From the holdings of the Department of Special Collections , Princeton University Library, Princeton, NJ

These documents are either in the public domain, or can only be used for educational and research purposes (Fair use) as per U.S. Copyright law (text below). By accessing this file, all users agree that their use falls in the public domain or within fair use as defined by the copyrightlaw. We do not charge any permission or usage fees for the publication of images of material inour collections, including those provided by Princeton University Library, via our website, catalog, or directly from staff.For more information regarding copyright, credit, and citation please review the information onthe Copyright, Credit and Citation Guidelines page of our website.
https://library.princeton.edu/special-collections/policies/copyright-credit-and-citation-guidelines. If you have any questions, including how to order higher-quality images from the collection, contact Special Collections Public Services via our Ask Us! Form. https://library.princeton.edu/special-collections/ask-us

---

Doctoral Dissertations, 2011-2026 Sociology

2018

The Color of Inequity: Perceptions of Discrimination in Latin America

Dixon, Angela

Princeton, NJ : Princeton University

---

http://arks.princeton.edu/ark:/88435/dsp01h702q906h

U.S. Copyright law: The copyright law of the United States (Title 17, §108, United States Code) governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material. Under certain conditions specified in the law, libraries and archives are authorized to furnish a photocopy or other reproduction. One of these specified conditions is that the photocopy or reproduction is not to be used for any purpose other than private study, scholarship, or research. If a user makes a request for, or later uses, a photocopy or reproduction for purposes in excess of fair use that user may be liable for copyright infringement. This institution reserves the right to refuse to accept a copying order if, in its judgment, fulfillment of the order would involve a violation of copyright law. https://www.copyright.gov/title17/title17.pdf

THE COLOR OF INEQUITY:

PERCEPTIONS OF DISCRIMINATION IN LATIN AMERICA

Angela R. Dixon

A DISSERTATION

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY

OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE

OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

RECOMMENDED FOR ACCEPTANCE BY

THE DEPARTMENT OF

SOCIOLOGY

Adviser: Edward Telles

April 2018

© Copyright by Angela Renee Dixon, 2018. All rights reserved.

ABSTRACT

Contemporary discussions around race have engaged in the question of what discrimination looks like under purportedly colorblind, racially egalitarian societies. Latin America is one of the most unequal regions in the world and much of this inequality is stratified along the lines of race/ethnicity and skin color, despite long standing *mestizaje* ideologies that asserted Latin American societies were largely colorblind, class-based societies free of racism. As the U.S. and other societies attempt to usher in "post-racial" colorblind eras, comparisons with Latin American countries that have long purported to have achieved this status will be illustrative of the continuing challenges that lay ahead. Using survey data from the Project on Race and Ethnicity in Latin America based at Princeton University (PERLA) and the 2010 Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP), this dissertation reveals that: 1) skin color is a more salient source of individuals' perceptions of discriminatory treatment than suggested by previous work, 2) color-based discrimination is subordinate, although deeply intertwined, with class-discrimination and class status, 3) the significance of skin color on perceptions of discriminatory treatment depends on one's socioeconomic status and gender, with darker skin men of higher socioeconomic status perceiving their skin color to be more consequential than other groups, and 4) witnessing color-based discrimination is a stronger predictor of worse self-rated health than personally experiencing color-based discrimination. These findings speak to ongoing debates about the meaning of skin color in Latin America and the role of skin color as a fundamental stratifier in the region. Moreover, the detailed examination of color-based discrimination from multiple dimensions and through an intersectional lens contributes to the broader body of work, historically based in the U.S., on the importance of everyday, interpersonal discrimination. This research thus contributes to our understanding of the systemic reproduction of structural

inequalities in the absence of overt discriminatory practices and its overall implications for well-being.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I thank my dissertation committee and examiners for guiding me through this process. I thank Edward Telles for his steadfast support and encouragement over the years, even through the time difference of the West Coast. I am proud to be his final student at Princeton. I am grateful to Tod Hamilton for his dedicated mentorship and for always pushing me toward my full potential. I appreciate Douglas Massey whose guidance and support has been invaluable. Special gratitude is owed to Patricia Fernandez-Kelly whose door was always open and gave generously of her time.

I must also thank the many people who are responsible for setting me on this journey. I am grateful to Eunice Sahle for starting me down this path during long talks in Tanzania in the fall of 2009 and to Donna LeFebvre for planting the seeds of what was possible. I thank Angel Harris for his mentorship during PSURE that solidified my decision to pursue sociology and Dean Karen Jackson-Weaver for opening my eyes to the world of academia and imparting the wisdom I needed to make it through.

At Princeton, I also benefited from my time with Andreas Wimmer, Matthew Salganik, Germán Rodríguez, Ellis Monk, Miguel Centeno, and Susan Fiske. A special thank you to Lynne Johnson, who made me feel at home from the first moment I walked in her door.

I have been blessed to share this experience with many supportive colleagues and friends. I am especially grateful for Janeria Easley and Linsey Edwards who both began this journey with me and forged the path ahead of me. I am thankful to Megan Blanchard for being a source of support, wisdom, and inspiration. I am indebted to CaVar Reid for his endless encouragement and allowing me to be part of his family while I was far from mine. I thank Cheng Cheng, Sarah James, and Ayesha Mahmud for being with me through this journey from day one of

demography camp, and Heba Gowayed and Allison Kenney for always being willing to share both the joys and struggles. I also thank Kimberly Bain, Kalyani Monteiro Jayasankar, Leah Reisman, Liora O'Donnell Goldensher, Hadiya Jones, Colleen Campbell, Leah Gillion, Sophie Moullin, Joel Mittleman, Ferdose Idris, Vladimir Medenica, Hendia Edmund, Aaron Gottlieb, Maria Abascal, Joanne Golann, Patrick Ishizuka, Mariana Campos Horta, Saul Thorkelson, René Flores, and Angelina Grigoryeva.

Finally, I thank my family and many friends who I consider family. Your unconditional love and support cheered me through the highs and sustained me through the hard times. None of this would have been possible without you.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract iii

Acknowledgements v

Introduction 1

Chapter 1. Colorism and Classism Confounded: Perceptions of Discrimination in Latin America 5

Chapter 1. Tables and Figures 37

Chapter 2. Color in Context: An Intersectional Approach to Perceptions of Discrimination in Latin America 46

Chapter 2. Tables and Figures 69

Chapter 3. Seeing Inequality: Is Witnessing Discrimination Bad for Your Health? 75

Chapter 3. Tables 100

Conclusion 104

References 108

Introduction

The inability of race-mixing (*mestizaje*) ideologies in Latin America to prevent racism, colorism, and discrimination have been increasingly acknowledged and documented by states and recent scholarship demonstrating large color-based and ethnoracial inequalities. There is a body of literature documenting the state and elite level shifts away from *mestizaje* ideologies, which privileged colorblind, class-based explanations while largely denying race/color-based explanations in explaining inequality, to state sponsored multicultural policies (Andrews 2004; Hooker 2005; Paschel and Sawyer 2008; Telles 2004). Yet, little is known about the degree to which individuals in Latin America use *mestizaje* ideologies to understand their own life circumstances within the context of these shifting national ideologies. My dissertation addresses the extant gap in the literature by posing three broad questions. First, what is the relative salience of color and class based-factors in individual's understanding of the discriminatory treatment they encounter? Second, in what domains of daily life and for which demographic groups is discrimination most salient? Third, what are the health implications of perceiving discrimination?

Prior research considering the strength of *mestizaje* ideologies in Latin America has been unable to closely examine the degree to which these ideologies have taken hold in popular consciousness. In part due to a lack of data availability, attempts to understand *mestizaje*'*s* pervasiveness has relied primarily on small-scale qualitative examinations which have found that *mestizaje* ideologies do in fact effectively engender a colorblindness that aids in the overlooking, denial, or inability to see racial discrimination and a link between race and skin color to socioeconomic disadvantage. Yet, Telles and Bailey (2013:1591) caution that "[t]he fact that there is so little survey research on how elite racial ideologies filter down to the Latin American

masses puts scholarship at risk of top-down generalizing about attitudes or of addressing general beliefs based on localized ethnography." Indeed, the few studies using survey data suggest that individuals acknowledge that unfair treatment based on race, ethnicity, and color exists in their societies and plays a role in producing socioeconomic disparities. While these studies consider the perception that racism and colorism exist broadly within society, my study pushes the literature forward by examining whether *mestizaje* ideologies succeed or fail in structuring understandings of unfair treatment when individuals reflect on their own lives and interactions.

Data for this project come from the 2010 AmericasBarometer of the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) and the Project on Ethnicity and Race in Latin America (PERLA). The LAPOP has data on all eight countries (Brazil, Bolivia, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, Peru) used in this study and PERLA provides more detailed questions about perceived discrimination for Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, and Peru. These cross-sectional surveys are particularly well suited to address the questions set forth by this dissertation because they are the first comparative, nationally representative surveys to include objective measures of skin color and detailed questions about perceived skin color discrimination. These countries were selected because they include sizeable indigenous and black populations. In both datasets the unit of observation is the household and one respondent per household was interviewed. Throughout my analyses, I employ generalized linear models, including logistic regression models and multinomial logistic regression models.

Chapter 1 focuses on the relative role of class and color in individual's attributions of the causes of discriminatory treatment. Little work has examined the overlap of class and color in people's understandings of discrimination despite the ongoing shifts throughout Latin America from class-focused, colorblind *mestizaje* ideologies to state endorsed multiculturalism.

Therefore, in this chapter, I move beyond the implicit color/class binary in the extant scholarship by complicating the premise that either color or class stratifies Latin American societies or that people's perceptions of discrimination operates within an either/or logic. In this chapter, I examine the distribution of perceptions of only class, only color, and both class and color discrimination, which I define as dual discrimination. By examining how Latin Americans commonly attribute discriminatory treatment, this study provides a more complete picture of the ways *mestizaje* ideologies may blend in with newer multicultural approaches.

Having established the relative salience of color discrimination in relation to the traditional emphasis on class discrimination, chapter 2 then examines another crucial component of the strength of *mestizaje* ideologies: the contextual aspects of where the ideologies succeed or fail. Specifically, I consider the significance of the public versus the private spaces. In the U.S., Feagin (1991) argues that the chance of experiencing discrimination increases as one moves from private, where one is known, to public spaces, where interactions are primarily with strangers. Yet, I hypothesize that the public/private distinction will be smaller in Latin America as a result of the greater degree of ethnoracial social integration advocated by *mestizaje* ideologies, which stands in contrast to the highly segregated U.S. context. This study contributes to the growing literature on perceived discrimination by being the first comparative, quantitative study to closely examine the interplay between perceived color discrimination, skin color, wealth, gender, and contextual factors in the Latin American context. I explore the distribution of perceiving color discrimination across six different domains of daily life across four countries. Private spaces include the domains of the family and social interactions, and public spaces include the street, police interactions, health care services, and job searches.

In my final chapter, I examine the relationship between being discriminated against personally ("personal discrimination"), witnessing someone being discriminated against ("vicarious discrimination"), and health. A recurrent puzzle in the extant literature on perceived discrimination in Latin America is that while relatively few individuals report being discriminated against personally, the belief that discrimination exists in society more broadly is higher than the rates found in the U.S. Moreover, there is a well-established link between perceiving that one has been discriminated against and a variety of poor health outcomes. Therefore in the third chapter, I examine this discrepancy between personal discrimination and vicarious discrimination through the social psychological concept of the personal/group discrimination discrepancy (Taylor, Wright, and Porter 1994) and whether perceiving discrimination is related to health.

Chapter 1

Colorism and Classism Confounded: Perceptions of Discrimination in Latin America

Abstract

Despite competing narratives of *mestizaje* (race-mixing) emphasizing class discrimination and social movements highlighting the existence of racial discrimination in Latin America, little work has examined the overlap of class and color in people's understandings of discrimination. This study moves beyond the color/class binary by examining perceptions of only class, only color, and both class and color discrimination (dual discrimination). I also examine whether individuals have difficulty attributing the causes of discrimination by expanding upon the social psychological concept of attributional ambiguity. Using data from the 2010 LAPOP's AmericasBarometer survey, I find that color-based explanations have not replaced class-based explanations. Instead, both class and color appear to be part of schemas drawn upon by individuals to understand the unfavorable treatment they perceive—in line with scholarship showing both class disadvantage and color conjointly influence the stratification systems of Latin America. The findings also suggest that individuals may have trouble disentangling the causes of the discrimination they perceive.

INTRODUCTION

Afrodescendant and indigenous populations are disproportionately disadvantaged in Latin America. Studies find lower levels of educational attainment, income, and occupational status, as well as higher levels of poverty among these populations (Andrews 2004; Flores and Telles 2012; Telles and PERLA 2014). Historically, by drawing on national narratives of race mixing (*mestizaje*), Latin American public intellectuals and nation-builders attributed socioeconomic disadvantage to class reproduction and historical legacies such as slavery, while largely denying the role of race in reproducing or perpetuating inequality (Harris 1964; Pierson 1942). Ideologies of *mestizaje* left little room for claims of racism and racial discrimination. The blurred racial boundaries resulting from racial mixture purportedly made discrimination along the lines of racial groups difficult and therefore improbable (Harris 1964; Pierson 1942; Telles 2004; Wade 1997). Since the 1990s, however, state governments have increasingly responded to black and indigenous social movements' calls to acknowledge and address the unique barriers and disadvantages faced by these populations.

While there is a body of literature documenting the state and scholarly level shifts in explanations of social stratification in Latin America (Andrews 2004; Telles 2004), less is known about the narratives that exist among the general population to explain stratification by race. Much of the extant literature suggests that *mestizaje* ideologies help produce class-based explanations, while engendering a colorblindness among individuals within these societies that aid in the denial or inability to see racial discrimination and a link between race and socioeconomic disadvantage (Sue and Golash-Boza 2013; Twine 1998). On the other hand, a number of studies suggest individuals do perceive that racial discrimination exists and has a

consequential role in their society (Beck, Mijeski, and Stark 2011; Telles and Bailey 2013) and in their own personal lives (Canache et al. 2014; Telles and PERLA 2014).

Despite competing narratives of *mestizaje* emphasizing class discrimination and social movements highlighting the existence of racial discrimination, little work has closely examined the interplay between class and race-based narratives in Latin American individuals' understandings of experiences occurring in their own lives. This present study advances the literature by examining the extent to which Latin Americans popularly believe that they are discriminated against on the basis of class, race/color, or both class and race/color.

As part of a larger body of emerging work detailing the complex relationships between race, color, phenotype, class, culture, and language throughout Latin America (Bailey, Loveman, and Muniz 2013; Sue 2013; Telles and PERLA 2014), recent studies have highlighted the difficulty of disentangling the role of class and color in structuring inequality (Bailey, Fialho, and Penner 2016; Flores and Telles 2012). This study, thus, further complicates the premise that either color or class stratifies Latin American societies or that people's perception of discrimination operates within an either/or logic. I continue the move beyond this binary and instead consider the relationship between the two regarding perceptions of discrimination.

The race[1] versus class paradigm has been a classic debate in both the U.S. and Latin American contexts. In contrast to Latin America, in the U.S., race, not class, has historically been

[1] Regarding terminology, in the U.S. context "race" is commonly used, while in Latin America "color" is more prevalent. Telles (2004) and others contend that color does not just refer to one's skin and argue for the interchangeability of "race" and "color" in the English language (Harris et al. 1993; Wade 1997). For example, Telles (2004:79) argues that in Brazil, the term "[c]olor is often preferred because it captures the continuous aspects of Brazilian racial concepts in which groups shade into one another…However, *côr* [color] captures the Brazilian equivalent of the English language term 'race' and is based on a combination of physical characteristics, including skin color, hair type, nose shape, and lip shape." Therefore, going forward, I will primarily use the term "color," but it should be understood to include the broader process of racialization in Latin America, in which skin color plays a critical role.

the master status with regard to the axis along which discrimination is perceived. Although quantitative studies concerning racial or color discrimination are prevalent in the U.S. (Paradies et al. 2015; Williams and Mohammed 2009), relatively few surveys include questions about class or economic discrimination. Furthermore when the questions are asked, the prevalence of class-based discrimination among racial minorities appears to be remarkably low (Alegria et al. 2016). It is therefore possible that race is such a master status that social scientists do not even regularly ask about perceptions of discrimination based on class. Although colorblind ideologies have emerged in the U.S., these may be relatively weak compared to the state endorsed multiculturalism seen in many Latin American countries, which may open the door for a competing master status.

This chapter explores the distribution and determinants of perceiving only class, only color, or both class and color discrimination in Latin America. I define the perception of both color and class discrimination as dual discrimination. Much has been written about the more subtle nature of contemporary discrimination in both the U.S. (Bonilla-Silva and Dietrich 2011) and Latin America (Sue and Golash-Boza 2013; Twine 1998). This subtlety may make it difficult not only for people to determine whether they have been discriminated against, but also to attribute the discriminatory treatment to precise causes. Therefore, among those who perceive dual discrimination, I examine whether there is evidence that individuals may have difficulty determining which social attributes lead to this discrimination. I refer to this difficulty as attributional ambiguity within the perception of dual discrimination.

Utilizing nationally representative survey data, this study expands upon the current literature on perceived discrimination to provide the first quantitative account of the degree to which color and class discrimination overlap in the consciousness of individuals in eight Latin

American countries (Brazil, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Bolivia, Guatemala, Mexico, Peru). In what follows, I first discuss the history of traditional national narratives of *mestizaje* and the shift to multiculturalism occurring in many states. I then review the social psychological concept of attributional ambiguity and discuss how it can be applied in the context of dual discrimination. In the first part of the analysis, I examine the prevalence and determinants of perceiving only class discrimination, only color discrimination, and both class and color discrimination. In the second part, I examine the degree to which attributional ambiguity occurs within the perception of dual discrimination. Finally, I discuss key findings and implications.

BACKGROUND

From National Narratives of Mestizaje to Multiculturalism

National narratives endorsing *mestizaje* emerged as part of nation building projects in many Latin American countries in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In opposition to earlier eugenics-based beliefs that viewed race mixing as leading to degeneracy, Latin American elites used these narratives to encourage mixed race identities and laud the state of race relations in Latin American countries (Freyre 1933; Harris 1964; Skidmore 1974; see Telles 2004). This is in contrast to the U.S. where mixedness would continue to be seen as degenerate, mixed race people were relegated to the "black" category, and many jurisdictions adopted strict codes of racial classification and segregation. As a result of these factors as well as extensive mixing through high rates of intermarriage, low levels of residential segregation, and the subsequent blurring of racial boundaries, Latin American narratives, most notably those associated with Brazilian racial democracy, emphasized the absence of racism and discrimination that plagued the U.S. (Degler 1986; Freyre 1933; Harris 1964; Telles 2004; Wade 1993).

Despite the broad commonalities, there are differences in the degree to which Latin American countries embraced *mestizaje* ideologies (Andrews 2004; Telles and Garcia 2013; Wade 1997). Of the countries in this sample, *mestizaje* ideologies were strongest in Brazil ("racial democracy") and Mexico ("the cosmic race"), while considerably weaker in Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru (Telles 2004; Telles and Garcia 2013). The ideologies in the latter countries tended to concentrate more heavily on the veneration of whiteness, while often ignoring the place of Afrodescendant peoples in their histories (Telles and Flores 2013). In the Dominican Republic, the role of slavery and African heritage has been muted in favor of an emphasis on the mixture of Spanish and indigenous cultures (Candelario 2007).

Conversely, Guatemala is unique among these countries in that "the ideology of mestizaje lacks deep political roots" as *mestizaje* was not employed as a primary nation building narrative (Hale 2002:505). Guatemalan elites instead pursued the strategy of maintaining distinct boundaries between Ladinos (roughly encompassing whites and *mestizos*) and indigenous populations. The separatist path ended in the 1940s, which brought political upheavals and ushered in a national discourse resembling the *mestizaje* narratives in other countries (Hale 2002).

For academics before the 1970s, racial inequality was not denied, but was believed to be structured by socioeconomic status, not race (Harris 1964; Pierson 1942). In other words, the disadvantaged position of black and indigenous people stemmed from their lower levels of education and lower status jobs, not their race. Similarly, discrimination occurred on the basis of class, not race, according to traditional explanations. For example, Harris (1964:61) notes, "[t]here are no racial groups against which discrimination occurs. Instead, there are class groups. Color is one of the criteria of class identity; but it is not the only criterion." From the perspective of ordinary Brazilians, Hasenbalg and Huntington (1982) argued the presence of an intermediate

brown color category, ideologies of whitening, beliefs in "money whitening," which suggest that upward economic and social mobility could confer whiteness, and the lack of legal barriers helped to maintain the belief in racial democracy despite the presence of racial inequality.

However, recent research shows that class reproduction operates in tandem with color-based factors (Bailey et al. 2016; Flores and Telles 2012), which suggests both class disadvantage, which may or may not result from discrimination, and color-based factors work together to influence stratification in Latin America. Gaining force in the 1990s, black and indigenous social movements and recent scholarship have pushed back against the idea that race does not play a large role in shaping life chances (Telles 2004; Telles and PERLA 2014). Studies in Brazil have also shown that racial inequalities in income, educational attainment, and occupational status increase with socioeconomic status (Bailey et al. 2013; Silva and Reis 2011), challenging claims that the disparate outcomes of marginalized racial groups are due to their lower class positions.

There has been growing state acceptance of multiculturalism and recognition of rights for both indigenous and Afrodescendant populations (Paschel and Sawyer 2008). All of the countries in the sample, with the exception of the Dominican Republic, have adopted multiculturalism as an official state policy (Telles and Garcia 2013). Constitutional recognition, census enumeration, and state efforts to address disadvantage have all been increasing (Paschel and Sawyer 2008; Telles and PERLA 2014). These changes, along with continued efforts by social movements, have accompanied considerable shifts in the discourse on race in Latin America.

Perceptions of Discrimination and Attributional Ambiguity

Scholarship on the shift from discourses about class injustice to racial injustice has largely overlooked how this change in elite level discourse coincided with the relative importance of class and color-based discrimination in the eyes of the general public. Much work thus far has focused on scholarly analysis of stratification outcomes, political narratives about which types of inequalities Latin American societies face, or state policies to address them (Paschel and Sawyer 2008). While important, these aspects do not necessarily capture how individuals perceive their own experiences in society.

Discrimination refers to the unequal, unfair, or prejudicial treatment of persons or groups on the basis of certain characteristics, such as age, color, class, gender, race, ethnicity, and sexuality (Pager and Shepherd 2008). A large body of literature in the U.S. has established that perceiving discrimination is negatively associated with many outcomes including mental and physical health, labor market persistence, interpersonal interactions, social movements, and support for state policies to address racial disparities (Krysan 2000; Williams et al. 2012). There is also an emerging body of research examining perceptions of discrimination and their consequences in Latin America (Canache et al. 2014; Chong et al. 2008; Telles and Bailey 2013).

Yet, the extant literature on individuals perceiving discrimination directed at them personally in Latin America is still emerging and suffers from a number of limitations. For instance, some studies only ask about the perception of unequal treatment, but do not explore the lines along which discrimination is perceived (Travassos et al. 2011). Second, much of previous research focuses on membership in only one social group (Canache et al. 2014). Others only ask people to report which type of discrimination they perceive the most (Chong et al. 2008), thereby

hiding relevant, but less common axes of discrimination. Furthermore, survey questions asking about specific types of discrimination make the implicit assumption that individuals are able to disentangle and attribute discriminatory treatment to precise causes. Given that class and color-based factors have been shown to structure inequality in Latin America (Bailey et al. 2016; Flores and Telles 2012), this combination of subtle discrimination and the dual operation of color and class discrimination may make it difficult to identify both when discrimination is occurring and the sources of this discrimination.

Accordingly, I conceptualize the perception of discrimination as being comprised of two components. One component is deciding whether one is being discriminated against or not. The other component is attributing the reason, or reasons, for this discrimination[2]. Regarding the first component, the social psychological concept of attributional ambiguity suggests members of marginalized groups may have trouble identifying whether unfair treatment is due to their social group membership (discrimination) or their own individualistic qualities (not discrimination) (Major 2007). Major (2007:1) defines attributional ambiguity as "a psychological state of uncertainty about the cause of a person's outcomes or treatment…It occurs whenever there is more than one plausible reason for why a person was treated in a certain way or received the outcomes that he or she received." Perceiving discrimination can lead to psychological distress regardless of the type of discrimination (Williams et al. 2012) and attributional ambiguity can exacerbate the negative effects of perceiving discrimination (Merritt et al. 2006). This suggests that the uncertainty surrounding whether discrimination is occurring, combined with the psychological distress of discrimination itself can make attributional ambiguity a particularly damaging experience.

[2] These two components can either take place sequentially or simultaneously.

With attributional ambiguity, the focus is on the doubt that arises concerning whether an individual is being treated based on a characteristic of his or her social identity (class, color, ethnicity, gender, etc.) or individual merit.[3] In order for attributional ambiguity to occur, there must be either negative stereotypes or beliefs within the society related to the individual's social identity or group membership. These stereotypes serve as a basis for questioning the motivation behind a behavior as plausibly being due to this membership (Major 2007).

Despite race mixing narratives' discounting of the role of racial factors in shaping life chances, these narratives do not deny that negative stereotypes exist against historically marginalized groups (Andrews 2004; Harris 1964; Silva and Reis 2011; Wade 1997). In Brazil, for example, individuals with darker skin, and particularly Afrodescendant individuals, are stereotyped as lower status, lazy, sexually promiscuous, less desirable, uneducated, criminal, and violent (Bailey 2002; Sheriff 2001). During the transition to multiculturalism, social movements pinpointed race as an important potential source of unfair treatment instead of just part of harmless stereotypes (Sue and Golash-Boza 2013). Consequently, the co-presence of negative stereotypes, class-focused national narratives, and movements highlighting racial discrimination may have helped to create feelings of uncertainty regarding the sources of discriminatory treatment. [4]

[3] In this study, I focus on class and color discrimination because of their historic place in the *mestizaje* narratives used in Latin America. However, these concepts can also apply to ambiguity involving color and gender, gender and class, or the intersection of all three.

[4] It is important to note that individuals may have always been cognizant of darker skin as a source of unfair treatment, even prior to social movements. Perceptions of discrimination may have been underreported in previous studies due to the lack of language or different concepts used to discuss racism and racial discrimination (Beck, Mijeski, and Stark 2011) or social norms dictating that slights are to be interpreted as benign racial humor (Harris 1964; Sue and Golash-Boza 2013). Therefore, a main function of social movements may not have been to raise consciousness and awareness, but to give a platform and language to familiar phenomena traditional national narratives had silenced.

It may be hard to reconcile the existence of such negative stereotypes based on phenotype and race with the notion that color-based discrimination was not already salient in Latin America. Harris (1964) attempts to explain this paradox by separating the existence of prejudicial beliefs from discriminatory actions. Harris (1964:60) writes, "[r]acial prejudice in Brazil, in other words, is not accompanied by systematic racial segregation and discrimination." Taking a different perspective, Beck, Mijeski, and Stark (2011) argue racial consciousness can exist without an awareness of racism. The authors reason,

> " …although the large majority of Ecuadorians recognize racial differences and categories—such as blanco, mestizo, *indio*, negro, moreno, mulato—and know that people are often treated or thought of differently on the basis of those racial categorizations, the constructs of racism, discrimination, and prejudice are not implanted in the mental maps of a large segment of the Ecuadorian population" (Beck et al. 2011:11)

Based on a 2004 survey, Beck, Mijeski, and Stark (2011) find 48.5 percent of all respondents report not knowing what racism is, 62.8 percent do not know about racial discrimination, and 69.4 do not know about racial prejudice. Surprisingly, indigenous people were least aware of these concepts. The authors expected the decades long indigenous movement in Ecuador to have produced an intensive consciousness of prejudice and racism among the indigenous population. The authors propose that the cultural, as opposed to racial, framing used by the indigenous movement may explain the low levels of awareness. Consequently, while indigenous people may be aware of exclusionary and poor treatment, in this context, cultural difference, not race may have been emphasized (Beck et al. 2011).

Returning to the two components of perceiving discrimination, the other component involves attributing the cause, or causes, of the discrimination. While prior research has established that individuals perceive both class and color discrimination as operating in Latin America (Bailey 2002, 2009; Chong et al. 2008), few studies have closely examined the distribution of the prevalence of perceptions of color and class discrimination. In terms of relative prevalence, Chong et al. (2008) find that in the *Latinobarómetro* surveys in 2001 and in 2004-2006, poverty is perceived as the most common basis of discrimination, while skin color ranked fifth in 2004 and 2005. Less than 7 percent of respondents perceive skin color as the most common reason, in comparison to over 30 percent for poverty (Chong et al. 2008). These questions, however, only allow the respondents to identify the form of unequal treatment they perceive affects them the most. Such lines of questioning may mask the full experience of those who perceive discrimination along multiple axes and reveal very little about the interaction between these two concepts.

In such studies, it is unclear if those perceiving discrimination fall into two largely mutually exclusive groups, such that few individuals who perceive color discrimination also perceive class discrimination, or if individuals who perceive color discrimination also tend to perceive class discrimination. If class and color discrimination were perceived by independent segments of the population, this would suggest a pronounced divide in ideologies and understandings of the reasons for unfair treatment in Latin America. Class and color would exist as conceptually distinct concepts with little overlap between them. This could occur if, for those who perceive only class discrimination, the pronounced role of class as a historical and current basis of discrimination predisposes people to primarily attend to their class status when making determinations about perceived discrimination. People may be "race-conscious but racism-

unaware" (Beck et al. 2011:110) and the language of color discrimination is not used to understand and discuss these experiences. For the other segment of the population, color discrimination would be seen as the overriding social characteristic and class discrimination would have little traction. Alternatively, people's traditional notions of class-based discrimination could exist in tandem with more recently politicized notions that darker skin color produces disadvantage. In this case, both dimensions of social identity would operate as salient lenses through which many people understand discriminatory treatment.

Related to this last possible scenario, in this study, I define dual discrimination as when the same individual perceives both color and class discrimination.[5] Dual discrimination can arise in a number of ways. In one scenario, individuals could attribute discrimination to class and in a separate scenario attribute it to color. Or, individuals might perceive both class and color discrimination as occurring within the same scenario.

Dual Discrimination and the Potential for Attributional Ambiguity

On the one hand, individuals might be certain of the reason for their unfair treatment. On the other hand, both the subtle nature of contemporary discrimination and the competing explanatory narratives may open the door to the possibility that people may have difficulty deciding whether to attribute discrimination they perceive to class or color. Yet, to date, empirical examinations of attributional ambiguity have almost exclusively focused on only one aspect of social identity at a time (Crocker et al. 1991; Hoyt et al. 2007; see King 2003 for an

[5] Dual discrimination refers to the union of class and color-based discrimination, although it is recognized there are other dimensions along which unfair treatment can be perceived. Latin American black female activists speak of the consequences of the "double discrimination" of being black and female (Andrews 2004:176). Andrews (2004:189) also references the "triple discrimination" of class, gender, and race that has been a source of division within black social movements.

exception). Building off the concept of attributional ambiguity, I extend the principles of this phenomenon to the second component of discrimination in which people must decide which identity, or identities, to attribute the cause of unfair treatment. I argue that ambiguity can also take place within the context of perceiving dual discrimination.

The examination of both dual discrimination and the potential existence of ambiguity within it allows for the further deconstruction of the class/color binary that has been implicitly maintained by much of the existing literature. The prevalence of dual discrimination speaks to the extent to which individuals do not operate within this binary, but rather at the intersection of the concepts of class and color. This allows for greater recognition of the possibility that individuals think about their society in complex ways, rather than along single dimensions. Considering ambiguity addresses the degree to which the class/color boundary is blurry in terms of perceived discrimination.

Determinants of Perceiving Dual Discrimination

The two main determinants of perceiving dual discrimination I will examine are darker skin and having less wealth, as these are the central traits being debated by the two competing narratives. It is to be expected that darker individuals will be more likely to perceive color discrimination and less wealthy individuals will be more likely to perceive class discrimination. Yet, there are also a number of reasons to believe darker individuals might perceive class discrimination, regardless of their class status. Throughout Latin America, there is an empirical correlation between dark skin and worse socioeconomic outcomes (Flores and Telles 2012; Telles and PERLA 2014). Thus, darker individuals who are also poor are members of both social groups and would be at greater risk of perceiving both color and class discrimination because of

this joint membership. The cumulative disadvantage of being both poor and dark could also make it difficult to decipher where to attribute the motivation behind discriminatory treatment.

However, middle class respondents with darker skin may also be at risk for perceiving class discrimination. In Silva and Reis (2011), black professionals in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil struggle to separate the role of race and class. At times, the respondents describe discriminatory treatment as a result of stereotypes that lead people to assume that because they are black, they also are of lower socioeconomic status. In such situations, there are three ways that people might interpret this as unfair treatment. It could be the result of only class discrimination, only color discrimination, or both. Thus, regardless of one's own class status, the risk of perceiving class, color, or dual discrimination exists.

Similarly, there is also reason to believe that less wealthy individuals might perceive both class and color discrimination, regardless of their skin color. Often the association between darker skin and poverty is referenced when referring to the experiences of middle class individuals (Silva and Reis 2011). There has been less focus, however, on how this connotation can also flow in the opposite direction. Schwartzman (2007:942) finds evidence in Brazil that "poverty darkens." She shows that parents of lower socioeconomic status are more likely to racially classify their children as non-white than higher SES parents. In her ethnography, Twine (1998) also finds working class whites often identify more strongly with working class blacks than middle or upper class whites:

> "… the class position of Afro-Brazilians is privileged while color and racial location is typically minimized. This interpretation is reinforced by the tendency of poor Euro-Brazilians to avoid embracing or claiming a white identity. Working class Euro-Brazilians I came to know rarely, if ever, self-identified as white but typically describe themselves

as moreno. In contrast to their working-class counterparts in the United States, they usually emphasized what they shared with Afro-Brazilians" (Twine 1998:71).

These findings suggest that even among whites, lower status may be associated with darker skin color and a level of identification with nonwhites. Thus, given the tight association between darker skin color and poverty, one can not assume that even light-skinned poor people will not perceive color discrimination. By examining how Latin Americans commonly attribute discriminatory treatment, this study provides a more complete picture of the ways class and color are understood within the context of shifting narratives in Latin America.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Data

Data for this study come from the 2010 AmericasBarometer of the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) based at Vanderbilt University. LAPOP conducts repeated cross-sectional nationally representative surveys in 26 countries in the Americas, biennially. Face-to-face surveys were conducted with voting age adults. The 2010 AmericasBarometer is particularly well suited to address the questions set forth by this study because it includes an ethnicity module created by the Project on Ethnicity and Race (PERLA) at Princeton University. This module contains unique items concerning perceptions of discrimination not present in other years of the survey and LAPOP is one of the first comparative surveys to include a measure of skin color based on a visual guide. This study examines the eight countries (Brazil, Bolivia, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, Peru) for which the module was included. These countries were selected for the module because of their sizeable indigenous and black populations. For simplicity's sake, I divide the countries into two categories:

Afrodescendant (Brazil, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador) and indigenous (Bolivia, Guatemala, Mexico, Peru). This categorizes the countries by which historically disadvantaged group is most populous in the country (Telles and PERLA 2014). Examining four of each category allows for a broad overview of how perceptions of discrimination work in a range of contexts within Latin America. In the majority of the countries, the sample size is approximately 1500. The sample size is approximately 2500 in Brazil and 3000 in Bolivia and Ecuador.

Variables

The ethnicity module includes items examining the two dimensions of discrimination of interest to this study. Respondents were asked: *1) And thinking about the last five years, have you felt discriminated against or have you been badly or unjustly treated: Because of your skin color? 2) Because of your economic situation?* Respondents were given the options "many times, sometimes, a few times, or never." In part 1 of the analysis, the first three categories are collapsed in order to create a two-level factor variable with the levels "Ever" and "Never." The outcome variable of interest is a four-level factor indicating whether the respondent perceived neither type of discrimination, class discrimination, but not color discrimination ("class only discrimination"), color discrimination, but not class discrimination ("color only discrimination"), or both types of discrimination. Dual discrimination is operationalized as perceiving both skin color discrimination and class discrimination.

In part 2 of the analysis, the sample is restricted only to those who perceive dual discrimination. The outcomes of interest are 1) the frequency of perceiving class discrimination and 2) the frequency of perceiving color discrimination. This is in contrast to dual discrimination, which simply captures if the discrimination was ever perceived or not. In this analysis, each

outcome has two categories: "a few times" and "sometimes/many times." The top two frequency levels are collapsed due to sample size limitations.

The primary predictors of interest are economic status and skin color. Economic status is operationalized with a wealth measure. The wealth measure is constructed as a composite variable ranging from 0-13, indicating how many of 13 household items the respondent possesses. The 13 items are a television, refrigerator, landline telephone, cellular telephone, vehicle/car, washing machine, microwave oven, motorcycle, indoor plumbing, indoor bathroom, computer, flat panel TV, and Internet. In the regression analysis, this variable is reverse coded so that higher values indicate the absence of material goods. Such wealth measures have been validated and used by previous studies as an alternative to income based-measures in developing nations (Filmer and Pritchett 2001). To measure skin color, interviewers were instructed to identify the shade that most closely matched the color of the face of the respondent using the PERLA Color Palette. The palette is composed of 11 colors, based on actual skin tones, ranging from the lightest (1) to the darkest (11).

Additional predictors included in the analysis because of their known association with perceived discrimination are gender, urban/rural setting, age, the skin color of the interviewer, and education.[6] Gender and setting are binary variables, while age is continuous. The skin color of the interviewer is based on a rating by the interviewer using the same chromatic scale detailed above. Education is a continuous variable ranging from 0 to 18.

[6] Racial identification is not controlled for because it is hypothesized to be more of a pathway than a confounding factor for perceived discrimination (Sellers and Shelton 2003).

Analytic Plan

In part 1 of the analysis, table 1 presents summary statistics for the variables of interest. Figure 1 displays the distribution of perceived discrimination by wealth and Figure 2 shows the distribution by skin color. The descriptive statistics are weighted to adjust for sampling design. Next, multinomial logistic regression models are estimated to predict perceiving class only, color only, and dual discrimination compared to none (the reference category). Separate regression models are run for each country. Subsequently, predicted probabilities of perceived discrimination are reported across the wealth (Figure 4) and skin color distributions (Figure 5).

In the second part of the analysis, Table 2 presents the logistic regression models predicting the frequency of perceived class discrimination (model 1) and color discrimination (model 2) for the subsample of those who perceive dual discrimination. Due to sample size limitations, a country-pooled model is run with dummy variables for each country. The predictors in these two models are the same as those found in the multinomial logistic regression models in part 1.

FINDINGS

Descriptive Findings

Table 1 presents descriptive statistics for the variables used in the analysis by country. Focusing on the discrimination variables, the majority of respondents across countries do not perceive any type of discrimination. Perceptions of no discrimination are highest in Colombia (72%) and lowest in Bolivia (56%). Class only discrimination is the most common type of discrimination perceived across all countries, except Bolivia. At the high end, in the Dominican Republic and Mexico, 21% and 19%, respectively, perceive class only discrimination. At the low

end are Bolivia (11%) and Ecuador (15%). In Bolivia, a higher percentage perceives dual discrimination (23%) than class only discrimination (11%). In the remaining countries, dual discrimination is more common than color only discrimination, but less common than class only discrimination. Peru (14%) is second to Bolivia regarding rates of dual discrimination, with the Dominican Republic (8%) and Colombia (8%) having the lowest rates. Color only discrimination is most common once again in Bolivia (10%) and least common in the Dominican Republic (2%).

Table 1 about here

Figure 1 presents the distribution of discrimination by wealth for each country. Across both Afrodescendant and indigenous countries, perceptions of dual discrimination are fairly stable across the wealth distribution, with some increase among those with less wealth. Once again, the exception is Bolivia where perceptions of dual discrimination are considerably higher among those with fewer items of wealth. Class only discrimination is also relatively stable, but those at the bottom of the wealth distribution tend to perceive it slightly more. Perceptions of color only discrimination are low and largely uncorrelated with wealth.

Figure 2 presents the distribution of perceived discrimination by skin color for each country. Individuals with the darkest skin are most likely to perceive dual discrimination. This pattern is particularly evident in the Afrodescendant countries, with the exception of the Dominican Republic, and Bolivia, where this association is most pronounced. Yet, overall, perceiving no discrimination is still the most common response. The amount of class only discrimination perceived is fairly consistent across skin shades. Perceptions of color only discrimination do not vary much by skin shade in the majority of the countries. Overall, darker skin color has a relatively weak association with the perception of color only discrimination,

while darker skin is more strongly correlated with perceiving dual discrimination. This suggests that those with darker skin who perceive color discrimination tend to perceive class discrimination as well.

Figures 1 & 2 about here

Analysis Part 1: Determinants of Perceiving Discrimination

Next, for each country, multinomial logistic regression models are estimated to predict the odds of perceiving class only, color only, or dual discrimination as compared to not perceiving either type of discrimination. I use multivariate models to examine if the descriptive patterns hold when confounding factors are accounted for. For example, these models allow for the examination as to whether the relationship between darker skin and dual discrimination observed in Figure 2 is driven by a disproportionate concentration of individuals with darker skin at the lower end of the class spectrum. Figure 3 displays the estimates by country in odds ratios with confidence intervals for the key predictors of interest, wealth and skin color, adjusting for the additional predictors noted above.[7]

The first important finding that emerges from these models is the relationship between economic status and perceptions of dual discrimination. Respondents with less wealth are significantly more likely to perceive dual discrimination in seven of the eight countries. For example, in Brazil, the odds of reporting dual discrimination as opposed to none increase about 10 percent for each additional item of wealth a respondent is lacking, holding all else constant. The only exception is Bolivia, where the coefficient is marginally significant at the 0.10-level. Regarding the class only discrimination outcome, in all eight countries, respondents with

[7] See Appendix Table A and B for full regression tables. Tables created using stargazer (Hlavac 2014).

less wealth are more likely to perceive class only discrimination. An individual's wealth is not positively associated with perceiving color only discrimination in any of the countries, although in Brazil and Bolivia, respondents with less wealth are less likely to perceive color discrimination.

A second important finding is that respondents with darker skin color are more likely to perceive dual discrimination in all eight countries. For example, in Brazil, the odds of reporting dual discrimination as opposed to none are about 36 percent higher for each additional shade darker the interviewer rated the respondent. There is not a significant association between darker skin color and perceiving class only discrimination in any of the countries. Respondents with darker skin are more likely to perceive color only discrimination for all countries except the Dominican Republic and Guatemala, where the coefficients are positive although not significant.

Figure 3 about here

Figures 4 and 5 present predicted probabilities for perceived discrimination across distributions of the two main predictors of interest for each of the eight countries. In Figure 4, predicted values are calculated for respondents at each point along the wealth distribution. Skin color is set at the median value found within each respective country and all other variables are kept at their observed values (Hanmer and Ozan Kalkan 2013). Overall, the predicted probability of perceiving dual discrimination tends to increase with less wealth, although the degree of the increase varies by country. For example, in the case of Brazil, the predicted probability of perceiving dual discrimination, for someone at the median skin shade of 4, increases from 5.7 percent to 7.8 percent at the first (wealth 3) and third (wealth 7) quartile of wealth, respectively, a 37.0 percent increase. In Bolivia, there is only a 6.6 percent increase from an already high 20.6

percent to 22.0 percent, at the first (wealth 7) and third quartiles (wealth 9), respectively, when set at the median skin shade of 5.

Figure 4 about here

In Figure 5, predicted values are calculated for respondents at each point along the skin color distribution. Wealth is set at the median value found within each respective country and all other variables are kept at their observed values. Once again, the predicted probability of perceiving dual discrimination tends to increase with darker skin. The increases from the lightest to darkest shades are particularly pronounced in the Afrodescendant countries and Bolivia.

In Bolivia, for example, across the entire distribution of skin color, the predicted probability increases from 7.0 percent to 62.3 percent, a 792 percent increase, when wealth is set to its median of 8. Looking at the first (shade 4) and third (shade 6) quartiles of skin shade, there is a 63.6 percent increase from 16.5 percent to 27.0 percent. Taking the case of Brazil again, the predicted probability of perceiving dual discrimination for someone at the median wealth of 6 increases 127 percent from 5.4 percent to 12.3 percent for the first (shade 3) and third (shade 6) quartile of skin shade, respectively.

Figure 5 about here

Analysis Part 2: Examining Evidence for Attributional Ambiguity in the Perception of Dual Discrimination

The relatively high perception of dual discrimination leaves open the possibility that people may have difficulty disentangling whether the unfair treatment they perceive is due to class or color. The results show that even when holding skin color constant, less wealth is associated with increasing predicted probabilities of perceiving dual discrimination in the

majority of countries. While it is intuitive that those with less wealth would perceive more class discrimination, it is not intuitive why less wealth would be associated with higher rates of jointly perceiving class *and* color discrimination. One possible interpretation of this finding is that individuals with less wealth may be interpreting some class-based circumstances as deriving from color-based factors. This may suggest that traditional national narratives, downplaying the role of color in favor of class, are less effective among the most economically disadvantaged individuals. A considerable amount has been written in the literature about the idea of "money whitening" (Degler 1986; Harris 1964; Schwartzman 2007; Telles and Flores 2013; Telles and Paschel 2014). Here, poverty appears to darken people's conception of how others see and treat them (Harris 1964; Schwartzman 2007; Telles and Flores 2013; Twine 1998). Similarly, darker skin color is associated with an increased probability of perceiving dual discrimination in all eight countries, even when wealth is held constant. Once again, this leaves open the possibility that individuals with darker skin may be interpreting scenarios that may be due to their skin color as a result of their economic status. This could arise because of the strength of national narratives or the close association between darker skin and economic disadvantage that the respondents in the Silva and Reis (2011) article discussed.

From the analysis above, it is not clear, however, whether these associations between skin color and wealth are due to the existence of attributional ambiguity within the perception of dual discrimination. As stated above, this refers to the potential that ambiguity or uncertainty may exist when individuals attempt to pinpoint the cause, or causes, of the discrimination they perceive. In order to test for attributional ambiguity within the context of dual discrimination, I examine the frequency of perceiving each type of discrimination. More specifically, I consider: 1) whether darker skin is associated with perceiving more instances of class discrimination and,

2) whether less wealth is associated with perceiving more instances of color discrimination. If the frequency of perceiving class discrimination is greater for those with darker skin, net of wealth, among those who perceive dual discrimination, this suggests that darker skin individuals may be attributing a portion of their skin color-based experiences to class-based factors. The same can be said for the perception of color discrimination among those with less wealth.

For this analysis, the sample is restricted to those who perceive dual discrimination. By definition, for attributional ambiguity to occur individuals must have a basis for believing they are being discriminated against because of a certain characteristic. Consequently, for attributional ambiguity to occur within the perception of dual discrimination, it is also necessary for individuals to believe that both class and color are possible axes of discrimination in their society. For example, if an individual interprets all circumstances through a class lens, because color is not a potential axis of discrimination within traditional national narratives, there is no room for such ambiguity to occur. By restricting the sample to those who perceive dual discrimination, it is clear that for these individuals both class and color are salient, potential sources of discrimination.

Table 2 displays the odds ratios from logistic regression models predicting the frequency of perceiving class discrimination (model 1) and color discrimination (model 2). Due to sample size limitations after restricting the sample, a pooled model with all eight countries is run for each outcome. The predictors remain the same in these models as in the multinomial logistic regression models in part 1. Model 1 of Table 2 shows those with darker skin have a higher odds of perceiving class discrimination “sometimes/many times” as opposed to “a few times,” when wealth is held constant. This lends further support to the notion that individuals with darker skin may be interpreting some instances of unfair treatment that may be due to their darker skin color

as resulting from their class status. On the other hand, having less wealth is not associated with the odds of perceiving more color discrimination (model 2). Thus, when skin color is held constant, individuals with less wealth do not perceive more color-based discrimination. This suggests that potentially class motivated unfair treatment is not as likely to be perceived through color-based lenses.

Table 2 about here

DISCUSSION

While an increasing number of scholars have examined perceptions of color discrimination and the complex relations of various social identities in Latin America, few studies have examined the degree to which class and color narratives concerning discrimination overlap in individuals' consciousness about their lived experiences. This analysis attempted to move beyond the implicit color/class binary in much of existing scholarship by examining the distribution of the population that perceives only class, only color, and dual discrimination. Among those who perceive dual discrimination, I also explored whether, given the subtle nature of contemporary discrimination and competing narratives, there is evidence for attributional ambiguity within the perception of dual discrimination.

In terms of the distribution of perceived discrimination, I find that most individuals across countries do not perceive either type of discrimination. Even among the least wealthy and darkest individuals, the most common response tends to be the perception of neither type of discrimination. The social psychological literature from the U.S. on perceived discrimination would suggest the large number of people perceiving no discrimination is unsurprising as it can be psychologically distressing to admit that one has been the victim of discrimination (Williams

et al. 2012). The well-established phenomenon termed the personal-group discrepancy describes the tendency for people to perceive much higher rates of discrimination against the general group they belong to than they perceive experiencing themselves (Taylor et al. 1990). Telles (2014) finds a similar gap in perceptions of personal discrimination and group discrimination in Brazil, Mexico, Peru, and Colombia, which may help explain the relatively low levels of perceiving discrimination. Moreover, particularly in the Latin American context, the low levels of reporting may also stem from a lack of vocabulary around discrimination and the resulting methodological challenges concerning question wording (Beck et al. 2011; Sue and Golash-Boza 2013).

Among those who do perceive some type of discrimination, I find that class only discrimination is the most common attribution in the majority of countries, in line with previous work (Chong et al. 2008; Telles and PERLA 2014). Even among the darkest individuals, perceptions of class discrimination tend to be more prominent than color discrimination. This suggests that class-based explanations are well established across countries and social divisions, coinciding with traditional national narratives.

On the other hand, perceptions of color only discrimination are relatively sparse. This suggests that there is little evidence that color-based explanations are a common, singular lens through which many individuals understand the discriminatory treatment they perceive. The results from part 1 of the analysis show that the probability of perceiving color only discrimination is consistently low across countries and demographic characteristics. Furthermore, the likelihood of perceiving color only discrimination did not vary by wealth in the majority of the countries. One would expect less wealthy individuals to attribute class disadvantage to color-based causes if color was commonly viewed as the primary dimension of discrimination. This

suggests that most economically disadvantaged respondents are not rejecting class-based explanations in favor of attributing unfair treatment to purely color-based factors.

The results do not suggest, however, that individuals in Latin America rarely perceive color discrimination as a force operating in their lives. When combining the proportion perceiving color only discrimination and dual discrimination, at least 10 percent of the population in all eight countries perceives color-based discrimination. Yet, the majority of people who perceive color discrimination also perceive class discrimination. Thus both class and color appear to be part of schemas drawn upon by individuals to interpret unfair treatment.

Part 2 of the analysis explored whether there is evidence for attributional ambiguity within the perception of dual discrimination. In part 1 of the analysis, both darker skin and having less wealth were associated with perceiving dual discrimination. Interrogating these associations further, in part 2, the results show that among those who perceive dual discrimination, darker skin is associated with perceiving a greater frequency of class discrimination, even when wealth is held constant. On the other hand, less wealth is not associated with perceiving more color discrimination when skin color is held constant. These findings provide tentative evidence for the existence of attributional ambiguity within the perception of dual discrimination. It also indicates a higher propensity for individuals to view potentially ambiguous life experiences through class-based explanations such that even darker individuals who perceive color discrimination may be interpreting some color-based instances through a class lens. This speaks to the dominance of *mestizaje* and class-based narratives in Latin America.

Despite the inclusion of eight different Latin American countries with unique histories and contemporary circumstances, similar trends are observed in all eight countries, with some

variation in magnitude. There are, however, a few notable patterns that distinguish the Afrodescendant countries and the indigenous countries. The most notable discrepancies are evident in the descriptive statistics that show perceived discrimination by skin shade (Figure 2) and the predicted probabilities of perceiving discrimination along the skin shade distribution (Figure 5). Here, the magnitudes of the relationships tend to be greater in the Afrodescendant countries. One possible reason this division might emerge when considering skin color as a determinant is that it may be less salient due to the existence of less variation in the indigenous countries. This truncation of the skin color spectrum might make skin color relatively less consequential.

There are two countries that fall outside of this nebulous Afrodescendant and indigenous divide: Bolivia and the Dominican Republic. Bolivia often more closely mirrors the Afrodescendant countries and is often the most extreme of the cases. Despite a large indigenous population, Bolivia may be exceptional because of its recent rapid and discordant social change. In 2005, Bolivia elected its first indigenous president and the government has taken a strong stance against discrimination against indigenous people, thereby heightening these issues in a degree not seen in other countries with large indigenous populations (Telles and Flores 2013).

The Dominican Republic also departs from the other Afrodescendant countries at times. Although not historically acknowledged in its national narratives, the proportion of the population with African ancestry is very high in the Dominican Republic and it is the darkest of all the countries in the sample in terms of mean skin color (Candelario 2007). Consequently, the meaning of skin color may be different from the Afrodescendant countries where the skin color distribution is more concentrated towards lighter shades. Moreover, the Dominican Republic is

the only country in this sample that has yet to adopt state implemented multicultural reform, which suggests a different political context at play (Telles and Garcia 2013).

Thus, having a large indigenous versus Afrodescendant population does not appear to matter much in terms of perceptions of discrimination. Instead, the racialization of both groups across countries may have had a homogenizing effect (Wade 1997). The exceptions of Bolivia and the Dominican Republic therefore may not be the result of population demographics and historical national narratives, but of contemporary political contexts.

Still, future studies would benefit from the availability of longitudinal data and a more in-depth examination of the individual countries. Possible determinants of variation that should be explored in the future include a more nuanced focus on racial composition and the variation in the strength of nation building narratives and social movements. For example, although Ecuador is classified as an Afrodescendant country in this study, it also possesses a large indigenous population (Telles and PERLA 2014) and the findings from Beck, Mijeski, and Stark (2011) suggest there is a divide in the degree to which indigenous and Afrodescendant populations in Ecuador understand terms such as racism and racial discrimination.

Comparisons between Latin American countries and the U.S. are also a fruitful area for future research. Attempts to find a comparable data set in the U.S. to conduct such a comparison in this paper were futile because of the paucity of surveys containing questions concerning class discrimination. The general lack of such lines of questioning in U.S. studies is itself interesting. In the U.S., race has been such a master status that social science research apparently does not even regularly query the degree to which people perceive discrimination based on their class status. Yet, even when asked, it appears class-based discrimination is rarely perceived. For

example, in the National Survey of American Life (NSAL)[8], which is one of the most commonly used studies for examining perceptions of discrimination, only a handful of respondents reported class discrimination (Alegria et al. 2016). The concept of attributional ambiguity may shed some light on this finding. The key component of attributional ambiguity is that the source of discriminatory treatment needs to be a salient social characteristic that individuals believe may lead to discrimination. What the low levels of perceptions of class-based discrimination in the U.S. may suggest is that perhaps because race is such as salient, master status, class is not a salient source of discriminatory treatment.

On the other hand, the prominence of dual discrimination and color discrimination in the Latin American context suggests that despite historical *mestizaje* ideologies, skin color is in fact a salient source of discriminatory treatment. Taking a comparative view of the U.S. and Latin America illuminates the extreme degree to which race is salient in the U.S., potentially highlighting the uniqueness of race in the U.S., which has been the focus of the majority of the sociological literature on race to date. Yet, as Latin America undergoes the *mestizaje* to multiculturalism shift, there are simultaneous attempts in the U.S. to usher in a post-racial, colorblind era (Bonilla-Silva and Dietrich 2011). Although starting from different points, both the U.S. and Latin America are in the process of attempting to rewrite their narratives concerning the role of race and class in society. Future research can, and should, leverage this comparison.

The findings of this paper are also informative as to possible ways that social movements can make inroads into a broader population base. The findings indicate that class and color lines might be particularly blurred at the lowest rungs of the class hierarchy where poverty may

[8] Based on author examination of the raw descriptive statistics provided in the NSAL codebook (not shown).

darken (Schwartzman 2007; Twine 1998). Middle class, educated individuals have been the backbone of most black and indigenous movements, which have struggled to expand their reach to lower social strata (Paschel and Sawyer 2008; Twine 1998). A body of previous work shows there is a relationship between people's understanding of the roots of inequality and support for policies that address inequality (Krysan 2000). Thus, a greater emphasis on the way class and color are intimately intertwined may be a viable way forward for movements to garner more broad-based support for the rights and recognition they seek.

This study has illustrated that individuals are aware of multiple types of discrimination impacting their lives, but they may not necessarily be able to easily distinguish between them. Furthermore, while individuals may be cognizant of discrimination, traditional national narratives may play an important role in limiting the articulation of these experiences as discriminatory. This study thus demonstrates the need to acknowledge the complexity of personal experiences and perceptions in the midst of the shifting narratives regarding inequality in Latin America.

Table 1: Means for Independent Variables (Weighted)

	Afrodescendant Countries				Indigenous Countries			
	Brazil	Colombia	DR	Ecuador	Bolivia	Guatemala	Mexico	Peru
Perceived Discrimination								
None	0.70	0.72	0.69	0.69	0.56	0.67	0.66	0.64
Class Only	0.18	0.17	0.21	0.15	0.11	0.17	0.19	0.18
Color Only	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.05	0.10	0.05	0.03	0.05
Dual	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.11	0.23	0.11	0.11	0.14
Skin Color	4.45	4.11	5.05	4.14	4.99	4.90	4.11	4.22
Wealth (Reverse Coded)	5.31	6.44	6.99	6.49	7.88	7.39	5.82	6.96
Education	8.16	9.97	8.66	10.53	10.47	7.79	9.08	11.12
Age	39.33	37.12	41.11	39.41	37.06	38.38	39.40	39.17
Urban	0.89	0.74	0.73	0.76	0.69	0.48	0.78	0.78
Female	0.51	0.50	0.51	0.51	0.50	0.50	0.49	0.49
Interviewer Skin Color	3.63	5.12	5.08	4.03	4.80	3.94	4.26	4.25
N	2335	1440	1469	2925	2781	1403	1446	1449

Note: Descriptive statistics are weighted to adjust for sampling design.

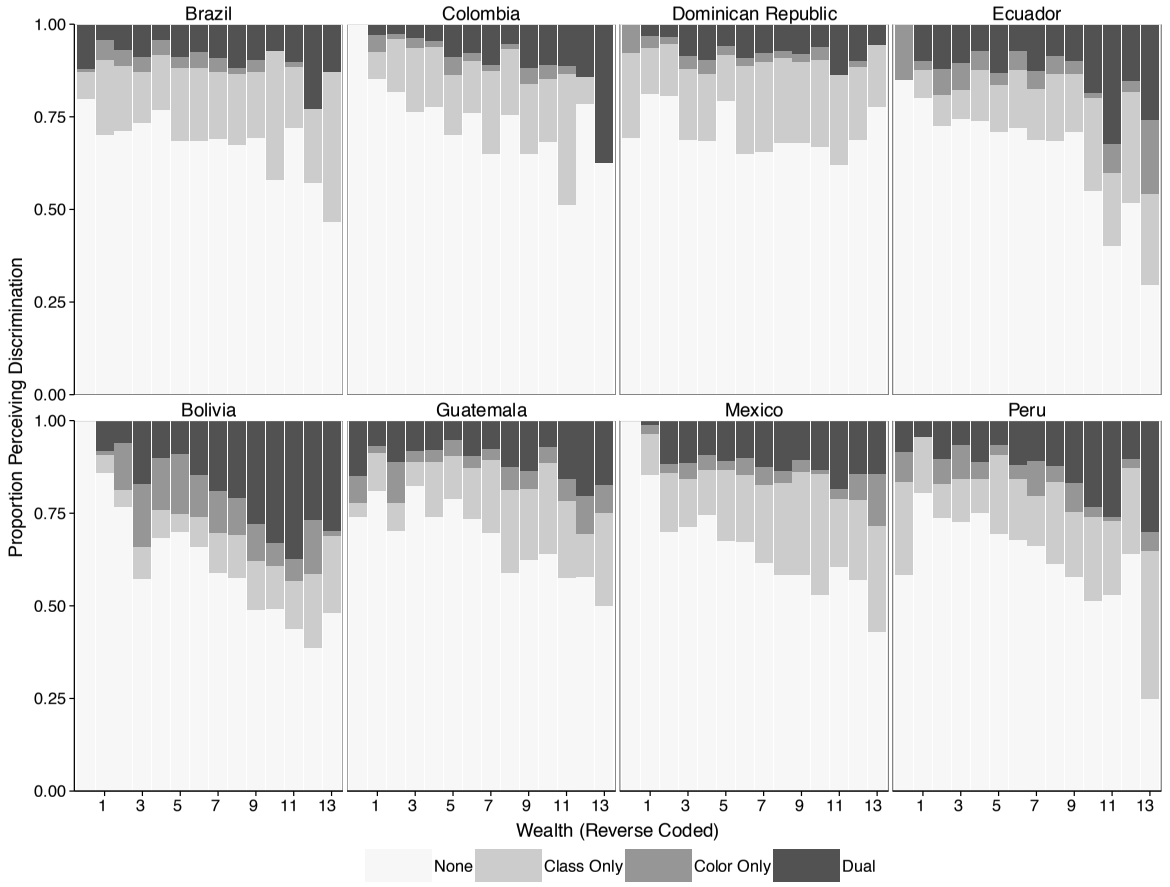
Source: 2010 AmericasBarometer by the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP)

Table 2: Odds Ratio from Logistic Regression Models Predicting Perceived Class and Color Discrimination Among Individuals Reporting Dual Discrimination (Ref. "a few times")

	Class Discrimination "Sometimes/Many Times"	Color Discrimination "Sometimes/Many Times"
	(1)	(2)
Skin Color	1.078*	1.090**
	(0.032)	(0.032)
Wealth (Reverse Coded)	1.063**	1.009
	(0.024)	(0.022)
Education	0.987	1.016
	(0.013)	(0.013)
Age	1.005	1.010**
	(0.004)	(0.004)
Setting		
Urban	1.292*	0.963
	(0.149)	(0.110)
Gender		
Female	0.945	0.926
	(0.092)	(0.089)
Interviewer Color	1.017	0.970
	(0.040)	(0.038)
Country (Ref. Brazil)		
Colombia	1.081	0.547*
	(0.273)	(0.136)
Dominican Republic	2.625***	1.335
	(0.746)	(0.335)
Ecuador	0.393***	0.447***
	(0.076)	(0.086)
Bolivia	0.542***	0.594**
	(0.097)	(0.106)
Guatemala	0.845	0.613*
	(0.189)	(0.136)
Mexico	1.032	0.802
	(0.226)	(0.174)
Peru	0.690	0.956
	(0.150)	(0.206)
Constant	0.475	0.603
	(0.186)	(0.232)
Observations	1,878	1,878
Log Likelihood	−1,240.837	−1,269.543

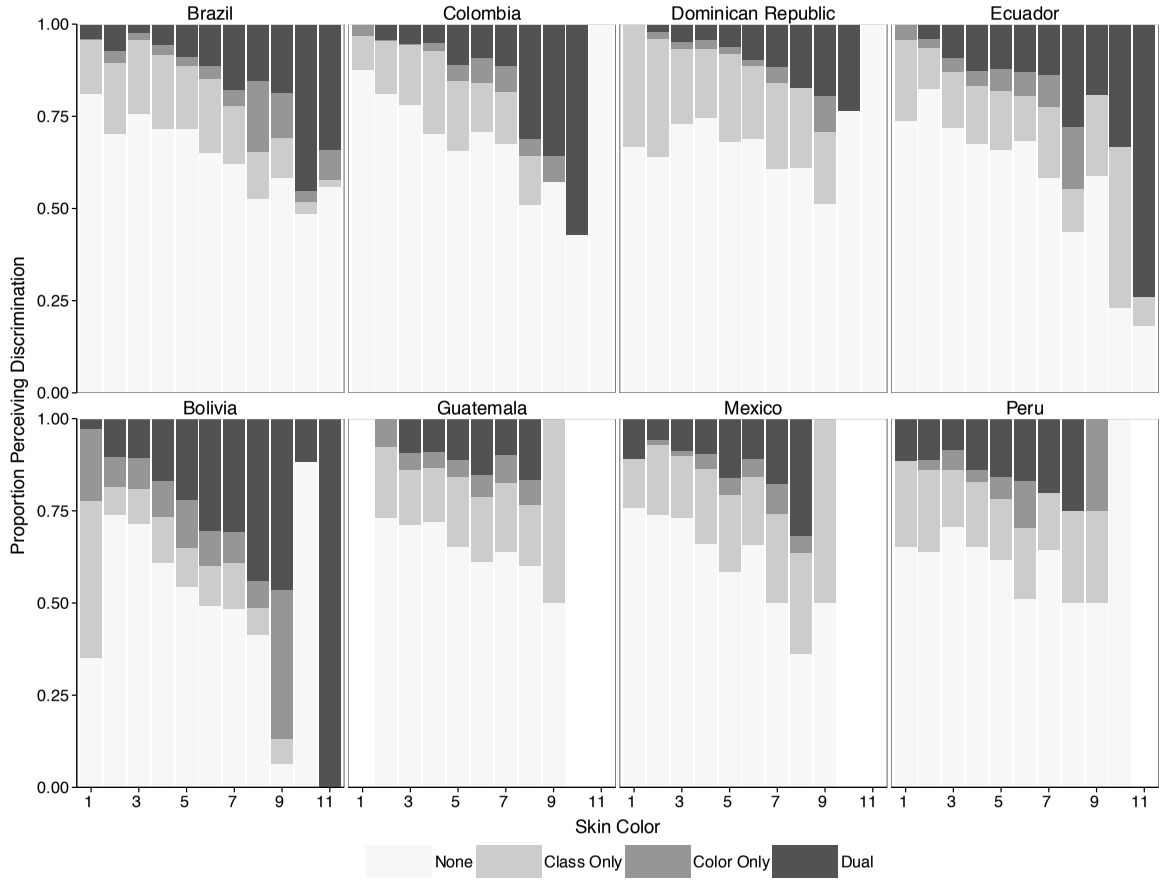
Note: *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001 (two-tailed tests). Delta standard errors in parentheses.
Source: 2010 AmericasBarometer by the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP)

Figure 1: Proportion (Weighted) Perceiving Discrimination by Wealth and Country



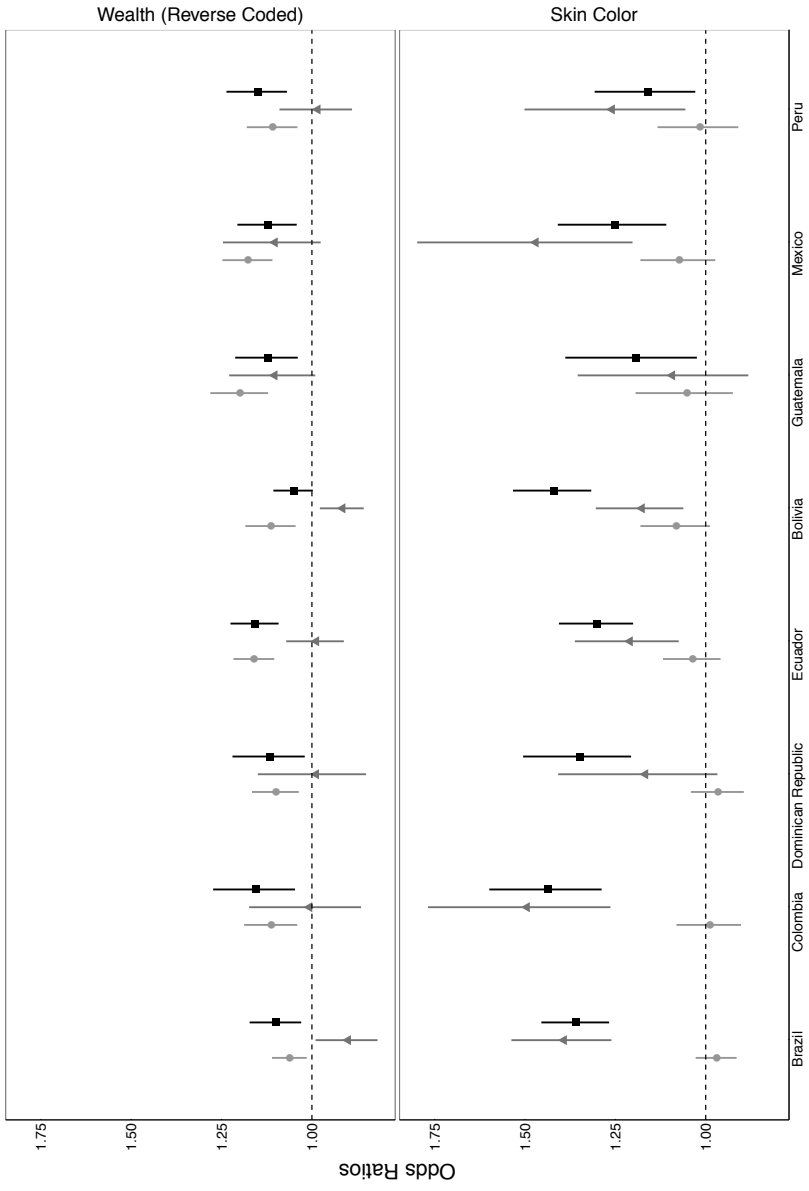
Note: Descriptive statistics are weighted to adjust for sampling design.
Source: 2010 AmericasBarometer by the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP)

Figure 2: Proportion (Weighted) Perceiving Discrimination by Skin Color and Country



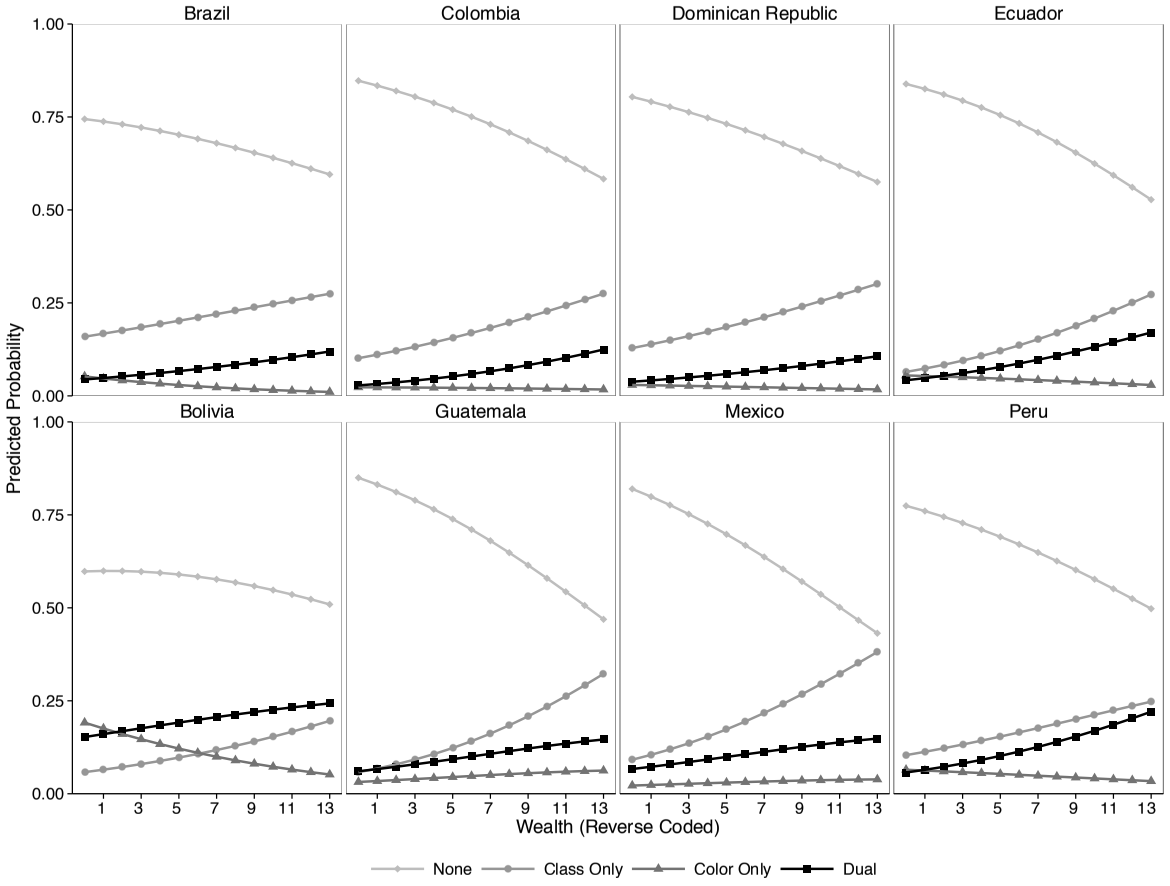
Note: Descriptive statistics are weighted to adjust for sampling design.
Source: 2010 AmericasBarometer by the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP)

Figure 3: Odds Ratios from Multinomial Logistic Regression Models Predicting Perceived Discrimination based on Class, Color, or Dual Discrimination Compared to None



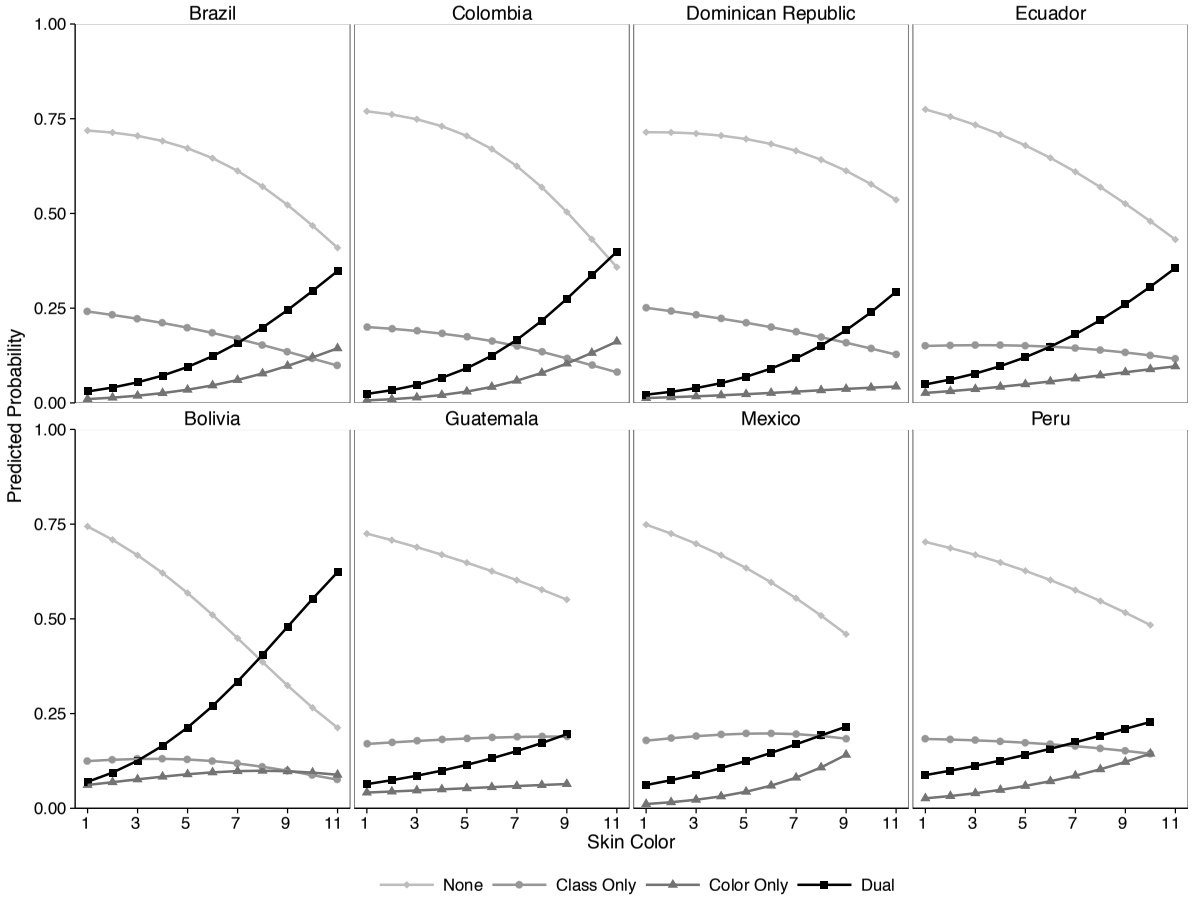
Note: The graph displays point estimates with their 95% confidence intervals. Eight separate regressions were run, one for each country. Models were adjusted for education, age, urban setting, gender, and interviewer color.
Source: 2010 AmericasBarometer by the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP)

Figure 4: Predicted Probabilities by Wealth and Country



Note: Predicted probabilities for perceived discrimination across the wealth distribution. Skin color is set at the median value found within each respective country and all other variables are kept at their observed values.
Source: 2010 AmericasBarometer by the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP)

Figure 5: Predicted Probabilities by Skin Color and Country



Note: Predicted probabilities for perceived discrimination across the skin color distribution. Wealth is set at the median value found within each respective country and all other variables are kept at their observed values.
Source: 2010 AmericasBarometer by the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP)

Appendix A1. Odds Ratio from Multinomial Logistic Regression Models Predicting Perceived Discrimination based on Class, Color, or Dual Discrimination Compared to None: Afrodescendant Countries

	Brazil			Colombia			Dominican Republic			Ecuador		
	Class Only	Color Only	Dual	Class Only	Color Only	Dual	Class Only	Color Only	Dual	Class Only	Color Only	Dual
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Skin Color	0.969	1.392***	1.358***	0.988	1.495***	1.435***	0.965	1.167	1.348***	1.035	1.210**	1.300***
	(0.029)	(0.070)	(0.048)	(0.046)	(0.128)	(0.079)	(0.037)	(0.112)	(0.076)	(0.041)	(0.073)	(0.052)
Wealth (Reverse Coded)	1.061*	0.900*	1.099**	1.112**	1.007	1.155**	1.099**	0.989	1.115*	1.159***	0.988	1.157***
	(0.025)	(0.044)	(0.036)	(0.037)	(0.079)	(0.058)	(0.033)	(0.076)	(0.051)	(0.029)	(0.041)	(0.034)
Education	1.001	1.020	1.013	1.017	1.080	1.034	1.020	1.079	1.071*	0.994	0.979	0.987
	(0.017)	(0.038)	(0.024)	(0.020)	(0.052)	(0.028)	(0.018)	(0.051)	(0.029)	(0.015)	(0.026)	(0.018)
Age	0.988**	0.978*	0.987*	0.996	0.987	0.999	0.991*	0.988	0.984*	1.003	0.994	0.994
	(0.004)	(0.009)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.013)	(0.007)	(0.004)	(0.012)	(0.007)	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.004)
Setting												
Urban	0.946	1.179	1.722*	0.974	0.584	0.872	1.385*	0.821	2.779***	1.238	1.267	1.967***
	(0.151)	(0.505)	(0.445)	(0.173)	(0.237)	(0.210)	(0.216)	(0.323)	(0.815)	(0.141)	(0.257)	(0.278)
Gender												
Female	1.017	1.857**	1.212	0.870	1.100	0.888	0.685**	0.476*	0.899	1.031	0.750	1.030
	(0.109)	(0.426)	(0.183)	(0.125)	(0.379)	(0.184)	(0.091)	(0.174)	(0.185)	(0.109)	(0.139)	(0.130)
Interviewer Color	1.061	1.234**	1.076	1.039	1.076	1.058	1.257***	1.149	1.111	0.848**	0.894	0.815**
	(0.042)	(0.093)	(0.059)	(0.044)	(0.109)	(0.065)	(0.063)	(0.154)	(0.090)	(0.046)	(0.082)	(0.053)
Constant	0.312**	0.009***	0.011***	0.111***	0.004***	0.005***	0.067***	0.010**	0.003***	0.104***	0.074***	0.035***
	(0.120)	(0.008)	(0.006)	(0.062)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.036)	(0.014)	(0.002)	(0.045)	(0.054)	(0.018)
N	2335			1440			1469			2925		
AIC	4,203.183			2,338.724			2,486.234			5,236.359		

Note: *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001 (two-tailed tests). Delta standard errors in parentheses.
Source: 2010 AmericasBarometer by the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP)

Appendix A2. Odds Ratio from Multinomial Logistic Regression Models Predicting Perceived Discrimination based on Class, Color, or Dual Discrimination Compared to None: Indigenous Countries

	Bolivia			Guatemala			Mexico			Peru		
	Class Only	Color Only	Dual	Class Only	Color Only	Dual	Class Only	Color Only	Dual	Class Only	Color Only	Dual
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Skin Color	1.080	1.177**	1.421***	1.051	1.093	1.193*	1.072	1.471***	1.250***	1.016	1.259*	1.160*
	(0.049)	(0.062)	(0.055)	(0.069)	(0.120)	(0.093)	(0.053)	(0.151)	(0.076)	(0.057)	(0.113)	(0.071)
Wealth (Reverse Coded)	1.113***	0.915**	1.051	1.198***	1.103	1.122**	1.176***	1.103	1.121**	1.108**	0.984	1.150***
	(0.035)	(0.031)	(0.028)	(0.041)	(0.061)	(0.044)	(0.035)	(0.069)	(0.042)	(0.036)	(0.051)	(0.043)
Education	0.977	0.994	0.925***	1.060*	1.019	1.027	0.988	1.024	1.001	0.953*	0.993	0.981
	(0.016)	(0.020)	(0.013)	(0.024)	(0.038)	(0.027)	(0.020)	(0.043)	(0.025)	(0.021)	(0.038)	(0.024)
Age	1.003	0.995	0.998	1.007	0.997	1.012*	0.983**	0.979	0.982**	0.999	0.996	1.002
	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.009)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.011)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.008)	(0.005)
Setting												
Urban	1.172	0.885	0.966	1.332	1.082	1.007	1.814***	3.508**	1.500	1.304	1.028	0.883
	(0.169)	(0.148)	(0.113)	(0.223)	(0.303)	(0.202)	(0.327)	(1.630)	(0.330)	(0.251)	(0.335)	(0.176)
Gender												
Female	1.085	0.751*	0.828	1.302	0.861	1.285	0.889	0.835	0.847	0.819	0.830	0.813
	(0.132)	(0.107)	(0.084)	(0.197)	(0.218)	(0.231)	(0.126)	(0.252)	(0.151)	(0.120)	(0.204)	(0.133)
Interviewer Color	0.903*	0.992	0.932	1.006	0.953	0.842*	0.994	0.998	0.904	0.837**	1.102	0.834**
	(0.044)	(0.056)	(0.038)	(0.063)	(0.101)	(0.067)	(0.057)	(0.119)	(0.066)	(0.052)	(0.102)	(0.056)
Constant	0.101***	0.228*	0.160***	0.018***	0.029***	0.025***	0.120***	0.004***	0.080***	0.413	0.029***	0.119**
	(0.056)	(0.139)	(0.073)	(0.011)	(0.029)	(0.018)	(0.066)	(0.005)	(0.055)	(0.253)	(0.029)	(0.082)
N	2781			1403			1446			1449		
AIC	6,108.768			2,703.751			2,686.415			2,908.452		

Note: *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001 (two-tailed tests). Delta standard errors in parentheses.
Source: 2010 AmericasBarometer by the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP)

Chapter 2

Color in Context:
An Intersectional Approach to Perceptions of Discrimination in Latin America

Abstract

Even with the existence of *mestizaje* (race-mixing) ideologies emphasizing the role of class, and minimizing the role of racism in structuring ethnoracial inequalities, studies show that individuals within Latin America perceive color discrimination as operating within their society. Much less is known, however, about the contextual aspects of discrimination or the relationship between perceptions of discrimination and multiple status identities such as skin color, gender, and socioeconomic status or how perceptions of discrimination vary based on the social-spatial context. Using data from the 2010 Project on Ethnicity and Race in Latin America (PERLA) based at Princeton University for Brazil, Mexico, Colombia, and Peru, this study explores the relationship between perceived color discrimination, skin color, wealth, and gender as they relate to domains of life. Specifically, I examine the prevalence of perceived discrimination in public and private spaces across six different domains of life. The findings show that the significance of skin color in the perceptions of discrimination depends on one's socioeconomic status and gender.

INTRODUCTION

A growing body of literature has documented the disproportionate concentration of disadvantage among Afrodescendant and indigenous populations in Latin America (Andrews 2004; Flores and Telles 2012; Flórez, Medina, and Urrea 2001; Perreira and Telles 2014; Telles and Steele 2012; Villarreal 2010). Up until the late 20th century, however, the role of ethnoracial factors in sustaining such disadvantage was largely overlooked in popular consciousness. According to *mestizaje* (race-mixture) ideologies common to many Latin American countries, classism, not racism or racial discrimination, was seen as the cause of these disparities (Harris 1964; Pierson 1942). These narratives purportedly permeated popular consciousness and asserted mixed-race individuals as the quintessential citizens. As a result of the blurred racial boundaries, racial discrimination was proclaimed to be difficult to enact and therefore unlikely (Harris 1964; Marx 1998; Pierson 1942; Telles 2004; Wade 1997).

Multiculturalism began to challenge *mestizaje* ideologies in the late 1980s as state governments increasingly responded to black and indigenous social movements' calls to recognize the unique disadvantages and discrimination faced by these populations (Andrews 2004; Hooker 2005; Paschel and Sawyer 2008; Wade 1997). The government and scholarly level shift in approaches to understanding the factors contributing to inequality has been well documented (Paschel 2010; Paschel and Sawyer 2008), but research examining the degree to which individuals perceive racial and color discrimination as important factors structuring inequality is less developed.

Quantitative research on perceived racial and color discrimination in Latin America is still emerging. The existing literature, however, suggests that despite *mestizaje* ideologies, many individuals perceive discrimination operating against black and indigenous populations (Bailey

2004, 2009; Canache et al. 2014; Telles and Bailey 2013). Moreover, prior work suggests that social statuses including racial identity, skin color, gender, and socioeconomic status play an important role in both the exposure to and prevalence of discrimination (Burgard et al. 2017; Levin et al. 2002; Sellers and Shelton 2003). What is largely lacking in this research, however, is an intersectional approach to how multiple social statuses and one's social-spatial location shapes perceptions of discrimination. Notably, despite the centrality of both race and class in *mestizaje* ideologies, and as determinants of inequality more broadly within Latin America, few studies have considered how issues of race and class interact with perceptions of discrimination.

This study examines the prevalence of perceived color discrimination in various domains of life and the determinants of perceiving discrimination in these realms. In what follows, I review the contributions of intersectional approaches to perceptions of discrimination. Next, I explore the role of socioeconomic status and the social-spatial context as potential determinants of perceived discrimination. With data on Brazil, Mexico, Colombia, and Peru from the Project on Race and Ethnicity in Latin America (PERLA) based at Princeton University, I then examine the relationship between perceptions of color discrimination, gender, wealth, and skin color in six domains of life. This study contributes to the broader literature on intersectionality and cross-national examinations of perceptions of discrimination in Latin America.

BACKGROUND

Perceptions of Discrimination, Intersectionality, and Gender

Discrimination is often defined as unfair or unequal treatment based on social status characteristics such as race, gender, class, or sexual orientation (Pager and Shepherd 2008). Perceptions of discrimination shed light on how individuals understand and attribute unfairness,

and may overestimate or underestimate the amount of discrimination taking place, which itself is difficult to measure. Perceived discrimination, however, is associated with consequential outcomes such as support for policies to address inequality and negative health outcomes (Krysan 2000; Williams et al. 2012). Intersectional approaches highlight the fact that individuals possess multiple social statuses that work in tandem to shape how they move through and experience the world (Collins 2002; Crenshaw 1989; King 1988). Hill Collins (1990:222), for example, argues for the necessity of "embracing a paradigm of race, class, and gender as interlocking systems of oppression."

Intersectional approaches have historically been concentrated in qualitative research, while relatively few quantitative studies have adopted this framework. Harnois and Ifatunji (2011) focus on the limited use in quantitative scholarship specifically focused on perceptions of discrimination (see also Ifatunji and Harnois 2016). For example, prior work largely suggests that black men perceive more discrimination than black women (Broman, Mavaddat, and Hsu 2000; Sellers and Shelton 2003). These findings are in line with the subordinate male target hypothesis which argues that men are the primary targets of discrimination by the dominant group because they are perceived by the dominant group to pose more of a threat than women (Sidanius and Pratto 2011). However, Ifatunji and Harnois (2016) argue that much of this gender gap in perceived discrimination is in fact due to measurement bias. In particular, they note that major life discrimination measures, such as interactions with the police or employment discrimination might be more likely or qualitatively different for men versus women (Harnois and Ifatunji 2011). These measurement issues are compounded in analyses that simply aggregate the count of discrimination perceived in different domains (Burgard et al. 2017), since in most

scales to date more domains are stereotypically encountered by men than women (Ifatunji and Harnois 2016).

Black feminists pioneered intersectional approaches and in the U.S., the small quantitative literature has tended to focus on the intersection of gender and race, while less attention has been paid to the intersections of race and class, and particularly of race, gender and class. Yet, racialized experiences are also shaped by one's class position (Burgard et al. 2017; Feagin 1991; Lacy 2007; Silva and Reis 2011). In the Latin American context, class has long been a central social status given the high levels of inequality in the region and class's role in *mestizaje* ideologies. Furthermore, even though the tension between race and class are a defining element of *mestizaje* ideologies, gender also plays a central role. For example, Wade (1997:94) argues,

> "Mestizaje thus appears as a key terrain for the operation of racism; and the fact that mestizaje often works in zones of intimacy (sex, the family, the body) means racism lodges deep in the heart of people and society making it difficult to both see and resist…Mestizaje needs to be understood as a *deeply gendered process."* [emphasis added]

This gendered nature of *mestizaje* has been documented in qualitative studies (Twine 1998; Viveros and Hernández 2010), but to date few quantitative studies have closely considered how gender might shape perceptions of discrimination in the Latin American context (Burgard et al. 2017). Therefore in this study, I examine how gender, in addition to race and class, work together to shape perceptions of discrimination.

Perceptions of Discrimination and Socioeconomic Status

Latin America is characterized by high levels of inequality and much of this inequality is stratified along the lines of skin color and ethnoracial classification (Flórez et al. 2001; Silva and Reis 2011; Telles and PERLA 2014; Twine 1998). On the one hand, one may hypothesize that individuals with lower socioeconomic status may encounter more instances of unfair treatment than individuals of higher socioeconomic status because they contend with the burdens of both color and class (Andrews 2004; Brown, O'Rand, and Adkins 2012). Moreover, middle class individuals also have greater resources at their disposal, which can be used in order to prevent or mitigate discriminatory treatment, such as being selective about the places they go, the clothes they wear, or drawing on influential networks (Feagin 1991; Silva and Reis 2011). Taken together, these factors point to the idea that all else being equal, individuals with lower socioeconomic status should perceive more discrimination than their more well off counterparts.

Relative Deprivation, Status Inconsistency, and Rising Expectations

On the other hand, a number of hypotheses related to the concept of relative deprivation, suggest that the relationship between socioeconomic status and perceived discrimination may not be so straightforward. Considering individuals with the same skin color, while those with lower socioeconomic status might face more instances of unfair treatment, or *absolute* deprivation of fair treatment, middle class individuals often encounter *relative* deprivation in comparison to their lighter skinned middle class counterparts. Thus, based on the notion of relative deprivation, I argue that perceptions of discrimination may be higher among individuals with darker skin who are higher on the socioeconomic ladder than those with darker skin who are lower on the ladder.

This nuance highlighted by relative deprivation spotlights an important component of perceived discrimination. As stated above, perceptions of discrimination may or may not reflect the absolute amount of unfair treatment that is taking place. People can perceive discrimination in instances where unequal treatment is absent and people can fail to perceive discrimination when it is occurring. Moreover, as shown in chapter 1, individuals who perceive discrimination may have difficulty attributing the cause of this discrimination. Thus, even if individuals with lower socioeconomic status may objectively encounter greater instances of unfair treatment because of the double burden of class and color, it is not clear that they will be more likely to perceive this discrimination or attribute it to color-based factors. Yet, regardless of whether discrimination is occurring or not, the focus of this study is on whether respondents perceive discrimination, given the body of literature highlighting the importance and implications of the perception of discrimination.

There are two related hypotheses, which draw on the notion of relative deprivation: the status inconsistency hypothesis and the rising expectations hypothesis (Geschwender 1964). Geschwender (1964) finds evidence in support of these hypotheses as part of structural explanations for black mobilization in the U.S. in the 1960s. The status inconsistency hypothesis argues, "A group which possesses a number of status attributes which are differently ranked on the various status hierarchies will be dissatisfied and prone toward rebellion" (Geschwender 1964:249). The rising expectation hypothesis proposes, "As a group experiences an improvement in its conditions of life it will also experience a rise in its level of desires. The latter will rise more rapidly than the former, leading to dissatisfaction and rebellion" (Geschwender 1964:249).

Relative Deprivation and Money Whitening

I argue the narratives associated with *mestizaje* ideologies produce a climate in which rising expectations associated with class acquisition should be even more pronounced in the Latin American context, leading to high levels of perceived discrimination for darker skinned, middle class individuals. It is well established throughout Latin America that darker skin and higher socioeconomic status are largely inconsistent statuses. Darker skin is associated with a number of negative attributes and stereotypes, which do not align with the more positive attributes attributed to those of higher socioeconomic status, which often also includes whiteness (Bailey 2002; Sheriff 2001).

A common adage throughout Latin America is "money whitens" (Schwartzman 2007; Telles and Flores 2013). This refers to the idea that upward economic and social mobility can confer whiteness. "Money whitens" illustrates one of the unresolved ideological tensions in *mestizaje* ideologies in that there is the simultaneous assertion that color does not matter and racism does not exist, yet *mestizaje* is historically rooted in notions of the value of whitening and "improving the race" by ever closer associations with whiteness (Degler 1986).

A great deal has been written about the relative fluidity of Latin American ethnoracial classifications in comparison to the fixed categories of the U.S. Geschwender (1964) tested the aforementioned hypotheses in the U.S. context of Jim Crow and the one-drop rule of racial classification. It was unequivocally clear in this context that race was a rigid, master status which was fixed at birth and that no amount of money could change. Yet, the adage that money whitens suggests that opportunity to change one's race exists in Latin America. This is often discussed in terms of Degler's (1986) "mulatto escape hatch," which describes the idea that someone who was born black could become a mulatto by climbing the socioeconomic ladder. These two notions of

money having the ability to whiten and the possiblity of a mulatto escape hatch work together to produce an environment in which the rising expectations for better treatment for a black person in the Latin American context could be higher than for a black person in the U.S. context.

Taken at face value, the ability of money to whiten should erase the status inconsistency between darker skin and higher socioeconomic status by making one's race or color malleable, provided one has adequate resources. However, writing about Colombia, Wade (1993:339) argues that "money whitens" means that "rich black or mulatto people are treated as if they were white (or nearly white)," not that others actually reclassify them as white. This interpretation of money whitening being more about treatment than actual racial fluidity has been supported by studies in various countries throughout the region (Telles and Flores 2013; Wagley 1952). Yet even if one can not change their race or color, concerning the issue of rising expectations, this adage plainly affirms the idea that with higher socioeconomic status, darker skinned individuals should be able to *expect* better treatment.

Therefore, the key issue is not whether the degree to which money whitens is true in practice, but how strong and pervasive the belief is that it should. If one believes that money should whiten and this leads to rising expectations, which may not be met, this in turn could increase the likelihood of perceiving discrimination. Several studies suggest that in terms of their beliefs, views, and perceptions some individuals do believe money whitens. For example, Schwartzman (2007) finds that higher socioeconomic status is associated with individuals classifying their children as white and other studies find mixed evidence for an association between higher socioeconomic status and self-identification as white, that varies based on the national context.

Despite these desires, expectations, and beliefs, there is increasing evidence that the benefits of whiteness supposedly conferred by higher socioeconomic status are not always what might be expected. For example, in Brazil, middle class blacks receive diminishing returns to upward mobility in comparison to whites as evidence by the fact that the racial gap in earnings is greatest for those in the highest status occupations (Bailey, Loveman, and Muniz 2013; Silva and Reis 2011). Twine (1998) finds that black professionals in Brazil work to avoid situations where they may not be accepted. Some individuals leave the town on the weekends, avoid eating at certain restaurants, or choose not to attend social clubs they have purchased membership to. Even though their class status permits them access to these spaces, their race prevents them from feeling comfortable and welcome (Twine 1998). Moreover, in their study of black professionals in Brazil, Silva and Reis (2011:72) also write, "Interviewees' explanations of such incidents tend to conflate race and class—they feel they were discriminated against because others thought that, because they are black, they were also poor, uneducated, or dangerous." Thus, middle class status does not shield these individuals from the stereotypes held of blacks collectively.

Perceptions of Discrimination and Domains of Life

The practice of avoiding certain spaces in order to evade discrimination reflects another element of an intersectional approach to discrimination. In addition to its focus on how individuals' multiple statuses work to shape their experiences and perceptions, intersectional approaches also highlight the role of the social-spatial context (Harnois and Ifatunji 2011). Feagin (1991:102) writes, "There is a spatial dimension to discrimination." Depending on one's statuses, difference spaces will be experienced differently; prior studies have argued that one's potential exposure to discrimination is in part a result of context (Feagin 1991; Feagin and

Eckberg 1980). Harnois and Ifatunji (2011) expand the framework set out by intersectional approaches by "emphasizing that the particular spaces that one moves through on a day-to-day basis are largely determined by intersecting hierarchies of race, gender, class, and sexuality." For example, they argue that black men have more encounters with the criminal justice system and military, while black women typically have more interaction with welfare offices and children's healthcare. Therefore building off this work I will also consider how perceptions of discrimination vary not only by the existence of multiple social statuses, but also by the domains of life in which these experiences occur.

Throughout life, individuals move back and forth between the public sphere and the private sphere. Feagin (1991) contends that this distinction structures an individual's vulnerability to experiencing discriminatory treatment. Writing about blacks in the U.S. facing discrimination by whites, Feagin (1991:102) argues,

> "The probability of experiencing racial hostility varies from the most private to the most public sites. If a black person is in a relatively protected site, such as with friends at home, the probability of experiencing hostility and discrimination is low. The probability increases as one moves from friendship settings to such outside sites as the workplace, where a black person typically has contacts with both acquaintances and strangers, providing an interactive context with greater potential for discrimination."

A variety of studies in the U.S., provide support for Feagin's (1991) claim. For example, Sellers and Shelton (2003) find that perceiving discrimination is common for African-American college students and that most instances involve circumstances where the respondents had brief interactions with strangers where they felt they received poor service, were ignored,

disrespected, or feared. Work by Lacy (2007) and Lewis et al. (2012) also suggests that the anonymous public spaces is a particularly perilous space for blacks in the U.S.

Despite the dominance of U.S. literature in the areas of race, ethnicity, and perceived discrimination, theories developed in the U.S. should not be uncritically applied to Latin America. Important differences, most centrally concerning Latin America's ideologies and practices of *mestizaje*, may work to structure Latin Americans' perceptions about color-based discrimination. Specifically, I hypothesize that the public/private distinction should be smaller in Latin America as a result of *mestizaje* ideologies.

Mestizaje ideologies took center stage in Latin America in the 1930s and allowed Latin Americans to claim moral superiority to the U.S. in terms of race relations (Andrews 2004; Wade 1993). While the U.S. was facing international criticism of Jim Crow, Latin American states emphasized their absence of legal racism and their promotion of race mixing through both intermarriage and other social interactions (Loveman 2014; Telles 2004). Throughout Latin America, the level of intermarriage and racial integration is indeed higher than in the U.S. context (Flórez et al. 2001; Silva and Reis 2011).

In explaining differences between race relations in the U.S. and Brazil, Telles (2004:12) makes the distinction between vertical relations, which refer to inequality and economic exclusion, and horizontal relations, which refer to social relations and "levels of sociability," such as intermarriage and segregation. Telles (2004) argues that while rates of vertical stratification are much greater in Brazil than in the U.S., Brazil's horizontal stratification is much less intense due to *mestizaje* ideologies. Thus, while there are large inequalities by ethnoracial identities and skin color in terms of economic disparities, the degree of social integration in Latin America is much higher than what is commonly seen in the U.S.

This greater degree of interpersonal interaction may work to minimize the gap between public and private discrimination through elevated levels of private discrimination. One argument for why middle class blacks perceive similar or greater levels of discrimination in the U.S. is that they interact with whites at a much higher rate and are therefore at greater risk of being discriminated against. As a result of the high level of racial and economic segregation in the U.S. in terms of neighborhoods, schools, and occupations, blacks of lower socioeconomic status do not encounter whites with the same frequency (Anderson 2015; Feagin 1991; Massey and Denton 1993). Yet, due to the greater degree of horizontal integration throughout Latin America because of *mestizaje*, there is increased interaction among people of different skin shades and ethnoracial groups. This could lead to higher levels of perceived discrimination in the public domain, but also particularly in the private spaces where familial and social interactions across ethnoracial boundaries are much more frequent.

Instances of private discrimination may also be particularly high in the Latin American context because of the widespread use of racial humor (Sue and Golash-Boza 2013). Sue and Golash-Boza (2013:1594) argue that the use of racial humor allows individuals "to express racist sentiments in a socially acceptable manner," while still upholding and reproducing colorblind *mestizaje* ideologies (Telles 2004; Twine 1998). Sue and Golash-Boza (2013:1588) assert that "derogatory comments or images used for comedic purposes" do not fall under people's definition of racism. This may set the stage for higher levels of perceived discrimination than in the U.S. because in the private spaces these comments would typically be deemed inappropriate and not stated openly.

Since such comments, however, often do not fall under the working definition of racism in Latin America, perceptions of discrimination may be lower in these private spaces than one

might expect because such comments may not be interpreted as discrimination. The complicated nature of this issue is highlighted by Sue and Golash-Boza (2013:1591) who write,

> "The fact that individuals outwardly conform to social pressures to 'go along' with racial humour belies their sentiments that these jokes are hurtful. We found that targets of racial humour frequently put up false fronts, acting undisturbed and remaining silent, when they are, in fact, offended by the jokes. In doing so, they save both personal and national face; they demonstrate their ability to be a 'good sport' and they smooth over potential contradictions between racial humour and colour-blind national ideology. Thus, individuals not only 'go along' with racial humour, but also frame it as harmless."

Therefore, it is unclear whether individuals who are the target of racial humor, which they frame as harmless, but yet offensive, perceive such occurrences as discriminatory treatment. Consequently, this study seeks to examine how context, class and skin color relate to gender and perceptions of color discrimination in light of *mestizaje* ideologies.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Data

Data for this study come from the Project on Ethnicity and Race in Latin America (PERLA) based at Princeton University. PERLA is a cross-sectional, nationally representative survey conducted using face-to-face interviews with voting-age adults in 2010 in Brazil, Mexico, Colombia, and Peru. These countries were selected because of their sizeable indigenous and Afrodescendant populations. The unit of observation is the household and one respondent per household was interviewed. The surveys were conducted in Spanish in Mexico, Colombia, and Peru and Portuguese in Brazil. The sample size is approximately 1000 in Brazil and 1500 in the

three other countries. In order to address missing data, complete case analysis was used, resulting in a final analytic sample of N= 4573. Data from this survey are uniquely suited for this study because PERLA includes detailed questions on not just whether or not individuals perceive discrimination, but also in what spaces of life they perceive it. No other cross national survey data in Latin America include such detailed questions on perceived discrimination from a variety of angles.

Variables

The outcomes of interest are the perception of color discrimination in six realms of life. The respondents were asked "*In the last 5 years, at some point have you been discriminated against or treated unfairly because of your skin color in the following situations:* 1) *"when looking for a job in any company or business",* 2) *"in meetings or social events,"* 3) *" in public places (such as on the street, plazas, malls or market),"* 4) *"in encounters with the police",* 5) *"within your family", and* 6) *"in health centers, clinics, or hospitals."* Respondents were given the options "many times, sometimes, a few times, or never." The first three categories were combined to create a two-level variable with the levels "Ever" and "Never." Public discrimination is operationalized as including discrimination perceived in domains 1, 3, 4, and 6, which will be referred to as "job," "street," "police," and "hospital" discrimination, respectively. Private discrimination is operationalized using items 2 and 5, which will be referred to as "social" and "family" discrimination, respectively.

The primary predictors of interest are skin color, socioeconomic status, and gender. Skin color is operationalized based on the PERLA Color Palette. Skin color is used instead of racial identification, the variable most commonly used in the U.S., because of skin color's relatively

greater importance in shaping racial identification and classification in Latin America and the fact that phenotype plays a particularly important role in shaping life chances. Moreover, issues of color and race greatly overlap and the terms are often used interchangeably to a much greater degree in this context (Dixon and Telles 2017; Telles and PERLA 2014). With the color palette, interviewers identified the color from the palette that most closely matched the color of the face of the respondent. The palette ranges from 1 (lightest) to 11 (darkest). In this study, socioeconomic status is operationalized using a wealth measure. The wealth measure is constructed as a composite variable ranging from 0-11, which includes a television, refrigerator, telephone, washing machine, vehicle or car, drinking water in the house, bathroom in the house, computer, hairdryer, internet service, and a gas or electric stove. Gender is a binary variable.

Age, education, urban/rural residence, and the skin color of the interviewer are included in the regression models as additional predictors. Age and education (0-18) are continuous variables, while urban/rural residence is a binary variable. PERLA asked interviewers to report their own skin color on a scale of 1 to 11, with 1 being the lightest and 11 the darkest, using the PERLA Color Palette.

Analytic Plan

First, table 1 presents summary statistics for the variables of interest for the full sample, and female and male subsamples. Next, I examine the determinants of perceiving discrimination in the six domains using logistic regression models. Table 2 presents the results for the baseline model for the full sample. In table 3, an interaction between skin color and wealth is introduced. Table 4 displays both the baseline and interaction models for the female subsample, and table 5

shows the same results for the male subsample. Lastly, figure 1 presents predicted probabilities for the female and male subsamples, based on the interaction models.

FINDINGS

Descriptive Findings

Table 1 displays descriptive statistics. In terms of the discrimination variables, there is not much variation by gender in terms of rates of perceive discrimination in the various domains. The only exception is discrimination from police for which males perceive discrimination at about double the rate of females. When examining the two domains within private discrimination, social discrimination is perceived at twice the rate of family discrimination. In terms of domains within public discrimination, job discrimination is the most common type perceived at 22 percent for the full sample. Perceptions of police, street, and hospital discrimination do not vary much and are found at similar rates to social discrimination. Thus, the public/private distinction Feagin (1991) sets forth does not appear to be meaningfully present.

Table 1 about here

Regression Results

Table 2 presents odds ratios from logistic regression models predicting perceiving discrimination in the six domains for the full sample. Models 1 and 2, are domains considered to be in private spaces (family and social, respectively), while models 3-6 (street, police, hospital, and job, respectively) are for domains in public spaces. The results show that darker skin color is associated with perceiving all six types of discrimination, controlling for all other factors. For example, looking at Model 1, for each shade darker an interviewer coded a respondent, the respondent has a 7.1 percent higher odds of perceiving, versus not perceiving, discrimination

within their family in the last 5 years. The results also show that individuals with more wealth are significantly less likely to perceive discrimination in 5 of the 6 domains. The one exception is for family discrimination where the coefficient is in the same direction, but not significant.

Table 2 about here

In table 3, I test the interaction between wealth and skin color in order to see whether darker skin individuals with greater wealth will be more likely to perceive discrimination (models 2, 4, 6, 8, 10 and 12). The interaction between skin color and wealth is significant and positive for all domains of discrimination except job discrimination, where it is in the same direction although not significant. This provides evidence that the likelihood of perceiving discrimination for an individual of a specific skin color varies by their level of wealth. Stated another way, this similarly shows that the likelihood of perceiving discrimination for individuals at a certain level of wealth depends on their skin color.

In terms of gender, throughout all of these models, the coefficient on female is only significant in the domain of police discrimination (models 7 and 8). For example, in model 8, with the interaction term, women have a 57.4 percent lower odds of perceiving skin color discrimination by the police than men. This is unsurprising given that it is well known that interactions with police are highly gendered. In all of the other models, it appears that women are less likely to perceive discrimination than men, in all domains except for the family, but that the difference is not significant.

Table 3 about here

In the next step of the analysis, I repeat the models in table 3, but conduct subsample analyses separately for females (table 4) and males (table 5). For females in table 4, the results for the base model without the interaction do not differ substantively from the results found in

the full model. Table 4 shows that in terms of private discrimination, having darker skin color is significantly associated with perceiving social discrimination (model 3), but only marginally significant in terms of perceiving family discrimination (model 1). In terms of public discrimination, for the base model, individuals with darker skin are more likely to perceive street (model 5), hospital (model 9), and job (model 11) discrimination, but not police discrimination (model 7). Having more wealth is associated with a decrease in the odds of reporting social, street, police, and hospital discrimination and is marginally significant at the .10-level in terms of family and job discrimination. However, upon adding the interaction term between skin color and wealth (models 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, and 12), a different story emerges. The interaction between skin color and wealth is only significant for street discrimination among the female subsample.

Table 4 about here

In the male subsample analysis, the baseline models (1, 3, 5, 7, 9, and 11) once again show the familiar pattern where darker skin is associated with greater odds of perceiving discrimination in the various domains. The only domain in which this is not significant is in the family. Interestingly, for men, the coefficient on wealth is only significant in the domain of the hospital and job, where once again more wealth is associated with perceiving less discrimination. Yet, the interaction between skin color and wealth is significant for every domain among the male subsample, although only marginally significant for job discrimination.

Table 5 about here

In order to clarify the substantive meaning of an interaction with two continuous variables, figure 1 presents the predicted probabilities for the female (top panel) and male (bottom panel) subsample analyses. I present the predicted probabilities along each point of the wealth distribution at four different shades of skin color: 2, 4, 6, and 8. The values of all other

variables are set at their means, aside for the categorical country variable. For the sake of parsimony, the predicted probabilities are based off of the country coefficient for only Brazil. Brazil serves as a reasonable choice for this presentation because the literature on perceived color discrimination is largest for Brazil and will allow for the most comparisons to other studies.

In the top panel of figure 1, which displays the predicted probabilities for females, it is clear that the slopes do not vary much for social, police, hospital, and job discrimination. Table 3 showed that the interaction between skin color and wealth was only significant in the domain of the street for women. The panel for street discrimination shows that the predicted probabilities tend to decrease along the wealth distribution for individuals of shade 2, 4, and 6. However, for individuals of shade 8 the predicted probabilities of perceive discrimination increase the higher up the wealth distribution they are.

Interestingly, for street discrimination, all four plotted skin shades start out with the same relatively high predicted probabilities for women with the least amount of wealth. This suggests that for those at the lowest end of the wealth distribution, class status may be an equalizing force in terms of the perception of color discrimination on the street for women with varying skin colors. Yet, for women with the highest amounts of wealth, color may matter much more as shown by the diverging lines. This would suggests that women's perceptions of color discrimination in this particular domain may not be as dependent on their skin color as one might expect. Instead, color and wealth may be intricately interlinked in how women perceive and understand occurrences of discriminatory treatment in the domain of the street.

In the bottom panel, the divergence of the predicted probabilities for men of different skin shades across the wealth distribution is more pronounced. The models in table 5 show that the interaction between skin color and wealth was significant or marginally significant for all six

domains. Here, the graphs show that the predicted probabilities of perceiving color discrimination generally decrease along the wealth distribution for those with the lightest skin, but they stay either relatively flat or increase for those with darker skin.

Figure 1 about here

DISCUSSION

This study examined the perception of color discrimination in various domains of life in four Latin American countries using an intersectional framework. Although there have been an increasing number of quantitative studies on the perception of color discrimination, this is one of the first studies to examine where individuals perceive this discrimination to be occurring from a cross-national perspective, using nationally representative data. This study also sought to more closely examine the role of socioeconomic status and gender in perceiving discrimination.

First, overall, the results suggest that perceptions of public and private discrimination do not vary greatly, in contrast to Feagin's (1991) distinction between public and private spaces. Of the six domains, the lowest levels of discrimination are perceived within the family, while the most common domain in which individuals perceive discrimination is job discrimination. The rates of perceived discrimination for the four remaining domains (social, police, street, and hospital) are all fairly similar.

The second main finding is that while darker skin is positively associated with perceiving color discrimination and greater wealth tends to be negatively associated with perceived discrimination; it is necessary to look at the intersection of the two variables to truly understand these associations. For men in particular, across almost all domains, having very dark skin and greater levels of wealth produces the greatest odds of perceiving color discrimination. For

women, this is interestingly only true in the domain of the street. These results provide tentative support for the rising expectations and the status inconsistency hypotheses. Yet, further work will be required to gain greater insight into these nuanced findings.

One limitation of this study is the cross-sectional nature of the data which does not allow for causal claims. In addition, there is the potential for reverse causality with regards to socioeconomic status and perceived discrimination (Chong and Kim 2006; Shelton and Wilson 2009). The present study sought to address this issue by operationalizing socioeconomic status using a wealth measure which is more able to accurately capture economic wellbeing over time, in comparison to income which is more subject to short term fluctuations (Filmer and Pritchett 2001). Yet, going forward, there is a need for future studies to examine these issues with longitudinal data.

These findings highlight the need for more intersectional approaches to work on perceived discrimination in Latin America. This present study takes the important step of illuminating which contexts and demographic characteristics are predictive of individuals perceiving color based discrimination. Given the large body of work examining the relationship between perceived discrimination and indicators such as health, labor market outcomes, and political views in the U.S., future work should also examine how perceptions of discrimination in the various domains in Latin America are associated with these outcomes. The findings may be particularly informative for policy makers to address specific inequalities. If individuals avoid certain spaces, such as not seeking necessary health care treatment or disinvesting in the labor market (Andrews 2004), this may serve to perpetuate or exacerbate existing color-based inequalities. Therefore, intersectional understandings that acknowledge the complexities of

multiple social statuses and social-spatial contexts have the potential to better address social inequalities.

Table 1: Means for Independent Variables

	Full	Female	Male
Domain of Discrimination			
Private Domains			
Family	0.07	0.07	0.07
Social	0.14	0.13	0.15
Public Domains			
Street	0.14	0.13	0.15
Police	0.12	0.08	0.17
Hospital	0.14	0.14	0.14
Job	0.22	0.21	0.23
Skin Color	4.83	4.67	5.00
Wealth	6.70	6.56	6.85
Female	0.50		
Age	38.98	38.62	39.34
Education	5.84	5.63	6.04
Urban	0.79	0.80	0.79
Interviewer Skin Color	4.56	4.58	4.54
N	4573	2308	2265

Source: Project on Ethnicity and Race in Latin America (PERLA) at Princeton University

Table 2: Odds Ratios from Logistic Regression Models Predicting Perceiving Discrimination (Full Sample)

	Private Domains		Public Domains			
	Family	Social	Street	Police	Hospital	Job
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Skin Color	1.071*	1.161***	1.232***	1.117***	1.112***	1.135***
	(0.037)	(0.029)	(0.030)	(0.029)	(0.027)	(0.024)
Wealth	0.962	0.958*	0.959*	0.943**	0.909***	0.943**
	(0.028)	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.021)	(0.019)	(0.017)
Female	1.104	0.886	0.892	0.428***	0.959	0.951
	(0.131)	(0.078)	(0.079)	(0.042)	(0.084)	(0.070)
Age	0.995	0.997	0.995+	0.986***	0.997	0.999
	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Years of Education	0.986	1.008	1.007	0.990	0.980+	0.994
	(0.015)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.009)
Setting (ref. Rural)						
Urban	0.997	1.139	0.967	1.126	0.896	1.264*
	(0.152)	(0.130)	(0.109)	(0.136)	(0.098)	(0.124)
Interviewer Color	0.978	1.007	1.016	0.965	0.964	0.972
	(0.044)	(0.033)	(0.032)	(0.034)	(0.031)	(0.027)
Country(ref. Brazil)						
Colombia	0.910	1.802***	1.333+	1.701**	1.157	1.401**
	(0.191)	(0.287)	(0.199)	(0.280)	(0.172)	(0.174)
Mexico	1.397+	2.315***	1.787***	2.003***	1.426*	1.525***
	(0.273)	(0.370)	(0.270)	(0.327)	(0.207)	(0.191)
Peru	1.994***	3.040***	1.907***	2.283***	1.844***	2.826***
	(0.389)	(0.486)	(0.293)	(0.378)	(0.271)	(0.350)
Constant	0.069***	0.047***	0.055***	0.182***	0.209***	0.134***
	(0.028)	(0.015)	(0.017)	(0.058)	(0.062)	(0.034)
Observations	4,573	4,573	4,573	4,573	4,573	4,573
Akaike Inf. Crit.	2,269.816	3,597.019	3,539.320	3,230.656	3,612.011	4,653.530

Note: +p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001 (two-tailed tests). Delta standard errors in parentheses.
Source: Project on Ethnicity and Race in Latin America (PERLA) at Princeton University

Table 3: Odds Ratios from Logistic Regression Models Predicting Perceiving Discrimination (Full Sample) with Wealth Interaction

	Private Domains				Public Domains							
	Family		Social		Street		Police		Hospital		Job	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Skin Color	1.071*	0.788*	1.161***	0.940	1.232***	1.016	1.117***	0.920	1.112***	0.965	1.135***	1.042
	(0.037)	(0.079)	(0.029)	(0.067)	(0.030)	(0.071)	(0.029)	(0.070)	(0.027)	(0.067)	(0.024)	(0.063)
Wealth	0.962	0.764***	0.958*	0.814***	0.959*	0.822***	0.943**	0.812***	0.909***	0.813***	0.943**	0.884**
	(0.028)	(0.058)	(0.020)	(0.045)	(0.020)	(0.046)	(0.021)	(0.048)	(0.019)	(0.045)	(0.017)	(0.041)
Female	1.104	1.103	0.886	0.885	0.892	0.891	0.428***	0.426***	0.959	0.957	0.951	0.950
	(0.131)	(0.132)	(0.078)	(0.078)	(0.079)	(0.079)	(0.042)	(0.042)	(0.084)	(0.084)	(0.070)	(0.070)
Age	0.995	0.995	0.997	0.998	0.995+	0.995	0.986***	0.986***	0.997	0.997	0.999	0.999
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Years of Education	0.986	0.988	1.008	1.010	1.007	1.009	0.990	0.991	0.980+	0.982	0.994	0.995
	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Setting (ref. Rural)												
Urban	0.997	0.991	1.139	1.134	0.967	0.965	1.126	1.118	0.896	0.893	1.264*	1.260*
	(0.152)	(0.151)	(0.130)	(0.129)	(0.109)	(0.109)	(0.136)	(0.135)	(0.098)	(0.097)	(0.124)	(0.124)
Interviewer Color	0.978	0.978	1.007	1.008	1.016	1.016	0.965	0.965	0.964	0.964	0.972	0.972
	(0.044)	(0.044)	(0.033)	(0.033)	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.027)	(0.027)
Country(ref. Brazil)												
Colombia	0.910	0.893	1.802***	1.782***	1.333+	1.320+	1.701**	1.683**	1.157	1.148	1.401**	1.393**
	(0.191)	(0.188)	(0.287)	(0.284)	(0.199)	(0.198)	(0.280)	(0.277)	(0.172)	(0.171)	(0.174)	(0.173)
Mexico	1.397+	1.395+	2.315***	2.300***	1.787***	1.771***	2.003***	1.985***	1.426*	1.419*	1.525***	1.519***
	(0.273)	(0.274)	(0.370)	(0.368)	(0.270)	(0.268)	(0.327)	(0.325)	(0.207)	(0.206)	(0.191)	(0.190)
Peru	1.994***	1.955***	3.040***	2.981***	1.907***	1.867***	2.283***	2.232***	1.844***	1.819***	2.826***	2.800***
	(0.389)	(0.383)	(0.486)	(0.478)	(0.293)	(0.288)	(0.378)	(0.370)	(0.271)	(0.268)	(0.350)	(0.347)
Skin Color x Wealth		1.047***		1.032**		1.029**		1.029**		1.022*		1.013
		(0.015)		(0.010)		(0.010)		(0.011)		(0.010)		(0.009)
Constant	0.069***	0.320+	0.047***	0.142***	0.055***	0.156***	0.182***	0.499	0.209***	0.435+	0.134***	0.208***
	(0.028)	(0.195)	(0.015)	(0.066)	(0.017)	(0.072)	(0.058)	(0.242)	(0.062)	(0.193)	(0.034)	(0.080)
Observations	4,573	4,573	4,573	4,573	4,573	4,573	4,573	4,573	4,573	4,573	4,573	4,573
Akaike Inf. Crit.	2,269.816	2,260.922	3,597.019	3,589.010	3,539.320	3,532.581	3,230.656	3,225.117	3,612.011	3,609.218	4,653.530	4,653.215

Note: +p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001 (two-tailed tests). Delta standard errors in parentheses.
Source: Project on Ethnicity and Race in Latin America (PERLA) at Princeton University

Table 4: Odds Ratios from Logistic Regression Models Predicting Perceiving Discrimination (Female Subsample) with Wealth Interaction

	Private Domains				Public Domains							
	Family		Social		Street		Police		Hospital		Job	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Skin Color	1.096^{+}	0.891	1.137***	1.086	1.276***	1.033	1.072	0.973	1.105**	1.021	1.152***	1.098
	(0.053)	(0.125)	(0.043)	(0.116)	(0.047)	(0.109)	(0.050)	(0.128)	(0.040)	(0.105)	(0.035)	(0.098)
Wealth	0.925^{+}	0.789*	0.931*	0.899	0.918**	0.772**	0.890**	0.826^{+}	0.903**	0.848*	0.951^{+}	0.917
	(0.038)	(0.086)	(0.030)	(0.075)	(0.030)	(0.067)	(0.036)	(0.086)	(0.028)	(0.070)	(0.025)	(0.062)
Age	0.993	0.993	0.998	0.998	0.992^{+}	0.992^{+}	0.994	0.994	0.991*	0.991*	0.998	0.998
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Years of Education	0.992	0.993	1.012	1.012	1.009	1.010	0.994	0.995	0.959*	0.960*	1.006	1.006
	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.013)	(0.013)
Setting (ref. Rural)												
Urban	0.934	0.936	1.367^{+}	1.366^{+}	1.007	1.016	1.283	1.283	0.890	0.891	1.456**	1.456**
	(0.191)	(0.192)	(0.232)	(0.232)	(0.165)	(0.166)	(0.264)	(0.264)	(0.137)	(0.137)	(0.209)	(0.209)
Interviewer Color	0.951	0.948	1.031	1.031	1.014	1.011	0.971	0.969	1.001	1.000	0.974	0.974
	(0.058)	(0.058)	(0.049)	(0.049)	(0.047)	(0.047)	(0.058)	(0.058)	(0.045)	(0.045)	(0.038)	(0.038)
Country(ref. Brazil)												
Colombia	0.938	0.932	1.509^{+}	1.507^{+}	1.302	1.303	1.686^{+}	1.681^{+}	0.977	0.975	1.418*	1.415*
	(0.264)	(0.262)	(0.342)	(0.341)	(0.283)	(0.283)	(0.455)	(0.454)	(0.198)	(0.198)	(0.242)	(0.241)
Mexico	1.460	1.470	2.166***	2.169***	1.740*	1.757*	1.594^{+}	1.596^{+}	1.185	1.186	1.330	1.331
	(0.386)	(0.390)	(0.487)	(0.488)	(0.387)	(0.392)	(0.439)	(0.440)	(0.237)	(0.237)	(0.236)	(0.236)
Peru	1.545	1.546	2.916***	2.917***	1.966**	1.978**	2.024*	2.022*	1.645*	1.645*	2.658***	2.655***
	(0.423)	(0.425)	(0.657)	(0.658)	(0.445)	(0.449)	(0.560)	(0.560)	(0.336)	(0.336)	(0.461)	(0.460)
Skin Color x Wealth		1.034		1.007		1.035*		1.016		1.013		1.008
		(0.022)		(0.016)		(0.016)		(0.020)		(0.016)		(0.013)
Constant	0.116***	0.320	0.044***	0.055***	0.058***	0.174**	0.094***	0.151*	0.294**	0.436	0.102***	0.130***
	(0.063)	(0.267)	(0.019)	(0.036)	(0.026)	(0.117)	(0.050)	(0.122)	(0.119)	(0.272)	(0.036)	(0.071)
Observations	2,308	2,308	2,308	2,308	2,308	2,308	2,308	2,308	2,308	2,308	2,308	2,308
Akaike Inf. Crit.	1,184.974	1,184.417	1,738.632	1,740.421	1,682.607	1,679.930	1,256.035	1,257.413	1,798.027	1,799.335	2,317.639	2,319.306

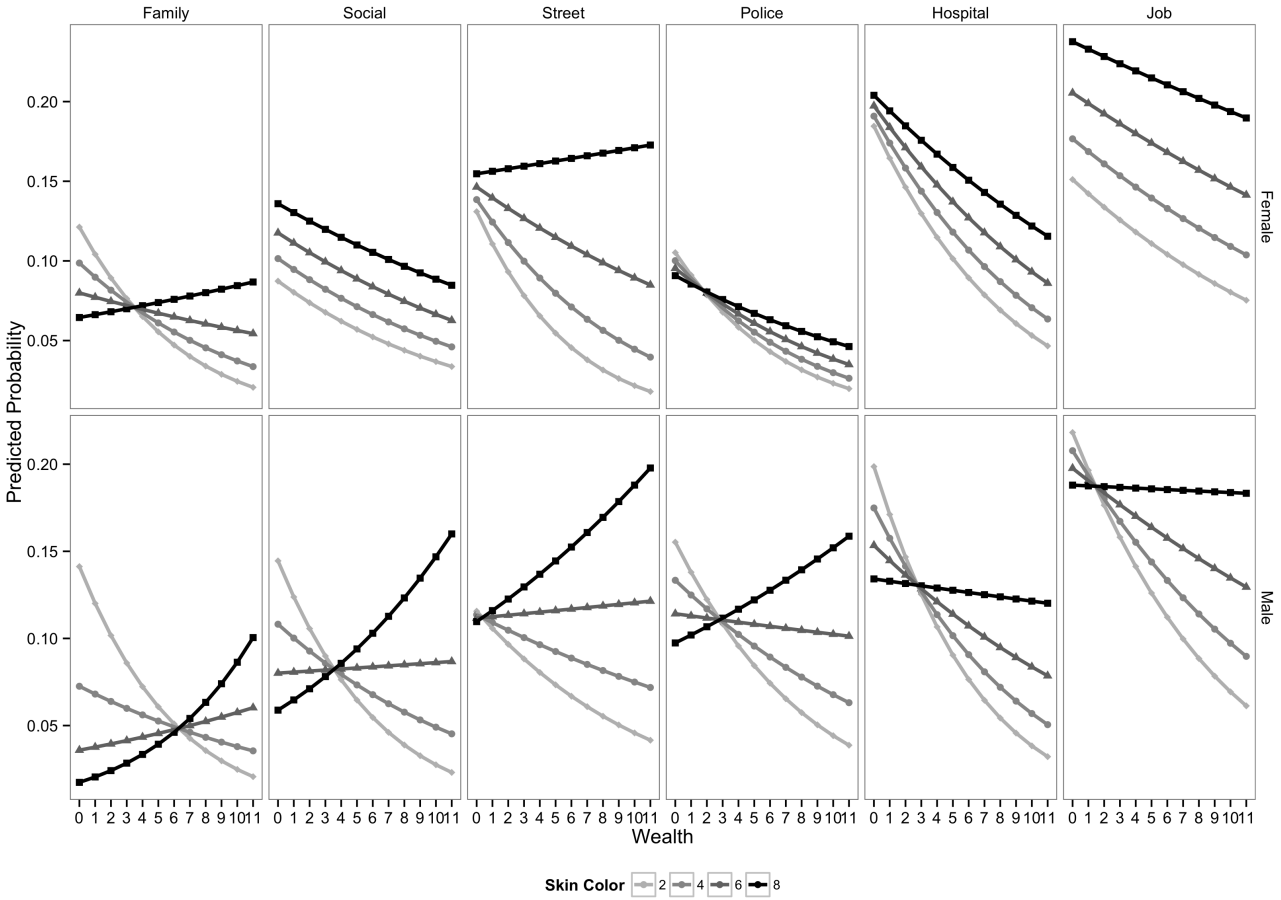
Note: +p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001 (two-tailed tests). Delta standard errors in parentheses.
Source: Project on Ethnicity and Race in Latin America (PERLA) at Princeton University

Table 5: Odds Ratios from Logistic Regression Models Predicting Perceiving Discrimination (Male Subsample) with Wealth Interaction

	Private Domains				Public Domains							
	Family		Social		Street		Police		Hospital		Job	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Skin Color	1.046	0.690*	1.174***	0.847+	1.199***	0.990	1.139***	0.915	1.120***	0.925	1.123***	0.969
	(0.051)	(0.102)	(0.038)	(0.083)	(0.039)	(0.095)	(0.036)	(0.086)	(0.038)	(0.090)	(0.032)	(0.081)
Wealth	0.997	0.737**	0.979	0.762***	0.994	0.857*	0.966	0.818**	0.914**	0.787**	0.939*	0.839**
	(0.040)	(0.079)	(0.028)	(0.058)	(0.028)	(0.065)	(0.026)	(0.059)	(0.026)	(0.061)	(0.023)	(0.055)
Age	0.998	0.999	0.996	0.997	0.997	0.998	0.982***	0.982***	1.003	1.003	0.999	0.999
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Years of Education	0.981	0.985	1.005	1.009	1.006	1.008	0.988	0.990	1.001	1.003	0.982	0.984
	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.013)	(0.013)
Setting (ref. Rural)												
Urban	1.084	1.065	0.967	0.951	0.928	0.920	1.046	1.032	0.902	0.893	1.127	1.117
	(0.247)	(0.243)	(0.150)	(0.148)	(0.146)	(0.144)	(0.157)	(0.155)	(0.139)	(0.138)	(0.153)	(0.152)
Interviewer Color	1.005	1.010	0.989	0.991	1.019	1.021	0.961	0.963	0.925+	0.927	0.969	0.971
	(0.065)	(0.066)	(0.045)	(0.045)	(0.045)	(0.045)	(0.042)	(0.042)	(0.044)	(0.044)	(0.038)	(0.038)
Country(ref. Brazil)												
Colombia	0.861	0.838	2.107**	2.080**	1.346	1.331	1.713**	1.694*	1.378	1.365	1.402+	1.390+
	(0.272)	(0.265)	(0.478)	(0.473)	(0.279)	(0.276)	(0.356)	(0.352)	(0.305)	(0.302)	(0.255)	(0.253)
Mexico	1.291	1.282	2.452***	2.405***	1.800**	1.767**	2.233***	2.201***	1.748**	1.726*	1.741**	1.723**
	(0.378)	(0.376)	(0.559)	(0.550)	(0.372)	(0.366)	(0.455)	(0.449)	(0.374)	(0.370)	(0.311)	(0.308)
Peru	2.518**	2.427**	3.131***	2.996***	1.827**	1.767**	2.389***	2.312***	2.143***	2.085***	3.062***	2.994***
	(0.708)	(0.685)	(0.713)	(0.685)	(0.384)	(0.373)	(0.494)	(0.480)	(0.464)	(0.452)	(0.544)	(0.534)
Skin Color x Wealth		1.061**		1.048***		1.028*		1.032*		1.029*		1.022+
		(0.021)		(0.014)		(0.013)		(0.013)		(0.014)		(0.012)
Constant	0.044***	0.358	0.047***	0.274*	0.048***	0.136**	0.169***	0.539	0.143***	0.391	0.161***	0.349+
	(0.025)	(0.317)	(0.020)	(0.176)	(0.020)	(0.087)	(0.066)	(0.328)	(0.059)	(0.245)	(0.056)	(0.188)
Observations	2,265	2,265	2,265	2,265	2,265	2,265	2,265	2,265	2,265	2,265	2,265	2,265
Akaike Inf. Crit.	1,094.067	1,086.978	1,870.215	1,859.451	1,866.639	1,864.143	1,984.783	1,980.645	1,821.022	1,818.577	2,343.290	2,341.791

Note: +p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001 (two-tailed tests). Delta standard errors in parentheses.
Source: Project on Ethnicity and Race in Latin America (PERLA) at Princeton University

Figure 1: Predicted Probabilities of Perceiving Discrimination by Domain and Gender for Brazil



Source: Project on Ethnicity and Race in Latin America (PERLA) at Princeton University

Chapter 3

Seeing Inequality:
Is Witnessing Discrimination Bad for Your Health?

Abstract

Recent research suggests Latin Americans acknowledge the existence of racial and color discrimination despite the long-standing existence of *mestizaje* ideologies (race-mixing) asserting these societies were free of racism and discrimination. To date, much of the work on perceived discrimination has either focused on the degree to which individuals perceive they themselves are discriminated against ("personal discrimination") or explanations for large-scale inequality, while overlooking other types of everyday interpersonal interactions in society. Using data on Brazil, Peru, Mexico, and Colombia from the Project on Race and Ethnicity in Latin America based at Princeton University, this article examines the degree to which individuals witness other people in their society being discriminated against ("vicarious discrimination") and how this relates to health. The results show that witnessing color discrimination against another individual is associated with worse self-rated health and that vicarious discrimination is a stronger predictor of worse self-rated health than personally experiencing color-based discrimination.

INTRODUCTION

Latin America as a region possesses high levels of socioeconomic inequality, much of which falls along ethnoracial (ethnic and/or racial) and color lines, leading scholars to label Latin America as a "pigmentocracy" (Telles and PERLA 2014). Studies find lower levels of educational attainment, income, and occupational status, as well as higher levels of poverty for Afrodescendant persons, indigenous persons, and individuals with darker skin (Andrews 2004; Flores and Telles 2012; Flórez, Medina, and Urrea 2001; Telles and Steele 2012; Villarreal 2010). These large disparities in socioeconomic status (SES), however, have not been able to explain the ethnoracial and color based disparities in health throughout the region. Research shows that historically marginalized ethnoracial groups often have worse health outcomes even after adjusting for SES (Barata et al. 2007; Barber et al. 2017; Gigante, Moura, and Sardinha 2009; Travassos et al. 2011).

Scholars focusing on the United States have encountered a similar puzzle in that socioeconomic factors have not been able to account for the large and persistent gaps in racial disparities in health in the U.S. In light of the failure of these traditional SES explanations to explain these disparities, researchers have turned to examining the role of race and racism in producing and maintaining these inequalities (Himmelstein et al. 2015; Jackson et al. 2011; Paradies et al. 2015). A large body of literature in the U.S. documents the association between perceived discrimination and worse health outcomes, including both mental and physical health (Paradies 2006; Paradies et al. 2015; Williams and Mohammed 2009).

The overwhelming majority of the work examining the relationship between discrimination and health has focused on the U.S. and the relationship between health and personal discrimination, defined as discrimination in which the respondent is the victim of the

discrimination (Paradies et al. 2015). Much less work has focused on the effects of vicarious discrimination in which the respondent is not the victim of the discrimination, but instead witnesses or learns about the discrimination another person has encountered (Heard-Garris et al. 2017; Truong, Museus, and McGuire 2016). The small body of existing research, however, suggests that vicarious discrimination is also associated with worse health outcomes (Heard-Garris et al. 2017; Paradies et al. 2015).

Despite the prominent work examining the link between perceived discrimination and health in the U.S., few studies have examined this issue in the Latin American context. One reason for the limited attention to the influence of discrimination in health in this region may be due to the historical national narratives of *mestizaje* (race-mixing) that were prominent and many Latin American countries. *Mestizaje* ideologies invoke colorblind, class-based explanations to explain the large color-based and ethnoracial inequalities in Latin America, while largely denying the role of race/color-based factors in structuring this inequality (Harris 1964; Pierson 1942). These ideologies glorify the mixed race nature of the populations and claimed that racism and discrimination do not exist in these societies (see Marx 1998; Telles 2004; Wade 1997). Since the late 1980s, however, many Latin American governments have undergone, what has been deemed the "multicultural turn" and now recognize the identities and distinct disadvantages and discrimination faced by indigenous and Afrodescendant populations (Hale 2002; Hooker 2005; Telles and PERLA 2014).

Recent studies also suggests that Latin Americans widely perceive racism and racial discrimination as a key source of Afrodescendant and indigenous disadvantage, in contrast to earlier assertions that suggested *mestizaje* ideologies had made them blind to discrimination based on ethnoracial factors (Bailey 2004, 2009; Canache et al. 2014; Telles and Bailey 2013).

However, in Latin America rates of reporting personal discrimination are markedly lower than what is commonly found among historically marginalized ethnoracial groups in the U.S. (Canache et al. 2014; Telles and Bailey 2013), which may be in part due to the historical lack of language and awareness concerning race and racism (Beck, Mijeski, and Stark 2011). Moreover, the social psychological concept of the personal/group discrimination discrepancy has documented that individuals are more willing to report that a member of their social in-group has been discriminated against than they are to report that they themselves have been discriminated against (Crosby, Cordova, and Jaskar 1993; Levin et al. 2002; Taylor, Wright, and Porter 1994).

Given the unique context of Latin American *mestizaje* ideologies and the relatively low levels of reporting of personal discrimination, couple with high reports of vicarious discrimination, there is much to be learned about the ways discrimination may impact health in this region. In this study, I expand the concept of the personal/group discrepancy to examine perceptions of discrimination in Latin America and how discrimination relates to health outcomes. Using data from the Project on Race and Ethnicity in Latin America (PERLA), this study examines the relationship between personal discrimination, vicarious discrimination, and self-rated health in Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, and Peru. This study contributes to the broader literature on perceived discrimination and health by considering the relative importance of vicarious and personal discrimination in shaping health outcomes.

BACKGROUND

Health Disparities in Latin America

The current literature on ethnoracial disparities in health in Latin America is limited. Much of this work has concentrated on Brazil, where studies find that Afrodescendant

populations have worse health on a range of outcomes including self-rated health, infant mortality rates, child mortality rates, low weight births, premature births, and life expectancy at birth (Barata et al. 2007; Lovell and Wood 1998; Nyarko et al. 2013; Wood, Carvalho, and Horta 2010). Moreover, in Colombia, Chaverra (2018) finds that black mothers experience a 25 percent greater odds of the death of a child under 5 than white mothers. Other work across countries also finds that indigenous populations face particularly poor health outcomes (Montenegro and Stephens 2006; Perreira and Telles 2014).While some studies have been able to explain away ethnoracial disparities in health based on factors such as SES and access to healthcare (Perreira and Telles 2014), others find that these differences can not be explained away (Chaverra 2018; Nyarko et al. 2013).

In terms of skin color, the literature is more mixed. For example, Travassos et al. (2011) finds that skin color is not associated with self-rated health in Brazil; while in Mexico, Ortiz-Hernández et al. (2011), find an association between skin color and various health measures (2011). Similar to ethnoracial disparities, the ability of SES to account for these differences varies (Ortiz-Hernández et al. 2011; Perreira and Telles 2014). Therefore, there is still much to be learned regarding the mechanisms underlying ethnoracial and color disparities in Latin America.

Perceived Discrimination and Health

The mechanisms driving ethnoracial disparities in health have been a central question in health disparities research in the U.S. Scholars in the U.S. often find they are unable to fully explain away these disparities even after accounting for factors such as socioeconomic status, residential segregation, and genetics (Bleich et al. 2010; Williams and Mohammed 2009). This

has resulted in a growing body of work focused on the role of racism and discrimination in producing racial disparities in health (Jackson, Knight, and Rafferty 2010; Williams et al. 1997). The perception of discrimination or unfair treatment is associated with worse mental and physical health outcomes such as depression, anxiety, obesity, and high blood pressure (Klonoff and Landrine 2000; Krieger et al. 1993; Paradies 2006; Paradies et al. 2015; Pascoe and Smart Richman 2009; Williams and Mohammed 2009). A number of scholars hypothesize that discrimination leads to worse health in part because discrimination is a stressor; stress, and particularly chronic stress over the life course, leads to a variety of worse health outcomes (Paradies 2006; Paradies et al. 2015; Pascoe and Smart Richman 2009). Other proposed pathways include unhealthy coping behaviors such as smoking and alcohol use and a reduced engagement in positive health behaviors such as exercise (Paradies et al. 2015).

In this study, therefore I focus on the perception of discrimination. The focus on *perceptions* highlights the ways that individuals interpret instances, which may or may not reflect the presence of discrimination, which itself is hard to define and operationalize (Pager and Shepherd 2008). I define discrimination as the unequal, unfair, or prejudicial treatment of persons or groups on the basis of certain characteristics, such as age, color, class, gender, race, ethnicity, and sexuality (Pager and Shepherd 2008). Given the limited focus on ethnoracial health disparities in Latin America, even less work has focused on identifying mechanisms related to ethnoracial discrimination that may shape health outcomes in Latin America. Thus, in this study, I advance the current literature by focusing on the relationship between perceived discrimination and health. In particular, I concentrate on discrimination based on skin color, which in the Latin American context often invokes one's race/ethnicity (Dixon and Telles 2017).

Vicarious Discrimination and Health

The vast majority of work examining the relationship between discrimination and health to date has focused on instances of personal discrimination, in which the respondent is the target of the discrimination or unfair treatment. Vicarious discrimination, in contrast to personal discrimination, focuses on instances in which the individual is not the target of the discrimination but instead witnesses discrimination against another individual or hears "about a specific incident of racism associated with an identifiable individual" (Harrell 2000:46). Respondents often report more instances of vicarious discrimination than personal discrimination in a multitude of contexts (Alvarez, Juang, and Liang 2006; Brody et al. 2008; Telles and PERLA 2014). Yet, relatively few studies focus on the relationship between vicarious discrimination and health. For example, in their meta-analysis, Paradies et al. (2015) find only 18 percent of their studies focused on forms of indirect discrimination such as vicarious discrimination.

Among the few studies examining vicarious discrimination and health, there is evidence that vicarious discrimination, similar to personal discrimination, is associated with poor health outcomes (Alvarez et al. 2006; Dominguez et al. 2008; Heard-Garris et al. 2017; Nuru-Jeter et al. 2009; Truong et al. 2016). Little is known about the precise mechanisms through which vicarious discrimination impacts health. However, the evidence suggest that, similar to personal discrimination, vicarious discrimination is a source of psychosocial stress (Dominguez et al. 2008; Jackson et al. 2001; Nuru-Jeter et al. 2009; Truong et al. 2016). For example, Jackson et al. (2001) test a new stress measurement and find that African-American women feel an obligation to protect black children (both their own and non-related children) from racism they witness. However, the racism the women witness and attempt to mitigate in the children's lives becomes a source of stress in their own lives. Moreover, Dominguez et al. (2008) find that

instances of vicarious discrimination women recall from their childhood, for example witnessing or learning about discrimination a parent faced, are associated with lower birth weight for their own children in adulthood. Dominguez et al. (2008) situate this finding within the larger literature calling for a life course approach to perceived discrimination in which "weathering" (Geronimus 1992) may occur over time as a result of the accumulation of race related stressors. This study suggests that vicarious discrimination may contribute to this accumulation of race-based stress over the life course and in turn impact health.

In theorizing the link between vicarious discrimination and health, scholars have also drawn on larger literatures documenting how various vicarious experiences are also associated with health. For example, Sewell and Jefferson (2016) find that individuals who live in neighborhoods with more invasive police stops have poorer health than those who do not live in such neighborhoods. Potential reasons for this finding include evidence that witnessing someone else in distress can trigger physiological reactions in the observer (Bugental et al. 1992; Eisenberg et al. 1991). Relatedly, living in such a context may lead to hypervigilance among those in the community. The literature on discrimination and vigilance also suggest that hypervigilance may contribute to weathering and allostatic load due to the stress of being constantly on guard for potential discrimination (Himmelstein et al. 2015). This same principle that is applied to policing and neighborhoods can possibly be applied to witnessing discrimination in certain contexts.

Furthermore, Rivers and Noret's (2013) study in North England shows that students who witness bullying are more likely to express potential suicidal ideation, even if they themselves are not the target of bullying. The study shows that feelings of helplessness are associated with both witnessing bullying and suicidal ideation. Lastly, in Helms, Nicolas, and Green (2010)

review they note that witnessing racialized trauma against an unknown co-ethnic has been shown to be associated with PTSD symptoms and call for greater attention to be paid to how racism and race related stressors can lead to PTSD. Therefore, while the literature on the precise link between vicarious discrimination and health is still emerging, other studies focused on vicarious experiences have demonstrated that negative instances directed outside of an individual can have negative impacts on an individual's health.

While prior work has demonstrated that both personal and vicarious discrimination are associated with worse health outcomes, it is unclear whether personal or vicarious discrimination is more consequential. Paradies et al. (2015) generally find weaker associations between indirect discrimination, which included measures of vicarious discrimination, than measures of personal discrimination. However, they caution that this may be an artifact of the measurements and note that measures of vicarious discrimination are currently not as developed as those for personal discrimination. On the other hand, Boulter et al. (2015) find vicarious discrimination, but not personal discrimination, is associated with high blood pressure.

Perceived Discrimination and Health in Latin America

While issues of perceived discrimination in Latin America have been addressed by a number of qualitative studies (Silva and Reis 2011; Sue 2013; Sue and Golash-Boza 2013; Twine 1998), quantitative approaches to perceived discrimination in Latin America, and the association between perceived discrimination and health, are nascent (Canache et al. 2014; Chong et al. 2008). In particular, studies examining health outcomes tend to focus on Brazil (Macinko et al. 2012; Pavão et al. 2012; Santana et al. 2007), while relatively little is known about the relationship between perceived discrimination and health in other countries throughout

Latin America (Ortiz-Hernández et al. 2011; Perreira and Telles 2014). The legacy of *mestizaje* ideologies may be one reason for the lack of attention on perceptions of discrimination based on color/race. Moreover, largely in line with what would be expected based on these *mestizaje* ideologies, prior studies find relatively low reports of people experiencing discrimination personally in Latin America, particularly in comparison to the U.S. However throughout Latin America, darker skinned individuals and non-white individuals are more likely to perceive discrimination based on color/race (Canache et al. 2014; Sue 2013; Telles and Bailey 2013; Telles and PERLA 2014; Twine 1998).

Despite the relatively low levels of personal discrimination being perceived, Telles and Bailey (2013) find that there is a high level of recognition of structural and discriminatory forces operating among both whites and non-whites in this context. These rates are considerably higher than those found in the U.S. among whites and are on par with the high levels reported by minorities in the U.S. For example, Silva and Reis (2011) find that their middle class black respondents in Rio de Janeiro acknowledge the existence of racial discrimination in the labor market, but few report personally encountering such discrimination. Furthermore, Telles and PERLA (2014) descriptively show much higher rates of perceptions of vicarious discrimination in the four countries they examine (Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, and Peru) than levels of personal discrimination. The one cross-national study that has examined the relationship between perceived personal color discrimination and health showed no statistically significant association (Perreira and Telles 2014).

Vicarious Discrimination and the Personal/Group Discrimination Discrepancy

One possible explanation for the large discrepancy between perceptions of personal discrimination and vicarious discrimination can be found in the social psychological concept of the personal/group discrimination discrepancy. The personal/group discrepancy describes the tendency for people to report much higher rates of discrimination against the general social group that they belong to than they report experiencing themselves (Crosby et al. 1993; Levin et al. 2002; Taylor et al. 1990, 1994). The personal/group discrepancy is a robust phenomenon that has been consistently found across various demographic groups, including race and gender, and in a variety of countries including the U.S., France, and Canada (Taylor et al. 1994). Taylor, Wright, and Porter (1994:233) write, "This pattern of perceptions [the personal/group discrepancy] is, on the surface, irrational. If all minority group members perceive relatively little discrimination directed at them personally, where are the group members who are discriminated against at such a high level that it would warrant the high ratings of group discrimination that emerge so consistently?" Based on the previous studies presented above, it appears that the personal/group discrepancy may also exist in Latin America.

Taylor et al. (1994) review and test a number of possible explanations for the personal/group discrepancy. Early theorizing about the reasons for this phenomenon explained the discrepancy as rising out of a denial of personal discrimination (Crosby 1984). In this explanation, individuals are willing to recognize that someone else in their group has been discriminated against, but do not want to admit that they themselves have been the victim of discrimination. Personal denial is believed to emerge from either self-blame for the treatment one receives or the desire to avoid identifying a "villain" as the source of the discriminatory treatment. For example, Sue and Golash-Boza (2013:1588) find that, "…although most

Peruvians now recognize that racism exists, they do not view themselves or people they know as participating in racism, leading to a context of 'racism without racists'" (Bonilla-Silva 2003).

A second possible explanation for the personal/group discrepancy is that the exaggeration of group discrimination, not the denial of personal discrimination, leads to this phenomenon (Taylor et al. 1994). Studies suggest that it is not the pluralist connotation of group based questions might lead people to automatically report more discrimination for their group (Taylor et al. 1994). Instead, theories concerning the exaggeration of group discrimination include the argument that "It serves as an external cause that offers a self-serving explanation for failure, one that enhances the self even further in cases of success" (Taylor et al. 1994:239).

Mestizaje ideologies may hamper individuals' ability to acknowledge color or racial discrimination. These narratives encourage people not to see racial and color discrimination as the cause, but personal failure or other forces such as classism as the reason for unfair treatment (Harris and Kottak 1963; Pierson 1942). In addition, the motivation to avoid identifying a "villain" as the source of the discriminatory treatment (Crosby 1984) may also be particularly salient in light of *mestizaje* ideologies. Sue and Golash-Boza (2013) find there are strong incentives for people to interpret what could potentially be seen as discrimination as racial humor and jokes instead. Not to do so has the potential to seriously strain interpersonal relationships. As evidenced by the quote above from Sue and Golash-Boza (2013), although some respondents admit racism exists, many do not report personally knowing people who engage in racist behavior. This in turn would make it difficult to report being discriminated against personally. Furthermore, within the Latin American context, pinpointing a "villain" may also be particularly difficult as people who claim there is racism may be labeled as the racists themselves (Andrews 2004; Twine 1998).

In regards to the second explanation concerning the exaggeration of group discrimination, expressing this discrepancy may allow individuals to acknowledge the clear ethnoracial disparities within their societies, but avoid some of the social alienation articulated by Latin Americans who challenge *mestizaje* ideologies through attempts to acknowledge personal discrimination (Sue and Golash-Boza 2013). A third incentive for the denial of personal discrimination, unique to Latin America because of *mestizaje* ideologies, is that admitting one has been the victim of discrimination goes against the very essence of what it means to be a member of a country whose narratives extol anti-discrimination and therefore hinders one's ability to claim and share in this part of national identity (Sue 2013; Sue and Golash-Boza 2013).

Despite the usefulness of the personal/group discrepancy in terms of understanding the frequency of individuals' reports of discrimination, there are a number of challenges that prevent it from being easily applied to the Latin American context. One challenge is that, in the Latin American context, racial boundaries are blurry (Telles and Paschel 2014). Due to extensive race mixing and *mestizaje* ideologies, clear racial categories are not salient or easily discernible, in addition to being fluid and contextual (Telles 2004). This stands in stark contrast to the U.S. context where the one-drop rule has long defined who is black (Davis 1991). This therefore makes it difficult for both individuals and researchers to neatly ascertain if another person belongs to the same social status group as a respondent. Instead, in Latin America, the more prominent category of social status and stratification is skin color (Telles and PERLA 2014). As skin color runs on a continuous gradient, as opposed to the relatively discreteness of racial categories, it may be to difficult to clearly identify "in-groups" and "out-groups." In order to address the unique features of the Latin American context, I therefore extend the prior focus on personal discrimination or in-group members to other members of society broadly defined.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Data

Data for this study come from the Project on Ethnicity and Race in Latin America (PERLA) based at Princeton University. A full description of the data set can be found in chapter 2. The analytic sample is restricted to individuals ages 18-65 in line with common practice in health research. Complete case analysis is used to address missing data, leading to a final analytic sample of N= 4643.

Variables

The main outcome of interest for this study is self-rated health. Self-rated health is measured based on the question: "Would you say that your health overall is very good, good, average, bad, or very bad?" Self-rated health is a commonly used measure of general well-being that has been widely validated, including in the Latin American context (Wong, Peláez, and Palloni 2005). In line with much of previous work, I created a dichotomous variable by indicating whether the respondent reported "good" or "very good health" or not (fair, bad, very bad).

The main predictors of interest are perceived personal discrimination and perceived vicarious discrimination. The perception of personal discrimination is measured based on the survey item: "in the last five years, have you ever felt discriminated against or been treated badly or unfairly due to: Your skin color." The perception of vicarious discrimination is measured based on the question: "Have you witnessed situations where another person has been discriminated against, treated badly or unfairly due to: His/her skin color?" For both questions respondents were given the options "many times, sometimes, a few times, or never." The top

three levels of frequency are collapsed to form dichotomous variables measuring whether a respondent reported any level of frequency of discrimination versus no discrimination at all.

Additional predictors included in the analyses because of their known association with perceived discrimination or self-rated health are the respondents' skin color, ethnoracial self-identification, wealth, education, marital status, possession of health insurance, urban/rural residence, gender, age, the skin color of the interviewer, and country.

Skin color is based on the PERLA Color Palette. The palette ranges from 1 (lightest) to 11 (darkest). PERLA Interviewers assigned a numerical value to the facial color of the respondent based on this palette. Skin color was recoded into a 4-level variable of very light (1,2), light (3,4), medium (5,6), and dark (7-11) in line with previous studies that suggest the relationship between skin color and health outcomes is not linear in the Latin American context (Perreira and Telles 2014).

Ethnoracial self-identification is based on the question "You consider yourself… (Spanish) / Your color or race is…? (Portuguese)." The responses were re-coded for standardization across countries to white, mixed (*Mestizo/Parda*), indigenous, and lastly a joint black/mulatto category (*Negra/Preta/Mulato*). The combination of the black/mulatto category follows Perreira and Telles (2014) who did not find meaningful differences between those with self-identified as mulatto or black in terms of socioeconomic status and health outcomes in PERLA. Moreover, due to relatively small sample sizes in these categories in some countries, collapsing the categories also allows for increased analytic power.

Socioeconomic status is an important predictor of health in Latin America (Casas, Dachs, and Bambas 2001; Szwarcwald et al. 2005; Wong et al. 2005). In this study socioeconomic status is operationalized using wealth and educational attainment. The wealth measure is constructed as

a composite variable ranging from 0-11, which includes a television, refrigerator, telephone, washing machine, vehicle or car, drinking water in the house, bathroom in the house, computer, hairdryer, internet service, and a gas or electric stove. Wealth measures are known to be valid alternatives to income based-measures in developing nations (Filmer and Pritchett 2001). Education is a continuous variable ranging from 0 to 18.

Marital status is a binary variable indicating whether the respondent is married or cohabitating. Possession of health insurance is also a binary variable indicating whether the respondent reported having "any health insurance." Gender and urban setting are binary variables, while age is continuous. As stated above, age was restricted to individuals ages 18-65 in line with common practice in health studies. The skin color of the interviewer is based on a rating by the interviewer using the same chromatic scale detailed above. In all the regression models, the respondents' country of origin is control for, with Mexico set as the reference category.

Analytic Plan

First, table 1 presents summary statistics for the variables of interest. Figure 1 and Figure 2 display the distribution of personal discrimination and vicarious discrimination, respectively. Table 2 examines the determinants of perceiving the different types of discrimination. Logistic regression models are used to predict perceiving personal and vicarious discrimination, modeled as dichotomous outcomes. Finally, Table 3 presents logistic regression models predicting self-rated health with a series of models using the various types of discrimination as the main predictors.

FINDINGS

Descriptive Findings

Table 1 displays descriptive statistics for the sample. In terms of health, 63 percent of the sample self-reports either good or very good health. Regarding perceived discrimination, one fifth perceive any frequency of personal color discrimination, while 60 percent perceive vicarious discrimination, meaning that they have witnessed discrimination against another person. Personal discrimination and vicarious discrimination have a relatively weak positive correlation (.31). Most respondents have either light (.40) or medium skin color (.36), while dark (.17) and very light (.07) skin is less common. Ethnoracial self-identification as mixed is the most common response (.55) followed by white (.17), black or mulatto (.17), and lastly indigenous (.11). The respondents on average are 37.37 years old, score an average of 6.65 on the wealth scale and have 9.64 years of education. The majority of respondents reside in urban areas, are married or cohabitating, and have health insurance. The interviewers have an average skin color rating of 4.57.

Table 1 about here

Figure 1 displays the distribution of the frequency of perceiving personal discrimination. The graph shows the overwhelming majority (.81) of individuals report never being discriminated against in the last 5 years. Among those who do report being discriminated against, 10 percent report "a few times" with less reporting "sometimes" (.07), and only a small minority perceive they have been discriminated against "many times" (.02).

Figure 2 displays the frequency of perceiving vicarious discrimination. Again, the most common category is "Never" (.40). However, for vicarious discrimination, the majority of respondents do perceive some degree of discrimination with "sometimes" (.25) being the most

common response among those who do perceive vicarious discrimination. The next most common response is "a few times" (.19) and lastly "many times" (.16). Thus, unlike for personal discrimination, with vicarious discrimination the increasing frequency of discrimination does not correspond with lower levels perceiving discrimination.

Figures 1 & 2 about here

Regression Results

Table 2 displays the estimates from logistic regression models predicting perceiving any frequency of personal discrimination (Column 1) and vicarious discrimination (Column 2) as opposed to not perceiving any discrimination (the reference category). Column 1 shows that having medium or dark skin is significantly associated with perceiving personal discrimination as opposed to perceiving no personal discrimination, holding all else constant. Having medium skin, as opposed to very light skin, is associated with a 54 percent higher odds of perceiving personal discrimination, while the odds of perceiving personal discrimination are almost 3 times as high for those with dark skin. Compared to those who self-identify as white, all of the other ethnoracial identities are more likely to perceive any personal discrimination. The odds are 1.6 times as high for those who identify as mixed, 2.7 times as high for indigenous, and almost 3.3 times as high for those who identify as either black or mulatto. In terms of socioeconomic outcomes, Column 1 also shows that wealth is negatively associated with perceiving personal discrimination at the level of marginal significance, while education is marginally positively associated with perceiving discrimination. Regarding country level variations, the findings show that relative to Mexico, those in Brazil and Colombia are less likely to perceive personal

discrimination, all else being equal, while those in Peru are much more likely to perceive personal discrimination.

In Column 2, the results show that only those with dark skin are significantly more likely to perceive vicarious discrimination. The odds of perceiving vicarious discrimination are 1.7 times as high for someone with dark skin as opposed to very light skin, all else being equal. In addition, only respondents who self-identify as either black or mulatto are more likely to perceive vicarious discrimination than those who self-identify as white. Yet, for vicarious discrimination, holding all else equal, individuals with more wealth and those with more years of education are more likely to perceive that other people have been discriminated against due to their skin color. Each additional year of education is associated with a 5.6 percent increase in the odds of perceiving vicarious discrimination, while each additional item of wealth is associated with a 4.7 percent increase in the odds. In terms of the country coefficients, once again, those in Peru are much more likely to perceive vicarious discrimination compared to those in Mexico, while there is no significant difference between Colombia and Mexico. Yet, those in Brazil are much less likely to perceive vicarious discrimination.

Table 2 about here

Next, I examine the relationship between perceiving the various types of discrimination with self-rated health. Table 3 displays the estimates from logistic regression models of good/very good health compared to average, bad, or very bad health (reference category). The results show that those who perceive any frequency of personal discrimination (Column 1) or vicarious discrimination (Column 2) have worse self-rated health. The odds of those who perceive color discrimination having good or very good self-rated health are 83.8 percent the odds of those who do not perceive personal discrimination (Column 1), while the odds for those

who perceive vicarious discrimination are 76.7 percent the odds of those who do not perceive vicarious discrimination (Column 2). When both personal and vicarious discrimination are included in the model, personal discrimination is no longer significant (Column 3). This suggests that vicarious discrimination explains the relationship between personal discrimination and self-rated health.

Columns 4-6 replicated the analyses found in columns 1-3, but takes a closer look at how the frequency of perceiving discrimination relates to self-rated health, as opposed to simply whether any discrimination was perceived or not. Column 4 shows that only those who report a frequency of "sometimes" or "many times" for personal discrimination are significantly less likely to report good or very good self-rated health, while there is no difference between those who report a "few times" and "never." On the other hand, all three levels of frequency are significantly associated with health for vicarious discrimination. In Column 6, when both personal and vicarious discrimination are included in the model, again the results suggest that vicarious discrimination explains much of the relationship between personal discrimination and health. Only the perception of personal discrimination "many times" remains marginally significant, while vicarious discrimination at all three levels of frequency remains significant.

Table 3 about here

DISCUSSION

Despite a growing literature on ethnoracial inequality and its consequences in Latin America, there is still much to be discovered in the area of perceived discrimination. While there is a strong body of literature in the U.S., and an emerging one in Latin America, documenting the negative association between perceiving personal discrimination and health (Lewis, Cogburn,

and Williams 2015; Travassos and Williams 2004), few studies in either context have examined the relationship between perceiving another person is discriminated against and health outcomes. This study addresses a number of gaps in the extant literature and provides key insights into the perception of discrimination in Latin America.

In line with previous work, I find that the vast majority of respondents did not perceive being discriminated against because of their skin color (Perreira and Telles 2014; Telles and PERLA 2014). This study also finds that a number of factors, including darker skin color and ethnoracial self-identification, in addition to perceiving personal discrimination are associated with worse health outcomes, in line with previous work (Canache et al. 2014; Perreira and Telles 2014; Telles and PERLA 2014; Williams and Mohammed 2009).

This study advances the current literature by moving beyond the typical focus on personal discrimination by examining the frequency with which individuals believe that they witness someone else being discriminated against because of their skin color. Vicarious discrimination, in contrast to personal discrimination, is perceived by the majority of individuals in this sample. Unlike the declining gradient that was found in the frequency of perceiving color discrimination as one moved up the frequency scale, for vicarious discrimination, "sometimes" was the most common response, followed by "a few times" and lastly "many times," which was still reported at the relatively high rate of 16 percent. Other studies, such as Telles and Bailey (2013) have shown that majorities in a number of Latin American countries explain black and indigenous disadvantage as being in part due to structural factors, which include both lower levels of education and discrimination. Yet, few previous studies have examined such questions on an interpersonal as opposed to a structural level.

These results show that not only is perceiving personal discrimination associated with worse health outcomes, but that the same is also true for witnessing another person being discriminated against. There has been a lack of literature focusing on the impact of witnessing discrimination in which one is not the target of the discrimination. Moreover, much of this literature has focused on the effects of witnessing or becoming aware of the discrimination faced by someone close to the respondent such as a family member or close friend as opposed to witnessing discrimination more generally (Heard-Garris et al. 2017; Nuru-Jeter et al. 2009). Therefore, the findings of this study represent an important step forward in terms of how scholars might conceptualize the impact of discrimination and racism in a society more broadly. For example, in the U.S., a recent study by Quinlan et al. (2016) suggests that being close to someone who has been the target of racial discrimination is associated with possessing genetic markers that signal a heightened propensity for high blood pressure. Yet, this present study has an even broader implication because it suggests that a personal attachment to the target of the vicarious discrimination is not necessary for the association between being aware of another person's discriminatory treatment and having worse health outcomes.

A common question that arises with studies examining the link between perceived discrimination and health is determining the direction of causality. Given the cross-sectional nature of this data, it is not possible to prove that perceiving discrimination causes worse health outcomes. A number of review papers, however, document a clear pattern from numerous longitudinal studies that show discrimination is in fact causally linked to worse health outcomes (Lewis et al. 2015; Paradies 2006). In terms of vicarious discrimination in particular, Priest et al. (2017) also find that vicarious discrimination is associated with later reports of both loneliness and depression in a panel study of Australian students. Although in this case, the link between

vicarious discrimination and health was explained by personal discrimination. More work is needed to understand the relationship between various health outcomes, personal discrimination, and vicarious discrimination.

Importantly, the results also suggest that the perception of vicarious discrimination explains the association between personal discrimination and worse health. Perhaps more interestingly, however, is what the association between vicarious discrimination and health may mean for members of non-historically marginalized groups, or members of marginalized groups who may now be in relatively privileged socioeconomic positions and able to better escape or avoid certain types of color discrimination due to their class privilege (Feagin 1991). Yet, these individuals still live in societies defined by drastic inequalities based along the lines of skin color and ethnoracial classification.

In this study, both greater levels of wealth and education were positively associated with perceiving more vicarious discrimination. Therefore, the findings suggest that wealth and education are more consequential in terms of individuals perceiving color discrimination happening to those around them than in terms of them perceiving that they themselves are victims of color discrimination. This could be due to a number of factors. It may be the case that educated and wealthier individuals may simply be more cognizant of discriminatory treatment. For example, the backbone of black and indigenous social movements throughout the region has often been middle class individuals. Andrews (2004:189) writes, "[t]he prejudice and discrimination that middle-class activists felt on an almost daily basis were much less salient in the lives of lower-class blacks and browns, for whom immediate issues of survival, food, work, medical care were far more pressing."

Alternatively, the greater likelihood of perceiving vicarious discrimination may be linked to the social-spatial contexts that the individuals inhabit on a day-to-day basis. Lamont et al. (2016) describe the intense isolation of middle class black Brazilians. They are unlike their African-American middle class counterparts who may work or go to school in primarily white spaces, but whose social lives are still largely segregated and involve engaging with other African-Americans. Lamont et al. (2016:143) note that "the black middle class is so small and the socioeconomic segregation in neighborhoods and schools so strong that to be black and middle class in Rio de Janeiro is to live in a white world." They also find that middle class black respondents are less likely than working class blacks to perceive Brazil to be a racial democracy given the pervasiveness of racial inequality and discrimination. As noted above, Silva and Reis (2011) find that middle class black respondents willingly acknowledge racial discrimination, but seem to believe they have largely escaped personally being the victim of this discrimination. This may relate to having the resources to engage in various strategies to try to lessen the likelihood of being discriminated against (Feagin 1991; Lamont et al. 2016). There is less work on the degree to which these perceptions extend to more educated and wealthier non-black Brazilians and individuals in the other countries.

Future work should also further examine the precise mechanisms through which witnessing discrimination is associated with worse health outcomes. One possibility is that a similar type of stress may be experienced when witnessing another person being discriminated against. It could also be the case that this vicarious discrimination driven stress might be greater in societies, such as throughout Latin America which have long purported to be colorblind and racially egalitarian. Previous studies suggest that individuals struggle to acknowledge and articulate discriminatory treatment in part because the national identity of these societies is

tightly bounded up in this colorblind assertions (Sue and Golash-Boza 2013). Alternatively, vicarious discrimination may be capturing measurement error associated with the hypothesized reluctance for individuals to report personal discrimination (Crosby 1984), particularly in societies where *mestizaje* ideologies have long held sway (Sue and Golash-Boza 2013). Personal discrimination and vicarious discrimination were fairly weakly correlated and Paradies et al. (2015) caution that measures of vicarious discrimination are relatively underdeveloped. In particular, the comparatively low levels of perceived personal, and especially vicarious discrimination, for Brazil was somewhat surprising given the long-standing black movement and the recent implementation of affirmative action at the state level (Telles and Paixão 2013). Future studies should consider the role of possible factors such as the contemporary strength of *mestizaje* ideologies and government policies in predicting country level variations in perceived discrimination.

In conclusion, in light of the multicultural turn throughout Latin America, a growing body of work suggests that large numbers of Latin Americans are rejecting notions that the colorblind narratives of *mestizaje* and racial democracy exist as a reality within their societies (Bailey 2009; Telles and Bailey 2013; Telles and Garcia 2013). Instead, there is recognition that discrimination exists, it appears national narratives may instead be used as aspirational ideals, not already achieved goals (Bailey 2009; Telles and Garcia 2013). Given the known associations with perceived discrimination and health and the large ethnoracial inequalities in health throughout the region, perceived discrimination is an important factor to take into account. In particular, the findings of this study regarding vicarious discrimination highlight the need for more attention to be paid to the impact of witnessing discrimination against other individuals in one's society.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics

	Mean
Good or Very Good Health	0.63
Personal Color Discrimination	0.20
Vicarious Color Discrimination	0.60
Skin Color	
Very Light	0.07
Light	0.40
Medium	0.36
Dark	0.17
Ethnoracial Identity	
White	0.17
Mixed	0.55
Indigenous	0.11
Black/Mulatto	0.17
Wealth	6.65
Education	9.64
Urban	0.78
Married or Cohabitating	0.62
Health Insurance	0.60
Interviewer Skin Color	4.57
Female	0.51
Age	37.37
Country	
Brazil	0.17
Colombia	0.28
Mexico	0.26
Peru	0.29
N	4643

Source: Project on Ethnicity and Race in Latin America (PERLA) at Princeton University

Figure 1: Proportion Perceiving Personal Discrimination

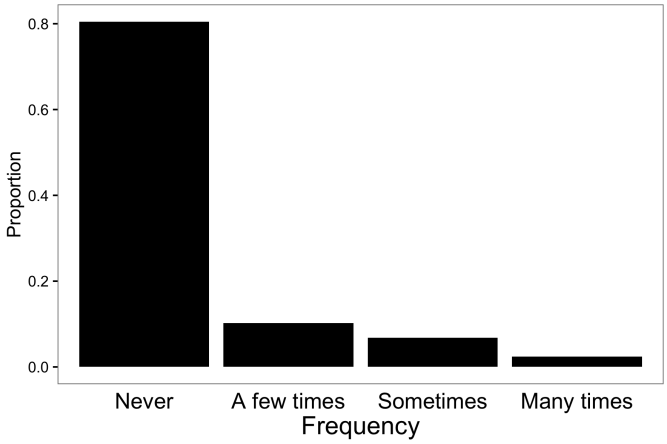
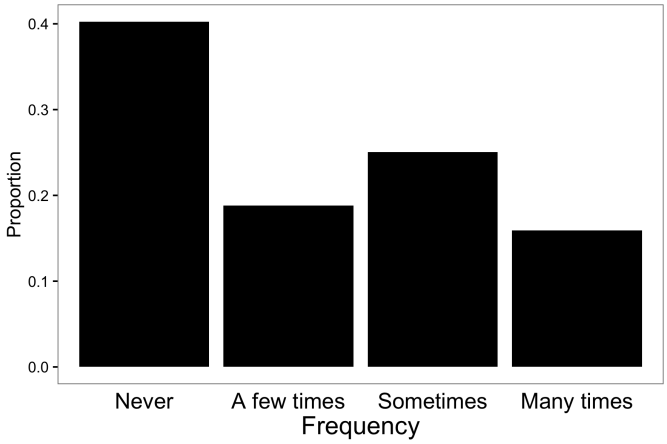


Figure 2: Proportion Perceiving Vicarious Discrimination



Source: Project on Ethnicity and Race in Latin America (PERLA) at Princeton University

Table 2: Odds Ratios from Logistic Regression Models Predicting Perceiving Discrimination

	Dependent variable:	
	Personal Discrimination	Vicarious Discrimination
	(1)	(2)
Skin Color (ref. Very Light)		
Light	0.945	1.031
	(0.196)	(0.140)
Medium	1.537*	1.151
	(0.324)	(0.166)
Dark	2.922***	1.690**
	(0.673)	(0.297)
Ethnoracial Identity (ref. White)		
Mixed	1.606**	1.077
	(0.249)	(0.103)
Indigenous	2.705***	1.200
	(0.523)	(0.168)
Black/Mulatto	3.270***	1.505**
	(0.625)	(0.220)
Wealth	0.966+	1.047**
	(0.020)	(0.018)
Years of Education	1.022+	1.056***
	(0.012)	(0.010)
Setting (ref. Rural)		
Urban	1.469***	1.455***
	(0.152)	(0.122)
Interviewer Skin Color	0.986	1.002
	(0.028)	(0.024)
Female	0.951	0.943
	(0.074)	(0.061)
Age	0.997	0.993**
	(0.003)	(0.003)
Country(ref. Mexico)		
Brazil	0.605**	0.257***
	(0.096)	(0.029)
Colombia	0.704**	1.043
	(0.095)	(0.102)
Peru	1.737***	1.415***
	(0.197)	(0.133)
Constant	0.079***	0.559*
	(0.025)	(0.133)
Observations	4,643	4,643
Akaike Inf. Crit.	4,245.536	5,727.234

Note: +p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001 (two-tailed tests). Delta standard errors in parentheses.
Source: Project on Ethnicity and Race in Latin America (PERLA) at Princeton University

Table 3: Odds Ratios from Logistic Regression Models Predicting Self-Rated Health

	Dependent variable:					
	Good to very good self-rated health (ref. average, bad, or very bad)					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Any Personal Discrimination (ref. Never)	0.838*		0.908			
	(0.071)		(0.081)			
Any Vicarious Discrimination (ref. Never)		0.767***	0.785**			
		(0.055)	(0.059)			
Personal Discrimination (ref. Never)						
A few times				0.952		1.029
				(0.105)		(0.116)
Sometimes				0.765*		0.829
				(0.101)		(0.113)
Many times				0.622*		0.667+
				(0.132)		(0.146)
Vicarious Discrimination (ref. Never)						
A few times					0.786*	0.786*
					(0.074)	(0.075)
Sometimes					0.757**	0.776**
					(0.067)	(0.071)
Many times					0.759**	0.807*
					(0.078)	(0.087)
Skin Color (ref. Very Light)						
Light	0.984	0.990	0.988	0.984	0.988	0.987
	(0.145)	(0.146)	(0.146)	(0.146)	(0.146)	(0.146)
Medium	0.830	0.828	0.832	0.831	0.826	0.830
	(0.128)	(0.128)	(0.129)	(0.128)	(0.128)	(0.129)
Dark	1.014	1.011	1.026	1.012	1.008	1.022
	(0.187)	(0.186)	(0.190)	(0.187)	(0.186)	(0.190)
Ethnoracial Identity (ref. White)						
Mixed	0.874	0.871	0.874	0.873	0.871	0.875
	(0.090)	(0.090)	(0.090)	(0.090)	(0.090)	(0.091)
Indigenous	0.825	0.816	0.824	0.828	0.815	0.828
	(0.121)	(0.120)	(0.121)	(0.122)	(0.120)	(0.122)
Black/Mulatto	0.839	0.840	0.850	0.848	0.841	0.860
	(0.129)	(0.129)	(0.131)	(0.130)	(0.129)	(0.132)
Wealth	1.092***	1.096***	1.095***	1.092***	1.096***	1.095***
	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.019)
Years of Education	1.052***	1.056***	1.056***	1.053***	1.056***	1.056***
	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Setting (ref. Rural)						
Urban	1.369***	1.385***	1.390***	1.372***	1.384***	1.391***
	(0.117)	(0.119)	(0.119)	(0.118)	(0.119)	(0.120)
Married or Cohabitating	1.019	1.015	1.014	1.023	1.015	1.018
	(0.073)	(0.073)	(0.073)	(0.074)	(0.073)	(0.073)
Health Insurance	1.163+	1.158+	1.156+	1.162+	1.158+	1.155+
	(0.091)	(0.091)	(0.091)	(0.091)	(0.091)	(0.091)
Interviewer Skin Color	1.004	1.006	1.005	1.003	1.006	1.004
	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.025)
Female	0.767***	0.766***	0.765***	0.766***	0.766***	0.764***
	(0.051)	(0.051)	(0.051)	(0.051)	(0.051)	(0.051)
Age	0.965***	0.965***	0.965***	0.965***	0.965***	0.965***
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Country(ref. Mexico)						
Brazil	1.403**	1.309*	1.310*	1.399**	1.304*	1.307*
	(0.172)	(0.163)	(0.164)	(0.172)	(0.163)	(0.164)
Colombia	1.791***	1.810***	1.803***	1.812***	1.812***	1.820***
	(0.197)	(0.199)	(0.198)	(0.200)	(0.200)	(0.201)
Peru	0.537***	0.538***	0.541***	0.533***	0.537***	0.536***
	(0.052)	(0.052)	(0.052)	(0.052)	(0.052)	(0.052)
Constant	2.312***	2.505***	2.510***	2.316***	2.505***	2.518***
	(0.585)	(0.638)	(0.639)	(0.586)	(0.638)	(0.642)
Observations	4,643	4,643	4,643	4,643	4,643	4,643
Akaike Inf. Crit.	5,438.691	5,429.316	5,430.148	5,438.526	5,433.163	5,434.023

Note: +p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001 (two-tailed tests). Delta standard errors in parentheses.
Source: Project on Ethnicity and Race in Latin America (PERLA) at Princeton University

Conclusion

One of the central questions for scholars of inequality is how ethnoracial (ethnic and/or racial) stratification continues to persist in the absence of legalized discrimination and overt discriminatory actions. Latin America is one of the most unequal regions in the world and much of this inequality is stratified along the lines of race/ethnicity and skin color. This is despite the fact that after slavery, Latin American societies never implemented U.S.-style Jim Crow legalized discrimination, but instead promoted unity through national narratives asserting that Latin American societies were largely colorblind, class-based societies free of racism. While prior studies have examined the state and elite level shifts away from *mestizaje* ideologies during the multicultural turn, much less was known about how Latin American individuals perceive ethnoracial factors to be operating in their own lives.

In this dissertation I employed an intersectional approach to exploring how skin color, class, and gender intersect in perceptions of discrimination and its implications for health outcomes in Latin America. Specifically, I addressed the extant gap in the literature by examining the relative salience of class and skin color in individuals' understandings of discriminatory treatment, in what domains of life and for which demographic groups color discrimination is most salient, and the implications of perceiving discrimination on health. Counter to the prevalent qualitative approaches to studying this phenomenon, with survey data from the 2010 AmericasBarometer of the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) and the Project on Ethnicity and Race in Latin America at Princeton University (PERLA), I used quantitative statistical models to systematically test previous theories about the meaning of skin color in Latin America.

Chapter 1 focused on the relative importance of class and color in individuals' attributions of the causes of discriminatory treatment. I moved beyond the implicit color/class binary in the extant scholarship by complicating the premise that either color or class stratifies Latin American societies or that people's perceptions of discrimination operate within an either/or logic. This work reveals that skin color is a more salient source of individuals' perceptions of discriminatory treatment than previously thought and that color-based discrimination is subordinate, although deeply intertwined, with class-discrimination and class status.

Chapter 2 focused on the relationship between perceived color discrimination, skin color, wealth, and gender as they relate to the contextual aspects of discrimination. I explored the distribution of perceiving color discrimination across six different domains of life. The findings show the significance of skin color in the perception of discrimination depends on one's socioeconomic status and gender. For example, darker skin individuals of higher SES, particularly men, perceive their skin color to be more consequential when in public spaces.

The third and final chapter considered the implications of witnessing discrimination against other individuals in one's society. While a robust body of literature has established that personally experiencing discrimination is associated with worse health outcomes, little work had explored the consequences of witnessing discrimination. The results reveal that witnessing color-based discrimination is a common occurrence and that vicarious discrimination is a stronger predictor of worse self-rated health than personally experiencing color-based discrimination.

This dissertation provided needed insight into the degree to which individuals in Latin America view and navigate their societies through colored lenses. A better understanding of how individuals explain the inequalities they perceive will be important as states and black and

indigenous social movements attempt to acquire broad-based political support for their multicultural policies to address drastic racial/color disparities in socioeconomic outcomes. The link between people's understanding of the roots of inequality and support for policies that address inequality is well established in scholarly literature. Moreover, prior research has shown that perceptions of discriminatory treatment are associated with many socioeconomic indicators that overlap areas of severe ethnoracial inequality such as health, educational, and labor market outcomes, in addition to intergroup relations. This dissertation takes the important step of illuminating which contexts and demographic characteristics are predictive of individuals perceiving color based discrimination. For example, findings from the first chapter indicate that class and color lines might be particularly blurred at the lowest rungs of the class hierarchy. Thus, a greater emphasis on the way class and color are intimately intertwined may be a viable way for both governments and social movements to garner more broad-based support for the policies they seek to implement. The second chapter can help policy makers to address domain specific aspects of the large ethnoracial and skin color inequalities that exists in Latin America, while the third chapter illuminates the health consequences of perceiving that one lives in an unequal society.

Taken together, this detailed examination of color-based discrimination from multiple perspectives and through an intersectional lens contributes to the broader body of work, historically based in the U.S., on the importance of everyday, interpersonal discrimination. This project advances the current literature by highlighting the need to consider the intersections of color, class, ethnoracial identity, gender, and context in perceptions of discrimination and the ways individuals make sense of unfair treatment across societies. While there is still much to be uncovered concerning perceptions of color discrimination, this study lays the groundwork for

closer examinations of perceived discrimination along the lines of class, gender, and other aspects of ethnoracial categorization such as accent. Moreover, future work should also focus on the implications of discrimination for other measures of health, in addition to other outcomes such as social mobility and political behavior.

In sum, this research contributes to our understanding of the systemic reproduction of structural inequalities in the absence of overt discriminatory practices and its overall implications for well-being. Moreover, in recent decades, individuals in the U.S. have increasingly adopted colorblind narratives perpetuating the idea that social inequality is due primarily to personal merit and socioeconomic status—not race. Therefore, this work helps to illuminate the future challenges for the U.S. and other nations attempting to usher in "post-racial," colorblind eras by revealing the ways discrimination and stratification will continue to exist in such societies.

References

Alegria, Margarita, James S. Jackson, Ronald C. Kessler, and David Takeuchi. 2016. "Collaborative Psychiatric Epidemiology Surveys (CPES), 2001-2003 [United States]." Retrieved (http://doi.org/10.3886/ICPSR20240.v8).

Alvarez, Alvin N., Linda Juang, and Christopher T. H. Liang. 2006. "Asian Americans and Racism: When Bad Things Happen to 'Model Minorities.'" *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* 12(3):477–92.

Anderson, Elijah. 2015. "The White Space." *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 1(1):10–21.

Andrews, George Reid. 2004. *Afro-Latin America, 1800-2000*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

Bailey, Stanley. 2009. *Legacies of Race: Identities, Attitudes, and Politics in Brazil*. Stanford University Press.

Bailey, Stanley. 2002. "The Race Construct and Public Opinion: Understanding Brazilian Beliefs about Racial Inequality and Their Determinants." *American Journal of Sociology* 108(2):406–39.

Bailey, Stanley, Fabrício M. Fialho, and Andrew M. Penner. 2016. "Interrogating Race Color, Racial Categories, and Class Across the Americas." *American Behavioral Scientist* 60(4):538–55.

Bailey, Stanley, Mara Loveman, and Jeronimo O. Muniz. 2013. "Measures of 'Race' and the Analysis of Racial Inequality in Brazil." *Social Science Research* 42(1):106–19.

Bailey, Stanley R. 2004. "Group Dominance and the Myth of Racial Democracy: Antiracism Attitudes in Brazil." *American Sociological Review* 69(5):728–747.

Barata, Rita Barradas, Márcia Furquim de Almeida, Cláudia Valencia Montero, and Zilda Pereira da Silva. 2007. "Health Inequalities Based on Ethnicity in Individuals Aged 15 to 64, Brazil, 1998." *Cadernos de Saúde Pública* 23(2):305–13.

Barber, Sharrelle et al. 2017. "At the Intersection of Place, Race, and Health in Brazil: Residential Segregation and Cardio-Metabolic Risk Factors in the Brazilian Longitudinal Study of Adult Health (ELSA-Brasil)." *Social Science & Medicine*.

Beck, Scott H., Kenneth J. Mijeski, and Meagan M. Stark. 2011. "¿Qué Es Racismo?: Awareness of Racism and Discrimination in Ecuador." *Latin American Research Review* 46(1):102–25.

Bleich, Sara N., Roland J. Thorpe, Hamidah Sharif-Harris, Ruth Fesahazion, and Thomas A. LaVeist. 2010. "Social Context Explains Race Disparities in Obesity among Women." *Journal of Epidemiology & Community Health* 64(5):465–69.

Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. 2003. “Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States.” *Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers*.

Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo and David Dietrich. 2011. “The Sweet Enchantment of Color-Blind Racism in Obamerica.” *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 634(1):190–206.

Boulter, Alexis C. et al. 2015. “Interaction of Alu Polymorphisms and Novel Measures of Discrimination in Association with Blood Pressure in African Americans Living in Tallahassee, Florida.” *Human Biology* 87(4):295–305.

Brody, Gene H. et al. 2008. “Linking Perceived Discrimination to Longitudinal Changes in African American Mothers’ Parenting Practices.” *Journal of Marriage and Family* 70(2):319–31.

Broman, Clifford L., Roya Mavaddat, and Shu-yao Hsu. 2000. “The Experience and Consequences of Perceived Racial Discrimination: A Study of African Americans.” *Journal of Black Psychology* 26(2):165–80.

Brown, Tyson H., Angela M. O’Rand, and Daniel E. Adkins. 2012. “Race-Ethnicity and Health Trajectories Tests of Three Hypotheses across Multiple Groups and Health Outcomes.” *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 53(3):359–77.

Bugental, Daphne Blunt, Jay Blue, Victoria Cortez, Karen Fleck, and Alina Rodriguez. 1992. “Influences of Witnessed Affect on Information Processing in Children.” *Child Development* 63(4):774–86.

Burgard, Sarah et al. 2017. “Differential Reporting of Discriminatory Experiences in Brazil and the United States.” *Cadernos de Saúde Pública* 33.

Canache, Damarys, Matthew Hayes, Jeffery J. Mondak, and Mitchell A. Seligson. 2014. “Determinants of Perceived Skin-Color Discrimination in Latin America.” *The Journal of Politics* 76(02):506–20.

Candelario, Ginetta E. B. 2007. *Black behind the Ears: Dominican Racial Identity from Museums to Beauty Shops*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Casas, Juan Antonio, JN Dachs, and Alexandra Bambas. 2001. “Health Disparities in Latin America and the Caribbean: The Role of Social and Economic Determinants.” *Equity and Health* 8:22–49.

Chaverra, Andrés Palacio. 2018. “The Color of Child Survival in Colombia, 1955–2005.” *Ethnicity & Health* 23(2):207–20.

Chong, Alberto, Hugo Ñopo, Lucas Ronconi, and Miguel Urquiola. 2008. “The Mystery of Discrimination in Latin America [with Comments].” *Economía* 8(2):79–115.

Chong, Dennis and Dukhong Kim. 2006. "The Experiences and Effects of Economic Status among Racial and Ethnic Minorities." *The American Political Science Review* 100(3):335–51.

Collins, Patricia Hill. 2002. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. Routledge.

Crenshaw, Kimberle. 1989. "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics." *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 1989:139.

Crocker, Jennifer, Kristin Voelkl, Maria Testa, and Brenda Major. 1991. "Social Stigma: The Affective Consequences of Attributional Ambiguity." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 60(2):218–28.

Crosby, Faye. 1984. "The Denial of Personal Discrimination." *American Behavioral Scientist* 27(3):371–86.

Crosby, Faye, Diana I. Cordova, and Karen Jaskar. 1993. "On the Failure to See Oneself as Disadvantaged: Cognitive and Emotional Components."

Davis, James S. 1991. *Who Is Black?: One Nation's Definition By F. James Davis*. Retrieved July 27, 2016 (http://www.psupress.org/books/titles/0-271-00739-7.html).

Degler, Carl N. 1986. *Neither Black nor White : Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States*. Madison, Wis: University of Wisconsin Press.

Dixon, Angela R. and Edward E. Telles. 2017. "Skin Color and Colorism: Global Research, Concepts, and Measurement." *Annual Review of Sociology* 43(1):405–24.

Dominguez, Tyan Parker, Christine Dunkel-Schetter, Laura M. Glynn, Calvin Hobel, and Curt A. Sandman. 2008. "Racial Differences in Birth Outcomes: The Role of General, Pregnancy, and Racism Stress." *Health Psychology* 27(2):194–203.

Eisenberg, Nancy et al. 1991. "Personality and Socialization Correlates of Vicarious Emotional Responding." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 61(3):459.

Feagin, Joe R. 1991. "The Continuing Significance of Race: Antiblack Discrimination in Public Places." *American Sociological Review* 56(1):101–16.

Feagin, Joe R. and Douglas Lee Eckberg. 1980. "Discrimination: Motivation, Action, Effects, and Context." *Annual Review of Sociology* 6:1–20.

Filmer, Deon and Lant H. Pritchett. 2001. "Estimating Wealth Effects Without Expenditure Data—Or Tears: An Application To Educational Enrollments In States Of India." *Demography* 38(1):115–32.

Flores, René and Edward Telles. 2012. "Social Stratification in Mexico Disentangling Color, Ethnicity, and Class." *American Sociological Review* 77(3):486–94.

Flórez, Carmen Elisa, Carlos Medina, and Fernando Urrea. 2001. "Understanding the Cost of Social Exclusion Due to Race or Ethnic Background in Latin America and Caribbean Countries." *Paper Presented at the Meeting Todos Contamos: Los Grupos Étnicos En Los Censos, Cartagena de Indias, Colombia*.

Freyre, Gilberto. 1933. *The Masters and the Slaves: A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization*. University of California Press.

Geronimus, Arline T. 1992. "The Weathering Hypothesis and the Health of African-American Women and Infants: Evidence and Speculations." *Ethnicity & Disease* 2(3):207–21.

Geschwender, James A. 1964. "Social Structure and the Negro Revolt: An Examination of Some Hypotheses." *Social Forces* 43(2):248–56.

Gigante, Denise Petrucci, Erly Catarina de Moura, and Luciana Monteiro Vasconcelos Sardinha. 2009. "Prevalence of Overweight and Obesity and Associated Factors, Brazil, 2006." *Revista de Saúde Pública* 43:83–89.

Hale, Charles R. 2002. "Does Multiculturalism Menace? Governance, Cultural Rights and the Politics of Identity in Guatemala." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 34(03):485–524.

Hanmer, Michael J. and Kerem Ozan Kalkan. 2013. "Behind the Curve: Clarifying the Best Approach to Calculating Predicted Probabilities and Marginal Effects from Limited Dependent Variable Models: *BEHIND THE CURVE*." *American Journal of Political Science* 57(1):263–77.

Harnois, Catherine E. and Mosi Ifatunji. 2011. "Gendered Measures, Gendered Models: Toward an Intersectional Analysis of Interpersonal Racial Discrimination." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 34(6):1006–28.

Harrell, Shelly P. 2000. "A Multidimensional Conceptualization of Racism-Related Stress: Implications for the Well-Being of People of Color." *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 70(1):42–57.

Harris, Marvin. 1964. *Patterns of Race in the Americas.* New York, Walker 1964.

Harris, Marvin, Josildeth Gomes Consorte, Joseph Lang, and Bryan Byrne. 1993. "Who Are the Whites?: Imposed Census Categories and the Racial Demography of Brazil." *Social Forces* 72(2):451–62.

Harris, Marvin and Conrad Kottak. 1963. "The Structural Significance of Brazilian Racial Categories." *Sociologia* 25(3):203–8.

Hasenbalg, Carlos and Suellen Huntington. 1982. “Brazilian Racial Democracy: Reality or Myth?” *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations* 10(1):129–42.

Heard-Garris, NJ, M. Cale, L. Camaj, MC Hamati, and TP Dominguez. 2017. “Transmitting Trauma: A Systematic Review of Vicarious Racism and Child Health.” *Social Science & Medicine*.

Helms, Janet E., Guerda Nicolas, and Carlton E. Green. 2010. “Racism and Ethnoviolence as Trauma: Enhancing Professional Training.” *Traumatology* 16(4):53–62.

Hill Collins, Patricia. 1990. “Black Feminist Thought.” *Knowledge, Consciousness and the Politics*.

Himmelstein, Mary S., Danielle M. Young, Diana T. Sanchez, and James S. Jackson. 2015. “Vigilance in the Discrimination-Stress Model for Black Americans.” *Psychology & Health* 30(3):253–67.

Hlavac, Marek. 2014. “Stargazer: LaTeX/HTML Code and ASCII Text for Well-Formatted Regression and Summary Statistics Tables.” *Harvard University, Cambridge, USA. R Package Version* 5.

Hooker, Juliet. 2005. “Indigenous Inclusion/Black Exclusion: Race, Ethnicity and Multicultural Citizenship in Latin America.” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 37(2):285–310.

Hoyt, Crystal L., Lauren Aguilar, Cheryl R. Kaiser, Jim Blascovich, and Kevin Lee. 2007. “The Self-Protective and Undermining Effects of Attributional Ambiguity.” *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 43(6):884–93.

Ifatunji, Mosi Adesina and Catherine E. Harnois. 2016. “An Explanation for the Gender Gap in Perceptions of Discrimination among African Americans: Considering the Role of Gender Bias in Measurement.” *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 2(3):263–88.

Jackson, Fleda Mask, Mona Taylor Phillips, Carol J. Rowland Hogue, and Tracy Y. Curry-Owens. 2001. “Examining the Burdens of Gendered Racism: Implications for Pregnancy Outcomes Among College-Educated African American Women.” *Maternal and Child Health Journal* 5(2):95–107.

Jackson, James S. et al. 2011. “Discrimination, Chronic Stress, and Mortality among Black Americans: A Life Course Framework.” Pp. 311–28 in *International handbook of adult mortality*. Springer.

Jackson, James S., Katherine M. Knight, and Jane A. Rafferty. 2010. “Race and Unhealthy Behaviors: Chronic Stress, the HPA Axis, and Physical and Mental Health Disparities Over the Life Course.” *American Journal of Public Health* 100(5):933–39.

King, Deborah K. 1988. “Multiple Jeopardy, Multiple Consciousness: The Context of a Black Feminist Ideology.” *Signs* 14(1):42–72.

King, Kimberly R. 2003. “Do You See What I See? Effects of Group Consciousness on African American Women’s Attributions to Prejudice.” *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 27(1):17–30.

Klonoff, Elizabeth A. and Hope Landrine. 2000. “Is Skin Color a Marker for Racial Discrimination? Explaining the Skin Color–Hypertension Relationship.” *Journal of Behavioral Medicine* 23(4):329–38.

Krieger, Nancy, Diane L. Rowley, Allen A. Herman, Byllye Avery, and et al. 1993. “Racism, Sexism, and Social Class: Implications for Studies of Health, Disease, and Well-Being.” *American Journal of Preventive Medicine* 9(6, Suppl):82–122.

Krysan, Maria. 2000. “Prejudice, Politics, and Public Opinion: Understanding the Sources of Racial Policy Attitudes.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 26:135–68.

Lacy, Karyn. 2007. *Blue-Chip Black: Race, Class, and Status in the New Black Middle Class*. University of California Pr.

Lamont, Michèle et al. 2016. *Getting Respect: Responding to Stigma and Discrimination in the United States, Brazil, and Israel*. Princeton University Press.

Levin, Shana, Stacey Sinclair, Rosemary C. Veniegas, and Pamela L. Taylor. 2002. “Perceived Discrimination in the Context of Multiple Group Memberships.” *Psychological Science* 13(6):557–60.

Lewis, Tené T., Courtney D. Cogburn, and David R. Williams. 2015. “Self-Reported Experiences of Discrimination and Health: Scientific Advances, Ongoing Controversies, and Emerging Issues.” *Annual Review of Clinical Psychology* 11(1):407–40.

Lewis, Tené T., Frances M. Yang, Elizabeth A. Jacobs, and George Fitchett. 2012. “Racial/Ethnic Differences in Responses to the Everyday Discrimination Scale: A Differential Item Functioning Analysis.” *American Journal of Epidemiology* 175(5):391–401.

Lovell, Peggy A. and Charles H. Wood. 1998. “Skin Color, Racial Identity, and Life Chances in Brazil.” *Latin American Perspectives* 25(3):90–109.

Loveman, Mara. 2014. *National Colors: Racial Classification and the State in Latin America*. Oxford University Press.

Macinko, James, Pricila Mullachery, Fernando A. Proietti, and Maria Fernanda Lima-Costa. 2012. “Who Experiences Discrimination in Brazil? Evidence from a Large Metropolitan Region.” *International Journal for Equity in Health* 11(1):80.

Major, Brenda. 2007. “Attributional Ambiguity.” in *Encyclopedia of Social Psychology*, edited by R. F. Baumeister and K. D. Vohs. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Marx, Anthony W. 1998. *Making Race and Nation: A Comparison of South Africa, the United States, and Brazil*. Cambridge University Press.

Massey, Douglas S. and Nancy A. Denton. 1993. *American Apartheid : Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

Merritt, Marcellus M., Gary G. Jr. Bennett, Redford B. Williams, Christopher L. Edwards, and John J. III Sollers. 2006. "Perceived Racism and Cardiovascular Reactivity and Recovery to Personally Relevant Stress." *Health Psychology* 25(3):364–69.

Montenegro, Raul A. and Carolyn Stephens. 2006. "Indigenous Health in Latin America and the Caribbean." *The Lancet* 367(9525):1859–69.

Nuru-Jeter, Amani et al. 2009. ""It's The Skin You're In": African-American Women Talk About Their Experiences of Racism. An Exploratory Study to Develop Measures of Racism for Birth Outcome Studies." *Maternal and Child Health Journal* 13(1):29.

Nyarko, Kwame A., Jorge Lopez-Camelo, Eduardo E. Castilla, and George L. Wehby. 2013. "Explaining Racial Disparities in Infant Health in Brazil." *American Journal of Public Health* 103(9):1675–84.

Ortiz-Hernández, Luis, Sandra Compeán-Dardón, Elizabeth Verde-Flota, and Maricela Nanet Flores-Martínez. 2011. "Racism and Mental Health among University Students in Mexico City." *Salud Pública de México* 53(2):125–33.

Pager, Devah and Hana Shepherd. 2008. "The Sociology of Discrimination: Racial Discrimination in Employment, Housing, Credit, and Consumer Markets." *Annual Review of Sociology* 34(1):181–209.

Paradies, Yin. 2006. "A Systematic Review of Empirical Research on Self-Reported Racism and Health." *International Journal of Epidemiology* 35(4):888–901.

Paradies, Yin et al. 2015. "Racism as a Determinant of Health: A Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis." *PLOS ONE* 10(9):e0138511.

Paschel, Tianna S. 2010. "The Right to Difference: Explaining Colombia's Shift from Color Blindness to the Law of Black Communities." *American Journal of Sociology* 116(3):729–69.

Paschel, Tianna S. and Mark Q. Sawyer. 2008. "Contesting Politics as Usual: Black Social Movements, Globalization, and Race Policy in Latin America." *Souls* 10(3):197–214.

Pascoe, Elizabeth A. and Laura Smart Richman. 2009. "Perceived Discrimination and Health: A Meta-Analytic Review." *Psychological Bulletin* 135(4):531–54.

Pavão, A. L. B., G. B. Ploubidis, G. Werneck, and M. R. Campos. 2012. "Racial Discrimination and Health in Brazil: Evidence from a Population-Based Survey." *Ethnicity and Disease* 22(3):353–59.

Perreira, Krista M. and Edward E. Telles. 2014. "The Color of Health: Skin Color, Ethnoracial Classification, and Discrimination in the Health of Latin Americans." *Social Science & Medicine* 116:241–50.

Pierson, Donald. 1942. *Negroes in Brazil: A Study of Race Contact at Bahia*. Chicago: Southern Illinois University Press.

Priest, Naomi, Ryan Perry, Angeline Ferdinand, Margaret Kelaher, and Yin Paradies. 2017. "Effects over Time of Self-Reported Direct and Vicarious Racial Discrimination on Depressive Symptoms and Loneliness among Australian School Students." *BMC Psychiatry* 17:50.

Quinlan, Jacklyn et al. 2016. "Genetic Loci and Novel Discrimination Measures Associated with Blood Pressure Variation in African Americans Living in Tallahassee." *PLOS ONE* 11(12):e0167700.

Rivers, Ian and Nathalie Noret. 2013. "Potential Suicide Ideation and Its Association With Observing Bullying at School." *Journal of Adolescent Health* 53(1, Supplement):S32–36.

Santana, Vilma, Naomar Almeida-Filho, Robert Roberts, and Sharon P. Cooper. 2007. "Skin Colour, Perception of Racism and Depression among Adolescents in Urban Brazil." *Child and Adolescent Mental Health* 12(3):125–31.

Schwartzman, Luisa Farah. 2007. "Does Money Whiten? Intergenerational Changes in Racial Classification in Brazil." *American Sociological Review* 72(6):940–63.

Sellers, Robert M. and J. Nicole Shelton. 2003. "The Role of Racial Identity in Perceived Racial Discrimination." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 84(5):1079.

Sewell, Abigail A. and Kevin A. Jefferson. 2016. "Collateral Damage: The Health Effects of Invasive Police Encounters in New York City." *Journal of Urban Health* 93(1):42–67.

Shelton, Jason E. and George Wilson. 2009. "Race, Class, and The Basis of Group Alignment: An Analysis of Support for Redistributive Policy Among Privileged Blacks." *Sociological Perspectives* 52(3):385–408.

Sheriff, Robin E. 2001. *Dreaming Equality: Color, Race, and Racism in Urban Brazil*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press.

Sidanius, Jim and Felicia Pratto. 2011. "Social Dominance Theory." *Handbook of Theories of Social Psychology* 2:418–438.

Silva, Graziella Moraes D. and Elisa P. Reis. 2011. "Perceptions of Racial Discrimination among Black Professionals in Rio De Janeiro." *Latin American Research Review* 46(2):55–78.

Skidmore, Thomas E. 1974. *Black into White; Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought*. New York, Oxford University Press.

Sue, Christina A. 2013. *Land of the Cosmic Race: Race Mixture, Racism, and Blackness in Mexico*. Oxford University Press.

Sue, Christina A. and Tanya Golash-Boza. 2013. "'It Was Only a Joke': How Racial Humour Fuels Colour-Blind Ideologies in Mexico and Peru." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 36(10):1582–98.

Szwarcwald, C. L., P. R. Souza-Júnior, M. A. Esteves, G. N. Damacena, and F. Viacava. 2005. "Socio-Demographic Determinants of Self-Rated Health in Brazil." *Cadernos de Saúde Pública / Ministério Da Saúde, Fundação Oswaldo Cruz, Escola Nacional de Saúde Pública.* 21 Suppl:54–64.

Taylor, Donald M., Stephen C. Wright, Fathali M. Moghaddam, and Richard N. Lalonde. 1990. "The Personal/Group Discrimination Discrepancy Perceiving My Group, but Not Myself, to Be a Target for Discrimination." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 16(2):254–62.

Taylor, Donald M., Stephen C. Wright, and Lana E. Porter. 1994. "Dimensions of Perceived Discrimination: The Personal/Group Discrimination Discrepancy." Pp. 233–55 in *The psychology of prejudice: The Ontario symposium, Vol. 7*, *Ontario symposium on personality and social psychology, Vol. 7.*, edited by M. P. Zanna and J. M. Olson. Hillsdale, NJ, England: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Telles, Edward. 2004. *Race in Another America: The Significance of Skin Color in Brazil*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Telles, Edward and Stanley Bailey. 2013. "Understanding Latin American Beliefs about Racial Inequality." *American Journal of Sociology* 118(6):1559–95.

Telles, Edward and René Flores. 2013. "Not Just Color: Whiteness, Nation, and Status in Latin America." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 93(3):411–49.

Telles, Edward and Denia Garcia. 2013. "Mestizaje and Public Opinion in Latin America." *Latin American Research Review* 48(3):130–52.

Telles, Edward and Marcelo Paixão. 2013. "Affirmative Action in Brazil." *Latin American Studies Association Forum* XLIV(2):10–12.

Telles, Edward and Tianna Paschel. 2014. "Who Is Black, White, or Mixed Race? How Skin Color, Status, and Nation Shape Racial Classification in Latin America." *American Journal of Sociology* 120(3):864–907.

Telles, Edward and PERLA. 2014. *Pigmentocracies: Ethnicity, Race, and Color in Latin America*. UNC Press Books.

Telles, Edward and Liza Steele. 2012. "Pigmentocracy in the Americas: How Is Educational Attainment Related to Skin Color?" *AmericasBarometer Insights* (73).

Travassos, Claudia, Josué Laguardia, Priscilla M. Marques, Jurema C. Mota, and Celia L. Szwarcwald. 2011. "Comparison between Two Race/Skin Color Classifications in Relation to Health-Related Outcomes in Brazil." *International Journal for Equity in Health* 10(1):35.

Travassos, Claudia and David R. Williams. 2004. "The Concept and Measurement of Race and Their Relationship to Public Health: A Review Focused on Brazil and the United States." *Cadernos de Saúde Pública* 20(3):660–78.

Truong, Kimberly A., Samuel D. Museus, and Keon M. McGuire. 2016. "Vicarious Racism: A Qualitative Analysis of Experiences with Secondhand Racism in Graduate Education." *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 29(2):224–47.

Twine, France Winddance. 1998. *Racism in a Racial Democracy : The Maintenance of White Supremacy in Brazil*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Villarreal, Andrés. 2010. "Stratification by Skin Color in Contemporary Mexico." *American Sociological Review* 75(5):652–78.

Viveros, Mara Vigoya and Franklin Gil Hernández. 2010. "Género y Generación En Las Experiencias de Ascenso Social de Personas Negras En Bogotá." *Maguaré* (24):99–130.

Wade, Peter. 1993. *Blackness and Race Mixture: The Dynamics of Racial Identity in Colombia*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Wade, Peter. 1997. *Race And Ethnicity In Latin America*. London ; Chicago, Ill: Pluto Press.

Wagley, Charles. 1952. *Race and Class in Rural Brazil*. Unesco.

Walker, Renee E. and Ichiro Kawachi. 2011. "Race, Ethnicity, and Obesity." Retrieved March 11, 2017 (http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199736362.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199736362-e-015).

Williams, David R. et al. 2012. "Research on Discrimination and Health: An Exploratory Study of Unresolved Conceptual and Measurement Issues." *American Journal of Public Health* 102(5):975–978.

Williams, David R. and Selina A. Mohammed. 2009. "Discrimination and Racial Disparities in Health: Evidence and Needed Research." *Journal of Behavioral Medicine* 32(1):20–47.

Williams, David R., Yan Yu, James S. Jackson, and Norman B. Anderson. 1997. "Racial Differences in Physical and Mental Health: Socio-Economic Status, Stress and Discrimination." *Journal of Health Psychology* 2(3):335–51.

Wong, R., M. Peláez, and A. Palloni. 2005. "Self-Reported General Health in Older Adults in Latin America and the Caribbean: Usefulness of the Indicator." *Revista Panamericana de Salud Publica/Pan American Journal of Public Health* 17(5–6):323–32.

Wood, Charles H., José Alberto Magno de Carvalho, and Cláudia Júlia Guimarães Horta. 2010. "The Color of Child Mortality in Brazil, 1950-2000: Social Progress and Persistent Racial Inequality." *Latin American Research Review* 45(2):114–39.