ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation:	MULTIPLE DIMENSIONS OF RACE AND THE MENTAL HEALTH OF LATINOS FROM AFRO-LATIN AMERICA
	Jessica Elaine Peña, Doctor of Philosophy, 2018
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Building on past scholarship on the processes of racialization of Latinos, this dissertation addresses the role of both internal and external factors in influencing racial classification and the implications of race on the mental health outcomes of Latinos of Afro-Latin American origin. Latinos of this population have unique experiences with racial/ethnic boundaries and racialization, as many do not fit the dominant image of *latinidad* across the United States. This dissertation asks the following questions: How does the social context of metropolitan areas impact racial self-classification practices of Latinos? How do physical and external factors – such as skin tone, race of partners and observers – impact how Latinos are racially ascribed or self-classify? What are the mental health implications of the lived experience of race for Latinos? I draw upon the 5-year 2012-2016 American Community Survey (ACS) data and Waves 3 and 4 of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health) data to address these questions.

MULTIPLE DIMENSIONS OF RACE AND THE MENTAL HEALTH OF LATINOS FROM AFRO-LATIN AMERICA

by

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Dedication

Para mis hijos, Jason y Maya.

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Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Chapter 1: Introduction

Race is a categorical, hierarchical system of classification, delineating groups from one another. White racial classification has always been situated at the top of the racial order, associated with the power and privileges of whiteness. Those perceived as Black are assimilated into the bottom of the racial hierarchy. While the terms Hispanic or Latino are ethnic labels, scholars suggest there is evidence of the racialization of Latinos (Golash-Boza 2006; Roth 2012). Roth (2012) argues the United States is moving towards a *Hispanicized* racial schema, where "Latino" is recognized as a racial identity.

People often rely on physical cues when defining race (Brown, Dane, and Durham 1998; Feliciano 2016; Herman 2010; Saperstein 2012). Where racial boundaries around whiteness, blackness, and *latinidad* are drawn depend on understandings of who is 'White,' 'Black,' or 'Latino.' The prevailing somatic image of who is "Latino" does not account for the great variety in phenotype and the multiracial composition of this ethnic group. Latinos who do not fit the dominant somatic image may not be externally racialized as Latinos, leaving many on the borderlands of *latinidad*. Many Latinos of Afro-Latin American origin, countries with large afro-descendant populations and small indo-descendant populations, may not easily fit the dominant image of who is Latino.

While physical appearance is the primary factor associated with racialization, external factors also influence racial classification. There is limited research on how external factors, such as social context and the race of those closest to you impact

racial self-classification. Additionally, little is known on the role the race of observers on ascribed race. While some people may recognize some as in-group members, others may actively exclude others as members of their own group in order to maximize in-group distinctiveness (Castano et al. 2002; Feliciano 2016). This may be a method of solidifying boundaries between racial groups.

Investigating the factors associated with self-identified and ascribed race are significant because race is highly consequential. Past research has suggested the lived experience of race has lasting implications on health outcomes (Garcia et al. 2015). Some scholars find first-generation Latinos have better mental health outcomes, claiming mental health worsens with acculturation (Harker 2001). This has led some to consider this association as an "immigrant health paradox" (Harker 2001). However, the "paradox" is more so the effect of greater exposure to racialization and racism among later generations of Latinos.

1.1 Latinos from Afro-Latin America

Race in Latin America has been historically measured along a continuum with whites of direct European lineage at one end and people of African or Indigenous descent at the opposite end. Afro-Latin America is defined broadly as all regions of Latin America where significant groups of people of known African ancestry are found and is the largest single component of the overseas African diaspora (Andrews 2004). An estimated one-quarter of the total population of Latin America are people of African ancestry (Andrews 2004). Researchers identify Afro-Latin American countries as those with the highest percentage of people identifying as Black or in

mixed-race categories that denote African origin (Andrews 2004; Telles and Paschel 2014).

There are many similarities in the construction of race and the how race operates in Latin American countries with large African origin descendants. Identification with the nation (for example, as "Puerto Rican") rather than along racial lines is common practice across Latin America. This is often seen as the result of the historical erasure of Black and indigenous identities through the nation-building projects of *blanqueamiento, mestizaje,* and more recently, multiculturalism, promoting identification as "one race" as "Puerto Ricans," "Dominicans," and so on. However, there are also many differences in racial classification practices across these countries that are important to note. The extent to which people identify as any race depends upon their national contexts. National ideologies, local histories, and population makeup can all greatly impact the race choices and the hierarchy of these racial categories in each country (Telles and Flores 2013).

Researchers find that identification as white is much stronger in countries where there is more mixture with Afro-descendants, for instance, Afro-Latin American countries like Panama, than those with large indigenous populations (Telles and Flores 2013). The only exception seems to be the Dominican Republic, with its large African-descendant population but smaller white-identifying population (Telles and Flores 2013). In Colombia, nearly 63 percent identified as either *mestizo, mulato*, or black while 31 percent identified as white (Telles and Paschel 2014). In Panama, approximately 61 percent identified as either *mestizo, mulato,* while 31 percent identified as white (Telles and Paschel 2014). In the Dominican Republic, nearly 88

percent identified as either *mestizo, mulato,* or black while 11 percent identified as white (Telles and Paschel 2014).

Migration to the United States introduces these populations to new racial schemas and, in some places, a racialized "Hispanic" or "Latino" category. There is limited research on Latinos from Afro-Latin American origin in the United States. The research that has been done has focused on people from the Hispanic Caribbean countries of Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico. This dissertation makes use of the Latin American race literature (Andrews 2004; Telles and PERLA 2014) to include people from Colombia and Panama in the analyses.

1.2 Racialization and Racial Boundaries

While racial stratification in the United States has historically operated along bi-racial lines, more recent waves of immigration and a growth in the multiracial population has shifted the racial stratification system towards those found in Latin America (Bonilla-Silva 2002). Bonilla-Silva (2002) suggests that demographic shifts are giving way to a White, honorary White, and collective Black racial hierarchy. In this new racial hierarchy, White Latinos would be classified as White, light-skinned Latinos would be classified as honorary Whites, and dark-skinned Latinos would be classified as part of the collective Black. Under a Latin-Americanized system, individuals of Afro-Latin American descent can be categorized in any of the three racial categories. However, other scholars have suggested that while Hispanic or Latino is an ethnic label, it functions in many ways as a racial label as it is often assigned to people on the basis of appearance (Golash-Boza 2006). Latinos who do

not fit the dominant somatic image of being mestizo do not experience racialization as Latinos, leaving many on the borderlands of *latinidad* (Golash-Boza 2006).

Racial schemas are "the bundle of racial categories and the set of rules for what they mean, how they are ordered, and how to apply them to oneself and others" (Roth 2012). Roth (2012) suggests the United States is moving away from the traditional *US Binary schema*, based on the "one-drop" rule where individuals are classified as White or Black, and towards a *Hispanicized racial schema*. The *Hispanicized schema* uses the categories of White, Black and Latino.

However, researchers have yet to address how traditional patterns of Latino immigrant settlement in specific regions of the country may shape the local definitions of racial categories. For instance, areas that have not been traditional settlement areas for Afro-origin immigrant groups have constructed "Black" as African American (Dowling and Newby 2010). Researchers have yet to address how the somatic image of who is "Latino" may expand and restrict to include or exclude other subgroups based on the composition of the local Latino population. The schemas people use and how they classify reflect the symbolic boundaries they draw (Roth 2012). By conducting boundary work, people create collective identities, drawing on common traits and experiences to differentiate themselves from others (Liebler 2016; Roth 2012). Investigating racial classification practices is useful method in revealing the schemas being used and the racial boundary work being conducted.

1.3 Race and Social Context

Racial classification is not entirely shaped by physical characteristics. Researchers suggest racial identities are much more contextual and racial boundaries themselves may vary by social context (Feliciano, Lee, and Robnett 2011; Landale and Oropesa 2002; Vaquera and Kao 2006). As previously mentioned the somatic image of who is "Latino" expands to include other groups based on the composition of the local Latino population, as immigrant settlement often follows past trends. For instance, who is defined as "Latino" in cities of the Northeast includes afro-descendant populations from Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic. However, these same people may not be seen as "Latino" in cities of the Southwest.

A review of the literature on Latinos of Afro-Latin American origin suggests where an individual is located geographically within the United States can have a significant impact on racial and ethnic identification. Different histories of immigration compounded by the historical concentration of Latino subgroups in distinct regions throughout the country contributes to local constructions of a *latinidad* that differs substantially from one location to the next (Dowling and Newby 2010). For instance, researchers in New York City, Providence, RI, and Reading, PA find Dominicans and Puerto Ricans construct Hispanic/Latino identities (Bailey 2000, 2001; Itzigsohn, Giorguli, and Vazquez 2005; Jensen et al. 2006) while researchers in Washington, DC and Albuquerque, NM find evidence of Dominicans and Cubans constructing Black-Latino identities (Candelario 2001, 2007; Dowling and Newby 2010; Newby and Dowling 2007).

Latinos in metropolitan areas like Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, and Atlanta live in contexts that differ substantially in terms of the national origin groups represented, the racial composition of their residential areas, and the size of the Latino population (Feliciano et al. 2011). The local social context, measured as racial/ethnic and socioeconomic composition, can be highly influential in the racial classification practices of Latinos. Additionally, differences in racial classification practices across geographic areas can point to variations in local racial schemas and racial boundaries used. The local somatic image of who is White, Black, or Latino may influence how people are externally racialized and shape their own self-classification practices.

1.4 Race of Romantic Partners

In the United States, people are most likely to live near, become friends with, date, and marry others who are similar to themselves (Kao and Joyner 2004). The contact hypothesis (Allport 1954) posits that positive racial perceptions are directly correlated to the degree of intimate contact between members of different racial groups. Additionally, early assimilation theorists (Gordon 1964) argued that intermarriage was the ultimate indicator of social distance. Based on the contact hypothesis and the role interracial marriage has served to measure social distance, interracial marriage can indicate diminishing racial boundaries between groups (Feliciano et al. 2011; Vaquera and Kao 2005).

While intermarriage remains an important measure of racial boundaries between groups, its significance may be diminishing with more recent trends of delayed marriage and an increase in single households (Feliciano et al. 2011; Raley

2000). Thus, dating and romantic partnerships are becoming an increasingly important area of study (Feliciano et al. 2011). Dating and romantic partnerships provide another opportunity to address the social distance between racial and ethnic groups (Feliciano 2016; Feliciano et al. 2011; Feliciano and Robnett 2014; Vaquera and Kao 2005).

In line with earlier assimilation theorists, Yancey (2003) suggests Latinos who have married Whites are more likely to self-identify as White. Other researchers have followed this line of inquiry, suggesting the race of spouses more broadly, not just White spouses, may be impacting the racial self-classification of Latinos (Golash-Boza and Darity 2008). It is possible that similar to the race of spouses, the race of romantic partners impacts racial self-classification of Latinos as well. Who people date reflects whom they feel closest to and whom they identify with. Race of romantic partners can be indicative of the social distance between these groups and whether racial boundaries to self-identifying with whiteness or blackness persist (Qian and Lichter 2007; Vargas 2015).

1.5 Observed Race

Observed race, often measured by interviewers, provides insight on racial groupings in society and often goes understudied. Observers rely on certain physical features, such as skin tone, hair, eyes, nose, mouth, cheeks, and eyebrows to distinguish between races (Alejandro-Wright 2013; Blair and Judd 2011; Brown et al. 1998; Herman 2010). In addition to observable characteristics of others, the characteristics of the observer themselves, such as race and ethnicity, can also influence classification of others (Feliciano 2016). While some researchers find

observers' characteristics have little impact on observed race (Herman 2010), others find that White, Asian, and multiracial observers were more likely to classify people as members of their in-group (Harris 2002). A more recent study using online dating profiles suggests Blacks see race in more complex ways than other racial groups, as Black observers are less likely to categorize others as White and more likely to classify them as other or multiracial (Feliciano 2016).

The one-drop rule of racial classification, an oppressive tool used to enforce a strict White-Black racial boundary, has indirectly served as a positive strategy to resist white racism by unifying Blacks in the United States (Davis 1991; Khanna 2010). Scholars argue the Black community has embraced the rule as a method of promoting Black unity and inclusiveness (Khanna 2010; Spencer 1997). Researchers have yet to address how Black interviewers may potentially be identifying some Latinos as in-group members.

People may be biased toward excluding others as members of their own group in order to maximize in-group distinctiveness (Castano et al. 2002; Feliciano 2016). This may be a method of solidifying boundaries between racial groups. While the boundaries to whiteness have historically expanded to include other immigrant groups, there is much debate on whether these boundaries have expanded to include some subsets of the Latino population (Vargas 2015). Researchers have yet to address how non-Hispanic White observers may potentially be enforcing racial boundaries and limiting access to the power and privilege associated with whiteness. Even less is known on how Latino observers are observing other Latinos within the US racial binary.

1.6 Race and Mental Health

Investigating the factors associated with racialization as White, Black, or Latino is significant because race is highly consequential. Racial and ethnic minorities suffer from poorer physical and mental health outcomes compared to non-Hispanic Whites. Drawing and contributing to the social determinants of health literature, this dissertation underscores that these health disparities are not due to biological differences, but rather environment, social status, limited opportunities, experiences with discrimination and stress (Garcia et al. 2015).

Research on racial and ethnic health disparities often relies on self-identification. However, this may not fit how race and ethnicity often impacts individuals in society (Vargas, Sanchez, and Kinlock 2015). Race in the United States is not a single, consistent identity, but comprised of multiple conflicting dimensions (Roth 2016). Addressing the impact of multiple dimensions of race, such as racial self-classification, observed race, racial mismatch, phenotype, and perceived discrimination is especially important when investigating Latino mental health. By making use of multiple measures of race, researchers are able to better identify within-group differences in the outcomes based on the dimension of race being measured. Additionally, it is especially important to make use of various mental health measures in order to fully address the impact of race on mental health. Racial disparities in mental health vary in severity based on the mental health measure used (Lee and Turney 2012).

Researchers have established that race has implications on individuals life outcomes (Arce, Murguia, and Frisbie 1987; Darity, Dietrich, and Hamilton 2005;

Jones et al. 2008; Keith and Herring 1991; Telles and Murguia 1990; Telles and Steele 2012; Vargas et al. 2015). This dissertation provides us with insight into the ways subsets of the Latino population are experiencing race in the United States. By investigating the internal and external factors, such as the social context of local areas, the race of romantic partners, and the race of observers, in racial classification we can begin to identify factors outside of appearance that influence how Latinos are experiencing racialization in the United States. This dissertation goes a step further by investigating the implications of race on the mental health of Latinos.

1.7 Project Overview

This dissertation consists of three studies:

Study #1: Racial Classification Patterns of Latinos and Local Understandings of Racial Boundaries

Using the 2012-2016 American Community Survey (ACS), this study provides results indicating social context, measured as racial/ethnic and socioeconomic diversity, greatly influences racial classification patterns of Afro-Latin Americans. The presence of a large Afro-Latin American origin community leads to a greater likelihood of racialized Latino identification. Meanwhile, a large Black community with at least a bachelor's degree leads to an increase in black identification. This study suggests variation in racial classification of Latinos serves as evidence of variation in the construction of racial/ethnic boundaries and the racial schemas used.

Study #2: Skin Tone, Romantic Partners, and Interviewers: Impacts on Self-Identified and Ascribed Race

Using Wave 3 of Add Health data, this study addresses the role of skin tone and race of romantic partners in racial self-classification along with the role of the race of observers in ascribed race. Results indicate that within the US racial binary, Latinos are more likely to self-identify and be observed as racially white. Latinos self-classification is closely tied to the race of their romantic partners, leading to higher White and Black identification, respectively. Their ascribed race varies substantially by the race/ethnicity of the observer. Black observers are much more likely to observe

Latinos as racially Black than non-Black observers while Latino observers are more likely to observe Latinos as racially White.

Study #3: Multiple Dimensions of Race and the Mental Health of Latinos

This project makes use of Waves 3 and 4 of Add Health data to analyze the impact of racial self-identification, observed race, racial mismatch, skin tone, and perceived discrimination on depressive symptoms and diagnosed depression. Results on the impact of the *lived experience of race* on mental health indicate racial mismatch, skin tone, and discrimination are associated with depressive symptoms and higher diagnosed depression rates. Additionally, this project addresses the "immigrant health paradox" literature, finding Spanish language use leads to better mental health outcomes. The differences in results for Spanish language use based on depressive symptoms and diagnosed depression leads to the conclusion that Spanish language use is less of a protective measure and more of a barrier to receiving adequate care.

Chapter 2: Racial Classification Patterns of Latinos and Local Understandings of Racial Boundaries

Race in the United States is undergoing a demographic shift, towards what researchers refer to as the Latin Americanization of race (Bonilla-Silva 2002). Historically, people of Latin American ancestry were recorded as "White" on Census forms (Miyawaki 2016; Rodriguez 2000). Since the introduction of a Hispanic or Latino ethnicity question on the 1980 Census, over 35 percent of Hispanic/Latinos have identified as "some other race" (U.S. Census Bureau 1983). This trend has remained consistent and is evident in the 2010 Census data; approximately 36.7 percent of Latinos identified as "some other race" (SOR) (U.S. Census Bureau 2011). Several scholars suggest individuals classifying as "some other race" are using this to emphasize a "Latino" racial identity (Itzigsohn and Dore-Cabral 2000; Rodriguez 2000; Rodriguez and Cordero-Guzman 1992; Roth 2012) while those who do identify as racially White, Black, or Multiracial may see these as valid components to their racial/ethnic identities.

Much of the previous research on Latinos has focused on Mexican-origin populations, as this is the longest standing and largest Latino origin group in the United States. However, many studies generalize the results for Mexican-origin groups to apply to all Latinos. A significant gap in the literature remains on race and other Latino populations, especially those from countries with large afro-descendant populations. Latinos from Afro-Latin America are people from countries with large afro-descendant populations and small indo-descendant populations. This study

begins to address the gap in the literature by centering the experiences of Latinos of Afro-Latin American origin in the research (Araújo and Borrell 2006).

Skin tone is often found to be the most important characteristic when identifying race (Brown 1998; Feliciano 2016; Herman 2010; Saperstein 2012) and researchers find self-identification and skin tone to be very closely linked for Latinos (Golash-Boza and Darity 2008). Researchers have also established that individual-level factors such as education, nativity, language use, gender, and age all affect racial self-identification (Feliciano, Lee, and Robnett 2011; Golash-Boza and Darity 2008; Telles and Flores 2013; Telles and Paschel 2014; Vargas 2015; Vargas et al. 2016).

However, in addition to physical and individual-level factors, social context also impacts racial self-classification. This is evident in the different findings across studies on racial identification practices in different cities of the United States. For instance, researchers in New York City, Providence, RI, and Reading, PA, where Afro-Latin American origin groups are more heavily concentrated, find Dominicans and Puerto Ricans construct Hispanic/Latino racial identities (Bailey 2000; Itzigsohn, Giorguli, and Vazquez 2005; Jensen et al. 2006). Researchers in Washington, DC and Albuquerque, NM find evidence of Dominicans and Cubans constructing Black-Latino racial identities (Candelario 2001, 2007; Dowling and Newby 2010; Newby and Dowling 2007).

I argue that many of the differences we see in the research on Latinos and racial classification practices is in part due to local understandings of where racial boundaries are drawn. Racial schemas, bundles of racial categories and the set of

rules for their meanings and applications to oneself and others, have been proven to vary from country to country (Roth 2012). This project addresses the local variations in racial boundary work and racial schemas used within the United States by analyzing the racial classification patterns of Latinos from Afro-Latin American countries across metropolitan areas.

Scholars have called for researchers to consider how context affects racial classification (Mowen and Stansfield 2016). Using a 5-year sample of the Census-collected American Community Survey (ACS) 2012-2016, this project answers this call by exploring the variations in racial classification patterns across metropolitan areas and addressing how social context, measured as racial/ethnic and socioeconomic composition of metropolitan areas, impacts racial classification patterns. As differences in racial schemas and racial classification are evident across Latin American countries, I also address the national origin differences across five Afro-Latin American origin groups: Cuba, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Panama, and Puerto Rico.

I find evidence of significant variation in classification across metropolitan areas of the United States. My findings suggest the social context of an area impacts the boundaries of whiteness, blackness, and *latinidad* and consequently, the racial schemas used. Additionally, the differences in racial schemas used across Latin American countries are evident in the differences I find in classification practices across national origin groups. I propose the variations across metropolitan areas in self-classification serve as evidence of local understandings of racial boundaries and racial schemas.

2.1 Background

An estimated one-quarter of the total population of Latin America are people of African ancestry (Andrews 2004). While there are people of African ancestry throughout all of Latin America, researchers identify Afro-Latin American countries as those with the highest percentage of people identifying as Black or in mixed-race categories that denote African origin (Andrews 2004; Telles and Paschel 2014). However, the experiences of Latinos of Afro-Latin American origin are underrepresented and understudied in the US Latino research (Araújo and Borrell 2006). Based on past definitions of Afro-Latin America and previous research (Andrews 2004; Telles and Paschel 2014), this study focuses on people in the United States from the Afro-Latin American countries of Cuba, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Panama, and Puerto Rico.

2.2 Racialization and Racial Schemas

While racial stratification in the United States has historically operated along bi-racial lines, more recent waves of immigration and a growth in the multiracial population has shifted the racial stratification system towards those found in Latin America (Bonilla-Silva 2002) Bonilla-Silva (2002) suggests that demographic shifts are giving way to a White, honorary White, and collective Black racial hierarchy. Under a Latin-Americanized system, Latinos of Afro-Latin American origin can be categorized in any of the three racial categories.

Yet, while Hispanic or Latino is an ethnic label, many find it functions as a racial label, often assigned to people on the basis of appearance (Golash-Boza 2006; Roth 2012). These researchers suggest that there is evidence of an emerging *Latino*

racial category. However, the dominant somatic image of who is "Latino" does not account for the great variety in phenotype and race of many within this ethnic group. Latinos who do not fit the dominant somatic image may not be externally racialized as Latinos, leaving many on the borderlands of *latinidad*. I argue the somatic image of who is "Latino" expands to include other groups based on the composition of the local Latino population, as immigrant settlement often follows past trends. For instance, who is defined as "Latino" in cities of the Northeast includes afro-descendant populations from Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic.

However, these same people may not be seen as "Latino" in cities of the Southwest. Areas that have not been traditional settlement areas for Afro-origin immigrant groups have constructed "Black" as African American (Dowling and Newby 2010). However, areas with large Afro-Latin American origin populations may shift the somatic image of Latinos to include those of African descent. Thus, the somatic image of who is seen as Latino may be greatly impacted by the racial and ethnic composition of an area.

Focusing on Dominicans and Puerto Ricans in San Juan, Puerto Rico, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic and New York City, Roth (2012) defines racial schemas as "the bundle of racial categories and the set of rules for what they mean, how they are ordered, and how to apply them to oneself and others." Roth (2012) defines the *US Binary schema* as being based on the "one-drop" rule where individuals are classified as White or Black. The *Hispanicized schema* uses the categories of White, Black and Latino. Roth (2012) argues the United States is

moving towards using a *Hispanicized racial schema,* based on her findings in New York City.

Immigration and greater racial/ethnic diversity lead to the restructuring of the racial schemas used by both immigrant and native populations. The schemas people use and how they classify reflect the symbolic boundaries they draw (Roth 2012). By conducting boundary work, people create collective identities, drawing on common traits and experiences to differentiate themselves from others (Liebler 2016; Roth 2012). I argue that where these racial boundaries are being drawn is greatly dependent on the social context in which they are being drawn. The local somatic image of who is White, Black, or Latino may influence how people are externally racialized and shape their own self-classification practices. I suggest the variations in classification patterns across the United States serve as evidence of the different ways racial boundary work is being conducted across metropolitan areas.

2.3 Racial Self-Classification and National Origin

The extent to which people identify as any race depends upon their national origin. National ideologies, local histories, and population makeup can all greatly impact the race choices and the hierarchy of these racial categories across Latin America (Telles and Flores 2013). In Colombia, nearly 63 percent identified as either *mestizo, mulato*, or Black while 31 percent identified as White (Telles and Paschel 2014). In Panama, approximately 61 percent identified as either *mestizo, mulato,* while 31 percent identified as White (Telles and Paschel 2014). In the Dominican Republic, nearly 88 percent identified as either *mestizo, mulato,* or Black while 11 percent identified as White (Telles and Paschel 2014). While the immigrant

experience may impact self-concept, it can also be expected that people bring national-origin specific understandings of race along with them, leading to a continuation of these classification practices.

Overall, Latinos in the United States demonstrate a strong preference for whiteness (Darity, Dietrich, and Hamilton 2005; Darity, Hamilton, and Dietrich 2002). Amongst Puerto Ricans, there is a strong preference to self-identify as White, and Black identification is not a preference for a vast majority of Puerto Ricans (Darity et al. 2002; Vargas-Ramos 2014). Most Cubans see themselves as White and are least likely to classify themselves outside the Black-White dichotomy (Denton and Massey 1989). Amongst Latinos in the United States, researchers find that Dominicans have the highest rate of black identification (Sawyer and Paschel 2007).

Based on past research, it can be expected for Puerto Ricans and Cubans to demonstrate a preference for White identification while we can expect to find high rates of Black identification among Dominicans. There is limited research on how other groups, such as Colombians and Panamanians may be identifying racially within the US context. As noted in past research on Dominicans, blackness may be acquired through migration to new places (Sawyer and Paschel 2007). I argue the social context of these places leads to differences in the construction of racial boundaries and local understandings of whiteness, blackness, and *latinidad*.

2.4 Race and Social Context

Researchers suggest racial identities are much more contextual and racial boundaries themselves may vary by social context (Feliciano et al. 2011; Landale and Oropesa 2002; Vaquera and Kao 2006). A review of the literature on Latinos of Afro-

Latin American origin suggests where an individual is located geographically within the United States can have a significant impact on racial and ethnic identification. Different histories of immigration compounded by the historical concentration of Latino subgroups in distinct regions throughout the country contributes to local constructions of a latinidad that differs substantially from one location to the next (Dowling and Newby 2010). Latinos in metropolitan areas like Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, and Atlanta live in contexts that differ substantially in terms of the national origin groups represented, the racial composition of their residential areas, and the size of the Latino population (Feliciano et al. 2011). I expect social context, measured as racial/ethnic and socioeconomic composition, to be highly influential in the racial classification practices of Latinos.

2.4.1 Co-ethnic Communities and Latino Racial Identities

Scholars have noted that people of Latin American descent do not necessarily share the same social, national, or historical backgrounds (Oboler 1995). Thus, it should not be expected that they all believe they have a common identity with other nationalities as Hispanic or Latino (Oboler 1995). They can be using the "some other race" category to emphasize a pan-ethnic or national origin identity. While we cannot be certain of the exact meaning when people are identifying as "some other race," I argue this does tell us that they do not see themselves represented in the racial categories available to them. In other words, they do not see themselves within the racial boundaries of whiteness or blackness. Researchers suggest Latinos use the category as a method of highlighting a pan-ethnic or national-origin specific identity as their sole racial identity (Golash-Boza 2006; Rodriguez 2000). A review of the

literature suggests identification as racially Hispanic is high in Northeastern cities. The Northeast has historically seen sizeable Afro-Latin American immigration, especially from Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic. Researchers finds that Puerto Ricans in New York believe they are perceived by outsiders as some "other" race or as "Spanish" and identify as such (Rodriguez and Cordero-Guzman 1992). Dominicans in New York City are also choosing identifiers like "Hispanic" (Itzigsohn et al. 2005). This is in line with Roth's (2012) findings of a *Hispanicized racial schema* in New York City.

There is evidence of a racialized Latino identity or the *Hispanicized racial schema* in Providence, Rhode Island, and Reading, Pennsylvania as well (Bailey 2001; Itzigsohn et al. 2005; Jensen et al. 2006). In Providence, Rhode Island, researchers find evidence that second-generation Dominicans define their race as "Spanish" or "Hispanic" (Bailey 2001). In line with previous research, I expect to find high rates of identification as "some other race" in cities with established Afro-Latin American origin communities, especially in the Northeast.

2.4.2 Preference for Whiteness

There is evidence of a strong Latino preference for racial self-classification as White (Darity et al. 2005, 2002). In fact, within the Latin American research, leaning towards White identification is found to be strongest in Latin American countries with larger afro-descendant populations than those with indo-descendant populations, primarily because of the more severe implications associated with blackness and Black identification (Telles and Flores 2013). The only exception is the Dominican Republic, with its large Afro-descendant population but smaller white-identifying

population (Telles and Flores 2013). Most Cubans see themselves as White and are least likely to classify themselves outside the Black-White dichotomy (Denton and Massey 1989). In both 1980 and 1990, less than 8 percent of Puerto Ricans self-classified in a racial category other than White (Darity et al. 2005).

While a White preference among Latinos has been established, the factors leading to White identification are not as clear. Research finds evidence that the boundaries between Whiteness and *latinidad* are porous for *some* Latinos (Vargas 2015). Rather than an indication of expanding white boundaries, Vargas (2015) suggests there may be a small subset of the Latino population that have always exhibited traditional characteristics comparable to the dominant White group. The power and privilege associated with whiteness in a white-imposed racial hierarchy and the disadvantage for those determined to be non-Whites along with desires to assimilate to the dominant group may lead some Latinos to be more likely to self-classify as racially White.

2.4.3 Black Identities

While traditional and segmented assimilation theorists assume Black racial identity is either a liability or a signal of downward assimilation, the Black middle class can be seen as a potential path for immigrant incorporation (Neckerman, Carter, and Lee 1999). The contact hypothesis (Allport 1954) posits that positive racial perceptions are directly correlated to the degree of contact between members of different racial groups. In line with the contact hypothesis, qualitative research suggests that Latinos who live in the same neighborhoods as Blacks have a greater likelihood of identifying with them and forming pan-minority identities (Carter 2005;

Lee 2006). This may be especially so for Latinos living in communities with a large Black middle class. I argue these factors may lead some Latinos of Afro-Latin American origin to identify as racially Black.

A review of the research suggests this may be occurring in places like Washington, DC. As a historically segregated southern city with more recent Central American immigration, Washington, DC has been primarily shaped by the White/Black divide (Candelario 2007). There is a long established economically and politically diverse Black American community (Candelario 2007). Dominicans in the Washington, DC area are nearly twice as likely to identify as Black than their counterparts in New York City (Candelario 2001). Dominicans in DC highlighted their identities as being both Black *and* Hispanic, as their conceptualization of Black identities was not restricted to solely African Americans (Candelario 2007).

In addition to the impact of living in cities with a large Black middle class, I argue that areas with fewer Afro-Latin American origin Latinos lead to a greater likelihood of the formation of Black identities. These Latinos are less likely to be externally classified as Latinos in areas that do not include afro-origin groups within the boundaries of *latinidad,* and are thus more likely to identify as Black or "Afro-Latino." For instance, Afro-Cubans in the southwest identify as "Afro-Hispano" because they are "both Black and Hispanic" (Newby and Dowling 2007). Their blackness and identity as Cubans places them outside the local construction of Latino identity (Dowling and Newby 2010).

2.4.4 Diversity and Multiracial Identities

The formation of multiracial identities seems to be especially dependent on social context, namely racial/ethnic diversity (Lee and Bean 2004; Zhou and Lee 2007). In the Los Angeles context, Zhou and Lee (2007) find that most second-generation immigrants are growing up in an area where the majority of the population is neither White nor Black, leading to the formation of "racialized minority" identities as people of color. Lee and Bean (2004) find that multiracial reporting is more likely in areas of greater racial/ethnic diversity. Meanwhile, areas that have less racial/ethnic diversity continue to use a Black/White divide for racial identities (Lee and Bean 2004). I argue Latinos may be following these trends as well, identifying as multiracial in areas with significant racial/ethnic diversity.

2.5 Significance of Current Research

Racial categorization matters because of its implications for inequality. Where Latinos "fit" within the white-imposed racial hierarchy impacts personal outcomes. Racial classification serves as an indicator of where some groups are being integrated into the racial hierarchy. Addressing the factors related to racialization as White, Black, Latino, or Multiracial matters because they provide insight on the factors associated with the construction of local racial boundaries. Treating identification as a social outcome, subject to physical, social, and contextual influences is imperative in developing a better understanding of how Latinos are experiencing race in the United States.

Past research has established that education, nativity, and language use are all factors that influence racial identification among Latinos (Feliciano et al. 2011;

Golash-Boza and Darity 2008; Telles and Flores 2013; Telles and Paschel 2014; Vargas 2015). As I am interested in focusing national origin differences and the impact of social context on racial classification, I control for these measures in the current study In line with previous research, I control for age (Telles and Flores 2013; Vargas 2015), and sex (Golash-Boza and Darity 2008; Telles and Flores 2013; Vargas 2015).

2.6 Data and Methods

This project utilizes the 5-year 2012 – 2016 American Community Survey (ACS) data collected by the US Census Bureau and packaged as IPUMS (Ruggles et al. 2018). With these data, I address the racial classification practices of people of Afro-Latin American descent, focusing on the social context impacts across metropolitan areas. Additionally, I address the national origin differences in classification practices across Afro-Latin American origin groups. As I am interested in self-classification, I limit the analyses to adults between the ages of 18 and 89 living in metropolitan areas throughout the United States.

As previous research has indicated, using ancestry variables when available allows researchers to capture individuals that do not identify themselves using pan-ethnic terms like “Hispanic” or “Latino” (Emeka and Vallejo 2011). I make use of both the detailed Hispanic origin variable and ancestry variables to ensure I include all Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican, Colombian, and Panamanian origin respondents. After limiting the sample to the national origin groups specified and restricting the sample on key measures, such as racial classification, metropolitan areas, and control

measures, the final sample consists of 293,349 Latinos of Afro-Latin American origin. The research questions addressed in this paper are threefold:

1. What are the variations in classification patterns across national origin groups?
2. What are the variations in racial classification patterns across metropolitan areas?
3. How does social context, measured as racial/ethnic and socioeconomic composition, impact racial classification patterns?

Based on a review of the literature, I hypothesize:

1. I expect to find significant variation in classification by national origin groups. I expect Cubans and Puerto Ricans to have the highest rates of White classification and Dominicans to have the highest rates of Black classification.
2. I expect to find significant variation in classification across metropolitan areas. I expect Latinos of Afro-Latin American origin in the Northeast will have high rates of "SOR" identification and will be less likely to identify as White, Black, or Multiracial.
3. I expect an increase in the size of the Afro-Latin American origin population will result in higher rates of "SOR" classification and lower rates of identification as White, Black, or Multiracial.
4. I expect an increase in the size of the non-Hispanic Black middle class, measured as Black with at least a bachelor's degree, will result in higher rates of Black identification.

5. I expect an increase in the size of the non-Hispanic White middle class will result in higher rates of White identification.
6. I expect an increase in racial/ethnic diversity will result in higher rates of Multiracial identification.

2.6.1 Procedures

I present descriptive results on racial classification patterns by national origin groups (Table 2.1). This is followed by descriptive results on racial classification patterns across each of the metropolitan areas with the largest proportion of Afro-Latin Americans in the United States (Table 2.3). I then present descriptive results indicating the percent of the national origin group populations present across each of the metropolitan areas (Table 2.4). This is followed by results on social context factors specifying racial/ethnic composition across these metropolitan areas (Table 2.5). The social context measures for the descriptive analysis include: the percent of the Afro-Latin American origin population residing in the area, percent non-Hispanic Black with a bachelor's degree or higher, percent non-Hispanic with a bachelor's degree or higher, percent other Hispanic, percent non-Hispanic Black, percent non-Hispanic White and the scores received on an Ethnic Diversity Index (EDI).

I then use multinomial logistic regression to address racial classification differences across the metropolitan areas and national origin groups specified in my descriptive analyses (Table 2.6). A second regression model addresses the impact of social context measures and national origin on racial classification (Table 2.7). The social context measures include: the percent of the Afro-Latin American population, percent non-Hispanic Black middle class, percent non-Hispanic White middle class

and an Ethnic Diversity Index (EDI). Multinomial logistic regression allows me to use "some other race" (SOR) as my baseline category, permitting for an "SOR" v "White," "SOR" v "Black," and "SOR" v "Multiracial" comparison. This methodology helps identify differences in how the racial boundaries are being drawn across the metropolitan areas as well as identify how social context are impacting racial boundaries.

2.6.2 Measures

Table 2.1 presents the descriptive statistics for the key measures used in the current study.

Metropolitan Areas. This project makes use of the metropolitan areas variable using the 2013 definitions for metropolitan statistical areas (MSAs) from the U.S. Office of Management and Budget (OMB) (Ruggles et al. 2018). In order to focus the analysis on metropolitan areas specifically, I drop all cases that were coded as "not in identifiable area" in the original dataset. I recode the measure to focus the analysis on metropolitan areas with over 1 percent of the Afro-Latin American origin population. This includes the metropolitan areas of Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Hartford, Houston, Los Angeles, Miami, New York, Orlando, Philadelphia, Providence, Tampa, and Washington, DC. All other metropolitan areas are recoded as "Other Metro Areas." For my multinomial logistic regression model, New York is the reference category. This location has been a long-established destination for Latinos of Afro-Latin American origin, is the area with the largest proportion of the population and has been the center of much of the previous literature on this population.

Table 2.1. Descriptive Statistics for Latinos of Afro-Latin American Origin (N=293,349)

Racial Self-Classification	
White	68.15
Black	7.90
Other	20.74
Multiracial	3.21
Social Context Variables	
Average Percent Afro-Latin American Origin	11.71
Average Percent Other Hispanic	9.43
Average Percent NH Black	12.83
Average Percent NH Black, Bachelor's+	2.48
Average Percent NH White	58.86
Average Percent NH White, Bachelor's+	23.01
Average EDI	0.548
National Origin	
Puerto Rican	45.77
Cuban	23.98
Dominican	16.08
Colombian	11.89
Panamanian	2.28
Control Variables	
Average Age	44.41
Female	53.75
Bachelor's Degree +	21.35
Native-Born	43.30
Fluent in English	81.72

Data: ACS 2012-2016; All figures expressed as percentages unless otherwise noted; Sample includes respondents of Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican, Colombian, and Panamanian origin, based on both the Hispanic Origin and Ancestry measures.

Racial Classification. I use the race measure as my outcome variable. In the survey, individuals are able to select multiple races from the options: "White," "Black, or African Am.," "American Indian or Alaska Native", "Asian Indian," "Japanese," "Chinese," "Korean," "Filipino," "Vietnamese," "Other Asian" and "Some other race." I recode this original race measure to the categories of "White," "Black," "American Indian/Alaska Native," "Asian/Pacific Islander," "some other race" (SOR), and "Multiracial." As previously mentioned, I consider the "some other race" (SOR) category as a viable option for racial classification, as it is often used to emphasize their racialized Hispanic/Latino identity. Because the SOR category is often used to reemphasize Latino origin, respondents that were originally classified as "two or more races" or "Multiracial" but had selected "Black and SOR" or "White and SOR" were recoded as racially "Black" or "White" respectively. This resulted in an increase in "White" classification from 66.85 percent to 68.15 percent and an increase in "Black" classification from 7.31 percent to 7.90 percent. Approximately 1 percent of the Latinos in the sample identified as "American Indian/Alaska Native" or "Asian/Pacific Islander," combined. Since the vast majority of the Latinos in my sample did not see these two categories as viable racial identities for themselves, they were dropped from the final sample. Thus, I restrict and recode the race categories in the analysis to the four most used categories among this population: "White" (68.15 percent), "Black" (7.90 percent), "SOR" (20.74 percent), and "Multiracial" (3.21 percent) with "SOR" as my reference category.

Percent of Afro-Latin American origin. I construct a measure indicating the percentage of the Afro-Latin American origin population that lives in the

metropolitan area. On average, the Latinos in my sample reside in metropolitan areas with 11.71 percent of the Afro-Latin American origin population.

Percent Other Hispanic. I construct a measure indicating the percent other Hispanic in the metropolitan area. I recode the original Hispanic origin measure to exclude all the Afro-Latin American origin groups specified in my sample. The average percent "Other Hispanic" is 9.43 percent across metropolitan areas. This measure, along with percent non-Hispanic Black and non-Hispanic White, are used in the descriptive analysis but excluded from the regression models, as they are incorporated in the Ethnic Diversity Index (EDI).

Percent non-Hispanic Black. Similar to my percent Hispanic measure, I construct a measure indicating the percent non-Hispanic Black in the metropolitan area. The average percent non-Hispanic Black is 12.83 percent across metropolitan areas.

Percent non-Hispanic White. I also include a variable indicating the percent non-Hispanic White in the metropolitan area. The average percent non-Hispanic White is 58.86 percent across metropolitan areas.

Percent non-Hispanic Black, Bachelor's +. This variable incorporates both race and education, as a proxy for middle class status, indicating the percent of the Black population in a metropolitan area that has at least a bachelor's degree. The national average of "percent non-Hispanic Black, Bachelor's +" across metropolitan areas is 2.41 percent.

Percent non-Hispanic White, Bachelor's +. Similar to my percent "percent non-Hispanic Black, Bachelor's +" measure, this measure indicates the share of the

White population in a metropolitan area that has at least a bachelor's degree. The national average of "percent non-Hispanic White, Bachelor's +" across metropolitan areas is 23.01 percent.

The Ethnic Diversity Index (EDI)[1]. As racial/ethnic diversity has been found to be impactful in the formation of multiracial identities (Lee and Bean 2004; Zhou and Lee 2007), I incorporate a diversity measure in my analyses of social context. The Ethnic Diversity Index (EDI), based on the ethnic fractionalization index (Alesina, Spolaore, and Wacziarg 2000) measures racial/ethnic diversity at the metropolitan area level. The index measures the probability that two randomly drawn people from a metropolitan area belong to different racial/ethnic groups. The racial/ethnic groups accounted for in the construction of the index include non-Hispanic White, non-Hispanic Black, non-Hispanic American Indian/Alaska Native, non-Hispanic Asian/Pacific Islander, non-Hispanic other, non-Hispanic multiracial and Hispanic. The index ranges from 0 to 1; the higher the value of the index, the greater the racial/ethnic diversity of the metropolitan area. The average EDI score is 0.548 across metropolitan areas.

National Origin. As previously mentioned, there is evidence of racial classification differences and evidence of different racial schemas being used across Latin America. I argue these differences remain among Latinos from different Latin

[1] I use the Ethnic Diversity Index to consider the impact of racial/ethnic diversity on identification, as multiracial identification has been found to be impacted by greater diversity overall. This measure differs from a dissimilarity index in that dissimilarity indices are often used as a measure of segregation between two groups, indicating the proportion of a group that would need to move to create a more uniform distribution of population. An isolation index reports the percent of a specific group in the geographic unit for a typical person of the same group, measuring the concentration of one specific group. Neither the dissimilarity index nor the isolation index fully address racial/ethnic diversity in the capacity it is discussed in this paper. Thus, I make use of the index presented in this study.

American countries in the United States. In order to address these differences, I construct a national origin measure based on both the ancestry and Hispanic origin measures. Puerto Ricans are the largest origin group (45.77 percent), followed by Cubans (23.98 percent), Dominicans (16.08 percent), Colombians (11.89 percent), and Panamanians (2.28 percent). As Puerto Ricans are the largest and longest standing Latino group of Afro-Latin American origin, I code Puerto Ricans as the reference group.

Control Variables. As previously noted, education and other individual-level factors have been found to impact racial classification. However, these individual-level factors are not the focus of the current study as I am interested in addressing social context and racial classification, Thus, I control for education in my regression models. I construct a binary measure, where "bachelor's degree or higher" is coded as 1 and all other categories are recoded as 0. Latinos in my sample that have at least a bachelor's degree represent 21.35 percent of the population. Additionally, in line with previous research, I control for age, sex, nativity, and language. As previously mentioned, age is restricted to range from 18 to 89 years old. The average age of my sample is approximately 44 years old. I recode sex, with male (46.25 percent) coded as 0 and female (53.75 percent) coded as 1.

I recode Latinos born in the United States as "native-born" (43.30 percent), with "foreign-born" (56.70 percent) as the reference category. In line with previous research, I classify Puerto Ricans born on the island as "foreign-born" (Roth 2012). I make use of a "Speaks English" measure, indicating whether the respondent speaks only English at home, and also reports how well the respondent, who speaks another

language, speaks English. The original measure is coded as "Does not speak English," "Yes, speaks only English," "Yes, speaks very well," "Yes, speaks well," and "Yes, but not well." I recode this variable as a binary measure, where limited to no English fluency ("Does not speak English" and "Yes, but not well") is the reference category. Approximately 82 percent of the Latinos in my sample report being fluent in English.

2.7 Results

2.7.1 Racial Classification across National Origin Groups

In order to begin addressing racial classification differences across national origin groups, Table 2.2 presents descriptive results for racial self-classification by national origin. Cubans (89.59 percent) and Puerto Ricans (65.73 percent) are the groups with the highest rates of White self-classification. Panamanians (39.92 percent) and Dominicans (14.97 percent) are the groups with the highest rates of Black self-classification. Dominicans (41.61 percent) and Puerto Ricans (23.11 percent) have the highest rates of identifying as SOR. Meanwhile, Dominicans (5.08 percent) and Panamanians (4.65 percent) have the highest rates of multiracial self-classification.

Table 2.2. Racial Classification by National Origin (N=293,349)

Race Categories	Origin Groups				
	Puerto Rican	Cuban	Dominican	Colombian	Panamanian
White	65.73	89.59	38.34	79.53	40.05
Black	7.28	4.34	14.97	1.86	39.92
SOR	23.11	4.69	41.61	17.07	15.38
Multi	3.88	1.38	5.08	1.54	4.65

Data: ACS 2012-2016; All figures expressed as percentages; Sample includes respondents of Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican, Colombian, and Panamanian origin, based on both the Hispanic Origin and Ancestry measures.

2.7.2 Variation in Racial Classification across Metropolitan Areas

In Table 2.3, I display the racial classification patterns of Latinos by metropolitan area. The areas with the highest percent of White identifiers are located in Miami (91.61 percent), Tampa (82.14 percent), and Orlando (80.30 percent). The areas highest percent of Black identifiers are Atlanta (17.71 percent), Washington, DC (16.33 percent) and Philadelphia (11.23 percent). The areas with the high rates of "SOR" identifiers are all located in the Northeast cities of Providence, Rhode Island (37.78 percent), Boston (36.76 percent) and New York (34.48 percent). The areas with the highest percent of Multiracial identifiers are Boston (4.66 percent), Washington, DC (4.53 percent) and Los Angeles (4.40 percent).

Table 2.3. Racial Classification by Metropolitan Areas (N=293,349)

	Race Categories			
Metropolitan Areas	White	Black	Other	Multiracial
New York	52.23	9.89	34.48	3.40
Providence	49.17	9.85	37.78	3.20
Boston	47.73	10.85	36.76	4.66
Philadelphia	52.99	11.23	32.31	3.46
Hartford	56.09	6.80	33.88	3.23
Chicago	64.78	5.70	26.40	3.12
Los Angeles	67.73	7.25	20.63	4.40
Atlanta	63.41	17.71	15.61	3.26
Washington, DC	64.00	16.33	15.14	4.53
Houston	75.84	8.26	13.25	2.66
Orlando	80.30	4.69	13.45	1.56
Tampa	82.14	5.01	10.90	1.95
Miami	91.61	3.40	4.08	0.92
Other Metro Areas	67.51	8.86	18.87	4.75

Data: ACS 2012-2016; All figures expressed as percentages; Sample includes respondents of Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican, Colombian, and Panamanian origin, based on both the Hispanic Origin and Ancestry measures.

2.7.3 National Origin Groups across Metropolitan Areas

In order to provide more detailed social context on which national origin groups are represented in each of the metropolitan areas, Table 2.4 displays the percent of each national origin group in each of the listed metropolitan areas. As the largest Afro-Latin American origin group, it is expected for Puerto Ricans to represent the majority group in most areas. However, there are several locations where they are not the majority or are represented at very similar rates as another origin group. For instance, Puerto Ricans are not in the majority in Miami (12.50 percent) or Houston (30.31 percent). As expected, Cubans represent the largest origin group in Miami at 66.19 percent. In Houston, Colombians are the majority, at 32.97 percent.

Table 2.4. Metropolitan Areas by National Origin Groups (N=293,349)

Metropolitan Areas	Origin Groups				
	Puerto Rican	Cuban	Dominican	Colombian	Panamanian
New York	46.47	6.75	34.26	10.76	1.76
Providence	44.34	3.58	39.81	11.60	0.67
Boston	42.32	5.16	41.02	10.21	1.28
Philadelphia	76.05	6.20	11.05	4.87	1.82
Hartford	84.94	3.36	5.91	5.08	0.73
Chicago	75.78	10.59	3.06	9.06	1.51
Los Angeles	36.00	31.45	4.34	22.98	5.23
Atlanta	40.52	21.16	11.84	20.57	5.92
Washington, DC	41.87	16.44	13.55	20.88	7.27
Houston	30.31	26.70	6.09	32.97	3.93
Orlando	65.40	12.83	9.37	11.16	1.24
Tampa	47.39	34.53	6.85	9.64	1.60
Miami	12.50	66.19	6.37	13.98	0.96
Other Areas	60.46	16.36	8.94	10.71	3.53

Data: ACS 2012-2016; All figures expressed as percentages; Sample includes respondents of Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican, Colombian, and Panamanian origin, based on both the Hispanic Origin and Ancestry measures.

Dominicans and Puerto Ricans are more evenly represented in Northeastern cities, especially New York (34.26 and 46.47 percent), Providence (39.81 and 44.34 percent), and Boston (41.02 and 42.32 percent). Cubans represent about a third of the Afro-Latin American origin population in Tampa (34.53 percent) and Los Angeles (31.45 percent). Colombians represent around 20 percent of the Afro-Latin American origin population in Washington, DC (20.88 percent) and Los Angeles (22.98 percent). As the smallest national origin population, Panamanians do not represent the majority across any of the metropolitan areas. However, they represent a larger share of the Afro-Latin American origin population in Washington, DC (7.27 percent), Atlanta (5.92 percent), and Los Angeles (5.23 percent).

2.7.4 Social Contexts of Metropolitan Areas

To provide insight on the social context across the metropolitan areas highlighted in this study, Table 2.5 displays the figures for racial/ethnic and socioeconomic diversity measures specified. New York (26.09 percent) and Miami (20.29 percent) are the areas with the highest share of the Afro-Latin American origin population across metropolitan areas of the United States. Atlanta (6.84 percent) and Washington, DC (6.81 percent) have the highest percent non-Hispanic Black populations with at least college degrees. This is close to three times the average (2.48 percent) across US metropolitan areas. Boston and Washington, DC have the highest percent non-Hispanic White populations with at least a bachelor's degree at 36.93 percent and 33.25 percent, respectively. Based on the EDI scores, diversity is highest in the following metropolitan areas: Los Angeles (0.689), Houston (0.672), Miami (0.655), New York (0.634), and Washington, DC (0.623).

Table 2.5. Metropolitan Areas and Social Context Measures

Metropolitan Areas	Percent of Afro-Latin Am. Origin	NH Black, Bachelor's +	NH White, Bachelor's +	Ethnic Diversity Index (EDI)	Other Hispanic	NH Black	NH White
New York	26.09	3.18	25.09	0.634	7.15	14.35	54.91
Providence	1.11	0.72	26.80	0.296	2.61	3.73	83.40
Boston	2.94	1.30	36.93	0.385	3.00	5.86	77.51
Philadelphia	2.61	2.78	27.94	0.445	2.13	15.27	72.49
Hartford	1.26	1.46	30.46	0.401	1.91	8.61	76.24
Chicago	2.55	2.85	26.57	0.569	13.50	15.04	61.62
Los Angeles	2.31	1.33	15.80	0.689	38.03	5.98	34.92
Atlanta	1.20	6.84	24.60	0.574	5.08	27.34	58.64
Washington, DC	1.54	6.81	33.25	0.623	7.88	22.50	55.39
Houston	1.06	3.41	19.19	0.672	27.80	15.39	46.07
Orlando	4.09	2.30	20.50	0.577	5.69	12.78	59.96
Tampa	3.83	1.67	21.89	0.433	4.47	8.73	73.59
Miami	20.29	2.79	16.77	0.655	12.32	16.45	40.75
Other Areas	0.41	1.60	23.49	0.425	9.50	9.64	70.46

Data: ACS 2012-2016; All figures expressed as percentages; Sample includes respondents of Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican, Colombian, and Panamanian origin, based on both the Hispanic Origin and Ancestry measures.

In an effort to provide more context on the diversity present within metropolitan areas, Table 5 also provides the percent other Hispanic, percent non-Hispanic Black, and percent non-Hispanic White for each of the metropolitan areas as well. The percent Other Hispanic is highest in Los Angeles (38.03 percent), Houston (27.80 percent), and Chicago (13.50 percent). The percent non-Hispanic Black is highest in Atlanta (27.34 percent), and Washington, DC (22.50 percent), followed closely by Miami (16.45 percent), Houston (15.39 percent), and Philadelphia (15.27 percent). The percent non-Hispanic White is highest in Providence (83.40 percent), Boston (77.51 percent), and Hartford (76.24 percent).

2.7.5 Multinomial Logistic Regression Results: Racial Classification across Metropolitan Areas

Table 2.6 presents the multinomial logistic regression results for racial classification, focusing on differences across metropolitan areas and national origin. This model controls for age, sex, education, nativity, and English fluency. As previously mentioned, the reference category here is SOR and the model results for White, Black, and Multiracial are in comparison to the SOR identifiers.

Table 2.6. Multinomial Logistic Regression Results: Racial Classification and Metropolitan Areas

Variables	White v Other	Black v Other	Multi v Other
Metro Areas (NY)			
Providence	1.023	0.993	0.923
	(0.04)	(0.06)	(0.10)
Boston	1.005	1.114**	1.376***
	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.08)
Philadelphia	0.922**	1.292***	1.049
	(0.03)	(0.06)	(0.07)
Hartford	0.958	0.832*	0.979
	(0.04)	(0.06)	(0.10)
Chicago	1.148***	0.768***	1.074
	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.08)
Los Angeles	1.134***	0.950	1.843***
	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.13)
Atlanta	1.791***	3.612***	1.967***
	(0.09)	(0.23)	(0.21)
Washington, DC	1.907***	3.310***	2.633***
	(0.09)	(0.19)	(0.22)
Houston	2.277***	2.256***	2.052***
	(0.13)	(0.19)	(0.25)
Orlando	3.260***	1.397***	1.249**
	(0.09)	(0.07)	(0.10)
Tampa	3.182***	1.534***	1.738***
	(0.10)	(0.08)	(0.13)
Miami	6.806***	2.492***	2.193***
	(0.16)	(0.09)	(0.12)
Other Metro Areas	1.769***	1.544***	2.370***
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.07)
National Origin (PR)			
Cuban	3.387***	2.484***	1.517***
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.06)
Dominican	0.416***	1.553***	1.043
	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Colombian	1.434***	0.380***	0.572***
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Panamanian	0.790***	7.944***	1.610***
	(0.03)	(0.31)	(0.11)

Table 2.6 continued…

Table 2.6 continued…

Control Variables			
Age	0.982***	0.975***	0.965***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Age-squared	1.000***	1.000***	1.000***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Female	1.019	1.027	1.015
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Bachelor's Degree +	1.652***	1.283***	1.957***
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.05)
Native-born	1.351***	1.802***	1.715***
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.05)
Fluent in English	1.173***	1.183***	1.027
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.04)
Intercept	1.399***	0.213***	0.144***
	(0.06)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Number of Observations	293,349	293,349	293,349

Data: ACS 2012-2016; reporting Relative Risk Ratios;
$p < .05$, $p < .01$**, $p < .001$***; Sample includes respondents of Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican, Colombian, and Panamanian origin, based on both the Hispanic Origin and Ancestry measures.*

There are significant variations in classification across metropolitan areas. Latinos in Boston are slightly more likely to identify as racially Black and are 1.4 times more likely to identify as Multiracial relative to SOR, compared to their counterparts in New York. The Latinos in my sample residing in Los Angeles are slightly more likely to identify as racially White and 1.8 times more likely to identify as Multiracial. Latinos in Atlanta were 1.8 times more likely to identify as White, 3.6 times more likely to identify as Black, and twice as likely to identify as Multiracial as co-ethnics in New York.

Afro-Latin American origin Latinos were 1.97 times more likely to identify as White, 3.3 times more likely to identify as Black, and 2.6 times more likely to identify as Multiracial in Washington, DC compared to their New York counterparts. Those in Houston are 2.3 times more likely to identify as racially White, 2.3 times more likely to identify as racially Black, and twice as likely to identify as Multiracial, relative to SOR. Latinos in Miami are 6.8 times more likely to identify as White, 2.5 times more likely to identify as Black, and 2.2 times more likely to identify as Multiracial as their co-ethnics in New York.

Focusing on national origin outcomes with Puerto Ricans as my reference category, there significant differences to note across origin groups. Controlling for differences across metropolitan areas, Cubans are 3.4 times more likely to identify as racially White, 2.5 times more likely to identify as Black, and 1.5 times more likely to identify as multiracial compared to Puerto Ricans. Dominicans are 58 percent less likely to identify as racially White and 1.6 times more likely to identify as racially Black relative to SOR. Colombians are 1.4 times more likely to identify as White, 62 percent less likely to identify as Black, and 43 percent less likely to identify as Multiracial compared to Puerto Ricans. Panamanians are 21 percent less likely to identify as racially White, nearly 8 times more likely to identify as racially Black, and 1.6 times more likely to identify as Multiracial compared to Puerto Ricans.

2.7.6 Multinomial Logistic Regression Results: Racial Classification and the Impact of Social Context

Table 2.7 presents the multinomial logistic regression results for racial classification, social context, and national origin. The results focus on the social

context measures of percent of the Afro-Latin American origin population, percent non-Hispanic Black with at least a bachelor's degree, percent non-Hispanic White with at least a bachelor's degree, and the Ethnic Diversity Index (EDI)[2]. This model controls for age, sex, education, nativity, and English fluency. As previously mentioned, the race measure is limited to White, Black, SOR, and Multiracial classification, with SOR as the reference category. Thus, model results for White, Black, and Multiracial classification are in comparison to the "SOR" classification.

I find that an increase in the size of the Afro-Latin American origin population slightly lowered the odds of White (0.989), Black (0.984) or Multiracial (0.965) identification, compared to SOR. A larger percent non-Hispanic Black with at least a bachelor's degree leads Latinos to have slightly higher odds of White identification (1.064). Additionally, they are 1.2 times more likely to identify as Black and slightly less likely to identify as Multiracial (0.944). A larger percent non-Hispanic White with at least a bachelor's degree leads Latinos to be less likely to identify as White (0.942), Black (0.973), or Multiracial (0.962), relative to SOR. As expected, an increase in diversity results in fewer odds of identifying as White or Black and greater odds of identifying as Multiracial for the Latinos in my sample. Greater diversity

[2] As it may be possible that the effect of "percent non-Hispanic Black, bachelor's +" and "percent non-Hispanic White, bachelor's +" would be simply indicating the effect of "percent non-Hispanic Black" and "percent non-Hispanic White," I run models for these measures individually, accounting for percent of the Afro-Latin American origin population and control measures. The results for "percent non-Hispanic White" were similar to the results on "percent, non-Hispanic White, bachelor's +," as the Latinos in my sample were slightly less likely to identify as racially White, Black, or Multiracial with an increase in the non-Hispanic White population, overall. However, my results for "percent non-Hispanic Black" were different than the results for "percent non-Hispanic Black, bachelor's+." For "percent non-Hispanic Black," Latinos were slightly more likely to identify as White (1.049), Black (1.063), and Multiracial (1.008). There is a difference in the strength of the effect for White and Black identification and a switch in the direction of the effect for Multiracial identification. As "percent, non-Hispanic Black, bachelor's +" is the more theoretically grounded measure, I present the results for this measure in the study.

leads Latinos to be approximately half as likely to identify as White, 67 percent less likely to identify as Black, and 3.2 times more likely to identify as Multiracial relative to SOR.

Table 2.7. Multinomial Logistic Regression Results: Racial Classification and Social Context Measures

Variables	White v Other	Black v Other	Multi v Other
Intercept	12.529***	0.672***	0.515***
	(0.72)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Social Context			
% Afro-Lat. Am.	0.989***	0.984***	0.965***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
% NH Black, BA +	1.064***	1.242***	0.944***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
% NH White, BA +	0.942***	0.973***	0.962***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
EDI	0.553***	0.327***	3.179***
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.42)
National Origin (PR)			
Cuban	5.479***	3.250***	1.749***
	(0.11)	(0.09)	(0.07)
Dominican	0.410***	1.599***	1.111***
	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Colombian	1.608***	0.412***	0.583***
	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Panamanian	0.793***	8.205***	1.613***
	(0.03)	(0.32)	(0.11)

Table 2.7 continued…

Table 2.7 continued…

Control Variables			
Age	0.982***	0.974***	0.965***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Age-squared	1.000***	1.000***	1.000***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Female	1.022*	1.026	1.019
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Bachelor's Degree +	1.695***	1.295***	2.005***
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.06)
Native-born	1.225***	1.768***	1.692***
	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.05)
Fluent in English	1.170***	1.192***	1.029
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.04)
Number of Observations	293,349	293,349	293,349

Data: ACS 2012-2016; reporting Relative Risk Ratios;
p < .05, p < .01**, p < .001***; Sample includes respondents of Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican, Colombian, and Panamanian origin, based on both the Hispanic Origin and Ancestry measures.*

Focusing on national origin outcomes with Puerto Ricans as my reference category, there significant differences to note across origin groups in this model as well. Controlling for differences in social context, Cubans are 5.5 times more likely to identify as racially White, 3.3 times more likely to identify as racially Black, and 1.8 times more likely to identify as Multiracial compared to Puerto Ricans. Dominicans are 59 percent less likely to identify as White than Puerto Ricans. They are slightly more likely to identify as Multiracial but 1.6 times more likely to identify as racially Black compared to Puerto Ricans. Colombians are 1.6 times more likely to identify as racially White than Puerto Ricans. However, they are 59 percent less likely to identify as Black, and 42 percent less likely to identify as Multiracial compared to Puerto Ricans. Panamanians were 8.2 times more likely to identify as Black relative to SOR.

They were 1.6 times more likely to identify as Multiracial but 21 percent less likely to identify as White compared to their Puerto Rican counterparts.

2.8 Discussion and Conclusion

In this study, I examine the variations in racial classification patterns across national origin groups and metropolitan areas and address how social context influences these patterns for Latinos of Afro-Latin American origin. Results across national origin groups indicate significant variation in the conceptualization of who is racially White, Black, or Latino. While there is evidence of use of the *Hispanicized racial* schema and a racialized Latino identity among some groups, this is not the case for all Latinos of Afro-Latin American origin. Additionally, results from this study suggest significant variation in the boundaries surrounding whiteness, blackness, and *latinidad* across US metropolitan areas. This study builds on Roth's (2012) *racial schemas*, finding evidence of the *Hispanicized schema* in Northeastern metropolitan areas. Findings indicate social context greatly influences racial classification patterns for Latinos.

I find support for my hypothesis regarding the differences in classification practices across national origin group. In line with previous research (Darity et al. 2005; Denton and Massey 1989), I find Puerto Ricans and Cubans have the high rates of White identification. However, Cubans and Colombians are the two origin groups that most often identify themselves as fitting within the boundaries of whiteness among Afro-Latin American origin groups. In line with the Latin American literature (Telles and Flores 2013), Dominicans have the lowest rates of White identification across origin groups. While past research has suggested Black identification is highest

among Dominicans, I find Panamanians are identifying as Black at over twice the rate of Dominicans. Identifying within the *Hispanicized racial* schema as racially Latino is highest among Dominicans and Puerto Ricans. These differences in my descriptive results are evident in my regression results as well. For instance, accounting for social context and control measures, Panamanians are eight times more likely to identify as racially Black and Dominicans are 62 percent less likely to identify as White compared to Puerto Ricans.

There are significant variations in where the boundaries surrounding blackness, whiteness, and *latinidad* are drawn across metropolitan areas. This is evident in both the descriptive and regression results. There is little variation across the northeastern cities included in the model in comparison to the New York metropolitan area. Differences are most prominent when comparing metropolitan areas from the Western and Southern regions to the New York metropolitan area. For instance, Latinos of Afro-Latin American origins are over twice as likely to identify as White, Black, or Multiracial in Houston compared to their counterparts in New York. This may indicate the boundaries of *latinidad* in Houston do not include afro-origin Latinos. Most of the Latinos of Afro-Latin American origin in the Houston area are Colombian or Puerto Rican. This area scores high on the diversity index, has the second largest percent Other Hispanic population from the areas listed, and has a large non-Hispanic Black population. I argue the dominant Latino group present in the area shapes the construction of who is "Latino."

Overall, my hypotheses suggesting the importance of social context on racial classification are supported. My regression model on social context, incorporating

measures for percent of the Afro-Latin American origin population, percent non-Hispanic Black with at least a bachelor's degree, percent non-Hispanic White with at least a bachelor's degree, and racial/ethnic diversity, suggest social context greatly influences racial classification patterns. These results for my social context measures support previous research that highlights the significance of social context on identity formation (Landale and Oropesa 2002; Vaquera and Kao 2006).

My hypothesis on the presence a larger Afro-Latin American origin population is partially supported. A larger Afro-Latin American population often leads to a more inclusive somatic image of Latinos, especially in Northeastern cities like New York, Providence, Boston, Philadelphia, and Hartford. Descriptive and regression results suggest very little variation in constructions of racialized Latino identities and a *Hispanicized racial schema* in these areas. Additionally, my regression results indicate a lower likelihood of identifying as racially White, Black, or Multiracial in areas with higher proportions of the Afro-Latin American origin population. I argue the boundaries of *latinidad* are expanded in areas with longstanding Afro-Latin American origin populations to include people who may be excluded in other areas of the country.

My hypothesis surrounding the significance of a large non-Hispanic Black middle class, measured as percent non-Hispanic Black with at least a bachelor's degree, is supported in both my descriptive and regression results. The regression results for my social context measure indicate a larger percent non-Hispanic Black with at least a bachelor's degree leads to a greater likelihood of Black racial classification amongst Latinos of Afro-Latin American origin. These findings are in

line with previous research addressing their importance in the development of Black identities (Candelario 2007). For instance, the metropolitan areas with the highest percent of Black identification are Atlanta and Washington, DC. These locations have the highest percent non-Hispanic Black with at least a bachelor's degree at close to three times the national average. The results for my regression results on metropolitan areas suggest Latinos in Atlanta and Washington, DC are over three times more likely to identify as Black than as racially Latino compared to their counterparts in New York.

I do not find support for my hypothesis surrounding the significance of a large non-Hispanic White middle class, measured as percent non-Hispanic White with at least a bachelor's degree. In line with previous research (Darity et al. 2005, 2002), I find a preference for Whiteness among Latinos, with the exception of Dominicans and Panamanians. Recognizing the penalties associated with being racialized as non-White within the racial hierarchy leads many Latinos to self-classify as racially White. However, while it might be expected for a larger White middle class, the dominant group within American society, to lead Latinos to be more likely to desire to identify as White, I do not find this to be the case. Rather, I find the boundaries to whiteness become harder to cross for Latinos in areas with a large White middle class. According to my regression results, they are less likely to identify as racially White, Black, or Multiracial when there is an increase in the percent non-Hispanic White with a bachelor's degree. Thus, Latinos of Afro-Latin American origin form racialized Latino identities in areas with a large White middle class. This might be

their response to facing the stricter boundaries to whiteness while simultaneously avoiding the penalties associated with being racialized as Black in American society.

The results for racial/ethnic diversity also support my hypothesis and are in line with previous literature (Lee and Bean 2004; Zhou and Lee 2007). More diversity in a metropolitan area leads Afro-Latin Americans to be much more likely to claim Multiracial identities. With the exception of Boston, the cities with high rates of Multiracial classification had the highest rates of diversity. My regression results further underscore the significance of diversity in Multiracial classification: Greater diversity leads Afro-Latin Americans to be close to 7 times as likely to identify as Multiracial compared to "some other race."

In line with previous research (Lee and Bean 2004; Zhou and Lee 2007), my hypothesis surrounding the significance of diversity in multiracial classification is supported. Higher scores on the Ethnic Diversity Index (EDI) lead Latinos to be over three times more likely to identify as Multiracial compared to some other race. For instance, Latinos in Los Angeles and Washington, DC, two areas with some of the highest rates of racial/ethnic diversity, have some of the highest rates of Multiracial identification. Latinos in Los Angeles are nearly twice as likely while those in Washington, DC are close to three times as likely to identify as Multiracial in comparison to their counterparts in New York.

This study establishes that in addition to the factors already established in past research, both national origin and social context greatly influence racial classification for Latinos. Previous research has underscored the significance of gender in the migration experience and racial identity formation. However, analyzing

the gendered differences in racial self-classification was outside of the scope of the current project. Future research should address the gendered differences in racialization and racial self-classification across national origin groups.

There are several limitations to note. As previously mentioned, past scholars have noted that people of Latin American descent do not necessarily believe they have a common identity with other nationalities as Hispanic or Latino (Oboler 1995). They may be using the "some other race" category to emphasize a pan-ethnic or national origin identity. We cannot be certain of the exact meaning when people are identifying as "some other race." Additionally, as racial identities are based on social context, they may be highly dependent on the social context of our day-to-day interactions. These data are only able to address how they chose to identify using the survey method presented. Future research using qualitative methods can better address the daily social context factors impacting racial classification. The most significant limitation is the lack of data on actual physical appearance. Past research has identified skin tone as a key factor in racial classification for other groups (Feliciano 2016; Golash-Boza and Darity 2008; Saperstein 2012). Future research on Latinos of Afro-Latin American origin should address the impact of phenotype in racial classification practices.

Chapter 3: Skin Tone, Romantic Partners, and Interviewers: Impacts on Self-Identified and Ascribed Race

Race is a categorical, hierarchical system of classification, delineating groups from one another. White racial classification has always been situated at the top of the racial order, associated with the power and privileges of whiteness. Those perceived as Black are assimilated into the bottom of the racial hierarchy. People often rely on physical cues and features, namely skin tone, when ascribing race (Brown, Dane, and Durham 1998; Feliciano 2016; Herman 2010; Saperstein 2012).

However, racial identities are not solely formed by physical attributes. Racial identities are also highly political, indicating the groups you feel closest to and those you try to distance yourself from. As racial self-classification reflects the groups you identify with, the characteristics of people in your life you are closest to, namely romantic partners, can influence your own self-identification. In addition to observable physical characteristics, the characteristics of the observer themselves, such as race and ethnicity, can also influence classification of others (Feliciano 2016). While some people may recognize some as in-group members, others may actively exclude others as members of their own group in order to maximize in-group distinctiveness (Castano et al. 2002; Feliciano 2016). This may be a method of solidifying boundaries between racial groups.

Ascribed race and skin tone have implications for individuals' life outcomes (Arce, Murguia, and Frisbie 1987; Darity et al. 2005; Jones et al. 2008; Keith and Herring 1991; Telles and Murguia 1990; Telles and Steele 2012; Vargas, Sanchez, and Kinlock 2015) and their self-identification practices. Self-identified and ascribed

race are significant as they provide us with insight into the ways subsets of the Latino population are experiencing race in the United States.

In line with previous research, this paper underscores the significance of considering the conditions by which Latinos self-identify as White and are perceived by others as White (Vargas 2015). I expand upon this research by addressing the conditions for Black self and external classification of Latinos as well. While some Latinos may be able to access the privileges associated with whiteness, others may be experiencing the heavy consequences associated with being racialized as non-White or Black in American society.

Much of the previous research on Latinos has focused on Mexican-origin populations, as this is the longest standing and largest Latino origin group in the United States. However, many studies generalize the results for Mexican-origin groups to apply to all Latinos. A significant gap in the literature remains on race and other Latino populations. Latinos from Afro-Latin America are people from countries with large Afro-descendant populations and small Indo-descendant populations. This study begins to address the gap in the literature by centering the experiences of Latinos of Afro-Latin American origin in the research.

While survey measures often offer an 'other race' category which many Latinos tend to use as an intermediate between Black and White (Darity et al. 2005, 2002; Denton and Massey 1989; Rodriguez 2000; Vargas-Ramos 2014), Wave 3 of Add Health does not offer this alternative option. While some researchers see this as a limitation in the data (Cheng and Powell 2011), I consider this a unique opportunity

to see how Latinos interact with the US racial binary for self-classification as well as how they would be externally classified within this binary.

Using Waves 1 and 3 of National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health) data along with the Relationships Data Set (RDS) collected during Wave 3, I address the impact of skin tone, race of romantic partners, and race of interviewers on self-identified and observed race, focusing on the understudied population of Latinos of Afro-Latin American origin. This leads to the following research questions:

1. Does phenotype significantly impact racial self-classification and observed race?
2. How does the race/ethnicity of romantic partners impact the self-classification practices?
3. What impact does the race/ethnicity of the observer have on observed race?

3.1 Background

An estimated one-quarter of the total population of Latin America are people of African ancestry (Andrews 2004). While there are people of African ancestry throughout all of Latin America, researchers identify Afro-Latin American countries as those with the highest percentage of people identifying as Black or in mixed-race categories that denote African origin (Andrews 2004; Telles and Paschel 2014). However, the experiences of Latinos of Afro-Latin American origin are underrepresented and understudied in the US Latino research (Araújo and Borrell 2006). Based on past definitions of Afro-Latin America and previous research (Andrews 2004; Telles and Paschel 2014), this study focuses on people in the United

States from the Afro-Latin American countries of Cuba, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Panama, and Puerto Rico.

3.2 Latin Americanization of Race

Researchers have considered how more recent waves of immigration may alter the US racial order (Bonilla-Silva 2004; Lee and Bean 2004; Roth 2012; Vargas 2015). Bonilla-Silva (2002) suggests higher rates of intermarriage, an increase in the racial minority population, and a growing multiracial population are all giving way to a White, honorary White, and collective Black racial hierarchy, based primarily on phenotype and national origin. While I underscore the significance of phenotype in racial classification, I argue the process of racialization into these categories is also based on external factors, such as social networks, romantic partners, and characteristics of the racial observers themselves. For instance, assimilated White Latinos with predominantly White social networks coming from Afro-Latin American countries of origin would be much more likely to self-identify (and in some instances observed) as racially White or "honorary White" than identifying as part of the "collective Black", even though their darker-skinned counterparts from the same national origin would be identifying as such.

3.3 Racial Classification and Skin Tone

The one-drop rule of racial classification that has historically been used by Whites as a tool of oppression to enforce a strict White-Black racial boundary has indirectly served as a positive strategy to resist White racism by unifying Blacks in the United States (Davis 1991; Khanna 2010). Because of a long history of Black-

White mixed-race ancestry, the phenotypic image defining someone as Black is quite broad, with a wide range of skin tones and physical characteristics (Khanna 2010). For individuals with African ancestry in the United States, physical appearance has historically had little consequence for identity since they are often externally defined as Black, regardless of appearance (Khanna 2010).

However, recent research suggests phenotype and racial classification are closely linked (Golash-Boza and Darity 2008; Khanna 2004, 2010; Stephan 1992). Skin tone is often found to be the most important characteristic for identifying race (Brown et al. 1998; Feliciano 2016; Herman 2010; Saperstein 2012). In terms of observed race, light skin is associated with whiteness, medium skin with *latinidad*, and most strongly, dark skin with blackness (Feliciano 2016). In fact, the salience of dark skin in Black identification has led researchers to suggest a *dark-skin rule* has replaced the historic *one-drop rule* (Davis 1991; Feliciano 2016). Racial "options" are much more limited for people with dark skin, as they are almost always externally categorized as Black only (Feliciano 2016).

In the Latin American context, the relationship between skin tone and self-identification is not as closely linked, as it is often argued to be mitigated by socioeconomic status (Telles and Flores 2013). For instance, highly educated persons with light brown skin or darker were more likely to self-identify as White in Panama (Telles and Flores 2013). However, this is not the case across all Afro-Latin American countries. Individuals of similar skin color and education in the Dominican Republic and Colombia were less likely to self-identify as White (Telles and Flores 2013).

There is evidence of a strong preference for racial self-classification as White instead of Black among Latinos in the United States (Darity et al. 2002). Research indicates that darker-skinned Puerto Ricans, while regarded by others as Black, often do not assume Black identities themselves (Landale and Oropesa 2002). Researchers suggest this may be because they recognize the stigma associated with being racialized as Black in the United States (Landale and Oropesa 2002).

Darity et al (2002) suggest that those who self-identify as Black probably possess the phenotypical attributes that would lead to their social classification as Black in the United States. Past research indicates very dark-skinned, dark-skinned, and medium-skinned Latinos were more likely to identify as Black than as White (Golash-Boza and Darity 2008). These results were stratified by skin tone, where very dark-skinned Latinos were much more likely to identify as Black than their medium-skinned counterparts net of education and other control measures (Golash-Boza and Darity 2008). Latinos with darker skin shades were much less likely to self-identify as White than lighter-skinned Latinos (Golash-Boza and Darity 2008; Vargas 2015).

3.4 Race of Romantic Partners and Self-Classification

However, racial classification is not entirely shaped by physical characteristics. In addition to traditional characteristics used, such as skin tone, I argue the race of romantic partners informs how Latinos racial self-classify. In the United States, people are most likely to live near, become friends with, date, and marry others who are similar to themselves (Kao and Joyner 2004). Racial boundaries are constructed between racial groups based on racial prejudices, preferences, and discrimination (Feliciano et al. 2011).

The contact hypothesis (Allport 1954) posits that positive racial perceptions are directly correlated to the degree of intimate contact between members of different racial groups. Additionally, early assimilation theorists (Gordon 1964) argued that intermarriage was the ultimate indicator of social distance. Based on the contact hypothesis and the role interracial marriage has served to measure social distance, interracial marriage can indicate diminishing racial boundaries between groups (Feliciano et al. 2011; Vaquera and Kao 2005).

While intermarriage remains an important measure of racial boundaries between groups, its significance may be diminishing with more recent trends of delayed marriage and an increase in single households (Feliciano et al. 2011; Raley 2000). Thus, dating and romantic partnerships are becoming an increasingly important area of study (Feliciano et al. 2011). Dating and romantic partnerships provide another opportunity to address the social distance between racial and ethnic groups (Feliciano 2016; Feliciano et al. 2011; Feliciano and Robnett 2014; Vaquera and Kao 2005).

In line with the contact hypothesis, qualitative research suggests that Latinos who live in the same neighborhoods as Blacks have a greater likelihood of identifying with them and forming pan-minority identities (Carter 2005; Lee 2006). Research on Latinos and interracial dating finds that self-identification impacts racial dating preferences. Using online dating profile data, researchers find that White Latinos are most likely to exclude non-Hispanic Blacks and include non-Hispanic Whites as possible dates (Feliciano and Robnett 2014). However, some Latino groups with significant African ancestry, such as Dominicans and Puerto Ricans, oftentimes have

greater proximity to Blacks and display greater preferences for dating Blacks in Atlanta and New York City (Carter 2005; Feliciano et al. 2011; Lee 2006).

Previous research indicates the inverse may be occurring as well. In line with earlier assimilation theorists, Yancey (2003) suggests Latinos who have married Whites are more likely to self-identify as White. Other researchers have followed this line of inquiry, suggesting the race of spouses more broadly, not just White spouses, may be impacting the racial self-classification of Latinos (Golash-Boza and Darity 2008). I argue that similar to the race of spouses, the race of romantic partners impacts racial self-classification of Latinos as well. Who people date reflects whom they feel closest to and whom they identify with. This measure would help indicate the level of social distance between these groups and whether racial boundaries to self-identifying with whiteness or blackness persist (Qian and Lichter 2007; Vargas 2015).

3.5 Race of Observers and Observed Race

Observed race, often measured by interviewers, provides insight on racial groupings in society and often goes understudied. Observers rely on certain physical features to determine race. Researchers suggest skin tone, hair, eyes, nose, mouth, cheeks, and eyebrows to be features observers use to distinguish between races (Alejandro-Wright 2013; Blair and Judd 2011; Brown et al. 1998; Herman 2010). Interviewers are representative of teachers, classmates, employers and other members of society, observing race using both physical characteristics and those revealed through interaction (Laster Pirtle and Brown 2016; Saperstein and Penner 2012).

In addition to observable characteristics of others, the characteristics of the observer themselves, such as race, ethnicity, and gender, can also influence classification of others (Feliciano 2016). While some researchers find observers' characteristics have little impact on observed race (Herman 2010), others find that White, Asian, and multiracial observers were more likely to classify people as members of their in-group (Harris 2002). A more recent study using online dating profiles suggests Blacks see race in more complex ways than other racial groups, as Black observers are less likely to categorize others as White and more likely to classify them as other or multiracial (Feliciano 2016).

Herman (2010) finds that observers oftentimes view race as being Black versus non-Black, further increasing the divide between Blacks in the United States and the rest of society. Research suggests Black observers are no more likely than observers of other races to classify people as Black (Feliciano 2016; Harris 2002). This may be because observers tend to agree most on who is Black, underscoring the salience of blackness in society (Feliciano 2016; Herman 2010).

However, as previously mentioned, the one-drop rule of racial classification that has been used by Whites as a tool of oppression to enforce a strict White-Black racial boundary has indirectly served as a positive strategy to resist white racism by unifying Blacks in the United States (Davis 1991; Khanna 2010). Scholars argue the Black community has embraced the rule as a method of promoting Black unity and inclusiveness (Khanna 2010; Spencer 1997). I argue this may lead non-Hispanic Black interviewers to observe some Latinos of Afro-Latin American origin as racially Black at higher rates than non-Black interviewers. Black interviewers may be

considering some Latinos of Afro-Latin American origin as in-group members because they are able to recognize greater diversity within the African diaspora (Hill 2002; Khanna 2010).

People may be biased toward excluding others as members of their own group in order to maximize in-group distinctiveness (Castano et al. 2002; Feliciano 2016). This may be a method of solidifying boundaries between racial groups. While the boundaries to whiteness have historically expanded to include other immigrant groups, there is much debate on whether these boundaries have expanded to include some subsets of the Latino population (Vargas 2015). Non-Hispanic White interviewers may potentially be enforcing racial boundaries and limiting access to the power and privilege associated with whiteness. I argue non-Hispanic White interviewers may be less likely to observe Latinos in the sample as racially White.

There is a strong preference among Latinos for racial classification as White and not Black (Darity et al. 2005). In fact, leaning towards White identification is found to be strongest in Latin American countries with larger afro-descendant populations than those with indo-descendant populations, primarily because of the more severe implications associated with blackness and Black identification (Telles and Flores 2013). The power and privilege associated with whiteness in a racial hierarchy and the disadvantage for those determined to be non-Whites may lead Latinos to be more likely to classify other Latinos as racially White. I argue this tendency to self-identify as racially White among Latino interviewers can lead to observing other Latinos as racially White as well. Observing other Latinos as non-

White may run contrary to their own conceptions of whiteness, blackness, *latinidad*, and where Latinos fit in the US racial order.

3.6 Significance of Current Research

Addressing the factors leading to self-identified and observed race are significant because race is highly consequential, across Latin America and the United States. Previous research has underscored the significance of observed race in the lived experiences of people in Latin America and the United States. In Latin American countries, the social treatment in labor and educational markets are heavily based on how you are perceived by others (Telles and Steele 2012). In the US context, research on race and health outcomes indicates observed race has a significant impact on health outcomes (Jones et al. 2008; Vargas et al. 2015).

Skin tone is especially consequential for people with darker skin, and is often found to be the most important characteristic for identifying race (Brown et al. 1998; Feliciano 2016; Herman 2010; Saperstein 2012). Studies demonstrating the connection between skin tone and life chances show that dark-skinned Black Americans and Mexican-Americans fare worse on social indicators like educational attainment, occupation, and income (Arce et al. 1987; Darity et al. 2005; Keith and Herring 1991; Telles and Murguia 1990). Racial and phenotypic discrimination is especially relevant to Dominicans (Oropesa and Jensen 2010), and arguably other Latinos of Afro-Latin American origin with more visible African ancestry.

As I am interested in addressing the roles of skin tone, race of romantic partners, and race of observers specifically, I make use of several control measures in my regression models. In line with previous research, I control for region (Araújo and

Borrell 2006; Feliciano 2016; Vargas 2015), age (Feliciano 2016; Telles and Flores 2013; Vargas 2015), sex (Feliciano 2016; Golash-Boza and Darity 2008; Herman 2010; Telles and Flores 2013; Vargas 2015) education (Feliciano et al. 2011; Golash-Boza and Darity 2008; Telles and Flores 2013; Vargas 2015), generation (Golash-Boza and Darity 2008; Vargas 2015) and language use (Feliciano et al. 2011; Golash-Boza and Darity 2008). Additionally, researchers have found that other observer characteristics, such as gender, have impacted observed race (Feliciano 2016). For instance, Feliciano (2016) finds that female observers are more likely to identify people as racially White than mixed race, while there was no gender difference in observing people as racially Black than mixed race. Thus, for models focused on observed race and the race of observers, I control for interviewer's sex and age (Feliciano 2016; Herman 2010).

3.7 Data and Methods

This project makes use of National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health) data. Add Health uses a multistage, stratified, school-based, cluster sampling design, oversampling for smaller ethnic groups. This project focuses the analyses of racial self-classification and observed race outcomes reported in Wave 3 (2001-2002) while utilizing data from Waves 1 (1994-1995) and 3 (2001-2002) in the development of key measures. I make use of the Relationships Data Set (RDS) collected during Wave 3 (2001-2002) to construct race/ethnicity of romantic partners measures. The original sample in Wave 1 was 1,441 Latinos of Afro-Latin American origin. I first limited the analysis to the Latinos from the original sample that were present in the Wave 3 sample (N=963). I restricted the data to Latinos who provided a

response to the self-classified race and had observed race data (N=905). I then restricted the data on all remaining key measures, such as interviewer demographics and relationship data, as well as control measures used in the regression models. My final sample consists of 653 Latinos of Afro-Latin American origin in Wave 3.

Using these data, I analyze the impact of phenotype on self-reported race and observed race. Additionally, I address the relationship between race/ethnicity of romantic partners and self-reported race. Lastly, I address the relationship between race/ethnicity of racial observers, measured as interviewers in this study, and observed race.

Based on a review of the literature, I form the following hypotheses:

(1) I expect skin tone to be closely related to Black self-classification and less so for White self-classification. I expect skin tone to be closely related to observed race as White or Black.

(2) I expect Latinos of Afro-Latin American descent that have had White partners to be more likely to report White self-classification. Similarly, I expect Latinos of Afro-Latin American descent that have had Black partners to be more likely to report Black self-classification. I do not expect an effect on self-classification for Latinos that have dated Hispanic partners.

(3) I expect White observers to be less likely to observe Latinos of Afro-Latin American descent as racially White. I expect Black observers to be more likely to observe Latinos of Afro-Latin American descent as racially Black. I expect Hispanic interviewers to be more likely to observe Latinos

of Afro-Latin American descent as racially White and less likely to observe Afro-Latin Americans as racially Black.

3.7.1 Determining Afro-Latin American Descent

In order to focus the analyses on Latinos of Afro-Latin American origin, I make use of ancestry, country of birth and Hispanic origin measures. The Hispanic origin measure is limited to the options "Mexican/Mexican American," "Chicano/Chicana," "Cuban/Cuban American," "Puerto Rican," "Central/South American," and "Other Hispanic." This limited measure is insufficient in identifying Afro-Latin American countries of origin. To supplement this measure, I use the four respondent ancestry variables in Wave 3, parent's ancestry, and respondent's country of birth. Based on past definitions of Afro-Latin America (Andrews 2004), Latin American research (Telles and Paschel 2014), and the data available, the analyses for this paper focus on Cuban, Colombian, Dominican, Panamanian and Puerto Rican respondents.

3.7.2 Procedures

First, I present descriptive results for skin tone, self-identified race, and observed race in Table 3.2, Figure 3.1 and Table 3.3, Figure 3.2. Table 3.2 and Figure 3.1 show the percent of those observed as having "white," "light brown," or "medium brown-black" skin tones that are observed or self-identified as racially White. Table 3.3 and Figure 3.2 show the percent of those observed as having "white," "light brown," or "medium brown-black" skin tones that are observed or self-identified as

racially Black. This begins to address research question 1 regarding how closely linked skin tone is to self-classification and observed race.

I conduct logistic regression to address the impact of phenotype, measured as skin tone, race/ethnicity of romantic partners, and race/ethnicity of racial observers on self-reported race and observed race. I evaluate the impact of skin tone on self-reported race in Model 1 of Tables 3.4 and 3.5. I then evaluate the impact of skin tone on observed race in Model 1 of Tables 3.6 and 3.7. These analyses address research question 1, on the role of phenotype in racial self- and observed- classification. This is followed by an analysis of the impact of the race/ethnicity of romantic partners on self-reported race, research question 2, in Models 2, 3, and 4 of Tables 3.4 and 3.5. Lastly, I address the impact of the race/ethnicity of interviewers on observed race, research question 3, in Models 2, 3, and 4 of Tables 3.6 and 3.7.

In line with previous research, all the regression models on self-reported race account for region, age, sex, education, immigrant generation, and Spanish language use. The regression models on observed race account for these measures, as well as the interviewer's sex and age.

3.7.3 Measures

Table 3.1 provides descriptive statistics for all key measures and control measures used in the study.

Table 3.1. Descriptive Statistics N=653

Measures	Percent
Self- Classification - White Dichotomous	
White	75.80
Self- Classification - Black Dichotomous	
Black	12.40
Observed Race - White Dichotomous	
White	81.93
Observed Race - Black Dichotomous	
Black	13.02
Skin Tone	
White	62.33
Light Brown	26.19
Black - Medium Brown	11.49
Race/Ethnicity of Romantic Partners	
Any White, Not Hispanic Partners	39.51
Any Black, Not Hispanic Partners	17.30
Any Hispanic Partners	69.22
Race/Ethnicity of Interviewers	
White, Not Hispanic	55.13
Black, Not Hispanic	20.06
Hispanic	22.82
Control Measures	
Interviewer Female	80.40
Average Interviewer's Age*	50.42
Region	
Northeast	24.81
Midwest	9.95
South	52.37
West	12.86
Average Age*	22.61
Female	49.92
HS Diploma	80.40
Generation	
Third Generation+	34.30
Second Generation	42.73
First Generation	22.97
Speaks Mostly Spanish with Family	36.75

Note: Add Health Restricted Use Waves 1 & 3 Data; *Sample includes respondents of Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican,*

Colombian, and Panamanian origin, based on the Hispanic origin, country of birth, and ancestry measures.

Self-Classification. I construct two racial self-classification measures using the single-race variables from Wave 3 data. Initially, I recoded these variables to the categories "White Alone," "Black Alone," "Native American Alone," "Asian Alone," and "Two or more races." However, there were very few cases where Latinos were identifying as "Native American Alone," "Asian Alone," or "Two or more races" (approximately 12 percent combined). These cases remain in the data. As I am interested in White/not-White and Black/not-Black self-classification, I recode to two dichotomous self-classification measures "Not White" (24.2 percent) and "White" (75.8 percent) as well as "Not Black" (87.6 percent) and "Black Alone" (12.4 percent). This allows for analyses addressing the impact of skin tone and race/ethnicity of romantic partners on White and Black racial self-classification.

Observed Race. I construct two observed race measures using interviewer-classified race from Wave 3 data. The available categories were "White," "Black or African American," "American Indian or Alaska Native," and "Asian or Pacific Islander." Similar to self-classification, there were very few cases where Latinos were classified as "American Indian or Alaska Native" or "Asian or Pacific Islander" (approximately 5 percent combined). I recode to two dichotomous observed race measures of "Not White" (18.07 percent) and "White" (81.93 percent) as well as "Not Black" (86.98 percent) and "Black" (13.02 percent). This allows for analyses addressing the impact of skin tone and race/ethnicity of interviewers on White and Black observed race.

Skin Tone. I use interviewer-coded skin tone from Wave 3 data. The original measure included the five categories *"black," "dark brown," "medium brown," "light brown," and "white."* Due to small sample size of darker-skinned Latinos of Afro-Latin American origin, I recode to three- and two-category measures. For models on self-classification as Not White or White, I recode this variable to three categories: 0 "white" (62.33 percent), 1 "light brown" (26.19 percent), and 2 "black – medium brown" (11.49 percent). For models on self-classification as Not Black or Black, the "black-medium brown" category is recoded as the reference group as very few in the "white" category self-classified as racially Black. For models on observed race as Not White or White, I recode this variable into a dichotomous measure as there were few cases where darker-skinned Latinos were observed as racially White: 0 "white-light brown" (88.51 percent) and 1 "black-medium brown" (11.49 percent). Similarly, for models on observed race as Not Black or Black, the "black-medium brown" category is recoded as the reference group.

Race/Ethnicity of Romantic Partners[3]. Using the separate Relationships Data Set (RDS) collected during Wave 3, I create three race/ethnicity of romantic partners

[3] These measures were also recoded as "3 or more White, Not-Hispanic Partners" (13.02 percent), "3 or more Black, Not-Hispanic Partners" (3.68 percent), and "3 or more Hispanic partners" (21.29 percent) as respondents reported approximately 3 relationships, on average. With these coding differences, the results do not change direction. However, there are some differences to note. Regression results for White self-classification differ in that Latinos that reported dating 3 or more White, not-Hispanic partners were 2.6 times more likely (compared to 3.3 times in the current model) to self-report as racially White. Additionally, Latinos that reported dating 3 or more Black, not-Hispanic partners were 87 percent less likely (compared to 80 percent in the current model) to self-classify as racially White. Regression results for Black self-classification differ in that Latinos that reporting having dated 3 or more White, not-Hispanic partners is not statistically significant (compared to 73 percent less likely in the current model). Additionally, Latinos that reported dating 3 or more Black, not-Hispanic partners were 13.5 times more likely (compared to 9.5 times in the current model) to self-classify as racially Black. However, because of the small figures in this version of the variable and minimal differences in outcomes, I kept the version of the variable presented in the study.

measures. The RDS is comprised of one record per "recent" (since Summer 1995) relationship. The number of records collected from each respondent is determined by the respondent. The respondents are asked to list any romantic or sexual relationships they have had since the summer of 1995, listing each person only once. They are then asked a series of questions for each of the partners they have listed. The original race question asks the respondent to indicate the race of the partner(s), using the available categories of "American Indian or Alaska Native," "Asian or Pacific Islander," "Black or African American," and "White," or "Other." This question is followed by a Hispanic origin question.

The RDS data provides a relationship number with a maximum of 48 relationships listed. The average number of relationships is 3.57 with a standard deviation of 3.36. I limit the data to seven reported relationships, the equivalent of 90 percent of the relationships reported. I restructure the data for key measures from long to wide format using the relationship number and merge with the Wave 3 data. I construct a "Any Black, not Hispanic Partner" (17.30 percent) measure, that indicates whether or not the respondent has had any Black, not Hispanic partners of up to seven partners reported. I construct a "Any White, not Hispanic Partner" (39.51 percent) measure, that indicates whether or not the respondent has had any White, not Hispanic partners of up to seven partners reported. I construct a "Any Hispanic Partner" (69.22 percent) measure that indicates whether or not the respondent has had any Hispanic partners of up to seven partners reported.

Race/Ethnicity of Interviewers. Using interviewer's self-reported race and ethnicity measures, I construct three race/ethnicity measures. The original race

categories were “White,” “Black or African American,” “American Indian or Alaska Native,” and “Asian or Pacific Islander.” Combined with the Hispanic ethnicity question, I recode to the three separate measures: “Hispanic Interviewer” (22.82 percent), “White, not Hispanic Interviewer” (55.13 percent), and “Black, not Hispanic Interviewer” (20.06 percent).

Control Measures. In line with previous research, I include control measures for census region, age, sex, education, immigrant generation and Spanish language use. I recode census region where Northeast is the reference category as Afro-origin populations, such as Dominicans and Puerto Ricans, are heavily concentrated in this region (Araújo and Borrell 2006). The Latinos in the sample are mostly concentrated in the South (52.37 percent) and Northeast (24.81 percent) followed by the West (22.61 percent) and the Midwest (9.95 percent). The average Latino respondent in Wave 3 was age 23. Approximately half (49.92 percent) of the sample is female. For education, I use a Wave 3 measure indicating whether or not the respondent has received a high school diploma, coded as 0 “no high school diploma” (19.60 percent) and 1 “high school diploma” (80.40 percent).

Using the respondent’s nativity along with that of their parents from Wave 1 data, I construct a generation variable. Respondents that are native-born with native-born parents are recoded as 0 “third generation+” (34.30 percent). I recode native-born respondents with at least one foreign-born parent as 1 “second generation” (42.73 percent). There were few cases where respondents were foreign-born while their parents were native-born. These cases were recoded to the “second generation” category. I recode respondents that are foreign-born with foreign-born parents as 2

"first generation" (22.97 percent). I use a Wave 3 measure asking the language used most with family and recode for respondents who speak mostly Spanish with family (36.75 percent). For models on observed race, I include the added control measures of interviewer's sex and age. The average interviewer's age in Wave 3 was age 50. Approximately 80 percent of the interviewers are female. As previously mentioned, researchers have found that female observers are more likely to identify others as White (Feliciano 2016), underscoring the need to control for interviewer's sex in the current study.

3.8 Results

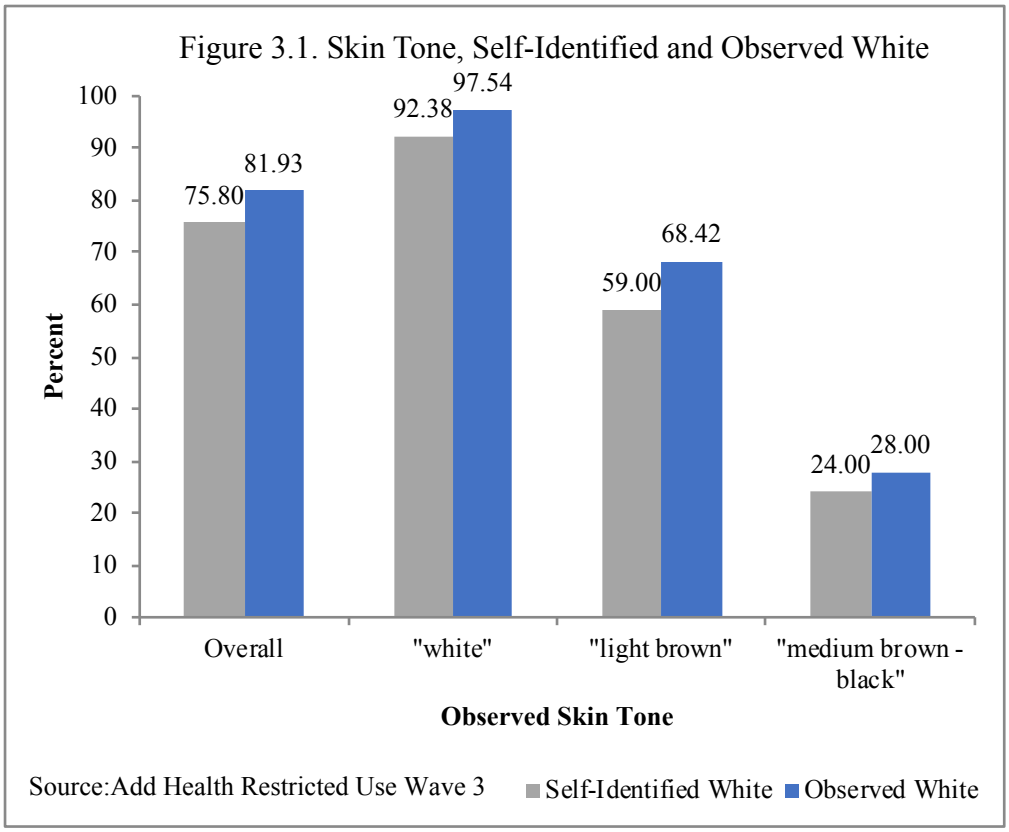
3.8.1 Descriptive Results: Self-Identified White Latinos and Observed White Latinos by Skin Tone

Table 3.2 and Figure 3.1 present the percent of Latinos racially self-identifying as White and those who are observed as White by "white," "light brown," and "medium brown-black" skin tones. Latinos of Afro-Latin American origin are self-identifying and being observed as racially White at high rates. Interestingly, they are being observed as racially White at higher rates than they are self-identifying as such.

Table 3.2. Percent Self-Identified and Observed White by Skin Tone

		Observed Skin Tone		
	Overall	"white"	"light brown"	"med. - black"
Self-ID White	75.80	92.38***	59.00***	24.00***
Observed White	81.93	97.54***	68.42***	28.00***

Note: Using Add Health Restricted Use Wave 3 data; p < .05, p < .01**, p < .001***; Chi-square conducted; Sample includes respondents of Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican, Colombian, and Panamanian origin, based on the Hispanic origin, country of birth, and ancestry measures.*



Overall, 75.80 percent of Latinos of Afro-Latin American origin are self-identifying as racially White. Meanwhile, close to 82 percent are observed by interviewers as racially White. Focusing on Latinos who have “white” skin, over 92 percent are self- identifying as White while close to 98 percent are observed by interviewers as racially White. Focusing on Latinos who have “light brown” skin, 59 percent are self- identifying as White while over 68 percent are observed as racially White. Focusing on Latinos who have “medium brown – black” skin, 24 percent are self-identifying as racially White while 28 percent are observed as racially White.

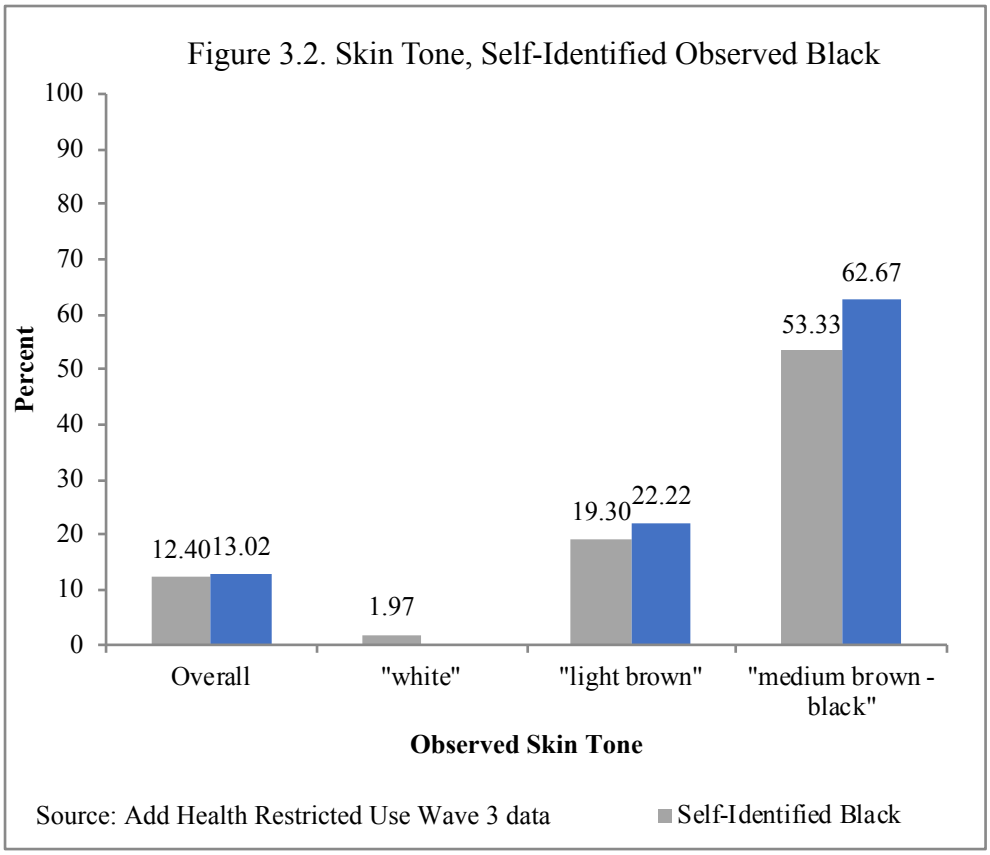
3.8.2 Descriptive Results: Self-Identified Black Latinos and Observed Black Latinos by Skin Tone

Table 3.3 and Figure 3.2 present the percent of Latinos racially self-identifying as Black and those who are observed as Black by "white," "light brown," and "medium brown-black" skin tones. Overall, there is very little difference between the percent of Latinos of Afro-Latin American origin that are self-classifying as Black and those who are being observed by interviewers as Black. The largest difference is that between self- and observed race of the "medium brown – black" skin tone group (53.33 percent and 62.67 percent).

Table 3.3. Percent Self-Identified and Observed Black by Skin Tone

		Observed Skin Tone		
	Overall	"white"	"light brown"	"med.- black"
Self-ID Black	12.40	1.97***	19.30***	53.33***
Observed Black	13.02	-	22.22***	62.67***

Note: Using Add Health Restricted Use Wave 3 data; *p < .05*, p < .01**, p < .001***; Chi-square and Fisher's exact conducted; Sample includes respondents of Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican, Colombian, and Panamanian origin, based on the Hispanic origin, country of birth, and ancestry measures.*



Of Latinos who have "white" skin, approximately 2 percent are self-identifying as racially White while none of these Latinos are being observed by interviewers as being racially Black. Focusing on Latinos of "light brown" skin, approximately 19 percent are self-identifying as racially Black while over 22 percent are being observed as such. Of Latinos with "medium brown – black" skin tones, over 53 percent are self-identifying as Black, while close to 63 percent are being observed by interviewers as such.

3.8.3 Logistic Regression Results: Racial Self-Classification as White, Skin Tone, and Race/Ethnicity of Romantic Partners

Table 3.4 summarizes logistic regressions of racial self-classification as racially White on skin tone and race/ethnicity of romantic partners measures, adjusting for control variables. Model 1 presents results for the skin tone measure while Models 2, 3, and 4 present results for race/ethnicity of romantic partners measures. Overall, findings suggest skin tone is closely related to self-classification as racially White for Latinos. The race/ethnicity of romantic partners greatly impacts self-classification as racially White.

Table 3.4. Logistic Regression: Racial Self-Classification as White, Skin Tone, and Race/Ethnicity of Romantic Partners

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Intercept	15.928	7.578	27.234*	16.362
	(24.39)	(11.94)	(43.00)	(25.31)
Race/Eth. of Partners				
Any NH White Partners		3.316***		
		(0.88)		
Any NH Black Partners			0.208***	
			(0.06)	
Any Hispanic Partners				0.969
				(0.25)
Skin Tone				
White (ref.)				
Light Brown	0.151***	0.156***	0.169***	0.151***
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.04)
Black – Med. Brown	0.027***	0.033***	0.037***	0.027***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)

Table 3.4 continued…

Table 3.4 continued

Control Measures				
Region				
Northeast (ref.)				
Midwest	2.487*	2.270*	2.655*	2.494*
	(0.97)	(0.92)	(1.09)	(0.98)
South	4.307***	5.426***	4.890***	4.325***
	(1.35)	(1.79)	(1.62)	(1.36)
West	1.073	0.979	1.024	1.073
	(0.36)	(0.35)	(0.35)	(0.36)
Age	0.949	0.952	0.933	0.948
	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Sex				
Male (ref.)				
Female	0.798	0.911	0.97	0.799
	(0.18)	(0.22)	(0.24)	(0.19)
Education				
No HS Diploma (ref.)				
HS Diploma	1.007	0.942	1.064	1.004
	(0.29)	(0.28)	(0.32)	(0.30)
Generation				
Third Gen.+ (ref.)				
Second Gen.	1.593	1.771*	1.54	1.604
	(0.43)	(0.50)	(0.44)	(0.44)
First Gen.	1.262	1.549	1.045	1.275
	(0.54)	(0.69)	(0.47)	(0.56)
Language Use				
Mostly Spanish	0.953	0.983	0.864	0.956
	(0.32)	(0.34)	(0.30)	(0.32)
Number of Observations	653	653	653	653

Note: Using Wave 3 of Add Health Restricted Use Data; Reported as Odds Ratios; **p<0.05. **p<0.01. ***p<0.001; Sample includes respondents of Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican, Colombian, and Panamanian origin, based on the Hispanic origin, country of birth, and ancestry measures.*

Model 1 reports results for the skin tone measure, indicating Latinos of "light brown" skin tone are 85 percent less likely to self-classify as racially White than their

"white" skin tone counterparts. Latinos of "black-medium brown" skin tone are approximately 97 percent less likely to self-classify as racially White than their "white" skin tone counterparts.

Model 2 reports results for any White, not-Hispanic romantic partners reported. Results indicate Latinos that reported having had any White, not-Hispanic romantic partners were 3.3 times more likely to self-classify as racially White than their counterparts who did not report having White, not-Hispanic partners. Model 3 reports results for any Black, not-Hispanic romantic partners reported. Latinos that reported having had any Black, not-Hispanic romantic partners were close to 80 percent less likely to self-classify as racially White than their counterparts who did not report having Black, not-Hispanic partners. Model 4 reports results for any Hispanic romantic partners reported. There was no statistically significant effect on self-classification as racially White. Models on race/ethnicity of romantic partners all account for control measures as well as skin tone.

3.8.4 Logistic Regression Results: Racial Self-Classification as Black, Skin Tone, and Race/Ethnicity of Romantic Partners

Table 3.5 summarizes logistic regressions of racial self-classification as racially Black on skin tone and race/ethnicity of romantic partners measures, adjusting for control variables. Model 1 presents results for the skin tone measure while Models 2, 3, and 4 present results for race/ethnicity of romantic partners measures. Overall, findings suggest skin tone is closely related to self-classification as racially Black for Latinos of Afro-Latin American origin. Additionally, the

race/ethnicity of romantic partners greatly impacts self-classification as racially Black.

Table 3.5. Logistic Regression: Racial Self-Classification as Black, Skin Tone, and Race/Ethnicity of Romantic Partners

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Intercept	0.233	0.052	0.429	0.33
	(0.44)	(0.11)	(0.84)	(0.63)
Race/Eth. of Partners				
Any NH White Partners		0.266***		
		(0.09)		
Any NH Black Partners			9.521***	
			(3.18)	
Any Hispanic Partners				0.665
				(0.21)
Skin Tone				
Black – Med. Brown (ref.)				
Light Brown	0.160***	0.175***	0.184***	0.156***
	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.05)
White	0.015***	0.023***	0.018***	0.015***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)

Table 3.5 continued…

Table 3.5 continued

Control Measures				
Region				
Northeast (ref.)				
Midwest	0.432	0.419	0.447	0.466
	(0.21)	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.23)
South	0.358**	0.263**	0.296**	0.370**
	(0.14)	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.14)
West	0.48	0.566	0.483	0.48
	(0.20)	(0.25)	(0.21)	(0.20)
Age	1.088	1.124	1.079	1.081
	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.09)	(0.09)
Sex				
Male (ref.)				
Female	2.609**	2.037*	2.440**	2.630**
	(0.79)	(0.68)	(0.76)	(0.80)
Education				
No HS Diploma (ref.)				
HS Diploma	0.932	0.761	1.035	0.886
	(0.34)	(0.30)	(0.38)	(0.32)
Generation				
Third Gen.+ (ref.)				
Second Gen.	1.185	1.443	1.022	1.311
	(0.39)	(0.53)	(0.35)	(0.45)
First Gen.	1.417	2.421	1.105	1.677
	(0.79)	(1.52)	(0.62)	(0.96)
Language Use				
Mostly Spanish	0.581	0.676	0.564	0.612
	(0.25)	(0.32)	(0.25)	(0.27)
Number of Observations	653	653	653	653

Note: Using Wave 3 of Add Health Restricted Use Data; Reported as Odds Ratios; *$p<0.05$. **$p<0.01$. ***$p<0.001$; *Sample includes respondents of Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican, Colombian, and Panamanian origin, based on the Hispanic origin, country of birth, and ancestry measures.*

Model 1 reports results for the skin tone measure, indicating Latinos of "light brown" skin tone are 84 percent less likely to self-classify as racially Black than their

"black-medium brown" skin tone counterparts. Additionally, Latinos of "white" skin tone are approximately 98 percent less likely to self-classify as racially Black than their "black-medium brown" skin tone counterparts.

Model 2 reports results for any White, not-Hispanic romantic partners reported. Results indicate Latinos that reported having had any White, not-Hispanic romantic partners were 73 percent less likely to self-classify as racially Black than their counterparts who did not report having White, not-Hispanic partners. Model 3 reports results for any Black, not-Hispanic romantic partners reported. Latinos that reported having had any Black, not-Hispanic romantic partners were 9.5 times more likely to self-classify as racially Black than their counterparts who did not report having Black, not-Hispanic partners. Model 4 reports results for any Hispanic romantic partners reported. There was no statistically significant effect on self-classification as racially Black. Models on race/ethnicity of romantic partners all account for control measures as well as skin tone.

3.8.5 Logistic Regression Results: Observed Race as White, Skin Tone, and Race/Ethnicity of Interviewers

Table 3.6 summarizes logistic regressions of observed race as racially White on skin tone and race/ethnicity of interviewer measures, adjusting for control variables. As mentioned previously, in addition to the control measures accounted for in the self-identification models, the observed race models account for interviewer's age and sex. Model 1 presents results for the skin tone measure while Models 2, 3, and 4 present results for race/ethnicity of interviewer measures. Overall, findings suggest skin tone is closely related to observed race as racially White for Latinos.

Additionally, the race/ethnicity of interviewers significantly impacts observed race as racially White.

Table 3.6. Logistic Regression: Observed Race as White, Skin Tone, and Race/Ethnicity of Interviewers

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Intercept	0.682	0.561	0.563	0.317
	(1.10)	(0.93)	(0.95)	(0.54)
Race/Eth of Interviewers				
Interviewer NH White		1.600		
		(0.42)		
Interviewer NH Black			0.401**	
			(0.11)	
Interviewer Hispanic				2.183*
				(0.83)
Skin Tone				
White- Light Brown (ref.)				
Black – Med. Brown	0.045***	0.046***	0.045***	0.041***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)

Table 3.6 continued…

Table 3.6 continued

Control Measures				
Interviewer Female		0.890	0.853	0.817
		(0.28)	(0.27)	(0.26)
Interviewer Age		1.002	1.006	1.015
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Region				
Northeast (ref.)				
Midwest	2.530*	2.553*	2.969*	3.050*
	(1.13)	(1.16)	(1.36)	(1.41)
South	2.341**	2.525**	2.371**	2.171*
	(0.76)	(0.83)	(0.78)	(0.72)
West	1.12	1.108	1.104	1.128
	(0.40)	(0.41)	(0.41)	(0.41)
Age	1.088	1.082	1.102	1.092
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Sex				
Male (ref.)				
Female	0.640	0.624	0.626	0.646
	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)
Education				
No HS Diploma (ref.)				
HS Diploma	0.902	0.886	0.904	0.905
	(0.28)	(0.28)	(0.29)	(0.29)
Generation				
Third Gen.+ (ref.)				
Second Gen.	1.807*	1.828*	1.789	1.728
	(0.53)	(0.54)	(0.53)	(0.51)
First Gen.	2.174	2.149	1.99	2.062
	(1.01)	(1.01)	(0.94)	(0.96)
Language Use				
Mostly Spanish	1.218	1.27	1.19	1.142
	(0.43)	(0.45)	(0.43)	(0.41)
Number of Observations	653	653	653	653

Note: Using Wave 3 of Add Health Restricted Use Data; Reported as Odds Ratios; *$p<0.05$. **$p<0.01$. ***$p<0.001$; *Sample includes respondents of Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican, Colombian, and Panamanian origin, based on the Hispanic origin, country of birth, and ancestry measures.*

Model 1 reports results for the skin tone measure, indicating Latinos of "black-medium brown" skin tone are approximately 95 percent less likely to be observed as racially White than their "white-light brown" skin tone counterparts. Model 2 reports results for White, not Hispanic interviewers. There was no statistically significant effect for White, not-Hispanic interviewers observing Latinos as racially White. Model 3 reports results for Black, not-Hispanic interviewers. Black, not-Hispanic interviewers were 60 percent less likely to observe Latinos as racially White than non-Black interviewers. Model 4 reports results for Hispanic interviewers. Hispanic interviewers were over 2 times more likely to observe Latinos as racially White than non-Hispanic interviewers.

3.8.6 Logistic Regression Results: Observed Race as Black, Skin Tone, and Race/Ethnicity of Interviewers

Table 3.7 summarizes logistic regressions of observed race as racially Black on skin tone and race/ethnicity of interviewer measures, adjusting for control variables. As mentioned previously, in addition to the control measures accounted for in the self-identification models, the observed race models account for interviewer's age and sex. Model 1 presents results for the skin tone measure while Models 2, 3, and 4 present results for race/ethnicity of interviewer measures. Overall, findings suggest skin tone is closely related to observed race as racially Black for Latinos. Additionally, the race/ethnicity of interviewers significantly impacts observed race as racially Black.

Table 3.7. Logistic Regression: Observed Race as Black, Skin Tone, and Race/Ethnicity of Interviewers

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Intercept	1.744	0.809	0.71	1.841
	(3.35)	(1.62)	(1.46)	(3.84)
Race/Eth of Interviewers				
Interviewer NH White		0.777		
		(0.24)		
Interviewer NH Black			3.202***	
			(1.05)	
Interviewer Hispanic				0.199**
				(0.11)
Skin Tone				
Black – Med. Brown (ref.)				
White- Light Brown	0.029***	0.030***	0.028***	0.024***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)

Table 3.7 continued…

Table 3.7 continued

Control Measures				
Interviewer Female		0.995	1.07	1.136
		(0.38)	(0.42)	(0.45)
Interviewer Age		1.03	1.032*	1.014
		(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Region				
Northeast (ref.)				
Midwest	0.506	0.574	0.53	0.463
	(0.24)	(0.28)	(0.27)	(0.23)
South	0.365**	0.357**	0.387*	0.453*
	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.18)
West	0.356*	0.319*	0.333*	0.305*
	(0.16)	(0.15)	(0.16)	(0.15)
Age	1.014	0.989	0.964	0.987
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.09)
Sex				
Male (ref.)				
Female	3.403***	3.452***	3.683***	3.515***
	(1.10)	(1.12)	(1.23)	(1.17)
Education				
No HS Diploma (ref.)				
HS Diploma	1.252	1.25	1.248	1.232
	(0.47)	(0.47)	(0.48)	(0.47)
Generation				
Third Gen.+ (ref.)				
Second Gen.	0.856	0.847	0.874	0.903
	(0.29)	(0.29)	(0.30)	(0.31)
First Gen.	0.555	0.571	0.666	0.674
	(0.32)	(0.33)	(0.39)	(0.38)
Language Use				
Mostly Spanish	0.544	0.521	0.52	0.543
	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.24)
Number of Observations	653	653	653	653

Note: Using Wave 3 of Add Health Restricted Use Data; Reported as Odds Ratios; *$p<0.05$. **$p<0.01$. ***$p<0.001$; *Sample includes respondents of Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican, Colombian, and Panamanian origin, based on the Hispanic origin, country of birth, and ancestry measures.*

Model 1 reports results for the skin tone measure, indicating Latinos of "white-light brown" skin tone are 97 percent less likely to be observed as racially Black than their "black-medium brown" skin tone counterparts. Model 2 reports results for White, not Hispanic interviewers. There was no statistically significant effect for White, not-Hispanic interviewers observing Latinos as racially Black. Model 3 reports results for Black, not-Hispanic interviewers. Black, not-Hispanic interviewers were 3.2 times more likely to observe Latinos as racially Black than non-Black interviewers. Model 4 reports results for Hispanic interviewers. Hispanic interviewers were approximately 80 percent less likely to observe Latinos as racially Black than non-Hispanic interviewers.

3.9 Discussion and Conclusion

This study contributes to the growing body of literature demonstrating the multidimensionality of race (Penner and Saperstein 2015), answers the call for more research analyzing the factors influencing internal and external categorization (Darity et al. 2002; Telles and Flores 2013; Vargas 2015), and begins to fill the gap in the literature by focusing on Latinos of Afro-Latin American origin. My findings underscore that who is 'White' or 'Black' is not self-evident (Telles and Flores 2013). Overall, Latinos of Afro-Latin American origin do display a preference towards whiteness that is in line with previous research (Darity et al. 2005, 2002; Denton and Massey 1989; Telles and Flores 2013; Vargas-Ramos 2014; Vargas 2015). However, this study also establishes that within the Black/Non-Black or White/non-White racial binaries, observers are more likely to racially classify Latinos as White at higher rates

than observers classify Latinos as Black. This study helps determine some of the conditions under which this sub-group of Latinos leans towards whiteness or blackness. I consider the role of physical conditions, measured as skin tone, and external factors, such as the race of romantic partners and race of observers, in self-identification and observed race.

I examine the impact of phenotype on self-reported race and observed race, presenting descriptive and regression analyses. I find partial support for my hypotheses on the impact of skin tone on self-identification and observed race. Based on my descriptive analyses, I find Latinos are both self-identifying and being observed as racially White at high rates across all skin tones. While the finding on self-identification as racially White, regardless of skin tone, among Latinos of Afro-Latin American origin is in line with previous research (Darity et al. 2005), my finding on observed race is not expected. Previous research suggests observed race is closely related to skin tone, especially for people with darker skin (Feliciano 2016). My findings indicate that a subset of darker skin Latinos, around 28 percent, are being externally classified as racially White.

Overall, Latinos of Afro-Latin American origin are self-identifying and being observed as racially Black at equal rates (around 13 percent). There is some evidence of a closer link between darker skin and black identification. However, the literature would have us believe that virtually all darker-skinned respondents would be externally classified as racially Black, when in actuality around 62 percent are observed as such. Interestingly, the boundaries to who is considered racially Black are more rigid than who is considered White. No Latinos with “white” skin tones were

observed as racially Black, while a small number of this same group self-identified as such. However, the regression results suggest a close link between skin tone, self-identification, and observed race.

Overall, my findings for skin tone regression models report trends in line with my hypotheses. While I expected a close connection between skin tone and Black identification, I did not expect to find as close a connection between skin tone and White identification. For models addressing Black self-classification, I find those with "light brown" or "white" skin are less likely (84 percent and 98 percent, respectively) to self-identify as racially Black compared to their counterparts classified as having "black-medium brown" skin. This is in line with previous research on skin tone and self-identification (Golash-Boza and Darity 2008; Rockquemore and Arend 2002; Telles and Flores 2013; Vargas 2015). For models addressing White self-classification, I find that Latinos with "light brown" and "black-medium brown" skin tones are less likely (85 percent and 97 percent, respectively) to self-identify as racially White compared to their counterparts classified as having "white" skin.

My findings for skin tone regression models and observed race are in line with previous research (Khanna 2010; Landale and Oropesa 2002; Vargas 2015). While I expected skin tone findings to be more pronounced for observed race, regression results for models on observed race were in line with the results for self-classified race. For models addressing observed race as White, I find those with "black-medium brown" skin tones are much less likely (95 percent) to be observed as racially White than their counterparts with "white-light brown" skin tones. For models addressing

observed race as Black, I find the inverse. Those with "white-light brown" skin tones are much less likely (97 percent) to be observed as racially Black than their counterparts classified as having "black-medium brown" skin tones.

I then address the relationship between race/ethnicity of romantic partners and self-reported race. I find support for the contact hypothesis and the role of White and Black partners in self-identification. Latinos who have White partners are more likely to identify as racially White while those who have Black partners are more likely to identify as racially Black. Latinos who had Hispanic partners are not reporting race significantly different than their counterparts who hadn't dated Hispanic partners.

For models addressing White self-identification, I find those who have dated White, non-Hispanic partners to be 3.3 times more likely to self-identify as racially White than their counterparts who have not dated White, non-Hispanic partners. This is in line with my hypothesis for White partners and self-identification. These findings suggest the boundaries to whiteness may be more flexible for a subset of the Latino population (Vargas 2015; Yancey 2003). In line with my hypothesis, for models addressing Black self-identification, I find those who have dated Black, non-Hispanic partners to be 9.5 times more likely to self-identify as racially Black than their counterparts who have not had any Black, non-Hispanic partners. While in the expected direction, this is a much stronger effect than some might expect, considering the Latino aversion to blackness that has been found in past studies (Darity et al. 2005, 2002; Vargas-Ramos 2014). However, these findings are in line with previous research on the proximity of some Latino origin groups with significant African

ancestry and their proximity to Black Americans (Carter 2005; Feliciano et al. 2011; Lee 2006).

While not the central focus of the analysis, I also address the relationship between having Black, non-Hispanic partners and White identification and White, non-Hispanic partners and Black identification. I find that those who have dated Black, non-Hispanic partners were much less likely to self-identify as racially White. Those who have dated White, non-Hispanic partners were much less likely to self-identify as racially Black. This is a relationship effect that has not been previously addressed in the literature. I argue that this serves as evidence of the contact hypothesis. There is less social distance between Latinos and Black Americans when Latinos have had non-Hispanic Black partners. However, I argue these ties to Black Americans increase the social distance between these Latinos and Whites. Additionally, close ties to White Americans increases the social distance between Latinos who have dated non-Hispanic Whites and Blacks. This may be indicative of how distinct non-Hispanic Whites and Blacks remain in the US racial hierarchy.

Lastly, I address the relationship between race/ethnicity of observers and observed race. I find support for my hypotheses on Black and Hispanic interviewers. Black interviewers were more likely to observe Latinos of Afro-Latin American origin as racially Black. Hispanic interviewers were more likely to observe Latinos as racially White and less likely to observe Latinos as racially Black. However, I do not find support for my hypothesis on White interviewers and their role in enforcing boundaries to whiteness. This is contrary to what might be expected based on the literature on racial boundary work and whiteness (Castano et al. 2002; Feliciano

2016). It is possible non-Hispanic Whites are seeing some Latinos as being racially distinct from Whites and Blacks. They may be viewing them as part of a separate racialized Latino category. While this cannot be addressed with the Wave 3 data, future research should address the possibility of an observed Latino race category.

Hispanic interviewers were over 2 times more likely to observe Latinos as racially White than non-Hispanic interviewers. This is in line with my hypothesis. Previous research underscores a preference for White self-identification among Latinos (Darity et al. 2005, 2002; Telles and Flores 2013; Vargas 2015) and observing other co-ethnics as White would be in line with this established white preference and aligning Latinos with whiteness. There is evidence of Hispanic interviewers' aversion towards Black identification of Latinos. For models addressing observed race as Black, I find Hispanic interviewers were 80 percent less likely to observe Latinos as racially Black than non-Hispanic interviewers.

In line with my hypothesis, Black, non-Hispanic interviewers were 3.2 times more likely to observe Latinos as racially Black than non-Black interviewers. I argue this is reflects the unintended consequence of the one-drop rule, unifying Blacks in the United States (Davis 1991; Khanna 2010). Black Americans may be recognizing a subset of the Afro-Latin American origin population, Afro-Latinos, as in-group members and are identifying them as such. However, these findings run contrary to the research on Black observers. Previous research suggests the overall agreement on who is Black leads Black observers to be no more likely to observe people as Black than observers of other races (Feliciano 2016; Harris 2002). This may be indicative of different definitions of race and racial schemas (Roth 2012) that are currently being

used in the United States. Different groups may be unsure of where these Latinos "fit" within the racial structure and may hint at the possibility of a racialized Latino identity (Golash-Boza 2006; Roth 2012).

While outside of the scope of the current paper, it is important to note the regional differences in self-classification and observed race. When focusing on models on White self-classification, I find Latinos in the Midwest were over 2 times more likely to identify as White than counterparts in the Northeast. Latinos in the South were over 4 times more likely to identify as White than their counterparts in the Northeast. When focusing on models on Black self-classification, I find Latinos in the South were over 60 percent less likely to identify as Black than their counterparts in the Northeast. These findings underscore the importance of addressing geographic location within the United States when discussing the racial classification practices of Latinos in future research. The regional concentration of Latinos of Afro-Latin American origin, Afro-Latinos more specifically, in the Northeast may be what is leading to these regional differences (Araújo and Borrell 2006). Just as there are regional understandings of whiteness across Latin America (Telles and Flores 2013), there may be regional understandings of whiteness and blackness in the United States (Dowling and Newby 2010).

There are several limitations I would like to address. While the skin tone measure is helpful in starting the conversation on racial identification and observed race, its structure of five unclearly defined categories is limiting. I echo the call from other researchers (Golash-Boza and Darity 2008) for data collection with more adequate, clearly defined skin tone data. A skin tone measure with a broader range of

categories and more clear definitions of the skin tones should be established. Additionally, the small sample size did not allow for analyses of skin tone and the race/ethnicity of interviewers. This may be helpful in explaining what groups are observing darker-skinned Latinos as racially White.

Previous research within the Latin American context suggests different countries have different racialization processes (Telles and Flores 2013). These differences may remain and be evident as national origin differences in racial self-identification. However, this study was unable to account for possible national origin differences due to sample size restraints. This further underscores the need for data collection efforts that focus on Afro-Latin American origin populations and Afro-Latinos specifically. Previous research has underscored the significance of gender in the migration experience as well as racial identity formation. However, analyzing the gendered differences in racial self-classification and ascribed race was outside of the scope of the current project. The limited sample size did not allow for a gender analysis of the role of skin tone, race of romantic partners, and race of observers on self-identified and ascribed race.

While the construction of the race categories in Wave 3 data are helpful in discussing the White-Black US racial binary, future research should address the development of a racialized Latino identity (Golash-Boza 2006; Roth 2012). Researchers has suggested the missing 'other' category in Wave 3 of the Add Health data constrains Latinos to choose categories that do not fully reflect their racial self-classification (Cheng and Powell 2011). However, future research should go a step further and make use of a combined race/ethnicity question, soon to be available in

Wave 5 data. Using these data, future research can better engage the literature suggesting Hispanic/Latino ethnicity is functioning more as a racial category.

Chapter 4: Multiple Dimensions of Race and the Mental Health of Latinos

Race is not experienced on a single dimension but rather as a number of conflicting dimensions to form the "lived experience" of race. Here, I focus on five dimensions of race, *racial self-classification*, *perceived or observed race*, *racial mismatch*, *phenotype*, *perceived discrimination*, and mental health outcomes. Racial self-classification is described as the race you check on official forms or surveys. Observed race is the race others believe you to be, often measured by the interviewer. I define racial mismatch as the mismatch between self-classification and observed race. Phenotype is your racial appearance and, in this instance, measured as skin tone. Perceived discrimination is the subjective expereince of being treated unfairly relative to others.

This project utilizes a *social determinants of health* framework, stressing that race is a socio-cultural construct. People of color suffer from poorer overall health outcomes compared to non-Hispanic Whites due to their environments, social status, limited opportunities, and discrimination and not biological differences (Garcia et al. 2015). Research on racial/ethnic health disparities often relies on a self-identification measure; however, this measure alone does not adequately address how race impacts individuals in society. Thus, it is imperative to examine multiple indicators of race across mental health outcomes (Lee and Turney 2012; Monk 2015). Multiple race measures are particularly important when addressing multiracial populations, such as Latinos, as many do not self-identify according to the dominant racial context of the United States (Araújo and Borrell 2006).

Research on Latinos and mental health presents conflicting results in terms of the impacts of acculturation. This has led some researchers to highlight an "immigrant paradox," where acculturation leads to worse outcomes. However, other researchers suggest the effect is a result of greater awareness of racial dynamics and injustices (Araújo and Borrell 2006).

Latinos from "Afro-Latin America" are the focus of this study (Andrews 2004). While afro-descendants are found throughout all of Latin America, Afro-Latin America is defined as countries with large afro-descendant populations and small indo-descendant populations. As a largely multiracial population, Latinos from Afro-Latin America living in the United States provide a unique opportunity to address the impact of various dimensions of the "lived experience" of race on mental health outcomes. Additionally, this population allows researchers to analyze whether lack of acculturation continues to "protect" mental health in light of the "lived experience" of race in the United States.

Using Waves 1, 3, and 4 of National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health) data, I analyze the impact of multiple dimensions of race individually and combined to address the "lived experience" of race on mental health measures utilizing depressive symptoms and diagnosed depression measures. Further, these analyses account for acculturation using measured immigrant generation and Spanish language use.

This leads to the following research questions:

1. What do multiple dimensions of race tell us about the relationship between race and mental health?

2. How does the "lived experience" of race impact mental health?
3. Does less acculturation "protect" mental health after accounting for the "lived experience" of race?

4.1 Background

An estimated one-quarter of the total population of Latin America are people of African ancestry (Andrews 2004). While there are people of African ancestry throughout all of Latin America, researchers identify Afro-Latin American countries as those with the highest percentage of people identifying as Black or in mixed-race categories that denote African origin (Andrews 2004; Telles and Paschel 2014). Based on past definitions of Afro-Latin America and previous research (Andrews 2004; Telles and Paschel 2014), this study focuses on people in the United States from the Afro-Latin American countries of Cuba, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Panama, and Puerto Rico.

The Latino health literature in the United States is limited, as much of it has focused on Mexican or Central American populations while generalizing these results to apply to all Latinos (Araújo and Borrell 2006). Much of the research rarely includes respondents from Afro-Latin American countries. However, Latin American research on health in Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, and Peru find strong gradients in self-reported health by skin color, where those with darker skin report poorer health (Perreira and Telles 2014).

4.2 Dimensions of Race and the "Lived Experience"

Race in the United States is not a single, consistent identity, but comprised of multiple conflicting dimensions (Roth 2016). Race is more complex than what can be captured by a single race measure. I address the impact of racial self-classification, observed race, racial mismatch, phenotype, and perceived discrimination on mental health outcomes. This follows the research trajectory of addressing the *lived experience* of race*,* established by Garcia et al (2015) in their research on Latino self-rated physical health. Rather than using a single race measure, Garcia et al (2015) utilized skin color, observed race, and discrimination experiences to measure the dimensions of race as a *lived experience*. By making use of multiple measures of race, I am able to better identify within-group differences in the outcomes based on the dimension of race being measured. I am also able to define the racial disparities in mental health outcomes within a portion of the Latino population that has gone underrepresented in the literature.

4.3 Race and Mental Health

Racial and ethnic minorities suffer from poorer physical and mental health outcomes compared to non-Hispanic Whites. These health disparities are not due to biological differences, but rather environment, social status, limited opportunities, experiences with discrimination and stress (Garcia et al. 2015).

Research measuring the relationship between health and various measures of race indicates that self-perceived race correlates with physical health for Latinos in the United States context but not in Latin American countries, where skin tone has a much more significant impact on self-rated health (López et al. 2017; Perreira and

Telles 2014). Research on racial and ethnic health disparities often relies on self-identification. However, this may not fit how race and ethnicity often impacts individuals in society (Vargas et al. 2015).

4.3.1 Observed Race

What race others think you are (observed race) is an important measure in predicting health status (Vargas et al. 2015). While it may be related to skin tone, observed race, often measured by interviewers, provides insight on racial groupings in society and is understudied (Garcia et al. 2015). Interviewers are representative of teachers, classmates, employers and other members of society (Laster Pirtle and Brown 2016; Saperstein and Penner 2012). Interviewers have access to information on how the respondent looks and other racial cues available during social interaction (Laster Pirtle and Brown 2016; Saperstein and Penner 2012).

Research on race and health outcomes indicate observed race has a greater impact on health outcomes than self-identification (Jones et al. 2008; Vargas et al. 2015). Among many other societal advantages associated with whiteness, a White observed race is associated with significant advantages in physical health status, regardless of self-identification (Jones et al. 2008). Among self-identified Latinos, Latinos who were observed as racially White had much better health outcomes than their counterparts who are observed as Hispanic or Latino and even worse for those observed as racially Black (Jones et al. 2008).

Using a "street race" measure, the race you think others would assume you would be based on appearance, Lopez et al. (2017) find that among Latina women, there is no statistically significant race difference for self-reported mental health

between street race White women and non-White street race women. However, Latino men who reported Latino or Arab street races had worse self-reported mental health than Latino men reporting a White street race (López et al. 2017).

When combined with skin tone and discrimination experiences, researchers find that Latinos who are observed as non-White by others have worse physical health (Garcia et al. 2015). However, contrary to previous research on Hispanics, Vargas et al (2015) find no health differences between Hispanics that were socially assigned as White and those who were not socially assigned as White, suggesting research on this population is highly sensitive to region and sample selection. The White advantage in health among Latinos may only be true for Mexican origin populations or highly acculturated Latinos (Vargas et al. 2015).

4.3.2 Racial Mismatch

Racial mismatch refers to the inconsistency between race measures, in this instance, racial self-classification and observed race. Qualitative research focused on heterogeneous and multiracial populations with contested identities indicate that the conflict between how they perceive themselves and how others perceive them can increase stress (Campbell and Troyer 2007). Researchers find inconsistency between self-identification and observed race is highest among self-identified Latinos, American Indians, and Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander populations (Jones et al. 2008) Research conducted in Toronto and Vancouver finds mismatch between self-identification and observed race is most prevalent among Black and South Asian respondents (Veenstra 2011).

Racial mismatch is highly stressful because maintaining a strong ethnic identity is important to the self-esteem and self-image of minority groups who routinely face discrimination, yet these identities are difficult to maintain when they are contested (Campbell and Troyer 2007). Hunter (2004, 2005) finds that light-skinned Blacks and Mexican Americans who do not "look like" a group member oftentimes face accusations of being less authentically Black or Mexican. Being perceived as less ethnically authentic could have emotional and psychological impacts (Hunter 2005).

Racial mismatch corresponds with high risks of poor physical health outcomes and self-rated mental health, especially for those who self-identify as racially White but are observed as non-White (Veenstra 2011). Mismatched identities correspond with elevated risks of high blood pressure, poorer self-rated mental health, and poorer overall health (Veenstra 2011). Research on American Indians suggests those who are often misclassified have worse mental health outcomes than those who have reaffirmed identities (Campbell and Troyer 2007; Laster Pirtle and Brown 2016). The impact of the observed inconsistency is significantly worse when respondents have light skin (Laster Pirtle and Brown 2016).

4.3.3 Skin Tone

Skin tone stratification ranging from average earnings to residential segregation has been well documented in the literature, especially for African American and Mexican American populations (Garcia et al. 2015; Keith and Herring 1991; Telles and Murguia 1990). Researchers comparing the impact of skin color on health across countries find darker-skinned respondents reported worse health

(Perreira and Telles 2014). These findings remain after accounting for self-identification and observed race (Perreira and Telles 2014).

Previous research on skin tone and health in the United States has established a clear skin tone stratification as well, where lighter skinned persons have better health outcomes than darker skinned persons. Latinos who have darker skin color and who have faced discrimination in their daily lives have poorer self-rated overall health than their lighter-skinned counterparts with no experience of discrimination (Garcia et al. 2015). Based on survey data collected from Toronto and Vancouver on Asian, Black, South Asian, and White respondents, Veenstra (2011) finds that darker-skinned Black respondents were more likely than their lighter-skinned counterparts to report feeling depressed or report fair/poor overall health. However, research on depression and African Americans indicates black women are much more likely to report feeling depressed, regardless of skin tone (Monk 2015).

Among Mexican-origin adults born in the United States, darker phenotype is related to lower self-esteem and were more at risk for depression than their lighter-skinned counterparts (Codina and Montalvo 1994). Overall, the darker the phenotype, the more often they felt depressed, regardless of education, income, and language proficiency in Spanish or English (Codina and Montalvo 1994). Lighter, European-looking men fared better, which researchers attributed to having potentially better life chances and escaping discrimination (Codina and Montalvo 1994). Mexican-origin women born in the United States were not affected by phenotyping (Codina and Montalvo 1994). Interestingly, lighter-skinned Mexican-born women living in the United States fared worse than their darker-skinned counterparts (Codina and

Montalvo 1994). Researchers attribute this finding to the possible loss of identity and self-esteem that upper-class Latinas who enjoyed a higher social position in Mexico may experience in the United States (Codina and Montalvo 1994).

Latinos from Afro-Latin American countries have greater African ancestry populations and tend to have more phenotypical variation, larger darker-skinned populations, than Latin American origin groups with larger European and Indigenous populations (Araújo and Borrell 2006). Latinos from Afro-Latin American countries may differ based on skin color and may face different reception, leading to different experiences between lighter-skinned and darker skinned counterparts (Araújo and Borrell 2006).

4.3.4 Perceived Discrimination

Perceived discrimination is the subjective experience of being treated unfairly relative to others (Flores et al. 2008). Perceived discrimination is consistently associated with a damaging impact on mental health across cross-sectional and longitudinal data and across mental health outcome measures such as depressive symptoms, anxiety, and psychiatric disorders (Lee and Turney 2012). Researchers find that measures indicating everyday discrimination are linked to greater depressive symptoms while major lifetime discrimination is not associated with depressive symptoms, but rather hostility (Lee and Turney 2012).

The link between actual and perceived experiences of racial discrimination to poor mental and physical health among racial and ethnic groups, especially Black American and Mexican American populations, has been documented within the literature (Brown et al. 2000; Flores et al. 2008; Gomez and Lopez 2013; Otiniano

and Gee 2012; Salgado de Snyder 1987; Williams et al. 1997). Previous research suggests that discrimination is a source of chronic stress that reduces a sense of control and is detrimental to both physical and mental health (Brown et al. 2000; Flores et al. 2008; Garcia et al. 2015). Both skin tone and perceived experiences of discrimination are significantly and negatively correlated with Latino self-rated physical health (Garcia et al. 2015).

Among Mexican adults, perceived discrimination predicted depression and poorer overall physical health, when accounting for stress (Flores et al. 2008). Based on previous research, the association between perceived discrimination and mental health may vary by gender. Researchers find the influence of perceived discrimination on depression is greater for Mexican-American women than men (Finch, Kolody, and Vega 2000) while the influence of perceived discrimination on physical health is greater for Mexican-American men than women (Flores et al. 2008). Among Mexican women, discrimination based on Mexican ancestry was a significant predictor of high levels of depressive symptoms (Salgado de Snyder 1987).

4.4 Acculturation and the Immigrant Health Paradox

Research results on acculturation and mental health produce mixed outcomes. This project focuses on Spanish language use and immigrant generation to address immigrant acculturation and the immigrant health paradox.

Traditionally, the process of immigration has been viewed as a trauma that negatively affects an individual's self-esteem, and overall sense of identity (Harker 2001; Portes and Rumbaut 2001). However, immigrant health paradox researchers

show that once demographic variables are controlled, there may be no difference between immigrants and the native population in terms of psychological disorder frequency or if there is a difference, there is an immigrant advantage over native-born individuals (Harker 2001). Indeed, immigrants are less likely than native-born counterparts to report symptoms of depression or distress (Kurz, Malcolm, and Cournoyer 2005).

Overall, immigrants may have better psychological health than native-born individuals of similar demographic characteristics (Harker 2001). In fact, acculturation of both immigrants and their children leads to the deterioration of mental health outcomes over time and generationally (Harker 2001). First-generation Mexican-Americans have much lower lifetime prevalence of mental disorders than Mexican-Americans born in the United States (Kurz et al. 2005; Vega and Rumbaut 1991). Instead, research suggests depression among first generation Mexican men had less to do with acculturation, as it was more closely associated with low socioeconomic status (Codina and Montalvo 1994).

There are mixed results when addressing the impact of language use on mental health outcomes. Codina and Montalvo (1994) find that the loss of Spanish proficiency was strongly related to feeling depressed for men and women born in the United States. However, other researchers suggest speaking a language other than English is associated with symptoms of distress (Kurz et al. 2005).

The reasoning behind why these acculturation and health trends appear is also highly debated. Low acculturation may protect Latinos from the internalizing discrimination experiences, compared to acculturated Latinos who are more aware of

racial dynamics and may perceive more discrimination (Araújo and Borrell 2006; Vega and Rumbaut 1991). Puerto Ricans in New York reported higher levels of depressive symptoms in contrast to the lower rates of depression reported from the island of Puerto Rico (Vega and Rumbaut 1991). Cubans in Miami are found to have significantly lower rates of depressive symptoms and major depression compared to other Latino groups (Vega and Rumbaut 1991).

However, Garcia et al (2015) highlight the problem with acculturation-based explanations for poor health outcomes among Latinos who spend more time in the United States. They suggest these explanations divert attention away from the structural conditions that impact individual and community health status (Garcia et al. 2015). Additionally, English speakers have higher rates of preventive service use and fewer barriers in obtaining care (Gomez and Lopez 2013).

4.5 Significance of Current Research

According to the literature on Latino health, self-identification is not a sufficient measure for addressing the "lived experience" of race. In the US literature, self-identification correlates with physical health outcomes. Yet, Latin American research suggests self-identification is outweighed by skin tone. Observed race is found to have a greater impact on health than self-identification. Being observed as White leads to significant advantages in physical health, regardless of self-identification, followed by those observed as "Latino" and worse outcomes for those observed as Black. Studies that find no health difference between those observed as White and non-White are highly sensitive to region and sample. Especially as there is evidence of a White advantage that holds true for Mexican-origin and highly

acculturated Latinos. Racial mismatch, a highly stressful event leading to being perceived as less ethnically authentic, corresponds with high risks of poor physical and mental health. There is clear skin tone stratification evident in the literature, where darker phenotype leads to higher rates of depression and depressive symptoms. Discrimination is known to be damaging to mental health.

Overall, the literature shows no difference between immigrants and native-born populations in terms of psychological disorder frequency. Where a difference is found, there is an immigrant advantage. Literature on Mexican Americans suggests acculturation leads to a deterioration of mental health outcomes over time and across generations. Loss of Spanish proficiency is also related to higher levels of depression.

However, a significant gap in the literature remains on the impact of perceived discrimination and other aspects of race on Latino populations other than Mexican origin groups (Araújo and Borrell 2006). Addressing the effects of race or discrimination on mental health for Latinos more broadly is challenging because of the within-group racial and ethnic diversity. This may be especially so among Latinos from Afro-Latin American countries in the United States. While research has indicated darker phenotype has negative mental health consequences for Mexican Americans (Codina and Montalvo 1994), there is a lack of research addressing the impact of race more broadly on mental health for Latinos from Afro-Latin American countries in the United States (Gomez 2000).

Previous research finds that Black Latinas demonstrated higher levels of depressive symptoms compared to Black American, White American, and non-Black Latino adolescents (Araújo and Borrell 2006; Ramos, Jaccard, and Guilamo-Ramos

2003). This indicates Black Latinos, may have unique experiences separate from Black Americans and non-Black Latinos. Health research indicates Black Latinos are a distinct subgroup, sharing commonalities in health status and behaviors with both non-Latino Black Americans and White Latinos (LaVeist-Ramos et al. 2012). This study begins to address the gap in the literature by making use of various measures of race and centering the experiences of Latinos from Afro-Latin American countries in the research.

It is especially important to make use of various mental health measures in order to fully address the impact of race on mental health. Racial disparities in mental health vary in severity based on the mental health measure used (Lee and Turney 2012). The importance of using multiple measures of mental health is underscored by the varying outcomes based on the measure used when focusing on Black Americans in the United States. For instance, Black Americans typically report higher numbers of *depressive symptoms* than their White American counterparts while there are no significant racial differences in studies of *depressive disorder* (George and Lynch 2003). As there are differing outcomes based on the measure used, this study contributes to the mental health literature by addressing the impact of race on both depressive symptoms and diagnosed depression.

In line with previous research, this study controls for region (Brown et al. 2000; Harker 2001; Monk 2015), marital status (Kurz et al. 2005; Lee and Turney 2012; López et al. 2017; Monk 2015; Otiniano and Gee 2012; Perreira and Telles 2014; Veenstra 2011), age, gender, and education (Brown et al. 2000; Campbell and Troyer 2007; Codina and Montalvo 1994; Flores et al. 2008; Garcia et al. 2015;

George and Lynch 2003; Harker 2001; Kurz et al. 2005; Lee and Turney 2012; López et al. 2017; Monk 2015; Otiniano and Gee 2012; Perreira and Telles 2014; Vargas et al. 2015; Veenstra 2011; Williams et al. 1997).

4.6 Data and Methods

This project makes use of National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health) data. Add Health uses a multistage, stratified, school-based, cluster sampling design, oversampling for smaller ethnic groups. This project focuses the analyses of mental health outcomes reported in Wave 4 (2008) while utilizing data from Waves 1 (1994-1995), 3 (2001-2002) and 4 (2008) in the development of key measures. The original sample in Wave 1 was 1,441 Latinos of Afro-Latin American origin. I first limited the analysis to Latinos from the original sample that were present in the Wave 4 sample (1,023). I restricted the data to Latinos who provided a response to the self-classified race question in Wave 3 (747). I then restricted the data on all remaining key measures and control measures used in the regression models. My final sample consists of 732 Latinos of Afro-Latin American origin in Wave 4.

Using these data, I address the relationship between race and mental health across race measures. Additionally, I analyze the impact of the "lived experience" of race on mental health by incorporating various race measures. Lastly, I address how acculturation, measured as immigrant generation and Spanish language use, may positively influence mental health outcomes after accounting for the "lived experience" of race.

Based on a review of the race and mental health literature, I form the following hypotheses:

(1) I expect Latinos who are observed as racially black to fare worse than their non-black counterparts across mental health outcomes. When incorporating other dimensions of race in the model, I expect the impact of observed race to outweigh the effect of self-classified race on mental health.

(2) I expect Latinos who experience racial mismatch to have worse mental health outcomes than their counterparts with reaffirmed identities.

(3) I expect to find evidence of skin tone stratification for mental health outcomes. When incorporating other dimensions of race in the model, I expect skin tone to remain significant.

(4) I expect having perceived experiences of discrimination will lead to worse mental health outcomes. When incorporating other race measures I expect the effect of perceived discrimination to remain significant.

(5) I expect to find evidence of the protective effect associated with less acculturation. However, I do not expect these protective effects to outweigh the impact of race on mental health. I expect my results to vary between my measure of depressive symptoms and diagnosed depression.

4.6.1 Determining Afro-Latin American Descent

In order to focus the analyses on Latinos of Afro-Latin American origin, I make use of ancestry, country of birth and Hispanic origin measures. The Hispanic origin measure is limited to the options "Mexican/Mexican American," "Chicano/Chicana," "Cuban/Cuban American," "Puerto Rican," "Central/South American," and "Other Hispanic." This limited measure is insufficient in identifying Afro-Latin American countries of origin. To supplement this measure, I use the four

respondent ancestry variables in Wave 3, parent's ancestry, and respondent's country of birth. Based on past definitions of Afro-Latin America (Andrews 2004), Latin American research (Telles and Paschel 2014), and the data available, the analyses for this paper focus on Cuban, Colombian, Dominican, Panamanian and Puerto Rican respondents.

4.6.2 Procedures

I present a descriptive analysis of the average CES-D scores and rates of Diagnosed Depression across all race measures, acculturation measures, and control measures. I conduct Poisson regression to address the impact of multiple dimensions of race and the possible counter-effect of the immigrant health paradox on the CES-D outcome measure. I make use of Poisson regression in order to account for the skewed distribution and number of cases with a value of zero on the scale. To address my first research question, I analyze the impact of each dimension of race individually in separate models. I then analyze two separate models incorporating multiple race measures to address the second research question. The first model incorporates self-classification, observed race, skin tone and perceived discrimination. The second model incorporates racial mismatch, skin tone, and discrimination. I address the third research question by including an immigrant generation measure and a Spanish language measure across all race models.

I conduct logistic regression to address the impact of multiple dimensions of race and the possible counter-effect of the immigrant health paradox on diagnosed depression. Similar to the models described for the CES-D measure, I first analyze the impact of each dimension of race individually to address the first research

question. This is followed by two models incorporating multiple race measures, addressing the second research question. Model 1 incorporates self-classification, observed race, skin tone, and perceived discrimination measures. Model 2 incorporates racial mismatch, skin tone, and discrimination. Similar to the CES-D models, all of the models for diagnosed depression account for immigrant generation and Spanish language use to address the third research question. All the regression models for CES-D and diagnosed depression account for control measures, detailed in the following section.

4.6.3 Measures

Table 4.1 provides descriptive statistics for all key measures and control measures used in the study.

Table 4.1. Descriptive Statistics (N=732)

Outcome Measures	**Mean**
CES-D	2.561
	Percent
Diagnosed Depression	11.04
Race Measures	
Self-Classified Race	
Not Black	88.11
Black Alone	11.89
Observed Race	
Not Black	85.79
Black	12.98
Racial Mismatch	
Matched	83.47
Mismatched	16.53
Skin Tone	
White	61.75
Light Brown	25.96
Medium Brown to Black	12.30
Perceived Discrimination	
Disrespect	58.88
Immigration Measures	
Generation	
Third Generation+	33.33
Second Generation	43.31
First Generation	23.36
Language Use	
No Spanish Use	36.89
Spanish Use	63.11

Table 4.1 continued…

Table 4.1 continued

Control Measures	
Average Age	29.21
Region	
Northeast	21.04
Midwest	8.47
South	55.6
West	14.89
Gender	
Female	49.86
Marital History	
Ever Married	46.17
Socioeconomic Status	
Education	
Bachelors+	30.46

Note: Add Health Restricted Use Waves 1, 3, & Wave 4 Data;
Sample includes respondents of Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican, Colombian, and Panamanian origin, based on the Hispanic origin, country of birth, and ancestry measures.

CES-D Scale. Depressive Symptoms is measured with a modified version of the Center for Epidemiologic Studies of Depression Scale (CES-D) commonly used to measure distress (Lee and Turney 2012; Radloff 1977). I use a modified CES-D scale from Wave 4 data. The CES-D scale is a self-reported scale designed to measure depressive symptoms and depressive risks. The items of the scale are symptoms associated with depression. This scale ranges from 0 to 15 with an overall average of 2.638 for all Wave 4 participants. In comparison, the average CES-D score is 2.561 for all Latinos of Afro-Latin American origin.

Diagnosed Depression. Using Wave 4 data, I use a dichotomous measure indicating whether or not respondents were diagnosed with depression, where 0 indicates no diagnosis and 1 indicates a depression diagnosis. Approximately 11 percent of all Latinos in my sample report having a depression diagnosis.

Race Measures

Self-Classification. I construct a racial self-classification measure using the single-race variables from Wave 3 data. Initially, I recoded these variables to the categories "White Alone," "Black Alone," "Native American Alone," "Asian Alone," and "Two or more races." However, there were very few cases where Latinos were identifying as "Native American Alone," "Asian Alone," or "Two or more races" (approximately 11 percent combined). Most Latinos in the sample were identifying as "White Alone" (approximately 77 percent). I recode to a dichotomous self-classification measure of "Not Black" (88.11 percent) and "Black Alone" (11.89 percent). I recode the measure as such in order to better address the racial differences in mental health outcomes for Latinos of Afro-Latin American descent that identify as racially Black, specifically.

Observed Race. I construct the observed race measure using interviewer-classified race from Wave 4 data. The available categories were "White," "Black or African American," "American Indian or Alaska Native," and "Asian or Pacific Islander." Similar to self-classification, there were very few cases where Latinos were classified as "American Indian or Alaska Native" or "Asian or Pacific Islander" (less than 2 percent combined). Approximately 84 percent of Latinos were observed as racially White. I recode to a dichotomous observed race measure of "Not Black" (85.79 percent) and "Black" (12.98). Similar to the self-classified race measure, I recode observed race as such in order to address the impact of being externally classified as racially Black on mental health outcomes.

Racial Mismatch. I construct a racial mismatch measure using the original self-classification measure from Wave 3, described above with all race categories, along with the original observed race measure from Wave 4 with all race categories described. This measure is coded as 0 "matched" (83.47 percent), where the self-classified race is reaffirmed by observed race, and 1 "mismatched" (16.53 percent), where the self-classified race is not in line with observed race.

Skin Tone. I use interviewer-coded skin tone from Wave 3 data. The original measure included the five categories *"black," "dark brown," "medium brown," "light brown," and "white."* Due to small sample size of darker-skinned Latinos of Afro-Latin American origin, I recode this variable to three categories: 0 "white" (61.75 percent), 1 "light brown" (25.96 percent), and 2 "black to medium brown" (12.30 percent).

Perceived Discrimination or Disrespect. Researchers have used various measures to better account for discrimination, ranging from single-item measures to discrimination scales (Araújo and Borrell 2006). I use a Wave 4 data measure asking respondents: *"In your day-to-day life, how often do you feel you have been treated with less respect or courtesy than other people?"* with responses on a scale ranging from 0 *never or rarely* to 3 *most of the time or all the time*. I recode the scale as a binary variable, where 0 indicates they never or rarely have had the experience of being treated with less respect or courtesy than others (41.12 percent) and 1 indicates they have had these experiences (58.88 percent). A follow-up question asks for the main reason for these experiences, with the following response options of interest: *"your ancestry or national origin," "your race," and "your shade or skin color."*

Unfortunately, this follow up question was not asked of all respondents and there were insufficient cases to analyze results for this follow-up question.

Acculturation Measures

Generation. Using the respondent's nativity along with that of their parents from Wave 1 data, I construct a generation variable. Respondents that are native-born with native-born parents are recoded as 0 "third generation+" (33.33 percent). I recode native-born respondents with at least one foreign-born parent as "second generation" (43.31 percent). There were few cases where respondents were foreign-born while their parents were native-born. These cases were recoded to the "second generation" category. I recode respondents that are foreign-born with foreign-born parents as "first generation" (23.36 percent).

Spanish Language Use. I use a Wave 4 measure asking what languages the respondent can speak or write. I recode Spanish language usage as binary measure where 0 "no Spanish" (36.89 percent) and 1 "Spanish use" (63.11 percent).

Control Measures. In line with previous research, I include control measures for age, census region, gender, marital status, and education. The average Latino respondent in Wave 4 was age 29. I recode census region where Northeast is the reference category as Afro-origin populations such as Dominicans and Puerto Ricans are heavily concentrated in this region (Araújo and Borrell 2006). The Latinos in the sample are mostly concentrated in the South (55.60 percent) and Northeast (21.04 percent) followed by the West (14.89 percent) and the Midwest (8.47 percent). Approximately half (49.86 percent) of the sample is female. 46.17 percent of respondents report having ever been married at Wave 4. I recode a Wave 4 measure

indicating the highest level of education received to a binary measure indicating 0 “no bachelor’s degree” (69.54 percent) and 1 “bachelor’s degree+” (30.46 percent).

4.7 Results

4.7.1 Average CES-D Scored across Dimensions of Race, Immigrant Generation, and Language Use

Table 4.2 presents the average CES-D scores for Latinos at Wave 4 across key race, acculturation and control measures. The overall average score for Latinos was 2.561. When focusing across the various race measures, I find those who self-classify as Black, are observed as Black, or have darker skin tones have worse outcomes than their counterparts. Similarly, those who experience racial mismatch and perceived experiences of discrimination or disrespect also have worse outcomes. There is some evidence supporting in the descriptive analysis for the protective factors associated with immigrant generation and Spanish language use.

Table 4.2. Average CES-D Scores (N=732)

Overall Average	2.638
All Afro-Latin Americans	2.561
Race Measures	
Self-Classified Race	
Not Black	2.400***
Black Alone	3.759***
Observed Race	
Not Black	2.444**
Black	3.347**
Racial Mismatch	
Matched	2.439**
Mismatched	3.182**
Skin Tone	
White	2.330**
Light Brown	2.811**
Medium Brown to Black	3.200**
Perceived Discrimination	
No Disrespect	1.837***
Disrespect	3.067***
Immigration Measures	
Generation	
Third Generation+	2.975**
Second Generation	2.407**
First Generation	2.257**
Language Use	
No Spanish Use	3.004***
Spanish Use	2.303***

Table 4.2 continued…

Table 4.2 continued

Control Measures	
Region	
Northeast	2.786***
Midwest	3.694***
South	2.179***
West	3.028***
Gender	
Male	2.281**
Female	2.842**
Marital History	
Never Married	2.678
Ever Married	2.426
Socioeconomic Status	
Education	
No Bachelors	2.686*
Bachelors+	2.278*

Note: CES-D based on Add Health Restricted Use Wave 4 data; *p < .05*, p < .01**, p < .001***; ANOVA conducted for skin tone and region measures, t-test for all other measures; Sample includes respondents of Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican, Colombian, and Panamanian origin, based on the Hispanic origin, country of birth, and ancestry measures.*

Specifically, respondents self-identifying as Black have an average score of 3.759 compared to their non-Black counterparts with an average score of 2.400. Focusing on observed race, respondents that are externally classified as Black have an average score of 3.347 compared to an average score of 2.444 for respondents externally classified as non-Black. I find a similar trend to previous research on skin tone, where respondents of darker skin tones fare worse than their lighter skinned counterparts. Those with "White" skin have an average score of 2.330, "Light Brown" respondents have an average score of 2.811, and "Medium Brown to Black" respondents have an average score of 3.200. Racial mismatch seems to negatively impact Latinos, as respondents who experience racial mismatch (3.182) have worse

outcomes on average than their counterparts with reaffirmed (2.439) racial identities. There is a distinct difference between those who have perceived experiences of discrimination or disrespect, as those who report having had these experiences have an average score of 3.067 compared to those who have not with an average score of 1.837.

Focusing on acculturation-related measures, I find earlier generational status and Spanish language use are associated with lower average CES-D scores. This provides some preliminary support to the immigrant health paradox literature. For instance, "first generation" immigrants have lower average CES-D scores (2.257) than their "second generation" (2.407) or "third generation+" (2.975) counterparts, as the average CES-D score steadily rises with later generational status. Those indicating Spanish language use have lower average scores (2.303) than their counterparts who do not report Spanish language use (3.004).

4.7.2 Depression Rates across Dimensions of Race, Immigrant Generation, and Language Use

Table 4.3 presents the rates of Latinos reporting diagnosed depression at Wave 4 across key race, acculturation and control measures. Overall, 11.07 percent of Latinos in the sample report having diagnosed depression. When focusing across the various race measures, I find those who self-classify as Black, are observed as Black, or have darker skin tones have worse outcomes than their counterparts. Similarly, those who have perceived experiences of discrimination or disrespect also have worse outcomes. However, those who are racially misclassified have lower rates of diagnosed depression than their racially affirmed counterparts. The results for

acculturation measures are consistent with findings for the CES-D measure, indicating some protective factor associated with immigrant generation and Spanish language use.

Table 4.3. Percent with Diagnosed Depression (N=732)

All Afro-Latin Americans	11.07
Race Measures	
Self-Classified Race	
Not Black	10.54
Black Alone	14.94
Observed Race	
Not Black	10.52
Black	14.74
Racial Mismatch	
Matched	11.62
Mismatched	8.26
Skin Tone	
White	10.40
Light Brown	9.47
Medium Brown to Black	17.78
Perceived Discrimination	
No Disrespect	4.32***
Disrespect	15.78***
Immigration Measures	
Generation	
Third Generation+	17.21***
Second Generation	8.83***
First Generation	6.43***
Language Use	
No Spanish Use	17.04***
Spanish Use	7.58***

Table 4.3 continued…

Table 4.3 continued

Control Measures	
Region	
Northeast	11.69
Midwest	17.74
South	9.09
West	13.76
Gender	
Male	6.56***
Female	15.57***
Marital History	
Never Married	12.18
Ever Married	9.76
Socioeconomic Status	
Education	
No Bachelors	11.39
Bachelors+	10.31

Note: Diagnosed Depression based on Add Health Restricted Use Wave 4 data; *p < .05*, p < .01**, p < .001***; Chi-Squared conducted on all measures; Sample includes respondents of Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican, Colombian, and Panamanian origin, based on the Hispanic origin, country of birth, and ancestry measures.*

Focusing on the descriptive results for the race measures, I find similar rates of diagnosed depression for self-classified race and observed race. Close to 15 percent of Latinos who self-classify as Black or who are observed as Black report having been diagnosed with depression. In contrast, under 11 percent of their non-Black counterparts report having diagnosed depression. The descriptive results for skin tone are not as consistent, as those with "White" or "Light Brown" skin tones have similar rates of diagnosed depression (10.40 and 9.47 percent). However, Latinos with "Medium Brown to Black" skin tones have much higher rates of diagnosed depression at close to 18 percent. Those who have perceived experiences of depression or disrespect have diagnosed depression rates (15.78 percent) that are

close to 4 times that of their counterparts who do not report such experiences (4.32 percent). Interestingly, the descriptive results for racial mismatch do not follow the similar patterns found when using the CES-D measure. Those who are racially misclassified have lower diagnosed depression rates (8.26 percent) than their counterparts with reaffirmed racial identities (11.62 percent).

Descriptive results for diagnosed depression across the acculturation measures are consistent with the results on the CES-D measure. Over 17 percent of "third generation+" respondents report having been diagnosed with depression. Their "second generation" and "first generation" counterparts have much lower rates of diagnosed depression at 8.83 and 6.43 percent respectively. Spanish language users report much lower rates of depression (7.58 percent) than their non-Spanish speaking counterparts (17.04 percent).

4.7.3 Poisson Regression Results: CES-D Scores, Race, and the Immigrant Health Paradox

Table 4.4 summarizes regressions of depressive symptoms measured using the CES-D scale on several race measures, reported separately across the five models presented, adjusting for control variables. These models also adjust for acculturation measures associated with more favorable mental health outcomes. Overall, findings suggest race continues to significantly impact mental health outcomes, despite the positive impact associated with Spanish language use and after adjusting for control variables.

Table 4.4. CES-D Poisson Regression Results (N=732)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Intercept	1.294**	1.256**	1.202**	1.252**	0.727
	(0.41)	(0.42)	(0.41)	(0.42)	(0.42)
Race Measures					
Self-ID - Black Alone	0.339***				
	(0.06)				
Observed Race - Black		0.240***			
		(0.06)			
Racial Mismatch					
Mismatch			0.204***		
			(0.06)		
Skin Tone					
White (ref.)					
Light Brown				0.086	
				(0.05)	
Medium Brown-Black				0.243***	
				(0.07)	
Perceived Discrim.					
Perceived Disrespect					0.456***
					(0.05)
Immig. Measures					
Third Gen. + (ref.)					
Second Gen.	0.000	0.011	0.001	0.008	-0.008
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)
First Gen.	0.050	0.068	0.036	0.061	0.099
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Language					
Spanish Use	-0.125*	-0.137*	-0.162**	-0.140*	-0.127*
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)

Table 4.4 continued…

Table 4.4 continued

Controls					
Region					
Northeast (ref.)					
Midwest	0.273**	0.296***	0.303***	0.273**	0.266**
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)
South	-0.170**	-0.169**	-0.147*	-0.185**	-0.126
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.06)
West	0.082	0.109	0.095	0.067	0.115
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Age	-0.012	-0.010	-0.008	-0.010	-0.003
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Female	0.248***	0.266***	0.273***	0.269***	0.276***
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Ever Married	-0.043	-0.047	-0.057	-0.060	-0.045
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Bachelor's +	-0.212***	-0.222***	-0.198***	-0.208***	-0.193***
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Number of Obs.	732	732	732	732	732

Note: Add Health Restricted Use Wave 4 Data; Reporting Coefficients; p < .05, p < .01**, p < .001***; Sample includes respondents of Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican, Colombian, and Panamanian origin, based on the Hispanic origin, country of birth, and ancestry measures.*

Model 1 reports results for the self-classification race measure, indicating Latinos that self-classify as Black report higher (0.339) depressive symptoms than their non-Black counterparts, after adjusting for control variables. Model 2 reports similar results for Latinos that are observed as racially Black (0.240) compared to their non-Black counterparts. Model 3 indicates individuals who experience racial mismatch report higher (0.204) depressive symptoms than their counterparts with reaffirmed racial identities. Model 4 reports results for skin tone, indicating those with "medium brown to dark" skin tones report higher (0.243) depressive symptoms

than their counterparts with "white" skin. Model 5 reports results for Latinos who have perceived experiences of discrimination or disrespect, indicating Latinos who report having had these experiences report higher (0.456) depressive symptoms than their counterparts who do not report having these experiences.

Spanish language use does protect mental health to some extent across all models yet race still has a significantly negative impact on mental health for Latinos. Self-identifying as Black, being observed as racially Black by others, experiencing racial mismatch, being characterized as having darker-skin in comparison to white, and having perceived experiences of discrimination or disrespect all outweigh the protection Spanish language use lends to Latinos. Immigrant generational status has no statistically significant effect after accounting for race, Spanish language use, and adjusting for control variables.

4.7.4 Poisson Regression Results: CES-D Scores and Multiple Dimensions of Race

Table 4.5 summarizes regressions of depressive symptoms measured using the CES-D scale on several race measures combined, adjusting for control variables. These models also adjust for acculturation measures associated with more favorable mental health outcomes. Model 1 reports results for a model including racial self-classification, observed race, skin tone, and perceived experience of discrimination or disrespect. Additionally, this model incorporates acculturation measures and adjusts for control measures.

Table 4.5. CES-D Poisson Regression Results: Lived Experience of Race (N=732)

	Model 1	Model 2
Intercept	0.722	0.616
	(0.42)	(0.42)
Race Measures		
Self-Classified - Black Alone	0.279**	
	(0.09)	
Observed Race - Black	0.032	
	(0.09)	
Racial Mismatch		
Mismatch		0.180**
		(0.06)
Skin Tone		
White (ref.)		
Light Brown	0.008	0.017
	(0.06)	(0.06)
Medium Brown-Black	0.015	0.177*
	(0.09)	(0.07)
Perceived Discrimination		
Perceived Disrespect	0.442***	0.446***
	(0.05)	(0.05)
Immigration Measures		
Third Generation+ (ref.)		
Second Generation	-0.008	-0.004
	(0.06)	(0.06)
First Generation	0.101	0.096
	(0.08)	(0.08)
Language		
Spanish Language Use	-0.110	-0.133*
	(0.06)	(0.06)

Table 4.5 continued…

Table 4.5 continued

Controls		
Region		
Northeast (ref.)		
Midwest	0.259**	0.281***
	(0.08)	(0.08)
South	-0.106	-0.090
	(0.06)	(0.07)
West	0.091	0.082
	(0.08)	(0.07)
Age	-0.004	-0.002
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Female	0.261***	0.289***
	(0.05)	(0.05)
Ever Married	-0.029	-0.042
	(0.05)	(0.05)
Bachelor's +	-0.193***	-0.179***
	(0.05)	(0.05)
Number of Observations	732	732

Note: Add Health Restricted Use Wave 4 Data*; Reporting Coefficients; p < .05*, p < .01**, p < .001***; Sample includes respondents of Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican, Colombian, and Panamanian origin, based on the Hispanic origin, country of birth, and ancestry measures.*

The results suggest racial self-classification as Black compared to non-Black counterparts leads to higher (0.279) reporting of depressive symptoms, after accounting for other race measures, acculturation measures, and control measures. Additionally, Latinos who express having perceived experiences of discrimination or disrespect fare worse (0.442) than their counterparts who have not reported these experiences, after accounting for race measures, acculturation measures, and controls.

Model 2 reports results for a model including racial mismatch, skin tone, and perceived discrimination, accounting for acculturation and control measures. Latinos who experience racial mismatch report higher (0.180) depressive symptoms than those with reaffirmed identities, accounting for other race measures, acculturation measures, and controls. Similarly, those with "medium brown to black" skin tones fare worse (0.177) than their "white" skinned counterparts. Results for perceived experiences of discrimination or disrespect remain consistent (0.446) with the results presented in Model 1. Spanish language use does have statistically significant positive effect in Model 2. However, adjusting for this measure and controls in the model still leads to a statistically significant negative effect on psychological wellbeing of racial mismatch and perceived discrimination.

4.7.5 Logistic Regression Results: Diagnosed Depression, Race, and the Immigrant Health Paradox

Table 4.6 summarizes regressions of diagnosed depression on several race measures, reported separately across the five models presented, adjusting for control variables. These models also adjust for acculturation measures associated with more favorable mental health outcomes. The results when addressing diagnosed depression lead to differing outcomes than the models presented addressing depressive symptoms, as measured using the CES-D scale. Spanish language use reduces the likelihood of being diagnosed with depression by one-half compared to their non-Spanish user counterparts, adjusting for control variables. This effect remains constant across each of the models, focusing on racial self-classification, observed race, racial mismatch, skin tone, and perceived discrimination individually.

Table 4.6. Diagnosed Depression Logistic Regression Results (N=732)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Intercept	0.005*	0.005*	0.006*	0.006*	0.001**
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)
Race Measures					
Self-ID - Black Alone	1.105				
	(0.38)				
Observed Race - Black		1.155			
		(0.39)			
Racial Mismatch					
Mismatch			0.675		
			(0.25)		
Skin Tone					
White (ref.)					
Light Brown				0.695	
				(0.21)	
Medium Brown-Black				1.640	
				(0.56)	
Perceived Discrim.					
Perceived Disrespect					4.228***
					(1.39)
Immig. Measures					
Third Gen. + (ref.)					
Second Gen.	0.633	0.637	0.637	0.628	0.599
	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.19)
First Gen.	0.484	0.490	0.491	0.472	0.561
	(0.21)	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.21)	(0.25)
Language					
Spanish Use	0.493*	0.494*	0.495*	0.500*	0.495*
	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.15)

Table 4.6 continued…

Table 4.6 continued

Controls					
Region					
Northeast (ref.)					
Midwest	1.378	1.386	1.346	1.376	1.288
	(0.60)	(0.61)	(0.59)	(0.61)	(0.57)
South	1.227	1.227	1.156	1.190	1.449
	(0.42)	(0.42)	(0.40)	(0.41)	(0.50)
West	1.285	1.287	1.329	1.246	1.370
	(0.50)	(0.50)	(0.52)	(0.50)	(0.54)
Age	1.116	1.116	1.113	1.112	1.157
	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)
Female	2.980***	2.993***	2.955***	3.194***	3.323***
	(0.79)	(0.79)	(0.78)	(0.86)	(0.90)
Ever Married	0.763	0.767	0.749	0.749	0.809
	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.21)
Bachelor's +	0.798	0.790	0.782	0.788	0.820
	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.21)	(0.22)	(0.23)
Number of Obs.	732	732	732	732	732

Note: Add Health Restricted Use Wave 4 Data*; Reporting Odds Ratios; p < .05*, p < .01**, p < .001***; Sample includes respondents of Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican, Colombian, and Panamanian origin, based on the Hispanic origin, country of birth, and ancestry measures.*

There is no effect for racial self-classification, observed race, racial mismatch, or skin tone for regression models focusing on diagnosed depression. This is quite different from the results on depressive symptoms, which indicate statistically significant racial differences across the various dimensions of race. However, Latinos who report having perceived experiences of disrespect or discrimination are over four times more likely to report a depression diagnosis than their counterparts who have not reported having these experiences, presented in Model 5. This model adjusts for acculturation measures and control variables.

4.7.6 Logistic Regression Results: Diagnosed Depression and Multiple Dimensions of Race

Table 4.7 reports results for regressions of diagnosed depression on several race measures combined, adjusting for control variables. Model 1 reports results for a model including racial self-classification, observed race, skin tone, and perceived experience of discrimination or disrespect. Model 2 reports results for a model including racial mismatch, skin tone, and perceived discrimination. These models incorporate acculturation measures such as immigrant generation and Spanish language use.

Similar to the results on diagnosed depression presented in Table 6, Latinos who have perceived experiences of discrimination or disrespect are four times more likely to have a depression diagnosis than their counterparts who have not had these experiences. This finding holds constant in Model 1, after accounting for racial self-classification, observed race, skin tone, acculturation measures, and controls. Similarly, the findings hold constant in Model 2, after accounting for racial mismatch, skin tone, acculturation measures, and controls. Findings for Spanish language use are similar in the full models further underscore the findings presented in the single race measure models presented in Table 6. After accounting for all race measures and controls in Model 1 and Model 2 respectively, Spanish language users are one-half as likely to report a depression diagnosis as their non-Spanish user counterparts.

Table 4.7. Diagnosed Depression Logistic Regression Results: Lived Experience of Race (N=732)

	Model 1	Model 2
Intercept	0.001**	0.001**
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Race Measures		
Self-Classified - Black Alone	0.849	
	(0.44)	
Observed Race - Black	0.856	
	(0.44)	
Racial Mismatch		
Mismatch		0.725
		(0.28)
Skin Tone		
White (ref.)		
Light Brown	0.664	0.677
	(0.21)	(0.22)
Medium Brown-Black	1.768	1.499
	(0.81)	(0.52)
Perceived Discrimination		
Perceived Disrespect	4.238***	4.236***
	(1.40)	(1.39)
Immigration Measures		
Third Generation+ (ref.)		
Second Generation	0.602	0.598
	(0.19)	(0.19)
First Generation	0.528	0.535
	(0.24)	(0.24)
Language		
Spanish Language Use	0.503*	0.516*
	(0.16)	(0.16)

Table 4.7 continued…

Table 4.7 continued

Controls		
Region		
Northeast (ref.)		
Midwest	1.328	1.295
	(0.60)	(0.58)
South	1.409	1.378
	(0.49)	(0.48)
West	1.346	1.380
	(0.55)	(0.56)
Age	1.158	1.155
	(0.09)	(0.09)
Female	3.584***	3.454***
	(1.00)	(0.96)
Ever Married	0.783	0.793
	(0.21)	(0.21)
Bachelor's +	0.807	0.791
	(0.23)	(0.22)
Number of Observations	732	732

Note: Add Health Restricted Use Wave 4 Data; *; Reporting Odds Ratios; p < .05*, p < .01**, p < .001***; Sample includes respondents of Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican, Colombian, and Panamanian origin, based on the Hispanic origin, country of birth, and ancestry measures.*

4.8 Discussion and Conclusion

In this study, I examine the relationship between various race measures and depressive symptoms and diagnosed depression. Additionally, I analyze the impact of the "lived experience" of race and mental health. Lastly, I address the "immigrant health paradox" literature by analyzing the effect of acculturation after accounting for the "lived experience" of race. This study contributes to the *social determinants of health* literature by underscoring the impact of the *lived experience* of race that leads

to worse depressive symptoms and diagnosed depression. Additionally, Spanish language use leads to lower rates of diagnosed depression, suggesting a lack of access to adequate care for some Latinos of Afro-Latin American origin.

There are several key findings to highlight for depressive symptoms and diagnosed depression. For models addressing race measures individually and depressive symptoms, I find worse depressive symptoms for self-identified Black Latinos, those observed as Black, those experiencing mismatch, Latinos with medium-black skin tones and Latinos that have perceived experiences of discrimination. Interestingly, immigrant generation was not significant in these models. While Spanish language use does lower depressive symptoms, it does not fully protect mental health when accounting for race. For models accounting for the "lived experience" of race and depressive symptoms, Black self-identification and perceived experiences of discrimination remain statistically significant after accounting for skin tone, observed race, immigrant generation, Spanish language use, and control measures. Racial mismatch, having a darker skin tone, and perceived experiences of discrimination remain significant after accounting for immigrant generation, Spanish language use, and control measures.

For models addressing race measures individually and diagnosed depression, I find Latinos that have perceived experiences of discrimination are more likely to report diagnosed depression after accounting for immigrant generation, Spanish language use, and control measures. Spanish language use positively impacts diagnosed depression by cutting diagnosed depression rates in half. For models accounting for the "lived experience" of race and diagnosed depression, Latinos who

have perceived experiences of discrimination are four times more likely to report diagnosed depression. Latinos who are Spanish language users are half as likely to report diagnosed depression.

In relation to the research questions presented, I find that overall, being Black or closer to Blackness across race measures and having experienced discrimination leads to worse depressive symptoms. However, when focusing on diagnosed depression rates, race is not as impactful. Rather, discrimination has a significant impact on diagnosed depression. When addressing the impact of the "lived experience' of race on mental health, I find self-identification, skin tone, and discrimination lead to worse depressive symptoms. Additionally, racial mismatch, skin tone, and discrimination lead to worse depressive symptoms as well. Discriminations greatly impacts diagnosed depression rates.

As for the impact of acculturation after accounting for the "lived experience" of race, I find no effect for immigrant generation. However, while Spanish language use does not eliminate the effect of race on mental health, it leads to fewer depressive symptoms among Latinos. Additionally, Spanish language use cuts diagnosed depression rates in half. I speculate this may be related to access to proper mental health care and language barriers, as depressive symptoms are still present (Gomez and Lopez 2013).

In relation to the hypotheses presented, I find support for my hypotheses regarding observed race, racial mismatch, skin tone, and perceived discrimination. People observed as racially Black fare worse than their non-Black counterparts for depressive symptoms and diagnosed depression. Additionally, observed race

outweighs self-identification impacts on mental health. This is in line with previous research on observed race and physical health (Garcia et al. 2015; Jones et al. 2008; Vargas et al. 2015). Latinos that experienced racial mismatch have worse mental health outcomes that those with reaffirmed identities. These findings are similar to studies on American Indian populations (Campbell and Troyer 2007; Laster Pirtle and Brown 2016; Veenstra 2011).

Darker-skinned Latinos have worse mental health outcomes than their white or lighter-skinned counterparts. Similar to the Latin American research, skin tone remains significant after accounting for other measures of the "lived experience" of race (Perreira and Telles 2014). This suggests the skin tone stratification continues to be impactful for Latinos from their home countries and the United States context alike. Additionally, this highlights the racial differences in experiences among Latinos (Araújo and Borrell 2006).

I find partial support for my hypotheses regarding the relationship between acculturation and mental health. Immigrant generation was not statistically significant when accounting for race. However, Spanish language use was especially impactful on mental health outcomes. Spanish language use led to better outcomes for depressive symptoms but did not outweigh the racial stratification evident across models. After accounting for the "lived experience" of race, Spanish language use cut depression rates in half.

Where other researchers addressing the immigrant health paradox have found later immigrant generation leads to worse mental health outcomes for other populations (Codina and Montalvo 1994; Harker 2001; Kurz et al. 2005; Vega and

Rumbaut 1991), I do not find support for this. Rather, language use is far more impactful (Codina and Montalvo 1994). In line with Garcia et al. (2015), I find acculturation explanations to be limited. Using multiple measures of mental health and observing the significant differences in outcomes between depressive symptoms and diagnosed depression underscores this. The overall lower rates of diagnosed depression among this population and Spanish language use may be acting as barriers to receiving adequate mental health care (Gomez and Lopez 2013).

While gender was not the central focus of the current study, it is important to note the differences in mental health outcomes between men and women. On average, women had higher CES-D scores and their diagnosed depression rates were twice over that of men in the sample. Across all Poisson regression models, women consistently had significantly higher depressive symptoms than men. Similarly, across all logistic regression models, women were approximately three times more likely to report diagnosed depression than men. This is in line with previous research where African American women are found to have higher rates of depression than men (Monk 2015). Due to sample size, the current project could not address the impact of various race measures by men and women separately. Based on previous research indicating gender differences in the impact of skin tone (Codina and Montalvo 1994), observed race (López et al. 2017), and perceived discrimination (Flores et al. 2008) on mental health, future qualitative research should aim to focus on the impact of race on mental health for women.

This study further underscores the importance of making use of various mental health measures in order to fully address the impact of race on mental health

(Brown et al. 2000). Similar to research on Black Americans, Latinos from Afro-Latin American countries report higher numbers of depressive symptoms with fewer racial differences in studies of diagnosed depression (George and Lynch 2003). Additionally, the difference in findings between depressive symptoms and diagnosed depression supports what other researchers have suggested regarding the lack of mental health treatment people of color receive (Gomez and Lopez 2013). Lastly, the variation in mental health outcomes within the Latino population across various race measures further encourages future research addressing within group health differences (Monk 2015).

There are several limitations to note. The discrimination measure available is limited, as it does not clearly discern the form of discrimination experienced. Future qualitative research should account for the distinction between racial and ethnic discrimination. Additionally, intragroup discrimination is rarely addressed in the literature and should be considered with the multiracial Latino population. Data limitations did not allow for national origin comparisons. Data collection focused on these populations should become a priority for better quality research, especially as previous research has found differences by origin group (Vega and Rumbaut 1991).

Chapter 5: Conclusion

5.1 Summary and Discussion

This dissertation seeks to increase scholarly understanding of the impacts of external factors on racial classification and the implications of race on the mental health of Latinos of Afro-Latin American origin.

Chapter two discusses the variations in racial classification patterns across national origin groups and metropolitan areas and addresses how social context influences these patterns. Results across national origin groups indicate significant variation in the conceptualization of who is racially White, Black, or Latino. While Cubans and Colombians identified primarily within the boundaries of whiteness, Dominicans and Puerto Ricans often identified themselves using the *Hispanicized racial schema* as racially Latino. Dominicans and Panamanians had the highest rates of Black identification.

There was significant variation in the local definitions of whiteness, blackness and *latinidad*, as Latinos in the metropolitan areas in the Northeast were much more likely to rely on the *Hispanicized racial schema* than metropolitan areas in the South or West. Additionally, social context, such as the percent of the Afro-Latin American population, percent non-Hispanic Black with at least a bachelor's and overall racial/ethnic diversity greatly influenced identification patterns. A larger co-ethnic population lead to greater likelihood of identifying as racially Latino while a larger Black middle class led to a greater likelihood of identifying as racially Black. Greater overall diversity led to higher rates of self-classifying as Multiracial.

In chapter 3, I address the impact of skin tone, the race of romantic partners, and the race of observers on self-identified and ascribed race. I find high rates of self-identifying and being observed as racially White across skin tones. While past research has suggested observed race is closely related to skin tone, especially for people with darker skin, I find that a subset of darker skinned Latinos are being externally classified as racially White.

I find support for the contact hypothesis and the role of White and Black partners in self-identification. Latinos who have White partners are more likely to identify as racially White while those with Black partners are more likely to identify as racially Black. This suggests that a small subset of the Latino population see the boundaries to whiteness as slightly more porous. I find that Black interviewers were more likely to observe Latinos as racially Black while Latino observers were more likely to observe other Latinos as racially White and less likely to observe them as racially Black. I do not find support for my hypothesis surrounding White interviewers enforcing boundaries to whiteness. Rather, my findings suggest White observers may see Latinos as being a separate racialized group outside of whiteness and blackness.

Chapter 4 extends the conversation beyond the factors leading to racial classification towards the implications of race on the lives of Latinos. I examine the relationship between various race measures, depressive symptoms, and diagnosed depression. I analyze the impact of multiple race measures combined, the "lived experience" of race on mental health. I address the "immigrant health paradox," and

whether the protective factors associated with less acculturation could protect the mental health of Latinos from the "lived experience" of race.

Overall, I find worse depressive symptoms for self-identified Black Latinos, Latinos observed as racially Black, Latinos experiencing racial mismatch, Latinos of darker skin shades, and Latinos that have perceived experiences of discrimination. The "lived experience" of race outweighs most of the protective effect associated with earlier generational status and Spanish language use. However, Spanish language use significantly decreases the likelihood of having diagnosed depression. However, I argue this is less of a protective effect and more so evidence of potential barriers to accessing the care Spanish-dominant Latinos may face.

The results from these studies help refine our understanding of how racial boundaries are constructed and used differently across national origin groups and across the United States. Additionally, my findings indicate race is not self-evident, but is much more contextual, influenced by racial/ethnic composition, race of partners, and the race of observers. This dissertation expands the discussion on race, mental health, and Latinos by centering the discussion on Latinos of Afro-Latin American origin. My findings underscore the need for researchers to lend attention to subgroups of the Latino population that often go unaddressed in the literature.

5.2 Limitations

There are several limitations to note. In chapter 2, I use the category "some other race" as a proxy for a racialized Latino identity. Past scholars have noted that people of Latin American descent do not necessarily believe they have a common identity with other nationalities as Hispanic or Latino and they may be using the

"some other race" category to emphasize nationalities. We cannot be certain of the exact meaning when people are identifying as "some other race." Additionally, the data did not allow for addressing skin tone within this dataset, which is highly influential in racial self-classification. Lastly, while migration and racialization are gendered processes, a gender analysis was outside of the scope of the current project.

In chapter 3, I use the five-category observer-classified skin tone measure. While the skin tone measure is helpful in developing a foundation for the conversation on racial identification, its structure of five unclearly defined categories is lacking. A skin tone measure with a broader range of categories and clearer definitions would be more effective. Additionally, solely providing observer-classified skin tone is limiting, as observers see less variation in skin tone among out-group members. Lastly, although chapter 2 established the diversity across origin groups, the small sample size did not allow for a gender analysis or an analysis across national origin groups with Add Health data.

In chapter 4, I make use of a perceived disrespect measure that is used as a proxy for perceived discrimination. This measure is quite limited as it does not clearly discern the form of discrimination experienced. Additionally, as chapter 3 uses a later wave of the Add Health data used in chapter 2, neither a gender analysis nor an analysis across national origin groups were not possible, due to sample size. Addressing race impacts on mental health across national origin group can be especially telling regarding differences in access to mental health care across groups.

Future Research

The work presented in this dissertation presents clear paths for future research: research using a combined race/ethnicity measure and qualitative research on social context and race.

Both chapters two and three suggest using data with a combined race/ethnicity measure would be the next logical step for future research on Latino racial classification. A combined race/ethnicity question can better address the use of a *Hispanicized racial schema* that is used by some national origin groups and across metropolitan areas in the Northeast. Future research should analyze how different national origin groups identify using a combined question format. Results from chapter 3 also lead to future research addressing both self-identification and ascribed race using a combined question format. How might White, Black, and Latino observers observe Latinos within a combined question format? Future research can make use of forthcoming Add Health Wave 5 data that will feature a combined race/ethnicity question.

This dissertation relied on secondary data analysis. Future research should build on the foundation established here on Latinos of Afro-Latin American origin for qualitative research to better address how daily social context factors impact racial identities. A gender analysis of racialization and mental health can be better addressed using qualitative methodology as well. Qualitative research can address the development and salience of ethno-racial identities such as Afro-Latinos, and the experiences of this group. Qualitative research can also make use of better measures for physical appearance, such as pictures, rather than being limited to categorical skin

tone measures. Additionally, qualitative research can better address and distinguish between racial and ethnic discrimination as well as the intragroup discrimination experienced by Afro-Latinos.

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