How Skin Color, Class Status, and Gender Shape Labor Market Outcomes in Brazil

By

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Abstract

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In this dissertation, I examine how skin color, class status, and gender shape labor market outcomes in Brazil. In spite of overwhelming evidence that racial inequality pervades almost every aspect of Brazilian life, there is still much disagreement among researchers and policy-makers as to the root causes of this form of inequality. According to one school of thought, racial inequality in Brazil is not the product of active contemporary discrimination, but related to the legacies of slavery as well as class-based inequalities, such as differential access to education. Others, however, argue that in spite of class-based factors, skin color has an *independent* effect on shaping racial inequalities. This dissertation, adjudicates between these competing explanations. Moreover, I examine whether perceived class status moderates the effects of skin color in shaping labor market outcomes. However, I take it two steps further. First, I test for the possibility that the effect of race is moderated by gender. Second, I test the validity of the "mulatto-escape hatch" hypothesis, which predicts that lighter skinned Afro-descendents (browns) suffer less discrimination than their darker skinned counterparts (blacks).

In this dissertation, I use a field-experiment to adjudicate between these competing theoretical perspectives and related contingencies. Whereas existing research on racial inequality in Brazil relies on indirect methods to estimate racial discrimination (e.g. "wage regression" analysis), I deploy a field experimental methodology to directly test for discrimination. After identifying job vacancies in newspapers, I sent 1,200 fictitious resumes to employers of entry-level jobs in two major metropolitan areas in Brazil: São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. I signaled the skin color of job candidates through photographs attached on resumes, and class status through class-specific first and last names. There were several important findings from the field experiment. First, I found that skin color does shape labor market outcomes, but it is moderated by class status. Second, I found that the effect of skin color is also gendered. While skin color did not affect the likelihood of receiving a callback among men, it did so among women, in particular women with "poor" class status and with dark skin. Moreover, I found that the "mulatto escape hatch" hypothesis is also contingent on the intersection of skin color, class status, and gender as well as labor market contexts. The implications of these findings for the literature on racial inequality in Brazil are considered.

For Kati, Braeden, Alexa and my parents, Aroldo and Maria, and my sister Carla.

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Chapter One
Introduction

Although known for its cordial history of race relations, scholars have exposed Brazil as a country marked by deep racial inequalities in all spheres of social life. Afro-Brazilians (browns and blacks) are more likely to be illiterate, have less access to health care, and have higher mortality rates (Wood and Lovell 1992; Lovell and Wood 1998). Afro-descendents also fare worse in the labor market. Figure 1 below presents the wage distribution for whites and nonwhites based on the *per capita* household income in Brazil in 2014. It shows that whites are overrepresented in the upper deciles of the income distribution, while a larger percentage of nonwhites have incomes in the lower deciles. For instance, nearly 40 percent of nonwhites in Brazil have incomes in the first three deciles of the income distribution, whereas roughly 42 percent of white Brazilians have incomes in the upper third deciles in the income distribution. In terms of income ratio, nonwhites earn about 47% less than whites do according to the 2010 Brazilian Census.[1]

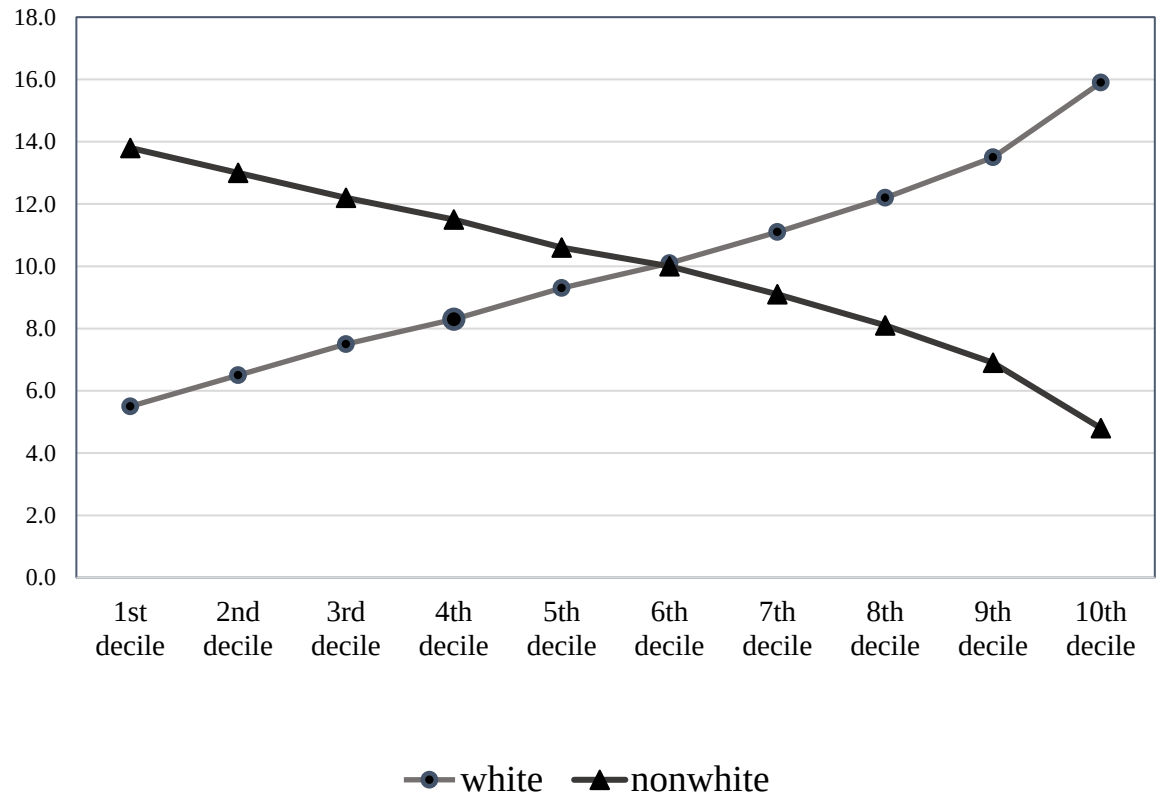
In addition to earning less than whites do, nonwhites are also less likely to possess an Employment Record Card ("Carteira de Trabalho e Previdencia Social"), which provides a range of worker rights, such as regular income, overtime rates, unemployment benefits, health care benefits, retirement plans, and vacation time. For instance, 24 percent of nonwhites in Brazil in 2010 worked without the Employment Record Card, while only 16 percent of whites did so (Source: Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics, 2010). Nonwhites are also more likely to work in informal jobs than whites are. According to the 2013 National Household Sample Survey (PNAD), nearly 49 percent of nonwhites worked in informal jobs, whereas 34 percent of whites did so (Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra de Domicílios, 2013). Moreover, of all workers in Brazil in informal jobs who did not have any income, 64.5 percent were non-white (black and brown), while only 35.5 percent were white. Among workers in informal jobs with a monthly wage less than one minimum wage (salario mínimo)[2], 69 percent were nonwhite, whereas 30.7 percent were white (Proni and Gomes 2015: 147, Table 5). These patterns reveal that nonwhites in Brazil are more likely to work in precarious jobs, with unstable income, not protected by labor rights, and characterized by lower incomes. Nonwhites are also two times more likely to live in poverty than whites are.[3] Consequently, nearly 24 percent of nonwhites live in chronic poverty, while only 10 percent of whites do so (Source: IPEA, 2000).[4]

Recent data also reveal that non-white Brazilians are also underrepresented in higher paid, higher-skilled occupations and overrepresented in lower-paid and unskilled occupations. As Figure 2 shows, self-identified white Brazilians are two to three times more likely to be employed in high government positions and in professional jobs than non-whites are. Among semi-skilled, white-collar jobs, 3.8 percent of whites, 2.8 percent of blacks, and 2.5 percent of

[1] This is a 13 percent increase from 1991 and 2000, when nonwhites earned on average 60 percent less than whites did (Source: Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics, 1991-2000).
[2] One minimum wage in 2010 in Brazil was $570 Brazilian Reais per month, which corresponded to approximately $320 US Dollars.
[3] Poverty rates is defined as the percent of people with per capita household income of less than one-half of the monthly minimum wage.
[4] Chronic poverty is defined as those earning less than one-quarter of the monthly minimum wage per capita for household income.

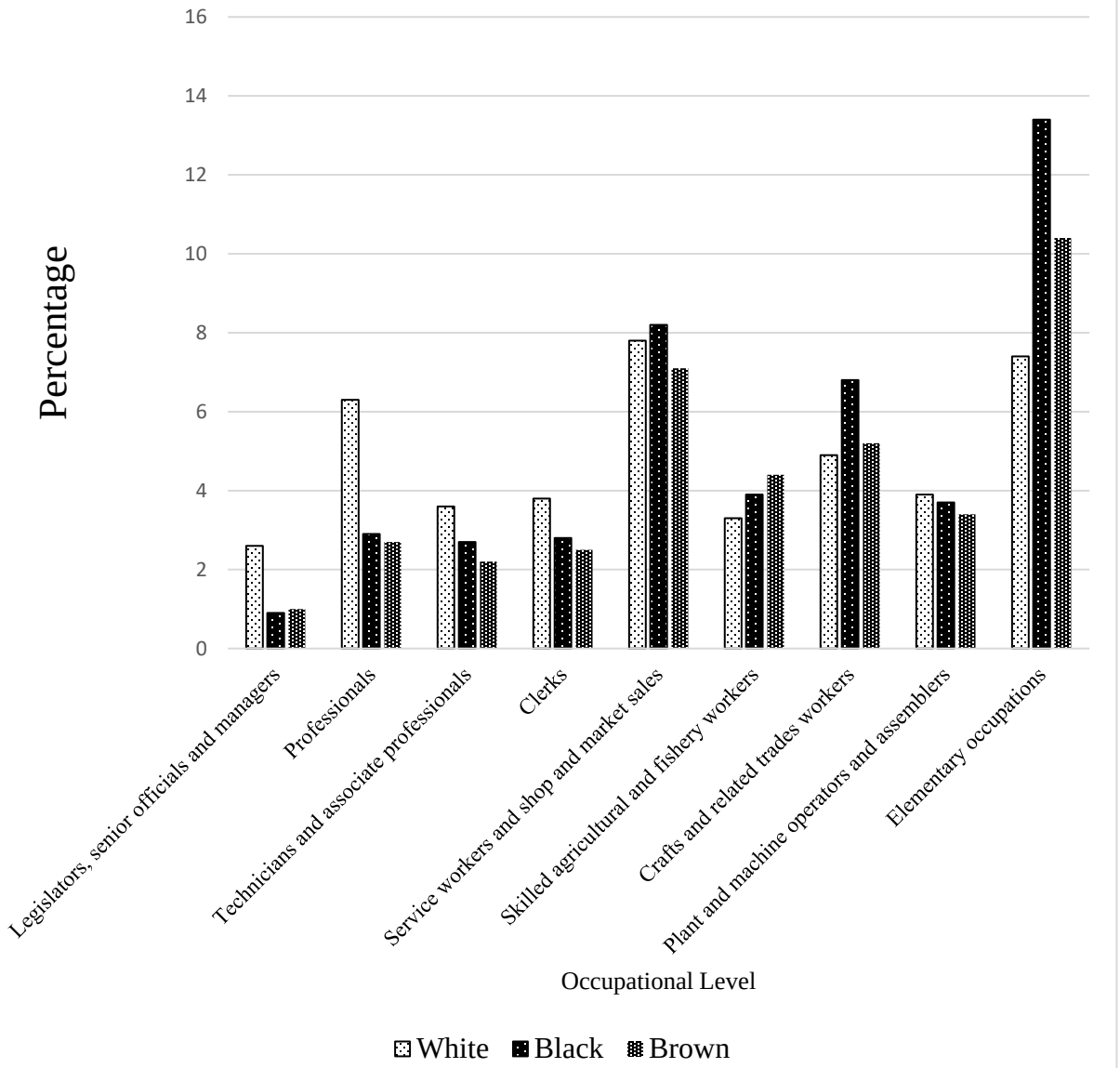
browns are employed in these occupations. Among "elementary occupations," which includes unskilled jobs such as street vendors, shoe cleaning, domestic workers, and garbage collectors, 10.4 percent of browns and 13.4 percent of blacks are employed in such occupations, while only 7.4 percent of whites do so. These figures reveal an occupational hierarchy stratified by race in Brazil.

Figure 1. Deciles of Per Capita Household Income Distribution by Race, Brazil 2014



Source: IBGE 2010

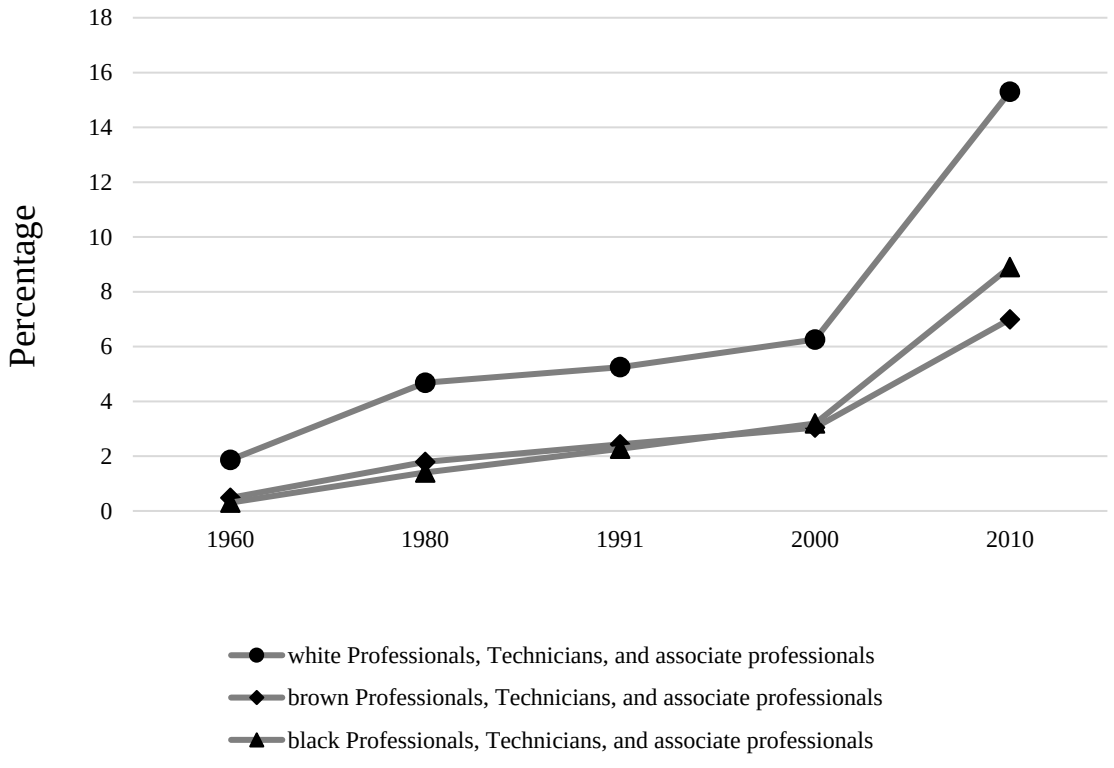
Figure 2. Occupational Distribution by Race, Brazil, 2010



Source: Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics, IBGE (accessed through IPUMS International). The specific occupations that fall within each of the occupational levels can be found in Appendix A.

Figure 3 presents the percentage of whites, browns, and blacks who worked in skilled and professional jobs over time. It reveals that, although blacks and browns have experienced a steady increase in accessing skilled and professional jobs since the 1960s, the racial gap between whites and nonwhites in skilled jobs has been steady between 1960 and 2000. Between 2000 and 2010, the racial gap in skilled and professional occupations between whites and blacks was smaller than the racial gap between whites and browns (Figure 3). Two processes could explain this pattern. First, the decrease (albeit small) in the racial gap between whites and blacks could be the result of race-based affirmative action policies that allowed for greater access to higher education for blacks. Alternatively, the larger percentage of blacks in skilled and professional jobs in 2010 could be due to a boundary shift, possibly due to race-based affirmative action policies, as more individuals self-identified as "black" in 2010 (*for more on this, see* Paixão et al. 2011; Marteleto 2012; Francis and Tannuri-Pianto 2013). In spite of the small decrease, the racial gap between whites and non-whites in skilled and professional jobs remained large between 1960 and 2010.

Figure 3. Percentage of Brazilians in Skilled Jobs, by Race, 1960-2010.



Source: Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics, IBGE (accessed through IPUMS International).

The patterns presented above reveal that racial inequality does exist in Brazil. However, scholars and policy-makers disagree on the root causes of racial inequality. In this dissertation, I focus my empirical analysis on the labor market—a key institution that helps produce and reproduce social inequality. The primary question motivating the dissertation is, *does direct skin color discrimination by employers shape economic outcomes in Brazil?* Some argue yes, citing evidence that after controlling for proxies of human capital characteristics, Afro-Brazilians (blacks and browns) still fare worse than whites do in the labor market. Others, however, argue that race-based labor market inequality is rooted in rigid class-structures in Latin America, which disadvantages all individuals, regardless of race. In this dissertation, I adjudicate between these competing perspectives by measuring skin color discrimination directly. However, I take it two steps further. First, I ask whether perceived *class status* mitigate the effect of race in employment decisions. Researchers have argued that class status shape racial perceptions in Brazil. Second, I ask whether race affects men and women in similar ways. Existing research shows that Afro-Brazilian women face greater barriers in gaining employment in entry-level, white-collar jobs in Brazil.

There are several limitations in the existing research that makes it difficult to adjudicate between competing explanations for racial economic inequality. First, the bulk of the existing studies on labor market inequalities in Latin America rely on large-scale surveys, which provide far less labor market data than employers do when making hiring decisions. White and Afro-descendant workers that may appear to researchers to have similar human capital characteristics, may actually look very different to employers. Consequently, the racial differences that researchers have observed from large-scale surveys could be attributed to unobserved characteristics. Other studies use employers' perceptions and self-reports of discrimination. However, these approaches are limited in their ability to capture discrimination because it is often taboo to overtly express racist or prejudiced views in Brazil.

To circumvent these methodological limitations, I adopt a field experiment to test for labor market discrimination in Brazil. Although Brazil has been the paradigmatic case study of race relations in Latin America, scholars have never used a field experimental methodology to test for discrimination. Field experiments offer a unique advantage over observational methods (e.g. survey analysis), namely the ability to observe discrimination directly (Pager 2003, 2007). Field experiments focuses on the behavior of employers (the supply side of the labor market), and not on the individual characteristics (demand side of labor market). Thus, this dissertation is the first systematic analyses of labor market discrimination that focuses on the decision-making process by employers in the context of Brazil.

Field experiments are particularly useful in contexts where discrimination is often difficult to measure, such as in places where biases might be more covert and subtle, such as in Latin America, a region where a discourse of color-blindness and racial egalitarianism (e.g. "racial democracy") has been an essential part of national identities. These countries also lack the historical legacy of institutionalized discrimination (e.g. Jim Crow or Apartheid), thus making it even harder to detect how discrimination is embedded in social institutions. In addition

to the lack of institutionalized racism, some countries have implemented strict anti-discrimination laws, such as making it a felony to engage in racist practices.[5]

The second limitation in the existing studies of racial economic inequality in Brazil is the absence of fixed and stable racial boundaries, which leads to ambiguity in racial categorization (Telles 2004). The fluidity of racial categories is linked to the historical formation of race and racial discourses, whereby racial mixture or miscegenation (*mestizaje*) has been a major component of national formation and identity (Paschel 2016; Telles and Paschel 2014; Villarreal 2010). Whereas in the United States the one-drop rule has helped develop a stable system of racial categorization for African-Americans, this is not the case in Brazil, where physical features are more relevant in the process of racial categorization (Bailey 2009). A range of phenotypical characteristics (e.g. skin color, hair type, size and shape of lips and nose), as well as social indicators, could influence racial categorization (Bailey 2009; Davis 1991; Telles 2004; Wagley 1969, 1965; Roth 2016), thus leading to inconsistent measures of one's actual phenotype (e.g. skin color). Unlike previous studies, my methodological approach allows me to *consistently* measure the effects of "race" (e.g. skin color), thus reducing measurement error. The field experimental method also allows me to manipulate, within the experimental design, the perceived class status of job applicants, thus allowing me to examine how "race" (e.g. skin color) intersects with class status to shape labor market outcomes. Before I elaborate in more detail on the scholarly debates about racial inequality and discrimination in Brazil and the general organization of the dissertation, I provide a brief discussion about the main elements of Brazil's racial framework and history.

BRAZIL'S RACIAL IDEOLOGY

Scholars have long recognized the two elements of racial commonsense in Brazil, namely the denial of racial prejudice and integration through racial miscegenation (Hanchard 1994; Winant 2001; Telles 2004; Twine 1998). A positive articulation of race mixture was the product of a long history of sociopolitical, economic, and transnational factors. In essence, there were different competing ideologies from the late 19th through the first several decades of the 20th century. Some of these theories went as far as advocating the differential treatment of blacks in social policy,[6] while others accepted the basic premises of scientific racism, but argued that blacks and their descendents would eventually disappear through a process of whitening. I elaborate briefly on these debates below.

Blackness and Race Mixture: From Pessimistic to Optimistic Views

The historical trajectory of the idea of race in Brazil began in the 1880s, a period during which elites debated whether the Brazilian population, which was largely non-European, were fit to perform the work required of a nation aspiring to modernize and industrialize.[7] Near the end

[5] In Brazil, for instance, racism is an unbailable crime subject to one to three years of jail (source: http://web.law.columbia.edu/sites/default/files/microsites/public-research-leadership/marta_macho_-_punitive_anti-racism_laws_in_brazil.pdf.)

[6] Medical anthropologist Nina Rodrigues, for example, argued that the law should distinguish between the "more civilized" and "less civilized" ("savages" and "Africans") when considering punishment for crimes. Rodrigues argued that if physical and mental disabilities were used in ascertaining criminal punishment, "why not also admit race?" The main line of reasoning is that the "lower races" were not capable of interpreting, judging, and appreciating modern concepts of "rights" (Rodrigues 1894[1957]: 75).

[7] See Dias (2014) for a different perspective, which shows that the Brazilian elites debated the fitness of non-whites in Brazil in relation to European immigrants as early as the 1830s.

of slavery in Brazil, the abolitionists, the Republican elites, and the coffee planter class were concerned about the economic and political development of the country. In their eyes, the United States was the perfect example of what a young country could do if able to attract foreign investment and large-scale European immigration (Skidmore 1973[2005]: 124). The Brazilian elites viewed their largely Afro-descendent and racially mixed population in a negative light, and they sought to downplay it as much as possible. It was in this context that claims about the "disappearance" of blacks, or whitening through miscegenation, became relevant (Skidmore 1973[2005]: 128).

The solution to these concerns was to attract a large number of European immigrants to help whiten the largely Afro-descendent society, which, in the eyes of these elites would eventually disappear because of their alleged lower birth rates and sterility. In other words, Brazilian intellectuals avoided the determinist trap inherent in scientific racism by proposing a "miraculous movement from black in the direction of white" (Skidmore 1990: 12). The Brazilian elites viewed "whitening" through race mixture as politically consistent with a more liberal, laissez-faire approach to social policy that provided the rationale for avoiding dealing with the masses (e.g. educational programs). In 1918, the eugenics movement made its way to Brazil and heavily influenced social policy (Stepan 1991: 35-36). The Latin American version of eugenics based its assumptions in the Lamarckian tradition, which assumed that environmental factors and external influences on a person's life could alter the "germ plasm," or the hereditary characteristics. Thus, rather than accepting "nature" as the sole factor that determines one's level of development, the Lamarckian tradition left open the possibility that one's "less civilized" status could be altered and "improved" (Stepan 1991: 25).

The "Constructive Miscegenation" Idea Takes Hold

The nationalist intellectual movement that emerged throughout Latin America consolidated in the late 1920s and in the early 1930s, as the issue of hybridity and racial miscegenation came to the forefront of the debate regarding national cohesion and economic development. At the conceptual level, Latin American elites were concerned with national homogeneity. These elites debated whether race mixture was always a sign of national inferiority, as Europeans and North Americans often claimed, or if it should be encouraged as a "biological process of national formation." Intellectual elites began articulating the idea of "constructive miscegenation" to claim that race mixture could indeed produce a "nationally homogeneous type" (Stepan 1991: 137-138). In short, the bulk of the literature assumes that "constructive miscegenation" was inextricably linked to the rise of nationalism in Latin America in the 1920s (Graham 1990; Skidmore 1973[2005]). The intellectual debates evolved around what it meant to be Brazilian, Argentinean, Cuban, or Mexican (Graham 1990; Helg 1990).

According to contemporary scholarship, the work by socio-anthropologist Gilberto Freyre helped popularize the notion of positive race mixture, which became the most important and long lasting feature of Brazilian culture (Telles 2004: 33; Daniel 2006; Ortiz 1985; Nobles 2000). There are several points in Freyre's work that scholars consider key to understanding the social dynamics of Brazilian racial thought. First, Freyre sought to provide a historical account of the formation of Brazilian society, and he focused his attention on the characteristics of the Portuguese colonization and their encounter with Africans and Amerindians, both prior to and after colonization.[8]

For Freyre, miscegenation was both the outcome of the long historical contact between the Portuguese and Africans, and the main strategy for colonization in Brazil.[9] Moreover, Freyre also claimed that it was through racial and cultural mixture that the Portuguese failed to develop a strong "race consciousness" and prejudice toward Africans.[10] In the absence of racial prejudice, Freyre contended, the social mobility of the half-breeds, or mulattos was very common.[11] Lastly, and quite important for linking Freyre's thought to existing debates around race in the 1930s, is his rejection of racial degeneration, and in particular that of the racially mixed individuals. Rather than accepting the claim that intermixture would doom the prospects of Brazil's progress, Freyre argued that Afro-descendents had made significant contributions to the white dominated society through cultural and racial blending.[12] Thus, Freyre transformed the former negative view of key aspects of Brazilian society, such as race mixture and strong African and Amerindian heritage, into a positive national characteristic. Most importantly, the idea and evidence of race mixture, both in terms of demographic evidence (e.g. high rates of interracial marriages), but also in terms of cultural blending (e.g. the nationalization of Afro-descendent religions and culture), has been used as evidence that racial discrimination does not exist in Brazil.

The Freyrean vision of racial democracy became the official discourse of race and racialization in Brazil, as the Brazilian state disseminated this vision (Hanchard 1994; Telles 2004). In short, the idea of racial democracy through race mixture constitutes a "racial commonsense" in Brazil (Hanchard 1994; Wade 1997; Winant 2001; Telles 2004; Twine 1998). It is against the backdrop of a dominant "racial commonsense" in Brazil, defined as a racially egalitarian society, that studies of racial inequality and discrimination have emerged. Because overt racial discrimination is frowned upon in Brazil (e.g. Brazilians have "prejudice against prejudice"), scholars have found it difficult to pinpoint discriminatory practices, and many have defined racial discrimination in Brazil as subtle or masked (Telles 2004).

OVERVIEW OF THE DISSERTATION

This dissertation is organized as follows. In Chapter Two, I lay out my methodological strategy and research design. I describe how survey methodologies and wage decomposition analysis fail to directly test for discrimination, while proposing a field experiment methodology. I also describe a novel approach to operationalizing and measuring race and class status. For race, I rely on recent studies that use skin color as a key measurement of race. In order to signal

[9] Freyre argued that the Portuguese were successful in conducting a large-scale colonization of Brazil not because of their sheer number, but rather by their ability to intermix with the native and enslaved population. Freyre (1933[1956]: 11) posited that, "miscibility rather than mobility was the process by which the Portuguese made up for their deficiency in human mass."

[10] Although Freyre acknowledged that the Portuguese was a "terrible slave-driver, who came near transporting from Africa an entire population of Negroes," he argued that the Portuguese colonizer "succeeded in *fraternizing* with the so-called inferior races" (Emphasis added, 1933[1956]: 185). Consequently, the "fraternizing" process led to the "no exclusivism" of race or culture in Brazilian society (Freyre 1933[1956]: 199).

[11] Freyre posited that, "there is no exclusive type to be found in the ethnic past of the Portuguese people, whose anthropology from remote pre- and proto-historic times has been a mixed one; we are to remember the *extreme mobility that has characterized the social formation of this folk*" (Emphasis added, 1933[1956]: 201).

[12] Freyre argued that, "[the Portuguese] had been prepared by the intimate terms of social and sexual intercourse on which they had lived with the colored races that had invaded their peninsula or were close neighbors to it, one of which, of the Mohammedan faith, was more highly skilled and possessed an intellectual and artistic culture superior to that of the blond Christians" (Freyre 1933[1956]: 11).

skin color differences, I use photographs that are attached to resumes (a common practice in Brazil), and manipulate skin tone through Photoshop techniques. To signal class status, I use typical names that are associated with class status in Brazil. This strategy allows me to investigate empirically the endogeneity of class status and race. The field experiment methodology also allows me to effectively control for human capital and productivity related variables, while examining the effect of race, class, and gender on employment decisions.

In Chapter Three, titled "How Does Skin Color Shape Labor Market Outcomes in Brazil," I examine the extent to which skin color shapes racial inequality in the labor market. I adjudicate between diverging explanations for contemporary racial inequality in Brazil. According to one perspective, class-based factors are at the core of racial economic inequality. Past discrimination has created a racial hierarchy in Brazil with "whites" at the top and "non-whites" at the bottom, and this racial hierarchy is maintained through class-based resources. Whites have been able to sustain a more privileged position through the transmission of class-based advantages, such as greater investment in private education, greater access to class-based social networks, and access to cultural capital. I refer to this model of racial inequality as the *class-based* hypothesis, not because they claim that racism is not behind racial inequalities, but because it contends that the lion's share of racial inequality in Brazil is maintained through class origins (e.g. parental education) and the transmission of class-based advantage.

However, other scholars point to contemporary discriminatory practices by employers as a central factor in explaining racial inequality in Brazil (Lovell 1989, 2000, 2006; Silva 1999a, 1999b, 2000; Telles 2004; Telles and Lim 1998). I refer to this perspective as the "race-based" hypothesis because it posits that racial inequalities are rooted in *active* discrimination. The race-based perspective assumes that if employers tend to favor one skin tone over others, that they are doing so based on stereotypes associated with different skin colors. Here I use Allport's (1954: 51) definition of discrimination, whereby individuals are denied equality of treatment, and different treatment is based on existing stereotypes associated with perceived group membership. The term "stereotype" refers to the "typical picture" that individuals have when thinking about a particular social category (e.g. blacks or whites) (Lippmann 1922). When we formulate stereotypes about others, we are categorizing individuals according to perceived qualities regarding social roles, the extent to which the stereotyped group shares certain behaviors and qualities, and how such beliefs influence reactions toward them by society (Dovidio et al. 2010).

In Brazil, existing stereotypes about individuals with Afro-descendent phenotype and physical features are generally negative, although explicit and overt expressions of racism are frowned upon and rare (Telles 2004). According to a nationally representative survey (DATAFOLHA 1995), 47 percent of respondents showed some form of agreement to the statement "Good Blacks [Negros] Are Blacks with White Soul" (Negro Bom é Negro de Alma Branca) (DATAFOLHA 1995: 129). This belief was commonly shared by whites (46 percent), browns (47 percent), and blacks (48 percent). Moreover, 43 percent of respondents showed some level of agreement to the statement "Blacks [Negros] are only good in music and sports."[13] When asked about their level of agreement about the statement, "Negros who don't screw upon

[13] 40 percent of whites, 45 percent of browns, and 42 percent of blacks agreed or strongly agreed with the statement (DATAFOLHA 1995: 129).

entering, do so on leaving" ("negro quando não faz besteira na entrada, faz na saída"), 23 percent of respondents agreed or strongly agreed with the statement.[14] The DATAFOLHA survey also shows how racial stereotypes are gender specific. For instance, non-white men (blacks and browns)[15] are often associated with being a criminal and being untrustworthy (DATAFOLHA 1995: 121), whereas non-white women are associated with lacking willpower (força de vontade), with being a domestic worker (empregada doméstica), and with being prostitutes (prostitutas e vadiagem) (DATAFOLHA 1995: 128).

Erica Williams (2013) also found that ordinary black women are perceived as sex workers merely because of their physical characteristics (e.g. body shape). This is a consequence of a hyper-sexuality of blackness. While white features (e.g. light skin, straight hair, among other European features) still symbolize the standard of beauty in Brazil, the standard of sexuality privileges women of African ancestry in Brazil) Afro-Brazilian women in some geographical locations, in particular in touristic areas, are often approached by men who assume that they are sexually available. In the media, Afro-Brazilian women are portrayed as hypersexualized, eroticized objects for foreign consumption (Williams 2013: 47).

In a 2002 nationally representative survey (Pesquisa Social Brasileira, PESB 2002),[16] respondents were asked to categorize eight photographs according to the three official census categories—white (branco), brown (pardo), and black (preto). According to this survey, Brazilians perceive "whites" as smarter (48 percent), as having more education (54 percent), as more intelligent (48 percent), and more honest (41 percent). On the other hand, respondents perceived browns and blacks as having less education (21.62 percent and 16.67 percent, respectively), less smart (20.25 percent and 21.94 percent), less intelligent (20.25 percent and 21.94 percent), and less honest (22.39 percent and 24.61 percent). Respondents also associated the brown photographs with being a criminal (42 percent) and with being a hustler (38.6 percent).

In addition to being associated with negative stereotypes, Brazilians tend to associate being black and brown with unskilled labor, whereas whiteness is associated with skilled and professional labor. Only 9.23 percent of respondents thought that the two "black" individuals in the photographs looked like attorneys, while 53.84 percent believed that the "white" photographs did so. Nearly 45 percent of respondents associated the "brown" photographs as door attendant and picker/loader jobs. Only 16 percent to 19 percent of whites were classified as working in unskilled occupations, such as door attendant, shoe shiner, and garbage collector (PESB 2002).

In addition to evidence from survey data, qualitative research also points to the degradation of blackness in Brazilian society (Hordge-Freeman 2015; Burdick 1998; Caldwell

[14] 25 percent of whites, 24 percent of browns, and 22 percent of blacks agreed or strongly agreed with the statement (DATAFOLHA 1995: 129).

[15] The DATAFOLHA survey did not ask specifically about blacks (pretos) or browns (pardos), but rather "negros," which combines blacks and browns in the same "negro" category. As I discuss in more detail in Chapter 5 in the dissertation, differences do exist in terms of stereotypes between blacks and browns. The question asked: "When you think about Negro men, what is the first thing that comes to mind?" (Quando você pensa em homens negros, qual é a primeira coisa que lhe vem na cabeça?).

[16] I thank Bobray Bordelon from Princeton University and Stanley R. Bailey for generously sharing the PESB dataset and photograph cards.

2007; Williams 2013). A recent work by Hordge-Freeman (2015) shows the ways in which Afro-Brazilians negotiate and articulate racial stereotypes. Using a symbolic interactionist framework, and building on Pierre Bourdieu's concept of "bodily capital," Hodge-Freeman argues that just like gender, race should be conceived as the "product of a process" embedded in social interactions (2015: 6).[17] In this way, Afro-Brazilians manage the racial and gender presentations of themselves in the context of existing negative stereotypes of blacks and browns in Brazil. For instance, in examining how families articulate their racial understandings and navigate their social world, one of the respondents, a pregnant black woman in Bahia, seemed anxious about rumors about her past sexual history and how she might have "barriga suja" (dirty womb or stomach). Barriga suja is a term that refers to a woman's propensity to give birth to dark-skinned children (Hordge-Freeman 2015: 39).

Other racial stereotypes regarding physical features associated with blackness are also devalued in society. Pregnant nonwhite women often express desire to have children with "good hair" (cabelo bom), which refers to straight hair, versus "bad hair" (cabelo ruim), which refers to "nappy" hair. In order to conform to this Eurocentric standard of beauty, non-white women often express anxiety about their baby's appearance. When they give birth to a lighter-skinned baby, non-white women and their families often refer to the baby as being "limpinha" (clean), thus internalizing the conflation of cleanness with whiteness. Other racial features, such as the size and shape of the nose and lips, are also devalued and stigmatized. Wide noses, for instance, are referred to as "chato," meaning boring and dull, or as "grosso," meaning vulgar or crude. In contrast, Eurocentric physical features are valued in society as "pretty people" (gente bonita), with "good hair" (cabelo bom), with "fine nose" (nariz fino), and with "clean skin" (pele limpa) (Hordge-Freeman 2015: 53-71; see also Burdick 1998 and Caldwell 2007).[18]

The race-based perspective assumes that decision-makers (e.g. employers) rely on these stereotypes when making hiring decisions, and they tend to favor job seekers with Euro-centric features over those with Afro-centric features. In Chapter 3, I adjudicate between the class-based and race-based perspectives by examining empirically whether employers use skin tone as a criterion in making hiring decisions. Moreover, I also examine whether the effect of skin color is moderated by the perceived class status of job applicants. Here I seek to examine empirically the extent to which class status mitigates the effects of skin color in hiring.

In Chapter Four, I examine whether there are differences in racial discrimination by gender. The bulk of the literature on racial inequality and discrimination in Brazil fails to take into account how racial discrimination might be influenced by gender. The few existing studies that included an analysis of gender have found that Afro-Brazilian women (black and brown) confront three barriers in the labor market: segregation into lower-paying female-dominated jobs, segregation into occupations determined by human capital (e.g., they have on average lower

[17] Hordge-Freeman refers to the process of managing and articulating racial features as "embodied racial capital" (2015: 7).

[18] Burdick (1998) describes the struggles that Afro-Brazilian women experience from being judged against white standards of beauty, such as straight hair and dark skin. Many black Brazilian women attempt to change their hair as to conform to Eurocentric standards by using hair-straightening products to produce a softer, wavy hair (Caldwell 2007: 95-97).

levels of education than whites), and segregation in occupations determined by race. Compared to white women, Afro-Brazilian women are more likely to be employed as domestic workers and twice as unlikely to be employed in the higher paying administrative and professional jobs (Caldwell 2007; Lovell 2006; Telles 2004). The invisibility of black women in certain types of job markets, such as entry-level white collar jobs, can be attributed directly to racial discrimination by employers (Caldwell 2007; Harrington 2015: 281). This is distinct from the experiences of Afro-Brazilian men, who find barriers entering middle-level professional jobs and above (Telles 2004: 145). As Caldwell (2007: 18) puts it, "developing a gendered perspective on issues of race and racism also makes aspects of Brazilian racial dynamics visible that would remain hidden if gender were not taken into account."

The bulk of quantitative studies that take into account race and gender fail to adopt a social constructivist perspective from multiracial feminist theory. Such studies show the impact of race and gender in the labor market, but these categories are treated as fixed, immutable, rather than fluid and mutually constituting each other. There is an overlap between the critiques against an essentialist notion of race (Loveman 1999; Wacquant 1997; see also Penner and Saperstein 2008; 2013) and multiracial feminist theory. In these two scholarly traditions, social categories, such as race, class, and gender are fluid and tend to change over time and across social spaces.[19] Recent work on intersectionality has shown that perceptions of race are classed (Penner and Saperstein 2008, 2012; but see Alba, Insolera, and Lindeman 2016) and that race and class intersection varies by gender (Penner and Saperstein 2013). However, these studies tend to focus on the gendered and classed aspects of racial *classification*, and not on the gendered and classed aspects of racial *discrimination*. In short, there is much less empirical research that systematically examines the intersection of race, class, and gender in shaping employment decisions. This is particularly the case when we consider that much of the focus has been on how these different intersections affect women of color, and not across all groups (Browne and Misra 2003). In Chapter 4, I fill this empirical gap by examining whether skin color (and its intersection with class status) shapes labor market outcomes differently between men and women.

In Chapter 5, I evaluate whether there are differences between blacks and browns in the chances of getting a job. The empirical evidence regarding the hypothesized advantage of "browns" (pardos) in Brazil is mixed. From one perspective, scholars argue that browns (pardos) in Brazil occupy an intermediate position between whites and blacks, and they experience greater social mobility vis-à-vis blacks (Degler 1971; Telles and Lim 1998; Telles 2004; Lovell 1989; Arcand and D'Hombres 2004; Bailey, Loveman, and Muniz 2013). According to a second perspective, scholars argue that browns do not have an advantage over blacks, and that the division is between whites, who experience privilege, and nonwhites, who experience similar levels of discrimination (Silva 1978; see also Marx 1998).[20] In a third perspective, Wade (1993)

[19] In this dissertation, I build on Wacquant's (1997) argument that researchers should make a distinction between "folk" notions of race and adopt instead an analytical framework that integrates race as a category of analysis. Only after looking at the specific properties of racial categorization, such as the fact that phenotype (e.g. skin color) is the basis of categorization in Brazil (as opposed to ancestry, e.g. the "one drop rule"), as well as the intersection of class or social status and phenotype, can we understand how racial hierarchy is structured.

[20] Marx (1998) argues that the theory of the mulatto mobility is an ideological tool to dilute black consciousness and black mobilization in Brazil. Rather than offering evidence to refute Degler's thesis, as Silva (1978; 1985), Marx points out that Degler did not provide evidence to support the mulatto escape hatch hypothesis, thus it must not be true.

proposes that the division is between blacks and non-blacks, since mulattoes' (browns) experiences are similar to whites, and blacks (unmixed Afro-descendants) are the most discriminated in society.

In Chapter 5, I adjudicate between these competing hypotheses. However, I take it a step further. For the first time in the literature, my dissertation provides a systematic examination of the "mulatto escape-hatch" hypothesis among women. The bulk of the literature assumes that possessing mixed-race features, such as brown skin, have a similar effect for men and women. The earlier studies focused on the experiences of "brown" men entirely (Degler 1971; Silva 1978, see also Silva 2000), or combine men and women together in their analysis (Telles and Lim 1998; Telles 2004; Bailey, Loveman, and Penner 2013). Consequently, these existing studies assume, by the virtue of not separating men and women in their analysis, or by focusing on the experiences of men and generalizing to the whole society, that the social construction of "brownness" is gender neutral. In Chapter 5, I break convention by focusing on the experiences of women, which scholars largely neglect. Specifically, I build on existing evidence from qualitative and survey research, which shows that brown (pardo) men and women have different stereotypes in society, thus potentially leading to different treatment in key social institutions, such as the labor market. One hypothesis is that the basis for the "mulatta" advantage is related to feminine standards of beauty and aesthetics, which tend to favor brown women over black women. Using different occupational categories, including one that values "appearance" and one that does not, I examine empirically the contexts in which brown skin is likely to lead to an advantage over dark skin. Thus, my dissertation breaks from conventional wisdom by adopting an intersectional approach. I take into account the social construction of gender and sexuality in Brazil to examine the basis for the "mulatta" advantage in entry-level, semi-skilled jobs.

In Chapter Six, I conclude the dissertation by reflecting on the key empirical findings related to the different patterns of discrimination observed, while pointing the way towards new directions for future research. The conclusion draws together central arguments and findings to suggest a preliminary answer to the question of whether and how skin tone shapes labor market outcomes. To anticipate, the research and analysis in this dissertation suggests that skin color discrimination exists in a low-wage, semi-skilled labor market, but it affects men and women differently. Moreover, skin color matters the most among the dark-skinned job applicants that are perceived as having low class status, and among women. Having a low-class status seem to increase the callback rates for light-skin women, while decreasing the chances of getting a callback for medium-skin and dark-skin women. Having a middle-class status reduces the white-brown and white-black gaps in callback rates for employment among women. For men, however, skin color does not affect the chances of getting a callback among low class status applicants. The findings for men supports the "income-contingent" hypothesis, which predicted that in low-wage occupations, skin color would not affect employment outcomes. This dissertation shows that the "glass-ceiling" for women of color in Brazil is entering semi-skilled, white-collar occupations, while the "glass-ceiling" for men of color is likely the more skilled, professional occupations. The dissertation also provides evidence that the 'mulatto" advantage exists in Brazil, but it is contingent on occupational contexts and moderated by class status and gender. Thus, by examining the interactive effects of race (skin color), class-status, and gender, this dissertation is able to show *when* and *how* skin color predicts labor market outcomes in contemporary Brazil.

Chapter Two
Methodological Strategy and Research Design

Scholars have relied primarily on four methods to examine discrimination in the labor market: employers' perceptions, self-reports of discrimination by employees, wage regression analysis, and audit studies. The research on employers' perception relies on interviews with employers to investigate how the job applicant's race and gender influenced hiring preferences (Kirschenman and Neckerman 1991; Browne and Kennelly 1999; Shih 2002). Kirschenman and Neckerman (1991), for instance, interviewed employers and they found that employers often do not refer to race directly but rather talk about race in coded terms. They found that employers view black applicants as less dependable, less productive, and less competent. Employers do not openly admit that they discriminate, but rather they say that they are making employment decisions based on whether they believe that applicants have the skills to do the job well, such as hard and soft skills (Moss and Tilly 1996). One shortcoming with this method is that it examines what employers say, and not what they do.

Similarly, studies that rely on self-reports of discrimination, in which respondents provide a detailed description of their experiences with racial discrimination (Silva and Reis 2011), or based on survey data, where respondents provide a level of agreement about their experiences with racial discrimination (Telles 2014), also focus on the employees' perception of discrimination, but not what employers do. Furthermore, the employers' perception and self-reports of discrimination approaches are limited in their ability to actually measure discrimination accurately because individuals rarely express their true opinions about race when asked. To illustrate this point, findings from a nationally representative survey of Brazilians reveal that while 89 percent of Brazilians believe that whites (*brancos*) have prejudice against blacks (negros), only 10 percent of respondents say that they have prejudice against blacks (DATAFOLHA 1994). This finding shows the difficulty of measuring discriminatory behavior and opinion in Brazil, a country that has celebrated "racial democracy" for most of the twentieth century and expressions of racial prejudice tend to go against this idealized image of a racially egalitarian society.

In the third method, researchers use survey data to estimate racial discrimination in the labor market and take the "unexplained gap," that is, the difference in wages after controlling for personal (e.g. marital status) and job-related characteristics (e.g. education and years of experience), in wage regressions. As Altonji and Blank (1999: 3191) explain, however, wage regressions are limited since researchers only have "crude proxies" to measure skills and abilities. There are a range of human capital related variables that are not visible to researchers who use statistical analysis, but nonetheless visible to employers when making employment decisions. In particular, if there are variables that are omitted from wage regressions which are related to human capital or personal tastes, but which are correlated with wages, the "unexplained gap" will likely overstate racial discrimination (Altonji and Blank 1999). Some of the "unobservable variables" might be directly related to productivity, such as the type of education, the type of experience, and additional skills (e.g. computer software skills).

In order to circumvent the limitations of past research on racial discrimination in Brazil, my dissertation adopts a field experimental approach. Field experiments combine experimental methods with real-life contexts to better isolate and understand causal mechanisms. The key component of experimental research is random assignment of people to treatment and control

groups. This random assignment ensures that the treatment and control groups are different only due to chance. Randomly assigning subjects to different treatment conditions avoids the problem of selection bias, which leads the treatment to be systematically related to potential outcomes (Gerber and Green 2012). In random assignment, the equivalent groups are then presented with different "treatments," such as race, gender, sexuality, or criminal record, and any differences in responses can be attributed to these factors alone, since any pre-existing differences have been eliminated by randomization. Random assignment allows the researcher to isolate certain variables while manipulating others so that causal inferences can be more effectively drawn (Pager 2007; Riach and Rich 2002). In addition to isolating causal variables more effectively, the researcher also has full control over job-relevant characteristics. Consequently, there is little or no room for ambiguity in terms of "unobservable" variables that might lead to alternative explanations of racial inequality, as is the case with wage regressions. To put it simply, what the researcher sees is what the employer sees. In this dissertation, my goal is to develop a *direct* measurement of racial discrimination in the labor market in Brazil.

Scholars have used social experiments to test for discrimination since the 1970s in over 30 countries (Riach and Rich 2002).[21] Two approaches have been used in field experiments to test discrimination: in-person audits and correspondence tests. The first involves sending real people, called testers, to apply for job ads or housing applications. The correspondence approach involves responding to job ads with written applications or through resumes. In the "in-person" audits, two or more matched pairs of individuals pose as job applicants or homebuyers. The testers are matched on objective characteristics, such as age, weight, physical attractiveness, and communication skills. The testers are also trained to familiarize themselves with their roles.

Although the use of real people to pose as real job seekers or homebuyers represents a very elaborate simulation of the real world, it is not devoid of limitations. One important critique of the 'in-person' approach is related to its inability to fully match the pair of testers in all productivity-determining qualities. Although scholars have made great efforts to match auditors by carefully selecting them according to objective criteria (age, weight, height, diction, and appearance), as well as subjective characteristics (interpersonal skills), it is impossible to ensure that all aspects of the testers' performance are identical during interactions with employers. Moreover, the 'in-person' tests are not 'double-blind' (Bertrand and Mullainathan 2004). As Heckman and Siegelman (1993) point out, testers are instructed on issues of discrimination during training, which might influence their behavior when interacting with employers. Consequently, the tester's knowledge about the goals of the experiment could alter their interactions with employers, thus potentially biasing the results. The techniques in 'correspondence tests' circumvent these problems. By fully matching the content and style of resumes, the researcher is able to ensure strict equivalence between testers. Moreover, the testers are free of any motivational issues (Bertrand and Mullainathan 2004).

The 'correspondence test' approach involves sending carefully matched pairs of written job applications or resumes in response to job vacancies, usually advertised through newspapers. All job-related characteristics are closely matched so that the only effective distinguishing characteristic is race (or sex, age, disability, national origin, or physical attractiveness). In order to control for the possibility that the particular style or content of the resume might affect employers' response, the resumes are randomly assigned and alternated between the three racial groups. The benefits of the 'correspondence test' are manifold. First, the researcher can exercise

[21] To my knowledge, no such studies have been conducted in Latin America.

precise control over the content of resumes, thus being able to control for any inadvertent bias in the resume types by randomly assigning these to the different groups (Bertrand and Mullainathan 2004; Pager 2007; Riach and Rich 2002). Second, it is considerably less expensive than the in-person audits, since resumes are generally sent electronically over email, and in some rare instances, via regular mail. The cost associated with emails and regular mail is negligible compared to paying real people to apply for jobs. The relatively inexpensive costs associated with sending resumes allow me to send many more job applications, thus including a wider range of occupations and jobs, as well as including another city. Third, correspondence tests do not rely on auditors to potentially skew results. I note that the intellectual impact of this activity is to pilot a method for global use, since previous studies have only used field experiments to study discrimination in the United States and Western Europe.

In this dissertation, I use the correspondence test, but modify its approach in one important regard. Rather than sending out several "matched" resumes, as in Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004), I send out a single resume to each employer. One of the assumptions made by the "matched" pair design is that by sending out several resumes to one employer, the researcher can obtain a full range of potential outcomes for each employer.[22] In practice, however, the responses of each employer/firm do not reveal a set of potential outcomes for each treatment category (e.g. black/low quality resume, white/low quality resume, and so on), but rather a set of potential outcomes that are based on a range of attributes other than race. In the Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004) study, for instance, the researchers did not sent out the same resumes with different "racial" characteristics, but rather used four different resumes with varying characteristics and randomly assigned four names. Resumes classified as "high quality" or "low quality" resumes, for instance, varied on a range of attributes, such as years of work experience, employment gaps and computer skills, among others. For this reason, a firm that seems to discriminate based on the race of the applicant could conceivably have based the decision to offer a callback for interview on other attributes listed on the resume and not on race (Green and Gerber 2012: 399).

Although the matched-pair design offers some evidence of discrimination at the firm level (e.g. within-subjects), another important set of conclusions are drawn from examining between-subject discrimination at the aggregate level. For instance, Pager's research (2003) found that whites without a criminal record have a higher chance of getting a callback than blacks without a criminal record. Pager based her conclusions on the percentage callback rates at the aggregate level, rather than on a matched pair between whites without a criminal record and blacks with a criminal record.[23] Similarly, Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004) provided the callback rates for whites and blacks (with varying resume qualities) at the aggregate level as evidence that whites receive higher callback rates.

Another practical issue with sending out several resumes to each employer is detection. Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004) were able to avoid detection by varying a range of resume qualities. However, Pager (2002: 42) explains that her choice for sending out only two resumes (as opposed to four to capture all four potential outcomes) was to avoid detection. Because I

[22] For instance, the researcher is able to estimate the average treatment effect of a "black" resume or "white" resume when all employers receive all four treatments (e.g. black applicant with low quality resume, black applicant with high quality resume, white applicant with low quality resume, and white applicant with high quality resume).
[23] Pager (2002, 2003) matched a pair of African American applicants, one with and one without a criminal record, and a pair of White applicants, one with and one without a criminal record to each employer, but not four applicants with varying race and criminal background characteristics.

have 12 potential outcomes, it would be difficult to create very similar resumes without avoiding detection (see also Rivera and Tilcsik 2016: 1104). Based on the reasons described above, I chose to send out the exact same resume to employers for a given occupation. Such strategy allows me to fully test for the effects of skin color, class background, and gender in hiring while controlling for resume qualifications. It allows me to examine the full range of potential outcome (based on the race, class, and gender variables) between employers at the aggregate level.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Signaling "Racial" Background on Resumes

Past research has used different strategies to signal the identity of the fictitious job applicant, such as accents, distinctive ethnic or racial names, birth-places, and participation in ethnic or racial organizations. These ways of signaling race would not work well in Brazil because they do not necessarily correlate to a particular "race." For example, unlike in the United States, where there is a strong correlation between certain names and race (Bertrand and Mullainathan 2004), most Afro-descendents in Brazil have Portuguese-sounding names, the same as white Brazilians.[24] Similarly, participation in "black" organizations is rare in Brazil, which may not be an effective method of signaling race. For my dissertation, I use photographs to signal the race of the fictitious job applicant.[25] This is a novel approach to signal the race of applicants in field experiments.

The use of photographs to screen out job applicants coincided with the development of the more subtle strategy by employers to solicit "good appearance" ("boa aparência") on job applications in the 1950s.[26] Over time, the term "boa aparência" (good appearance) symbolized racial meanings and it became entwined with the exigencies of the market: "boa aparência" became increasingly associated with good physical appearance, such as clean teeth and hygiene, "good" personal conduct, trustworthiness, and caring for service jobs. For higher-skilled and professional occupations, "boa aparência" became linked to "activeness," "intelligence," and "ambitiousness," all qualities associated with the notions of "whiteness" (Damasceno 2000: 191).

The practice of soliciting "good appearance" and a photograph in job applications became widespread[27] and an effective mechanism for racial exclusion in the job market. After nearly 60 years of existence, the subtle practice of racial exclusion through soliciting photos and "good appearance" in job ads came under attack by civil rights activists and policy-makers, who argued that they are an effective mechanism of racial exclusion. It was not until 2005, when federal senator Paulo Paim (PT-RS) introduced Law 6204/05, which, among other laws

[24] Also see Brown and Gay (1985), Hubbuck and Carter (1980), McIntosh and Smith (1974), and Jackson (2009) for the use of distinctive names to test for discrimination in European contexts.

[25] Only a small number of audit studies have used photographs to examine discrimination against ethnic minorities in France (Bovenkerk et al 1979), physical attractiveness in Israel (Ruffle and Shtudiner 2010), and gender discrimination in Austria (Weichselbaumer 2004).

[26] After World War II in Brazil, job ads rarely made reference to "color" in any explicit way, except in domestic and servant jobs, in which references to "of color" were still used. The term "boa aparência" (good appearance) became dominant in the post-war period, especially in low skilled white-collar occupations (e.g. receptionist, sales, as well as in higher skilled and professional jobs (e.g. accountant or mechanical engineer) (Damasceno 2000: 183-87). For these jobs, no reference to color or race was made, but rather "good appearance."

[27] The use of pictures on job applications was rarer in the 1950s and more commonly used in higher skilled occupations such as engineers (Damasceno 2000:183).

protecting and expanding the rights of Afro-Brazilians,[28] proposed that employers be prohibited to solicit "good appearance" and photos on job applications and resumes. The proposed Bill (Law 6204/05) did not pass the Brazilian Congress until September of 2010.[29]

In spite of this, many employers continue to ask job applicants to attach a picture with their resume. A brief survey of one of the main online job search engines in Rio de Janeiro[30] shows that the practice of soliciting photos is still common, and in some cases soliciting "good appearance," although many employers do not solicit either one. According to human resources managers, attaching a picture on resumes for jobs that do not explicitly ask for it is entirely optional, but they add that doing so could represent a "competitive advantage" in the hiring process.[31] Human resources managers in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo informed me that it is common for job applicants to attach a picture on their resume, especially if solicited in the job ad.[32] Given that some employers solicit photos while others do not, it is plausible to believe that the former are more likely to discriminate based on appearance and race.

Conceptualization, Operationalization, and Measurement of "Race"

Scholars argue that race is a social construction, which is shaped by a wide range of factors, such as local context, social cues, institutional and bureaucratic definitions, and cultural understandings (Cornell and Hartman 1988; Harris and Sim 2002; Jenkins 1994). Since race is a social construction, scholars have adopted different ways to operationalize and measure "it" in quantitative studies. As Bailey, Loveman, and Muniz (2013) demonstrate, different operationalization strategies, such as the use of self-classification, other-classification, and through hypo-descent/ ancestry, lead to different patterns of racial inequality (see also Roth 2016). Different measures and dimensions of race to study inequality offer a useful source of analytical leverage to study racial inequality (Loveman, Bailey, and Muniz 2013; Roth 2016; for a cross-national comparison, see also Bailey, Saperstein, and Penner 2014). However, there is a case to be made that other-classification is a more effective measurement when studying racial discrimination (Telles and Lim 1998; Roth 2016). This is because discrimination is based on how others perceive and interpret one's physical and social characteristics, and not how one self-classifies.

Scholars argue that "race" in Brazil is best understood in terms of physical characteristics rather than ancestry or genetic background (Degler 1971; Harris 1964a; Pierson 1967; Telles 2004; Telles and Paschel 2014), and that racial/color distinctions are between lighter and darker skin individuals (Telles 2014). Describing discrete categories in Brazil is difficult, as people rely on several markers to classify others, including skin tone, hair type, and the size of nose and lips (Butler 1998). There are brancos (whites) who have loose curly hair and tanned skin or pardos (browns) with straight hair and tanned skin. This is particularly salient at the margins, as boundaries around race or color blur. However, there exists a continuum of differences of

[28] Land acquisition, racial quotas for public school students in public universities, racial quotas in political parties.
[29] http://www.camara.gov.br/sileg/integras/624843.pdf
[30] www.empregosrj.com.br, July 2011
[31] Thomas A. Case, the American-born founder of Catho Online (the largest online job search engine in Brazil) explains that attaching a photo on the resume is optional, and that job applicants could do so if they believe that their "appearance" in the photo represents "in whatever ways," a "competitive advantage" (Case 2004: 85).
[32] I consulted with human resource managers in July 2011. In some instances, human resource managers downplayed the importance of photographs in the selection process after mentioning that it is a common practice among job seekers. This might be due to the fact that they could be liable for admitting that photos could influence the selection process.

characteristics along which a few of these features may be described as typical. For example, those who have straight hair and light skin tone are typically seen as white; having dark skin, full lips and broad nose, and tightly curled hair are often seen as black.[33] A recent study shows that lighter-skinned, brown-skinned, and the darker-skinned individuals are consistently categorized as white, brown, and black, respectively, suggesting a "physical characteristic" perspective of the census categories (Bailey 2009: 63).

Although scholars disagree on whether racial categories or skin color categories should be used (see Banton 2012; Wade 2012; Telles 2012), the use of skin color is appropriate because it recognizes a "continuum of differences among individuals" (Banton 2012: 1112), rather than imposing certain boundaries onto social constructs that may or may not reflect actual social groups.[34]Although skin color alone is not the only phenotypical feature used to discriminate (or to categorize by race), it is the primary factor in categorization and classification (Bailey 2009; Feliciano 2016; Telles 2014). Using skin color to measure race is consistent with a growing body of research on skin tone stratification and discrimination in Latin American and the United States (Keith and Herring 1991; Telles and Murguia 1989; Gullickson 2005; Telles 2014; Bailey, Saperstein, and Penner 2014; Bailey, Fialho, and Penner 2015; Monk 2014, 2016). However, my methodological approach differs from these existing studies in one important regard. Whereas existing studies of skin color stratification rely on survey data, which provides an *indirect* measurement of discrimination, I implement a skin color measurement within a field experimental design.

The work by the Project on Ethnicity and Race in Latin America (PERLA) and its team of researchers, for instance, used a color palette to identify the skin color of respondents in nationally representative samples (Telles and Flores 2012; Telles 2014).[35] Although innovative in many ways, the skin color palette still has limitations. As noted above, other physical characteristics, such as size of lips, shape of nose, and type of hair, interact with one's skin tone to give a particular perception of one's race. A person might be classified as "darker" or "lighter" depending on these characteristics. When interviewers "matched" the skin color of respondents to the color palette, they may or may not have been influenced by these physical characteristics. Moreover, these physical features other than skin tone, even if recorded properly, are visible to employers when making hiring decisions, but not visible to researchers when conducting empirical analysis. In addition to other phenotypical features, the observer (interviewer) recording the skin tone may also be influenced by contextual factors, such as the person's accent, attire, and clothing. As Roth (2016: 1316) points out, one major limitation of surveys that rely on color palettes is that they do not "provide enough information to reveal whether the observed race [or skin color] measure reflects interviewers' assessments based on appearance or interactions [with contextual factors]." Moreover, the timing of when the survey is taken place, either at the beginning or at the end of the interview, can determine which category is recorded. If recorded at the beginning of the survey, interviewers have less information that can shape

[33] Email Interview with Stanley Bailey, 2012.

[34] For a different perspective, see Wade (2012), who argues that skin color is "too narrow" of a measure and that racial categories involve other features, such as hair type and cultural traits, thus making the use of categories a more powerful measure. For a literature on the inconsistency of racial categories in Brazil, see Carvalho et al. (2004), Harris et al. (1993), Wood (1991), Lovell and Wood (1998), and Sansone (1993b).

[35] Interviewers used the color palette to "match" the facial color of respondents and classify them accordingly, with "1" indicating the lightest tone to "11," indicating the darkest skin tone (Telles 2014).

categorization, but if done so at the end, it could be influenced by a number of contextual factors (Roth 2016; see also Villarreal 2012: 500).

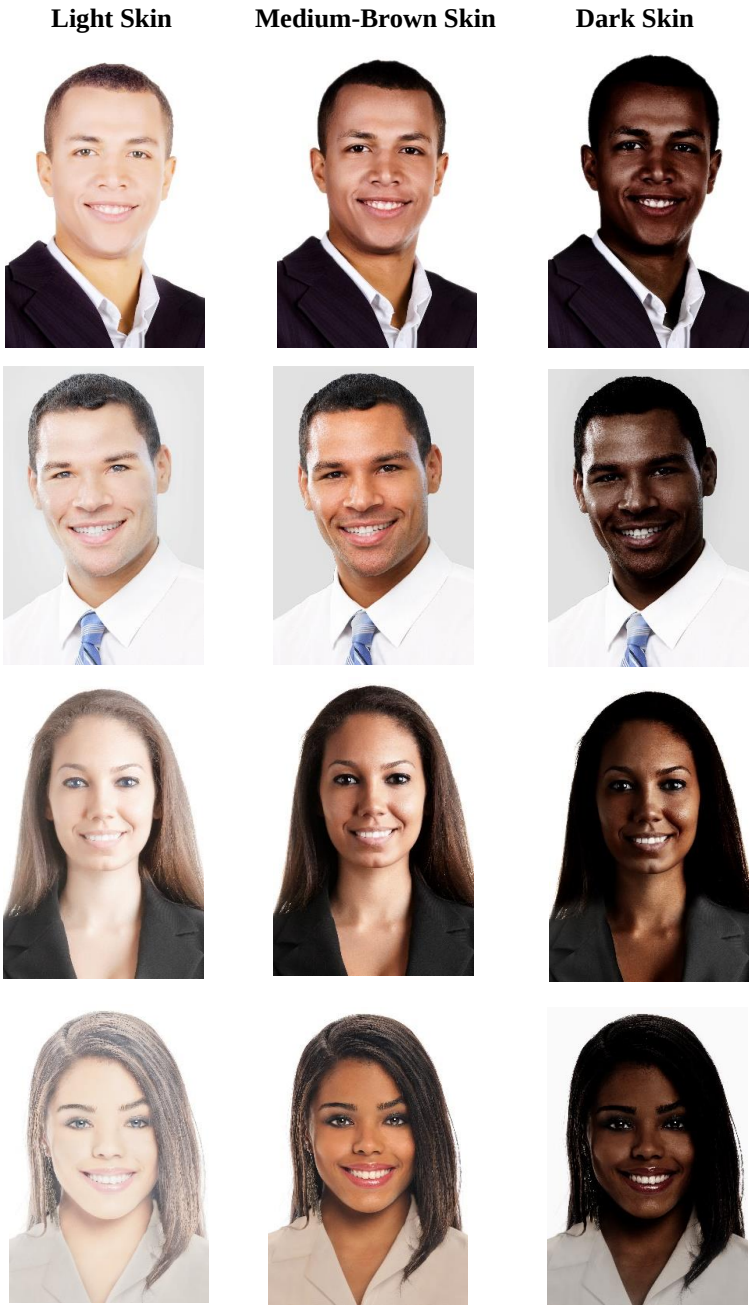
Most of the existing studies that use skin color measurements to assess discrimination and inequality rely on observer or interviewer-rated skin color (e.g. Telles 2014; Telles and Paschel 2014; Bailey, Fialho, and Penner 2015). Rarely, scholars use self-reported skin color to assess discrimination (Roth 2016). One recent work in this area by Monk (2015) demonstrates that self-reported skin color is a more effective predictor than interviewer-rated skin color in assessing perceived discrimination. One obvious limitation of studying perceived discrimination is that it does not capture discrimination as it occurs in the real world and across different social institutions, but rather relies on how individuals internalize discrimination.

My approach circumvents the aforementioned methodological and measurement limitations in several regards. First, my methodological approach and design allows me to keep constant (e.g. to control for) other physical features (e.g. hair type, size of lips, shape of nose) while manipulating skin tone in order to examine its effects. Rather than relying on interviewer-rated skin color, which, as I explain above, could be influenced by contextual factors that are unaccounted for, I can see exactly the skin color that employers see, thus increasing consistency and decreasing significantly measurement errors. Moreover, I also signal one class status indicator on the fictitious resumes, which I describe in more detail below, by using specific first and last names, which allows me to evaluate how class status moderates the effects of skin color in real world situations.[36] Importantly, the experimental design that I adopt here allows me to fully control for any unobserved contextual factors by using the exact same resume (for each occupation) for all skin color categories, gender, and class statuses. In short, my measurement strategy allows me to see exactly the same skin tone as the employer, unlike the color palette strategy in which the research has to rely on the interviewer's classification. Thus, my measurement and operationalization strategy allows me to *directly* examine the effects of skin color on employment outcomes.

For the purposes of methodological clarity and consistency of measurement, I divide the photographs used in this study into three color categories: light-skin, medium-skin, and dark-skin. In order to control for the effects of other physical features, such as shape of nose, type of hair, and size of lips, I use the same photograph but manipulate only the skin tone. I selected a wide range of photographs from an online depository and full photography release was granted. The photographs were selected on the basis of age, apparent physical fitness, similar physical attractiveness, dress, body position (e.g. looking straight), and facial expression. A focus group made up of graduate students helped select four photographs (two for each gender) that matched the qualities described above. After selecting the photographs, a Photoshop professional was hired to manipulate the skin tone of each photograph to make it look "natural." After manipulating the skin tone for each of the four photographs, I ended up with a total of 12 photographs: four photographs for the *light-skin* category, four photographs for the *medium-skin* category, and four photographs for the *dark-skin* category. The 12 photographs are shown in Figure 4.

[36] As opposed to laboratory experiments and simulations (e.g. Freeman et al. 2011).

Figure 4. Photographs Used to Signal Skin Color Categories.



Signaling the Class Status on Resumes

As discussed above, one of the key improvements in measurements here is the extent to which skin color is manipulated after controlling for other physical characteristics which might affect the perception of one's "race." In addition to physical characteristics, one's social class background might also influence the perception of one's race. Scholars have long argued that socioeconomic status influences the perception of one's phenotype (i.e. skin color) by others (Freeman et al. 2011; Harris 1964a; Sansone 1993a; Silva 1994; Wagley 1965; Telles and Lim 1998; Telles 2004; Saperstein and Penner 2012; Saperstein and Penner 2013; Schwartzman 2007). One of the first scholars to capture this dynamic was Wagley (1965), who argued that in Brazil, "the social racial types are defined on the basis of physical appearance as modified in their perception by the total social status of the individual" (542). Recent scholarship has found similar processes in the United States (Freeman et al. 2011; Saperstein and Penner 2012). Freeman et al (2011) found that individuals often rely on class or social status indicators, such as attire, to classify by race. Moreover, Freeman and colleagues (2011) found that the effect of social status on classification is more salient for individuals with ambiguous racial appearance.

In spite of established scholarship on the endogeneity of class status and "race," Telles and Paschel (2014) found little empirical support for the "money whitens" hypothesis in Latin American countries. In Brazil, class status, measured in terms of wealth and education, both whitens and darkens individual self-classification. The effect of socioeconomic status (SES) seems to "whiten" only among individuals who are at the white/pardo boundary, while *higher* SES seems to "darken" those in the pardo/black boundary. That is, Telles and Paschel (2014) found evidence that money darkens individuals at pardo/black boundaries, contrary to the "money whitens" hypothesis. Telles and Paschel (2014: 887, 897) hypothesize that this "polarization" of racial boundaries in Brazil could be the result of recent multi-racial and race-based affirmative action policies, which encourages individuals with higher levels of education to self-identify as "black" and move away from the "pardo" category.

Being able to account for the endogeneity of class status and "race" (phenotype) in shaping racial perceptions is crucial if one wants to measure discrimination. Whether "money whitens" (Harris 1964a; Sansone 1993a; Silva 1994; Wagley 1965; Telles and Lim 1998; Telles 2002, 2004; Saperstein and Penner 2012; Saperstein and Penner 2013; Schwartzman 2007) or "darkens" (Telles and Paschel 2014), not fully accounting for this relationship empirically could potentially overestimate or underestimate the racial gap in the labor market. If "money whitens" (and "poverty darkens"), as the bulk of the literature predicts, the wages of browns are actually higher than estimated, given that upwardly mobile browns were classified or self-classified as white, thus inflating white wages. Similarly, upward mobile blacks were classified or self-classified as brown, thus deflating the average income of blacks. If Telles and Paschel (2014) are correct, and higher SES actually "darkened" browns (they self-identified as black), then the average wages for browns are higher than scholars estimate. This could potentially overestimate or underestimate the racial gap in Brazil, and, importantly, lead to misleading conclusions about the extent of racial discrimination. In order to circumvent this problem, my dissertation incorporates a class status cue on the fictitious resumes to examine empirically whether class status moderates racial (e.g. skin color) discrimination. Analytically, it moves beyond an analysis of how class status shapes racial *classification* (e.g. Telles and Paschel 2014; Telles and Lim 1998; Saperstein and Penner 2012; Penner and Saperstein 2013; Freeman et al 2011), to how class status moderates skin color *discrimination*.

This dissertation follows Jackson's (2009: 672) conceptualization and operationalization of class status. Rather than using a social scientific definition of class, such as those which are highly correlated with factors such as educational background, wealth, and income, this dissertation uses a lay definition of class as either "middle class" or "lower class." One can signal class status on a resume in several ways, such as neighborhoods, by the type of school attended (e.g. private or public), or names. Jackson (2009) operationalized class in three ways on the resumes that she sent to British employers: name, school type, and interests (see also Rivera and Tilcsik 2016). For this dissertation, I chose to use names as the only factor to signal class background. Although school type would have potentially signaled class status effectively, it could also signal better job-related qualifications and therefore affect the callback rates. The use of the applicant's personal interests was not feasible since it is not customary to include such information on the resume in Brazil. Another potential alternative to names was the use of neighborhood to indicate class status. The issue with this strategy is that neighborhoods in Brazil are heterogeneous as "poor" residents might live in middle class neighborhoods, and middle class families may live in largely "poor" areas.

Scholars have used names to signal ethnic and racial background on job applications (e.g. Bertrand and Mullainathan 2004). In some societies, names can be strong signals of class background (Lieberson 2000; Jackson 2009). According to Scottini (2012), many names in Brazilian society are strongly associated with class background. An illustrative example, though far from academic, is an online parody in which a woman from a lower class background was trying to find her name on a can of Coca-Cola. The grocery store worker mocked her in presuming that her "lower class" name would be on a "quality" can of soda, and that she should instead look for her name on a "low quality" soda.[37]

I use a list of first and last names from the list that Scottini (2012) compiled for his analysis of typical names found in public and in private schools. I selected ten names from the lists of most typical names in public schools and randomly matched these names with the most common last names in public schools. I performed the same randomization for the most typical first and last names in private schools. Only Portuguese sounding names (with clear Portuguese heritage) were selected in order to avoid the potential confounding variable of race to signal class status. This is because a few first and last names have a strong ethno-racial background as a result of international migration to Brazil from Italy, Germany, Lebanon, and Japan. These names would signal class background but also ethnoracial background, and therefore were excluded. In order to confirm the validity of the association between names and class status, I created a short survey with a list of ten first and last names for men, and ten first and last names for women, with two questions asking respondents to assign a class background to each name.[38] In one question, respondents were asked to rank the names according to social scientific definitions of class status in Brazil, such as "class A" (upper class), "class B" (middle class)," "class C" (lower class). On a second question, respondents were also asked to rank the names, but in terms of educational achievement (3=college, 2=high school, 1=no high school). For the two questions, I added the two scores and created an average. The two first and last names with

[37] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NZb0XKHgtjo

[38] I traveled to Brazil in 2014 and conducted a convenience sample of 27 respondents at shopping malls. A sample of the survey used can be found in Appendix B.

the highest overall averages were selected to represent the "middle class" sounding names.[39] The two first and last names with the lowest scores were selected to represent the "lower-class" status on the resume (Table 1).

Table 1. Selected Names for Lower and Middle Class Status

Class Status	Men	Women
Lower Class Status	Gleison da Conceição	Graziela da Conceição
	Cleberson do Nascimento	Crislaine do Nascimento
Middle Class Status	Arthur Meirelles	Sofia Meirelles
	Heitor Vasconcelos	Luísa Vasconcelos

Responding to Job Ads

In order to maximize the number of job ads, I used several sources to obtain access to job listings in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. I chose these two cities because they are the two largest metropolitan cities in Brazil, and, therefore, could yield the greatest number of job ads to which I could respond. For São Paulo, I used the online and print versions of *Folha de São Paulo* and the *Estado de São Paulo*, in addition to two online job bank websites: *empregasampa*, *vivaanuncios*, and *zap*. For Rio de Janeiro, I used the print and online versions of *O Globo*, as well as the online job bank websites *empregosrj*, *vivalocal*, *O Dia Classificados/O Globo*, *empregacarioca*, and *riovagas*.[40] For each job ad, with the help of an undergraduate research assistant,[41] I logged the occupation, name and contact information for each employer (email address, and phone number if available), any information on the specific requirements advertised in the ad.

Creating the Bank of Resumes

The main goal is to create resumes that are good approximations of real job seekers in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro to increase the external validity of the experiment. I begin by using resumes that are posted online at www.monster.com.br and at www.linkedin.com from real job applicants as templates. I remove the name, address, and contact information from real resumes,

[39] The full list of names with the averages for the two class-based questions and composite scores can be found in Appendix C.

[40] Although I could not find the exact number of job seekers that find jobs through online and print job ads, such as the ones I used in this project, one research estimated that 44 percent of job seekers obtain jobs through social networks. The remaining 56 percent of job seekers rely on a variety means, such as online and newspaper (print) job postings, as well as through private companies that "match" resumes to employers (e.g. CATHO online) (Source: http://noticias.r7.com/educacao/noticias/pesquisa-revela-que-44-das-pessoas-conseguem-emprego-por-indicacao-20100618.html).

[41] One UC Berkeley undergraduate research assistant, Christina Y. Kim, helped collect the data from October 2014 to May 2015.

and also alter the educational information and previous employers in order so that the resumes are a reasonable approximation of job seekers, yet distinct from the actual resumes. The initial step in selecting the templates is to look at dozens of resumes and select those which look "competitive," judging by the qualifications, work experience (e.g. consistent work history with little or employment holes), and educational background (e.g. college, some college, courses, specialization, and seminars attended). Resumes with little or no relevant experience and training were not selected in order to increase the chances of callbacks. After a preliminary review of over one hundred resumes, one resume for each of the five occupational categories was selected: receptionist, secretary, administrative assistant, sales, and real estate agent.

I chose these occupations because they are the most abundant in the job advertisements from newspapers and online, thus increasing the availability of jobs that could be used in the experiment. Other occupations, such as manual and unskilled jobs (e.g. driver, waiter/waitress, doorman, custodial work) often do not require a resume, but employers rather ask prospective job applicants to appear in person at specified dates and times listed on job ads. Such jobs would require in-person testers for the experiment, consequently, increasing the costs associated with running the field experiment significantly. I also exclude skilled and professional jobs because they often do not advertise job openings in more accessible sources, such as newspapers and (free) online job repositories, but rather through postings from professional associations and networks. Lastly, the entry-level, white-collar occupations that I use here have been used in prior research (e.g. Bertrand and Mullainathan 2004), which allows for a degree of cross-national comparison.

Together, the five occupations (administrative assistant, sales, receptionist, real estate agent, and secretary) make up 14 percent and 15 percent of the workforce in São Paulo and in Rio de Janeiro, respectively (IBGE 2010). According to the 2010 Brazilian Census, the majority of individuals employed in these five occupations were "white," followed by browns. A small percentage of workers in these occupations were "black" (Table 2). Although most individuals employed in these occupations combined are women (62 percent), men represent nearly 47 percent of all individuals employed in Sales jobs, and nearly 40 percent of those employed in clerical and administrative assistant occupations. Men are overrepresented in real estate agent jobs (65 percent), and the overwhelming majority of secretaries and receptionists are women (86 percent and 84 percent, respectively) (Table 2). The majority of individuals employed in the five occupations are white, ranging from 55 percent for receptionists, to over 70 percent for real estate agents. Browns have the second largest representation with about 20 percent for real estate agent to around 35 percent for receptionist and sales. These who self-classify as black had the lowest representation in the five occupational categories.

Table 2. Selected Occupations-Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, 2010

Occupations	White	Brown	Black	Male	Female
Sales	56.1%	35%	7.2%	47%	53%
Receptionist	55.3%	35.9%	7.7%	16.3%	83.7%
Clerical and Administrative Assistant	62%	29.2%	7.3%	38%	62%
Secretary	68.6%	23.8%	5.7%	14%	86%
Real Estate Agent	74.5%	19%	4%	65.2%	34.8%
Total	59.4%	7%	32%	37.9%	62.1%

Source: Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE 2010).

Recording Callbacks and Interpreting the Results

For each skin color category (light, medium, and dark), gender (male, female), social status ("poor" and "middle-class"), and city (São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro), one email address and phone number were assigned to each cell. The phone numbers are based on virtual phone lines with only active voice mail.[42] I set up email addresses and virtual voice mail for each of the skin color, class status, gender, and city categories so that callback rates can be recorded as either "callback" or "no-callback." The data collection began in September of 2014 and ended in July of 2015.[43] My plan was to finish data collection in April of 2015, but due to the economic recession, which seem to have gotten worse after the holiday season (December 2014), the number of available jobs decreased gradually. Consequently, in order to achieve the goal to send resumes to 1,200 employers, I had to continue collecting data until July 2015.

BRASIL: SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC CONTEXT

A Brief History: Colony, Empire, and Republic Years

Unlike other countries in Latin America, Brazil was colonized by the Portuguese and not Spain. Brazil's institutional development during the Portuguese colonization period was "slow and erratic." After Napoleon's invasion of Europe (including Portugal) in the early 1800's, the Portuguese royal family fled to Brazil. After acquiring a peaceful independence from Portugal in 1822, Brazil remained a monarchy until 1889. During the Empire Years (1822-1889), Brazil was largely an agricultural society the produced primarily coffee, sugar, cocoa, and cotton for exports. The Brazilian economic elites relied heavily on slave labor to sustain the export sector. In fact, plantation owners in Brazil were the largest importers of African slaves, totaling 4 million slaves brought to Brazil, which corresponded to approximately 40 percent of all slaves brought to the Americas (Reis 1986). The majority of slaves were taken to plantations (engenhos) in the province of Bahia and to the mining regions in Minas Gerais. With such a large

[42] I used VOIP VOIP service to set up the virtual phone lines.

[43] In the first three months of data collection, the availability of jobs were the highest. However, beginning in January of 2015, Brazil has witnessed a declining economy and increasing political unrest. The number of jobs available to apply declined somewhat and it lengthened data collection timeframe.

slave population, the Brazilian state and its elites lived in constant fear of slave uprisings and rebellions.

Between 1889 and 1930, Brazil experimented with Republicanism, but this experiment failed and led to the rise of a centralizing government led by President Getúlio Vargas. In 1937, Vargas closed democratic institutions and became an official ruler until 1945. The Vargas tenure as a "soft dictator" included mobilizing the emerging urban labor force by creating government-led labor unions (sindicatos). The incorporation of urban workers into the state apparatus sought to exercise control over workers, and, importantly, turn a potential enemy into a reliable ally. In this sense, Vargas orchestrated an economic industrial development in Brazil from the central apparatus of the state (Roett 2010: 38).[44] In the 1940s, Vargas sensed a change in political mood in the country and in 1945, he ordered that a new electoral code was established and that political parties could be organized.

In terms of population growth, Brazil experienced a significant population increase in the 20th century. In 1900, Brazil's population was around 18 million people, with nearly 90 percent living in rural areas. During this period, Brazil was largely an agrarian society. Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo were the largest cities, with 600,000 residents and 250,000 residents, respectively. The growing industries in the early 20th century were mainly textiles and food products for local markets, but nearly 80 percent of the workforce worked in the agricultural sector. One hundred years later, Brazil's population grew to 170 million people, with 11 million living in the São Paulo metropolitan area and 6 million living in Rio de Janeiro metropolitan area. Moreover, less than 20 percent of Brazilians lived in rural areas (Eakin 2015).

Economic Policies and Urbanization: Brief Overview

The rapid industrialization and urbanization in Brazil, and, in particular, in São Paulo and in Rio de Janeiro, began after World War II. Between 1950 and 1990, there were four different industrial periods in Brazil. In the first period, between 1950 and 1962, the Brazilian state implemented import substitution policies to facilitate the increase in consumer goods and basic industries. The period between 1962 and 1967 was characterized by industrial stagnation. Between 1968 and 1973, Brazil's economy went through a process of rapid industrial expansion and modernization. Between 1974 and 1985, the economy relied on import substitution of basic goods, and pursued the expansion of manufactured goods (Baer 1995). The import substitution policies strongly favored the industrial sector and large-scale farming, which significantly reduced the wages of rural workers and displaced small-scale farmers, thus leading to rural-to-urban migration. Urban growth and housing development was characterized by a center-periphery pattern in which the poor and working class residents reside in or near the favelas (shantytowns), which are located on the outskirts of the city, while middle and upper class residents reside near the center (Holston 2008; Caldeira 1996). The social space in the periphery is characterized by poor infrastructure, informality, and insecurity (United Nations Habitat for a Better Future, Study 1).

Contemporary Economy and Political Crises

The Brazilian economy in the 1980's was characterized by high unemployment, economic stagnation, and high debt. The high unemployment helped create a large segment of workers working in the informal sector, in particular those without an employment card (carteira de trabalho), which, as a result, increase the poverty rate (Baltar 1996). In the 1990's, several key state-owned companies were privatized, in particular in the industrial sector (e.g. Vale do Rio

[44] Roett, Riordan. 2010. *The New Brazil.* Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.

Doce, Usiminas, among others), which helped reduce the number of jobs available in this sector, and further increased unemployment.

At the turn of the 20th Century, Brazil's economic development and growth situated the country among the Rapidly Developing Economies (RDE), along with Russia, India, and China. However, in 2015, Brazil experienced a downward pattern toward an economic recession. The unemployment rates increased from 4.9 percent in July of 2014 to 7.5 percent in June of 2015. The economic recession affected women slightly more so than men, as the unemployment rate among men increased by 2.5 percent (from 4.1 percent to 6.6 percent), while among women it increased by 2.8 percent (from 5.8 percent to 8.6 percent) (Proni and Gomes 2015). Most of the Brazilian workforce is employed in the service sector (71 percent), agriculture (15.7 percent), and industry (13.3 percent).[45]

The current economic crises is exacerbated by a political crises related to corruption and bribery of current and former elected officials. In March of 2016, former president Luis Inácio Lula da Silva (2002-2010) was indicted and arrested on charges of corruption and bribes related to the nationalized oil company Petrobras. Over 50 elected officials have been implicated in the Petrobras scandal, which prompted a national outcry and political mobilization throughout Brazil. The current President of Brazil, Dilma Rousseff, is also facing allegations of improper use of public funds, and as of 2016, is fighting off impeachment proceedings.[46]

In spite of the recent economic and political turmoil in Brazil, the macroeconomic policies of former president Luis Inácio Lula da Silva (active president from 2003 to 2011) have led to a reduction of racial and gender inequality in Brazil (Proni and Gomes 2015: 139). The new state interventionist policies under president Lula were successful in reducing the unemployment rate; expanding formal employment, especially in the public sector and large enterprises, the reduction of informal work (through newly enacted labor protections), and the rapid increase of the minimum wage.[47] In spite of these policies, the racial gap in the labor market only changed slowly, as whites continued to enjoy a more privileged position (Proni and Gomes 2015). These policies might have also helped reduce racial inequality, since the income ratio between whites and non-whites (browns and blacks) increased between 2000 and 2010. In 2000, non-whites earned 40 percent of whites' income, but earned 53% in 2010 (IBGE 2010).

Local Contexts: São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro

Rio de Janeiro is officially the site where the Brazilian colonization by the Portuguese began in 1502. Because of its strategic location, in particular its port and trade capabilities, Rio de Janeiro became the capital of Brazil, and, therefore, the main site of economic and political power and influence, during the colonial period (circa 1700), and remained so until 1960.[48] The city of São Paulo, the financial center of Brazil, and of Latin America was the site of the first industrial revolution in Brazil, in particular in the area known as ABCD, which is composed of

[45] Source: https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2048.html#br

[46] Source: http://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/11/world/americas/brazil-seeks-arrest-of-ex-president-da-silva-in-graft-inquiry.html

[47] The main policies were instituted through the Ministry of Labor and Employment (Ministério do Trabalho e Emprego), the Ministry of Public Work (Ministério Público do Trabalho), the Secretariat of Politics for the Promotion of Racial Equality in Brazil (SEPPIR-PR), and the Secretariat of Policy for Women (SPM-PR). All of these newly enacted Ministries and Secretariats worked under the jurisdiction of the Office of the Presidency (Proni and Gomes 2015).

[48] In 1960, the capital of Brazil relocated to the city of Brasília, where it remains so today.

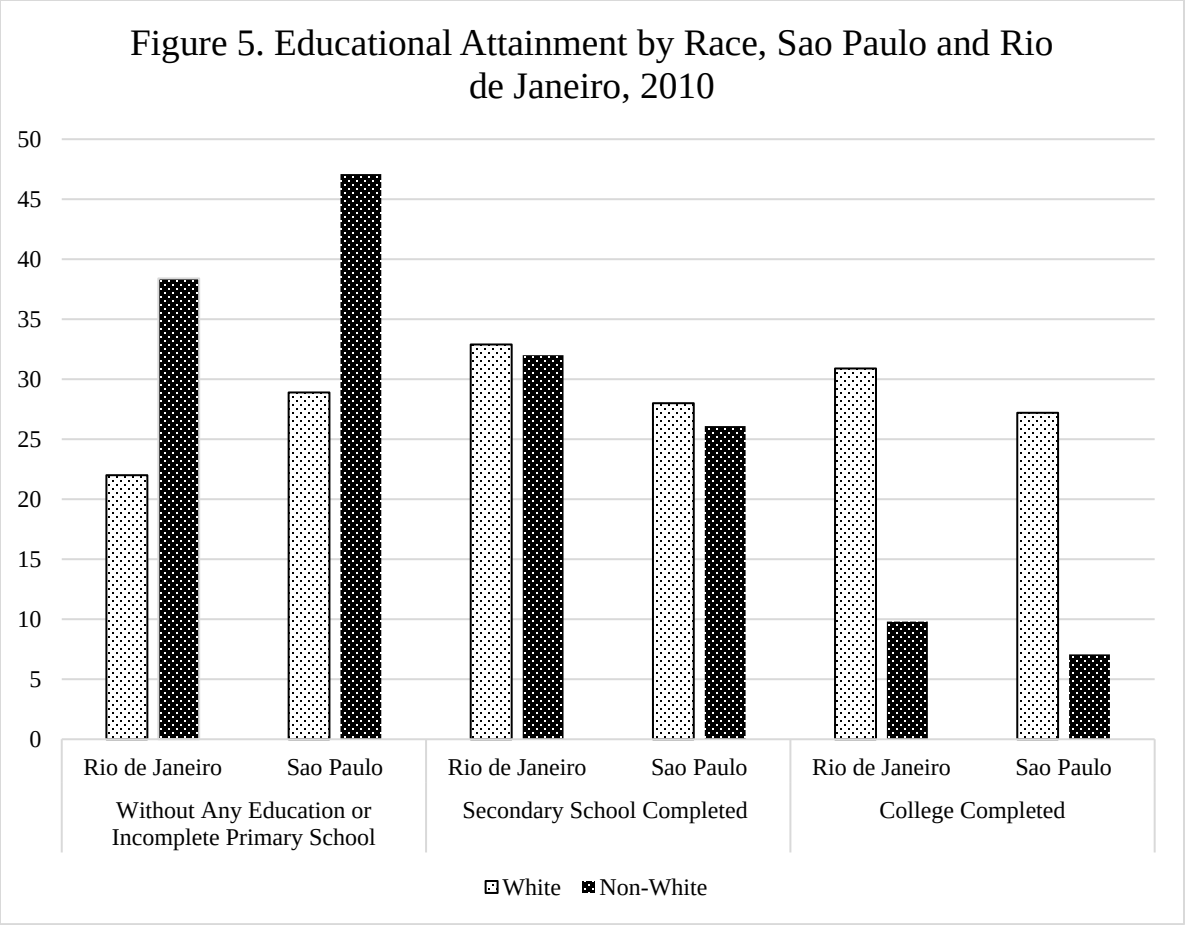
municipalities Santo André, São Bernardo, São Caetano, and Diadema. It was also the site of large Southeastern European immigration in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro are, respectively, the first and second most populated metropolitan areas in Brazil. The total population of Rio's metropolitan area was 6,320,446 in 2010, of which 46 percent self-classified as "white" (branco), 41 percent as "brown" (pardo), and 12 percent as "black" (preto) (IBGE 2010).[49] The total population in São Paulo was 11,253,503 residents, of which 58.7 percent were "white," 33 percent "brown," and 6.4 percent "black" (IBGE 2010).[50] According to the 2010 Brazilian Census, 28 percent and 24 percent of people in São Paulo and in Rio de Janeiro, respectively, lived in poverty. The Gini Indices, which measure the income distribution and helps understand the gap between the wealthy and the poor, are 0.43 for São Paulo and 0.48 in Rio de Janeiro (Source: Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics, IBGE, 2010). The Human Development Indices (HDI), which measure a composite of several factors, such as life expectancy, education, and income, for São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro are 0.799 and 0.805, respectively (IBGE 2010).

In terms of individual schooling, there is a significant gap in educational attainment between whites and non-whites (blacks and browns). In 2010, only 22 percent of whites in Rio de Janeiro and 28.9 percent of whites in São Paulo had not completed primary schooling (through 9th grade). That number was significantly higher for non-whites, with 38.4 percent and 47.1 percent, in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, respectively, who had not completed primary school (Figure 5). In addition to having a higher representation among those without a primary education completed, nonwhites were also less likely to have a college degree. In Rio de Janeiro, nearly one-third of whites have a college degree, while only 9.8 percent of nonwhites have a college degree. In São Paulo, 27.2 percent of whites had a college degree, compared to only 7.07 percent for nonwhites (Figure 5).

In terms of the economic contexts in these two cities, there were 586,289 private corporations registered in São Paulo, with a labor force of 6,099,645 workers. The average monthly salary in São Paulo in 2013 was 1,458 USD. In Rio de Janeiro, there were 204,621 private corporations and the total labor force was 2,920,957 workers. The average monthly income for workers in Rio de Janeiro was 1,467 USD (Source: Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics).[51] In Rio de Janeiro, around 15 percent of individuals worked in semi-skilled white-collar jobs, such as those in clerical, service, and sales jobs, while 14 percent worked in such occupations in São Paulo (IBGE 2010).

[49] The remaining self-classified as Asian (Asiático) and Indigenous (Indígena).
[50] The remaining self-classified as Asian (Asiático) and Indigenous (Indígena).
[51] These estimates are based on the author's calculation, using the average U.S. Dollar to Brazilian Real rate for 2013 as well as the monthly minimum wage in Brazil for 2013, which was R$678.



Source: Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE, 2010).

ANALYTIC STRATEGY

I use logistic regression models to estimate the likelihood associated with getting a callback for interview, that is, the outcome variable Pr(y)=1. Logistic regression models are inherently nonlinear, which makes the interpretation of results more difficult than linear models, since the change, either continuous or discrete, in one of the predictor variables, say x_1, depends on the values of the other predictor variables in the model. This is different than interpretation in linear models, where the marginal effect of x_1, say a discrete change from 0 to 1, increases by the coefficient β, regardless of the values of x and other predictors at the point where the change is measured.

Long and Freese (2014) recommend the use of predictions as the method of interpretation for logistic regression models. I use two approaches here: the use of predictions at specified values and the use of marginal effects. The use of predictions at specified values allows me to summarize how the variables of interest, such as skin color, predict the chances of getting a callback at specified levels of other independent variables. I could examine, for instance, the predictive probability of getting a callback for light, medium-brown, and dark skin applicants at different levels for class status, such as for applicants with "poor" or "middle class" sounding names. The second strategy is to examine the effects of skin color to see how a discrete change in the skin color category, say between light and dark skin, is associated with the changes in

outcome, holding other variables at certain values. These changes are known as the marginal effects. In Chapter Three, I develop two logistic regression models, one without the skin color and class status interaction, and a second model with the skin color and class status interaction. In Chapter Four, I interact the skin color, class status, and gender dummy variables, holding all other variables constant. In Chapter Five, I interact the skin color, class status, and occupational category ("appearance" vs "non-appearance") [52] for a sample of all female applicants. The specific regression models are specified in their respective chapters.

[52] I elaborate on these two occupational types in more detail in Chapter 5.

Chapter 3
Does Skin Color Shape Hiring Decisions In Brazil?

INTRODUCTION

In this Chapter, I ask seek to investigate whether there is skin color discrimination in the Brazilian labor market. In other words, I am interested in examining empirically whether employers use skin color as a factor in making hiring decisions. According to one line of research, the bulk of racial inequalities in Brazil, in particular in the labor market, can be attributed to a range of factors associated with class-based resources, such as class discrimination, social or parental origins, and human capital acquisition, but not racial discrimination per se. Others, however, point to *active* discrimination by stakeholders as having an independent effect on labor market outcomes. In this dissertation, I adjudicate between these competing explanations for racial inequality in Brazil. After fully controlling for productivity-related characteristics, by fully matching and randomizing the fictitious resumes, I examine whether there is skin color bias, and, if so, the extent of discrimination. However, I take it a step further by examining how class status, as measured by class-based names, moderates the effects of skin color. In the paragraphs below, I elaborate on each of the main theoretical perspectives that seek to explain the roots of racial inequality in Brazil.

INEQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITIES OR ACTIVE RACIAL DISCRIMINATION?

Understanding the root causes of racial economic inequality in Brazil (and in Latin America) is a complex process. The lack of institutionalized racism, combined with a dominant discourse around race mixture (*mestiçagem*), has made racial discrimination difficult to measure in the context of Latin America (Telles 2004). Within this framework, the rigid class-structure that characterizes many Latin American countries could have great influence in shaping racial inequality. Brazil, along with other countries in Latin America, is among the most unequal countries in the world. For instance, while the wealthiest 20 percent in Brazil share 60 percent of the total income, the poorest 20 percent share only 3 percent of the total income.[53] These class-based barriers hinder social mobility for all individuals (Behrman, Gaviria, and Székely 2001), especially Afro-Brazilians, who are overrepresented among the very poor (Telles 2004: 220). A key class barrier in the region is access to education. In Brazil, for instance, 43 percent of Afro-Brazilians have not completed primary schooling, compared to 25 percent for whites. Although a similar proportion of whites and Afro-Brazilians completed high school (around 30 percent), whites had a significant advantage over Afro-Brazilians among those who completed a college degree (29 percent and 9 percent, respectively). The advantage that whites have in terms of educational attainment is strongly associated with labor market outcomes. Whites earn on average 53 percent more than Afro-descendants do,[54] are more likely to work in skilled and professional occupations[55], and are less likely to work in the informal sector (Telles 2004). However, scholars and policy-makers disagree on whether these inequalities in the labor market are rooted in class-based barriers, or in active and contemporary discrimination by employers

[53] World Bank (2009).
[54] IBGE 2010
[55] In 2010, 25 percent of Afro-Brazilians were employed in the informal sector, while 16 percent of whites did so (IBGE 2010).

(Bailey 2009; Paschel 2016; Telles 2004). I discuss these theoretical perspectives in more detail below.

The Core Effects of Class-Based Factors

The early scholarship on race relations in Brazil pointed to class position and class-based resources in determining life chances in Brazil, including opportunities in the labor market (Harris 1964; Pierson 1942; Wagley 1969). These findings were consistent with the idea that Brazil was a "racial democracy" (Freyre 1933). Others pointed to the legacies of slavery and the incomplete integration of Afro-Brazilians as a causal explanation for racial inequality, and not contemporary racial discrimination (Furtado 1959; Fernandes 1964; 1971; 1972; Ianni 1966). These studies proposed that once Afro-Brazilians acquired the proper education and skills, racial inequality would disappear.[56]

A more recent body of work points to the intergenerational transmission of (dis)advantage and access to class-based resources as the main factors that shape racial inequality in Brazil (Arcand and D'Hombres 2004; Arias et al 2004; *see* also Torche 2014 and Torche and Spilerman 2009 for a similar argument about Latin America as a region). Arias et al (2004), for instance, shows that the bulk of racial disadvantage in Brazil can be explained by non-whites' lower parental education attainment, education quality, and lower access to class-based social networks. Arcand and D'Hombres (2004) argue that the quality of education (e.g. private vs public) is an unobserved factor that is unaccounted for in wage decomposition analyses, thus potentially explaining the remaining gap in wages that is attributed to racial discrimination. Since whites have, on average, parents with more education, they are more likely to attend better quality schools, and, consequently, their children to attain higher levels of education and experience better returns in the labor market (e.g. higher incomes). Non-whites, on the other hand, are much less likely to have mothers and fathers who are educated (a main predictor), they are less likely to be exposed to educational opportunities, and, consequently, are more likely to be employed in unskilled jobs. Silva (1999: 81) found that once parental background is controlled for, individual schooling determines the extent of *occupational discrimination* in Brazil, that is, the inability to enter the labor market and obtain an appropriate job that is relevant to individual skills.[57] Hasenbalg (2006) points squarely to unequal access to educational opportunities as "the principal factor explaining [racial] disparities in income."[58]

The Independent Effect of Race in the Labor Market

A second body of research, however, shows that racial discrimination has an effect independent of class-based factors. According to some estimates, the racial discrimination residual, measured by the "unexplained gap" in wages, accounts for 39 percent of the income gap between whites and blacks, and 26 percent between whites and browns (Telles and Lim 1998; Telles 2004; see also Bailey, Loveman, and Muniz 2013), even after controlling for human capital characteristics. Afro-Brazilians are also more likely to have lower status jobs, compared to white Brazilians (Monk 2016). Moreover, a recent multi-country study by Bailey, Fialho, and

[56] According to Fernandes (1972: 52-53), whenever non-whites were able to attain the necessary skills and "proper" work orientation, they "found the road open and could fit socially."

[57] Silva (1999b: 73) distinguishes between *wage discrimination*, defined in terms of unequal pay for equal work, and *occupational discrimination*, defined as the barriers that might exist in entering a particular occupation. Silva (1999b) found that wage discrimination exists in Brazil, as whites receive higher incomes for the same work as non-whites. However, relevant to the present study, Silva found that *occupational discrimination* is determined by individual schooling (1999b: 81).

[58] Guimarães (2006: 172).

Penner (2015) has shown that the racial gap in income exists, even after controlling for social origins, such as maternal education. In fact, Bailey and colleagues (2015: 10) found that the differences in income by skin color changed by only 4 percent in Brazil when mother's education was included in the model.[59]

Moreover, several studies show that racial discrimination is contingent on occupational level; it increases as one becomes more educated (Hasenbalg 1985), as income increases (Arcand and D'Hombres 2004; Bailey, Loveman, and Muniz 2013), and among more skilled and professional jobs (Guimarães and Biderman 2004; Ribeiro 2006; Telles 2004). Using quantile regression, Bailey, Loveman, and Muniz (2013) found that, even after using multiple measurements of race, the wage gap was significantly higher among the top income brackets, and not among lower-wage workers, thus suggesting a "glass ceiling" effect at the top (116). These findings, however, contradict Lovell's earlier findings (1989), which showed that the gap attributed to unexplained differences in wages is 77% for blacks and 48% for mulattoes in low-wage occupations, and 30% for blacks and 26% for mulattoes in higher-wage occupations (122), suggesting that racial discrimination affects lower-skilled workers as well.[60]

As the discussion above illustrates, class-based factors alone (e.g. educational) cannot explain away racial inequality in the labor market in Brazil; likewise, we cannot understand racial inequality without taking into account of class-based effects. Evidence from public opinion surveys captures the complexities about the role of race and class-based factors in shaping racial inequalities in Brazil. Although 82 percent of Brazilians believe that "racial discrimination impedes negros [Afro-Brazilians] from getting a job" (Bailey 2009: 98), they point to class as a more important explanation for racial inequality. For instance, nearly 60 percent of Brazilians show agreement to the statement "In Brazil, *negros* [Afro-descendants] are not discriminated against because of their color, but because they are poor" (Bailey 2009: 102).[61] Thus, although ordinary Brazilians recognize that racial discrimination exists in Brazil, most also believe that class-based factors are of great importance.

In this dissertation, I implement a research design that allows me to fully control for human capital-related characteristics to examine whether employers use "race" as a criterion for employment in entry-level, semi-skilled jobs. I focus on entry-level, semi-skilled jobs because the majority of Brazilians, and the vast majority of Afro-Brazilians, work in non-professional jobs (e.g. in entry-level, semi-skilled or unskilled occupations) (Telles and Paixão 2013). What distinguishes whites and Afro-Brazilians in non-professional jobs is the overrepresentation of Afro-Brazilians in the *informal* sector, largely in precarious occupations with very few worker

[59] Bailey, Fialho, and Penner (2015: 10) found some variation regarding the effect of maternal education. In some countries, such as Argentina, the change in income by skin color was only 2 percent after accounting for mother's education, while in Brazil, the United States, Nicaragua, Uruguay, and the Dominican Republic was around 4 percent. In spite of these differences, the main finding that the effect of race is large and significant, even after controlling for maternal education.

[60] These divergent findings could be due to a number of factors. While Lovell (1989) examined the "unexplained" gap in wages by occupational level, Bailey, Loveman, and Muniz (2013) used income quantiles in their analysis. Moreover, these different patterns could be explained by a shift in how "race" is measured at two different points in time (e.g. boundary shifts), as Lovell's data was based on the 1980 Brazilian Census, while recent work relies on more recent survey data (e.g. Bailey, Loveman, and Muniz 2013).

[61] Among Afro-Brazilians, 62 percent showed agreement to the statement, while 57 percent of whites did so (Bailey 2009: 103).

rights (e.g. regular pay, sick pay, unemployment insurance, and retirement benefits).[62] Thus, examining empirically whether race has an effect independent of class-based factors in semi-skilled, entry-level jobs would likely identify a key mechanism that affects a large proportion of Afro-descendants. I ask whether the barriers that Afro-Brazilians face entering entry-level and semi-skilled jobs are due to differences in human capital characteristics, as the class-based model suggests (Hypothesis 1), or if race-based discrimination by employers has an effect independent of class-based factors (Hypothesis 2).

Hypothesis 1: *Once taking into account class-based factors, race plays a negligible role in shaping labor market outcomes.*

Hypothesis 2: *Once taking into account class-based factors, race has an independent role in shaping labor market outcomes*.

The bulk of the literature discussed above focuses on examining whether active race-based discrimination *or* class-based inequalities are more important in shaping racial inequality. In this dissertation, I advance the literature by examining how perceived "race" combines with other social categories to produce social inequality in the labor market. In the next section, I examine the theoretical foundations to motivate an intersectional analysis of labor market discrimination.

DOES CLASS STATUS MODERATE THE EFFECTS OF 'RACE'?

Scholars have long argued that socioeconomic status influences racial perceptions (e.g. racial categorization). One of the first scholars to capture this dynamic was Wagley (1965), who argued that in Brazil, "the social racial types are defined on the basis of physical appearance as modified in their *perception* by the total social status of the individual" (emphasis added, page 542). Recent scholarship has found similar processes in the United States (Freeman et al. 2011; Saperstein and Penner 2012). To illustrate this relationship, Saperstein and Penner (2012) used longitudinal data to examine how racial classification changes in relation to changes in social position. However, a recent study by Telles and Paschel (2014) found less empirical support for the "money whitens"/"poverty darkens" hypothesis in Latin American countries. In Brazil, class status, measured in terms of wealth and education, both whitens and darkens individual self-classification. The effect of socioeconomic status (SES) seems to "whiten" only among individuals who are at the white/brown boundary, while *higher* SES seems to "darken" those in the brown/black boundary. Although scholars disagree about whether higher-class status whitens or darkens racial perceptions, we know practically nothing about the causal effects of this intersection in shaping opportunities in the labor market.

The use of surveys, however, to examine how class status shapes racial perceptions and identity, is limited in its ability to establish a causal link (Alba, Insolera, and Lindeman 2016; Kramer, DeFina, and Hannon 2016). Data from a laboratory experiment offer more convincing evidence regarding how class status and "race" are causally linked. Freeman et al. (2011) randomized class status cues to show that perceptions about class status does indeed shape racialization. Using computer simulations and photo-morphing techniques, they found that changes in social cues, such as attire (e.g. suit and tie vs a "blue-collar" t-shirt) shaped racial categorization as "white" or "black." Thus, higher SES could "whiten" racial perceptions, while low SES could "darken" racial perceptions. Although we do not know if findings from

[62] In 2010, 25 percent of Afro-Brazilians worked in the informal sector, while 16 percent of whites did so (IBGE 2010).

laboratory experiments extent to real world situations, in particular in labor market contexts, it nonetheless provides a solid framework to examine the causal links between multi-category memberships (e.g. lower class and dark skin, middle class and brown skin) and stratification outcomes.

Virtually all existing studies of economic inequality in Brazil (and Latin America) use self-identified racial categories (Monk 2016). Self-categorization, however, is heavily influenced by one's class status, which could potentially underestimate or overestimate the extent of discrimination (Silva 2004; Telles and Lim 1998). In order to circumvent this problem, recent studies have used interviewer-rated skin color classification to measure the extent of racial inequality and discrimination (e.g. Monk 2016; Telles 2014). However, these studies use data from the Latin America Public Opinion Project (LAPOP), in which interviewers recorded the respondent's skin color after completing the survey (upon leaving the household), when they had sufficient information about the respondent's socioeconomic background from the survey (e.g. education and income). In addition to being exposed to the respondents' SES, other contextual factors, such as a person's accent, attire, and clothing, may could have influenced skin color categorization. Thus, we do not know the extent to which these contextual factors and the socioeconomic indicators from the surveys themselves influenced the interviewer's skin color classification (Roth 2016: 1316; Villarreal 2012: 500).

Existing field experiments have also been unable to examine how class status shapes racial perceptions, which is a basis for employment discrimination. Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004), for instance, used African-American and White names to examine the effect of "race" in hiring practices in the United States. However, it could be argued that such names carry both a racial and a class status cue (e.g. Jamal and Lakisha may be more common names among working class individuals). Consequently, what we may assume to be a racial effect in hiring, could in fact represent a *joint* effect of race *and* class status in Bertrand and Mullainathan's (2004) research (Pager and Western 2012: 224). In the present study, I examine the racial gap in callbacks in employment by race for applicants with lower-class background and for applicants with middle class background. This strategy allows me to examine empirically how perceived class status *moderates* the effects of perceived race in employment. Based on the existing literature, we have two potential outcomes. First, for Afro-Brazilians, especially those with dark skin, having higher class status will "darken" racial perceptions (Telles and Paschel 2014), potentially leading to more discrimination by employers (Hypothesis 3). However, consistent with the "money whitens" hypothesis (Freeman et al. 2011; Wagley 1965), having higher class status will "whiten" racial perceptions and potentially mitigate the effects of race in employment (Hypothesis 4).

Hypothesis 3: *Having higher class status "darkens" racial perceptions, thus leading to a large racial gap in employment.*

Hypothesis 4: *Having higher class status "whitens" racial perceptions, thus leading to a smaller racial gap in employment.*

MODEL SPECIFICATION

In order to examine the effects of skin color, the main predictor, on the chances of receiving a call back from employers, I apply a logistic regression model specified in Equation 1. The dependent variable Pr(y=1) is the probability of getting a callback. This outcome variable has a binary response of either 0 (no callback) or 1 (callback). The parameters β_1 through β_{11} are the regression coefficients for the predictor variables. The predictor skin color has two dummy

variables, one for medium-brown skin and the other for dark skin. Similarly, the class status, occupation, and job ad requirement (skills, experience, and college degree) also have binary (yes=1, no=0) dummy variables.

Equation 1:

$$\Pr(y = 1|\beta_1 \ldots \beta_12) = (\exp(\alpha + \beta_1 \cdot mediumbrown + \beta_2 \cdot dark\ skin + \beta_3 \cdot middleclass + \beta_4 \cdot female + \beta_5 \cdot city + \beta_6 \cdot assistadmin + \beta_7 \cdot sales + \beta_8 \cdot realestate + \beta_9 \cdot secretary + \beta_10 \cdot skill + \beta_11 \cdot experience + \beta_12 \cdot college)/(1 + \exp(\exp(\alpha + \beta_1 \cdot medium - brown + \beta_2 \cdot dark\ skin + \beta_3 \cdot middleclass + \beta_4 \cdot female + \beta_5 \cdot city + \beta_6 \cdot assistadmin + \beta_7 \cdot sales + \beta_8 \cdot realestate + \beta_9 \cdot secretary + \beta_10 \cdot skill + \beta_11 \cdot experience + \beta_12 \cdot college))$$

I use Equation 1 to evaluate the effects of skin color on the probability of getting a callback. This model tests the "class-based" hypothesis and the "race-based" hypothesis. However, as noted above, scholars argue that class status moderates the effects of skin color to shape discrimination patterns. In order to evaluate the interaction of skin color and class status, I included one interactive term for skin color and class status (Equation 2).

Equation 2:

$$\Pr(y = 1|\beta_1 \ldots \beta_12) = (\exp(\alpha + \beta_1 \cdot mediumbrown * poor + \beta_2 \cdot dark\ skin * poor + \beta_3 \cdot middleclass + \beta_4 \cdot female + \beta_5 \cdot city + \beta_6 \cdot assistadmin + \beta_7 \cdot sales + \beta_8 \cdot realestate + \beta_9 \cdot secretary + \beta_10 \cdot skill + \beta_11 \cdot experience + \beta_12 \cdot college)/(1 + \exp(\exp(\alpha + \beta_1 \cdot mediumbrown * poor + \beta_2 \cdot dark\ skin * poor + \beta_3 \cdot middleclass + \beta_4 \cdot female + \beta_5 \cdot city + \beta_6 \cdot assistadmin + \beta_7 \cdot sales + \beta_8 \cdot realestate + \beta_9 \cdot secretary + \beta_10 \cdot skill + \beta_11 \cdot experience + \beta_12 \cdot college))$$

EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

Descriptive Statistics

Table 3 below gives descriptive statistics of the full data set. The overall mean callback rate was 12.9 percent. Each of the three skin color categories made up one third, or 33.3% of the sample. Half of the sample was resumes with "poor" sounding names and half of it was resumes with "middle class" sounding names. For gender, 64 percent of the sample was female, and 36 percent of the sample was male. Of all the resumes sent, 23.8 percent were receptionist jobs, 29 percent were administrative assistant jobs, 39.3 percent were in sales, 5.6 percent were in real estate, and 2.3 percent were secretary jobs. For the city distribution, 60 percent of the resumes sent were in the city of Rio de Janeiro, while 40 percent were in the city of São Paulo. For the job ad requirements, around 30 percent of job ads had some skill requirement, 46 percent required prior job-related experience, and around 10 percent required a college degree.

Table 3. Descriptive Statistics for All Sent Resumes

Variable	Mean	Min	Max
Callback (Yes=1)	0.129	0	1
Race			
Light Skin	0.333		
Medium-Brown Skin	0.333	0	1
Dark Skin	0.333	0	1
Class Status			
Poor Class Status	0.500		
Middle-Class Status	0.500	0	1
Gender			
Male	0.360		
Female	0.640	0	1
Occupational Category			
Receptionist	0.238		
Administrative Assistant	0.290	0	1
Sales	0.393	0	1
Real Estate	0.056	0	1
Secretary	0.023	0	1
City			
São Paulo	0.400		
Rio de Janeiro	0.600	0	1
Job Ad Requirement			
Skill (Yes=1)	0.301	0	1
Experience (Yes=1)	0.460	0	1
College (Yes=1)	0.102	0	1

Source: Original experimental study data.

Bivariate Analysis

Figure 6 presents the field experiment results with the callback rate for each skin color category and by class status. I use z-tests for statistical tests for differences in proportions and the results presented here are for two-tailed tests throughout. I begin by presenting descriptive evidence about the overall callback rates for each of the skin color categories. Applicants with light skin received the highest percentage of callbacks with 14.8%, those with medium-brown skin had a slightly lower callback rate of 13.3%, and job applicants with dark skin received the lowest callback rate with 10.8%. The difference between light and dark skin applicants was 4.0 percent, or 54.1 percent higher, but this difference fell short of statistical significance ($|z|= 1.69$, $p=.09$). The difference between light and medium-brown skin was very small, with 1.5 percent difference in callback rate, and not statistically significant ($|z|= 0.61$, $p=.54$). These results

indicate that in general, skin color is a weak predictor for receiving a callback for an interview by employers. These results support the null hypothesis of no skin color effect in hiring in entry-level, semi-skilled occupations (Hypothesis 1).

Next, I examined the callback rates for all three skin-color categories by occupation. As Table 4 illustrates, for receptionist jobs, applicants with light skin had the highest callback rate with 10.42 percent, followed by applicants with medium-brown skin (9.5 percent), and applicants with dark skin with the lowest callback (4.2 percent). For applicants to sales jobs, the callback rates for light skin and medium-brown skin were similar (15.4 percent and 15.2 percent, respectively), which was about 50 percent higher than for applicants with dark skin (10.8 percent). The callback rates for real estate agent and secretary, which made up only 8 percent of all resumes sent, the callback rate was very similar across skin color categories. Lastly, for applicants to administrative assistant and clerical jobs, applicants with light skin had a 2.5 percent higher callback rate compared to dark skin (8.6 percent vs 6.1 percent, respectively), and applicants with medium-brown skin had the lowest callback rate with 5.2 percent (Table 4).

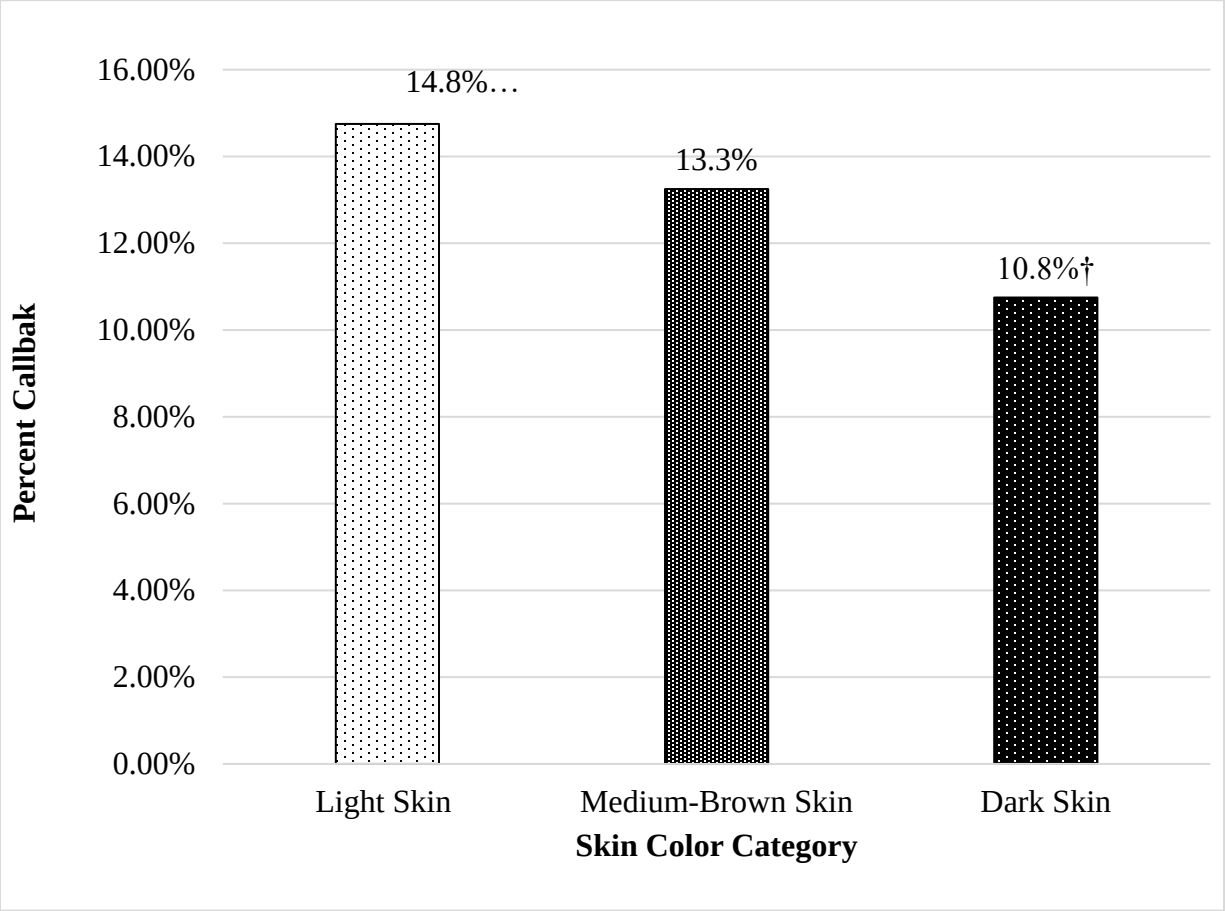


Figure 6. Callback Rates, by Skin Color and Class Status.

Source: Original experimental study data. Note: All statistical tests are *z*-tests for differences in proportions. Statistical significance comparing skin color for all resumes sent, and for comparing light skin and brown skin, and light skin and dark skin: $^{\dagger}p<.10$ (two-tailed tests).

Table 4. Callback Rate by Occupational Category and Skin Color

	Light Skin	Medium-Brown Skin	Dark Skin
Receptionist	10.4%	9.5%	4.2%
Secretary	25%	22.2%	20%
Sales	15.4%	15.2%	10.8%
Clerical and Administrative Assistant	8.6%	5.2%	6.1%
Real Estate	56.5%	54.6%	59.1%

MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS

Next, I apply the model specified in Equation 1 to examine the skin color effect on the chances of getting a callback. I begin with the description of the logit regression coefficients, both in terms of the log odds (column 1, Table 5) and in terms of odds ratio (column 2 Table 5). As Table 5 shows, having dark skin decreases the odds of getting a callback by a factor of 0.66. This indicates that, net of all other measured factors, having dark skin reduces the odds of receiving a callback by roughly 34%. However, the decrease in odds falls short of statistical significance at the .05 confidence level, but does so at the $p<.10$ confidence level. Having medium-brown skin reduces the odds of receiving a callback by roughly 14% (odds ratio = 0.86), but this relationship is not statistically significant ($p>.10$). Having a middle class status increases the odds of receiving callback by a small amount (12 percent), but this relationship is not statistically significant. Being female increases the odds of getting a callback by a factor of 2.31 compared to being a male applicant ($p<.001$).

The results presented above are based on the odds metric of interpretation for the logistic regression model (Equation 1). It shows a very weak relationship between having medium-brown skin and the odds of receiving a callback for employment. However, having dark skin does reduce the odds of receiving a callback by roughly 35%, but this relationship falls short of the .05 statistical significance level. These results seem to support the "class-based" hypothesis, which predicted a no-skin color effect in callback rates. However, in order to evaluate this further, we need to account for the hypothesized endogeneity of class status and skin color.

Is The Skin Color Effect Moderated by Class Status?

In this section, I examine whether the effect of skin color changes depending on whether the job applicant had a "poor" sounding name or a "middle class" sounding name. In order to evaluate the interaction of skin color and class status, I applied the model specified in Equation 2, which has the interaction coefficient for skin color and class status. I use two interpretation metrics for this model. First, I present the predicted probabilities for receiving a callback for light, medium-brown, and dark skin applicants for the two class status categories (poor and middle class). I then present the differences in the predicted probabilities, or the Average Marginal Effect (AME), of skin color as class status categories chances from "poor" to "middle class."

Table 5. Logistic Regression Results (Main Effects Model)

VARIABLES	Logit Coefficient	Odds ratio
Medium-Brown (Y=1)	-0.15	0.86
	(0.22)	(0.19)
Dark Skin (Y=1)	-0.41*	0.66*
	(0.23)	(0.15)
Middle Class (Y=1)	0.12	1.12
	(0.19)	(0.21)
Female (Y=1)	0.84***	2.31***
	(0.22)	(0.51)
Rio de Janeiro (Y=1)	-0.23	0.79
	(0.19)	(0.15)
Administrative Assistant (Y=1)	0.16	1.18
	(0.32)	(0.38)
Sales (Y=1)	0.88***	2.4***
	(0.27)	(0.65)
Real Estate (Y=1)	2.98***	19.74***
	(0.36)	(7.06)
Secretary (Y=1)	1.18**	3.25**
	(0.52)	(1.68)
Skills (Y=1)	-0.08	0.93
	(0.24)	(0.22)
Experience (Y=1)	-0.27	0.76
	(0.20)	(0.15)
Constant	-2.86***	0.058***
	(0.38)	(0.02)
Observations	1,200	1,200

Source: Original field experiment data. Standard errors in parentheses *** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05 (two-tailed tests).

As Table 6 shows, the predicted probabilities for each of the three skin color categories vary depending on the level of the class status category. The predicted probability of receiving a callback for light skin applicants declines from 15.8% to 13.7% as the class-status level changes from "poor" to "middle class." This shows that having a middle class status does not increase the chances of a callback among light skin applicants. However, among medium-brown and dark skin applicants, the predicted probabilities of getting a callback increases by a margin of 2.5 percent and 3.0 percent, for dark skin and medium-brown skin, respectively. For instance, the predicted probability for medium-brown skin applicants increases from 11.7% to 14.6%, as the class status changes from "poor" to "middle class." Similarly, for dark skin applicants, the predicted probability of getting a callback increases from 9.5% to 12%, for "poor" and "middle class" respectively.

The patterns above suggest that having a higher-class status leads to an increase in the likelihood of receiving a callback for medium-brown and dark skin applicants. However, we are most interested in examining if the light vs medium-brown skin gap, and the light vs dark skin gap in callbacks, for each class-status level, are statistically significant (*Hypothesis 3* vs *Hypothesis 4*). In order to achieve this, I estimate whether the differences in predicted probabilities, or the marginal effects, between light, medium-brown, and dark skin applicants for each level of the class status variable (poor and middle class) are statistically significant.

As Table 7 shows, the average marginal effects when the skin color category changes from "brown" to "light" decreases 4.0 percent among applicants with "poor" sounding names, but this change is not statistically significant (p=.21). The change in probability from "medium-brown" to "light" among "middle class" applicants is smaller at 0.9 percent (p=.77). The differences in predicted probabilities between "light" and "dark" skin job applicants with "poor" sounding names is around 6.3 percent, and this difference is statistically significant at the .05 confidence level (p=.04). The differences in predicted probabilities between light and dark skin applicants with "middle class" sounding names is small (1.7 percent) and not statistically significant (p=.59). These findings suggest that the effect of skin color on the predicted probability of getting a callback from employers is moderated by class status. Having a "middle class" status significantly reduces the effects of skin color for both medium-brown and dark skin applicants. This findings support the "money whitens" hypothesis (*hypothesis 4*), which predicted that having a higher class status mitigates the effects of skin color. The effect of skin color increases among applicants with "poor" class status, especially among applicants with dark skin, where the 6.3 percent difference in predicted probabilities is statistically significant. The findings presented here do not lend support for the assertion that having a higher class status "darkens" racial perceptions (*hypothesis 3*).

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I sought to examine empirically whether there is skin color discrimination in entry-level occupations in Brazil. As Telles (2004) points out, isolating racial discrimination is Brazil "is no easy task... [It] is often diffuse, *difficult* to measure, and has multiple manifestations" (emphasis added, page 139). The absence of legally enforced segregation and policies in Brazil, such as Jim Crow in the United States, has made it difficult to pinpoint discriminatory practices and combat discrimination. That is, while Americans fighting for racial

equality used discriminatory policies, such as "redlining" in federally funded housing programs, as a "target" around which to mobilize and pursue racial justice, Brazilians have had to fight discrimination in a context where the official discourse denied that discrimination existed. It was in this context that non-discriminatory mechanisms became plausible explanations for patterns of racial inequality in Brazil.

Table 6. Predicted Probabilities for Receiving a Callback for Skin Color and Class Status (Interaction Model)

	Predicted Probabilities	
VARIABLES	**"Poor" Sounding Names**	**"Middle-Class" Sounding Names**
Light Skin	**0.158*** **	**0.137*** **
	(0.0239)	(0.0228)
Medium-Brown Skin	**0.117*** **	**0.146*** **
	(0.0213)	(0.0232)
Dark Skin	**0.0951*** **	**0.120*** **
	(0.0197)	(0.0213)
Observations (N=1,200)		

Standard errors in parentheses *** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05 (two-tailed tests)

Table 7 Average Marginal Effects of Skin Color by Class Status Category

VARIABLES	**Medium-Brown Skin**	**Dark Skin**
"Poor" Sounding Names	**-0.0406**	**-0.0627***
	(0.032)	(0.0310)
"Middle-Class" Sounding Names	**0.00944**	**-0.0166**
	(0.0324)	(0.0312)
Observations	1,200	1,200

Discrete change in probabilities from the baseline category (Skin Color=Light Skin). Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05 (two-tailed tests)

Other difficulties in pinpointing the role of racial discrimination in Brazilian society have existed regarding the availability of data that can *directly* test for discrimination. Previous studies have relied on *indirect* measurements of discrimination, which leaves open the possibility that unobserved characteristics, such as workers' employment history or the quality of education, affect the "unexplained" gaps between whites and nonwhites. The methodological strategy and research design that I adopt in the dissertation allows me to provide, for the first time, a *direct* measurement of the effect of skin color discrimination.

To answer the question that drives this chapter, about whether skin color discrimination exists in a low-wage labor market, my findings reveal that it does. However, the effects of skin color is moderated by the perceived class status on the resumes. Among job applicants with middle class names, skin color differences in hiring were not statistically significant. However, among applicants with lower class names, employers preferred applicants with brown and light skin over applicants with dark skin. These findings exist even after fully controlling for productivity-related characteristics, resume quality, and educational background. The fact that job applicants with dark skin and lower class status were less likely to receive a callback from employers supports the race-based explanations for racial economic inequality in contemporary Brazil. It reveals that for some job seekers in Brazil, having a prior work history with no employment gaps and the proper work-related qualifications and education is not enough to gain access to the formal labor market. Rather, employers seem to rely on phenotypical characteristics, such as skin color, and perceived class status, in making hiring decisions. These findings contradict the assertion that class-based factors, such as obtaining an education, is the primary factor in explaining racial economic inequality in contemporary Brazil. This may be the case for job applicants with brown skin and light skin, but not for job applicants with dark skin. The findings presented here also shows that phenotype (skin color) combines with other social cues (class status) to shape labor market outcomes. In the next chapter, I examine if differences exist between male and female job applicants.

Chapter Four
Is Skin Color Discrimination Gendered (and Classed)?

INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, I found that skin color does shape labor market outcomes, in particular among job applicants with dark skin and lower class names. In this chapter, I examine whether the effect of skin tone is the same for men and women. The bulk of the literature on racial inequality in Brazil groups men and women together in their analysis, or investigates the role of race and gender separately (Caldwell 2007). There is, however, evidence that race and gender intersect to produce specific experiences for non-white women that are different from both white women and men (of any race). Moreover, recent scholarship on intersectionality has shown that class status shapes racial perceptions (the basis for racial discrimination) differently for men and women. Considering that the intersection of race and gender (as well as class) could potentially uncover the gendered aspect of racial discrimination, which would remain hidden if this relationship were not taken into account, it is crucial that we examine how racial discrimination may be gendered, as well as classed. In this chapter, I build on the findings presented in the previous chapter and ask two interrelated questions. First, I ask whether the skin color gap in callback rates differs by gender. Second, taking the endogeneity of class status into account, I ask whether the intersection of class status and skin color also differs by gender, when examining discrimination in employment in Brazil.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The Intersection of "Race," Class, and Gender

According to multiracial feminist thought, one cannot separate race and gender since the experiences of women of color are not in relation to men only, but also in relation to white women (Collins 1999; King 1989; Glenn 1999; Caldwell 2007). Non-white women face multiple disadvantages, based on their lived experiences as women and their non-white status. According to multiracial feminist theories, race, gender, and class are socially constructed categories that not only influence individual identities, but "provide principles of organization in the social system" (Collins 1999; Glenn 1999). These categories are mutually constituted to produce and maintain social hierarchy, or a "matrix of domination" (Collins 1999). Within this matrix of domination, individuals can simultaneously experience disadvantage and privilege through the combined statuses of race, class, and gender.

The idea that black women in Brazil face multiple disadvantages is not new. Since the 1970's, members of the black feminist movement in Brazil have advocated for a separate organization, apart from the mainstream black movement and mainstream feminist movement (McCollum 2007; Sardenberg and Costa 2014; Caldwell 2007). They argued that the feminist movement failed to see how their oppression was racialized, while the mainstream black movement failed to see how it was also gendered. Importantly, the black women's movement articulated a link between white women's advancement in society and black women's oppression. One of the participants in the black women's movement made this point clear:

> "because [the white women] in the feminist movement are struggling for the right to equality, the right to sex, the right to abortion, the right to pregnancy, to maternity and all of a sudden, the woman who is in her house [the black woman] cannot get pregnant, cannot have a boyfriend, cannot study, because she has to stay with her

> boss's children so she can go out and be politically active, or go out to do her doctorate" (quoted in McCallum 2007: 48).

One of the key mobilizing factors among black women activists is to challenge the stereotype and subordinated position of Afro-Brazilian women as domestic workers (McCallum 2007: 61). The symbolic place of Afro-Brazilian women "in the kitchen," working as a domestic worker, is a stereotype reinforced through the mass media. Domestic work is a particular type of work-related oppression that affects Afro-Brazilian women, which does not have a comparable case among Afro-Brazilian men. Domestic Workers often live in their employers' homes, who often build integrated spaces in the property, constituted by a small kitchen, a space for a small bed, and a bathroom (McCallum 2007). Domestic workers are thereby isolated in these confined spaces, having limited and subordinated position in the household. The spatial confinement separates them from the outside world and it reinforces the symbolic image of Afro-Brazilian women as dependent domestic workers.[63] Black women from lower-class background grow up internalizing the association between domestic work and being black, often beginning domestic work themselves at a very early age. Afro-Brazilian activists have attempted, but struggled, to recreate the symbolic construction of black womanhood in Brazil beyond the image of the dependent domestic worker (McCallum 2007: 56).

The experiences of non-white women are shaped by gender-based, class-based, and race-based barriers. In terms of gender, women of any race are less likely to experience social mobility, as measured by the father's occupation, than men are. This is evidenced by the fact that women are more likely to remain in the same occupational level as their father's occupation than men are, which shows that class origins strongly influence women's social mobility (Telles 2004: 142). Because of this gendered inequality in achieving social mobility, nonwhite women are much more likely than nonwhite men to be stuck at the bottom of the occupational hierarchy, while the barrier for non-white men seems to be entering professional and skilled jobs (Telles 2004: 145; Lovell 2006: 74; King 2009). Furthermore, non-white women are also much more likely to be employed in the informal sector, such as domestic work, than white women and men, suggesting the existence of a "*particularly severe* form of discrimination against non-white women" in Brazil (*emphasis added*, Telles 1990: 69; see also Bento 1995).

Guimarães' (2002) study lends support to the theory that the barriers facing Afro-Brazilian men and women are different. The disadvantage of Afro-Brazilian men in the labor market may be associated with having lower-levels of education and qualifications (e.g. skills and work-related experiences). For Afro-Brazilian women, the barriers may be associated with *active* racial discrimination by employers, in particular in entering the formal labor market. Guimarães (2002) shows that while qualifications (or lack thereof) accounts for nearly 60 percent of the wage gap between Afro-Brazilian men and white men, qualifications account for only 25 percent of the racial gap between Afro-Brazilian women and white women. The discrimination coefficient (the "unexplained gap") accounts for only 13 percent of the wage gap for Afro-Brazilian men, while it accounts for 33 percent for Afro-Brazilian women. Moreover, integration in the formal labor market accounts for only 2 percent for the racial wage gap for Afro-Brazilian men, but it accounts for 16 percent for Afro-Brazilian women (Guimarães 2002: 256).

[63] New apartments and homes throughout Brazil are built with "complete dependency" (dependências completas), which are the adjacent rooms designed to house domestic workers (McCollum 2007: 56).

The barriers that Afro-Brazilian women face in entering the formal labor may help explain their overrepresentation in unskilled, informal, and precarious jobs, such as domestic service. Rezende and Lima (2004: 766; see also Marcondes et al. 2013 and Harrington 2015) show that roughly 37 percent of black women and 27 percent of brown women work in domestic work, while only 10 percent of white women do so. Domestic work is a type of manual job that provides very little pay, it is not protected by labor laws, has virtually no prospects for career advancement, and, importantly, its workers often experience exploitation, humiliation, sexual harassment, and violence (Bernadino-Costa 2014; Marcodes et al. 2013). Furthermore, non-white women are more likely to be employed without working papers ("carteira assinada") than white women are. In Rio de Janeiro, for instance, 21.7 percent of non-white women (black and brown) work without working papers, while 14.4 percent of white women do so. In São Paulo, 22.6 percent of non-white women work without papers, while 15 percent of white women do so. The gap in the percentage of individuals employed without working papers among men is significantly lower. For instance, 12.7 percent of non-white men work without papers in Rio de Janeiro, while 10.3 percent of white men do so. In São Paulo, 14.3 percent of non-white men work without papers, whereas 11.4 percent of white me do so (IBGE 2010). These patterns indicate that non-white women occupy a more precarious condition in the labor market as do men (of any skin color/race) and white women.

As the discussion above illustrates, non-white women are much more likely to work in informal jobs, they are less likely than white women and men (of any race) to have working papers (*carteira assinada*), and are more likely to work in domestic jobs than white women. Three *potential* factors that explain the plight of non-white women in the labor market: occupational segregation into female-dominated positions (gender discrimination), segregation into occupations determined by lower levels of education (human-capital disadvantage), and segregation in occupations structured by racial discrimination (Bento 1995; Lovell 2006: 74). Previous studies have relied on indirect measures of discrimination, such as wage regressions (Telles 2004; Lovell 2006; King 2009), and testimonials of experiences with discrimination (Bento 1995; Williams 2010, 2013; Harrington 2015; Hordge-Freeman 2016). Consequently, we know very little the extent to which the barriers that Afro-Brazilian women face in the labor market are rooted in skin color discrimination by employers, or to class-based inequalities (e.g. differential access to education). My methodological strategy allows me to examine empirically whether Afro-Brazilian women experience a particular type of disadvantage, based on their gender, race, and class status.

Intersectionality and "Racial" Classification

Furthermore, existing studies also fail to examine whether the intersection of class status and skin color is also gendered. To my knowledge, previous studies have not examined whether class-status markers intersect with observed racial features (e.g. skin color) to produce different patterns of discrimination for men and women. Penner and Saperstein (2013) show that having a negative class status marker, e.g. receiving welfare benefits, shapes racial classification differently for men and women. However, the focus of analysis is on how the intersection of class and gender shape racial classification, and not on discriminatory practices by employers.

My approach to studying how different social categories intersect, such as class status (through class-based names), skin color (through photographs), and gender, to produce different patterns of discrimination in the labor market, fulfills an empirical gap in empirical studies of intersectionality and in studies of labor market inequality. As (Browne and Misra 2003: 499) point out, the existing studies about labor market discrimination treat "race" as a rigid social

category, and not shaped by other factors, such as class status. Moreover, the scholarship on labor market inequalities, in particular quantitative studies, that discuss differences by gender and race often assume that racial stereotypes are gender neutral (Penner and Saperstein 2013: 3). This is not the case, however, as being "poor," for instance, signals different things for black men and black women (e.g. an association with being a criminal for black men, and being a "welfare queen" or single mother for black women) (Misra and Browne 2003; Penner and Saperstein 2013). Although we have a solid theorization about how race, class, and gender might intersect, as multiracial feminist theories predict (Collins 1999; King 1989; Glenn 1999; Caldwell 2007), "there has been less empirical research that systematically analyzes the impact of [these intersections] on labor market experiences" (Browne and Mirsra 2003: 506). My approach in the dissertation fills this empirical gap by taking into account how the effects of "race" (skin color) is moderated by class status, and how this intersection works in practice (e.g. in real labor market contexts through experimental designs) differently for men and women.

EMPIRICAL QUESTIONS

The goals in this chapter are twofold. First, I ask whether skin color shapes labor market outcomes in similar ways for men and women. There is some evidence from the existing literature that non-white women are stuck at the bottom of the occupational hierarchy as indicated by their overrepresentation in manual domestic work. We do not know, however, if this overrepresentation is due to class-based inequalities, such as differential access to education between non-white and white women, or, whether employers in such occupations keep non-white women out of semi-skilled jobs because of discriminatory practices. In essence, I examine if skin color discrimination affects men and women in similar ways, or, as Telles put it, there is a "particularly severe form of discrimination against non-white women" in Brazil (1990: 69). Based on the multiracial feminist perspective, which assumes a matrix of disadvantages against women of color, I predict that the skin color gap in callbacks will be larger for female applicants than for male applicants (Hypothesis 4).

Hypothesis 5: The skin color gap in callbacks between light and non-light skin applicants is larger among female applicants compared to male applicants.

However, I take this analysis one-step further. I also seek investigate whether there are variations by gender on how class status and skin color intersect. Although recent scholarship shows how the social construction of "race" is both classed and gendered in the United States (e.g. Penner and Saperstein 2013), there is no empirical study that shows a similar relationship in the context of Brazil. Penner and Saperstein (2013) found that different stereotypes, such as receiving welfare, increases the likelihood of being categorized as "black" for women, but not for men. However, we do not know whether being perceived as "poor" leads to differences in "racial" categorization (e.g. being perceived as "black") differently for men and women in the context of Brazil. Given the lack of specific predictions related to how being perceived as "poor" or "middle class" shapes racial perceptions in Brazil, in particular how this process operates differently by gender, I formulate a null-hypothesis that class status *moderates* the effects of skin color discrimination *similarly* for men and women.

Hypothesis 6: Class status moderates the effects of skin color similarly for men and women.

In order to achieve this, I interacted the skin color, class status, and gender variables in a logistic regression model and then estimated the predicted probabilities for receiving a callback for each of the three skin color categories by gender and by class status.

Equation 3:

$$\Pr(y = 1|\beta_1 \ldots \beta_12) = (\exp(\alpha + \beta_1 \cdot mediumbrown * poor * female + \beta_2 \cdot dark\ skin * poor * female + \beta_3 \cdot middleclass + \beta_4 \cdot female + \beta_5 \cdot city + \beta_6 \cdot assistadmin + \beta_7 \cdot sales + \beta_8 \cdot realestate + \beta_9 \cdot secretary + \beta_10 \cdot skill + \beta_11 \cdot experience + \beta_12 \cdot college)/(1 + \exp(\exp(\alpha + \beta_1 \cdot mediumbrown * poor * female + \beta_2 \cdot dark\ skin * poor * female + \beta_3 \cdot middleclass + \beta_4 \cdot female + \beta_5 \cdot city + \beta_6 \cdot assistadmin + \beta_7 \cdot sales + \beta_8 \cdot realestate + \beta_9 \cdot secretary + \beta_10 \cdot skill + \beta_11 \cdot experience + \beta_12 \cdot college))$$

EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

Is the skin color effect gendered?

The first question that I seek to answer in this Chapter is whether skin color discrimination varies by gender. Figure 7 presents the results with the callback rate for each skin color category and for male and female job applicants. I use z-tests for statistical tests for differences in proportions and the results presented here are for two-tailed tests throughout. For male job seekers, the callback rates for light skin, brown skin, and dark skin applicants were very similar. The differences in callback between light skin and brown skin male applicants (9.0 percent versus 8.3 percent, $|z|$=.21, p=.84) and between light skin and dark skin male applicants (9.0 percent versus 11.1 percent, $|z|$=.59, p=.56) were not statistically significant. These patterns suggest that for male applicants in entry-level and semi-skilled jobs, skin color is a very weak predictor in shaping labor market outcomes, thus providing support to the class-based model (Hypothesis 1). The barriers that male job seekers with brown skin and dark skin may face in entering semi-skilled occupations are likely due to lower levels of education (Guimarães 2002), and not direct discrimination by employers, as the results of my field experiment suggest.

For female job seekers, the findings point to a strikingly different pattern. Light skin female applicants received the highest callback rate with 18 percent, followed by applicants with brown skin with 16 percent, and dark skin female applicants with the lowest callback rate with 10.6 percent. The 2 percent difference between light skin and brown skin female applicants was not statistically significant ($|z|$=0.59, p=.56). This suggests that among women, having brown skin is not a penalty in the labor market. However, the 7.4 percent difference between light skin and dark skin female applicants, or 70 percent, was statistically significant ($|z|$=2.4, p<.05). This means that female applicants with light skin would have to send about five resumes to receive one callback for an interview, while female applicants with dark skin would have to send ten resumes to receive one callback. Sending an extra five resumes in a tight labor market[64] could take a toll, and lead job applicants to give up applying to jobs for which they are qualified. Consequently, it could lead to chronic unemployment or employment in the informal sector (Marcodes et al. 2013). The gender differences by skin color also hold net of other factors, e.g. metropolitan context, occupational category, class status, and employer preferences. Table 8 presents the results for logistic regression models estimating the odds ratio of receiving a callback. It shows that female applicants with dark skin (Model 3) are 51 percent less likely to receive a callback, net of other factors (p<.05).

[64] The unemployment rate at the time of the data collection (2014-2015) was around 8 percent.

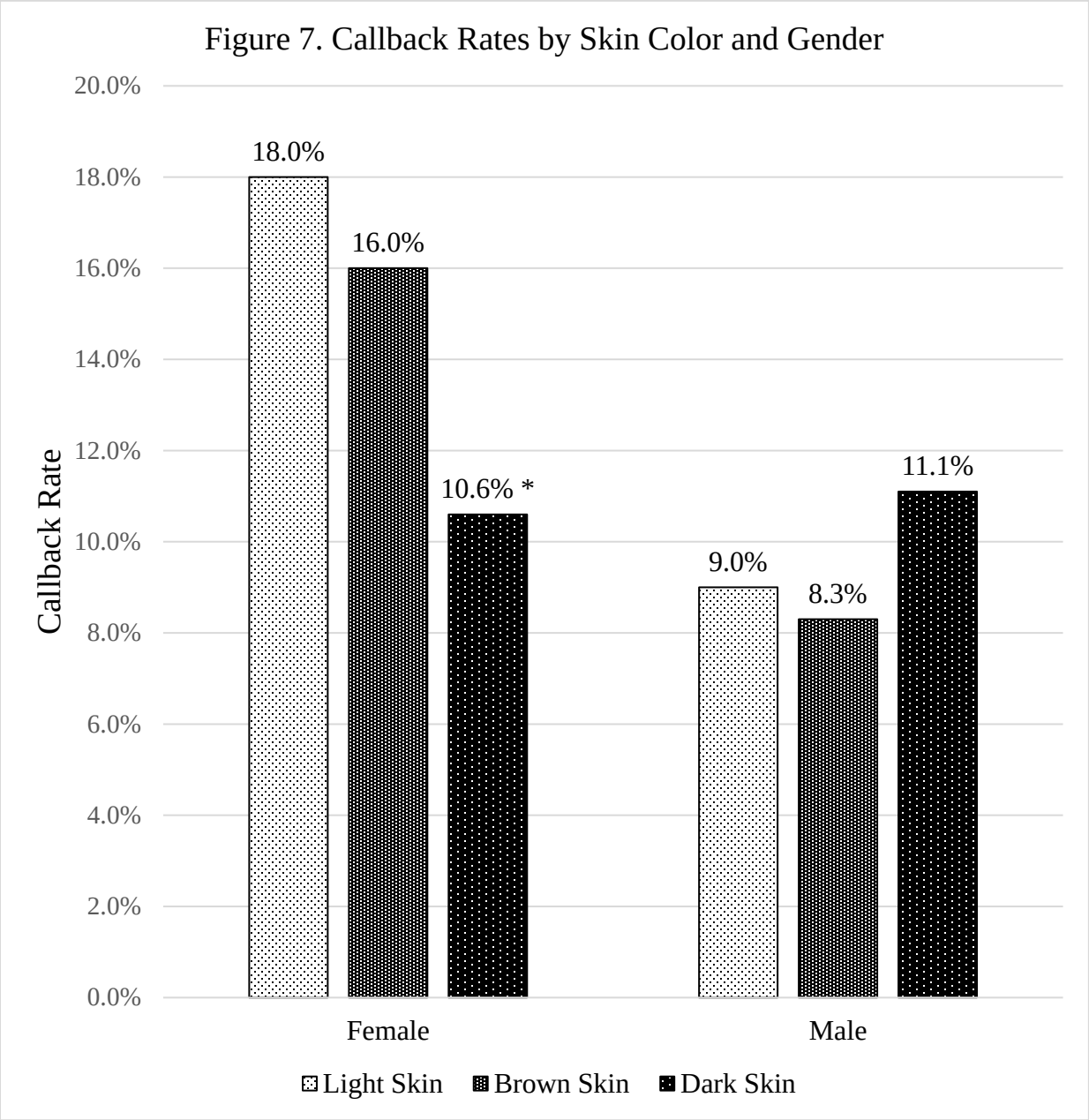


Figure 7. Callback Rates, by Skin Color and Gender.
Source: Original experimental study data. Note: All statistical tests are *z*-tests for differences in proportions. Statistical significance comparing skin color for comparing light skin and brown skin, and light skin and dark skin in the same gender category: *$p < .05$ (two-tailed tests).

Is the Skin Color Effect Moderated by Class Status?

After establishing that there is in fact a distinct pattern of skin color discrimination by gender, I now examine if class status moderates the effects of skin color differently for male and female job seekers. As Figure 8 presents the predicted probabilities of receiving a callback for an interview by skin color, gender, and class status, net of other variables (e.g. city context, occupational category, and job requirements listed on the job ad). Having a middle class status, as indicated by the first and last names on the resumes, increases the probability of getting a callback for dark skin male applicants by 4.2 percent (7.8 percent for "poor" and 12 percent for "middle class"). However, among male applicants with brown skin, having a middle-class status decreases the probability of a callback by 2.6 percent (6 percent for "middle class" vs 8.6 percent for "poor"). Among light skin male applicants, having a middle class status increases the probability of a callback by a small percentage (1.5 percentage). However, the differences in the predicted probabilities, or the average marginal effects, between light, brown, and dark skin male applicants, regardless of the class status, are not statistically significant at the $p<.05$ confidence level.

The patterns for women, however, are noticeably different from male applicants. When we separate the effects of skin color by class status, light skin women with lower class status had the highest probability of receiving a callback, with 21.4 percent, followed by medium-brown and dark skin women, with 17 percent and 10.7 percent, respectively (Figure 8). The difference in the predicted probabilities between light skin and dark skin applicants with lower class names (10.7 percent) was statistically significant ($p<.05$). The 7.6 percent difference in the predicted probabilities between women with light skin and brown skin and with lower class status was not statistically significant.

However, when we examine the patterns for women with lower class status, the skin color gap decreases between light and dark skin women (17 percent vs 12.1 percent, respectively), and this difference fail to reach statistical significance at the .05 confidence level. Thus, although having a middle class status did not increase significantly the probability of receiving a callback for women with dark skin (it changed from 10.7 percent to 12 percent), the main difference was the shift among female applicants with light skin (it changed from 21.4 percent for lower class applicants to 17 percent for middle class applicants). Thus, the skin color gap in callbacks between light skin and dark skin female applicants with middle class status reflects a decrease in privilege for white women and not an increase in privilege for women with dark skin.

The intersection of class status and skin color is also noticeable among female applicants with brown skin. The light vs medium-brown skin gap among middle class women not only decreased, but it went in the opposite direction. That is, women with medium-brown skin had a 3.3 percent higher probability of receiving a callback compared to light skin women. This difference, however, was not statistically significant. The brown vs dark skin color gap was large, of about 8 percent higher (20.3 percent vs 12 percent, respectively). This difference was moderately significant ($p<.1$).

Table 8. Odds Ratio from Logistic Regression Models Predicting Callback Rates for Interview

	All Sent Resumes (1)	Male Applicants (2)	Female Applicants (3)
Skin Color			
Medium-Brown (Y=1)	0.86 (0.19)	0.88 (0.39)	0.84 (0.21)
Dark Skin (Y=1)	0.66 (0.15)	1.33 (0.56)	0.49* (0.14)
Perceived Class Status			
Middle Class (Y=1)	1.12 (0.21)	1.17 (0.42)	1.08 (0.24)
Gender			
Female (Y=1)	2.31** (0.51)	--	--
Rio de Janeiro (Y=1)	0.79 (0.15)	0.54 (0.19)	0.93 (0.21)
Occupational Category [a]			
Administrative Assistant/Clerical Work (Y=1)	1.08 (0.38)	--	1.39 (0.47)
Sales (Y=1)	2.4** (0.65)	4.6** (2.51)	2.1** (0.61)
Real Estate (Y=1)	19.8** (7.1)	36.39** (24.8)	21.19** (8.9)
Secretary (Y=1)	3.26* (1.688)	--	3.4* (1.78)
Job Ad Requirements			
Skills (Y=1)	0.92 (0.23)	1.39 (0.74)	0.83 (0.24)
Experience (Y=1)	0.76 (0.16)	0.92 (0.36)	0.73 (0.18)
Education (High School or Higher=1)	1.01 (0.16)	1.58 (0.43)	0.83 (0.17)
Constant	0.06** (0.02)	0.024** (0.02)	0.15** (0.05)
N (observations)	1,200	432	768

Notes:
[a] For Models (1) and (3), the baseline category for occupation is "receptionist." For Model (2), the baseline category is "administrative assistant/clerical" work. This is because only female resumes were used for receptionist jobs and secretary jobs.
Standard errors in parentheses ** p<0.01, * p<.05 (two-tailed tests)

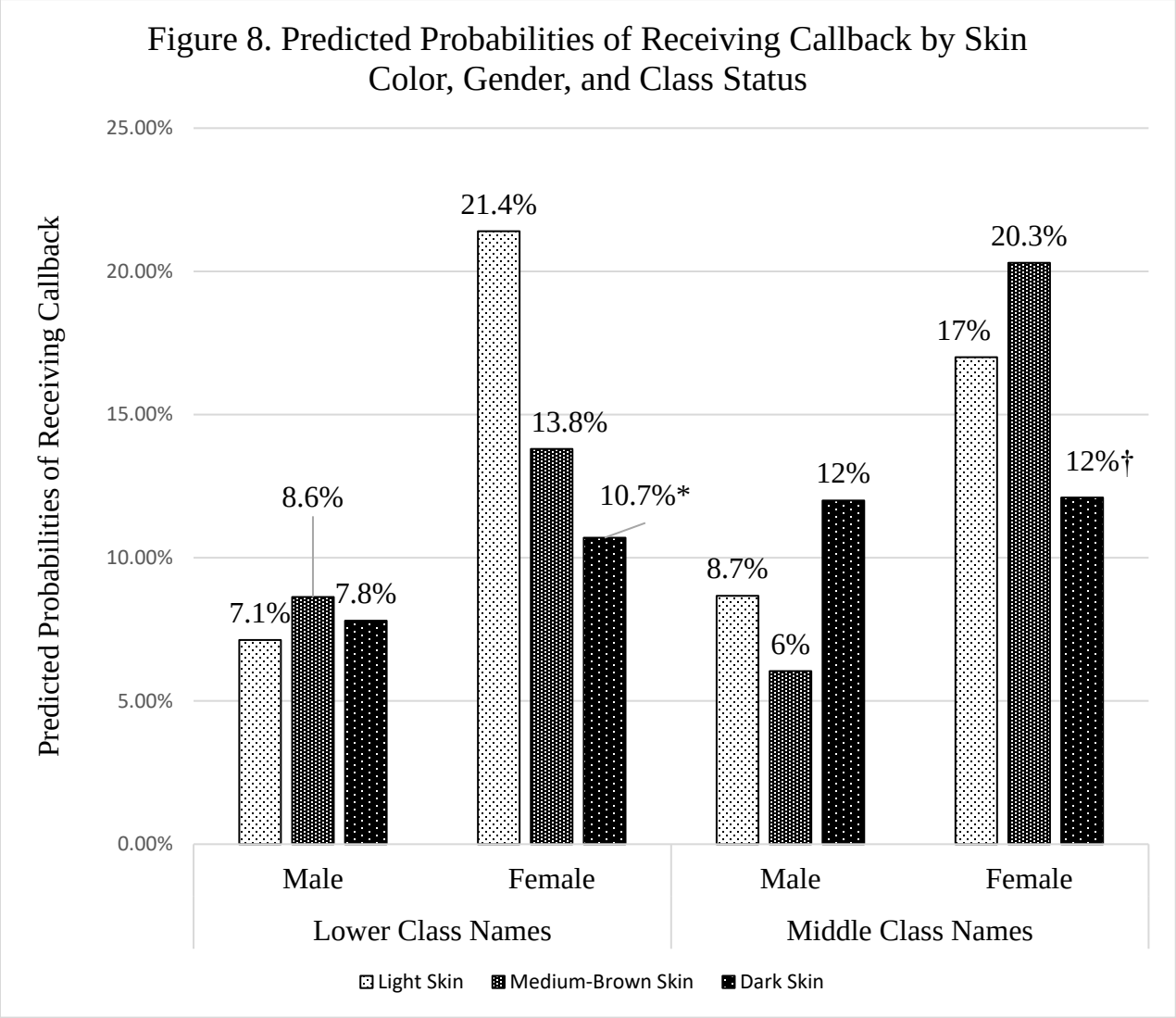


Figure 8. Predicted Probabilities of Receiving Callback by Skin Color, Gender, and Class Status
Predicted Probabilities Results based on a logistic regression model that takes into account the interaction of skin color, class status, and gender for all cases in the data set (n=1,200). All values for the other variables in the model (city, occupation, and job ad requirements) are as is (Average Adjusted Predictions). I computed the predicted probabilities with the values of other variables in the model at their means (Adjusted Predictions at Means) and found similar results.
* $p<0.05$ (two-tailed tests) statistical significance comparing the differences in predicted probabilities, or the marginal effects, between light skin and brown skin applicants, and between light skin and dark skin applicants, within the same class status level (poor or middle class) and gender (male or female):
† $p<0.1$ (two-tailed test) statistical significance comparing the marginal effects between brown skin and dark skin applicants within the same class status level (poor or middle class).

DISCUSSION

My goals in this chapter were twofold. First, I sought to evaluate whether the effects of skin color differed by gender. Second, I asked whether the intersection of class status and skin color was also moderated by gender. The findings presented here show that, once human capital characteristics and work-related qualifications are taken into account, light skin *male* applicants do not have an advantage over dark skin applicants. In fact, dark skin applicants with middle-class status have a higher probability of receiving a callback than light skin candidates, suggesting a possible dark-skin privilege, although differences fell short of statistical significance. The light vs medium-brown gap was very small among middle class applicants. Both medium-brown and dark skin male applicants with lower-class status had virtually the same chances of receiving a callback compared to light skin male applicants, thus suggesting a no-skin color effect. Surprisingly, having a lower class status did not seem to have an adverse effect on male applicants with medium-brown and dark skin applicants, which contradicts the "poverty darkens" hypothesis. In fact, the chances of receiving a callback for male applicants with medium-brown skin and perceived lower-class status increased, albeit in small magnitude, the chances of a callback.

For women, however, not only the effect of skin color was larger in the direction predicted, that is, of light skin privilege, but having a lower class status had an adverse effect on the probability of receiving a callback. The skin color gap was larger among women with lower class status. Among middle class status applicants, the effect of skin color disappeared for medium-brown skin women, but it remained strong and significant for dark skin women. These patterns suggest a "money whitening" effect for medium-brown skin women. However, this effect was much weaker for dark skin women.

CONCLUSION

The literature on racial inequality in Brazil very seldom incorporates an analysis of how racial biases by stakeholders in society, e.g. employers, affect men and women differently. As Caldwell (2006: 18) proposes, "developing a gendered perspective on issues of race and racism also makes aspects of Brazilian racial dynamics visible that would remain hidden if gender were not taken into account." My findings in this chapter support this claim, as the experiences of non-white (medium-brown and dark skin) women are clearly different from the experiences of non-white men, as well as white women, at least in entry-level, semi-skilled occupations. I found that skin color is a weak predictor for male job applicants in entry level, semi-skilled jobs. There is some evidence, albeit weak, that employers may actually favor applicants with dark skin. These patterns suggest that for male applicants in entry-level, white-collar jobs, once applicants with dark skin and brown skin acquire the proper educational and work-related experiences and qualifications, employers do not discriminate on the basis of skin color.

One possible explanation for the null effects of skin color for male applicants is the potential effects of having a stable work history and qualifications as signaled through the fictitious resumes. For entry-level and semi-skilled jobs, employers place high value on "soft skills," such as interaction abilities, friendliness, ability to fit in, and general social skills. Research in the United States found that employers perceive black men as lacking soft skills. Rather, employers perceive black men as hostile, defensive, and having a difficult "attitude" (Moss and Tilly 1996). Although there is no existing research on employer perceptions in Brazil, similar stereotypes might exist in the Brazilian labor market. If employers do perceive Afro-Brazilian men as lacking soft skills, they would be experience greater disadvantages in the labor

market compared to white males. Without having complete information about the worker's abilities (in this case, soft skills), employers may rely on stereotypes in making hiring decisions (Arrow 1973; Phelps 1972). In the Brazilian case, it is possible that the work-related experiences listed on the resumes (e.g. seven years of prior experience in sales with little gaps in employment histories) provided enough information to employers that male job applicants with brown skin and dark skin possessed "soft skills," thus nullifying the effects of "race."

If having a solid work history potentially shielded the negative stereotypes (e.g. lacking soft skills) associated with having Afro-centric phenotype among male applicants, it remains unclear why it would not have the same effect for dark skin women, in particular those with lower class status. Female job applicants with dark skin and lower class status are over twice as unlikely to receive a callback for an interview compared to women with light skin and the same class status. One possible explanation for this disadvantage is the strong association between being black and female with domestic work in Brazil. It is a common belief in Brazil that the "proper" place of Afro-Brazilian women, in particular those with dark skin, in society is "in the kitchen" (Caldwell 2007; Williams 2013: 49-50; see Romero 1992 for a similar process in the United States). Based on these stereotypes, Afro-Brazilian women in Brazil may face barriers in entering the formal sector, especially in semi-skilled, white-collar jobs, because employers (and society at large) believe that their proper "place" of employment is in the house doing domestic work, and not in an office (in the formal sector). They are denied a "space" to exercise their right as workers, therefore revealing the "geography of racialized and gendered inequality in Brazil" (Caldwell 2007: 68).

The results presented in this dissertation also highlight the power of class status in moderating the effects of skin color in the labor market. Prior laboratory research has found a causal link between class status and racialization (Freeman et al. 2011). I extend these perspectives to real-world contexts to understand how perceived class status moderates the effects of skin color in the labor market. Although employers discriminated against female applicants with dark skin and lower class status, the skin color gap in callbacks disappeared once a middle class name was assigned to the resume. The callback rate among female applicants with brown skin also increased by 7 percent once a middle class name was assigned (12.5 percent for lower class and 19.5 percent for middle class). These findings suggest that class status mitigates the effects of skin color in the labor market.

Lastly, my analyses also point to a notable difference between females with brown skin and those with dark skin, which supports existing theories about the "mulatto" advantage ("mulatto escape-hatch") in Brazilian society. However, having brown skin did not seem to afford any advantage for *male* applicants, which seems to contradict the original thesis by Degler (1971), as well as recent empirical studies (e.g. Telles 2004; Bailey, Loveman, and Muniz 2013). My findings about the possible gendered basis for the "mulatto" advantage, or, put differently, the different meanings that brown skin (or other mixed-race traits) might exist for men and women, warrants further analysis. In order to examine these processes further, I engage more deeply with the existing scholarship on the hypothesized advantage of mixed-raced individuals (e.g. those with brown skin) in the next chapter.

Chapter 5
Feminine Aesthetics, Skin Color, and a "Mulatt*a* Escape Hatch" Hypothesis

INTRODUCTION

My findings from the previous chapter were significant in two ways. First, my findings revealed that skin color is a weak predictor among males in entry-level, semi-skilled occupations. In fact, there is some evidence, although not robust from a statistical standpoint, that employers may prefer male applicants with dark skin over applicants with brown skin and light skin. However, skin color was a robust predictor for receiving a callback from employers among *female* applicants, in particular among applicants with dark skin and lower-class sounding names. Gendered and classed foundations of racial discrimination in Brazil means that the *intersection* of race (skin color), gender, and class status largely shapes the barriers that Afro-Brazilians face in a lower-skilled labor market. My findings also revealed that having brown skin, which is an indication of mixed-race status, does not offer any advantage among male applicants, as existing theories would predict (e.g. the "mulatto escape hatch" hypothesis). However, having brown skin does seem to afford women an advantage over women with dark skin, in particular among applicants with middle class status (e.g. "middle class" sounding names). These findings suggest the existence of a "mulatta escape hatch" in Brazil.

Using the existing literature on racial stereotypes in Brazil, and in particular the social construction of "brownness," I evaluate the basis for the "mulatta advantage" in the labor market. Existing qualitative research (e.g. Caldwell 2007: 67) shows that racial discrimination in Brazil is largely shaped by standards of feminine beauty, whereby lighter skin and mixed-race features are highly valued, but Afro-centric features, such as dark skin, are less valued (Burdick 1998; Rezende e Lima 2004; Goldstein 2003; Williams 2013; Caldwell 2007). However, the positive valuation of "brownness" is gendered, as men with brown skin (or other mixed-race characteristics) are not exalted as aesthetically superior to men with dark skin. This suggests, therefore, that the social construction of "brownness" is gendered in Brazil. However, no prior study has *directly* examined 1) whether brown skin affords women an advantage over dark skin, and 2) whether this advantage is grounded in feminine standards of beauty. In this chapter, I fulfill these gaps by developing a testable hypothesis to examine labor market contexts where brown skin is likely to become a salient basis for advantage among women, and where it is not. In doing so, I argue that what scholars think of as a "mulatto escape hatch" or a mixed-race advantage, is highly gendered and context specific (e.g. it depends on employment requirements and cultural schemas). Moreover, I show that the "mulatta advantage" is moderated by class status.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The potential differences in experience between browns and blacks has drawn attention from a range of scholarly traditions. Historians have been interested in examining the relationship between the socioeconomic position of browns and the foundations of race relations in Brazil (Degler 1971; Skidmore 1985), while political scientists tried to link the belief in the brown mobility and the lack of Afro-descendent contestation and mobilization (Marx 1998; Hanchard 1994). Sociologists have been interested in highlighting differences in the patterns of discrimination and inequality between blacks and browns (Silva 1978; 1985; Telles and Lim 1998; Lovell 1989; Telles 2004; Bailey, Loveman, and Muniz 2013). A recent study by

Saperstein and Gullickson (2013) shows that the "mulatto escape hatch" may have existed in the United States between 1870 and 1920.

The Historical Origins of Mixed-Race Individuals

The role of racially mixed individuals in society has been the topic of scholarly, scientific, and political discussion since the early 20th century. In this period, Latin American elites, including Brazilians, debated whether extensive race mixture was always a sign of inferiority, as American and European eugenicists argued, or if should be encouraged as a "biological process of national formation" (Stephan 1991: 137). Rather than rejecting race mixture as a sign of national decay, Latin American social thinkers and government officials argued that race mixture produced a superior racial type, or a "cosmic race," thus turning the eugenics argument about the degeneracy of "half breeds" on its head (Stepan 1991: 139; Ortiz 1988). This was certainly the case in Brazil, where one of the most influential social thinkers of his time, Gilberto Freyre, claimed that the long history of racial miscegenation in Brazil between Africans, Indians, and the Portuguese produced a superior racial type, a type of "cosmic race" (raça cósmica), through the symbolic image of the racially-mixed mulatto.[65] Race mixture was celebrated and incorporated in the official discourse of the state (Telles 2004; Hanchard 1994).

The 'Mulatto Escape-Hatch' Hypothesis

One of the first scholars to argue explicitly that mulattoes, or pardos, in Brazil occupied a special position in society vis-à-vis unmixed blacks (pretos) was American anthropologist Carl Degler (1971). In his influential book, *The Mulatto Escape Hatch*, Degler argued that the lack of enforcement of laws of segregation during the colonial years promoted race mixture and social mobility in Brazil. Over time, Degler argued, a "highly refined etiquette became elaborated…which allowed mulattoes a closer integration with whites" (1971: 222; see also Freyre 1933[2005]: 201). Degler argues that as mulattoes experience social mobility, they tend to distance themselves from blacks, both in terms of racial identification, but also in terms of cultural affiliation. Degler also mentions the stereotype of blacks in Brazil as criminals, lazy, and irresponsible 1971: 123-124). According to this view, the privileged or advantaged position of browns in Brazilian society was key to explaining Brazil's lack of legally enforced segregation, the fluidity of racial categories, and a relative weak racial consciousness. For Marx (1998; see also Daniel 2006), however, the "mulatto escape hatch" was merely an ideological construct fabricated by Brazilian elites to dilute black solidarity and maintain the stability of the state.

Others have tested Degler's theory empirically, but the evidence is mixed. Silva (1978; 1985) found that, contrary to Degler's assertion, the incomes of blacks and browns in Brazil were very similar and lower than the averages for whites, thus suggesting a distinctly white privilege over both browns and blacks. Many social activists in Brazil have used Silva's findings to argue that browns and blacks should be included as one "negro" or black group, since they experience similar levels of discrimination (Telles 2004).

Peter Wade (1993), however, posited that studies of racial inequality in Latin America have overestimated the discrimination against browns, who are actually underrepresented because of the whitening process. Wade argues that browns who experience some sort of social mobility, either through income or by becoming integrated into white society, tend to self-identify as "white," which tends to inflate the average income of whites and deflate the average income of browns. After adjusting for the whitening effect, Wade concludes that the main division in Latin America is between blacks and non-blacks, and that blacks experience a distinct

[65] See also Knight (1990) for a similar process in Mexico.

disadvantage and a much harsher degree of discrimination vis-à-vis whites *and* browns. This hypothesis points to a distinctive black (or dark skin) disadvantage in Brazil (and in Latin America).

Telles and Lim (1998; see also Telles 2004) tested the validity of Silva's white-nonwhite framework and Wade's black-nonblack framework empirically using interviewer classification. They argued that interviewer classification is more consistent with how discrimination works (e.g. based on other's perception), and that they were better able to control for the effects of whitening. The authors found evidence in support of the "mulatto escape hatch hypothesis," as browns earn on average less than whites do, but the brown's income is higher than the average for blacks, thus establishing a ternary hierarchical system of inequality (see also Lovell 1989; Arcand and D'Hombres 2004; Bailey, Loveman, and Muniz 2013). Telles and Lim (1998), however, relied on racial categories to examine the differences between blacks and browns, and not skin color. Moreover, interviewers did not receive training to consistently categorize and classify respondents by race.[66] Thus, it is difficult to ascertain whether the black-brown differences discussed in Telles and Lim (1998) were due to interviewer-biases in classification, which could have underestimate or overestimated the income gap, or to a "brown advantage" over blacks.

The research discussed above relies on self-classified racial categories (Silva 1978; Lovell 1989; Arcand and D'Hombres 2004) and other-classified racial categories (Telles 2014; Telles and Lim 1998) to examine the validity of the "mulatto escape hatch" hypothesis. A recent body of scholarship has used *interviewer-rated* skin color to evaluate differences in socioeconomic and health-related outcomes in the Americas. Findings from the Project on Ethnicity and Race in Latin America (PERLA) has found that respondents with "medium-brown" skin-color tend to fare better in terms of educational attainment and health-related outcomes, compared to those in the dark skin categories (Telles 2014; Telles, Flores, and Urrea-Giraldo 2015; Pereira and Telles 2014; Telles and Steele 2012). [67] However, these differences are not very large. For instance, those in the "medium-brown" skin color categories have a 40 percent lower self-rated health score compared to "light skin" respondents (odds ratio=0.60), while those with "dark" skin have a 39 percent lower self-rated health score, also compared to individuals with "light skin" (odds ratio=0.61) (Pereira and Telles 2014: 247, Table 3). In terms of educational attainment, those with "medium-brown" skin have slightly higher mean years of education (6.8 years) compared to individuals with "dark" skin (6.5 years of education), while individuals with "light" skin have on average 7.8 years of education (Telles 2014). These patterns suggests that, at least with respect to self-rated health outcomes and educational attainment, individuals with "brown" and "dark" skin fare similarly, suggesting a light vs non-light binary.

A recent publication by Bailey, Fialho, and Penner (2015) also used interviewer-rated skin color, but the authors used income as an outcome variable. Bailey and his collaborators

[66] I interviewed an official from the DATAFOLHA survey in Brazil who has knowledge of the methods used in the data set that Telles and Lim (1998) used in their work. This official told me that interviewers were not trained to classify respondents by race and that the self-classification was a more reliable measurement.

[67] In all recent studies from the Project on Ethnicity and Race in Latin America (PERLA), which uses a novel skin color palette methodology, income was not used as the variable of analysis to examine inequality, which would have allowed for researchers to estimate patterns of discrimination in the labor market, albeit indirectly, by skin color. This is because the income variable was available only at the household level, and the survey did not included household size information (Telles, Flores, and Urrea-Ciraldo 2015: 43).

found that the average income of medium-brown and dark skin color categories are "clustered" and similar to patterns observed for the United States (2015: 9; Table 1). This clustering of medium-brown and dark skin color categories suggest a light vs non-light skin color framework in Brazil. However, the works by the PERLA collaborators (Telles 2014; Telles, Flores, and Urrea-Giraldo 2015; Pereira and Telles 2014; Telles and Steele 2012), as well as by Bailey, Fialho, and Penner (2015), rely on survey data, which cannot account for unobserved characteristics of workers, and, therefore, only provide an *indirect* evaluation of discrimination by skin tone.

According to the discussion above, there are three competing hypotheses regarding the position of browns in Brazilian society. First, browns occupy an intermediate position between whites and blacks. Second, whites have a distinct advantage over browns and blacks, who experience similar levels of disadvantage. Lastly, blacks have a distinct disadvantage compared to whites and browns, who experience similar level of privilege. However, there important shortcomings in the literature discussed above. First, in previous studies, scholars adopt a gender-neutral construction of "brownness" in Brazil. This is problematic because if having brown skin (or other "mixed race" features) symbolizes something for men and another for women, as I discuss below, they are likely treated differently in society. Thus, the different stereotypes or meanings attached to "brownness" may shape economic outcomes differently for men and women. By not taking into account the gendered construction of "brownness," existing studies may obscure the possible gendered foundation of the "mulatto/a escape hatch" in Brazil. The lack of attention among scholars to the potential differences between brown and black women in the labor market is striking, especially considering the increase in labor market participation among women in Brazil in the last several decades.

In this chapter, I advance the existing literature in several ways. First, I provide the first examination of the "mulatto escape hatch" hypothesis using skin color as a measurement of "race." Using a skin color measurement in an experimental design allows me to assess the hypothesized "brown" advantage more effectively, since I use a *direct* measurement of discrimination. Second, I also account for how class status moderates the effects of observed "race" (skin color) in assessing the hypothesized advantage of "browns" over "blacks." Previous studies have been unable to control for the effect of class status, which might lead to underestimates or overestimates of discrimination (Wade 1993; Silva 1994). Lastly, my approach focuses on the experiences of women, which have been largely neglected in empirical studies. By taking gender into account, I show that the "mulatto advantage" is not a general phenomenon, whereby having brown skin affords men and women, across different contexts, advantage over those with dark skin, but rather, the "brown advantage" is gendered, classed, and context specific.

A Lack of Attention to the Experiences of (Brown) Women

As noted above, the bulk of the existing studies on the 'mulatto escape hatch' focus on the experiences of brown *men* entirely (Degler 1971; Silva 1978, 1999, 2000) or group men and women together in their analysis (Telles and Lim 1998; Telles 2004; Telles and Paschel 2014; Telles 2014; Bailey, Loveman, and Muniz 2013). In Degler's original work, he relied on examples of male mulattoes, such as well-known abolitionists Luís Gama and Jose do Patrocínio, renowned engineers, such as André Rebouças, and literary scholars, such as Machado de Assis, who were all browns (mulattoes), to support his thesis that mulattoes experienced greater social mobility vis-à-vis (unmixed) Afro-Brazilians. Degler did not, therefore, cite or mention whether brown women (or mulatas) also experienced similar advantages in society. Similarly, Silva

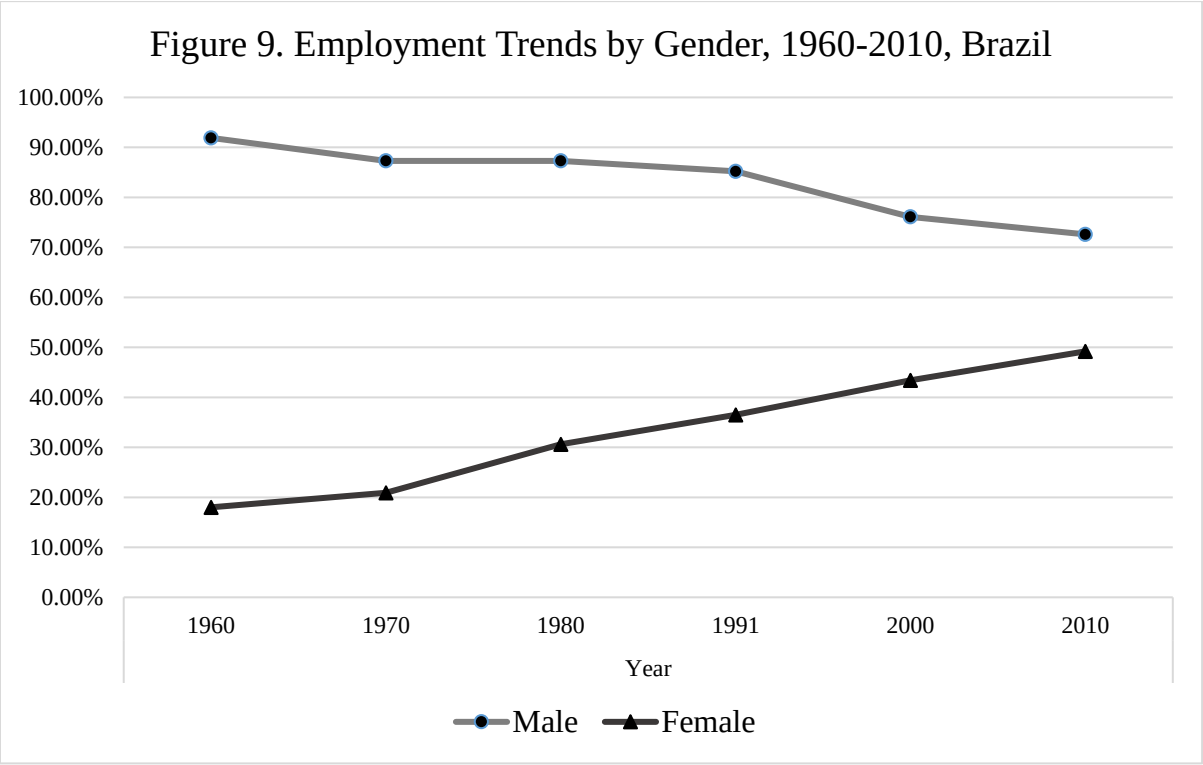
(1978), who was one of the first scholars to refute empirically Degler's thesis, also excluded women from his statistical analysis using 1960 census data. In Silva's (2000) research update on his earlier work, he also limited his analysis to male Brazilians, thus precluding any discussion on the experiences of brown women. Subsequent research on this topic often includes women (e.g. Telles and Lim 1998; Bailey, Fialho, and Penner 2015; Bailey, Loveman, and Muniz 2013), but they group women and men together to examine the validity of the mulatto escape hatch thesis.

The male-centric and gender-neutral approaches to studying the differences between "browns" and "blacks" in Brazil could be the result of personal biases in academic research among male scholars (e.g. Degler 1971; Silva 1978), which tended to actively neglect the experiences of women. On the other hand, the limited labor market participation among women when this line of research first developed could have also led to a focus on male experiences. As I discuss below, this pattern has changed, as a significantly higher number of women are now employed in Brazil than ever before. The increase in labor market participation among women, in particular in the sectors under consideration in the dissertation, such as in entry-level, white-collar jobs, allows for a fruitful examination regarding the hypothesized advantage that Brazilians with mixed-race characteristics (e.g. brown skin) have in society, especially compared to individuals with dark skin.

Women have experienced a significant increase in labor market participation in Brazil in the last several decades. As Figure 9 shows, only 18 percent of women were employed in 1960 (both formal and informal employment) compared to roughly 50 percent employment in 2010.[68] During the same period, the percent of males who were employed decreased from around 92 percent to 73 percent. In addition to an increase of 170 percent in employment rates from 1960 to 2010, the percentage of women classified as "wage" or "salaried" worker increased fourfold during the same period. In 1960, the percentage of women who received a wage was around 11 percent, with a steady increase each decade to roughly 40 percent receiving a wage in 2010. The percentage of males classified as wage earner increased mildly between 1960 and 2010, from 46 percent to 52 percent (Figure 9). [69]

As women entered the labor market in Brazil, they found new opportunities in clerical work, in wholesale and retail markets, and in semi-skilled service jobs. In 1960, for example, only 2.4 percent of Brazilians worked in service, shop, and market sales jobs. In 2010, roughly 11 percent of Brazilians did so (source: IBGE; accessed through IPUMS). These figures point to two important processes. First, it shows that at the time when scholars established the thesis of the mulatto advantage in Brazil, only a small percentage of women participated in the labor market, which might have led scholars (Degler 1971; Silva 1978) to the conclusion that brown mobility only referred to the experiences of men. Second, the expansion of new labor market opportunities in the last several decades have offered new opportunities for women to work, and, therefore, to experience social mobility in their own right. As women have entered the labor market, I ask whether *having brown skin affords women more opportunities than having dark skin.*

[68] Source: IBGE; accessed through IPUMS (https://sda.international.ipums.org/cgi-bin/sdaweb/hsda?harcsda+all_brazil)
[69] Source: IBGE; accessed through IPUMS (https://sda.international.ipums.org/cgi-bin/sdaweb/hsda?harcsda+all_brazil)



Source: IBGE, 2010.

THE GENDERED CONSTRUCTION OF "BROWNNESS" IN BRAZIL

In addition greater labor market integration for women, a review of the existing qualitative research in this area show that the cultural meanings attached to brown skin differ by gender (Caldwell 2007; Williams 2013; Goldstein 2003). Whereas women with "mixed-race" characteristics, such as brown skin, are perceived as being more aesthetically attractive than women with dark skin are. However, the same advantage does not apply to brown men. As I discuss below, Brazilians do not seem assign positive attributes to brown men, at least in relation to dark skin men. While brown women are exalted through a sexualized notion of feminine beauty, brown men are not (Goldstein 2003), brown men are perceived by society as having lower status compared to men with dark skin. Moreover, while Brazilians strongly associate women with dark skin to negative stereotypes, such as having a "place" in society in domestic workers (Caldwell 2007: 68), the same process is not evident for men with dark skin. In other words, men with dark skin (or other "unmixed" characteristics) do not embody the same occupational stigma as women with dark skin, at least as evidenced by the existing literature and survey data. I discuss the stereotypes for "brown" men and women in more detail below.

Brown Men and Stereotypes

Although the original theorization and construction of the "mulatto escape hatch" hypothesis (e.g. Degler 1971) relied heavily on the experiences of brown men and their "advantage" over blacks in Brazil, a closer look at existing stereotypes contradicts this claim. In a nationally representative survey (Pesquisa Social Brasileira, PESB 2002), respondents were

asked to look at eight photographs, all of which were males, with varying phenotypical features and choose the photograph that, in their opinion, appeared to be a criminal. As Table 9 below shows, 42.18 percent of respondents thought that the "brown" photographs looked like criminals, compared to 16.28 percent for the "black" photographs, and 16.98 percent for the "white" photographs. When asked who looked like "hustlers" (malandros), 38.6 percent of respondents chose the "brown" photographs, compared to 20.34 percent and 23.63 percent for the "white" and "black" photographs, respectively. The survey also revealed a strong association between brown skin among males and unskilled and manual labor, such as being a garbage collector (36 percent), door attendant (44 percent), and loader/picker (42.94 percent). Being "black" was strongly associated with working as a shoeshiner/boot polisher (37.44 percent), and moderately associated with being a garbage collector (31.71 percent).

Table 9. Racial Stereotypes in Brazil, PESB (2002)

	Racial Categories[70]		
Racial Stereotypes	white	brown	black
Of the Eight Photographs below,			
Who appears to have more education?	54.2%	21.6%	16.7%
Who appears to be smarter/more intelligent?	48.1%	20.3%	21.9%
Who appears to be a criminal?	16.9%	42.2%	16.3%
Who appears to be a hustler ("malandro")?	20.3%	38.6%	23.6%
Who appears to be honest?	40.9%	22.4%	24.6%
Who looks like a door attendant?	22.9%	44.1%	26%
Who looks like a garbage collector?	16.8%	36.4%	31.7%
Who looks like a picker/loader?	17.4%	42.9%	29.5%
Who looks like a shoeshiner/boot polisher?	18.4%	27%	37.4%

Source: Pesquisa Social Brasileira, 2002. Based on the author's calculations.[71]

Unfortunately, the PESB survey did not ask about entry-level, semi-skilled jobs, such as in sales and clerical/administrative assistant jobs, so it is unclear how stereotypes vary by race/skin color for such occupations. The survey included questions about "being smart or intelligent," and who appears to have more education, which might shed light on how employers use skin color to judge applicants by skin color, in particular if they perceive browns more favorably vis-à-vis blacks. As Table 9 illustrates, respondents from the PESB survey rate browns and blacks similarly in terms of the perception of being smart or intelligent, with 20.25 percent and 21.94 percent, respectively. In terms of being perceived as having more education, browns

[70] I combined the percentages for the photographs that were classified by respondents as "white," "brown," and "black" and then added the percentages for these photographs to determine the percentages presented above.

[71] The author thanks Stan Bailey for making available the photograph cards from the PESB data set as well as Bobray J. Bordelon from Princeton University for making the PESB data set available.

have a slight advantage over blacks (21.62 percent vs 16.67 percent). These patterns suggest that brown males do not have a significant advantage in terms of positive perceptions. Rather, respondents perceive white males as being smarter (48 percent) and as having more education (54 percent).

As the discussion above illustrates, Brazilians tend to perceive brown men in a more negative light than blacks and whites. There is a stronger association between having brown skin and looking like a criminal and a hustler. When we examine positive stereotypes, such as being smart and having more education, the differences between brown and black males are negligible. Thus, at best, brown men in Brazil do not have any distinct advantage in terms of culturally constructed stereotypes, and, at worst, are viewed more negatively than blacks (e.g. males with dark skin).

Brown Women and Stereotypes

As the discussion above illustrates, there is no evidence that Brazilians perceive males who have brown skin as having a superior status vis-à-vis men who have dark skin. If anything, findings from a nationally representative survey reveal that for men, having mixed-race physical characteristics offers a disadvantage, and not privilege, since society tends to associate "brownness" with lower status jobs and with negative stereotypes, such as being a hustler and a criminal. These patterns are puzzling, given the dominant assumption in the literature that browns, in particular males (e.g. Degler 1971) have a special (e.g. better) place in Brazilian society than do black males. If anything, survey data would predict that they would fare worse in the job market, and thus, experience lower mobility, given that perceptions of criminal behavior and trickery (being a hustler) are directly associated with negative behaviors that might lead employers to exclude them from formal employment.[72] While having brown skin (or mixed race status) does not seem to carry any positive valuation for men, it does so among women.

One of the first scholars to advocate for the aesthetic "superiority" of brown women in Brazil was Gilberto Freyre, who first articulated the idea of Brazil as a "racial democracy" (*democracia racial*). Freyre's formulations about Brazil's progress through racial miscegenation were heavily influenced by eugenics and feminine aesthetics. Freyre argued in 1984, nearly fifty years after his influential book *Masters and Slaves* (*A Casa Grande e a Senzala*, 1933), that the sexual unions between white masters and slave women in Brazil was a 'anthropologically eugenic and aesthetic experiment…that regulated the saliences of buttocks, avoiding Africanoid exaggerations" (Jarrin 2015: 542). For Freyre, race mixture worked to "regulate" beauty (e.g. to *whiten*), which helped to avoid racial "exaggeration" associated with Afro-centric physical features. Similar to the neo-Lamarckian generation before him, Freyre believed that physical aesthetics was one of the key measurements of Brazil's eugenic progress. The "beautiful" brown bodies that race mixture created became the *idealized* version of the Brazilian citizen, which helped create a racially hybrid, but homogenous society (Jarrin 2015).

The social construction of feminine whiteness and brownness as aesthetically attractive has influenced social policy and the efforts by the state to provide resources for Brazilians, for the most part women, to achieve the "mixed-race" ideal. Jarrin's (2015) ethnographic research shows that working class Brazilians, especially those who are largely racially-mixed and Afro-descendant, internalize the valuation of the "mulatta" features. It is not uncommon for working class Brazilians to seek out plastic surgeries, which are subsidized by the state, to "correct"

[72] This is based on the assumption that employers would value workers who are honest and hard working.

"negroid" features, such as an enlarged nose (Jarrin 2015: 546).[73] The issue of aesthetics is so deeply ingrained in Brazilian society that the state provides free plastic surgery for the poor, which is largely non-white. The Brazilian Society of Aesthetic Medicine, which performs free plastic surgery procedures and has over 220 clinics across the country, is motivated by the idea that "beauty is right and that the poor deserves to be ravishing too."[74] Plastic surgery is so common in Brazil that with 11.5 million plastic surgeries conducted, it has the second highest rate of this type of procedure in the world, second only to the United States.[75] Jarrin (2015) shows that physicians who perform the plastic surgery see themselves as agents of social improvement, which targets specifically the working poor. Those who have plastic surgery believe that modifying their bodies to achieve a "whiter" ideal will lead to greater labor market opportunities (Jarrin 2015).

Several existing studies also support the idea Brazilians perceive "mulatas" (women with mixed-race physical characteristics) as more aesthetically desirable than Afro-descendant women with "unmixed" features (Burdick 1998; Rezende e Lima 2004; Goldstein 2003; Williams 2013; Caldwell 2007). According to Burdick (1998), brown women in Brazil "embody the male sexual fantasy of uniting the white woman's respectability with the black woman's lubricity and powerlessness" (30). The term "mulata" refers to women with racially-mixed features, such as brown skin, as sexually and aesthetically desirable within Brazilian discourses on gender and sexuality (Caldwell 2007: 62-63).[76] The "mulatas" are "often viewed as a feminine ideal to which many Brazilian young women aspire" (Caldwell 2007: 59).There is also some anecdotal evidence that the exaltation of brown women as aesthetically desirable translates into some sort of advantage in society. Rezende and Lima (2004), for instance, argue that employers do treat brown and black women differently in the labor market. The larger percentage of black women working in domestic work (37%), compared to brown women (27%), is likely based on employers' preference toward brown (and white) women in non-manual occupations that rely on appearance, such as receptionist, sales, and secretary jobs (see also Caldwell 2007: 59; Goldstein 2003: 114). Based on these existing racialized stereotypes, brown women may have a higher chance of being hired in entry level, white-collar jobs than black women do, which might suggest a "mulatta escape hatch" in Brazil.

The examples discussed above support the idea that Brazilians valuate female "brownness." There is some evidence that having brown skin is not simply an aesthetic choice, but may also translate into possible advantages in the labor market. This advantage, to the extent that it exists, may be more salient in occupations that require or value "good appearance." As noted previously (Chapter 2 of this dissertation), one of the mechanisms that employers used until recently to recruit workers for occupations with higher female representation, such as

[73] This is a striking contrast to mixed-race women in the United States, who, when faced with the stigma of having non-white features, challenge the normative constructions of race (e.g. whiteness is superior and aesthetically beautiful) by perceiving their "whiteness" as a source of stigma, and not their blackness (Storrs 1999: 188).
[74] http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2119099/Beauty-right-Brazils-poor-FREE-plastic-surgery-make-look-better.html.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Caldwell (2007: 63) explains that some women prefer the term "morena" over the term "mulata" because they reject the dominant notion of female subjectivity associated with being "sexualized," as an object of consumption. These two terms, however, refer to the same phenotype and color appearance (e.g. brown skin).

receptionist, secretary, and market sales, was to ask for "good appearance" on job ads.[77] The term "good appearance" embodies a Eurocentric notion of beauty and moral quality, such as hygiene, good conduct, trustworthiness, and an unruffled disposition (Caldwell 2007: 66). For ordinary Brazilians, the term "good appearance" means, "not being black and being pretty" (Hordge-Freeman 2015: 84). According to employers, a job candidate with "good appearance" tends to be slim, lighter skinned, and with "fine features" (traços finos), which include "good hair" (cabelo bom), "clean skin" (pele limpa), and "fine nose" (nariz fino) (Jarrin 2015: 546). In short, the *closer* one gets to these Euro-centric features, the higher the chances of getting a job, especially in occupations that value "appearance."

One of Caldwell's (2007) interviewees, for instance, a thirty-five-year-old Afro-Brazilian woman, explained why she failed to obtain a job as a secretary, even though she was qualified and was a top student in her class:

> "…for this type of position: secretary, receptionist…they always say that the secretary, the receptionist is the face of the business, and the business is not going to have a *black face*. It is not going to have a face that does not fit the pre-established standard of beauty" (*emphasis added,* quoted in Caldwell 2007: 67).

In essence, the criteria for judging one's "good appearance" operates on a continuum, and having physical traits close to whiteness operates as a type of *capital* that translates into economic resources and social advantages. Hordge-Freeman (2015) builds on Bourdieu's concept of "embodied capital" to show how Brazilian families negotiate and manage their physical traits in different contexts. Hordge-Freeman (2015) argues that physical traits are a type of "embodied capital" in the same way as other acquired predispositions, such as manners, accent, language, dress, and tastes (cf. Bourdieu). Bourdieu (1985) argued that the more one embodies the traits of the dominant groups, the more opportunities she will have in society. Similarly, Hordge-Freeman (2015) shows that the closer one gets to whiteness, the more successful she will be because the dominant group (in this case, white Brazilians) determines standards of beauty and appearance. Thus, the extent to which appearance leads to better labor market outcomes depends on how close one gets to whiteness. Based on this criterion, possessing brown skin may afford women with brown skin an aesthetic advantage over women with dark skin.

In addition to a racialized construction of feminine beauty and physical attractiveness, which places Euro-centric features at the top of the hierarchy, and Afro-centric features, such as dark skin, at the bottom of the aesthetic hierarchy, Brazilians strongly believe that the place of black women is "in the kitchen (Caldwell 2007; Williams 2013). Thus, it is not merely that employers might exclude women with dark skin based because they do not possess the aesthetically desired phenotype, but also because they believe that formal employment in an office is not their "place" in society. In other words, dark skin women may not be excluded from formal employment, in particular in occupations that are now available to women (e.g. entry-level, white-collar jobs), simply because their physical features are devalued, but also because employers (and society in general) believe that their "place" is doing domestic work (Caldwell 2007; Williams 2013: 49-50).[78]

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[77] Current legislation forbids employers from asking for "good appearance" on job advertisements, though many employers still do so.

[78] Caldwell (2007) argues that Afro-Brazilian women in Brazil who are excluded from formal employment, especially in semi-skilled, white-collar jobs, do so because employers (and society at large) believe that their proper

EMPIRICAL PREDICTIONS

As the discussion above illustrates, a "gendered construction of brownness" exists in Brazil. On the one hand, having a mixed-race status (e.g. brown skin) for men does not seem to correlate well with any positive stereotypes, and, importantly, with the empirical findings in my previous chapter. That is, male applicants with brown skin do not have an advantage over dark skin applicants in entry-level, semi-skilled jobs, independent of class status. These findings contradict Degler's (1971) original hypothesis and support Silva's (1978, 1985, 2000) findings regarding the lack of a brown advantage among *men* in Brazil.[79] However, when we examine the differences among women, we observe a hierarchy stratified by skin color, with light skin at the top, medium-brown in the middle, and dark skin at the bottom (Chapter 4 of this dissertation).

These findings are consistent with the existing qualitative research on the social construction of brownness, which suggests a positive valuation of "brown" women's aesthetics, at least in comparison with "unmixed" Afro-Brazilian women. Importantly, as existing insights from qualitative research hypothesize, aesthetics and feminine standards of beauty are the *driving forces* behind a "mulatta" advantage. In other words, to the extent that brown skin affords women with an advantage over black women in Brazil, it is in the context of a social evaluation of beauty.

The intersection of gender, color gradation preferences (colorism), and aesthetics is seldom integrated in empirical studies that seek to investigate the hypothesized advantage of having mixed-race features, such as medium-brown skin. As Mark Hill (2002) points out, several existing studies in the United States have shown that having lighter skin among African Americans has more bearing on the lives of women than on those of African American men (e.g. Drake and Cayton 1945; Russell et al. 1992). There is some evidence that, similar to the Brazilian case, lighter skin African American women are perceived as more sexually attractive, at least by African American men (Clark and Clark 1980). Facing the dominant discourse around physical attractiveness and whiteness in the United States, many African American women are compelled to change their physical appearance to emulate whiteness, using skin bleach, hair dye, and straightening combs (Russell et al 1992).

These findings reveal a gendered nature of colorism in the United States, which is based on feminine standards of (white) beauty. In order to test this hypothesis, Hill (2002) used a nationally representative sample to show that having lighter skin is strongly associated with physical attractiveness for African American women, but not so for African American men. In other words, the scores for physical attractiveness increased as the skin color of respondents went from dark to light among females. However, the correlation between physical attractiveness and skin color was weak and statistically insignificant (Hill 2002). For African American men,

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"place" of employment is in the house doing domestic work, and not in an office. They are denied a "space" to exercise their right as workers, therefore revealing the "geography of racialized and gendered inequality in Brazil" (68).

[79] Silva (1978), however, found that whites have an advantage over both browns and blacks, while my findings revealed that in entry-level, white-collar jobs, male applicants with light skin did not have any advantage over brown or dark skin applicants. My findings contradict Silva's findings, but this difference could be the result of many factors. For instance, Silva did not distinguish between occupations and his white-nonwhite differences could be driven by higher levels of discrimination among professional and skilled workers. Alternatively, the white/non-white gap could be the result of boundary shifts, since Silva used (as others generally do) racial self-classification, which tends to be inconsistent (see Telles 2004).

having dark skin could be an asset in terms of physical attractiveness (Wade 1996), although in other realms, such as in schools, dark skin men may encounter biases related to intellectual abilities and aggression (Hudley and Graham 2001).

As the Brazilianist and Americanist literatures suggest, the advantages having "brown" skin (or other mixed-race characteristics) is gendered, and, importantly, based on feminine standards of physical attractiveness. In this Chapter, I test this claim empirically for the Brazilian case. Rather than using observer-rated skin tone or self-rated skin tone from surveys, I use, for the first time, an experimental approach to evaluate the intersection of skin color, gender, and aesthetics in shaping inequality. In order to achieve this, I evaluate whether women with brown skin in occupations that rely more heavily on "appearance," such as receptionist, secretary, and market sales, have a higher callback rate than women with dark skin (hypothesis 7). In occupations that rely less on "appearance," such as clerical and administrative assistant jobs, the hypothesized advantage in having brown skin is less salient, and, consequently, will not lead to a large brown-dark differences in callbacks. In such occupations, I predict that brown skin and dark skin women will have similar chances of receiving a callback (hypothesis 8).

Hypothesis 7: in jobs that rely on "appearance," women with brown skin will have an advantage over women with dark skin.

Hypothesis 8: in jobs that do not rely on "appearance," women with brown skin will not have an advantage over women with dark skin.

Class Status and the Social Construction of Brownness

As discussed in more depth earlier in the dissertation, the existing literature on race relations in Brazil (Telles 2004; Schwartzman 2007; Wagley 1968), as well as in the United States (e.g. Penner and Saperstein 2008) suggest that class status intersects with "race" (phenotype) to shape racial perceptions and racial categorization. Based on these perspectives, a "brown" Brazilian with higher class status would be more accepted (e.g. whitened) by society than a "brown" Brazilian with lower class status. Using existing theories, I ask whether any advantage that brown skin affords to women, as discussed above, is moderated by class status.

ANALYTIC STRATEGY

In this chapter, I have two main objectives. First, I seek to examine whether the "brown" advantage (e.g. "mulatta escape hatch") has roots in feminine standards of beauty, as the existing research suggests, which would lead to a large brown-skin vs dark-skin gap in callback rates in occupations that rely more heavily on "appearance." Conversely, if the "mulatta" advantage is indeed rooted in a positive valuation of beauty, the brown-skin vs dark-skin gap will be low (e.g. black and brown females have similar callback rates) in occupations that *do not* rely heavily on "appearance." I classify the occupational categories as "appearance" and "non-appearance." I grouped the occupations of receptionist, secretary, and sales under the "appearance" category. I selected these three occupations because they have been found to rely on "appearance" by employers (Bento 1995: 482; Caldwell 2007: 66). These occupations entail more contact with customers and are located in the "front stage" of the work place, e.g. the company's visibility is associated with the employee's "appearance."[80] Under the "non-appearance" category are occupations that rely less on appearance and where workers often have limited direct contact

[80] Bento's (1995: 485) analysis of recruitment practices in Brazil show that in jobs that are more likely to be associated with the company's visibility, such as secretary, receptionist, and sales, employers are less likely to hire Afro-descendant workers.

with customers, such as in clerical and administrative assistant work. In these jobs, workers are less likely to represent the "face" of the company or its products, and they are located in the "backstage" of the workspace.

In order to examine the *effects of having brown skin* among women in the two occupational categories ("appearance"=1 and "non-appearance"=0), I apply a logistic regression model that takes into account the *interaction* of skin color (light, medium-brown, and dark) and occupational category ("appearance" and "nonappearance") for a sample of all female job applicants in the data (N=731). This model is specified below (equation 5). I control for the effects of city (Rio de Janeiro=1), class status ("middle class"=1), skill level requirements on the job advertisements (Yes=1), and job experience listed on the job advertisements (Yes=1). I use the predictions metric to examine the predicted probabilities of receiving a callback for light, medium-brown, and dark skin applicants for the two occupational categories.

I fit the model as specified in Equation (4) to calculate the Average Marginal Effects (AME)[81] of skin color at occupational level. The marginal effects measures the discrete change in the predicted probabilities as the main predictor variable *skin color*. I am interested in examining the magnitude of the effects and statistical significance of the differences in the predicted probabilities when we change the skin color category from dark skin to brown skin at the two levels of occupation ("appearance" vs "non-appearance").

Equation 4:

$$\Pr(y = 1|\beta_1 \dots \beta_7) = (\exp(\alpha + \beta_1 \cdot mediumbrown * appearance + \beta_2 \cdot dark\ skin * appearance + \beta_3 \cdot middleclass + \beta_4 \cdot city + \beta_5 \cdot skill + \beta_6 \cdot experience + \beta_7 \cdot education)/(1 + \exp(\exp(\alpha + \beta_1 \cdot mediumbrown * appearance + \beta_2 \cdot dark\ skin * appearance + \beta_3 \cdot middleclass + \beta_4 \cdot city + \beta_5 \cdot skill + \beta_6 \cdot experience + \beta_7 \cdot education))$$

The second goal of the chapter is to evaluate whether the "brown" advantage is moderated by class status. Specifically, I examine whether class status moderates the effects of having brown skin among women in the two job categories ("appearance" and "non-appearance"). In order to achieve this, I apply a second logistic regression model that takes into account the *interaction* of skin color (light, medium brown, and dark), occupational category ("appearance" and "non-appearance"), and class status ("poor" and "middleclass"). I also control for the effects of city (Rio de Janeiro=1), skill level requirements on the job advertisements (Yes=1), and job experiences required on the job advertisements, such as (Yes=1). Similar to Equation (4), I fit the logistic regression model as specified in Equation (5) to calculate the Average Marginal Effects (AME),[82] or the discrete change in the predicted probabilities when the skin color variable changes from dark skin to brown skin, at the two occupation levels and at the two class status levels.

[81] I use the Average Marginal Effects, which calculates the mean of predictions across observations in the sample (Long and Freese 2014).

[82] I use the Average Marginal Effects, which calculates the mean of predictions across observations in the sample (Long and Freese 2014).

Equation 5:

$$\Pr(y = 1|\beta_1 \dots \beta_6) = (\exp(\alpha + \beta_1 \cdot mediumbrown * appearance * middeclass + \beta_2 \cdot dark\ skin * appearance * middleclass + \beta_3 \cdot city + \beta_4 \cdot skill + \beta_5 \cdot experience + \beta_6 \cdot education)/(1 + \exp(\exp(\alpha + \beta_1 \cdot mediumbrown * appearance + \beta_2 \cdot dark\ skin * appearance * middleclass + \beta_3 \cdot city + \beta_4 \cdot skill + \beta_5 \cdot experience + \beta_6 \cdot education))$$

EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

I begin by examining the callback rates for the three skin color categories by occupational context ("appearance" versus "no appearance"). To review, I hypothesized that in occupations that value appearance, such as sales, secretary, and receptionist jobs, women with brown skin would have an advantage over women with dark skin because of the higher valuation of aesthetics toward mixed-race and Euro-centric phenotype (Hypothesis 7). In occupations that value appearance less, such as in back office jobs (clerical and administrative assistant occupations), I hypothesized that brown women would not have a relative advantage over women with dark skin because aesthetics is less salient in such contexts (Hypothesis 8). My findings provide evidence that the relative advantage of women with brown skin is contingent on occupational context. As Figure 10 shows, women with light skin and brown skin were nearly twice as likely to receive a callback in occupations that value "appearance" compared to women with dark skin. The differences in callback between light skin and dark skin (15.6 percent versus 7.9 percent) was statistically significant at the .05 confidence level ($|z|$=2.31, p=0.02). The differences between applicants with brown skin and dark skin (14.9 percent versus 7.9 percent) was also statistically significant ($|z|$=2.13, p=0.03). However, the small differences between light skin and brown skin applicants was very small and statistically insignificant (p>.05). These patterns suggest that in occupations that value appearance, women with brown skin experience similar levels of privilege, while women with dark skin experience a distinct disadvantage.

In occupations that do not value appearance (e.g. clerical and administrative assistant jobs), a larger gap exists between light skin and brown skin (14 percent versus 8.9 percent, $|z|$=0.19, p=.397) between light skin and dark skin applicants (14 percent versus 7.3 percent, $|z|$=1.16, p=.246). However, these differences are not statistically significant at the .05 confidence level. The difference in callback between brown skin and dark skin applicants was small (1.6 percent) and not statistically significant (p>.05). These patterns suggest that in clerical and administrative assistant occupations, female applicants with brown skin seem to have experiences similar to women with dark skin (e.g. lack of a "mulatta" advantage). My findings fail to show strong evidence that women with light skin are privileged over women with brown skin and dark skin. Thus, the relative advantage that women with brown skin have in the labor market over women with dark skin is contingent on the occupational context.

Women with light skin and brown skin have a type of "bodily capital" (Hordge-Freeman 2015), whereby mixed-race phenotype and Euro-centric phenotype are *converted* or *translated* into economic gains. However, this conversion is not universal, but rather context or occupationally specific. These patterns are nearly identical when I applied a logistic regression model accounting for metropolitan context, perceived class status (through class-specific names), and employer preferences (any skills, education, and work-related experience listed in the job ad).

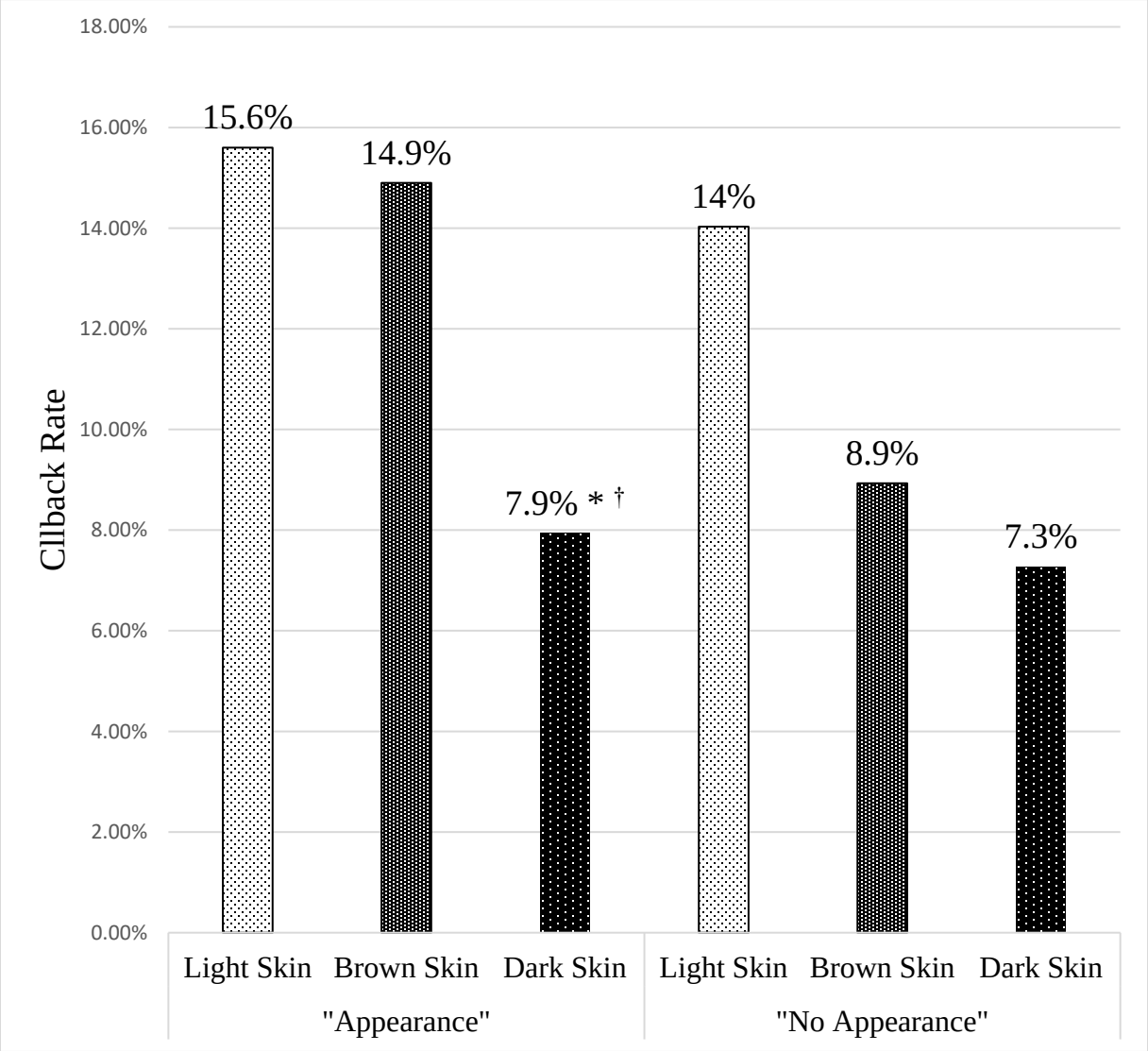

Figure 10. Callback Rates by Skin Color and Occupation Type
Source: Original experimental study data. Note: All statistical tests are *z*-tests for differences in proportions. Statistical significance comparing skin color for all resumes sent (N=731).
**p*< .05 (two-tailed tests) for differences between light skin and dark skin applicants for "appearance" jobs (two-tailed tests).
^{+}p<.05 (two-tailed tests) for differences between brown skin and dark skin applicants for "appearance" jobs (two-tailed tests).

These findings are similar when I control for city context and job ad requirements (prior work experience, skills, and educational requirements). Table 10 presents the average marginal effects of having dark skin, using brown skin as the baseline category in the logistic regression model (Equation 5). It reveals that, for clerical and administrative assistant jobs ("no appearance"), the change in probability when the variable skin color changes from brown to dark skin decreases roughly 2 percentage points, but this change is statistically insignificant ($p>0.10$). However, in sales, secretary, and receptionist jobs, the change in probability when skin color goes from brown to dark skin, decreases by roughly 7 percentage points, and this change is statistically significant ($p=0.032$). These findings support my earlier conclusions that for jobs that tend to have more customer contact, and those in which the employees' appearance is associated with the visibility of the company, having brown skin affords an advantage over dark skin. However, in jobs that entail less customer contact and visibility, the "brown" advantage is small and statistically insignificant.

Table 10. Average Marginal Effects for Female Applicants by Occupational Type

Job Type	**Average Marginal Effects** **"**Dark Skin"
"No Appearance" Jobs	**-0.0216** (0.0544)
"Appearance" Jobs	**-0.0674**** (0.0321)
Observations	731

Notes:
Brown skin color is the baseline category used to calculate the discrete change in the predicted probabilities. That is, the numbers in column 1 reflect the discrete change when the skin color variable changes from brown to dark, at the occupational levels indicated ("appearance" vs "no appearance"), holding other variables in the model constant.
Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05 (two-tailed tests)

Does Class Status moderate the effects of Skin Color?

Next, I sought to examine if perceived class status might moderate the hypothesized brown advantage in employment. My analytic strategy is to examine the intersection of class status and skin color in predicting the likelihood of receiving a callback from employers. To this end, I fit the model to calculate the Average Marginal Effects (AME), or the discrete change in predicted probabilities for receiving a callback at each class status level.[83] I am interested in

[83] I also present the coefficients (odds ratio) for the interaction model (class status*skin color) in Table A1 (model 2) in the Appendix. I use the predictions metric for interpreting interactions in non-linear models because it allows for an examination of the effects of a particular variable of interest by specifying the values of other independent variables. This is because unlike linear regression models, in which the effect of a given independent variable is the same, regardless of the value of that variable at the start of its change, the parameter of the coefficient changes

examining the magnitude of the effects and statistical significance of the differences in the predicted probabilities when we change the skin color category from dark skin to brown skin at the class status levels, net of other variables (e.g. metropolitan area, occupation, as well as skill, experience, and education requirements listed on the job ads).

As Figure 11 shows, among women with lower class names, the gap in callback is between light skin and non-light skin (brown skin and dark skin) applicants. The differences in predicted probabilities between light skin and brown skin applicants with lower class names was 8.7 percent (18.4 predictive margins versus 9.6 predictive margins) and this difference was statistically significant ($|z|$=-2.0, p=.046). The differences in predicted probabilities between light skin and dark skin applicants with lower class names was also statistically significant (18.4 predictive margins versus 6.5 predictive margins, $|z|$=-2.86, p=.004). These patterns suggest that having a lower class name moderates the positive valuation of brownness in the labor market. That is, while Brazilians tend to attribute a higher valuation toward mixed-race phenotype at the discursive level, any advantages that Brazilian women with brown skin experience is mitigated by having lower class status. In fact, the experiences of women with brown skin and women with dark skin and lower class status are very similar. These patterns suggest that among lower class women, those with light skin experience a distinct advantage over women with brown skin and dark skin. Among applicants with middle class names, however, the differences in predicted probabilities between light skin, brown skin, and dark skin applicants are smaller. Applicants with brown skin had the highest predicted probability of receiving a callback (17.2 predictive margins), followed by women with light skin (12.5 predictive margins), and women with dark skin with the lowest predicted probability (9.0 predictive margins). These results show that skin color intersects with class status to shape employment outcomes in Brazil. Having a lower class status mitigates any advantage that women with brown skin have over women with dark skin. For women with brown skin, having a middle class status (as indicated by the first and last names), increases the probability of receiving a callback, although the differences in callbacks are not statistically significant. My findings suggest that the "mulatta advantage" is contingent on perceived class status and on occupational context.

depending on the values of other variables in nonlinear models. Moreover, in nonlinear models, the odds ratio metric does not take into account the changes in probabilities at the values before it changes (Long and Freese 2014).

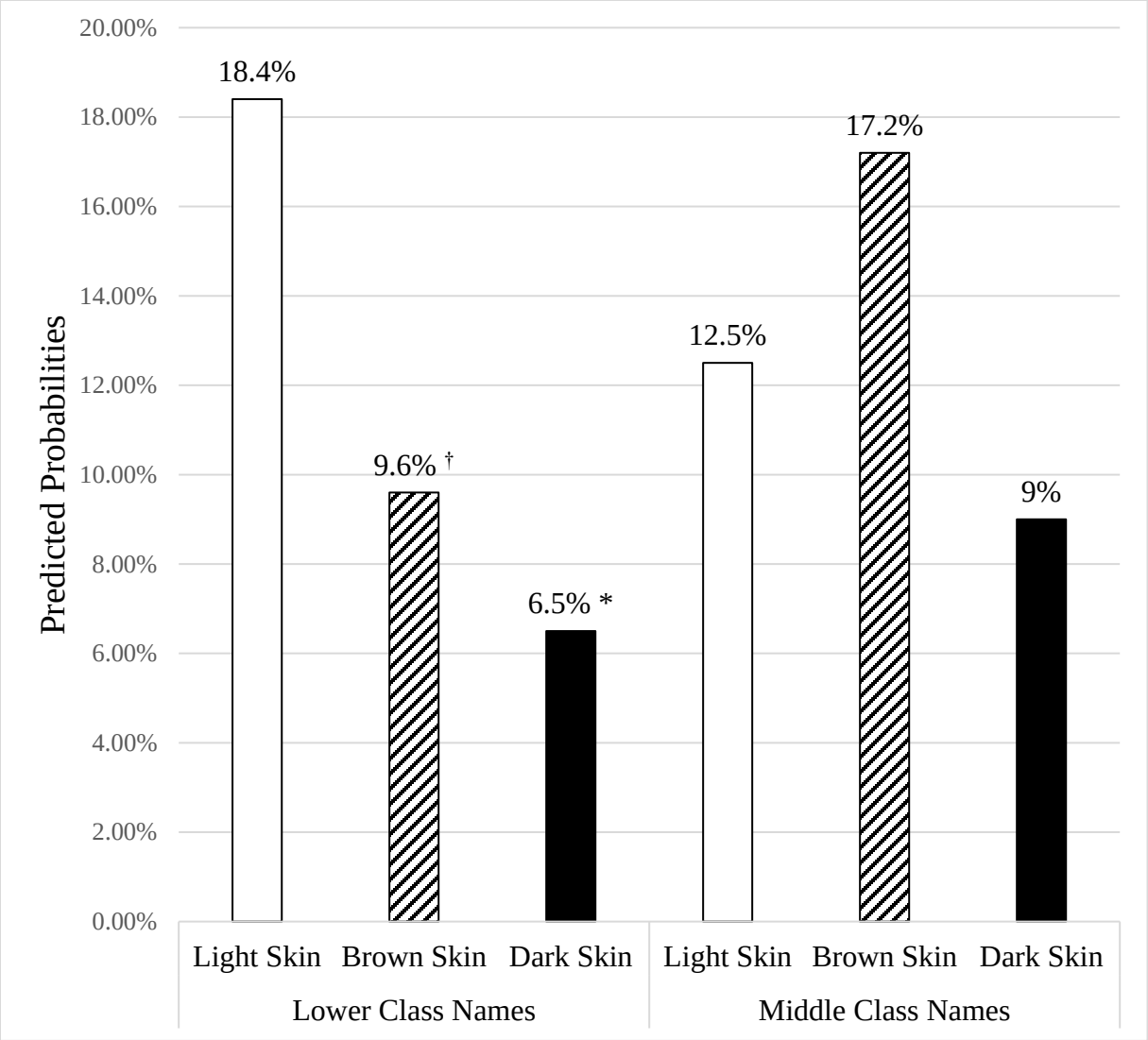

Figure 11. Predicted Probabilities for Receiving a Callback by Skin Color and Class Status.
Source: Original experimental study data.
Note: Results based on a logistic regression model that takes into account the interaction of skin color and class status (n=731). All values for the other variables in the model (city, occupation, and job ad requirements) are as is (Average Adjusted Predictions). I computed the predicted probabilities with the values of other variables in the model at their means (Adjusted Predictions at Means) and found similar results. Statistical significance comparing the differences in predicted probabilities, or the marginal effects, between light skin and dark skin applicants, and between brown skin and dark skin applicants, within the same class status level (poor or middle class).
*p< .05 (two-tailed tests) for differences in the predicted probabilities between light skin and dark skin applicants with lower class names.
^{+}p<.05 (two-tailed tests) for differences in the predicted probabilities between light skin and brown skin applicants with lower class names.

Next, I ask whether the effects of having brown skin are moderated by having a middle-class status (e.g. a middle-class sounding name). As Table 11 shows, the magnitude of having brown skin compared to having dark skin is large and statistically significant for jobs that value "appearance." Having dark skin decreases the probability of receiving a callback by roughly 10 percent compared to having brown skin (p=.0487, Row 4, Table 11). Put differently, the brown-dark skin gap, or the "mulatta advantage" is 10 percentage points in occupations that place a higher value on "appearance." However, in occupations that do not value "appearance," such as clerical and administrative assistant jobs, the brown-dark skin gap is very small and statistically insignificant (row 3, Table 11).

Among resumes with "lower class" names, the change in probability when the variable skin color changes from brown to dark is also small and statistically insignificant (p>.10), independent of whether the job values "appearance" or not. For instance, although women with dark skin are 3 percent less likely to receive a callback compared to women with brown skin in occupations that value "appearance" (row 2, Table 11), and 4 percent less likely for occupations that do not value "appearance" (row 1, Table 11), these differences are not statistically significant. Thus, among women with lower-class status, having brown skin does not seem to lead to a "mulatta advantage," regardless of whether the job values "appearance."

These patterns reveal an important, and previously unexplored link between the gendered construction of "brownness," class status, and racial inequality in Brazil. My findings show that to the extent that brown women have an advantage over dark skin women, this advantage is moderated by class status and it is contingent on the type of job. More importantly, however, is the severity of the penalty associated with having dark skin in Brazil, especially among women. In short, the extent to which there is a brown skin advantage (e.g. a "mulatta escape hatch") among women, is likely to be found in contexts where aesthetics play a more important role, such as in occupations that place higher value on "appearance," and in which employees represent, to some extent, the company's visibility.

CONCLUSION

In this Chapter, I sought to explain the basis for the brown-skin vs dark-skin gap in callback rates among female applicants, a pattern presented in more depth in Chapter 4. As noted previously, employers did not privilege light skin over brown skin and dark skin among male applicants, which points to a lack of "mulatto" advantage among men in entry-level, white-collar jobs. My findings revealed a skin color gap between light skin women and dark skin women, in particular those with "lower-class" names, but the light skin vs. brown skin gap was small and statistically insignificant. In order to examine these patterns further, I relied on existing research on the social construction of "brownness" and stereotyping to examine the basis for the observed "mulatta" advantage. In doing so, my analysis fills an important gap in the existing literature on the hypothesized "mulatto" mobility by focusing on the experiences of women. The bulk of the existing research on the "mulatto escape-hatch" hypothesis focuses on the experiences of male Brazilians, or group men and women together in their analyses. In doing so, I argue, the existing literature assumes that having brown skin (or other mixed-race characteristics) is gender neutral. That is, it assumes that if having brown skin affords some sort of advantage in society, it does so similarly to men and women.

Table 11. Average Marginal Effects for Dark Skin by Class status

Job Category	Average Marginal Effects [a] Dark Skin
	"Lower Class" Resumes
"No Appearance" jobs	**-0.0407**
	(0.0646)
"Appearance" Jobs	**-0.0312**
	(0.0410)
	"Middle Class" Resumes
"No Appearance" Jobs	**-0.00360**
	(0.0872)
"Appearance" Jobs	**-0.103****
	(0.0487)
Observations	731

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses, *** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05 (two-tailed tests)

[a] Brown skin color is the baseline category used to calculate the discrete change in the predicted probabilities. That is, the numbers in column 1 reflect the discrete change when the skin color variable changes from brown to dark, at the occupational levels indicated ("appearance" vs "no appearance") and at the class status levels ("lower class" vs "middle class"), holding other variables in the model constant.

Building on existing ethnographic research, which shows that a higher valuation of "brownness" is linked to gendered constructions of feminine aesthetics, I developed and tested two hypotheses that predict the contexts in which having brown skin may be advantageous. One hypothesis predicted that in jobs that rely on and value "appearance," the brown-dark skin gap would be large (and statistically significant). The second hypothesis predicted that among jobs that rely less on "appearance," the brown-dark skin gap would be small (and statistically insignificant). My findings supported my empirical predictions and showed that the advantage of having brown skin is moderated by the occupational context. Furthermore, my findings revealed that the "mulatta" advantage is also moderated by class status. In jobs that value appearance, women with brown skin and with "middle-class" names are more likely to receive a callback compared to women with dark skin and from the same class-status. In similar jobs, women with brown skin and "lower-class" status do not experience an advantage over women with dark skin and similar class-status.

My findings in this chapter (as well as in the previous chapters) show that studies that rely on aggregate data (e.g. census, surveys) generally miss out on the contextual and relational nature of discrimination, whereby physical features, such as having brown skin, become a salient marker in society and when it does not. My findings also fill an important empirical gap in qualitative studies by testing empirically how anti-black (e.g. dark-skin) biases help exclude women with dark skin from entering semi-skilled jobs, which contributes to their over-representation in domestic, informal, and unskilled jobs. Even when women with dark skin acquire the necessary work-related skills and experience, they are less likely to receive a callback from employers. My findings also help us reorient the existing literature on the "mulatto escape hatch," as well as the research on colorism (which hypothesizes a mulatto advantage as well) toward asking *when* and *how* having mixed-race characteristics becomes advantageous, and not simply *whether* or *not* "browns" have an advantage. My findings show that individuals with brown skin do have an advantage, but the advantage is moderated by class status, occupational context, and gender. The *intersectional* and contextual nature of the "brown advantage" is clear in the context of the labor market in Brazil, and future research would benefit from studying empirically and systematically whether similar processes exist in other multiracial societies, such as the United States.

Chapter 6
Conclusion

The literature on racial inequality and stratification in Brazil is divided on the root causes of racial inequality. In spite of ample evidence that racial inequality exists in many spheres of social life, such as in the labor market, in education, and in health, scholars have been unable to test empirically, using direct measurements, the extent to which discrimination exists in Brazil. The difficulty in pinpointing or estimating racial discrimination in Brazil has made it difficult to challenge the dominant racial discourse of "racial democracy," in which Brazil is perceived as a racial egalitarian society that "escaped" the horrors of legally enforced segregation, such as South Africa's Apartheid or Jim Crow in the United States. It is in this context that this dissertation has sought to answer the following question: *is there active "racial" discrimination in Brazil*? Put it differently, I asked *whether employers discriminate by "race" in contemporary Brazil.* I chose the labor market because it is an institution that helps produce and reproduce inequality in society. In trying to answer this question, the dissertation makes an important empirical contribution by directly testing for racial discrimination. Although field experiments have been around for several decades, this method has never been used in the context of Brazil. In doing so, the dissertation provides the first direct measurement of discrimination in Brazil. In addition to filling a major empirical gap in the existing research, the dissertation engages deeply with existing literature on the social construction of race, intersectionality, gender, and colorism. Below, I summarize my findings. Next, I discuss the implications of these findings for the existing literature. Lastly, I elaborate on the limitations of the research and suggestions for future research.

Summary of Empirical Findings

The first major empirical finding in the dissertation is that skin color does indeed shape labor market outcomes in Brazil, even after fully controlling for productivity-related characteristics, such as employment history, experience, and educational attainment. Scholars have shown through the "unexplained" gap in wages, for instance, that racial discrimination exists in Brazil (Lovell 1989, 2000, 2006; Telles 1998, 2003, 2004), but the experimental design adopted here provides *direct* evidence. However, my findings show that the effect of skin color is moderated by class status. Among job applicants with "middle-class" sounding names, the effect of skin color is small and statistically insignificant. Among applicants with "lower-class" sounding names, the skin color effect is large and statistically significant, even after controlling for job-ad requirements, metropolitan area, gender, and occupational category. Moreover, I found that the skin color gap is largest for dark skin photographs, and smaller for medium-brown skin photographs. These patterns suggest that Brazilians with dark skin experience the most discrimination in the labor market.

The second major finding is that skin color discrimination is gendered in Brazil. My findings support the existing theories regarding the multiple disadvantages that women of color face in society, in particular in entering the formal labor market. Unlike the bulk of the research on racial inequality in Brazil, I examined more closely whether racial discrimination varied by gender. After applying a logistic regression model that takes into account the interaction of skin color and gender, I discovered that skin color is not a strong predictor for male applicants, as evidenced by the small gaps in callbacks by skin color. However, skin color is a robust predictor for female applicants. In fact, the bulk of the skin color gap in callbacks observed in Chapter 1, which did not take into account the interaction of skin color and gender, was driven by the

experiences of female applicants. These findings support Caldwell's (2007) assertion that not taking into account the intersection of "race" and gender obscures how racial discrimination affects men and women differently. The fact that male applicants with "light" skin did not experience an advantage over "medium-brown" and "dark" skin applicants suggest that in entry-level, semi-skilled occupations, skin color does not affect labor market outcomes for men in São Paulo and in Rio de Janeiro. The patterns for male applicants are consistent with the "class-based" perspective, which assumes that education, human capital, and qualifications are more important in predicting labor market outcomes, and not "race." This does not mean, however, that "race" does not affect Afro-Brazilian men in Brazil. These findings are limited to entry-level, semi-skilled jobs, and not in high skilled and professional jobs.

However, among women applicants, the effect of skin color on the likelihood of receiving a callback was large and statistically significant. The effect of skin color was larger for women with dark skin, who had a lower chance of receiving a callback compared to both women with light skin and with medium-brown skin. This effect, however, was also moderated by class status. Among female applicants with lower-class sounding names, the callback rates for applicants with medium-brown skin and with dark skin were similar, and lower than for applicants with light skin. In other words, among women with lower-class status, there seems to be a distinct "white" privilege. Among applicants with middle-class sounding names, however, the light skin advantage over medium-brown skin disappeared. This pattern suggests a "whitening" effect for women with brown skin. However, female applicants with dark skin did not seem to benefit from having a higher-class status, as their likelihood of receiving a callback remained low. It is also worth pointing out that women with light skin and with middle class sounding names had a lower likelihood of receiving a callback compared to light skin women with lower-class sounding names. This pattern could be caused by a process of reverse discrimination, as women with light skin and middle-class status may be "out of place" when they apply to entry-level, semi-skilled jobs. These patterns show that in entry-level, semi-skilled jobs in two large Brazilian metropolitan areas, skin color discrimination is gendered and classed.

As noted above, my findings reveal a "whitening" process for female applicants with brown skin, but not so for female applicants with dark skin. In an attempt to investigate this process further, I relied on existing research on the construction of the category "mulatto" (brown or pardo) in Brazil and on the literature on feminine aesthetics to explain the foundations of the "brown" advantage in Brazil. The existing literature on this topic, commonly known as the "mulatto escape hatch" hypothesis, makes competing predictions about the position of mixed-race individuals in society. From one perspective, scholars posit that browns occupy an intermediate position between whites and blacks. Others reject that browns have any advantage over blacks, pointing to a distinct white privilege. A third body of work suggests that browns and whites experience the same privilege, but blacks are distinctively discriminated. However, the existing literature focuses on the experiences of men entirely, or group men and women together in their analysis. In doing so, however, scholars of inequality that focuses on the hypothesized advantage of browns neglect existing evidence suggesting that the "brown" privilege is gender specific and grounded in feminine standards of beauty.

IMPLICATIONS FOR EXISTING LITERATURE

Literature on Racial Stratification and Inequality

The dissertation provides clear and direct evidence that, *in spite* of widespread socioeconomic inequality, limited intergenerational mobility, the differences in educational access

between "whites" and "non-whites" in Brazil, skin color *is* a salient marker that shapes labor market outcomes. My findings do not refute the argument that social origins, such as parental education (Arias et al 2004; Torche 2014; Torche and Spilerman 2009; Silva 1999b), have little or no bearing in shaping labor market outcomes in Brazil. Rather, it shows that the salience of skin color, in particular among women with dark skin, in shaping labor market outcomes occurs *independently* of class origins, individual schooling, work-related qualifications and experience. This suggests that, in addition to not having the parental resources, such as education and access to class-based resources and cultural capital, Afro-Brazilian women experience an additional disadvantage in the labor market.

Moreover, the scholarly consensus assumes that racial discrimination, to the extent that it exists, is found at the higher echelons of society, that is, among skilled and professional workers, and not among lower-paid, semi-skilled workers. My findings show that this is the case for male job seekers, but not for female applicants. Among male applicants, having light skin color does not lead to any advantage in the labor market. The results of my field experiment show that male racial inequality among entry-level and semi-skilled workers in Brazil can be accounted for by human capital and qualifications, and not skin color. However, among female applicants, skin color is a strong predictor for receiving a callback for interview, thus contradicting the conventional wisdom that "racial" discrimination does not exist in entry-level occupations. My findings support Telles' (1991) assertion that the glass ceiling is only one story high for Afro-Brazilian women, but two or more stories high for Afro-Brazilian men, who face barriers entering higher skilled and professional occupations. These patterns show the real barriers that dark-skin women face in entering formal employment. The small representation of "black" women in São Paulo and in Rio de Janeiro in market sales, receptionist, and secretary positions is largely determined by skin color discrimination by employers, and not by the lack of human capital, education, and work-related experiences. Women with dark skin are excluded from entering entry-level, semi-skilled occupations, which may not be the most prestigious jobs available, but are nonetheless a great improvement over jobs as domestic workers. Without separating the empirical analysis by gender, existing studies often miss the gendered nature of skin color discrimination in entry-level, semi-skilled jobs in Brazil.

Literature on the Social Construction and Measurement of Race

This dissertation makes an empirical contribution to the literature on the social construction of race and measurement. Scholars have long suggested that in Brazil, phenotypical characteristics intersect with social status to create a "social race" (e.g. Wagley 1965). This process has also been found, more recently, in the United States as well (Saperstein and Penner 2012; Freeman et al. 2011). However, existing studies rely heavily on three dimensions of race: 1) self-reported racial categories, 2) on interviewer-classified racial categories, and, more recently, 3) on interviewer-rated skin color. Self-reported categories are problematic because regardless of how one perceives oneself, such as "white," "brown," or "black," the way that she is treated in society is based on how others perceive the individual. A small number of studies rely on interviewer-rated racial categories (e.g. Telles and Lim 1998; Telles 2004). However, it is difficult to ascertain which physical characteristics influenced the interviewer in assigning the survey respondents a "racial" category. We do not know if it was skin color, the shape and size of nose, or type of hair. Moreover, in addition to physical features, other factors, such as attire, accent, and names also influence racial categorization (Roth 2016; see also Garcia and Abascal 2016). In essence, other-classified racial categories may not map well into particular phenotypes.

The use of interviewer-rated skin color (e.g. Telles 2014; Bailey, Fialho, and Penner 2015) also suffers from a similar issue, as the skin color categories that interviewers record could also be influenced by contextual factors (Roth 2016). In short, the existing measurements of race fail to account for the relational aspect of categorization, and, in particular, the endogeneity of social status and "race." My approach fills this gap by using a skin color measurement that is consistent. The researcher (myself) has the exact skin color measurement as the employers, who are making hiring decisions. Furthermore, the use of class-based names (poor vs middle-class sounding names) allows me to examine how one contextual factor moderates the effect of skin color. These methodological, operationalization, and measurement strategies contribute to the literature on the social construction of race by examining how different factors, such as skin color and social status, intertwine to produce patterns of discrimination and inequality.

Literature on Colorism and the "Mulatto Escape Hatch"

Although the literature on colorism or "pigmentocracy" is somewhat dissociated from the traditional literature on the "mulatto escape-hatch," they share a common idea, which is the assumption that those in the "middle" or in-between "racial" status fare better than individuals with "unmixed" African features, but fare less well compared to individuals with "unmixed" Euro-centric features. The distinguishing feature in these two bodies literature is the fact that colorism scholars focus on one dimension of race, which is skin color, while scholars that examine the "mulatto" advantage rarely specify the physical features that define a "mulatto." The assumption is that "mulattos" have brown skin, but other features as well, some of which may be more Euro-centric (e.g. straight hair), while others may be more Afro-centric (e.g. full lips).

In this dissertation, I used skin color to examine the extent, if any, of the "mulatto" advantage. My findings suggest that a "mulatto escape-hatch" does not exist among *male* job applicants in the two metropolitan areas under study, and in entry-level, semi-skilled jobs. The lack of skin color variation in callbacks among male applicants suggests, therefore, that the colorism framework, which predicts more advantage for lighter skin individuals and less advantage along the dark skin color continuum, does not hold empirically. The lack of a "mulatto" advantage in a low-wage, semi-skilled labor market in Brazil contradicts Degler's (1971) original thesis, and the white-nonwhite binary (e.g. the absence of a brown advantage) proposed by Silva (1978; 2000), which focused on the experiences of male Brazilians. The lack of attention to the experiences of women is standard in more recent studies (e.g. Telles and Lim 1998; Telles 2004; Telles and Paschel 2014; see also Saperstein and Gullickson 2013), which tend to group men and women together in their analysis. Consequently, these studies neglect the possible ways in which the "brown" advantage is gendered.

Similarly, the bulk of the existing literature on colorism and stratification, which has continued to show that lighter-skinned African Americans are more likely to have higher status jobs, higher incomes, and higher educational attainment compared to their dark skin counterparts (Gullickson 2005; Keith and Herring 1991; Monk 2014), largely adopts a gender-neutral approach. However, as Hill (2002) and Wade (1996) show, colorism is a gendered process. Specifically, having medium-brown skin, a feature of being "racially mixed," affords women an advantage in society, but not men. This is because having brown skin is considered by society to be a more aesthetically attractive characteristic for women, both in Brazil (Caldwell 2007; Jarrin 2015; Williams 2013; Goldstein 2003) and in the United States (e.g. Breland-Noble 2013; Okazawa-Rey et al. 1987). The same aesthetic advantage, however, is not attributed to "brown" men, both in the United States and in Brazil.

In this dissertation, I build on the idea that colorism, gender, and aesthetics intersect to examine empirically whether there is a "mulatta" advantage in Brazil. The dissertation contributes to the existing research on colorism and the "mulatto escape-hatch" by showing empirically that the brown advantage is contextual and relational. That is, I first show that the skin color continuum framework, with the lighter skin tone having the most advantage and dark skin tone less advantage, is gendered. Second, I show that among women, having brown skin tone does not automatically lead to an advantage over dark skin women in the labor market. Rather, the occupational context shapes the conditions under which having brown skin will lead to an advantage. In occupations that rely more on "appearance," having brown skin does lead to a higher probability of receiving a callback compared to female applicants with dark skin. For occupations that rely less on "appearance," women with brown skin tone have the same chance of receiving a callback. Third, my findings show that the "brown" advantage is moderated by class status. Female applicants with brown skin tone and "lower-class" status, regardless of the occupational type ("appearance" and "non-appearance"), have the same chances of receiving a callback compared to similarly situated applicants with dark skin tone. However, the brown-dark skin gap is large and statistically significant among female applicants with "middle-class" status, but only in occupations that rely on "appearance." These findings reveal the contextual nature of colorism and the "brown advantage" in Brazil. Different institutional expectations, such as the higher valuation on aesthetics, set the conditions whereby physical characteristics (skin tone), gender, and class status intersect to shape labor market outcomes.

Literature on Field Experiments and Audit Studies

The dissertation also contributes to the literature on audit studies by implementing a skin color measurement in field experimental designs to study discrimination, in addition to introducing a class-status marker (names) as a confounding variable. This allows me to examine how these different measurements are connected. Existing field experiments that seek to examine how "race" shapes hiring decisions often assume that "race" is a rigid social category, thus neglecting see how "race" as a fluid category, shaped by other factors, such as class status. Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004), for instance, used African-American and White names to examine the effect of "race" in hiring practices in the United States. However, it could be argued that such names carry both a racial and a class status cue (e.g. Jamal and Lakisha may be more common names among working class individuals). Consequently, what we may assume to be a racial effect in hiring, it could in fact represent a *joint* effect of race *and* class status in Bertrand and Mullainathan's (2004) research. It would be fruitful to examine how a "black" (e.g. in individual with dark skin) and a "white" (an individual with light skin) are treated in the labor market in the United States with the same name (e.g. a common name such as "Eric"), to control for the potential moderating effect of class status. My approach in the dissertation contributes to existing field experimental designs by using a novel measurement of "race" in experimental design (e.g. "skin color") in combination to class-based names, which have been used in previous studies (e.g. Jackson 2009), but not in combination with "race."

Study Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

This dissertation examined the extent of skin color discrimination in Brazil, and how it is moderated by class status, gender and institutional contexts. However, my findings are limited to selected entry-level, semi-skilled jobs. Future research should expand the scope of these findings by incorporating high skilled and professional occupations. Doing so would allow scholars to ascertain if skin color becomes a salient predictor for male applicants, and if it continues to shape labor market outcomes for female applicants. Moreover, I used skin color as the primary

measurement of "race." However, other phenotypical features, such as the size and shape of nose and lips, as well as the type of hair, also shape racial categorization, and likely lead to discrimination. In the present study, I controlled for these factors by holding them constant, in an effort to highlight the effect of skin color, but future research would benefit from examining how these physical features interact with skin color to increase or decrease discrimination. Lastly, my dissertation focused on two large metropolitan areas, São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Future research should also include metropolitan areas from other regions in Brazil to examine if there are regional differences. It would also be fruitful to include non-metropolitan areas, which would allow us to have a better understanding about the salience of "race" in urban versus non-urban contexts.

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Appendix A. Occupational Levels

LEGISLATORS, SENIOR OFFICIALS AND MANAGERS
Legislators
Senior government officials
Traditional chiefs and heads of villages
Senior officials of special-interest organizations
Directors and chief executives
Production and operations department managers
Other department managers
General managers
Legislators, senior officials and managers not elsewhere classified
PROFESSIONALS
Physicists, chemists and related professionals
Mathematicians, statisticians and related professionals
Computing professionals
Architects, engineers and related professionals
Life science professionals
Health professionals (except nursing)
Nursing and midwifery professionals
College, university and higher education teaching professionals
Secondary education teaching professionals
Primary and pre-primary education teaching professionals
Special education teaching professionals
Other teaching professionals
Business professionals
Legal professionals
Archivists, librarians and related information professionals
Social science and related professionals
Writers and creative or performing artists
Religious professionals
Professionals no elsewhere classified
TECHNICIANS AND ASSOCIATE PROFESSIONALS
Physical and engineering science technicians
Computer associate professionals
Optical and electronic equipment operators
Ship and aircraft controllers and technicians
Safety and quality inspectors
Life science technicians and related associate professionals
Modern health associate professionals (except nursing)
Nursing and midwifery associate professionals
Traditional medicine practitioners and faith healers

Primary education teaching associate professionals
Pre-primary education teaching associate professionals
Special education teaching associate professionals
Other teaching associate professionals
Finance and sales associate professionals
Business services agents and trade brokers
Administrative associate professionals
Customs, tax and related government associate professionals
Police inspectors and detectives
Social work associate professionals
Artistic, entertainment and sports associate professionals
Religious associate professionals
Technicians and assoicate professionals not elsewhere classified
CLERKS
Secretaries and keyboard-operating clerks
Numerical clerks
Material-recording and transport clerks
Library, mail and related clerks
Other office clerks
Cashiers, tellers and related clerks
Client information clerks
Clerks not elsewhere classified
SERVICE WORKERS AND SALES WORKERS
Travel attendants and related workers
Housekeeping and restaurant services workers
Personal care and related workers
Other personal services workers
Astrologers, fortune-tellers and related workers
Protective services workers
Fashion and other models
Shop salespersons and demonstrators
Stall and market salespersons
Service workers and shop and market sales workers not elsewhere classified
SKILLED AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES WORKERS
Market gardeners and crop growers
Market-oriented animal producers and related workers
Market-oriented crop and animal producers
Forestry and related workers
Fishery workers, hunters and trappers
Subsistence agricultural and fishery workers
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers not elsewhere classified
CRAFT AND RELATED WORKERS

Miners, shotfirers, stone cutters and carvers
Building frame and related trades workers
Building finishers and related trades workers
Painters, building structure cleaners and related trades workers
Metal moulders, welders, sheet-metal workers, structural- metal preparers, and related trades workers
Blacksmiths, tool-makers and related trades workers
Machinery mechanics and fitters
Electrical and electronic equipment mechanics and fitters
Precision workers in metal and related materials
Potters, glass-makers and related trades workers
Handicraft workers in wood, textile, leather and related materials
Printing and related trades workers
Food processing and related trades workers
Wood treaters, cabinet-makers and related trades workers
Textile, garment and related trades workers
Pelt, leather and shoemaking trades workers
Craft and related trade workers not elsewhere classified
PLANT AND MACHINE OPERATORS AND ASSEMBLERS
Mining- and mineral-processing-plant operators
Metal-processing-plant operators
Glass, ceramics and related plant operators
Wood-processing- and papermaking-plant operators
Chemical-processing-plant operators
Power-production and related plant operators
Automated-assembly-line and industrial-robot operators
Metal- and mineral-products machine operators
Chemical-products machine operators
Rubber- and plastic-products machine operators
Wood-products machine operators
Printing-, binding- and paper-products machine operators
Textile-, fur- and leather-products machine operators
Food and related products machine operators
Assemblers
Other machine operators and assemblers
Locomotive-engine drivers and related workers
Motor-vehicle drivers
Agricultural and other mobile-plant operators
Ships' deck crews and related workers
Other
ELEMENTARY WORKERS
Street vendors and related workers

Shoe cleaning and other street services elementary occupations
Domestic and related helpers, cleaners and launderers
Building caretakers, window and related cleaners
Messengers, porters, doorkeepers and related workers
Garbage collectors and related labourers
Agricultural, fishery and related labourers
Mining and construction labourers
Manufacturing labourers
Transport labourers and freight handlers
Elementary occupations not elsewhere classified

Appendix B. Sample Survey

13

Qual é a idade do(A) sr./sra.?

- ⊘ 18-24 anos de idade
- ○ 25-30 anos de idade
- ○ 30-35 anos de idade
- ○ 36-40 anos de idade
- ○ 40-50 anos de idade
- ○ 50-65 anos de idade

Qual é a sua ocupação?

Vendedora.

Na sua opinião, existe uma relação entre nome da pessoa e classe social? Ou seja, o(A) sr./sra. acha que alguns nomes são típicos de certas classes sociais?

- ⊘ Sim
- ○ Não

Agora vou mostrar alguns nomes ficticios. Na sua opinião, o(a) sr./sra. ouvindo os seguintes nomes, a qual classe social você os relacionaria: alta (Classe A), classe media (Classes B e C) ou classe baixa (Classes D e E)?

Nomes	Classe Alta	Classe Média	Classe Baixa	Nenhuma Classe
Tamires da Conceição	○	⊘	○	○
Luisa Vasconcelos	○	⊘	○	○
Sofia Meirelles	⊘	○	○	○
Crislaine do Nascimento	○	○	⊘	○
Gleison da Conceição	○	○	⊘	○
Manuela Henriques	○	⊘	○	○
Cleiton Batista	○	○	⊘	○
Heitor Vasconcelos	○	⊘	○	○
Jéssica da Graças	○	○	⊘	○

Cleberson do Nascimento	○	○	⊘	○
Cleiton Batista	○	⊘	○	○
Arthur Meirelles	⊘	○	○	○
Gabriel Gonçalves	⊘	○	○	○
Lucas Martins	○	⊘	○	○
Guilherme Carvalho	○	⊘	○	○
Beatriz Gonçalves	○	⊘	○	○
Letícia Carvalho	○	⊘	○	○
Gabriela Martins	○	⊘	○	○
Graziele da Conceição	○	○	⊘	○
Bernardo Henriques	○	⊘	○	○

Agora vou mostrar os mesmos nomes acima e alguns níveis educacionais. Na sua opinião, o(a) sr./sra. ouvindo os seguintes nomes, a qual nível educacional o(A) sr./sra. relacionaria estes nomes?

Nomes	Nível Superior Completo	Segundo Grau Completo	Primeiro Grau Completo	Não é possível responder
Tamires da Conceição	○	⊘	○	○
Luisa Vasconcelos	○	⊘	○	○
Sofia Meirelles	⊘	○	○	○
Crislaine do Nascimento	○	○	○	○
Gleison da Conceição	○	○	⊘	○
Manuela Henriques	○	⊘	○	○
Cleiton Batista	○	○	⊘	○
Heitor Vasconcelos	○	⊘	○	○
Jéssica da Graças	○	⊘	○	○
Cleberson do Nascimento	○	○	⊘	○
Cleiton Batista	○	○	⊘	○

	Nível Superior Completo	Segundo Grau Completo	Primeiro Grau Completo	Não é possível responder
Arthur Meirelles	⊘	○	○	○
Gabriel Gonçalves	○	⊘	○	○
Lucas Martins	⊘	○	○	○
Guilherme Carvalho	○	⊘	○	○
Beatriz Gonçalves	○	⊘	○	○
Letícia Carvalho	○	⊘	○	○
Gabriela Martins	⊘	○	○	○
Graziele da Conceição	○	⊘	○	○
Bernardo Henriques	⊘	○	○	○

Appendix C

Names	Class-Based Score 1	Class-Based Score 2	Average
Gleison da Conceição	**1.142857**	**1.238095**	**1.190476**
Cleberson do Nascimento	**1.142857**	**1.285714**	**1.214286**
Crislaine do Nascimento	**1.142857**	**1.380952**	**1.261905**
Graziela da Conceição	**1.190476**	**1.52381**	**1.357143**
Jessica das Graças	1.095238	1.619048	1.357143
Cleiton Batista	1.333333	1.47619	1.404762
Tamires da Conceição	1.380952	1.714286	1.547619
Leticia Carvalho	1.952381	2	1.976191
Beatriz Gonsalves	2.047619	2.095238	2.071429
Manuela Henriques	1.952381	2.238095	2.095238
Guilherme Carvalho	2.095238	2.095238	2.095238
Gabriela Martins	1.952381	2.238095	2.095238
Gabriel Gonsalves	2.238095	2.047619	2.142857
Bernardo Henriques	2	2.333333	2.166667
Lucas Martins	2.190476	2.238095	2.214286
Luísa dos Vasconcelos	**2.333333**	**2.52381**	**2.428572**
Arthur Meirelles	**2.285714**	**2.571429**	**2.428572**
Sofia Meirelles	**2.380952**	**2.714286**	**2.547619**
Heitor Vasconcelos	**2.619048**	**2.47619**	**2.547619**

Notes: This table shows the names used in the pilot-study survey that I conducted in Brazil in February, 2014. The top four names (first and last names) have the lowest averages for the two questions in the survey (see Appendix B) that asked respondents (N=27) from a convenient sample to rate the names based on perceived class (Class-based Score 1) and perceived educational level (Class-based Score 2). The scores ranged from 1=lowest class status or educational status to 3=highest class status or highest educational status. I added the two scores for each name in each survey to create a composite score for the two questions. I then averaged the composite score for each name (column 3). The lowest averages represent the names with the lowest class status, and the highest averages represent the names with the highest class status. I selected four names (two males and two females) to signal the "lower class" names, and four names (two males and two females) to signal the "middle class" names. The names selected are in bold.