Book Chapter "Latino Anti-Black Bias and the Census Categorization of Latinos: Race, Ethnicity or Other?" in the forthcoming book ANTI-BLACKNESS (eds. João Costa Vargas & Moon-Kie Jung).

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## Abstract

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For the last few year the Census Bureau has been considering a proposal to add "Latino" and "Hispanic" to the list of government-defined races on its decennial population survey questionnaire, amongst other issues. The book chapter argues that this Census proposal has the potential to significantly hinder the demographic count of Latinos of African ancestry and should be rejected because of how it facilitates the anti-black bias within Latino/a public identity.

In the last census Hispanic was part of a separate ethnicity question rather than being listed as an option in the "what race are you" question. Such a two-part formulation in 2010 enabled Latinos to indicate their ethnic origin as "Hispanics" and simultaneously indicate their racial identity as white, black, Asian or Native American. Given the racial diversity of Latinos in the U.S., the pre-existing census form seems quite logical and should be retained. For instance, with the current questionnaire structure the count of Afro-Latinos is not subsumed and made invisible within a simple count of persons of Hispanic origin. In contrast, the proposed census reform will hinder an ability to collect the statistical data that concretely demonstrates the subordinated status of Afro-Latinos that is distinctive from broader Hispanic ethnic groups. Because census racial data is principally used to enforce the civil rights mandates against discrimination in employment, in the sale and rental of homes and in the allocation of mortgages, it would be a disservice to this country's pursuit of racial equality to institute a census change that would mask the civil rights harms perpetrated against Latinos with visible African ancestry. More perniciously, the Census proposed reform may become another mechanism for refusing to officially acknowledge indigenous and African ancestry within the Latino community.

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"But I'm Puerto Rican," my father said in a low, slow voice, rubbing his bruises. "They don't care what kinda nigger you is, Guhz-man." Because before people called me a spic, they called me a nigger (Guzmán 2010:236 & 242).

For the last few years the Census Bureau has been considering a proposal to add "Latino" and "Hispanic" to the list of government-defined races on its decennial population survey questionnaire, amongst other issues. This would be a marked shift from treating Latino/Hispanic as an ethnicity to instead treating it as a race. Since the 1980 census "Hispanic origin" has been part of a separate ethnicity question rather than being listed as an option in the "what race are you" question on the census (Cohn 2010). Such a two-part formulation in 2010 enabled Latinos to indicate their ethnic origin as "Hispanics" and simultaneously indicate their racial identity as white, black, Asian or Native American. Yet, much to the dismay of the Census Bureau, Latinos more than any other group say their race is "some other race" while writing in responses such as "Mexican," "Hispanic" or "Latin American." Thirty-seven percent of Latinos did so on the 2010 census as did 42% on the 2000 census (Parker et al. 2015). The Census Bureau prefers to diminish the numbers of Latinos and others who use the Some Other Race option. It proposes to solve this "problem" by removing the Hispanic-origin ethnicity question, and instead inserting the Hispanic/Latino category in the list of possible "races" a respondent can self-select.

Significantly, because so many Latinos have used the Some Other Race category option, the Census Bureau presumes that Latinos are confused by the array of North American construction of racial categories (Frank, Akresh, and Lu  2010).  The Census Bureau presumes that Latinos do not comprehend the stark census racial categories because of their Latin American fluid approach to racial identity and racial mixture. And there is certainly plenty of Latino rhetoric for asserting such a position (Hitlin, Brown, and Elder, Jr. 2007).

Yet, an examination of Latino responses to the census and other racial data collections contravenes the notion that Latinos never and cannot view race in stark terms. When provided the ability to check as many racial boxes as apply in ways that could reflect a fluid mixed-race identity, the majority of Latinos instead prefer to solely check White.  For example, on the 2007 American Community Survey that uses the census racial categories, 96.2% of Latinos still elected to choose a single racial category, and the single race chosen 53.8 percent of the time was White (Ennis 2010).  Some Latinos selecting the "Some Other Race" census category 39.7 percent of the time, appeared to do so as a mechanism for denoting their indigenous ancestry that the census category "American Indian" may have appeared to exclude them from, since the American Indian race box asks respondents to print the name of the enrolled tribe or principal tribe with which they are affiliated. Latino respondents of indigenous origin may very well view the American Indian race box as pertaining solely to persons of North American indigenous ancestry because the large majority of Latino "Some Other Race" category respondents are from Central America (Hogan 2017).

But again, there was no apparent confusion about selecting a single category. And when recent Latino immigrants were surveyed and not given the option of choosing Some Other Race, 79% chose the single White category regardless of skin color (Frank et al. 2010). Moreover, those Latinos in the study who were most integrated into U.S. society (based on the duration of residence in the United States and English language proficiency), were more likely than others to not choose an enumerated racial category. In short, a recently arrived cultural confusion with presumably U.S. racial categories is not the driving explanation for the Latino use of Some Other Race responses.

It is the preference for whiteness and its twin flight from blackness that is a more accurate reflection of any presumed "Latino" cultural expression on the census form. In contrast to the many reports of a Latino preference for mixed-race census racial categories, there is a strong Latino preference for the White racial category and some Latino groups like Cubans disproportionately select the White racial category (Darity, Jr., Hamilton & Dietrich: 2010). Moreover, a closer study of Latino racial preferences across generations in the United States from 1989-1990, entitled the Latino National Political Survey, found that a substantial majority of respondents chose to self-identify as White (Golash-Boza and Darity, Jr. 2008). The study indicated that the White racial category is particularly preferred by recent immigrants of all skin color shades. And when later generations do move away from the White racial category, they do so in favor of collective national ethnic labels like "Latino" or "Hispanic."

Census data from Latin American countries show the same proclivity for the white racial category regardless of actual skin color in response to the Latin American disdain for African and indigenous ancestry. Latin American census experiences suggest that the "Some Other Race" selection may instead be an outgrowth of the preference for whiteness and its companion disdain for indigeneity and blackness.

A brief consideration of the Latin American racial context will help illuminate how the Census proposed reform to treat Latinos as a racial category rather than an ethnic one may become another mechanism for refusing to officially acknowledge indigenous and particularly African ancestry within the Latino community. Racism and in particular anti-Black racism is a pervasive and historically entrenched fact of life in Latin America and the Caribbean. Over 90 percent of the approximately 10 million enslaved Africans brought to the Americas were taken to Latin America and the Caribbean, whereas only 4.6% were brought to the United States (Jiménez Román: 1996). And so the historical legacy of slavery is pervasive in Latin America and the Caribbean.

## LATIN AMERICAN CENSUS COMPARISON

In Latin America and the Caribbean, like the United States, having lighter skin and European features increases the chances of socioeconomic opportunity, while have darker skin and African/Indigenous features severely limits such opportunity and social mobility. Predictably the poorest socioeconomic class is populated primarily by Afro-Latinos, the most privileged class is populated primarily by Whites, and an elastic intermediary socioeconomic standing exists for some light-skinned Mulattos (mixed-race Blacks) and Mestizos (mixed-race Indigenous persons). For instance, until the Cuban revolution in 1959, certain occupations used explicit color preferences to hire Mulattos to the complete exclusion of dark-skinned Afro-Cubans, based on the premise that Mulattos were superior to dark-skinned Afro-Cubans but not of the same status as Whites (Rout 1976). White supremacy is deeply ingrained and continues into the present (Cleland 2017; Sawyer 2006).

For instance, in research conducted in Puerto Rico, the overwhelming majority of college students interviewed described "Puerto Ricans who are 'dumb' as having 'dark skin'" (Hall: 2000). Conversely, the same interviewees correlated "light" skin color with a description of "Puerto Ricans who are physically strong." Such negative perspectives about African ancestry are not limited to the college study participants. In 1988, when the presiding Governor of Puerto Rico publicly stated that "[t]he contribution of the black race to Puerto Rican culture is irrelevant, it is mere rhetoric," it was in keeping with what social scientists describe as the standard paradox in Puerto Rico: Puerto Ricans take great pride in the purported claim of being the whitest people of the Caribbean islands, while simultaneously asserting themselves as non-racist. The pride of being a presumably White population is a direct reaction to the Puerto Rican understanding that "black people are perceived to be culturally unrefined and lack ambition" (Torres 1998:297). The Puerto Rican example is emblematic of the racial attitudes throughout the Caribbean and Latin America (Hernández 2013)

As in the United States, the disparagement of Black identity is not limited to Mulattos and Whites, but also extends to darker-skinned Afro-Latinos who can harbor internalized racist norms. The internalization manifests itself in a widespread concern among Afro-Latinos with the degree of darkness in pigmentation, width of nose, thickness of lips, and quality of one's hair – with straight, European hair denominated literally as "good" hair. This concern with European skin and features also influences Afro-Latino's assessments of preferred marriage partners. Marrying someone lighter is called "adelantando la raza" (improving the race) under the theory of "blanqueamiento" (whitening), which prizes the mixture of races precisely to help diminish the existence of Afro-Latinos (Martínez-Echazabal 1998). Even familial affection has been observed to be influenced by the extent of one's black appearance (Bonilla-Silva 2010).

It should not be so surprising then, that migrants from Latin America and the Caribbean travel to the United States with their culture of anti-Black racism well intact along with all other manifestations of their culture (Torres-Saillant: 2002). And that in turn this facet of Latino culture is transmitted to some degree to younger generations along with all other transmission of Latino culture in the United States. For Latinos "being, or becoming, anything other than black is preferable" (Cruz-Janzen 2007: 83). Furthermore, the Latino imaginary consistently identifies a White face as the quintessential Latino (DiFulco, 2003:86). Even for those Latinos who do acknowledge their African ancestry, there is a cultural pressure to publicly emphasize their Latino ethnicity as a mechanism for distancing themselves from public association with the denigrated societal class of Anglo-Blacks (Pessar, 1995:44). This truism is highlighted by the popular refrain "The darker the skin, the louder the Spanish," (Howard, 2001: 114-115).

While commentators in the United States are seemingly oblivious to the indigenous anti-Black racism of Latinos, the one arena in which Latino anti-Black racism has been discussed in the United States, is with respect to the apparent racial caste system of Spanish-language television that presents Latinos as almost exclusively White (Fletcher, 2000). In fact, because of the scarce but derogatory images of Afro-Latinos in the media, activists even considered a lawsuit against the two major Spanish-language networks to challenge their depiction of Afro-Latinos. Some Latino activists see a direct parallel between the whiteness of Spanish-language television and Latino politics. One such activist states:

> Latino leaders and organizations do not want to acknowledge that racism exists among our people, so they have ignored the issue by subscribing to a national origin strategy. This strategy identifies Latinos as a group comprising different nationalities, thereby

> creating the false impression that Latinos live in a color-blind society. (Flores 2001:30-31).

But many concrete examples demonstrate that Latinos are not color-blind and nor do they emanate from color-blind contexts. To begin with, Afro-Latino/as in the United States consistently report receiving racist treatment at the hands of other Latino/as in addition to being perceived as outsiders to the construction of Latina/o identity. For example, Afro-Latino/as are frequently mistaken for African Americans in their own communities and upon identifying themselves as Afro-Latino/as are told, “But you don’t look Latino/a” (Comas-Diaz, 1996). Indeed the 2002 National Survey of Latinos sponsored by the Pew Hispanic Center and the Kaiser Family Foundation indicated that Latino/as with more pronounced African ancestry, such as many Dominicans, more readily identify color discrimination as an explanation for the bias they experience from other Latino/as (Pew Hispanic Center & The Kaiser Family Foundation, 2002: 74). Moreover, the 2010 National Survey of Latinos found that after immigrant status, skin color discrimination is the most prevalent perceived form of discrimination for Latino/as. Indeed, employment discrimination cases involving Latinos often implicate anti-black bias in Latino discrimination against Afro-Latinos and African Americans (Hernández 2007).

Moreover, Latino life circumstances are influenced not only by the social meaning of their Hispanic origins but by how their facial connections to Africa racialize them as also Black. Studies suggest that the socioeconomic status of Afro-Latino/as in the United States is more akin to that of African Americans than to other Latino/as or White Americans. Latino/as who define themselves as “Black” have lower incomes, higher unemployment rates, higher rates of poverty, less education, and fewer opportunities and are more likely to reside in segregated neighborhoods than those who identify themselves as “White” or “other” (Logan 2003).

In addition, despite the fact that Afro-Latino health behaviors are similar to the Latino ethnic groups they pertain to culturally, their health outcomes in meager access to health insurance and health services are racially distinctive and more in line with the racially disparate health outcomes of African Americans (LaVeist-Ramos et al. 2012). Even high blood pressure rates have been observed to vary with socially perceived racial differences unrelated to actual scientific degrees of pigmentation, such that those perceived as Afro-Puerto Rican have higher blood pressures and rates of hypertension than Puerto Ricans socially perceived as more European descended (Gravlee, Dressler, and Bernard 2005). Furthermore, socially perceived racial differences are more predictive of mental health status than one’s own racial self-identification (López et al. 2017). Given the significance of how much African phenotype, hair and skin shade influence the socioeconomic status of Latinos, some studies indicate that interviewer observations of racial appearance provide the most accurate tool for monitoring discrimination amongst Latinos of varying shades (Roth 2010).

Sociologist Nancy López notes that there is mounting evidence that there are distinct social outcomes in terms of intermarriage, housing segregation, educational attainment, prison sentencing, and labor market outcomes that vary for Latinos according to racial status (López 2013). Thus, the ability to document the racial disparity within Latino ethnic communities is fundamentally advanced by having Census data that separately asks Latinos to indicate their Hispanic-origin ethnicity and their racial ancestry (López 2013). Treating Hispanic-origin ethnicity as a homogenous group signifier obscures the complexity of the socioeconomic racial hierarchy that exists across Latino/a communities that census racial data was designed to help measure.

## EQUALITY LAW CENSUS RACIAL DATA USES

The Office of Management and Budget (OMB) racial and ethnic classifications that the Census Bureau uses were devised for the specific purpose of facilitating the enforcement of civil rights laws. Census racial data is principally used to enforce the civil rights mandates against discrimination in employment, in the selling and renting of homes, and in the allocation of mortgages. The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development also uses racial data to determine where to locate low-income and public housing. More importantly, census racial data has also been used in voting-rights redistricting to improve the political participation of people of color. In short, when the census collects racial data, the primary concern is not with how a person individually identifies, but rather with how society differentiates that person for the purpose of measuring any possible racial disparity.

For this reason, the Bureau of Census consideration to modify the census demographic questions so as to remove the Hispanic/Latino option as an ethnic choice and instead have it presented as a racial category distinct from Black and all others, has been viewed with alarm by Afro-Latino activists (Reyes 2014). Collapsing Latino/a and Hispanic ethnic identity into the list of racial categories with Black, risks obscuring the number of Afro-Latino and monitoring of socio-economic status differences of Latino/as across race that exist. The invisibility of Afro-Latino status differences from Latinos perceived as White is especially problematic when trying to prove racial discrimination in a court case.

*Arrocha v. CUNY*, serves as the paradigmatic example of the analytical problems of conflating Latino ethnic identity with racial identity where the racial diversity of Latino ethnic groups are in conflict (Arrocha 2004). In *Arrocha*, a self-identified Afro-Panamanian tutor of Spanish sued the City University of New York (CUNY) for failure to renew his appointment as an adjunct instructor, claiming a violation of the legal prohibition against race and national-origin discrimination. The claimant alleged that the Latino heads of the Medgar Evers College Spanish department discriminated against "*Black* Hispanics," and that there was "a disturbing culture of favoritism that favor[ed] the appointments of *white* Cubans, Spaniards and *white* Hispanics from South America" (Arrocha 2004: *7). Yet the court dismissed his race and national-origin discrimination claims because the judge did not understand how a racial hierarchy informs the ways in which Latinos subject other Latinos to racism and national-origin bias. Indeed, the lawsuit was dismissed because five of the eight adjunct instructors who were reappointed instead of Afro-Panamanian Arrocha were natives of other South or Central American countries such as Argentina, Peru, and Mexico, as well as the Dominican Republic.

In dismissing the lawsuit because the Afro-Panamanian claimant's employer reappointed natives from other South and Central American countries instead of him, the *Arrocha* court treats all Latinos as racially interchangeable and incapable of discrimination against other Latinos. The mistaken treatment of the panethnic identifier of Latino/Hispanic as precluding discrimination between various Latinos will only proliferate with a Census Bureau conflation of Latino ethnicity with race, despite the fact that this directly contravenes the Supreme Court case law mandate not to presume that intra-ethnic and intra-racial discrimination cannot exist (Castaneda 1977).

The racial interchangeability of Latinos' perspectives in *Arrocha* completely fails to appreciate the ways in which internal Latino national origin ethnic bias is rooted in a racialized hierarchy of Latin American countries, where countries perceived as European are viewed as more advanced than those more significantly populated with people of indigenous descent or those of African descent. In the list of countries the judge thought equivalent, Latin American racial constructs would rank Argentina as a highly valued White country, followed by Peru and Mexico with their indigenous populations, followed by the Dominican Republic and the claimant's own country of origin, Panama, because they are populated by more people of African descent. For Latinos influenced by Latin American racial paradigms where each country has a racial identification, a diverse workforce of Latinos is not the immediate equivalent of a bias-free context. Nor is a color preference divorced from a racialized ideology within the Latino context.

Unfortunately, many Latino leaders assert whiteness as a key component of their identity and this is especially apparent in their lack of concern with the need to monitor racial disparity amongst Latinos (Haney López 2003). For instance, the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO) Educational Fund, Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, and the National Council of La Raza all publicly endorsed the Census Bureau recommendation to treat Hispanic as a homogenous racial category, with the assertion that there would be very little loss in necessary data as Afro-Latinos could always elect to check both the Hispanic race box and the Black race box to indicate their Afro-Latino identity (NALEO 2017).

What such a perspective under-appreciates is the ways in which Latino anti-black bias will inhibit the count of Afro-Latinos in ways that the Census Bureau experiments with test questions could not readily appreciate. When "Hispanic" is juxtaposed as a racial category distinct from others, Latinos perceive the non-Hispanic categories are pertaining only to non-

Hispanics. This helps to explain why Puerto Ricans in Puerto Rico differ in their use of the Some Other Race box compared to Puerto Ricans living in the mainland United States. Only 11 percent of Puerto Ricans on Puerto Rico selected “Some Other Race” or “Two or More Race” on the 2010 census, as compared with the 30.8 percent of mainland Puerto Ricans that selected Some Other Race or Two or More Races (Hogan 2017). On the island of Puerto Rico, Puerto Ricans can view the racial categories as pertaining to themselves and not exclusively to North American census takers. As a result, over 75 percent of Puerto Ricans on the island self-identified as White on the 2010 Census, and only 3.3 per cent of respondents indicated Two or More Races (Allen 2017).

The island Puerto Rican embrace of whiteness despite the contestation as to whether white appearance is empirically as dominant as the Census numbers suggest, also raises a parallel hindrance to the count of Afro-Latinos – the Latino cultural flight from blackness. Juxtaposing Hispanic as a race distinct from others, also situates blackness as uniquely African American inasmuch as Latinos historically prefer to view blackness as always situated outside of their national identities (Hernández 2003). The distancing of blackness in Puerto Rico thus enables Puerto Ricans to view blackness as imbued primarily in their Dominican neighbors, while Dominicans instead view blackness as imbued primarily in their Haitian neighbors (Duany 2002). Latino blackness is never within but instead displaced elsewhere. For U.S. based Latinos, blackness is only imbued in African Americans along with English speaking Afro-Caribbeans and Africans. Again, Blackness is always somewhere else. Even in Miami, Florida’s large Caribbean population, blackness is often exclusively associated with African-Americans, such that Afro-Cubans consistently report not feeling welcomed by their fellow white Cuban residents (Gosin 2017).

Collapsing Hispanic into the Census racial categories rather than having it remain a separate ethnicity question shields Latinos from confronting their own possible blackness. In contrast, retaining two separate questions enables all Latinos to demarcate their Hispanic origin as an ethnicity with the first question, and then reflect on their racial origins with the second question specifically on race. Forcing the confrontation with the racial question on the census form can be a very productive navigation of the Latino cognitive dissonance with blackness. This is borne out by the narratives of Afro-Latinos relating how the census race question brings out from the shadows family discussions of blackness and race (Hoy 2010).

The concern of Latino leaders that the current 2-question ethnicity/race census survey framework can hinder the ability to use census data to accurately portray the socioeconomic exclusion of Latinos qua Latino, misapprehends how Equality Law jurisprudence assesses anti-Latino discrimination. The Supreme Court enforces the constitutional protections against racial discrimination for all Latinos, not because they are viewed as a "race" but because Latinos are a group distinguished by bias in "the attitude of the community" despite not being uniformly distinguishable based on race or color (Hernandez v. Texas 1954). Civil Rights statutory protections against racial discrimination are also accorded to Latinos because "race includes ethnicity" when Latino ethnicity is subject to adverse differentiation compared to Anglo whiteness or other racial and ethnic groups (Village of Freeport v. Barrella 2016: 598). When allegations of anti-Latino discrimination are presented in court, claimants are thus authorized to use the census count of Hispanic-origin ethnicity responses with which to compare their disparate exclusion.

For instance, in an allegation of employment discrimination, the comparison between a city's large census numbers of employable Hispanic-origin respondents with the low to nonexistent hiring of Latinos, can be probative of discrimination when an employer has no legitimate non-discriminatory reason for the exclusion (Teamsters v. United States 1977). In this way, the census Hispanic-origin ethnicity data can be effectively used to assess the moments in which Latinos are discriminated against as Latinos. Indeed, the Census Bureau findings show that Latinos overwhelmingly answer the Hispanic-origin question (U.S. Census Bureau 2015). There is no need to conflate the ethnicity question with the race question, to gather the data needed to assess the socio-economic disparities of Latinos qua Latinos. It is possible to recognize that Latinos can be racialized as Latinos distinctive from other races, without sacrificing the additional data about the racial differentiation within Latino groups that would denote the distinct racial positioning of Afro-Latinos.

Moreover, the unilateral treatment of Latino ethnicity as a race itself can be particularly ill advised in contexts where the equality needs of various Latino communities differ sharply. For instance, Latino voters are not monolithic and the view of Latinos as a single race "polemicizes equitable representation under the umbrella term Latino" (Astrada and Astrada 2017:253). It is for this very reason, that noted race scholar Ian Haney Lopez suggests that context should be examined when trying to gauge when and how Latinos are being differentiated based upon ethnicity, nationality or a racialized treatment of their status (Haney Lopez 1997).

## CONCLUSION

"The demand for full representation of all Latin@s cannot be sacrificed at the altar of 'unity'" (Bonilla-Silva 2010:448).

What this paper has attempted to demonstrate is that the Latino use of the Some Other Race category need not be viewed by the Census Bureau as a "problem" that needs to be solved.

Rather, the Some Other Race usage provides relevant information about the persistence of Latino anti-black bias in the flight from considering race. That insight should be viewed as an invitation to provide a forum for confronting race and its social salience.

Various Latin American countries like Argentina and Brazil, have begun a very similar project by mounting public campaigns to make race relevant and not taboo to consider (Nobles 2000). As a result increasing numbers of Latin Americans are indentifying with blackness on the census. In Brazil alone, the 2010 census showed the proportion of people declaring themselves of African ancestry rose from 44.7% to 50.7%, making Afro-Brazilians the official majority for the first time (Phillips 2011). Notably, Brazil's census bureau IBGE attributed the increase in part to the Afro-Brazilian social justice movement's campaign to increase valorization of identity among Afro-descendants. In Argentina, after one hundred years of omitting a race question on the census with the national insistence on a white identity, the 2005 census showed five percent of the population as Afro-descended (Clarín 2006). Similarly, in Uruguay, after a 150 year absence of a racial question on the census with the same insistence on a White national identity, the 2011 census indicated that 7.8% of the population thought they had some African ancestry (Cabella, Nathan and Tenenbaum 2013). When the 2010 Ecuadorian census indicated that 7.2% of the population was of African ancestry, the assertion of African ancestry in an Indigenous-identified nation was attributed to the public campaign "Identify Yourself Family: Proudly Afro-Ecuadorian" (El Telégrafo 2011). All of which demonstrates that anti-blackness can be addressed through public policy that intervenes in the flight from blackness on a census survey. Indeed, sociologist Nancy López has proposed that the U.S. Census Bureau mediate that Latino flight from blackness with an inquiry into "street race" that engages respondents to reflect on how they are visually perceived by others (López 2013).

In sum, given the racial diversity of Latinos in the U.S., the pre-existing census format of two separate questions about Hispanic ethnicity and racial identity seems quite logical and should be retained. With the current two-part questionnaire structure the count of Afro-Latinos is not subsumed and made invisible within a simple count of persons of Hispanic origin. In contrast, the proposed census reform of collapsing Hispanic ethnicity into a single list of racial categories will hinder an ability to collect the statistical data that concretely demonstrates the subordinated status of Afro-Latinos that is distinctive from broader Hispanic ethnic groups. Because census racial data is principally used to enforce the civil rights mandates against discrimination, it would be a disservice to this country's pursuit of racial equality to institute a census change that would mask the civil rights harms perpetrated against Latinos with visible African ancestry. "If you can't measure it, you can't improve it." (Drucker 1954).

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