Indigenous Identity, Discrimination by Skin Color, and Whitening in Guatemala

Cristian L. Paredes^a

Nestor P. Rodriguez^a

Relations between indigenous Mayas and Ladinos in Guatemala have been typically studied with emphases on the political and cultural aspects of ethnicity. The upsurge of indigenous mobilization during the 1990s, the change of state ideology toward a multicultural stance in neoliberal contexts, and the evolution of these phenomena in the society, particularly among indigenous individuals, are major topics in the political analysis of ethnicity in Guatemala (Bastos 2012; MacKenzie 2010; McNeish 2008; Hale 2004, 2002). Moreover, identity, ancestry, proficiency in indigenous languages, and traditions are commonly pointed out as ethnic characteristics that culturally differentiate the Maya from the Ladino (Adams 2005, 1994; Colby and van den Berghe 1969; Harris 1964). While the importance of culture in this distinction is usually acknowledged, phenotype is normally not considered in determining the Maya/Ladino ethno-racial boundary (see Hale 2004 for an exception). Using regression analysis, we examine in this study whether phenotype is significant for intergroup boundaries and ethno-racial identity or not in Guatemala. We work with the 2010 round of the Latin American Public Opinion Project survey for Guatemala (LAPOP 2010), which is representative at the national level. Not only did this survey gather information about cultural ethno-racial characteristics (selfidentification and proficiency in indigenous languages), but it also measured individuals' skin color.

Firstly, we analyze the effect of skin color on indigenous self-identification using logistic regression models (Frank, Akresh and Lu 2010; Golash-Boza 2006). Keeping in mind the relevance of cultural characteristics, we expect that those who speak an indigenous language

^aUniversity of Texas at Austin

have greater odds of self-identifying as mestizo. Nonetheless, taking into account the stratification by skin color in other indo-Latin American countries (Villarreal 2010), we expect that skin color remains positively and statistically significant as a predictor of indigenous self-identification net of the effect of indigenous language. We control for sex and age in every model and sequentially incorporate control variables for level of urbanization and region, educational attainment, and parents' occupational status. We also control for political beliefs using two indexes for moderate and radical engagement considering that the indigenous self-identification also can be understood as a political identity (Bastos 2004). We expect a positive association between political engagement and indigenous self-identification.

Bearing in mind that the ethno-racial condition as a social construct is multidimensional (Saperstein 2012; Saperstein 2006), especially in the context of Latin American fluid boundaries, we concurrently examine the effects of cultural and phenotypic characteristics on the perception of skin color discrimination using ordered logistic regression models. Not only do we expect that darker skin tones are positively associated with a greater perception of skin color discrimination, but we also expect that those who speak an indigenous language, and those who self-identify as indigenous have greater odds of perceiving skin color discrimination. The perception of skin color discrimination in this hypothesis refers to the prevalence of racism in Guatemala as an ideological and structural problem that shapes boundaries according to phenotype (Essed 1991). We also control for sex and age in every model and sequentially incorporate control variables for level of urbanization and region, educational attainment, and parents' occupational status.

We finally examine the desire to have a whiter skin color using ordered logistic regression models. We understand this desire as a disposition to cultural whitening (Wade

2010). Therefore, we expect that the desire to have a whiter skin color is positively associated with darker skin tones, with indigenous self-identification, and with proficiency in indigenous languages. We also argue that a possible cause of desiring a whiter skin tone is the perception of skin color discrimination: the greater this perception is, the greater the desire to have a whiter skin color. Moreover, foreign beliefs that privilege white (or whiter) characteristics also may be exerting influence on local ethno-racial ideologies. Individuals with transnational connections may be exposed to foreign ethno-racial ideologies and their respective standards (Popkin 2005). Similarly, those who regularly use internet participate in a global public sphere (Castells 2008) where they are also more exposed to foreign values, tastes, and behaviors. Consequently, we incorporate explanatory variables that indicate whether the respondent has family out of the country, and that measure the respondent's use of internet. We expect that these variables are positively correlated with the desire of a whiter skin color.

In this analysis, we seek to explain the relevance of phenotype in the context of Latin American *mestizaje*, which is characterized by miscegenation and fluid ethno-racial boundaries, and by its discourses on inclusiveness (Wade 2010; Telles 2004). According to Telles and Bailey (2013), Guatemalan elites largely opposed *mestizaje* and supported the view of separate Ladino and Maya nations. In contrast with other Latin American countries, *mestizaje* did not become a political racial project (see Omi and Winant 1994) that promoted the assimilation of indigenous people. Conversely, Grandin (2000) argues that indigenous individuals endured Ladino pressures of cultural assimilation. Beyond the relevance of the political racial projects associated with the social processes of state formation, Grandin's argument points out the indigenous agency to contravene Ladinos' path toward progress.

Nonetheless, we found evidence to suggest that the darker the individual is, the greater the odds of self-identifying as indigenous even net of proficiency in an indigenous language, which is by far the most important predictor in these regressions (see Table 1). Interestingly, we found evidence to suggest that, contrary to our expectations, moderate political engagement is negatively associated with indigenous self-identification (see Table 1, Model 6). Moreover, we found evidence to suggest that indigenous self-identification, skin color, and indigenous language are positively associated with the perception of skin color discrimination (see Table 2). Furthermore, we found evidence to suggest that proficiency in an indigenous language is positively associated with the desire of having a whiter skin color (see Table 3). Also, perception of skin color discrimination has a positive effect on the desire of having a whiter skin color (see Table 3, Model 4). We did not find evidence to suggest that access to foreign ethnoracial beliefs is associated with the desire of having a whiter skin color (see Table 3, Model 5). These findings suggest that phenotype is certainly relevant in Guatemala as a predictor of indigenous self-identification, as a motive for ethno-racial discrimination, and as an indicator of the disposition toward cultural whitening.

References

- Adams, Richard N. 1994. "Guatemalan Ladinization and History." *The Americas* 50(4): 527-43.
 2005. "The Evolution of Racism in Guatemala: Hegemony, Science, and Antihegemony." *Histories of Anthropology Annual* 1: 132-80.
- Bastos, Santiago. 2004. "Ser maya en el siglo XXI: el proceso de construcción y difusión de una identidad política." Paper presented at the 9th European Maya Conference, December 7-12, Bonn, Germany.

- . 2012. "Multicultural Projects in Guatemala: Identity Tensions and Everyday
 Ideologies." *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies* 7(2): 155–72.
- Castells, Manuel. 2008. "The New Public Sphere: Global Civil Society, Communication Networks, and Global Governance." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616: 78-93.
- Colby, Benjamin N. and Pierre L. van den Berghe. 1969. *Ixil Country: A Plural Society in Highland Guatemala*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Essed, Philomena. 1991. Understanding Everyday Racism: An Interdisciplinary Theory. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Frank, Reanne, Ilana Redstone Akresh and Bo Lu. 2010. "Latino Immigrants and the U.S. Racial Order: How and Where Do They Fit In?" *American Sociological Review* 75(3): 378-401.
- Golash-Boza, Tanya. 2006. "Dropping the Hyphen? Becoming Latino(a)-American through Racialized Assimilation." *Social Forces* 85(1): 27-55.
- Grandin, Greg. 2000. *The Blood of Guatemala: A History of Race and Nation*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- 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.
- ———. 2004. "Rethinking Indigenous Politics in the Era of the 'Indio Permitido." *NACLA Report on the Americas* 38:16–21.
- Harris, Marvin. 1964. Patterns of Race in the Americas. New York, NY: The Norton Library.
- LAPOP. 2010. The AmericasBarometer by the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP), 2010 Survey for Guatemala (http://www.LapopSurveys.org).

- MacKenzie, C. James. 2010. "Of Networks and Hierarchies: Pan-Mayanism and Ethnic Ambivalence in Guatemala." *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies* 5(1): 27-52
- McNeish, John-Andrew. 2008. "Beyond the Permitted Indian? Bolivia and Guatemala in an Era of Neoliberal Developmentalism." *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies* 3(1): 33–59.
- Omi, Michael and Howard Winant. 1994. Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1980s. New York: Routledge.
- Popkin, Eric. 2005. "The Emergence of Pan-Mayan Ethnicity in the Guatemalan Transnational Community Linking Santa Eulalia and Los Angeles." *Current Sociology* 53(4): 675–706.
- Saperstein, Aliya. 2006. "Double-Checking the Race Box: Examining Inconsistency between Survey Measures of Observed and Self-Reported Race." *Social Forces* 85(1): 57-74.
- ———. 2012. "Capturing Complexity in the United States: Which Aspects of Race Matter and When?" *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 35(8): 1484-502.
- Telles, Edward E. 2004. *Race in Another America: The Significance of Skin Color in Brazil.*Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Telles, Edward and Stanley Bailey. 2013. "Understanding Latin American Beliefs about Racial Inequality." *American Journal of Sociology* 118(6): 1559-95.
- Villarreal, Andrés. 2010. "Stratification by Skin Color in Contemporary Mexico." *American Sociological Review* 75(5): 652–78.
- Wade, Peter. 2010. Race and Ethnicity in Latin-America. 2nd ed. London: Pluto Press.

(0.24) (0.22) (0.15) (0.15) (0.16) (0.16) Indigenous Language (0.23) (24.2) (24.4) (24.9) (24.9) Level of Urbanization ¹⁰ (41.6) (24.2) (24.4) (24.9) (24.9) Large Crites 1.639 + 1.717 + 1.632 + 1.40 Intermediate Crities 2.572 + 2.660 + 2.39 + 2.47 Rural 2.873 * 2.471 * 1.999 + 1.5 North 2.728 *2 2.401 * 2.320 * 2.47 North 2.728 **1 2.401 * 0.434 0.434 0.434 Southeast 0.543 0.474 0.434 0.435 0.421 0.630 0.001 Southeast 0.635 0.494 0.333 0.803 0.803 0.803 0.803 0.803 0.803 0.803 0.803 0.803 0.803 0.803 0.803 0.803 0.803 0.803 0.803 0.803	Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
(0.24) (0.22) (0.15) (0.15) (0.16) (0.16) Indigenous Language 102.8 *** 74.13 *** 73.48 *** 74.59 *** 64 (41.6) (24.2) (24.4) (24.9) (24.	Skin Color ^a	1 600 ***	1 674 ***	1 /158 ***	1 396 **	1 336 *	1.300 **
(41.6) (24.2) (24.4) (24.9)	KIII COM		1.021				(0.115)
(41.6) (24.2) (24.4) (24.9)	ndigenous Language		102.8 ***	74.13 ***	73.48 ***	75.92 ***	64.28 ***
Large Cities 1.639 + 1.717 + 1.632 + 1.4 (0.46) (0.55) (0.46) (0.47) Large Cities 2.572 + 2.660 + 2.539 + 2.4 (1.32) (1.41) (1.38) (1.4 Rural 2.477 * 1.999 + 1.7 (1.32) (1.47) * 1.999 + 1.7 Porth 2.424 * 2.220 * 2.47 (0.44) (0.94) (0.94) (0.88) (0.88) (0.44) (0.94) (0.94) (0.88) (0.88) (0.44) (0.33) (0.23) (0.22) * 0.2 Southeast 0.636 (0.491 - 0.454 - 0.5 (0.44) (0.33) (0.30) (0.88) (0.88) Southeast 0.636 (0.491 - 0.454 - 0.5 (0.44) (0.33) (0.80) (0.88) (0.88) (0.88) Southeast 0.636 (0.491 - 0.454 - 0.5 (0.44) (0.33) (0.80) (0.88) (0.88) (0.88) Southeast 0.636 (0.491 - 0.454 - 0.5 (0.41) (0.43) (0.63) (0.43) (0.63) (0.43) (0.8) Southeast 1.460 (0.11) (0.637 - 0.617 - 0.4 (0.61) (0.637 - 0.617 - 0.4 (0.64) (0.57) (0.53) (0.4) (0.63) Petén 0.671 (0.637 - 0.617 - 0.4 (0.64) (0.57) (0.53) (0.4) (0.4) Secondary Education (0.14) (0.19) (0.0 Bachdilerato, Magisteria or (0.14) (0.19) (0.0 Bachdilerato, Magisteria or (0.14) (0.19) (0.0 Bachdilerato, Magisteria or (0.23) (0.21) (0.33 + 0.4 (0.17) (0.33) (0.16) (0.7 Bachdilerato, Magisteria or (0.24) (0.7) (0.53) (0.7) Carteris Occupation ⁴ Primary Education (0.14) (0.19) (0.0 Bachdilerato, Magisteria or (0.24) (0.7) (0.53) (0.7) Carteris Occupation ⁴ Poinseti worker, Peasant (1.04) (1.015) (0.907 with 0.345 + 0.4 (0.17) (0.33) (0.16) (0.7) Carteris Occupation ⁴ Poinseti worker, Peasant (0.24) (0.57) (0.53) (0.50) (0.53) (0.53) (0.52) (0.52) (0.53) (0.54) (0.57) (0.53) (0.55	0 00		(41.6)	(24.2)	(24.4)	(24.9)	(20.08)
Intermediate Chies (0.46) (0.55) (0.46) (0.46) Rural 2.572 + 2.660 + (1.23) (1.44) (1.23) (1.44) Rural 2.873 * 2.477 * 1.999 + 1.50 Rural 2.873 * 2.474 * 2.220 * 2.66 North 2.728 ** 2.424 * 2.220 * 2.66 Northast 0.543 0.474 0.434 0.53 0.636 0.491 0.035 0.606 Southeast 0.636 0.491 0.035 0.636 0.491 0.455 0.64 Southeast 3.167 ** 3.208 ** 3.168 ** 3.5 Center 1.505 1.351 1.417 1.40 0.631 0.631 0.631 0.631 0.631 0.637 0.617 0.637 0.617 0.637 0.617 0.637 0.617 0.631 0.617	evel of Urbanization ^b						
Intermediate Cities 2.572 + 2.660 + 2.539 + 2.43 Rural 2.873 * 2.477 * 1.999 + 1.5 Rural 2.873 * 2.424 * 2.220 * 2.47 Regiof 0.941 0.990 (0.86) 0.10 0.865 0.10 North 0.543 0.474 0.434 0.53 0.471 0.436 0.50 Southeast 0.636 0.491 0.456 0.50 0.50 0.636 0.491 0.456 0.50 Southeast 0.636 0.491 0.456 0.53 0.60	Large Cities			1.639 +	1.717 +	1.632 +	1.448
$ \begin{array}{c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c $. ,		. ,	(0.77)
Rural 2.873 * 2.477 * 1.99 + 1.5 legion ⁶ (1.22) (1.07) (0.75) (1.107) North 2.728 ** 2.424 * 2.220 * 2.66 North 2.728 ** 2.424 * 2.220 * 2.66 Northeast 0.533 0.474 0.434 0.53 0.635 0.491 0.455 0.53 Southeast 0.636 0.491 0.435 0.60 0	Intermediate Cities						2.484
tegion ⁶ (1.22) (1.07) (0.75) (1. North 2.728 ** 2.424 * 2.220 * 2.40 North (0.94) (0.90) (0.86) (1. 0.533 (0.23) (0.23) (0.23) (0.23) (0.23) (0.23) (0.23) (0.23) (0.23) (0.30) (0.00) Southeast 0.636 0.491 0.456 0.451 (0.43) (0.33) (0.30) (0.00) Southeast 1.505 1.351 1.417 1.60 (0.83) (0.80) (0.88) (0.00) Southwest 3.167 ** 3.208 ** 3.168 ** 3.50 Northwest 1.460 1.191 0.842 0.83 (0.63) (0.63) (0.63) (0.63) (0.63) (0.60) Secondary Education 0.641 (0.63) 0.619 (0.19) (0.19) (0.19) (0.19) (0.19) (0.19) (0.19) (0.19) (0.19) (0.19) (0.19) (0.19) (0.10) (0.11) (0.23) (0.41) (Damal						(1.49) 1.976
legion ⁶ 2.728 ** 2.424 * 2.20 * 2.424 North 0.94) (0.90) (0.86) (0.1 Northeast 0.543 0.474 0.434 0.5 Southeast 0.636 0.491 0.456 0.5 Southeast 0.636 0.491 0.456 0.5 Southeast 0.636 0.491 0.456 0.5 Southeast 1.505 1.511 1.417 1.6 Southwest 3.167 ** 3.208 ** 3.168 ** 3.5 Southwest 1.460 1.191 0.842 0.6 0.637 0.617 0.43 Northwest 0.671 0.637 0.617 0.43 0.6 0.431 0.0 Accation ^d 9 9 0.4 0.619 0.19 0.0 0.0 Secondary Education 0.481 + 0.474 + 0.5 0.254 * 0.44 University or More 0.271 * 0.392 0.4 0.139 0.16 <td>Kurai</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td>(1.12)</td>	Kurai						(1.12)
North 2.728 ** 2.424 * 2.220 * 2.42 Northeast 0.543 0.0474 0.030 0.034 0.030 0.023 0.033 0.030 0.033 0.030 0.033 0.034 0.043 0.043 0.043 <td>egion^c</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td>(1.22)</td> <td>(1.07)</td> <td>(0.75)</td> <td>(1.12)</td>	egion ^c			(1.22)	(1.07)	(0.75)	(1.12)
Northeast (0.94) (0.90) (0.86) (1. Northeast (0.23) (0.23) (0.23) (0.23) (0.23) (0.23) (0.23) (0.23) (0.23) (0.23) (0.23) (0.23) (0.23) (0.23) (0.23) (0.23) (0.23) (0.23) (0.23) (0.30) (0.30) (0.63) (0.30) (0.63) (0.30) (0.63) (0.30) (0.63) (0.63) (0.63) (0.63) (0.63) (0.63) (0.61) (0.63) (0.61) (0.63) (0.61)				2.728 **	2.424 *	2.220 *	2.615 *
Northeast 0.543 0.474 0.434 0.53 Southeast 0.636 0.491 0.456 0.53 Southeast 0.636 0.491 0.456 0.53 Center 1.505 1.351 1.417 1.66 Southwest 3.167 ** 3.208 ** 3.56 Southwest 1.400 1.191 0.842 0.83 Northwest 1.460 1.191 0.842 0.63 Petén 0.617 0.637 0.617 0.43 rimary Education 0.641 0.57 0.53 0.60 Secondary Education 0.841 + 0.474 + 0.52 Secondary Education 0.284 ** 0.319 * 0.401 Bachillerato, Magisterio or 0.254 0.345 + 0.441 0.19 0.02 Goreraneus 0.017 0.023 0.039 0.03 0.02 0.01 0.02 Goreration 0.271 * 0.345				2.7.20			(1.24)
Southeast 0.636 0.491 0.456 0.5 Center 0.636 0.491 0.030 0.0 Southewst 1.505 1.351 1.417 1.6 Southwest 3.167 ** 3.208 ** 3.168 ** 3.5 Northwest 1.460 1.191 0.832 0.637 0.617 0.637 Petén 0.671 0.637 0.617 0.633 0.049 0.617 Ketation ^d 0.617 0.637 0.617 0.633 0.643 0.617 Secondary Education 0.611 0.637 0.613 0.603 0.613 0.603 0.613 0.616 0.60 Bachillerato, Magisterio or 0.613 0.613 0.139 0.139 0.60 0.139 0.161 0.160 0.0 Bachillerato, Magisterio or 0.254 * 0.345 + 0.456 Secretariado 0.139 0.139 0.139 0.013 0.161 0.139 0.139 0.1441 0.1441 0.199 0.045 0.456 0.441	Northeast			. ,	· ,	. ,	0.527
Center (0.44) (0.33) (0.30) (0.30) Southwest 1.505 1.351 1.417 1.6 Southwest 3.167 ** 3.208 ** 3.168 ** 3.57 Northwest 1.460 1.191 0.842 0.88 (0.63) (0.43) (0.43) (0.43) Northwest 1.460 1.191 0.842 0.88 (0.61) 0.637 0.617 0.637 Petén 0.671 0.637 0.617 0.637 0.614				(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.22)	(0.30)
Center 1.505 1.351 1.417 1.60 Southwest 0.633 (0.80) (0.83) (0.83) (0.83) (0.83) Northwest 1.60 1.191 0.842 0.83 (0.33) (0.43) (0.43) (0.43) Northwest 1.460 1.191 0.637 0.617 0.637 (0.61) (0.61) (0.63) (0.61) </td <td>Southeast</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td>0.636</td> <td>0.491</td> <td>0.456</td> <td>0.504</td>	Southeast			0.636	0.491	0.456	0.504
Southwest (0.83) (0.80) (0.88) (0.83) Northwest (1.31) (1.34) (1.38) (0.7) Northwest (1.31) (0.67) (0.63) (0.43) (0.67) Petén (0.67) (0.67) (0.63) (0.43) (0.67) Primary Education (0.67) (0.63) (0.43) (0.67) Secondary Education (0.64) (0.97) (0.19) (0.19) Secondary Education (0.43) (0.16) (0.19) (0.19) Secondary Education (0.24) (0.16) (0.16) (0.16) Bachillerato, Magisterio or (0.254) (0.16) (0.16) (0.16) Secretariado (0.17) (0.23) (0.24) (0.23) (0.24) (0.23) Omestic worker, Peasant (0.21) (0.27) (0.87) (0.87) (0.87) Government Employee (0.21) (0.23) (0.24) (0.27) (0.24) (0.27) Coderate Political Engagement (0.23) (0.23)				. ,			(0.25)
Southwest 3.167 ** 3.208 ** 3.168 ** 3.5 Northwest 1.460 1.191 0.842 0.6 (0.81) 0.637 0.617 0.63 Petén 0.671 0.637 0.617 0.63 Morthwest 0.641 0.671 0.637 0.617 0.63 Petén 0.617 0.637 0.617 0.63 0.619 0.619 Oducation ^d 0.181 + 0.474 + 0.5 0.19 0.0 Secondary Education 0.284 ** 0.319 * 0.431 + 0.474 + 0.5 Secondary Education 0.284 ** 0.319 * 0.431 + 0.431 + 0.431 + 0.531 0.601 Bachillerato, Magisterio or 0.254 * 0.345 + 0.44 0.19 0.0 University or More 0.217 * 0.332 0.24 (0.23) 0.24 1.41 1.63 Artisan, Manual Worker, Security, Governnent Employce	Center						1.643
Northwest (1.31) (1.34) (1.38) (1.38) Northwest 1.460 1.191 0.842 0.81 Petén 0.671 0.637 0.617 0.43 Octaution ^d (0.57) 0.637 0.617 0.637 Primary Education 0.481 + 0.474 + 0.57 Secondary Education 0.284 ** 0.319 * 0.481 + 0.474 + 0.57 Secondary Education 0.284 ** 0.319 * 0.481 + 0.474 + 0.57 Secondary Education 0.284 ** 0.319 * 0.481 + 0.481 + 0.481 + 0.481 + 0.57 Secondary Education 0.284 ** 0.319 * 0.481 + 0.481 + 0.481 * 0.481 * 0.481 * 0.481 * 0.481 * 0.481 * 0.481 0.231 0.231 0.231	~ .			. ,			(0.68)
Northwest 1.460 1.191 0.842 0.8 Petén (0.81) (0.63) (0.43) (0.00) ducation ^d (0.64) (0.57) (0.57) (0.57) (0.57) Primary Education 0.481 + 0.474 + 0.5 Secondary Education 0.284 ** 0.319 * 0.4 Bachillerato, Magisterio or 0.284 * 0.319 * 0.4 Secretariado (0.14) (0.19) (0.19) (0.19) 0.0 University or More 0.271 * 0.345 + 0.4 University or More 0.271 * 0.392 0.4 Manual Worker, Peasant 5.417 * 4.5 Government Employee 1.298 1.2 1.2 Office Worker, Technician, Teacher, 1.298 1.2 0.5 Government Employee 0.231 0.035 0.231 0.24 0.24 emale 1.041 1.015 0.907 0.840 0.833 0.5 ge 0.987 0	Southwest						3.569 **
Petén (0.81) (0.63) (0.43) (0.43) 0.671 0.637 0.617 0.43 (0.64) (0.57) (0.53) (0.53) ducation ^d 0.481 $+$ 0.474 $+$ 0.5 Secondary Education 0.284 $**$ 0.319 $*$ 0.43 Bachillerato, Magisterio or 0.284 $**$ 0.319 $*$ 0.43 Bachillerato, Magisterio or 0.254 $*$ 0.345 $+$ 0.44 University or More 0.271 $*$ 0.392 0.44 University or More 0.271 $*$ 0.392 0.44 Omestic worker, Peasant 5.417 $*$ 4.5 Artisan, Manual Worker, Security, 3.474 $*$ 3.474 $*$ 3.474 Retailer (0.87) (0.87) (0.87) (0.87) (0.87) (0.87) Idoctrate Political Engagement (0.23) (0.35) (0.23) (0.24) (0.24) (0.24) ge 0.987	Northwast						(1.42) 0.827
Petén 0.671 0.637 0.617 0.4 (0.64) (0.57) (0.53) (0. ducation ^d 0.481 + 0.474 + 0.571 Secondary Education 0.481 + 0.474 + 0.571 Secondary Education 0.284 * 0.319 * 0.481 Bachillerato, Magisterio or 0.254 * 0.345 + 0.481 Secretariado (0.14) (0.19) (0.16) (0.14) (0.19) (0.17) University or More 0.271 * 0.392 0.4 Domestic worker, Peasant 5.417 * 4.5 Artisan, Manual Worker, Security, 3.474 * 3.474 Retailer (2.20) (2.20) (2.20) (2.20) Office Worker, Technician, Teacher, 1.298 1.2 0.5 Government Employee (0.87) (1.402) 0.5 (adical Political Engagement 0.23 0.35 0.23 0.24 0.24 (g	Normwest						(0.41)
(0.64) (0.57) (0.53) (0.53) Primary Education 0.481 + 0.474 + 0.5 Secondary Education 0.481 + 0.474 + 0.5 Secondary Education 0.284 ** 0.319 * 0.4 Bachillerato, Magisterio or 0.254 * 0.345 + 0.4 Secretariado (0.14) (0.19) (0.10) (0.10) (0.10) 0.0 University or More 0.271 * 0.392 0.4 (0.17) (0.23) (0.14) (0.19) (0.17) (0.23) (0.17) * 4.5 Ofice Worker, Peasant 5.417 * 4.5 (4.41) (3.3 4.4 4.5 4.5 Government Employee (0.17) (0.23) (0.24) (0.87) (1.4 1.04 1.015 (0.907 0.840 0.833 0.5 adaical Political Engagement (0.23) (0.35) (0.23) (0.24) 0.0 0.5 age 0.987 * 0.979 9.981 9.971 *	Petén			. ,	· ,	. ,	0.485
Aucation ^d 0.481 + 0.474 + 0.5 Primary Education 0.481 + 0.474 + 0.5 Secondary Education 0.284 ** 0.319 * 0.4 Bachillerato, Magisterio or 0.284 ** 0.319 * 0.4 Secretariado 0.13) (0.16) (0.13) University or More 0.271 * 0.392 0.4 University or More 0.271 * 0.392 0.4 Omestic worker, Peasant 5.417 * 4.5 Artisan, Manual Worker, Security, Retailer 5.417 * 4.5 Government Employee (0.87) (1.401) Addical Political Engagement 0.987 * 0.907 0.840 0.833 0.8 (0.23) (0.35) (0.23) (0.24) (0.24) 0.9 (age 0.987 * 0.979 * 0.811 * 0.971 **** 0.970 **** 0.5							(0.34)
Primary Education 0.481 + 0.474 + 0.5 Secondary Education 0.19 0.19 0.0 Bachillerato, Magisterio or 0.284 ** 0.319 * 0.47 Secretariado 0.13 0.16) 0.6 University or More 0.254 * 0.345 + 0.4 0.14) 0.19) 0.0 arents' Occupation° 0.271 * 0.392 0.4 Domestic worker, Peasant 5.417 * 4.5 Artisan, Manual Worker, Security, Retailer 5.417 * 3.4 Government Employee 0.837 * 0.907 Moderate Political Engagement 0.6 (0.23) 0.035 0.23 0.24) 0.833 (0.23) 0.35 0.23 0.24) 0.64	ducation ^d			· · ·	. ,	. ,	
Secondary Education (0.19) <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td>0.481 +</td> <td>0.474 +</td> <td>0.565</td>					0.481 +	0.474 +	0.565
Bachillerato, Magisterio or (0.13) (0.16) (0.5) Secretariado 0.254 0.345 $+$ 0.4 University or More 0.271 0.392 0.4 Domestic worker, Peasant 5.417 $*$ 4.9 Artisan, Manual Worker, Security, 5.417 $*$ 4.9 Artisan, Manual Worker, Security, 3.474 $*$ 3.474 Retailer (2.20) (2.20) (2.20) Office Worker, Technician, Teacher, (0.87) (1.40) 0.97 Government Employee (0.23) (0.35) (0.23) 0.24 0.24 Moderate Political Engagement 0.23 0.35 0.23 0.24 0.24 0.24 emale 1.041 1.015 0.907 0.840 0.833 0.83 0.23 0.35 0.23 0.24 0.24 0.24 0.970	5						(0.21)
Bachillerato, Magisterio or Secretariado $0.254 * 0.345 + 0.4$ Secretariado $(0.14) = (0.19) = (0.19)$ University or More $0.271 * 0.392 = 0.4$ University or More $0.271 * 0.392 = 0.4$ Domestic worker, Peasant $5.417 * 4.9$ Artisan, Manual Worker, Security, Retailer $5.417 * 4.9$ Office Worker, Technician, Teacher, Government Employee $(2.20) = (2.20)$ Moderate Political Engagement $(0.87) = (0.87)$ Addical Political Engagement $(0.23) = (0.35) = (0.23) = (0.23) = (0.24) = (0.24) = (0.24)$ Area $(0.23) = (0.35) = (0.23) = (0.24) = (0.2$	Secondary Education				0.284 **	0.319 *	0.420 +
Secretariado (0.14) (0.19) (0.19) University or More 0.271 0.392 0.4 university or More 0.271 0.392 0.4 (0.17) (0.23) (0.17) (0.23) (0.17) arents' Occupation ^e 5.417 * 4.9 Domestic worker, Peasant 5.417 * 4.9 Artisan, Manual Worker, Security, 3.474 * 3.4 Retailer (2.20) (2.2 (2.20) (2.2 Office Worker, Technician, Teacher, 1.298 1.2 1.2 1.2 Government Employee (0.87) (1.4 1.04 0.9 0.9 adical Political Engagement 0.907 0.840 0.833 0.8 (0.23) (0.35) (0.23) (0.24) (0.24) (0.9 oge 0.987 * 0.979 * 0.981 * 0.971 *** 0.970 **** 0.9					(0.13)	(0.16)	(0.19)
University or More 0.271 * 0.392 0.4 (0.17) (0.23) (0. arents' Occupation ^e 5.417 * 4.9 Domestic worker, Peasant 5.417 * 4.9 Artisan, Manual Worker, Security, 3.474 * 3.4 Retaiker (2.20) (2. Office Worker, Technician, Teacher, 1.298 1.2 Government Employee (0.87) (1. Ideatal Political Engagement 0.9 (0.9 adical Political Engagement 0.907 0.840 0.833 0.8 (0.23) (0.35) (0.23) (0.24) (0.24) (0.9 emale 1.041 1.015 0.907 0.840 0.833 0.8 (0.23) (0.35) (0.23) (0.24) (0.24) (0.9 ege 0.987 * 0.979 * 0.981 * 0.971 *** 0.970 **** 0.5	0						0.435 +
$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$							(0.19)
arents' Occupation ^e $5.417 * 4.9$ Domestic worker, Peasant $5.417 * 4.9$ Artisan, Manual Worker, Security, $3.474 * 3.4$ Retailer (2.20) (2.20) Office Worker, Technician, Teacher, 1.298 1.2 Government Employee (0.87) (1.998) Ioderate Political Engagement 0.907 0.840 0.833 0.8 adical Political Engagement (0.23) (0.35) (0.23) (0.24) (0.24) (0.24) ge $0.987 *$ $0.979 *$ $0.981 *$ $0.971 * * *$ $0.970 * * * 0.55$	University or More						0.424 +
Domestic worker, Peasant 5.417 * 4.9 Artisan, Manual Worker, Security, 3.474 * 3.4 Retailer (2.20) Office Worker, Technician, Teacher, 1.298 Government Employee (0.87) Moderate Political Engagement 0.907 Artisan, Manual Worker, Security, 0.907 Government Employee 0.907 Moderate Political Engagement 0.9 Artisal Political Engagement 0.9 Artisal Political Engagement 0.907 Artisal Poli					(0.17)	(0.23)	(0.21)
Artisan, Manual Worker, Security, Retailer (4.41) (3. 3.474 (3. 3.474 (2.20) (2. (2.20) (2. (0.87) (1. (0.87) (1. (0.87) (1. (0.23) (0.907) (0.840) (0.833) (0.840) (0.833) (0.840) (0.833) (0.840) (0.833) (0.840) (0.833) (0.840) (0.24) (0. (0.24)	1					C 417 *	4.020 *
Artisan, Manual Worker, Security, Retailer 3.474 * 3.4 Office Worker, Technician, Teacher, Government Employee 1.298 1.2 Inderate Political Engagement (0.87) (1. adical Political Engagement 0.907 0.840 0.833 0.8 (0.23) (0.35) (0.23) (0.24) (0.24) (0.970) ge 0.987 * 0.979 * 0.981 * 0.971 *** 0.970 **** 0.5	Domestic worker, Peasant						4.938 *
Retailer (2.20) (2. Office Worker, Technician, Teacher, 1.298 1.2 Government Employee (0.87) (1. Inderate Political Engagement 0.9 (0.87) (0.9 adical Political Engagement 0.907 0.840 0.833 0.8 (0.23) (0.35) (0.23) (0.24) (0.24) (0.997) ge 0.987 * 0.979 * 0.981 * 0.971 *** 0.970 **** 0.5	Artisan Manual Worker Security						(3.53) 3.469 +
Office Worker, Technician, Teacher, 1.298 1.2 Government Employee (0.87) (1. Moderate Political Engagement 0.9 (0.87) (0.9 adical Political Engagement 0.907 0.840 0.833 0.8 emale 1.041 1.015 0.907 0.840 0.833 0.8 (0.23) (0.35) (0.23) (0.24) (0.24) (0.997) age 0.987 * 0.979 * 0.981 * 0.971 *** 0.970 *** 0.95	-						(2.43)
Government Employee (0.87) (1. Moderate Political Engagement 0.9 adical Political Engagement 0.907 0.840 0.833 0.8 emale 1.041 1.015 0.907 0.840 0.833 0.8 (0.23) (0.35) (0.23) (0.24) (0.24) (0.997) age 0.987 * 0.979 * 0.981 * 0.971 *** 0.970 *** 0.95							1.292
Inderate Political Engagement 0.9 adical Political Engagement 0.9 emale 1.041 1.015 0.907 0.840 0.833 0.8 (0.23) (0.23) (0.23) (0.23) (0.24) (0.24) (0.997) ge 0.987 * 0.979 * 0.981 * 0.971 *** 0.970 *** 0.5							(1.00)
(0. adical Political Engagement emale 1.041 1.015 0.907 0.840 0.833 0.8 (0.23) (0.35) (0.23) (0.24) (0.24) (0. ge 0.987 * 0.979 * 0.981 * 0.971 *** 0.970 *** 0.5							0.904 *
adical Political Engagement 0.90 (0. emale 1.041 1.015 0.907 0.840 0.833 0.8 (0.23) (0.35) (0.23) (0.24) (0.24) (0. ge 0.987 * 0.979 * 0.981 * 0.971 *** 0.970 *** 0.5	iouciale political engagement						0.904 * (0.04)
$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	adical Political Engagement						0.995
1.041 1.015 0.907 0.840 0.833 0.833 (0.23) (0.35) (0.23) (0.24) (0.24) (0.24) age 0.987 0.979 0.981 0.971 *** 0.970 *** 0.55							(0.06)
$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	le	1.041	1.015	0.007	0.840	0.922	
ge 0.987 * 0.979 * 0.981 * 0.971 *** 0.970 *** 0.9	emale						0.862
	σe						(0.17) 0.970 ***
	ğς	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(continu

Table 1. Odds Ratios of Logistic Regression Models Predicting Indigenous Self-Identification

Table 1, continued

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Log-likelihood	-840.8	-482.2	-447.0	-439.1	-407.2	-377.2
N	1402	1402	1402	1402	1326	1206

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

^aSkin color categories are ordered from whitest to darkest with the darkest category subjectively assigned the highest value.

^bCapital, metropolitan area is the reference category.

^cGuatemala department is the reference category.

^dNo formal schooling (zero years of education) is the reference category.

^eExecutive, professional is the reference category.

+p<.1 (significant at a marginal level); *p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001 (two-tailed tests)

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	
Ethno-Racial Characteristics				
Indigenous Self-Identification ^a	1.678 *	1.742 *	2.066 **	
C	(0.42)	(0.44)	(0.54)	
Skin Color ^b	1.143 *	1.156 **	1.146 *	
Skii Coloi	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	
Indigenous Language	1.754 *	1.729 *	1.688 *	
Indigenous Language	(0.44)	(0.44)	(0.44)	
Level of Urbanization ^c	(0111)	(0111)	(0.1.)	
Large Cities	1.923 ***	1.784 ***	2.245 **	
Large Cilles	(0.34)	(0.29)	(0.52)	
Intermediate Cities	(0.34)	1.184	1.408	
memberate cales	(0.43)	(0.40)	(0.65)	
Rural	1.432	1.397	1.745	
Ruiai	(0.39)	(0.37)	(0.65)	
Region ^d	(0.37)	(0.57)	(0.05)	
North	0.011	0.802	0.850	
Norui	0.811	0.892	0.859	
Northeast	(0.44)	(0.47)	(0.43)	
Normeast	1.005	1.107	1.149	
Southeast	(0.39) 0.568	(0.42) 0.632	(0.38) 0.716	
Soumeast				
Center	(0.23) 0.960	(0.25) 1.038	(0.27) 1.076	
Center	(0.43)	(0.47)	(0.45)	
Southwest	(0.43) 0.617	0.652	0.641	
Sounwest	(0.35)	(0.35)	(0.33)	
Northwest	0.755	0.846	1.005	
Normwest	(0.36)	(0.40)	(0.48)	
Petén	0.870	0.966	1.030	
1 eten	(0.51)	(0.59)	(0.63)	
Education ^e	(0.51)	(0.57)	(0.05)	
No formal schooling		0.882	1.026	
No ionnai schooling		0.883	1.036	
Primary Education		(0.36) 0.953	(0.43) 1.167	
Primary Education				
Secondary Education		(0.24) 1.559	(0.28) 1.905 +	
Secondary Education				
Pachillougto Magistorio or		(0.45) 1.113	(0.63) 1.268	
Bachillerato, Magisterio or Secretariado		(0.41)	(0.48)	
		(0.41)	(0.48)	
Parents' Occupation ^f			0.276 ***	
Domestic worker, Peasant			0.270	
Astrono Manual Web Const			(0.08)	
Artisan, Manual Worker, Security,			0.225 ***	
Retailer			(0.06) 0.453 *	
Office Worker, Technician, Teacher,			0.455	
Government Employee			(0.16)	
Female	1.154	1.169	1.124	
	(0.25)	(0.25)	(0.22)	

Table 2. Odds Ratios of Ordered Logistic Regression Models Predicting Perception of Skin Color Discrimination

(continues)

Table 2, continued

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Age	1.007 +	1.010 *	1.013 **
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.005)
Log-likelihood	-796.5	-794.0	-742.8
N	1378	1378	1305

Notes: Robust standard errors are in parentheses. Threshold values for each category in the dependent variable are omitted to save space.

^aLadino is the reference category.

^bSkin color categories are ordered from whitest to darkest with the darkest category subjectively assigned the highest value.

^cCapital, metropolitan area is the reference category.

^dGuatemala department is the reference category.

^eUniversity or more is the reference category.

^fExecutive, professional is the reference category.

+p<.1 (significant at a marginal level); *p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001 (two-tailed tests)

Variables	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
Ethno-Racial Characteristics										
Indigenous Self-Identification ^a	1.225 (0.24)		1.172 (0.23)		1.218 (0.25)		1.122 (0.24)		1.130 (0.24)	
Skin Color ^b	1.004 (0.09)		0.964 (0.08)		0.944 (0.08)		0.927 (0.09)		0.935 (0.08)	
Indigenous Language	(0.09) 1.635 (0.29)	**	(0.00) 1.599 (0.28)	**	(0.00) 1.661 (0.32)	**	(0.03) (0.31)	*	(0.33)	*
Level of Urbanization ^c					. ,				. ,	
Large Cities	1.155 (0.21)		1.077 (0.23)		1.102 (0.25)		1.065 (0.22)		1.033 (0.22)	
Intermediate Cities	1.536 (0.38)	+	1.480 (0.40)		1.439 (0.37)		1.468 (0.41)		1.418 (0.40)	
Rural	1.437 (0.33)		1.233 (0.36)		1.234 (0.35)		1.194 (0.34)		1.177 (0.33)	
Region ^d										
North	0.910 (0.55)		0.904 (0.54)		0.902 (0.55)		0.857 (0.51)		0.921 (0.54)	
Northeast	0.813 (0.51)		0.770 (0.49)		0.754 (0.48)		0.739 (0.47)		0.748 (0.49)	
Southeast	3.748 (1.99)	*	3.618 (1.84)	*	3.915 (2.10)	*	4.022 (2.17)	*	4.206 (2.21)	**
Center	3.745 (1.41)	***	3.619 (1.26)	***	3.421 (1.26)	***	3.532 (1.32)	***	3.742 (1.30)	**
Southwest	1.571 (0.49)		1.700 (0.52)		1.679 (0.51)		1.808 (0.56)	+	1.921 (0.55)	*
Northwest	3.789 (1.47)	***	3.610 (1.34)	***	3.928 (1.51)	***	3.980 (1.55)	***	4.057 (1.50)	**
Petén	2.383 (1.40)		2.373 (1.37)		2.311 (1.35)		2.463 (1.48)		2.572 (1.53)	
Education ^e										
No formal schooling			2.479 (0.98)	*	2.839 (1.16)	*	3.024 (1.23)	**	3.072 (1.34)	*
Primary Education			2.504 (0.64)	***	2.644 (0.70)	***	2.763 (0.75)	***	2.834 (0.86)	**
Secondary Education			1.795 (0.54)	+	1.941 (0.58)	*	1.909 (0.58)	*	1.954 (0.64)	*
Bachillerato, Magisterio or Secretariado			1.926 (0.52)	*	1.984 (0.55)	*	2.032 (0.59)	*	2.040 (0.55)	**
Parents' Occupation ^f										
Domestic worker, Peasant					0.578 (0.25)		0.667 (0.29)		0.669 (0.30)	
Artisan, Manual Worker, Security, Retailer					(0.23) 0.608 (0.26)		(0.2)) 0.702 (0.31)		(0.30) 0.712 (0.31)	
Office Worker, Technician, Teacher, Government Employee					(0.20) 0.558 (0.20)		(0.31) 0.604 (0.21)		(0.31) 0.615 (0.22)	
Perception of Skin Color Discrimination					(0.20)		(0.21) 1.468 (0.16)	***	(0.22) 1.454 (0.16)	**

Table 3. Odds Ratios of Ordered Logistic Regression Models Predicting the Desire to Have a Whiter Skin Color

(continues)

Table 3, continued

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	
Family Out of the Country					1.272 (0.23)	
Use of Internet					(0.23) 1.003 (0.07)	
Female	1.554 * (0.28)	1.476 * (0.28)	1.407 * (0.24)	1.395 + (0.24)	1.420 * (0.25)	
Age	0.995 (0.01)	0.992 (0.01)	0.990 (0.01)	0.989 + (0.01)	0.988 + (0.01)	
Log-likelihood N	-1885.5 1369	-1876.7 1369	-1768.9 1299	-1733.6 1281	-1730.1 1280	

Notes: Robust standard errors are in parentheses. Threshold values for each category in the dependent variable are omitted to save space. ^aLadino is the reference category.

^bSkin color categories are ordered from whitest to darkest with the darkest category subjectively assigned the highest value.

^cCapital, metropolitan area is the reference category.

^dGuatemala department is the reference category.

^eUniversity or more is the reference category.

^fExecutive, professional is the reference category.

+p<.1 (significant at a marginal level); p < .05; p < .01; p < .01; p < .01 (two-tailed tests)