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Dueling Identities: Unpacking the impacts of linked fate
on the political attitudes of multiracial individuals

By

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Rotundamente Negra
Por Shirley Campbell

Me niego rotundamente
A negar mi voz,
Mi sangre y mi piel.

Y me niego rotundamente
A dejar de ser yo,
A dejar de sentirme bien
Cuando miro mi rostro en el espejo
Con mi boca
Rotundamente grande,
Y mi nariz
Rotundamente hermosa,
Y mis dientes
Rotundamente blancos,
Y mi piel valientemente negra.

Y me niego categóricamente
A dejar de hablar
Mi lengua, mi acento y mi historia.

Y me niego absolutamente
A ser parte de los que callan,
De los que temen,
De los que lloran.

Porque me acepto
Rotundamente libre,
Rotundamente negra,
Rotundamente hermosa.

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ABSTRACT

Only recently have social scientists begun to observe and capture the experiences of the multiracial population, focusing primarily on those with a majority-minority identity (white-Black, white-Asian, and white-Latino). Through a content analysis of 10 interviews, this study seeks to diversify the growing body of research by examining the extent to which Afro-Latinos, a dual-minority group, experience a sense of linked fate with their Black and Latino monoracial counterparts. I find that Afro-Latinos feel a strong sense of linked fate with Blacks but have a mixed sense of linked fate with Latinos. I rely upon racial threat theory and social dominance theory to account for the incongruence between the two. Research suggests that linked fate has substantial implications on a group's political attitudes; this study looks at the impact of Afro-Latino linked fate on Afro-Latino political attitudes (Dawson, 1994).

Keywords: linked fate, social dominance theory, racial threat theory, Afro-Latinos, political attitudes

INTRODUCTION

While the multiracial experience is not novel, the acceptance of multiracial individuals in the United States and their inclusion in research agendas is relatively new and comes with a complex history. Interracial marriage, what many consider a significant catalyst of the growth of

the multiracial community, remained illegal in many states until the Supreme Court ruled anti-miscegenation laws unconstitutional in the 1967 Supreme Court case, *Loving v. Virginia* (Wallenstein, 1995; Root, 1994). The Supreme Court concurred that anti-miscegenation laws violated individuals' rights to due process and equal protection under the Fourteenth Amendment (Wallenstein, 1995). Nevertheless, it was not until over three decades later, in 2000, that the United States Census Bureau included the option to identify as two or more races (Khanna, 2016; Root, 1994). Data on multiracial individuals continues to lag even though multiracial individuals are at the forefront of the United States population growth and are expected to become "the fastest growing group over the next several decades" (United States Census Bureau, 2018). The United States Census Bureau (2018) projects that, by 2045, communities of color will outnumber the white population for the first time in United States history. Thus, I posit that better understanding the multiracial population should be one of social scientists' most crucial research agendas.

I seek to do what only a few social scientists outside of sociology and anthropology have tried to do: pinpoint things that affect the political attitudes of multiracial individuals. Davenport, Franco, and Iyengar (2022) find that linked fate, racial group closeness, and racial salience impact the political attitudes, including party identification, political ideology, and racial and non-racial policy stances, of white-Black and white-Asian populations, the two most significant subsets of the multiracial population. My research was inspired by a similar hypothesis and a personal investment to understand how my community, the Afro-Latino (and dual-minoritized) community, utilizes linked fate – the theory that racial groups share a history of experience and thus feel their personal outcomes tied to their racial group's outcomes – to shape their political attitudes and behavior. However, due to a lack of research on how linked fate functions in dual-

minority multiracial communities, this project must first focus on the connection between Afro-Latinos and their monoracial counterparts, with a secondary, exploratory function to begin understanding the political implications of linked fate in Afro-Latino, dual-minority persons. The extant research on Afro-Latinos primarily examines their processes of socialization and racialization within Black and Latino monoracial communities. Almost none of the existing research is squarely situated within the discipline of political science (Charmaraman et al, 2014). Thus, I chose to gather my own data using an interview methodology.

In my series of ten (10) interviews, I find that Afro-Latinos have a powerful sense of linked fate with their Black monoracial counterparts, and a lesser sense of linked fate with their Latino monoracial counterparts, coinciding with research that holds that the theory of linked fate is complicated when interpreted through the Latino perspective. I conclude that two theories - racial threat theory and social dominance theory - explain the differing levels of linked fate and that linguistic, phenotypic, and ideological characteristics of the Black and Latino community are at the center of the threat and hierarchy present in the theories, respectively. Finally, in alignment with linked fate and public opinion research that connects one's group identity, group consciousness, and group closeness to an elevated attentiveness to the political issues concerning a group's interest (Conovor, 1984; Dawson, 1994), I explore the connection between linked fate and the political attitudes of Afro-Latinos. My findings suggest there is a relationship between linked fate and the political attitudes of Afro-Latinos. I believe further research is required to understand the holistic impact of linked fate on the political attitudes of Afro-Latinos and other dual-minority communities.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The Study of Multiracialism and Political Attitudes

Studying multiracialism took hold in the 1980s, about a decade after the Supreme Court ruled lingering anti-miscegenation laws illegal in the United States (Wallenstein, 1995; Root, 1994). Since then, the body of research has grown exponentially. In a 2014 study conducted by Charmaraman et al. reviewing the content and methodology of research on multiracialism over 20 years, they found that "[despite] the increasing academic and media interest in multiracial individuals, there are methodological and definitional challenges in studying the population resulting in conflicting representations in literature" (p.336). This is a challenge I speak to in discussing my finding, and I believe that the nature of the definitional challenges reflects the body of research over the past few decades. In their 2014 study, Charmaraman et al. analyzed 155 empirical peer-reviewed journal articles published between 1990-2009. Their research focused on articles published in social and health science journals and included all combinations of minority-white and dual-minority respondents (Charmaraman et al., 2014). Despite the "definitional challenges" mentioned above, Charmaraman et al. (2014) find that the body of research on multiracialism more than tripled from 1990-1999 to 2000-2009, with a particular emphasis on quantitative data. Charmaraman et al. (2014) also found that over 55 percent of the research on multiracial individuals deals with the direct "What are you?" racial-ethnic identification definitional question that the majority of multiracial individuals contend with throughout their life, followed by the tangential theme of phenotypic self- and group categorization, which appears in 43 percent of the research (Pollock, 2004; Leverette, 2009; Romo, 2011; Garcia-Louis; 2018). The focus on the "What are you?" question has produced a body of research prioritizing majority-minority individuals and research questions situated within the fields of sociology and psychology. This may have occurred because of the perceived dichotomous experiences of whites and people of color. One must look no further than the term

"people of color," created to reinforce the belief that racial and ethnic minorities have a social and political relationship, to conceptualize the perception that whites and people of color have a greater difference in their experiences than do different racial and ethnic minority groups when compared to each other (Vidal-Ortiz, 2008). Thus, the majority of multiracial research in the Charmaraman et al. (2014) study (55 percent) samples Black-white individuals; only 30 percent of research samples *all* configurations of dual-minority individuals. Table 1 shows the demographic makeup of the respondents in the articles studied in the Charmaraman et al. (2014) study.

Charmaraman et al. (2014) also find that 20 percent of multiracial research includes themes of distal contexts that shape multiracial individuals, which include the politics of race. Furthermore, multiracial individuals' political affiliations appear at best in only 6 percent of the research, despite the ramifications of a growing multiracial population and the impact on the political landscape of the United States (Charmaraman et al., 2014). The continued bias toward majority-minority individuals is both a redundancy problem and an ethical problem. Research risks redundancy when prioritizing only one portion of a population and only a few types of questions.

Additionally, as researchers, we must be aware of the socio-political power underpinnings of the research we produce. By prioritizing those with white-person of color identities, we continue to place whiteness at the forefront of research on people of color communities, reinforcing the racial hierarchy and white supremacy in research. As researchers of multiracialism, we must not neglect to locate and highlight the experiences of dual-person of color identities. I would argue that the ethical problem is a more significant moral concern than the redundancy challenge in the current sociopolitical milieu of the United States. Still, this

project seeks to overcome both challenges by engaging the sociopolitical themes of linked fate and social dominance theory and highlighting the experiences of Afro-Latinos, a dual-minority group.

Table 1

Sample Demographics

Characteristic	%
Race	
Black/White	55%
Asian/White	39%
Latino/White	25%
Native/White	20%
Minority/Minority	30%
3+ races	13%
Unknown mix	38%
Gender	
Female	65%
Male	35%
Age	
Young Child (ages 0–4)	11%
Child (ages 5–9 or K-5th grade)	5%
Pre-Adolescent (ages 10–14 or 6–8th grade)	23%
Adolescent (ages 14–18 or 9th–12th grade)	31%
Young adult (ages 18–25)	39%
Adult (ages 26–49)	18%
Older adult (age 50+)	6%
Unspecified age	22%

Source: (Charmaraman et al., 2014)

Linked Fate

Linked fate serves as the primary dependent variable in this study. The term "linked fate" became popular in social science literature after Michael Dawson's 1994 work on the black utility heuristic in "Behind the Mule: Race and Class in American Politics." Since then,

numerous scholars have studied how the black utility heuristic functions along different racial, gender, and other identity axes. The black utility heuristic "simply states that as long as African-Americans' life chances are powerfully shaped by race, it is efficient for individual African Americans to use their perceptions of the interests of African Americans as a group as a proxy for their own interests" (Dawson, 1994, p. 61). For Dawson (1994), Blacks' shared history of oppression and resilience creates a shared consciousness where one sees their progress tied to the fate of the entire Black community; this is the notion of "linked fate." Additionally, Dawson (1994) argues that the racist nature of political, social, and economic systems (which provides much of the foundation for the core assumption that Blacks are significantly different politically, socially, and economically from their white counterparts) leads Blacks to recognize their "shared experiences… minimize in-group variation… and see the progress of the group as an appropriate, accurate, and accessible evaluative measure of one's individual success," (Cohen, 1999, p.10). Dawson's (1994) ability to prove the pervasiveness of linked fate amongst the Black population makes this concept so powerful. Using data from the 1984-88 National Black Election Panel Study, the 1989 Detroit Area Study, and Gallup Polls, he contends that Blacks across class variables are moved to identify with the political party that best serves their racial group interests (Dawson, 1994).

Other attempts to situate different groups within a similar heuristic framework have had various outcomes (Sanchez & Masourka, 2010; Sanchez & Vargas, 2016; Gay et al., 2016). For this study, I will focus on how others have attempted to argue for using a utility heuristic for the Latino population. Unfortunately, I am not convinced by the literature that such a heuristic exists. In a 2010 study by Sanchez and Masouka, they find what I consider circumstantial evidence for the existence of a "brown utility heuristic." Using the Latino National Survey and a

series of logistical regressions, they find that Latinos establish a heuristic "based not on race or common history but on social integration to American society" (Sanchez & Masouka, 2010, p. 528). Unlike the pattern established by Dawson (1994), Sanchez and Masouka (2010; Sanchez & Vargas, 2016) find an inverse relationship between Latino economics and linked fate and no relationship between linked fate and racial discrimination. Instead, they find a unique relationship where one's sense of linked fate declines as one's proximity to Americanness increases. One's proximity to speaking Spanish and immigration is key to a Latino's sense of linked fate (Sanchez & Masouka, 2010; Chong & Rogers, 2005; McClain et al., 2009; Gay et al., 2016; Sanchez & Vargas, 2016). The earlier work of Chong & Rogers (2005) and McClain et al. (2009) note that the feeling of linked fate associated with Latino immigrants dissipates by almost half within two generations (Gay et al., 2016). Specifically, they find that 46 percent of Latino immigrants experience a sense of linked fate, but by the time grandchildren and great-grandchildren of Latino immigrants are surveyed, only 25 percent of them believe their fate is linked to that of other Latinos (Chong & Rogers, 2004; McClain et al., 2009; Gay et al., 2016).

A race-based foundation, socioeconomic uniformity, and multigenerational consistency are fundamental to Dawson's (1994) conception of the black utility heuristic and linked fate. Research on Latino linked fate and the brown utility heuristic encompass none of these foundational components. Instead, research on Latino linked fate and the brown utility heuristic offer that monoracial Latinos feel a sense of linked fate only under extraordinary conditions. Nevertheless, the theoretical frameworks of the black utility heuristic and linked fate are such that Dawson (1994) describes these theories as not only experienced under exceptional conditions but instead as common and pervasive throughout different facets of the Black community. In a more general sense, previous researchers have failed to account for the

intersectional dimensions of the Latino and Hispanic identity when considering the ways in which linked fate impacts the Latino community. Previous researchers conflated a variety of experiences and contorted the theory of linked fate to fit within a Latino context. Thus, I am unconvinced by the notion that monoracial Latinos feel a sense of linked fate with one another. Instead, I believe scholars may be capturing a niche utility heuristic and linked fate, for example, an immigrant utility heuristic and linked fate, present within a subset of the Latino community.

Conversely, I believe Afro-Latinos can and do experience a sense of linked fate with their Black and Latino monoracial counterparts. I believe that Afro-Latino socialization and racialization within the Black community, most notably through their phenotypic appearance and experiences of anti-Black discrimination, provide them access to a sense of linked fate with Blacks and a framework in which to engage closeness and connection to their Latino counterparts in other racialized spaces (Romo, 2011; Pollock, 2014; Leverette, 2009; Sankofa Waters, 2016.

Racial Threat Theory and Social Dominance Theory

Racial threat theory and social dominance theory are both central to this study. I believe that the interactions Afro-Latinos have with their Latino monoracial counterparts that lead to different levels of linked fate can be explained by the abovementioned theories.

Racial threat theory, first documented by Blalock (1967), explains the process of macro-level social control by dominant groups over those with smaller populations and less control. Blalock's (1967) work was particularly attuned to how whites hoarded power and built and controlled racialized systems to exclude Blacks in the United States. There are many components to Blalock's (1967) theory; the racial threat hypothesis is the most critical aspect for this study. The racial threat hypothesis "proposes that racialization occurs when Whites use their

disproportionate power to implement state-control over minorities and, in the face of a growing minority population, encourage more rigorous, racialized practices in order to protect their existing power and privileges" (Dollar, 2014, p. 1; Blalock, 1967). Scholars have since used this theoretical framework to understand better the criminal justice system, economic and other forms of discrimination, and have included others outside of the Black-white paradigm.

I include this theory because there is a substantial body of research that holds that the Latino community feels that they are in an economic and resource competition with Black communities (Morin et al., 2012; Jones-Correa, 2012; Bobo & Hutchings, 1996; Johnson et al., 1997; McClain et al., 2006; de la Cadena, 2001). Recent research finds that perceived levels of competition are most high among Latino individuals who are in close contact with Blacks (i.e., jobs, friendships, church) and who immigrated from locations with strong anti-black sentiments (Jones-Correa, 2014; Morin et al., 2012). Morin et al. (2012) find that Latinos feel a greater sense of competition inter-ethnically than they do with Blacks.

Nevertheless, when not compared to another form of competition, Latinos still feel a strong sense of competition with Blacks. Thus, both statements can be factual. This is important to note because Latinos are now the largest minority population, making up 18.9 percent of the population and surpassing Blacks in at least 30 states (Jones-Correa, 2012; United States Census Bureau, n.d.). While the research on racial threat theory has yet to study the racial threat hypothesis between minority groups significantly, the relationship between the Latino and Black communities aligns with the theoretical framework. Thus, I predict that my respondents will pick up on the competition (or threat) felt by the Latino community and will, in turn, feel a lesser sense of linked fate with Latinos because of their affinity with Black people.

Similarly, I predict that social dominance theory may play a role in Afro-Latinos' sense of linked fate with Latinos. Social dominance theory, created by Sidanius and Pratto (1999), is a study of group-based oppression that stems from a group's tendency to form hierarchies (Sidanius et al., 2004). Social dominance theory considers both the individual and structural factors that contribute to discrimination and, ultimately, the oppression and perpetuation of hierarchies in favor of the predominant group in society (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Sidanius et al., 2004). Sidanius et al. (2004) theorize that "group oppression tends to be systematic because social ideologies help to coordinate the actions of institutions and individuals, (pg. 847). Thus, the broadest understanding of social dominance theory is the ability for

"many institutions and many powerful individuals [to] disproportionately allocate desired goods--such as prestige, wealth, power, food, and health care--to members of dominant and privilege groups, while directing undesirable things--such as dangerous work, disdain, imprisonment, and premature death--towards members of less powerful groups," (Sidanius et al., 2004, p. 847).

This theory is a component of my research because I assert that the Latino community functions as a micro-social dominant society. While there has yet to be formal research on how the Latino community reflects aspects of social dominance theory, one can turn to other research on inner-ethnic challenges and Afro-Latino socialization to draw comparisons. For example, numerous sociological studies conclude that language and skin color are two factors that are important to Latinos in an American social, cultural, and legal context (Lee & Bean, 2004; Romo, 2011; Wallace, 2014; Garcia-Louis, 2018). If one does not speak Spanish or is too dark of skin, the perception is that of a weaker latinidad (Lee & Bean, 2004; Romo, 2011; Wallace, 2014; Garcia-Louis, 2018). This is a crucial example of the oppressive, hierarchical ideologies

that sustain the institutional and social functions within the Latino community. Afro-Latino stories captured by researchers, particularly those of individuals who do not speak Spanish or have perceived Black phenotypic characteristics, assert how these ideologies have contributed to their inability to access Latino social structures (i.e., community organizations, clubs, and friendships) and, at their most extreme, have negative economic and labor impacts on their lives (Garcia-Louis, 2018; Romo, 2011). These are precise representations of the systematic-ideological paradigm and the oppressive, hierarchical structure associated with social dominance theory. As part of Study 2, I consider the role that social dominant hierarchies play in my respondent's sense of linked fate with their monoracial counterparts and believe that it will lead to lower feelings of linked fate with their Latino monoracial counterparts.

Thus, my hypotheses for this project are as follows:

Hypothesis 1a (Linked Fate with Blacks): Afro-Latinos who have strong social ties to the Black community experience a strong sense of linked fate with their Black monoracial counterparts.

Hypothesis 1b (Linked Fate with Latinos): Unlike their Latino monoracial counterparts, Afro-Latinos will experience a sense of linked fate with their Latino monoracial counterparts.

Hypothesis 2 (Differing Levels of Linked Fate): Afro-Latinos sense of linked fate with their monoracial Latino counterparts will be weaker than their sense of linked fate with their monoracial Black counterparts due to a perceived commitment to the markers of social dominance theory and racial threat theory in Latino communities.

Hypothesis 3 (Linked Fate and Political Attitudes): Afro-Latinos sense of linked fate will

lead them to have political attitudes in closer alignment with that of their Black

monoracial counterparts.

METHODOLOGY AND STUDY DESIGN

This paper is a deductive inquiry into multi-raciality. The idea for this project stemmed

from a lifetime of conjuring my place within Black and Latino communities as an Afro-Latina.

Growing up, I struggled with the complexities of my identity - living with a Mexican mom while

phenotypically presenting as Black; like many of the research respondents, I often felt too Black

for the Mexican kids and too Mexican for the Black kids. In attempting to create space for

myself, I learned very early the political nature of race, phenotype, language, and community.

This paper is a small and initial look into how the nature of dual-minority identities impacts the

politics of the people themselves.

For this project, I conducted a series of 10 semi-structured interviews in English with

respondents who identify as Black and Hispanic; I reached my minimum requirement of 10

interviews. Interviews were conducted over Zoom and lasted approximately 30-60 minutes.

Afterward, I manually transcribed the interviews. Respondents were found through sampling

techniques, including snowball outreach, website and social media posting (LinkedIn, Instagram,

Twitter, and Facebook), and emailing. While this study is limited by the sample size in its ability

to draw empirical conclusions, it remains an important deductive study into multi-raciality as

Afro-Latinos, part of the dual-minority community, continue to be left out of research.

Interviews were structured in three distinct parts: (1) demographic information, (2)

political attitudes, and (3) racial identity and linked fate. Demographic questions sought to locate

trends among the respondents, paying particular attention to age, gender, religion or spiritual

identity, education, place of residence, and nation of origin. Political attitude questions were used to locate Afro-Latino political attitudes in relation to their monoracial counterparts. These questions paid particular attention to political identity and issues of importance to Blacks and Latinos (i.e., abortion and reproductive rights, same-sex marriage, immigration reform, racism, and police reform). American Trends Panel data was used to determine both the issues of importance to and general political attitudes of Blacks and Latinos (Pew Research Center, 2019). Racial identity and linked fate questions served to identify the mechanisms through which Black-Latinos devise their conception of race and determine the extent to which Black-Latinos feel a sense of linked fate with Black and Latino communities.

To measure Hypothesis 1a and Hypothesis 1b, I conducted Study 1; I coded the transcripts to account for references to linked fate and non-linked fate and whether the comment was made in relation to Latinos or Blacks. Comments were coded as *linked fate* if they had themes of connection to a shared racial history of oppression and resilience, as well as one's progress being connected to that of the racial community at large. Comments were coded as *non-linked fate* if they mentioned themes of self-reliance or feeling disconnected from the racial history of oppression or resilience.

Additionally, I conducted Study 2. The purpose of this study is two-fold: (1) to understand whether social dominance theory and racial threat theory place a role in Afro-Latinos' sense of linked fate and (2) to understand what themes lead to feelings of linked fate and non-linked fate. I coded all 78 non-linked Fate comments for markers of social dominance and racial threat theories. This data is found in *Table 2: Distinct Comments of Non-Linked Fate/Liked Fate in Interview*s. Markers associated with the social dominance theory include colorism/phenotypic discrimination, anti-blackness/anti-latinidad, language, commitment to

hierarchy, and assimilationist logic. Comments are coded as *colorism/phenotypic discrimination* if they mention discrimination, prejudice, or imposter syndrome based on skin tone, hair texture, facial or other physical characteristics. Comments will be categorized as *anti-blackness/anti-latinidad* if they specifically use the word "anti-blackness" or "anti-latinidad." If a comment includes the notion that language is a barrier to entry into the Black or Latino community, it will be coded as *language*. The *commitment to hierarchy* category includes comments that reflect a general commitment to racial hierarchy, often through systemic, institutional, or ideological methods. Comments attributed to the *assimilationist logic* category include respondents being encouraged to assimilate or experiencing a diminished version of culture due to community members or caregivers prioritizing assimilation. Colorism, anti-blackness/latinidad, assimilationist logics, and language as a barrier to entry reflect ideological stances that reinforce the feelings of racial superiority amongst Latinos and Blacks. Furthermore, research shows that colorism, anti-blackness/latinidad, assimilationist logic, and language reinforce a group's commitment to systemic and institutionalized racial hierarchies (Wallace, 2014; Sanchez & Masouka, 2010; Romo, 2011; McClain et al., 2006).

There are two markers directly tied to racial threat theory. The *zero-sum mentality* marker consists of comments that reflect a resource-scarcity logic, while the *competition* marker reflects comments that assert a form of competition between Blacks and Latinos. Lack of socialization is the only marker not directly linked to social dominance and racial threat theories. The *lack of socialization* category includes comments where a respondent mentioned a lack of time spent in community with Latinos or Blacks due to physical proximity or population density.

Markers associated with the linked fate category include family, the history of Black-Latino coalitions, the history of oppression, resilience, language, and community (both in the

interpersonal and physical sense). Comments were coded as *family* when respondents attribute family to a sense of shared history and resilience. Comments were categorized as *coalition history* when respondents attribute the history of coalition work between Blacks and Latinos with a sense of closeness to their monoracial counterparts. The *history of oppression* category consists of comments that note specific instances of racism, discrimination, and oppression that respondents associate with a sense of shared history. Likewise, the *history of resilience* category consists of comments that note specific instances of resilience that respondents associate with a sense of shared history. Comments attributed to the *Language* category consist of respondents noting a sense of shared history through the use of language. Finally, comments were coded as *people and place* if they consisted of notions that physical proximity and relationships with their monoracial counterparts create a shared history and resilience. This data is found in *Figure 1: Markers of Linked Fate* and *Figure 2: Markers of Non-Linked Fate*.

Study 3 was the most challenging of the three studies to design. Study 3 seeks to answer Hypothesis 3, which contends that Afro-Latinos' sense of linked fate will lead them to hold political attitudes closer to that of their Black monoracial counterparts. I originally intended to do a one-to-one comparison of my political attitude questions and American Trend Panel data. The American Trends Panel is a representative survey administered between September 3, 2019, and September 19, 2019, to capture the political attitudes of the United States population (Pew Research Center, 2019). The Panel data consisted of 9,895 participants with a sampling error of plus or minus 1.5 percentage points (Pew Research Center, 2019). Unfortunately, the snowball method of sampling that produced the respondents for my entire project ended up being composed of a wildly different group across non-racial demographics compared to the representative group in the American Trend Panel. For example, while my project produced a

sample with some gender diversity, it is overpopulated by individuals with postbaccalaureate education who live on the West Coast and are primed for liberal and Democratic leanings. Additionally, the data on Afro-Latinos is still relatively new and hard to find; researchers struggle with accounting for the Afro-Latino population due to the definitional challenges mentioned earlier. Regardless, this study retains its value from its qualitative approach which allowed me to discover nuanced understandings and meanings within participants' experiences, particularly some of the uncomfortable and emotional aspects of Afro-Latino life that get overlooked in quantitative data.

Thus, study 3 produced questions and answers. Instead of comparing my data with the American Trend Panel data, I rely once again on the content of the comments from my respondents and use the American Trend Data as a thematic baseline to compare with the comments. Therefore, I use data from the American Trends Panel (Pew Research Center, 2019) to represent the attitudes of Black and Latino monoracial individuals and compare it to the results from the political attitudes and racial identity and linked fate portion of my interviews. I pull from the content of the interviews to propose connections between the political attitudes of Blacks and Latinos represented in the American Trends Panel study and the Afro-Latino community.

DATA AND FINDINGS

Respondent Demographics

Equal numbers of men and women participated in this study. Respondents ranged between the ages of 24 and 44, with the majority between the ages of 24-34. This is an exceptionally educated group of respondents. All respondents hold a baccalaureate degree; 3 of the respondents are working on completing or have completed a master's degree, and 3 hold a

doctorate. Seven respondents identify with a form of Christianity. Among the other three respondents, one identifies with spirituality, while the other two respondents do not identify with a spiritual or religious belief. Of the 10 respondents, nine identify their Latino ethnicity as Mexican. Respondent 4 is the only individual to identify as Costa Rican and are identified in **bold** in *Table 0: Respondent Demographics*; additionally, respondent 4 is the only individual to have a nation of origin outside of the United States; their nation of origin is Costa Rica. It is important to note that both Respondent 5 and Respondent 8 also identify as white (in addition to Afro Latino); the latter also identifies as indigenous. These respondents are identified through *italics* in Table 0. Although these respondents identified as more than the Black-Latino racial paradigm, their responses consisted of their experiences within Black and Latino spaces and with Black and Latino communities. 8 of the respondents identify as Black presenting. Many of the respondents noted experiences with discrimination and trauma based on their phenotypic appearance, so I have intentionally chosen to leave this identifier out of the table below.

Additionally, due in part to the snowball method and the fact that the majority of my social media connections were from the West Coast, all but two respondents have spent significant portions of their lives living between the West Coast, particularly California and Washington. All respondents had access to Latino and Black spaces of socialization whether through family or close friends.

	Table 0: Respondent Demographics
Respondent 1	Cisgender Male, Age 39, Christian, Doctorate, Very liberal (VL) Democrat
Respondent 2	Cisgender Male, Age 30, Christian, Bachelors, VL Democrat
Respondent 3	Cisgender Female, Age 24, Christian/Spiritual, Bachelors, Moderate Democrat
Respondent 4	**Cisgender Male, Age 30, No Religion, Masters, VL Independent**

Respondent 5	*Cisgender Female, Age 24, Agnostic/Spiritual, Completing Masters, VL Independent*
Respondent 6	Cisgender Female, Age 24, Catholic, Bachelors, VL Democrat
Respondent 7	Cisgender Female, Age 34, Christian/Spiritual, Doctorate, Moderate Independent
Respondent 8	*Cisgender Female, Age 44, Catholic/Christian, Doctorate, Moderate Democrat*
Respondent 9	Cisgender Male, Age 30, No Religion, Bachelors, VL Socialist
Respondent 10	Cisgender Male, Age 27, Christian, Completing Masters, VL Democrat

Linked Fate

This project measures linked fate through Study 1, Study 2, and a series of interview questions.

Interviews. During the interviews, respondents were asked to determine to what degree they agree with the following two statements: If things get better for Blacks, they will also get better for me, and if things get better for Latinos/Hispanics, they will also get better for me. This pair of questions measure the intensity to which respondents believe their outcomes are directly connected to their Black and Latino monoracial counterparts. In general, there is agreement on both statements among respondents. Every respondent perceived that progress for any marginalized racial group often leads to positive effects for other marginalized groups. However, there is a drastic difference in the degree to which respondents agree with each statement. Seven out of 10 respondents strongly agree that if things get better for Blacks, they also get better for themselves. In contrast, only 1 out of 10 respondents strongly agree that if things get better for Latinos/Hispanics, they also get better for themselves. For those 7 out of 10 respondents who strongly agreed that if things get better for Blacks, they also get better for themselves, they noted either a disconnect to and lack of benefit from immigration reform, agricultural production, DACA (Deferred Action for Child Arrivals) and other perceived (and often stereotypical) Latino

political issues. These respondents also shared an affinity to political issues, explicitly policing

and systemic racism, and others' perceptions of their phenotypic characteristics as their reasons

for feeling more connected to Black progress. Respondent 10 said:

> For me, it's not that I wouldn't like to say "yes" to both questions to the same degree. It's just that people don't see me as Latino; even Latinos don't see me as Latino. Hell, my mom is always telling me I'm not acting Latino enough - that's how not Latino people think I am. So when I think about issues affecting Latinos like immigration, DACA, and I don't know other stuff; it's not that I don't care. It's just that I look more Black so people treat me as Black and so Black issues affect me more. If I get pulled over by the police they aren't going to say, 'oh hey, he has a white Latina for a mom. Don't fuck with him.' Naw, they are finna see a Black dude and assume some shit and my mom who's white-passing will never have the same interaction. She just won't. And honestly, I'm glad she won't.

Here, Respondent 10 sees his phenotypic appearance directly tied to his life outcomes and

experiences in the world. He also notes a stark disconnect from the type of experiences his fairer-

skinned mother might have with police officers. Simply using the example of racialized policing

denotes a close connection to Black political attitudes, as Blacks continuously rank highest

among communities of color in their desire for changes to policing (Cox & Edwards, 2022;

Anderson et al., 2022). Ultimately, from these two data points, I find preliminary evidence that

Afro-Latinos' sense of linked fate is more connected to Blacks than Latinos. This may be

evidence to support Hypothesis 1a and Hypothesis1b.

Study 1. Study 1 continues to measure Hypothesis 1a and Hypothesis 1b. By tracking the

number of comments marked by linked fate and non-linked fate sentiments, I find more evidence

for Hypothesis 1a than Hypothesis 1b. The challenge with Study 1 was negotiating between a

respondent's general comments about a community's sense of linked fate and their individual

feelings of closeness to their monoracial counterparts. I relied upon follow-up questions for

clarification to determine whether a respondent was commenting about themselves or

Latinos/Blacks -at-large.

Table 2

Distinct Comments of Non-Linked Fate/Linked Fate in Interviews

Respondents	Non-Linked Fate *Self-reliance; feeling disconnected from the history of oppression or resilience of the community*		Linked Fate *Connection to a shared history of oppression and resilience; personal progress connected to that of the community*		Social Dominance Theory *Hierarchy, disproportionate resource allocation, systematic-ideological framework*		Racial Threat Theory *Zero-Sum mentality (resource/economic scarcity), competition, adapting economic and institutional barriers*	
	Latino	**Black**	**Latino**	**Black**	**Latino**	**Black**	**Latino**	**Black**
Respondent 1	2	0	6	4	2	0	0	0
Respondent 2	6	0	2	4	6	0	0	0
Respondent 3	6	4	2	4	6	4	0	0
Respondent 4	10	0	2	10	8	0	2	0
Respondent 5	4	6	0	0	4	6	0	0
Respondent 6	6	2	4	6	4	2	2	0
Respondent 7	8	2	6	10	8	2	0	0
Respondent 8	4	2	6	14	4	1	0	0
Respondent 9	4	0	0	6	4	0	0	0
Respondent 10	12	0	4	10	9	0	2	0
Total	**62**	**16**	**32**	**68**	**55**	**15**	**6**	**0**
% of Total Comments (178)	**35%**	**9%**	**18%**	**38%**	**31%**	**8%**	**3%**	**0%**

I found a total of 178 distinct comments that relate to linked fate and non-linked fate

markers. Again, linked fate comments reflect themes of connection to a shared history of

oppression and resilience and one's progress being connected to that of a community. Non-linked fate comments reflect self-reliance and feelings of being disconnected from the history of oppression and the resilience of a community. As Table 2 illustrates, 44 percent of comments (78 comments) relate to non-linked fate sentiments. 79 percent of these comments (62 comments) are attributed to the Latino community. Only 21 percent of non-linked fate comments (16 comments) are attributed to Afro-Latinos' Black counterparts. Male respondents made 55 percent of non-linked fate comments. An example of a non-linked fate comment is reflected in Respondent 4's final reflections in his interview. He shared:

> My Latinness, it really doesn't mean anything to me because you are putting me together with my colonizers; you are putting me together with the people who subjugated my ancestors. What do I really have in common with these people? Maybe we were born in the same country, we both like rice and beans, and we both like salsa music. What does Latino actually mean? What does this ethnic group actually mean in the concept of the United States?

Respondent 4's comment suggests that for some Afro-Latinos, there exists a challenge in feeling connected to the shared history of Latinos. Historically, there is a deep connection between Latino brutality and Black subjugation through the colonization and enslavement of Black and Indigenous people (Borucki et al., 2015). One can infer from Respondent 4's response that they are attuned to the complexities of the Latino ethnic identity and are not convinced by the assimilationist project of terms like "Latino" and "Hispanic," (Mora, 2014; Gobat, 2013). The lack of fondness for Latino history and the disconnect from group identifiers indicate that Respondent 4 experiences feelings of non-linked fate.

On the other hand, 56 percent of the comments (100 comments) related to linked fate. Table 2 illustrates that 32 percent of these comments (32 comments) are attributed to Latinos, while there are over 2 times as many comments (68 comments) about Blacks. This type of

comment is found in Respondent 2's response to being asked to share the experiences and people

that significantly influenced his racial and ethnic identity. He said:

> I would say my dad definitely [was the most considerable influence on my racial identity]. I think he kind of understood the one-drop rule and the effect it would have on his boys. My dad really made it a point, you know, we would grow out our hair because we would only get our hair cut in Seattle. We wouldn't get our hair cut in Yakima. We wouldn't go to a Mexican barber. He wanted us to have that full effect, so we were out here on 23rd and Jackson getting our fade on. You know, doing Black stuff that little boys in Yakima just don't do because they are stuck out in Yakima. You know, and we went to a Black church growing up, was constantly exposed to the Black side.

The rule of hypodescent (one-drop rule), his Black father, and traditional community outings like

going to the barbershop and church play a significant role in Respondent 2's concept of self and,

ultimately, his feelings of shared history with the Black community. Respondent 2 had twice as

many comments (4 comments) about Black linked fate as he did to Latino linked fate. This

comment also reflects the role of phenotypic representation in group identity. Respondent 2

connects getting "a fade" with Blackness rather than his Latinidad or Afro-Latinidad. The role of

phenotypic representation in group identity is a concept that appears in every single interview. At

times it appears, as it does in Respondent 2's comment, as a mechanism through which one feels

a connection with a shared history with their monoracial counterparts. At other times, it appears

in opposition to feelings of connectedness, shared history, and linked fate. The latter take on

phenotypic representation presents itself in the comments coded as social dominance theory.

        Study 2. This study disaggregates the data on the linked fate and non-linked fate markers

to provide a nuanced thematic understanding of what motivates Afro-Latinos in their decision

process to feel a sense of closeness to either Blacks or Latinos. Study 2 offers 5 markers for

linked fate. The linked fate markers are family, coalition history, history of oppression, history of

resilience, language, and people and place. Descriptions of the markers are found in this paper's

methodology section. Again, 100 comments make up the 55 percent of comments marked with

linked fate markers. One of the most perplexing findings of Study 2 is that there are no comments associated with Latinos marked as history of oppression or history of resilience. This accounts for 31 out of the 100 comments and close to 46 percent of the total linked fate markers associated with Blacks. These markers tend to be accompanied by rich ballad-like comments; respondents are found speaking about the 500 years of American anti-blackness and the stories of family members, friends, and themselves overcoming society's systemic and institutional barriers at all costs. The gist of these comments can be summed up by Respondent 7. She says, "The darker your skin is, the worst your treatment is here in this country. It's been like that for 500 years. But we are a resilient people. We always find a way to overcome." While this particular comment by Respondent 7 was marked as history of resilience, the first sentence speaks to the general sentiments of history of oppression comments. Respondents tell stories about the fate of Blacks, often in conversation with the treatment of their Latino counterparts. For example, when asked whether Blacks are worse off than their Latino counterparts, Respondent 3 talked about the treatment of Haitian migrants at the Southern border and expressed a deep connection to the Blackness of the Haitian migrants. Respondent 3 shared,

> Basically, when the border police or patrol men were whipping the Haitian immigrants, one of the biggest outcries of the Hispanic community is about immigration. But that just goes to show that terrible things happen to Hispanic immigrants, but I haven't seen any coverage on them getting whipped. You know what I mean? And that just goes to show you it doesn't matter if you are an immigrant or not, you are still black and that's why they treat you like that… Being Black like us is just dangerous regardless of most situations.

Essentially, Respondent 3's last statement clarifies their connection to the treatment of the Haitian migrants. One could say that Respondent 3 sees themselves reflected in the Haitian migrants and their experiences at the Southern Border, not because they have had a similar experience, but because their Blackness and the history of oppression link them.

Additionally, the family marker and people and place marker hold equal shares of the Black linked fate comments, each accounting for about 21 percent (14 comments) of Black linked fate comments. Similarly, coalition history and language also hold equal shares, each accounting for just 6 percent (3 comments) of Black linked fate comments. This data is represented in Figure 1.

The family and people and place markers hold significance in relation to the Latino community. The family and people and place markers make up 72 percent (23 comments) of Latino linked fate markers. These markers are often accompanied by comments that share stories of caretakers, community members, organizations, and specific geographic locations that play essential roles in building a sense of Latino linked fate amongst Afro-Latinos. For example, when Respondent 1 was asked what influences helped shape his racial and ethnic identity, he shared a story of his grandparents and Los Angeles. His statements (broken up by an ellipsis in the quote) were:

> My grandparents were instrumental [in shaping my racial and ethnic identity] because they are Mexican. You know, living with my Mexican grandparents helped shape, inform my understanding and coexistence in the Mexican, in the Latino community… and then my environment. Growing up in Los Angeles with all Latinos really shaped that. I just assumed I was one of them, that I was Mexican. My Black identity was a very small part of that. I knew I was Black, but I just really thought I was a dark-skinned Latino 'cause I was rolling with all my Mexican homies in Los Angeles.

Respondent 1 clearly articulates the power of the family unit to instill a sense of connection to a racial community and the power of a location and its community to do the same. Language also accounts for a significant portion of the Latino linked fate markers. Over 1 out of every 5 Latino linked fate markers, or 22 percent of Latino linked fate markers, fall into the language category. Coalition history closes out the markers with 6 percent of the share (3 comments).

Figure 1: Markers of Linked Fate
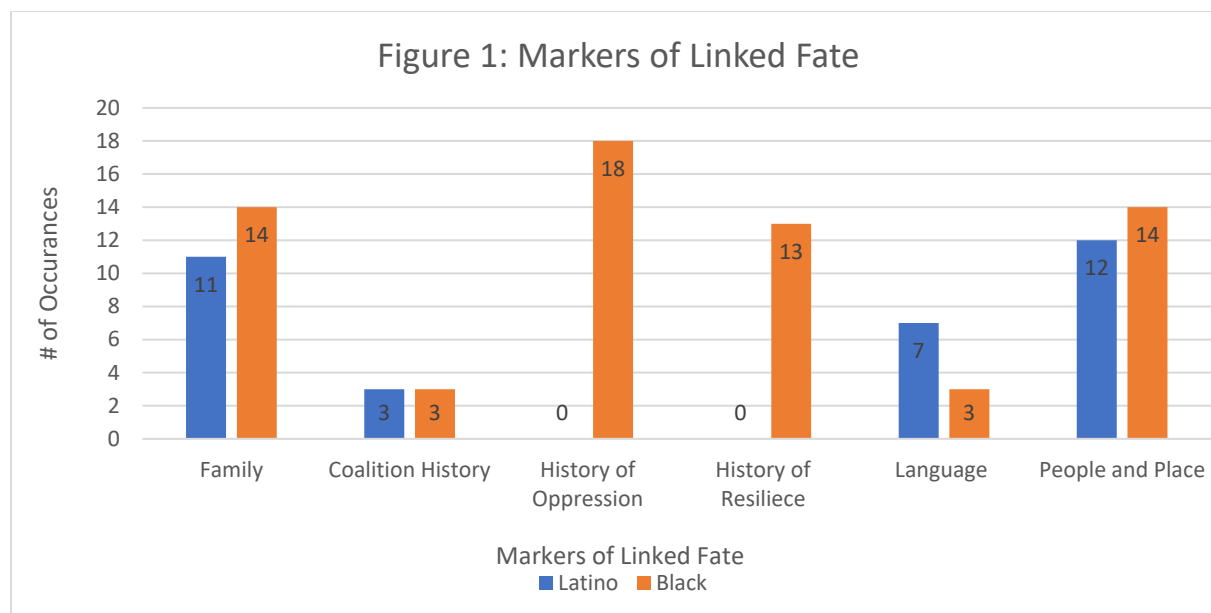
Study 2 also measures the number of non-linked fate markers associated with social dominance theory and racial threat theory. Again, the non-linked fate markers are competition, lack of socialization, zero-sum mentality, assimilationist logic, commitment to hierarchy, language, anti-Blackness/anti-Latinidad, and colorism/phenotypic discrimination. Surprisingly, Black non-linked fate comments are only connected to two markers, and the discrepancies in usage are huge. Colorism and phenotypic discrimination account for 94 percent of the 17 Black non-linked fate comments; only 6 percent (1 comment) is associated with the lack of socialization marker. Similarly, colorism and phenotypic discrimination are the Latino community's most prominent markers. Over 36 percent of Latino non-linked fate markers are categorized as colorism and phenotypic discrimination. The complexity of phenotypic markers and their connection to identity is apparent in the comments from respondents. All but 1 respondent commented on the topic with regard to their Latino counterparts. As respondents remembered their interactions, a sullenness often came over the conversation. The pain, frustration, and disappointment of not being seen as a member of a community reverberated throughout each comment on phenotypic discrimination, regarding both Blacks and Latinos.

Four out of five female respondents commented on the politics of hair within the Black

community and the misconception that Afrocentric styles and natural textures are a "bad look"

for the Black community. Respondent 3 shared:

> I would say in many communities hair is directly tied to your beauty... and I would say
> more in the black community because that is one way we've been taught to fit in or
> ostracize ourselves. And (large sigh) unfortunately with my older family members when I
> wear my hair out or I have my twists (the twists aren't so bad, sometimes they really like
> 'em) but they are like, 'oh its getting a little frizzy' or like 'you should redo 0them.'
> (Raises voice in frustration) my hair is not meant to be slicked back all the time. It's
> generally older black folks who get the perms or wear wigs.

Respondents often mentioned a deep commitment to colorism in response to the Latino

community. Respondent 7 recalled a phrase she learned as a young child growing up with her

Mexican family. She shared:

> I grew up knowing this term, 'mejorada la raza' ('better the race'). It's like when you
>
> marry and obviously reproduce you are supposed to marry someone who's fairer skin
>
> than you because that betters our race. It's closer to what the Spanish people look like. I
>
> think I used to be ashamed of my skin color and feeling way too dark for my Mexican
>
> side.

Respondent 7 is not the only person who recalled aggressive commitments to colorist logic by

their immediate Latino family members. These comments are often associated with a value of

purity amongst the race. However, most individuals associate "la Raza" not with their racial

identity but with their ethnic identity.

Each of the other markers is represented amongst Latino non-linked fate comments

except for lack of socialization. The degree to which the other markers are present is found in

Figure 2. Figure 2 also identifies which markers are associated with social dominance theory and

racial threat theory, coded (SD) and (RT), respectively. I expected a proportional number of

markers to be associated with each theory. Interestingly, the data is wildly disproportionate. Social dominance theory markers account for 5 of the 8 non-linked fate markers or 62.5% of non-linked fate markers. However, when coded, social dominance theory markers account for 89 percent of the non-linked fate codes (70 markers). Racial threat theory markers only account for 8 percent (6 comments).

Figure 2: Markers of Non-Linked Fate
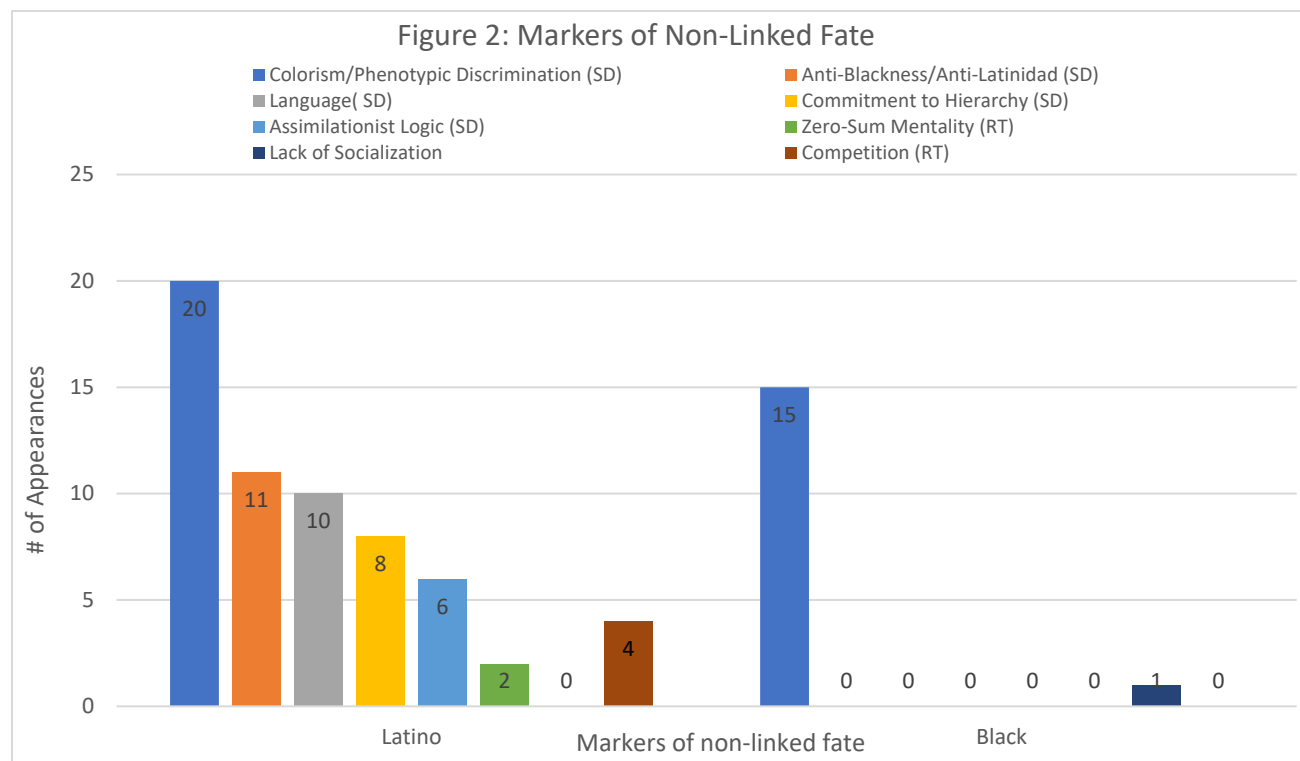
Political Attitudes

Study 3. This study reviews the thematic content of the interviews to draw assumptions about Afro-Latino political attitudes. There is a stark difference between the degree to which respondents were able to identify and speak to the political, social, and systemic challenges that Blacks and Latinos face in the United States. Each respondent provided more nuanced responses in relation to Black politics than Latino politics. Half of the respondents even mentioned not being equipped to answer questions about Latino politics. For example, when asked if he believes that if things get better for Latinos, things will also get better for him, a respondent said,

"Because when I think of things that are really pressing in the [Latino] community - and

I feel weird even talking about it because I don't really know what's pressing - I think that

immigration, education is probably one of the bigger issues. If tomorrow those things

were fixed, it wouldn't have that big of an effect on me."

Not only does this respondent share that they are unaware of the most important issues in Latino politics, but they also perceive that they will not receive a benefit from policies that positively impact the Latino community. At least 5 other respondents shared similar sentiments to the latter half of the quote. Others shared a feeling of detachment from Latino politics, often referencing a specific chain of beliefs associated with being Black-presenting. Five respondents mentioned that because they are Black-presenting, they experience the world not as an Afro-Latino but as a Black person, undergoing anti-Black discrimination rather than anti-Latino discrimination. These respondents reported receiving more significant benefits from Black political movements and policies targeted at Blacks. This is one clear example of how a sense of Black linked fate leads the respondents to hold political beliefs in alignment with Blacks.

Furthermore, the respondents' interviews reflected beliefs closer in alignment to Blacks than Latinos when using the American Trends Panel as a baseline for Black and Latino political beliefs. Again, my sampling is skewed toward those from the West Coast and those with higher education levels, so this study cannot calculate a one-to-one data comparison. However, political research still has a long way to go before it corrects the lack of research on multiracial individuals, particularly those with dual minority identities. So even though the respondent's demographics may prime this project in particular ways, this research still holds incredible value because it adds to a large data gap in political research. Table 3 is representative of the American Trends Panel (ATP) data. According to the ATP, the top 5 issues that Black Americans perceive

as a huge problem in the country today are racism, drug addiction, affordable healthcare, economic inequality, and education, in this order. For Latinos, the top 5 issues are affordable healthcare, drug addiction, climate change, racism, and education. Four out of the 5 topics are the same for the two groups; however, the point differentials are often significant. Blacks lead in points by a 5 to 22-point margin on all issues except climate change and illegal immigration.

Table 3
Percent who say each is a very big problem in the country today

% who say each is a very big problem in the country today

	Total	White	Black	Hispanic
Affordability of health care	66	63	73	68
Drug addiction	64	64	74	65
Affordability of college education	55	51	66	59
Federal budget deficit	53	53	57	51
Climate change	48	43	53	61
Economic inequality	44	39	66	51
Racism	43	33	75	61
Illegal immigration	43	46	34	39
Terrorism	39	34	56	45
Sexism	26	19	45	38
Job opportunities for all Americans	25	18	53	31

Note: Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 3-15, 2019.

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The most interesting data point is both groups' positions on racism. It ranks as the top issue for Blacks and ranks fourth amongst Latinos. There is a significant 14-point differential between the 75 percent of Blacks and the 61 percent of Latinos who view racism as a very big problem. Unsurprisingly, 100 percent of interview respondents view racism as a very big problem; five of them view racism as the most significant challenge in America today. Respondents who did not rank racism as the number one issue today did note that their issues are exacerbated by racism. Since publishing the American Trends Data two years ago, the country erupted in protest in response to the murder of unarmed Black people across the United States, placing racism at the top of the political agenda for many Blacks and others alike (Cox &

Edwards, 2022). According to the interview data, Afro-Latinos have a powerful sense of linked

fate to Blacks through their attachment to the history and experience of Black oppression and

resilience in the United States. The comments associated with these two linked fate markers are

where many of the stories of how individuals came to their political beliefs reside in this study.

As Figure 1 shows, there are no comments under the history of oppression and history of

resilience linked fate markers in relation to Latinos. Instead, most markers associated with

Latinos exist as non-linked fate markers and are associated with a disconnect from the Latino

community. For one individual, the assimilationist logic associated with the creation of the

Latino community is enough for him to feel disconnected from the people and the politics of the

Latino community. Respondent 9 mentioned:

> The label 'Hispanic' and 'Latino' were used as assimilationist terms by a bunch of elitist
> assimilationist types who tried to create a sort of pan ethnic identity... there's a bit of an
> issue when you try to lump a bunch of different groups together that have very little in
> common with each other, especially in regard to their politics... por ejemplo (for
> example), third-generation Mexican Americans, with indigenous Guatemalans, Black
> Dominicans, white Cubans. It's trying to create solidarity or commonality among groups
> who really couldn't give less of a shit about each other... which isn't to say there isn't
> commonality because I think that there is, but perhaps they aren't as strong as the people
> who like the label would strongly suggest.

This quote exemplifies the relationship between linked fate and politics. Suppose one does not

feel connected with a community. In that case, it is, as Respondent 9 clarifies, hard to feel

connected to the group's politics, especially when the needs vary drastically according to

different segments of the population. Scholars like Cristina Mora (2014) and Michel Gobat

(2013) chronicle the creation of terms like "Hispanic" and "Latino," and mark their use as

containers for a range of racial, linguistic, and ethnic associations. Often associated with racist,

classist, and ethnonational ideologies, categories like "Hispanic" and "Latino" were used to

silence the political movements of Latino ethnic minorities, who were often of darker skin and

could identify as Afro-Latino (Gobat, 2013; Mora, 2014). Thus, Respondent 9's comment, despite not reflecting a connection to Hispanics or Latinos, exemplifies that there is a connection between feelings of linked fate and political attitudes within the Afro-Latino community.

DISCUSSION

Black linked fate exists among Afro-Latinos.

The results from the interviews and the first two studies confirm Hypothesis 1a and challenge Hypothesis 1b; Afro-Latinos have a strong sense of linked fate with Blacks but an uncommitted sense of linked fate with Latinos. There are almost 4 times as many linked fate comments associated with the Black community as there are non-linked fate comments associated with the Latino community. Interestingly, Afro-Latina women account for all 16 non-linked fate comments, primarily categorized as colorism and phenotypic discrimination. Western norms and black male hypervigilance may account for this pattern in the data where Afro-Latina women are more sensitive than their male counterparts to notions of not looking "Black enough." Research suggests that because women are bombarded with images in media about the ideal body more frequently than men, they are more prone to care that others accept their phenotypic characteristics (Voges et al., 2019; Buote et al., 2011).

This line of inquiry proposes that Afro-Latina women in the United States may simply be more sensitive about comments related to their image than their male counterparts. The Western world may also prime Afro-Latino men to view themselves as Black despite their Latinidad. Harboring frustrations about appearance may feel more like playing with semantics than a substantial gripe for Black men. Since the murder of Michael Brown, Jr. in 2014, images of Black men experiencing police brutality (and at its most extreme - death) has increased. While this phenomenon is not new, recent research suggests that it may have contributed to increased

hypervigilance of their Black bodies in non-Black spaces amongst the Black community (Jones-Eversley, 2020; Khan, 2019). A few of the Afro-Latino men in the study spoke of their experiences having "the talk" with their Black family members as a child, observing a connection between accepting their Blackness and learning how to keep themselves safe from police brutality (Anderson et al., 2021; Sankofa Waters, 2016). I am proposing that the increased hypervigilance amongst the Black community may have only amplified the Afro-Latino male connection to their Black identity.

On the hand, the data is inconclusive on whether Afro-Latinos feel a sense of linked fate with their Latino counterparts. Eight out of 10 respondents made at least two linked fate comments associated with Latinos, while 10 out of 10 made at least two non-linked fate comments associated with Latinos. In total, there were nearly twice as many non-linked fate comments as linked fate comments associated with Latinos. At the same time, respondents shared incredible stories about how family and community played essential roles in their connection to their Latinidad. In an attempt to account for the 32 linked fate comments associated with Latinos, I believe that the data may conflate a sense of ethnic linked fate with Latino racial linked fate, a common phenomenon with Latino linked fate research (Sanchez & Masouka, 2010). Latinos and Afro-Latinos identify on an ethno-racial spectrum. Recent research suggests that Latinos identify more frequently with their ethnic identity than their racial identity (Hugo Lopez et al., 2017). According to the data, Afro-Latinos experience Latino linked fate through family and community (people and place marker), which the interview content suggests is ethnically similar to their family. Hence, if the families and the communities that Afro-Latinos are interacting with identify with their ethnicity, one might conclude that Afro-Latinos are doing the same. This is verified through the interviews. When asked what words they used to describe

their ethnic and racial identity, 8 out of 10 respondents preferred the use of their ethnic identifier over the generic "Latino" or "Hispanic" identifier. Nevertheless, once conversations about community attachment and linked fate transitioned from ethnic to racial identifier, the Afro-Latinos respondents seem to feel an intense disconnect from the Latino community. It is beyond this study's scope and methodological choices to determine whether ethnic linked fate is represented in the comments. The body of research on Latino linked fate and community attachment would benefit from a study investigating the degree to which Afro-Latinos experience a sense of ethnic linked fate versus racial linked fate.

Latino-Afro-Latino relationships reflect aspects of social dominance theory.

Data from study 2 demonstrates a clear correlation between non-linked fate comments and social dominance theory markers. The data suggests that when Afro-Latinos branch outside their nuclear and ethnic relationships to experience the Latino racial community, they face various entry barriers. Social dominance theory markers like colorism, anti-blackness, assimilationist logic, and a commitment to hierarchy play significant roles in Afro-Latinos' disconnect with the Latino community. While it may not be intentional, though for some it certainly is, Latinos perpetuate white supremacist structures within their own community. The data suggest that Afro-Latinos perceive this commitment to hierarchy and "mejorada la raza" and often feel marginalized by the community's commitment to whiteness, lightness, and fluency in Spanish. Thus, hypothesis 2 is partially true – social dominance theory can describe the relationship between Afro-Latinos and Latinos. However, the data illustrates that racial threat theory is not meaningfully perceived in the interactions between Afro-Latinos and Latinos. The reason for this may be in the design of the two theories. Social dominance theory is less technical and more adaptive than racial threat theory. While it does have technical, institutional aspects

like a commitment to systems and hierarchy, it also includes ideological frames as the foundation

for systemic, systematic power hierarchies (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Sidanius et al., 2004). This

provides a framework to capture assimilationist logic, colorism, and other ideology-based

markers as a direct impact on relationships between Latinos and Afro-Latinos. On the other

hand, racial threat theory is more rigid; its ideological framework is composed of only two major

frames: a zero-sum mentality and a commitment to competition. Early in the research project, I

needed to determine which markers to use to frame non-linked fate comments and Afro-Latino

relationships with their monoracial counterparts. I decided the theoretical backing required both

an institutional and ideological framework. Research on community attachment is often solely

analyzed through an ideological framework like social identity theory (Sidanius et al., 2004;

Stets & Burke, 2000). However, a more robust framework is required for communities that are

highly aware of the systemic and institutional value of being part of a community (Auxier,

2020).

Afro-Latinos share political attitudes with Blacks.

The data from Study 3 suggests that higher levels of Afro-Latino linked fate lead to a

greater understanding of the political attitudes of the monoracial group with whom they perceive

a connection. The methodological choices of study 3 were constrained by the snowball sampling

method used for this project, resulting in insufficient data to confirm Hypothesis 3 quantitatively.

A content analysis of the interviews illustrates that the different feelings Afro-Latinos have

toward Latinos and Blacks significantly impact Afro-Latino politics. In alignment with

Dawson's (1994) original theory on linked fate and the Black utility heuristic, Afro-Latinos

(which study 1 and study 2 demonstrate have a greater linked fate with Blacks than Latinos) have

a much greater conception of and proficiency with Black politics. They feel a sense of

connection to Black issues far more than Latino politics and issues. These findings should be considered when designing future studies on Afro-Latino political attitudes. A future study should include quantitative methodologies to determine how significant the impact of linked fate is on Afro-Latino political attitudes. Other avenues for future research on Afro-Latino linked face and political attitudes should account for the differences between those who identify as monoethnic versus multiethnic, those who live in different parts of the nation, and those who are and are not Black-presenting

SO WHAT?

The multiracial community is projected to be the largest growing population over the next two decades. Learning more about this incredibly diverse population will become crucial to understanding the United States' cultural and political positions in the foreseeable future. This project is one of the few that relinquishes the tradition within multiracial research of studying majority-minority communities. Instead, I prioritize the narratives of dual-minority individuals, like myself, by researching within the Afro-Latino community. This project sought to qualify the existence of Black linked fate and Latino linked fate within the Afro-Latino community and speculate on the impacts of linked fate on Afro-Latino political attitudes. This project finds ample evidence to support the existence of Black linked fate amongst Afro-Latinos but finds conflicting evidence to support the existence of Latino linked fate. Latino-Afro-Latino relationships prove complex as markers of social dominance theory are strongly reflected in the stories of Afro-Latinos in connection to their Latino monoracial counterparts. Furthermore, future research should consider the causal association between linked fate and the degree to which Afro-Latinos are aware of Black and Latino political issues; future research should focus on quantifying this impact.

   As the multiracial community begins to outpace the growth of their monoracial counterparts, monoracial communities may come to rely on multiracial communities for coalitional support. This study helps communities to understand the tension points within their relationships and hopefully provides a foundation for restorative connections. The impact of Afro-Latinos and other multiracial communities is gearing up to change the racial, political, and cultural landscape of the United States, and it makes far more sense to get ahead of the change by understanding the needs of these communities than to be caught in the shadows.

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