SKIN COLOR, RACIAL IDENTITY AND SOCIOECONOMIC OUTCOMES

IN LATIN AMERICA'S PIGMENTOCRACY

Edward Telles*, Fernando Urrea**, René Flores*

* Princeton University

** Universidad del Valle

DO NOT CITE-this is work in progress

ABSTRACT

Even though the dominant tradition of research on socioeconomic inequalities in Latin America has focused on class and class origins while neglecting race, a growing body of literature points to the importance of race in shaping inequality in the region. In this paper, we examine racial inequality but instead of relying on broad ethnic or racial categories, we examine inequality using an innovative skin color variable based on an 11-point color palette that uses realistic skin tones. These data come from the 2010 America's Barometer of the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP). Specifically, we investigate inequality in education and occupational status among several Latin American countries using descriptive and regression analysis. To understand the extent to which Census-like racial categories mask color variations, we model the relative effects of color and racial identity variables on socioeconomic outcomes in several Latin American countries.

Even though the dominant tradition of research on socioeconomic inequalities in Latin America has focused on class and class origins while neglecting race, a growing body of literature points to the importance of race in shaping inequality in the region (Telles 2004, Villarreal 2010). Afro-Descendant and indigenous people regularly occupy the lowest rungs of the income, educational and occupational structure in the multiracial countries of Latin America. Research on racial and ethnic inequality in Latin America has relied on official data on race, which has recently begun to be collected in many of these countries. These data require that respondents identify themselves among a number of categories including white, negro, mulato, mestizo or indigenous. However, unlike in the United States, racial identity in Latin America is often ambiguous, where the categories themselves have fuzzy boundaries and where respondents may often identify themselves in categories that are different from the ones in which they are perceived by others (Harris 1964, Telles 2002). Moreover, categories are not necessarily mutually exclusive and people could hold more than one at the same time (Knight 1986; De la Cadena 2000).

We believe that the categories often hide considerable color/racial variation in addition to ambiguously capturing actual color variation. For example, persons who identify as mestizo often comprise population majorities in countries like Mexico and Peru but that category may include a full spectrum of people ranging from fair-appearing persons to those who appear indigenous and have a dark brown skin tone (Telles and Flores 2010, de la Cadena 2000). (The category mestizo even includes persons who see themselves as indigenous in other situations and speak indigenous languages (de la Cadena 2000), though our definition of indigenous ethnicity includes such persons) Despite having the same racial identity, such individuals might be treated differently because of their skin tone, potentially having distinct effects on their life chances. We believe that treatment of individuals is based more on how others perceive a particular person than how that person defines his/herself. Racial/ethnic identity reflects how individuals (subjectively) view themselves, though it is clearly affected by skin color and related physical characteristics, while skin color is a relatively objective measure that we think captures how others, in many cases, may treat/discriminate them. For this reason, perceived color is important.

In this paper, we examine racial inequality using two measures: racial/ethnic identity and skin color. Instead of relying only on ethnic or racial categories, as is traditionally done, we examine inequality using an innovative skin color variable based on an 11- point color palette that uses realistic skin tones. Using the 2010 America's Barometer of the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP), we investigate racial inequality education and occupational status among several Latin American countries using descriptive and regression analysis. To understand the extent to which Census-like racial categories mask color variations, we model the relative effects of color and racial identity variables on socioeconomic outcomes in several Latin American countries.

Data and Variables

Data Source. We use a series of nationally representative surveys from the 2010 Americas Barometer, which were collected by the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) based at Vanderbilt University[i] with the inclusion of an ethnicity module designed by the Project on Ethnicity and Race (PERLA) at Princeton University. The 2010 Americas Barometer conducted nationally representative face-to-face surveys of adults in 18 of the 19 countries in Latin America (except Cuba). We chose to examine six countries in which indigenous and afro-descendant peoples comprise large numbers. The countries we examine are Bolivia, Mexico and Peru (indigenous countries) as well as Brazil, Colombia, and the Dominican Republic (afro-descendant countries). In four of these countries, the sample size consists of approximately 1500 randomly selected respondents, while the sample size is about 2500 in Brazil and about 3000 in Bolivia.

Dependent Variables. Our dependent variables are education, household income and occupational status. Our dependent variable of education refers to number of years completed, from 0 to 18 years. Categories based on educational thresholds that are common in the six countries. For the dependent variable of occupation, we ranked ten occupational groups according to scores on the International Socio-Economic Index of Occupational Status (ISEI). For household income, we use a 10-point scale included in the LAPOP questionnaire that goes from lowest to highest income. Such a hierarchical scale allows us to compare the

placement of individuals across the countries in the pooled sample relative to the standards of living of their countries of residence.

Independent variables. For race/ethnic identity, we rely mostly on the question: "do you consider yourself white, mestizo, indigenous, negro, mulato or other?"[ii] The Dominican Republic is slightly different in that the interviewers prompted respondents with the term indio when they did not seem to understand mestizo and the term indigenous (indigena) was not used, perhaps understandable since there is a consensus that there are no longer indigenous people in that country. In Brazil, the response options are those of its national census and are in Portuguese: branca (white) preta (black), pardo (brown or mixed race), amarelo (Asian) and indigena (indigenous). Negro/preto and Mulato/pardo are considered the afro-descendant categories and we model them separately in the analysis. Finally, the indigenous variable depends not only on that question but also defines indigenous people on the basis of language and parental origin including whether the mother was indigenous, whether their parents spoke an indigenous language or whether their own mother tongue is indigenous.

Skin color ratings have been used in several surveys about racial discrimination and racial attitudes in the United States (Keith and Herring 1991, Gullickson 2005) but have rarely been used in Latin America. The availability of a variable denoting skin color as observed by the interviewer allows us to reasonably fix actual skin tone. Skin color itself is important since racial/ethnic identity is fluid in Latin America, in which one's racial/ethnic identity may span a wide range of skin colors, as Figure 1 will show, and where color may differentiate the extent of discrimination one accrues, beyond their racial identity. For skin color ratings, interviewers rated the facial skin color of each respondent according to colors on a skin color palette, which was not shown to the respondent. The palette included eleven skin tones, with "1" being the lightest and "11" being the darkest. The colors of the palette came from internet photographs and the palette was extensively pre-tested in several countries in the region for ease of use by interviewers and to see if covered the range of colors found in the field. Interviewers were advised that the survey was interested in rating skin color because social science evidence has shown that ordinary people commonly evaluate the skin color of others in everyday interactions and often treat them according to ideas based on color/race. Though such skin color evaluations by interviewers are not perfect by any means, we believe they closely capture actual color among the large number of cases.

Certainly, other phenotypic characteristics, such as facial features and hair, might also affect racial classification but data on these are not available for each country in the present study. However, we expect that they are likely to be closely correlated with skin color.

We also test for the effects of age, gender, urban/rural residence and parental occupation. Age is a continuous variable, and gender and urban/rural are dichotomous variables. Parental occupation, a proxy for class origins, is based on the occupation of the respondents' head of household when they were 14 years old. For the analysis of occupation and income, we also control for education.

We test two sets of pooled regressions, each with three countries. The first set of countries consists of Bolivia, Mexico and Peru, where the indigenous population is the dominant minority. The second set of countries consists of Brazil, Colombia and the Dominican Republic, where afro-descendants comprise a large part of these countries. In these pooled regression, we present countries as a series of dummy variables, where Mexico is the reference category in the first set and Brazil in the second set. We use multilevel ordered logistic regression to predict the effect of color and ethnicity on years of education, income and occupational status. Our regression tables each include three models with different operationalizations of race in each model. Model 1 investigates the effect of race/ethnic identity, model 2 examines the effect of skin color and model 3 explores both race/ethnic identity and skin color in combination.

Findings

Table 1 shows descriptive data for our dependent and independent variables. For the dependent variable of occupation, we ranked ten occupational groups based on the International Socio-Economic Index of Occupational Status (ISEI). A value of 10 represents those people employed as high-level professionals while the lowest ranked category (1) includes farm hands and domestic workers. A value of 4.53 for Mexico, Bolivia, and Peru implies that the average citizen in those countries is employed in an occupation with the status of a low skilled service sector worker (street vendor, security guard, restaurant workers, etc). The dependent variable of income is based on the household income of the respondent. A 10-point hierarchical scale was constructed where a value of 10 represents

the highest income category in each society and 1 the lowest one. A value of 4.5 for Mexico means about $260 dollars a month (in 2011 U.S. dollars).

The mean values for race/ethnic identity show that the negro and mulato populations of largely indigenous countries are small while the indigenous populations of largely afro-descendant countries are also small. This reflects substantial regional/national spatial separation between the two populations. On skin color, the means show that the sample of persons in largely afro-descendant countries are only slightly darker than those in the largely indigenous countries, though the standard deviations are larger in the latter set of countries, as would be expected where there is a substantial negro population since negros tend to be darker than the indigenous and mulatos, who are basically the same in skin color (as figure 1shows).

Figure 1 shows how racial/ethnic identities, where they comprise large numbers in our sample, are distributed along the eleven skin tone of the color palette for the six countries we examine. Overall, we can see that each racial/ethnic category is fairly widely distributed along various skin colors and they substantially overlap each other. However, they tend to be concentrated at distinct points on the color continuum with whites on one end, negros on the other and indigenous and mulatos are intermediate. In the one country with large numbers of mulatos and indigenous, Colombia, they closely overlap. Mestizos are between white and indigenous in Mexico and Bolivia and between whites and negros in the Dominican Republic but their position is close to indigenous in Peru, suggesting that there is an especially large amount of fluidity in Peru as de la Cadena (2000?) suggests. (Note the title of her book Indigenous Mestizos).

In figures 2, 3, and 4 we group the skin color palette into three categories: light (colors 1-3), medium (colors 4-5) and dark (6-11). Each group roughly represents a third of the entire pooled sample (although the medium group is somewhat larger). These figures show that in all six countries in the sample, individuals with light skin are substantially better off than their dark skin compatriots regarding their educational attainment, occupational status and household income. Such differences are constant and particularly stark in some cases. Light skin Bolivians have on average 3 years more of education than dark skin Bolivians. In Peru and Colombia, light skin people have an advantage of 2 years of education over their dark skin compatriots. In Mexico, there is a difference of 2.5 points in the occupational status between light skin and dark skin people, in

which the differences include that the former are employed in service jobs in the formal economy (including the armed forces and private security guards) while the latter are, on average, employed as unskilled laborers, usually in the informal sector.

Figures 5 and 6 show the results of our three dependent variables using ethnic/racial identities for our two sets of countries. While we also find evidence of ethnic-based inequality, such gaps tend to be smaller and they are less consistent when relying on self-identity than when using skin color. In Mexico, Peru, and Bolivia, Indigenous people are clearly disadvantaged on all three socio-economic indicators. However, mestizos and whites do not appear to differ substantially. For the countries with a significant African-origin population (Brazil, Colombia, and DR), self-identified blacks and mulattoes appear to have the greatest disadvantage in household income but there are hardly any gaps in educational attainment and occupational status. As with the societies with a significant indigenous presence, in these countries, self-identified whites and mestizos appear to have similar SES and in some cases, such as household income, mestizos appear to be more advantaged. These figures suggest that relying on racial and ethnic identities could mask substantial race-based socio-economic inequalities that are apparent using skin color.

Tables 2, 4 and 6 show our results for the countries where the indigenous are the predominant minority group (Mexico, Peru, Bolivia) and Tables 3, 5 and 7 present findings for the countries where afro-descendants are the predominant minority group (Brazil, Colombia and the Dominican Republic). The reference group for race/ethnicity is white. The predominant race/ethnicity and skin color are shown in bold in all these tables (race/ethnicity and skin color should be the first variables but I put them in bold since they are mixed in with the others). Table 1 had revealed that several of these groups constituted small numbers in particular countries, making the regression coefficients relatively unstable. Nevertheless we report them here, though we seek to point out the results for the predominant groups, which we show in **bold**, along with the coefficients for skin color.

Education. Tables 2 and 3 report the findings for educational attainment in the two sets of countries and they show that race/ethnicity and skin color are generally strong predictors of educational attainment, especially when they are analyzed separately.

For the largely indigenous countries, Table 2 shows that the indigenous have lower years of education (column 1) as do darker persons (column 2), when analyzed separately. The R-squared for both models is slightly better for skin color than ethnicity, suggesting a somewhat better fit of the model when skin color is used.

However, with the insertion of skin color together with ethnic identity, the effect of indigenous ethnicity goes away. Skin color effects are strong and negative for these countries, with and without controls for race/ethnicity. On the other hand, persons identifying as mestizo have higher levels of education than whites and especially after controlling for skin color, although the relative situation of whites and mestizos is reversed in Bolivia as the interaction coefficient shows. Also, the added educational benefit from controlling for skin color might be due to deviations from the general rule that darker persons receive lower levels of education in these countries as the color coefficient shows, and since mestizos are already advantaged, their darker skin color compared to whites makes them seem particularly advantaged when skin color is controlled.

For the largely afro-descendant countries, Table 3 demonstrates that negros (column 1) as well as darker skin colored persons (column 2) all have lower educational attainment than whites. Thus, when analyzed separately the expected results occur except, interestingly, persons identitying as mulato in column 1 are not significantly different from whites, though the coefficient is negative. The R-squared results suggest that skin color explains the model fit better than race/ethnicity.

However, when skin color is controlled (column 3), negro and mulato are statistically significant but they become positive, thus suggesting they are advantaged compared to whites! (Does this mean they are no different from whites of the same skin color? It sounds like it but obviously not and we could use some help in interpreting this.) This may also be due to the effect of race/ethnic identification in particular countries, where what it means to be negro or mulato may vary. For example, we controlled for the interaction of mulato and Dominican Republic because we know that persons that identify as mulato in that country are selective of the middle class (Telles and Paschel wip, Howard 2001), while most dark skin persons choose "Indio," a peculiarly

Dominican category referring to a copper skin color. When we applied the interaction effect, mulato was no longer significant as a main effect.

Females tend to have lower levels of education in largely indigenous societies while they have higher levels of education in largely Afro-descendant societies. Certainly other studies have noted the lower education of girls in indigenous societies compared to the rest of Latin America (citations).

Income. Tables 4 and 5 show results for household income. Column 1 of Table 4 clearly reveals an indigenous disadvantage in the largely indigenous countries and here mestizos are better off than whites, at a near significance level. (Adding a White*Bolivia interaction makes mestizo significant (0.020 level). So Mestizos are somewhat better off than whites (coefficient is .250519). However, White*Bolivia interaction is not significant.) Column 2 demonstrates the expected negative effects for skin color. However, when both skin color and ethnicity are in the model together (column 3), skin color remains a powerful predictor of income and the indigenous effect goes away while that for mestizos becomes clearly significant.

Column 1 of Table 5 results show that mestizos, mulatos and negros are all disadvantaged relative to whites in the largely afro-descendant countries. Column 2 similarly shows that darker skin color is correlated with lower income. The R-squared comparing column 1 and column 2 results show no difference in the goodness of fit of the models suggesting that race/ethnic identity and skin color are fairly substitutable. When both race/ethnicity and skin color are together in the model (column 3), the effect of mestizo and negro disappears so that it is not different from whites and mulato continues to be negative and significant. The mulato category remains negative and significant and it gains in magnitude, once the mulato interaction with the Dominican Republic is added to the model (column 4). For income in both sets of countries, the persistence of skin color indicates the powerful effect of this variable in explaining the income hierarchy in Latin America. Finally, women have lower levels of income in both sets of countries, as expected.

Occupation. Tables 6 and 7 show our results for predicting occupational attainment. Column 1 of Table 6 and of Table 7 show that race/ethnic identity has no effect on occupational status, suggesting there are no ethnic differences, once parental occupation, education and other variables are controlled. Moreover, skin color is not correlated with occupational attainment at a statistically significant level in Model 2, although the effect is

negative in both Tables 6 and 7 (column 2). Interestingly, the skin color coefficient strengthens and becomes significant for the largely afro-descendant countries (column 3 of Table 7) and becomes nearly significant for the largely indigenous countries (Column 3 of Table 7). Thus, it seems that either aspect of race/ethnicity, color or race/ethnic identity, has relatively little effect on occupational status in these countries. (This model suggests that light skinned people receive more education and then receive higher income returns for their education than brown people, but similar occupational returns compared to dark people of the same education and class. We ran some ran models predicting middle class jobs and color was significant in largely indigenous societies even after controlling for education. However, once we controlled for parental occupation, the color effect disappeared. In a separate regression for Mexico, color was not significant once we controlled for education. It appears that there is a glass ceiling effect in some countries. This suggests we should explore further and incorporate class origins or parental occupation in a more dynamic way (as opposed to just a control).

Interestingly, gender was a positive and highly significant predictor of occupational status in the indigenous countries whereas it had no effect in the largely afro-descendant countries. This difference may be due to greater social mobility in largely indigenous societies. (We could say lots more on this but prefer not to get distracted on gender, though we probably should try genderxrace/color interactions.

Class position, as measured by education and parental occupation, and gender, seem to be the predominant predictor of socioeconomic status in both sets of countries but particularly in the largely indigenous countries of Latin America. The larger coefficients for parental occupation in the indigenous countries compared to the afro-descendant countries are especially apparent for income and occupation. Class clearly trumps racial identity and skin color as predictors of occupational status in these largely indigenous countries.

Discussion and Conclusion

We find some interesting results, although a few might seem counterintuitive and contrary to what we know so far.

First of all, we found strong support for our hypothesis that "we believe that treatment of individuals is based more on how others perceive a particular person than how that persons defines his/herself. Racial/ethnic identity reflects how individuals (subjectively) view themselves, though it is clearly affected by skin color and related physical characteristics, while skin color is a relatively objective measure that we think captures how others, in many cases, may treat/discriminate them. For this reason, color is important."

However, the skin color effect must be observed in interaction with parental occupation though it almost always had a negative and significant effect, as we expected.

Although both variables were nearly always significant, parental occupation generally seemed to have a stronger effect. It is possible that the racial effect, as observed by the skin color variable, tends to interact with parental occupation. This is especially valid for educational attainment and income. In the case of the respondent's occupational status, which is a close proxy for social class, the effect of race or color is more indirect, possibly via education, in which color has a strong and significant (negative) effect on educational attainment. Perhaps this is where "good presentation" criteria often used for office jobs but these criteria may also be used to racially discriminate. Greater education provides greater options of movement on the occupational ladder, but it is always restricted by class origins, i.e. parental occupation.

We did not examine the relative effect of indigenous and afro-descendant populations because these populations generally live in different countries, as we showed for the six countries we examined. Nevertheless, the coefficients for the indigenous tended were more often negative than those for the afro-descendant populations in the comparison of regressions across the two sets of countries. However, it might have been possible to do a direct comparison using a single regression model in Colombia and Peru, which has significant numbers of both. A future analysis might examine the difference among these groups in these two Andean countries, as well as in perhaps Ecuador, Panama or Venezuela. Indigenous populations have historically presented lower incomes, occupations and incomes than whites, mestizos, negros and mulatos, while the afro-descendant population has been intermediate, though closer to the indigenous and this has been shown for studies of Panama and Colombia (cites from Fernando). This is apparently due to the fact that afro-descendants tend to be more integrated into an urban and modern society than the indigenous.

This should not devalue the possible white-mestizo differences, which seem important but those difference might be better captured by skin color than by mere identity as either mestizo or white, which is clearly ambiguous (Telles and Flores, wip). On the other hand, any differences might be explained by class origin, if the dominant theories about stratification in Latin America hold (Casanova , Torche , Behrman et al).

Next step in analysis, maybe:

We need to examine all interactions between countries and race/ethnic id and between countries and skin color, especially if these mean different things in these countries, like we saw for mulatoxDominican Republic. Keep in the important ones and remove the others. This should be a central point. These categories mean something different in each country. Identifying as white is something different in Brazil than in Mx, just like Mulatto in DR vs. Colombia/Brazil.

Also, we need to try the models without parental occupation. This seems to be taking away the effect of race/ethnic id in several cases. Maybe our story should be about the effects of class washing out most race/ethnic differences and perhaps how the class/race interaction works differently in different countries? That could be an interesting angle (not to mention a major finding if it was really washed out), we would essentially compare class vs. identity (ethnicity) vs. appearance (color), We know that finding color or racial inequality is still controversial in some of these countries (Mexico) so we shouldn't assume that there is a consensus about it already. In other words, we are still setting the foundations in some of these countries where the debate has been largely around class inequality.

Footnote Material:

Are the following footnotes for individual countries? Maybe introduce in the main model as interaction terms?

In tests for individual countries (in models controlling for ethnicity), color was significant when predicting occupational status in the DR (not in Brazil and in Colombia). This color penalty persisted even after controlling for education and parental occupation. In Colombia and Brazil, education by itself (without class origins) made color non-significant.

In Mexico, Guatemala and Peru, education explained color differences in occupational status. Thus, we find that color is particularly powerful in the DR perhaps due to association of dark skin tones with foreignness, and Haitianess.

BREAKING DOWN COLOR PALETTE

It appears that skin color does not have a linear effect on occupational status. For the Peru, Bolivia, Mexico pooled sample, only people classified as 8-11 (about 2% of the sample) have a consistent negative effect of color even after controlling for education, class origins, and ethnicity (but not the rest of skin tones). Education does appear to have a monotonic relationship with color (all dummies significant even after controlling for ethnicity and class origins). With regards to income, most coefficients are significant and there is a discernable downward effect of color but relationship is not perfectly linear (color 6 more advantaged than 5, etc).

With regards to Afro-countries (Brazil, Colombia and the DR), breaking down the color palette does not work that well when predicting occupational status since none of the dummies are significant that way (color 8-11 is borderline). However, color is significant when used as a continuous variable.

For income, relationship between skin tones and household income is monotonic (all dummies are significant and deficit increases as skin darkens). It works the same way for education.

Figure 1. Distribution of Ethnoracial Groups by Skin Color Rating
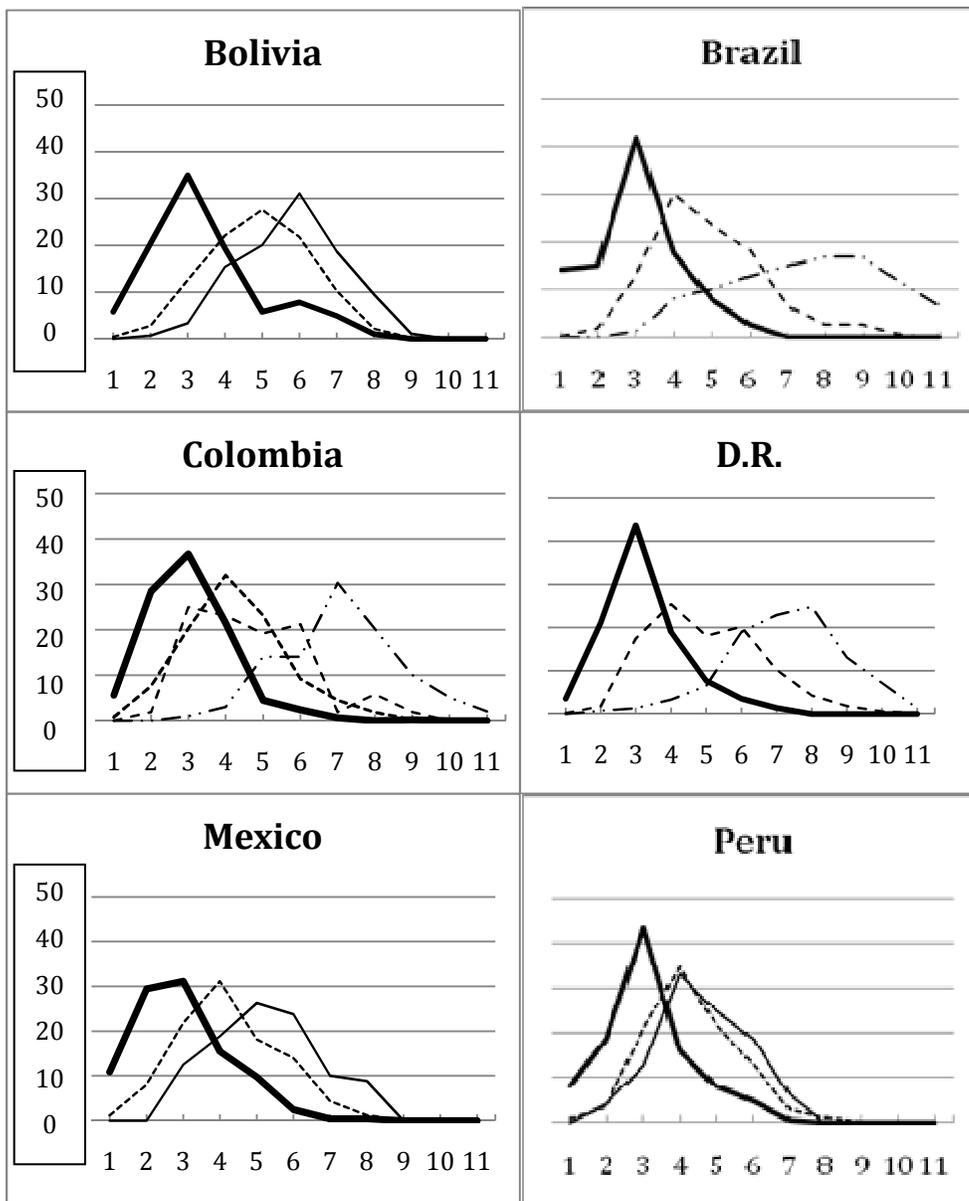
Table 1: Descriptive Statistics

Variables	Bolivia, Mexico, Peru		Brazil, Colombia, Dominican Rep.	
Dependent	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Education	10.11	4.46	8.76	4.46
Occupation	4.53	2.71	4.34	2.61
Income	4.52	2.04	3.42	2.05
Independent				
White (ref.)	10.39	.305	26.58	.441
Mestizo	72.76	.445	32.23	.467
Indigenous	9.76	.296	1.45	.119
Negro	1.05	.102	8.81	.283
Mulato	1.00	.099	26.11	.439
Other	5.01	.218	4.79	.213
Skin Color	4.54	1.49	4.54	1.90
Education	10.11	4.46	8.76	4.46
Parental Occupation	3.26	2.47	3.00	2.43
Women	50.06	.500	51.20	.499
Rural	29.83	.457	20.90	.406
Age	38.20	15.56	39.04	15.95
Brazil/Mexico (ref.)	25.69	.436	45.22	.497
Colombia/Bolivia	49.63	.500	27.44	.446
Dominican Rep/Peru	24.67	.431	27.33	.445

Figure 2. Average years of education by skin color (LAPOP 2010)
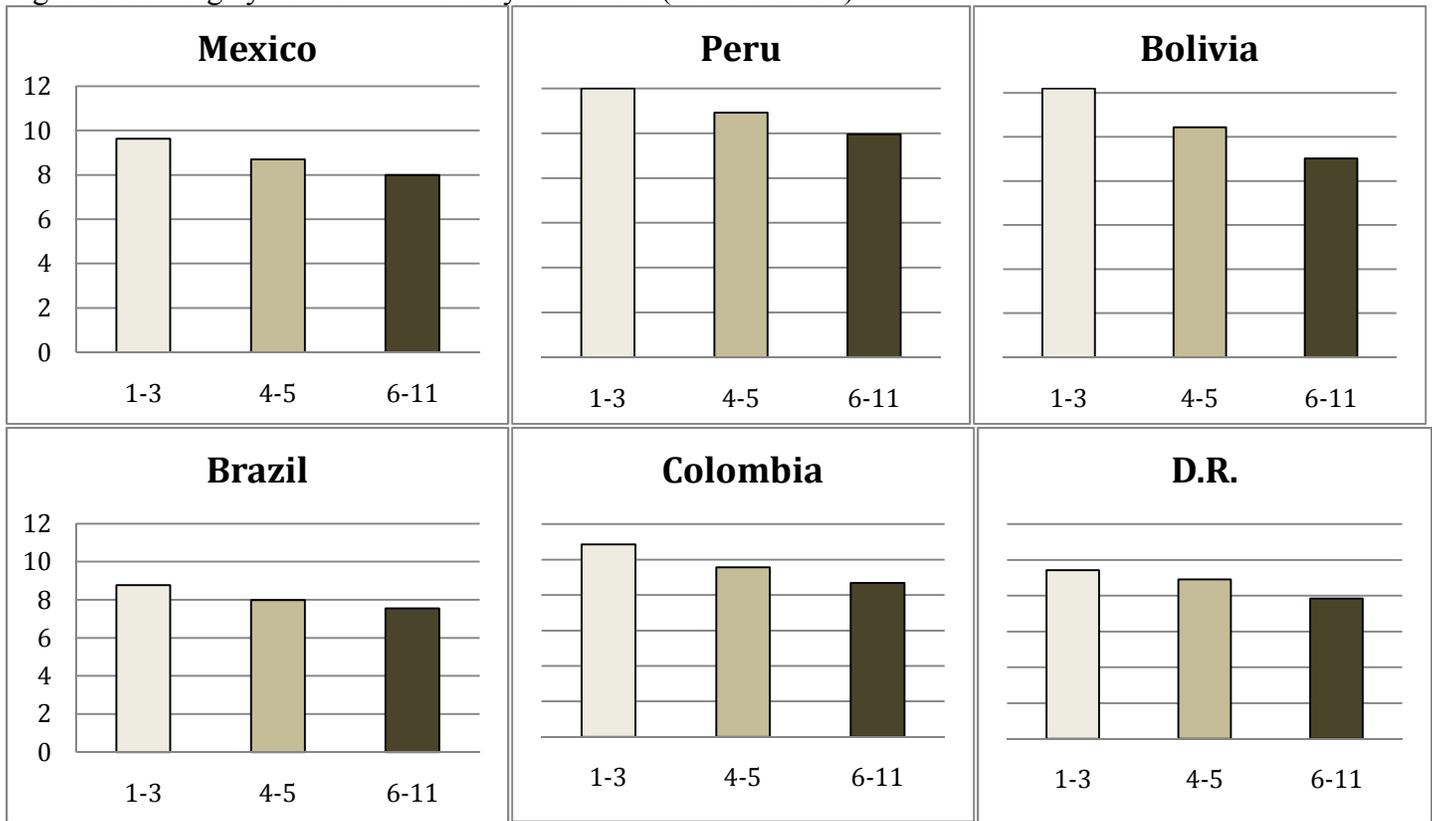
Figure 3. Household income by skin color (LAPOP 2010)
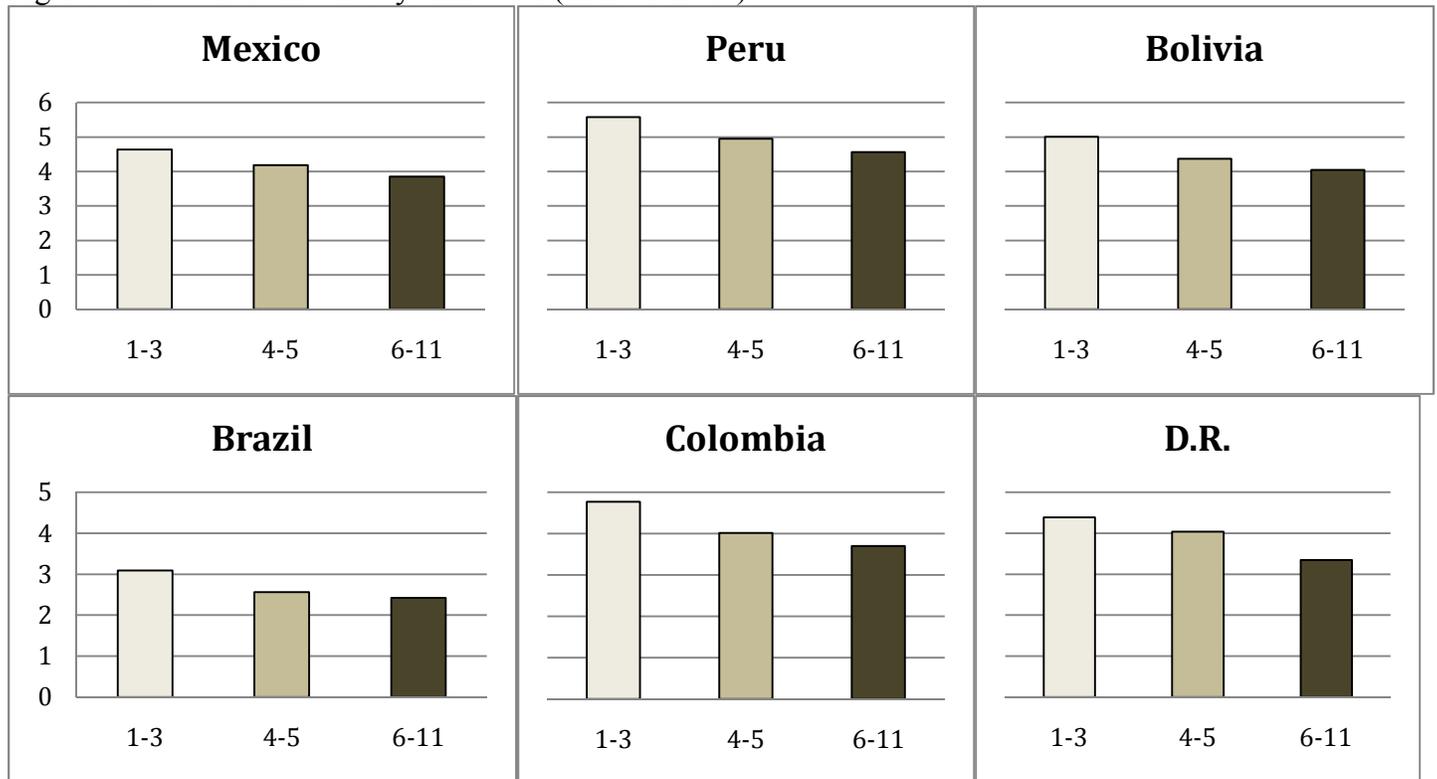
Figure 4. Occupational Status by skin color (LAPOP 2010)
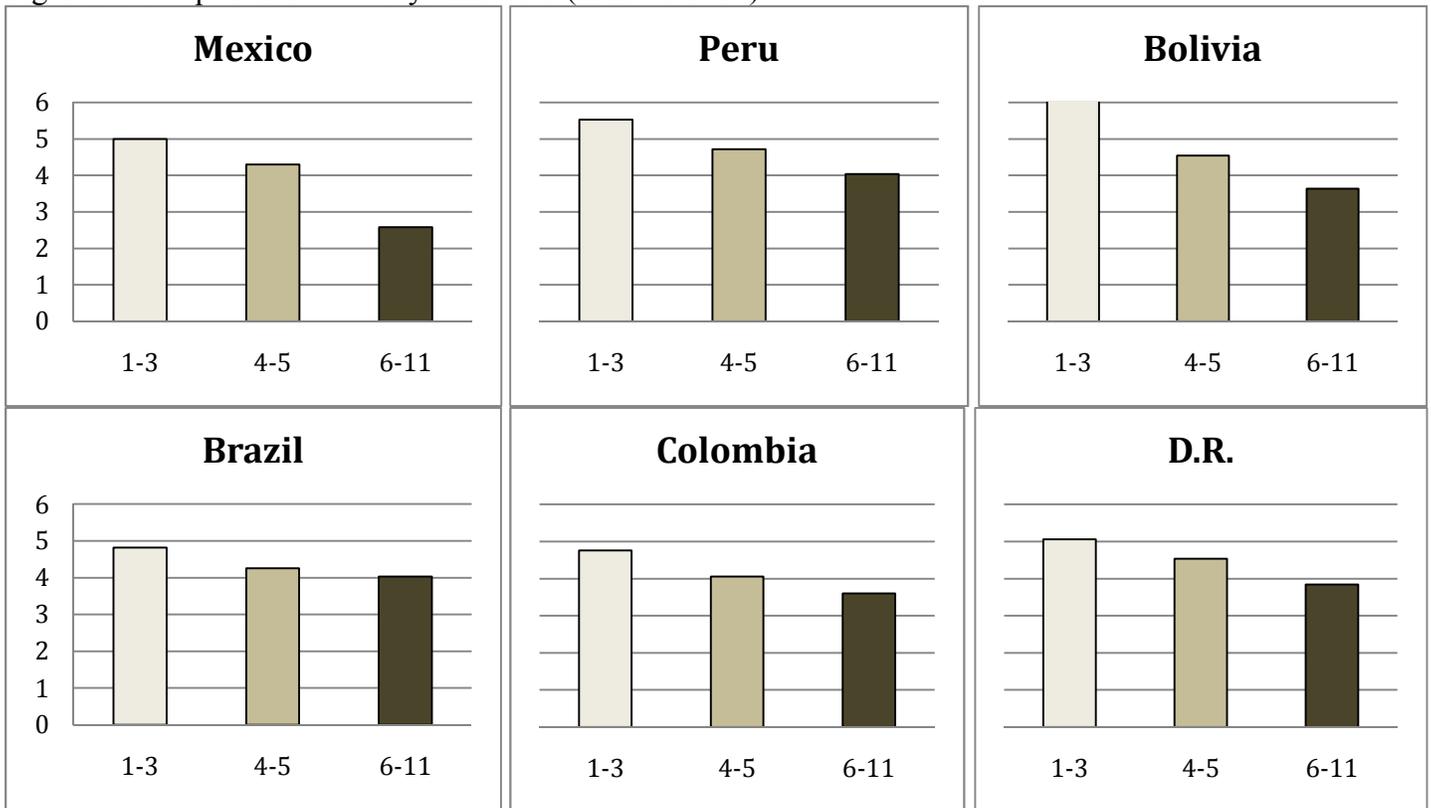
Figure 5. Mexico, Peru and Bolivia (LAPOP 2010)

Education

	White	Mestizo	Indigenous

Household Income

	White	Mestizo	Indigenous

Occupational Status

	White	Mestizo	Indigenous
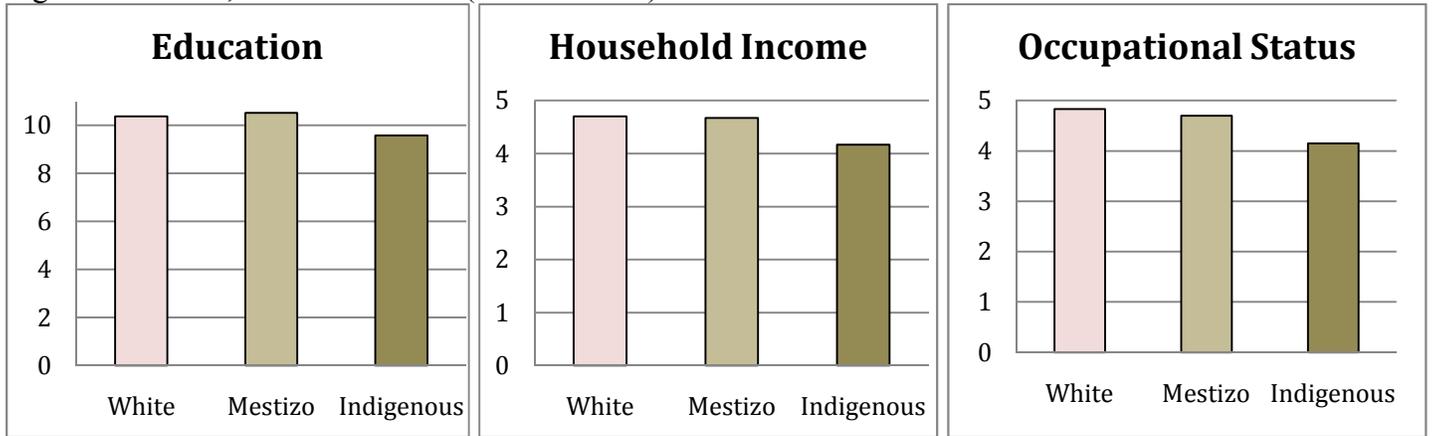
Figure 6.Brazil, D.R., and Colombia (LAPOP 2010)

Education

	White	Mestizo	Mulatto	Black

Household Income

	White	Mestizo	Mulatto	Black

Occupational Status

	White	Mestizo	Mulatto	Black

Table 2. OLS predicting years of education for largely Indigenous Countries (Mexico, Peru, Bolivia), LAPOP 2010

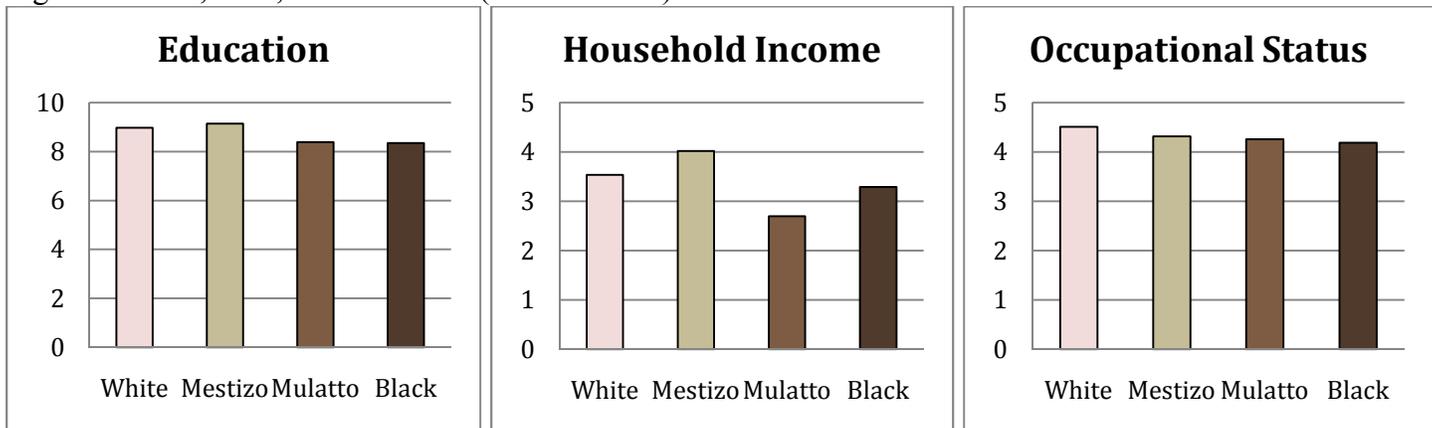| VARIABLES	(1) EDUCA	(2) EDUCA	(3) EDUCA	(4) EDUCA
Skin Color		**-0.401***	**-0.419***	**-0.397***
		(0.0462)	**(0.0409)**	**(0.0393)**
mestizo	**0.847***		**1.031***	**1.356***
	(0.178)		**(0.133)**	**(0.159)**
Indigenous	**-0.412**		**-0.219**	**-0.154**
	(0.128)		**(0.154)**	**(0.172)**
Negro	-0.417		0.414	0.555
	(0.539)		(0.540)	(0.556)
Mulatto	0.451		1.001	1.164*
	(0.586)		(0.589)	(0.588)
Other	-0.383		-0.208	-0.0806
	(0.236)		(0.218)	(0.232)
Parental Occupation	0.514***	0.483***	0.469***	0.464***
	(0.0199)	(0.0194)	(0.0194)	(0.0190)
Women	-1.085***	-1.242***	-1.199***	-1.204***
	(0.165)	(0.168)	(0.173)	(0.174)
Rural	-1.401***	-1.415***	-1.320***	-1.304***
	(0.119)	(0.126)	(0.125)	(0.123)
age	-0.0937***	-0.0952***	-0.0940***	-0.0942***
	(0.00751)	(0.00767)	(0.00714)	(0.00694)
Peru	1.846***	1.932***	1.858***	1.499***
	(0.183)	(0.183)	(0.187)	(0.289)
Bolivia	1.250***	1.455***	1.511***	1.050**
	(0.248)	(0.200)	(0.234)	(0.356)
BoliviaXWhite				1.245***
				(0.257)
MexicoXMestizo				-0.470
				(0.277)
Constant	11.48***	13.85***	13.21***	13.21***
	(0.317)	(0.542)	(0.441)	(0.451)
Observations	5,712	5,711	5,711	5,711
R-squared	0.323	0.328	0.340	0.342

Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Table 3. OLS predicting years of education for largely Afro-descendant countries (DR, Colombia, Brazil), LAPOP 2010

VARIABLES	(1) EDUCA	(2) EDUCA	(3) EDUCA	(4) EDUCA
Skin Color		**-0.273***	**-0.339***	**-0.339***
		(0.0362)	**(0.0373)**	**(0.0372)**
mestizo	**-0.335**		**0.154**	**0.431***
	(0.199)		**(0.193)**	**(0.199)**
Indigenous	-0.804		-0.0891	-0.110
	(0.408)		(0.431)	(0.426)
Negro	**-0.618***		**0.784****	**0.878****
	(0.248)		**(0.276)**	**(0.282)**
Mulatto	**-0.204**		**0.400****	**0.0484**
	(0.169)		**(0.175)**	**(0.173)**
Other	-0.967***		-0.481	-0.464
	(0.276)		(0.261)	(0.267)
Parental Occupation	0.479***	0.465***	0.462***	0.458***
	(0.0274)	(0.0272)	(0.0270)	(0.0268)
Women	-0.127	-0.219*	-0.220*	-0.201*
	(0.0971)	(0.0982)	(0.0997)	(0.0996)
Rural	-1.859***	-1.854***	-1.840***	-1.812***
	(0.205)	(0.206)	(0.205)	(0.203)
age	-0.0962***	-0.0971***	-0.0967***	-0.0968***
	(0.00455)	(0.00458)	(0.00458)	(0.00461)
Colombia	2.042***	1.854***	1.943***	1.643***
	(0.248)	(0.218)	(0.238)	(0.239)
DR	1.329***	1.345***	1.397***	0.847**
	(0.279)	(0.222)	(0.273)	(0.282)
MulattoXDR				2.131***
				(0.401)
Constant	10.85***	12.00***	12.05***	12.21***
	(0.247)	(0.261)	(0.280)	(0.285)
Observations	4,858	4,841	4,841	4,841
R-squared	0.299	0.310	0.313	0.317

Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Table 4. Ordered Logistic regression predicting Household Income in Mexico, Peru and Bolivia, LAPOP 2010

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)
Skin Color		**-0.0962***	**-0.0979***
		(0.0235)	**(0.0220)**
mestizo	**0.152***		**0.198**
	(0.0596)		**(0.0577)**
Indigenous	**-0.287***		**-0.253***
	(0.0630)		**(0.0635)**
Negro	-0.347		-0.159
	(0.219)		(0.217)
Mulatto	0.749**		0.873**
	(0.268)		(0.269)
Other	-0.313*		-0.298
	(0.157)		(0.155)
Parental Occupation	0.138***	0.136***	0.131***
	(0.0130)	(0.0126)	(0.0128)
Education	0.135***	0.134***	0.129***
	(0.0172)	(0.0170)	(0.0173)
Women	-0.377***	-0.418***	-0.412***
	(0.0597)	(0.0632)	(0.0634)
Rural	-0.586***	-0.610***	-0.575***
	(0.0713)	(0.0723)	(0.0704)
age	0.00358*	0.00299	0.00291
	(0.00154)	(0.00158)	(0.00156)
Peru	0.515**	0.511**	0.529**
	(0.157)	(0.159)	(0.156)
Bolivia	0.185	0.141	0.256
	(0.144)	(0.144)	(0.144)
Wald chi2	1032.88	993.62	1082.86
Pseudo R2	0.0687	0.0675	0.0700
Observations	5,018	5,017	5,017

Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Table 5. Ordered Logistic regression predicting Household Income in Colombia, DR, and Brazil, LAPOP 2010

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Skin Color		-0.105***	-0.110***	-0.110***
		(0.0182)	(0.0244)	(0.0245)
mestizo	-0.167*		-0.00654	0.0509
	(0.0804)		(0.0892)	(0.0855)
Indigenous	-0.546**		-0.298	-0.304
	(0.163)		(0.171)	(0.173)
Negro	-0.226*		0.224	0.243
	(0.103)		(0.152)	(0.150)
Mulatto	-0.515***		-0.324**	-0.396***
	(0.0922)		(0.105)	(0.109)
Other	-0.221		-0.0751	-0.0764
	(0.150)		(0.160)	(0.159)
Parental Occupation	0.0975***	0.0955***	0.0959***	0.0960***
	(0.0145)	(0.0144)	(0.0146)	(0.0145)
Education	0.202***	0.195***	0.196***	0.194***
	(0.00913)	(0.00905)	(0.00908)	(0.00912)
Women	-0.416***	-0.439***	-0.447***	-0.442***
	(0.0568)	(0.0556)	(0.0565)	(0.0568)
Rural	-0.531***	-0.548***	-0.537***	-0.532***
	(0.108)	(0.112)	(0.109)	(0.109)
age	0.0223***	0.0218***	0.0213***	0.0211***
	(0.00210)	(0.00209)	(0.00210)	(0.00212)
Colombia	1.397***	1.515***	1.383***	1.325***
	(0.132)	(0.139)	(0.133)	(0.132)
DR	1.097***	1.245***	1.126***	1.009***
	(0.190)	(0.177)	(0.186)	(0.178)
MulattoXDR				0.469*
				(0.215)
Wald chi2	871.28	747.48	843.18	838.68
Pseudo R2	0.1066	0.1066	0.1083	0.1087
Observations	4,474	4,460	4,460	4460

Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Table 6. Ordered Logistic regression predicting Occupational Status In Mexico, Peru and Bolivia, LAPOP 2010

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)
Skin Color		**-0.0394**	**-0.0453**
		(0.0248)	**(0.0269)**
mestizo	**0.142**		**0.159**
	(0.109)		**(0.107)**
Indigenous	**0.0524**		**0.0681**
	(0.0724)		**(0.0769)**
Negro	0.132		0.226
	(0.324)		(0.339)
Mulatto	-0.174		-0.116
	(0.374)		(0.379)
Other	0.0746		0.0957
	(0.205)		(0.206)
Parental Occupation	0.215***	0.211***	0.212***
	(0.0272)	(0.0259)	(0.0266)
Education	0.263***	0.261***	0.259***
	(0.0205)	(0.0202)	(0.0210)
Women	0.681***	0.670***	0.667***
	(0.0791)	(0.0774)	(0.0762)
Rural	-0.393***	-0.396***	-0.392***
	(0.0712)	(0.0718)	(0.0721)
age	0.0161***	0.0161***	0.0159***
	(0.00341)	(0.00332)	(0.00339)
Peru	-0.395***	-0.363**	-0.382***
	(0.106)	(0.107)	(0.107)
Bolivia	-0.372***	-0.305**	-0.332***
	(0.0884)	(0.0927)	(0.0936)
Wald chi2	1822.81	1698.89	1821.06
Pseudo R2	0.1263	0.1263	0.1266
Observations	3,280	3,279	3,279

Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Table 7. Ordered Logistic regression predicting Occupational Status in Colombia, DR and Brazil, LAPOP 2010

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)
Skin Color		**-0.0268**	**-0.0530***
		(0.0227)	**(0.0264)**
mestizo	**0.0279**		**0.109**
	(0.125)		**(0.127)**
Indigenous	-0.155		0.0305
	(0.271)		(0.274)
Negro	**0.166**		**0.380***
	(0.154)		**(0.192)**
Mulatto	**-0.0785**		**0.0179**
	(0.145)		**(0.146)**
Other	0.287		0.346
	(0.196)		(0.192)
Parental Occupation	0.138***	0.136***	0.135***
	(0.0181)	(0.0182)	(0.0183)
Education	0.250***	0.248***	0.248***
	(0.0124)	(0.0126)	(0.0126)
Women	0.179	0.179	0.164
	(0.107)	(0.105)	(0.105)
Rural	-0.725***	-0.718***	-0.712***
	(0.178)	(0.180)	(0.178)
age	0.0112***	0.0115***	0.0112***
	(0.00318)	(0.00317)	(0.00318)
Colombia	-0.309*	-0.277*	-0.326*
	(0.135)	(0.128)	(0.135)
DR	-0.0222	0.0426	-0.00206
	(0.170)	(0.152)	(0.168)
Wald chi2	805.60	778.10	848.80
Pseudo R2	0.1071	0.1068	0.1076
Observations	2,554	2,544	2,544

Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Appendix:

MATRIX OF CORRELATIONS AMONG DEPENDENT VARIABLES

Indigenous countries

```
. corr  HIncome OccupStatus16 EDUCA if  MexPeGua==1
(obs=2420)

             |  HIncome Occup~16     EDUCA
-------------+---------------------------------
     HIncome |  1.0000
OccupStat~16 |  0.4220   1.0000
       EDUCA |  0.5654   0.6249    1.0000
```

Afro countries

```
. corr  HIncome OccupStatus16 EDUCA if   DRBraCol==1
(obs=2654)

             |  HIncome Occup~16     EDUCA
-------------+---------------------------------
     HIncome |  1.0000
OccupStat~16 |  0.3870   1.0000
       EDUCA |  0.5004   0.5470    1.0000
```

Zero-order correlation coefficients between skin color and race/ethnic identity in the two sets of countries

	Mexico, Peru, Bolivia	Brazil, Colombia, DR
White	-0.3254	-0.4700
Mestizo	0.0530	0.0385
Indigenous	0.2137	0.0707
Black	0.1003	0.4525
Mulatto	0.0405	0.1271

ENDNOTES

[ii] The question in Spanish is *"¿Usted se considera una persona blanca, mestiza, indigena, negra, mulata u otra?"*