

La nación en los censos: identidad hispana y raza en los Estados Unidos

Resumen:

En el principio están los censos. El pueblo de Israel se constituye en el desierto al recibir las tablas de la ley. Inmediatamente después, en el primer capítulo del libro de los números, recibe el mandato divino de hacer un censo. Roma hizo su primer censo al principio de la historia de la ciudad, durante el breve periodo monárquico. El primer censo español es el de Alonso de Quintanilla en 1482, en tiempo de los Reyes Católicos; al nacer el estado moderno. En los Estados Unidos el artículo primero de su constitución establece la obligación de censar a la población cada 10 años. Cada censo cuenta lo que importa. Analizando la historia del censo de los Estados Unidos se descubren dos aspectos singulares:

- 1.- El interés desde el principio, en 1790, de conocer la distribución de la población por razas. Las razas en los censos estadounidenses es una categoría rígida. En muy pocas ocasiones se ha tenido en cuenta el mestizaje, es decir las razas mixtas.
- 2.- Desde 1970, el censo mide una y solo una identidad cultural, la hispana, para seguidamente preguntar por la raza. La oficina del censo de los Estados Unidos reconoce que un hispano puede ser de cualquier raza.

Palabras clave:

Censo, raza, etnicidad, identidad hispana, oficina del censo Estados Unidos, latinos en Estados Unidos

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The importance of a census

The population census is a power of government exercised on a need-to-know basis. Where we find a population census, however old and incomplete it may be, there is a power with an organisation that obeys it, but it is not only that. The census requires an interest in calculating and an estimate of the value of the resources results from the calculation.

The oldest census may date back to the Babylonian empire, 4,000 years BC. In the British Museum, some pieces of clay are preserved with annotations of this first ancient census, which was used to calculate the food needed for the population¹.

In the Pentateuch, the Book of Numbers recounts the 38-year-long journey of the people of the first covenant through Sinai to the Promised Land. After being liberated from Egypt, God's people thought they had won the freedom to decide for themselves. The journey through the wilderness for so many years was the formula established by the Most High to pedagogically impress upon Israel's memory the need to submit to the divine law. It is the Lord of Hosts who sets the timings and the ways because he alone is holy and he alone bestows wisdom.

In the Book of Exodus, after receiving the tablets of the law, the people of God are constituted. At the same time, once the people of Israel had sealed their covenant with God by accepting his law, on the first day of the second month of the second year of their departure from the land of Egypt, God spoke to Moses to command him to take a census². It was the beginning of the Book of Numbers, which takes its name precisely from the number of digits that appear in its first chapter. The numbers are the people count according to the divine command³.

¹ Available at: <https://www.ons.gov.uk/census/2011census/howourcensusworks/aboutcensuses/censushistory/censustakingintheancientworld>

² "Take a census of all the congregation of the children of Israel by their families, by their fathers' houses, with the number of names, all the males by their heads. From age twenty years and upwards, all those who are able to go out to war in Israel, you and Aaron shall count them by their armies." (Numbers 1:1-3)

³ The census was by tribes, the 12 tribes of Israel; of Reuben, 46,500; of Simeon, 59,300; of Gad, 45,650; of Judah, 74,600; of Issachar, 54,400; of Zebulun, 57,400; of Ephraim, 40,500; of Manasseh, 32,200; of Benjamin, 35,400; of Dan, 62,700; of Asher, 41,500; of Naphtali, 53,400. In total, 603,550 people registered (Num 1.46), a huge number for a group of people wandering in the wilderness. The figure is exactly the same as the one mentioned in the book of Exodus when talking about the contributions made for the construction of the sanctuary (Ex 38,26).

Later, in chapter 26 of the Book of Numbers, the Most High again asks Moses and Aaron to take a census of the children of Israel. Among all those counted, there was not one that had been counted the first time.

The new census proves the demanded cleansing of the wilderness. Even Moses and Aaron would not enter the Promised Land. Unlike the generation of the first census, the generation of the second census, born in the wilderness, never rebelled against God because of the hardships of the journey. In the desert a generation of slaves died and a generation of soldiers was born who would conquer, through divine intervention and on his behalf, what was promised. But the conquest is another Book, the Book of Joshua.

In Rome, the census was a preparatory act for examining and judging the strength of the army, the tax collection of the treasury and the constitution of the body of electors. It was therefore considered, and rightly so, as an original attribute of the supreme magistracy, to be protected by law and exercised by authority. The censors were a Roman collegiate magistracy charged primarily with the responsibility of taking the census. Historians believe that it was King Servius Tullius who, in the 6th century BC, took the first census of Rome to find out how many citizens he could mobilise for war.

Roman censuses were conducted every five years. Each man had to gather his family and return to his birthplace to be counted. Its main function initially was the registration of Roman citizens, but over time it was also the control of the population to be able to set taxes. The census began with the approval of the law authorising it, *lex censui censando*, which indicated the form and criteria for its application⁴.

As emperor, Caesar Augustus ordered the provincial censuses to set direct and indirect taxes. The provincial censuses were not intended to know the number of Roman citizens and, therefore, the capacity for military mobilisation. These censuses were population censuses, not citizenship censuses, and were not carried out simultaneously in all provinces of the empire⁵. It was in fact Caesar's order to conduct the census that prompted Joseph, the husband of the Virgin Mary, to move to Bethlehem of Judah, where she would give birth to Jesus Christ to fulfil the scripture⁶.

⁴ CAÑAS NAVARRO, Pedro (2005) "Aspectos jurídicos del censo romano", *UNED*. Bulletin of the Faculty of Law, No. 26, 2005. Available at: <http://e-spacio.uned.es/fez/eserv.php?pid=bibliuned:bfd-2005-26-58994ff6&dsID=PDF>

⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁶ "It happened that in those days an edict went out from Caesar Augustus ordering everyone to register. This first census took place when Quirinius was governor of Syria. They all went to register, each to his

We have been able to take a brief look at the relevance of censuses since ancient times. Although they are all about counting, they do not always count in the same way. The interest in conducting censuses may have been related to the needs of grain accumulation, the calculation of military strength, the collection of taxes, the identification of the electoral body, God's will to speak to his people, or many other reasons.

Censuses are now much improved and almost everything that can be counted is counted. Applied mathematics is also a valuable tool for facilitating estimation and for inferring indicators that cannot be counted directly. The potential of software calculations associated with computers allows us to process more data to measure more phenomena. In any case, only what matters is measured. A census helps us to find out what is counted and what is counted is what is of interest.

The census and the origin of the nation

The first census of Israel took place shortly after God gave the people the tablets of the law. It is God's law that constitutes the chosen people and the count takes place once this has happened. The first Roman census took place at the beginning of their history, during the monarchy.

In Spain, the first census was that of Alonso de Quintanilla, or the census of 1482, according to the date it was assigned by Tomás González when he first reported it in 1829. The only document that accredits the existence of the census of Quintanilla is a brief four-page note preserved in the Archive of Simancas, the so-called Apuntamiento de Quintanilla, written in his own handwriting and undated.

Alonso de Quintanilla is a little-known historical figure who was very close to Queen Isabella I of Castile and, after her marriage to Ferdinand of Aragon, to the Catholic Monarchs. Quintanilla was chief accountant and a member of the royal council, chief clerk of privileges and confirmations, mayor of the Adelantamiento of Castile and executor of accounts against those who defaulted in the payment of taxes. Notable among his achievements are the foundation of the Holy Brotherhood, the forerunner of the Civil

own town. Joseph also went up from Galilee, from the city of Nazareth, to Judea, to the city of David, which is called Bethlehem, because he was of the house and family of David, to register with Mary his wife, who was with child. And it came to pass, while they were there, that the days of gestation were completed, and she gave birth to her first-born son. (Luke 2: 1-7.)"

Guard, the establishment of the Medina del Campo Mint, and the financing of important royal enterprises such as the conquest of the Canary Islands and the voyages of Columbus⁷.

It was no coincidence that the first census was conducted at this time. The marriage of the two monarchs was the beginning of the great project of Spain. Every major project requires accounts to be drawn up. The purpose of the census was to find out the number of people of military age in the kingdom of Castile. Quintanilla's estimated figure was some 500,000 men. It has been estimated that for every potential soldier there could have been five inhabitants, so at that time the population of the kingdom of Castile would have been seven and a half million people⁸.

The Spanish Constitution of 1978 assumes that there is an electoral roll. The constituents did not consider it necessary to mandate voter registration. However, in its first article the much older United States Constitution⁹ determined the obligation to take a population census every ten years to know the exact number of legislative representatives in each state and the distribution of taxes¹⁰.

Article 1 of the US Constitution set out what was to be counted and its ten-year periodicity. It included only free persons and excluded American Indians. Thus, neither black slaves nor Indians were considered citizens in the first article of the constitution of the world's first democracy. It would take almost a century and a half until for blacks and Indians to begin to be counted as American citizens, after which their right to vote would be progressively recognised. Even today, the people of Puerto Rico, a commonwealth of the United States, cannot vote in presidential elections if their residence is on the island.

The first census in the United States was taken in 1790. However, data from the earliest censuses up to 1890 are not available on the official US census website. Censuses that

⁷ MORALES MUÑOZ, Dolores Carmen. "Alonso de Quintanilla, un asturiano en la corte de los Reyes Católicos", *Prensa y Ediciones Iberoamericanas*, Madrid, 1993.

⁸ GONZÁLEZ, Tomás. "Censo de la población de las provincias y partidos de la Corona de Castilla". *MAXTOR*, Valladolid, 2009.

⁹ Ratified on 21 June 1788.

¹⁰ "Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons. The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative..." Article one, second point of the Constitution of the United States of America.

are not available to the public are accompanied by a text in English informing that the census volumes for these years are not part of the digital collection. A note explains that those interested in unpublished data can contact the local Federal Depository Library.

This may seem odd. Not all the censuses are digitised. The US Census Bureau explains this away by saying that "census reports of the past contain some terms that today's readers may find outdated and inappropriate"¹¹. We would assume that this explanation appears until 1890, the first year when census data was made public. However, not so; the note on the lack of suitability of the terms used in the census with respect to the language we now understand to be correct goes all the way up to the 1960 cycle.

The American Indian population on Indian territory or reservations was not included in the population count until 1890. Indians living outside their allotted territories of course did not exist. In 2018, North Dakota Indians appealed the state's law requiring them to have a valid address to vote. This provision makes it impossible for a large part of this population to exercise the right. The Indian claim was rejected by the supreme court. Approximately 18 percent of North Dakota Indians do not have valid identification of their place of residence¹². The black population was granted citizenship rights in 1868. However, the American Indians would have to wait until 1924. The Navajo, the largest Indian nation in the United States, were not allowed to vote until 1962, when the state of Utah recognised their right¹³.

President Johnson's 1965 Voting Rights Act banned discriminatory voting practices against blacks in the United States. Almost 100 years after the approval of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which prohibited discrimination in the exercise of the right to vote on the basis of race, there were still state legislations that required literacy tests, the payment of a tax, the identification of a fixed address or other types of conditions that limited the possibility of exercising the right to political participation for a significant part of the population that was mainly although not exclusively black. The 1965 law has been amended four times, which in some ways suggests that there are still problems with the

¹¹ "A Note on Language. Census statistics date back to 1790 and reflect the growth and change of the United States. Past census reports contain some terms that today's readers may consider obsolete and inappropriate. As part of our goal to be open and transparent with the public, we are improving access to all Census Bureau original publications and statistics, which serve as a guide to the nation's history". Available at: <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1961/dec/our-growing-population.html>

¹² Available at: <https://www.telesurtv.net/news/ley-impide-derecho-voto-indigenas-dakota-norte-estados-unidos-20181103-0024.html>

¹³ Available at: <https://www.lavanguardia.com/internacional/elecciones-eeuu-2020/20201030/4972365649/nativos-elecciones-eeuu-discriminacion-donald-trump.html>

exercise of a fundamental right in a democracy. The latest amendments to the law date from 2006.

In 1512, four centuries before Indians in the United States were recognised as citizens, King Ferdinand passed the Laws of Burgos, which recognised Indians as free men and holders of rights such as liberty and property. The Burgos laws were of transcendental importance due to their novelty. Never had a text recognised or discussed what we now call human rights, and neither had laws on uncivilised conquered peoples been regulated. Indians who converted to Catholicism acquired the status of subjects of the king, like any other European.

The first conclusion from this review of the data provided by the US Census Bureau is that the terms used in the not so distant past are today totally unacceptable in terms of our understanding of political correctness.

The second discovery is how long it took for the first democratic republic to recognise citizenship and then the right to vote for non-white inhabitants of its territory.

Race in the US censuses

The Census Act of 1790 was signed into law by President George Washington, Vice President John Adams, and Speaker of the House Frederick Muhlenberg. Although not stated in the Constitution, the first census also counted slaves, but not the population of the Indian nations. The process was held in the first thirteen states and in the then districts of Kentucky, Maine, Vermont and Tennessee¹⁴. The reason for the decision to count the slaves is politically important. The convention that drafted the US Constitution had to figure out how best to balance the representation of the various states in Congress and how to apportion federal taxes.

Smaller states did not accept proportional representation because it would jeopardise their liberties and laws. An equal number of representatives for each state was not accepted by those with larger populations, as they understood that their higher taxes would be financing the smaller ones. The outcome was a compromise that created a bicameral Congress, with a House of Representatives where membership was

¹⁴ Available at: https://www.census.gov/history/www/through_the_decades/overview/1790.html

determined by state population, and a Senate, in which each state had two seats regardless of population.

The census was therefore very important and so was what was counted. The southern states argued that slaves, having no rights whatsoever, should be counted as a population to establish the representation of each state entity in the federation. Of course, the only reason to defend such a contradictory position was the southern states' self-interest in increasing their weight in the House of Representatives. The northern states opposed this and argued for the need to reach a balanced agreement.

Slavery had been a controversial issue at the 1787 Constitutional Convention. The constituents who opposed slavery considered maintaining the unity of the new republic a priority. To address representation in Congress, a "three-fifths compromise" was reached¹⁵, which meant counting a black slave as three-fifths of a free person¹⁶. This approach was to be maintained until the adoption of the 14th amendment after the civil war¹⁷.

The estimate presented below formed the basis of the table used at the 1787 United States Constitutional Convention to provisionally determine the representation of each state in Congress, pending an actual enumeration provided by the census.

New Hampshire		102,000
Massachusetts		360,000
Rhode Island		58,000
Connecticut		202,000
New York.		238,000
New Jersey:		138,000

¹⁵ *Three-Fifths Compromise*, compromise agreement between the delegates of the northern and southern states at the United States constitutional convention (1787) "The representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound in service for a term of years and excluding Indians not taxed, *three-fifths* of all other persons". Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/three-fifths-compromise>

¹⁶ "The Constitution required that each enslaved individual be counted as 60% of a person to determine population and electoral apportionment. Indians who did not pay taxes were excluded altogether". Available at: <https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/10953811/>

¹⁷ "Representatives shall be appointed in the different states according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each state, excluding Indians who do not pay taxes", Fourteenth Amendment.

Pennsylvania		360,000
Delaware		37,000
Maryland	Including 3/5 of 80,000 blacks	218,000
Virginia	Including 3/5 of 280,000 blacks	420,000
North Carolina	Including 3/5 of 60,000 blacks	200,000
South Carolina	Including 3/5 of 80,000 blacks	150,000
Georgia	Including 3/5 of 20,000 blacks	90,000
TOTAL		2,573,000

Table 1. Census of the 13 states. Source. The history and growth of the United States census. Prepared for the senate committee of the census. Prepared internally. Available at: <https://www.census.gov/history/pdf/wright-hunt.pdf>

The slave population maintained an average ten-year growth rate of over 25 per cent, peaking in the 1860 census with almost four million slaves compared to half a million free blacks. Since then, the census has counted the entire black population in a single block. Slavery marked a way of understanding race in the United States because from the beginning slaves were assimilated with blacks, especially in the southern states.

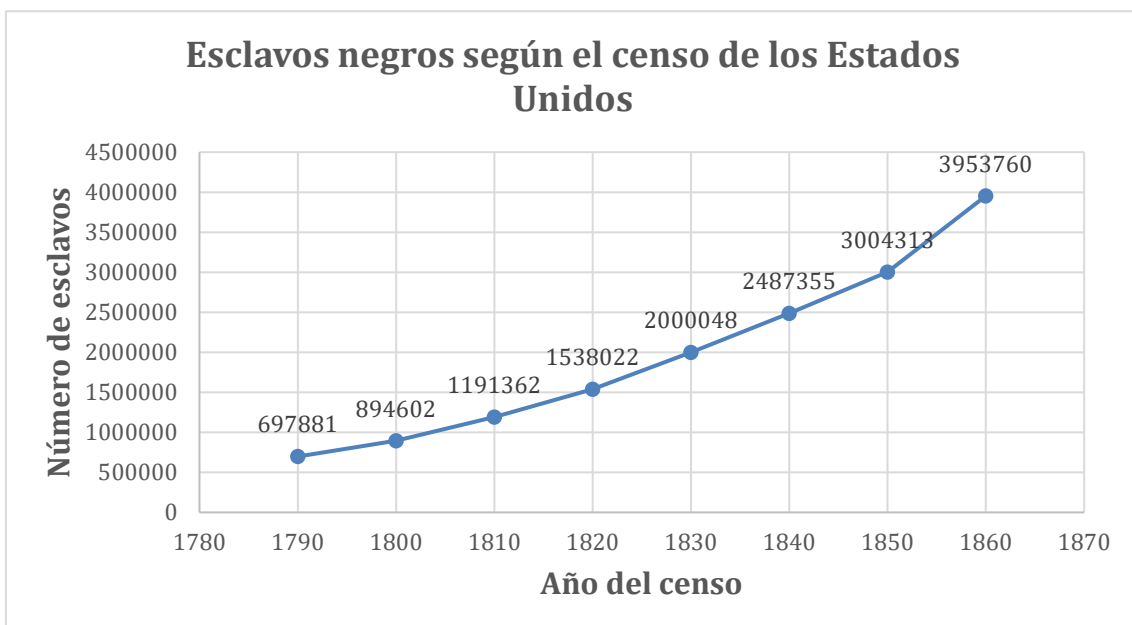


Table 2. Black slaves according to the US census. Source. "Historical Statistics of the United States, colonial times to 1970", *Bureau of the census*, p. 14. Prepared internally. Available at: <https://www.census.gov/history/pdf/histstats-colonial-1970.pdf>

From 1850, the population also began to be registered by race. The categories were white, black, mulatto, quadroon and Chinese. Later, octoroon, Japanese and Filipino were included. Although it may seem odd, in the first decades of the 20th century the mixed categories were eliminated from the census and the criterion known as the *one-drop rule* was imposed¹⁸. Even before the Civil War and until 1930, the racial identity of a person with some black ancestry depended on their appearance and ancestry. Persons of mixed race were legally considered white if, while appearing white, they had less than one-eighth or one-quarter black blood, the higher or lower requirement depending on the state¹⁹. In 1930, pressure from southern legislators forced the census bureau to dispense with the mixed-race categories. Mestizo ceased to exist in the United States.

The *one-drop rule* established an absolutely restrictive criterion, holding that anyone with a single black ancestor, a single drop of black blood, was to be considered black, regardless of their appearance. The criterion for organising race would be one of hypodescent, so the offspring of a mixed marriage were identified with the socially less favoured ethnicity²⁰. Both African-Americans and whites have largely accepted this system of racial classification. Therefore, most people of African-American descent are under strong social pressure to identify themselves as black. If they were to choose another option, they would probably receive little social and community support.

For Americans, the identity of children of mixed marriages or with ancestors of different races is assigned by society. Racial and ethnic identity is largely a social construct for people who have different characteristics in skin colour, language accent, surnames, cultural preferences, tastes, etc.

In Puerto Rico, early American researchers discovered a different and opposite pattern of racial structure to that of the United States. During the 1940s, American scholars demonstrated that racial categories and understandings of racial identity were completely different on the island. The general conclusion of these studies was that the island's

¹⁸ The one-drop rule is a historical term in the United States for the social classification of people with some non-white racial ancestry.

¹⁹ Available at: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK25522/>

²⁰ Hypodescent states that a person of mixed race is designated as being of one race. This system does not recognise mixed race categories or degrees of racial mixing. The offspring of a mixed marriage are identified with the most disadvantaged social group.

history and culture promoted racial integration, rather than segregation, as in the United States and South Africa²¹.

Different studies agreed that Puerto Ricans of different colours mingled freely in public activities and that many married regardless of colour. In the United States of the time, this ease of interrelation and interbreeding astonished and puzzled anthropologists and sociologists. Over time, however, migrants from the island to the United States ended up adopting the model of racial structuring of their host country. Serious racial tensions that did not exist before began to emerge. The host society was unwilling to recognise the flexibility in social relations they were used to.

Even today, most Americans still have a rigid categorical view of race. The population is white, black, Asian, Hispanic, or American Indian. This perception of race persists, even though almost all researchers are aware of miscegenation. The ban on intermarriage in much of the United States territory until 1967 may be related to the understanding of racial diversity²².

In 2000, a major change appeared in the census questionnaire allowing more than one racial category to be chosen. The aim was to create a space for mixed-race people. Since 1996, the US Census Bureau has conducted several trials to assess the impact of the change in data collection for counting racial groups. The main conclusion from previous surveys was that allowing individuals to choose more than one racial group had very little impact on the results. Survey estimates predicted that only 1-2% of the black and white population would identify with more than one race. The predictions were accurate. In the 2000 Census, 97.6% of the US population reported belonging to a single race²³.

It is important to note that when asking about race the 2000 census does not impose any guidelines regarding a person's ancestry²⁴. Every American chooses for himself the race

²¹ PERRAULT, Charles. "The Morality of Race Mixing in Puerto Rico", *Social Forces*, Volume 25, 1946, pp. 77-81. Available at: <https://academic.oup.com/sf/article-abstract/25/1/77/1991894?redirectedFrom=fulltext>

²² In 1967, the US Supreme Court ruled that the ban on intermarriage was unconstitutional, at which time 16 states still prohibited intermarriage between people of different races.

²³ HIRSCHMAN C, ALBA R, FARLEY R. "The meaning and measurement of race in the U.S. Census: Glimpses into the future", *Demography*, August, Volume 37, 2000, pp. 381-394. "Of the 2.4%, or 6.8 million, who reported more than one race, 32% reported being white and "some other race", 16% reported being white and Native American/Alaskan Native, 13% reported being white and Asian, and 11% reported being white and black or African American." Available at: <https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/10953811/>

²⁴ "For the first time in Census 2000, individuals were presented with the option to self-identify with more than one race and this continued with the 2010 Census, as prescribed by OMB". Available at: <https://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/publications/2011/dec/c2010br-02.pdf>

he identifies with. However, the results indicate that the vast majority still choose only one category. Centuries of cohabitation do not suggest that the number of people of mixed race barely exceeds 2%. If we were to accept these data as valid, we would be led to think that for too long there have been explicit or implicit barriers to prevent blood mixing. Although it is possible that social perception is still so influential that a mixed-race person continues to identify with the socially disadvantaged race.

Hispanics, Latinos and Spaniards in the U.S. Census

In 1930, the census included a box to identify Mexicans, but the Mexican-American community managed to get it removed ten years later on the grounds that all Mexicans should continue to be recorded as white. The Mexican community did not want to be affected by racial segregation, even though many of them were not white.

In 1970, the census questionnaire was the first to include a specific question to identify Hispanic origin, although it was only asked to a 5% sample of households. Previously, in the 1950s and 1960s, data were collected on surnames of Spanish origin to indirectly determine the number of Hispanics. For the same reason, in the 1940s people who declared their mother tongue to be Spanish were identified²⁵.

Since the 1970s, Hispanic origin has been conceptualised in a unique way with respect to other origins. Being Hispanic for the US Census is an identity, not a race, so the sample could subsequently choose among Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central American, South American or Spanish origin. The change brought about by the introduction of Hispanic as an identity has had profound implications, allowing some Americans to better understand miscegenation.

Hispanic origin and race are officially separate classifications in the US Census. The difference between cultural identity and race only applies to Hispanics. The US census is saying that a Hispanic can be of any race, which is a hugely interesting reality. Hispanics are the only group in the United States who have the privilege of being any race they want.

²⁵ Available at: <https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/2000/briefs/c2kbr01-03sp.pdf>

It has been clear since 1970 that Hispanic origin can be considered as the heritage, nationality, lineage or country of birth of the person or his or her parents or ancestors before coming to the United States. People who identify themselves as Hispanic, Latino or Spanish can be of any race and from any country. The above statement is a translation of the census bureau's statement²⁶. We could say that in the United States, Hispanics are any race they want to be or none at all.

Initially, the Census Bureau did not understand why so many Hispanics, when asked about their racial identity, chose the "other" category. In the 1990 census, more than 43% of Hispanics reported belonging to a race other than white, black, American Indian or Asian²⁷. The existence of a large and growing segment of the US population that perceived itself ethnically as Hispanic or Latino while avoiding the accepted mainstream racial designations was a politically explosive phenomenon²⁸.

Question five of the 2000 census was intended to differentiate the Hispanic population from the rest of the US population. This was not a novelty because the same had been applied for decades. While question six asked each person to self-identify by race, with a choice of several options, the possibility of choosing several was a novelty that allowed mixed races to enter into a census hitherto centred on an idea of racial purity.

In an attempt to correct the problem, the 2000 census included the possibility of choosing several races. Questions five and six of the 2000 census are presented below.

²⁶ "Hispanic origin can be viewed as the heritage, nationality, lineage, or country of birth of the person or the person's parents or ancestors before arriving in the United States. People who identify as Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish may be any race".

Available at: <https://www.census.gov/topics/population/hispanic-origin.html>

²⁷ CLYDE, Tucker; McKAY, Ruth; KOJETIN Brian et al. "Testing Methods of Collecting Racial and Ethnic Information: Results of the Current Population Survey Supplement on Race and Ethnicity". Bureau of Labor Statistical Notes Number 40, Washington, 1996.

²⁸ DUNAY, Jorge. "Neither White nor Black: The Politics of Race and Ethnicity among Puerto Ricans on the Island and in the U.S. Mainland". Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Puerto Rico, San Juan, 2000.

Reproduction of Questions on Race and Hispanic Origin From Census 2000

NOTE: Please answer BOTH Questions 5 and 6

5. Is this person Spanish/ Hispanic/ Latino? Mark X

"No" box if not Spanish / Hispanic / Latino

Yes, Mexican, Mexican American, Chicano

Yes, Puerto Rican

Yes, Cuban

Yes, other Spanish / Hispanic / Latino - *Print group.*

6. What is this person's race? Mark X one or more races to indicate what this person considers himself/herself to be.

- White
- Black, African American, or Negro
- American Indian or Alaska Native.
 - Asian Indian Japanese Native Hawaiian
 - Chinese Korean Guamanian or Chamorro
 - Filipino Vietnamese Samoan
 - Other Asian - Print race. Other Pacific Islander - Print race.
- Some other races

Source. <https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/2000/briefs/c2kbr01-01.pdf>

The 2010 census defined what was meant by Hispanic or Latino. "Hispanic or Latino refers to a person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American or other Spanish culture or origin, regardless of race"²⁹. *People who identify their origin as Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish may be any race*³⁰.

We could also think that the interest in counting just one cultural identity, Hispanic, is a consequence of a concern experienced as a possible threat. Samuel Huntington, in his famous book *The Clash of Civilisations and the Reconfiguration of the World Order*, considered the whole of Latin America as a civilisation distinct from the West³¹.

²⁹ The OMB definition of Hispanic or Latino origin used in the 2010 Census "Hispanic or Latino" refers to a person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin regardless of race".

³⁰ OMB requires federal agencies to use a minimum of two ethnicities: Hispanic or Latino and Not Hispanic or Latino. People who identify their origin as Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish may be any race. Available at: <https://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/publications/2011/dec/c2010br-02.pdf>

³¹ HUNTINGTON, Samuel. *El choque de civilizaciones y la reconfiguración del orden mundial*, Ediciones Paidós, Barcelona, 2015.

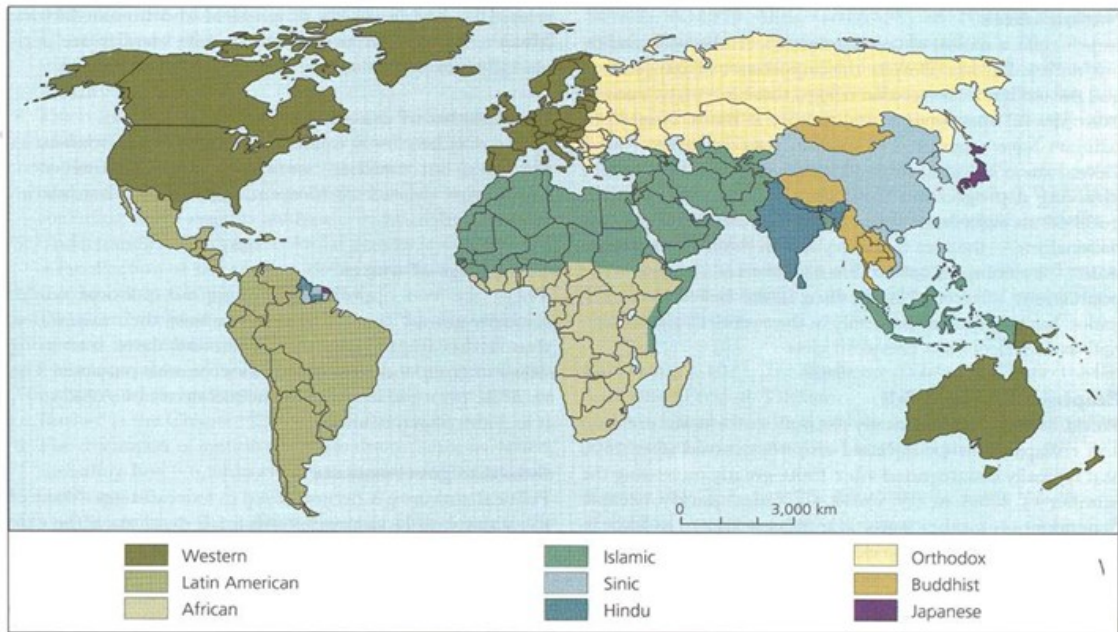


Figure 1. Map of the geographical distribution according to Huntington. Source. HUNTINGTON, Samuel. *The clash of civilisations and the reconfiguration of the world order*.

The map shows the geographical distribution of the different civilisations according to Huntington's criteria. To consider Ibero-America as a space unfit for Western civilisation is, at best, to display ignorance of the history and reality of the American continent. One might think that a person with a high level of training, education and relationship with the world could not ignore the Western identity of Ibero-America. If it did ignore this, it would be out of some kind of resentment, bias, dark prejudice or murky interest.

Samuel Huntington saw the growing Hispanic presence in the United States as a serious threat. He expressed concern about the inability of US society to assimilate Hispanic migrants, anticipating the fragmentation of the true identity of the United States by the migratory pressure coming from Latin America. A good number of Americans believe that if the process is not stopped with all kinds of barriers and means, Hispanics will end up causing the breakdown of the identity, unity and power of the United States as a nation inherited from an Anglo-Saxon culture. Huntington, along with other compatriots, believes that Hispanics do not fully embrace the American way of life over time and generations. The Hispanic population is resistant to the US credo³².

³² HUNTINGTON, Samuel. *Who are we? Challenges to US national identity*. Paidós, Mexico, 2004.

Concern about the loss of US identity is supported by some concrete facts. Many Hispanics do not learn English, probably because in many parts of the country it is not necessary. The religious convictions of the population of Latin American origin are opposed to the dissident values of Protestantism. The rule of law is not incorporated into their codes of conduct. The rights of individuals are subordinated to the authority of the family, the Catholic Church and other identity groups. Personal responsibility is diluted and the drive to improve to prosper is not strong. The work ethic is dissolved by the arrival of an immigrant group that does not accept that wealth is an indicator of moral superiority. All these elements and others that we could highlight, together with the process of globalisation, will end up becoming a crisis of the American identity and a cultural fracture that threatens national cohesion. At least this is how Huntington and a sizeable proportion of WASP Americans understand it.³³

In the same vein, Huntington had previously written an article on Foreign Policy entitled "The Spanish Challenge". Criticism of the Ibero-American population, especially Mexicans, was devastating. Many saw his article as an affront, provoking a widespread backlash against the author's opinion³⁴. Huntington continued to argue that Hispanics were a threat to the United States and one dangerous enough to eventually break the nation apart³⁵.

Many Ibero-Americans felt that Huntington knew nothing of the cultural reality south of the Rio Grande. Knowing Huntington's intellectual quality, some came to think that his opposition to an indisputable reality was simply due to some kind of prejudice.

Homero Aridjis, Mexican poet, novelist, environmental activist, journalist and diplomat, Mexican ambassador to the Netherlands and Switzerland, author of more than 48 publications translated into 15 languages, declared in an explosive interview that he had never thought that Mexico was not a Western country. He described Huntington's ideas as utter stupidity. Homero Aridjis's father was Greek and his mother Mexican of Spanish origin. Therefore, Aridjis understood perfectly well that the concept of the West stems from Greco-Latin culture and not from Anglo-Saxon culture. He concluded that sometimes

³³ WASP is an acronym for "White, Anglo-Saxon and Protestant".

³⁴ Available at: <http://www.revistascisan.unam.mx/Voices/pdfs/6705.pdf>

³⁵ HUNTINGTON, Samuel. "The Hispanic Challenge", *Foreign Policy*. 141, 2004. Available at: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2009/10/28/the-hispanic-challenge/>

Anglo-Saxons consider themselves to be the owners of Western culture and that it is very difficult for them to understand miscegenation³⁶.

However, it is not only Anglo-Saxons who identify Ibero-America as a cultural space different from the West. Ibero-American indigenism also aspires to detach itself from the Western identity of its culture. To preserve the identity of the pre-Columbian peoples, they reject Spanish colonisation and even the republics that were born after independence.

Conclusions

But somehow, whether consciously or not, miscegenation is still seen in the United States as a disorder, a hidden shame and a problem. The situation highlights the difficulty many Americans have in escaping a rigid, outdated racial taxonomy that has long been in place in the United States.

The US Census has been forced to recognise that Hispanics are a different world, where race is not understood in the same way. Race in the Hispanic world does not fit into closed categories because it is understood that miscegenation has its natural space without associating it with an error or a sin.

The term *melting pot* cannot be translated as “crisol de razas”, but at best as a melting pot of cultures. A melting pot of cultures that some Americans see as threatened by the growing prominence of Hispanics in the United States. In reality, many Americans understand that being part of the nation requires assimilation of the WASP identity and its culture, historical narrative, customs and behavioural patterns.

The US Census question on Hispanic identity suggests that at least one group of Americans feel that Hispanics are not fully integrated into US culture.

The more polarised identity groups of WASP in the United States and indigenist radicalism in the rest of the continent deny the Western identity of Ibero-Americans. The two groups, each with its own worldview, self-impose the obligation to reject Spain's

³⁶ "My father is a Greek and my mother a Mexican with Spanish roots. For me, my concept of the West is the Greco-Latin culture, not the Anglo-Saxon culture. Sometimes Anglo-Saxons feel that they are the owners of the Western culture. But you had, for example, living in the 16th century an emperor, Charles V, who was German and Spanish. That was "the West" at the time". Available at: <https://www.carnegiecouncil.org/studio/multimedia/20180605-samuel-huntington-ignored-latin-america-as-the-west-homero-aridjis>

cultural contribution to the Americas as a failed project of cultural domination by an imperialist and exploitative minority.

Oh mother Spain! Take me in your arms
and, to the beat of my sonorous chant,
renew the knot of old ties;
a gold ring in pieces
is no longer a ring... but it is always gold!

Offering to Spain by José Santos Chocano Gastañodi, national poet of Peru.

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IEEE Analyst