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THE SHADES OF IMMIGRATION: HOW SKIN TONE SHAPES ATTITUDES TOWARDS  
VENEZUELAN IMMIGRANTS IN LATIN AMERICA

A Thesis

presented in partial fulfillment of requirements

for the degree of Master of Arts

in the Department of Political Science

The University of Mississippi

Madison Hamilton

May 2022

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## ABSTRACT

Venezuela is currently home to one of the most profound economic crises in modern-day Latin America and the most severe in any non-war-ridden country in recent years. Due to this, mass amounts of Venezuelan immigrants have left to countries such as Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, and Peru. This immigration within Latin America, with similar culture and language, leads to the question of if and how does skin tone predict attitudes towards Venezuelans in several Latin American countries? This study uses data from the 2018/19 LAPOP data survey to assess the link between skin tone and support for Venezuelan immigrants. Results of this study indicate there is no direct connection between skin tone and immigrant attitudes due to a lack of difference between language and culture in the communities.

## DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents and to Maynard.

I could not have done any of this without you.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my unending gratitude for Dr. Love who has guided me through this thesis process. I came to him last semester with a very rough idea of what I wanted to do and he has guided me every step of the way to what we have today. Dr. Love, your instruction as a mentor and a professor has made my last semester here at the University of Mississippi memorable and I cannot thank you enough for it.

To my readers, Dr. Allen and Dr. Cooper, thank you for taking the time to read this and being a part of my committee.

To my parents, thank you for getting me to where I am today. Mom, I would not be here without you guiding me and being the reason, I strive for a master's degree. Dad, thank you for always answering my calls and having me take breaks to watch Marvel shows with you. To Maynard, I hope you are proud from above and I wish you could have seen me graduate.

To Braeden Wise, thank you. Thank you for helping me throughout the whole thesis process and being there in every Facetime call and text. Thank you for believing in me when I did not believe in myself, even all the way in Texas.

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reaching out to me in comparative class my first year, I have been grateful for our friendship ever since.

To Kallye Smith, Sean Nelson, and Alyssa Williams, thank you for listening to every rant and for being there every step of the way. I appreciate each of you more than you will ever know.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Venezuela is currently home to one of the most profound economic crises in modern-day Latin America and the most severe in any non-war-ridden country in recent years. This has caused an influx of emigrants to flee to surrounding countries seeking refuge from what may seem like an unending crisis (Briceño-Ruiz 2020; Bull and Rosales 2020; Gallegos 2019). The communities receiving these Venezuelans may have become more diversified, which I argue can lead to racialized emotions towards these immigrants. This concept is the primary motivation of this paper, as I focus on the relationship between skin tone and how it can shape attitudes towards Venezuelan immigrants. Through this, I am seeking to answer the question: if and how does skin tone predict attitudes towards Venezuelans in several Latin American countries?

In recent years, mass amounts of Venezuelan immigrants have been emigrating to countries such as Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, and Peru. Due to this, there have been mixed responses and attitudes about their arrival (Arcarazo and Freier 2015; Yépez et al. 2020). In Colombia, President Iván Duque instituted a program for Venezuelans entering the country prior to January 31, 2021, to receive a visa granting immigrants the ability to legally live in Colombia for ten years (Bodea 2021). In Ecuador, the government has been granting refugee status and a new regularization process specifically for Venezuelans (Carrión 2021). The Chilean

government has implemented a new migration bill that regulates visas and immigration permits but has implemented deportation procedures due to demonstrations against the migrants (ACAPS 2022).

The case of Venezuela is unique in itself for the study of immigration. Within previous literature on immigration, individuals traveled to countries in Europe, the United States, or Australia to seek refuge from a crisis in their country of origin. In these instances, the immigrants traveled to places with differing languages, cultures, and possibly ethnicities. For example, Mexican immigrants travel to the United States where there is a language barrier, differences in culture, and different ethnic make-up of communities. These differences could potentially lead to racialized emotions towards a particular group (Bonilla-Silva 2019). The case of Venezuela is substantially different from the cases of immigration researched in the past. In this, Venezuelans are travelling to other Latin American countries in which the primary language is Spanish, so there is little to no language barrier, and the culture is similar. This case of differing immigration can allow for a new level of research to be conducted to better predict the attitudes of individuals within the scope of skin tone and immigration.

This study into the skin tone shaping attitudes will be conducted using an AmericaBarometers by the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) survey. Through an in-person survey, respondents from Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru answered questions on their views of Venezuelan immigrants. Along with this, the interviewer determined the skin tone of each respondent on a scale of 1 (lightest) to 11 (darkest). These data points allow for further analysis of the true relation between skin tone and attitudes, as well as what it means in terms of Latin American immigration.

The next chapter will provide a literature review and develops the theory. It includes an overview of immigration from Venezuela, how skin tone interacts with attitudes towards immigrants, and social hierarchies based on skin tone within Latin America. With this knowledge, three hypotheses are created to study if there is a correlation between skin tone and support for Venezuelans in Latin America and how this differentiates by variation in skin tone. Chapter three of this thesis will discuss the data and methods used in the study to support or reject the hypotheses and discuss the data results. Finally, the concluding chapter discusses what these results determine and where to progress with this research in the future.

## CHAPTER II

### SKIN TONE AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS IMMIGRANTS

#### *The Case of Venezuela*

In Venezuela, the state of the economy, and its slow and continual collapse, has led to a mass outflow of emigrants to surrounding states in the region. This collapse has led Venezuela to undergo the most profound crisis within modern Latin America and the deepest crisis of any non-war-ridden country in recent years (Bull and Rosales 2020).

The inflation rate for Venezuela has only increased as time has progressed and was predicted to reach nearly 10 million percent by the end of 2019 (Gallegos 2019). Because of this, Gross Domestic Product (GDP) declined by nearly 25% in 2019, which is close to the decline in the United States during the Great Depression and worse than Russia (1990 -1994) and Cuba (1989-1993) (Briceño-Ruiz 2020). This economic downfall within the state of Venezuela was created by the mismanagement of the nation by Nicolás Maduro and Hugo Chávez (Daniels 2019). When Maduro took office, the state of the government was misled as money for social goods and programs were reallocated into the military and the government began to be highly militarized (Bull and Rosales 2020). Through this mismanagement, the government and economy began to collapse. This steep decline in the Venezuelan economy was affected even further due to the decrease in oil production and the downfall of the national oil company

Petróleos de Venezuela Sociedad Anónima (PVDSA). Ultimately, this led to a decline in oil exports and consequentially a decline in revenue for Venezuela. Furthermore, after the United States implemented sanctions on PVDSA, oil production within the region diminished and it led to a widespread electrical blackout.

Along with the collapse of the economy, the healthcare system deteriorated as well. The mortality rate of diseases skyrocketed, as did child and infant mortality (Bull and Rosales 2020; Page et al. 2019). Due to the decrease in imports, a widespread shortage of food and medicine occurred, with grocery stores and pharmacies across the country having empty shelves. Through this, nearly 3.7 million Venezuelans were undernourished (Daniels 2019). Along with this, medical help during this time was nearly impossible to receive (Briceño-Ruiz 2020). Individuals around the country were more prone to diseases that were previously treatable. In this crisis, measles, malaria, diphtheria, and tuberculosis saw a high increase in transmissibility while access to vaccines and antibiotics was unattainable (Daniels 2019). The data about these diseases could be much higher than reported since Nicolás Maduro has not published any official data for Venezuela in years (Daniels 2019). Because of this, the situation in Venezuela has been deemed a human rights crisis, and organizations worldwide have attempted to assist in helping Venezuela recover (Briceño-Ruiz 2020). However, the government of Venezuela, specifically Máduro, has denied the existence of a humanitarian crisis in the country and refuses to allow humanitarian aid (Daniels 2019).

This crisis has been multi-dimensional due to it stemming from the political system and economic structures, but also on a social and cultural aspect (Bull and Rosales 2020; Legler, Serbin Point, and Garelli-Ríos 2018). Due to all of these factors, over 4 million Venezuelans

have emigrated throughout Latin America to escape the enduring crisis. Subsequently, Colombia has received more than 1.78 million immigrants, Chile has received more than 523,000, Ecuador has received more than 288,000, and Peru has received more than 941,000 (Romero 2021). This mass influx of immigrants has led to a question of how these communities can be impacted and will react to this increase in immigrant populations.

The migration of Venezuelan immigrants to surrounding Latin American countries is a unique case in which immigrants seek refuge in countries with similar languages and cultures. However, in alternate situations, immigrants migrate to places of different cultures or languages. Within these occurrences, the language barrier, cultural differences, and differences in skin tone are all components of potential discrimination by other individuals. Within previous literature on immigration, individuals traveled to countries within Europe, the United States, or Australia to seek refuge from a crisis within their own country of origin. For example, Mexican immigrants travel to the United States where there is a language barrier, differences in culture, and different ethnic make-up of communities. Therefore, due to a lack of difference in culture and language, racialized emotions could form towards Venezuelan immigrants due to differences in skin tones. In order to understand this further, the literature concerning Latin American immigrants to the United States can serve as a base for the theory of understanding how attitudes could be formed in the case of Venezuelan immigrants in Latin America.

### *Immigration*

In the case of immigration, receiving communities can react differently to the increases in immigration. Although these individual attitudes towards immigrants can be based on multiple

social identities of an individual, the main focus will be on the skin tone of the individual and the migrant. A primary case to understand this concept is in the United States with Latin American immigrants entering receiving communities. The literature within the United States discusses that if an immigrant joins a community with a lack of ethnic diversity, this experience can lead to high levels of negative emotions toward the overall immigrant community (Frasure-Yokley and Wilcox-Archuleta 2019). Contrary to this, if an individual enters a pre-established receiving community that is more diversified in ethnic makeup, there will be a more significant amount of positive attitudes towards immigrants (Painter-Davis 2022). This concept is based on the idea that migration to pre-established communities leads to a decreased variation in the median skin tone of an area, potentially assisting in less harmful views towards those of a differing skin tone. Along with this, as more individuals within a receiving community interact and are in close proximity with immigrants of differing skin tones, there is an increase in positive attitudes between the groups (Frasure-Yokley and Wilcox-Archuleta 2019). However, acceptance and positive attitudes toward immigrants do not typically occur in these communities. These attitudes are due to most individuals of a lighter skin tone still experiencing racial threats brought by the immigrant communities.

This concept of racial threat has been in the United States prior to the rise of immigration and has assisted in the conceptualization of how race can affect views towards individuals of differing skin tones. The racial threat hypothesis was first proposed by V.O. Key when researching the relations between black and whites within the Jim Crow South. Through this, it was concluded that tensions could be formed when individuals believe there is a degree of political or social threat posed by another race (Key 1949). In continuation of this hypothesis,

Hubert Blalock determined that these forms of discrimination can be based on socioeconomic threats and the relative size of the minority group (Blalock 1967). The concept of socioeconomic threat is based on a fear for the economy and the possible loss of jobs for a particular ethnic group. As individuals of differing ethnicities migrate into a community, attitudes towards them are shaped by sociotropic perceptions about the impact on the nation (Hopkins 2010). In this, the socioeconomic threat is the fear that immigrants will negatively affect the economy and job availability for low-class or low-skill labor positions (Harell et al. 2012). The other determining factor of this racial threat is the relative size of the minority group moving into the nation. In theory, if a smaller group of individuals were entering a community where there would not be a perceived change in the community's identity or reshaping of local politics, the group would pose a minor racial threat (Hopkins 2010). Overall, these attitudes are shaped by the race of the incoming group, which leads to the tensions found within the Jim Crow South and receiving communities today.

In the context of immigration in the United States, a majority of individuals are threatened by immigrant communities within these socioeconomic and cultural effects stated in the racial threat hypothesis (Blalock 1967; Frasure-Yokley and Wilcox-Archuleta 2019; Harell et al. 2012). In addition, these racial racialized emotions are brought forth by a cultural threat in ethnic differences, specifically culture, religion, and race (Harell et al. 2012). These racialized emotions are the base for prejudice towards those of different ethnicities throughout the world.

This concept of racialized emotions is based on how individuals interact and form attitudes with those of differing races. These racialized emotions are founded when individuals engage in an interracial interaction (Green 2013). These racialized emotions are group-based and

demonstrate how these ideas are formed on a group level (Bonilla-Silva 2019). For racialized emotions to be within a nation, there is a need for at least a binary racial construction (Bonilla-Silva 2019). The base of a binary racial construction within society allows one race to experience racialized emotions towards another race. These are prominent within societies with distinguishable differences between individuals in terms of skin tone due to it being a visual out of group marker (Tonry 1997). Along with this, racialized emotions can be referred to as colorism, which refers to the tendency to perceive and act towards members of an ethnic group based on the lightness or darkness of their skin tone (Maddox and Gray 2002).

When a community perceives an immigrant as racially different, there is a higher probability of racialized emotions towards immigration. As there is an increase in immigrants, the community will experience heightened racialized emotions that can be affected by conversations, media, and alternate sources of information (Bonilla-Silva 2019). Information an individual receives and accepts could lead to increased racialized emotions if this is capitalized on by government leaders. This is seen in the case of the United States, as former President Donald Trump casted harmful media content toward Latin American immigrants. In this media, immigrant groups can be perceived to have darker skin than the lighter-skinned majority within the United States, which becomes a precursor for racialized emotions and prejudice towards these groups (Zhirkov 2021).

These responses to immigrants entering receiving communities shed light on how the skin tone of an individual can affect their attitudes towards another. Lighter-skinned individuals are more likely to recognize a difference in the social hierarchy in skin tones and maintain more negative views of those of a darker skin tone (Yadon and Ostfeld 2020). With this, it is discussed

that individuals of a darker skin tone are seemingly more aware of differences in skin tones in communities and the prejudices towards those of darker skin that come with it (Yadon and Ostfeld 2020). Overall, dark-skinned individuals are more likely to empathize with those with a similar or darker skin tone. Currently, there is a pathway of this correlation of skin tone with social acceptance, specifically among Latinos in the United States (Richey and Carlin 2018). Skin tone is not only crucial in the discussion of the immigrant but of those in the receiving community. Specifically, how those within a receiving community respond to a darker-skinned immigrants versus a lighter-skinned immigrants dependent upon their own color of skin. Overall, the median skin tone of those in the receiving community when compared to the immigrants entering can influence the racialized emotions and the perceived threat to the culture and economy of the community felt by the receiving group.

### *Latin America and Skin Tone*

In theory, the concepts discussed within United States immigration can be applied to any area where there are differences in ethnicity or race, such as Latin America. In Latin America, there is a divide within the social hierarchy built in communities due to skin tone. Through this, studies have determined that skin color is primarily associated with socioeconomic status among Latinos (Golash-Boza and Darity 2008; Monk 2016; Murguia and Telles 1996). This is due to skin tone being a significant predictor for many variables such as income, education, housing, occupational status, and more (Faught and Hunter 2012). Within Mexico, individuals with darker skin tones are more likely to obtain lower occupational statuses, live in poverty, and receive lower education than those of lighter skin (Villarreal 2010). Because of this, Latinos with darker

skin tones face a considerable amount of discrimination in the labor market and through daily interactions with other individuals (Villarreal 2010). In this concept, Mexicans tend to associate lighter skin with more positive traits, which then causes the darker skin tone to become a barrier to entry into the middle and upper classes of society (Colby and Berghe 1961; Nutini 1997; Villarreal 2010). In other Latin American countries, these concepts hold true as well. For example, in Brazil, the racial inequalities found within society have primarily been acknowledged as communities divide themselves by self-determined race and skin tone (Telles 2014). In Peru, the inequality in skin tones is demonstrated with years of education, levels of occupation, and socioeconomic status. Light-skinned individuals will receive more years of education as compared to dark-skinned individuals where there is a significant decrease in education (Telles 2014). Furthermore, light-skinned individuals were more likely to maintain and receive high-status occupation while dark-skinned individuals obtained the low-status and low-skill labor positions (Telles 2014). Lastly, light-skinned individuals were more likely to maintain a higher socioeconomic status while dark-skinned individuals stayed in lower socioeconomic status (Telles 2014). Throughout Latin America, these statistics remain constant as this is the reality in a majority of communities.

This information is based on the views of skin tone in Latin American societies that are based within racialized emotions, racial threat, and a preconceived social hierarchy. Through this, the research of skin tone allowed for a better understanding of ethnoracial inequalities rather than traditional self-reported ethnicity (white, black, mestizo) (Telles 2014). In addition, the use of skin tone identification data rather than self-identified race has allowed for a better understanding of interracial relations within Latin America (Dixon and Telles 2017; Telles and

Bailey 2013; Telles 2014). This is based on the research that when looking at skin tone rather than race, the data will show consistencies in colorism towards individuals that were not shown with just race (Dixon and Telles 2017; Telles 2014). Due to this, skin tone becomes prominent in how individuals are treated within society regardless of their identifications. These ideas are based on the concept that humans use skin tone as a criterion for how others are valued and treated, which is deemed as “chromophobia” or colorism (Telles 2014). With this information, an individual's skin tone can be used to determine how one might value or view another individual without any other information.

In understanding how skin tone creates a social hierarchy, or a pigmentocracy, researchers have halted research into its significance within societies and views upon others (Monk 2016). The research of skin tone is carried through in the analysis of classism and colorism, but no longer on the implications skin tone can have on society (Monk 2016). Along with this, the research that has progressed has solely focused on the views of Afro-descent or Indigenous communities (Telles 2014; Villarreal 2010). The issue with this concept is that it negates the importance of skin tone in these interactions. Furthermore, the studies have not researched the implications immigrants could have on these communities if not of afro or indigenous descent but rather Latino.

This knowledge brings forth the idea of how the skin tone of an individual in Latin America affects attitudes towards Venezuelan immigrants. I will test these three hypotheses:

*H1: Darker-skinned Latin Americans will report greater anti-immigrant attitudes than lighter-skinned citizens.*

The first hypothesis derives from the idea of economic threat within the racial threat hypothesis. Through this hypothesis, darker-skinned Latin Americans will report greater anti-immigrant attitudes due to a fear that the low-skilled labor jobs could be at risk with more immigrants entering the communities.

*H2: Darker-skinned Latin Americans will report lesser anti-immigrant attitudes than lighter-skinned citizens.*

The second hypothesis draws on the concepts of shared situational awareness and ethnic identification. Through this, darker-skinned Latin Americans will share an ethnic identification with the immigrants with darker skin tones and have a situational awareness that allows them to be more accepting. Conversely, lighter-skinned Latin Americans may have more negative attitudes through this hypothesis due to a fear of cultural threats as the community will become more racially diverse.

*H3: Skin tone does not predict immigration attitudes.*

The third hypothesis is created due to there being a much smaller, if any, gap between immigrants and the receiving community regarding language, culture, and ethnicity. Due to this small gap, skin tone will not predict an individual's attitude towards immigrants.

## CHAPTER III

### DATA AND METHODS

#### *Data*

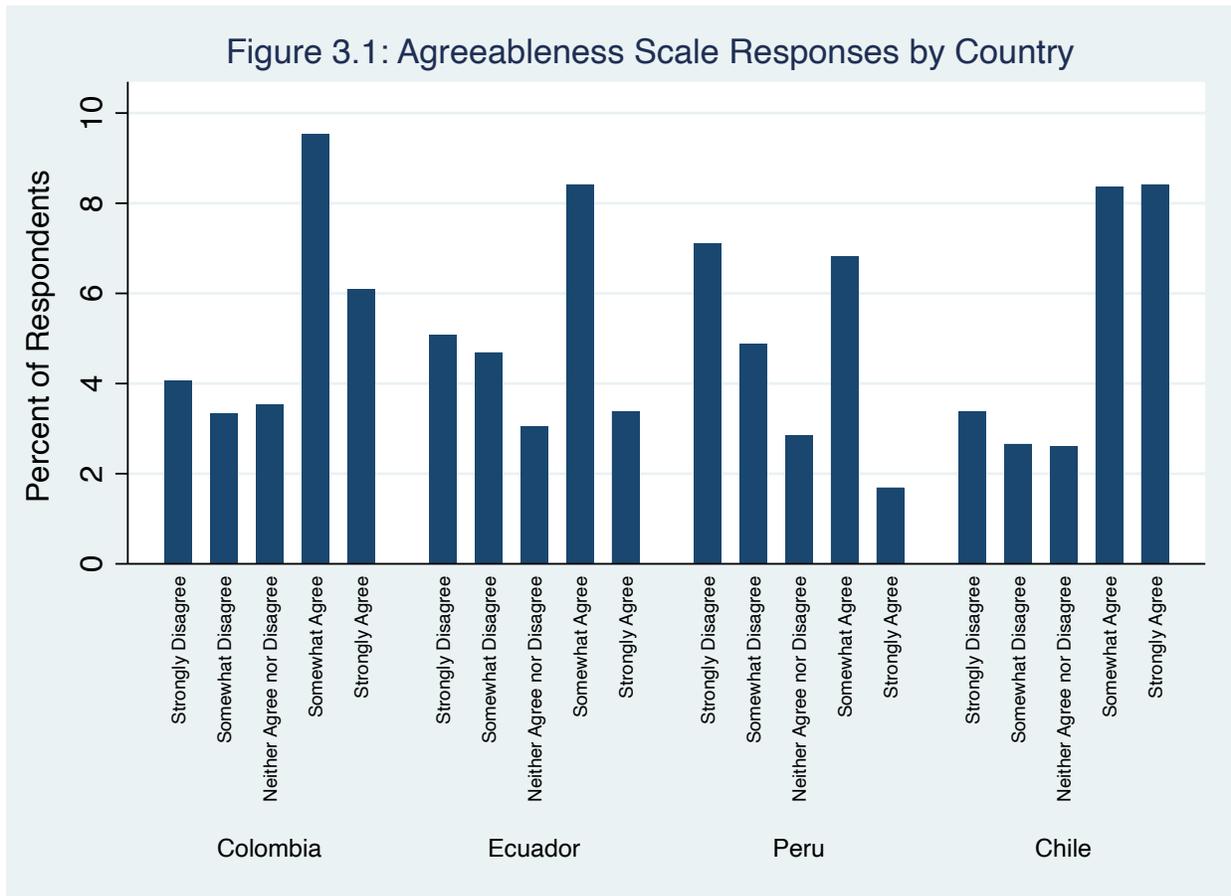
Data for this study comes from the 2018/19 AmericaBarometers of the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) based at Vanderbilt University. The 2018/19 LAPOP study interviewed over 31,000 individuals within 20 countries. In this, face to face surveys were conducted within voting age adults. The sample groups within each country were developed using a multi-stage probabilistic design and were stratified by regions, size of municipality, and by urban/rural areas. For the sake of the study, only responses from Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru were used. In this, there were roughly 1600 respondents in Chile, Colombia, and Peru, and roughly 1500 respondents in Ecuador (The AmericasBarometer by LAPOP lab).

Along with this, the 2014 AmericaBarometers of LAPOP will be used solely for the responses of Venezuelans. The 2014 data surveys conducted face to face surveys were conducted within voting age adults. The survey sampling was developed using a multi-stage probabilistic design and were stratified by regions, size of municipality, and by urban/rural areas. Through this, there were 1500 respondents from Venezuela (The AmericasBarometer by LAPOP lab).

#### *Dependent Variable*

The dependent variable, support for Venezuelans, is measured with the question: "How much do you agree that the (Country) government should offer social services such as healthcare, education, housing to Venezuelans who come to live or work in (Country)?" (¿Qué tan de acuerdo está usted con que el gobierno [pais] ofrezco servicios sociales como por ejemplo asistencia de salud, educación, vivienda, a los venezolanos que vienen a vivir o trabajar en [pais]? Está usted...). Although this question does not ask about the specific approval or disapproval of a Venezuelan immigrant it does allow for an understanding how individuals view incorporating Venezuelans into these receiving communities. Respondents answered on a 1 to 5 scale: 1. Strongly agree (muy de acuerdo), 2. Somewhat agree (algo de acuerdo), 3. Neither agree nor disagree (ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo), 4. Somewhat disagree (algo en desacuerdo), and 5. Strongly disagree (muy en desacuerdo). Since this data went on a scale from agreeable being the lowest and disagreeable being the highest this variable was recoded. In this recoding, the answers were changed to 1. Strongly disagree (muy en desacuerdo), 2. Somewhat disagree (algo en desacuerdo), 3. Neither agree nor disagree (ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo), 4. Somewhat agree (algo de acuerdo), and 5. Strongly agree (muy de acuerdo).

For this survey question, only a randomly selected portion of the respondents were asked in each country. As a result of this, there are only 526 respondents in Chile, 549 respondents in Colombia, 509 respondents in Ecuador, and 483 respondents in Peru. Overall, the data combined for all countries is 2,067 respondents. Employing this the data can be ran to see the differences between answers by country and overall.



In Figure 3.1, the responses to the question “How much do you agree with social services for Venezuelans?” are displayed by country. In Chile, the mean score for the responses is 3.62, which falls between neither agree nor disagree and somewhat agree, and this mean is the highest score within each country. Within Colombia, the mean score for the responses is 3.39, which falls in between neither agree nor disagree and somewhat agree. Ecuador has a mean score of 3.03, which falls closest to neither agree nor disagree. Lastly, Peru has a mean score of 2.62, which falls between somewhat agree and neither agree nor disagree, and this mean is the lowest score within each country. Therefore, Peru has the lowest agreeableness in respondents to

supporting Venezuelans. Along with this, Chile has the highest agreeableness among respondents supporting Venezuelans.

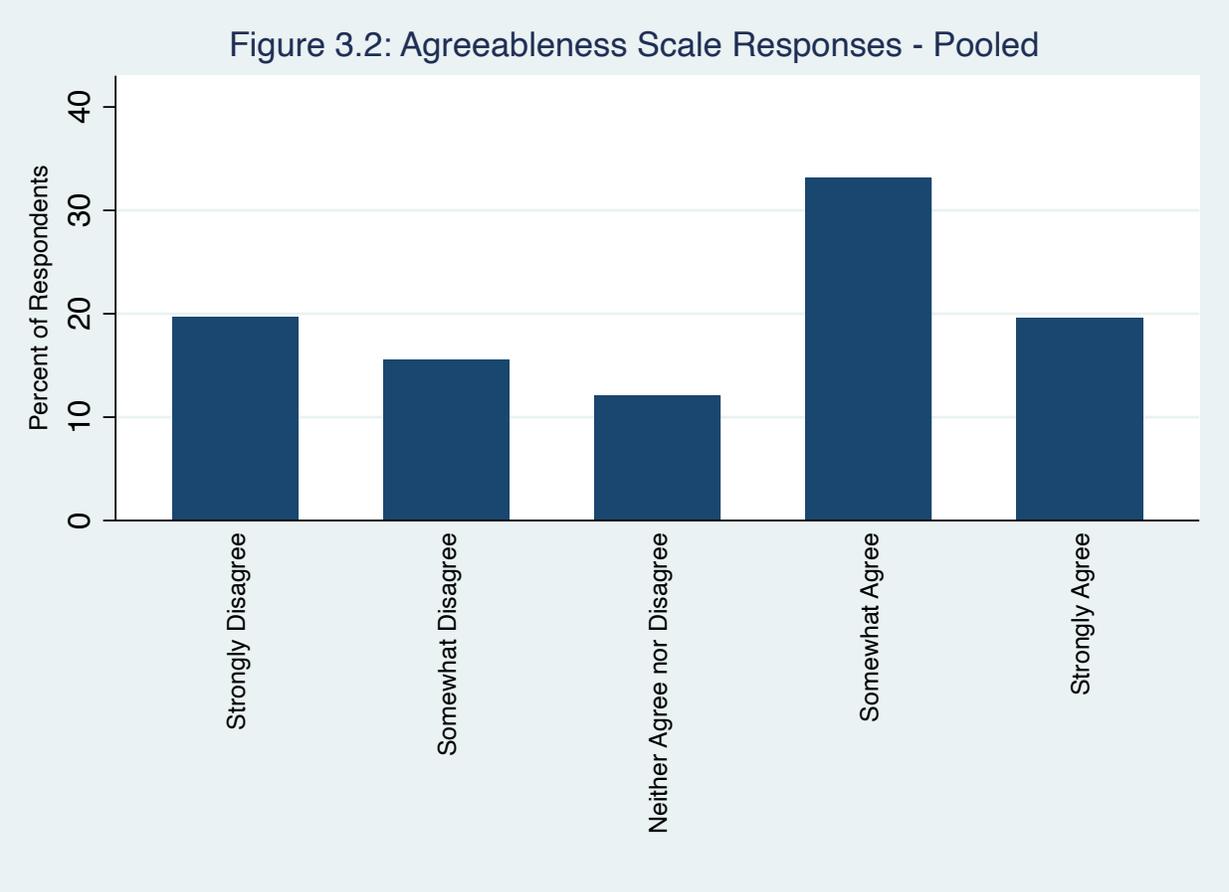


Figure 3.2 visualizes the responses for all countries (Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru) combined. Through this, the mean score of the data is 3.17, which falls between neither agree nor disagree and somewhat agree, but leans closer to neither agree nor disagree for offering social services to Venezuelan immigrants. Using the data in Figure 1, Ecuador and Peru fall below the mean for all countries, while Chile and Colombia have mean scores above the all countries mean. See table A-1.1 in appendix for summary statistics of the data.

### *Independent Variable*

The key independent variable within this is the skin tone of the respondent. Through this, the respondent's skin tone comes from the LAPOP 2014 and 2018/19 LAPOP surveys. In this, the Project on Ethnicity and Race in Latin America (PERLA) color palette developed by Telles is used to determine the respondent's skin tone as determined by the interviewer. The color palette identifies skin tones ranging from 1 to 11, from lightest to darkest, as seen in Figure 3.3.



Figure 3.3 PERLA Skin Tone Measurement

The 2014 data is used as the median skin tone data for Venezuelans. This 2014 data is used rather than 2018 due to 2014 being the most recent year in which LAPOP surveyed Venezuelans. The 2018 data is used to determine the median skin tone for the countries Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru.

First it is necessary to run a summary statistic to determine the mean skin tone for individual countries and then compare it to Latin America as a whole. Through this, Table 3.1 shows the mean skin tones while Figures 3.4 and 3.5 present data visualization on skin tone distribution.

**Table 3.1 Summary Statistics for Color of Skin**

Country	N	Mean	25 <sup>th</sup> Percentile	75 <sup>th</sup> Percentile
Venezuela*	1,499	4.17 (1.82)	3	5
Chile	1,635	2.97 (1.23)	2	4
Colombia	1,662	3.87 (1.72)	3	5
Ecuador	1,533	3.77 (1.27)	3	4
Peru	1,521	4.73 (1.40)	4	6
All Countries**	6,351	3.82 (1.55)	3	5

\*Determined through 2014 LAPOP data set

\*\*Those examined in the 2018 data set (Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru)

Note: Standard Deviations in parentheses

Table 3.1 describes the summary statistics when running the skin tone data for each country and all countries combined. The 2014 Venezuelan skin color data was used to compare each country from the 2018/19 data. Colombia has the closest mean skin tone to Venezuela, with a 3.87 mean score, while Venezuelans have a mean score of 4.17. Peru has a mean score of 4.73, which is the only country to have a mean score lower than Venezuela. Overall, the mean score of respondents from the 2018/19 data set is 3.82.

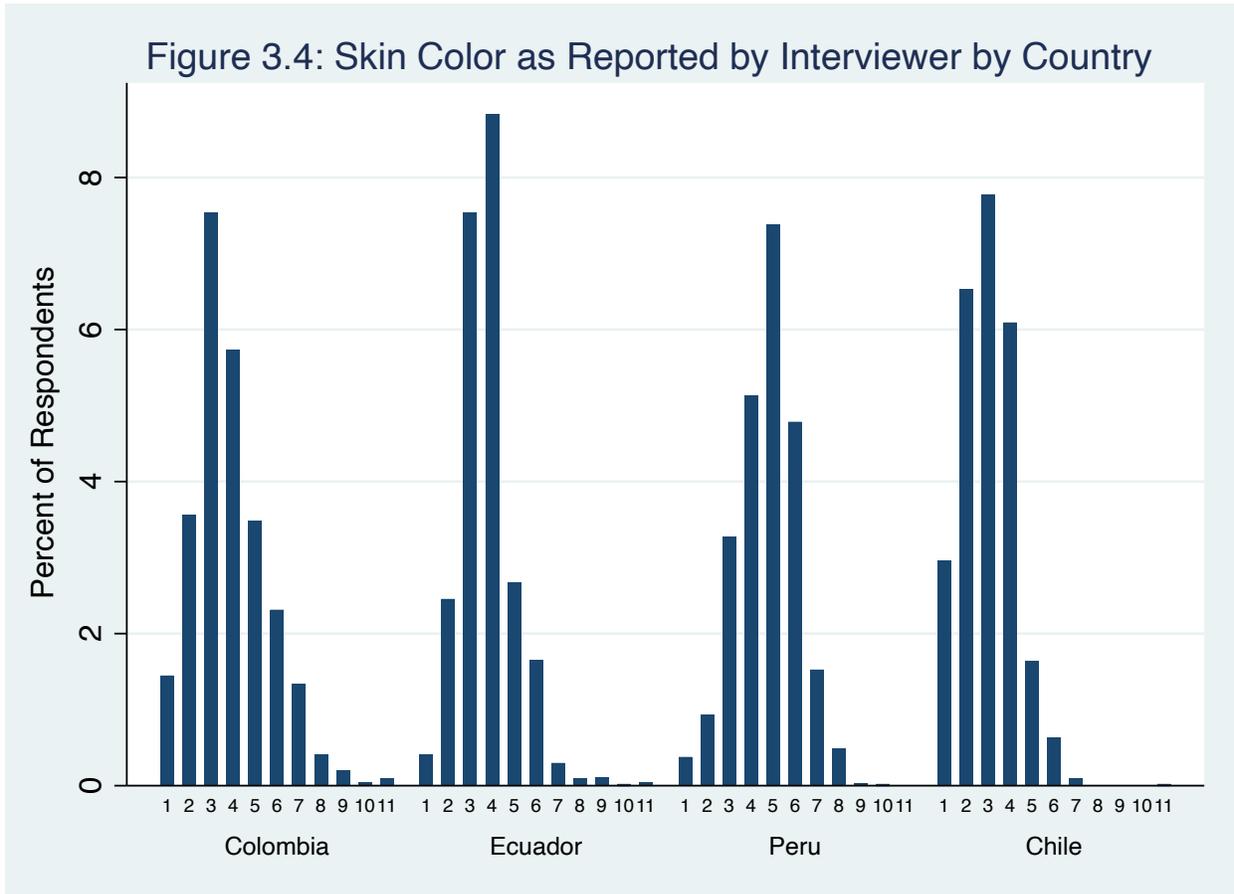


Figure 3.4 provides a visualization of how skin color differs throughout each country based on the data in Table 1. Through this, it is determined that Peru has the darkest skin tone among all the countries, with a mean of 4.73. Chile is the lightest amongst the countries with a mean of 2.97 and very few respondents after 7 on the PERLA scale. Colombia and Ecuador are similar in the respondents within Colombia at 3.87 and Ecuador at 3.77.

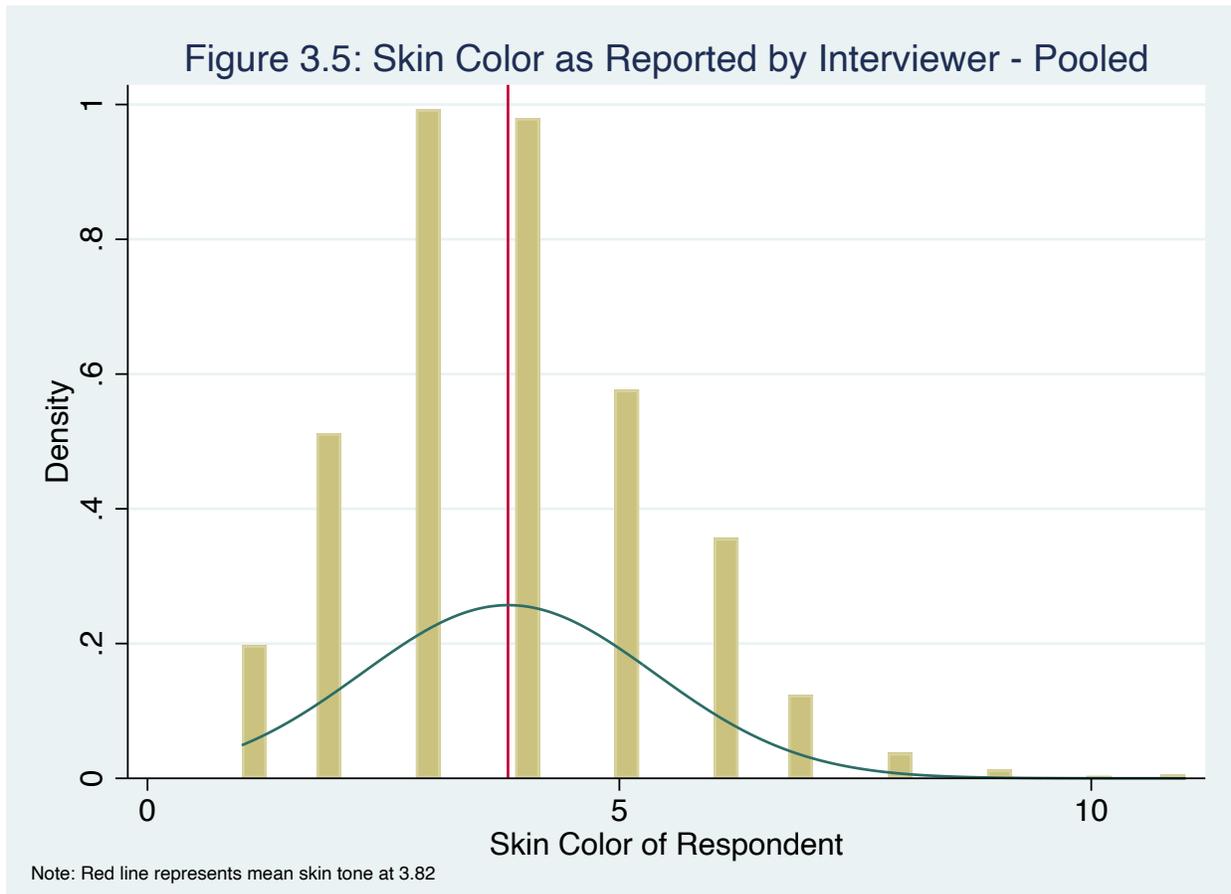


Figure 3.5 provides a visualization for the skin tone data of all the countries combined. This chart indicated where the mean point (3.82) for all individual skin tone is with the red line. With this information, it can be seen that the mean of the respondents falls within the category of a lighter-skinned Latin American.

*Control Variables*

In this study, there are numerous control variables used to assist in understanding the correlation between skin tone and attitudes towards Venezuelans. These control variables are

held as a constant because it is not the focus of the study but could influence the outcomes of the experiment. These variables are female, age, years of education, country, urban/rural, and wealth quintiles.

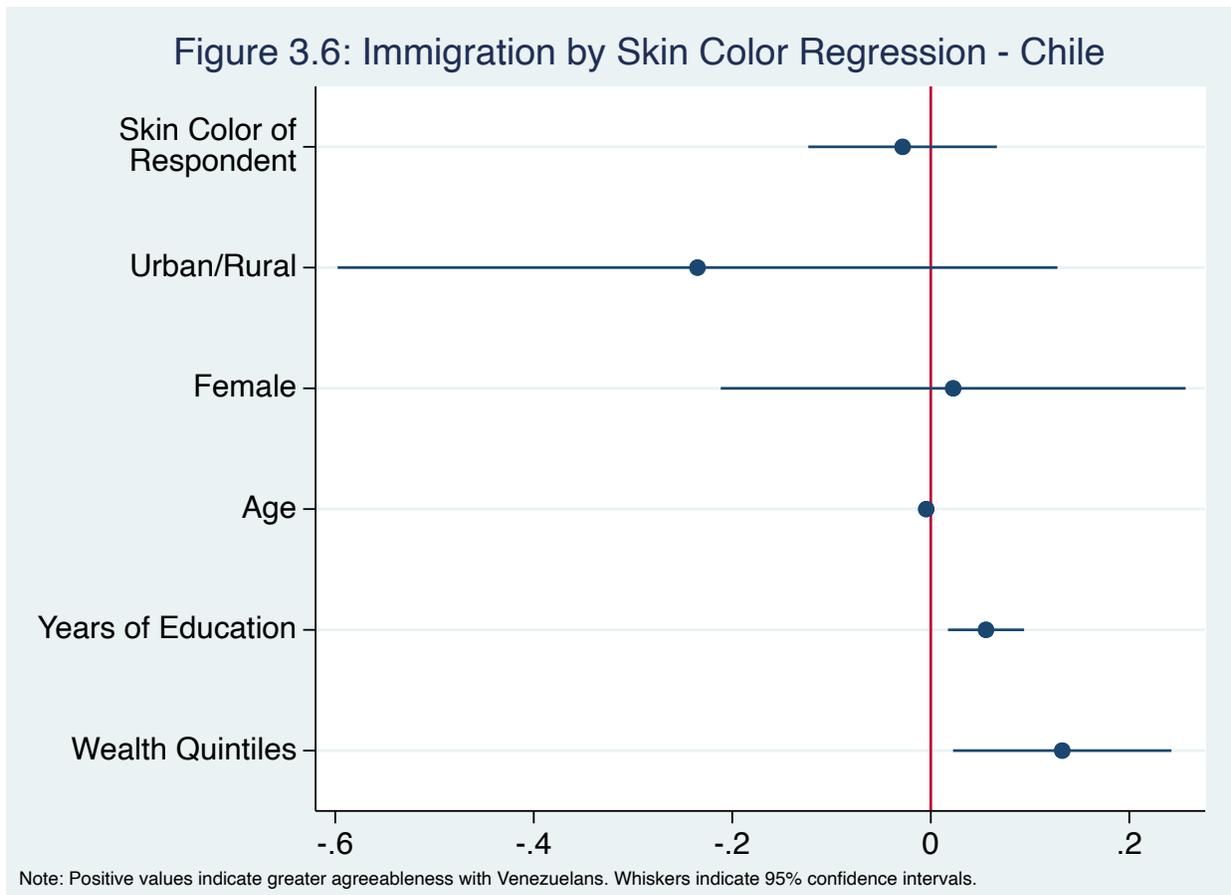
Female is used as a dichotomous variable which is coded as '1' for male and '2' for female. Age is measured in years and ranges from 16 to 92. Education is the number of years of formal education an individual has received ranging from 0 to 18. Urban/rural is used as a dichotomous variable named *ur* and is coded as '1' for urban and '2' for rural. Wealth quintiles is the variable named *quintile* and determines the wealth quintile an individual is in '1' being poorest and '5' being richest. Country fixed effects are also included. See table A-1.2 in appendix for more details.

The data for wealth quintiles was created using the method discussed by Cordova (2009). Through this, the survey responses to what items were in the house are calculated and translated into a dichotomous variable. This variable held '0' as a no; the item is not in the household, and '1' for yes; the item is in the household. The response for ownership of a vehicle in a household had to be expanded into four separate variables. These variables are *r5a* for no car, *r5b* for one car, *r5c* for two cars, and *r5d* for three or more cars. This was translated into a dichotomous variable for '0' as no and '1' as yes such as the previous variables. With this information, a principal component analysis was conducted to determine the weighted variable to transfer this into a wealth quintile. This data is weighted for the urban/rural divide. See tables A-1.3-A-1.8 in appendix for more details.

### *Analysis*

This study employs OLS regression analyses both by country and pooled to test the three hypotheses. These regressions include running each country separately to understand the relation between the variables on a country level and then a larger regression will be conducted with all countries and variables.

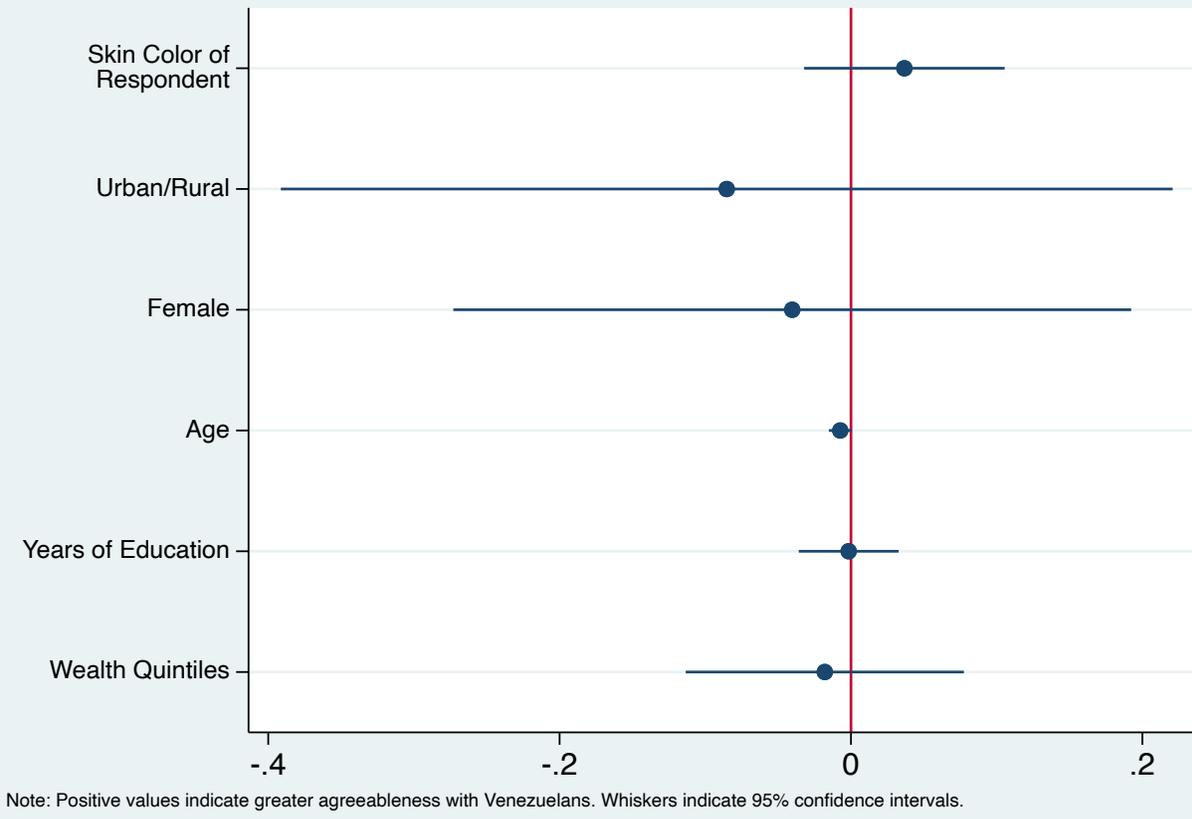
The first regression will be conducted using the dependent variable, support for Venezuelans, the independent variable, skin color, and the control variables female, age, years of education, country, urban/rural, and wealth quintiles. The country for this set is Chile and will be maintained as a fixed effect and all other control variables will be held as constant.



In Figure 3.6, the visualization of the regression data for Chile can be interpreted. First, skin color, urban/rural, female, and age are not statistically significant. Through this data, it can be determined that skin tone does not have a significant influence on views of Venezuelan immigrants. The statistically significant points within the Chile regression are the control variables, years of education and wealth quintiles. See table A-1.9 in appendix for regression results.

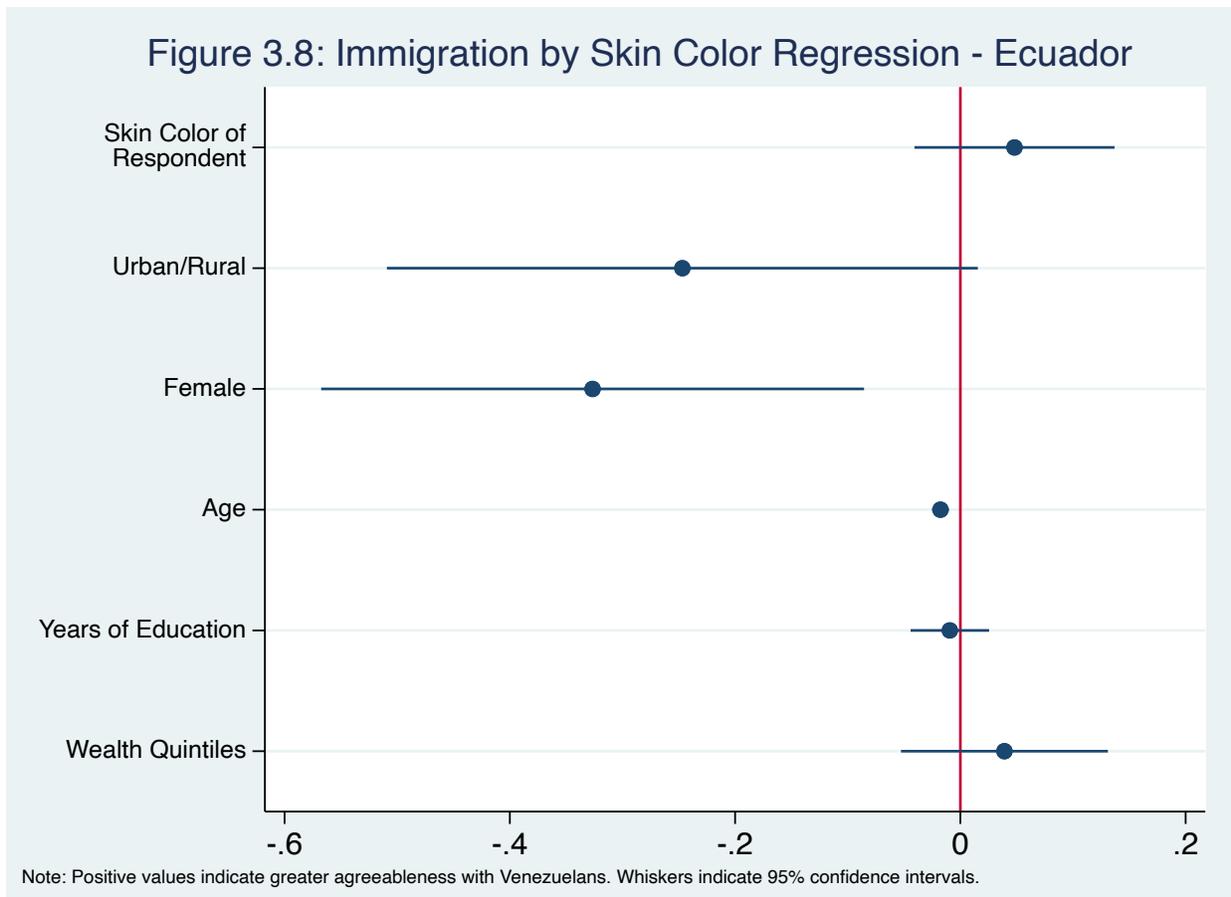
The second regression will be conducted using the dependent variable, support for Venezuelans, the independent variable, skin color, and the control variables female, age, years of education, country, urban/rural, and wealth quintiles. The country for this set is Colombia and will be maintained as a fixed effect and all other control variables will be held as constant.

Figure 3.7: Immigration by Skin Color Regression - Colombia



In Figure 3.7, skin color, urban/rural, female, years of education, and wealth quintiles are not statistically significant. Thus, skin tone again does not have a significant influence on views of Venezuelan immigrants. The statistically significant point within the Colombia regression is the control variable age. See table A-1.10 in appendix for regression results.

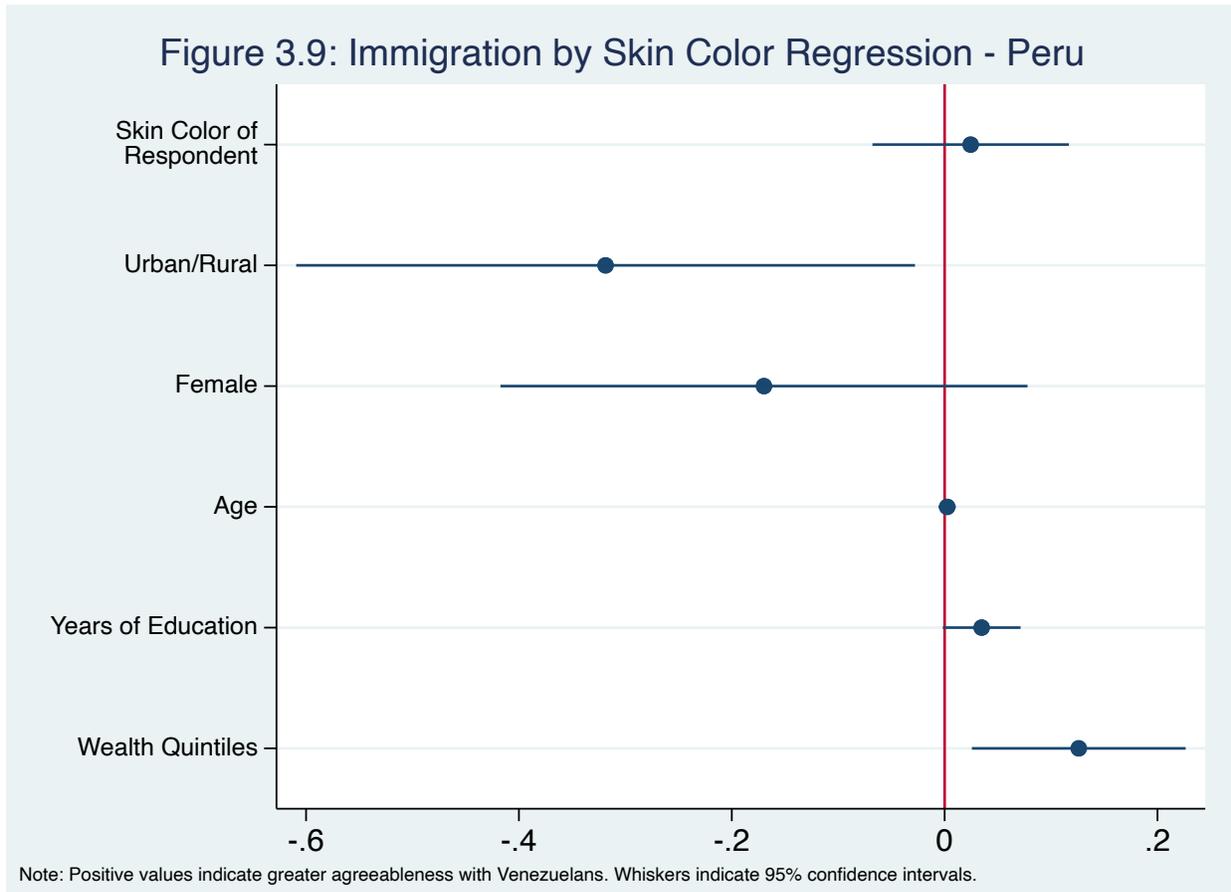
The third regression will be conducted using the dependent variable, support for Venezuelans, the independent variable, skin color, and the control variables female, age, years of education, country, urban/rural, and wealth quintiles. The country for this set is Ecuador and will be maintained as a fixed effect and all other control variables will be held as constant.



In Figure 3.8, skin color, years of education, and wealth quintiles are not statistically significant. Thus, skin tone again does not have a significant influence on views of Venezuelan immigrants. The statistically significant points within the Ecuador data are the control variables, urban/rural, female, and age. See table A-1.11 in appendix for regression results.

The fourth regression will be conducted using the dependent variable, support for Venezuelans, the independent variable, skin color, and the control variables female, age, years of education, country, urban/rural, and wealth quintiles. The country for this set is Peru and will be

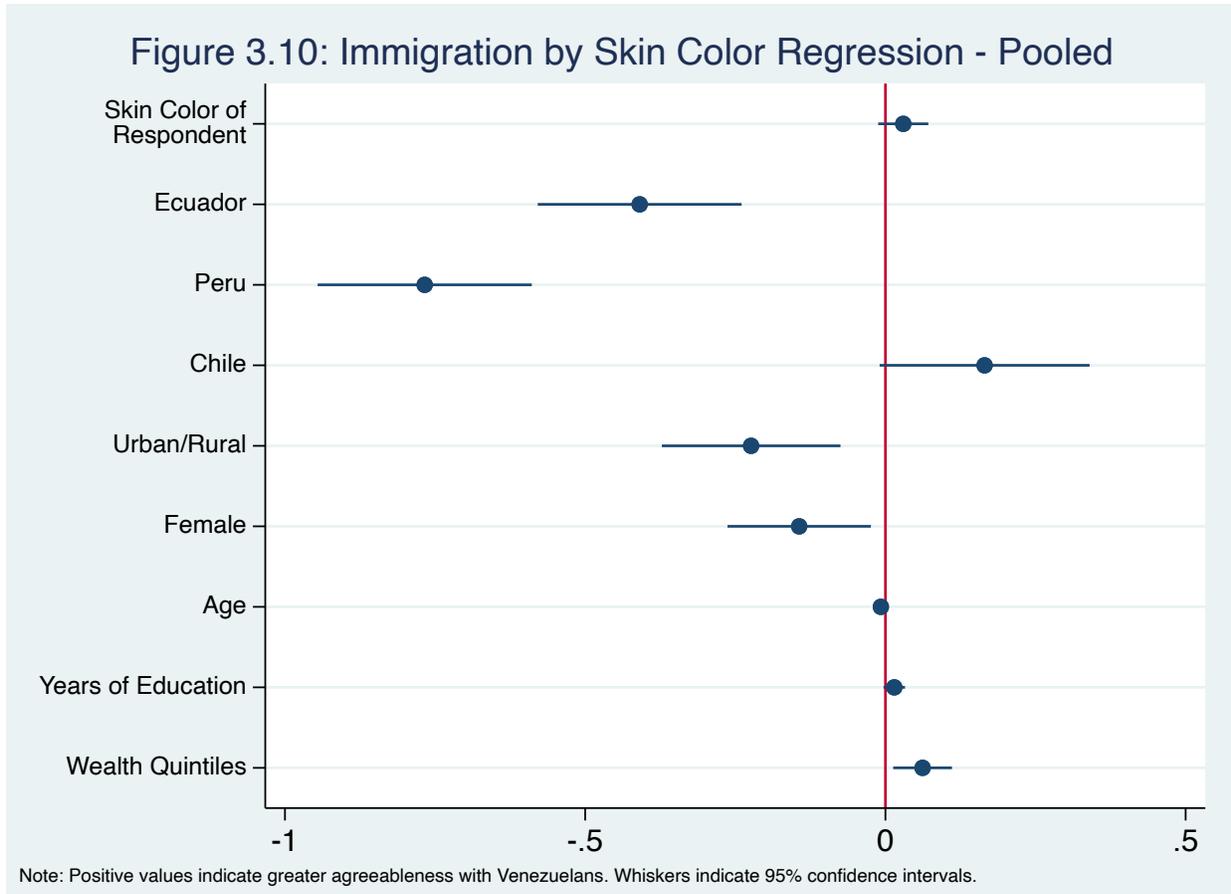
maintained as a fixed effect and all other control variables will be held as constant.



In Figure 3.9, skin color, female, and age are not statistically significant. Thus, skin tone again does not have a significant influence on views of Venezuelan immigrants. The statistically significant points within the Peru data are the control variables, urban/rural, years of education, and wealth quintiles. See table A-1.12 in appendix for regression results.

The last regression will be conducted using the dependent variable, support for Venezuelans, the independent variable, skin color, and the control variables female, age, years of

education, country, urban/rural, and wealth quintiles. In this regression, all countries are used under the variable country and will be treated as a fixed effect while all other control variables will be held at constant.



In Figure 3.10, the visualization of the regression data can be interpreted. Through this data, it can be determined that skin tone does not have as much of an impact on views of Venezuelan immigrants as previously thought. Although the control variables, wealth quintiles, age, urban/rural, and country, have statistically significant relationship with Venezuelans. In this

figure, the skin color of the respondent is tightly estimated to support of Venezuelans while still not significant. See table A-1.13 in appendix to view regression results.

### *Discussion*

This study does not find a link between skin tone and immigrant attitudes. However, there was correlation between a few of the control variables in the data within each of the regressions.

In the Chile regression, there is a statistical significance in years of education and wealth quintiles. In years of education, for every one-year increase in receiving an education there is a 0.06 unit increase in support for Venezuelans. For wealth quintiles, as wealth in society increases by one quintile, there is a 0.13 unit increase in support for Venezuelans. Although these control variables are statistically significant, the variables had little to no effect on the significance of skin color to support of Venezuelans.

In the Colombia regression, there is a statistical significance in age. This means, for every one-year increase in age there is a 0.01 unit decrease in support for Venezuelans. Although this control variable is statistically significant, age had little to no effect on the significance of skin color to support of Venezuelans.

In the Ecuador regression, there is a statistical significance in urban/rural, female, and age. For urban/rural, when an individual is in a rural community there is a 0.25 unit decrease in support for Venezuelans. Next, when a respondent identifies as a female there is a 0.33 unit decrease in support for Venezuelans. Lastly, for every one-year increase in age there is a 0.02 unit decrease in support for Venezuelans. Although these control variables are statistically

significant, the variables had little to no effect on the significance of skin color to support of Venezuelans.

In the Peru analysis, there is a statistical significance in urban/rural, years of education, and wealth quintiles. For urban/rural, when an individual is in a rural community there is a 0.32 unit decrease in support for Venezuelans. In years of education, for every one-year increase in receiving an education there is a 0.03 unit increase in support for Venezuelans. For wealth quintiles, as wealth in society increases by one quintile, there is a 0.13 unit increase in support for Venezuelans. Although these control variables are statistically significant, the variables had little to no effect on the significance of skin color to support of Venezuelans.

In the final regression of all countries, there is a statistical significance in Ecuador, Peru, Chile, urban/rural, female, and wealth quintiles. For urban/rural, when an individual is in a rural community there is a 0.224 unit decrease in support for Venezuelans. When an individual identifies as a female there is a 0.144 decrease in support for Venezuelans. Next, for every one-year increase in age there is 0.008 decrease in support for Venezuelans. For wealth quintiles, as wealth in society increases by one quintile there is a 0.62 unit increase in support for Venezuelans. Lastly, in the dummy variables for countries, all countries are compared to Colombia for the baseline. When compared to Colombia, Ecuador has a 0.409 unit decrease in support for Venezuelans, Peru has a 0.767 unit decrease in support for Venezuelans, and Chile has a 0.165 unit increase in support for Venezuelans.

Although these control variables are statistically significant, skin tone does not appear to be linked to support of Venezuelans. In this data analysis it is shown that there is no significance between skin tone and support for Venezuelans in Latin America. When looking into the data

further, looking back at Figure 3.1 and 3.4 for reference, Peruvians had the darkest skin tone, but held the more negative views towards Venezuelans than the other countries. This could potentially lead to a correlation within Peru itself and those individuals of a darker skin tone are experiencing an economic threat brought by the immigrants.

In this analysis, I did not find support for hypothesis one, darker skinned Latin Americans will report greater anti-immigrant attitudes than lighter-skinned citizens. Along with this, there was no support for the competing hypothesis two, darker skinned Latin Americans will report lesser anti-immigrant attitudes than lighter-skinned citizens. However, there was support for the hypothesis three, skin tone does not predict immigration attitudes. In this study, there was no statistical significance found in the correlation between skin tone and attitudes towards immigrants which could support the idea that, due to lack of difference in language and culture, skin tone cannot predict an individual's attitudes towards immigrants.

## CHAPTER IV

### CONCLUSION

These results indicate there is no correlation that skin color influences the attitudes of an individual toward Venezuelan immigrants. Thus, the data fails to show support for two of the hypotheses. On the other hand, the case of Peru could prove to support hypothesis one as those that were dark-skinned had greater anti-immigrant attitudes than lighter-skinned citizens. Despite rejecting two of the hypotheses, this information makes the work of skin tone analysis within Latin America clearer. This is the base that what is known as the racial threat hypothesis and racialized emotions in terms of immigration and the role of pigmentocracies in Latin America do not affect attitudes in the case of Latin American immigrants to other Latin American countries. This experiment has demonstrated the necessity for further research and new theoretical frameworks within this region.

Previous, research focusing on skin tone determining an individual's attitudes and those shaped towards immigrants was extremely limited in nature. In piecing together theories based in the United States and knowledge of social hierarchies in Latin America, one could research the importance of skin tone. However, the rest of the literature is lacking. Therefore, to understand the implications of immigration in Latin America between Latin American countries, it is necessary to understand further the relation of skin tone and why it does or does not affect the attitudes of the receiving communities. Through these analyses, a better theoretical framework

can be created to understand how these attitudes are formed in Latin America.

The immigration of Venezuelans to other portions of Latin America is one of the few cases in which immigrants enter a country of similar culture and language, with skin tone being the main out of group marker. This base knowledge and study into the effects of skin tone on immigrants in Latin America. There is a strong sense of racial hierarchy within Latin America, but this study demonstrates that despite this, racial hierarchy is unlikely to have how Venezuelans are accepted. With this knowledge, the implications of this study are to bridge the gap in knowledge of how skin tone can interact with attitudes in immigrant studies. Furthermore, this study can assist in determining how individuals could view immigrants in a similar situation later on. This can be used as a base for future skin color research and immigration in Latin America that can be improved upon by including socioeconomic statuses or other levels of intersectionality. Finally, this knowledge could lead to further research on immigration and Latin American racial hierarchy in the Political Science field.

Through this, there are several limitations that can occur when determining skin tone effects on attitudes towards immigrants. First, this study only focuses on four Latin American countries to receive a baseline for all of Latin America, which can provide limited knowledge of correlation for the results. If this study was conducted within most Central and South American countries, it could provide a more significant analysis of the correlation between the two variables. Second, this study does not take into account how Indigenous populations, such as in Peru, could have a negative effect on immigrants due to historical interactions with lighter-skinned groups. In further research, individuals identifying as Indigenous may need to be examined under another variable rather than with all respondents.

Despite these limitations, it is clear that more research needs to be completed to determine better the effect of skin tone on immigrants' attitudes in Latin America. Through further research, and with a more significant data model, this research would be necessary for the progression of understanding skin tones and attitudes.

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## LIST OF APPENDICES

## APPENDIX I

**Table A-1.1. Summary Statistics of Immigration Variable**

Country	N	Mean	25 <sup>th</sup> Percentile	75 <sup>th</sup> Percentile
Chile	526	3.62 (1.38)	3	5
Colombia	549	3.39 (1.37)	2	4
Ecuador	509	3.03 (1.38)	2	4
Peru	483	2.62 (1.37)	1	4
All Countries Combined*	2,067	3.17 (1.42)	2	4

\*Those examined in the 2018/19 data set (Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru)

Note: Standard Deviation in parentheses

**Table A-1.2. Descriptive Statistics of Variables in Analysis**

Variable	Mean	Min-Max	N
Support for Venezuelans	3.17 (1.42)	1-5	2,067
Skin Color	3.82 (1.55)	1-11	6,351
Female	1.50 (0.50)	1-2	6,344
Age	39.95 (16.53)	16-92	6,344
Education	11.12 (4.00)	0-18	6,294
Urban/Rural	1.23 (0.42)	1-2	6,355
Wealth Quintiles	2.91 (1.41)	1-5	6,275

Note: Standard deviations in parentheses

<b>Table A-1.3. Results from Principal Component Analysis for Each Country</b>								
Country	Chile		Colombia		Ecuador		Peru	
Urban/Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Factor Scores								
<b>Housing Characteristics</b>								
Indoor Plumbing (drinkable water)	0.179	0.080	0.156	0.154	0.193	0.152	0.158	0.159
Indoor Bathroom	0.164	0.060	0.199	0.274	0.264	0.287	0.213	0.230
<b>Durable Assets</b>								
Television	0.162	0.289	0.124	0.257	0.156	0.247	0.197	0.237
Refrigerator	0.233	0.281	0.219	0.284	0.240	0.254	0.339	0.310
Conventional Telephone	0.178	0.075	0.318	0.124	0.333	0.321	0.322	0.191
Cellular Telephone	0.185	0.155	0.139	0.122	0.169	0.153	0.202	0.182
No Vehicle	-0.495	-0.478	-0.437	-0.464	-0.412	-0.406	-0.338	-0.395
One Vehicle	0.408	0.441	0.367	0.424	0.350	0.338	0.287	0.348
Two Vehicles	0.145	0.058	0.185	0.141	0.159	0.183	0.137	0.175
Three Vehicles	0.075	0.068	0.076	0.093	0.063	0.088	0.064	0.018
Washing Machine	0.320	0.365	0.323	0.369	0.302	0.294	0.380	0.351
Microwave	0.336	0.322	0.371	0.342	0.341	0.310	0.365	0.373
Computer	0.360	0.360	0.380	0.218	0.379	0.375	0.366	0.360
Largest Eigenvalue, $\lambda$	2.426	2.442	3.158	2.649	2.998	3.018	3.146	3.011
Proportion of Variance Explained	0.187	0.188	0.243	0.204	0.231	0.232	0.242	0.232
<b>Source: AmericanBarometer 2018 by LAPOP</b>								

<b>Table A-1.4. Internal Validity of Wealth Index: Chile</b>					
<b>Quintiles of Wealth</b>	1 (Poorest)	2	3	4	5 (Richest)
<b>Housing Characteristics</b>					
Indoor Plumbing (drinkable water)	94.31%	100%	98.25%	99.19%	99.11%
Indoor Bathroom	94.55%	100%	97.90%	99.19%	99.56%
<b>Durable Assets</b>					
Television	95.50%	99.34%	98.95%	100%	100%
Refrigerator	93.36%	99.67%	98.95%	100%	100%
Conventional Telephone	10.43%	26.82%	43.01%	14.29%	84.44%
Cellular Telephone	91.23%	98.34%	98.95%	98.92%	100%
No Vehicle	98.34%	98.34%	43.71%	0%	0%
One Vehicle	1.42%	1.32%	46.50%	81.67%	75.56%
Two Vehicles	0.24%	0.33%	9.10%	13.75%	20.44%
Three Vehicles	0%	0%	0.70%	4.58%	4.00%
Washing Machine	87.20%	100%	99.30%	100%	100%
Microwave	40.05%	70.53%	76.57%	81.13%	100%
Computer	5.21%	73.18%	50.00%	86.25%	100%
<b>Source: AmericanBarometer 2018 by LAPOP</b>					

<b>Table A-1.5. Internal Validity of Wealth Index: Colombia</b>					
<b>Quintiles of Wealth</b>	1 (Poorest)	2	3	4	5 (Richest)
<b>Housing Characteristics</b>					
Indoor Plumbing (drinkable water)	74.40%	80.81%	92.27%	92.77%	94.84%
Indoor Bathroom	63.99%	78.20%	94.44%	94.38%	96.13%
<b>Durable Assets</b>					
Television	83.04%	96.80%	99.28%	99.20%	100%
Refrigerator	56.55%	92.73%	97.83%	98.39%	97.74%
Conventional Telephone	2.38%	13.08%	43.48%	55.02%	59.35%
Cellular Telephone	83.63%	89.83%	93.00%	98.39%	98.71%
No Vehicle	100%	100%	99.03%	89.56%	9.35%
One Vehicle	0%	0%	0.97%	9.64%	69.68%
Two Vehicles	0%	0%	0%	0.80%	17.10%
Three Vehicles	0%	0%	0%	0%	3.87%
Washing Machine	11.31%	62.50%	81.88%	93.57%	96.45%
Microwave	0.60%	1.74%	14.01%	67.87%	69.03%
Computer	2.98%	13.08%	59.66%	66.67%	83.55%
<b>Source: AmericanBarometer 2018 by LAPOP</b>					

<b>Table A-1.6. Internal Validity of Wealth Index: Chile</b>					
<b>Quintiles of Wealth</b>	1 (Poorest)	2	3	4	5 (Richest)
<b>Housing Characteristics</b>					
Indoor Plumbing (drinkable water)	73.89%	85.23%	91.72%	96.50%	96.71%
Indoor Bathroom	51.94%	84.09%	94.08%	95.33%	99.01%
<b>Durable Assets</b>					
Television	80.56%	98.48%	97.63%	99.61%	99.67%
Refrigerator	67.22%	96.97%	97.34%	97.28%	99.34%
Conventional Telephone	5.56%	21.59%	52.96%	52.92%	80.59%
Cellular Telephone	80.83%	85.98%	92.31%	97.28%	98.03%
No Vehicle	100%	99.62%	90.83%	77.04%	6.58%
One Vehicle	0%	0.38%	8.28%	17.51%	75.66%
Two Vehicles	0%	0%	0.89%	3.89%	15.13%
Three Vehicles	0%	0%	0%	1.56%	2.63%
Washing Machine	21.39%	48.48%	69.53%	79.77%	87.83%
Microwave	2.22%	7.95%	19.53%	64.98%	63.82%
Computer	4.17%	14.77%	47.93%	79.77%	87.50%
<b>Source: AmericanBarometer 2018 by LAPOP</b>					

<b>Table A-1.7. Internal Validity of Wealth Index: Peru</b>					
<b>Quintiles of Wealth</b>	1 (Poorest)	2	3	4	5 (Richest)
<b>Housing Characteristics</b>					
Indoor Plumbing (drinkable water)	74.60%	91.29%	94.33%	96.62%	96.82%
Indoor Bathroom	55.56	82.87%	87.85%	92.96%	95.45%
<b>Durable Assets</b>					
Television	69.84%	97.19%	99.60%	98.87%	100%
Refrigerator	18.73%	51.12%	94.74%	91.55%	88.18%
Conventional Telephone	1.90%	9.83%	27.13%	46.48%	52.27%
Cellular Telephone	62.54%	87.92%	91.50%	96.06%	96.82%
No Vehicle	99.68%	97.47%	93.93%	87.61%	12.27%
One Vehicle	0.32%	1.97%	5.26%	9.58%	67.27%
Two Vehicles	0%	0.28%	0.81%	2.25%	17.27%
Three Vehicles	0%	0.28%	0%	0.56%	3.18%
Washing Machine	2.54%	8.99%	55.06%	71.27%	76.82%
Microwave	0.95%	6.18%	21.46%	61.97%	67.72%
Computer	3.81%	22.75%	40.89%	67.32%	80.91%
<b>Source: AmericanBarometer 2018 by LAPOP</b>					

<b>Table A-1.8. Internal Validity of Wealth Index: 4 Latin American Countries</b>					
<b>Quintiles of Wealth</b>	1 (Poorest)	2	3	4	5 (Richest)
<b>Housing Characteristics</b>					
Indoor Plumbing (drinkable water)	75.19%	91.23%	95.81%	94.81%	98.35%
Indoor Bathroom	60.23%	88.40%	95.36%	96.06%	99.17%
<b>Durable Assets</b>					
Television	81.98%	97.24%	99.25%	99.33%	100%
Refrigerator	51.53%	89.20%	96.93%	96.25%	99.83%
Conventional Telephone	4.58%	27.85%	27.94%	49.23%	61.19%
Cellular Telephone	77.33%	89.27%	96.93%	97.21%	99.26%
No Vehicle	99.39%	97.32%	94.83%	60.10%	1.90%
One Vehicle	0.46%	2.39%	4.49%	32.69%	76.63%
Two Vehicles	0.08%	0.29%	0.60%	6.15%	17.42%
Three Vehicles	0.08%	0%	0.07%	1.06%	4.05%
Washing Machine	13.74%	53.15%	90.86%	85%	96.94%
Microwave	2.67%	9.21%	49.21%	61.44%	84.31%
Computer	6.64%	19.94%	59.48%	68.46%	89.84%
<b>Source: AmericanBarometer 2018 by LAPOP</b>					

**Table A-1.9. Regression Table  
for Chile**

VARIABLES	Support for Venezuelan s
Skin Color	-0.03 (0.05)
Urban/Rural	-0.24 (0.18)
Female	0.02 (0.12)
Age	-0.00 (0.00)
Education	0.06*** (0.02)
Wealth Quintiles	0.13** (0.06)
Constant	3.00*** (0.50)
Observations	514
R-squared	0.06

Standard errors in parentheses  
\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

**Table A-1.10. Regression Table  
for Colombia**

VARIABLES	Support for Venezuelans
Skin Color	0.04 (0.04)
Urban/Rural	-0.09 (0.16)
Female	-0.04 (0.12)
Age	-0.01* (0.00)
Education	-0.00 (0.02)
Wealth Quintiles	-0.02 (0.05)
Constant	3.77*** (0.45)
Observations	543
R-squared	0.01

Standard errors in parentheses  
\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

**Table A-1.11. Regression Table  
for Ecuador**

VARIABLES	Support for Venezuelans
Skin Color	0.05 (0.05)
Urban/Rural	-0.25* (0.13)
Female	-0.33*** (0.12)
Age	-0.02*** (0.00)
Years of Education	-0.01 (0.02)
Wealth Quintiles	0.04 (0.05)
Constant	4.31*** (0.45)
Observations	500
R-squared	0.07

Standard errors in parentheses  
\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

**Table A-1.12. Regression Table  
for Peru**

VARIABLES	immigration
Skin Color	0.02 (0.05)
Urban/Rural	-0.32** (0.15)
Female	-0.17 (0.13)
Age	0.00 (0.00)
Education	0.03* (0.02)
Wealth Quintiles	0.13** (0.05)
Constant	2.41*** (0.50)
Observations	465
R-squared	0.05

Standard errors in parentheses  
\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

**Table A-1.13. Regression Table  
with All Variables**

VARIABLES	Supports for Venezuelans
Skin Color	0.030 (0.021)
Ecuador	-0.409*** (0.087)
Peru	-0.767*** (0.091)
Chile	0.165* (0.089)
Urban/Rural	-0.224*** (0.076)
Female	-0.144** (0.061)
Age	-0.008*** (0.002)
Education	0.015 (0.009)
Wealth Quintiles	0.062** (0.025)
Constant	3.761*** (0.234)
Observations	2,022
R-squared	0.092

Standard errors in parentheses  
\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

## APPENDIX II

\*\*\* Shades of Immigration: How Skin Tone Affects Attitudes towards Venezuelans in LA \*\*\*

\*Set a Working Directory

```
cd "/Users/mhamilton17/Library/Mobile
Documents/com~apple~CloudDocs/Documents/Documents - Madison's
MacBook/College/Graduate/Thesis"
```

\*\*\* Break down each country \*\*\*

\*Venezuela

```
use "2014_Venezuela.dta"
```

\*Determine Mean skin tone

```
tab colorr
sum colorr, d
```

\*\*\*Chile\*\*\*

```
use "2018_Chile.dta"
```

\* Isolate Variables

```
keep pais q1 q2 ed soct2 colorr immig1xa ur r1 r3 r4 r4a r5 r6 r7 r12 r14 r15
```

\*Determine Mean Skin Tone

```
tab colorr
sum colorr, d
```

\* Tabulation by immig1xa

```
pwcorr colorr immig1xa, sig
tab colorr immig1xa
tab colorr immig1xa, chi col
tab colorr immig1xa, chi row
```

\*Create Wealth Quintiles for Country

\*\* Variable r5 asks for vehicles within the household

\*Isolate each one for the response for proper wealth index

\*\*No car

```
gen r5a = 1 if r5 == 0
replace r5a = 0 if r5 == 1 | r5 == 2 | r5 == 3
```

\*\*1 Car

```

gen r5b = 1 if r5 == 1
replace r5b = 0 if r5 == 0 | r5 == 2 | r5 == 3

**2 Cars
gen r5c = 1 if r5 == 2
replace r5c = 0 if r5 == 0 | r5 == 1 | r5 == 3

**3 or more cars
gen r5d = 1 if r5 == 3
replace r5d = 0 if r5 == 0 | r5 == 1 | r5 == 2

*Since r5 has been changed into 4 different variables it is dropped
drop r5

*Run PCA
pca r1 r3 r4 r4a r5a r5b r5c r5d r6 r7 r12 r14 r15 if ur==2, components(1)
predict wealthscore_Chile_r if e(sample)

*Use Component1 results in wealthscore to weight the quintiles
xtile quintile_Chile_r=wealthscore_Chile_r, nq(5)

*Run PCA
pca r1 r3 r4 r4a r5a r5b r5c r5d r6 r7 r12 r14 r15 if ur==1, components(1)
predict wealthscore_Chile_u if e(sample)

*Use Component1 results in wealthscore to weight the quintiles
xtile quintile_Chile_u=wealthscore_Chile_u, nq(5)

**combine urban and rural**
egen quintile_Chile=rowmean(quintile_Chile_r quintile_Chile_u)

tabstat r1 r3 r4 r4a r5a r5b r5c r5d r6 r7 r12 r14 r15, by(quintile_Chile)

*Save as new data set

save sorted2018_Chile.dta

*****
***Colombia***
*****

*Load Data
use "2018_Colombia.dta"

*Isolate Variables
keep pais q1 q2 ed soct2 colorr immig1xa ur r1 r3 r4 r4a r5 r6 r7 r12 r14 r15

```

\*Determine Mean Skin Tone

```
tab colorr  
sum colorr, d
```

\* Tabulation by immig1xa

```
pwcorr colorr immig1xa, sig  
tab colorr immig1xa  
tab colorr immig1xa, chi col  
tab colorr immig1xa, chi row
```

\*Create Wealth Quintiles for Country

\*\* Variable r5 asks for vehicles within the household

\*Isolate each one for the response for proper wealth index

\*\*No car

```
gen r5a = 1 if r5 == 0  
replace r5a = 0 if r5 == 1 | r5 == 2 | r5 == 3
```

\*\*1 Car

```
gen r5b = 1 if r5 == 1  
replace r5b = 0 if r5 == 0 | r5 == 2 | r5 == 3
```

\*\*2 Cars

```
gen r5c = 1 if r5 == 2  
replace r5c = 0 if r5 == 0 | r5 == 1 | r5 == 3
```

\*\*3 or more cars

```
gen r5d = 1 if r5 == 3  
replace r5d = 0 if r5 == 0 | r5 == 1 | r5 == 2
```

\*Since r5 has been changed into 4 different variables it is dropped

```
drop r5
```

\*Run PCA

```
pca r1 r3 r4 r4a r5a r5b r5c r5d r6 r7 r12 r14 r15 if ur==2, components(1)  
predict wealthscore_Colombia_r if e(sample)
```

\*Use Component1 results in wealthscore to weight the quintiles

```
xtile quintile_Colombia_r=wealthscore_Colombia_r, nq(5)
```

\*Run PCA

```
pca r1 r3 r4 r4a r5a r5b r5c r5d r6 r7 r12 r14 r15 if ur==1, components(1)  
predict wealthscore_Colombia_u if e(sample)
```

```

*Use Component1 results in wealthscore to weight the quintiles
xtile quintile_Colombia_u=wealthscore_Colombia_u, nq(5)

**combine urban and rural**
egen quintile_Colombia=rowmean(quintile_Colombia_r quintile_Colombia_u)

tabstat r1 r3 r4 r4a r5a r5b r5c r5d r6 r7 r12 r14 r15, ///
by(quintile_Colombia)

*Save as new data set
save sorted2018_Colombia.dta

*****
***Ecuador***
*****

*Load Data
use "2018_Ecuador.dta"

*Isolate Variables
keep pais q1 q2 ed soct2 colorr immig1xa ur r1 r3 r4 r4a r5 r6 r7 r12 r14 r15

*Determine Mean Skin Tone
tab colorr
sum colorr, d

* Tabulation by immig1xa
pworth colorr immig1xa, sig
tab colorr immig1xa
tab colorr immig1xa, chi col
tab colorr immig1xa, chi row

*Create Wealth Quintiles for Country

** Variable r5 asks for vehicles within the household
*Isolate each one for the response for proper wealth index

**No car
gen r5a = 1 if r5 == 0
replace r5a = 0 if r5 == 1 | r5 == 2 | r5 == 3

**1 Car
gen r5b = 1 if r5 == 1
replace r5b = 0 if r5 == 0 | r5 == 2 | r5 == 3

```

```

**2 Cars
gen r5c = 1 if r5 == 2
replace r5c = 0 if r5 == 0 | r5 == 1 | r5 == 3

**3 or more cars
gen r5d = 1 if r5 == 3
replace r5d = 0 if r5 == 0 | r5 == 1 | r5 == 2

*Since r5 has been changed into 4 different variables it is dropped
drop r5

*Run PCA
pca r1 r3 r4 r4a r5a r5b r5c r5d r6 r7 r12 r14 r15 if ur==2, components(1)
predict wealthscore_Ecuador_r if e(sample)

*Use Component1 results in wealthscore to weight the quintiles
xtile quintile_Ecuador_r=wealthscore_Ecuador_r, nq(5)

*Run PCA
pca r1 r3 r4 r4a r5a r5b r5c r5d r6 r7 r12 r14 r15 if ur==1, components(1)
predict wealthscore_Ecuador_u if e(sample)

*Use Component1 results in wealthscore to weight the quintiles
xtile quintile_Ecuador_u=wealthscore_Ecuador_u, nq(5)

**combine urban and rural**
egen quintile_Ecuador=rowmean(quintile_Ecuador_r quintile_Ecuador_u)

tabstat r1 r3 r4 r4a r5a r5b r5c r5d r6 r7 r12 r14 r15, ///
by(quintile_Ecuador)

*Save as new data set
save sorted2018_Ecuador.dta

*****
***Peru***
*****

*Load Data
use "2018_Peru.dta"

*Isolate Variables
keep pais q1 q2 ed soct2 colorr immig1xa ur r1 r3 r4 r4a r5 r6 r7 r12 r14 r15

*Determine Mean Skin Tone
tab colorr

```

sum colorr, d

\* Tabulation by immig1xa  
pworth colorr immig1xa, sig  
tab colorr immig1xa  
tab colorr immig1xa, chi col  
tab colorr immig1xa, chi row

\*Create Wealth Quintiles for Country

\*\* Variable r5 asks for vehicles within the household  
\*Isolate each one for the response for proper wealth index

\*\*No car  
gen r5a = 1 if r5 == 0  
replace r5a = 0 if r5 == 1 | r5 == 2 | r5 == 3

\*\*1 Car  
gen r5b = 1 if r5 == 1  
replace r5b = 0 if r5 == 0 | r5 == 2 | r5 == 3

\*\*2 Cars  
gen r5c = 1 if r5 == 2  
replace r5c = 0 if r5 == 0 | r5 == 1 | r5 == 3

\*\*3 or more cars  
gen r5d = 1 if r5 == 3  
replace r5d = 0 if r5 == 0 | r5 == 1 | r5 == 2

\*Since r5 has been changed into 4 different variables it is dropped  
drop r5

\*Run PCA  
pca r1 r3 r4 r4a r5a r5b r5c r5d r6 r7 r12 r14 r15 if ur==2, components(1)  
predict wealthscore\_Peru\_r if e(sample)

\*Use Component1 results in wealthscore to weight the quintiles  
xtile quintile\_Peru\_r=wealthscore\_Peru\_r, nq(5)

\*Run PCA  
pca r1 r3 r4 r4a r5a r5b r5c r5d r6 r7 r12 r14 r15 if ur==1, components(1)  
predict wealthscore\_Peru\_u if e(sample)

\*Use Component1 results in wealthscore to weight the quintiles  
xtile quintile\_Peru\_u=wealthscore\_Peru\_u, nq(5)

```

**combine urban and rural**
egen quintile_Peru=rowmean(quintile_Peru_r quintile_Peru_u)

tabstat r1 r3 r4 r4a r5a r5b r5c r5d r6 r7 r12 r14 r15, ///
by(quintile_Peru)

*Save as new data set
save sorted2018_Peru.dta

** Combine all countries into one data set
append using sorted2018_Chile sorted2018_Colombia sorted2018_Ecuador
save AllData.dta

label define AllData 8 "Colombia" 9 "Ecuador" 11 "Peru" 13 "Chile"
label values pais AllData

*****
***All Data Now***
*****

***Run Wealth Quintiles
*No need to redine and create new variables for r5 now
*Run PCA
pca r1 r3 r4 r4a r5a r5b r5c r5d r6 r7 r12 r14 r15 if ur==2, components(1)
predict wealthscore_r if e(sample)

*Use Component1 results in wealthscore to weight the quintiles
xtile quintile_r=wealthscore_r, nq(5)

*Run PCA
pca r1 r3 r4 r4a r5a r5b r5c r5d r6 r7 r12 r14 r15 if ur==1, components(1)
predict wealthscore_u if e(sample)

*Use Component1 results in wealthscore to weight the quintiles
xtile quintile_u=wealthscore_u, nq(5)

**combine urban and rural**
egen quintile=rowmean(quintile_r quintile_u)

tabstat r1 r3 r4 r4a r5a r5b r5c r5d r6 r7 r12 r14 r15, by(quintile)

* Recode Immig1xa to have it on a 1-5 scale 1 being disagree 5 being agree
gen immigration = 6 - immig1xa

```

```

label define AllData 1 "Strongly Disagree" 2 "Somewhat Disagree" 3 "Neither Agree nor
Disagree" 4 "Somewhat Agree" 5 "Strongly Agree"
label values immigration AllData

```

```

** Redescribing the variables in English

```

```

label variable r1 "Television"
label variable r3 "Refrigerator"
label variable r4 "Conventional Phone"
label variable r4a "Cellular Phone"
label variable r5a "No Car"
label variable r5b "One Car"
label variable r5c "Two Cars"
label variable r5d "Three or More Cars"
label variable r6 "Washing Machine"
label variable r7 "Microwave"
label variable r12 "Indoor Plumbing"
label variable r14 "Indoor Bathroom"
label variable r15 "Computer"
label variable colorr "Skin Color of Respondent"
label variable ur "Urban/Rural"
label variable immigration "How much do you agree with social programs for Venezuelans?"
label variable pais "Country"
label variable q1 "Female"
label variable q2 "Age"
label variable soct2 "Evaluation of the the Economic Situation of the Country"
label variable ed "Years of Education"
label variable wealthscore_r "Wealthscore Rural"
label variable wealthscore_u "Wealthscore Urban"
label variable quintile_r "Wealth Quintiles Rural"
label variable quintile_u "Wealth Quintiles Urban"
label variable quintile "Wealth Quintiles"

```

```

**Creating a bar graph for the data

```

```

**Immigration Responses

```

```

graph bar, over(immigration, label(labsize(small))) over(pais, label(labsize(small))) ///
    ytitle ("Percent of Respondents") ///
    title ("Figure 3.1 Agreeableness Scale Responses by Country")

```

```

graph bar, over(immigration, label(labsize(small))) ///
    ytitle ("Percent of Respondents") ///
    title ("Figure 3.2 Agreeableness Scale Responses - Pooled")

```

```

**Skin Color Responses

```

```

graph bar, over(colorr, label(labsize(small))) over(pais, label(labsize(small))) ///
    ytitle ("Percent of Respondents") ///
    title ("3.4 Skin Color as Reported by Interviewer by Country ")

```

```

**Histogram based on skin tone
histogram colorr, normal xline(3.82)
sum colorr, d

*Run Regression
**Regression for Chile
reg immigration colorr i.pais c. ur c.q1 c.q2 c.ed c.quintile if pais == 13
coefplot, xline(0) drop(_cons) coeplabels(, wrap(20))
outreg2 using ChileRegression.doc, dec(2)

**Regression for Colombia
reg immigration colorr i.pais c. ur c.q1 c.q2 c.ed c.quintile if pais == 8
coefplot, xline(0) drop(_cons) coeplabels(, wrap(20))
outreg2 using ColombiaRegression.doc, dec(2)

**Regression for Ecuador
reg immigration colorr i.pais c. ur c.q1 c.q2 c.ed c.quintile if pais == 9
coefplot, xline(0) drop(_cons) coeplabels(, wrap(20))
outreg2 using EcuadorRegression.doc, dec(2)

**Regression for Peru
reg immigration colorr i.pais c. ur c.q1 c.q2 c.ed c.quintile if pais == 11
coefplot, xline(0) drop(_cons) coeplabels(, wrap(20))
outreg2 using PeruRegression.doc, dec(2)

**Regression for All Data
reg immigration colorr i.pais c.ur c.q1 c.q2 c.ed c.quintile
coefplot, xline(0) drop(_cons) coeplabels(, wrap(20))
outreg2 using AllRegression.doc, dec(2)

**Codebook
codebook
codebook, compact

quietly{
    log using ThesisCodebook.txt, text replace
    noisily codebook,
    log close
}

```

VITA

Madison Renee Hamilton

---

**Education**

University of Mississippi, *Department of Political Science*

M.A., Political Science, May 2022.

Major Field: Comparative Politics

Thesis: “The Shades of Immigration: How Skin Tone Shapes Attitudes Towards Venezuelan Immigrants in Latin America”

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University of Mississippi, *College of Liberal Arts*

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**Research Interests**

Comparative Politics, Latin America, Immigration, Race and Ethnic Studies, Political Behavior, Political Psychology, Public Opinion