

Tolulope Babalola

Topic: Cultural Heterogeneity, Colonialism, and Black Americans' Political Behavior and Attitudes

Abstract:

The recent immigration of Black Africans, Afro-Caribbean, and Afro-Latinx to the United States has diversified its Black population, yet many political science scholars have studied Black political behavior and attitudes as monoliths (Pew Research Center 2015). Even literatures that challenge the monolithic approach provide limited mechanisms that explain why Black ethnic heterogeneity impacts political behavior. With this gap, I argue heterogeneous, oppressive sociopolitical structures, like European colonialism, are salient factors that explain Black ethnics' diverse political behavior, attitudes, and mode of participation. I develop some hypotheses from this argument and test them with CMPS 2016 data and qualitative information from social and news media. My findings suggest that European colonialism impacts Black Americans' diverse political behavior and attitudes. They also challenge other parts of my argument, creating room for future research. Overall, the existence and use of larger quantitative and qualitative datasets might help us better understand why some Black ethnics prefer to protest instead of voting and why some Black ethnics support reparations.

Introduction

In this paper, I seek to investigate: under what conditions does cultural heterogeneity via European colonialism affect Black Americans' political behavior and attitudes? Many political science scholars have studied blackness and Black political behavior as monoliths, especially in the United States (Dawson 1994; Pinderhughes 1987; Verba, Schlozman, Brady, and Nie 1993; Walton 1985). The monolithic approach assumes Black Americans' shared oppressive experience is similar, hence predicting a somewhat reductionist political behavior and attitudes. However, recent methodological trends in comparative politics underscore the essence of disaggregating holistic sociopolitical constructs and groups' preferences and behavior (i.e., racial groups, states, culture, history) (Shayo 2009; Boix and Stokes 2012). Disaggregation provides analytical and non-reductionist leverage in understanding the political world (List and Spiekermann 2003). For instance, Inglehart and Welzel (2005) and Acemoglu, Johnson, and Robinson (2001) show that colonial legacies and experiences are manifold and different (i.e., settlers versus extractive and British versus French colonies). They also have diverse, long-term implications on institutions and individual political behavior and attitudes, which are then passed down to their posterity.

This project finds some systematic differences among Black ethnics based on their European colonial heritage. The empirical evidence from my findings contributes to our understanding of social groups' diverse histories and experiences with oppressive sociopolitical structures, like colonialism. This diversity could, in turn, have several implications on social groups' level of cohesiveness, which is a critical addition to understanding collective action problems among Black Americans. With this contribution,

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policymakers, scholars, and community leaders will be more cognizant of the complex relationship between oppressive sociopolitical structures and racial groups' collective consciousness. Paying closer attention to these variables will be essential for formulating scholarship and equitable policies to address Black Americans' heterogeneous needs (i.e., education and health policies). Therefore, this paper first sets forth previous theories on racial and ethnic identity and their influence on political behavior and attitudes. Second, I extend these extant theories, develop hypotheses, and test them with the Collaborative Multiracial Post-Election Survey (CMPS) quantitative data and qualitative information from social and news media. With this background in place, I describe my logit regression analysis findings, discuss their potential implications, and conclude by suggesting avenues for future research.

Literature Review

In his attempt to understand pluralism via ethnic diversity, Dahl (1961) argues ethnic immigrants first mobilize around a shared identity, but their new identity as Americans makes socioeconomic status more salient than their now latent ethnic identity in determining political behavior. However, Dahl's (1961) theory does not apply to all ethnic groups in the United States because he does not consider the effect of race on political representation and socioeconomic mobility, and he constructs ethnicity through a White, Euro-American framework. Walton (1985) and Pinderhughes (1987) challenged Dahl's (1961) colorblind conceptualization of "ethnic groups" by pointing out its limited usefulness for Black Americans. Therefore, scholars like McLemore (1972), Pinderhughes (1980), and Walton (1985) reconceptualized blackness as a racial category in political science to theorize on Black Americans' political behavior and attitudes. Walton (1985) conceptualized "Black" as a monolithic racial and ethnic group, which stuck with many scholars studying Black Americans' political behavior and attitudes. For instance, Dawson's (1994) linked fate theory argues that racial identity matters for Blacks than socioeconomic status, which counters Dahl's (1961) argument. Dawson (1994) found that Blacks' synonymous perceptions about their racial group influenced their uniform support for the Democratic Party and opposing anti-Black racism.

This finding further strengthened the idea of a Black, racial-linked fate, which legitimized the study of Black politics through a culturally monolithic lens. However, Dawson's linked fate theory does not

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explain differences in Black political behavior and attitudes. For instance, why do some Black Americans use unconventional modes of political participation more often than others? Dawson's (1994) theory's inability to answer this question reveals its limitation and monolithic conceptualization of blackness. While blackness is still a salient identity, it also intersects with other sociopolitical identities (i.e., ethnicity) in meaningful ways (Hancock 2016). Until recently, "racial" and "ethnic" identity have been used interchangeably in describing and studying Black American political participation (Walton 1985; Pinderhughes 1987). However, Black immigration to the United States increased substantially in the last two decades of the twentieth century with the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, which increased cultural diversity among Blacks in the United States. This increased diversity among Black Americans led many American politics scholars to push back against the monolithic approach of understanding politics (Rogers 2006; Greer 2013; Smith 2014). These scholars, then, drew from recent methodological trends of disaggregating holistic sociopolitical constructs and groups' preferences and behavior (Shayo 2009; Boix and Stokes 2012). They studied ethnic cases within the larger Black American racial group to explain differences in their political behavior and thoughts through disaggregation. While they acknowledge the power of Dawson's race-based, Black utility heuristic, Rogers (2006) and Greer (2013) extend it.

Greer (2013) extends Dawson's (1994) Black utility heuristic and linked fate theory by proposing the "elevated minority status and ethnic utility heuristic" theory to understand how the intersection of race and ethnicity influence Black Americans' public opinions and participation. Greer (2013) posits that Black Americans also use their ethnic identity as a shortcut to inform their political thoughts and behaviors, especially when making political decisions. Kasara and Suryanarayan (2015) empirically corroborate Greer's (2013) and other Black ethnics politics (BEP) scholars' argument by underscoring ethnicity's impact on political participation, attitudes, and cleavages (Rogers 2006; Smith 2014). For instance, Rogers' (2006) found that Afro-Caribbean immigrants' and African Americans' similar experiences and attitudes towards anti-Black racism in the electoral political process corroborated Dawson's (1994) linked fate model. Conversely, Rogers (2006) also found Afro-Caribbean immigrants responded to racism differently from African Americans, which resulted in their different levels and mode of political participation. Like Rogers,

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Greer's (2013) and Smith's (2014) quantitative findings reveal that African Americans politically participated at higher levels than other Black ethnic immigrants. They also observed differences in opinions among Black ethnics on some racialized and non-racialized policies. Nonetheless, Black ethnic politics (BEP) scholars provide a critical addition to our study of Black politics by highlighting the essence of ethnicity in explaining political behavior and attitudes.

However, BEP scholars' conceptualization of ethnicity is oversimplified and limited as it falls into a similar holistic and monolithic sociopolitical construct of groups' preferences and behavior (Shayo 2009; Boix and Stokes 2012). Like the monolithic Black racial group, when we construct Black ethnic groups in an arbitrarily aggregated manner, we risk undermining the analytical leverage they potentially provide in understanding systematic differences in contemporary Black Americans' political behavior and attitudes. Therefore, I extend Greer's (2013) ethnic utility heuristic by reconceptualizing "ethnicity" in ways that transcend "regional-geographic" space. Greer (2013) and other BEP scholars create Black "ethnic" cases based on similar geographical regions. For instance, they categorized Black Americans from the Caribbean as "Afro-Caribbean" and recent Black Americans from Africa as "Africans;" Smith (2014) uses a broader category, "Black immigrant." The problem with these broad, geographic-oriented ethnic categories is that they systematically lump different people together, undermining our ability to paint a more accurate picture of Black ethnics' distinct culture. This potential inaccuracy makes it challenging to explain why ethnicity impacts Black Americans' political behavior. While these categories from BEP scholars begin to help us understand the salience of heterogeneity among Black Americans, their broadness prevents us from identifying the mechanisms that link ethnic heterogeneity to Black Americans' different modes and levels of political participation and attitudes. With this gap in the literature, I draw on Chandra's (2006) argument, which contends that we need a definition for ethnicity that provides an analytical basis for explaining political outcomes.

Unlike previous definitions of ethnicity, Chandra (2006) defines ethnicity as a subset of identity categories in which descent-based attributes determine membership eligibility. She then associates these descent-based attributes to cultural and historical inheritance. Therefore, I extrapolate from Chandra (2006)

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that ethnicity provides values that direct individual thoughts and actions. Based on Chandra's (2006) and Swindler's (1986) conceptualization of ethnicity, previous BEP scholars' operationalization of ethnicity does not provide systematically meaningful cases that explain why ethnic heterogeneity impacts Black Americans' political behavior differently. To fill this missing gap in the literature, I draw on Chandra's (2006) descent-based *historical inheritance* to reconceptualize Black ethnic categories based on their European colonial legacies and experience. I use colonial legacies and experience because most (if not all) Black Americans are descendants of someone (or people) subjected to European colonialism, except maybe Ethiopian-Americans and Eritrean-Americans (DuBois edited 2007; Fanon 1963). Also, Acemoglu, Robinson, and Johnson (2001) found that Europeans created economic, political, and socio-cultural institutions in regions they colonized, which have persisted and shaped current institutions.

Based on this finding, I argue that these current sociopolitical institutions and economic conditions matter in shaping individual behavior. For instance, Hall and Taylor (1996) underscore the relationship between institutions and individual behavior through a sociological institutionalism framework. Opalo (2020) corroborates Hall and Taylor's (1996) argument in his study, which examined the impact of European colonialism on Kenya's political institution after independence, consequently impacting individual behavior. While Kenya in Opalo's (2020) study experienced European colonialism via indirect rule, Opalo's findings corroborate Acemoglu et al. (2001) findings that European colonialism changed existing institutions regardless of the colonial experience and rule (indirect or settler rule). For instance, North, Summerhill, and Weingast (1998) argued that former British colonies prospered relative to former French, Spanish, and Portuguese colonies because of the economic, political, and socio-cultural institutions they inherited from the British, which they described as "good." While these colonial legacies are essential, Acemoglu et al. (2001) counter North et al.'s (1998) argument by emphasizing that the conditions of the colonies mattered more for current institutions than the colonial empire—the *rule-type* as opposed to the *ruler-type*. With this point, Burnard's (1994) study found most settler European colonies often had a significant White population, making most colonies with a significant Black population extractive. Therefore, I extend Acemoglu et al. (2001) argument by contending Black people under European

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colonialism either lived in an internal, extractive colony or an external, extractive colony. With this assumption, I argue that the type of European colonial empire and proximity to White people during colonialism both matter in explaining contemporary Black Americans' political behavior and attitudes.

Furthermore, British, French, and Spanish socio-cultural values remain highly salient in countries with the respective European colonial heritage, which are then passed down to posterity at home and abroad (Lee & Schultz 2012; Olsson 2009). For instance, Inglehart and Welzel (2005) find strong correlations between the values of various ethnic groups in the United States and the values prevailing in their countries of origin—two or three generations after their families migrated to the United States. The correlation from Inglehart and Welzel's (2005) finding corroborates extant literature's theoretical expectation whereby family and local institutions (i.e., schools and religion) serve as strong agents of socialization, especially in the transmission of sociopolitical and socio-cultural values (Guiso, Sapienza, and Zingales 2016; Voigtländer and Voth 2012). However, Charnysh and Peisakhim (2020) modify the effect of family and community on the condition that the migrant ethnic group is the majority in that region or community. While this condition makes sense, examining ethnicity's impact through social groups' shared history and virtual communities expands Charnysh and Peisakhim's (2020) argument beyond physical spaces.

To illustrate where these diverse values among Black ethnics emanate from, Feldmann (2016) highlights differences in British, French, and Spanish formal and informal institutions. For instance, Lee and Schultz (2012) note that British common law, educational curriculum, language, and Protestantism instilled sociopolitical values, like respect for property rights, individual freedom, broader access to education for natives and women, and local political participation. Also, religious Protestant missionaries played a larger role alongside state schools in educating the colonized. Conversely, the French civil law, educational curriculum, and Catholicism emphasized the public's perceived needs over private property, collectivism, and community help. While the French Catholic missionaries initially helped with educational efforts, the French centralized the educational system, making it more secular.

By secularizing education, the French layered their socio-cultural (i.e., education) institutions alongside the existing religious institution in their colonies, which made it likely for Islam to thrive in many

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African French colonies (i.e., Algeria and Senegal) (Johnson 2010). In contrast, the Spanish colonial empire's embrace of Catholicism and mercantilism barred women, indigenous, and Black people from formal education, especially those in rural areas (Albertus 2014; Feldmann 2016). However, they also transmitted communitarian values, like the French, through other formal and informal institutions (i.e., churches and language). With these differences, I argue that Black Americans with Spanish colonial heritage will be less educated than their counterparts with French and British colonial heritage, which will impact their attitudes towards politically salient issues. My proposed hypotheses are in the Appendix.

Research Design

To test my proposed hypotheses, I use a multi-method research design that incorporates qualitative and quantitative data collection and analyses. The multi-method approach enables me to conduct a comparative case study with an eye towards descriptive (and maybe causal) inference, which will serve as a mechanism to categorize my independent variable—cultural heterogeneity—into ethnic cases. By disaggregating Black Americans based on their colonial heritage, I collect qualitative and quantitative data from Black Americans within the voting age population through their survey responses and social and news media stories. Then, I analyze each Black ethnic case regarding their political behavior and attitudes (the dependent variable). I use data from the Collaborative Multiracial Post-election Survey (CMPS), which surveys over 2000 Black Americans. The 2016 CMPS is one of the few datasets that ask Black Americans about their family's country of origin, their level of political participation, and their attitudes towards politically salient issues. In addition, I use stories from the Associated Press to capture Black ethnics' political behavior and attitudes for my qualitative data.

Independent Variable(s): As this project's unit of analysis, I study Black Americans, who I define as any person living in the United States with origins in Africa's Black racial and ethnic groups (U.S. Census Bureau 2010). With this definition, I include Black U.S. citizens and non-citizens in my data to create new ethnic categories among them based on their shared European colonial heritage. To create these ethnic categories, I use CMPS demographic data on survey respondents (e.g., race, ethnicity, individual or familial country of origin, level of education, generational status, and legal status). Knowing survey respondents'

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country of origin allowed me to place Black Americans into ethnic cases based on their shared British, French, and (or) Spanish colonial heritage. My four ethnic cases include: Descendants of Enslaved Americans (DOEA), Black Americans with British Colonial Heritage (BABH), Black Americans with French Colonial Heritage (BAFH), and Black Americans with Spanish Colonial Heritage (BASH). I focus on these three big European colonial empires (Spanish, French, and English) because Lange, Mahoney, and Hau's (2006) and Ziltener and Kunzler's (2013) data reveal most countries in Africa and the Caribbean experienced either British, Spanish, and (or) French colonialism. If a country had multiple colonizers, I selected the empires with the longest rule for parsimonious purposes.

Dependent Variable(s): For the dependent variables—political behavior and attitudes, I conceptualize political behavior based on electoral and non-electoral activities and operationalize on these activities using Verba and Nie's (1972) four indicators of political participation (voting, volunteering for a campaign, contacting public officials, community-group membership), Rainie, Smith, Schlozman, Brady, and Verba's (2012) social media indicator, and Almond and Verba's (1963) protest indicator. I then use the following three questions from CMPS that encompass some of these indicators: voter registration, voting in state and local elections, and attending a protest. I code responses to two of these questions (registered voter and attending a protest) as dummy variables. Finally, I use an ordinal scale to measure the degree to which Black Americans participate in state and local elections. With these quantitative measures, I statistically and substantively compare Black ethnics' electoral and non-electoral participation levels and modes to test my second and third hypotheses. To operationalize and measure political attitudes, I use responses from questions encompassing the following indicators: Black-linked fate, individualistic versus communitarian-redistributive ideologies, attitudes towards crime and punishment, and tolerance towards “different” people. I focus on these indicators to test the strength of Dawson's (1994) racial utility heuristic (Hypothesis 1) and the salience of Europeans' diverse values transmitted to colonized Black people (Hypotheses 4 and 5). Therefore, I code responses to questions about support for BLM, reparations, and support for the death penalty as dummy variables. Then, I use an ordinal scale to measure black ethnics' education attainment

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levels. Analyzing these variables substantively and statistically allowed me to observe whether there are systematic variations among Black ethnics' political activities and thoughts on political issues.

Alternative Explanatory Variables (Controls): In addition to ethnicity via European colonization, I control for socioeconomic (via education) status, citizenship status, and generational differences to understand the conditions when Black cultural heterogeneity is most salient in explaining political behavior and attitudes. For instance, when political incorporation (being registered to vote, eligible but not registered to vote, or noncitizen) is disaggregated, Masuoka, Ramanathan, and Junn (2019) found that it matters for political participation among ethnic groups within the Asian American community. Based on this finding, citizenship and generational effects among Black ethnics might also explain their diverse political behavior and attitudes. Also, I consider the impact of socioeconomics on Black Americans' political behavior because Austin, Middleton, and Yon (2012), like Dawson (1994), found that racial group consciousness (as opposed to socioeconomic status) had more of an impact on descendants of enslaved Americans (DOEAs) than other Black ethnics. While I independently control for socioeconomic and generational status, as I advance this project, I plan to interact these variables with my Black ethnic cases to determine if ethnicity via colonialism is conditional on them in explaining Black Americans' political behavior.

Data Analyses and Model Specifications

I begin my analysis with data from Black ethnics' virtual community through their comments and correspondence on popular social media and news platforms. This qualitative evidence enhances our understanding of Black Americans' political behavior and attitude through real-life stories not captured in my quantitative dataset. I use these human stories to rationalize and build on the findings from my quantitative analyses. Hence, a mixed-method approach enriches my investigation and study of Black Americans' cultural and sociopolitical heterogeneity. In my quantitative dataset, there are about 2,075 Black participants. Out of these respondents, about 81 percent (1,690) are descendants of enslaved Americans (DOEA), 10 percent (207) are Black Americans with British colonial heritage (BABH), 3 percent (61) are Blacks with French colonial heritage (BAFH), and about 6 percent (116) are Blacks with Spanish colonial heritage (BASH) (CMPS 2016).

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Based on this distribution of ethnicity (via colonial heritage), I statistically compare the political behavior and attitudes of these four Black ethnic groups by using logit and ordered logit regression models with their predicted probabilities for a more substantive interpretation. In addition, since some of my ethnic categories have smaller sample sizes, I use p-values less than 10 percent (90 percent confidence level) to establish statistical significance. Reducing my confidence level from the conventional 95 percent to 90 percent level prevents my models from losing statistical power and committing a type two error (Shreffler and Huecker 2020). In addition, I create two regression tables, and the first table (Table 1) includes results from my logit regression analysis, and the second table includes results from my ordered logit regression (Table 2). In both tables, I use DOEAs as the reference category in most columns (or models), except for the last two columns where BABH is the reference group for comparison. Each column represents the relationship between my Black ethnic cases (with and without controls) and measures of my dependent variables—political participation and attitudes—for convenience in my comparative analysis.

Results and Discussions

When I tested *Hypothesis 1a*, I found that Black Americans, regardless of ethnic differences, share similar attitudes towards anti-Black racism based on secondary qualitative data from the Associated Press (Hadero AP 2020) and Hordge-Freeman and Loblack (2020). For instance, Nigerian and Ghanaian Americans (British colonial heritage) and Afro-Latinx (Spanish colonial heritage) both voiced support for the intent and mission of Black Lives Matter (BLM). In an interview with younger Nigerian-Americans with a British colonial heritage, the participant stated that:

When these cops see us or when some of these racist people see us, they see a Black person...They don't care if you were born in Alabama, if you were born in Nigeria, in Ghana, in Sierra Leone. They see one color. (Reported by Hadero from AP 2020).

Similarly, my ordered logit model results indicate no statistically significant difference between DOEAs and other Black ethnic groups in their support for BLM with and without the control variables (See Table 2 Columns 7 and 8). Substantively, my predicted probabilities results suggest that Black ethnics were within the range of 43 to 55 percent likely to support BLM in 2016. Though not statistically significant, Blacks with French colonial heritage were the most likely group to support BLM (about 55 percent). More

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importantly, the lack of statistical evidence corroborates the findings from my qualitative data and Dawson's (1994) Black utility heuristics and linked fate. Due to their shared experience with anti-Black racism, Black Americans, regardless of their European colonial heritage, exhibited statistically similar attitudes towards the goals and mission of BLM even after controlling for generation differences, socioeconomic levels, and citizenship status.

However, when it comes to addressing politically salient issues—like anti-Black racism—through political participation, they differ, especially when generation (as a variable) interacts with ethnicity, partially supporting *Hypothesis 1b and 3*. For instance, older Black Americans with a British colonial heritage emphasized the good citizen narrative:

...they came to America to work and provide a better life for their children, not to protest about race. They are trying to be good citizens, and protests, in their eye—pushing back and criticizing the nation — isn't their perception of being a good citizen. (Reported by Hadero from AP 2020).

Results from my quantitative analysis also corroborate this sentiment from Black Americans with a British colonial heritage. I first found that the difference in levels of electoral participation (voting) among DOEAs, BABH, BAFH, and BASH was statistically significant, with DOEAs being more likely to participate. However, when I controlled for citizenship, education, and generational effects, the difference became statistically insignificant (see Table 2 Columns 2 and 5). These findings suggest that DOEAs' higher level of political participation is tied to their longer-established history in the United States and their struggle for the vote than other Black ethnic groups. As Black ethnics become citizens and have more subsequent generations, my findings indicate there will be a little-to-no statistically significant difference among them. However, these findings challenge my theoretical expectation and second hypothesis, which posits that BABHs, DOEAs, and BAFHs will engage more in electoral participation than their BASH counterparts.

Substantively, BASHs were just as likely to electorally participate in the political process as other Black ethnics with and without the control variables. While this finding contradicts my theoretical expectation, Vargas-Ramons (2016) and Smith (2014) remind us of the long-standing, often invisible, history of Afro-Latinos in the United States—i.e., Black Puerto Ricans—and the inter-ethnic interaction and birth of people with DOEA and BASH parents. This history adds more complexity to my theory and

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potentially explains why BASHs are not statistically different from other Black ethnic groups regarding their voting behavior. Therefore, while the British and French exposed their colonies to democratic values, some Black Americans with Spanish colonial heritage were also exposed to these values due to the influences of multiple colonial powers. For instance, after Spain's colonial rule, White America also colonized and occupied several Latin American territories and land (i.e., Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the western United States), which exposed them to democratic values and institutions. This exposure also possibly explains BASHs' higher than expected levels of electoral participation.

Moreover, in contrast to my findings on Black ethnics' electoral participation, analysis from my quantitative data revealed statistically significant differences among Black ethnics in their level of non-electoral political participation (mainly protests). As predicted in my hypothesis, I found no statistically significant difference between DOEAs and BABHs regarding their likelihood to protest; however, both groups were statistically different from BASHs and BAFHs without controlling for education, citizenship, and generational effects. Even after including these controls, the difference between DOEAs, BABHs, and BASHs in their probability to protest was still statistically significant at $p < 0.05$ (See Table 2 Columns 1 and 4). This finding also corroborates the anecdote presented earlier by Hadero (2020) in his *Associated Press* article. Substantively, my results indicate that BASHs' probability of participating in protests was 20 percent, compared to BABHs' 13 percent and DOEAs' 11 percent likelihood of participation. To understand this difference, Frazer (2000) and Ross' (1999 p. 116) underscored that Protestant British missionary schools in their colonies emphasized democracy and citizenship through values such as cleanliness, tidiness, sobriety, modesty, chastity, and the Protestant skill of literacy. These values of "good citizenship" discouraged unconventional forms of political participation, like protests. Since most Black immigrants from English-speaking countries are highly educated, I confirmed that these values are still salient and passed down to their posterity (Pew research Center 2018; Inglehart and Welzel 2005).

Furthermore, I extrapolate that the United States' educational system, which British Protestantism historically influenced, inculcated ideas of "respectability politics" and "model citizenship," especially in the South (Kennedy, Cohen, and Bailey 2006 pp167-170). Though DOEAs initially had limited access to

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formal education, they were exposed to these protestant values in the church, and as access to education increased, DOEAs gained more exposure to these values in schools (Feldmann 2016). This exposure likely explains DOEAs' and BABHs' lower levels of protest activities than their BAFH and BASH counterparts. In contrast, both free and enslaved Blacks under Spanish rule were denied access to education, which impacted the vicious cycle of Blacks' low education and class status in many Spanish-speaking countries and American territories (Kinsbruner 2005 p. 85-86). As Albertus (2014 pp.43-44) notes, Blacks and indigenous peoples were often part of the peasantry and less powerful class in Latin America, and their positionality engendered them to employ unconventional forms of political participation to get their voices heard (i.e., protesting, rebellion, and strikes). Mena's story provides qualitative evidence that corroborates this point:

As a Black woman in Latin America, my vote didn't matter. But after witnessing the enthusiasm toward [American politics] in 1992, [I] started to take it more seriously and researched politicians and how the U.S. government operates. (North Carolina Public Radio, Reported by Prioleau 2020)

This historical-colonial legacy potentially explains why I found that BASHs were significantly more likely to engage in non-traditional forms of political participation than BABHs and DOEAs.

In addition, I empirically confirmed the long-term effect of Spanish colonialism on Blacks' educational attainment in the United States. I found the difference among Black ethnics (via their colonial heritage) in attaining undergraduate and post-graduate degrees was statistically and substantively significant at $p < 0.05$ and $p < 0.10$ (See Table 2 columns 3 and 6). In my data analysis, BASHs were about 13 percent likely to possess a bachelor's degree, compared to BABHs' 24 percent and DOEAs' and BAFHs' 21 percent probability of having a bachelor's degree. This pattern is also consistent with the attainment of post-baccalaureate degrees. The statistical and substantive difference in Black ethnics' educational attainment potentially explains their punitive or "tough on crime" attitudes. I find that BASHs also exhibited statistically different punitive attitudes from their BABH, DOEA, and BAFH counterparts even after controlling for education and generational status, which supports my fourth hypothesis (See Table 1 columns 1 and 2). As Hutchinson (2018) argues, BASHs' higher punitiveness could mean they internalize anti-Black sentiments more and are less tolerant of "social deviants" than other Black ethnics. Babalola

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(2021, working paper) found that anti-Black racial resentment is linked to punitive attitudes, especially among non-Black groups. Since Spanish colonization seemed more restrictive and dehumanizing to Blacks and other subaltern groups (Feldmann 2016), this could explain BASHs' higher level of internalized anti-Blackness and punitiveness. However, future work should extend this explanation to better understand why Afro-Latinos (or BASHs) are more punitive than other Black ethnic groups.

Furthermore, the presence of a lower educated BASH group in the United States is not a function of random occurrence; instead, it is a function of Spanish and the United States colonial rule. Some will argue that language could also be a potential factor explaining BASHs' lower educational attainment. While this point is worth considering, the language barrier argument does not explain why BAFHs have higher educational attainment levels than their BASH counterparts. Blacks from francophone countries also experience a language barrier when they arrive in the United States, yet I find that they have substantially higher education attainment levels and are less punitive than their BASH counterparts. Despite these differences between BASH and BAFH ethnic groups, I find that these groups' attitudes converge in supporting reparations for historically disadvantaged Black groups in the United States. As I indicated in the design section, I measured Black ethnics' response to supporting reparation because it served as a redistributive policy indicator that specifically benefited Blacks. I found that BABHs were significantly less likely to support reparations than their DOEA and BASH counterparts. This significance disappeared when I controlled for generational differences (See Table 1 columns 5 and 6). However, the difference in BABHs' and BAFHs' support for reparation became more statistically significant after controlling for education and generational differences. Substantively, BABH and DOEA are about 76-80 percent likely to support reparations, compared to BAFHs' and BASHs' 86-90 percent likelihood of supporting reparations with controls.

Conclusion

In the end, this empirical finding buttresses my fifth and final hypothesis, which argues that BABHs will be less likely to support redistributive policies, like reparations, because of their exposure to British Protestantism that emphasized individualistic values. Conversely, my findings support my theoretical

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expectations that Black Americans with Spanish and French colonial heritage will be more likely to support redistributive policies due to their exposure to communitarian values espoused by French and Spanish Catholicism. The difference is even more significant when generational differences interact with my Black ethnic categories. While the interaction term is not included in this paper, I plan to include it as I extend this project. Overall, my analysis suggests that disaggregating Black Americans based on their diverse European colonial heritage reveals systematic differences in their political behavior and attitudes. These findings contribute to our understanding of the long-term effect of oppressive sociopolitical structures, like colonialism, on Black Americans' diverse political behavior and thoughts. With this contribution, policymakers and social scientists should pay closer attention to the relationship between socio-political structures and elites' and non-elites' behavior, attitudes, and interests. Paying closer attention to these variables will be essential for formulating scholarship and equitable policies to address underprivileged groups' diverse needs (i.e., education and health policies).

Finally, while I found little difference among Black ethnics' voting behavior, I found a significant difference in their non-electoral participation. This finding has implications for future research, which should investigate the role European colonialism plays in explaining other forms of Black and Brown Americans' electoral and non-electoral participation (i.e., running for office, volunteering for a campaign, and contacting legislators). Also, the findings from this paper should motivate scholars to investigate the role colonialism and imperialism play in creating divisions among oppressed groups and the political and policy ramifications from such divisions. The essence of this investigation is illuminated in Chinua Achebe's words from *Things Fall Apart*: "He [the white man] has put a knife on the things that held us together, and we have fallen apart." (p. 130). Overall, Achebe's words illuminate the question this research project seeks to answer: what is the thing that holds Black Americans together in terms of their political behavior and attitude, and is colonialism/imperialism one of the knives that divides them? The recent immigration of Black people to the United States provides an opportunity to answer this question, which, in turn, allows political scientists and policymakers to understand when and where it is appropriate to either treat Black Americans as a monolith or disaggregate among them.

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Appendix:

Proposed Hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1a: Black Americans, regardless of cultural and ethnic differences, will display similar attitudes on political issues dealing with anti-black racism (i.e., Black Lives Matter).

Hypothesis 1b: Black Americans will differ in their response to political issues dealing with anti-black racism due to cultural and ethnic differences.

Hypothesis 2: Black Americans with a British and French colonial heritage will participate more in electoral activities than those with Spanish colonial legacies, but DOEAs will exhibit greater electoral participation due to their experience with British and American colonialism.

Hypothesis 3: Black Americans with Spanish colonial legacies will participate more in non-traditional political activities (protest and boycott) than their Black British counterparts due to their longer experience with a more repressive rule under the Spanish empire and subsequent oppression after independence (see Albertus 2014 pp. 43-44).

Hypothesis 4: DOEAs, BABHs, and BAFHs will possess higher education levels than their Spanish counterparts, which will make them less punitive and more tolerant of “criminals” than their Spanish counterparts.

Hypothesis 5: Black Americans with British colonial heritage will espouse more individualistic ideology and be more oppositional towards redistributive policies than their French, Spanish, and DOEA counterparts.

Black Ethnic Group	Number of Respondents (%)	Colonial Heritage
BABH	1207 (10%)	British-Black Americans
BAFH	61 (3%)	French-Black Americans
BASH	116 (6%)	Spanish-Black Americans
DOEA	1,690 (81%)	Descendants of Enslaved Americans

Table 1: Analyzing the Relationship between Black Ethnics and their Political Behavior and Attitudes with a Logit Regression

	(1) Punitive Ref: DOEA	(2) Punitive Ref: DOEA	(3) RegisteredVoter Ref: DOEA	(4) RegisteredVoter Ref: DOEA	(5) Reparations Ref: BABH	(6) Reparations Ref: BABH
DOEA					.489*** (.16)	-.265 (.239)
BABH	-.119 (.148)	.028 (.201)	-.738*** (.149)	-.326 (.221)		
BAFH	-.533*** (.262)	-.396 (.314)	-.831*** (.262)	-.218 (.349)	.547 (.346)	.642* (.358)
BASH	.416** (.204)	.446** (.208)	-.587*** (.195)	-.276 (.215)	.935*** (.297)	.372 (.334)
U.S. Citizen		-.195 (.951)		-2.654*** (1.193)		.11 (.963)
Some High School		-.064 (.671)		.669 (.825)		-.146 (.836)
High School Graduate		.429 (.643)		1.326* (.797)		-.064 (.803)
Some College		.51 (.641)		2.321*** (.797)		-.041 (.801)
College Graduate		.511 (.645)		3.338*** (.805)		-.54 (.803)
Post-Bac Education		.285 (.65)		3.539*** (.818)		-.267 (.811)
Female		-.267*** (.099)		.165 (.112)		.473*** (.112)
1st Generation		-.172 (.251)		-.48* (.279)		-.862*** (.278)
Foreign Born		-.248 (.278)		-1.549*** (.309)		-1.075*** (.313)
1.5 Generation		-.3 (.278)		-.793*** (.303)		-1.102*** (.293)
_oms	.303*** (.049)	.258 (1.143)	.864*** (.053)	1.224 (1.432)	.759*** (.149)	1.307 (1.276)
Observations	2074	2074	2074	2074	2074	2074
Pseudo R ²	.003	.01	.014	.137	.006	.032

Standard errors are in parentheses
 *** p<.01, ** p<.05, * p<.1

Table 2: Analyzing the Relationship between Black Ethnics and their Political Behavior and Attitudes with an Ordered Logit Regression

	(1) Protest Ref: DOEA	(2) Voting Ref: DOEA	(3) Education Ref: DOEA	(4) Protest Ref: DOEA	(5) Voting Ref: DOEA	(6) Education Ref: DOEA	(7) BlmSupport Ref: DOEA	(8) BlmSupport Ref: DOEA	(9) BlmSupport Ref: BAFH
DOEA									1.576 (.463)
BABH	.791 (.223)	.794 (.145)	1.198 (.217)	.743 (.157)	.529*** (.071)	1.343** (.182)	1.046 (.142)	.822 (.153)	1.295 (.36)
BAFH	.548 (.227)	.864 (.254)	.836 (.24)	.514** (.17)	.505*** (.123)	1.005 (.24)	.848 (.21)	.634 (.186)	
BASH	.512*** (.131)	.979 (.178)	.555*** (.098)	.538** (.134)	.727* (.125)	.552*** (.096)	1.196 (.208)	1.128 (.2)	1.778* (.582)
U.S. Citizen	2.675 (3.152)	.211* (.175)	1.577 (1.3)					.906 (.807)	.906 (.807)
Some High School	.959 (1.062)	2.689 (2.21)						.474 (.277)	.474 (.277)
High School Graduate	1.194 (1.276)	4.723* (3.77)						.691 (.382)	.691 (.382)
Some College	.931 (.991)	9.919*** (7.905)						.68 (.375)	.68 (.375)
College Graduate	.529 (.564)	22.532*** (18.017)						.701 (.388)	.701 (.388)
Post-Bac Education	.922 (.993)	33.091*** (26.618)						.594 (.333)	.594 (.333)
Female	.879 (.132)	.779*** (.07)	1.084 (.094)					.714*** (.064)	.714*** (.064)
1st Generation	.65 (.215)	.557** (.129)	1.315 (.308)					1.068 (.244)	1.068 (.244)
Foreign Born	1.57 (.664)	2.63*** (.071)	1.284 (.323)					1.742** (.438)	1.742** (.438)
1.5 Generation	.652 (.237)	.553** (.144)	.848 (.216)					1.264 (.315)	1.264 (.315)
/cut1	.26 (.411)	.726 (.834)	.008*** (.007)	.126*** (.01)	.438*** (.023)	.005*** (.002)	.821*** (.04)	.393 (.41)	.619 (.673)
/cut2		2.151 (2.469)	.086*** (.072)		1.131** (.054)	.052*** (.005)	2.952*** (.16)	1.431 (1.495)	2.256 (2.454)
/cut3		4.974 (5.712)	.706 (.582)		2.391*** (.124)	.423*** (.022)	13.968*** (1.254)	6.821* (7.136)	10.751** (11.715)
/cut4			3.494 (2.885)			2.088*** (.105)	23.372*** (2.616)	11.425** (11.974)	18.007*** (19.654)
/cut5			12.424*** (10.282)			7.413*** (.523)			
Observations	2074	2074	2074	2074	2074	2074	2074	2074	2074
Pseudo R ²	.022	.065	.004	.006	.005	.003	0	.006	.006

Standard errors are in parentheses

*** p<.01, ** p<.05, * p<.1

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