Who Is Black, White, or Mixed Race? How Skin Color, Status, and Nation Shape Racial Classification in Latin America[1]

Edward Telles
Princeton University

Tianna Paschel
University of Chicago

Comparative research on racial classification has often turned to Latin America, where race is thought to be particularly fluid. Using nationally representative data from the 2010 and 2012 America's Barometer survey, the authors examine patterns of self-identification in four countries. National differences in the relation between skin color, socioeconomic status, and race were found. Skin color predicts race closely in Panama but loosely in the Dominican Republic. Moreover, despite the dominant belief that money whitens, the authors discover that status polarizes (Brazil), *mestizoizes* (Colombia), darkens (Dominican Republic), or has no effect (Panama). The results show that race is both physical and cultural, with country variations in racial schema that reflect specific historical and political trajectories.

Throughout the Americas, the idea of race has commonly been used to make social distinctions, especially regarding persons of African origin.

Like African-Americans in the United States, Afro-Latin Americans are descended primarily from enslaved Africans brought to the Americas; they live in societies where whiteness is privileged, and they continue to be over-represented at the bottom of the social hierarchy (Wade 1993; Andrews 2004; Sawyer 2005). Despite these basic similarities, scholars have noted the general absence of institutional racial classification systems in Latin American countries, resulting in blurred or ambiguous boundaries around racial categories and allowing people to move in and out of them (Degler 1971; Wright 1990; Wade 1993; Telles 2004). Racial classification in Latin American countries also appears to have these distinctive features: a focus on appearance rather than origin as the primary criterion, the common use of intermediate or mixed-race categories, and, thus, classification on a color continuum. While most scholarly findings about racial classification are limited to specific countries in the region, some scholars have made region-wide claims that gloss over national differences, often juxtaposing Latin American countries to the United States (Hoetink 1967; Van den Berghe 1967; Harris 1974; Bonilla Silva 2004; Patterson 2005).

However, Latin America is far from homogenous. Indeed, there has been substantial variation in the racial trajectories of countries in this region, including the place of blackness in the nation and the extent to which race was institutionalized in the law. First, while many Latin American countries adopted nation-building narratives of race mixture, or *mestizaje*, countries like Argentina and Costa Rica did not. A second difference was the role that African ancestry and "blood" were thought to play in the nation. In Brazil, race mixture narratives held that blacks and African culture were central to the nation; in Colombia, they ignored or downplayed blackness while greatly valuing whiteness; and, in the Dominican Republic, they excluded blacks and African culture by regarding them as backward and foreign (Skidmore 1974; Wade 1993; Telles 2004; Candelario 2007; Simmons 2009). Moreover, while most Latin American countries did not adopt racially exclusionary laws upon independence, Panama did have a history of segregation and formal racial exclusion resembling that in the United States (O'Reggio 2006). If we span the region today, we also see differences in the extent to which Latin American countries have adopted multicultural and race-conscious policies. Indeed, while Brazil has adopted robust reforms, in cases like the Dominican Republic, no such policies exist.

Until recently, most research on racial classification in Latin America focused on Brazil; there have been no systematic within-region comparisons. Even in the case of Brazil itself, the scholarship reveals a dynamic racial classification system. While traditional race scholarship in Brazil

ment of Sociology, Princeton University, 151 Wallace Hall, Princeton, New Jersey 08544. E-mail: etelles@princeton.edu.

showed that racial fluidity has allowed individuals to avoid identifying as black by effectively "whitening" themselves (Harris 1952; Degler 1971; Twine 1997; Daniel 2006), recent research shows a new pattern of "darkening" (Paixão et al. 2011; Marteleto 2012; Francis and Tannuri-Pianto 2013), apparently in response to Brazil's new era of affirmative action and racial consciousness.

In this article, we argue that national dynamics—both historical and contemporary—are important for explaining disparate patterns of racial identification. We analyze distinctive patterns of racial identification in Brazil, Colombia, Panama, and the Dominican Republic. These represent four of the six Latin American countries with the highest percentage of people identifying as black or in mixed-race categories that denote some African origin (*mulato* or *pardo*).[2] We use nationally representative data to analyze patterns of racial identification in each country, particularly (1) the relation between skin color and racial identification, (2) the use of mixed-race categories, and (3) the effects of status on racial identification. We evaluate these racial identification questions in light of a relatively objective measure of skin color and use the concept of *racial schemas* to refer to the distinct national patterns of identification along these dimensions. We also analyze the effect of hair type on racial identification in Brazil.

We found that racial identification in Latin America varies widely. While skin color was the most important predictor of racial identification in all four countries, the strength of its effect varied; the proportion of the darkest persons who identified as black ranged from 50% (Dominican Republic) to 90% (Panama), with Colombia and Brazil in between, revealing differing degrees of fluidity in each country's racial schemas. This also suggests that, while racial identification in Latin American countries is guided by perceived physical referents, such referents are culturally interpreted. For example, dark-skinned persons who did not identify as black generally identified as mixed race (*pardo* and *mulato*) and, in the Dominican Republic, as *Indio* or *mestizo*.

We also found that social status was an important predictor of racial identification, although not in the direction scholars might have predicted. Instead of "money whitening"—an idea prevalent in the traditional literature and among ordinary people in the region—we found four distinct patterns: *polarization*, or the tendency for higher-status persons to both whiten and blacken (Brazil); *mestizoization*, or the tendency for high-status persons to identify as *mestizo* rather than in lighter or darker categories (Colombia); *darkening*, or the tendency for high-status individuals to identify in darker categories throughout the continuum of racial categories (Do-

---

[2] The other countries with a high proportion of Afro-descendants were Cuba and Venezuela.

866

minican Republic); and *no status effects* (Panama). We argue that the racial schema in each of these countries—specifically, the relation between color and status with racial identification and the use of mixed-race categories—reflects the country's distinct sets of historical and contemporary inducements (Hoetink 1967; Omi and Winant 1994; Wimmer 2002).

PATTERNED RACIAL FLUIDITY IN LATIN AMERICA

Any discussion of racial identification in Latin America must be contextualized in the experience of colonization, slavery, and nationalist narratives that emphasized race mixture. Fifteen times as many Africans were taken as slaves to Portuguese and Spanish America as to the United States (Eltis 2011). According to Andrews (2004, p. 41), free and enslaved blacks and *mulatos* comprised majorities in Brazil, Venezuela, Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, and Panama around 1800 and accounted for more than one-third of the Colombian and Argentine populations. Unlike the United States, where family immigration to the American colonies predominated, Spanish and Portuguese immigration during the colonial period involved mostly men who procreated (often forcibly) with indigenous, black, and *mulato* women. Some have argued that the greater Iberian acceptance of nonwhites may also help to explain the high degree of race mixture in this region (Freyre 1933; Socolow 2000). While racial mixing happened throughout Latin America and in the United States, mixed-race individuals in the former were more often acknowledged as such (Degler 1971; Nobles 2000).

Yet the prevalence of race mixture itself did not preclude racial hierarchies; the absence of racial classification laws may also have allowed some to whiten themselves to attain greater social benefits. In the 17th and 18th centuries, colonial elites in Spanish America often created caste systems (*castas*) that used a variety of criteria—especially the extent of Spanish, African, and indigenous mixture—to locate people in social hierarchies (Mörner 1967; Fradera 2010). By the second half of the 19th century, race thinking reached its apex as the elites of the newly independent countries in the region became increasingly concerned that their large nonwhite populations presented liabilities to national development and international recognition of their sovereignty (Skidmore 1974; Stepan 1993). This concern was based, in part, on then-current science: the early formation of many Latin American nations coincided with the period of scientific racism, which perceived African, indigenous, and mixed-race populations as degenerate and linked ideas about a nation's progress, fitness for modernity, and sovereignty to race and heredity (Skidmore 1974; Stepan 1993; Loveman 2009). In response, Latin American states such as Brazil sought to reverse nonwhite demographic predominance by whitening, which consisted of encouraging European immigration, and, betting on a neo-Larmarkian idea of constructive miscege-

nation in which white genes were believed to be stronger, by urging further race mixture in order to create a whiter population (Skidmore 1974; Stepan 1993).

Racial Schemas

In this article, we borrow Roth's (2012) notion of *racial schemas* in order to better understand similarities and differences in patterns of racial identification across the four countries we analyze. This approach is part of a larger cognitive turn in sociology. For example, DiMaggio (1996) called for applying cognitive research in psychology to social classification using psychology's concept of *schema*, which refers to shared representations of knowledge and to the mechanisms used to simplify cognition. Psychological anthropologists Hirshfield (1996) and Gil-White (2001*a*) argued that underlying cognitive mechanisms are responsible for reproducing racial concepts. Brubaker (2009, p. 34) contended that racial/ethnic classification is socially learned and thus may vary across cultures, becoming "ways—both institutionalized and informal—of recognizing identifying and classifying other people, of construing sameness and difference, and of 'coding' and making sense of their actions."

Roth (2012, p. 12) defined *racial schema* as "a bundle of racial categories and the set of rules for what they mean, how they are ordered, and how to apply them to oneself and others." More to the point, she argued that these racial schemas are shared among people within a given nation. In her empirical work, she observed the cognitive dissonance that occurs when Dominicans and Puerto Ricans immigrate to the United States and experience a racial schema that differs from the one in their own countries.

Although earlier work on race in Latin America did not refer specifically to schemas, Hoetink (1967, p. 120) proposed the "somatic norm," defined as "the complex of physical (somatic) characteristics which is accepted by a group as its norm and ideal" instead of "race," which he believed is falsely based in biology. He found that somatic norms, such as those regarding who is considered white or black, varied between the Spanish-speaking Caribbean and the Caribbean colonized by the Dutch, French, and English. By analyzing the patterns and informal rules around membership in particular racial categories, as well as the specific historical conditions that gave rise to these systems, these works have all examined similarities and differences in racial schemas throughout Latin America.

Defining Racial Fluidity

While debates about the nature of race relations in Latin American countries are ongoing, most scholars agree that the region can generally be un-

868

derstood as one with some level of fluidity in racial boundaries. This manifests in several ways. First, while ancestry plays some role in determining racial identification in that individuals resemble their ancestors, ancestry is generally not the main factor shaping racial identities. In contrast to the United States, where the historic one-drop rule meant that those with any black ancestors were considered black (Davis 2010), blackness is not inherited in the same way in much of Latin America. Instead, one's physical features, especially skin color, serve as a major determinant of racial classification and stratification (Nogueira 1955; Gravlee 2005; Guimarães 2012; Telles and Steele 2012; Telles and PERLA 2014). One could very easily have a black parent and identify as nonblack without it being understood as "passing."[3] In Brazil, for example, scholars have found that a considerable percentage of self-identified whites reported having African ancestry (Telles 2004). Moreover, the racial identification of one's parents did not always lead to the expected racial identification for the children (Telles 2004; Schwartzman 2007). This tenuous relationship between ancestry and racial identification opens up the possibility for a kind of racial fluidity across generations, in addition to other forms of fluidity.

As a result, scholars of race in Latin America have identified a number of different kinds of racial fluidity, including temporal, contextual, referential, and categorical fluidity.[4] The first two forms refer to the racial fluidity that occurs when individuals change their racial identification either across situations or contexts (situational/contextual fluidity) or over time (temporal fluidity). Loveman and Muniz (2007), for example, found that the same individuals changed their racial identification over time in Puerto Rico, while several others have found this for Brazil (Carvalho, Wood, and Andrade 2004; Paixão et al. 2011; Marteleto 2012; Francis and Tannuri-Pianto 2013) and the United States (Saperstein and Penner 2012); these classification shifts thus affect official population estimates by race. Moving in and out of racial categories is best understood as a kind of temporal fluidity that may at once signal a lack of rigidity in racial identification or changes in the boundaries around racial categories themselves. While such fluidity has been at the center of race research in Latin America, research on the United States has shown that racial identification is often flexible for

---

[3] The notion of passing as a deceptive practice is somewhat foreign to Latin American countries. This is in part because, while whiteness is highly valued in these countries, historically there has not been the same obsession with white purity as in the United States. See Davis (2001) for an in-depth discussion of the one-drop rule.

[4] We use "ambiguity" and "fluidity" interchangeably here as does most of the literature. The idea is simply that racial identification and classification are not rigid or fixed. It is also important to note that while these different kinds of racial fluidity are somewhat analytically distinct, they are interconnected such that one form of racial fluidity typically exists alongside other forms of racial fluidity.

869

Latinos and multiracials but relatively fixed and static in the black/white case (Rodriguez 2000; Harris and Sim 2002; see Saperstein and Penner [2012] for an exception).

The other two forms of racial fluidity are best captured in Harris's (1970) work on Brazil in which he introduced the idea of "referential ambiguity" and "categorical ambiguity." The former refers to the ambiguity around who fits in which racial categories. For example, the same person may be racially classified in different categories by different people (Harris 1970) or a person's self-identification may be distinct from classification by others (Telles and Lim 1998). In contrast, categorical ambiguity captures the blurriness around, and the lack of consensus about, the boundaries of racial categories themselves. This type of ambiguity is especially relevant to mixed-race categories, which scholars have argued are more likely to be defined ambiguously (Harris 1970; Telles 2004).[5] For instance, evidence from Brazil shows that ambiguity is much greater between mixed-race and black classifications than between white and nonwhite (Carvalho et al. 2004; Bailey and Telles 2006).

In this article, we build on the concept of racial schemas by operationalizing it in new ways. In so doing, we focus on a specific kind of categorical ambiguity that we call *color elasticity*, or the extent to which skin color maps directly onto racial identification. When color elasticity is high, skin color is not a reliable predictor of racial identification; when it is low, skin color maps more directly onto racial identification. With this construct, we tease out the extent to which the categorical ambiguity that scholars have found simply reflects a blurriness of racial categories or other intervening factors beyond skin color.[6]

Whitening and Social Status

Scholars have noted that informal rules around racial identification in Latin American countries are often governed by a whitening logic in which there is a tendency to avoid categories like "black" and "indigenous" because they are systematically devalued in society (Twine 1997; Wade 1999; Telles 2004). The prominence of popular expressions throughout Latin America such as "bettering the race," which refers to marrying lighter, and pejorative expressions like "Don't be an Indian" and "It had to be a black person" strongly signal the undesirability of nonwhite categories. Dark-skinned persons may

---

[5] In Brazil, e.g., the popular *moreno* category is particularly ambiguous and refers to persons throughout the color continuum (Telles 2004).

[6] While we understand that skin color is not the only marker of perceived racial difference, scholars have noted that it is perhaps the most important marker (e.g., Harris 1970; Blair and Judd 2010; Guimarães 2012).

870

identify as white, but, more often, they identify in mixed-race categories like *mestizo*, *mulato*, *moreno*, and *pardo*. These intermediate categories simultaneously emphasize social values of race mixture and proximity to whiteness. This tendency, paired with a certain tolerance for ambiguity, has been shown not only to permit but to encourage self-classification in lighter categories. Any hint of whiteness, such as a narrow nose, a white ancestor, or perhaps high social status, has been used to whiten one's racial classification (Wright 1990; Guimarães 2008).

Similarly, scholars have also found that whitening practices have often been mediated by social status.[7] In this mechanism, individuals who are upwardly mobile or of high status may be allowed to classify in whiter racial categories in ways that do not violate social norms. This relationship is perhaps best captured in the popular adage "money whitens." This idea of money whitening likely has deep historical roots. It may be linked to the practice of "gracias al sacar," whereby people—typically mixed-race free persons who had accumulated enough resources—in colonial Latin America with its *castas* system would purchase certificates of whiteness from the crown (Gudmundson 1984; Telles and Flores 2013).

However, while literally buying whiteness may be obsolete, scholars have argued that it has continued as a social practice in Venezuela (Wright 1990), Brazil (Schwartzman 2007), the Dominican Republic (Howard 2001), and even the United States (Saperstein and Penner 2012).[8] Studying a central Brazilian town, Harris (1952; see also Hutchinson 1952) first claimed that the "white" category included *mulatos* of average or above-average wealth as well as wealthy blacks. These findings were enshrined in Degler's (1971) classic *Neither Black Nor White*, subsequently becoming widely accepted. Similarly, discussing the Dominican Republic, Howard argued that "more affluent Dominicans invariably use lighter color terminology to describe themselves, such as *blanco/a* and *trigueño/a*, as well as *Indio/a*, if qualified by lighter adjectives such as *claro/a*" (2001, p. 69). These examples suggest that high socioeconomic status tends to be associated with whiteness, or at the very least with nonblackness. For these reasons, scholars have argued that socioeconomic status is one of the most important factors beyond phenotype that shapes the rules around racial classification in Latin American countries.

---

[7] Work on multiracials in the United States has also found a relationship between socioeconomic status and racial identification (Rockquemore and Brunsma 2008). Interestingly, Saperstein and Penner (2012) have found that incarceration has a similar effect on racial identification such that individuals are more likely to change their racial identification to black after they have been incarcerated.

[8] Unlike the other studies that found whitening of the same person, Schwartzman (2007) found intergenerational whitening in Brazil where higher-status parents chose lighter categories for their children than did those of lower status.

871

Even so, a number of scholars have begun to reexamine the degree of racial fluidity in Latin America, including the findings about whitening (Gil-White 2001b; Sheriff 2001; Golash-Boza 2010); evidence suggests that this practice has not necessarily been present in all Latin American countries. Wade (1993) argued that, while whiteness was certainly associated with status in Colombia, actual reclassification was possible only for a small number of persons whose physical appearance straddled adjoining racial categories. In other cases, scholars have argued that whitening did not happen at all. In her ethnographic study of a Peruvian region where Afro-descendants predominate, Golash-Boza (2010) contended that no amount of status could whiten racial identification in that context.

Gender and Racial Identification

In addition to socioeconomic status, gender may also be important in shaping patterns of racial identification. Indeed, scholars have argued that racialization is often a highly gendered process that shapes the lived experiences of men and women in distinct ways (Viveros 2000). More specifically, scholars have shown that while there is an overall premium on lighter skin, straighter hair, and more European features throughout Latin America, women are subjected to this standard of beauty much more than men, especially around hair (Figuereido 1994; Caldwell 2007; Candelario 2007). Moreover, racial categories in Latin America are often themselves gendered, with some largely understood as feminine and others as masculine.[9] All of this, paired with the fact that racial identification can be particularly fluid in Latin America, suggests that men and women could have very distinct patterns of racial identification.

Taken together, the literature on race in Latin American countries has begun to outline the contours of racial schemas in this region. What the region seems to share is a relatively high degree of racial fluidity, particularly when compared to the United States. The scholarship also suggests that Latin American racial schemas may converge in that they are regulated by a whitening logic and also mediated by social status and gender. Yet while the scholarship reveals some similarities, it also points to some key differences in the informal rules around racial classification within the region. We believe these differences have as much to do with historical context as contemporary social and political processes. We now discuss how a number of these national-level factors shape racial schemas in the four Latin American countries we analyze here.

---

[9] One example of this is the term *mulata* in Brazil, which is a highly sexualized term referring to women and which has no male equivalent.

872

Explaining National Racial Schemas

Nation-building narratives and state policies.—Existing research on Latin America has underscored the importance of a number of actors—political elites, civil society actors, and ordinary citizens—in shaping the racial schemas of each of the countries we examine (Nobles 2000; Ferrandez and Kandolfer 2012).[10] The role of national narratives is especially important. While political elites in countries like Argentina and Costa Rica developed modernizing nation-building projects centered on whiteness, elites in most Latin American countries adopted narratives of *mestizaje*. In these latter cases, elites venerated mixture and the symbols of European, indigenous, and to a lesser extent African contributions to the nation. In so doing, these nations touted their racial mixture as proof of their racial tolerance and moral superiority over the United States, where elites promoted racial purity and segregation (Skidmore 1974; Moya Pons 1986; Soto-Quirós and Díaz-Arias 2006). *Mestizaje* ideas were shared across Latin American nations and adapted to each country's particular demographic, political, and ideological circumstances, particularly as scientific racism was becoming discredited across the Western world and its arguments waned as barriers to national prospects for development (Graham 1990; Stepan 1993). Yet, as a number of scholars have argued and as we indicated previously, inherent in *mestizaje* discourse was a de facto racial hierarchy and a whitening logic (Wade 1993).

Nation-building discourses have also varied with respect to the place they assign to blacks. For instance, while African culture was central to the *mestizaje* narratives in Brazil (Skidmore 1974; Telles 2004), Cuba (De la Fuente 2001), and Puerto Rico (Godreau 2002), it was largely absent in the rest of Latin America (Skidmore 1974; Gudmundson 1984; Conniff 1985; Purcell 1993; Wade 1993; Putnam 1999; De la Fuente 2001). Interestingly, even though the Dominican Republic had a large enslaved African population during the colonial period, Dominican elites glorified European and indigenous (*taino*) contributions to the nation while they reviled and ignored African ancestry. Dominican nationalism and notions of race would develop in relation to neighboring Haiti, with which it shared a small island and a complicated history. Since the early 20th century, African culture and blackness became associated with Haitians and was seen as antithetical to the Dominican Republic (Moya Pons 1986; Howard 2001; Candelario 2007).[11] Similarly, *mestizaje* narratives in Colombia tended to stress white-

[10] Hoetink (1967), interested in understanding differences in somatic norms of particular countries in the Caribbean, emphasized economic processes.

[11] The especially tense Haitian-Dominican relationship, which has clearly racist elements, has included the genocide of 20,000 Haitians ordered by Dominican dictator Trujillo in 1937 and the September 2013 decision by the Dominican Supreme Court to

873

indigenous mixture while ignoring or downplaying the country's African-origin population (Wade 1993; Sanders 2004).[12]

Panamanian political elites developed a similar nationalist ideology that emphasized the *crisol*, or "crucible," of the races, denoting the mixture between Spanish, indigenous, and sometimes African blood and culture (Priestley and Barrow 2008). However, such discourses also developed alongside a system of racial segregation, at least in the Canal Zone (Priestley and Barrow 2008). In this respect, O'Reggio (2006, p. 10) argued that Panama operated as a "living laboratory of U.S. race relations in Latin America." Indeed, throughout much of the 20th century the country was controlled by the United States, which replicated the Jim Crow system, particularly in the canal region of the country. In so doing, the U.S. government replaced Panama's more ambiguous racial classification with multiple categories with a race-based dual wage system that existed up until the 1960s. Moreover, still under U.S. occupation, the country revoked the Panamanian citizenship of West Indians and their descendants in 1941 (Conniff 1985; O'Reggio 2006; Priestley and Barrow 2008). An earlier tradition of race mixture had emphasized Spanish-indigenous mixture but ignored blackness (Priestly and Barrow 2008).

These various elite-led narratives drew symbolic boundaries that determined who should be included in or excluded from the nation, who belonged in which categories, and which racial categories were most valued (Wimmer 2013). This has likely helped to form countries' distinct racial classification systems, with their own particular racial schemas and levels of fluidity. By not defining racial categories and by making mixedness central in defining the nation, Latin American states have played an important role in the making of complex informal rules and practices of racial identification in their societies. As the Brazilian case has shown, the dominant narratives of race mixture have been widely accepted as defining the Brazilian people (Skidmore 1974; Telles 2004). As Swidler (1986) has theorized, such national narratives or myths create cultural repertoires or "common sense" on which individuals draw and that, in turn, pattern social actions. However, these national narratives, which were dominant throughout much of the 20th century, have begun to change.

Multiculturalism and black movement mobilization.—Beginning in the late 1980s, Latin American countries began to experience a dramatic shift in nationalist narratives, which some have called "the multicultural turn"

---

revoke the citizenship of Dominicans of Haitian descent whose ancestors arrived since 1929 (John 2013).

[12] But, Wade (1997) and especially Sanders (2004) have suggested that political elites in different regions developed different versions of *mestizaje* with different degrees of emphasis on the European, African, and Indigenous elements of the nation.

874

(Hale 2002; Anderson 2007; Rahier 2012). In this period, the majority of Latin American governments ushered in a new period that challenges once-dominant ideas about race mixture by adopting race-based and multicultural policies over the last two decades. These changes should be understood as the result of a process of democratization, which was partly a response to black, indigenous, and other popular social movements and pressure from an international human rights regime increasingly interested in multiculturalism (Van Cott 2000; Telles 2004; Yashar 2005).

Through constitutional reform processes, Latin American states began not only to recognize cultural diversity but to guarantee the rights of black and indigenous peoples. While some scholars have argued that this newly found multicultural citizenship is limited, others have held that these reforms do indeed challenge the privileging of ethnoracial mixture while undermining once prevalent claims of ethnic homogeneity (see Hale 2002). Indeed, in contrast to *mestizaje* discourse, this new mode of multicultural citizenship privileges ideas of cultural difference, even if in so doing they obscure other issues, like racial discrimination (Hooker 2005). We argue that these changes in nationalist narratives have affected racial schemas.

Although nearly every constitution in Latin America now recognizes multicultural rights for indigenous peoples, only in seven cases have rights been granted to Afro-descendant populations (Hooker 2005).[13] Most notably, rights were granted to indigenous communities and to geographically concentrated black rural communities. Among the many rights recognized for these populations were collective land rights, the right to political autonomy, and alternative development (Hooker 2005). When we examine our four cases more closely, we find divergent patterns of multicultural reforms. While collective rights for rural black people are guaranteed in both Colombia and Brazil, they have been particularly strong in the former where ideas of cultural difference mapped on to local understandings of blackness as associated with particular regions (Wade 1993; Paschel 2010). In addition, both Colombia and Brazil instituted affirmative action policies in higher education, and state officials have publicly recognized racism as a major social problem in their countries.[14] In contrast, Panama and the Dominican Republic have not adopted reforms, although there are other signs that racial discourse may be changing in those countries (Priestly and Barrow 2008; Simmons 2009).

Changes in racial identification may also be a consequence of mobilization by black and indigenous political movements, arguably the main promoters of multiculturalism (Grueso, Escobar, and Rosero 1998; Yashar

[13] Hooker (2005) reported six countries, but, since Hooker's article, Bolivia has granted multicultural rights to Afro-descendants.

[14] However, affirmative action has been extended to most public universities in Brazil compared to a small number of universities in Colombia (Telles 2004).

875

2005; Paschel and Sawyer 2008). Beyond pressuring the state to adopt multicultural and antiracism legislation, these movements have also focused on challenging dominant discourses of race and nation in these countries and encouraging persons of African origin to identify as black (Nobles 2000; Telles 2004; Paschel 2013). Throughout Latin America, black movements have sought to broaden the popular conception of blackness beyond the very darkest persons while also decoupling it from negative stereotypes. However, the movements' intensity varies by country, with Brazil having the most organized movement, and Dominican Republic, the least. Scholars have argued that these movements have had a direct impact on racial classification. Paixão et al. (2011) and Marteleto (2012), for example, have shown an overall darkening of racial identification in recent years for Brazil, which is reflected in the now-common sight of Afro-descendant college students of various colors sporting T-shirts that read "100% *negro* [black]." Taken together, these accounts suggest that the adoption of specific policies for black populations and the upsurge in black consciousness movements are undermining the whitening logic, at least in Brazil.

Changing racial schemas.—With this in mind, we want to suggest that while racial schemas are difficult to change, they are malleable. State policies (Telles 2004; Bailey 2009; Francis and Tannuri-Pianto 2013), political mobilization (Omi and Winant 1994; Nobles 2000; Paschel 2013), and bottom-up social processes (Loveman and Muniz 2007) shape and reshape the racial schemas that ordinary people use. The ever-expanding literature on multicultural reforms in Latin America only alludes to how they might be changing patterns of identification (Schwartzman 2007). Scholars have focused, instead, on other important aspects of the contemporary period, including the content of, and politics around, multicultural reforms. While identity is central to these analyses, there has been a greater focus on understanding blackness and indigenity as political phenomena rather than identity (Rahier 2012).

State policies—whether they are the explicitly exclusionary policies of the past or the more inclusionary ones of the present—can harden racial classification and potentially change the relation between racial identification and socioeconomic status. More specifically, instituting such policies has probably increased the value of nonwhite racial categories. Policies like affirmative action may even provide material benefits to citizens identifying in those categories. For example, Francis and Tannuri-Pianto (2013) have shown that some university applicants in Brazil have reclassified themselves as nonwhite to qualify for affirmative action slots. In particular, while traditional *mestizaje* narratives have encouraged dark-skinned individuals to use mixed-race categories and whiten where they have high social status, the recent shift to multiculturalism may have stabilized or

876

even reversed the relation between status and racial identification, creating a new tendency toward blackening/darkening.

Even in the Dominican Republic, where the black movement is weak and legislative reforms have not occurred, scholars have noted recent changes in racial identification patterns. Howard (2001, p. 69), for example, has argued that educated Dominicans were beginning to experiment with *mulato* identity, and Roth (2012) found that Dominican immigrants to the United States incorporate elements of U.S. racial classification, where they are often perceived as black. Similarly, in her ethnographic work, Simmons (2009) held that Dominicans have recently begun to challenge traditional racial identities of whitening and classification as *Indio* by slowly embracing blackness. Scholars have argued that these changes in racial classification in the Dominican Republic are directly linked to out-migration to the United States and transnationalism among these immigrants (Simmons 2009; Roth 2012).

These recent findings raise many questions about the extent to which racial fluidity and whitening practices continue to exist in Latin American countries and whether there are similarities among these countries within the region. We believe that one way of better understanding the nature of these countries' racial schemas is to systematically analyze their relative level of racial fluidity. In this, we understand racial schemas as varying on a continuum from rigid to fluid, with most countries lying somewhere between the two extremes. When all forms of racial fluidity that we discussed above—contextual, temporal, referential, and categorical—are high, the racial schema can be said to be particularly fluid. When they are low, it is relatively fixed. Using unprecedented data and a comparative lens, we analyze racial schemas, paying special attention to categorical ambiguity.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Data

For our primary analysis, we used a series of national probability sample surveys from the 2010 and 2012 America's Barometer data, which were collected by the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) based at Vanderbilt University. These surveys feature an ethnicity module designed by the Project on Ethnicity and Race in Latin America (PERLA) at Princeton University. In 2010 and 2012 America's Barometer conducted face-to-face surveys of adults in all Latin American countries except Cuba. We also conducted an ancillary analysis, in which we used a 2010 national probability sample of Brazil collected under the auspices of PERLA, which includes a hair type variable. For both sets of surveys, sampling was stratified in four stages and based on the most recent population distributions available

877

(usually the national census). The surveys were implemented by leading survey firms in each country and closely monitored by LAPOP.[15] The Princeton PERLA survey followed a similar methodology and was conducted by Instituto Analisé as one of their monthly national surveys, which include political and marketing polls.

We used the America's Barometer data for Brazil, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, and Panama, four of the five countries in which blacks and *mulatos* together comprised at least 10% of the LAPOP samples.[16] We did not include Venezuela because it uses different racial categories, including the particularly ambiguous *moreno* category in which about 50% of the Venezuelan population identifies.[17] LAPOP did not survey Cuba, where 34.5% of the population identified as black (*negro*) in the 2002 census (Del Popolo 2008).

In all four countries, the indigenous population was smaller than the Afro-descendant population, as table 1 shows. In our analysis, therefore, we excluded the small proportion of persons in these countries who identified as "indigenous" or spoke an indigenous language, as well as those who identified as "other." The combined sample size from the two surveys was about 4,000 in Brazil and 3,000 in the other three countries; our actual study sample was somewhat smaller because we excluded indigenous and others and cases with missing data.

Dependent Variables

The complexities of racial categorization in the region are considerable and are heightened by the cross-national differences. Therefore, in asking respondents about their racial identification, we used a standard set of racial categories in the three Spanish-speaking countries (Panama, Colombia, and Dominican Republic) and equivalent terms in Portuguese for Brazil. We also used self-identification, rather than interviewer classification, since that has become the standard mode of classification in national censuses across the world (Loveman and Muniz 2007; Morning 2008) and is the basis of the incipient race-based redistributive policies in Latin America. Although classification by others may better capture referential ambiguity and discrimination, self-identity is arguably more important for understanding such factors as political mobilization and self-esteem. On the other

---

[15] Full technical information for the America's Barometer surveys can be found at http://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/core-surveys.php.

[16] The next largest proportion is in Costa Rica, in which 9% of the population self-identified as black and *mulato*.

[17] *Moreno* has been shown to be particularly ambiguous as a referent to race in Brazil and Venezuela, as it is analogous to a "Brazilian race" or "Venezuelan race" in nationalist narratives (Telles 2004; Gulbas 2008).

878

hand, also know that self-identification largely reflects how one is classified by others although an individual's choice of an ethnoracial category may also reflect respondents' understanding of its meaning and utility (Nagel 1994; Jenkins 1998; Telles 2004).

The dependent variable in our main statistical analysis was self-identification as either white or black as compared to *pardo* in Brazil and white, black, or *mulato* as compared to *mestizo* in the Spanish-speaking countries. The dependent variable for Brazil was drawn from a question that resembles its national census: "Do you consider yourself white, black (*preto*), *pardo*, indigenous or yellow."[18] In the Spanish-speaking countries, the dependent variables were based on the survey question, "Do you consider yourself white, *mestizo*, indigenous, black (*negro*), *mulato* or other?" In the Dominican Republic, interviewers prompted respondents with the more popular term *Indio* (Indian), which is sometimes thought to refer to a bronze color rather than indigenous ancestry (Candelario 2007), if respondents did not understand *mestizo*. The term *indígena* (indigenous) was not used in that country since the consensus is that there is no remaining indigenous population (Moya Pons 1986). The actual term used for black in the surveys was *preto* in Portuguese and *negro* in Spanish, both of which typically refer to the darkest and most "African-looking" individuals.

Mulato is commonly understood in Spanish and Portuguese as someone of mixed European and African ancestry or who is phenotypically between "black" and "white" (Gravlee 2005). Although *mulato* is also used in Brazil (Stephens 1999), the census uses the term *pardo*. *Pardo* literally means "brown" or "gray" and commonly refers to people who are mixed in general and do not fit clearly into the white, *negro*, or indigenous categories (Stephens 1999; Nobles 2000; Guimarães 2008). Unlike the Spanish-speaking countries, a *mestizo* or *mestizo*-like category was not used in Brazil.

Independent Variables

Our principal independent variables were skin color, education, and wealth. Our analysis of racial classification is novel because it employs a skin color variable. Since race is predominately defined by color/phenotype, studies that examine the effects of variables like status on racial classification or identification could attribute those effects erroneously if phenotype is not controlled. To assess skin color, interviewers for the America's Barometer survey rated the facial skin color of each respondent according to a skin color palette, which was not shown to the respondent.[19] The palette

[18] "Yellow" is understood as Asian or of Asian ancestry.
[19] The actual colors of the palette can be viewed at http://perla.princeton.edu/surveys /perla-color-palette.

879

included 11 skin tones (1 = lightest, 11 = darkest), which came from In-
ternet photographs; the palette was extensively pretested for interviewers'
ease of use and to see whether it covered the range of colors found in the field.
Although interviewer-rated skin color has been used in several surveys about
racial discrimination and racial attitudes in the United States (Keith and
Herring 1991; Gullickson 2005), to our knowledge it has not been used in
nationally representative studies of Latin American countries.

We controlled for the color of the interviewer (a continuous variable,
which was rated by the interviewer supervisor) to capture possible inter-
viewer bias. Although skin color evaluations by interviewers are not per-
fect, we believe they closely capture actual color in the majority of cases. In
a related study, Hill (2002) found that black and white interviewers in the
United States differed in how they coded respondents' color. Instead, this
study directly examines how interviewer's color affected how respondents
racially identified themselves, although an interviewer's color may indi-
rectly affect their ratings of a respondent's color. In addition, our ancillary
analysis introduces a dichotomous hair type variable of kinky versus non-
kinky, to further capture phenotypic variation.[20]

Wealth and education were indicators of socioeconomic status: on the
basis of the classic status/money whitening effect, we hypothesized that
persons with higher socioeconomic status are more likely to identify in
lighter categories, as "money whitens" suggests. We used a relative wealth
measure developed by LAPOP, which is based on a weighted index of
possessing any of 14 household assets such as a refrigerator, an Internet
connection, a washing machine, a computer, and a car (Cordova 2008).[21]
Using principal components analysis, the wealth index weights luxury items
more, taking the distribution of assets in urban and rural areas within a
given country into account, in order to reflect each country's economic con-
ditions across urban and rural areas. Scholars have shown that, especially
in the developing world, expenditure-based economic indicators are more
reliable than indexes that are income based, for various reasons includ-
ing misreporting and underreporting of income (Filmer and Pritchett 1999;
Torche and Spilerman 2009). Education, a more straightforward measure
of socioeconomic status, consisted of three levels: low (less than elementary
school complete), medium (high school complete), and high (some college
or college complete).

We included additional independent variables as controls since they
could potentially affect racial identification; these were age, gender, urban/
rural residence, and color of interviewer. Age was a continuous vari-

---

[20] In Portuguese, kinky is *crespo*. Nonkinky includes the categories of straight (*liso*), wavy
(*ondulado*), and bald (*careca*).

[21] The range for the wealth variable in Brazil was 0–19, based on 19 assets.

880

able, and gender and urban/rural were dichotomous. Color of interviewer used the same 11-point scale as used to rate respondents' color. We also controlled for whether respondents participated in the 2012 or 2010 survey, mostly because sampling design may have changed between the two surveys.

Method

We begin our analysis with descriptive statistics, examining the distribution of persons by racial self-identification (table 1) and illustrating the relation between racial self-identification and skin color (fig. 1) in each of the four countries. We show summary statistics in table 2. We then proceed to multinomial logistic regression to predict identification as white, *mulato*, or black, compared to *mestizo/pardo* (table 3), revealing the relative effect of skin color among the four countries. We present odds ratios to assess the comparative effects of the independent variables. (Table A1 presents similar regressions as table 3 except that it predicts identification as white, *mestizo*, or black with *mulato/pardo* as the reference. Tables A2 and A3 add coefficients examining the effect of immigration to the United States.) Finally, we illustrate and compare the effects of socioeconomic status (i.e., the combined effects of education and wealth) for each country (fig. 2) using predicted probabilities.

To model status effects, we use regression analysis and our cross-sectional data to compare the racial identification of persons having high and low levels of wealth and education but having the same skin color, age, sex, and so on. We believe this method provides a reasonable estimation of status whitening effects, although a longitudinal analysis that examines the same individuals over time (see Saperstein and Penner [2012] for the United States) is more compelling in one sense, but, because it lacks information on color, it prevents analysis of whether fluidity occurs beyond only very light skinned persons. A concern with our method could be that by not fully controlling for phenotype, the regression coefficients for status could reflect residual reverse effects of racial classification on socioeconomic status. However, the addition of a hair type variable for Brazil did not alter the status effects, thus reassuring us that our model was sufficiently robust to test the status effects (table 4).

FINDINGS

Descriptive Findings

Table 1 shows the distribution of racial identification for respondents in the 2010 LAPOP survey, before excluding the indigenous respondents. The proportion identifying as white was similar in Brazil, Colombia, and Pan-

881

TABLE 1
Ethnoracial Identification Distribution of Total Adult Population
by Country (%)

	Brazil	Colombia	Panama	Dominican Republic
White	35	31	31	11
Mestizo	...	52	44	64
Mulato/pardo	48	3	3	11
Black	11	8	14	13
Indigenous[a]	2	4	8	...
Other[a]	4	2	0	1

NOTE.—Data are from 2010 and 2012 America's Barometer. In Brazil, *pardo* was used instead of *mulato*. In the Dominican Republic, there is no indigenous category, and respondents were sometimes prompted with the term *Indio* when they did not understand the term *mestizo*.

[a] Not in study sample for the remaining analysis.

ama at 31%–35% while it was only 11% in the Dominican Republic. *Mestizo* was the modal category in the three countries in which it was used, ranging from 44% in Panama to 64% in the Dominican Republic. The proportion that identified as black ranged from 8% in Colombia to 14% in Panama. The range of those identifying as *mulato* was wider, from 3% in Colombia and Panama to 11% in the Dominican Republic. In Brazil, where the categories were somewhat different, fully 48% identified as *pardo*. Moreover, variation in the ratio of blacks to *mulatos* was quite large, from about 5:1 in Panama to an almost even split in the Dominican Republic (13:11) to Brazil, where the ratio of blacks to *pardos* was less than 1:4. Thus, mixed identities that denote some African ancestry were particularly common in Brazil and the Dominican Republic but were relatively rare in Colombia and especially in Panama.

We now turn to figure 1, which illustrates the skin color distribution of blacks, *mulatos*, *mestizos*, and whites in the four countries. The percentages for each category at each color point x are based on moving (weighted) averages at that point (x) plus the two adjacent points $(x + 1, x − 1)$. We used moving averages to increase the number of cases in each skin color category since some color categories had very few cases. This created a smoothed distribution across the skin color spectrum and prevented fluctuations due to small samples.[22] While we focus on the findings for the black and *mulato* categories, these figures also include the categories of white (in all countries) and *mestizo* (in the Spanish-speaking countries) for reference.

Figure 1 reveals a wide range in the association between skin color and identification. While there was substantial overlap in skin color among the

[22] In all four countries, the large majority (70%–81%) of respondents are found in four color categories (3–6), while the remainder are spread across the other seven. Those having a skin color of 9–11 are particularly few.

882
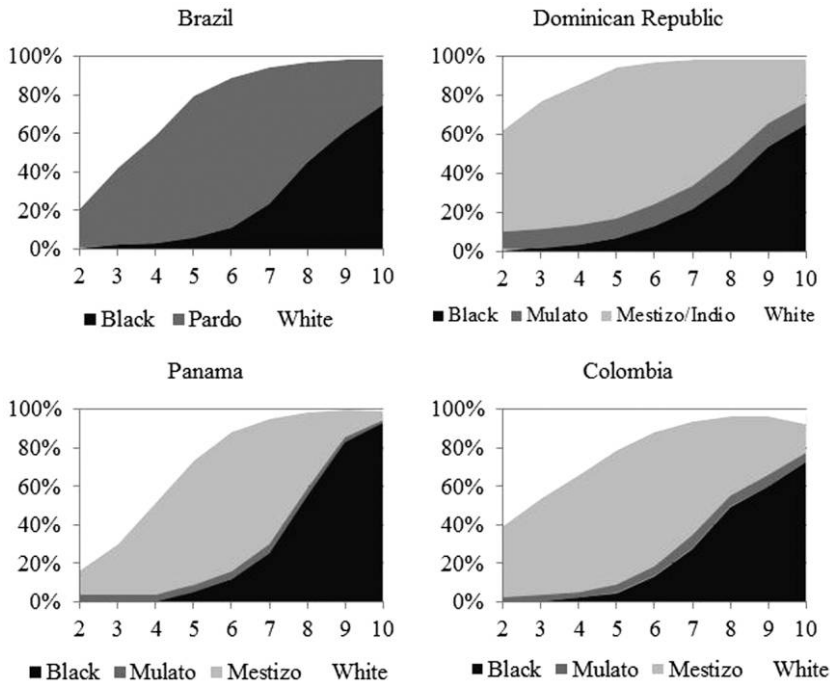
FIG. 1.—Distribution of racial categories by skin color in Brazil, Panama, Colombia, and the Dominican Republic.

groups in all countries, in all cases people who identified as black tended to be darker than those who identified as *mulato*, who tended to be darker than the white and *mestizo* populations. Even so, there was national variation in the color points at which persons identified as *mulato* and as black. More than 90% of the darkest (skin color = 9, 10, 11; shown by point 10) Panamanians self-identified as black compared to just over 60% in the Dominican Republic. Admittedly, the sample size for blacks at this end of the spectrum was small.[23] In Brazil and Colombia, about 80% of these darkest-skinned persons identified as black. In Brazil, nearly all of the remaining 20% who did not identify as black identified as *pardo*.[24] Moreover, the slope denoting change in identification as black across color gradients was particularly steep in Panama, further demonstrating the especially great importance of skin color to black self-identification in that country.

[23] These persons represented on average about 4% of the sample populations of these countries.

[24] This is hardly surprising since *mestizo* or a *mestizo*-like term was not used in that country's survey.

883

Mulato identification seems to have had a particularly high level of fluidity. Figure 1 shows that persons identifying as *mulato* could be found in nearly every skin color category in the Spanish-speaking countries. In the Dominican Republic, a constant 10% identified as *mulato* in every skin color category. In Colombia and Panama, the few who identified as *mulato* (as shown in table 1) were represented in constant amounts across much of the skin color spectrum. By contrast, the *pardo* category in Brazil appears more affected by skin color than *mulato* in the other countries. In Brazil, the percentage of people identifying as *pardo* rapidly increased from 20% to 80% by point 5 (skin color = 4, 5, 6) and then decreased to almost 20% of the darkest Brazilians (skin color = 9, 10, 11; shown by point 10).

Figure 1 reveals that the distribution of self-identified *pardos* in Brazil was roughly the same as the population identifying in the combined *mulato* and *mestizo* categories in the Spanish-speaking countries. Thus, these figures suggest that *pardo* and *mulato* are not equivalent, despite the Brazilian government's and the black movement's assumption that *pardo* refers exclusively to persons of African descent (Telles 2004).

At the other end of the spectrum, about 80% of the lightest Brazilians and Panamanians identified as white (skin color = 1, 2, 3; shown by point 2), while only 60% of Colombians and 40% of Dominicans did. There were almost no blacks (*negros* or *pretos*) in the lightest skin color points (2, 3, 4) in any of the four countries, although there were considerable numbers of *mestizos* and *pardos*. These figures are consistent with Telles and Flores's (2013) findings for who identifies as white. For the Spanish-speaking countries, figure 1 demonstrates that *mestizo* is less fluid than *mulato* but more fluid than white or black. Although *mestizos* (and *pardos*) could be found across the entire color spectrum in all four countries, their numbers peaked in the middle categories (5 and 6), even though the proportion identifying as *mestizo* was relatively low in those categories.

Overall, findings depicted in figure 1 suggest that skin color and racial self-identification were most strongly related in Panama where the slopes for the distributions of self-identified whites, *mestizos*, and blacks were clearly the steepest. In contrast, skin color and racial identification seemed least related in the Dominican Republic, where the respective slopes were flattest. Brazil and Colombia revealed similar distributions except that the intermediate *pardo* category of Brazil was roughly equivalent to Colombia's *mestizo* and *mulato* category together.

Multinomial Regression Results

In the Spanish-speaking countries, we constructed multinomial regression models to predict identification as white, *mulato*, or black (*negro*) compared to *mestizo*; in Brazil, the regressions predicted identification as white

884

TABLE 2
SUMMARY STATISTICS OF INDEPENDENT VARIABLES BY COUNTRY

	BRAZIL		COLOMBIA		PANAMA		DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Skin color	4.58	2.18	4.26	1.75	5.14	1.91	5.16	1.92
Wealth	6.79	2.39	5.84	2.44	6.18	2.33	5.29	2.51
Low education	.46	.50	.25	.43	.17	.38	.46	.50
Medium education	.43	.49	.49	.47	.61	.49	.35	.48
High education	.12	.32	.26	.49	.22	.41	.20	.40
Male	.49	.50	.50	.50	.50	.50	.50	.50
Age	38.53	15.15	36.97	14.93	38.14	15.75	40.16	16.53
Urban	.87	.34	.78	.42	.67	.47	.69	.46
Color of interviewer . . .	3.81	1.61	4.82	1.77	6.19	1.72	4.68	1.48
Year 2012	.38	.49	.49	.50	.51	.50	.50	.50

NOTE.—Data are from 2010 and 2012 America's Barometer.

or black (*preto*) compared to *pardo*. We show means and standard deviations of the independent variables in table 2 and present our regression results in table 3.

Table 2 shows variation in the characteristics of the populations in the four countries. The first row shows that, on average, Dominicans and Panamanians tended to be the darkest while Colombians were the lightest, although the standard deviations suggest much overlap in the color distribution of the four national populations. While Panamanians were probably the wealthiest, on average Colombians were the most educated, with 25.7% of respondents in the high-education bracket. Dominicans were the poorest and least educated, while Brazilians were equally poorly educated. Probably reflecting the fact that the color inequality in education is greater in Brazil than in Panama (Telles and Steele 2012), the darkest interviewers by far were in Panama while the lightest were in Brazil. The Year 2012 variable indicates that the number of respondents was similar in the 2010 and 2012 data, except in Brazil where the 2010 survey sampled a larger number of respondents.

Table 3 shows that skin color was highly significant statistically and showed the expected association: persons identifying as white were the lightest, while those identifying as black were the darkest. *Mulatos* tended to be slightly darker than *mestizos* in Colombia and the Dominican Republic, but there was no difference in Panama. No other variable had such a consistent effect. However, the degree to which skin color mattered varied by country, which figure 1 had illustrated. Table 3 confirms those findings, showing that the coefficients for color in Panama were particularly high for identification as black, where the likelihood of identifying as black increased fully four times (3.997) for each unit increase in color, whereas

885

TABLE 3
ODDS RATIOS FROM MULTINOMIAL LOGISTIC REGRESSIONS PREDICTING IDENTIFICATION AS WHITE, $MULATO/PARDO$, OR BLACK COMPARED TO $MESTIZO/PARDO$ BY COUNTRY

	BRAZIL		PANAMA			COLOMBIA			DOMINICAN REPUBLIC		
	White	Black	White	Mulato	Black	White	Mulato	Black	White	Mulato	Black
Skin color	.35***	2.13***	.22***	.75	3.40***	.46***	1.29**	2.68***	.34***	1.18***	2.27***
	(.03)	(.13)	(.02)	(.22)	(.52)	(.03)	(.11)	(.26)	(.03)	(.06)	(.09)
Wealth	1.16***	1.06	1.02	1.13	1.01	1.05	1.05	.96	.99	.96	1.02
	(.04)	(.04)	(.03)	(.07)	(.04)	(.03)	(.08)	(.06)	(.03)	(.03)	(.04)
Medium education	.79*	1.19	1.04	1.07	1.05	.79	1.01	.82	.59***	1.50**	1.28
	(.09)	(.19)	(.17)	(.33)	(.28)	(.10)	(.34)	(.24)	(.09)	(.22)	(.24)
High education	.95	1.462	1.06	1.03	.80	.52***	.82	.62	.54**	3.90***	1.69*
	(.16)	(.30)	(.20)	(.44)	(.22)	(.08)	(.38)	(.18)	(.11)	(.65)	(.39)
Male	1.24*	.98	1.12	1.21	1.10	.92	1.09	.72	1.17	1.27*	.77
	(.10)	(.11)	(.12)	(.28)	(.13)	(.09)	(.21)	(.12)	(.14)	(.14)	(.12)
Age cohort	1.08*	1.00	.95	1.01	1.00	1.02	1.08	.92	.81***	1.04	1.12*
	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.07)	(.07)	(.04)	(.10)	(.07)	(.04)	(.05)	(.06)
Urban	.97	1.27	.97	.61	1.35	1.10	.91	1.24	1.16	1.42*	1.11
	(.24)	(.34)	(.17)	(.19)	(.32)	(.14)	(.31)	(.47)	(.18)	(.22)	(.16)
Interviewer color	.87**	1.12	1.38***	1.15	.81**	1.01	1.17*	1.15	1.21***	.92	1.00
	(.04)	(.07)	(.07)	(.12)	(.05)	(.03)	(.09)	(.11)	(.07)	(.05)	(.04)
Year 2012	1.06	1.20	1.27	2.10	1.21	1.24	.81	.97	1.97***	.91	1.43*
	(.22)	(.23)	(.22)	(.80)	(.31)	(.17)	(.21)	(.42)	(.30)	(.13)	(.23)
Constant	23.18***	.00***	59.43***	.05***	.00***	9.16***	.01***	.00***	7.45***	.05***	.00***
	(9.96)	(.00)	(23.22)	(.04)	(.00)	(2.40)	(.00)	(.00)	(2.74)	(.02)	(.00)
Nagelkerke R^2	.583		.654			.406			.396		
Observations	3,649		2,871			2,686			2,930		

NOTE.—SEs (in parentheses) adjusted for sample design that accounts for clustering and sample stratification using Huber-White estimation technique.
* $P < .05$ (two-tailed tests).
** $P < .01$.
*** $P < .001$.

the increases were less than triple (2.128–2.680) for each unit increase in color in the other countries. Comparing the Nagelkerke R^2s by country in table 3 shows that the models produced the best fit in Panama and the worst in the Dominican Republic, further revealing the extent to which skin color and the other variables predict racial identification across the four countries.

Regarding socioeconomic status, we found a variety of country-specific patterns. We begin by examining the wealth variable, which best captures the extent to which "money whitens." Table 3 shows that wealth whitened in Brazil from *pardo* to white and at a high level of statistical significance, thus partially supporting the findings in the classical literature for that country (Harris 1952; Degler 1971). Indeed, the likelihood of identifying as white increased by 15.6% for every unit of wealth gain, a considerable effect considering that the difference between 1 standard deviation below the mean and 1 standard deviation above is nearly five points. However, wealth had no effect on the *pardo*-black boundary, suggesting that "money whitens" only for Brazilians who are on the white/*pardo* side of the racial continuum. In contrast, wealth did not affect racial identification in Colombia, Panama, or the Dominican Republic.

In contrast, the results for education suggest that high education "blackened" in Brazil, although these results are significant at a $P = .067$ level. While these results do not seem robust, they present contradictory evidence to the idea that money whitens. We suspect that, if the survey had used the term *negro* instead of *preto* for black, the relationship between education and identification as black would be stronger. Moreover, as we will see, figure 2 and table 4 reveal a stronger positive relationship between high education and black self-identification, which is consistent with other findings showing an apparently new phenomenon in which higher status darkens in Brazil (Guimarães 2012; Marteleto 2012).

We found no relation between education and racial identification in Panama. This may be related to the especially strong effect of skin color found in Panama, which may leave relatively little room for status effects. For Colombia, we found that high education "*mestizoizes*," especially at the light end. Colombians with high education were nearly half (.524) as likely to identify as white at a very high level of statistical significance, although the results suggest that they were also less (.620 times) likely to identify as black and at a level that was not statistically significant at the $P < .05$ level ($P = .094$).

In the Dominican Republic, the results for medium and high education in table 3 suggest that medium and high education darkened on the continuum from white to *mulato*. Those with higher education were also more likely to identify as black, but not to the same extent that they identified as *mulato*. These results were always statistically significant at high levels.
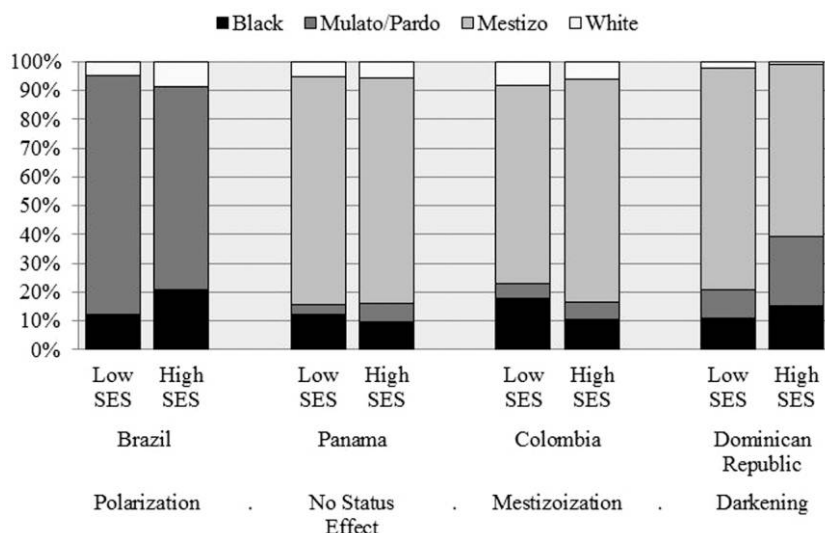
887

F IG . 2 .—Predicted probabilities for identification in racial categories for high and low socioeconomic status in Brazil, Panama, Colombia, and the Dominican Republic. Predicted values were calculated for high and low socioeconomic status persons with a skin color of 6 and mean characteristics on all other variables in table 3. Low socioeconomic status is defined as having low education and a wealth score of 1 SD below the country's mean, and high socioeconomic status is defined as having high education and a wealth score of 1 SD above the country's mean.

Most notably, high-educated Dominicans were nearly four times (3.905) as likely to identify as *mulato* when compared to low-educated Dominicans, while they were 1.689 times as likely to identify as black. Thus, our results for education support Howard's (2001) and Simmons's (2009) ethnographic observations that many middle-class Dominicans are beginning to identify as *mulato*, thus choosing a mixed-race category that explicitly recognizes African origin instead of the traditional category of *Indio*, which does not. We found that higher-educated Dominicans were also more likely to identify as black, as Simmons (2009) also found, although not at the level of *mulato* self-identification. Finally, we discovered these status effects based on education but not on wealth or assets.

Since both wealth and education represent socioeconomic status, we calculated their combined effect. This was especially necessary in the case of Brazil, where the effect of these variables was divergent. We show the association between racial identification and socioeconomic status for the four countries, on the basis of the combined effects of education and wealth, in figure 2. These results were calculated using the STATA program CLARIFY on the basis of the regression models in table 3. CLARIFY pro-

888

TABLE 4
ODDS RATIOS FROM MULTINOMIAL LOGISTIC REGRESSIONS PREDICTING IDENTIFICATION
AS WHITE OR BLACK (*PRETO*) COMPARED TO *PARDO* IN BRAZIL

	MODEL 1		MODEL 2	
	White	*Preto*	White	*Preto*
Skin color	.44***	2.44***	.46***	2.29***
	(.04)	(.36)	(.05)	(.35)
Kinky hair			.21***	2.76*
			(.07)	(1.10)
Wealth	1.16***	1.02	1.12**	1.03
	(.05)	(.08)	(.05)	(.09)
Medium education . . .	1.38	1.53	1.40	1.67*
	(.27)	(.37)	(.30)	(.37)
High education . . .	1.13	3.14***	1.12	3.60***
	(.27)	(1.02)	(.29)	(1.19)
Male	.89	.98	.97	.87
	(.15)	(.15)	(.17)	(.16)
Age	1.16**	1.16*	1.15***	1.20**
	(.05)	(.07)	(.04)	(.08)
Urban	2.67***	1.42	2.79***	1.48
	(.57)	(.43)	(.46)	(.50)
Color of interviewer	.84*	1.20**	.85*	1.22**
	(.07)	(.07)	(.07)	(.08)
Constant	3.93*	.00***	4.93**	.00***
	(2.18)	(.00)	(3.14)	(.00)
Nagelkerke R^2	.641		.670	

NOTE.—Data are from a survey of Brazil from the Project on Ethnicity and Race in Latin America (PERLA), Princeton University. SEs (in parentheses) adjusted for sample design that accounts for clustering and sample stratification using Huber-White estimation technique. $N = 919$.

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

duces predicted probabilities based on stochastic simulations that account for uncertainty based on both randomness in the real world and from sample sizes (King, Tomz, and Wittenberg 2000). Figure 2 predictions were based on persons with a skin color of 6 (the color point where there blacks, *mulatos*, and *mestizos* are all most likely to be found together), with all other variables held at the mean, except for wealth and education. The high-status predictions were modeled on persons with high education and a wealth score that was 1 standard deviation above the mean for each country, while persons of low status were those with low education and a wealth score that was 1 standard deviation below the mean.

Overall, figure 2 conveys our major findings: high status polarizes in Brazil, darkens in the Dominican Republic, *mestizoizes* in Colombia and has no effect in Panama. For Brazil, the polarizing effect of status is clearer in figure 2: the *pardo* category shrank from 82.6% to 70.6%, while the

white (12.3%–20.8%) and black categories (5.0%–8.5%) grew with high status. The results from table 3 suggest more specifically that wealth whitens those at the white/*pardo* boundary, while education darkens at the *pardo*/black boundary. For Colombia, figure 2 shows that the *mestizo* category grew from 68.5% to 77.2% of the population, while the black and white categories shrank, although the latter may not be statistically significant. Figure 2 also shows that the combined effects of wealth and education for the Dominican Republic tended to darken, especially to *mulato*. The difference that status makes in the Dominican Republic was the largest observed among any of our four cases. Of particular note, the percentage of low-status Dominicans identifying in the *mulato* category was 9.8 compared to 24.1 of high-status Dominicans, which was mostly at the expense of *mestizo/Indios*, which shrank from 77.2% to 59.8%. Finally, figure 2 shows virtually no status effect in Panama. Overall, figure 2 also reveals that status did not affect identification for the large majority of persons, even in Brazil and the Dominican Republic.

Since race may be based on other phenotypic criteria apart from skin color, we were concerned that the residual effect of socioeconomic status and other variables might be due to other differences in physical appearance beyond skin color. We also sought to understand the extent to which another phenotypic characteristic might affect racial classification. To address this, we took advantage of data collected by PERLA that featured an innovative variable: interviewer-rated hair type. From previous research, we know that hair type is particularly important in shaping racial identification and experiences of discrimination and that having kinky hair is an important criterion in classifying someone as black (Figueireido 1994; Guimarães 2012). Notably, a survey of Brazil found that Brazilians believed that hair type was the second most important criterion for determining race, after skin color (Guimarães 2012).

With data from the PERLA survey, we replicated the Brazil model of table 3 (model 1) and added the variable kinky hair in model 2. The results in model 1 were generally similar to those of table 3 for Brazil. The most notable difference is that the magnitude of higher education was greater in table 4, where highly educated persons were more than three (3.142) times as likely to identify as *preto* compared to those with low education, which compares to about 1.5 times in table 3. We believe that the greater choice of *preto* in the PERLA survey, which is designed to be about ethnoracial issues, may have been due to priming; by comparison, it was the first question among a small number of ethnoracial questions in the LAPOP survey questionnaire (used in table 3), which suggests the absence of priming. In particular, the closed-ended question in PERLA was immediately preceded by an open-ended racial identification question, which elicited many

890

responses in the *negro* category (another black category in Brazil; data not shown), which is especially popular among college-educated Brazilians who might not think of themselves as *preto* (Cicallo 2012). As a result of that priming, respondents may have conflated the two terms when choosing *preto* in the PERLA survey.[25]

Model 2 of table 4 shows that kinky hair was statistically significant in all models, revealing that it is an important criterion of racial identification. It also shows the same effects as darker skin color, as we expected. Moreover, it did not appear to affect the relation of any of the other variables in the model with identification as white or black. That the education and wealth coefficients are robust to the inclusion of hair type is encouraging regarding our concerns about whether actual phenotype is sufficiently controlled to reasonably interpret status effects on racial identification. In comparison to the effect of skin color, it was not as powerful in predicting identification as black, but it was similar in strength for identification as white. In other words, although the coefficients for skin color and kinky hair were similar (2.291 and 2.762, respectively), the color effect represents a one-point gain on the 11-point scale compared to the dichotomous scale for hair type. In contrast, persons with kinky hair were just over one-fifth (.213) as likely to identify as white compared to *pardo*, while one shade darker on the color scale meant an almost 50% (.458) likelihood of identifying as white. Considering the roughly twofold difference in the coefficients, these findings suggest that hair type is roughly equivalent to a two-point gain in skin color for differentiating whites from *pardos*. Finally, the Nagelkerke R^2s in models 1 (.641) and 2 (.670) demonstrate that the addition of hair type slightly improved the fit of the model.

Other Effects

Our focus has been on the effects of color, country, status, and hair type on racial identification; the other independent variables shown in table 2 were intended as controls. We expected age to be important, with older people more likely to whiten and younger people, particularly in Brazil, more likely to darken. We found an age effect for identification as white in Brazil and as white and black in the Dominican Republic. Interestingly, older persons were more likely to identify as white in Brazil. In contrast, older Dominicans were less likely to identify as white than in the traditional

---

[25] As Cicallo (2012) notes, Brazilians often distinguish between *preto*, which is commonly said to refer to black color, and *negro*, which refers to black race. This is consistent with Sheriff's (2001) finding that both blacks and browns (*pardos*) in poor neighborhoods collectively understand themselves as *negro*.

mestizo/*Indio* category, and they were also more likely to prefer the black category. In all other cases, age had no statistically significant effects, despite our expectation that the rise of global multiculturalism and an emergent black movement might be increasing black identification among younger people. However, the lack of an age effect may indicate that these new social processes represent period effects that are not age specific. Finally, an increase in white and black identification among Dominicans from 2010 to 2012 probably reflects large changes in the sampling frame.[26]

Our control for interviewer's skin color sometimes yielded strong but inconsistent results. The results suggest that Brazilians and Colombians darkened themselves in the presence of darker interviewers, but Dominicans and Panamanians whitened. Specifically, respondents working with darker interviewers were less likely to identify as white in Brazil but more likely to identify as white in Panama and the Dominican Republic. While one might expect whitening in the presence of dark interviewers as the Dominican and Panamanian results suggest, the opposite may make sense in a more racially conscious Brazil, where darker interviewers may elicit greater identification as nonwhite. On the dark end of racial identification, Panamanians were only 80% (.807) as likely to identify as black, but Colombians were 17% (1.173) more likely to identify as *mulato*, in the presence of darker interviewers.

In most cases, where we found status effects, we also found gender effects. This suggests that particular boundaries are especially porous or are in the process of being redefined, although it is not clear why men are particularly likely to cross those boundaries. In particular, table 3 shows that Brazilian men were about a quarter (1.236) more likely than women to identify as white, as were wealthier Brazilians. In contrast, Dominican men were more likely to identify as *mulato* rather than *mestizo*/*Indio* or black, which follows the status pattern of highly educated Dominicans being more likely to identify as *mulato*. This finding suggests that the growing *mulato* category in the Dominican Republic may be a particularly gendered as male, in the same way that *mulata* is gendered as female in Brazil. Despite the considerable literature on the ways in which women are racialized differently than men in Latin America (Figuereido 1994; Viveros 2000; Caldwell 2007), we still know very little about what this means for racial classification. We leave these interesting findings for future research.

In a separate regression analysis, we also considered the effects of immigration to the United States. As Simmons (2009) and Roth (2012) have claimed, immigrant transnationalism may be particularly important in shaping racial identity among Dominicans. As such, we included two vari-

---

[26] Correspondence with Mitchell Seligson, director of the America's Barometer, November 23, 2013.

892

ables from the 2010 America's Barometer: whether respondents had relatives outside of their country or whether they received remittances from anyone abroad. Neither variable had an effect on Dominican racial classification, which we show in appendix tables A2 and A3, although U.S. remittances had a blackening effect in Panama. This does not deny that immigrant transnationalism has an effect on the Dominican Republic or elsewhere but suggests that the influence is not directly from immigrants themselves. If the influence does exist, it is probably more diffuse as in the transnational circulation of *mestizaje* ideas, black consciousness movements, and multicultural policies.

DISCUSSION

With these analyses we have sought to compare racial identification in four Latin American countries, using innovative survey data. Our results suggest that informal rules governing racial identification vary substantially across the four countries. While phenotype, particularly skin color, is the major determinant of racial identification in all four countries, we argue that country variations also reflect distinct racial schemas such as the importance of color and status as well as the relative prominence of mixed-race categories and the extent of fluidity.

These differences began with the distribution of racial categories across the four countries. We found that the frequency of identifying in mixed-race categories that are commonly understood as including African ancestry (*mulato* and *pardo*) varied widely from only 3% of the populations of Panama and Colombia to nearly half of the population in Brazil.[27] Most Brazilians of intermediate skin color (5–8) identified as *pardo*, compared to self-identification as *mulato* for about 10% of Dominicans and less than 5% of both Colombians and Panamanians. Moreover, we found that persons identifying in these categories were particularly ambiguous with respect to skin color in the Spanish-speaking countries, as self-identified *mulatos* were nearly evenly distributed among all color points. In contrast, while those who self-identified as *pardos* in Brazil could also be found at all skin color points, they were more concentrated among the respondents with intermediate skin color tones.

We also found that the *pardo* category in Brazil mapped onto the combined *mulato* and *mestizo* categories in the other three countries. Thus, persons who identify as *mestizo* and who would probably consider themselves of indigenous origin primarily are considered *pardo* in Brazil. An analysis of the historical definition of *pardo* (Stephens 1999; Nobles 2000)

---

[27] This is consistent with the idea of a *mulato* preference in Latin America, but it is apparently due to the predominance of the Brazilian case in Latin American race research.

893

and its regular use among persons of light skin color in our study suggests that many *pardos* may be perceived as white, suggesting that *pardo* is not equivalent to *mulato* in the Spanish-speaking countries and calling into question its common usage by academics, the black movement, and policy makers for designating Afro-Brazilians (Telles 2004).

Color Elasticity

One of our main findings was the distinct relationship between racial identification and skin color across the four countries. In Panama, skin color was a particularly powerful predictor of racial identification relative to other variables; color elasticity was therefore low. In contrast, skin color was a relatively unreliable predictor of racial identification in the Dominican Republic, making color elasticity, and thus racial fluidity, relatively high. Color elasticity in Colombia and Brazil was intermediate. Thus, even though categories like black or white seem to represent persons of similar skin color across the four countries, our results indicate otherwise. In other words, although persons of the darkest skin tone in all four countries might be thought to be unambiguously "black," our results showed that such persons were consistently black in Panama but least so in the Dominican Republic, where dark skin color often did not mean black identity. Notwithstanding these differences, skin color mattered a great deal for racial identification in all four countries and, more than any other variable, consistently predicted who identified as black, *mulato/pardo*, *mestizo*, and white.[28]

Moreover, we found little support for the prevailing idea that money whitens in Latin American countries. Rather, we discovered diverse patterns in the relation between status and racial identification, possibly reflecting changing meanings and incentives to identify with particular racial categories. We discovered that social status (wealth and education) polarizes—both whitens and darkens—in contemporary Brazil, that it darkens in the Dominican Republic, *mestizoizes* in Colombia, and has no effect in Panama. Despite long-standing evidence that money or status whitens in Brazil, that effect should not be generalized to Latin America or even to today's Brazil. Moreover, only none (Panama) to, at most, only one-fifth (Dominican Republic) of the national samples were reclassified when com-

[28] The continuing use of the one-drop rule by some has arguably meant color elasticity along the black-white boundary in the United States. Specifically, some light-skinned persons of partial African descent may be perceived as white or even identify as white and thus their classification is fluid, although the law previously determined them to be black and thus their racial classification was considered fixed. Perhaps color elasticity as a dimension of racial fluidity has been ignored because such color variation was not believed to affect who was considered black in the paradigmatic U.S. case.

894

paring persons of high and low status. These findings thus call for re-thinking the relationship between status and racial classification in Latin America. Indeed, whitening through status should not be seen as a rule but rather as malleable and still conditioned by nation-building narratives, popular understandings of race, and changing incentives for identifying with particular categories. These findings are notable because they are anchored in a fairly objective gauge of physical appearance—skin color—which seems to be the primary predictor of racial classification but has been remarkably absent from previous studies of racial classification/identification. Ideally, future research would examine how changes in status directly affect the same individuals over time (assuming that their phenotype remains constant) and to what extent this occurs among a sample of individuals at varying points along the continuum of skin colors or phenotypes.

Explaining Country Differences

In order to make sense of these different patterns in racial identification, we highlight national features that have led to distinct racial schema in each country, including unique nation-building discourses, state policy interventions, the extent and nature of multiculturalism, and different degrees of mobilization by black movements. In recent years, a sudden turn to multiculturalism, especially in Colombia and Brazil, and the presence of black consciousness movements have challenged the logic of whitening by creating new nation-building narratives that promote black identity. These seem to be supplanting older ideas of *mestizaje* and whitening. In the same way that states' promotion of whitening can expand the boundaries around whiteness, black social movements may be expanding the boundaries around blackness. In light of changes that vary from new constitutional recognition of blacks to significant policy initiatives like Brazil's affirmative action, racial classification and identities in the region will continue to challenge earlier racial schema.

Our findings for Panama, where racial identification was especially rigid, are probably the most straightforward. In that country, color and racial identification were closely correlated, which means that color elasticity was the lowest. This left less room for ambiguity due to status or other variables than in the other three countries. Black identification was particularly sharp and differentiated from the white and *mestizo* categories, which had greater fluidity between them. Panamanians hardly used the *mulato* category, and when they did, it bore little relationship with skin color. With their low level of ambiguity and close relationship between color and racial identity for the black-nonblack distinction, our findings for Panama seem to confirm its historical legacy of U.S. domination and imposition of legal segregation in the early 20th century (Conniff 1985;

895

O'Reggio 2006), with virtually no contemporary multicultural policies to counter them. But, the widespread use of a *mestizo*, which occurred almost entirely among the light and intermediate skin tones, probably does not include many persons of obviously African origin, and status differences do not affect it, which appears to be consistent with the Panamanian nation-building narratives that emphasized only Spanish-indigenous mixture and ignored blackness (Priestly and Barrow 2008).

At the other extreme is the Dominican Republic, where we found the greatest fluidity—in color elasticity and sensitivity to status effects. More specifically, there was relatively little relationship between skin color and identification as *mulato*, suggesting that the boundaries around *mulato* are particularly blurry. This was clearly demonstrated in that *mulatos* were found in similar proportions in nearly all points on the skin color continuum. At the darkest end, less than half of the very darkest Dominicans identified as black, while the majority identified as *mestizo/Indio*. These findings are consistent with Dominican nation-building narratives which emphasize that Dominicans evolved only from Spanish and indigenous peoples, while Haitians are the black "other"; most Dominicans have been routinely classified as *Indio* in government identity cards (Howard 2001).

However, we did find that high-status persons darkened in the Dominican Republic. This suggests that as more educated Dominicans begin to recognize an African past, they are more likely to identify as *mulato* (and, to some extent, as black) rather than *Indio*. The tendency for high-status persons to identify as black is weaker than identification as *mulato*, suggesting that many stop short of the black category, which has been traditionally reserved for Haitians. This finding confirms ethnographic studies that noted a tendency for the middle class to begin identifying as *mulato* and even as black in some cases (Howard 2001; Simmons 2009). It may also reflect constant interaction with Americans and immigration to the United States, especially immigration to New York, where Dominicans are often racialized as black (Candelario 2007; Roth 2012), although we did not find direct evidence to support this.

In Brazil, well-known narratives of race mixture and racial democracy, where racism was explicitly denied, probably account for the wide use of its mixed-race category and the moderate relation between color and racial identification. Our findings also suggest, though, that greater socioeconomic status has polarized Brazilians away from a mixed-race category and toward white and black categories. Moreover, status effects were greater in the direction of blackening than whitening; we found that wealth whitened while education darkened in Brazil. Brazil's polarization into black and white categories by high status thus seems to combine a traditional pattern of money whitening (Harris 1952; Degler 1971) with a more

896

recent (and larger) effect of education darkening, leading overall to racial identification by status that moves away from the white and mixed-race category (*pardo*). This latter tendency may be the result of multicultural policies, especially affirmative action, that have begun to change the direction of the relation between status and racial classification. In particular, Brazil's major multicultural policy has been affirmative action in higher education, which is aimed at the middle class. Also, black consciousness movements in Brazil have tended to be directed mostly at the middle classes. The result of increasing identity as black rather than *pardo* or *mulato* effectively challenges Brazil's traditional race mixture narrative.

We found an interesting pattern of *mestizoization* in Colombia. Perhaps higher-status Colombians are more likely to classify as *mestizo* because they are conscious of national narratives of *mestizaje* that glorify the *mestizo* as the national protagonist embodying Colombian development and progress (Wade 1993), while low-status persons may find white identity to be a particularly valuable source of capital (Telles and Flores 2013). Thus, both categories are valued although in different ways. According to Wade (1993), Colombian ideas or narratives of *mestizaje* are (paradoxically) also of a whitened *mestizo* nation that has sought to erase blackness and indigenousness from the nation, so that mestizoization might be interpreted as whitening. However, our status results for Colombia are mostly confined to those from white to mestizo and indicated no significant status effects for the minority categories of black and *mulato*, which we consider more meaningful for capturing the whitening phenomenon. This may be due to the fact that race-based policies in Colombia have been aimed at both the urban middle class (affirmative action and other policies) and the rural black populations (collective land rights and natural resources); if there has been darkening of racial classification in recent years, it may be occurring among high and low status persons.[29]

CONCLUSION

Most Latin American countries share a history in which states did not institutionalize racial categories in the postindependence period. Instead, they developed *mestizaje* projects that profoundly shaped racial identity and relations in this region. Despite this, in this article, we move beyond the idea that Latin America is homogenous and an exceptional case of racial formation. Using a novel data set of nationally representative surveys, we examine how several social and political factors are associated

[29] While collective land rights for escaped slave communities (*quilombolas*) in Brazil have been recognized, these policies have largely been stalled.

with distinct racial self-identification patterns in four countries with large black or Afro-descendant populations: Brazil, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, and Panama.

We develop the framework of racial schemas and color elasticity to make sense of the divergent patterns of racial identification in these four cases. In so doing, we make several contributions to understandings about racial classification. First, our findings challenge the idea of a single Latin American variant of race relations, which is often seen in opposition to the United States (Hoetink 1967; Harris 1974; Bonilla Silva 2004; Patterson 2005). Beyond some similarities in racial mixture (*mestizaje*) narratives, the four countries we compare here seem to have developed racial schemas that map onto distinct kinds of *mestizaje* projects, unique histories of state intervention, and different degrees of mobilization by ethnoracial social movements. We believe that these differences are key for understanding the distinct patterns of racial identification we found. In this way, the literature on racial fluidity and whitening, which has largely analyzed the specific case of Brazil, should not be generalized to Latin America. Rather, further research should not only continue to ask whether findings on Brazil have any resonance with the social realities of other countries in the region but should also begin to theorize which, if any, features of racial identity are commonly held within the region. Beyond national processes, the recent politicization of black identity—through social movements and state policies—is also happening in an increasingly transnational context.

Second, while we have shown racial fluidity in the four countries, the degree of such fluidity should not be exaggerated. Our findings for Panama, which show that color elasticity was low—skin color mapped nearly directly onto racial identification—complicate the idea that race is particularly fluid in Latin America. This contrasts clearly with the Dominican Republic, with its high color elasticity, where even very dark skin people often did not identify as black. While our analysis of the distribution of racial identification across skin color suggested some varying degrees of ambiguity and overlap between racial categories in all of the four countries we examined, our regression analysis strongly suggested that phenotype—in particular skin color and hair type—is the primary determinant of racial identity in all four Latin American countries, although the extent of its primacy varies within the region.

Third, our results call for a rethinking of the relationship between racial identification and social status in these countries. Indeed, despite the long-standing and popular idea that money whitens, we discovered four distinct patterns, none of which supported a simple "money whitening" story. Our results reveal that the relation between race and status largely depends on the national context. We found that fluidity varies on this dimension from Panama, where we found no status effects, to the Dominican Republic,

where status effects resulted in different racial identification for about one-fifth of the population. In Brazil where the "money whitens" idea is pervasive, a growing awareness of racism, positive black identity, and affirmative action in higher education has actually created an "education darkening" effect. Thus, our results suggest that whitening through status should be seen not as a rule in Latin America but rather as malleable and apparently conditioned by nationalist narratives, popular understandings of race, and changing incentives for identifying with particular categories.

Finally, we have sought to decenter our analysis away from the United States, which has been the paradigmatic case for understanding racial classification. Ideally, we would have included the United States as a fifth case, but we did not have comparable data to do so. Yet while we do not know for sure where the United States would fit alongside the four Latin American countries we examine, our findings here, as well as other evidence, suggest that we can no longer assume that flexibility is necessarily greater in Latin America than in the United States. Certainly, the United States is different because it adopted classification rules based on hypo-descent. However, the fall of the "one-drop rule" in legal institutions—although its continuing use is arguably color elastic—as well as changes in demography and informal norms seem to suggest that the racial schema of the United States is becoming more fluid. More specifically, the recognition of multiracial identities (Daniel 2006), the inability of Latinos to fit into U.S. racial categories (Rodriguez 2000), and even instability across the black-white boundary (Harris and Sim 2002; Saperstein and Penner 2012) all point to a degree of fluidity in the United States that may even exceed that in Panama. If we consider the past, the use of a *mulato* category by 20%–30% of the U.S. population of African origin (black/negro + mulatto) in the late 19th century (Saperstein and Gullickson 2013) is similar to that found in Panama and Colombia today.

As we have mentioned throughout this article, our findings reflect a rapidly changing political and social context in each of these countries, especially in Brazil and Colombia. Black consciousness movements have been successful in creating counter-narratives that promote black identity and thus challenge nation-centered initiatives that have promoted whitening and money whitening. Moreover, the recent turn toward multiculturalist and racial equality policies seems to be replacing older ideas of *mestizaje* and whitening. In this way, the state is not the only actor in the making and remaking of racial schemas and thus of racial classification and identification. In the same way that states' promotion of whitening can expand the boundaries around whiteness, black social movements may be expanding the boundaries around blackness. Future changes in state policies, nationalist narratives, and social movement actions are likely to further shift national racial schemas and classification systems.

899

APPENDIX

TABLE A1

ODDS RATIOS FROM MULTINOMIAL LOGISTIC REGRESSIONS PREDICTING IDENTIFICATION AS WHITE, *MESTIZO*, OR BLACK COMPARED TO *MULATO/PARDO*, BY COUNTRY

	BRAZIL		PANAMA			COLOMBIA			DOMINICAN REPUBLIC		
	White	Black	White	*Mestizo*	Black	White	*Mestizo*	Black	White	*Indio*	Black
Skin color	.35***	2.13***	.30***	1.33	5.31***	.35***	.78**	2.08***	.29***	.84***	1.91***
	(.03)	(.17)	(.04)	(.38)	(1.85)	(.04)	(.07)	(.21)	(.03)	(.04)	(.10)
Wealth	1.16***	1.06	.90	.89	.89	.10	.95	.92	1.03	1.04	1.06
	(.04)	(.04)	(.06)	(.06)	(.06)	(.08)	(.07)	(.08)	(.04)	(.03)	(.05)
Medium education	.79*	1.19	.98	.94	.99	.78	.99	.82	.40***	.67**	.86
	(.09)	(.19)	(.33)	(.29)	(.36)	(.27)	(.33)	(.33)	(.08)	(.10)	(.18)
High education	.95	1.46	1.03	.97	.78	.64	1.23	.76	.14***	.26***	.43**
	(.16)	(.30)	(.46)	(.41)	(.32)	(.32)	(.56)	(.38)	(.04)	(.04)	(.12)
Male	1.24*	.98	.93	.83	.91	.85	.92	.66	.92	.79*	.61**
	(.10)	(.11)	(.22)	(.19)	(.24)	(.18)	(.18)	(.16)	(.16)	(.08)	(.10)
Age cohort	1.08*	1.00	.94	.99	.96	.95	.93	.86	.77***	.96	1.08
	(.04)	(.04)	(.07)	(.07)	(.11)	(.09)	(.08)	(.10)	(.05)	(.05)	(.07)
Urban	.97	1.27	1.60	1.65	2.22*	1.21	1.10	1.36	.82	.70*	.78
	(.24)	(.34)	(.62)	(.52)	(.81)	(.42)	(.38)	(.59)	(.17)	(.11)	(.14)
Interviewer color	.87**	1.12	1.20	.87	.70**	.86	.85*	.98	1.32***	1.09	1.09
	(.04)	(.07)	(.15)	(.09)	(.09)	(.07)	(.06)	(.10)	(.10)	(.06)	(.07)
Year 2012	1.06	1.20	.61	.48	.58	1.54	1.23	1.20	2.16***	1.10	1.57*
	(.22)	(.23)	(.23)	(.18)	(.24)	(.45)	(.32)	(.46)	(.46)	(.16)	(.28)
Constant	23.18***	.00***	1,230.16***	20.70**	.00***	1,441.63***	157.31***	.08**	144.95***	19.46***	.01***
	(9.96)	(.00)	(1,194.76)	(19.39)	(.00)	(1,235.74)	(128.59)	(.07)	(76.17)	(8.24)	(.01)
Nagelkerke R^2	.58		.65			.41			.40		
Observations	3,649		2,871			2,686			2,930		

NOTE.—Data are from 2010 and 2012 America's Barometer. SEs (in parentheses) adjusted for sample design that accounts for clustering and sample stratification using Huber-White estimation technique.

* $P < .05$ (two-tailed tests).

** $P < .01$.

*** $P < .001$.

TABLE A2

FULL REGRESSION FOR TABLE 3 (with Controls Including U.S. Relatives and Remittances Variables): ODDS RATIOS FROM LOGISTIC REGRESSIONS PREDICTING IDENTIFICATION AS BLACK AND MULTINOMIAL LOGISTIC REGRESSIONS PREDICTING IDENTIFICATION AS WHITE/*MESTIZO* AND BLACK COMPARED TO *MULATO* BY COUNTRY (2010 and 2012)

	BRAZIL		PANAMA			COLOMBIA			DOMINICAN REPUBLIC		
	White	Black	White	*Mestizo*	Black	White	*Mestizo*	Black	White	*Indio*	Black
Skin color	.38***	2.15***	.10***	.10***	2.12***	.36***	.85	2.52***	.31***	.87*	1.99***
	(.04)	(.18)	(.01)	(.04)	(.39)	(.05)	(.11)	(.42)	(.04)	(.05)	(.16)
Wealth	1.19***	1.15*	1.07	1.07	1.09	1.09	1.07	1.08	1.05	1.09*	1.10
	(.05)	(.07)	(.08)	(.06)	(.06)	(.09)	(.08)	(.10)	(.05)	(.05)	(.07)
Medium education ...	.66**	1.14	.99	.90	1.13	.91	1.02	1.69	.29***	.55**	.72
	(.10)	(.25)	(.47)	(.39)	(.54)	(.33)	(.38)	(.94)	(.08)	(.10)	(.21)
High education	.82	1.32	.83	.69	.52	.60	1.11	1.04	.15***	.20***	.41
	(.19)	(.33)	(.70)	(.52)	(.34)	(.31)	(.59)	(.69)	(.05)	(.05)	(.19)
Male	1.23*	.98	1.06	1.01	1.26	.88	.91	.45**	.88	.74*	.65
	(.12)	(.15)	(.44)	(.36)	(.46)	(.24)	(.22)	(.13)	(.23)	(.11)	(.17)
Age cohort	1.09	.10	.96	.98	1.03	.95	.97	.99	.83*	.94	1.03
	(.05)	(.05)	(.19)	(.19)	(.23)	(.12)	(.12)	(.15)	(.08)	(.07)	(.11)
Urban	.99	1.60	2.66	1.85	1.44	1.18	1.07	1.13	.70	.76	.93
	(.32)	(.54)	(1.60)	(.76)	(.60)	(.55)	(.49)	(.64)	(.24)	(.19)	(.29)
Interviewer color ...	.92	.96	1.36*	.97	.87	.88	.82*	.91	1.22	1.06	.87
	(.07)	(.07)	(.19)	(.11)	(.12)	(.09)	(.08)	(.12)	(.13)	(.09)	(.08)
U.S. relatives	.85	.51	2.89	1.58	1.32	.65	.53	1.16	1.03	1.19	1.11
	(.30)	(.25)	(2.16)	(.85)	(.64)	(.31)	(.24)	(.75)	(.26)	(.23)	(.36)
Constant	12.68***	.00***	49,926.90***	821.68***	.03***	673.59***	69.82***	.01**	156.09***	16.44***	.03***
	(6.94)	(.00)	(40,201.87)	(714.87)	(.03)	(583.52)	(59.74)	(.02)	(112.17)	(8.45)	(.02)
Nagelkerke R^2	.53		.72			.41			.35		
Observations	2,240		1,388			1,379			1,457		

NOTE.—SEs (in parentheses) adjusted for sample design that accounts for clustering and sample stratification using Huber-White estimation technique.
* $P < .05$ (two-tailed tests).
** $P < .01$.
*** $P < .001$.

TABLE A3

FULL REGRESSION FOR TABLE 3 (with Controls including U.S. Relatives and Remittances Variables). ODDS RATIOS FROM LOGISTIC REGRESSIONS PREDICTING IDENTIFICATION AS BLACK AND MULTINOMIAL LOGISTIC REGRESSIONS PREDICTING IDENTIFICATION AS WHITE/*MESTIZO* AND BLACK COMPARED TO *MULATO* BY COUNTRY (2010 AND 2012)

	BRAZIL		PANAMA			COLOMBIA			DOMINICAN REPUBLIC		
	White	Black	White	*Mestizo*	Black	White	*Mestizo*	Black	White	*Indio*	Black
Skin color	.38***	2.15***	.10***	.50***	2.15***	.37***	.86	2.50***	.31***	.88*	1.99***
	(.04)	(.18)	(.01)	(.04)	(.39)	(.05)	(.10)	(.40)	(.04)	(.05)	(.16)
Wealth	1.19***	1.15*	1.07	1.06	1.07	1.09	1.07	1.07	1.05	1.09*	1.10
	(.05)	(.07)	(.08)	(.06)	(.06)	(.09)	(.09)	(.10)	(.05)	(.05)	(.09)
Medium education	.67**	1.14	1.00	.90	1.16	.92	1.03	1.76	.28***	.55**	.71
	(.10)	(.25)	(.48)	(.39)	(.58)	(.33)	(.38)	(.98)	(.08)	(.10)	(.21)
High education	.83	1.31	.83	.68	.52	.60	1.12	1.08	.14***	.17***	.40
	(.19)	(.33)	(.69)	(.51)	(.34)	(.31)	(.59)	(.71)	(.06)	(.05)	(.18)
Male	1.23*	.98	1.04	.99	1.21	.88	.91	.44**	.91	.73*	.65
	(.12)	(.15)	(.43)	(.35)	(.43)	(.24)	(.22)	(.13)	(.24)	(.10)	(.17)
Age cohort	1.09	.99	.97	.99	1.04	.94	.96	.10	.84	.95	1.03
	(.05)	(.05)	(.19)	(.19)	(.24)	(.12)	(.12)	(.15)	(.08)	(.07)	(.11)
Urban	.99	1.60	2.64	1.82	1.40	1.19	1.08	1.10	.68	.77	.93
	(.32)	(.55)	(1.59)	(.75)	(.59)	(.55)	(.50)	(.62)	(.23)	(.20)	(.29)
Interviewer color	.93	.96	1.36*	.96	.87	.88	.82*	.89	1.22	1.07	.89
	(.07)	(.07)	(.18)	(.11)	(.12)	(.09)	(.08)	(.12)	(.13)	(.09)	(.08)
Remittances	.54	1.65	2.10E+08	4.23E+08***	8.41E+08***	.55	.55	1.29	1.02	1.03	1.15
	(.33)	(1.20)	(.00)	(1.74E+08)	(3.83E+08)	(.40)	(.40)	(1.28)	(.32)	(.22)	(.37)
U.S. relatives	.87	.50	2.80	1.37	1.01	.79	.64	1.15	.99	1.16	1.04
	(.31)	(.24)	(2.22)	(.73)	(.47)	(.47)	(.36)	(.90)	(.27)	(.23)	(.33)
Constant	12.56***	.01***	46,188.16***	815.29***	.03***	637.67***	67.05***	.01**	147.34***	15.63***	.03***
	(6.87)	(.00)	(37,947.61)	(712.66)	(.03)	(553.91)	(56.38)	(.02)	(106.18)	(8.37)	(.02)
Nagelkerke R^2	.529		.719			.411			.346		
Observations	2,236		1,385			1,377			1,452		

NOTE.—SEs (in parentheses) adjusted for sample design that accounts for clustering and sample stratification using Huber-White estimation technique.
* $P < .05$ (two-tailed tests).
** $P < .01$.
*** $P < .001$.

REFERENCES

Anderson, Mark. 2007. "When Afro Becomes (Like) Indigenous: Garifuna and Afro-Indigenous Politics in Honduras." *Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 12 (2): 384–413.

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

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

Bailey, Stanley R., and Edward E. Telles. 2006. "Multiracial versus Collective Black Categories Examining Census Classification Debates in Brazil." *Ethnicities* 6 (1): 74–101.

Blair, Irene V., and Charles M. Judd. 2010. "Afrocentric Facial Features and Stereotyping." Chap. 18 in *The Science of Social Vision*, edited by Reginald B. Adams, Nalini Ambady, Ken Nakayama, and Shinsuke Shimojo. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bonilla Silva, Eduardo. 2004. "From Bi-racial to Tri-racial: Towards a New System of Racial Stratification in the US." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 27 (6): 931–50.

Brubaker, Rogers. 2009. "Ethnicity, Race, and Nationalism." *Annual Review of Sociology* 35:21–42.

Caldwell, Kia Lilly. 2007. *Negras in Brazil: Re-envisioning Black Women, Citizenship, and the Politics of Identity*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press.

Candelario, Ginetta. 2007. *Black Behind the Ears: Dominican Racial Identity from Museums to Beauty Shops*. Durham, N.J.: Duke University Press.

Carvalho, Jose Alberto Magno, Charles H. Wood, and Flavia Christina Drumond Andrade. 2004. "Estimating the Stability of Census-Based Racial/Ethnic Classifications: The Case of Brazìl." *Population Studies* 58 (3): 331–43.

Cicallo, André. 2012. *Urban Encounters: Affirmative Action and Black Identities in Brazil*. New York: Macmillan.

Conniff, Michael L. 1985. *Black Labor on a White Canal: Panama, 1904–1981*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Cordova, Abby. 2008. "Methodological Note: Measuring Relative Wealth using Household Asset Indicators." *AmericasBarometer Insights* 6:1–9.

Daniel, G. Reginald. 2006. *Race and Multiraciality in Brazil and the United States: Converging Paths?* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Davis, F. James. 2001. *Who Is Black? One Nation's Definition*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Degler, Carl. 1971. *Neither Black Nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

De la Fuente, Alejandro. 2001. *A Nation for All: Race Inequality and Politics in Twentieth-Century Cuba*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Del Popolo, Fabiana. 2008. *Los Pueblos Indígenas y Afrodescendientes en las Fuentes de Datos: Experiencias en América Latina*. Santiago: Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe (CEPAL).

DiMaggio, Paul. 1996. "Culture and Cognition." *Annual Review of Sociology* 23:263–87.

Eltis, David. 2011. "Slave Voyages." Database. http://www.slavevoyages.org/tast/assessment/estimates.faces.

Ferrandez, Luis Fernando Angosto, and Sabine Kandolfer. 2012. "Race, Ethnicity and National Censuses in Latin American States: Comparative Perspectives." Chap. 1 in *Everlasting Countdowns: Race, Ethnicity and National Censuses in Latin American States*, edited by Luis Fernando Angosto Ferrandez and Sabine Kandolfer. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars.

Figuereido, Ângela. 1994. "O mercado da boa aparência: As cabeleireiras negras." *Análisis and Dados* 3:33–36.

Filmer, Deon, and Lant Pritchett. 1999. "The Effect of Household Wealth on Educational Attainment: Evidence from 35 Countries." *Population and Development Review* 25:85–120.

Fradera, Josep M. 2010. "Does Caste Become Class in Spanish America? Continuity and Change in Social Distinctions." Unpublished paper presented at Conference on Race in the Americas, University of Chicago.

Francis, Andrew M., and Maria Tannuri-Pianto. 2013. "Endogenous Race in Brazil: Affirmative Action and the Construction of Racial Identity among Young Adults." *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 61 (4): 731–53.

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

Gil-White, Francisco. 2001*a*. "Are Ethnic Groups Biological 'Species' to the Human Brain? Essentialism in Our Cognition of Some Social Categories." *Current Anthropology* 42 (4): 515–54.

———. 2001*b*. "Sorting Is Not Categorization: A Critique of the Claim That Brazilians Have Fuzzy Racial Categories." *Cognition and Culture* 1 (3): 219–49.

Godreau, Isar. 2002. "Changing Space, Making Race: Distance, Nostalgia, and the Folklorization of Blackness in Puerto Rico." *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 9 (3): 281–304.

Golash-Boza, Tanya. 2010. "Does Whitening Happen? Distinguishing between Race and Color Labels in an African-Descended Community in Peru." *Social Problems* 57 (1): 138–56.

Graham, Richard. 1990. *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870–1940*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Gravlee, Clarence C. 2005. "Ethnic Classification in Southeastern Puerto Rico: The Cultural Model of Color." *Social Forces* 83 (3): 949–70.

Grueso, Libia, Arturo Escobar, and Carlos Rosero. 1998. "The Process of Black Community Organization in the Southern Pacific Coast Region of Colombia." In *Cultures of Politics of Culture: Re-visioning Latin American Social Movements*, edited by Arturo Escobar and Sonia Alvarez. Boulder, Colo.: Westview.

Gudmundson, Lowell. 1984. "Black into White in Nineteenth Century Spanish America: Afro-American Assimilation in Argentina and Costa Rica." *Slavery and Abolition* 5 (1): 34–49.

Guimarães, Antonio Sergio Alfredo. 2008. *Preconceito racial, modos, temas e tempos*. São Paulo: Editora Cortez.

———. 2012. "The Brazilian System of Racial Classification." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 35 (7): 1157–62.

Gulbas, Lauren E. 2008. *Cosmetic Surgery and the Politics of Race, Class, and Gender in Caracas, Venezuela*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: ProQuest.

Gullickson, Aaron. 2005. "The Significance of Color Declines: A Re-analysis of Skin Tone Differentials in Post–Civil Rights America." *Social Forces* 84 (1): 157–80.

Hale, Charles R. 2002. "Does Multiculturalism Menace? Governance, Cultural Rights and the Politics of Identity in Guatemala." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 34 (3): 485–524.

Harris, David R., and Jeremiah Joseph Sim. 2002. "Who Is Multiracial? Assessing the Complexity of Lived Race." *American Sociological Review* 67 (4): 614–27.

Harris, Marvin. 1952. "Race Relations in Minas Velhas." In *Race and Class in Rural Brazil*, edited by Charles Wagley. Paris: UNESCO.

———. 1970. "Referential Ambiguity in the Calculus of Brazilian Racial Identity." *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 26:1–14.

———. 1974. *Patterns of Race in the Americas*. New York: Norton.

Hill, Mark E. 2002. "Race of the Interviewer and Perception of Skin Color: Evidence from the Multi-city Study of Urban Inequality." *American Sociological Review* 67 (1): 99–108.

Hirschfield, Lawrence A. 1996. *Race in the Making: Cognition, Culture and the Child's Construction of Human Kinds*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Hoetink, Harry 1967. *The Two Variants in Caribbean Race Relations: A Contribution to the Sociology of Segmented Societies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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

Howard, David. 2001. *Coloring the Nation: Race and Ethnicity in the Dominican Republic*. Boulder, Colo.: Rienner.

Hutchinson, Harry William. 1952. "Race Relations in a Rural Community of the Bahian Reconcavo." In *Race and Class in Rural Brazil*, edited by Charles Wagley. Paris: UNESCO.

Jenkins, Richard. 1998. *Rethinking Ethnicity*. London: Sage.

John, Tamanisha. 2013. "Dominican Republic—Haiti Tensions Are on the Rise." Council on Hemispheric Relations, Washington, D.C., November 1.

Keith, Verna M., and Cedric Herring. 1991. "Skin Tone and Stratification in the Black Community." *American Journal of Sociology* 97:760–78.

King, Gary, Michael Tomz, and Jason Wittenberg. 2000. "Making the Most of Statistical Analyses: Improving Interpretation and Presentation." *American Journal of Political Science* 44:347–61.

Loveman, Mara. 2009. "The Race to Progress: Census-Taking and Nation-Making in Brazil." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 89 (3): 435–70.

Loveman, Mara, and Jeronimo O. Muniz. 2007. "How Puerto Rico Became White: Boundary Dynamics and Inter-census Racial Reclassification." *American Sociological Review* 72 (6): 915–39.

Marteleto, Leticia J. 2012. "Educational Inequality by Race in Brazil, 1982–2007: Structural Changes and Shifts in Racial Classification." *Demography* 49 (1): 337–58.

Mörner, Magnus. 1967. *Race Mixture in the History of Latin America*. Boston: Little, Brown.

Morning, Ann. 2008. "Ethnic Classification in Global Perspective: A Cross-National Survey of the 2000 Census Round." *Population Research and Policy Review* 27 (2): 239–72.

Moya Pons, Frank. 1986. *El Pasado Dominicano*. Santo Domingo: Editora Corripio.

Nagel, Joanne. 1994. "Constructing Ethnicity: Creating and Recreating Ethnic Identity and Culture." *Social Problems* 41:152–76.

Nobles, Melissa. 2000. *Shades of Citizenship: Race and the Census in Modern Politics*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.

Nogueira, Oracy. 1955. *Tanto preto quanto branco: Ensaios de relações raciais*. São Paulo: Queiroz.

Omi, Michael, and Howard Winant. 1994. *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1980s*. New York: Routledge.

O'Reggio, Trevor. 2006. *Between Alienation and Citizenship: The Evolution of Black West Indian Society in Panama, 1914–1964*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America.

Paixão, Marcelo, Irene Montovanele, Fabiana Montovanele, and Luiz M. Carvano. 2011. *Relatório Anual das Desigualdades Raciais no Brasil, 2009–2010*. Rio de Janeiro: Garamond.

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

———. 2013. "'The Beautiful Faces of My Black People': Race, Ethnicity and the Politics of Colombia's 2005 Census." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 36 (10): 1544–63.

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

Patterson, Orlando. 2005. "Four Modes of Ethno-Somatic Stratification: The Experience of Blacks in Europe and the Americas." Pp. 67–122 in *Ethnicity, Social Mobility, and Public Policy: Comparing the USA and UK*, edited by Glenn C. Loury, Tariq Modood, and Steven M. Teles. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Priestley, George, and Alberto Barrow. 2008. "The Black Movement in Panama: A Historical and Political Interpretation, 1994–2004." *SOULS* 10 (3): 227–55.

Purcell, Trevor W. 1993. *Banana Fallout: Class, Color, and Culture among West Indians in Costa Rica*. Los Angeles: Center for Afro-American Studies, University of California.

Putnam, Lara. 1999. "Ideología Racial, Práctica Social y Estado Liberal en Costa Rica." *Revista de Historia* 39:139–86.

Rahier, Jean Muteba, ed. 2012. *Black Social Movements in Latin America: From Monocultural Mestizaje to Multiculturalism*. New York: Macmillan.

Rockquemore, Kerry, and David Brunsma. 2008. *Beyond Black: Biracial Identity in America*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield.

Rodriguez, Clara E. 2000. *Changing Race: Latinos, the Census, and the History of Ethnicity in the United States*. New York: New York University Press.

Roth, Wendy. 2012. *Race Migrations: Latinos and the Cultural Transformation of Race*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.

Sanders, James E. 2004. *Contentious Republicans: Popular Politics, Race, and Class in Nineteenth Century Colombia*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.

Saperstein, Aliya, and Aaron Gullickson. 2013. "A 'Mulatto Escape Hatch' in the United States? Examining Evidence of Racial and Social Mobility during the Jim Crow Era." *Demography* 50 (5): 1921–42.

Saperstein, Aliya, and Andrew M. Penner. 2012. "Racial Fluidity and Inequality in the United States." *American Journal of Sociology* 118 (3): 676–27.

Sawyer, Mark Q. 2005. *Racial Politics in Post-revolutionary Cuba*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

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

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

Simmons, Kimberly Eison. 2009. *Reconstructing Racial Identity and the African Past in the Dominican Republic: New World Diasporas*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.

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

Socolow, Susan Migden. 2000. *The Women of Colonial Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Soto-Quirós, Ronald, and David Díaz-Arias. 2006. *Mestizaje, Indigenas e Identidad Nacional en Centroamérica*. San José: Facultad Latino Americana de Ciencias Sociales.

Stepan, Nancy Leys. 1993. *The Hour of Eugenics: Race, Class and Nation in Latin America*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

Stephens, Thomas M. 1999. *Dictionary of Latin American Racial and Ethnic Terminology*, 2d ed. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.

Swidler, Ann. 1986. "Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies." *American Sociological Review* 51 (2): 273–86.

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

Telles, Edward E., and René Flores. 2013. "More than Just Color: Whiteness, Nation and Status in Latin America." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 93 (3): 411–49.

Telles, Edward E., and Nelson Lim. 1998. "Does It Matter Who Answers the Race Question? Racial Classification and Income Inequality in Brazil." *Demography* 35 (4): 465–74.

Telles, Edward, and PERLA (Project on Ethnicity and Race in Latin America). 2014. *Pigmentocracies: Ethnicity, Race and Color in Latin America*. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press.

Telles, Edward E., and Liza Steele. 2012. "Pigmentocracy in the Americas: How Is Educational Attainment Related to Skin Color?" *AmericasBarometer Insights* 73:1–8.

Torche, Florencia, and Seymour Spilerman. 2009. "Intergenerational Influences of Wealth in Mexico." *Latin American Research Review* 44 (3): 75–101.

Twine, France Winddance. 1997. *Racism in a Racial Democracy: The Maintenance of White Supremacy in Brazil*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press.

Van Cott, Donna Lee. 2000. *The Friendly Liquidation of the Past: The Politics of Diversity in Latin America*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Van den Berghe, Pierre L. 1967. *Race and Racism: A Comparative Perspective*. New York: Wiley.

Viveros Vigoya, Mara. 2000. "Dionisios Negros: Corporalidad, Sexualidad y Orden Socio Racial en Colombia." In *¿Mestizo Yo?* Bogota: Facultad de Ciencias Humanas.

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

———. 1999. *Race and Ethnicity in Latin America*. London: Pluto.

Wimmer, Andreas. 2002. *Nationalist Exclusion and Ethnic Conflict: Shadows of Modernity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 2013. *Ethnic Boundary Making: Institutions, Power, Networks*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wright, Winthrop. 1990. *Café con Leche: Race, Class, and National Image in Venezuela*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Yashar, Deborah J. 2005. *Contesting Citizenship in Latin America: The Rise of Indigenous Movements and the Postliberal Challenge*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.