

## Online Appendix

### Calculation of the Delta Measure Reported in Table 1

To estimate the overrepresentation of Latino whites, Latinos, and Latino Blacks within specific variables, I calculate the difference between a group's share within a given category and its overall share in the sample. Formally, for a group  $G$  and category  $C$ , I compute:

$$\Delta_{G|C} = \frac{n_{G \cap C}}{n_C} - \frac{n_G}{N}$$

where  $n_{G \cap C}$  is the number of individuals who belong to both group  $G$  and category  $C$ ,  $n_C$  is the number of individuals in category  $C$ ,  $n_G$  is the total number of individuals in group  $G$ , and  $N$  is the total sample of Latinos by racial classification. The resulting quantity ( $\Delta_{G|C}$ ) captures the difference between the proportion of category  $C$  comprised by group  $G$ , and the overall proportion of group  $G$  in the full sample. A positive value of ( $\Delta_{G|C}$ ) indicates that group  $G$  is overrepresented in category  $C$  relative to its overall share in the population. Conversely, a negative value implies underrepresentation.

# Latino Racial Classifications and Political Behavior: The Implications of Linked Fate Prioritization

## Models

**Table 1A:** Models on Political Behavior and Attitudes

|                            | Dependent variable           |                      |                      |                                  |                              |
|----------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------|
|                            | Ordinal Logit<br>Odds Ratios | Logit<br>Odds Ratios | Logit<br>Odds Ratios | Ordinal Logit<br>Odds Ratios     | Ordinal Logit<br>Odds Ratios |
|                            | Conservative<br>Ideology     | Republican           | Voted for<br>Trump   | Discrimination<br>against Blacks | BLM                          |
|                            | (1)                          | (2)                  | (3)                  | (4)                              | (5)                          |
| Race / Ethnicity           |                              |                      |                      |                                  |                              |
| Non-Latino White           | 1.875***                     | 3.399***             | 3.497***             | 0.518***                         | 0.479***                     |
|                            | (0.12)                       | (0.30)               | (0.29)               | (0.03)                           | (0.03)                       |
| Latino White               | 1.346***                     | 1.715***             | 1.676***             | 0.813*                           | 0.813**                      |
|                            | (0.10)                       | (0.18)               | (0.17)               | (0.07)                           | (0.07)                       |
| Latino Black               | 0.691*                       | 0.442*               | 0.472*               | 1.237                            | 1.501**                      |
|                            | (0.11)                       | (0.17)               | (0.15)               | (0.27)                           | (0.23)                       |
| Non-Latino Black           | 0.776***                     | 0.222***             | 0.262***             | 2.867***                         | 2.660***                     |
|                            | (0.05)                       | (0.03)               | (0.03)               | (0.23)                           | (0.18)                       |
| Skin Color                 | 0.975*                       | 1.043*               | 1.041*               | 0.952***                         | 1.025*                       |
|                            | (0.01)                       | (0.02)               | (0.02)               | (0.01)                           | (0.01)                       |
| Age                        | 1.012***                     | 1.008***             | 1.005**              | 1.004**                          | 0.987***                     |
|                            | (0.00)                       | (0.00)               | (0.00)               | (0.00)                           | (0.00)                       |
| Education                  | 0.918***                     | 0.924***             | 0.886***             | 1.069***                         | 1.077***                     |
|                            | (0.01)                       | (0.02)               | (0.02)               | (0.02)                           | (0.02)                       |
| Income                     | 1.016*                       | 1.057***             | 1.034***             | 1.006                            | 0.994                        |
|                            | (0.01)                       | (0.01)               | (0.01)               | (0.01)                           | (0.01)                       |
| Gender ( <i>Male = 1</i> ) | 1.189***                     | 1.287***             | 1.441***             | 0.627***                         | 0.690***                     |
|                            | (0.05)                       | (0.08)               | (0.08)               | (0.03)                           | (0.03)                       |
| Protestant                 | 1.618***                     | 2.009***             | 1.625***             | 0.886*                           | 0.835***                     |
|                            | (0.08)                       | (0.14)               | (0.10)               | (0.04)                           | (0.04)                       |
| Foreign born               | 1.174**                      | 0.866                | 0.830*               | 0.872*                           | 0.919                        |
|                            | (0.07)                       | (0.07)               | (0.07)               | (0.05)                           | (0.05)                       |
| Constant                   |                              | 0.105***             | 0.237***             |                                  |                              |
|                            |                              | (0.01)               | (0.03)               |                                  |                              |
| N                          | 10,225                       | 10,225               | 10,225               | 10,225                           | 10,225                       |

**Note:** Standard errors in parentheses. Survey weights included. Latinos who did not select any racial categories are the reference group.

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \* $p < 0.05$ .

**Source:** Collaborative Multiracial Post-Election Survey 2020.

## Latino Racial Classifications and Political Behavior: The Implications of Linked Fate Prioritization

**Table 2A:** Models on Political Behavior and Attitudes Among Latino Whites

|                            | Dependent variable    |            |                 |                               |               |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|---------------|
|                            | Ordinal Logit         | Logit      | Logit           | Ordinal Logit                 | Ordinal Logit |
|                            | Conservative Ideology | Republican | Voted for Trump | Discrimination against Blacks | BLM           |
|                            | (6)                   | (7)        | (8)             | (9)                           | (10)          |
| White > Latino LF          | 1.357***              | 1.509***   | 1.590***        | 0.649***                      | 0.664***      |
|                            | (0.07)                | (0.11)     | (0.10)          | (0.04)                        | (0.03)        |
| Skin Color                 | 1.057                 | 1.062      | 1.125*          | 0.857**                       | 0.934         |
|                            | (0.05)                | (0.06)     | (0.06)          | (0.04)                        | (0.04)        |
| Age                        | 1.016***              | 1.006      | 1.010*          | 1.001                         | 0.978***      |
|                            | (0.00)                | (0.01)     | (0.00)          | (0.00)                        | (0.00)        |
| Education                  | 0.870**               | 0.932      | 0.910           | 1.042                         | 1.111*        |
|                            | (0.04)                | (0.06)     | (0.05)          | (0.05)                        | (0.05)        |
| Income                     | 1.032                 | 1.082**    | 1.041           | 1.027                         | 1.013         |
|                            | (0.02)                | (0.03)     | (0.03)          | (0.02)                        | (0.02)        |
| Gender ( <i>Male = 1</i> ) | 1.257                 | 1.136      | 1.258           | 0.618***                      | 0.754*        |
|                            | (0.17)                | (0.19)     | (0.20)          | (0.09)                        | (0.10)        |
| Protestant                 | 2.371***              | 2.468***   | 2.067***        | 0.597**                       | 0.694*        |
|                            | (0.45)                | (0.50)     | (0.40)          | (0.10)                        | (0.12)        |
| Foreign born               | 1.276                 | 1.310      | 0.929           | 0.802                         | 0.892         |
|                            | (0.20)                | (0.25)     | (0.18)          | (0.13)                        | (0.13)        |
| Mexican                    | 1.055                 | 1.270      | 0.986           | 1.159                         | 1.140         |
|                            | (0.16)                | (0.26)     | (0.18)          | (0.18)                        | (0.16)        |
| Puerto Rican               | 1.244                 | 1.278      | 0.978           | 1.274                         | 1.286         |
|                            | (0.24)                | (0.36)     | (0.25)          | (0.27)                        | (0.24)        |
| Cuban                      | 1.352                 | 2.051*     | 1.477           | 1.001                         | 0.741         |
|                            | (0.32)                | (0.62)     | (0.45)          | (0.25)                        | (0.21)        |
| Constant                   |                       | 0.120***   | 0.221***        |                               |               |
|                            |                       | (0.05)     | (0.08)          |                               |               |
| N                          | 1,162                 | 1,162      | 1,162           | 1,162                         | 1,162         |

**Notes:** Standard errors in parentheses. Survey weights included.

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \* $p < 0.05$ .

**Source:** Collaborative Multiracial Post-Election Survey 2020.

## Latino Racial Classifications and Political Behavior: The Implications of Linked Fate Prioritization

### Robustness Check

CMPS provides parentage data. A small share of respondents ( $n = 340$ ) reported at least one Latino parent but did not self-identify as Latino. Among them, 83 identified as white and 126 as Black. As a robustness check, I reclassified them as Latino whites and Latino Blacks. Results remain consistent with the main findings.

| <b>Table 3A: Models on Political Behavior and Attitudes Including Individuals With at Least one Latino Parent who do not self-classify as Latino.</b>                                      |                              |                      |                      |                                     |                     |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------|
|                                                                                                                                                                                            | Dependent variable           |                      |                      |                                     |                     |
|                                                                                                                                                                                            | Ordinal Logit<br>Odds Ratios | Logit<br>Odds Ratios | Logit<br>Odds Ratios | Ordinal Logit<br>Odds Ratios        | OLS<br>Coefficients |
|                                                                                                                                                                                            | Conservative<br>Ideology     | Republican           | Voted for<br>Trump   | Discrimination<br>against<br>Blacks | BLM                 |
|                                                                                                                                                                                            | (1)                          | (2)                  | (3)                  | (4)                                 | (5)                 |
| Race / Ethnicity                                                                                                                                                                           |                              |                      |                      |                                     |                     |
| Non-Latino White                                                                                                                                                                           | 1.955***<br>(0.12)           | 3.171***<br>(0.27)   | 3.328***<br>(0.26)   | 0.567***<br>(0.04)                  | 0.457***<br>(0.03)  |
| Latino White                                                                                                                                                                               | 1.376***<br>(0.10)           | 1.716***<br>(0.18)   | 1.626***<br>(0.16)   | 0.812**<br>(0.06)                   | 0.795**<br>(0.06)   |
| Latino Black                                                                                                                                                                               | 0.721*<br>(0.10)             | 0.749<br>(0.19)      | 0.692<br>(0.15)      | 0.981<br>(0.16)                     | 1.620***<br>(0.20)  |
| Non-Latino Black                                                                                                                                                                           | 0.725***<br>(0.04)           | 0.225***<br>(0.03)   | 0.273***<br>(0.03)   | 2.671***<br>(0.19)                  | 2.893***<br>(0.18)  |
| Age                                                                                                                                                                                        | 1.013***<br>(0.00)           | 1.008***<br>(0.00)   | 1.004*<br>(0.00)     | 1.004**<br>(0.00)                   | 0.987***<br>(0.00)  |
| Education                                                                                                                                                                                  | 0.917***<br>(0.01)           | 0.925***<br>(0.02)   | 0.887***<br>(0.02)   | 1.065***<br>(0.02)                  | 1.077***<br>(0.02)  |
| Income                                                                                                                                                                                     | 1.015*<br>(0.01)             | 1.057***<br>(0.01)   | 1.034***<br>(0.01)   | 1.006<br>(0.01)                     | 0.995<br>(0.01)     |
| Gender ( <i>Male = 1</i> )                                                                                                                                                                 | 1.175***<br>(0.05)           | 1.309***<br>(0.08)   | 1.466***<br>(0.08)   | 0.617***<br>(0.03)                  | 0.701***<br>(0.03)  |
| Protestant                                                                                                                                                                                 | 1.619***<br>(0.08)           | 2.031***<br>(0.14)   | 1.637***<br>(0.11)   | 0.876**<br>(0.04)                   | 0.832***<br>(0.04)  |
| Foreign born                                                                                                                                                                               | 1.176**<br>(0.07)            | 0.850<br>(0.07)      | 0.821*<br>(0.07)     | 0.890<br>(0.06)                     | 0.914<br>(0.05)     |
| Constant                                                                                                                                                                                   |                              | 0.123***<br>(0.02)   | 0.276***<br>(0.03)   |                                     |                     |
| <i>N</i>                                                                                                                                                                                   | 10,225                       | 10,225               | 10,225               | 10,225                              | 10,225              |
| Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. Survey weights included. Latinos who did not select any racial categories are the reference group. *** $p < 0.001$ ; ** $p < 0.01$ ; * $p < 0.05$ . |                              |                      |                      |                                     |                     |

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Latino or Hispanic Ethnic Question Used Until the 2020 U.S. Census

6. Is this person of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?

☐ No, not of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin

☐ Yes, Mexican, Mexican Am., Chicano

☐ Yes, Puerto Rican

☐ Yes, Cuban

☐ Yes, another Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin – *Print, for example, Salvadoran, Dominican, Colombian, Guatemalan, Spaniard, Ecuadorian, etc.*

Racial Question Used Until the 2020 U.S. Census

7. What is this person's race?

Mark ☒ one or more boxes **AND** print origins.

☐ White – *Print, for example, German, Irish, English, Italian, Lebanese, Egyptian, etc.*

☐ Black or African Am. – *Print, for example, African American, Jamaican, Haitian, Nigerian, Ethiopian, Somali, etc.*

☐ American Indian or Alaska Native – *Print name of enrolled or principal tribe(s), for example, Navajo Nation, Blackfeet Tribe, Mayan, Aztec, Native Village of Barrow Inupiat Traditional Government, Nome Eskimo Community, etc.*

☐ Chinese

☐ Vietnamese

☐ Native Hawaiian

☐ Filipino

☐ Korean

☐ Samoan

☐ Asian Indian

☐ Japanese

☐ Chamorro

☐ Other Asian – *Print, for example, Pakistani, Cambodian, Hmong, etc.*

☐ Other Pacific Islander – *Print, for example, Tongan, Fijian, Marshallese, etc.*

☐ Some other race – *Print race or origin.*

New Racial and Ethnic Question for the 2030 U.S. Census

**What is your race and/or ethnicity?**  
*Select all that apply and enter additional details in the spaces below.*

☐ **American Indian or Alaska Native** – Enter, for example, Navajo Nation, Blackfeet Tribe of the Blackfeet Indian Reservation of Montana, Native Village of Barrow Inupiat Traditional Government, Nome Eskimo Community, Aztec, Maya, etc.

☐ **Asian** – Provide details below.

☐ Chinese

☐ Vietnamese

☐ Asian Indian

☐ Korean

☐ Filipino

☐ Japanese

Enter, for example, Pakistani, Hmong, Afghan, etc.

☐ **Black or African American** – Provide details below.

☐ African American

☐ Nigerian

☐ Jamaican

☐ Ethiopian

☐ Haitian

☐ Somali

Enter, for example, Trinidadian and Tobagonian, Ghanaian, Congolese, etc.

☐ **Hispanic or Latino** – Provide details below.

☐ Mexican

☐ Cuban

☐ Puerto Rican

☐ Dominican

☐ Salvadoran

☐ Guatemalan

Enter, for example, Colombian, Honduran, Spaniard, etc.

☐ **Middle Eastern or North African** – Provide details below.

☐ Lebanese

☐ Syrian

☐ Iranian

☐ Iraqi

☐ Egyptian

☐ Israeli

Enter, for example, Moroccan, Yemeni, Kurdish, etc.

☐ **Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander** – Provide details below.

☐ Native Hawaiian

☐ Tongan

☐ Samoan

☐ Fijian

☐ Chamorro

☐ Marshallese

Enter, for example, Chuukese, Palauan, Tahitian, etc.

☐ **White** – Provide details below.

☐ English

☐ Italian

☐ German

☐ Polish

☐ Irish

☐ Scottish

Enter, for example, French, Swedish, Norwegian, etc.

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Racial Question in CMPS 2020

S2\_RACE What do you consider your race or ethnicity? Mark one or more boxes

- White.....1
- Hispanic or Latino .....2
- Black or African American.....3
- Asian American .....4
- American Indian/Native American .....5
- Arab, Middle Eastern or North African.....6
- Native Hawaiian .....7
- Not Hawaiian, but other Pacific Islander .....8

White and Latino Linked Fate Questions in CMPS 2020

How much do you think what happens to the following groups here in the U.S. will have something to do with what happens in YOUR life? [Grid] [Randomize]

- 552. What happens to Hispanic people will have...
- 554. What happens to White people will have...

- Nothing to do with what happens in my life.....1
- Only a little to do with what happens in my life .....2
- Something to do with what happens in my life .....3
- A lot to do with what happens in my life .....4
- A huge amount to do with what happens in my life.....5