

# Determinants of Perceived Skin-Color Discrimination in Latin America

**Damarys Canache** University of Illinois  
**Matthew Hayes** Indiana University  
**Jeffery J. Mondak** University of Illinois  
**Mitchell A. Seligson** Vanderbilt University

*Discrimination on the basis of skin color persists as a serious social and political problem in many of the world's nations. Although numerous consequences of such discrimination have been enumerated, considerably less is known regarding the bases of perceived discrimination. In this study, individuals' perceptions that they have been the targets of skin-color discrimination are examined. Using 2010 AmericasBarometer data from six nations, a multifaceted account of the possible bases of perceived discrimination is devised and tested. Three classes of predictors are considered: (1) variables related to a person's skin color, race, and ethnicity; (2) extraneous demographic and psychological factors; and (3) aspects of the individual's regional social and political context. Results reveal that both skin color and racial and ethnic self-categorization strongly correspond with perceived discrimination, with additional, more modest, effects identified for socioeconomic status (wealth), personality (agreeableness), and the composition of a person's regional context.*

Discrimination constitutes one of the most complex, multifaceted, and enduring social and political problems. Discrimination occurs on the basis of race, age, gender, and a host of other factors. It permeates the public and the private spheres, with actions ranging from policies that preclude equal treatment under the law to individual behaviors in which race or sex influence whether a person acts favorably or unfavorably toward others.<sup>1</sup>

Due to the magnitude of discrimination as a societal concern, scholars often seek to explore particular aspects of discrimination, and to do so within particular contexts. We follow a similar course here. Our focal point is discrimination that is perceived to occur on the basis of skin color, and we examine perceived discrimination in six Latin American nations. Within these confines, we seek to devise and test a relatively expansive theoretical framework, one that accounts for three broad classes of possible antecedents of perceived skin-color discrimination: skin color, race, and ethnicity; individual differences on other relevant demographic and psychological

attributes; and aspects of the social and political context.

The discussion that follows proceeds in two steps. First, we develop expectations regarding the antecedents of perceived discrimination. Here, we briefly note key aspects of the nations under consideration and then provide a detailed rationale for the utility of a multifaceted theoretical account. Second, to explore these expectations, we draw on data from the 2010 AmericasBarometer surveys. After describing the construction of our key variables, we test our three-part account in a series of multilevel models.

## The Bases of Perceived Skin-Color Discrimination

Our central task is identification of factors that lead individuals to perceive that they have suffered discrimination due to the color of their skin. A key cause of perceived discrimination is, of course, the experience

<sup>1</sup>Support for this research was provided by National Science Foundation Award 0962153 to Mondak and Canache.

of discrimination. Unsurprisingly, we have no ironclad means to measure the occurrence of discrimination. Additionally, because the phenomenon in question is perceptual, we must allow for the possibility that people vary in how they translate experience to perception and for the possibility of various forms of misperception. Given these parameters, our central independent variables capture risk factors that we presume influence the likelihood that a person has been targeted for skin-color discrimination. As complements to these variables, we incorporate demographic, psychological, and contextual factors that may shape perceptions.

To facilitate attention to these multiple influences, we develop a three-part theoretical framework. The most fundamental risk factor for skin-color discrimination is, of course, skin color, which we discuss in conjunction with the related matters of race and ethnicity. The second portion of our framework focuses on other demographic and psychological attributes. These are factors other than skin color, race, and ethnicity that may influence the occurrence and perception of discrimination. The final portion of our theoretical framework contemplates aspects of the individual's social context. We discuss how social dynamics within a person's region may influence experiences with, and perceptions of, skin-color discrimination.

Most of the individual components of our framework have been examined in prior research, but efforts to assess multiple antecedents of perceived discrimination within a single empirical study have been rare. Likewise, inquiry regarding skin-color discrimination has been abundant in the United States and increasingly common in select other nations such as Brazil,<sup>2</sup> but more scarce elsewhere. These two elements—development and testing of a comprehensive, multifaceted theoretical framework and application in a cross-national research design—mark the present study's central contributions. We begin with a brief look at the research context.

## Six Latin American Nations

We examine data from Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, and Peru. In these nations, citizens who self-identify as mestizo or mixed—that is, their ancestors include both European and indigenous peoples—constitute at least a plurality of the

population. In all of these nations except Guatemala, sizeable portions of the population identify as being white. The largest indigenous populations are found in Guatemala and Bolivia. Individuals of at least partially African descent—persons who self identify as black or mulatto—constitute small portions of the population except in Colombia, where they total nearly 11%. Skin color and race and ethnicity are highly related in these nations, but not coterminous.<sup>3</sup>

The nations under consideration are from the same region and have in common a mestizo/white majority and an indigenous/black/mulatto minority. These precise characteristics obviously are not found in all nations, even in Latin America. For instance, among other nations included on the 2010 AmericasBarometer, black populations are much larger, and indigenous populations negligible, in countries such as Brazil, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago. The rough similarities among our six nations bring confidence that commonalities may be found when we explore the antecedents of perceived skin-color discrimination. Still, because population demographics and corresponding histories of racial and ethnic politics do differ in these nations, we account for cross-national variation both by estimating separate models by country and by permitting intercepts to vary randomly by nation when pooled models are estimated.

Diversity in terms of skin color, race, and ethnicity is a very different matter than the perception or occurrence of discrimination. It is conceivable that a polity could be diverse and yet have little or no problem with discrimination. Unfortunately, this possibility is not consistent with the reality in Latin America. Departing from prior depictions of Latin American societies as “racial democracies,”<sup>4</sup> a growing body of research highlights the existence of entrenched inequalities and hierarchies.<sup>5</sup> Telles and Steele (2012) remind us that in 1944, the Chilean anthropologist Alejandro Lipschutz depicted Latin America as a *pigmentocracy*, or a region characterized by racial social hierarchies. In Latin America, exclusion of minority groups on the basis of their skin color and

<sup>3</sup>Data are from the 2010 AmericasBarometer surveys. Respondent skin color is assessed by interviewers using an 11-point color palette. For the six nations we examine, the mean skin color for self-identified whites is 3.05 (s.d. = 1.24), versus 4.41 (1.35) for mixed, 5.17 (1.70) for mulatto, 5.44 (1.25) for indigenous, and 6.87 (1.87) for respondents identifying as black.

<sup>4</sup>The notion of racial democracies refers to societies divided along social class but relatively egalitarian along racial lines; see, for example, Degler (1971) and Tannenbaum (1947).

<sup>5</sup>See Bailey (2002), Sawyer (2005), Sidanius, Peña, and Sawyer (2001), Telles (2004, 2007), and Wade (1997).

<sup>2</sup>There has been a great wealth of research on skin color, race, and ethnicity in Brazil. See, for example, Bailey (2002), Schwartzman (2007), and Twine (1998).

ethnic and racial characteristics is an enduring phenomenon of economic, social, and political domination (Chasteen 2001), bringing inherent social and political significance to identification of factors influencing perceived discrimination.

### Skin Color, Race, and Ethnicity

Numerous factors related to a person's appearance and identity may influence the occurrence and perception of skin-color discrimination. In terms of observable characteristics, these include the actual color of the person's skin and also the person's facial structure, language and accent, manner of dress and so on. Further, the person's racial and ethnic self-classification may influence perceived discrimination in a manner that is partly independent from effects related to phenotypes. Because our task involves identification of variables that lead individuals to be at risk of perceived skin-color discrimination, we see virtue in a relatively broad approach rather than a focus on a single factor. Although data limitations preclude attention to constructs such as facial structure, accent, and manner of dress, a central feature of the present study is incorporation of racial and ethnic self-classification alongside a measure of skin color.

Attention to both skin color and racial and ethnic self-classification is motivated by our cognizance of the complexity inherent in measuring matters related to race (Bailey, Loveman, and Muniz 2013; Saperstein 2012). Perceived discrimination is related to racial and ethnic identification (Hall and Carter 2006), but self-identification alone has been demonstrated to provide an inadequate representation of the bases of perceived discrimination (Roth 2010). Roth expressly recommends that multiple indicators be employed, including interviewer-based measures of the respondent's appearance, and especially skin color.

Evidence of the significance of skin color comes from research in the United States on experiences *within* African American (Keith and Herring 1991; Russell, Wilson, and Hall 1992) and Latino (Espino and Franz 2002; Gomez 2000) populations. These studies reveal that, holding race and ethnicity constant, variation in skin color corresponds with a host of phenomena, including perceived discrimination. Indeed, the link between skin color and perceived discrimination among African Americans is so pronounced that medical researchers have contemplated whether skin color should be viewed as a marker for racial discrimination and thus as an indicator of risk for stress-related illnesses (e.g., Borrell et al. 2006; Klonoff and Landrine 2000; cf. Krieger, Sidney, and

Coakley 1998). The lesson we derive from these works is that perceived discrimination is likely to vary as a function of skin color; thus, measures of racial and ethnic self-classification likely will be insufficient as indicators of the individual-level propensity to perceive discrimination.

Given research on the role of skin color as a predictor of perceived discrimination, is there value in also incorporating racial and ethnic self-classification? Although this is an empirical question, our expectation is that identification will be associated with perceived discrimination over and above the effects of skin color. First, racial and ethnic categories likely correspond with phenotypes other than skin color—phenotypes not subjected to direct measurement in the data we examine—that increase an individual's risk of being the victim of discrimination. Second, self-classification measures convey important information about racial identity, bringing corresponding effects on perceptions of discrimination (e.g., Sellers and Shelton 2003). Skin color and racial and ethnic self-classification capture theoretical content that is not fully overlapping. As a consequence, we envision that both will function as predictors of the likelihood that individuals will perceive that they have been targeted for discrimination.<sup>6</sup>

### Demographic and Psychological Attributes

The phenomenon we seek to explain is perceived skin-color discrimination. Although skin color, race, and ethnicity are central to our account, we also must acknowledge the potential relevance of other individual-level factors. These can be consequential in at least two manners. First, people's experiences with discrimination may vary as a joint function of skin color and one or more other variables. For instance, perhaps skin-color discrimination is targeted at individuals who (1) have skin tones that are relatively dark as compared with others in the areas where they reside and (2) are not of high socioeconomic status. In the United States, for example, an African American who is a corporate CEO may be exposed to fewer potential instances of discrimination than an African American who works as part of a construction crew.

<sup>6</sup>We employ the label "skin-color discrimination" rather than "racial discrimination" for our dependent variable for two reasons. First, the survey item we use refers to skin color. Second, although in many instances skin-color discrimination and racial discrimination are one and the same, they are not fully coterminous; some skin-color discrimination occurs within the bounds of racial categories, and some racial discrimination is cued by phenotypes other than skin color.

Second, our focus is *perceived* discrimination: the possibility of misperception must be recognized. Sellers and Shelton make this point well: “(T)here are likely to be individual differences in the extent to which people appraise any given negative incident as discriminatory. Some individuals are vigilant about seeking out instances of discrimination and are likely to claim it even in the absence of much evidence, whereas others are not so vigilant and are likely to minimize it despite the presence of unambiguous evidence” (2003, 1079–80; see also Crosby 1984). At question is whether such variation in perceptual tendencies may trace to systematic factors.

We assess two sets of variables. The first are demographic attributes that may themselves be bases of discrimination: gender, age, wealth, education, and area of residence. If these trigger or deter discrimination, one possibility is that they do so in tandem with skin color. For instance, one’s likelihood of being targeted for discrimination may be a joint function of being dark-skinned and impoverished. A second possibility is that these factors may be the actual basis of discrimination. The person who is dark-skinned and poor may be targeted for discrimination solely due to economic status and yet have no clear-cut means to diagnose what prompted the discrimination. Hence, there can be perceptual spill-over effects in that discrimination related to another factor might prompt individuals to infer that they were targeted due to skin color.<sup>7</sup>

In addition to demographic factors, psychological attributes also may shape perceptions. Since the late 1980s, research in trait psychology has centered largely on the Big Five framework, a taxonomy that highlights five broad trait dimensions: openness to experience, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and emotional stability.<sup>8</sup> This approach has seen wide use, including as part of inquiries regarding social and political attitudes and behaviors (Gerber et al. 2010; Mondak 2010). Items designed to measure the Big Five were tested as part of AmericasBarometer surveys in Uruguay and Venezuela in 2007 (see Mondak, Hibbing, et al. 2010; Mondak, Canache, et al. 2011), and Big Five measures were included in most AmericasBarometer nations in 2010.

<sup>7</sup>The possible conflation of skin color and other factors complicates the definitive identification of skin-color discrimination (see Flores and Telles 2010). Apart from perceptions of personal victimization, extraneous factors such as education level and urban/rural residence also affect broader awareness of racism in society (e.g., Beck, Mijeski, and Stark 2011).

<sup>8</sup>For a recent review, see John, Naumann, and Soto (2008).

People high in agreeableness tend to be warm and polite. Extraverts are sociable and outgoing. We expect that individuals high in extraversion and, especially agreeableness, will be relatively unlikely to perceive themselves as the targets of racial discrimination. Extraversion has been linked to phenomena such as career-advancing networking (Forret and Dougherty 2001) and peer acceptance among teenagers (Jensen-Campbell et al. 2002). Agreeableness predicts success in participation in group activities in the workplace (Barrick and Mount 1991). Most importantly, agreeableness is a key factor in avoidance of peer victimization (Jensen-Campbell et al. 2002) and successful navigation of situations involving interpersonal conflict (Graziano, Jensen-Campbell, and Hair 1996). Individuals high in extraversion and agreeableness should have some capacity to win over potential antagonists, insulating themselves against discrimination. The role of agreeableness in preventing victimization brings especially strong grounds to hypothesize a relationship for this trait. A second rationale for an agreeableness effect is that people scoring high in this trait tend to be generous in their assessments of others (e.g., Bernardin, Cooke, and Villanova 2000), suggesting they may be less likely to perceive the people they encounter as behaving in a hostile manner toward them.

## The Social Context

Individuals’ perceptions of skin-color discrimination depend largely on the behaviors of others. This point is most evident in hypothetical contexts in which discrimination is either unknown or is widely seen as rampant. In the former, it would be unlikely for individuals to perceive themselves to be victims of skin-color discrimination. Actual discrimination would be rare, or even nonexistent. If it did happen that a person was discriminated against due to skin color, unfamiliarity with such discrimination could mean that the person would erroneously attribute the action to something else, such as socioeconomic status. Conversely, in the latter context, the prevalence of discrimination would heighten the likelihood both that a given individual would experience it and that the person would properly diagnose it when it occurred.

Across a wide variety of social behaviors, research has shown that context matters for prejudice and discrimination.<sup>9</sup> Building on that record, we consider

<sup>9</sup>The research on race and context is voluminous. For recent works on race and context as they relate to political and social behavior, respectively, Oliver and Mendelberg (2000) and Hirsh and Kornrich (2008) offer insightful perspectives, making for good entryways to this literature.

three interrelated aspects of the person's regional context. We focus on the regional rather than the national context because people's experiences can differ sharply as they move from one area of a country to another.

The first critical aspect of the regional context is the size of the minority population. Starting with Key (1949), scholars have posited that hostility toward racial and ethnic minorities will intensify as the size of the minority population increases. This hostility may manifest itself with respect to electoral behavior (Wright 1977), expressions of racial prejudice (Taylor 1998), and attitudes regarding integration (Fossett and Kiecolt 1989). Most relevant for present purposes is that the racial and ethnic composition of the contexts may influence perceived discrimination (e.g., Seaton and Yip 2009).<sup>10</sup>

The logic underlying the group-size effect is that adverse reactions by the majority will be most prevalent when racial and ethnic minorities are large enough to be threatening to the majority's power and status. This logic raises a question regarding what should be expected in majority-minority contexts such as are seen in several of the regions to be examined below. That is, when racial and ethnic minorities in a nation constitute a plurality, or even a majority, within a given subnational context, should racial antipathy and perceptions of discrimination continue to rise? Testing such a scenario, Welch et al. (2001) found a curvilinear effect, with perceived discrimination among blacks in Detroit reaching its peak when the black and nonblack populations at the census tract level were evenly split. Levels of perceived discrimination declined once the black population achieved localized majority status.

The curvilinear pattern found by Welch et al. (2001) seems plausible at the regional level in Latin America. First, ethnic and racial minorities, and especially indigenous groups, may be seen as threatening to the status of the majority, particularly when

the size of the minority population approaches that of the majority. But second, social dynamics likely differ in majority-minority regions. The Welch et al. (2001) findings suggest, sensibly, that situations in which minority-group members perceive themselves as being the victims of discrimination will grow increasingly rare as a function of the group's numerical dominance within the local population. This implies that perceived skin-color discrimination should be most prevalent where the at-risk population approaches 50% of the region's total population. Perceptions of discrimination should be less common where the at-risk population is either relatively small or has achieved majority status within the subnational context.

Our second contextual effect is the prevalence of prejudice. The United States provides an example. If African Americans and Latinos combine to total approximately 30% of the population in two different states, as in Alabama and Connecticut, it does not necessarily follow that individuals' experiences with discrimination will be similar in those states. Aside from the composition of the population in terms of race and ethnicity, there may be variation in the attitudes of the majority toward the minority. In the United States, unobtrusive measures reveal that racial prejudice is more common in the South than elsewhere (Kuklinski, Cobb, and Gilens 1997). Thus, for Alabama and Connecticut, we would hypothesize that perceptions of discrimination are more prevalent in the former because racial antagonism is more common there. If similar regional variation exists in Latin America, that variation may be consequential for perceptions of skin-color discrimination. Where more people feel antipathy toward individuals who look different from themselves, more discrimination likely will be both experienced and perceived.

The final contextual hypothesis relates to efforts by groups to publicize the concerns of racial and ethnic minorities. Race and ethnicity have gained in salience in Latin America in recent years (Madrid 2012; Van Cott 2005), but this has not occurred to the same extent in all areas. Although indigenous parties have emerged throughout Latin America, they have been especially successful in a few nations such as Bolivia and Ecuador. The success of indigenous political groups may influence the likelihood that respondents perceive that they have been the victims of skin-color discrimination. In a context in which indigenous concerns are publicized, the individual may be more likely to see discrimination as being motivated by skin color than by other factors such as gender or socioeconomic status. Also, once such discrimination is perceived, a congenial context in which

<sup>10</sup>Some research (Hunt et al. 2007; Oliver and Wong 2003) finds that prejudice and perceived discrimination decrease as the size of the minority population within a neighborhood increases. Oliver and Wong's results suggest an explanation for this apparent contradiction with past research, as hostility toward minorities also was found to increase as a function of minority size within the broader metropolitan area. The presence of minorities within the larger community may be seen as a threat, but that threat may be muted once different groups interact in neighborhoods. Because contextual data in the present study are available by region, our expectations are in line with the threat hypothesis. This does not foreclose the possibility that racial diversity within neighborhoods may promote interactions that lessen racial hostility.

indigenous groups have scored noteworthy political successes may make the individual more likely to report the occurrence of discrimination.

We have outlined an expansive theoretical framework to summarize our expectations regarding the antecedents of perceived skin-color discrimination. This framework comprises three elements: the individual's skin color, race, and ethnicity; extraneous individual-level demographic and psychological factors that may influence experiences and perceptions; and key features of the person's subnational context. We test our expectations in the remainder of this article, beginning with discussion of the data to be used to operationalize our chief predictors.

## Data and Methods

Data are drawn from respondents in six nations included on the 2010 AmericasBarometer surveys. The survey was fielded in over 20 nations, but the item that provides data for our dependent variable was asked in only eight, and several of our key predictors were asked only in the six nations examined here: Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, and Peru.<sup>11</sup> Except for Canada and the United States, the AmericasBarometer surveys were conducted in person, and respondents in each country collectively constitute representative national samples.<sup>12</sup>

The dependent variable is *perceived skin-color discrimination*. Respondents were asked, "thinking about the last five years, have you felt discriminated against or have you been badly or unjustly treated because of your skin color?" Although respondents could gauge the frequency of such treatment (options were many times, sometimes, a few times or never), the chief distinction in our analyses is between those who have perceived such discrimination and those who have not. Thus, the dependent variable is coded

1 if the respondent reported having been discriminated against on the basis of skin color and 0 if no such discrimination was perceived. Rates of perceived discrimination range from 10.2% in Colombia to 30.5% in Bolivia.

Because the dependent variable is dichotomous, all models are estimated using multilevel variants of logistic regression. For models with only individual-level predictors, separate nation-specific models are estimated for each country, along with a seventh, pooled, model. Only pooled models are estimated in tests pertaining to possible contextual influences on perceived discrimination. In the nation-specific models, respondents are nested within regions. In the pooled models, respondents are nested within regions, and regions are nested within countries.

Three classes of independent variables are considered: ones pertaining to skin color and racial and ethnic identification; ones tapping relevant demographic and psychological factors; and regional-level measures capturing key features of a respondent's social context. Race, ethnicity, and skin color stand foremost in our theoretical account. The item used to construct our dependent variable makes reference to skin color rather than race or ethnicity, but we have argued that it is not clear a priori that an empirical strategy focused solely on skin color—or, for that matter, solely on self-identified race and ethnicity—would be sufficient. Race and ethnicity signal something about a person's identity, heritage, culture, and more. These companions of race and ethnicity may lead citizens of the same nation to perceive distinctions between them, possibly triggering discriminatory behavior. Skin tone is physiological. In itself, it is a simple matter of how dark or light is the color of a person's skin, although it, too, may correspond with broader inferences and perceptions pertaining to culture and heritage.<sup>13</sup>

The surveys ask respondents to classify themselves in terms of race and ethnicity. Our analyses include respondents identifying as white, mestizo or mixed, indigenous, black, and mulatto. Indicator variables are used to represent the final four categories, with "white" serving as the contrast group. In five of six nations, respondents opted for each of these classifications. The exception is Guatemala, where all

<sup>11</sup>Beyond these nations, the dependent measure also was included on the surveys in Brazil and the Dominican Republic. These nations are omitted from the present analyses because the items needed to represent key features of the regional context were not asked.

<sup>12</sup>The U.S. and Canadian surveys were conducted via the internet. For most nations, including four of those examined in the present study, the AmericasBarometer sought a target sample of 1,500 respondents. Three nations had oversamples: Bolivia (N = 3,018), Brazil (2,482), and Ecuador (3,000). In models in which we pool data from all six countries, data are weighted so that each nation's sample contributes a value of N = 1,500.

<sup>13</sup>The available variables permit a broad, yet still incomplete, account of factors related to discrimination involving skin color, race, and ethnicity because we lack data on factors such as accent and dialect, manner of dress, and physical characteristics other than skin color.

respondents identified as either mixed or indigenous.<sup>14</sup> A potential limitation of the self-classification data is that a majority of respondents in each nation identified themselves as being mixed, with percentages ranging from 52.6 in Colombia to 82.5 in Ecuador. Because “mixed” is such a prevalent choice, some nuance may be lost when only self-classification data are available. Our expectation is that each of the indicator variables will yield positive coefficients in models of perceived discrimination, signifying that such perceptions are more prevalent among individuals who identify themselves as being mixed, indigenous, black, and mulatto than among those who identify themselves as being white.

As a complement to the self-classification data, the survey includes a skin-tone palette, an initiative developed by Telles (e.g., Telles and Steele 2012). At the end of each in-person interview, the interviewer uses an 11-point skin-color chart to code the respondent’s skin tone (1 = lightest to 11 = darkest).<sup>15</sup> With both self-identification and skin-tone data available, we have the opportunity to explore with considerable intricacy the relative effects of the two types of measures as predictors of perceived discrimination. The social significance of skin color is inherently relative. For instance, a respondent with a score of 5 on the skin-tone palette would be relatively dark-skinned in Colombia and Mexico, average in Bolivia, and relatively light-skinned in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. To capture this situational variation, the individual-level data are standardized by region (mean = 0.07; s.d. = 1.05; range = -2.65 to 4.96).<sup>16</sup> A positive coefficient is expected for the skin-color variable, a result that would indicate that perceptions of skin-color discrimination are most prevalent among respondents with the darkest skin colors relative to others in their respective regions.

<sup>14</sup>The census and survey norm in Guatemala is for ethnicity to be dichotomized into ladino (the popularly accepted terminology in Guatemala for mestizo) and indigenous, with indigenous sometimes subdivided into various Mayan and non-Mayan ethnic/language groups. The other three options—white, black, and mulatto—thus were not used on the AmericasBarometer in Guatemala. For further discussion, see Telles and Flores (2013, 429, note 84).

<sup>15</sup>This coding reflects the interviewer’s immediate recollection of the respondent’s skin tone; interviewers do not hold the palette up against the respondents. This is a perceptual measure in the sense that data reflect what interviewers saw and recalled. Importantly, the measure is extraneous to respondents’ perceptions.

<sup>16</sup>Although we see a theoretical rationale for use of the standardized skin-tone measure, we reran all relevant models using the raw skin-tone data. In no instance did noteworthy differences emerge relative to those reported for the standardized measure.

In addition to skin color, race, and ethnicity, our account holds that extraneous individual-level factors may shape perceptions of skin-color discrimination. To explore this possibility, we add measures of key demographic and psychological attributes. Regarding the former, our goal is to identify factors that might correspond with discriminatory treatment irrespective of whether that discrimination occurs on the basis of race, thus enabling attention to possible spill-over effects. Demographic variables include gender (1 = female, 0 = male), age in years (mean = 38.42), wealth (the AmericasBarometer count of household items, recoded to range from 0 to 1; mean = 0.45), education (recoded to range from 0 to 1; mean = 0.54), and whether the respondent resides in an urban (1) or nonurban (0) area (65.8% live in urban areas).

Possible psychological influences are represented via two personality traits, extraversion and agreeableness. These are measured with data from self-report items. Items for agreeableness ask whether the respondent is a “critical and quarrelsome person” and a “generous and warm person.” Items for extraversion refer to being “sociable and active” and “quiet and shy.” The two personality scales are coded to range from 0 (low levels of the trait in question) to 1 (for agreeableness, mean = 0.66, s.d. = 0.23; for extraversion, mean = 0.58, s.d. = 0.23).

The final independent variables provide measures of each respondent’s regional context. The AmericasBarometer includes markers for several regions within each nation. For the six countries examined here, there are 34 regions. Our three-part contextual thesis is tested with regional-level indicators formed by aggregating individual-level data. The first contextual factor pertains to the size of the minority population in a region. As noted above, the U.S. literature supports the expectation that discrimination will be most pronounced when minority groups are large enough in a context to pose a threat to the political status of others. We define the size of the relevant groups as the proportion of respondents within a region who identify as being indigenous, black, or mulatto; i.e., as the proportion that is not white or mixed (mean = 0.15, s.d. = 0.14, range = 0.01 to 0.65). To capture the posited curvilinear effect, both the raw proportion and proportion squared are included. A positive coefficient is expected for the former and a negative coefficient for the latter. Under this pattern, perceptions of skin-color discrimination would be lowest in regions where individuals identifying as indigenous, black, or mulatto constitute relatively small or relatively large portions of the population.

The second contextual property pertains to the level of racial and ethnic antipathy. We employ a measure of anti-indigenous sentiment constructed with data from an item that asked “Do you believe that indigenous groups are helping our country become more democratic, less democratic, or they are having no impact on our democracy?” Data are recoded to a 1 (less democratic) and 0 (more democratic/no impact) scale. Then, data from the lightest half of respondents within the region, as measured by the skin-tone palette, are aggregated. The resulting measure varies quite starkly across regions, from a low of 0.05 to a high of 0.44 (mean = 0.22, s.d. = 0.11).<sup>17</sup> A positive coefficient is expected.

The final possible contextual effect relates to the salience of discrimination as an issue. Our expectation is that individuals will be more likely to perceive skin-color discrimination in contexts in which groups actively publicize interests and concerns that may be related to discrimination. We again use data from an item specific to indigenous groups: “How effective are indigenous groups in convincing people that indigenous issues are important?” Data are recoded to range from 0 (not effective) to 1 (very effective) and then aggregated by region (mean = 0.51, s.d. = 0.07, range = 0.37 to 0.65). A positive coefficient is expected.

## Results

Findings are presented in two stages. Initially, we report estimates of multilevel logit models that include only individual-level predictors. Separate models are estimated for each of our six nations, along with a pooled model that includes all available data. The second stage then incorporates regional-level variables in an effort to determine whether aspects of a respondent’s context shape the likelihood that discrimination is perceived.

### Individual-Level Determinants of Perceived Discrimination

Three objectives are pursued in our initial models. First, and most centrally, we examine the effects of variables related to skin color, race, and ethnicity.

<sup>17</sup>This measure and the one that follows are not ideal in that they cue indigenous groups rather than skin color, and thus results may understate any influence of context on perceived discrimination. As alternates to using data from the lightest half of respondents in the region for the antipathy variable, we tried alternates using all white and mixed respondents, and all white and mixed respondents who are in the lightest half in the region in skin color. Results highly similar to those reported below were found.

Second, we consider whether demographic and psychological factors external to skin color, and race and ethnicity, affect perceived skin-color discrimination. Third, because data are drawn from six Latin American nations, we have the opportunity to assess whether all variables exert generally consistent or inconsistent effects across the different countries. Although analyses are limited to six nations, evidence of consistency would be suggestive as to whether there may be general, as opposed to purely idiosyncratic, foundations to perceptions of discrimination.

Coefficients from seven models are reported in Table 1. Predictors include demographic and psychological controls, along with the measure of skin tone and indicators for racial and ethnic self-identification. The first six models report effects specific to the nations under consideration; in these, respondents are nested within regions. The final model pools data from all six countries, with respondents nested within both regions and nations.

Looking first to the demographic measures, results suggest that extraneous attributes rarely shape perceptions of skin-color discrimination. The only consistent findings emerge for wealth. Recall that we offered two rationales for why wealthier individuals would be less likely to perceive themselves to be victims of discrimination on the basis of skin color. First, the occurrence of such discrimination may be a joint function of race or skin color and wealth. For instance, as compared with individuals who are black and impoverished, people who are black and wealthy may encounter fewer bigots, and those they do encounter may remain inactive. Second, misperception is possible due to spill-over effects. For example, if discrimination occurs and the victim is both a member of an indigenous group and poor, the person may have no clear means to determine that it was economic status, not ethnicity or skin color, that triggered the discrimination. Irrespective of why wealth insulates individuals against perceived discrimination, current results reveal that it does sometimes serve this function. The expected negative coefficients for wealth are observed in every nation except Bolivia, and the effects reach or approach statistical significance in Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, and Peru.

The second set of external factors we consider are individuals’ personality traits. Results in Table 1 offer no compelling evidence that extraversion affects perceived discrimination, but consistent effects are seen for a second trait, agreeableness. Much like wealth, agreeableness can shape these perceptions in two manners. First, people scoring high in agreeableness—those

TABLE 1 Individual-Level Influences on Perceptions of Skin-Color Discrimination

	Bolivia	Colombia	Ecuador	Guatemala	Mexico	Peru	Pooled
Intercept	-0.46 (0.32)	-1.66** (0.51)	-0.73# (0.40)	-1.82*** (0.40)	-1.32** (0.49)	-0.63 (0.46)	-1.24*** (0.24)
Gender (1=female)	-0.21* (0.09)	-0.03 (0.18)	0.01 (0.11)	0.17 (0.15)	-0.14 (0.16)	-0.09 (0.14)	-0.06 (0.06)
Age	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.01* (0.01)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Wealth	0.47 (0.30)	-1.23* (0.57)	-0.78* (0.33)	-0.50 (0.45)	-0.94* (0.44)	-0.68 (0.42)	-0.64*** (0.18)
Education	-0.74*** (0.22)	0.57 (0.45)	-0.32 (0.28)	0.31 (0.42)	0.10 (0.40)	-0.20 (0.40)	-0.09 (0.16)
Urban	-0.12 (0.10)	-0.27 (0.21)	0.54*** (0.12)	0.00 (0.17)	0.42* (0.20)	-0.20 (0.18)	0.10 (0.07)
Extraversion	-0.50* (0.21)	0.30 (0.40)	-0.33 (0.26)	-0.21 (0.34)	-0.03 (0.32)	0.07 (0.31)	-0.02 (0.13)
Agreeableness	-0.63** (0.21)	-0.91* (0.41)	-1.84*** (0.25)	-0.49 (0.34)	-0.35 (0.33)	-1.43*** (0.33)	-0.88*** (0.14)
Mixed/Mestizo	0.55* (0.21)	0.31 (0.25)	0.71** (0.25)		0.44# (0.25)	0.58* (0.27)	0.48*** (0.12)
Indigenous	1.23*** (0.24)	-1.06 (0.79)	1.70*** (0.34)	0.77*** (0.16)	1.00** (0.36)	1.82*** (0.40)	1.10*** (0.15)
Black	0.69 (0.61)	0.55 (0.39)	1.42*** (0.40)		0.04 (0.80)	0.79 (0.51)	0.93*** (0.22)
Mulatto	0.25 (0.83)	0.85# (0.43)	0.98* (0.41)		1.78** (0.58)	2.10*** (0.43)	1.33*** (0.22)
Skin tone	0.31*** (0.05)	0.58*** (0.11)	0.23*** (0.06)	0.14 (0.09)	0.24** (0.08)	0.16# (0.08)	0.26*** (0.03)
N	2732	1438	2923	1390	1443	1439	11365

Source: Americas Barometer 2010.

Note: The dependent variable is perceived skin-tone discrimination, coded 1 if the respondent has been discriminated against, or treated badly or unjustly, in the past five years due to his or her skin color, and 0 if not. Country-specific coefficients are the result of logit models. Pooled coefficients are the result of a multilevel logit model with individuals nested within regions and regions nested within countries. Intercepts were allowed to vary randomly by region and by country, and respondents were weighted such that each country contributed an equal number (1,500) of observations.

#p < 0.10; \*p < 0.05; \*\*p < 0.01; \*\*\*p < 0.001.

who are warm, friendly, and personable—may defuse hostility in others and thus suffer less actual discrimination. Second, given their preference to think and see the best in others, individuals high in agreeableness may fail to recognize discrimination even when they are its victims.

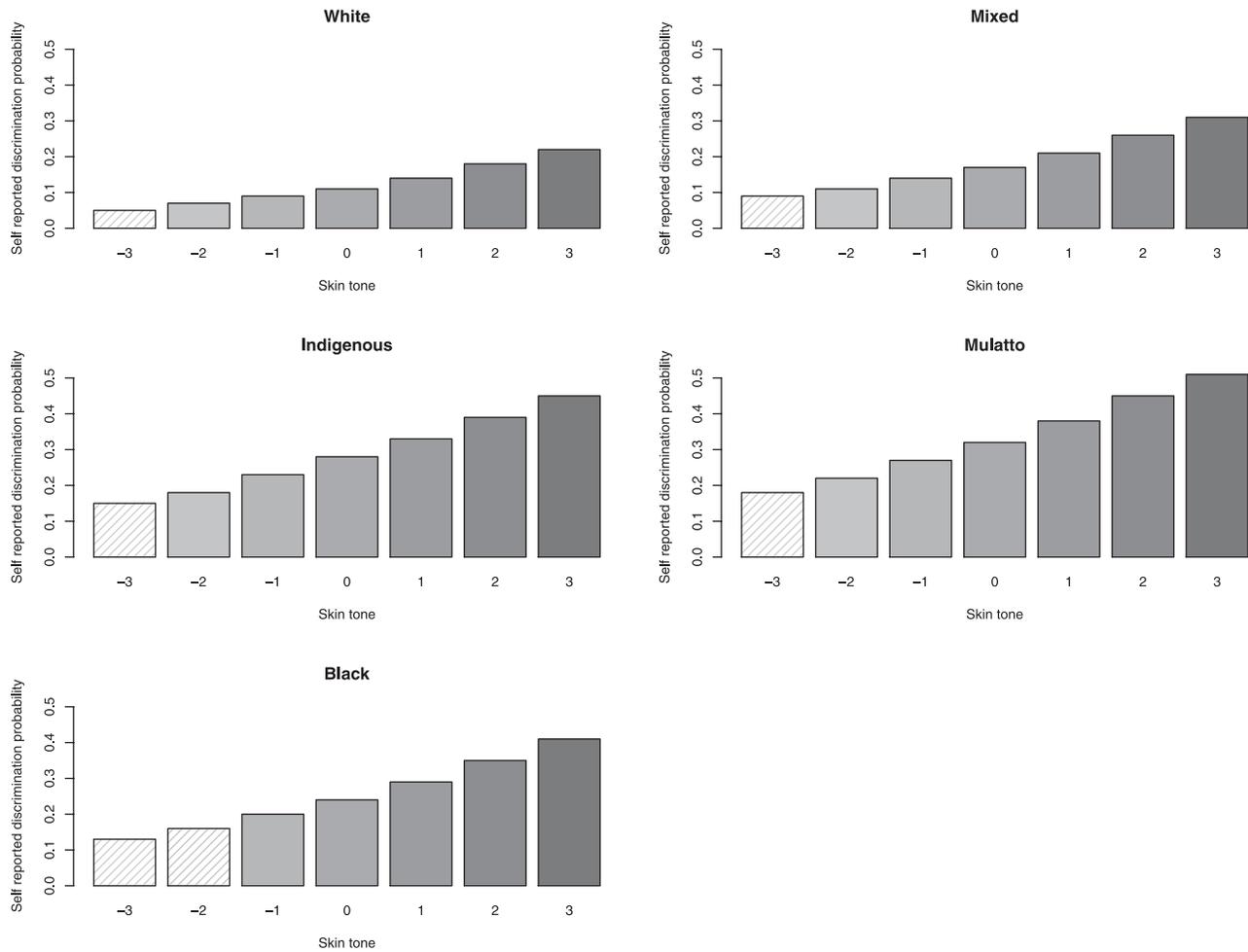
The expected negative coefficients for agreeableness are observed in all six nations, with four of the effects reaching statistical significance. Together, results for wealth and agreeableness convey the important message that the bases of perceived skin-color discrimination are not limited exclusively to variables involving race, ethnicity, and skin tone. Other factors, both demographic and psychological, potentially influence what people experience and perceive.

In Table 1, the models include the standardized measure of skin tone, together with indicators to

represent racial and ethnic self-classification, with “white” used as the contrast category.<sup>18</sup> Positive coefficients are expected for the indicators, effects that would signify that, compared with people who identify as white, all other respondents have higher likelihoods of perceiving that they have been discriminated against on the basis of skin color. This expectation is supported. Of 21 coefficients in the nation-specific models, 20 are positive, and 14 reach statistical significance. To a substantial extent, perceptions of skin-color discrimination are linked with racial and ethnic self-classifications. Similar results are observed in all six nations. Coefficients for the pooled model reveal that, on

<sup>18</sup>In Guatemala, the contrast category is “ladino” because respondents were asked to identify themselves as being either ladino or indigenous.

**FIGURE 1 Predicted Probability of Perceived Skin-Color Discrimination as a Function of Skin Tone and Self-Reported Race and Ethnicity**



average, there is little difference among the last three classifications, indigenous, black, and mulatto. The coefficients for these variables range from 0.93 to 1.33, establishing that these identifications all are associated with a stark increase in the likelihood of perceived discrimination. In contrast, the coefficient for “mixed” is roughly half the magnitude of the others, and its high point in the six nation-specific models is only 0.71.

The skin-color measure also yields results consistent with expectations. Positive coefficients emerge in all six nations, and the effects are statistically significant in every nation except Guatemala, and also in the pooled model. For the most part, the coefficients are consistent across the six countries, with five of the six ranging between 0.14 and 0.36. The 0.58 coefficient in Colombia is markedly larger than the others, a result that possibly traces in part to the fact that, with a substantial population of African descent, skin-tone diversity is more pronounced, and thus likely

somewhat more salient, in Colombia than in the other nations.<sup>19</sup>

Results for the skin-tone variable and the indicators for race and ethnicity reveal that skin color and racial and ethnic self-categorization represent somewhat distinct bases of perceived discrimination. This is important both for the substantive question of what drives perceived discrimination and for the practical matter of determining how survey researchers should proceed. To test the extent to which the effects overlap, we estimated models, not reported here, including (1) only the indicator variables for racial and ethnic identification and (2) only the skin-tone measure. Comparison of these findings with those in Table 1 reveals that, on average, the coefficients for the self-classification variables drop by only about 25% once

<sup>19</sup>On the original 1-to-11 skin-color measures, the standard deviation in Colombia is 1.70, versus an average of 1.42 in the other five nations.

skin tone is included, and the coefficients for skin tone decline by only about 20% when the self-categorization measures are added.

The substantive effects of the self-classification and skin-tone variables are summarized in Figure 1. With other variables held constant, we see the effects of racial categories and skin tone on the predicted probability that a respondent reports having been discriminated against.<sup>20</sup> The clear lesson is that skin tone and self-reported ethnic and racial categorizations both matter for perceptions of discrimination. Looking across the five panels, self-classification is clearly consequential. For example, where skin tone equals 0, a white respondent has, on average, only a 0.10 likelihood of perceiving to have been the target of racial discrimination, versus marks above 0.20 for respondents who identified themselves as indigenous or black, and above 0.30 for those who classify themselves as mulatto. However, skin tone also corresponds with perceptions of discrimination, even after accounting for racial and ethnic categories. Within each of the racial and ethnic groups, respondents with the darkest skin tones always report the highest levels of perceived discrimination. Indeed, the likelihood of perceived discrimination more than doubles as a function of skin tone within each of the five racial and ethnic categories.

### The Regional Context

The final portion of our account moves beyond a purely individual-level framework by situating respondents within their regional contexts. The first factor is the local supply of potential targets of discrimination. Because we expect discrimination to be most prevalent as minorities approach a plurality of the regional population, two variables are required: the percentage of respondents in the region who identify as indigenous, mulatto, or black and that same measure squared. To produce the expected curvilinear pattern, the coefficient on the former should be positive, and the coefficient on the latter should be negative. The second regional-level factor is the supply of potential perpetrators of discrimination, operationalized as the percentage of those respondents in the lightest half within each region in terms of skin color who expressed

<sup>20</sup>In Figure 1, the cross-hatched bars indicate that some estimates are outside of the observed range of the variable in question; that is, no individuals have skin-tone values that quite reach three standard deviations lighter than the regional mean. Both in Figure 1 and in subsequent discussions of predicted effects, calculations are made with all other variables held constant.

**TABLE 2 Individual-Level and Contextual Influences on Perceived Skin-Color Discrimination**

	Coefficient (standard error)
Intercept	-1.98** (0.64)
Gender (1=female)	-0.06 (0.06)
Age	-0.00 (0.00)
Wealth	-0.63*** (0.18)
Education	-0.10 (0.15)
Urban	0.11 (0.07)
Extraversion	-0.01 (0.14)
Agreeableness	-0.90*** (0.14)
Mixed/Mestizo	0.47*** (0.12)
Indigenous	1.08*** (0.15)
Black	0.91*** (0.21)
Mulatto	1.33*** (0.22)
Skin tone	0.25*** (0.03)
<b>Regional Variables</b>	
Percent not white/mixed	5.27*** (1.51)
Percent not white/mixed x percent not white/mixed	-7.10** (2.21)
Anti-indigenous sentiment	2.12** (0.80)
Success of indigenous political groups	-0.37 (1.38)

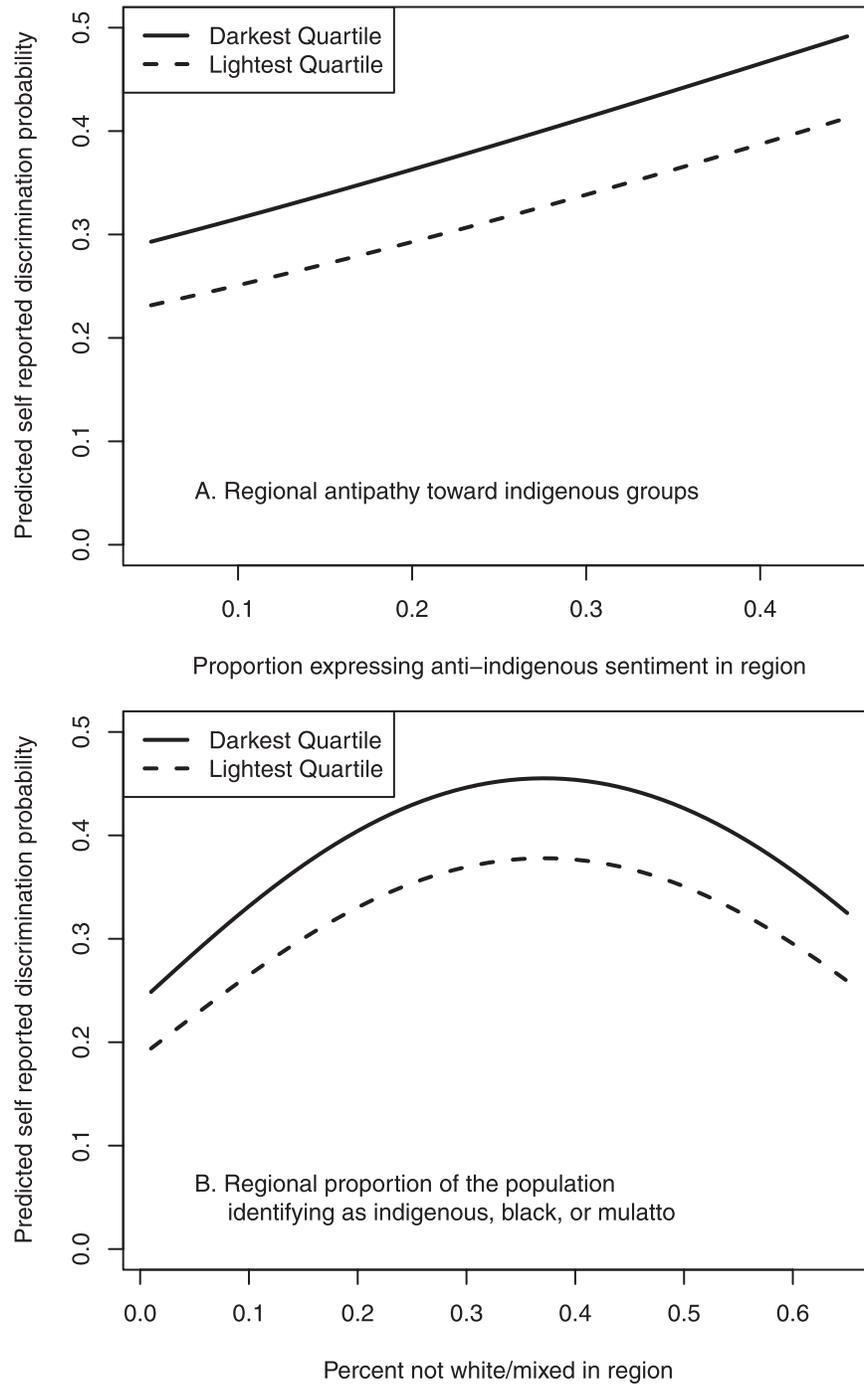
Source: Americas Barometer 2010. \*\*\*p < 0.001; \*\*p < 0.01; \*p < 0.05; #p < 0.10.

Note: The dependent variable is perceived skin-tone discrimination, coded 1 if the respondent has been discriminated against, or treated badly or unjustly, in the past five years due to his or her skin color, and 0 if not. Coefficients are the result of a multilevel logit model with individuals nested within regions and regions nested within countries. Intercepts were allowed to vary randomly by region and by country and respondents were weighted such that each country contributed an equal number (1,500) of observations.

N = 11,365 (individual), 34 (region), 6 (country). #p < 0.10; \*p < 0.05; \*\*p < 0.01; \*\*\*p < 0.001.

sentiments critical of indigenous groups in their nation. Lastly, we account for the possibility that perceptions of discrimination hinge partly on awareness and politicization by including the regional average from an item

**FIGURE 2 Regional Contextual Influences on the Predicted Probability of Perceived Skin-Color Discrimination**



*Note:* Predicted probabilities are derived from coefficients reported in Table 2. Estimates for hypothetical respondents self-identifying as Indigenous, who are in the lightest and darkest quartiles among indigenous respondents in skin color.

that asked respondents how effective indigenous groups are in publicizing the importance of indigenous issues.

With only a handful of regions per nation, we cannot study the regional context in nation-specific models. Thus, results in Table 2 are for a pooled

model. Individual-level predictors are identical to those in the final column in Table 1. The final four variables represent the three regional-level factors under consideration. Results provide strong evidence that perceptions of skin-color discrimination vary as

a function of features of the regional context, with support found for two of the contextual hypotheses. A null result emerges for our measure of the salience of indigenous political groups.<sup>21</sup> In contrast, a strong positive coefficient is observed for the measure of regional anti-indigenous sentiment, meaning that a person's likelihood of perceiving skin-color discrimination increases as a function of the local supply of would-be perpetrators of discrimination. The magnitude of this effect is displayed in panel A of Figure 2. Estimates are calculated for a respondent whose racial and ethnic self-classification is indigenous, with other predictors held constant at their means or modes. Separate estimates are reported for respondents in the lightest and darkest quartiles among the indigenous group on the skin-color measure. As regional anti-indigenous sentiment rises from its lowest (0.05) to highest (0.44) observed values, the likelihood that a respondent will report having been the victim of skin-color discrimination increases by more than 15 percentage points. Comparison of the two lines puts the regional effect in context: moving from the lightest to the darkest quartile in skin color yields, on average, an approximately six percentage point increase in the likelihood of perceived discrimination.

The second regional effect evidenced in Table 2 pertains to the size of the racial and ethnic minority population within a region. Recall that this variable is operationalized as the sum of the proportions of individuals in a region who classified themselves as indigenous, black, or mulatto, as opposed to white or mixed. Observed values for the regions under consideration range from 0.01 to 0.65. Drawing on the U.S. literature on racial threat, we posited that perceived discrimination would be most prevalent when this proportion rises to the point that the groups in question constitute a potential political threat to the remainder of the population. Under this scenario, perceived discrimination should peak as the composition measure approaches the plurality mark. In terms of the coefficients, this implies that a positive effect should be observed for the baseline minority-population measure, and a negative effect for that variable's squared term. This is precisely the pattern seen in Table 2.

Estimated likelihoods derived from these variables are displayed in panel B of Figure 2. The curvilinear

pattern is quite pronounced. As in panel A, estimates are for an indigenous respondent, and separate lines are calculated to represent the lightest and darkest quartiles on the skin-tone measure. Perceived skin-color discrimination is relatively uncommon when individuals who classify themselves as indigenous, black, or mulatto sum to under a quarter or more than half of the regional population. Conversely, when these groups constitute between 25 and 50% of the regional population, a noticeably higher propensity for perceived discrimination is observed. Among indigenous respondents in the darkest quartile on the skin-tone measure, the estimated likelihood of perceived discrimination in such regions nears 0.45.

Collectively, results for our regional measures offer strong evidence that a full understanding of the bases of perceived discrimination requires that individuals be viewed within broader social and political contexts. The prevalence of perceptions of skin-color discrimination logically hinges in part on the abundance of antagonistic sentiment within the region and also on whether potential targets of discrimination pose a threat to the political status of others. Together, findings regarding the individual-level and contextual forces that influence perceptions of discrimination reveal that the antecedents of such perceptions are complex and multifaceted.

## Conclusions

Discrimination on the interrelated bases of skin color, race, and ethnicity stands as one of the most vexing social problems in much of the world. In an effort to improve our understanding of the causes and consequences of such discrimination, researchers have explored matters such as the sources of prejudice in mass publics and the effects of government policies that protect or endanger racial and ethnic minorities. A different course has been followed in the present study. Our objective is to shed light on the antecedents of perceived skin-color discrimination, with particular focus on mass perceptions in six Latin American nations.

Human perception is both fickle and fallible. Once this is acknowledged, it becomes clear that any given perception is unlikely to emanate from a single source. Thus, our approach has centered on development and testing of a holistic, multifaceted theoretical framework. From this perspective, perceptions of skin-color discrimination vary largely, but not wholly, as a function of a person's skin color and

<sup>21</sup>This null result may indicate that the essential regional-level properties are captured with our other two contextual measures. However, it bears reiterating that the salience measure is imperfect, particularly in that it pertains only to indigenous groups, not to all racial and ethnic minorities in these six nations. Hence, we leave open the possibility that an improved measure would yield a different outcome.

self-identified race and ethnicity. The second facet of our framework holds that extraneous factors, both demographic and psychological, also may shape the experience and perception of skin-color discrimination. Lastly, we posited a key role for dynamics operating within a person's social context, especially the local size of the racial and ethnic minority population and the prevalence of antipathy toward that population. Empirical results from a series of multi-level models have yielded evidence suggesting that each of these three classes of predictors do, in fact, exert influence on the individual-level propensity to see oneself as having been the victim of skin-color discrimination.

Although results have been consonant with expectations, this study's limitations must be acknowledged. First, analyses have focused on data from only six nations. These countries are from a single region, and their demographic profiles are comparable. Broader cross-national testing is to be encouraged. Second, in some instances the available empirical indicators were less than ideal. Two of our three contextual hypotheses were tested using measures derived from survey items focused on indigenous peoples rather than on all racial and ethnic minority groups. Also, the strong effects for our measure of skin tone signal the importance of data on phenotypes, but parallel measures of other relevant characteristics—other physiological features, speech characteristics, manner of dress, and so on—could not be included in the present study.

The antecedents of perceived skin-color discrimination are both individual and contextual. With further research, it will be possible to test the reach of our three-part theoretical framework via applications in additional nations and regions and via identification of a broader array of phenotypes that may correspond with the occurrence and perception of discrimination. Skin-color discrimination is a profound social problem, but one that is amenable to political redress. Progress on that front demands serious inquiry regarding the occurrence, perception, and consequences of such discrimination.

## Acknowledgments

Data in this study are from the 2010 AmericasBarometer, conducted as part of the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) at Vanderbilt University. We thank LAPOP and its major supporters (the United States Agency for International Development, the United Nations Development Program, the Inter-American Development Bank, and

Vanderbilt University). The 2010 AmericasBarometer data can be obtained at [www.LapopSurveys.org](http://www.LapopSurveys.org).

## References

- Bailey, S. R. 2002. "The Race Construct and Public Opinion: Understanding Brazilians' Beliefs about Race Inequality and Determinants." *American Journal of Sociology* 108 (2): 406–39.
- Bailey, S. R., M. Loveman, and J. O. Muniz. 2013. "Measures of 'Race' and the Analysis of Racial Inequality in Brazil." *Social Science Research* 42 (1): 16–19.
- Barrick, M. R., and M. K. Mount. 1991. "The Big Five Personality Dimensions and Job Performance: A Meta-Analysis." *Personnel Psychology* 44 (1): 1–26.
- Beck, S. H., K. J. Mijeski, and M. M. Stark. 2011. "¿Qué es Racismo? Awareness of Racism and Discrimination in Ecuador." *Latin American Research Review* 46 (1): 102–25.
- Bernardin, H. J., D. K. Cooke, and P. Villanova. 2000. "Conscientiousness and Agreeableness as Predictors of Rating Leniency." *Journal of Applied Psychology* 85 (2): 232–36.
- Borrell, L. N., C. I. Kiefe, D. R. Williams, A. V. Diez-Rouze, and P. Gordon-Larsen. 2006. "Self-reported Health, Perceived Racial Discrimination, and Skin Color in African Americans in the CARDIA Study." *Social Science and Medicine* 63 (6): 1415–27.
- Chasteen, J. C. 2001. *Born in Blood and Fire*. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Crosby, F. 1984. "The Denial of Personal Discrimination." *American Behavioral Scientist* 27 (3): 371–86.
- Degler, C. N. 1971. *Neither Black nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States*. New York: Macmillan.
- Espino, R., and M. M. Franz. 2002. "Latino Phenotypic Discrimination Revisited: The Impact of Skin Color on Occupational Status." *Social Science Quarterly* 83 (2): 612–23.
- Flores, R., and E. Telles. 2012. "Social Stratification in Mexico: Disentangling Color, Ethnicity, and Class." *American Sociological Review* 77 (3): 486–94.
- Forret, M. L., and T. W. Dougherty. 2001. "Correlates of Networking Behavior for Managerial and Professional Employees." *Group and Organization Management* 26 (3): 283–311.
- Fossett, M. A., and K. J. Kiecolt. 1989. "The Relative Size of Minority Populations and White Racial Attitudes." *Social Science Quarterly* 70 (4): 820–35.
- Gerber, A. S., G. A. Huber, D. Doherty, C. M. Dowling, and S. E. Ha. 2010. "Personality and Political Attitudes: Relationships across Issue Domains and Political Contexts." *American Political Science Review* 104 (1): 111–33.
- Gomez, C. 2000. "The Continual Significance of Skin Color: An Exploratory Study of Latinos in the Northeast." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 22 (1): 94–103.
- Graziano, W. G., L. A. Jensen-Campbell, and E. C. Hair. 1996. "Perceiving Interpersonal Conflict and Reacting to It: The Case for Agreeableness." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 70 (4): 820–35.
- Hall, S. P., and R. T. Carter. 2006. "The Relationship between Racial Identity, Ethnic Identity, and Perceptions of Racial Discrimination in an Afro-Caribbean Descent Sample." *Journal of Black Psychology* 32 (2): 155–75.
- Hirsh, C. E., and S. Kornrich. 2008. "The Context of Discrimination: Workplace Conditions, Institutional Environments, and Sex and

- Race Discrimination Charges." *American Journal of Sociology* 113 (5): 1394–1432.
- Hunt, M. O., L. A. Wise, M. Jigguet, Y. C. Cozier, and L. Rosenberg. 2007. "Neighborhood Racial Composition and Perceptions of Racial Discrimination: Evidence from the Black Women's Health Study." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 70 (3): 272–89.
- Jensen-Campbell, L. A., R. Adams, D. G. Perry, K. A. Workman, J. Q. Furdella, and S. K. Egan. 2002. "Agreeableness, Extraversion, and Peer Relations in Early Adolescence: Winning Friends and Deflecting Aggression." *Journal of Research in Personality* 36 (3): 224–51.
- John, O. P., L. P. Naumann, and C. J. Soto. 2008. "Paradigm Shift to the Integrative Big Five Trait Taxonomy: History, Measurement, and Conceptual Issues." In *Handbook of Personality: Theory and Research*, eds. O. P. John, R. W. Robins and L. A. Pervin. New York: Guilford, 114–58.
- Keith, V. M., and C. Herring. 1991. "Skin Tone and Stratification in the Black Community." *American Journal of Sociology* 97 (3): 760–79.
- Key, V. O., Jr. 1949. *Southern Politics in State and Nation*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.
- Klonoff, E. A., and H. Landrine. 2000. "Is Skin Color a Marker for Racial Discrimination?" Explaining the Skin Color-Hypertension Relationship." *Journal of Behavioral Medicine* 23 (4): 329–38.
- Krieger, N., S. Sidney, and E. Coakley. 1998. "Racial Discrimination and Skin Color in the CARDIA Study: Implications for Public Health Research." *American Journal of Public Health* 88 (10): 1308–13.
- Kuklinski, J. J., M. D. Cobb, and M. Gilens. 1997. "Racial Attitudes and the 'New South.'" *Journal of Politics* 59 (2): 323–49.
- Madrid, R. L. 2012. *The Rise of Ethnic Politics in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Mondak, J. J. 2010. *Personality and the Foundations of Political Behavior*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Mondak, J. J., D. Canache, M. A. Seligson, and M. V. Hibbing. 2011. "The Participatory Personality: Evidence from Latin America." *British Journal of Political Science* 41 (1): 211–21.
- Mondak, J. J., M. V. Hibbing, D. Canache, M. A. Seligson, and M. R. Anderson. 2010. "Personality and Civic Engagement: An Integrative Framework for the Study of Trait Effects on Political Behavior." *American Political Science Review* 104 (1): 85–110.
- Oliver, J. E., and T. Mendelberg. 2000. "Reconsidering the Environmental Determinants of White Racial Attitudes." *American Journal of Political Science* 44 (3): 574–89.
- Oliver, J. E., and J. Wong. 2003. "Intergroup Prejudice in Multiethnic Settings." *American Journal of Political Science* 47 (4): 567–82.
- Roth, W. D. 2010. "Racial Mismatch: The Divergence between Form and Function in Data for Monitoring Racial Discrimination of Hispanics." *Social Science Quarterly* 91 (5): 1288–1311.
- Russell, K., M. Wilson, and R. Hall. 1992. *The Color Complex: The Politics of Skin Color among African Americans*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Saperstein, A. 2012. "Capturing Complexity in the United States: Which Aspects of Race Matter and When?" *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 35 (8): 1484–1502.
- Sawyer, M. Q. 2005. "'Race' to the Future: Racial Politics in Latin America 2015." *Perspectives on Politics* 3 (3): 561–64.
- Schwartzman, L. F. 2007. "Does Money Whiten? Intergenerational Changes in Racial Classification in Brazil." *American Sociological Review* 72 (6): 940–63.
- Seaton, E. K., and T. Yip. 2009. "School and Neighborhood Contexts, Perceptions of Racial Discrimination, and Psychological Well-Being among African American Adolescents." *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* 38 (2): 153–63.
- Sellers, R. M., and J. N. Shelton. 2003. "The Role of Racial Identity in Perceived Racial Discrimination." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 84 (5): 1079–92.
- Sidanius, J., Y. Peña, and M. Sawyer. 2001. "Inclusionary Discrimination: Pigmentocracy and Patriotism in the Dominican Republic." *Political Psychology* 22 (4): 827–51.
- Tannenbaum, F. 1947. *Slave and Citizen: The Negro in America*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Taylor, M. C. 1998. "How White Attitudes Vary with the Racial Composition of Local Populations: Numbers Count." *American Sociological Review* 63 (4): 512–35.
- Telles, E. E. 2004. *Race in Another America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Telles, E. E. 2007. "Race and Ethnicity and Latin America's United Nations Millennium Development Goals." *Latin American Caribbean and Ethnic Studies* 2 (2): 185–200.
- Telles, E., and R. Flores. 2013. "Not Just Color: Whiteness, Nation and Status in Latin America." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 93 (3): 411–49.
- Telles, E., and L. Steele. 2012. "Pigmentocracy in the Americas: How is Educational Attainment Related to Skin Color." *Americas Barometer Insight Series* 73.
- Twine, F. W. 1998. *Racism in a Racial Democracy: The Maintenance of White Supremacy in Brazil*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Van Cott, D. L. 2005. *From Movements to Parties in Latin America: The Evolution of Ethnic Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Wade, P. 1997. *Race and Ethnicity in Latin America*. London: Pluto Press.
- Welch, S., L. Sigelman, T. Bledsoe, and M. Combs. 2001. *Race and Place: Race Relations in an American City*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Wright, G. C., Jr. 1977. "Contextual Models of Electoral Behavior: The Southern Wallace Vote." *American Political Science Review* 71 (2): 497–508.

Damarys Canache is an Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Illinois, Urbana, IL 61801.

Matthew Hayes is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at Indiana University, Bloomington, IN 47405

Jeffery J. Mondak is the James M. Benson Chair in Public Issues and Civic Leadership in the Department of Political Science at the University of Illinois, Urbana, IL 61801.

Mitchell A. Seligson is Centennial Professor of Political Science and Professor of Sociology, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN 37325.