

Lorrie Frasure, Janelle Wong, Edward Vargas, and Matt Barreto for including Muslim and MENA Americans in the 2020 CMPS, and for helping us to think through sampling at every stage of the process. We are forever grateful.

#### DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

Research documentation and data that support the findings of this study are openly available at the *PS: Political Science & Politics* Harvard Dataverse at <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/SZBQJN>.

#### CONFLICTS OF INTEREST

The authors declare that there are no ethical issues or conflicts of interest in this research. ■

#### NOTES

1. Although the Pew Research Center has conducted only three surveys of American Muslims to date (i.e., 2007, 2011, and 2017), they are widely recognized as the most comprehensive of their type. This is due primarily to the substantial investment in and strategic approach of gauging Muslim populations by county. See [www.pewresearch.org/religion/2017/07/26/appendix-b-survey-methodology](http://www.pewresearch.org/religion/2017/07/26/appendix-b-survey-methodology).
2. Although the survey was fielded in other languages, only five respondents opted to take it in Arabic and only one chose to take it in Farsi.
3. RRW is a method pioneered originally by political scientists Matt Barreto and Gary Segura in public opinion research on Latino voters. As Barreto et al. (2018) described, RRW uses the official voter file of registered voters, a percentage of which contain email addresses either volunteered or matched through external databases. From these millions of records of email addresses, a random selection is invited to take a survey.

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#### TAKING ACCOUNT OF BLACKNESS AMONG LATINOS: AFRO-LATINO OVERSAMPLE

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DOI:10.1017/S1049096524000611

Measuring the role of racial identity among US Latina/o/x communities is an ongoing challenge for scholars in the social sciences. Several datasets, including the US Census, demonstrate that self-identified Black Latinos are lower on socioeconomic

indicators, homeownership, and poverty levels than the rest of the Latino population (Aja et al. 2019; Holder and Aja 2021; Martinez and Aja 2021; Ortiz and Telles 2012), despite higher high school and college graduation rates (Aja et al. 2019). Darker-skinned Latinos also have been found to experience higher discrimination at the workplace (Espino and Franz 2002). Racial differences among Latinos matter, and these gaps necessitate analysis. How do we measure racial identification among a multiracial population?

The Afro-Latino oversample of the Collaborative Multiracial Post-Election Survey (CMPS) represents an important step in upending the idea that Latinos are part of one "brown" category. It recognizes that they are racially diverse and must be studied with the same attention to race and racialization as other US racial and ethnic groups. Within the country's racial hierarchy, Latinos do not occupy one space but instead fit according to a person's race and skin color. Analyzing Latinos as brown—or what I term the "browning effect"—homogenizes Latinos into a singular position in our nation's hierarchy (often in a position between Black and white Americans) without disaggregating by race, which invisibilizes Black and Indigenous populations.

#### Data-Collection Challenges

Compiling a sample of Afro-Latinos presents many challenges that likely are different than any other oversample in the CMPS. To collect data on Afro-Latinos, we needed to establish who is part of this population; self-identification as Black is not as straightforward as it may be with other Black populations. In Latin America, racial frameworks vary, and separate categories exist for those of mixed race that would be considered Black in the United States. Those of mixed race, therefore, often identify with these middle or intermediate categories, including *mulato*, *pardo*, *mestizo*, and *moreno*, rather than Black.<sup>1</sup> As a result, if we add only those respondents who identify as both Black and Latino to the oversample, we omit a significant percentage of the Afro-Latino population. Moreover, national narratives in Latin America that emphasize racial mixing, or *mestizaje*, suggest that all people have a mix of European, African, and Indigenous ancestry to foment unity. This leads to challenges in making determinations about (1) who is Afro-descendant; (2) whether Afro-Latino is different than Black self-identification; and (3) whether we should include those who are not racialized as Black or even Latino but who self-identified as Afro-Latino in the survey.

#### Sample Demographics and Findings

In the 2020 CMPS Afro-Latino oversample (N=1,145), respondents were divided between the choice of Black and Hispanic/Latino as their primary race: 45% each. The CMPS used the term "Afro-Latino" in its screening question for the oversample, asking whether respondents identified as having Black and Latin American ancestry. They had the choice of self-identification, a parent who identified, and/or a grandparent who did. Respondents represented 48 states with the largest percentage from New York and New Jersey (17%), followed by Florida and California at 12% from each state. Among those who classified as Latino as their primary race/ethnicity, we were able to capture their national origin: 23.0% were Mexican, 22.0% were Puerto Rican, 11.5% were Dominican, and 6.4% were Cuban (Clealand 2024) Table 1 shows the oversample had higher levels of Democratic support (59%, including support for President Biden) than the

primary Latino sample (50%) but not as high as respondents from the primary Black sample (64%). Afro-Latinos also fell between the Black and Latino samples on support for Black Lives Matter: Afro-Latinos (66.6%) supported BLM more than Latinos as a whole (52.4%) but less than the Black primary sample (72.9%).

*The Afro-Latino oversample of the CMPS represents an important step in upending the idea that Latinos are part of one “brown” category. It recognizes that they are racially diverse and must be studied with the same attention to race and racialization as other US racial and ethnic groups. The presence of these data marks a clear turning point in our ability to analyze Blackness among Latinos and how race is perceived and experienced by this population.*

Notably, Afro-Latinos reported the most experiences with discrimination by police, immigration officers, employers and coworkers, and other people by as much as 12 percentage points when compared to the Black primary sample. Because they are discriminated against by larger society as well as within their own Latino ethnic groups, this statistic is not surprising (Benson and Cleland 2021; Lavariega Monforti and Sanchez 2010).

### Measuring Racial Identity among LATINOS

The ways that Latinos view race necessitate a more complex methodology for measuring race—that is, multidimensional racial measures. The 2020 CMPS asked respondents to indicate race/ethnicity, skin color, and how they were racialized by others. For the Afro-Latino sample, I included an additional question that asked respondents to list their racial category from choices that did not correspond to US racial frameworks but rather the frameworks and censuses in Latin America and the Caribbean.<sup>2</sup> These multidimensional racial measures allowed us to understand with more accuracy and complexity how race is lived and perceived by Afro-Latinos. With this dataset, we could compare notions of racial self-identification, racialization, skin color, and census self-identification, as well as analyze how these characteristics matter for experiences and attitudes among Afro-Latinos.

Among those who identified with Black as their primary race, 70% also identified as Black in the expanded race question, and another 24% identified as one of the mixed-race categories. Among those who chose Latino as their primary race/ethnicity, 14% identified as Black and 55% as a mixed-race category (See

Table 2). Thus, although some Latinos’ self-identification may not be Black, many chose Afro-descendant racial categories, such as *mulato*, *moreno*, and *trigueño*. The expanded racial question demonstrated that a survey that samples Afro-descendants among the Latino population cannot ask about race using only US Census categories. Overall, 41% of respondents answered that they were racialized as Black in their everyday lives, and 36% stated that they were racialized as Latino.<sup>3</sup> The oversample represents different realities among Afro-descendants; race and racialization are complex concepts that change with region and context.

Latinos are engaged in a dual process in which how they identify racially is influenced by both US racial frameworks and those used in their home country or even their parents’ and grandparents’ home country. To study racial identity among Latinos, we must possess a substantive understanding of racial identity in Latin America and the Caribbean, as well as how racial categories and schemas differ across the region as country-specific conceptualizations. Who is racialized as Black in the Dominican Republic, for example, is not the same as in Cuba, despite their

**Table 1**  
**Political Attitudes and Discrimination**

	Afro-Latino Sample	Black Sample	Latino Sample
Identify as Democrat	58.2	65.7	50.2
Voted/Support for Biden	71.4	82.7	68.7
Voted/Support for Trump	18.1	8.7	22.6
Support for Black Lives Matter	66.6	72.9	52.4
Racial/Skin Color Discrimination	59.8/63.5	71.0/75.2	61.6/45.1
Discrimination from Police*	31.9	22.4	15.9
Discrimination from Immigration Officers*	19.6	7.1	10.3
N	1,145	4,613	3,881

Note: \*Discrimination questions read: “In dealings with the police/immigration officers, have you experienced discrimination or exclusion because you are Black/Latino?” (Cleland 2024)

**Table 2**  
**Self-Identification and Racialization**

	Black Primary Race/Ethnicity	Latino Primary Race/Ethnicity	Afro-Latino Sample
<b>Self-Identification</b>			
White	2.7	22.5	15.6
Black	70.5	15.5	40.4
<i>Mulato/Mestizo/Trigueño*</i>	8.1	27.5	17.9
Brown	15.3	16.7	15.7
Moreno	0.8	10.1	5.2
<b>Street Race</b>			
White	2.7	9.7	7.8
Black	74.7	13.0	41.1
Latino/Hispanic	9.9	66.1	36.1
N	518	516	1,145

Note: \*Although *trigueño* was listed as a separate category in the survey, I present the results together with *mulato/mestizo* because they all represent the terms for mixed-race categories in different Latin American and Caribbean countries.

geographic closeness and similar histories of colonization and enslavement by the Spanish.

In addition to the incongruence between racial frameworks in the United States versus Latin America and the Caribbean, the anti-Blackness within Latino communities and in Latin America and the Spanish-speaking Caribbean affects self-identification and group closeness. For example, whereas those who identified as Black only on the CMPS may have a strong Latino identity, discrimination within their own community may contribute to an alignment with Black populations. Conversely, Latin American narratives of race historically have devalued and diluted Blackness, which can discourage identification with the Black category (Contreras 2016; Cruz-Janzen 2007; Mitchell 2018).

The 2020 CMPS oversample allowed us to have the conversations included in this article to determine how to improve the process for 2024. We continue to pursue questions on how to define a population based on self-identification with such complex and varied racial narratives throughout the Latin American region. The presence of these data marks a clear turning point in our ability to analyze Blackness among Latinos and how race is perceived and experienced by this population. As the first national Afro-Latino sample, we are excited about the possibilities that the data present, and we look forward to making improvements for the 2024 CMPS.

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#### CONFLICTS OF INTEREST

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#### NOTES

1. *Mulato* and *pardo* refer to those of African and European ancestry who would not be racialized as white in their own country. *Mestizo* has the same meaning as *mulato* in Cuba and the Dominican Republic; however, in non-Caribbean Latin American countries, *mestizo* refers to those of Indigenous and European ancestry. Finally, *moreno* is a term for “Black” but sometimes is used in lieu of “Black” either to mark lighter skin or as distancing from the term “Black” because identification as Black can be discouraged in many countries as well as in US Latino communities.
2. The choice of responses for this question were white, black, *trigüenjo* (mixed-race category in Puerto Rico), *indio* (Indigenous or Indian), *mulato/mestizo*, *jabao* (light-skinned Black person in the Caribbean), brown-skinned, *moreno* (different term for darker-skinned people; sometimes used synonymously for black), and other.
3. This question reads: “If you were walking down the street, what race do you think other Americans who do not know you personally would assume you were based on what you look like?” (López et al. 2018)

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#### CAPTURING ETHNIC DIVERSITY AMONG BLACK RESPONDENTS: A BLACK IMMIGRANT OVERSAMPLE

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DOI:10.1017/S1049096524000374

The Black population in the United States has always been diverse, but the process of racialization flattens the differences that arise from variations in national origin, language, and culture. Consequently, most racial projects result in similar treatment across those people categorized as Black despite the group’s vast heterogeneity (Omi and Winant 1994). Indeed, even in the retelling of Black political history, the immigrant backgrounds of Black figures such as Shirley Chisolm, Malcom X, and Kwame Ture rarely are highlighted. Nonetheless, our understanding of race and ethnicity is always subject to change.

The interaction between the Civil Rights Movement and the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 shifted the demographics of the United States, the composition of those categorized as Black, and the dynamics and legibility of Black (ethnic) identities. By 1980, approximately 3.1% of the Black population was foreign born; today, that percentage has quadrupled to approximately 12%. Moreover, an additional 9% of Black people can be characterized as second-generation immigrants; that is, a growing group of Americans who were born in the United States and have at least one foreign-born parent. Together, almost one in five Black people are first- or second-generation Americans. It also is worth noting that, in part, the Black population in the United States is an immigrant-replenished group. That is, 58% of foreign-born Blacks in the United States have arrived since 2000, and this group is projected to grow by 90% by 2060 compared to 29% for Black Americans with longer lineages in the United States (Anderson 2015; Tamir and Anderson 2022). As political and economic immigrants and refugees from Caribbean and African nations migrate to the United States, these new groups—settling in myriad locales throughout the country—must be incorporated into our understanding of politics, policy, and power.

The Black immigrant oversample of the 2020 Collaborative Multiracial Post-Election Survey (CMPS) provides an opportunity