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Multidimensional Ethno-Racial Status in Latin American Contexts of *Mestizaje*

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Multidimensional Ethno-Racial Status in Latin American Contexts of *Mestizaje*

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A Francisco, mi hijo.

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Multidimensional Ethno-Racial Status in Latin American Contexts of *Mestizaje*

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In this dissertation, I propose a framework to explain ethno-racial status in contexts of *mestizaje* (Spanish for ethno-racial mixture). Ethno-racial status refers to the combination of socially ranked and individually embodied ethno-racial characteristics. These characteristics represent distinct dimensions that should be considered together when analyzing ethno-racial issues in these contexts: phenotype, ancestry, and self-identification. I alternatively interpret self-identification, beyond phenotype and ancestry, as exposure to the beliefs –ethno-racial ideologies– that give meaning to local ethno-racial identities rather than explaining it as a central indicator of race.

Using survey data, I investigate whether phenotype is a significant dimension of ethno-racial status in Guatemala. I examine the association between skin color and ethnic self-identification, and differences by ethno-racial characteristics in the perception of skin color discrimination, and in the desire for a whiter skin color. I find evidence of a direct association between skin color and ladino self-identification, a greater perception of skin color discrimination by individuals with more indigenous characteristics, and a direct association between indigenous ancestry, captured by indigenous first language, and the

desire for a whiter skin color. These findings reveal the significance of phenotype as a distinct dimension of ethno-racial status in Guatemala beyond ancestry and ethnic self-identification.

Next, I examine whether there are significant differences in educational attainment and household possessions by phenotype, ancestry, and self-identification in Peru. I find that indigenous/Afro ancestries and darker skin colors are inversely associated with both socioeconomic outcomes. Moreover, white self-identification compared to *mestizo* is negatively associated with educational attainment, but positively associated with household possessions. This study unveils ethno-racial ideologies as relevant beliefs that are instrumental in gaining socioeconomic advantages.

Afterward, I investigate whether Catholic self-identification is directly associated with non-Afro ethno-racial self-identifications, and whether individuals who self-identify as Catholic are significantly prejudiced against Haitians in the Dominican Republic. I find regional-level evidence of a direct association between Catholic self-identification and non-Afro ethno-racial self-identifications. I also find national- and regional-level evidence of a direct association between Catholic self-identification and prejudice against Haitians. These findings reveal the role of Catholicism as a relevant aspect of racialized *Dominicanidad* ("Dominican-ness").

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Chapter 1: Multidimensional Ethno-Racial Status in Contexts of *Mestizaje*

In this dissertation, I propose a framework to explain ethno-racial status in Latin American contexts of *mestizaje* (Spanish for ethno-racial mixture), and use this framework to study different ethnic and racial issues in Guatemala, Peru, and the Dominican Republic. *Mestizaje* has been mainly explained in the U.S. as the cornerstone of national racial ideologies in Latin America (Anderson 2001; Appelbaum, Macpherson, and Rosemblatt 2003; Safa 2005; Telles 2004; Telles and Sue 2009; Wade 2010). These ideologies have promoted national and regional discourses that highlight the positive value of *mestizaje*, understood as ethno-racial mixing, with the purpose of assimilating indigenous and Afro-descendant populations –usually the demographic majorities– in processes of nation-making, and marginalizing those who refused to assimilate (see Telles and Bailey 2013). These discourses were founded on the prevalence of miscegenation as a major social force that historically precedes processes of nation-making (Mörner 1967; Wade 2010). In these contexts, *mestizo* identities gradually characterized empowered mixed-race citizens particularly with respect to indigenous and Afro identities.

Latin American contexts of *mestizaje* are characterized by blurred/fluid ethno-racial boundaries. Past studies understood this fluidity as a sign of homogeneity and integration because indigenous individuals could become *mestizos*. They could self-identify –and be accepted– as *mestizos* because it was already difficult to distinguish racial differences among mixed-race individuals (Colby and van den Berghe 1969; Harris 1964; Mörner 1967). In addition, local *mestizaje* ideologies supported the proliferation of

mestizo identities founded on various cultural and phenotypic individual traits associated with ethno-racial mixture. *Mestizo* identities were gradually acknowledged as the quintessential ethno-racial identity in contexts of *mestizaje*.

Despite the prevalence of ethno-racial fluidity, the ethno-racial heterogeneity inherent to *mestizaje*, and the integrating purposes of *mestizaje* ideologies, significant ethno-racial disparities characterize Latin American societies. Quantitative studies of race and ethnicity in Latin America found evidence of these disparities using different measures of ethno-racial characteristics: self and interviewer classification (e.g., Ñopo, Saavedra, and Torero 2007; Taylor, Hembling, and Bertrand 2015; Telles 2004), indigenous languages (e.g., Macisaac 1994; Steele 1994), skin color and indigenous characteristics (e.g., Villarreal 2010), and multiple measures of race and ethnicity (e.g., Bailey, Loveman, and Muniz 2013; Monk 2016; Telles, Flores, and Urrea-Giraldo 2015). Studies that use ethno-racial identification categories usually acknowledge that ethno-racial boundaries are fluid in contexts of *mestizaje*. Nevertheless, they treat self-identification categories as central indicators of race regardless of their inherent ambiguity. From this perspective, individuals are defined according to their self-identification without taking into account that they also embody other ethno-racial characteristics. This perspective also considers self-identification categories as real social boundaries that define ethno-racial groups.

I alternatively acknowledge *mestizaje* as embodied mixture, and the *mestizo* body as a fluid and unstable carrier of meaning in order to deal with ethno-racial fluidity in contexts of *mestizaje* (Nelson 1999). From this perspective, the *mestizo* body is

characterized by different degrees of cultural and phenotypic mixture based on the embodied combination of contrasting ethno-racial characteristics. Instead of treating ethno-racial characteristics as boundaries, I consider these characteristics as conceptually and empirically distinct dimensions of ethno-racial status. In this way, I aim to connect the meaning of *mestizaje* as ethno-racial mixture (beyond the notion of *mestizaje* as nation-making ideologies) with the U.S. sociological literature of multidimensionality of race (Bailey et al. 2013; Bailey, Saperstein, and Penner 2014; Roth 2016, 2010; Saperstein and Penner 2012).

I define ethno-racial status in contexts of *mestizaje* as the combination of socially ranked characteristics embodied in different degrees by the individual: observed phenotypic differences (characteristics usually but not exclusively acknowledged as racial), and cultural practices such as language use and a sense of belonging (characteristics usually but not exclusively acknowledged as ethnic). Ethno-racial status also acknowledges the racialization of cultural characteristics as socially relevant in contexts of *mestizaje*. In these contexts, the ethno-racial status of individuals is not just determined by one characteristic (e.g., phenotype, self-identification), but by their embodied combination. While certain cultural or physical characteristics suggest that the individual could be perceived/classified as indigenous or as Afro, whiter characteristics "improve" her/his status by "softening" her/his indigenousness or blackness.

Hence, ethno-racial characteristics in contexts of *mestizaje* should not be treated as isolated indicators of race: they have to be concurrently examined. Ethno-racial status incorporates race and ethnicity as an analytic concept that neither "essentializes" racial

characteristics nor reifies racial groups (Brubaker 2004; Loveman 1999). This approach relaxes the significance of ethnic solidarity/social cohesion among individuals who share a specific ethno-racial characteristic –the theoretical foundation of ethnic groups– because their ethno-racial status depends on the individual combination of several ethno-racial characteristics embodied in different degrees. Thus, ethno-racial self-identification is treated as another ethno-racial characteristic rather than as a central measure of a well-bounded ethnic/racial group. Moreover, this framework recognizes the analytic relevance of the historical intertwinement of race, ethnicity, and culture in Latin American for contemporary analysis in accordance with more constructivist perspectives (Cahill 1994; de la Cadena 2000).

In this dissertation, I identify three general dimensions of ethno-racial status in contexts of *mestizaje*: phenotype, ancestries, and ethno-racial self-identification. Phenotype refers to the visible features of individuals. Due to miscegenation, individuals are not just phenotypically white, black, or indigenous regardless of self-identification. Greater degrees of whiter phenotypic characteristics are commonly associated with local standards of beauty, whereas indigenous and Afro traits are still perceived as ugly and disgusting (Sue and Golash-Boza 2013). Ancestries refer to the ethnic characteristics of local indigenous and Afro-descendant populations regardless of ethno-racial self-identification. Ancestral characteristics reveal the prevalence of inherited cultural practices that distinctively contrast with the identities and cultures founded on predominant *mestizaje* perspectives.

Ethno-racial self-identification reveals individuals' exposure to –and identification with– ethno-racial ideologies that give meaning to local ethno-racial identities beyond phenotype and ancestral characteristics. This alternative interpretation of self-identification does not assume an individual-level match between self-identification and other ethno-racial characteristics. According to this approach, individuals who self-identify as white or indigenous are not merely white or indigenous. They are also characterized by different degrees of embodied –and contrasting– ethno-racial characteristics due to miscegenation. In other words, they are also *mestizo*, understood as mixed-race, regardless of their non-*mestizo* self-identification. This perspective is also useful to reveal how *mestizo* self-identification alone insufficiently captures the individual embodiment of mixed ethno-racial characteristics.[1]

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

In this dissertation, I use the ethno-racial status framework in contexts of *mestizaje* presented above to study three different topics in three different Latin American countries: Guatemala, Peru, and the Dominican Republic. In chapter 2, I investigate whether phenotype, captured by skin color, is a significant dimension of ethno-racial status in Guatemala beyond ancestry and ethnic self-identification. Ethnic issues in Guatemala are commonly analyzed using theoretical frameworks that underscore the role of Maya activism in promoting Mayan identification. However, these frameworks often pay insufficient attention to the local significance of phenotype. I specifically examine the association between skin color and ethnic self-identification, and differences by

[1] Or identifications equivalent to *mestizo* that refer to ethno-racial hybridity (e.g., *cholo* in Peru, or *indio* and *jabao* in the Dominican Republic).

ethno-racial characteristics in the perception of skin color discrimination, and in the desire for a whiter skin color using regression analyses.

In chapter 3, I examine whether there are significant differences in educational attainment and household possessions by phenotype, ancestry, and self-identification in Peru using regression analyses. Peru is a key setting for the analysis of *mestizaje* and ethno-racial disparities taking into consideration that most Peruvians self-identify as *mestizo* even in the traditionally indigenous rural areas. A multidimensional approach for the analysis of ethnic and racial issues is useful to explore the nuances of ethno-racial disparities in a research setting characterized by complex ethno-racial diversities insufficiently captured by self-identification and indigenous language.

In chapter 4, I investigate whether Catholic self-identification is directly associated with non-Afro ethno-racial self-identifications, and whether individuals who self-identify as Catholic are significantly prejudiced against Haitians in the Dominican Republic using regression analyses. Latin American cultures are significantly influenced by Catholicism, which partially but meaningfully represents the European legacy that situates Latin American societies into the Western world. This influence may be particularly relevant in the Dominican Republic, where local discourses have underlined the role of Catholicism as an essential dimension of racialized *Dominicanidad* ("Dominican-ness"). Identification with Catholicism could be understood as a "synthetic proof" of non-Afro ancestry in a country where the Spanish heritage is predominantly celebrated and the Afro-Dominican heritage is undervalued.

DATA

The data used in this dissertation come from two sources: the 2010 America's Barometer by the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP), and the San Benito survey, a regional random sample of 1,207 adult women (Rodriguez, Sana, and Sisk 2015; Sana, Stecklov, and Weinreb 2016). The 2010 surveys in Guatemala, Peru, and the Dominican Republic were carried out using a multi-stage national probability sample design of voting-age adults considering stratification and clustering. Although LAPOP has been primarily concerned with the analysis of political issues in Latin American countries, the 2010 surveys introduced a module for gathering information about individual ethno-racial characteristics in Latin America designed by the Project on Ethnicity and Race in Latin America (PERLA) at Princeton University. San Benito (fictitious name) is a small urban area in the Northwestern Dominican sierra relatively close to the Haitian border, where, according to the local news, the Haitian presence is depicted as a threat for local Dominicans. The questionnaire was designed to gather information about several sociodemographic topics including questions about attitudes toward stigmatized populations, and personal ethno-racial characteristics.

Chapter 2: *Mestizaje* and the Significance of Phenotype in Guatemala[1]

The literature of ethnicity in Guatemala suggests that the indigenous/ladino boundary primarily distinguishes Guatemalans by cultural characteristics rather than by phenotype (Adams 1994, 2005; Colby and van den Berghe 1969; Wade 2010). This ethnic boundary, well-rooted in Guatemala's colonial past, has persisted over time. Ladino refers to the national western identity founded on the Spanish/European legacy whereas *indígena* (indigenous) refers to individuals who have preserved values, tastes, and habits of their indigenous heritages. However, neither indigenous individuals nor ladinos cohesively share the same ethno-racial characteristics within each population. Although the indigenous/ladino ethnic boundary is often depicted as particularly rigid, it may be fluid to a certain extent as in other Latin American contexts of *mestizaje*. This fluidity is founded on Guatemala's Spanish colonial past regardless of the apparent absence of *mestizaje* ideologies and policies that promoted the assimilation of indigenous populations in processes of nation-making (see Telles and Bailey 2013; Telles and Garcia 2013; Wade 2010).

Another way of understanding ethno-racial fluidity in contexts of *mestizaje* is to pay attention to the body beyond ethno-racial boundaries. Anthropologist Diane Nelson (1999: 212) argues that "bodies do matter" in response to views that overemphasize the role of culture in Guatemalan ethnic differences. *Mestizo* bodies are fluid and unstable carriers of meaning because they represent different degrees of cultural and phenotypic

[1] Paredes, Cristian L. 2017. "*Mestizaje* and the Significance of Phenotype in Guatemala." *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*. DOI: 10.1177/2332649216682523. © 2017 American Sociological Association. Reprinted by permission of SAGE Publications.

ethno-racial mixture, as the literal meaning of *mestizaje* in Spanish suggests. From this perspective, ethno-racial boundaries are embodied by individuals as the combination of contrasting ethno-racial characteristics. In this study, I argue that these ethno-racial characteristics represent different dimensions of individual-level ethno-racial status in order to propose an alternative framework that connects the meaning of *mestizaje* as ethno-racial mixture (beyond the notion of *mestizaje* as nation-making ideologies) with the U.S. sociological literature of multidimensionality of race (Bailey, Loveman, and Muniz 2013; Bailey, Saperstein, and Penner 2014; Roth 2016, 2010; Saperstein and Penner 2012).

Based on this framework, I investigate the role of phenotype, captured by skin color, as a distinct dimension of ethno-racial status of Guatemalans using nationally-representative survey data and regression analysis. In this study, I specifically intend to answer three research questions: (1) Is skin color significantly associated with ethnic self-identification beyond ancestry? (2) Are indigenous characteristics of Guatemalans (indigenous self-identification and indigenous first language) directly associated with the perception of skin color discrimination net of the impact of skin color on the latter? (3) Are stigmatized ethno-racial characteristics –indigenous self-identification, darker skin colors, and indigenous ancestries– directly associated with the desire for a whiter skin color?

By answering these questions, I aim to present quantitative evidence of the significance of phenotype in Guatemala building on the work by Edward Telles and coauthors (Telles, Flores, and Urrea-Giraldo 2015; Telles and Steele 2012). Issues of

ethnicity in Guatemala are commonly analyzed using frameworks that highlight the central role of Maya activism in promoting Mayan identification (e.g., Bastos 2012; Fischer 1999; Grandin 2000). The significance of phenotype is often disregarded as if ethnic characteristics typically associated with political claims sufficiently capture the complexities of Guatemalan ethnic and racial issues. In this paper, I also offer an alternative/supplementary framework that focuses on the embodied ethno-racial mixture found in Latin America beyond ethno-racial ideologies, boundaries, and self-identifications.

MULTIDIMENSIONAL ETHNO-RACIAL STATUS IN CONTEXTS OF *MESTIZAJE*

Mestizaje has usually been explained as the foundation of national racial ideologies in Latin America (Appelbaum, Macpherson, and Rosemblatt 2003; Safa 2005; Telles and Sue 2009; Wade 2010). Ideologies of *mestizaje* have promoted national and regional discourses that underscore the positive value derived from racial mixing with the purpose of incorporating indigenous and Afro-descendant populations –usually the demographic majorities– in processes of nation-making. Although there were important differences in *mestizaje* discourses and their expansion across Latin America, these ideologies revealed racial projects conducted by elites and governments that imposed the assimilation of indigenous populations and the marginalization of those who refused (see Telles and Bailey 2013).

Mestizos ideally represented empowered mixed-race citizens in their respective contexts. These contexts became “raceless” at the discourse level, regardless of the varying degrees of indigenous, Afro, and European phenotypic and cultural traits of their

inhabitants (Goldberg 2009; Moreno Figueroa 2010). Individuals learned to become *mestizo* by acknowledging the role of education as the path toward citizenship, and by taking advantage of fluid ethno-racial boundaries (see Adams 2005; Colby and van den Berghe 1969; Harris 1964).[2] Nonetheless, ideologies of *mestizaje* have been criticized for promoting cultural whitening by overvaluing their inherited western/European standards and for cloaking discrimination against indigenous and Afro-descendant populations with their unattained promise of ethno-racial inclusion, integration, and equality (Beck, Mijeski, and Stark 2011; Safa 2005; Simmons 2005).

Although the impact of these ideologies on Latin American ethnic and racial issues is certainly significant, *mestizaje* and the *mestizo* identity should not be solely understood as nation-making racial projects and as the embodiment of the ideal mixed-race citizen, respectively. The commonsense, etymological meaning of *mestizo* –as mixed, specifically mixed-race– is commonly disregarded. *Mestizaje* also refers to the individual-level combination of cultural and phenotypic ethno-racial characteristics –the mix– embodied by the *mestizo*. Due to miscegenation as a historical social dynamic that predated processes of nation-making (Mörner 1967; Wade 2010), it is reasonable to assume that, *regardless of self-identification*, individuals in Latin American contexts of *mestizaje* are ethnically/racially mixed (are *mestizo*) to a certain extent.

Beyond the understanding of *mestizaje* as nation-making racial ideologies, the conceptualization of *mestizaje* as ethno-racial mixture in Latin American countries has relevant implications for the analysis of ethnic and racial issues. Recent studies question

[2] Citizenship in this study refers to the extent to which a person is worthy of respect based on how s/he fulfills her/his civic obligations. It does not refer to legal status as it is addressed in immigration literatures.

the conceptualization of race as a one-dimensional characteristic that can be appropriately measured by a single question in surveys such as racial self-identification. Alternatively, these studies propose that the social construct of race encompasses multiple dimensions that even can vary over time and across different situations (Bailey, Loveman, and Muniz 2013; Bailey, Saperstein, and Penner 2014; Roth 2016, 2010; Saperstein and Penner 2012). I argue that the conceptually and empirically distinct ethno-racial characteristics of individuals simultaneously embodied by the *mestizo* represent these dimensions (see Saperstein 2012). Therefore, I define ethno-racial status as the combination of socially ranked characteristics embodied in different degrees by the individual: observed phenotypic differences (characteristics commonly but not exclusively acknowledged as racial), and cultural practices such as language use and a sense of belonging (characteristics commonly but not exclusively acknowledged as ethnic). Ethno-racial status also recognizes the racialization of cultural characteristics as relevant in contexts of *mestizaje*.[3]

Ethno-racial status regards ethno-racial characteristics as conceptually and empirically distinct components of the mix rather than merely considering them as socially constructed boundaries. The ethno-racial status of individuals in contexts of *mestizaje* ranks individuals based on their individually embodied combination of characteristics. While several cultural or physical characteristics suggest that individuals

[3] Ethnicity and race are usually associated with culture and phenotype, respectively. Nonetheless, ethnicity and race share a lot of commonalities. Ethnicity also refers to the perception of characteristics of communities and populations that frequently share similar phenotypic traits. Race also refers to common phenotypic traits in association with different forms of shared ancestry (Cornell and Hartmann 2007; Wade 2010). The definition of ethno-racial status in contexts of *mestizaje* suggested in this study transcends the debate between the meanings of ethnicity and race by acknowledging that cultural and phenotypic characteristics are racialized and embodied by individuals in different degrees.

could be perceived as indigenous, whiter traits “improve” their status by “softening” their indigenousness. In Guatemala, this combination is reflected in “degrees of cultural *ladinization*” as well as in the *mestizo* phenotypic heterogeneity of ladinos and indigenous individuals (Adams 1994: 529). Degrees of ethno-racial status are also implicitly reflected in the mismatch of ethnic self-identification and interviewers’ ethnic classification (e.g., see Taylor, Hembling, and Bertrand 2015). Guatemalans do not necessarily look like the stereotypical depictions of their ethnic self-identifications. Some individuals who self-identify as ladino look more indigenous whereas other individuals who self-identify as indigenous look less indigenous to the eyes of other Guatemalans.

Therefore, ethno-racial characteristics in contexts of *mestizaje* should not be examined alone as isolated indicators of race: they have to be concurrently examined. Ethno-racial status combines race and ethnicity as a concept that neither “essentializes” racial characteristics nor reifies racial groups (Brubaker 2004; Loveman 1999). This concept implicitly suggests that isolated ethno-racial traits do not necessarily represent clearly defined social boundaries or bases of social cohesion taking into consideration that they are embodied in different degrees by mixed-race individuals (*mestizos* regardless of ethnic self-identification). In other words, this perspective partially relaxes the relevance of ethnic solidarity among individuals who embody different degrees of ethno-racial traits in contrast with views that underline the centrality of ethnic solidarity (e.g., see Pebley, Goldman, and Robles 2005). Accordingly, ethnic self-identification is presented as another ethno-racial characteristic rather than as a central indicator of a well-bounded ethnic group. In addition, this concept recognizes the analytic relevance of the

historical intertwinement of race, ethnicity, and culture in contexts of *mestizaje* for contemporary social analysis in accordance with more constructivist perspectives (Cahill 1994; de la Cadena 2000). In this study, I distinguish three central dimensions of ethno-racial status in contemporary Guatemala: *indigenous ancestries*, *ethnic self-identification*, and *phenotype*.

DIMENSIONS OF ETHNO-RACIAL STATUS IN CONTEMPORARY GUATEMALA

Indigenous Ancestries

Indigenous ancestries refer to the ethnic characteristics of local indigenous populations (e.g., *Kaqchikel*, *Mam*, *K'iche'*, and *Q'eqchi*, among others) regardless of ethno-racial self-identification. Ancestries are relevant in contexts of *mestizaje* because indigenous populations enact cultural practices inherited from their ancestors. These practices distinctively contrast with the identities and cultures founded on hegemonic ladino perspectives. The dynamics of *mestizaje* –understood as ethno-racial mixture and as nation-making racial ideologies– involve the prevalence of inherited indigenous habits, languages, and other characteristics over time at different levels. At the community level, these dynamics involve the existence of communities whose members collectively define themselves as indigenous, and at the individual level, the degree of cultural and physical characteristics embodied by individuals that are locally acknowledged as indigenous (see "cultural markers to identify Indians" in Nelson 1999: 231).

Currently, indigenous populations are collectively identified as Maya.[4] The term *Maya* became politically meaningful in the 1970s, and it was promoted by the Pan-Mayan movement in the 1990s as a common ethnic identity that attempted to unify indigenous Guatemalans across language divisions (Bastos 2012; Grandin 2000; Warren 1998). The Guatemalan Agreement on Identity and Rights of Indigenous Peoples points to shared Mayan cultural roots in languages, values, history, and aesthetics as cohesive elements of the Maya ethnic identity while recognizes the diversity of indigenous populations (United Nations 1995). The Pan-Mayan movement was established by indigenous Mayan intellectuals, and emerged as a political response to the entrenched disadvantage of indigenous populations. This movement and subsequent forms of Maya activism have critically associated the problems of indigenous peoples with past and ongoing colonialist practices.

Throughout Guatemala's history, indigenous populations have been segregated, exploited, and excluded. During colonial times, Spaniards created a caste society in which indigenous people (*indios*) were depicted as savages, dishonest, lazy, and idolatrous with respect to *criollos* (descendants of Spaniards) and *mestizos* (mixed-race people with indigenous and Spanish heritage). Negative stereotypes of indigenous populations prevailed after the post-independence formation of Guatemala as a nation-state where the wealth has been concentrated in the hands of a *criollo*/ladino minority. These beliefs served to legally justify the segregation and exploitation of indigenous populations by thwarting their access to land ownership, and issuing vagrancy laws that

[4] *Indígena* also refers to the *Xinca* and *Garifuna* non-Mayan populations, which represent less than 0.5 percent of the Guatemalan population (Escobar 2011).

subjected them to forced labor "for the benefit of the nation" until the 1950s (Adams 2005; Casaús Arzú 2000; Hale 2002; Steele 1994).

The mistreatment of indigenous populations in Guatemala reached its peak during the Civil War (1962-1996), when numerous indigenous individuals were victims of crimes against humanity, especially in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Carmack 1988; Falla 1994; Manz 2004). Guatemalan governments developed a violent repressive apparatus as the main form of social control, which constrained any source of dissidence and brutally targeted indigenous people. According to the Report of the Commission for Historical Clarification (CEH 1999), state forces were responsible for 93 percent of crimes against humanity (200,000 persons died or disappeared as a result of the conflict), and 83 percent of identified victims were indigenous.

Although there were several changes after the war as a result of indigenous mobilization (e.g., the creation of new institutions that originated from peace agreements, the appointment of Mayan personalities to political positions, the expansion of indigenous rights), the governmental commitment to the demands stated in the Guatemalan Agreement on Identity and Rights of Indigenous Peoples has been superficial and insufficient. The governmental multicultural agenda has included a limited number of cultural rights with the purpose of attaining political goals and co-opting activism. However, Mayan social problems have not been seriously addressed beyond the politics of recognition (Bastos 2010; Hale 2002, 2006). Guatemalans were generally poor by the end of the 1980s, but indigenous populations were predominantly poor: 88 percent of indigenous households and 47 percent of ladino households were

below the poverty line. Although poverty decreased by 2006, it was still considerably high, and the indigenous/ladino gap was still remarkably wide: 73 percent of indigenous households and 36 percent of ladino households were below the poverty line (Escobar 2011).

Ethnic Self-Identification

Ethnic self-identification is commonly treated as a central, one-dimensional indicator of ethnicity. Alternatively, I define ethnic self-identification –beyond ancestry and phenotype– as exposure to ethno-racial ideologies that give meaning to local ethno-racial identities. Individuals who self-identify as indigenous recognize significant connections with specific indigenous ethnicities regardless of differences among ethnic populations. Discrepancies between indigenous Guatemalans and Maya activism are commonly framed in political terms. However, several cultural differences transcend political claims. Despite the political empowerment attributed to the Mayan identity, community concerns such as cultural differences and religious traditions are often more relevant as determinants of indigenous ethnic identities than Pan-Mayan national interests (MacKenzie 2010; Bastos 2012).

Although indigenous Guatemalans may not necessarily self-identify as Maya, they still recognize the ladino as "other" (MacKenzie 2010). Ladino refers to the ethnic identity of the Guatemalan individual who self-identifies with the local western culture founded on its Spanish heritage (Adams 1994; Casaús Arzú 2000; Early 1974). Accordingly, ladino individuals do not speak indigenous languages or dress as indigenous individuals. Unlike the stigmatized indigenous identity, ladino self-identification reveals

exposure to –and subsequent identification with– the mainstream ideology. This exposure may be well-rooted in individuals and families. It likely shapes and defines ladino identities at early ages as well as intergenerational ladino identities. In addition, this exposure is likely instrumental in gaining advantages as a useful cultural tool (Swidler 1986). This tool allows the individual to enact a ladino persona regardless of her/his appearance.

The indigenous/ladino self-identification boundary has been described as particularly rigid compared to the indigenous/*mestizo* boundary in other Latin American countries (see Telles and Bailey 2013; Wade 2010). Its persistence has been attributed to clearly different social structures (ladino/national versus indigenous/communal), to the absence of efficient *mestizaje* assimilation policies regardless of local *indigenista* debates, and to diverging views of indigenous authorities about nation-state consolidation that reinforced indigenous identification (Adams 1994, 2005; Colby and van den Berghe 1969; Grandin 2000). However, as in other contexts of *mestizaje*, this boundary possibly had different degrees of fluidity over time, and its current fluidity is still insufficiently examined. The significance of the ladino distinction points to the creation of an ethnic boundary that incorporated acculturated *mestizo* individuals and differentiated indigenous individuals regardless of their degrees of mixed-race heritage as a former historical process (see Adams 1994).

The ethno-racial fluidity in contexts of *mestizaje* can be understood not only in terms of boundaries, but also in terms of the embodied combination of ethno-racial characteristics: the degrees of indigenousness that will determine the ethno-racial status

of individuals. Indigenous Guatemalans may have never stopped aiming to become ladino, and may have taken advantage of lower degrees of indigenousness evident in their whiter phenotypic traits and cultural resources. Despite the notably higher total fertility rate of indigenous Guatemalans compared with the total fertility rate of the rest of the population (CEPAL 2010), the percentage of indigenous self-identification using census data decreased over time (INE 2003; Steele 1994). However, this reduction was noteworthy between 1950 and 1981 (from 54 percent to 42 percent indigenous). The percentage of indigenous self-identification in the census remained steady from 1981 to 2002, which reinforced the perception of a fairly rigid indigenous/ladino ethnic boundary. The most recent official survey estimate of indigenous self-identification in Guatemala is 39.8 percent in 2012 (INE 2013).

Several studies point out the relevance of migration and the transformation of the local economy as factors associated with changes in ethnic self-identification. Indigenous people leave their communities –the central reference of their indigenousness– and gradually become ladino in more urban areas after using more Spanish and dressing in non-indigenous ways. These changes are likely intergenerational –the descendants of migrants in more urban areas who do not self-identify as indigenous– or likely occur among individuals who migrate at early ages (Colby and van den Berghe 1969; Fischer 2001). However, it is also possible that the descendants of migrants contributed to the formation of (or at least sympathized with) the Pan-Mayan movement, and thus kept self-identifying as indigenous in accordance with views that support the construction of a modern indigenous individual (Fischer 2001).

Moreover, large-scale migration of Guatemalan indigenous migrants to the United States promoted new cultural and identity avenues (Hagan 1994; Jonas and Rodríguez 2014; Loucky and Moors 2000). Indigenous individuals with transnational connections in local Guatemalan communities are likely exposed to the foreign influence of their relatives and friends, which may impact their views about ethnicity. Individuals without transnational connections also may believe that those who have transnational connections in the community are becoming ladino (more ladino or ladino-like) due to visible manifestations of upward mobility (Popkin 2005). Furthermore, rural indigenous Guatemalans are contributing to the gradual transformation of the economy (Fischer and Victor 2014; Goldín 2009). They participate in the capitalist market through different forms of production for which they are partially changing their old views (e.g., greater diversification, control over production) while keeping some connection with traditional practices. As ladino factory workers, indigenous workers also may self-identify as Guatemalans in order to self-differentiate from foreign managers. The adoption of the national identity, founded on an updated ladino/indigenous closure at work, may gradually weaken former indigenous identities.

Phenotype

Ethnic issues in Guatemala are commonly analyzed using critical frameworks that explain barriers against and efforts toward political legitimacy. However, the role of phenotype as a racial marker –in this study, as a conceptually and empirically distinct dimension of ethno-racial status– is insufficiently examined. Indigenous and ladino individuals are typically distinguished by cultural/ethnic characteristics rather than by

phenotype. Past studies suggest that ladino individuals are overall not phenotypically white. Indigenous individuals could become ladino partly because of the difficulty in distinguishing racial differences among mixed-race individuals (Colby and van den Berghe 1969; Harris 1964). However, recent studies point to the importance of skin color as a relevant ethno-racial characteristic (Telles et al. 2015; Telles and Steele 2012). Telles and coauthors (2015) found evidence of the inverse association between darker skin colors and years of schooling. This finding persisted after taking into account significant differences by indigenous self-identification, which favored individuals who self-identified as non-indigenous.

According to Casaús Arzú (2000), non-white phenotypic characteristics are stereotypically attributed to indigenous individuals by members of the upper class, who are, on average, whiter individuals. The Guatemalan elite –composed by oligarchic individuals who influentially exert power on mainstream views, and commonly self-identify as white, *criollo*, or ladino– reinforce ethnic prejudice not only by assigning cultural shortcomings to indigenous individuals (e.g., lazy, dishonest), but also by racially self-differentiating themselves. A respondent in her study remarked: “El indio es moreno, frente a nosotros, que somos blancos” (the indigenous person is *moreno* [dark-skinned] compared to us who are whites [my translation]) (Casaús Arzú 2000: 55). Hale (2004: 17) also underlines the significance of phenotype –specifically, the significance of degrees of skin color– as a racial criterion directly associated with indigenousness:

> Darker-skinned *mestizos* were lower on the hierarchy, a disadvantage invariably attributed to proximity to “lo indio” (“Indianness”). The more “indio” you looked,

the more this proximity explained your failings. Or, in colloquial terms, "te salió el indio" (you let the Indian in you come out).

In this study, I analyze the significance of phenotype as a dimension of ethno-racial status in Guatemala. To begin with, I examine whether skin color as a proxy for phenotype is directly associated with ladino self-identification in order to determine whether the differences between indigenous and ladino individuals are merely cultural or cultural and phenotypical. Taking into consideration the meaningful value of whiter skin colors in Guatemala, it is reasonable to expect that Guatemalans have taken advantage of their whiter skin colors to self-identify as ladino (**H1**).

I further investigate the significance of phenotype in Guatemala by analyzing discrimination by skin color and the desire for a whiter skin color using the multidimensional ethno-racial status approach in contexts of *mestizaje* suggested above. I examine whether there are significant differences by ethno-racial characteristics –the concurrent dimensions of ethno-racial status embodied by mixed-race individuals– in the perception of skin color discrimination. If dark skin colors are stereotypically attributed to indigenous individuals, I expect that ladino self-identification is inversely associated with the perception of skin color discrimination and that indigenous ancestries and darker skin colors are directly associated with the perception of skin color discrimination (**H2**). Moreover, I examine whether there are significant differences by ethno-racial characteristics in the desire for a whiter skin color. The associations of stigmatized ethno-racial characteristics –indigenous self-identification, darker skin color, and indigenous ancestries– with this desire are likely positive (**H3**). However, it is possible

that these differences disappear after controlling for the perception of skin color discrimination taking into consideration that individuals may want to be whiter in order to avoid discrimination.

DATA AND METHODS

The data used in this analysis below come from the 2010 America's Barometer by the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP). The 2010 survey in Guatemala was carried out using a national probability sample design of voting-age adults taking into account stratification and clustering with a sample size of 1,504 respondents. Although LAPOP has been chiefly concerned with the analysis of political issues in several Latin American countries, the 2010 survey introduced a module for collecting ethnic and racial data designed by the Project on Ethnicity and Race in Latin America (PERLA) at Princeton University. Data were mainly gathered in Spanish. Only eleven interviews were conducted in indigenous languages. The sample is self-weighted (Azpuru 2010).

Dependent Variables

My first dependent variable is ladino self-identification, which is based on the survey question "Do you consider yourself a ladino, an indigenous person, or other?"[5] First, I removed missing values (52) and observations from individuals who self-identify as other (42). Then, I removed observations with missing values in age and educational attainment (eight). The analytic sample in the first analysis consists of 1,402 observations. This dummy variable measures ladino self-identification compared to

[5] "¿Usted se considera una persona ladina, indígena, u otra?" I translated these questions from the questionnaire available at http://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/ guatemala/2010_Guatemala_Cuestionario.pdf.

indigenous self-identification. I also use ladino self-identification as an independent variable in subsequent analyses that refers to a conceptually and empirically distinct dimension of ethno-racial status.

My second dependent variable is perception of skin color discrimination against the respondent, which is based on the survey question "Have you ever been discriminated against or unfairly mistreated because of your skin color?"[6] The respondent could answer "many times," "sometimes," "a few times," or "never." I dichotomized this variable by collapsing "many times," "sometimes," and "a few times" in one category compared to "never." Perception of skin color discrimination is a dummy variable that measures whether individuals identify racial discrimination as a problem that intimately affects them. About 16 percent of the analytic sample (106 individuals who self-identify as ladino and 115 individuals who self-identify as indigenous) acknowledges this problem. The analytic sample in the second analysis consists of 1,378 observations.

My third dependent variable is the desire for a whiter skin color, which is based on the survey question "You would like your skin to be whiter. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement?"[7] The respondent could choose a number from one for totally disagree to seven for totally agree. I dichotomized this variable by grouping answers five, six, and seven in one category (from agree to totally agree) compared to another category for which I grouped answers one, two, three, and four (from totally disagree to neutral). About 18 percent of the analytic sample (121 individuals who self-

[6] "¿Alguna vez se ha sentido discriminado o ha sido tratado mal o de manera injusta por su color de piel?"
[7] "A usted le gustaría que su piel fuera más clara. ¿Hasta qué punto está de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con esta afirmación?"

identify as ladino and 129 individuals who self-identify as indigenous) acknowledges this desire. The analytic sample in the third analysis consists of 1,369 observations.

Independent Variables

I use skin color classification as a proxy for phenotype. I treat skin color as a continuous variable taking into account that relatively white intensities, captured by the tonalities of the palette, are significant in *mestizaje* contexts because of their fluid boundaries. Interviewers coded skin color based on their evaluation of the appearance of respondents at the end of each interview using the PERLA skin color palette.[8] This palette categorizes the skin color of the respondents starting at one for the whitest and ending at 11 for the darkest. Guatemalans were classified from two to nine according to the PERLA palette values. I grouped those classified with eight and nine (35 observations in total, only two respondents were classified with nine), and subtracted one from each possible original answer in order to subjectively assign the value of one to the local whitest skin color. Moreover, I created two dummy variables to capture indigenous ancestries: a variable that identifies individuals who learned an indigenous language as their first language (mother tongue), and a variable that identifies whether their parents speak an indigenous language. The reference categories for these variables are individuals/parents who speak (as a first language) Spanish and/or foreign languages. Ladino self-identification becomes an independent variable in the second and third analyses.

[8] See http://perla.princeton.edu/surveys/perla-color-palette/.

Furthermore, I created dummy variables for level of urbanization, educational attainment, parents' occupations, sex (female), and region. I include in the analyses variables for three levels of urbanization and distinguish them from the metropolitan capital: large cities, intermediate cities, and rural. Guatemala City is the main urban center and the epitome of modern ladino culture (Pebley et al. 2005; Roberts 2010). In addition, I work with the educational categories presented in the survey questionnaire based on years of schooling: "no formal schooling," "primary," "secondary," "*bachillerato*, *magisterio*, or *secretariado*" (baccalaureate, magisterium, or secretariat, which locally refer to technical degrees). I grouped individuals with university with those who had postgraduate studies in the category "university or more." "No formal schooling" is the reference category in the analysis of ladino self-identification whereas "university or more" is the reference category in the rest of the analyses. I used different reference categories in order to better estimate and explain differences in ladino self-identification, perception of skin color discrimination, and the desire for a whiter skin color by educational attainment.

Moreover, I created four dummy variables that measure the occupational status of parents. I grouped peasants and domestic workers in a category for low status occupations; artisans, manual workers, retailers, and security workers in a category for medium status occupations; and office workers, technicians, teachers, government employees, professionals, and executives in a category for conventionally accepted as skilled workers and high status occupations. I also include in the analyses a variable for the missing values of parents' occupations. I include variables for parents' occupations

in the analyses in order to estimate contemporary ethno-racial differences net of the impact of their class origins (Flores and Telles 2012). In addition, I control for sex (female), and region (eight variables for region including Guatemala Department as the reference category).

Furthermore, I control for age, which is included in the analyses as a continuous variable. I also include logged income in the first analysis. I also obtained the continuous variable logged income by using the midpoint of each household income category (an eleven-category ordinal variable), except for the lowest and the highest categories. I grouped the lowest categories "no income" and "from zero to 1,000 quetzals" in one category, and recoded it as 500. I also recoded the top, open-ended category "more than 9,500 quetzals" as 9,750 (referential number). I computed the natural logarithm of this variable, and inputted income averages according to educational attainment (estimated with an ordinary least squares regression) for 130 missing values. Finally, I created a dummy variable that identifies whether the respondent has family living out of the country in order to control for the potential influence of transnational connections on individuals' identities and views on race.

Analytic Plan

In this study, I used logistic regression as a suitable statistical method for the analysis of binary dependent variables (Powers and Xie 2008). In separate analyses (not presented in this study), I examined whether interviewers' characteristics influence perceptions of skin color, which is a central measure in this analysis. I did not find evidence of significant associations between interviewers' characteristics and

respondents' skin color classification. Therefore, I did not control for interviewer characteristics. Nonetheless, I opted to estimate robust standard errors adjusted for within-interviewer clustering, which obtained correct standard errors (see Villarreal 2010).[9] First, I fitted logistic regression models to examine whether skin color is significantly associated with ladino self-identification. The baseline model predicts ladino self-identification using skin color, indigenous first language, and parents speak an indigenous language as explanatory variables, as well as controlling for sex, age, level of urbanization, and region. I sequentially included in subsequent regression models variables for educational attainment, logged income, parents' occupation, and family out of the country in order to examine whether the association between skin color and ladino self-identification fluctuates.

Second, I fitted logistic regression models to examine differences in perception of skin color discrimination by skin color, ethno-racial self-identification, and indigenous first language. The baseline model predicts perception of skin color discrimination using ladino self-identification, skin color, and indigenous first language as concurrent explanatory variables, as well as controlling for sex, age, level of urbanization, and region. I sequentially added in subsequent regression models variables for educational attainment, and parents' occupation in order to analyze whether differences in perception of skin color discrimination by concurrent ethno-racial characteristics change.

[9] This method produces correct standard errors even when observations included within clusters (i.e., interviewers in these analyses) are not independent as long as they are independent across clusters (see Villarreal 2010).

Third, I fitted logistic regression models to examine differences in the desire for a whiter skin color by skin color, ethno-racial self-identification, and indigenous first language. The baseline model predicts the desire for a whiter skin color using ladino self-identification, skin color, and indigenous first language as explanatory variables, as well as controlling for sex, age, level of urbanization, and region. I sequentially included in subsequent regression models variables for educational attainment, parents' occupations, perception of skin color discrimination, and family out of the country in order to examine whether differences in the desire for a whiter skin color by concurrent ethno-racial characteristics vary.[10]

RESULTS

Ladino Self-Identification

On one hand, about 35 percent of respondents in the survey self-identified as indigenous (see Table 2.1). This estimate contrasts to some extent with the aforementioned 2012 official survey estimate of indigenous self-identification (39.8 percent). On the other hand, about 65 percent self-identified as ladino. Table 2.2 presents the regression coefficients of logistic regression models converted to odds ratios predicting ladino self-identification. As expected (**H1**), respondents' skin color is negatively associated with ladino self-identification (odds ratios lower than 1). This

[10] I also fitted ordered logistic regression models and partially proportional ordered logistic regression models for the second and third analyses using alternative dependent variables (the original ordinal variables and alternative versions of these variables after collapsing categories). The results of these alternative models are consistent with the findings presented in this study. However, the proportional odds assumption for the alternative models was not well-founded. Therefore, I opted to present the logistic regression models taking into consideration that the dichotomization of the original variables made conceptual and analytic sense. Moreover, I examined whether the ethno-racial status variables interact with each other in separate regression models, but I did not find evidence of significant interactions in any of the three analyses.

association is significant net of the significant impact of ancestry, captured by indigenous first language and parents speak an indigenous language. It remains significant after sequentially incorporating variables for educational attainment (Model 2), income (Model 3), parents' occupations (Model 4), and family out of the country (Model 5). According to Model 4, the odds of self-identifying as ladino are 25 percent lower for each additional darker category of skin color (Model 4: 1-0.748).

The influence of ancestry beyond skin color on ethnic self-identification is noteworthy. The odds of self-identifying as ladino are 90 percent lower for individuals whose first language is an indigenous language, and 97 percent lower for individuals whose parents speak an indigenous language (Model 4: 1-0.105 and 1-0.026, respectively).[11] In addition, the positive association of age and ladino self-identification suggests that the odds of self-identifying as indigenous are greater for younger Guatemalans. Moreover, Model 2 suggests that ladino self-identification and educational attainment (from "secondary education" to "university or more") are directly associated with respect to "no formal schooling" as the reference category. However, the "university or more" coefficient becomes statistically insignificant after controlling for income (Model 3) and parents' occupations (Model 4). These models indicate that, on average, there is no evidence to suggest that more educated individuals self-identify more as ladino compared to individuals with no formal schooling. All these findings possibly reveal the influence of the efforts of the Pan-Mayan movement and Maya activism over

[11] I only included parents speak an indigenous language as a measure of ancestry in the first analysis due to its significance as a determinant of ladino self-identification. However, I did not use it as a measure of ancestry in the second and third analyses because I found that it is not significantly associated with the perception of skin color discrimination and desire for a whiter skin color outcomes in analyses not presented in this study. Its exclusion did not alter the findings presented in this study.

time. These efforts may have strengthened local indigenous identities to a certain extent (see Layton and Patrinos 2006).

Furthermore, I found no evidence to suggest that income is significantly associated with ladino self-identification.[12] It is possible that money does not whiten identities (more specifically, does not *de-indianize*) in a country where indigenous individuals could have moved up without losing their ethnic identities (see Grandin 2000). In contrast, the odds of self-identifying as ladino are lower for individuals whose parents' occupations were low and medium status occupations compared to individuals whose parents were skilled workers and high-ranked professionals. I also found no evidence to suggest that having family out of the country is significantly associated with ladino self-identification.

Perception of Skin Color Discrimination

About 16 percent of respondents in the survey admitted that they were victims of skin color discrimination: 7.69 percent self-identified as ladino; and 8.35 percent, as indigenous (see Table 2.1). Table 2.3 presents the regression coefficients of logistic regression models converted to odds ratios predicting perception of skin color discrimination. As expected (**H2**), ladino self-identification is inversely associated with perception of skin color discrimination, and indigenous ancestries and darker skin colors

[12] I fitted these regression models without income, and the results were consistent with the findings presented in this study. I did not include income in the second and third analyses because I found that it is not significantly associated with the perception of skin color discrimination and desire for a whiter skin color in alternative analyses not presented in this study. I included it in the first analysis and presented it in Table 2.2 in order to examine whether money whitens/de-*indianizes* in Guatemala. In addition, I alternatively fitted these regression models with a control dummy variable for Evangelical respondents because of the possible influence of Evangelical religious beliefs on ethnic self-identification (see Pebley et al. 2005), but its coefficient was statistically insignificant. Its exclusion did not alter the findings presented in this study.

are directly associated with perception of skin color discrimination. These associations remain significant after controlling for educational attainment (Model 2) and parents' occupations (Model 3). Model 3 suggests that the odds of perceiving skin color discrimination is 47 percent lower for individuals who self-identify as ladino compared to individuals who self-identify as indigenous (1-0.528). Moreover, the odds of perceiving skin color discrimination are 17 percent higher for each additional darker category of skin color (1.171-1), and 77 percent higher for individuals whose first language is an indigenous language (1.770-1).

It is noteworthy that the odds of perceiving skin color discrimination are higher for individuals who live in large cities compared to individuals who live in the metropolitan capital. Indigenous individuals may have migrated to large cities instead of going to the capital because the former could be more convenient (e.g., more affordable cities, better networks). Large cities also could be geographically and culturally closer to their original communities compared to Guatemala City. According to the data used in this analysis, the proportions of individuals who self-identify as indigenous, and individuals whose first language is an indigenous language are lower in the capital city compared to large cities (see also Roberts 2010). Ladinos who live in large cities may feel threatened by the indigenous presence that could be growing due to internal migration. Consequently, perceived threat probably increased the level of skin color discrimination in large cities (see Blalock 1967). It is also possible that the promotion of multicultural views, understood as state-driven *mestizaje* in other studies (Hale 2006; Telles and Garcia 2013), are lowering the recognition of skin color discrimination in

Guatemala City. Due to the official character of views that promote the politics of recognition, their influence is likely stronger in the capital city. There are no significant differences in perception of skin color discrimination between the capital and areas with lower levels of urbanization.

In addition, only the coefficient of "secondary education" compared to "university or more" is positive and statistically significant in Model 3. There are no differences between the reference "university or more" and other lower educational categories. Individuals who only attained secondary education possibly acknowledge skin color discrimination because they do not embrace local *mestizaje* discourses of integration as more educated people do.

Furthermore, the odds of perceiving skin color discrimination are lower for individuals whose parents worked in low and medium status occupations compared to individuals whose parents were skilled workers and high-ranked professionals. Individuals whose parents were skilled workers and high-ranked professionals probably admit that they were victims of skin color discrimination because their higher-class origins allow them to compensate for discriminatory treatment. In addition, it is possible that they experience more skin color discrimination due to their higher level of interaction with people who can discriminate against them as it occurs with middle-class non-white individuals in whiter contexts (e.g., middle-class African-Americans in the U.S.: see Hardaway and McLoyd 2009; Krysan and Farley 2002). It is also possible that they can identify racial discrimination as a relevant social problem. Conversely, individuals whose parents worked in lower ranked occupations may not admit that they

were victims of skin color discrimination because they do not necessarily want others to know that they were victims of discrimination.

Desire for a Whiter Skin Color

About 18 percent of respondents in the survey admitted that they desire a whiter skin color: 8.84 percent self-identified as ladino and 9.42 percent as indigenous (see Table 2.1). Table 2.4 presents the regression coefficients of logistic regression models converted to odds ratios predicting the desire for a whiter skin color. Unexpectedly, I found no evidence of significant associations between the desire for a whiter skin color and ladino self-identification and between the desire for a whiter skin color and skin color. However, the odds of desiring a whiter skin color are greater for individuals whose first language is an indigenous language in accordance with the aforementioned expectations (**H3**). This association is significant after controlling for educational attainment, parents' occupation, and perception of skin color discrimination. Model 3 suggests that the odds of desiring a whiter skin color are 67 percent greater for individuals whose first language is an indigenous language compared to individuals whose first language is Spanish/other (1.668-1).

It is noteworthy that the odds of desiring a whiter skin color are 87 percent greater for individuals who perceive skin color discrimination compared to individuals who do not acknowledge discrimination (Model 3: 1.866-1). The perception of skin color discrimination mediates the association between indigenous first language and the desire for a whiter skin color, which decreases from Model 2 to Model 3. The association between the desire for a whiter skin color and perception of skin color discrimination

suggests that individuals would like to be whiter in order to avoid discrimination. Beyond the influence of the perception of skin color discrimination, the desire for a whiter skin color by individuals with indigenous ancestries reveals the local value of whiteness as a significant aesthetic resource. Possibly because of this value and its impact on the social significance of beauty, females have greater odds of desiring a whiter skin color compared to males. Beauty is particularly relevant for women as a resource that allows them to socially and economically succeed in everyday life (see Casanova 2004). Accordingly, Guatemalan women, regardless of ethno-racial status, would like to be whiter in order to conform to the role of women in the family sanctioned by ladino society, the state, and church, and to avoid the abuse and objectification of women who are perceived as more indigenous (Nelson 1999).[13]

In addition, only the coefficient of "primary education" compared to "university or more" is positive and statistically significant. There are no significant differences between "university or more" and other lower educational categories in the desire for a whiter skin color. Similarly, there are no significant differences in the desire for a whiter skin color by parents' occupations. I also found no evidence to suggest that individuals who have family out of the country desire a whiter skin color more than individuals with no transnational familiar connections.

[13] In separate regression models not presented in this study, I analyzed whether the variable female interacted with ladino self-identification, skin color, and indigenous first language. However, I found no evidence of significant interactions between female and the ethno-racial variables. There are no significant differences in the desire for a whiter skin color between women whose first language is an indigenous language and women whose first language is a non-indigenous language.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this study, I found evidence of a direct association between skin color as a proxy for phenotype and ladino self-identification in Guatemala beyond the significant impact of ancestry on the latter. This finding suggests that differences between indigenous and ladino individuals are not just cultural, but phenotypical. Therefore, this finding challenges foundational views that disregarded the relevance of physical appearance as a determinant of ethnic self-identification (Colby and van den Berghe 1969; Harris 1964). Ladinos are, on average, phenotypically whiter than indigenous individuals. Greater degrees of phenotypic whiteness increase the odds of self-identifying as ladino.

Not only did I find evidence of a direct association between skin color and skin color discrimination, I also found evidence of an inverse association between ladino self-identification and skin color discrimination and a direct association between indigenous ancestries and skin color discrimination when these characteristics are examined together. These findings reveal that skin color is not the only racially stigmatized characteristic. Indigenous ancestries and indigenous self-identification are also racialized and subjected to skin color discrimination after taking into account the stigmatization that individuals with these ethnic characteristics are likely to suffer. In other words, indigenous ethnic characteristics "darken" individuals in the eyes of others.

Furthermore, ladino self-identification and skin color are not significantly associated with the desire for a whiter skin color. However, indigenous first language, an indicator of ancestry, is directly associated with this desire. Individuals with indigenous

ancestries possibly desire to be whiter because, beyond the politics of recognition and the vindicating efforts of Maya activism, whiteness still represents superiority. Guatemalan authorities and elites as well as people who epitomize local beauty are, on average, phenotypically whiter individuals. It is particularly noteworthy that the perception of skin color discrimination is also directly associated with the desire for a whiter skin color. Individuals may desire to be whiter in order to avoid discrimination. This interpretation has a relevant analytic implication for the analysis of ethnic and racial issues in contexts of *mestizaje*. *Mestizaje* norms have been criticized for the promotion of whitening (e.g., Safa 2005). Nevertheless, these criticisms usually do not take into consideration that dispositions toward whitening represent in these contexts not only alignment with power, but also necessary strategies to avoid individual-level discrimination. Therefore, further research is necessary to analyze how *mestizaje* norms of equality and inclusion are reinforced by social dynamics oriented to self-empower individuals against prevailing ethno-racial discrimination.

This study has limitations that should be taken into account when interpreting the results. I use skin color as a proxy for phenotype due to its importance as a measure of race. Nevertheless, it is possible that skin color alone does not capture other relevant phenotypic characteristics, which also could be partially captured by indigenous first language and ethnic self-identification (e.g., attributes that are normally racialized in *mestizaje* contexts such as hair type and height). A possible solution would be to gather more data about phenotypic characteristics to improve the measurement of phenotype in the future.

Moreover, the variable respondents' skin colors could be problematic because the perception of interviewers is not totally objective regardless of the skin color palette and its instructions (Villarreal 2010). Interviewers could have "whitened" or "darkened" respondents based on their ethnic self-identification (asked before classifying the respondent by skin color) and other characteristics. Although I did not find evidence of significant associations between skin color classification and interviewers' characteristics in separate analyses, it is possible that skin color classification could be significantly associated with interviewers' characteristics that were not included in the LAPOP survey. Nonetheless, it is necessary to underscore that differences by skin color in ethnic self-identification, perception of skin color discrimination, and the desire for a whiter skin color are estimated net of parents' occupational statuses, and net of educational attainment, which should work as proxies for changes in skin color categories that may occur with increasing socioeconomic status.

Furthermore, I cannot evaluate whether skin color categorization is statistically reliable because the LAPOP data used in the analyses are cross-sectional. Longitudinal data with several measures of ethno-racial characteristics are, to my knowledge, still non-existent in Guatemala. This study takes advantage of the LAPOP data, which offer unique information about ethno-racial traits. This study may establish the need to obtain more data in the future that will allow us to revise these findings, and to adjust our conceptual approaches.

In conclusion, phenotype is a significant dimension of ethno-racial status in Guatemala. Although the literature commonly portrays the indigenous/ladino divide as

mainly cultural, it is necessary to consider the relevance of phenotype as a distinct dimension of ethno-racial status. The multidimensional ethno-racial status approach suggested in this study is useful to understand ethno-racial characteristics as a combination of traits that do not necessarily represent social boundaries as the meaning of *mestizaje* suggests beyond its ideologies (individual-level mixture). It is noteworthy that, while indigenous self-identification and indigenous ancestries are conceptually and empirically distinct dimensions, they are also racialized to the extent that individuals with these characteristics have greater odds of experiencing skin color discrimination. From this perspective, the significance of phenotype "colors" other ethno-racial dimensions according to the local perception of non-phenotypic ethno-racial characteristics.

Consequently, the governmental multicultural agenda should also take into consideration the significance of phenotypic and racial differences beyond the politics of recognition. Local policies should address educational and cultural objectives that promote views and manifestations that counter the local value of whiteness. Maya activism and local scholars could also demand well-designed policies and propose alternative pedagogical strategies that specifically attempt to increase and strengthen the cultural value of non-white manifestations in the long term.

Table 2.1. Summary Statistics for the Variables Used in the Analysis

Variables	Ladino Self-Identification		Indigenous Self-Identification		N
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	
Dependent Variables					
Ladino Self-Identification (Reference: Indigenous Self-Identification)	914	65.19%	488	34.81%	1402
Perception of Skin Color Discrimination (A Few Times and Over)	106	7.69%	115	8.35%	1378
(Reference: Never)	360	26.12%	797	57.84%	
Desire to Have a Whiter Skin Color (Agree – Totally Agree)	121	8.84%	129	9.42%	1369
(Reference: Neutral –Totally Disagree)	776	56.68%	343	25.05%	
Independent Variables					
Skin Color (Mean; S.D.; Min.; Max.)	(3.64; 1.30; 1; 7)		(4.40; 1.06; 2; 7)		1402
Indigenous First Language	18	1.28%	331	23.61%	1402
(Reference: Spanish/Foreign First Language)	896	63.91%	157	11.20%	
Parents Speak an Indigenous Language	43	3.07%	415	29.60%	1402
(Reference: Parents Speak Spanish/Foreign)	871	62.13%	73	5.21%	
Level of Urbanization					
Capital, Metropolitan Area	165	11.77%	10	0.71%	1402
Large Cities	197	14.05%	38	2.71%	
Intermediate Cities	152	10.84%	104	7.42%	
Rural	400	28.53%	336	23.97%	
Education					
No Formal Schooling (Zero Years of Education)	57	4.07%	74	5.28%	1402
Primary Education	323	23.04%	233	16.62%	
Secondary Education	134	9.56%	57	4.07%	
Bachillerato, Magisterio, or Secretariado	279	19.90%	99	7.06%	
University or More	121	8.63%	25	1.78%	
Logged Income (Mean; S.D.; Min.; Max.)	(7.38; 0.80; 6.21; 9.19)		(6.88; 0.74; 6.21; 9.19)		1402
Parents' Occupation					
Domestic worker, Peasant	356	26.85%	328	24.74%	1326
Artisan, Manual Worker, Security, Retailer	350	26.40%	115	8.67%	
Office Worker, Technician, Teacher, Government Employee, Executive, and Professional	163	12.29%	14	1.06%	
Family Out of the Country	335	23.89%	102	7.28%	1402
(Reference: No Family Out of the Country)	579	41.30%	386	27.53%	
Female	475	33.88%	231	16.48%	1402
(Reference: Male)	439	31.31%	257	18.33%	
Age (Mean; S.D.; Min.; Max.)	(39.21; 16.22; 18; 88)		(37.15; 14.54; 18; 86)		1402
Region (N = 1402): Guatemala Department (337), North (131), Northeast (103), Southeast (151), Center (212), Southwest (292), Northwest (138), Petén (38)					

Note: Skin color categories are ordered from whitest to darkest with the darkest category subjectively assigned the highest value.

Table 2.2. Selected Coefficients (Odds Ratios) of Logistic Regression Models Predicting Ladino Self-Identification

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Skin Color[a]	0.676**	0.718**	0.722**	0.748*	0.742*
	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.10)
Indigenous First Language	0.095***	0.094***	0.098***	0.105***	0.102***
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Parents Speak an Indigenous Language	0.030***	0.028***	0.027***	0.026***	0.026***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Female	0.881	0.965	0.974	1.015	1.005
	(0.20)	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.24)	(0.24)
Age	1.015	1.028**	1.027**	1.029**	1.029**
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Education[b]					
Primary Education		2.124	1.943	2.018	2.081
		(0.88)	(0.82)	(0.89)	(0.93)
Secondary Education		4.398***	3.718**	3.507**	3.588**
		(1.94)	(1.77)	(1.71)	(1.76)
Bachillerato, Magisterio or		5.383**	4.267*	3.507*	3.688*
Secretariado		(3.13)	(2.64)	(2.16)	(2.27)
University or More		4.113*	2.886	2.101	2.196
		(2.58)	(1.99)	(1.40)	(1.47)
Logged Income			1.252	1.158	1.183
			(0.29)	(0.27)	(0.28)
Parents' Occupation[c]					
Domestic worker, Peasant				0.216**	0.212**
				(0.11)	(0.11)
Artisan, Manual Worker, Security,				0.324**	0.315**
Retailer				(0.13)	(0.12)
Family Out of the Country					0.741
					(0.18)
Log-likelihood	-342.6	-333.7	-332.9	-326.8	-326.0
N	1402	1402	1402	1402	1402

Note: Robust standard errors adjusted for within-interviewer clustering are in parentheses. Estimated coefficients (odds ratios) of region (North, Northeast, Southeast, Center, Southwest, Northwest, Petén with Guatemala Department as the reference category), and of level of urbanization (large cities, small cities, rural with Capital, metropolitan area as the reference category) are omitted from the table to save space.

[a]Skin color categories are ordered from whitest to darkest with the darkest category subjectively assigned the highest value.

[b]No formal schooling (zero years of education) is the reference category.

[c]Office Worker, Technician, Teacher, Government Employee, Executive, and Professional are grouped as the reference category. Estimated coefficient of category "missing values" is omitted from the table to save space.

*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$ (two-tailed tests)

Table 2.3. Selected Coefficients (Odds Ratios) of Logistic Regression Models Predicting Perception of Skin Color Discrimination

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Ethno-Racial Status			
Ladino Self-Identification[a]	0.584*	0.566*	0.528*
	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.14)
Skin Color[b]	1.141*	1.151*	1.171**
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Indigenous First Language	1.769*	1.747*	1.770*
	(0.45)	(0.46)	(0.45)
Female	1.176	1.189	1.228
	(0.26)	(0.27)	(0.26)
Age	1.007	1.010*	1.011*
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Level of Urbanization[c]			
Large Cities	1.965***	1.823***	1.875***
	(0.39)	(0.33)	(0.33)
Intermediate Cities	1.292	1.188	1.196
	(0.44)	(0.40)	(0.43)
Rural	1.416	1.369	1.400
	(0.40)	(0.37)	(0.40)
Education[d]			
No formal schooling		0.913	1.069
		(0.38)	(0.45)
Primary Education		0.965	1.169
		(0.24)	(0.28)
Secondary Education		1.646	2.027**
		(0.46)	(0.55)
Bachillerato, Magisterio or		1.113	1.254
Secretariado		(0.40)	(0.44)
Parents' Occupation[e]			
Domestic worker, Peasant			0.510*
			(0.16)
Artisan, Manual Worker, Security,			0.386***
Retailer			(0.11)
Log-likelihood	-578.0	-575.2	-568.9
N	1378	1378	1378

Notes: Robust standard errors adjusted for within-interviewer clustering are in parentheses. Estimated coefficients (odds ratios) of region (North, Northeast, Southeast, Center, Southwest, Northwest, Petén with Guatemala Department as the reference category) are omitted from the table to save space.

[a]Indigenous is the reference category.

[b]Skin color categories are ordered from whitest to darkest with the darkest category subjectively assigned the highest value.

[c]Capital, metropolitan area is the reference category.

[d]University or more is the reference category.

[e]Office Worker, Technician, Teacher, Government Employee, Executive, and Professional are grouped as the reference category. Estimated coefficient of category "missing values" is omitted from the table to save space.

*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$ (two-tailed tests)

Table 2.4. Selected Coefficients (Odds Ratios) of Logistic Regression Models Predicting the Desire for a Whiter Skin Color

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Ethno-Racial Status				
Ladino Self-Identification[a]	0.747	0.798	0.843	0.833
	(0.26)	(0.27)	(0.28)	(0.27)
Skin Color[b]	1.093	1.047	1.034	1.042
	(0.11)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.10)
Indigenous First Language	1.727*	1.738*	1.668*	1.697*
	(0.45)	(0.42)	(0.41)	(0.42)
Female	1.854*	1.705*	1.715*	1.748*
	(0.50)	(0.45)	(0.46)	(0.47)
Age	1.004	0.999	0.998	0.998
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Education[c]				
No formal schooling		3.016	3.080	3.231
		(1.85)	(1.90)	(1.96)
Primary Education		3.111*	3.162*	3.252*
		(1.71)	(1.77)	(1.80)
Secondary Education		1.438	1.367	1.392
		(0.88)	(0.84)	(0.86)
Bachillerato, Magisterio or *Secretariado*		2.342	2.347	2.351
		(1.40)	(1.43)	(1.43)
Parents' Occupation[d]				
Domestic worker, Peasant		1.095	1.145	1.137
		(0.28)	(0.29)	(0.29)
Artisan, Manual Worker, Security, Retailer		1.163	1.234	1.234
		(0.30)	(0.30)	(0.31)
Perception of Skin Color Discrimination			1.866**	1.841**
			(0.38)	(0.38)
Family Out of the Country				1.266
				(0.22)
Log-likelihood	-580.8	-571.5	-566.3	-565.4
N	1369	1369	1369	1369

Notes: Robust standard errors adjusted for within-interviewer clustering are in parentheses. Estimated coefficients (odds ratios) of region (North, Northeast, Southeast, Center, Southwest, Northwest, Petén with Guatemala Department as the reference category), of level of urbanization (large cities, small cities, rural with Capital, metropolitan area as the reference category) are omitted from the table to save space. According to these regression models, people in the Southeast, Center, and Northwest are at least three times as likely to desire a whiter skin color when compared to people in the Guatemala Department. Model 4 suggests that people in the Southwest are two times as likely to desire a whiter skin color when compared to people in the Guatemala Department.

[a]Ladino is the reference category.

[b]Skin color categories are ordered from whitest to darkest with the darkest category subjectively assigned the highest value.

[c]University or more is the reference category.

[d]Office Worker, Technician, Teacher, Government Employee, Executive, and Professional are grouped as the reference category. Estimated coefficient of category "missing values" is omitted from the table to save space.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed tests)

Chapter 3: Multidimensional Ethno-Racial Status in Contexts of *Mestizaje*: Ethno-Racial Stratification in Contemporary Peru

mestizo, za. (Del lat. tardío mixticĭus, mixto, mezclado).
mestizo, *za*. (From late latin *mixticĭus*, mixt, mixed).
Diccionario de la lengua española[1]

La gente no es simplemente mestiza, pues lo que realmente importa es la composición del mestizaje: la blancura relativa de algunos frente a otros.
People are not simply *mestizo*, what really matters is the composition of *mestizaje*: the relative whiteness of some individuals compared to others.
Gonzalo Portocarrero (2013: 170)

El que no tiene de inga, tiene de mandinga.
S/he who does not have *indian* characteristics, has black.
Popular saying

Mestizaje (Spanish for ethnic/racial mixture) has been largely explained as the cornerstone of national racial ideologies in Latin America (Anderson 2001; Safa 2005; Telles 2004; Telles and Sue 2009; Wade 2010). Through various means, ideologies of *mestizaje* have promoted national and regional discourses that have emphasized the strength and the humanistic value derived from racial mixing (e.g., Freyre 1986; Gonzales 2007; Vasconcelos [1925] 1997).[2] These discourses have served to involve indigenous and Afro populations –normally the majorities– in processes of nation-making

[1] The etymological meaning of *mestizo* is available at the online version of the *Real Academia Española* dictionary (http://www.rae.es/). *Mestizo* is used in Spanish as a noun, for mixed-race individuals, or as an adjective, for characteristics attributed to racially mixed individuals, animals, plants, and for characteristics attributed to mixed cultures. Accordingly, I will use the term *mestizo* to refer to individuals and cultures as a noun (in singular and plural) and as an adjective (in singular and neutral masculine taking into account that adjectives in English do not have gender). I translated the three epigraphs.
[2] Latin America is not a monolith: *mestizaje* in one country is not the same as *mestizaje* in another country, and *mestizos* in one country are not necessarily going to be accepted as *mestizos* in another country. The criteria for defining whether an individual is perceived as *mestizo* or as white vary not only across countries, but also across regions within countries.

(Telles and Sue 2009).[3] This understanding of *mestizaje* is currently predominant in the U.S. sociological literature on Latin American ethnic and racial issues.

In view of relevant differences in the modes and expansion of *mestizaje* across Latin America, Telles and Bailey (2013: 1563) pointed out that "*mestizaje* ideologies constituted a 'racial project' (Omi and Winant 1994) orchestrated by governments and elites that forced the assimilation of indigenous populations, and the marginalization of all who refused, and that ignored formerly enslaved Afro-descendants." From this perspective, the *mestizo* was the epitome of citizenry. Those who conformed to the local *mestizo* cultural ideal of homogeneity obtained citizenship rights. Consequently, the depiction of the *mestizo* as the empowered mixed-race individual who is ranked almost alongside or slightly below the white gradually became stronger. Latin American societies composed of mixed-race individuals thus turned into nominally "raceless" contexts despite the varying degrees of indigenous, Afro, and European phenotypic and cultural characteristics embodied by their inhabitants (Goldberg 2009; Moreno Figueroa 2010). Individuals learned how to conform to the *mestizo* cultural ideal of homogeneity through education (Adams 2005; de la Cadena 2005; Gonzales 2007). Despite the integrating purposes of *mestizaje* ideologies, however, they have implicitly promoted cultural whitening (Safa 2005; Simmons 2005), and have masked discrimination against indigenous and Afro populations with their unattained promise of ethno-racial inclusion (Anderson 2001; Beck, Mijeski, and Stark 2011).

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[3] Hereafter, I will use the term Afro to refer to the ethno-racial characteristics and self-identification of Afro-descendants, as it is used in many Latin American countries, among them Peru.

Nevertheless, *mestizaje* and *mestizo* ethno-racial identification should not be exclusively tied to the inclusive "myth" of *mestizaje*, and to the national depiction of the *mestizo* as the empowered mixed-race citizen, respectively. While the impact of *mestizaje* ideologies on contemporary ethnic and racial issues in Latin America is undoubtedly significant, this perspective confidently relies on the capabilities and intentions of governments and elites for efficiently orchestrating *mestizaje* as racial projects of assimilation (see Gonzales 1987; Gootenberg 1991). Moreover, the core meanings of the terms *mestizo* as mixed-race person and *mestizaje* as mixture are commonly disregarded. Commonsense meanings of *mestizo* do not necessarily refer to the ideological, idealistic strength of racial mixture, but to the mixture itself, and especially to its components –the contrasting cultural and phenotypic ethno-racial characteristics embodied by the *mestizo*– in order to determine the degree of relative whiteness required for succeeding in specific endeavors (Portocarrero 2013). Accordingly, the term *mestizo* is insufficiently understood as the quintessential ethno-racial identity in contexts of *mestizaje*, where *mestizo* also refers to the embodied mixture regardless of individuals' own ethno-racial identities.

This insufficient understanding of *mestizo* has relevant implications for the analysis of ethno-racial issues in Latin America. Although race and ethnicity scholars often acknowledge that ethno-racial boundaries in contexts of *mestizaje* are fluid, ethno-racial self-identification categories –including the *mestizo* category– are commonly explained as central indicators of race, and treated as mutually exclusive categories (e.g., see Telles, Flores, and Urrea-Giraldo 2015; Telles and Paschel 2014). A major problem

of this approach is that individuals *are* white or *mestizo* based on self-identification. However, it is necessary to consider that individuals in contexts of *mestizaje* are ethnically/racially mixed (are *mestizo*) *regardless of self-identification*. In these contexts, miscegenation has been a structuring social force that historically precedes processes of nation-making (Mörner 1967; Wade 2010).

From this perspective, individuals who self-identify as white are not necessarily as white as those who phenotypically epitomize the local reference of whiteness.[4] They may be accepted as white in their contexts based on their relative degrees of whiteness, but they are not going to be accepted as white in more exclusive contexts (Venturo Schultz 2001). Similarly, individuals with indigenous characteristics are also the result of miscegenation (Quijano 1980). Some individuals may self-identify as indigenous, but they do not necessarily see themselves as equally indigenous compared to others (Planas et al. 2016), or they are not equally indigenous to the eyes of others. If they wear indigenous attires, or speak Spanish with an indigenous accent, they will be perceived as *more* indigenous (Golash-Boza 2010; Huayhua 2014; Wade 2010). Individuals who self-identify as white or as indigenous also could be classified as *mestizo* by considering how they individually embody a mixture of contrasting cultural and phenotypic characteristics. Consequently, it is necessary to underline that *mestizaje* understood as embodied mixture is insufficiently captured by *mestizo* self-identification.

[4] I recommend reading Julio Ramón Ribeyro's "Alienation" (1993), a canonical short story typically read during school education in Peru, to understand ethno-racial differences among white people from the perspective of Ribeyro, a Peruvian writer who could be classified as white based on local criteria.

Recent studies call into question the conceptualization of race as a one-dimensional, invariable characteristic that can be adequately captured by a single measure in surveys. Alternatively, they suggest that the social construct of race includes multiple dimensions that can change over time and in different situations (Bailey, Saperstein, and Penner 2014; Bailey, Loveman, and Muniz 2013; Roth 2010, 2016; Saperstein and Penner 2012). This perspective is especially relevant in contexts of *mestizaje*, where the cultural and phenotypic ethno-racial characteristics individually embodied by mixed-race people represent concurrent dimensions that are conceptually and empirically different (see Monk 2016; Saperstein 2012). In this study, I elaborate on an alternative framework that explains ethno-racial status by connecting the meaning of *mestizaje* as ethno-racial embodied mixture with the U.S. sociological literature of multidimensionality of race (Paredes Forthcoming). I identify three central dimensions of ethno-racial status: *ancestry*, *phenotype*, and *self-identification*. Then, I use this framework to examine whether there are significant ethno-racial differences in educational attainment and household possessions by ancestry, phenotype, and self-identification in contemporary Peru.

Peru is a key setting for the analysis of ethnic and racial issues and *mestizaje* that has received scant attention in the U.S. sociological literature on race and ethnicity in Latin America. This country is characterized by its traditional indigenous ethnicities and by its old colonial roots. In Peru, individuals have "navigated" across caste/ethnic/racial categories by taking advantage of their mixed-caste/race heritages since colonial times (see Chambers 2003; Larson 2004; Lavallé 1993). Moreover, in contemporary Peru,

most individuals self-identify as *mestizo* even in the traditionally indigenous rural areas (see Table 3.1). However, the contemporary significance of *mestizo* in Peru is not necessarily the consequence of efficient ideological orchestrations that promoted the value of racial mixture. On one hand, it is the consequence of competing ideologies –*Hispanismo* and *indigenismo*– that evolved over time into *mestizaje* discourses broadly disseminated through school education (de la Cadena 2000; Sulmont and Callirgos 2014). In this way, individuals who had access to school education could learn that *criollo*, *mestizo*, *indio*, and *negro* were common distinctions deeply rooted in Peru's colonial history (see Fuenzalida 1970).[5] They also could learn that Peruvians were *mestizos* because "s/he who does not have *indian* characteristics, has black" (*el que no tiene de inga, tiene de mandinga*); a colonial saying that prevailed as a contemporary rule of *mestizaje* (Alcocer Martínez 2004; Portocarrero 2007). This rule stresses the significance of the components of the mix –the embodied *inga* and *mandinga* characteristics– rather than underlining the value of racial mixture or the value of the *mestizo* citizen.

On the other hand, the significance of *mestizo* is the consequence of multiple redefinitions of the term *mestizo* –and other terms for ethno-racial hybridity– that occurred in non-orchestrated, spontaneous ways (Chambers 2003; de la Cadena 2000; Quijano 1980). These redefinitions increased and complicated the ethno-racial heterogeneity typical of *mestizaje*, and the ambiguity and conflict intrinsically related to

[5] *Criollo* refers to the caste of the descendants of Spaniards who were born in the colonies (Mörner 1967). The term *criollo* is still very common, but its contemporary meaning is not necessarily associated with whiteness. *Indio* means *indígena* or indigenous person, and it is often used as a pejorative term.

the *mestizo* heterogeneity.[6] Individuals with different ethno-racial characteristics – including Afro and Asian traits combined with other characteristics– learned to self-identify as *mestizo*. Despite these complications, I aim to contribute to the literature of race and ethnicity in Latin America by offering an alternative interpretation of *mestizo* and white self-identifications as distinct dimensions of ethno-racial status in Peru rather than as central indicators of race. I argue that, beyond (net of) phenotype and ancestry, *mestizo* and white self-identifications refer to the beliefs promoted by ethno-racial ideologies that give meaning to local ethno-racial identities. These beliefs are likely instrumental in gaining advantages as cultural resources (Swidler 1986). The stratification analyses of educational attainment and household possessions are useful to examine whether the dimensions of ethno-racial status represent significantly ranked ethno-racial characteristics when the latter are concurrently examined. My alternative interpretations of *mestizo* and white self-identifications are supported by the results of these analyses.

ETHNO-RACIAL STATUS AND ITS DIMENSIONS IN CONTEMPORARY PERU

Contexts of *mestizaje* are characterized by fluid ethno-racial boundaries. This fluidity has supported depictions of these contexts as "raceless." Past studies regarded this fluidity as a sign of homogeneity and integration because indigenous individuals could become *mestizos*. They could self-identify and be recognized as *mestizos* partly because of the difficulty in distinguishing racial differences among mixed-race

[6] Studies of race and ethnicity in Latin America often acknowledge ethno-racial fluidity, but rarely point to the relevance of ethno-racial heterogeneity beyond self-identification in contexts of *mestizaje*. In this study, I acknowledge the relevance of ethno-racial heterogeneity beyond self-identification, and point out the ambiguity and conflict inherent to heterogeneity (see Hass 1999), which is likely increased by *mestizaje* rules that underline the importance of multiple heritages and weak boundaries.

individuals (Colby and van den Berghe 1969; Harris 1964; Mörner 1967). Contemporary research, however, suggests that, despite the prevalence of ideologies of *mestizaje* and ethno-racial fluidity, significant ethno-racial inequalities characterize Latin American societies (Ñopo, Saavedra, and Torero 2007; Telles 2004; Villarreal 2010). Quantitative studies of race and ethnicity in Latin America regularly use racial identification categories as central indicators of race regardless of their inherent ambiguity. Accordingly, individuals are defined in terms of their self-identifications without considering that they also embody other ethno-racial characteristics. From this perspective, ethno-racial categories represent real social boundaries that define "groups," and that are well-supported by prevailing inequalities.

Alternatively, I address ethno-racial fluidity in contexts of *mestizaje* by considering *mestizaje* as embodied mixture, and the *mestizo* body as a fluid and unstable carrier of meaning (Nelson 1999). Accordingly, the *mestizo* body represents different degrees of cultural and phenotypic mixture based on the embodied combination of contrasting ethno-racial characteristics. Although Peruvians openly celebrate *mestizo* cultural manifestations, ethno-racial boundaries are embodied as contradictions that individuals privately acknowledge and assume with resignation; contradictions that secretly unmask the utopic nature of the ideological depiction of the empowered *mestizo* (see Portocarrero 2007). Instead of treating ethno-racial characteristics as boundaries, I regard these conceptually and empirically distinct characteristics as dimensions of ethno-racial status.

I define ethno-racial status in contexts of *mestizaje* as the combination of socially ranked characteristics embodied in different degrees by the individual: observed phenotypic differences (characteristics usually but not exclusively acknowledged as racial), and cultural practices such as language use and a sense of belonging (characteristics usually but not exclusively acknowledged as ethnic). Ethno-racial status also acknowledges the racialization of cultural characteristics as relevant in contexts of *mestizaje*. In these contexts, the ethno-racial status of individuals is not merely determined by one characteristic (e.g., phenotype, self-identification), but by their embodied combination. While certain cultural or physical characteristics suggest that the individual could be perceived/classified as indigenous or as Afro, whiter characteristics "improve" her/his status by "softening" her/his indigenousness or blackness.

Therefore, ethno-racial characteristics in contexts of *mestizaje* should not be treated as isolated indicators of race: they have to be concurrently examined. Ethno-racial status integrates race and ethnicity as an analytic concept that neither "essentializes" racial characteristics nor reifies racial groups (Brubaker 2004; Loveman 1999). This perspective relaxes the significance of ethnic solidarity/social cohesion among individuals who share a specific ethno-racial characteristic –the theoretical foundation of ethnic groups– because their ethno-racial status depends on the individual combination of several ethno-racial characteristics embodied in different degrees. Accordingly, ethno-racial self-identification is treated as another ethno-racial characteristic rather than as a central measure of a well-bounded ethnic/racial group. Furthermore, this approach acknowledges the analytic relevance of the historical

intertwinement of race, ethnicity, and culture in contexts of *mestizaje* for contemporary social analysis in accordance with more constructivist perspectives (Cahill 1994; de la Cadena 2000). This approach transcends the debate between the meanings of ethnicity and race by recognizing that cultural and phenotypic characteristics are racialized and embodied by individuals in different degrees.

In this study, I identify three general dimensions of ethno-racial status in Peru: *phenotype*, *ancestries*, and *ethno-racial self-identification*. Phenotype encompasses the visible features of individuals that are commonly acknowledged as racial. Due to miscegenation, individuals are not *just* phenotypically white, black, or indigenous.[7] Whiter phenotypic traits are normally associated with local standards of beauty, whereas indigenous and Afro traits are still perceived as ugly and disgusting (Portocarrero 2013, 2007; Sue and Golash-Boza 2013). The significance of greater degrees of phenotypic whiteness is manifest in the prevalence of terms such as *blanquiñoso* and *blanquito*, which refer to individuals whiter than average who are not necessarily recognized as white beyond their contexts (Venturo Schultz 2001).[8] Empirical analyses found that Peruvians with relatively whiter phenotypes have significant advantages over those with less whiter traits in several socioeconomic outcomes (Ñopo et al. 2007; Telles et al. 2015).

[7] Not only does the supra-ethnic category indigenous involve different indigenous cultures, but also a great variety of phenotypic traits, which vary by ethnic population and region.
[8] According to Roth (2012), racial schemas are sets of formal and colloquial ethno-racial categories and their rules for how these categories are meaningful in a specific society. Hybrid ethno-racial conditions are notably evident in continuum racial schemas, which organize these conditions according to relative differences by phenotypic traits and color.

H1: The darker the phenotype of individuals, the lower their educational attainment and the lower their access to household possessions.

Ancestries can significantly improve or lower ethno-racial status when their manifestations are conspicuous. Partial European ancestry reflected in foreign last names and strong familiar traditions is locally perceived as a strong indicator of whiteness (Galarza, Kogan, and Yamada 2012; Nugent 1992). Spanish last names, common among *mestizos*, may lower the perceived degree of indigenousness of individuals. Conversely, conspicuous indigenous and Afro cultural features such as tastes, accents, traditions, and languages are commonly stigmatized (Benavides, Torero, and Valdivia 2006; Golash-Boza 2010; Huayhua 2014). The more conspicuous these features are, the more indigenous the person will be in the eyes of others, even if the latter also share some of these characteristics. Several studies found evidence of significant indigenous/non-indigenous disparities based on ancestry indicators in different socioeconomic dimensions (Castro, Yamada, and Asmat 2012; Macisaac 1994; Trivelli 2005).

H2: Individuals with indigenous and Afro ancestries will have lower educational attainment and lower access to household possessions.

Although Telles and coauthors (2015) treat racial self-identification categories as central indicators of race, they acknowledge the multidimensional nature of race and ethnicity, and suggest that the use of multiple measures may be preferable even after considering that reverse causation could be an analytic problem. They also posit that self-identification reflects phenotype as well as non-phenotypic characteristics such as cultural attachments and exposure to racial ideologies. Alternatively, I examine multiple

ethno-racial measures together in the stratification analyses presented below in order to capture the complexity of different characteristics individually embodied by mixed-race people. In this approach, I consider self-identification as another dimension of ethno-racial status rather than as a central indicator of race. I argue that ethno-racial self-identification, beyond (net of) phenotype and ancestries, reflects exposure to the beliefs – ethno-racial ideologies– that give meaning to local ethno-racial identities. This argument relies on the assumption that we are able to accurately measure phenotype and ancestries.

If we are able to accurately capture phenotype and ancestries, the remainder of ethno-racial status will reveal the value of local beliefs that allow individuals to enact white, *mestizo*, indigenous, and Afro personas. These beliefs are not only inculcated through education, but also learned through interaction keeping in mind that ethno-racial identities are the result of negotiation in everyday interaction (see McCall and Simmons 1966). This negotiation can be understood as a vehicle of ethno-racial ideologies taking into consideration that ideologies are not just instruments of orchestrated domination, but also deceptive beliefs that pre-reflectively tie individuals with the society's structure (Eagleton 1991).

Individuals who self-identify as indigenous acknowledge meaningful connections with specific indigenous ethnicities regardless of significant differences among ethnic populations (e.g., *Quechua*, *Aymara*). Similarly, individuals who self-identify as *negro*/Afro recognize their blackness with respect to non-black populations. Individuals who self-identify as indigenous or as Afro may be legitimately proud of their ethno-racial

heritage even in the face of the stigmatization of indigenousness and blackness (Benavides et al. 2006; Golash-Boza 2011; La Cruz Bonilla 2010).

Whiteness refers to the beliefs that normalizes and justifies the structural advantages of individuals locally recognized as whites over non-white individuals. This ideology operates as a major component of the local common sense inherited from European colonialism (Frankenberg 1993; Hartmann, Gerteis, and Croll 2009; Telles and Flores 2013). Beyond phenotype and ancestry, contemporary white identities in Peru reveal the prevalence of past *criollo* hierarchies in accordance with a western social order in which whiteness normally –and tacitly– represents superiority. White self-identification can be associated with a sense of self-assurance that is usually perceived and accepted as a sign of superiority, especially when placed in contrast with the stereotypical submissiveness associated with the *indio*. Symbols of modernity have been racialized, and have ideologically whitened individuals who had access to western lifestyles. Individuals who lacked access to these lifestyles, the subordinates, have been commonly perceived as more indigenous (Nugent 1992). White self-identification can be associated with the belief that whites' prerogatives do not necessarily depend on their achievements. The words of a respondent in Oboler's study (1996: 41) summarize how whiteness is locally conceived: "los han acostumbrado a que todo lo tengan fácil" ([whites] are used to get everything easier [my translation]).

Several non-mutually exclusive types of individuals self-identify as *mestizo*: individuals who *de-indianized* themselves in their contexts regardless of whether they keep meaningful connections with indigenous cultures (de la Cadena 2000); individuals

whose parents self-identified as *mestizo*; individuals who could self-identify as white (or at least whiter than average), but acknowledge that Peruvians are *mestizos*; individuals who overcame the racial anxieties of their ancestors (Larson 2004), and accept that "s/he who does not have *indian* characteristics, has black." Despite the ethno-racial heterogeneity of individuals who self-identify as *mestizo*, they are united by a common belief. Individuals who self-identify as *mestizo* subjectively recognize the value of education as a legitimate cultural tool for *de-indianization* (de la Cadena 2005, 2010; Portocarrero 2007). It is necessary to underline that the subjective value of education is inherent to *mestizo* self-identification based on the shared belief that education can overcome "the moral decrepitude" of individuals by converting *indios* into Peruvian citizens (de la Cadena 2005: 270). This old belief evolved into the notion of education as the contemporary meritocratic tool that transforms individuals into Peruvians (Portocarrero 2007). Furthermore, this belief is likely reinforced by educational attainment over time taking into consideration the prevalence of pedagogical objectives that promote *mestizaje* (MINEDU 2005). Without this path, the *mestizo* distinction would not be socially significant as an ethno-racial condition ranked above other indigenous conditions.

Although *mestizo* self-identification involves different degrees of *de-indianization*, it is conceptually different from whiteness. The former refers to beliefs that empower individuals and support subaltern constructions of diversity (de la Cadena 2005; Planas et al. 2016; Wade 2005) whereas the latter refers to beliefs that support white privilege. The subjective value of education among subaltern individuals is

identifiable, for example, in the educational demands of Quechua speaking parents for their children. In García's study (2005: 98), parents were against bilingual school education, and preferred Spanish-only instruction for their children because "being a citizen means speaking Spanish."

Unlike indigenous and Afro self-identifications, *mestizo* and white self-identifications refer to beliefs that are likely instrumental as cultural resources in gaining advantages (Swidler 1986). The subjective value of education inherent to *mestizo* self-identification is likely useful to set objectives and develop strategies for upward mobility founded on educational attainment. Whiteness likely allows individuals to successfully enact white personas (regardless of their phenotypes) who tacitly deserve greater benefits in society.

H3: Net of phenotype and ancestry, individuals who self-identify as *mestizo* will have higher educational attainment compared with individuals who self-identify as white. However, individuals who self-identify as white will have greater access to household possessions compared with individuals who self-identify as *mestizo*.

DATA AND METHODS

The data used in the analyses below come from the 2010 America's Barometer by the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP). The 2010 survey in Peru was carried out using a multi-stage national probability sample design of voting-age adults considering stratification and clustering. The total sample consists of 1500 respondents, and is self-weighted (Carrión and Zárate 2010). Although LAPOP has been primarily

concerned with the analysis of political issues in Latin American countries, the 2010 surveys introduced a module for gathering information about individual ethno-racial characteristics designed by the Project on Ethnicity and Race in Latin America (PERLA) at Princeton University.

Dependent Variables

My first dependent variables measure educational attainment. Respondents were asked about the last year of schooling that they had completed. I grouped individuals who had completed eleven years or fewer to create a category for complete secondary education or less. I grouped individuals who had completed twelve to fifteen years for some university or technical degree, and sixteen years and over for complete university or more.[9] I created an ordinal variable and three binary variables with these three categories. Educational attainment was included in the analysis of access to household possessions as four binary independent variables after separating those who completed secondary education from those with incomplete secondary education or less.[10]

My second dependent variable is a scale of household possessions. Household possessions represent access to more exclusive lifestyles with standards of life closer to the standards in urban areas of developed western societies. Although modern domestic assets are commonly affordable in post-industrial societies, they are still expensive objects in developing regions. Respondents were asked whether they had several

[9] In Peru, secondary education is normally attained at the 5th year of secondary education, the 11th year of schooling. University careers are usually completed at the 5th year of undergraduate university education.
[10] I also fitted the ordered logistic regression models indicated below with a four-category dependent variable that distinguishes complete and incomplete secondary education. The results were consistent with the findings presented in this study. I presented the findings with the three-category dependent variable because I wanted to be consistent with the additional analyses of educational attainment included below, which use these categories as binary dependent variables.

household items. I computed this variable by averaging the ownership of a television, refrigerator, home phone, cell phone, washing machine, microwave, computer, flat screen television, and internet, and scaled it from zero to 100 (Cronbach's Alpha=0.82). Using the tetrachoric correlation matrix of these variables, I performed a factor analysis, which suggested that these items revealed an underlying single dimension according to the eigenvalue criterion (Kim and Mueller 1978).

Independent Variables

I use respondents' skin color as a proxy for phenotype. To my knowledge, the LAPOP survey is the first survey that gathered information about individuals' skin color in Peru. Interviewers classified respondents' skin color at the end of each interview using the PERLA skin color palette, which categorizes skin color starting at one for the lightest and ending at 11 for the darkest.[11] I recoded this variable by subtracting one from the rest of the categories (zero for the lightest), and grouped the original categories eight, nine, and ten in category seven for those with the darkest skin color (there were 16 respondents coded as eight; four, as nine; two, as ten; and zero as 11). Based on this recodification, category three indicates a light brown whereas categories one and two still indicate white skin colors. Categories six and seven indicate darker skin colors. I use skin color as a continuous variable considering that relatively white intensities, captured by the tonalities of the palette, are significant in *mestizaje* contexts (Ñopo et al. 2007).

I use four ethno-racial self-identification binary variables. Respondents were asked whether they self-identify as *blanco* (white), *mestizo*, *indígena* (indigenous), *negro*

[11] See http://perla.princeton.edu/surveys/perla-color-palette/.

(black), *mulato* or other. I created dummy variables for *mestizo*, white, indigenous, and Afro, for which I grouped *negro* and *mulato* as it is done in official surveys. I discarded observations of respondents who self-identified as other (six observations), as *oriental* (Asian, two observations), as well as the missing values (43 observations) from the sample. Hence, my analytic sample consists of 1,449 observations. The percentage of those who self-identify as indigenous is very low (see Table 3.2) with respect to the estimates presented in Table 3.1 for *Quechua* and *Aymara*, which may be the consequence of the negative connotation of the term *indígena* present in the question as it is discussed below. Therefore, indigenous self-identification may not be an optimal measure for estimating indigenous/non-indigenous disparities using this survey. Similarly, Afro self-identification may be insufficient to adequately estimate the disadvantages of individuals who self-identify as Afro because they are not oversampled.

I use a binary variable that measures indigenous, Afro, and other ancestries (hereafter ancestry). This variable groups individuals whose first language was an indigenous language (*Quechua*, *Aymara*, and *Ashaninka*), individuals whose parents were fluent in an indigenous language (monolingual or bilingual), and individuals who did not classify their mothers as white or *mestizo* (including 34 respondents who classified their mothers as *negra* or *mulata* among other classifications). This variable mainly measures indigenous ancestries because it only includes a few Afro-descendants. The Afro sociocultural contribution to the mainstream culture celebrated by *mestizaje* has been significant (Benavides et al. 2006). Nevertheless, Peru is an indo-Latin American country with a small proportion of Afro-descendants (see Table 3.1).

I created binary variables for region based on the categorical variable *departamentos* (official regions). I grouped *departamentos* by traditional geographic regions: coast (without Lima and Callao), highlands, and rainforest, separating Lima and Callao, where one third of the population lives, into a separate category. These regional divides broadly represent distinct cultures that contrast with the hegemonic views developed in Lima. I use age as a continuous variable, and dummy variables for rural (versus urban) and female (versus male). Furthermore, I use variables for interviewers' characteristics: a dummy variable for female, and a continuous variable for self-rated skin color according to the PERLA palette. I recoded the latter as I did for the respondents' skin color. In separate analyses (not presented in this study), I examined the association between interviewers' characteristics and respondents' skin color categorization (Villarreal 2010). I opted to control for interviewers' characteristics because I found that their skin color and sex (female) were significantly associated with respondents' skin color categorization.

I created binary variables for parents' occupational status in order to estimate contemporary ethno-racial differences net of the effects of their class origins (Flores and Telles 2012). I grouped peasants and domestic workers in a category for low status occupations; artisans, manual workers, retailers, and security workers in a category for medium status occupations; and office workers, technicians, teachers, government employees, professionals, and executives in a category for conventionally accepted as skilled workers and high status occupations. I include in the analyses a variable for the missing values of parents' occupations.

Analytic Plan

I use multilevel random-intercept regression models in which respondents are nested within interviewers (133 interviewers) to examine ethno-racial differences in educational attainment (multilevel ordered logistic regression models) and access to household possessions (multilevel linear regression models).[12] These regression models capture unmodeled heterogeneity at the respondent and interviewer levels with separate error terms (Raudenbush and Bryk 2002). This choice is founded on the aforementioned association between interviewers' skin color and respondents' skin color categorization. Accordingly, I control for interviewers' skin color and sex in every regression model. I fit three baseline models in which I separately estimate the associations of each ethno-racial characteristic –skin color, self-identification, and ancestry– with each socioeconomic outcome. I include in the baseline models control variables for female and age. Then, I fit regression models in which I concurrently examine the associations of ethno-racial characteristics with each socioeconomic outcome. In the analysis of educational attainment, I sequentially add in subsequent regression models control variables for region and rurality, and next, for parents' occupational status. In the analysis of household possessions, I sequentially incorporate in subsequent regression

[12] I fitted partially proportional ordered logistic regression models to relax the proportional odds assumption, and multilevel linear regression models predicting educational attainment using years of education as a continuous response variable. The results of these alternative analyses were consistent with the findings presented in this study. Using years of schooling as a continuous response variable, I fitted seemingly unrelated regression models predicting educational attainment and household possessions for testing whether endogeneity biases the estimates of the analysis of household possessions. The Breusch-Pagan test of independence suggested that the error terms of both equations were not significantly correlated. Moreover, variance inflation factors of independent variables in the regression analyses presented in this study suggest that multicollinearity is not a problem.

models control variables for educational attainment, next, for region and rurality, and finally, for parents' occupational status.

Moreover, I use seemingly unrelated bivariate probit (biprobit) regression models to examine whether endogeneity biases the estimates of the analysis of educational attainment (Greene 2003). These recursive simultaneous-equations models with correlated errors are useful to predict together educational attainment (using bivariate dependent variables) and *mestizo* self-identification taking into consideration that the latter is likely reinforced by the former as mentioned above.[13] These models require that each equation does not include the same set of regressors. Instead of adding all the variables for region as independent variables in both equations, I include highlands (versus other-regions) in the educational attainment equation based on the findings presented below, and rainforest (versus other-regions) in the *mestizo* self-identification equation. Rainforest is likely associated with *mestizo* self-identification because *Hispanismo* and *indigenismo*, the competing ideologies that led over time to *mestizaje* discourses, were regional ideologies from the coast and the highlands, respectively (de la Cadena 2000; Nugent 1992). Therefore, it is reasonable to expect lower *mestizo* self-identification in the rainforest. I also include skin color, ancestry, and age as independent variables in the *mestizo* self-identification equation.

[13] I fitted seemingly unrelated biprobit models predicting household possessions (a dummy variable that measures 70 and over in the scale of possessions versus less than 70) and white self-identification because this association also could be recursive. However, I found no evidence of correlated error terms. Therefore, I considered white self-identification as exogenous in the analyses of household possessions. Possibly white self-identification was well-defined in the past. Hence, it is not going to change after obtaining more household possessions.

RESULTS

Figure 3.1 depicts skin color categorization, ethno-racial self-identification, and ancestry in order to describe the multidimensionality of ethno-racial status in Peru. According to the ethno-racial status framework suggested in this study, the notable discrepancies between ethno-racial self-identification and the categorization of respondents by interviewers presented in other studies (Moreno and Oropesa 2012; Ñopo et al. 2007) are not necessarily the result of measurement limitations. These discrepancies exemplify the instability of the ethno-racial categorization of individuals in contexts of *mestizaje* because individuals do not necessarily resemble the stereotypical depictions of their ethnic self-identifications. Figure 3.1a shows that about 65 percent of Peruvians are categorized as brown (from category three to five), which reinforces the association of a brown complexion with the average perception of the *mestizo* individual. However, Figure 3.1b reveals that individuals who self-identify as *mestizo* have different skin colors. About 42 percent of individuals in category zero, 54 percent in category one, and 72 percent in category two self-identify as *mestizo* regardless of their whiter skin colors.

Moreover, a significant percentage of individuals with darker skin colors (categories six and seven) self-identify as *mestizo*. Although indigenous people could be dark-skinned, these estimates imply that Afro-descendants also see themselves as mixed. The expression of an Afro-descendant respondent in the study by Benavides and coauthors (2006: 63) "Al cholo que tiene de negro…" (the *cholo* who has black [characteristics]… [my translation]), as well as the multiple self-identifications of Afro-

descendants reported in the same study reveal how individuals with Afro characteristics can construct ethno-racial identities that do not exclusively rely on their blackness or Afro self-identifications.[14] Furthermore, ancestry notably overlaps with indigenous self-identification. Ancestry is also noteworthy among individuals who self-identify as Afro and, with relatively lower percentages, among individuals who self-identify as *mestizo*.

Differences in Educational Attainment

Table 3.3 presents the regression coefficients of multilevel ordered logistic regression models converted to odds ratios predicting educational attainment. As expected (**H1**, **H2**), respondents' skin color and ancestry are negatively associated with educational attainment (odds ratios lower than 1). These associations are negative when they are included alone (Models 1 and 3, respectively), when they are concurrently included (Model 4), and after controlling for region, rurality, and parents' occupational status. The odds of attaining a higher level of education are 26 percent lower for individuals with indigenous, Afro, and other ancestries (Model 7: 1-0.744). Moreover, the odds of attaining a higher level of education are 22 percent lower for each additional darker category of skin color (Model 7: 1-0.778).

Ethnicity in Model 2 is solely measured by ethno-racial self-identification. These variables alone do not significantly capture any differences in educational attainment as they were captured by skin color and by indigenous first language in Models 1 and 3, respectively. Only the odds ratio of Afro is marginally significant. These results

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[14] *Cholo* refers to the indigenousness of indigenous and *mestizo* people who adopted urban manners (Nugent 1992; Quijano 1980). In the past, this term referred to an intermediate status between *indígena* and *mestizo* (Chambers 2004; Wade 2010). *Cholo* could be used as a racist epithet.

reinforce the idea that self-identification should not be considered alone as an indicator of race, and that ethno-racial self-identification, skin color, and ancestry represent different dimensions of ethno-racial status. These dimensions are concurrently examined in Models 4, 5, and 6. As expected (**H3**), net of the effects of phenotype and ancestry, the odds of attaining a higher level of education are 67 percent lower for individuals who self-identify as white compared with individuals who self-identify as *mestizo* (Model 7: 1-0.332). The positive interaction term of female and white self-identification suggests that the disadvantage is greater for males who self-identify as white compared with females who self-identify as white (only 46 percent lower for females compared with 67 percent lower for males). This finding is noteworthy because it empirically validates the notion that self-identification and phenotype are conceptually different dimensions of ethno-racial status, after comparing the negative effect of white self-identification versus the negative effect of a darker skin color on educational attainment.

According to the Akaike Information Criterion (AIC) and the Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC), regression models with concurrent ethno-racial independent variables presented in Table 3.3 have better fit than models with a single ethno-racial measure.[15] While these sequential models are useful to examine whether the use of concurrent ethno-racial measures is preferable than the use of single measures, it is possible that these estimates are biased considering that *mestizo* self-identification may be recursively reinforced by educational attainment. Table 3.4 presents the regression

[15] Unlike the R-squared, these criteria are model-fit statistics that are not interpretable alone. Differences between values are useful to find the model that receives most support from the data among sequential models. Lower values of these criteria indicate better fit (Fox 2008).

coefficients of seemingly unrelated biprobit models simultaneously predicting educational attainment and *mestizo* self-identification.[16] The significant correlations between the errors in the equations (ρ) reveal that *mestizo* self-identification is endogenous with respect to complete secondary or less, and with respect to some university or technical degree (Models 8 and 9, respectively). Interestingly, the coefficients of white self-identification and skin color in Models 8 and 9 are consistent in direction with the estimates presented in Table 3.3: positive when complete secondary or less is the dependent variable (Model 8) and negative when some university or technical degree is the dependent variable (Model 9). Although ancestry is statistically insignificant in Models 8 and 9, differences in educational attainment by indigenous and Afro self-identification are significant.

Furthermore, I found no evidence of a significant correlation between the errors when the dependent variable was complete university or more. I alternatively fitted Model 10 as a logistic regression model predicting complete university or more.[17] Possibly, educational attainment and *mestizo* self-identification are recursively reinforced only until the years of university or technical degree, when individuals are still defining their personalities. By the time individuals who self-identify as *mestizo* attain complete university, their *mestizo* identities are likely well-defined. The coefficients of Model 10 are consistent with the results presented in Table 3.3.

[16] I did not control for interviewers' characteristics because they were statistically insignificant in Table 3.3. However, I estimated robust standard errors adjusted for within-interviewer clustering (see Villarreal 2010).
[17] I opted to present the results of a logistic regression model (Model 10) instead of a probit model. In this way, the reader also would be able convert the coefficients to odds ratios.

Table 3.5 presents average marginal effects of skin color, ethno-racial self-identification, and ancestry on the educational attainment outcomes presented in Table 3.4. These estimates summarize the findings of Models 8, 9, and 10, and can be interpreted straightforwardly. For instance, a darker skin color category increases the probability of just attaining complete secondary or less by 0.05, lowers the probability of attaining technical education or some university (with respect to complete secondary or less) by 0.05, and lowers the probability of attaining complete university or more by 0.03.

Differences in Access to Household Possessions

Table 3.6 presents the regression coefficients of multilevel linear regression models predicting access to household possessions. As expected (**H1**, **H2**), skin color and ancestry are negatively associated with access to household possessions in every regression model even after controlling for region, rurality, and parents' occupational status. Educational attainment mediates the impact of skin color and ancestry on household possessions, which decrease by 54 percent and 31 percent, respectively, when educational attainment variables are added to the analysis (Model 5). These changes reveal that educational attainment *de-indianize*/whiten individuals by shortening skin color and ancestry gaps.

Ethnicity in Model 2 is only measured by ethno-racial self-identification. These variables alone capture ethnic differences in access to household possessions, but they become statistically insignificant in Model 4 when all the ethno-racial characteristics are concurrently examined. Skin color and ancestry account for the differences by self-identification. Nonetheless, some of these estimates are biased due to the omission of

variables for educational attainment in Model 4 as the most relevant predictors. After including educational attainment in subsequent regression models, I found evidence of significant differences in access to household possessions by white self-identification. Individuals who self-identify as white have greater access to household possessions compared to *mestizo* net of the effects of skin color and ancestry (**H3**), as well as net of the effects of region, rurality, and parents' occupational status. Again, the AIC and BIC suggest that regression models with concurrent ethno-racial measures have better fit than models with a single ethno-racial variable.

DISCUSSION

This study proposes a multidimensional approach for the analysis of ethno-racial status in contexts of *mestizaje*, and offers interpretations of its general dimensions. Ethno-racial self-identification is interpreted as the embodiment of ideological beliefs that give meaning to local ethno-racial identities. Telles and coauthors (2015) did not find the relative advantage of *mestizo* self-identification compared to white in years of schooling in Peru, but they found it in Ecuador and other countries. They explained this advantage as the consequence of people of lower status self-identifying as white in countries with strong *mestizaje* ideologies that adopted *mestizo* self-identification as the authentic national category. Alternatively, I argue that, in Peru, the relative advantage of *mestizo* self-identification compared to white in educational attainment reveals the significance of the subjective value of education inherent to *mestizo* self-identification as a cultural resource that allows individuals to develop strategies for upward mobility founded on educational attainment.

The significance of whiteness in Peru is reflected in the disadvantages of individuals with darker skin colors in educational attainment and household possessions (the aesthetic value of whiter phenotypes), and in the relative advantage of white self-identification compared to *mestizo* in access to household possessions (the ideological support of white privilege). However, the value of *mestizaje* reflected in *mestizo* self-identification does not support white prerogatives beyond its efforts toward *de-indianization*. Instead, it emphasizes the subjective value of education as a legitimate path toward citizenship that should not be simplistically understood as cultural whitening (de la Cadena 2005).

Moreover, the relative advantage of white self-identification compared to *mestizo* in access to household possessions challenges the explanation of people of lower status self-identifying as white offered by Telles and coauthors. This relative advantage does not necessarily make individuals who self-identify as white people of higher status. According to the analysis of household possessions, educational attainment and parents' occupational status better determine the social status of individuals based on lifestyle. This relative advantage reveals the additional benefits of individuals who self-identify as white –beyond their phenotype and ancestry– even when they are not necessarily accepted as white in more exclusive settings.

This study has limitations that should be considered when interpreting the results. As mentioned above, the percentage of those who self-identify as indigenous in the 2010 LAPOP survey is very low (see Table 3.2), especially when compared to the percentage of those who self-identify as *Quechua* or *Aymara* in Table 3.1. The acceptance of the

term *indígena* is problematic in Peru because it negatively refers to an inferior condition like the term *indio* (Mamani Humpiri 2009). The negative meaning of indigenousness is also emphasized throughout the survey questionnaire with questions that connect the indigenous condition with prejudice and discrimination before the self-identification question. In this way, respondents were possibly motivated to choose another answer. It would be interesting to replicate the analyses presented in this study with data that replace the *indígena* category with the ethnic terms *Quechua* and *Aymara*. These data may have a lower percentage of *mestizo* self-identification (e.g., the data used by Telles et al. 2015). A lower proportion of individuals who self-identify as *mestizo* and a greater proportion of individuals who self-identify as indigenous (either *Quechua* or *Aymara*) may offer alternative results that tell a different story (a supplementary story) considering that, in Peru, indigenousness and *mestizaje* as identity markers are not necessarily mutually exclusive (de la Cadena 2000; Planas et al. 2016).

The interpretation of self-identification as the embodiment of ideological beliefs that give meaning to ethno-racial identities relies on the assumption that we are able to accurately measure phenotype and ancestries. Nevertheless, certain phenotypic characteristics could be captured by self-identification, and not by skin color (e.g., hair type, height). As mentioned above, the perception of ethno-racial characteristics in contexts of *mestizaje* is unstable. Consequently, the reliable and valid measurement of phenotype has significant challenges. A possible solution would be to gather data measuring relative phenotypic intensities with different questions rather than skin color alone (Ñopo et al. 2007), or to gather more information about phenotypic characteristics.

It is necessary to underline that the “contrasting” coefficients of white self-identification and skin color in the analysis of educational attainment suggest that these variables are capturing different characteristics that represent distinct dimensions of ethno-racial status.

Moreover, the variable respondents’ skin color could be problematic (Villarreal 2010). Differences in socioeconomic status by skin color could result from interviewers classifying respondents perceived to be individuals of higher socioeconomic status. However, observed differences in educational attainment and household possessions are not only net of the characteristics of the interviewer, but also net of parents’ occupational status, and net of educational attainment and parents’ occupational status, respectively. Educational attainment and parents’ occupational status should work as proxies for the change in skin color categories that may occur with increasing socioeconomic status. Furthermore, I cannot evaluate whether skin color categorization is statistically reliable because the LAPOP data used in this study are cross-sectional. Longitudinal datasets with several measures of ethno-racial characteristics are, to my knowledge, still non-existent in Peru. This study may establish the need to gather more data in the future that will allow us to revise these estimates, and to adjust our conceptual approaches.

CONCLUSION

In this study, I propose a framework that explains multidimensional ethno-racial status in contexts of *mestizaje*. According to this framework, mixed-race –*mestizo*– people individually embody socially ranked cultural and phenotypic ethno-racial characteristics in different degrees. This framework treats ethno-racial self-identification as one among other dimensions of ethno-racial status –exposure to beliefs that give

meaning to local ethno-racial identities– rather than as a central measure of a well-bounded ethno-racial group. Due to the individual embodiment of multiple ethno-racial characteristics, I argue that stratification analyses in contexts of *mestizaje* should take these characteristics together into consideration. Accordingly, I present evidence of concurrently examined differences by skin color, ancestry, and ethno-racial self-identification in educational attainment and household possessions in Peru. I found that a darker phenotype –using skin color as a proxy for phenotype– and ancestry are inversely associated with both socioeconomic outcomes. I also found that white self-identification compared to *mestizo* is negatively associated with educational attainment, but positively associated with household possessions.

This approach could be useful to discuss the importance of ethno-racial beliefs in Peru, where ethno-racial issues are inadequately treated as relevant by the state, and are insufficiently acknowledged by Peruvians (Carrión and Zárate 2010). Peruvians believe that they are equally *mestizo* as a commonsense rule, but this belief alone does not allow them to recognize the vindication of indigenous and Afro cultures as a national necessity, which should be addressed with educational and cultural policies. Instead of promoting beliefs that advocate the integration of all Peruvians, it is necessary to strengthen and increase the cultural value of indigenousness and blackness, which are the stigmatized components in embodied *mestizaje*.

Table 3.1. Estimated Percentage Distribution of the Population Aged 12 Years and Over by Ethnic/Racial Self-Identification

	Mestizo	*Quechua*	*Aymara*	Amazonian[a]	Black[b]	White[c]	Other[d]
National	59.5	22.7	2.7	1.8	1.6	4.9	6.7
Urban	64.1	18.7	2	1.2	1.7	5.4	6.9
Rural	44.7	35.7	5.1	3.8	1.5	3.2	5.9

[a] *de la Amazonía*
[b] *negro/mulato/zambo*
[c] *blanco*
[d] *mochica-moche* , *chino* , *japonés* , among others

Source: Encuesta Nacional Continua, ENCO 2006 (INEI 2006)

Table 3.2. Summary Statistics for the Variables Used in the Analysis

Variables	Frequency	Percentage	N
Educational Attainment			
Incomplete Secondary Education or Less	410	28.30%	1449
Complete Secondary Education	439	30.30%	
Some University or Technical Degree	352	24.29%	
Complete University or More	248	17.12%	
Household Possessions (Mean; S.D.; Min.; Max.)		(45.22; 27.07; 0; 100)	1449
Respondents' Skin Color Categorization (Mean; S.D.; Min.; Max.)		(3.22; 1.35; 0; 7)	1449
Ethno-Racial Self-Identification			
Indigenous	48	3.31%	1449
White	186	12.84%	
Afro	66	4.55%	
Mestizo	1149	79.30%	
Ancestry (Indigenous, Afro, Other)	468	32.30%	1449
Region			
Lima and Callao	541	37.34%	1449
Coast	288	19.88%	
Highlands	481	33.20%	
Rainforest	139	9.59%	
Rural	323	22.29%	1449
Female	717	49.48%	1449
Age (Mean; S.D.; Min.; Max.)		(39.22; 16.19; 18; 87)	1449
Skin Color of Interviewer (Mean; S.D.; Min.; Max.)		(3.25; 1.21; 0; 7)	1449
Female Interviewer	894	61.70%	1449
Parents' occupation			
Domestic worker, Peasant	450	31.06%	1383
Artisan, Manual Worker, Security, Retailer	716	49.41%	
Office Worker, Technician, Teacher, Government Employee, Executive, and Professional	217	14.98%	
Missing Values	66	4.55%	

Notes: Skin color categories are ordered from whitest to darkest with the darkest category assigned the highest value.

Table 3.3. Coefficients (Odds Ratios) of Multilevel Ordered Logistic Regression Models Predicting Educational Attainment

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
Respondents' Skin Color	0.766***			0.733***	0.748***	0.780***	0.778***
	(0.04)			(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Ethno-Racial Self-Identification[a]							
Indigenous		0.671		0.890	0.840	0.836	0.815
		(0.23)		(0.31)	(0.29)	(0.31)	(0.30)
White		0.825		0.539**	0.550**	0.512***	0.332***
		(0.15)		(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.08)
Afro		0.569+		0.853	0.871	0.872	0.866
		(0.17)		(0.26)	(0.27)	(0.29)	(0.29)
Ancestry (Indigenous, Afro, Other)			0.670**	0.704*	0.682**	0.741*	0.744*
			(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)
Region[b]							
Coast					1.319	1.322	1.352
					(0.27)	(0.27)	(0.28)
Highlands					2.254***	2.168***	2.235***
					(0.41)	(0.39)	(0.42)
Rainforest					1.013	1.048	1.067
					(0.24)	(0.23)	(0.24)
Rural					0.292***	0.409***	0.402***
					(0.06)	(0.09)	(0.08)
Parents' Occupation[c]							
Domestic worker, Peasant						0.170***	0.169***
						(0.03)	(0.03)
Artisan, Manual Worker, Security, Retailer						0.265***	0.265***
						(0.04)	(0.04)
Age	0.989**	0.988***	0.990**	0.989**	0.989**	0.996	0.996
	(0.004)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Female	0.795*	0.845+	0.857+	0.816*	0.816*	0.873	0.800*
	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.08)
Female X White							2.048*
							(0.67)
Skin Color of Interviewer	0.963	0.898	0.890+	0.973	0.984	1.014	1.018
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Female Interviewer	1.236	1.164	1.153	1.223	0.952	0.998	0.999
	(0.23)	(0.21)	(0.22)	(0.23)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.15)
Variance Component for Intercept	0.377***	0.381***	0.424***	0.387***	0.205***	0.162**	0.167***
AIC	2708.4	2742.0	2734.7	2697.9	2650.2	2554.0	2551.7
BIC	2750.6	2794.8	2776.9	2761.3	2734.7	2654.3	2657.3
N	1449	1449	1449	1449	1449	1449	1449

Notes: Skin color categories are ordered from whitest to darkest with the darkest category subjectively assigned the highest value. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. Threshold values for each category in the dependent variable and intercept are omitted to save space.

[a]*Mestizo* is the reference category (Models 2, 4, 5 and 6)

[b]Lima and Callao is the reference category (Models 5, 6, and 7)

[c]Office Worker, Technician, Teacher, Government Employee, Executive, and Professional are grouped as the reference category. Estimated coefficient of category "missing values" is omitted from the table to save space.

+p < .1; *p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 3.4. Coefficients of Seemingly Unrelated Bivariate Probit Regression Models (Models 8 and 9) and Logistic Regression Model (Model 10) Predicting Educational Attainment

Variables	Model 8 Complete Secondary or Less	Model 9 Some University or Technical Degree	Model 10 Complete University or More
Respondents' Skin Color	0.171***	-0.163***	-0.232***
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.06)
Ethno-Racial Self-Identification[a]			
Indigenous	1.272***	-1.512***	-0.025
	(0.27)	(0.23)	(0.46)
White	1.484***	-1.532***	-1.700***
	(0.22)	(0.17)	(0.47)
Afro	1.277***	-1.504***	0.074
	(0.27)	(0.20)	(0.50)
Ancestry (Indigenous, Afro, Other)	0.067	0.074	-0.398*
	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.17)
Highlands	-0.262**	0.029	1.057***
	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.20)
Rural	0.390***	-0.187	-1.011***
	-0.110	(0.12)	-0.250
Parents' Occupation[b]			
Domestic Worker, Peasant	1.078***	-0.937***	-1.382***
	(0.15)	(0.18)	(0.24)
Artisan, Manual Worker, Security, Retailer	0.872*** (0.13)	-0.709*** (0.14)	-1.173*** (0.20)
Age	0.010***	-0.016***	0.016***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.005)
Female	0.097	-0.070	-0.233+
	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.12)
Female X White			1.295*
			(0.59)
Mestizo			
Respondents' Skin Color	0.150***	0.155***	
	(0.04)	(0.04)	
Ancestry (Indigenous, Afro, Other)	-0.298**	-0.308**	
	(0.10)	(0.11)	
Rainforest	-0.269*	-0.357**	
	(0.13)	(0.14)	
Age	0.007**	0.009***	
	(0.002)	(0.002)	
ρ	0.716**	-0.851*	
N	1449	1201	1449

Notes: Dependent variables are underlined. Skin color categories are ordered from whitest to darkest with the darkest category subjectively assigned the highest value. Robust standard errors adjusted for within-interviewer clustering are in parentheses. Intercepts are omitted from the table to save space. Model 9 does not include observations of respondents who attained complete university or more.

[a] *Mestizo* is the reference category in the first equation, and the dependent variable in the second equation (Models 8 and 9).

[b] Office Worker, Technician, Teacher, Government Employee, Executive, and Professional are grouped as the reference category. Estimated coefficient of category "missing values" is omitted from the table to save space.

$+p < .1$; $*p < .05$; $**p < .01$; $***p < .001$ (two-tailed tests)

Table 3.5. Average Marginal Effects of Seemingly Unrelated Bivariate Probit Models (Models 8 and 9) and Logistic Regression Model (Model 10) Predicting Educational Attainment

Variables	Model 8 Complete Secondary or Less	Model 9 Some University or Technical Degree	Model 10 Complete University or More
Respondents' Skin Color	0.05	-0.05	-0.03
Ethno-Racial Self-Identification			
Indigenous	0.33	-0.31	–
White	0.39	-0.35	-0.10
Afro	0.33	-0.31	–
Ancestry (Indigenous, Afro, Other)	–	–	-0.05

Note: Dashes indicate statistically insignificant marginal effects. *Mestizo* is the reference category for self-identification.

Table 3.6. Multilevel Linear Regression Models Predicting Access to Household Possessions

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
Respondents' Skin Color	-3.923***			-3.509***	-1.608***	-1.403**	-1.207**
	(0.56)			(0.55)	(0.47)	(0.43)	(0.43)
Ethno-Racial Self-Identification[a]							
Indigenous		-8.718**		-4.146	-4.373	-3.307	-3.395
		(3.09)		(3.29)	(2.71)	(2.62)	(2.46)
White		5.837*		0.383	3.999*	4.259*	3.731*
		(2.43)		(2.38)	(1.84)	(1.75)	(1.70)
Afro		-5.396*		0.962	1.030	0.469	0.289
		(2.72)		(2.83)	(2.61)	(2.53)	(2.45)
Ancestry (Indigenous, Afro, Other)			-11.279***	-9.797***	-6.808***	-5.732***	-5.533***
			(1.98)	(1.90)	(1.41)	(1.36)	(1.27)
Education[b]							
Complete Secondary Education					10.808***	9.564***	9.115***
					(1.37)	(1.34)	(1.30)
Some University or Technical Degree					26.321***	24.681***	22.484***
					(1.62)	(1.66)	(1.58)
Complete University or More					31.576***	29.835***	26.911***
					(1.69)	(1.80)	(1.73)
Region[c]							
Coast						-8.711**	-8.533**
						(2.83)	(2.76)
Highlands						-10.089***	-10.109***
						(2.40)	(2.37)
Rainforest						-9.207***	-8.898***
						(2.62)	(2.53)
Rural						-14.918***	-12.766***
						(2.17)	(2.18)
Parents' Occupation[d]							
Domestic worker, Peasant							-13.199***
							(2.41)
Artisan, Manual Worker, Security, Retailer							-9.470***
							(2.23)
Age	-0.073*	-0.078*	-0.058+	-0.048	0.090**	0.075*	0.112**
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Female	-4.602***	-4.131***	-3.362**	-4.461***	-2.750**	-2.881**	-2.691**
	(1.09)	(1.15)	(1.07)	(1.09)	(0.92)	(0.92)	(0.91)
Skin Color of Interviewer	-0.385	-1.666	-1.805+	-0.839	-0.816	-0.177	-0.061
	(1.02)	(1.03)	(1.06)	(1.04)	(0.81)	(0.64)	(0.62)
Female Interviewer	3.552	2.409	1.912	2.663	1.884	1.063	1.253
	(3.15)	(3.16)	(3.10)	(3.06)	(2.52)	(2.00)	(1.93)

(continues)

Table 3.6, continued

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
Intercept	59.393***	51.317***	55.099***	62.641***	34.220***	44.903***	52.011***
	(5.49)	(5.26)	(5.38)	(5.52)	(4.65)	(3.66)	(3.99)
Variance Component for Intercept	216.2***	215.3***	198.3***	190.6***	124.5***	59.7***	55.5***
Variance Component for Residual	488.8***	503.7***	494.7***	478.2***	367.2***	357.8***	345.8***
AIC	13313	13358	13322	13279	12888	12795	12748
BIC	13356	13411	13364	13342	12967	12895	12865
N	1449	1449	1449	1449	1449	1449	1449

Notes: Skin color categories are ordered from whitest to darkest with the darkest category assigned the highest value. Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

[a]*Mestizo* is the reference category (Models 2, 4, 5, 6, and 7)

[b]Incomplete Secondary Education or Less is the reference category (Models 5, 6, and 7)

[c]Lima and Callao is the reference category (Models 5, 6, and 7)

[d]Office Worker, Technician, Teacher, Government Employee, Executive, and Professional are grouped as the reference category. Estimated coefficient of category "missing values" is omitted from the table to save space.

+p < .1; *p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001 (two-tailed tests)

Notes: Skin color categories are ordered from whitest to darkest with the darkest category assigned the highest value. Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

[a]*Mestizo* is the reference category (Models 2, 4, 5, 6, and 7)

[b]Incomplete Secondary Education or Less is the reference category (Models 5, 6, and 7)

[c]Lima and Callao is the reference category (Models 5, 6, and 7)

[d]Office Worker, Technician, Teacher, Government Employee, Executive, and Professional are grouped as the reference category. Estimated coefficient of category "missing values" is omitted from the table to save space.

+p < .1; *p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001 (two-tailed tests)

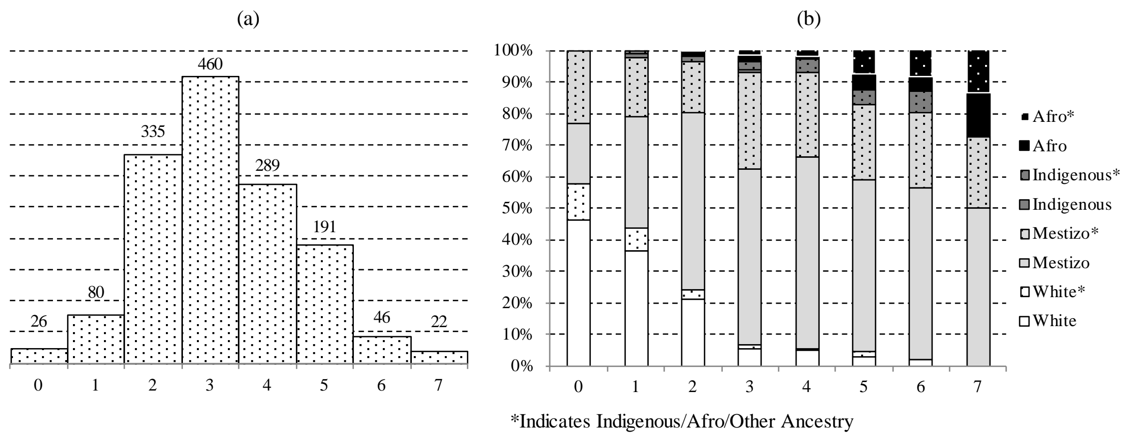

Figure 3.1. (a) Respondents' Skin Color Categorization; (b) Respondents' Skin Color Categorization, Ethno-Racial Self-Identification, and Ancestry (Indigenous, Afro, Other)

Chapter 4: Catholic Heritage, Ethno-Racial Identity, and Prejudice in the Dominican Republic

> "Voodoo, Santería, African Superstitions are uprooting the Catholic religion that, like language and race, distinguishes our nationality."
>
> "The bishops emphasized that from this 'primordial right' [the right to life] all other spring: the right to have a family, to work, to transact business, *to immigrate* [my emphasis]…"
>
> Mario Vargas Llosa (2003 [2001]), *The Feast of the Goat*

Catholicism is certainly at the foundation of Latin American cultures, values, and norms. Inherited from Spanish and Portuguese colonialisms, Catholicism partially but meaningfully represents the European legacy that situates Latin American societies into the Western world. Catholicism brought not only a major religious doctrine, but also frameworks of authority composed of norms and policies of citizenship that severely punished nonconformity, and that justified colonialist initiatives. These norms and policies served to reinforce the otherness of those who did not conform to the norms, namely, indigenous individuals and Afro-descendants who were commonly depicted as impious savages (Casaús Arzú 2000; Flórez-Estrada 2008; Pérez Memén 2010; Portocarrero 2007). Although the influence of Catholic frameworks of authority on governmental authorities after colonial independence became weaker, it did not disappear, and it was notably conspicuous in certain Latin American societies.

A noteworthy example of this influence is reflected in the discourses of the Dominican Republic's dictator Rafael Trujillo, which underlined the role of Catholicism and *Hispanidad* as essential components of the Dominican identity for political purposes

(Sáez 1988). As narrated by Vargas Llosa in his historical novel *The Feast of the Goat*, Trujillo justified the slaughtering of thousands of Haitians with ideological depictions of the Haitian as a threat against Catholicism, and thus as a threat for the Dominican identity (Duany 2006; Howard 2001; Human Rights Watch 2002; Sagás 2000). These stereotypes reflected the Eurocentric beliefs of the Dominican elites, and were deliberately disseminated through education and the media by Trujillo, and later, by Joaquín Balaguer (Martínez 2003; Human Rights Watch 2002; Sagás 2000). The impact of the diffusion of these stereotypes is also reflected in the lack of acknowledgment of the Afro-Dominican heritage as an ethno-racial characteristic of the Dominican identity, and in the pervasiveness of prejudicial sentiments against Haitians and blackness in general (Candelario 2007; Howard 2001; Torres-Saillant 1998). These beliefs remain at the core of Dominican *mestizaje* ideologies (Duany 2006; Simmons 2005).

In this study, I investigate whether the influences of the Catholic legacy on contemporary Dominican mainstream understandings of ethnicity and on local ethno-racial relations are significant. I specifically intend to answer two research questions: (1) Do individuals who self-identify as Catholic self-identify more as non-Afro compared with non-Catholics?[1] (2) Are individuals who self-identify as Catholic significantly more prejudiced against Haitians compared with non-Catholics? These questions are relevant due to the prevalence of the Concordat between the Vatican and the Dominican Republic (Santa Sede Apostólica and Estado de la República Dominicana 1954). Not only does this agreement benefit the Dominican Catholic Church in several ways (e.g., tax

[1] Henceforth, I will use the term Afro to refer to the ethno-racial traits and self-identification of Afro-descendants, as it is used in many Latin American countries.

exemptions), but it also underlines the formal role of Catholicism as the foundation of public school education (Article XXII), which may work as an ideological vehicle for identity formation.

Catholic self-identification is defined as the affinity of individuals with Catholicism whether they are practicing Catholics or merely nominal Catholics. It is possible that identification with Catholicism still serves to validate Dominicans' non-Afro ethno-racial identifications as a culturally legitimate whitening resource. Moreover, it is possible that Catholic beliefs still foster conservative views that condemn non-Catholic religious practices, particularly those associated with syncretic Haitian religious rituals (Howard 2001; Torres-Saillant 1998). It is also likely that the public declarations of conservative Catholic authorities straightforwardly exacerbate anti-Haitian sentiments (Horn 2010; Vargas Llosa 2013).

In contrast to this positive association between Catholicism and prejudice, progressive Catholic views –see Betances (2004) and Wiarda (1965)– point to the possibility of less prejudiced attitudes. These views, founded on beliefs derived from concerns about social problems addressed with the principles of the Catholic doctrine (e.g., liberation theology), have countered Catholic conservative perspectives to a certain extent. Several Catholic projects that work for the defense of the rights of Haitian migrants may exemplify an alternative way of understanding Catholic praxis among nominal and practicing Catholics.[2] Regardless of the declarations of conservative

[2] See, for instance, Jesuits' projects oriented to help immigrants based on intercultural objectives: http://www.ocasha-ccs.org/proyectos/proyecto-del-servicio-jesuita-refugiados-y-migrantes-en-jimaní-república-dominicana.

Catholic authorities, Dominicans probably acknowledge the role of Catholic priests as social conflict solvers (Betances 2004). Consequently they may believe that social commitment is a common feature of the Catholic Church. This perspective is also portrayed by Vargas Llosa in *The Feast of the Goat*, who attributed to a Catholic character an elaborated justification for conspiring against Trujillo based on progressive Catholic views that supported the right to life. Alternatively, it is possible that the contemporary mainstream Dominican identity is also influenced by secular perspectives brought about by unexamined dynamics of urbanization and modernity.

MULTIDIMENSIONAL ETHNO-RACIAL STATUS IN CONTEXTS OF *MESTIZAJE*

Mestizaje has commonly been explained as the foundation of national racial ideologies in Latin America (Appelbaum, Macpherson, and Rosemblatt 2003; Safa 2005; Telles and Sue 2009; Wade 2010). Ideologies of *mestizaje* have disseminated national and regional discourses that underscore the positive value derived from racial mixing with the purpose of incorporating indigenous and Afro-descendant populations –typically the demographic majorities– in processes of nation-making. Although there were relevant differences in *mestizaje* discourses and their expansion across Latin America, these ideologies revealed racial projects conducted by elites and governments that imposed the assimilation of indigenous populations and the marginalization of those who refused (see Telles and Bailey 2013).

In these contexts, the *mestizo* represented the mixed-race individual empowered as a citizen.[3] Citizenship rights in Latin American countries were granted to those who

[3] *Mestizo* is used in this paper as a noun for individuals or as an adjective as it is used in Spanish.

conformed to the ideal of *mestizo* homogeneity, which recursively depicted the *mestizo* as the empowered mixed-race individual who is ranked alongside (or slightly below) the white. Consequently, if every member of the society became a *mestizo*, everyone would then be equal, and race would not matter anymore. In this way, Latin American societies became “raceless” contexts at the discourse level (Goldberg 2009), regardless of their varying degrees of indigenous, Afro, and European phenotypic and cultural characteristics. The depictions of *mestizo* contexts as “raceless” were supported by the existence of fluid ethno-racial boundaries, which were regarded in the past as a sign of homogeneity and integration (Wade 2010; Telles and Sue 2009). Nevertheless, ideologies of *mestizaje* have been criticized for endorsing cultural whitening by overrating their Western/European heritages, and for concealing discrimination against indigenous and Afro populations with their unachieved promise of ethno-racial inclusion, integration, and equality (Beck, Mijeski, and Stark 2011; Safa 2005; Simmons 2005).

While the influence of these ideologies on Latin American ethnic and racial issues is surely significant, *mestizaje* and the *mestizo* should not be exclusively understood as nation-making racial projects, and as the ideal embodiment of the mixed-race citizen, respectively. The etymological, everyday meaning of *mestizo* –as mixed, specifically mixed-race– is usually overlooked. *Mestizaje* also refers to the individual-level combination of cultural and phenotypic ethno-racial characteristics –the mix– embodied by the *mestizo*. Taking into consideration that miscegenation as a sociohistorical dynamic predated processes of nation-making (Wade 2010; Mörner 1967), it is

reasonable to assume that, *regardless of self-identification*, individuals in Latin American contexts of *mestizaje* are ethnically/racially mixed (are *mestizo*) to a certain extent.

In consequence, the conceptualization of *mestizaje* as ethno-racial mixture in Latin American countries has important implications for the analysis of ethnic and racial issues. Recent studies question the conceptualization of race as a one-dimensional characteristic that can be effectively measured by a single question in surveys. Alternatively, these studies suggest that the social construct of race incorporates multiple dimensions that even can vary over time and across various situations (Bailey, Loveman, and Muniz 2013; Bailey, Saperstein, and Penner 2014; Roth 2016). I argue that these dimensions are, in contexts of *mestizaje*, the conceptually and empirically distinct ethno-racial characteristics of individuals simultaneously embodied by the *mestizo* (see Saperstein 2012). Thus, I define ethno-racial status as the combination of socially ranked characteristics embodied in different degrees by the individual: observed phenotypic differences (characteristics commonly but not exclusively acknowledged as racial), and cultural practices such as language use and a sense of belonging (characteristics commonly but not exclusively acknowledged as ethnic). I acknowledge the racialization of cultural traits as significant in contexts of *mestizaje*.

Ethno-racial status acknowledges ethno-racial characteristics as conceptually and empirically distinct components of the mix rather than just considering them as socially constructed boundaries. The ethno-racial status of individuals in contexts of *mestizaje* ranks individuals based on their individually embodied combination of characteristics. Although certain cultural or physical characteristics indicate that the person could be

classified as Afro/indigenous, whiter traits "improve" her/his status by "softening" her/his blackness/indigenousness. Consequently, ethno-racial characteristics in contexts of *mestizaje* should not be examined alone as isolated indicators of race: they have to be concurrently examined. Ethno-racial status combines race and ethnicity as a concept that neither "essentializes" racial characteristics nor reifies racial groups (Brubaker 2004; Loveman 1999). This concept implicitly suggests that ethno-racial traits alone do not necessarily represent well-defined social boundaries or bases of social cohesion taking into account that they are embodied in different degrees by *mestizos*. Furthermore, this concept underlines the analytic relevance of the historical intertwinement of race, ethnicity, and culture in contexts of *mestizaje* for contemporary social analysis in accordance with more constructivist perspectives (Cahill 1994; de la Cadena 2000).

I identify three dimensions of ethno-racial status: *phenotype*, *ancestry*, and *ethno-racial self-identification*. Phenotype encompasses the visible features of individuals that could be acknowledged as racial. Due to the ethno-racial fluidity in contexts of *mestizaje*, individuals are not merely white, black, or phenotypically indigenous. Individuals embodied these traits in different degrees, and they may take advantage of whiter characteristics –whiter skin color, green or blue eyes, or hair type– regardless of self-identification. Whiter phenotypic traits are also normally associated with local standards of beauty, whereas Afro and certain indigenous traits are still perceived as unattractive and repulsive (Candelario 2007; Wade 2009). Moreover, partial European ancestry, a frequent cultural characteristic in *mestizaje* contexts reflected in foreign last names and familiar traditions, increases ethno-racial status. On the contrary, individuals

with conspicuous Afro or indigenous ancestries may not be able to soften their cultural features such as traditions, tastes, languages, and accents. Furthermore, ethno-racial self-identification, beyond the influence (net) of ancestry and phenotype, distinguishes whether the individual self-define according to the local ideology of *mestizaje*. Mainstream ethno-racial self-identification increases ethno-racial status. These mainstream identities are defined either with official categories (e.g. *mestizo* or *blanco*, or, in the case of Dominicans, *indio* or *mulato*) or with more informal terms for describing ethno-racial hybridity (Roth 2012; Candelario 2007).

IS CATHOLICISM A RELEVANT ASPECT OF *DOMINICANIDAD*?

Dominican *mestizaje* ideologies have promoted *Dominicanidad* ("Dominican-ness"), which emphasizes the cultural foundations of the national Dominican identity (Howard 2001; Sagás 2000; Sidanius, Peña, and Sawyer 2001). Mainstream discourses of *Dominicanidad* have celebrated and overvalued its Spanish heritage, have not sufficiently acknowledged the importance of Afro-Dominican heritage, and have recognized its *mestizo* status in complex ways. As in other Latin American countries, the Spanish heritage has been endorsed by the predominantly white Dominican elites as the cultural backbone of the mainstream Eurocentric stance (Howard 2001; Torres-Saillant 1998). The relevance of *Dominicanidad* has been established with respect to its neighbor Haiti. Both countries are interdependent and underdeveloped, but the Dominican Republic is in a better economic situation than the extremely impoverished Haiti (Winters and Derrell 2010). Despite several overlooked cases of cohesion and cooperation

(Martínez 2003; Torres-Saillant 1998), Haitians have historically represented a threat for Dominicans.

Prejudicial beliefs against Haitians are rooted in the negative depictions of Afro individuals supported by the notions of authority and virtue of the Catholic Church during colonial times (Pérez Memén 2010). These depictions were the foundation of anti-Haitian sentiments of the elites and the Catholic Church during the period of unification in the nineteenth century (Martínez 2003). In the twentieth century, anti-Haitian sentiments were exacerbated and deliberately inculcated by Trujillo's regime, and after that, by the government of Joaquín Balaguer. The regime reinforced in elaborated ways the supremacy of *Hispanidad* supported by Catholic traditions and values as distinctive of *Dominicanidad* over the otherness of Haitians associated with their French heritage, with the impiousness of their syncretic beliefs, and with blackness (Sáez 1988; Wiarda 1965). Anti-Haitian sentiments debased the value of blackness to the extent that mainstream discourses of *Dominicanidad* do not recognize Afro characteristics as distinctive of the Dominican identity regardless of its pervasiveness in local cultures and in the Afro phenotypic traits of Dominicans (Candelario 2007; Simmons 2005; Sagás 2000; Torres-Saillant 1998). Accordingly, many Dominicans with different degrees of Afro phenotypic traits tend to self-identify as non-black in spite of how they are perceived by others.

Dominicans recognize their hybridity using an array of ethno-racial terms that are organized in schemas: sets of ethno-racial categories and their rules for how these categories are meaningful in a specific society (Roth 2012). Hybrid ethno-racial

conditions are notably evident in the continuum racial schema, which organizes these conditions –locally identifiable by informal categories such as *jabao*, *trigueño*, *piel canela*, *moreno*– according to relative differences by phenotypic traits and color. These differences have a significantly impact on the opportunities and experiences of Dominicans (Roth 2012, 2013; Candelario 2007). Beyond the category *mestizo*, two mainstream categories are particularly important as local references of *mestizaje*. The term *mulato* acknowledges the embodiment of Afro and white racial heritages, but, according to local discourses, blames its Afro traits as the result of "Haitian atrocities during the occupation" (Howard 2001: 28). The term *indio* was promoted by Trujillo's regime, and was commonly understood as a color category rather than as an ethnic heritage. The category *indio* is still popularly used by Dominicans with Afro traits in ambiguous ways instead of *mulato* (Candelario 2007; Duany 2006; Sagás 2000). This use contrasts with the use of *indio* in other indo-Latin American countries, which pejoratively refers to indigenous populations (Golash-Boza 2010; Sue and Golash-Boza 2013). Although Dominicans may acknowledge the relevance of Afro heritages using schemas that are not advocated by mainstream discourses of *Dominicanidad* (e.g., transnational schemas, alternative redefinitions of *mulataje*; see Roth 2013; Simmons 2005), the prevalence of these terms also reflects how Dominicans have attempted to suppress and soften their Afro phenotypic traits by taking advantage of their whiter cultural and phenotypic characteristics to improve ethno-racial status.

Due to the mainstream legitimation of Catholicism as a core component of *Dominicanidad*, Catholic affiliation may serve as a legitimate cultural resource for self-

identifying as non-Afro. Individuals may justify their Spanish ancestry by showcasing their Catholic affiliation as evidence of their *Dominicanidad*. In other words, Catholic affiliation may work as a "synthetic proof" of ancestry. They are Catholic because their ancestors kept formal traditions and values. As suggested above, they do not necessarily have to practice Catholicism; they can merely be nominal Catholics who keep family traditions without any spiritual or civic commitments associated with religious beliefs.

H1: Individuals who self-identify as Catholic self-identify more as non-Afro compared with non-Catholics.

Moreover, the mainstream Dominican identity is founded not only on the Spanish heritage that justify its Western Eurocentrism, but also on their Catholic traditions in contrast with the syncretic religious practices of Haitians (Duany 2006; Howard 2001). Although syncretic rituals are also part of Dominican culture, mainstream discourses of *Dominicanidad* exclusively attribute voodoo to the presence of Haitians in their territory (Martínez 2003; Torres-Saillant 1998). Not only has the Dominican Catholic Church severely criticized syncretic forms of Catholic worship, it has also played a significant role in shaping public opinion during and after Trujillo's regime due to its political power, and to its formal influence on education founded on the Concordat (Wiarda 1965). Although there were critical voices and stances that reflected debates between progressive versus conservative tendencies within the Catholic Church, the Catholic hierarchy has been aligned with the Dominican status quo in order to be politically influential even when it has officially kept a non-partisan position (Betances 2004; Horn 2010; Wiarda 1965). This alignment is currently evident, for instance, in the stance of

members of the Catholic hierarchy against Haitian immigration, which reinforces inequality and hostile relations between the Dominican Republic and Haiti (Winters and Derrell 2010). A recent example is the support of the illegalization of undocumented Dominicans of Haitian descent openly expressed by Cardinal Nicolás de Jesús López Rodríguez, who also insulted Mario Serrano, Jesuit Priest, for advocating the citizenship rights of these Dominicans (Religión Digital 2014; Vargas Llosa 2013). Bigoted declarations of powerful conservative Catholic authorities may influence public opinion against Haitians among individuals who self-identify as Catholic. This influence may be direct as recognized leaders of public opinion; or indirect, through the influence these authorities have over the priests under their control.

H2: Individuals who self-identify as Catholic are more prejudiced against Haitians compared with non-Catholics.

DATA AND METHODS

The data used in this analysis below come from two sources: the 2010 America's Barometer by the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP), a national probability sample of 1,500 adult Dominicans; and the San Benito survey (Rodriguez, Sana, and Sisk 2015; Sana, Stecklov, and Weinreb 2016), a regional, experimental random sample of 1,207 adult women. The 2010 LAPOP survey in the Dominican Republic was carried out using a multi-stage national probability sample design of voting-age adults taking into account stratification and clustering. The sample is self-weighted (Morgan and Espinal 2010). LAPOP has been mainly concerned with the analysis of political issues in Latin America. The 2010 surveys included an additional

module for gathering information about ethnic and racial characteristics and issues designed by the Project on Ethnicity and Race in Latin America (PERLA) at Princeton University.

San Benito (fictitious name) is a small urban area in the Northwestern Dominican sierra relatively close to the Haitian border, where, according to the local news, the Haitian presence is depicted as a threat for local Dominicans. The survey was conducted by 30 Dominican female interviewers. Twenty-four of them were from San Benito; and six were professional interviewers from Santo Domingo. Only one woman per house was interviewed. If more than one woman was eligible, the respondent was randomly chosen. The questionnaire was designed to gather information about several sociodemographic topics including questions about attitudes toward stigmatized populations, and personal ethno-racial characteristics. Interviews for both surveys were conducted in Spanish.

Dependent Variables

My first dependent variable is non-Afro self-identification. Although the continuum racial schema tacitly acknowledges a certain degree of Afro characteristics, these terms underline the relevance of non-Afro components that allow individuals to self-perceive as non-black, and to define themselves according to the mainstream Dominican identity. In the LAPOP survey, respondents were asked whether they consider themselves as a *persona blanca* (white), *mestiza* or *india* (in one category), *negra* (black), *mulata*, *Afro-Dominicana*, or other. I discarded observations of respondents who self-identify as other (21 observations) as well as the missing values (17 observations) from the sample. I created a non-Afro dichotomous variable by collapsing

options *negra* and *Afro-Dominicana* (only two observations of the latter) in one category, and the other options in a category for non-Afro. In the San Benito survey, the ethno-racial self-identification question was open: "How would you define your skin color?" Although the question did not ask for ethno-racial self-identification using any official categories, the answers reflected the significance of the continuum racial schema with several terms for hybrid conditions. I created a dichotomous variable by collapsing all the terms that explicitly referred to the Afro condition (*negro*, *prieto*, *oscuro*, *moreno)* in one category, and the rest of terms that explicitly or implicitly referred to a hybrid or white condition (e.g., *indio*, *blanco claro*, *mulato*, *jabao*, *trigueño*, *canela*, etc.) in another category (see Candelario 2007 for racial types).[4]

My second and third dependent variables capture different dimensions of national-level prejudice against Haitians using the LAPOP data. The questions are: "To what extent do you agree with the Dominican citizenship of Dominican Republic-born children of Haitian immigrants?," and "To what extent do you agree or disagree with the Dominican government granting work permits to undocumented Haitians who live in the Dominican Republic?"[5] Respondents were asked to use an ordinal scale from one to seven to answer both questions: one for strongly disagree and seven for strongly agree. I dichotomized these variables in this analysis due to their non-normal distributions. I

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[4] I also used an alternative dependent variable: a nominal variable with four categories: white, *indio/mestizo*, *mulato*, and black/Afro-Dominican. In this way, I verified that this dichotomous variable was the optimal choice for this study.

[5] In Spanish, these questions were: "*¿Hasta qué punto está de acuerdo con que los hijos de inmigrantes haitianos nacidos en la República Dominicana sean ciudadanos dominicanos?*," and "*¿Hasta qué punto está de acuerdo o desacuerdo con que el gobierno dominicano otorgue permisos de trabajo a los haitianos indocumentados que viven en República Dominicana?*"

recoded values five, six, and seven as zero (agree), and values one, two, three, and four as one (do not agree).[6]

My fourth and fifth dependent variables measure prejudice and discrimination against Haitians in San Benito, respectively. The question for the fourth dependent variable is: "In general, is your opinion about Haitians 'very negative,' 'negative,' 'neither negative nor positive,' 'positive or very positive?'" I dichotomized this variable with "no negative" as the reference category. I collapsed options "very negative" and "negative," and recoded them as one; and options "neither negative nor positive" and "positive or very positive," and recoded them as zero. The question for the fifth dependent variable is: "Do you avoid Haitians if possible?"[7] This is a dichotomous variable with "no" as the reference category.

Independent Variables

Both surveys included a number of questions about the religion of respondents. I created a dichotomous variable to capture Catholic self-identification or affiliation recoded as one versus all the observations in other categories grouped together as non-Catholics, and recoded as zero. This central independent variable is useful to test whether Catholic heritage represents a dimension of the Dominican ethno-racial status as a "synthetic proof" of ancestry founded on the discourses of *Dominicanidad*. Moreover,

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[6] I initially used ordered logistic regression models to predict prejudice against the citizenship of Dominican Republic-born children of Haitian immigrants, and prejudice against work permits for undocumented Haitians who live in the Dominican Republic. These models, however, did not satisfy the proportional odds assumption even after I collapsed the number of categories in different ways. Therefore, I opted to dichotomize these variables taking into account that these dichotomizations made conceptual and analytic sense.

[7] I translated the questions from Spanish to English. "*En general, su opinión sobre los haitianos es muy negativa, negativa, ni negativa ni positiva, positiva o muy positiva*" "*Si es posible, ¿los evita? (a los haitianos)*".

I use respondents' skin color as a proxy for phenotype as a continuous measure. Both surveys gather skin color data using the LAPOP palette.[8] However, skin color is assigned by the interviewer in the LAPOP survey, and self-reported in the San Benito survey. I discarded an observation with missing values for skin color in the LAPOP survey (only one after discarding observations with missing values for ethno-racial self-identification), and 63 observations with missing values for skin color in the San Benito survey.

I separately examined differences by interviewer characteristics in skin color categorization using regression analyses not presented in this study (see Villarreal 2010). I found that there were significant differences by female interviewer with LAPOP, and insider interviewer with San Benito (a local interviewer with a preceding social relationship with the respondent). Therefore, I control for these interviewer characteristics in the analyses presented in this study. Although the LAPOP survey includes a native language question, which would indicate non-Dominican ancestry, Spanish was the first language of most respondents: only ten respondents declared a different native language. Therefore, I do not include it in the analyses as an indicator of ancestry.

In addition, I include a dichotomous variable that measures the frequency of attendance at religious services in the analyses. The main analytic objective is to examine whether individuals who self-identify as Catholic have greater odds of self-identifying as non-Afro, and of being prejudiced against Haitians compared with non-

[8] See http://perla.princeton.edu/surveys/perla-color-palette/. I recoded this variable using zero for the lightest and grouped categories 8 and over for the darkest skin tone.

Catholics. However, it is necessary to examine if these associations are significant net of the effect of religious practice or religiosity, which may work as a separate ideological vehicle of *Dominicanidad* beyond the Hispanic heritage. In both surveys, respondents were asked how frequently they attended at religious services. I grouped categories "more than once a week" and "once a week," and recoded them as one. I grouped the rest of the categories (for three times a month or less), and recoded them as zero. Practicing Catholics are expected to attend mass every Sunday (at least once a week).

Taking into account the central role of education in the promotion of mainstream discourses of *Dominicanidad* (Sáez 1988; Wiarda 1965), I include categorical variables for educational attainment in the analyses. Respondents were asked to indicate the last year of education that they had completed. I grouped individuals who had completed 11 years or fewer to create a category for incomplete secondary education or less; 13 to 16 years for some university or technical degree; and 17 years and over for complete university or more. Individuals who completed 12 years were grouped in the category complete secondary education. I discarded five observations with missing values for educational attainment in the LAPOP survey (after discarding observations with missing values for ethno-racial self-identification). Also using the LAPOP survey, I included dummy variables for female (versus male) and rural (versus urban), and age as a continuous variable (I discarded one observation with missing values). I also created dummy variables for region based on the categorical variable *estrato primario* (primary stratum), which divided the country in four regions: metropolitan area, north, east, and south. Using the variable *provincia* (province), I separated Santo Domingo from the rest

of the metropolitan area due to its centrality as the context where mainstream *Dominicanidad* has been forged.

Furthermore, I treat household income –a nine-category ordinary variable– as a continuous variable that I include in the analysis of national-level prejudice. I used the midpoint of each income category, except for the top, open-ended category, for which I added 16,150 pesos (the difference between the two previous midpoints) to the lower bound of the open-ended category (60,800 pesos). I computed the natural logarithm, and inputted income averages according to educational attainment (estimated with an ordinary least squares regression) for 155 missing values.

Analytic Plan

In this study, I use logistic regression as a suitable statistical method for the analysis of dichotomous dependent variables (Powers and Xie 2008). I opted to estimate robust standard errors adjusted for within-interviewer clustering, which obtained correct standard errors even when observations included within clusters (i.e., interviewers in these analyses) are not independent as long as they are independent across clusters (Villarreal 2010). To begin with, I examine the effect of Catholic self-identification on non-Afro self-identification using logistic regression models with (a) LAPOP and (b) San Benito data net of the effects of skin color, age, interviewer characteristics, region and rural (in the national-level analysis), and female. I sequentially incorporate other variables to the baseline models in order to examine whether the associations between Catholic self-identification and non-Afro self-identification remain the same. These variables are attendance at religious services (Models 2a and 2b), and educational

attainment (Models 3a and 3b). Due to the unexpected findings presented and explained below, I expand the analysis with a multinomial regression model predicting self-identification as white, *indio/mestizo*, and *mulato* as compared to black using a regional subsample obtained from the LAPOP data: Dominicans who live in Santo Domingo.

In the second part, I use logistic regression models to examine at the national level the effect of Catholic self-identification on two different dimensions of prejudice against Haitians: against the citizenship rights of Dominicans of Haitian descent, and against granting work permits to undocumented Haitians who live in the Dominican Republic. The baseline models include skin color and non-Afro ethnic identification as concurrent dimensions of ethno-racial status, age, female interviewer, region and rural, and female. Then, I sequentially include attendance at religious services (Models 5a and 8a), and educational attainment and household income (Models 6a and 9a).[9] Next, I use logistic regression models to examine the effect of Catholic self-identification on prejudice and discrimination against Haitians in San Benito. The baseline models include skin color and non-Afro ethnic identification, age, insider interviewer, and female. Then, I sequentially incorporate attendance at religious services (Models 5b and 8b), and educational attainment (Models 6b and 9b).

[9] I did not include household income in the other analyses because its coefficient was statistically insignificant. The results presented in these analyses were not different after income was included as an independent variable.

RESULTS

Do Individuals Who Self-Identify as Catholic Self-Identify More as Non-Afro Compared with Non-Catholics?

Table 4.2 presents the coefficients of logistic regression models converted to odds ratios predicting non-Afro self-identification at the national level (Models 1a, 2a, 3a) and in San Benito (Models 1b, 2b, 3b). Unexpectedly, I found no national-level evidence of a significant association between Catholic self-identification and non-Afro self-identification. It is noteworthy that, at the national level, only skin color seems to be a significant predictor of ethno-racial self-identification: the darker the respondent, the lower the odds of self-identifying as non-Afro. Nevertheless, I found evidence of a direct association between Catholic self-identification and non-Afro self-identification in San Benito (**H1**). In this area, the odds of self-identifying as non-Afro are 79 percent higher for women who self-identify as Catholic compared with non-Catholics (1.785-1 in Model 3b) net of the negative effect of skin color, and the effect of educational attainment and other sociodemographic characteristics.

In addition, education is significantly associated with non-Afro self-identification in San Benito. The odds of self-identifying as non-Afro are 50 percent lower for individuals who attained complete university or more (1-0.497 in Model 3b) compared with individuals who have not attained complete secondary education. This finding supports the argument that better educated Dominicans are more inclined to accept their Afro ancestry without fear of discrimination (Telles and Paschel 2014; Roth 2013; Howard 2001).

The national-level association between Catholic self-identification and non-Afro self-identification is possibly not significant for several reasons. Non-Afro Dominican identities probably are shaped mainly by secular perspectives brought about by unexamined dynamics of urbanization and modernity. Accordingly, the significance of Catholicism as a cultural component of mainstream *Dominicanidad* is merely historical. Moreover, Catholicism is not mainly interpreted as Western sociocultural heritage in ethno-racial terms. Dominicans may understand Catholicism as a component of *Dominicanidad* significantly distinct from their own ethno-racial identities, beliefs, and issues. It is possible that the commitments of the Catholic Church with civil society have been acknowledged by Dominicans as socially meaningful beyond local ethno-racial issues. Alternatively, these commitments could have openly supported victims of ethno-racial discrimination such as dark-skinned Dominicans and Haitian immigrants despite the anti-Haitian sentiment expressed by certain Catholic authorities.

While these explanations are plausible, the contrasting findings in San Benito suggest that the influence of Catholicism on non-Afro self-identification may be particularly different in urban areas. Consequently, I opted to fit another regression model with a regional subsample of Dominicans in Santo Domingo (Table 4.3). Santo Domingo is a relevant research setting for this analysis as the historical headquarters of the Catholic hierarchy (see Betances 2004; Pérez Memén 2010). Policies and agreements that may establish the official role of the Catholic Church in public education and other domains are approved in the capital city (e.g., the Concordat between the Vatican and the Dominican Republic). I examine the effect of Catholic self-identification on non-Afro

self-identification in Santo Domingo using a multinomial logistic regression model to predict self-identification as white, *indio/mestizo*, and *mulato* as compared to black.[10] The specification of this model is similar to the specification of Models 3a and 3b.

In Santo Domingo, the association between Catholic self-identification and non-Afro self-identification is, as expected, positive and significant for individuals who self-identify as *indio* and *mulato* as compared to black (**H1**). The risk of self-identifying as *indio* and *mulato* versus black is about 200 percent higher for individuals who self-identify as Catholic compared with non-Catholics (3.082-1 and 3.224-1, respectively). This association is not significant for individuals who self-identify as white versus black. White self-identification is mainly supported by a whiter skin color as it is suggested by its lower relative risk ratio. Moreover, the coefficient of attaining complete university or more for individuals who self-identify as *indio* versus black is consistent in direction with the corresponding coefficient in the San Benito analysis, but not in magnitude. The risk of self-identifying as *indio* versus black is 94 percent lower for individuals who attained complete university or more (1-0.056), and 75 percent lower for individuals who attained some university or technical degree (1-0.253) compared with individuals who have not attained complete secondary education.

Are Individuals Who Self-Identify as Catholic Significantly More Prejudiced Against Haitians Compared With Non-Catholics?

Table 4.4 presents the coefficients of logistic regression models converted to odds ratios predicting national-level attitudes against the citizenship rights of Dominicans of

[10] I also fitted multinomial logistic regression models with the national-level sample, but the coefficients of Catholic self-identification were insignificant.

Haitian descent, and against granting work permits to undocumented Haitians. Unexpectedly, I found no evidence of a significant association between Catholic self-identification and attitudes against undocumented Dominicans. The negative but low and statistically insignificant coefficient of Catholic self-identification might reveal the contrasting sentiments toward undocumented Dominicans of progressive versus conservative positions. Possibly the emphasis on the family as the core unity of society promoted by the Catholic Church in religious practice and the media has been insufficient to convince a greater number of conservative Catholics of advocating the citizenship rights of undocumented Dominicans.

It is also noteworthy that non-Afro self-identification and skin color are directly associated with attitudes against undocumented Dominicans when they are concurrently examined. These findings seem contradictory if ethno-racial self-identification and skin color are understood as mere measures of race. However, in this study, they represent dimensions of ethno-racial status that are conceptually and empirically different. Individuals who self-identify according to mainstream *Dominicanidad* have greater odds of being against the citizenship rights of undocumented Dominicans than individuals who self-identify as Afro. Beyond this association, a darker skin color gradually increases the odds of being against the rights of undocumented Dominicans. However, this association is only marginally significant after controlling for educational attainment and income (Model 6a).

Unlike the association between Catholic self-identification and attitudes against undocumented Dominicans, the national-level association between Catholic self-

identification and attitudes against granting work permits to undocumented Haitians is, as expected, positive and significant (**H2**). Model 9a suggests that individuals who self-identify as Catholic have 38 percent greater odds of being against granting work permits to undocumented Haitians than individuals who self-identify as non-Catholic (1.377-1). Model 9a also suggests that the effect of attendance at religious services significantly lowers the odds of being against the work permits to undocumented Haitians in 24 percent (1-0.759). Nonetheless, I did not find evidence of a significant interaction between Catholic self-identification and attendance. Moreover, the impact of non-Afro self-identification is significant and greater than the impact of Catholic self-identification in every regression model. However, the effect of skin color on attitudes against granting work permits is not significant.

Furthermore, in the analysis of both dimensions of prejudice, a greater household income lowers prejudice against Haitians. Educational attainment, on the contrary, is not significant in the analysis of undocumented Haitians. The association of educational attainment and attitudes against the rights of undocumented Dominicans is non-linear and unclear.

Table 4.5 presents the coefficients of logistic regression models converted to odds ratios predicting prejudice and discrimination against Haitians in San Benito. As expected, Models 6b and 9b suggest that women who self-identify as Catholic in San Benito are three times as likely to be prejudiced against Haitians (3.128), and two times as likely (2.118) to avoid Haitians when compared to non-Catholic women, respectively (**H2**). Contrary to the national-level findings in the analysis of attitudes against granting

work permits, Model 6b suggests that attendance at religious services increases the odds of being prejudiced in 35 percent (1.349-1) among women in San Benito. However, the impact of attendance at religious services on discrimination against Haitians is not significant. It is also noteworthy that non-Afro self-identification is not significantly associated with prejudice and discrimination against Haitians. This regional finding contrasts with the national-level association between non-Afro self-identification and prejudice. The association of skin color and discrimination is also statistically insignificant. Skin color is directly associated with prejudice against Haitians only in Models 4b and 5b: a darker skin color category increases the odds in 11 percent (1.107-1). However, this association becomes insignificant after educational attainment is incorporated in Model 6b. It is noteworthy that, in San Benito, educational attainment lowers the odds of feeling prejudiced, and the odds of discriminating against Haitians with respect to the incomplete secondary education or less category.

A relevant limitation is that the San Benito sample only includes women. Nonetheless, I found no evidence of significant differences by gender in the national-level analyses of non-Afro self-identification and prejudice. Consequently, I conclude that the San Benito findings are informative of these dynamics in a specific small urban area relatively close to the border. In addition, the Santo Domingo subsample has a limited number of observations (N=265). This study may establish the need to gather more data in Santo Domingo that will allow us to revise these findings.

Moreover, the variable respondents' skin color could be problematic in both surveys because the perception of interviewers is not entirely objective regardless of the

skin color palette and its instructions (Villarreal 2010). Beyond controlling for interviewers' characteristics that were significantly associated with skin color classification, these results are estimated net of educational attainment (and income in Table 4.4), which should work as proxies for changes in skin color categories that may occur with increasing socioeconomic status. Furthermore, I cannot examine whether skin color categorization is statistically reliable because the data used in the analyses (LAPOP and San Benito) are cross-sectional.

DISCUSSION

Although I found no national-level evidence of significant differences in non-Afro self-identification by Catholic affiliation, this association is significant and positive in two Dominican urban areas: in San Benito, a small urban area in the Northwestern Dominican sierra, and in Santo Domingo, the capital city. It is noteworthy that this association is positive and significant in two urban areas because urbanization is commonly tied with secularization. The statistically insignificant coefficient of "rural" in the national-level analysis and the difference in levels of urbanization between San Benito and Santo Domingo imply other plausible reasons. It is possible that the association is significant in Santo Domingo due to the well-established, influential presence of the Catholic hierarchy in the capital (see Betances 2004; Pérez Memén 2010). It is also possible that the influence of Catholic discourses is stronger in urban areas close to the Haitian border like San Benito.

Therefore, it is necessary to examine the dynamics of non-Afro self-identification not only at the national level, but also in different regions. It is possible that the impact

of Catholic affiliation is not relevant in regions with an inferior presence of Catholic hierarchical institutions, where syncretism and alternative religious practices may not be systematically criticized by local priests. Moreover, most Catholics and non-Catholics self-identify as non-Afro at the national level. The predicted probabilities of non-Afro self-identification for Catholics and non-Catholics, while holding other variables at their means, are 0.96 and 0.95, respectively (Model 3a). It is also possible that non-Catholics in Santo Domingo and San Benito are more inclined to self-identify as Afro compared to Catholics because they may feel more identified with alternative, less traditional definitions of *Dominicanidad* (see Simmons 2005). Further research is needed to identify specific mechanisms of identity formation in association with Catholicism and religion in general. In addition, I found no national- or regional-level evidence of the association of religiosity, measured with attendance at religious services, with non-Afro self-identification.

Individuals who self-identify as Catholic hold more anti-Haitian sentiments than non-Catholics at the national level, and in San Benito. However, Catholics and non-Catholics are equally likely to be against the citizenship rights of undocumented Dominicans of Haitian descent. The predicted probabilities while holding the other variables at their means are 0.54 and 0.56, respectively (Model 6a). Dominican Catholics might not like Haitian culture, but might be inclined to accept that undocumented Dominicans of Haitian descent are indeed Dominicans, and that *Dominicanidad* is affected by the Haitian presence in an inexorable way. Catholics may believe, in accordance with discourses of *mestizaje* (see Casaús Arzú 2000; Portocarrero 2007), that

education can “Dominicanize” undocumented Dominicans of Haitian descent to a certain extent. Similarly, non-Catholics also may feel threatened by the presence of Dominicans of Haitian descent to the extent that the former would support radical policies against the latter.

In addition, the association of religiosity with prejudice in these analyses varies according to the dimension of prejudice and region. It is statistically insignificant in the analysis of citizenship rights of undocumented Dominicans of Haitian descent, but it is negative in the analysis of work permits to undocumented Haitians, and positive in the analysis of prejudice in San Benito. It is possible that these unclear findings reflect contrasting discourses promoted by religious institutions in different settings.

CONCLUSION

Catholic heritage still represents a dimension of mainstream *Dominicanidad*. In accordance with mainstream ethno-racial ideologies, Catholicism meaningfully downplays Afro-Dominican heritage by supporting the construction of non-Afro Dominican identities, and by fostering anti-Haitian sentiments in Santo Domingo and San Benito. The multidimensional ethno-racial status approach in contexts of *mestizaje* suggested above points to the combination of cultural and phenotypic traits embodied by the individual. From this perspective, Catholic affiliation is a cultural resource that works as a “synthetic proof” of Spanish ancestry in the capital city, and in an urban area close to the border. This approach underscores the relevance of the historical intertwinement of Catholicism as Western cultural heritage, race, and ethnicity for

contemporary social analysis in contexts of *mestizaje* in alignment with more constructivist perspectives.

These analyses have a relevant implication for the study of the influence of Catholicism in Latin America, and other former colonies of Spain and Portugal. It is not safe to generalize (or imply) that Catholicism does not significantly influence the development of non-Afro identities in the Dominican Republic based on the lack of national-level evidence. Instead, it is necessary to take into consideration competing ideological perspectives within the Catholic Church, and to examine regional differences that are likely connected to these competing perspectives. The distinction of Santo Domingo makes analytic sense due to the historical roots of the Catholic hierarchy in the capital.

Moreover, this conclusion has several implications for local authorities. Dominican authorities should acknowledge the importance of vindicating Afro-*Dominicanidad* because it permeates local culture regardless of the influence of mainstream ideologies of Dominican *mestizaje*. While the well-ingrained non-Afro identities have subjectively softened the degrees of Afro characteristics, the former tacitly underline the significant stigmatization of the latter. This problem affects not only Haitians, but also most non-white Dominicans who also embody these traits in different degrees regardless of self-identification. Local policies should address educational and cultural objectives that inculcate alternative conceptualizations of Afro-*Dominicanidad* that underline the value and contribution of Afro heritages to the Dominican Republic as well as narratives that highlight positive historical and contemporary depictions of

Dominican-Haitian relations (see Martínez 2003). This cultural content should be secular in order to downplay views that are rooted in colonial beliefs. From this perspective, it is necessary to change the formal role of Catholicism as the foundation of public education established in the Concordat, or to adjust the role of Catholicism in alignment with more progressive views.

Table 4.1. Summary Statistics for the Variables Used in the Analysis

Variables	Dominican Republic (N =1,455)	San Benito (N =1,144)	Santo Domingo (N =265)
Dependent Variables			
Non-Afro Ethnic Identification	89.55%	92.48%	†
(Reference: Afro Ethnic Identification)	10.45%	7.52%	
Against Citizenship Rights of Dominicans of Haitian Descent	54.63%	–	–
(Reference: Not Against Citizenship Rights)	45.37%		
Against Granting Work Permits to Undocumented Haitians	63.46%	–	–
(Reference: Not Against Granting Work Permits)	36.54%		
Prejudice Against Haitians	–	28.00%	–
(Reference: Not Prejudiced Against Haitians)		72.00%	
Discrimination Against Haitians	–	36.10%	–
(Reference: Does Not Discriminate Against Haitians)		63.90%	
Independent Variables			
Respondents' Skin Color (Mean; S.D.; Min.; Max.)	(4.04; 1.78; 0; 8)	(4.38; 1.39; 0; 8)	(4.50; 1.82; 1; 8)
Age (Mean; S.D.; Min.; Max.)	(41.02; 16.65; 18; 90)	(34.36; 8.74; 20; 51)	(40.68; 16.44; 18; 87)
Catholic Self-Identification	59.24%	88.11%	51.32%
(Reference: Other Religious Identifications)	40.76%	11.89%	48.68%
Attendance at Religious Services	51.55%	34.44%	50.94%
(Reference: Three Times a Month or Less)	48.45%	65.56%	49.06%
Educational Attainment			
Incomplete Secondary Education or Less	66.60%	38.20%	59.25%
Complete Secondary Education	16.70%	14.16%	21.13%
Some University or Technical Degree	10.10%	28.15%	12.08%
Complete University or More	6.60%	19.49%	7.55%
Logged Income	(8.91; 0.89; 7.26; 11.14)	–	–
Female	50.38%	–	50.57%
Female Interviewer	61.58%	–	73.58%
Insider Interviewer	–	18.18%	–
Region			
Santo Domingo	18.21%	–	–
Metropolitan Area (without Santo Domingo)	12.78%	–	–
North	35.95%	–	–
East	16.01%	–	–
South	17.04%	–	–
Rural	26.94%	–	–

Notes: Dashes indicate "Not Applicable." Skin color categories are ordered from whitest to darkest with the darkest category assigned the highest value.
†White = 7.17%; *Indio/Mestizo* = 60.00%; *Mulato* = 17.74%; Black = 15.09%

Table 4.2. Coefficients (Odds Ratios) of Logistic Regression Models Predicting Non-Afro Self-Identification at the National Level (Models 1a, 2a, 3a) and in San Benito (Models 1b, 2b, 3b)

Variables	Model 1a	Model 1b	Model 2a	Model 2b	Model 3a	Model 3b
Respondents' Skin Color	0.422***	0.420***	0.422***	0.420***	0.414***	0.403***
	(0.03)	(0.06)	(0.03)	(0.06)	(0.03)	(0.06)
Age	0.993	1.025*	0.994	1.024*	0.991	1.028*
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Catholic Self-Identification	1.358	1.892*	1.351	1.929*	1.351	1.785*
	(0.31)	(0.52)	(0.30)	(0.56)	(0.30)	(0.50)
Attendance at Religious Services			0.741	1.105	0.739	1.128
			(0.19)	(0.28)	(0.19)	-0.29
Educational Attainment						
Incomplete Secondary Education or Less					–	–
Complete Secondary Education					0.695	1.098
					(0.21)	(0.40)
Some University or Technical Degree					0.879	0.916
					(0.32)	(0.28)
Complete University or More					0.520	0.497*
					(0.21)	(0.16)
Female Interviewer (Models 1a, 2a, 3a) or	0.775	0.774	0.746	0.777	0.743	0.811
Insider Interviewer (Models 1b, 2b, 3b)	(0.16)	(0.24)	(0.14)	(0.24)	(0.15)	(0.26)
Log-Pseudolikelihood	-354.66	-259.24	-353.57	-259.16	-351.77	-256.55
N	1455	1144	1455	1144	1455	1144

Notes: Skin color categories are ordered from whitest to darkest with the darkest category assigned the highest value. Robust standard errors adjusted for within-interviewer clustering are in parentheses. Dashes indicate reference categories. Estimated intercepts and coefficients (odds ratios) of region (Metropolitan area without Santo Domingo, North, East, and South with Santo Domingo as the reference category), rural, and female in Models 1a, 2a, and 3a, are omitted to save space. These coefficients are not statistically significant. Reference of attendance at religious services is attends three times a month or less.
$*p < .05$; $**p < .01$; $***p < .001$ (two-tailed tests)

Table 4.3. Coefficients (Relative Risk Ratios) of a Multinomial Logistic Regression Model Predicting Non-Afro Self-Identification in Santo Domingo

Variables	White	*Indio/Mestizo*	*Mulato*
Respondents' Skin Color	0.143***	0.384***	0.497***
	(0.04)	(0.06)	(0.09)
Age	0.970	0.959*	0.953*
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Catholic Self-Identification	1.971	3.082*	3.224*
	(1.09)	(1.52)	(1.70)
Attendance at Religious Services	0.627	0.678	0.449
	(0.62)	(0.46)	(0.26)
Educational Attainment			
Incomplete Secondary Education or Less	–	–	–
Complete Secondary Education	0.075+	0.397	0.744
	(0.12)	(0.27)	(0.42)
Some University or Technical Degree	0.366	0.253*	0.485
	(0.33)	(0.15)	(0.27)
Complete University or More	0.255	0.056***	0.278
	(0.23)	(0.04)	(0.23)
Female Interviewer (Models 1a, 2a, 3a) or	0.487	0.831	0.994
Insider Interviewer (Models 1b, 2b, 3b)	(0.40)	(0.44)	(0.80)
Log-Pseudolikelihood		-225.56	
N		265	

Notes: Skin color categories are ordered from whitest to darkest with the darkest category assigned the highest value. Robust standard errors adjusted for within-interviewer clustering are in parentheses. Dashes indicate reference categories. Estimated intercepts and coefficients (relative risk ratios) of female (not significant) are omitted to save space. Reference of attendance at religious services is attends three times a month or less.

$+p < .1$; $*p < .05$; $**p < .01$; $***p < .001$ (two-tailed tests)

Table 4.4. Coefficients (Odds Ratios) of Logistic Regression Models Predicting National-Level Prejudice against Haitians

Variables — Against:	(1) Citizenship Rights of Dominicans of Haitian Descent			(2) Granting Work Permits to Undocumented Haitians		
	Model 4a	Model 5a	Model 6a	Model 7a	Model 8a	Model 9a
Non-Afro Ethnic Identification	2.046***	2.045***	1.986***	1.893**	1.872**	1.837*
	(0.36)	(0.36)	(0.35)	(0.43)	(0.43)	(0.44)
Respondents' Skin Color	1.101*	1.101*	1.067+	1.073	1.077	1.046
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Age	1.009*	1.010*	1.005	1.002	1.003	1.000
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Catholic Self-Identification	0.959	0.959	0.939	1.418***	1.414***	1.377***
	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.09)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.13)
Attendance at Religious Services		0.994	0.976		0.773*	0.759*
		(0.10)	(0.10)		(0.09)	(0.08)
Educational Attainment						
Incomplete Secondary Education or Less			–			–
Complete Secondary Education			0.531***			0.801
			(0.10)			(0.12)
Some University or Technical Degree			0.793			0.748
			(0.15)			(0.14)
Complete University or More			0.686+			0.771
			(0.14)			(0.22)
Logged Income			0.854*			0.812*
			(0.05)			(0.07)
Female Interviewer	1.120	1.120	1.116	0.913	0.906	0.907
	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)
Region						
Santo Domingo	–	–	–	–	–	–
Metropolitan Area	1.470+	1.470+	1.564*	1.097	1.114	1.208
(without Santo Domingo)	(0.29)	(0.29)	(0.30)	(0.27)	(0.27)	(0.28)
North	1.818**	1.818**	1.698**	1.636*	1.636*	1.509*
	(0.36)	(0.36)	(0.34)	(0.33)	(0.34)	(0.30)
East	1.178	1.179	1.056	2.181***	2.215***	1.965**
	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.12)	(0.51)	(0.53)	(0.42)
South	1.303*	1.303*	1.135	1.753*	1.739*	1.502+
	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.11)	(0.42)	(0.41)	(0.36)
Rural	1.391*	1.391*	1.290	0.860	0.866	0.830
	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.21)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)
Log-Pseudolikelihood	-958.72	-958.72	-944.74	-912.18	-909.67	-900.87
N	1426	1426	1426	1426	1426	1426

Notes: Skin color categories are ordered from whitest to darkest with the darkest category assigned the highest value. Robust standard errors adjusted for within-interviewer clustering are in parentheses. Dashes indicate reference categories. Reference of attendance at religious services is attends three times a month or less. Estimated intercepts and coefficients (odds ratios) of female (not significant) are omitted to save space.

+p <.1 ; *p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 4.5. Coefficients (Odds Ratios) of Logistic Regression Models Predicting Regional-Level Prejudice and Discrimination against Haitians in San Benito

Variables	Prejudice Against Haitians			Discrimination Against Haitians		
	Model 4b	Model 5b	Model 6b	Model 7b	Model 8b	Model 9b
Non-Afro Ethnic Identification	1.381	1.376	1.313	0.803	0.803	0.785
	(0.41)	(0.40)	(0.39)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)
Respondents' Skin Color	1.106*	1.107*	1.063	1.050	1.050	1.023
	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Catholic Self-Identification	2.974***	3.117***	3.128***	2.098**	2.095**	2.118**
	(0.72)	(0.74)	(0.75)	(0.48)	(0.49)	(0.50)
Attendance at Religious Services		1.273*	1.349**		0.992	1.028
		(0.13)	(0.15)		(0.13)	(0.13)
Educational Attainment						
Incomplete Secondary Education or Less			–			–
Complete Secondary Education			0.575***			0.596**
			(0.09)			(0.10)
Some University or Technical Degree			0.589**			0.619*
			(0.12)			(0.13)
Complete University or More			0.302***			0.529***
			(0.07)			(0.10)
Insider Interviewer	1.048	1.065	1.137	1.038	1.038	1.079
	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.23)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.20)
Log-Pseudolikelihood	-664.84	-663.41	-645.11	-740.54	-740.53	-731.70
N	1143	1143	1143	1144	1144	1144

Notes: Skin color categories are ordered from whitest to darkest with the darkest category assigned the highest value. Robust standard errors adjusted for within-interviewer clustering are in parentheses. Dashes indicate reference categories. Reference of attendance at religious services is attends three times a month or less. Estimated intercepts and the coefficients of age (not significant) are omitted to save space.
$^*p < .05$; $^{**}p < .01$; $^{***}p < .001$ (two-tailed tests)

Chapter 5: Conclusion

In this dissertation, I suggest a conceptual framework to explain ethno-racial status in contexts of *mestizaje*, and use this framework to study different ethnic and racial issues in Guatemala, Peru, and the Dominican Republic. In chapter 2, I investigate whether phenotype is a significant dimension of ethno-racial status in Guatemala beyond ancestry and self-identification. I find evidence of a direct association between skin color and ladino self-identification in Guatemala, evidence of a greater perception of skin color discrimination by individuals with more indigenous characteristics, and evidence of a direct association between indigenous ancestry, captured by indigenous first language, and the desire for a whiter skin color. Contrary to views that disregarded the relevance of physical appearance as a determinant of ethnic self-identification (Colby and van den Berghe 1969; Harris 1964), greater degrees of phenotypic whiteness increase the odds of self-identifying as ladino.

Individuals with indigenous ancestries and indigenous self-identification are subjected to skin color discrimination. It is necessary to consider the racialized stigmatization that individuals with these ethnic characteristics –beyond phenotype– are likely to endure. Moreover, individuals with indigenous ancestries possibly desire to be whiter because whiteness still represents superiority despite the vindicating work of Maya activism. This view is complemented by the direct association between perception of skin color discrimination and the desire for a whiter skin color, which suggests that individuals would like to be whiter in order to avoid discrimination. These findings

reveal the significance of phenotype as a distinct dimension of ethno-racial status in Guatemala beyond ancestry and ethnic self-identification.

In chapter 3, I investigate whether there are significant ethno-racial differences in educational attainment and household possessions in Peru using a multidimensional approach. I find that indigenous and Afro ancestries and darker skin colors are inversely associated with both socioeconomic outcomes in accordance with other studies (Macisaac 1994; Trivelli 2005; Telles, Flores, and Urrea-Giraldo 2015). These findings persist even after taking into consideration all the ethno-racial characteristics together. Regression models with concurrent ethno-racial independent variables in the analyses of both socioeconomic outcomes have better fit than models with a single ethno-racial measure.

Moreover, white self-identification compared to *mestizo* is negatively associated with educational attainment, but positively associated with household possessions. These results reinforce the view that self-identification and skin color are conceptually and empirically distinct dimensions in Peru. Net of the influence of skin color as a proxy for phenotype and ancestries, these findings point to the local value of ethno-racial beliefs associated with *mestizaje* and whiteness, which are instrumental in gaining socioeconomic advantages.

In chapter 4, I investigate the role of Catholicism as an essential dimension of racialized *Dominicanidad*. I specifically examine whether Catholic self-identification is directly associated with non-Afro ethno-racial self-identifications, and whether individuals who self-identify as Catholic are significantly prejudiced against Haitians in the Dominican Republic. Although I did not find evidence of a direct association

between Catholic self-identification and non-Afro ethno-racial self-identifications, these associations exist in two relevant urban areas: San Benito and Santo Domingo. Possibly, this association is significant in Santo Domingo due to the historical and influential presence of the Catholic hierarchy in the capital (see Betances 2004; Pérez Memén 2010). In addition, the influence of Catholic discourses is likely stronger in urban areas close to the Haitian border like San Benito.

Furthermore, I find national- and regional-level evidence of direct associations between Catholic self-identification and different measures of prejudice and discrimination against Haitians. These associations are significant net of the impact of ethno-racial characteristics, attendance at religious services, and educational attainment. These findings underline the role of Catholic heritage as a prevalent aspect of racialized *Dominicanidad*.

LIMITATIONS

A relevant limitation of these studies is the use of skin color as a proxy for phenotype. While skin color is certainly a relevant phenotypic trait, it is not the only indicator of phenotype, especially in contexts of *mestizaje*, where the degree of phenotypic whiteness is likely influenced by other characteristics (e.g., height, hair type, eye color). In addition, the variable respondents' skin colors could be problematic because the perception of interviewers is not totally objective regardless of the skin color palette and its instructions (Villarreal 2010). Nevertheless, it is necessary to consider the uniqueness of the skin color variable in the LAPOP and San Benito surveys. Ethno-racial characteristics such as skin color are not systematically gathered by surveys in Latin

American countries. The results presented in these studies may be useful to underline the need to gather more data in the future that will allow us to find better ways of measuring phenotype in contexts of *mestizaje*. More data on ethno-racial characteristics is needed in order to keep developing and adjusting multidimensional approaches that deal with the ethno-racial complexity found in Latin America.

In addition, I did not examine in detail potential ethno-racial differences by age. Although I controlled for age in the analyses presented in this dissertation, it is possible that the results presented in these studies vary at different age levels taking into consideration the large age ranges of the samples (from 18 to the late 80s in Guatemala and Peru, and to 90 in the Dominican Republic). Both cultural and phenotypic ethno-racial characteristics may be perceived in different ways at different ages. Further studies could extend the analyses of this dissertation by fitting regression models using subsamples for different age groups.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

Multidimensional approaches for the study of ethnic and racial issues are useful to focus on the nuances of ethno-racial characteristics that are unlikely captured by a single measure. This dissertation contributes to the development of these multidimensional approaches not only by concurrently examining multiple ethno-racial characteristics, but also by offering interpretations of the conceptually and empirically distinct dimensions represented by these characteristics. More detailed interpretations of the dimensions of ethno-racial status could be useful to discuss the specific aspects of the ethno-racial condition that are captured with a single measure (one-dimensional approaches). These

interpretations also could be suitable to discuss whether there are other aspects that are not likely captured by the available single measure.

Contexts of *mestizaje* are key research settings for the use of multidimensional approaches because *mestizaje*, understood as ethno-racial mixture, is the embodied combination of different ethno-racial characteristics. The emphasis on the social ranking of these concurrently embodied characteristics –ethno-racial status– points to the local significance of these characteristics without assuming that they represent well-defined boundaries (Brubaker 2004). It also highlights that these characteristics alone are just partially relevant because *mestizos* (regardless of self-identification) also embody other ethno-racial traits. This multidimensional approach also could be used to study ethno-racial issues in Latin America that aim at understanding in detail the significance of *mestizaje*, understood as embodied ethno-racial mixture using qualitative methods.

A similar multidimensional approach could be useful to study Latinos and Latin Americans in U.S. established destinations. Immigration studies usually rely on assimilationist perspectives under the premise that Latin American immigrants make efforts to adapt themselves in the U.S. However, these views may insufficiently consider the extent to which Latin American immigrants also "import" their foreign ideological beliefs on ethno-racial characteristics, and significantly redefine conventional meanings at regional levels. These alternative "common senses" have possibly increased the ethno-racial complexity in established destinations in ways that cannot be easily measured with an ethnic self-identification question.

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