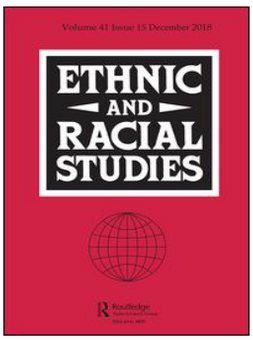

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Panethnicity as a reactive identity: primary panethnic identification among Latino-Hispanics in the United States

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ABSTRACT

Research finds willingness to identify on panethnic terms is increasing among people of Latin American descent in the United States, as is the assertion of Latino-Hispanic panethnicity as a primary identity. The 2013 National Survey of Latinos found that one-fifth of respondents identified most often as "Hispanic/Latino" rather than with a "Hispanic origin term" or as "American". Drawing on these data, we examine the sociodemographic factors associated with primary panethnic identification (PPI). We find that Democratic Party affiliation and Mexican heritage increase the overall likelihood of PPI. Having less than a high school education, identifying racially as "Hispanic/Latino" or "other race", Spanish fluency, being a first-generation immigrant, and non-citizenship increase the likelihood of PPI over "American". These results suggest Latino-Hispanic panethnicity may represent a reactive identity associated with politicization, marginalization, and racialization. Many Latino-Hispanics in the United States are opting for a racialized primary panethnic identity over an "American" identity.

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KEYWORDS Latinos; Hispanics; panethnicity; reactive identity; primary panethnic identification; racialization

Introduction

"Latino-Hispanics"[1] constitute the largest non-White ethno-racial group[2] in the United States, having numerically surpassed African Americans in the 2000 Census. This demographic shift has received notable attention from an array of social, economic, and political stakeholders. For instance, it is often a topic of discussion among business executives seeking to tap into the $1.7 trillion purchasing power of the Latino-Hispanic community (Nielsen 2016). The growth of this population is also a frequent topic of conversation among political pundits awaiting the awakening of the "sleeping giant" of the Latino-Hispanic voting block as well as a focus among elected officials actively vying for the "Latino vote" (Jackson 2011).

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Though the terms "Latino" and "Hispanic" are used interchangeably by the US Census to describe people with Latin American ancestry in the United States, claims that they represent the largest non-White ethno-racial group and those emphasizing their economic and political impacts may be misstated. These statements make assumptions about the homogeneity of this population, which includes people from numerous countries with diverse cultures, histories, and languages. As such, some have argued that the terms Latino and Hispanic represent a form of "ethnic gloss" leading to "gross misrepresentations" that "homogenize and understate the diversity within the population" (Diaz McConnell and Delgado-Romero 2004, 300). The claim that Latino-Hispanics are now the largest non-White ethno-racial group implicitly assumes panethnicity represents a "thick" (Cornell and Hartman 2007) identity or primary identifier for members of this group. Given these considerations, some scholars have argued Latino-Hispanic panethnicity does not truly exist, is partially a methodological construction, or, at best, represents a relatively "thin" secondary identifier (Diaz McConnell and Delgado-Romero 2004; Gimenez 1989; Gracia 2000).

Conversely, recent scholarship has discussed the emergence of panethnic identification among members of this group. Though prior research notes a strength of panethnic identification is that it functions as a complementary rather than primary identity (Dávila 2012; Mora 2014), survey research has consistently found a non-trivial proportion of Latino-Hispanics identify *primarily* on panethnic terms. Pew Research Center's 2013 National Survey of Latinos found that roughly 1-in-5 people identified most often as "Hispanic/Latino" rather than with a "Hispanic origin term" or as "American" (Pew Research Center 2013), which is consistent with findings from prior studies (de la Garza et al. 1992; Fraga et al. 2012; Jones-Correa and Leal 1996). *Primary* panethnic identification also appears to be increasing among Latino-Hispanics (Diaz McConnell and Delgado-Romero 2004; Telles and Ortiz 2008). Given these persistent findings, what sociodemographic factors explain *primary* panethnic identification (PPI) among Latino-Hispanics over other identities such as a Hispanic origin term or as American?

Focusing on PPI is sociologically relevant for reasons beyond the growth of the Latino-Hispanic population, their capacity to consume economically, and their potential political influence. PPI appears to be associated with several important social indicators. As noted in Appendix 1, we find Latino-Hispanics who identify primarily on panethnic terms have lower odds of being registered to vote (among those eligible) compared to those who identify as "American". However, PPI is associated with having a positive outlook on one's life. Specifically, we find that Latino-Hispanics who identify primarily as panethnic, compared to those who identify as "American", have higher odds of (1) being satisfied with the way things are going in their lives today, and (2) stating they believe their lives will improve rather than

worsen ten years from now. Clearly, PPI carries disadvantages as well as advantages. For the purposes of this article, we focus on examining the sociodemographic correlates of PPI among Latino-Hispanics.

Before addressing our central research question, we offer an overview of the sociological research on panethnicity and provide a conceptual framework for how panethnic identification emerges at the individual level. We then briefly discuss the sociohistorical context that facilitated the rise of Latino-Hispanic panethnicity in the United States. We follow by summarizing the existing literature examining individual level factors associated with primary Latino-Hispanic panethnic identification before providing a description of our data and analytic sample. We conclude by highlighting our findings and discussing their implications for the sociological understanding of Latino-Hispanic panethnicity and the broader literature on race and ethnicity.

Background

Conceptual framework of panethnicity

Lopez and Espiritu define panethnicity as "the development of bridging organizations and solidarities among subgroups of ethnic collectivities that are often seen as homogenous by outsiders" (1990, 198). Similarly, Okamoto and Mora state that panethnicity emerges "when different ethnic or tribal groups cooperate, organize, and build institutions and identities across ethnic boundaries" (2014, 220). Accordingly, the term has been used to describe the distinct but related concepts of group action, group solidarity, and group identification (Min 2014; Okamoto and Mora 2014, 220). However, panethnicity also operates at the micro level by serving as a site for individual identification and action. Panethnicity thus constitutes a multifaceted form of ethnic change resulting from group-level constructs, governmental classification systems, and consisting of an asserted and activated individual identity (Lopez and Espiritu 1990; Okamoto and Mora 2014). The emergence of panethnicity among distinct ethnic groups is also contingent upon structural considerations, geographic proximity, cultural, linguistic, and religious similarities between groups, and how public policy affects those groups (Gutiérrez 2013; Lopez and Espiritu 1990; Rodríguez 2000). Some social scientists contend that panethnicity can also arise as a reactive identity to counter prejudice and discrimination experienced by members of subordinate (i.e. non-White) groups (Gutiérrez 2013; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Portes and Zhou 1993). Others propose panethnicity as an alternative to both assimilation and ethnic pluralism in the US context (Lopez and Espiritu 1990), and therefore as compatible with broader theoretical discussions of segmented assimilation (Golash-Boza 2006; Portes and Rumbaut 2001;

Portes and Zhou 1993). This may be particularly true among Latino-Hispanics who do not feel fully accepted in the American mainstream.

The existing literature identifies several social domains contributing to the rise of panethnicity, though these factors are seldom comprehensively articulated within one body of research. To provide clarity and uniformity between these discussions, we propose a conceptual framework that encompasses five key areas in the emergence and maintenance of panethnicity: (1) inter-ethnic alliances, (2) government classification systems, (3) group consciousness, (4) individual action, and (5) individual identification (see Figure 1). These domains represent important components in the development of panethnicity, originating at the broader group or governmental level and manifesting at the individual level, with circumstances (e.g. structural conditions, residential segregation, immigration, etc.), "human assignment", and group/individual "assertion" each serving important functions throughout the process (Cornell and Hartman 2007, 83). We have included Figure 1 to provide readers a comprehensive overview of the existing sociological research on the emergence and maintenance of panethnicity. Doing so situates our methodological and theoretical contributions within the literature, which focus on sociodemographic correlates of PPI.

The foundation for panethnicity is generally established through instrumentally-motivated inter-ethnic alliances spurred by collective action and the need to increase group size and political power (Okamoto 2010). Government classification systems also create the foundation for panethnicity by assigning diverse ethnic or tribal groups, based on assumed shared cultural and linguistic characteristics, to a specific category for enumeration in the decennial census or other administrative purposes, as has been the case

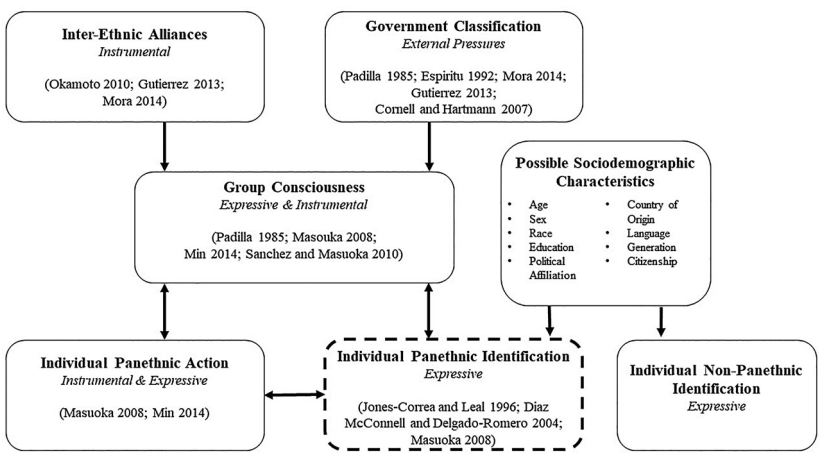

Figure 1. Conceptual framework for panethnic identification as a social process.

with Native Americans, Latino-Hispanics, and Asian Americans in the United States (Cornell and Hartman 2007; Gutiérrez 2013; Mora 2014; Padilla 1985).

Inter-ethnic alliances and governmental classification systems serve as the basis of group consciousness. Min (2014, 699; see also Sanchez and Masuoka 2010) describes group consciousness as a

> multidimensional cognitive construct consisting of a sense of belonging, a sense of hostility against other groups or a sense of common fate with in-group members, a set of perceptions about the group's status, and a set of shared beliefs about the means to improve their status.

Group consciousness can be both expressively-motivated (e.g. assertions about who "we" are) and instrumentally-motivated (e.g. claims-making leading to collective action).

Panethnic group consciousness manifests at the micro level as *individual action*, which can be expressive and instrumental, such as protesting or voting for a particular issue framed as broader group concern (Min 2014; Sanchez 2006; Sanchez and Masuoka 2010). Group consciousness may also lead to *individual identification*, which is largely expressively-motivated; for instance, asserting one belongs to a particular ethno-racial group (Cornell and Hartman 2007; Jones-Correa and Leal 1996). Nevertheless, individual-level factors associated with panethnic identification remain largely underexamined. We address this gap by extending the conceptual model described in Figure 1 to include the sociodemographic correlates associated with individual PPI among US Latino-Hispanics.

Panethnic identification among Latino-Hispanics

Existing research has found that most people of Latin American ancestry in the United States are willing to identify on panethnic terms and accept panethnic labels such as "Hispanic" or "Latino". In the 2006 Latino National Survey (LNS), Fraga et al. (2012, 80) found roughly 90 per cent of respondents thought of themselves "somewhat strongly" or "very strongly" as "Hispanic or Latino". However, *willingness* to identify on panethnic terms and deploying a panethnic label as a *primary identifier* are distinct phenomena.

Table 1 provides an overview of major studies examining PPI among Latino-Hispanics. Studies using representative samples and those focusing on specific subgroups have consistently found a notable proportion of Latino-Hispanics are increasingly identifying primarily on panethnic terms. For example, drawing on the 1989–1990 LNPS, de la Garza and colleagues (1992) placed this estimate at between 10–20 per cent, depending on generation from immigration, while Jones-Correa and Leal noted 11 per cent chose a panethnic label as their preferred ethnic identification simultaneously along with other labels (1996). According to the 2006 LNS, 39 per cent of those

Table 1. Prior studies examining primary panethnic identification (PPI) among Latino-Hispanics.

Author(s)	Year	Data Source	Sample	Operationalization of Panethnicity	Proportion Identifying Primarily as Panethnic
De la Garza et al.	1992	1989–1990 Latino National Political Survey	Mexican, Cuban, and Puerto Rican respondents in 40 standard MSAs ($N = 2,817$)	"Latino", "Spanish", "Spanish American", "Hispano", and "Hispanic"	10 per cent-20 per cent, depending on generation and in conjunction with other primary identities
Jones-Correa and Leal	1996	1989–1990 Latino National Political Survey	(see above)	(see above)	3 per cent as a sole, primary identity; 11per cent as a primary identity in conjunction with other primary identities
Portes and MacLeod	1996	1992 Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS)	8th and 9th grade public school children of immigrants in South Florida and southern California ($N = 5,288$)	"Hispanic"	25 per cent
Diaz McConnell and Delgado-Romero	2004	2000 Census	N/A	"Spanish/Hispanic/Latino" and no response to subsequent question specifying a national-origin group	15 per cent
Telles and Ortiz	2008	Mexican American Study Project	Mexican-origin respondents in Los Angeles and San Antonio; original 1965 study respondents and their children ($N = 684$ original respondents; $N = 758$ children)	"Latin American", "Spanish or Spanish American", "Hispanic", "Latino"	16 per cent among original respondents in 2000; 29 per cent among their children in 2000
Fraga et al.	2012	2006 Latino National Survey	Self-identifying Latinos/Hispanics ($N = 8,634$)	"Latino/Hispanic"	36 per cent-43 per cent depending on citizenship and generation (39 per cent overall, according to original codebook)
Pew Research Center	2013	2013 National Survey of Latinos	Self-identifying Latinos/Hispanics ($N = 5,103$)	"Hispanic/Latino"	20 per cent

Note: Masuoka 2006 and Masuoka 2008 are not included in the table, as these studies focused on panethnic group consciousness rather than primary panethnic identification.

sampled used "Latino/Hispanic" as their primary identifier (Fraga et al. 2012), whereas the Pew Research Center (2013) found this figure to be approximately 20 per cent among those who participated in the 2013 NSL.

Considering these consistent findings in the literature, we draw on the 2013 NSL and use a multivariable approach to examine the factors that increase one's propensity to identify primarily as "Hispanic/Latino" over "Hispanic origin term" or "American". Before discussing our results, we provide a brief account of sociohistorical factors facilitating the emergence of Latino-Hispanic panethnicity and summarize findings from prior studies examining the correlates of Latino-Hispanic panethnic identification.

The rise in Latino-Hispanic panethnicity

The US government struggled to classify and enumerate both Mexican and non-Mexican populations of Latin American descent in the United States throughout the twentieth century. The Census became contested grounds in the federal government's attempt to differentiate this population. Classification attempts included "Mexican" as a racial designation (1930), classification solely based on language use (1940), subjective classifications by Census workers (1950–1960), the use of the term "Spanish heritage population" (1970), and the creation of a separate "Spanish/Hispanic" ethnic category beginning in the 1980 Census, with the addition of "Latino" to the latter category by the 2000 Census (Rodríguez 2000). The Census's designation of "Spanish/Hispanic/Latino" as a separate ethnic category undoubtedly influenced the emergence and acceptance of Latino-Hispanic panethnic identity in the United States. Nevertheless, grassroots mobilization efforts, inter-ethnic alliances, structural considerations, and cultural, linguistic, and religious similarities between Latino-Hispanic subgroups also played notable roles in this process.

Various political issues united diverse groups of Latin American descent throughout the twentieth century. These groups were involved in discussions and mobilization efforts surrounding labour issues, immigration reform and citizenship, Puerto Rican independence, the push for refugee aid, or resistance to the Monroe Doctrine and US geopolitical intervention throughout Latin America (de la Garza et al. 1992; Hayes-Bautista and Chapa 1987; Mora 2014). Latin American ethnic groups formed alliances over such issues to bolster their political voice and strength.

Latino-Hispanic panethnicity became a recognizable construct by the 1990s with the rise of panethnic churches and civic organizations, as well as the panethnic integration of previously segregated Latin American ethnic neighborhoods. Spanish-language media (Dávila 2012; Mora 2014; Rodriguez 1999) and largescale corporate advertising campaigns (Gomez 1986) reinforced panethnic alliances and fostered a sense of unity among diverse

Latin American groups, unquestionably facilitating the rise of Latino-Hispanic panethnicity.

American identity and the "American mainstream"

Unlike our examination of Latino-Hispanic panethnicity, an exhaustive theorization of the term "American" is largely beyond the scope of this article. Nevertheless, "American" as an identity poses notable challenges to social scientists, as it assumes diverse meanings across contexts. For instance, does an American identity represent a national identity, an ethnic identity, or both? Or is an American identity better conceptualized against the backdrop of what constitutes the "American mainstream"?

The term "American" may capture dimensions of a socially constructed national identity, as theorized in Anderson's notion of an "imagined community" (1983). Conversely, "American" may represent dominant ethno-racial group membership within the United States, as implied in dated discussions of straight-line assimilation, which emphasizes ethnic change across generations, and Anglo-conformity (Gordon 1961). Earlier formulations of assimilation theory, particularly the Anglo-conformity model, are problematic for several reasons. First, they treat assimilation as an inevitable process or as desired by immigrant groups themselves. Second, they assume that the social boundaries of the dominant group will expand to allow for the integration of a new group. Third, they do not fully consider how new groups have the potential to redefine what constitutes the "American mainstream". Conversely, Portes and colleagues proposed a segmented assimilation framework in which integration into the "white middle-class" (Portes and Zhou 1993, 82) or "American mainstream" (Portes and Rumbaut 2001, 52) represent just some of the several possible integration outcomes for immigrants and their descendants, including a reactive identity (Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Portes and Zhou 1993). Yet, questions remain. What is the "American mainstream"? And what does it mean to identify as "American"?

Working within a new institutionalist framework, Alba and Nee (2003) contended that the "American mainstream encompasses a core set of interrelated institutional structures and organizations regulated by rules and practices that weaken, even undermine, the influence of ethnic origins" (2003, 12). Alba and Nee's definition of assimilation – the decline of ethnic distinction – is consistent with prior articulations; however, they stand apart from other theorists by treating assimilation as a process affecting both sides of the ethnic boundary and viewing the "American mainstream" as malleable and constantly in flux.

For the purpose of this article, we conceptualize "American" identity not in terms of what it represents but rather in terms of what it does not: a unique identity that stands in contrast to both a Hispanic origin term and a panethnic identity, the latter of which some scholars have conceived as a reactive

identity to the dominant mainstream. As immigrants arrive to the United States, they bring national identities from their countries of origin. For scholars such as Portes and Rumbaut (2001), these identities constitute the baseline from which immigrants undergo ethnic change. As they and their subsequent generations adjust to life in the United States, they may increasingly shed national identities and adopt panethnic or American identities, among others. In this regard, panethnic identities are just as much part of the American milieu as an American identity. In what follows, we briefly discuss central findings from the extant literature examining the sociodemographic characteristics associated with Latino-Hispanic panethnic identification as well as identification as "American".

Characteristics associated with Latino-Hispanic panethnic and American identification

While Jones-Correa and Leal concluded that panethnicity is "part of a constellation of individuals' multiple identifications and that individuals may manage these identities in very different ways" (1996, 214), focusing on panethnicity as a *primary* identity is of sociological importance because this identity directly competes with others (e.g. national origin, American) for the role of one's most central identity. Most extant studies have examined the factors associated with higher levels of panethnic group consciousness or an *openness* to panethnic labels (Jones-Correa and Leal 1996; Masuoka 2006, 2008). The factors correlated with the *assertion* of a panethnic identity as a *primary identifier* remain largely underexamined, save a few studies.

Generation, country of origin, citizenship, and language

Perhaps the most important factor shaping PPI or American identification over a national origin identity noted in the literature is generation since immigration. Portes and Rumbaut (2001) emphasized that the key turning point in ethnic change is expected to occur in the second generation. Among the children of immigrants, "the process of becoming American today has itself taken a new turn and may now include the adoption or rejection of such constructed panethnic categories as Hispanic" (150).

An analysis conducted by Portes and MacLeod (1996) found children whose families had spent more time in the United States were more likely to identify on panethnic terms as "Hispanic" over a collapsed grouping of other labels, including "American", "Hyphenated-American", and "Non-Hyphenated Latin Nationality" (537). They also noted that girls, younger children, those with less educated fathers, non-citizens, and those of Mexican, Dominican, and Nicaraguan descent identified on panethnic terms at higher rates. In terms of generation, Portes and Rumbaut (2001) found US-born adolescents

had higher relative odds of identifying as "plain American" and panethnically than on the basis of a non-hyphenated national origin compared to foreign-born adolescents. Similarly, Telles and Ortiz (2008) found that later generations of Mexican-origin respondents in Los Angeles and San Antonio identified primarily as panethnic at higher rates (29 per cent), compared to their older, earlier generation parents (16 per cent). The authors also found positive associations between generation and identification as "American".

Citizenship and language may also facilitate the move from national origin identification toward panethnic or American identification. Portes and Rumbaut (2001) found citizenship increased the relative odds of identifying as "plain American" as well as panethnic over a non-hyphenated national origin term. Moreover, bivariate associations demonstrated that "bilingualism is most common among children identifying themselves with a panethnic label; English dominance is predominant among unhyphenated Americans; and limited bilingualism is associated with unhyphenated national identities" (167). Similarly, Telles and Ortiz (2008) found children who had a parent who spoke Spanish to them were less likely to hold an "American" identity relative to all other ethnic identities.

We contribute to the limited research on primary panethnic identity among Latino-Hispanics by drawing on a more recent data source (see Table 1). Doing so allows us to implicitly consider whether the growth in the US Latino-Hispanic population over the past two decades has affected the sociodemographic correlates of PPI noted in prior studies. Moreover, we examine whether there are key differences in the sociodemographic characteristics associated with PPI and identification as American, which would allow us to assess whether PPI is emerging as a reactive identity, as suggested by the prior scholars.

Data, analytic sample, and measurement of variables

To address our research question, we draw on Pew Research Center's 2013 National Survey of Latinos (NSL, Pew Research Center 2013), which consists of a nationally-representative sample of self-identifying Latino-Hispanics (N = 5,103). The 2013 NSL was conducted in 2013 by Social Science Research Solutions (SSRS) in both Spanish and English on behalf of the Pew Research Center. Researchers oversampled Latino-dominated areas as well as those dominated by non-Mexican Latinos.

Dependent variable

The outcome of interest in this study is a nominal variable consisting of respondents' primary identity based on their answers to the following question: "People sometimes use different terms to describe themselves. In

general, which ONE of the following terms do you use to describe yourself MOST OFTEN?" Respondents chose between a Hispanic origin term based on the primary country of origin they provided earlier in the survey (e.g. Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, etc.), a Latino-Hispanic panethnic identifier (i.e. "Hispanic/Latino"), or "American". We omitted 159 cases from our analysis because respondents "didn't know" how to answer, refused to answer, or stated it "depends". These omitted cases only accounted for approximately 3 per cent of the sample. As noted in Table 2, the largest proportion of respondents described themselves most often as their Hispanic origin term (56 per cent). Around 21 per cent asserted a panethnic Latino-Hispanic identity. Twenty-three per cent identified as "American".

Independent variables

Table 2 provides the weighted distributions of the independent variables used in our analysis, which we organized under the following subheadings: "Demographic Characteristics" and "Immigration Variables". The table also presents the descriptions for each of these variables.

Multiple imputation

We used multiple imputation (MI) to address the challenge of missing data and reduce potential bias associated with using listwise deletion in our inferential analysis.[3] MI replaces missing values with plausible ones based on the underlying structure of the data, accounting for statistical uncertainty through structured randomness (Graham, Olchowski, and Gilreath 2007). We conducted 26 imputations based on the percentage of missing observations for the variable in the analytic sample with the highest rate of missingness, as recommended by Graham, Olchowski, and Gilreath (2007). We imputed for the 58 missing (1.1 per cent) responses on our dependent variable to preserve the original structure of the data, but omitted these cases prior to our inferential analysis (Hippel 2007). We then omitted the 101 (2 per cent) respondents who specifically stated "it depends" when responding to the question representing our outcome of interest. Our final multiply-imputed analytic sample consisted of 4,944 cases. For the sake of comparison, we provide the results of the analysis using listwise deletion to handle missing data in Appendix 2 ($N = 3{,}784$). The results of the two analyses are highly consistent.

Analytic approach

We employed multinomial logistic regression to identify the correlates of respondents' asserted primary identities. This analytic technique is best suited to examine a nominal dependent variable such as ours (Long and

Table 2. Descriptive statistics for dependent and independent variables (multiply imputed and weighted data).

		Proportion	SE
Dependent Variable			
Primary Identity Preference			
Hispanic Origin Term	R most often describes themselves as their Hispanic Origin Term	0.56	(0.011)
Hispanic/Latino	R most often describes themselves as Hispanic or Latino	0.21	(0.009)
American	R most often describes themselves as an American	0.23	(0.009)
Independent Variables			
Demographic Characteristics			
Female	R is female	0.50	(0.011)
Age			
18–29	R is between 18 and 29 years of age	0.30	(0.011)
30–49	R is between 30 and 49 years of age	0.42	(0.011)
50–64	R is between 50 and 64 years of age	0.18	(0.008)
65+	R is over 65 years of age	0.09	(0.005)
Race			
White	R reports predominantly White race	0.48	(0.011)
Black	R reports predominantly Black race	0.05	(0.004)
Asian	R reports predominantly Asian race	0.01	(0.002)
Hispanic/Latino	R reports predominantly Hisp/Lat race (non-read option)	0.17	(0.008)
Mixed Race	R reports predominantly Mixed race (non-read option)	0.06	(0.005)
Other Race	R reports predominantly other race, including a Hispanic origin term	0.24	(0.010)
Annual Income			
0 to $30,000	R's household earned <30 k in 2012	0.58	(0.011)
$30,000 to $75,000	R's household earned between 30–75 k in 2012	0.30	(0.011)
$75,000+	R's household earned >75 k in 2012	0.13	(0.007)
Education			
Less than HS	R's highest degree is less than HS	0.34	(0.010)
HS	R's holds a HS degree	0.29	(0.010)
Some College (no 4-yr deg)	R's has completed some post-secondary education	0.21	(0.009)
College Grad	R's holds a college degree or higher	0.16	(0.007)
Political Party			
Republican	R is or leans Republican	0.22	(0.009)
Democrat	R is or leans Democrat	0.59	(0.011)
Independent/Other	R is independent or affiliated with a 3rd party	0.19	(0.009)
Region			
Northeast	R resides in Northeast	0.15	(0.007)
North Central	R resides in North Central	0.08	(0.006)
South	R resides in South	0.36	(0.010)
West	R resides in West	0.41	(0.011)
Immigration Variables			
Country of Origin			
Mexico	Majority of R's ancestors are from Mexico	0.61	(0.010)
Puerto Rico	Majority of R's ancestors are from Puerto Rico	0.10	(0.006)
Cuba	Majority of R's ancestors are from Cuba	0.04	(0.003)
Dominican Republic	Majority of R's ancestors are from the Dominican Republic	0.04	(0.003)
El Salvador	Majority of R's ancestors are from El Salvador	0.05	(0.005)
Other country	Majority of R's ancestors are from another Latin American country	0.17	(0.008)

(*Continued*)

Table 2. Continued.

		Proportion	SE
Language			
English Dominant	R speaks English predominantly	0.25	(0.010)
Bilingual	R speaks both English and Spanish	0.36	(0.010)
Spanish Dominant	R speaks Spanish predominantly	0.39	(0.010)
Generation			
1st gen	R is a first-generation immigrant	0.56	(0.011)
2nd gen	R is a second-generation immigrant	0.19	(0.009)
3rd gen +	R is a third-generation immigrant	0.24	(0.009)
Citizen	R is a U.S. citizen by birth or naturalization	0.66	(0.010)

$m = 26$.
$N = 4{,}994$.
Note: "R" denotes "respondent".

Freese 2014). To test the assumption of independence of irrelevant alternatives (IIA), we conducted a Small-Hsiao test and confirmed that each outcome in our dependent variable is independent of the other alternatives (Long and Freese 2014). To confirm that the categories of our dependent variable are not collapsible, we executed a Wald test in Stata 15 (ibid). We found no evidence that the categories could be collapsed. We tested for multicollinearity using Klein's (2013) package for Variable Inflation Factor on a linear probability model using multiple imputed data. We did not find strong evidence of multicollinearity among the variables, as the highest Variable Inflation Factor score did not exceed 3.95 (Menard 1995).

Results

Our descriptive results indicate 21 per cent of respondents stated they identified most often with a panethnic label (i.e. "Latino/Hispanic"). What sociodemographic factors explain this primary panethnic identification over a Hispanic origin term or "American?" Table 3 provides the multinomial regression results addressing this research question.

"Panethnic" versus "Hispanic origin term"

Our results identify two important characteristics that increase the relative odds of identifying most often on panethnic terms over a Hispanic origin term. First, the relative odds of identifying as panethnic are 1.41 times higher for respondents with heritage from places in Latin America other than Puerto Rico, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and El Salvador (i.e. "Other country") compared to those of Mexican-origin (*relative risk ratio* = $\exp(\beta k)$). Second, the relative odds of identifying as panethnic are 1.24 times higher for US-citizens compared to non-citizens.

Conversely, our analysis suggests several factors decrease the relative odds of PPI compared with a Hispanic origin term. First, politically-unaffiliated

Table 3. Multinomial logistic regression results for primary identity preference (multiply imputed).

	Latino/Hispanic vs. Hispanic Origin Term		Latino/Hispanic vs. American	
Demographic Characteristics				
Female	0.041	(0.077)	0.548 ***	(0.095)
Age (Ref:18–29):				
30–49	0.090	(0.105)	−0.171	(0.132)
50–64	−0.070	(0.119)	−0.527 ***	(0.145)
65+	−0.271	(0.147)	−0.950 ***	(0.174)
Race (Ref: White):				
Black	0.085	(0.169)	0.152	(0.222)
Asian	−0.141	(0.530)	−0.174	(0.593)
Hispanic/Latino	0.188	(0.104)	0.482 ***	(0.140)
Mixed Race	0.242	(0.166)	−0.020	(0.198)
Other Race	0.000	(0.103)	0.463 ***	(0.128)
Annual Income (Ref: $75,000+)				
$0 to $30,000	−0.233	(0.149)	0.165	(0.161)
$30,000 to $75,000	−0.100	(0.143)	0.159	(0.150)
Education (Ref: College Grad):				
Less than HS	0.002	(0.130)	0.479 **	(0.163)
HS	0.068	(0.131)	0.171	(0.149)
Some College (no 4-yr deg)	0.130	(0.128)	0.207	(0.139)
Political Party (Ref: Dem):				
Republican	−0.159	(0.103)	−0.464 ***	(0.118)
Independent/Other	−0.331 **	(0.108)	−0.498 ***	(0.143)
Region (Ref: Northeast):				
North Central	0.174	(0.174)	0.030	(0.217)
South	0.063	(0.115)	−0.201	(0.145)
West	0.167	(0.122)	−0.080	(0.156)
Immigration Variables				
Country of Origin (Ref: Mexico)				
Puerto Rico	−1.107 ***	(0.180)	−0.046	(0.197)
Cuba	−0.673 ***	(0.199)	−0.720 **	(0.238)
Dominican Republic	−0.023	(0.178)	−0.503 *	(0.238)
El Salvador	0.309	(0.156)	−0.046	(0.252)
Other country	0.346 ***	(0.105)	−0.443 ***	(0.128)
Language (Ref: English Dominant)				
Bilingual	−0.150	(0.120)	0.888 ***	(0.125)
Spanish Dominant	−0.254	(0.142)	1.454 ***	(0.175)
Generation (Ref: 3rd Gen +)				
1st gen	−0.569 ***	(0.159)	0.657 ***	(0.168)
2nd gen	−0.376 *	(0.150)	0.158	(0.147)
Citizen	0.213 *	(0.105)	−1.083 ***	(0.176)
McFadden's pseudo R^2	0.159			

$m = 26$.
$N = 4{,}944$.
Standard errors in parentheses.
*$p < 0.05$, **$p < 0.01$, ***$p < 0.001$.
Note: Results for "Hispanic Origin Term" vs "American" omitted but available upon request.

respondents have approximately 28 per cent lower relative odds of identifying as panethnic compared to Democrats (or 1-exp(βk)). Second, compared to Mexicans, Puerto Ricans have 67 per cent lower relative odds of identifying panethnically, while Cubans have 49 per cent lower relative odds. Finally, first-generation (43 per cent lower relative odds) and second-generation

(31 per cent lower relative odds) respondents are less likely to identify as panethnic compared to respondents whose families have been in the United States for three-generations-plus.

"Panethnic" versus "American"

We examined the factors associated with primary panethnic identification (i.e. "Latino/Hispanic") compared to identification as "American". We find that the relative odds of identifying most often as panethnic are 1.62 times higher for respondents who asserted a "Hispanic/Latino" *racial* identity, and 1.59 times higher for those who identified as "Other Race" when compared to "White" respondents. Respondents with less than a high school education also have higher relative odds of identifying panethnically when compared to those with a college degree.

Our analysis suggests that language affects PPI. The relative odds of identifying most often as panethnic are 2.43 times higher for bilingual respondents compared to those who are English dominant, while the relative odds are 4.28 times higher for Spanish dominant respondents. First-generation respondents are more likely to identify on panethnic terms when compared to those who are third-generation-plus (1.93 times higher odds).

We identified several factors associated with lower relative odds of PPI compared to "American". Older respondents (ages 50–64 and 65+) have lower relative odds of PPI when compared 18–29-year-olds. Republicans and Independents/Other Party also have lower relative odds of identifying most often as panethnic. The same is true of Cubans, Dominicans, and those from "Other" countries when compared to Mexicans. Finally, US citizens are less likely to identify panethnically compared to non-citizens (66 per cent lower relative odds).

Discussion, limitations, and conclusion

Prior research has identified the sociohistorical factors facilitating the rise of Latino-Hispanic panethnicity in the United States (Mora 2014), noting that Latino-Hispanics are largely accepting of panethnicity as a secondary identity (de la Garza et al. 1992; Jones-Correa and Leal 1996) and suggesting that panethnic identification is increasing (Diaz McConnell and Delgado-Romero 2004; Telles and Ortiz 2008). Nevertheless, few studies have examined the sociodemographic correlates of *primary* panethnic identification (PPI) among this group. We contribute to the existing literature by specifically focusing on Latino-Hispanics' assertion of a panethnic identity over a Hispanic origin term or identification as "American". Examining panethnicity as a primary identity is sociologically important because sociologists have argued that identity salience plays a critical role in organizing people's day-

to-day lives (Cornell and Hartman 2007; Stets and Burke 2000). Moreover, as noted in Appendix 1, PPI among Latino-Hispanics is associated with outcomes such as voter registration, perceptions of how things are faring in their lives, and their future outlooks on life.

The literature has noted that Latino-Hispanic panethnicity is a function of inter-ethnic alliances, government classification systems, group consciousness, geographic proximity between groups, as well as structural and cultural factors (see figure 1). Some scholars also noted panethnicity emerges as a reactive identity to perceived prejudice, discrimination, and hostility against subordinate groups in dominant society (Masuoka 2006; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Portes and Zhou 1993). Similarly, others proposed panethnicity as an alternative to assimilation and ethnic pluralism and therefore compatible with broader discussions of segmented assimilation (Golash-Boza 2006; Portes and MacLeod 1996; Portes and Zhou 1993). Our results are largely consistent with these prior theories.

Overall, we uncover several factors that explain PPI over identification with either a Hispanic origin term or as "American". First, we find Democrats have higher relative odds of identifying most often as "Latino/Hispanic" over a Hispanic origin term when compared those who are politically unaffiliated. We also find Democrats have higher relative odds of identifying panethnically rather than as American compared to both Republicans and the politically unaffiliated. Though the relationship between the Latino-Hispanic community and the Democratic Party has at times been contentious, the Democratic Party has a better record of advocating for policies framed as broader Latino-Hispanic issues, such as immigration reform, the expansion of rights and protections for agricultural workers, and other civil rights, which helps explain why Latino-Hispanic Democrats are more likely to identify as panethnic.

Second, we find Mexican-origin respondents have higher relative odds of identifying panethnically over both a Hispanic origin term and "American" compared to Cuban-origin respondents. Prior research has found that groups with a longer presence in the United States lead the panethnic effort, which suggests they may be more accepting of panethnicity (Lopez and Espiritu 1990). Our findings support this claim. Mexicans' longer presence in the country, coupled with Cubans' more recent immigration history and their relatively more accessible pathways to citizenship and integration into US society, shed light on these findings.

Our results indicate that generation from immigration and citizenship play important roles in shaping primary identity preference. Consistent with prior research, we find third-generation-plus respondents (compared to first- and second-generation immigrants) have higher relative odds of identifying most often as panethnic over a Hispanic origin term. The same holds for US citizens. In other words, the more time one's family has spent in the United States, and the greater opportunity one has for political participation, the

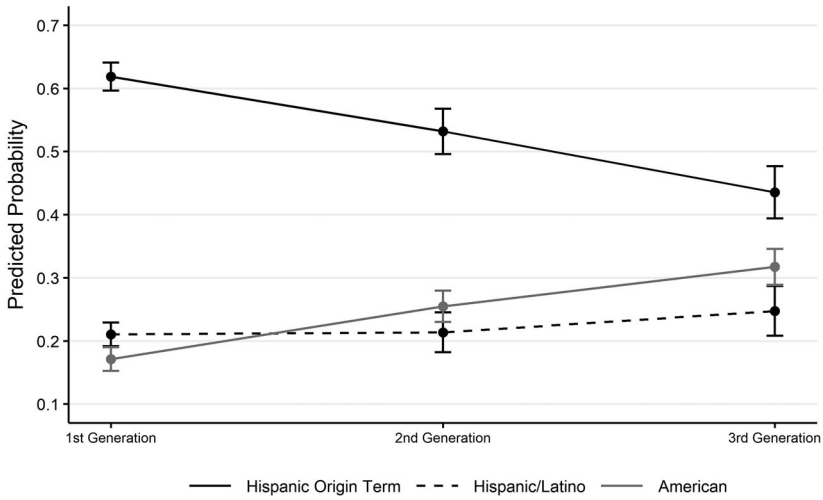

Figure 2. Average adjusted predictions and 95 per cent confidence intervals for primary identity preference by generation (other covariates at observed values).

more likely they are to assert a primary Latino-Hispanic panethnic identity. However, we also find that third-generation-plus respondents have higher relative odds of identifying as American over panethnic compared to first-generation immigrants. For ease of interpretation, Figure 2 illustrates average adjusted predictions for our outcomes of interest associated with generation, with all other variables held at their observed values. Our results show that while the transition from first-generation to third-generation leads to a decreased preference for a Hispanic origin term, first-generation immigrants are more likely to prefer a panethnic identity over an American identity, whereas third-generation-plus respondents embrace an American identity compared to a panethnic one. An overall decrease in identification with a Hispanic origin term in favour of a panethnic or American identity across generations represents an important form of ethnic change consistent with broader discussions in the segmented assimilation literature (Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Portes and Zhou 1993). The preference for a panethnic identity over an American one among first-generation immigrants suggests that after distancing themselves from an identity based on their country of origin, they remain marked by their foreignness and perhaps excluded from mainstream society. Conversely, the third-generation may be more likely to have lost many of the markers of foreignness (e.g. Spanish proficiency, accented speech, Spanish surname, social and personal connections to Latin America, etc.) becoming "American passing" or perhaps even "White passing", and thus less likely to be excluded by the mainstream relative to their first-generation counterparts.

Overall, the differences between identifying most often as panethnic over "American" are notable. Two key sociodemographic characteristics that stand out in this relationship are language proficiency and racial identification. We find the ability to speak Spanish (i.e. being either Spanish dominant or bilingual) increases the relative odds of identifying primarily on panethnic terms rather than as "American". Spanish language usage appears to be key to fostering a panethnic Latino-Hispanic identity. In addition, identifying *racially* as "Hispanic/Latino" or as "Other Race" increases the relative odds of asserting a panethnic identity compared to an American identity. As such, panethnicity appears to be an alternate form of integration into US society, especially among Latino-Hispanics who consider themselves as racially distinct from other groups. Prior to the development of the segmented assimilation framework, Lopez and Espiritu acknowledge that panethnicity represents a "significant empirical alternative to either assimilation or ethnic particularism" (1990, 200). Our framework of Latino-Hispanic panethnicity builds on Lopez and Espiritu's assertion and is compatible with the modes of incorporation and outcomes identified by segmented assimilation scholars. The segmented assimilation literature has noted immigrants may integrate into mainstream American society, experience downward social mobility, or experience selective acculturation within the context of ethnic enclaves (Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Portes and Zhou 1993). Our findings strongly suggest that Latino-Hispanic panethnicity represents another type of incorporation into US society, albeit in the context of identity construction. Similar to Golash-Boza (2006), we find panethnicity stems from a shared sense of difference apart from the American mainstream due to "national minority oppression" and active exclusion from dominant mainstream (i.e. White) society that "inhibits Hispanic-Americans from developing an identity as Americans" (32). Future research should continue to consider how PPI fits within the broader segmented assimilation framework, as this form of identification may represent another, though less understood, form of integration into US society.

We acknowledge the limitations when drawing on survey data to understand people's identities. Simply put, it is impossible to fully assess the extent to which Latino-Hispanics prioritize one identity over another by drawing on pre-existing public opinion data, beyond the specific wording outlined in our question of interest. However, as noted, the question we examined specifically asked respondents to choose the label they identify with MOST OFTEN. In this regard, this is a subjective assessment made by each respondent, with a non-trivial proportion (21 per cent) indicating they use a panethnic label most often. Future research should consider how primary identity is operationalized and measured in public opinion surveys as well as how these types of data collection efforts can precisely assess how, if at all, respondents are mobilizing these identities. Nevertheless, we contend that assessing the meanings attached to primary identities and how these

identities are mobilized would be better addressed through a mixed-method research design.

In sum, we find that Latino-Hispanic panethnicity, as a primary identity, may operate as a reactive identity associated with politicization of individuals and Latino-Hispanics' racialization within mainstream US society. While some Latino-Hispanics may assert a primary, non-ethnic, "American" identity, others opt for a panethnic identity perhaps due to a history of discrimination, exclusion, and racialization. A full consideration of how primary panethnic identities operate is important, as PPI represents an important component in the social process of ethnic change.

Notes

1. We use the term "Latino-Hispanic" to refer to people of Latin American descent residing in the United States. The terms "Latino" and "Hispanic" are used interchangeably and in the context of Latino-Hispanic panethnicity, unless otherwise noted.
2. We use the term "ethno-racial" because the US Census defines "Latino-Hispanics" as members of an ethnic group of any racial background. Yet, a notable share of Latino-Hispanics self-report as being "some other race," which further complicates the Census's designation of this group.
3. Using listwise deletion for the inferential analyses resulted in the loss of 34.6 per cent of cases from the full sample. The highest rates of missingness are associated with the following variables: *Annual Income* (18 per cent), *Political Party* (5 per cent), and *Race* (5 per cent).

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Regression results for primary identity preference on specified outcomes (multiply imputed)

	Registered Voter[1] (dichotomous; 1 = Yes/0 = No)		***Currently Satisfied with Life*** (dichotomous; 1 = Yes/0 = No)		***Ten-Year Life Outlook*** (categorical; "Better" vs. "Worse")	
Primary Identity Preference (Ref. Latino/Hispanic)						
National Origin	0.089	(0.129)	−0.189	(0.122)	−0.263	(0.170)
American	**0.347** *	(0.149)	**−0.315** *	(0.143)	**−0.398** *	(0.202)
Depends	0.189	(0.332)	−0.569	(0.292)	−0.132	(0.443)
Constant	0.142		2.477		3.624	
McFadden's pseudo R^2	0.119		0.024		0.099	
M	20		20		20	
N	3,468		5,103		4,786	

1. Limited to US citizens who are eligible to vote.
Standard errors in parentheses.
*$p < 0.05$, **$p < 0.01$, ***$p < 0.001$.
Note: Models include controls for gender, age, educational attainment, national origin, income, political affiliation, and immigrant generation.

Appendix 2. Multinomial logistic regression results for primary identity preference (listwise deletion)

	Latino/Hispanic vs. Hispanic Origin Term		Latino/Hispanic vs. American	
Demographic Characteristics				
Female	0.015	(0.088)	0.585 ***	(0.109)
Age (Ref:18–29):				
30–49	0.201	(0.119)	−0.064	(0.149)
50–64	0.009	(0.137)	−0.515 **	(0.165)
65+	−0.152	(0.178)	−0.907 ***	(0.207)
Race (Ref: White):				
Black	0.235	(0.194)	0.174	(0.250)
Asian	0.155	(0.616)	−0.015	(0.673)
Hispanic/Latino	0.151	(0.120)	0.559 ***	(0.161)
Mixed Race	0.074	(0.192)	0.041	(0.230)
Other Race	−0.034	(0.116)	0.478 ***	(0.144)
Annual Income (Ref: $75,000+)				
$0 to $30,000	−0.248	(0.152)	0.219	(0.166)
$30,000 to $75,000	−0.188	(0.149)	0.155	(0.156)
Education (Ref: College Grad):				
Less than HS	0.053	(0.145)	0.522 **	(0.185)
HS	0.140	(0.147)	0.238	(0.166)
Some College (no 4-yr deg)	0.215	(0.141)	0.259	(0.154)
Political Party (Ref: Dem):				
Republican	−0.249 *	(0.114)	−0.509 ***	(0.133)
Independent/Other	−0.315 *	(0.125)	−0.480 **	(0.167)
Region (Ref: Northeast):				
North Central	0.360	(0.199)	0.216	(0.246)
South	0.141	(0.133)	−0.115	(0.167)
West	0.273	(0.142)	0.087	(0.179)

(*Continued*)

Continued.

	Latino/Hispanic vs. Hispanic Origin Term		Latino/Hispanic vs. American	
Immigration Variables				
Country of Origin (Ref: Mexico)				
Puerto Rico	−1.171 ***	(0.210)	−0.196	(0.229)
Cuba	−0.866 ***	(0.232)	−0.769 **	(0.275)
Dominican Republic	0.011	(0.205)	−0.268	(0.278)
El Salvador	0.463 *	(0.181)	−0.135	(0.291)
Other country	0.286 *	(0.119)	−0.452 **	(0.145)
Language (Ref: English Dominant)				
Bilingual	−0.150	(0.139)	0.935 ***	(0.145)
Spanish Dominant	−0.246	(0.166)	1.473 ***	(0.204)
Generation (Ref: 3rd Gen +)				
1st gen	−0.364 *	(0.181)	0.658 ***	(0.193)
2nd gen	−0.190	(0.171)	0.088	(0.168)
Citizen	0.222	(0.121)	−1.183 ***	(0.206)
McFadden's pseudo R^2	0.164			

$N = 3{,}784$.
Standard errors in parentheses.
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, ***$p < 0.001$.
Note: Results for "Hispanic Origin Term" vs "American" omitted but available upon request.