are outdated and omit the histories and successes of Latinx communities demonstrate an awareness of cultural racism (Cabrera et al., 2013; Cammarota, 2004).

Institutional racism involves the formation of laws, policy, customs, and practices that offer access, rights, or privileges to White people within a certain institution (e.g., education, housing), while limiting these rights for POC (Jones, 1983). Structural racism involves the perpetuation of White advantage in life opportunities and outcomes over POC through the functioning of multiple institutions (Jones, 1983). Recognizing the cultural, institutional, and structural elements of racism allows youth to make structural attributions about the causes of racial disparities, or the ability to locate the root causes of racial issues or disparities in institutional or structural factors, as opposed blaming individuals' intelligence, effort, or motivation as causes for racial disparities (Bañales et al., 2019; Neville et al., 2013; Watts et al., 2010). Research indicates that some low-income Latina women who are immigrants make structural attributions to explain the causes of poverty and wealth (although individual

attributions to explain the causes for poverty and wealth were more common; Godfrey & Wolf, 2015) and that Latinx youth display a critical analysis of institutional racism (McWhirter et al., 2019).

Youth who recognize the complex interplay of interpersonal, cultural, institutional, and structural racism display a critical analysis of racism in that they recognize that racism operates on different levels of society and is ultimately fueled by historical and contemporary policy, practices, and ideologies (Bañales et al., 2021). An analysis of racism is not critical unless it recognizes the ways in which structures, policies, ideologies, and other features of systems of oppression shape the life opportunities and social experiences of POC, which may include their own ethnic/racial group or other communities of color, as well as White people. Thus, a critical analysis of racism among Latinx youth includes an understanding of how their racial experiences are intricately connected to the racial experiences of other racially marginalized and privileged communities.

Toward Solidarity: Linking Fates in the Context of Oppression. In our model, it is important to delineate how a structural awareness and analysis of racism may be complicated by youth's understandings of what it means to be Latinx and a member of other oppressed racial communities in the U.S. As noted, Latinx youth's critical analysis of racism must include a recognition of structural oppression; such recognition has the potential to inform youth's sense of linked fate. Linked fate refers to the belief that the sociopolitical conditions that affect members of a broader social group are relevant to one's own life chances, including among those who do not necessarily share the same intersectional oppressions or privileges (e.g., Gay et al., 2016; Kiang et al., 2021). An example of linked fate is reflected in the finding that anti-immigrant laws are associated with a greater sense that the oppression that Latinx people collectively face is relevant to one's life chances as a Latinx person (e.g., Vargas et al., 2017). When U.S.-born Latinx youth develop a critical understanding of how racist and xenophobic policies oppress immigrant or Latinx people with unauthorized status in the U.S., even as their own personal rights are not directly threatened by such policies (i.e., develop an analysis of structural oppression), this also sets the stage for linked fate. Youth's sense of linked fate will be informed by how they define community, or the individuals with whom they see their lives as intricately connected.

Coupled with their ethnic/racial identity, we posit that Latinx youth's sense of linked fate with other Latinx people will inform their anti-racism actions that impact Latinx communities. Previous research with immigrant and non-immigrant Latinx youth indicated that those who viewed their ethnic/racial (or cultural) group as an important aspect of their sense of self—and who recognized how racism and xenophobia shaped unequal opportunities for their own ethnic/racial group—participated in civic actions that addressed social injustices affecting Latinx communities, more generally (Jensen, 2008; Stepick & Stepick, 2002; Stepick et al., 2008; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2015). Consistent with theoretical models that postulate that dimensions of ethnic/racial identity and critical consciousness interact to inform sociopolitical behaviors among youth of color (Mathews et al., 2020), Latinx youth who endorse a politicized ERI and critical analysis of racism may recognize that their particular ethnic group's life chances are impacted by systems of oppression and that other Latinx ethnic groups' marginalization is tied to these systems of oppression. This recognition may motivate them to personally challenge the varied injustices that Latinx people face, even if they do not face them personally, in order to promote the liberation of all Latinx community members.

Latinx youth's developing critical analysis of racism may include not only that which pertains to particular communities of Latinx people (e.g., immigrant, people with unauthorized status in the U.S., Afro-Latinx, working class, etc.) but also other racially marginalized groups who are not Latinx. This emergent critical analysis of racism could thus engender a sense of linked fate with other POC, more generally. This sense of linked fate can also be expressed through the formation of cross-racial solidarity or allyship, or when one person stands up for another person or in support for another with a different social identity when they face discrimination (Fish et al., 2021). Effective cross-racial allyship is linked with other critical race consciousness skills, such as the ability to reflect on how one's own personal racial experiences are different from others, perceptions that others' racial discrimination experiences are unjust, a willingness to challenge these discriminatory experiences by putting one's privilege on the line, and actual involvement in behaviors that challenge racism (Aldana et al., 2019; Bañales et al., 2021). For example, Latinx college students endorsed Black Liberation goals and Intersectional values of BLM (Yoo et al., 2021) and engaged in BLM activities at similar levels as their Black peers (Hope et al., 2016), suggesting that Latinx youth might express a sense of linked fate with (non-Latinx) Black people.

Drawing on this body of research, we reason that Latinx youth's ability to link Latinx communities' experiences with the ethnic/racial oppression other POC face is pivotal in facilitating anti-racism actions. This sense of linked fate with other POC may include the ability to recognize that manifestations of white supremacy, such as anti-Black racism and anti-Indigenous practices across social institutions, are integrally connected as they share the same systemic root cause: the perpetuation and maintenance of white supremacy. For example, among African American youth, viewing the plight of their group as connected to that of other minoritized communities was associated with positive relationships with other people (in general) through feeling a sense of empathy for others (Bañales et al., 2021). It is possible that (non-Black) Latinx youth who express a sense of linked fate with African American youth might recognize that detention and deportation of Latinx people at the U.S.-Mexico border and throughout the U.S. is connected to the policing and murders of African American people in U.S. neighborhoods through systemic racial profiling and policing (Ortiz, 2018). To the extent that Latinx youth's linked fate is grounded in a structural analysis of oppression, it may spur them to act in ways that disrupt the root causes of shared experiences with such oppression.

Yet, Latinx youth who are developing a sense of linked fate with POC who are not Latinx should not gloss over the unique manifestations of anti-Black racism or anti-Indigeneity for other communities marginalized by these forms of oppression. Rather, youth should be encouraged to recognize these groups' unique experiences with white supremacy (Rivas-Drake et al., 2021). The recognition of similarities and differences in experiences with racial oppression is vital for the development of a critical analysis of racism and engagement in authentic anti-racism action among Latinx youth. Youth's critical analysis of racism should thus include a recognition of their own experiences with racial privilege or oppression, which is informed by their position in the racial hierarchy. There are different forms of privilege, one of which may include Latinx youth's skin tone and other phenotypic characteristics. There is a longstanding history of colorism and racial stratification in Latin America (e.g., Ortiz, 2018; Telles and the Project on Ethnicity and Race in Latin America, 2014), wherein Spaniards and those with Spanish ancestry are positioned at or closer to the top of the racial hierarchy and those who are Indigenous or African or those with Indigenous or African ancestry at the bottom (see Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014 for a more in-depth review). This system allows White and light-skinned Latinx people and those with more Eurocentric features to create and maintain social, economic, and political

dominance over Indigenous people and those of African heritage, such as through access to resources in education, roles in government, and other positions with greater social status.

Because notions of race, including whiteness, mark boundaries on skin tone, language, hair type, style of dress, accent, and cultural characteristics (Flores-González et al., 2014; Hochman, 2019; Rosa, 2018), it might be difficult for Latinx youth to negotiate how they might personally benefit or are oppressed from whiteness. Non-Black Latinx youth often report being outside the "White-Black" racial binary, voicing that their experiences are unique from White and Black people, yet most similar to the experiences of Black people and other people of color (Flores-González et al., 2014; Flores-González, 2017). Indeed, locating one's social position in the U.S.'s racial hierarchy might be particularly complicated for non-Black Latinx youth who are oppressed by other compounding systems of oppression during the period of adolescence, a time in which youth are trying to create boundaries around their own sociopolitical experiences and others' experiences. For instance, a light-skinned Latinx youth who speaks solely Spanish and holds an unauthorized status in the U.S. might not consider themselves White because of the interpersonal and institutional exclusion they experience on the basis of their language and documentation status (e.g., not being able to apply for financial aid for college). Systems that privilege people who speak English and/or people with authorized immigration status in the U.S. are rooted in white supremacy (Santiago et al., 2021; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2015; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2018). The other side of this white supremacist coin is that some Latinx youth do not reap the full benefits of whiteness because they are racialized based on their browner or Black skin tone, style of dress, and residence in low-income Latinx communities that are highly policed (Flores-González, 2017; Rendón et al., 2018).

Thus, rooting the social and political construction and consequences of race as being solely a function of skin color differences does not capture the full complexity of the ways some Latinx youth can be excluded from whiteness. However, Latinx youth, especially White and lighter-skinned Latinx youth, must consider the ways in which skin color differences, and most importantly, the value associated with whiteness, shape their interpersonal relations and access to spaces and opportunities not available to darker-skinned or Afro-Latinx youth (Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014). It is critical for Latinx youth to have opportunities that allow them to wrestle with their social position in the racial hierarchy, or the ways in which they may benefit from or experience racial oppression, because these negotiations better allow youth to identify their sense

of responsibility to challenge racism and other forms of injustice in the U.S.'s system of racism (Mathews et al., 2020; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2015).

In summary, Latinx youth's critical analysis of racism is foundational to the development of anti-racism action. Yet, being aware of the ways in which systems oppress Latinx people who share only their own social identities and experiences will not be enough to disrupt racism. Latinx youth must possess a sense of linked fate with other people in Latinx communities (e.g., Afro-Latinx and Indigenous youth) and youth of color who are not Latinx that is rooted in a clear understanding of one's positionality (e.g., one's receipt of privilege and oppression) in the system of racism. These aspects of a critical analysis of racism may work hand-in-hand with youth's commitment to end racism.

A Sense of Emancipatory Agency and Commitment to End Racism

Beyond engaging in identity processes and developing a critical analysis of racism, Latinx youth must also foster a sense of emancipatory agency and commitment to ending racism to move toward genuine anti-racism action. By emancipatory agency, we mean that youth are not only invested in freedom for themselves but also for all those who are oppressed, and that they seek to achieve freedom through methods that do not perpetuate or replicate oppressive structures. Previous research on young people's commitment to end racism has been primarily conducted with White college students (Neville et al., 2014; Schooley et al., 2019; Spanierman et al., 2009) given their experiences with racial privilege in the broader U.S. society and on college campuses. In that literature, a commitment to end racism has been conceptualized as using one's racial privilege to promote racial equity and the active engagement in behaviors that oppose racism (Kordesh et al., 2013; Spanierman & Smith, 2017). For example, Spanierman and Smith (2017) define White allies as people who:

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

For various reasons, this definition cannot and should not be indiscriminately applied to conceptualize Latinx youth's commitment to ending racism. To be clear, any person who engages in anti-racism behaviors may express a commitment to end racism in ways that align

with extant definitions of White allyship (Richards-Schuster & Aldana, 2013; Spanierman & Smith, 2017). Yet, the advantages white supremacy grants White people are not universally granted to all Latinx youth, as there is variation in youth's phenotype (e.g., skin tone) and social position and experiences in the U.S. power hierarchies (e.g., linguistic expression, accent, citizenship status). Indeed, what differentiates a commitment to ending racism among racially marginalized groups is that it entails not only an understanding of identity and corresponding privilege (through an intersectional lens) and solidarity deriving from a critical analysis of racism, but also the role of individual and collective emancipatory agency. Accordingly, in our model, we conceptualize a commitment to end racism among Latinx youth as a psychological and explicit intention to disrupt racism through individual and collective agency that does not in turn oppress others.

At the level of the individual, a commitment to end racism among Latinx youth may include multiple components. Given Latinx people's experiences with intersectional forms of privilege and oppression (Adames et al., 2021; Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2019), some Latinx youth will be tasked with reflecting on how to rid internalized racism that may result from experiences with forms of privilege, such as skin tone privilege (Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014; Kiang et al., 2020). This critical analysis of skin tone privilege may result in a commitment to dismantle the ideologies and structures that promote anti-Blackness, which may lead to involvement in behaviors that promote the liberation of Black communities, including Black people within and outside Latinx communities. Similarly, Latinx youth with authorized status in the U.S. and those who speak English may be committed to disrupt policy and practices that marginalize people with unauthorized status in the U.S. and non-English dominant youth and families, as well as people with unauthorized status in the U.S. and those who speak other languages besides English in other racially marginalized communities who are not Latinx. Latinx youth's commitment to disrupt racism and other systems of oppression that are interwoven with racism enable their capacity to work in solidarity with marginalized groups within Latinx communities and other marginalized communities outside these communities.

In addition to recognizing and using whatever privileges they hold based on their social locations (e.g., legal, linguistic, phenotypic), an individual commitment to end racism among Latinx youth also entails a sense of emancipatory agency to reject the marginalization of Latinx people and of other ethnically/racially marginalized groups (e.g., Santiago et al., 2021; Suárez-

Orozco et al., 2015). This form of commitment focuses on promoting the thriving and liberation of one's own ethnic/racial group and other ethnically/racially marginalized communities in the context of white supremacy and other systems of oppression. For example, Latinx young adults noted their primary impetus for engaging in civic actions included "directly experiencing unfair treatment or witnessing others experience injustices related to race, undocumented status, language, or being an immigrant" (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2015, p. 95, emphasis added). Consistent with notions of liberation among Black communities, Latinx youth from low-income immigrant communities may also intentionally engage in rest as resistance against white supremacy, as this system of oppression is predicated on capitalism and constant work (Okun, 2021; The Nap Ministry, 2021). Second-generation and later generation Latinx youth who are not fluent in Spanish or know about their ethnic groups' cultural history, which has been attempted to be stripped away by colonization and white supremacy, may re-learn or reclaim Spanish or Indigenous languages and/or knowledge of their ancestral heritage as a form of anti-racism action (Cabrera et al., 2014). In turn, such engagement with their cultural heritage has been linked to early adolescents' greater expectations of being personally involved in addressing issues facing their communities in the future (Pinetta et al., 2020).

Latinx youth's sense of agency may also take collective forms. McWhirter and colleagues (2019) elicited high school Latinx youth's voices through the administration of an open-ended question by asking youth how they believed Latinx young people could make a difference in their communities. Findings indicated that youth believed that Latinx youth could engage in their communities through community efforts that support others which may include others in the Latinx community, advocacy that involved speaking out, fighting for equality and against racism, taking pride in their culture, heritage, and language, challenging stereotypes about Latinx people, and pursuing education that advance their own and families lives' and the larger Latinx community. The extent to which youth believed they could personally make a difference in their communities was unclear given that youth were encouraged to reflect on the capacity of Latinx young people, in general. However, some youth expressed a sense of collective efficacy with other Latinx young people as they explained how Latinx youth, like them, could make a difference in their communities, underscoring the importance of community capacity and care in Latinx youth's and other ethnically/racially marginalized communities' notions of civic engagement (Bañales et al., 2020; Sánchez Carmen et al., 2015).

Latinx youth's agency to challenge racism may thus include drawing on the strengths of their ancestors and other community members, in addition to their own individual capacities. Drawing from an example with Latinx adults, parents with unauthorized status in the U.S. participate in U.S. civic life by voicing their critiques of existing inequities in their children's schools (e.g., disparities in course-taking) and by addressing these issues through school-based civic engagement (e.g., membership on advisory boards, lobbying for resources, advocating on behalf of others) (Terriquez, 2011; see also Ortiz, 2018 and Santiago et al., 2021). As Santiago and colleagues (2021) note, "activism and resistance have always been central to the social fabric of Latinx communities' livelihoods, identities, and lived practices" (p. 209). Given that Latinx youth (like all youth) are embedded in social systems (e.g., families, schools) with individuals that express varying degrees of collective agency (Cabrera et al., 2013; Santiago et al., 2021), Latinx youth may benefit from knowing that they come from a lineage of people who have the ability to survive and thrive in inhuman social conditions, which, in turn, may inform their own sense of agency that they can resist these same oppressive forces. Accordingly, Latinx youth's commitments to disrupting racism should be understood as part of a multigenerational and intersectional endeavor to assert the humanity of Latinx people on their own terms, and furthermore, to work toward the same end in collaboration with other marginalized communities (see also Ortiz, 2018).

Conclusions and Recommendations for Future Research and Practice

In this article, we presented a model of anti-racist identity and action among Latinx youth premised on three key psychological processes—politicized ethnic/racial identity, critical analysis of racism, and a sense of emancipatory agency and commitment to end racism. We provided illustrative examples of how the development of anti-racist identities and actions may differentially develop among Latinx youth, depending on the intersectional axes of privilege and oppression in question. None of these aspects of an anti-racist identity would be sufficient on their own; each dimension coalesces with the others in ways that prepare youth to engage anti-racism actions.

First, youth's ERI resolution and centrality are key in developing an anti-racist identity. However, these ERI processes cannot be void of sociopolitical context: they must be situated in a critical understanding of white supremacy, anti-Blackness, and anti-Indigeneity (Anyiwo et al., 2018; Quiñones-Rosado, 2020). This understanding helps guide youth's decisions about whether

to engage critical action behaviors (Gutierrez, 1990; Hope & Spencer, 2017; Stürmer & Simon, 2004), including anti-racism actions. Secondly, youth's emergent understanding of what it means to be Latinx sets the stage for their critical analysis of racism—another key component in Latinx youth's anti-racist identity and action development. Given that racism is multidimensional (i.e., it includes interpersonal, cultural, and structural components), it is necessary for Latinx youth to identify these multiple levels of racism, while recognizing that White people are advantaged, and POC youth and families disadvantaged, by these dimensions of racism (Quiñones-Rosado, 2020). A critical analysis of racism is crucial as it includes a recognition of the ways in which structures, policies, ideologies, and other features of systems of oppression shape the life opportunities and social experiences of POC, including their own ethnic/racial group and other communities of color.

This structural analysis of racism may give rise to or underlie youth's sense of linked fate with other ethnically/racially marginalized members in their panethnic/panracial group as well as those who do not identify as Latinx. Youth may recognize that white supremacy, anti-Blackness, and anti-Indigeneity are root causes of shared experiences with racial marginalization, although the manifestation of oppression differs depending on the group in question; how youth show up in their actions will depend on their own intersectional experiences with privilege and oppression. A critical analysis of racism that includes a structural analysis of racism and a sense of linked fate is, in turn, expected to inform youth's involvement in anti-racism actions that promote the well-being of marginalized people who do and do not identify as Latinx.

Finally, a sense of emancipatory agency and commitment to one's own freedom and the liberation of other communities of color is another necessary dimension of Latinx youth's anti-racist identity development (e.g., Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014; Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2019). Depending on their location in the racial hierarchy, some Latinx youth (e.g., light-skinned youth) could be tasked with a commitment to eradicate internalized white supremacy that promotes their advancement in a system of white dominance and the disregard for racially marginalized people. This aspect of a commitment to end racism is more focused on dismantling forms of privilege within the Latinx community. Another manifestation among Latinx youth could include a rejection of the marginalization of Latinx people and other racially marginalized communities through liberatory behaviors, such as youth organizing or even unbridled expressions of joy,

faith, and rest (Filomeno, 2019; Lee et al., 2021).[3] The thread of individual and collective agency runs through each aspect of a commitment to disrupt racism within and beyond one's own racial community, such that youth may find strength in the collective and ancestral knowledge and wisdoms in the Latinx and other POC communities to guide their commitments to end racism (French et al., 2020; Sánchez Carmen et al., 2015).

It is important to recognize that Latinx youth's anti-racist identity and action development is largely predicated on the meanings and understandings they have about being Latinx in the U.S. Alongside these conceptions, youth's understanding of their social identities as immigrants, BIPOC or POC, or as marginalized people, in general, are key for understanding how, why, and when Latinx youth engage in anti-racist identity processes and anti-racism actions. The meanings youth ascribe to being Latinx, and youth's successive anti-racist identity and action development, can be understood and facilitated by youth's socializing contexts and opportunity structures (Watts & Flanagan, 2007). For instance, exposure to ethnic/racial socialization, youth participatory action research, ethnic studies, and critical intergroup dialogue in schools, homes, and youth development spaces all have the potential to facilitate youth's knowledge of historical and contemporary experiences of Latinx people (e.g., Bañales et al., in press; Cabrera et al., 2013; Richards-Schuster & Aldana, 2015; Sleeter & Zavala, 2020).

Thus, youth's anti-racist identities and actions should be cultivated throughout adolescence through critical racial socialization that highlights knowledge of their racial and ethnic communities' histories, ancestral practices, healing and ways of knowing, and a recognition of systemic root causes of racial inequality. These conversations or experiences may occur in community-based educational spaces (e.g., Salas Pujols, 2020), in schools (Aldana & Byrd, 2015; Rivas-Drake et al., 2021) and at home (e.g., Bañales et al., 2019; Ayón, 2016; Ayón et al., 2018). In school-based ethnic studies (Sleeter & Zavala, 2020) and intergroup dialogues about race (Richards-Schuster & Aldana, 2015) with other Latinx youth, youth can be encouraged to unpack how they conceive of race and ethnicity, and how racism shapes their racial and ethnic experiences in ways that are similar to or unique from other Latinx and non-Latinx people in their schools and neighborhoods. They can also be encouraged to recognize the trends in their experiences to increase their critical analysis of racism (Watts et al., 1999). At the

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[3] The use of rest has been conceptualized as a form of liberation from white supremacy and capitalism for Black people, particularly for Black women (The Nap Ministry, 2021).

same time, youth should be guided to recognize that there is no one uniform Latinx experience, as there are key differences in experiences based on skin tone, generational status, authorization status, language use and comfort level, social class, and other social experiences. Overall, notions of Latinidad should be discussed, critiqued, reinvented, and problematized in collaboration with Latinx youth (Bañales et al., in press) in order for youth to create notions of Latinidad that are liberatory. For example, in work using youth participatory action research methods with non-Black Latinx youth, Bañales and her collaborators used word cloud activities to discuss how youth conceive of "Latinx-ness." In this instance, the group was aware that Afro-Latinx youth were not in the room, and thus we had to be critical of our incomplete notions of what it means to be Latinx because the wellbeing and liberation of Afro-Latinx communities from white supremacy was part of our ultimate goal.

Critical socialization opportunities, such as those described above, positively shape young people's psychological and behavioral development (see Pinedo et al., 2021). Yet, people in U.S. institutions (e.g., schools), particularly those in power, remain unconvinced that there is a need to discuss the historical and contemporary significance of race and the role racism plays in shaping people's life outcomes in the U.S. (e.g., Sleeter et al., 2020). Notwithstanding the positive benefits of youth's critical consciousness and sociopolitical development (e.g., Anyiwo et al., 2021; Bañales et al., 2019), adults, particularly those with social and economic power, should be tasked with stimulating youths' anti-racist identity and actions.

Conclusion

Let us consider Juan's quote at the beginning of this article. This young organizer conceives of his own anti-racism as an integrative project: It includes an analysis of his identity and heritage, recognizes oppression as rooted anti-Blackness and anti-Indigeneity, and conveys emancipatory agency not only for individual but also collective liberation. In this article, we brought together insights from myriad strands of knowledge regarding ethnic/racial identity, critical consciousness, sociopolitical development, liberation psychology, and solidarity and allyship to theorize about Latinx youth's anti-racism identity and action. We hope this model will be useful in empirical work that seeks to show how Latinx youth play a role in disrupting white supremacy and in movements that honor Black and Indigenous lives, see the injustices facing other communities of color as ones they should personally challenge, and develop a sense of agency to disrupt racial injustices that directly impact their own and other oppressed

ethnic/racial communities. Future empirical research, ideally using approaches aligned with the anti-oppressive nature of this model, will shed additional needed light on its utility and limitations for advancing anti-racism.

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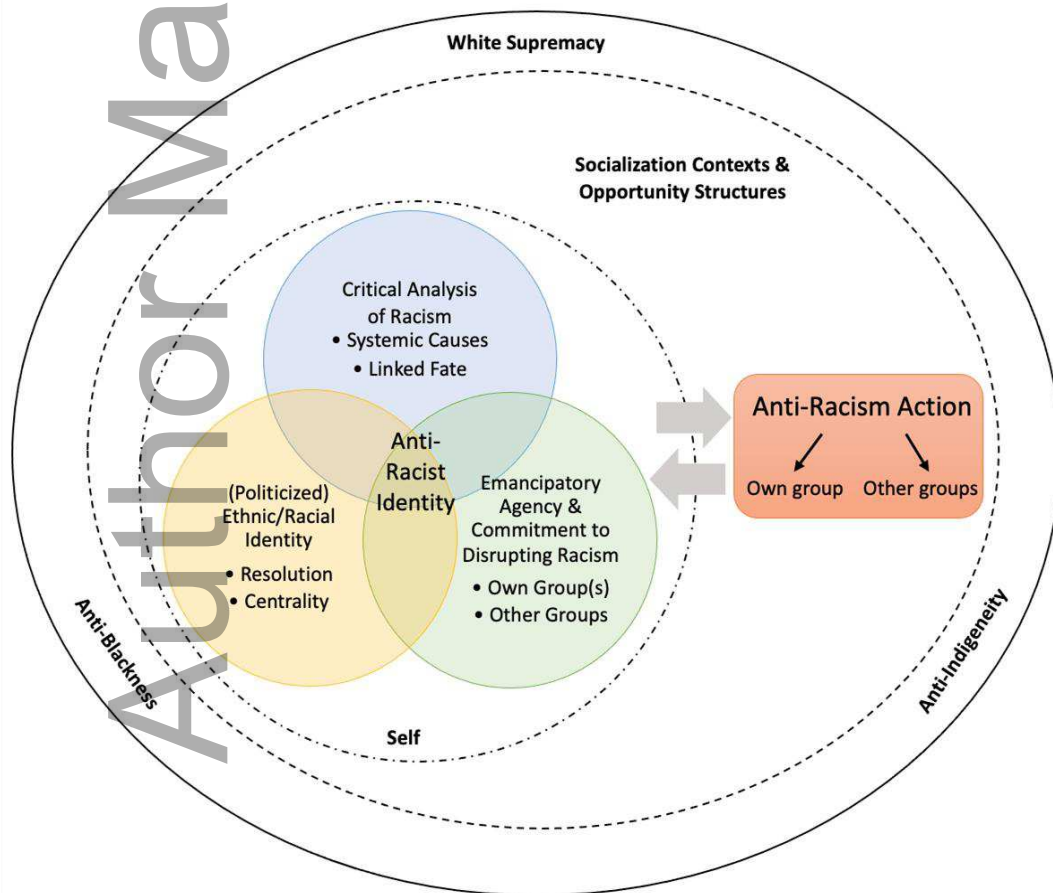college youth. *Youth & Society.* https://doi.org/10.1177/0044118X211021449

Figure 1. Theoretical model for anti-racist identity and action among Latinx youth.