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

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

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

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

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

CONFLICTS OF INTEREST

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

NOTES

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

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CAPTURING ETHNIC DIVERSITY AMONG BLACK RESPONDENTS: A BLACK IMMIGRANT OVERSAMPLE

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

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

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

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to ask and answer a wider range of questions regarding contemporary Black politics. Moreover, it allows scholars to move toward more nuanced assessments of this pan-ethnic racial group's political attitudes, modes of political behavior and participation, policy preferences, and political orientations and identities—including race, partisanship, and ideology. Furthermore, these data allow scholars of Black politics to set a new agenda—to ask questions regarding legacies of colonialism, extend the extant discussion on religion and politics, and more accurately assess how "place" adds texture to Black politics across the United States.

Indeed, even in the retelling of Black political history, the immigrant backgrounds of Black figures such as Shirley Chisolm, Malcom X, and Kwame Ture rarely are highlighted.

Approaching A More Accurate Depiction Of Black Politics

A much-needed and quickly growing literature in political science illuminates the various ways that Black people across national-origin groups navigate their ascribed and adopted identities in local, state, and national politics. Collectively, this research examines the variation in relationships to political parties, perspectives on policy preferences, and orientations toward anti-discrimination politics across ethnic groups. Moreover, this research tests whether tried-and-true theories of Black political behavior extend to a group that is ascribed to a racial identity that they may or may not adopt voluntarily. This research reveals intra-racial tensions as well as points of collective identity and potential for pan-ethnic coalition (Capers and Smith 2021; Greer 2013; Rogers 2006; Smith 2014).

Extant research on Black immigrants has relied largely on ethnography in specific locales; surveys that were not designed to ascertain ethnic, linguistic, and national-origin differences; and small samples to extrapolate larger theories of Black racial and ethnic identity. The 2020 CMPS, however, elevated the opportunities of social scientists to delve deeper into questions concerning Black politics. In addition to a primary sample of 14,988 interviews of white, Black, Latino, and Asian Americans, the data include 2,568 respondents from hard-to-reach but incredibly pivotal groups: Afro-Latinos, Black immigrants, Middle Eastern and North African Muslims, American Indians, Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders, and LGBTQ Americans. These interviews were conducted in English, Spanish, Chinese (both simplified and traditional), Korean, Vietnamese, Arabic, Urdu, Farsi, and Haitian Creole.

Because of the diverse composition of the sample, these data allow scholars to extend the boundaries of the study of Black politics and to offer new theoretical insights. Much of the research on Black immigrants focuses on Afro-Caribbean immigrants who live in New York; however, locales including Jamaica, Haiti, Nigeria, and Ethiopia represent some of the main countries of origin among Black immigrants in the United States (Lacarte 2022). In addition to capturing Black immigrants from English-speaking Caribbean nations, the oversample includes Black immigrants from Spanish- and French-speaking Caribbean nations and Anglophone and Francophone sub-Saharan African countries. A potential line of scholarship that could emerge from these data is the consideration of the political legacies that Black immigrants bring with them. Because Black immigrants do not come to the United States as "blank slates," scholars may use the data, for instance, to ascertain how the political economies, colonial legacies, religious composition, and quality of democracy of their native countries may affect their political orientation in the American context.

Another line of research that could be expanded concerns the role of place—that is, examining the effects of local dynamics, such as the size and proportion of Black ethnic-group representation and diversity (Gooding 2019; Wright Austin 2019). Although New York remains an important destination for Black immigrants, major cities on the East Coast including Boston, Miami, and Washington, DC—as well as Western and Midwestern states including Washington and Minnesota, where increasing numbers of African immigrants are settling—also are important to consider. If, indeed, "all politics is local," then it behooves scholars to obtain data to understand how a diverse group navigates the political terrain of cities and counties across the country.

Finally, it is worth noting the ways in which some Black people have identities that are attributed largely to other groups —such as an identity as Latino or as Muslim. The Black immigrant oversample of the CMPS presents opportunities to dig deeper into the politics of cross-cutting identities. For instance, studies of Islamophobia often overlook Black people; research can be expanded on anti-Muslim discrimination or even re-enlivened on the role of Black religious traditions and spaces (e.g., church and masjid) on Black politics. Likewise, although the effects of immigration enforcement are studied mostly with regard to Latinos, immigration enforcement is highly linked with America's criminal legal and carceral systems, which disproportionately affects Black people. Therefore, scholars can make greater inroads on understudied areas of intersectionality.

Complexities and Caveats

When we seek to explore the complexity of ethnicity and identity, the endeavor can become complicated. The Black immigrant sample of the 2020 CMPS embraces this complexity. Attempting to collect a sample of Black immigrants is a challenge that is likely unique when compared to oversampling other groups in the CMPS. First, when collecting samples of respondents from Afro-Caribbean and African nations, the identification as an immigrant is not necessarily straightforward. Depending on length of time in residence, respondents in the sample may differ on their self-identification as an immigrant.

Second, some Black immigrants from non-English-speaking—more specifically, Spanish-speaking—nations may further complicate a respondent's self-identification and categorization: some may be more inclined to identify as Afro-Latino rather than Black. Respondents with mixed-raced heritage may choose to identify as Black, depending on their geographic locale, upbringing, religion, and/or other personal self-identification preferences. This complexity is illustrated in the data because respondents belong to

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racial and ethnic groups that are not mutually exclusive. Indeed, a person who identified as Black may report that they are a recently immigrated queer person from the Dominican Republic. In this case, this person may be categorized as "Black," "Afro-Latino," "LBGTQ," and "Black immigrant."

The 2020 CMPS data were collected between April and October of 2021—a period characterized by uncertainty and cross-state policy inconsistency due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Ideally, an oversample for hard-to-reach groups would include on-the-ground and face-to-face interviews in partnership with non-profit organizations. This simply was not possible at the time. As a result, the oversample directors and CMPS principal investigators focused on quota samples to meet minimum-sample-size thresholds.

The use of a quota strategy means that although the Black immigrant oversample is richly diverse, it is not a nationally representative sample. Nonetheless, the 2020 CMPS provides a carefully curated set of weights that rely on data from the US Census Bureau. In the cases of groups that were not robustly considered and measured by official government data, weights were based on research that focuses on those groups of concern (e.g., Pew Research Center and Center for Migration Studies). We considered research for the best-known estimates from public data in our decision-making calculus.

Moving Forward

The Black immigrant oversample in the 2020 CMPS provides an unprecedented source of data for scholars of Black politics, the politics of immigrants and immigration, and pan-ethnic politics. By using the Black immigrant oversample data, we may be able to better understand the increasing number of complexities that we observe around us. Consider, for example, the different challenges that Ilhan Omar, a Somali American congressional representative, may face in comparison to her colleague, Ayana Pressley, a Black American born and raised in the Midwest. We might better understand how Davino Watson, a Black citizen, could be held illegally in immigration detention for three and a half years. As the child of a Black immigrant, Watson found himself in the crosshairs of the criminal legal system and the immigration system. Moreover, as the contemporary movement for Black lives seeks to carve out a more capacious understanding of Blackness and those who lean toward an American Descendants of Slaves (ADOS) orientation seek to narrow the definition of Blackness contend with one another, it behooves scholars to stay informed and up to date about these ever-changing dynamics.

CONFLICTS OF INTEREST

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

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SURVEYING NATIVE AMERICANS: EARLY LESSONS FROM THE CMPS

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The Collaborative Multiracial Post-Election Survey (CMPS) is one of the few national surveys to intentionally oversample Native Americans. These data have the potential to advance data inclusion for Native American public opinion in the social sciences. At the same time, the CMPS is a reminder of ongoing tensions with data collection on Native American people. This article highlights findings from the CMPS and offers comments looking toward the future by identifying early lessons, challenges, and considerations that social scientists must grapple with when attempting to survey Native Americans.

Native Americans have been invisible in large-scale survey research (Herrick et al. 2019; Lavelle, Larsen, and Gundersen 2009; Lujan 2014) but Native peoples are not under-researched (Deloria 1998; Smith 2006). Generally, social and human science research on Native peoples and communities has been exploitative and extractive (Smith 2006; Walter and Andersen 2013). Moreover, research has not been designed to benefit Native peoples or their communities. Examples include the Barrow studies, which attempted to survey Alaska Native peoples about alcoholism (Wolf 1989). However, the researchers failed to consult Native peoples and communities that had significant ethical concerns related to survey design and purpose. Similarly, national newspapers have used surveys to justify the use of racist Native American mascots (Hamilton et al. 2019; Hodge 2012). These studies have weaponized data against Native peoples and know nothing about them and their unique histories (Fryberg et al. 2021).

According to the 2020 US Census, the American Indian and Alaska Native population (alone or in combination) totals more than 6.6 million people (US Census Bureau 2023). There currently are 574 federally recognized Native nations, and many other state-recognized and -unrecognized Native nations, that all are diverse culturally, linguistically, economically, and politically. Political

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