Research, Assessment, and Reviews

The Invisible Intersections of Afro-Latinx Identity: A Look Within

Indiana University's African American and African Diaspora Studies Department

and Latino Studies Program Curricula

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Afro-Latinx is a complex identity with layered components of racial and ethnic significance. This paper focuses on the impact Indiana University's Latino Studies program and African American and African Diaspora Studies department introductory course curricula has on student awareness and understanding about Afro-, Latinx, and the intersectionality of these racial and ethnic identities. We present recommendations for utilizing culturally relevant pedagogies and integrating Afro-Latinx identity into curriculum.

As a microcosm of society at large, higher education spaces tend to mimic the climate of the nation. In the U.S. today, race relations remain an unsolved problem as marginalized racial and ethnic groups continue to struggle for an equitable society ("Race and Ethnicity", n.d.). A significant factor that contributes to this struggle is the rigidity of racial descriptors and labels, and how they are used to produce narrow onesize-fits-all understandings of our growing, diverse population. As such, particular groups with marginalized identities that do not fit neatly into these narrow descriptors are left invisible with unique struggles of their own (Jameson, 2007).

This research project is approached through a critical lens with racial binaries and its rigidity in mind, specifically in relation to Afro-Latinx populations. The term "Afro-Latinx" socializes one to think of 'Afro' and 'Latinx' as distinct entities and mutually exclusive to one another; one is either Black or Latinx, not able to sit comfortably in both categories (Latorre, 2012). Utilizing a working knowledge of the ways in which Afro-Latinx populations are

forgotten and/or silenced societally, we examine how the invisibility of this population on a national scale is reproduced in a local higher education environment. Our study is designed to explore Indiana University's African-American and African Diaspora Studies (AAADS) department and Latino Studies program to better understand the ways that Afro-Latinx identities are represented and incorporated into these programs' ethnic studies curricula. Our hope as researchers is to: (1) understand how the local curricular contexts of Indiana University's AAADS and Latino Studies programs approach the incorporation of Afro-Latinx identities into curriculum; (2) highlight findings that support, and add to, existing scholarship that reinforces the need for more inclusive and intersectional curricula surrounding Black and Latinx identities; and (3) bring Afro-Latinx voices to the forefront as a primary method for increasing visibility in higher education spaces and society at large, using counterstorytelling and collaborations as practical tools for change.

Our research team uses qualitative methodological approaches to capture student experiences and teaching personnel perspectives in reflections of curricular settings. *Critical Race Theory*, created by Derrick Bell in the 1970s, and *Intersectionality*, coined by Kimberle Crenshaw in 1989, are presented as foundational theoretical frameworks that ground this research and expose the complexities of addressing Black, Latinx, and Afro-Latinx identities. These theoretical models are paired with Samuel Museus' (2014) Culturally Engaging Campus Environments model as a comparative framework to drive our inquiry and support the need for Afro-Latinx narratives in AAADS and Latino Studies curriculum.

Blackness/Black	Refers to the African Diaspora
Latinidad/Latinx	Refers to Latinx Diaspora
Afro-Latinx	Refers to the intersection of Black & Latinx identities
Intersectionality	Refers to the overlapping of oppressed social identities in juxtaposition to systems of power
Critical Race Theory	Refers to the centering of race and racial oppression that is embedded in society
Culturally Engaging Campus Environments	Refers to the theoretical framework connecting positive environmental factors to student success for diverse populations

Terminology

Literature Review

In this review of literature, we begin by first dissecting the layered components of Blackness, Latinidad, and Afro-Latinx identities. Both Black and Latinx identities play important roles in understanding the racial, ethnic, and cultural implications of Afro-Latinx identity. Afro-Latinx, as an inclusive term and identity, aims to bridge a gap that has long existed between the two racialized groups. We then explore the significance of Afro-Latinx identities in a higher education context in relation to the foci of AAADS and Latino Studies curricula.

Globalization and transnationalism have contributed to a demographic shift in

the U.S. that has increased racial and ethnic diversity societally, but also within communities of color. However, communities have historically been structurally racialized, which has resulted in the creation of monolithic narratives surrounding what race and ethnicity meanin this case, Black and Latinx (Román & Flores, 2010). In general, there are a variety of identifiers that individuals and communities elect to use that describe their ethnic makeup and background. The process of searching for a name to elucidate one's ethnic origin continues to evolve overtime; it is developmental and seeks to affirm cultural upbringing and experiences (Comas-Díaz, 2001).

Latinx Identity

The term *Hispanic* was officially created by the United States Bureau of the Census to designate people of Spanish origin with cultural ties to Spain (Lopez & Gonzalez-Barrera, 2016). The multiple dimensions of Hispanic identity reflect the long colonial history of Latin America, during which racial mixing between white Europeans, indigenous Americans, and slaves from Africa and Asia occurred (Lopez & Gonzalez-Barrera, 2016). Today, many communities have preferred to remove the European connotation and affirm their native identity by using the term *Latinx*, which includes people with heritage connected to Latin America. Additional terms Latinx communities from distinct geographical regions utilize as personal identifiers include Boricua, Chicano/a, Caribeño/a, and LatiNegro/a (Comas-Díaz, 2001).

The ways Latinx and Hispanic individuals perceive and utilize terminology to describe their identity is rooted in their common experiences in relation to other groups of people and racial histories of the U.S. Commonly, Latinx communities are considered to exist as a homogenous group, which unfortunately does not represent their unique ethnic experiences (Comas-Díaz. 2001). Ultimately, terms such as Latinx, Chicano/a. Boricua. and Caribeño/a are used to revitalize identities and empower communities to create, change, and choose identifiers that affirm their cultural and ethnic backgrounds based on country of origin. The power to name identity for one's self gives ownership back to the individual community, rejects colonial history, and challenges identity imperialism (Comas-Díaz, 2001). This history is important to acknowledge in order to understand Afro-Latinx as an ethno-racial identity that transgresses boundaries placed upon social identity markers.

Black Identity

It is difficult to formulate an unproblematic transnational configuration of Blackness (Román & Flores, 2010). The modern African diaspora consists of millions of people of African descent across the world who are, as described by Palmer (1998):

> united by a past based significantly, but not exclusively upon racial oppression and the struggles against it and who, despite the cultural variations and political and other divisions among them, share an emotional bond with one another and with their ancestral continent; and who also, regardless of their location, face broadly similar problems in constructing and realizing themselves (para. 11).

This conceptualization recognizes people who left Africa and their ethnic group, coerced or otherwise, bringing their cultures, ideas, and worldviews with them. In this regard, the experiences of diverse peoples of the modern diaspora are not homogenous, and these communities exist as simultaneously similar and different (Palmer, 1998). Issues in understanding the diaspora must be realized as complex as experiences differ across societies based on context of majority or minority status, alongside other factors. In the U.S., the growing presence of populations from the African-diaspora reminds us of the diversity within the Black community and ways that a diverse Black experience exists (Pierre, 2002).

Afro-Latinx Identity

With this brief overview of how Black and Latinx identities are conceptualized, we approach the concept of Afro-Latinx as an intersectional term and identity that more accurately represents the multifaceted experiences of many communities within the Black and Latinx diasporas. Afro- describes someone from the African Diaspora and refers to the transnational history that slavery produced (Latorre, 2012). We use the term here to assist in examining the diversity that exists amongst Black populations. Latinx, as mentioned prior, is a gender-neutral term that affirms native identity and includes people with Latin-American heritage (Patterson, 2017). Afro-Latinx, the intersection of the two, describes people within and outside of the U.S. with African descent originating from Mexico, Central America, South America, and the Spanishspeaking Caribbean (Lopez & Gonzalez-Barrera, 2016).

Afro-Latinx identity is constantly in question by non-Black Latinx folks who share linguistic familiarities but still regard Black Latinos as ethnic outsiders, largely due to differential phenotype and "Black appearance" (Rodriguez, 2014). Within Black, Latinx, and white communities, there is a common prejudicial cycle that perpetuates unfounded assumptions about Afro-Latinx individuals and their livelihoods, contributing to an othering of their racialized experiences in both Black and Latinx community contexts (Hernández. 2003). As a result, many individuals who identify as Afro-Latinx struggle to exist within this Afro- and Latinx binary and they are unable to belong or identify wholly with either identity without needing to abandon or compromise the hybridity that they characterize (Rodriguez, 2014).

Afro-Latinx Narratives in Academic Spaces

The cyclical othering of Afro-Latinx populations in society is inevitably reproduced in academic environments. However, diverse populations of Afrodescendent students have begun to

complicate discourse and bring forth questions about Black identity, what it means, and who gets encompassed in the term (Garcia, 2015). In the context of institutional environments that hold themselves responsible for educating students about Black and Latinx histories and experiences, the incorporation of an intersectional approach is critical to framing holistic narratives in learning. Curricular representation and diversity can create counter-stories that play a significant role in transforming the narrative surrounding Black and Latinx identities. Stark and Lattuca (1997) conclude that within its very definition, an institution's curriculum functions to communicate a college's or program's mission, or collective expression of what is important for students to learn (as cited in Mayhew, Grunwald, & Dey, 2005). One measurement of an institution's commitment to diversity is measured by its willingness to integrate diverse racial and ethnic perspectives into curriculum (Mayhew et al., 2005).

At IU, AAADS describes their community as "a vibrant community of scholars and students who examine the historical and contemporary experiences of people of African descent in the U.S. and throughout the world. Our interdisciplinary degree programs allow you to study a breadth of topics through the lens of Black experience and race" ("Department", n.d.). Similarly, Latino Studies describes their mission as, "[empowering] individuals with skills and concepts to better understand Latino communities: to advance innovative research and scholarship on Latino cultures, histories, and social conditions..." ("Latino Studies", n.d.). Both are tasked with driving intellectual discourse surrounding minoritized racial and ethnic groups, specifically those of Black and Latinx backgrounds.

These academic spaces play a large role in framing student development and understanding of social identities. A University of Arizona study found that students who participated in ethnic studies courses in high school had a ten percent higher chance of graduating (Anderson, 2015). Although referencing public high schools, it is logical that this information be relevant to college coursework as well. Ebony Elizabeth Thomas from the University of Pennsylvania states, "Ethnic studies is essential because it provides young people access to the full spectrum of human knowledge, not just parts of it" (Anderson, 2015). Inherently, programs such as AAADS and Latino Studies engage students in curricular diversity that deviate from the mainstream university curriculum. However, they should also be challenged to address the diversity that exists within the minoritized communities being studied. In Garcia-Louis' (2017) article, one student shared that they enrolled in a course through the Latin American, Latino, and Puerto Rican Studies department at a small, urban, commuter campus in the northeastern United States in efforts to learn about their Afro-Latinidad identity. They were shocked to discover they only covered Afro-Latinx people in a half page, which seemed incongruent for the student considering the department's specialization on Latino communities and identities (Garcia-Louis, 2017).

This is an example of how inclusion of diverse narratives within Black or Latinx curriculum can be overshadowed. Departments such as these, intentionally focusing on Black and/or Latinx identities, should increase intersectional approaches to raise awareness and representation of not only Afro- or Latinx as distinct and separate identities, but also of Afro-Latinx identities. Such incorporation is integral to conceptualizing how Black and Latinx communities and histories are intertwined in the U.S. and across the world, and how monolithic narratives erase an abundant population of people with similar racialized experiences. The voices and narratives of Afro-Latinx communities illuminate the ways in which they exist at the margins negotiating, redefining, and questioning fixed socially constructed racial norms (Latorre, 2012).

Theoretical Frameworks

While studying and researching Afro-Latinx identity in this context, we would be remiss not to consider the roles that power, race, and racism play in devaluing Afro-Latinx narratives in scholarship. We look to Critical Race Theory (CRT), Intersectionality, and the Culturally Engaging Campus Environments (CECE) model as grounding theoretical frameworks that begin to address such issues. Our main goal in the usage of CRT and Intersectionality is to identify some of the consequences of intersectional erasure of Afro-Latinx identification along with the simultaneous misunderstanding of indigeneity as it relates to Blackness, and Blackness as it relates to Latinx. We use CRT to focus on the distinction between race and ethnicity in order to highlight the complexities of Afro-Latinx identity tied to these aforementioned erasures (Soto Vega and Chávez, 2018). Higher education spaces can play a role in validating and supporting Afro-Latinx narratives by recognizing the intersectional racialized experiences of Afro-Latinx communities as they relate to systems of power and oppression. The CECE model is highlighted as a tool for transforming educational environments.

Critical Race Theory

Critical Race Theory as a theoretical framework is centered around the idea that

racism is "normal, not aberrant, in American society" because it is so enmeshed in the fabric of our social order; it appears both normal and natural to people in this culture (Delgado, 1995, p. xiv, Ladson-Billings, 2010). Central to the underpinnings of this framework is the understanding that racism is embedded in social, political, legal systems, and institutions around which peoples' lives are shaped (Patton & Haynes, 2014). Even in spaces or discourse that challenge the Black and white racial binary, racism is often normalized by silencing particular communities.

Originating from the legal field, Critical Race Theory suggests that racial inequality is not only the result of the legal mistreatment of non-white people, but also a product of the intentional use of the legal system to benefit and privilege white people while simultaneously disempowering people of color (Haywood, 2017). Within education, it is situated as a framework that aims to identify, analyze, and alter oppressive facets of education that sustain the status quo in all educational contexts (Matsuda, Lawrence, Delgado, & Crenshaw, 1993). The status quo that we challenge in this research is the monolithic narrative commonly presented in curriculum surrounding Black and Latinx identities.

Intersectionality

Intersectionality, a term coined by Kimberle Crenshaw (1989), builds upon our usage of CRT. Intersectionality describes the interlocking oppressions that marginalized people experience juxtaposed with those holding privileged identities or those in power. Since identity, oppression, and privilege are not isolated concepts, intersectionality is used to describe the real, complex, and often disputed meanings in people's lives (Crenshaw, 1989). Hulko (2009) frames intersectionality as research and writings about interlocking oppressions, which often require a blurring of any remaining lines of distinction between the personal and the professional because identity, oppression, and privilege are not sole abstract concepts.

As a continually evolving theory, intersectionality has been mobilized to engage a widening range of experiences and structures of power, therefore becoming accessible to different educational contexts (Carbado, Crenshaw, Mays, & Tomlinson, 2013). Knowledge about the ways that multiple social identities intersect with one another in relation to power and privilege serve to create a more comprehensive understanding of how they may be experienced by Afro-Latinx communities. In spaces designed for Black and Latinx discourse, intersectionality creates a medium to examine intersectional racialized experiences and consequences in their erasure. Both Black and Latinx discourse can benefit from incorporating holistic representations that recognize Afro-Latinx communities, normalize their existence, and consider their narratives to be meaningful contributions to Black and Latinx history and epistemology. Without the inclusion of Afro-Latinx narratives these identities are erased, contributing to a narrowly presented discourse that does not account for vast native, cultural, and linguistic differences.

Culturally Engaging Campus Environments (CECE) Model

We utilize Museus' (2014) Culturally Engaging Campus Environments (CECE) model as a foundation for applying Intersectionality and CRT in practice as well as to develop critical questions that frame our methodological approach. CECE posits that a variety of external influences shape student success and suggests that the degree to which culturally engaging campus environments exist, are fostered, and maintained is positively associated with individual student success, sense of belonging, and persistence to graduation (Museus, 2014). The model identifies nine indicators that engage students' racially or diverse cultural backgrounds and identities, reflect their diverse needs, and facilitate their success. Of these nine, we identified three indicators that directly relate to our research inquiry: proactive philosophies. humanized educational environments, and opportunities for cross-cultural engagement (Museus, 2014). These indicators framed our approach to identify the ways Afro-Latinx identity is incorporated into AAADS and Latino Studies introductory course curricula and guided the development of a survey of student experiences [Appendix A], interview questions [Appendix B], and analysis of introductory course syllabi.

Proactive Philosophies.

The CECE model suggests that the existence of *proactive philosophies* in campus environments are associated with the likelihood of success (Museus, 2014). This indicator is understood to reflect the behavior of institutional agents who, "go above and beyond making information, opportunities, and support available to ensuring that students have knowledge and take advantage of that information. opportunities, and support" (Museus, Yi, & Saelua, 2017, p. 193). Rather than placing emphasis on the importance for Afro-Latinx narratives if Afro-Latinx students are physically present in the classroom, this indicator presents an opportunity to consider how educational spaces can be proactive. We question how Afro-Latinx identities are proactively incorporated into AAADS and Latino Studies course curricula and consider this indicator a key strategy in creating an environment to examining and studying Black and Latinx identities from an intersectional and holistic lens.

Humanized Educational Environments.

Humanized educational environments refers to spaces in which institutional agents (e.g. faculty and staff) are committed to, care about, and develop meaningful relationships with students (Museus et al., 2017). The culture of such environments are characterized by the belief in "humanizing the educational experience", where educational aspects of the curriculum go beyond what is taught in class and intentional interactions add a humanized environment to the classroom where students can feel included, be heard, and are understood (Museus, 2014).

In relation to our focus of inquiry, we shift the significance of this indicator to consider how humanized educational environments are created through curriculum choices. If Afro-Latinx identities are not incorporated into curriculum that studies Black and Latinx identities, these identities are then presented as monolithic narratives-diminishing and erasing the existence of large populations who, as mentioned prior, are racialized in unique and intersectional ways. If presented as distinct identities that do not coexist, this discourse perpetuates the Black and white racial binary and misrepresents the realities of many Black and Latinx communities. The question that arises from this indicator then becomes: How are AAADS and Latino Studies teaching personnel diversifying and humanizing the narrative surrounding Black and Latinx identities? And are they using Afro-Latinx narratives to do so?

Opportunities for Cross-cultural Engagement.

Opportunities for cross-cultural engagement suggests that opportunities for students to engage in positive and purposeful interactions with peers from diverse backgrounds can have a positive impact on college experiences and success (Museus, 2014). Such experiences include programs and practices that facilitate educationally meaningful cross-cultural interactions. We approach this indicator with the intent to challenge the dominant perspective that cross-cultural interactions can only exist amongst people of different cultural backgrounds (e.g. nationalities and racial groups). Instead, we question how cross-cultural engagement can manifest within a specified racial or ethnic group and center the importance of cross-cultural engagement within similarly identifying populations.

CRT, Intersectionality, and CECE, create a frame of reference to address the complexity of Afro-Latinx identities and uncover how power and privilege in society influences our understanding—or lack thereof—of Afro-Latinx identity. Using these critical theories and scholarship alongside findings from our research, we call for more inclusive and intersectional curricula that incorporates Afro-Latinx identities in the study of Black and Latinx populations. In our local environment, we consider AAADS and Latino Studies as sites for this change.

Research Methods

The following section will explore the research methods utilized in this study.

Positionality

As a collective, we personally connect with the racial and ethnic social identities centered in this project. As people of color, we hold Mexican-American, Peruvian, Jamaican, and Black and White Biracial identities, identifying as a group of two Latinx individuals and two Black individuals, respectively. Our perspectives align with the need for higher education spaces to include highly marginalized and invisible populations, and we seek to explore the ways Afro-Latinx identities are represented and portrayed beyond student numbers and physical presence in the classroom. We question who should take on the responsibility of incorporating racialized intersectionality in curriculum, while doing so in transformative and inclusive ways that acknowledge the nuances of the Black, Latinx, and Afro-Latinx identities.

Data Collection

Our research utilizes qualitative research methods to interrogate and determine the ways Afro-Latinx intersectional experiences are incorporated within AAADS and Latino Studies curricula at IU. Oualitative research, a common research method, is concerned with naturalistic, context-specific inquiry, requiring interpretations and meaning to emerge from the field, as opposed to the researchers' own prior understandings (Bogdan & Biklen, 2006; Merriam, 2002). The term *qualitative* refers to qualities and meanings of a person, process, or setting that are not easily measured (Schuh, Biddix, Dean, & Kinzie, 2016). Merriam (2002) references qualitative research as a tool for uncovering nuanced experiences and focusing on how individuals construct meaning. In this study, qualitative methods compel us as researchers to assess phenomena from the perspective of those who experience it (e.g. students in the classroom and teaching personnel). Our sample included teaching personnel in AAADS and the Latino Studies program, and students who have taken introductory courses in AAADS or Latino Studies.

Our research methods employ critical social theory, a framework with the implicit goal of advancing the emancipatory function of knowledge, to critique and change institutional and intellectual norms, rather than just observing, understanding or explaining it (Leonardo, 2004). Our study utilized two primary research methods: surveys and interviews. The instruments used were intentionally constructed with the CECE indicators identified previously in mind — proactive philosophies, humanized educational environments, and opportunities for meaningful cross-cultural engagement. We also collected all of the identified course syllabi to analyze the themes and materials planned and used in the curriculum. We sought to create an opportunity for exchange between AAADS and the Latino Studies program that can inspire transformative practices and further evaluation for curricular approaches.

Survey instrument.

An online survey, shown in Appendix A, was distributed through a listserv to undergraduate students by the Directors of AAADS and Latino Studies. The survey was promoted in undergraduate social media groups by the researchers themselves. The online survey aimed to collect student experiences associated with their coursework that related to the inclusion of Afro-Latinx identities in curriculum and classroom dialogues. To participate in the survey, the first question asked that students confirm that they have previously taken an introductory AAADS or Latino Studies course(s) identified in our study. These courses are summarized in Table 1 below.

Table 1

Introductory S	wllahi from	African America	n and African	Diasnora	Studios and	Latino Studia	C.
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AAADS Courses	
A150: Survey of Culture of Black Americans	
A154: History of Race in the Americas	
A156: Black Liberation Struggles Against Jim Crow and South African Apartheid	
Latino Studies Courses	
L101: Introduction to Latino Studies	
L102: Introduction to Latino/a History	
L103: Introduction to Latino Cultures	
L220: Introduction to Latina/o Literature and Culture	
L396: Blacks, Latinos, and Afro-Latinos: Constructing Difference and Identity	

Respondents were then asked to identify specifically which course(s) they took and answer questions in relation to their experience in that class. The information collected consisted of two openended questions and three likert scale questions. In our survey, respondents were asked to respond to three prompts with answers on the scale of: 'Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree or Strongly Disagree'. These three prompts shown in Table 2 below. Table 2

Survey Prompts

Latinidad identities.

AAADS Courses		
The classes I selected above helped me learn about Blackness/Black identities.		
The classes I selected above helped me learn about intersectionality.		
The classes I selected above helped me learn about Afro-Latino / Afro-Latinx / Afro-Latinidad identities.		
Latino Studies Courses		
The classes I selected above helped me learn about Latino/Latinx identities.		
The chasses I selected above helped hie fourn about Eathir, Eathir Rechtlies.		
The classes I selected above helped me learn about intersectionality.		

Open-ended questions followed the likert scale section, asking respondents to share their primary takeaways from the course(s) they selected, and if applicable, to share examples of how the course(s) helped them learn about Afro-Latinx identity specifically. The statements sought to gauge student perception on the impact of these courses in increasing their understanding of three general concepts: Intersectionality, Blackness/Latinidad, and Afro-Latinx identity.

In the final section of the survey, respondents were asked to share some demographic information including classification, major, race, and ethnicity. After submission, respondents were given the contact information of the researchers to designate, if desired, their interest in participating in an in-person, one-on-one interview. Providing respondents with the research team's contact information and requesting their follow-up ensured the anonymity of survey responses. The inperson interview with students was intended to provide the opportunity to retrieve a more personalized account of the students' experience in the classroom, however no student interviews were conducted during this study.

Interview instrument.

Interviews were conducted with teaching personnel as a qualitative technique to gain a deeper understanding of the meaning that they make of their unique lived experiences. In an open-ended format, these interviews gave space for narratives, personal reflections, and suggestions for the future. According to Gall, Gall, and Borg (2003), open-ended questions during an interview "reduce biases within a study, particularly when the interviewing process involves many participants, since researchers have to reflect and code the information that is shared by interviewees" (as cited in Turner III, 2010, p. 222). As researchers, we determined that it was important to give space for interviewees to contribute as much detailed information as they desire, and to allow us as researchers to ask probing questions as a means of followup (Turner III, 2010).

Our constructed interview questions, shown in Appendix B, consisted of openended questions that collected information about the interviewee's position, teaching background, opinions on Afro-Latinx identity, and reflections on the incorporation of Afro-Latinx identities in curriculum. The sample included AAADS and Latino Studies teaching personnel (faculty and graduate students) who have taught the introductory courses mentioned prior. These interviews were designed for 30-minute intervals and conducted over the phone or in person on campus.

Results

We chose first-order interpretation strategies to retrieve information directly

from one of the sources (teaching personnel), rather than solely relying on what was presented in course syllabi and our interpretation of what was presented in the classroom. Overall, our data collection consisted of 19 undergraduate survey responses, four interviews with teaching personnel in AAADS and Latino Studies, and an analysis of seven course syllabi. The results generated from our inquiry are presented in charts and divided into four main themes.

On the online survey, respondents could optionally self-identify their race and ethnicity. As shown in Figure 1, the majority of respondents racially identified as Black and ethnically identified as African American. However, respondents also selfidentified as white, multiracial, Latinx, Caribbean, and other.

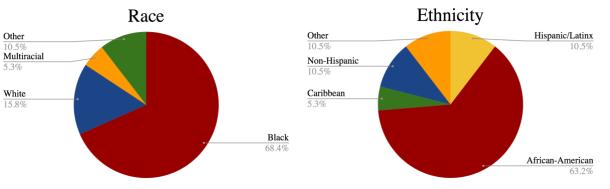


Figure 1: Self-identification of race and ethnicity in survey

As shown in Figure 2, in response to the likert survey question asking whether respondents learned about specific identities, 83.3% of respondents strongly agreed that they learned about Blackness or Latinidad within AAADS and Latino Studies courses. 8.3% of respondents agreed with the

statement and 8.3% strongly disagreed. In response to the likert survey question asking whether respondents learned about intersectionality, 50% of respondents selected neutral, 33.3% strongly agreed, and 16.7% agreed.

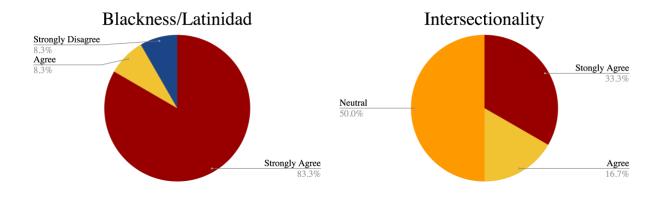


Figure 2: Likert scale responses for learning about specific identities

As shown in Figure 3, the final likert scale question asked respondents to identify how much they learned about Afro-Latinx identity specifically. 50% of respondents strongly disagreed, 16.7% disagreed, and 33% selected neutral. In total, approximately 66% of students disagreed that they learned about Afro-Latinx identities in their introductory AAADS and Latino Studies courses.



Afro-Latinx Identity

Figure 3: Likert scale response for learning about Afro-Latinx identity

In response to the open-ended question requesting examples of Afro-Latinx identity incorporation into curriculum, one respondent answered, "Although it was covered some, it was not expressed explicitly or strongly that I remember. I learned more about Afro-Latinx identity in the Chicano and Puerto Rican literature course taken through the Spanish & Portuguese department." Another respondent shared, "We talked a little about Brazil and Jamaica and made some comparisons to the U.S.".

Teaching personnel interview results and course syllabi.

Interviews conducted with teaching personnel ranged from 25 - 60 minutes and were transcribed using identifiers 'Interviewee A-D'. All interviewees were teaching personnel in AAADS or the Latino Studies program and identified as either Black or Latinx. Most interviewees shared introductory course syllabi with us for their courses they had taught semesters prior, and we used information from seven syllabi in addition to interview data.

The syllabi provided an overview of the topics covered in class, literature used, and overlapping themes. Between the interviews and course syllabi, explicit themes identified from the AAADS courses were: African-American history and culture, construction of Black identity, the African diaspora, critical race theory, the racial binary, slavery, education, gender, class, justice, spirituality, social movements, #BlackLivesMatter, privilege, mestizaje, and Afro-Latinx populations in Brazil. Through a critical lens, teaching personnel focused on providing students the tools to understand how racialized identities are congruent with the ways power and privilege manifest in society.

In the Latino Studies program, between the interviews and course syllabi, the explicit themes identified were: Latino cultural studies, Latinidad, ethnicity, language, nationality, citizenship, gender, class, negotiations of identity, sexuality, violence, sports, music, politics, colonialism, mestizaie, and Afro-Latinos in Cuba, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Brazil, and the U.S. Teaching personnel for these courses focused on defining labels within Latinx culture and conceptualizing diversity within the Latinx community. Instructors utilized film, literature, art, and folklore to help students learn about Latinx culture, while centering the historical context of Latinx communities in the United States.

Both AAADS and Latino Studies shed light on and addressed Blackness and Latinidad in diverse ways, through the primary lens of history and culture. There were multiple overlapping topic areas and vast coverage of these identities in relation to the United States and other countries. The student survey responses reflected these topics and themes found in the syllabi, and the interviews connected personal narratives to these curricular approaches.

Themes Generated from Data

The implications from this project result from data collected from survey responses, interviews, syllabi analyses, and the literature review, which were then divided into four main themes. The themes are labeled: complexity of labels and visuality, language and culture, intersectionality, and responsibility. As researchers, we observed these themes to be present in interviews through the ways teaching personnel conceptualized Afro-Latinx identity and made space for discourse. The survey responses also supported these themes and affirmed the complex, yet necessary task of centering Afro-Latinx identity in curriculum.

Complexity of labels and visuality.

Throughout the interviews conducted, the question of how these interviewees conceptualized Afro-Latinx identity was intentionally included to ensure our team gained full comprehension of their own understandings and descriptions of the identity. This gave us a sense of how they might approach educating their students around the topic. What we found was a recurring sentiment amongst all—Afro-Latinx identity is complicated.

Within a U.S. context, Afro-Latinx identity tends to be seen solely as a combination of a racial and ethnic identity a combination that constricts the population to the confines of their phenotypical Blackness due to societal constructions of race. Despite the labeling of Afro-Latinx as an identity, many are still visualized as solely Black—a racial label that has been negatively socialized. One interviewee asked, "...why would you identify with your African [Black] component? There are ways that history, culture, how Blackness has been talked about, or perceived or understood...even in Latinx communities, that also makes Blackness not necessarily something to be visible about."

Interviewees raised the concern that a surface-level perception of racial identity tied to the Western construction and manifestation of race in the U.S. creates a scenario where Blackness, and all racially and ethnically associated identities, is understood largely by its visuality. One interviewee highlighted this in their statement, "...the thing with race is that so much of it is based on sight and aesthetic"an unfortunate reality that positions Afro-Latinx identities as 'other' when faced with the racial binary, which in turn creates erasure and misunderstanding of Afro-Latinx lived experiences. Another interviewee stated, "You cannot ignore two parts of your identity that are equally important." These quotes speak to the importance and impacts of the ways in which Afro-Latinx populations are seen visually. Yet, they remain invisible in a Black-white racial binary that leaves no room to exist as both Black and Latinx-a direct relation to the implications of CRT and the power tied to identity labels.

Interviewees also shared their concerns surrounding students, who commonly perceive this intersecting identity as two separate and mutually exclusive pieces [Black or Latinx]. In efforts to reframe student perceptions, some interviewees acknowledged incorporating both Black and Latinx identities into their syllabi and assigning readings to account for a more representative and holistic narrative. One faculty member in AAADS stated. "You cannot properly attend to the concept of the African diaspora if you're not including Latinx spaces, particularly those that have populations of Afro-Latinx folks." This perspective is important for those in teaching roles who can work to dismantle

the misconstrued understanding of Afro-Latinx identities by parsing through these terminologies, discussing the impacts of labels, acknowledging the complexity behind Afro-Latinx identity, and encouraging students to understand the history and diversity that exists within the population through an intersectional lens.

Language and culture.

Two key concepts tied to Afro-Latinx identity were mentioned in each interview with teaching personnel language and culture. One interviewee commented, "Language is extremely important in Latinx communities. Whether that's Spanish, Portuguese, or something else... it's what binds a community together." Here, language is perceived as an important aspect of Latinx identity, which in turn can be applied to the values Latinx students bring with them to academic spaces. The importance is not necessarily based on students' ability to speak the language, but rather a shared history that is commonly brought through the language and culture associated with Latinidad. Language itself varies across the Latinx community, but the essence of it still contributes to a cohesive community environment. Consequently, language is a substantial binding component that brings Latinx communities together, validating the experiences that Latinx individuals haveand this is just as relevant to the Afro-Latinx community. In respect to culture, interviewees mentioned an all-encompassing definition including language, but also "religion, food, social practices, family practices, family and kin linkage or connections...music, dance" and beliefs, traditions, and other lived experiences unique to the population. Culture seemed to transcend beyond race and play a significant role in the understanding of identity. particularly in the case of Afro-Latinx populations.

Interviewees in both AAADS and Latino Studies seemed to grapple with different aspects of Black and Latinx identity in small ways but acknowledged the incompleteness of the approaches that have been taken. All interviewees identified that curricular inclusion could be better with the incorporation of Afro-Latinx identities, not only in AAADS and Latino Studies, but everywhere. In multiple interviews, interviewees shared that a few of their materials incorporated Afro-Latinx identities, however, it was more likely to arise in discussion when particular students thought it was relevant. One interviewee revealed that there is a current search for an Afro-Latinx scholar to be appointed in a joint position with AAADS and Latino Studies, the search stemming from an acknowledgement that, "we do not have someone doing issues on Afro-Latinx identity." They identified a faculty member in American Studies and Latino Studies doing comparative work across Latinos and Blacks, but stated, "that's not the same, so we recognize our weakness is that intersection." Overall, there seemed to be an agreement that more needs to be done.

Intersectionality.

When exploring the intersection of Afro-Latinx identity, most understood it as intrinsically complex and a unique blend. One interviewee described the Afro-Latinx identity as "complex like everything else that is Black." The ways in which racial binaries exist in the United States leaves little room for intersectional understanding in relation to culture and difference within racial groups. One interviewee suggested that the invisibility of Afro-Latinx identities in the United States is due to the erasure of Black histories across the world, as well as a lack of understanding of national history in relation to minoritized populations. With a lack of knowledge and recognition pertaining to the transnational experiences

of Afro-Latinx populations, it is unlikely that many will understand the intersectional possibilities of being *both* Afro- and Latinx.

Collectively, both AAADS and Latino Studies voiced that intersectionality is a foundational theoretical framework that should be included in their respective curricula, particularly in introductory classes, in order to introduce students to the term and the ways in which it manifests in different contexts. This seemed to be closely tied to the interviewee's research interest or salient identities. Some examples of how interviewees introduced intersectionality in their own courses were through the intersections of race, ethnicity, class, and gender, but the way intersectionality was taught and incorporated depended on the context of the course.

In AAADS courses addressing African-American history, race, or culture, the African diaspora was minimally covered and Afro-Latinx populations and communities were included in very few ways. In Latino Studies courses, intersectionality was discussed, but gender seemed to be the primary avenue in which intersectionality was explicitly brought to the forefront. Overall, Afro-Latinx inclusion was more prevalent in the Latino Studies curricula, which may represent an environment where bringing this population to the forefront seemed to be more normalized. One interviewee, who intentionally crafts curriculum surrounding Afro-Latinx identities shared, "...what I try to show is a lot of the overlap of the experiences of Blacks and Latinos historically, even at a time when there was no such term as Afro-Latinx...and I try to show that there has been a very long history." The introduction of intersectionality as a concept in this case was primarily done through literature, with some media and arts sources such as documentary and poetry.

The advantages of incorporating intersectionality through literature include the ease of adapting an already established curriculum, but the research team posits that it must be simultaneously introduced alongside other components, such as cultural artifacts or pop culture, to connect with students' lived experiences and "the real world". Incorporating intersectionality in other ways besides literature, including classroom activities and discussions, may provide useful contexts and better opportunities to connect with the materials for students who may have a hard time grappling with its complex nature. If we begin to understand intersectionality as a concept that is complex, but not complicated, we can undo the workings of over-complicating the intersection of race and ethnicity. Students can learn about Afroidentities and Latinx identities while simultaneously learning about how they coexist. By problematizing the current narrative surrounding race and ethnicity, the nuanced experiences of the African and Latinx diasporas can begin to be acknowledged. There must be an emphasis on considering the "both-and" of Black and Latinx identities, and for it to be a responsibility of AAADS. Latino Studies. and other disciplines in higher education.

Responsibility.

In interviews, our research team questioned, "Who is responsible for the inclusion of Afro-Latinx identity in curriculum?" Interviewees from both AAADS and Latino Studies mutually agreed that at the very minimum they should be, and are responsible for, incorporating the intersectional narratives of Afro-Latinx populations in curriculum. One interviewee from AAADS, however, felt that Afro-Latinx identity should be included everywhere, stating, "It's like where do we include anything right? Where do we find places to diversify the curriculum is a question that we often talk about as colleagues when we're co-teaching something or doing something else together." If each department considers it their responsibility to incorporate Afro-Latinx identities in both Black and Latinx scholarship, materials, and discussion, the erasure of this population on both sides is reduced. Students can then gain a wider appreciation for the diaspora and begin to also recognize the shared histories that both AAADS and Latino Studies have, creating more cross-cultural understandings within Black and Latino studies.

Interviewees also identified other partners on campus that should be responsible and involved in this work, such as Latin American Studies and the Center for Latin and Caribbean Studies (CLACS). However, one interviewee acknowledged that this is complicated by the fact that there is no one consensus of how Latinx is defined. The interviewee shared that in a recent application reviewal process for the new dual-hire, some committee members highlighted Afro-Brazilian scholars for selection, but to the interviewee:

> ...that's not Latino studies. If they're doing field work in Brazil, studying Afro-Brazilian communities, that's CLACS, or Latin American studies. Now, if they note in their scholarship that they're also interested in the transnational networks in the U.S., then to me—that would focus on the U.S. experience—but if a scholar doesn't note and they're simply engaged with Afro-Brazilian populations for example, then to me, that is Latin American studies, not Latino studies.

This quote elucidates the complex nature of assigning "responsibility" to specific programs and departments. The question that persists becomes, "Do we want our own discipline or do we want to be infused in all of them because these students are everywhere?" (Interviewee B, personal communication, November 14, 2018). Our research team stands with the opinion that regardless of where students are, the responsibility should be shared. It is difficult to deconstruct dominant narratives surrounding racial and ethnic identities if it is only ascribed to be the responsibility of one specific entity.

Discussion

At the culmination of the data collected, literature reviewed, and themes identified, the research team determined practical recommendations for transforming curriculum in the AAADS department and Latino Studies program to better incorporate Afro-Latinx identities in meaningful ways. Our primary recommendation centers on counter-storytelling, an effective and meaningful method of creating a positive culture surrounding silenced histories (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). Counterstorytelling is a tool for exposing, analyzing, and challenging the majoritarian stories of racial privilege, and can be utilized in curricular contexts to shape opportunities that are proactive, humanized, and crosscultural (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). Additionally, we highlight how examples in pop culture and media can serve as counterstorytelling methods, providing relational and engaging avenues to help students to understand Afro-Latinx identities through non-dominant narratives about race and ethnicity. Lastly, we call upon both the AAADS department and the Latino Studies program to facilitate opportunities for crosscollaboration between the disciplines to better incorporate Afro-Latinx identities within their discourse and curricula.

Why Counter-storytelling?

Counter-storytelling is supported by CRT as it departs from mainstream scholarship to "analyze the myths, presuppositions, and received wisdoms that make up the common culture about race" (Delgado, 1995, p. xiv). According to Barnes (1990), critical race theorists integrate their experiential knowledge, drawn from a shared history being labeled as 'other', with their ongoing struggles in efforts to transform a world deteriorating under racial hegemony. It is crucial for our research team to recommend a framework that counteracts normative methods that dismiss or decenter racism, and those whose lives are daily affected by it (Martinez, 2014). We choose to call for a mobilization of counter-storytelling that moves beyond Black or Latinx to consider Black and Latinx. We challenge spaces that focus on Black/Latinx narratives to be more inclusive, holistic, and representative, and to create opportunities for counter-stories that frame Blackness and Latinidad not as separate entities, but as identities with shared histories that live and coincide with one another.

At IU. AAADS and Latino Studies are both tasked with driving intellectual discourse surrounding minoritized racial and ethnic groups, but this does not reduce the need for counter-storytelling within those environments as well. In spaces such as these. Afro-Latinx narratives become counter-stories in and of themselves. In practice, intentional inclusion can exist in a multitude of implicit and explicit ways including literature, media, current events, the arts, and personal narratives, generating curriculum that is more adaptable, collaborative, and continuously evolving. As referenced in the analysis of syllabi and from interviewee quotes, this is being done in minute ways but could be more intentional. The example described below provides a simple vet meaningful

engagement opportunity surrounding Afro-Latinx identities and could be applicable to both AAADS and Latino Studies introductory courses.

Pop culture and media.

Students can actively make meaning of the popular culture they view, listen to, read about, and experience (Huddleston, 2003). By proactively using what students are already engaging in beyond academia, the classroom environment becomes more relatable. One interviewee identified using popular culture in their classroom space and chooses to do so "just to get students to realize that the whole world around them has these Afro-Latinx individuals, we just don't know that they are [Afro-Latinx]." In the discourse surrounding Blackness, a great example of pop culture incorporation is through the controversy surrounding Zoe Saldana's role as Nina Simone in Simone's 2016 biopic. Much of the controversy stemmed from anger towards Zoe Saldana as a light-skinned, Afro-Latina portraying a dark-skinned African-American historical figure, needing physical alterations to her skin color and nose to do so for the film.

This sort of popular culture reference would allow for students to engage in their own inquiry and discussion surrounding issues that arose from the controversy, including but not limited to the conversation surrounding who is considered to be Black. This sort of reference is relevant to both AAADS and Latino Studies and provides room for not only relatable content, but also realistic application of issues surrounding race and Afro-Latinx identities. One of our interviewees mentioned using this particular example in the beginning of their course to get students to start thinking about questions such as: "Who do we think is Latino? Who do we think is Black? Could she [Zoe Saldana] be considered to represent a Black person? Why? Why not?" Engaging in conversations such as these creates

opportunities to leave room for exploration and counter what we know, or think we know, in a myriad of formats.

Cross-collaborations

Although counter-storytelling through various mediums provides the foundation upon which we build our recommendations, our research team also recommends increased cross-collaborative opportunities to engage with Afro-Latinx narratives. AAADS and Latino Studies would benefit from creating more crosscollaborative engagement opportunities for students that expand how they perceive Black and Latinx in relation to one another. The lack of cross-collaborative curriculum development perpetuates the existence of a boundary between Black and Latinx identities. Afro-Latinx narratives are a prime example of a unifying theme that is significant to both the study of Black and Latinx identities. Instead of understanding AAADS and Latino Studies as a single map, it is more beneficial for students to see both as a "portfolio of maps" that break down barriers existing between disciplines, and instead encourage exploration of unifying themes (Klein, 1999).

Limitations

As a research team, we acknowledge the limitations of this study from a variety of lenses. In data collection, a more elaborate and lengthy study would have collected more survey and interview material, generated larger numbers of participants, and provided more substantial data to analyze. The limited period of time also resulted in a low number of student interviews conducted. Additionally, we acknowledge that there was a lack of educational scholars at IU focusing on Afro-Latinx identities and scholarship, which reduced our in-person resources and resulted in heavy reliance on online sources that were not specific to our local environment. Our recommendation is that this study be used as a foundational resource to research, collect data, and transform AAADS and Latino Studies at IU, but to also be a resource for other academic programs focused on racial and ethnic groups.

Conclusion

With these recommendations and limitations in mind, our research team acknowledges the need for more research and commitment in understanding how curriculum can be more inclusive of Afro-Latinx identities in practice. Using CRT, Intersectionality, and the CECE model as foundational theoretical frameworks to guide our research, we aimed to center the role of race, racism, and power in relation to Afro-Latinx identities and its incorporation into higher education curriculum. Our team asserts that higher education institutions, and

specific disciplines within them, have a shared responsibility to include Afro-Latinx populations and counter dominant narratives surrounding Black and Latinx populations. To do this, we have promoted the integration of counter-storytelling in curriculum and emphasized the importance of crosscollaborative academic projects. In this paper, we accomplished the goals set out in the introduction: (1) to understand how the local curricular contexts of Indiana University's AAADS and Latino Studies approach the incorporation of Afro-Latinx identities into curriculum; (2) to highlight findings that support, and add to, existing scholarship that reinforces the need for more inclusive and intersectional curricula surrounding Black and Latinx identities; and (3) to bring Afro-Latinx voices to the forefront as a primary method for increasing visibility in higher education spaces and society at large, using counter-storytelling and collaborations as practical tools for change.

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Appendix A

Student Online Survey

The Invisible Intersections of Afro--Latinx Identity: A look within Indiana University's African American and African Diaspora and Latino Studies Department Curricula

You are invited to participate in a research study exploring how Afro--Latinx identity is represented and incorporated into the introductory curriculum of the African American and African Diaspora Studies and Latino Studies departments at IUB, specifically within undergraduate coursework. Eligible students are undergraduate students who have previously taken AAADS or Latino students introductory courses in a semester prior to Fall 2018.

*Indicates a required field for the survey

These courses include:

History of Race in Americas (AAAD--A 154) Survey of the Culture of Black Americans (AAAD--A 150) Introduction to African American and African Diaspora Studies (AAAD--A 201)

Intro to Latino Studies (LATS--L101) Intro to Latino History (LATS--L102) Intro to Latino Literature (LATS--L220)

Taking part in this study is voluntary. You may choose not to take part or may leave the study at any time. The risks of participating in this research is the possibility of sharing personal thoughts about your educational environment. Leaving the study will not result in any penalty or loss of benefits to which you are entitled. Your decision whether or not to participate in this study will not affect your current or future relations with Indiana University Bloomington. This survey is anonymous and does not collect information to be linked to you personally.

For questions about the study, you may contact researcher(s):

Simone Francis - simoneaf@iu.edu Raniesha Wassman - rwassman@iu.edu Alejandro Rios - alegrios@iu.edu Ivette Olave - iolave@iu.edu

We ask that you indicate you have read this information and ask any questions you may have before submitting your responses.

* Required

1. By checking this box, you acknowledge your voluntary participation in this survey and consent to the usage of your survey responses for this study. \ast

Check all that apply.

Yes

SECTION 1: AAADS

The Courses!

This section of the survey collects information about your AAADS and Latino Studies course experience. The section afterwards simply asks for demographic based information.

2. Have you taken introductory courses in the African American and African Diaspora Studies (AAADS) Department? *

History of Race in Americas (AAAD-A 154); Survey of the Culture of Black Americans (AAAD-A 150); Introduction to African American and African Diaspora Studies (AAAD-A 201)

Mark only one oval.

- Yes
- No Skip to question 9.

African American and African Diaspora Studies

3. Which classes have you taken in the AAADS department? *

Check all that apply.

- □ History of Race in Americas (AAAD-A 154)
- □ Survey of the Culture of Black Americans (AAAD-A 150)
- □ Introduction to African American and African Diaspora Studies (AAAD-A 201)

4. What was your greatest takeaway from the classes you selected above? *

Please describe takeaways for each class you selected.

5. The classes I selected above helped me become learn about Blackness/Black identities. * Mark only one oval.



6. The classes I selected above helped me learn about intersectionality. * Mark only one oval.

0 0 0 0 0

7. The classes I selected above helped me learn about Afro-Latino / Afro-Latinx / Afro-Latinidad identities. *

Mark only one oval.



8. If you

agreed to the last statement above, please provide examples of the ways this identity was introduced or covered in your coursework and/or classroom activities.

SECTION II: LATINO STUDIES PROGRAM

The Courses!

This section of the survey collects information about your AAADS and Latino Studies course experience.

The section afterwards simply asks for demographic based information.

9. Have you taken introductory courses in the Latino Studies department? *

Intro to Latino Studies (LATS--L101) Intro to Latino History (LATS--L102) Intro to Latino Literature (LATS--L220) Mark only one oval.

- Yes
- No Skip to question 16.

Latino Studies

10. Which classes have you taken in the Latino Studies Department? *

Check all that apply.

- □ Intro to Latino Studies (LATS--L101)
- □ Intro to Latino History (LATS--L102)
- □ Intro to Latino Literature (LATS--L220)

11. What was your greatest takeaway from the classes you selected above? *

Please describe takeaways for each class you selected.

12. The classes I selected above helped me learn about Latino/Latinx identities. *

Mark only one oval.

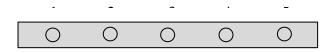


13. The classes I selected above helped me learn about intersectionality. *

Mark only one oval.



14. The classes I selected above helped me learn about Afro-Latino/Afro-Latinx/Afro-Latinidad identities. * Mark only one oval.



15. If you agreed to the last statement above, please provide examples of the ways this identity was introduced or covered in your coursework and/or classroom activities.



SECTION III: DEMOGRAPHICS

16. Year (Classification): *

Mark only one oval.

- First-year
- Second- year
- Third- year
- Fourth- year
- Other:

17. Major: *

- 18. Race:
- **19. Ethnicity:**

Appendix B

Teaching Personnel Interview

Interview questions

- 1. Name:
- 2. Educational Background:
- 3. Department:
- 4. Title:
- 5. Years at IU:
- 6. Years within Department:
- 7. Why did you become faculty in this department?
- 8. Based on your observations, who takes your classes? (Demographics M/W,NB; Race/Ethnicity, etc.)
- 9. What intersectionalities do you address in class or curriculum? How? (*Proactive Philosophies*)
- 10. How do you conceptualize Afro-Latinx identity?
- 11. Based on the work that you do now, is this population represented in academia? If so, how? (*Meaningful Cross-Cultural Engagement*)
- 12. In your opinion, which department(s) should be educating students about Afro-Latinx identities? (*Humanized Educational Environments*)
- 13. Do you incorporate Afro-Latinx identities in your curricula, and if so, in what ways? (*Proactive Philosophies*)
- 14. Do you observe Afro-Latinx identity within pop-culture? How might that influence your mode of teaching in the classroom? (*Humanized Educational Environments*)

Are there other staff/faculty in the department you recommend to interview