Mestizaje and Ethno-Racial Stratification in Contemporary Peru

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ABSTRACT
Several analyses of race and ethnicity in Latin-America published in the U.S. explain mestizaje as the Latin-American ideology that supports miscegenation as the founding principle of many national racial ideologies; and commonly depict the mestizo condition as phenotypic brownness. Nonetheless, the analysis of ethno-racial stratification in Peru suggests alternative interpretations of mestizaje that could improve our understanding of its dynamics. I argue that, in Peru, the ethno-racial status is circumstantially negotiable, and may be captured not only by skin color and self-perception, but also by other ethno-racial indicators associated with region and ancestry that serve as cultural capital. Using the 2010 LAPOP national survey data, I suggest that skin color alone serves only to partially explain the ethno-racial disparities; and that other ethno-racial markers are still necessary as predictors. I also offer evidence of mestizaje as cultural differentiation by examining the effects of skin color and self-perception as concurrent predictors.

Mestizaje and Ethno-Racial Stratification in Contemporary Peru

Cristian L. Paredes

Several analyses of race and ethnicity in Latin-America published in the U.S. point out the importance of *mestizaje* and skin color in Latin-American race relations (Harris 1964; Mörner 1967; Wade [1997] 2010; Rodríguez 2000; Telles 2004; Villareal 2010; Paschel 2010; Beck, Mijeski and Stark 2011). *Mestizaje* is known as an ideology that supports and promotes miscegenation as the founding principle of many national racial ideologies, which contrasts with the ideological beliefs that favor (white) "racial purity" in the U.S. These studies have identified that, in Latin-American countries, (1) ethno-racial boundaries are fluid and ambiguous, (2) the prevalence of *mestizo* ideologies does not necessarily rule out discrimination and exclusion, (3) skin color has a relevant role as a marker of race/ethnicity. Fair skin color is commonly presented as a European trait that characterizes those who are more likely to self-identify as whites. Similarly, "mestizoness" is usually portrayed as different degrees of brownness in a variety of contexts. Nonetheless, the analysis of ethno-racial stratification in Peru suggests alternative interpretations of *mestizaje* that could improve our understanding of its sociocultural dynamics. Although some scholars suggest that the conceptions of color and ethno-racial self-identification overlap in Latin-America (Telles 2012; Telles and Paschel 2012), the understanding of the former does not necessarily correspond to the Peruvian commonsense meaning of the latter.

In Peru, as in other Latin-American countries, there are no clear color lines. Ethno-racial boundaries are fluid due to the prevalence of the ideology of *mestizaje* (Portocarrero 2007; de la Cadena 2000; Larson 2004; García 2005; Paredes 2007; Quijano 1980; Nugent 1992; Cánepa 2008; Golash-Boza 2010a, 2010b; Sulmont 2011). *Mestizo* refers to the mixed-race condition of

a person, and also to the label for the most popular (and official) ethno-racial identity. While the term *mestizo* is known in other Latin-American countries, it is not necessarily accepted as an official or massively recognized ethno-racial identification. Conversely, it is the most popular self-identification in Peru. Self-identifying as a *mestizo* in Peru implies succeeding in circumstantial negotiations of the ethno-racial status in order to avoid the lower rungs of the ethno-racial hierarchy through the processes of cultural whitening and "de-indianization" (Golash-Boza 2010a; de la Cadena 2000). As a nation with mainstream cultures shaped by western criteria and tastes, the elite, a very small proportion of the population, embodies the ideal standard of whiteness (Bruce 2007; Galarza, Kogan and Yamada 2012). In this context, the *mestizo* negotiation requires the acknowledgement of certain cultural assets and practices as ideologically legitimate non-phenotypic whiter features. Self-identifying as a *mestizo* reveals the agency of those who culturally empower themselves with the purpose of improving their ethno-racial status. Moving from the individual to the societal level, the mainstream discourse on *mestizaje* suggests that all Peruvians are mixed-race and consequently equals (see Portocarrero 2007).

Nevertheless, many aspects of the current Peruvian social order still resemble its inherited colonial past. Indigenous and Afro-Peruvian populations still suffer ethno-racial discrimination, exclusion, and even oblivion (CVR 2008; Benavides, Torero and Valdivia 2006; Huayhua 2006; Planas and Valdivia 2007; Reyes and Valdivia 2010). Despite the *mestizo* premise of equality, racism in Peru prevails, but it is "invisible," neither openly acknowledged by Peruvians nor sufficiently addressed as a major problem by the mainstream (Carrión and Zárate 2010; Golash-Boza 2010b). In accordance with this premise, there have not been any remedial initiatives promoted by the state with the arguably exceptions of the leftist 1969

Agrarian reform (Caballero 1977; Mayer 2009; Cant 2012), and laws such as the 2006 anti-discrimination law and the 2010 Law of Previous Consultation of Indigenous Peoples (Golash-Boza 2010b; Wright and Martí i Puig 2012). Although these laws attempt to recognize racism and ethnic conflict in Peru as serious issues, the state does not offer an organized response against discrimination (Defensoría del Pueblo 2009; Sanborn 2012), and does not even have clear intentions to protect indigenous communities from corporate interests (Wright et al. 2012).

In Peru, the empirical analysis of ethno-racial disparities posits several challenges. Issues on race and ethnicity have regularly been approached with theoretical work rarely supported by quantitative approaches (Ñopo, Saavedra and Torero 2007: 710; Degregori 1995). Moreover, data on ethno-racial characteristics are scarce (Moreno and Oropesa 2011), and still are not systematically gathered by official surveys. These surveys –the *Encuesta Nacional de Hogares* (National Household Survey) and the *Encuesta Nacional Continua* (National Continuous Survey) – have included the self-reported race/ethnicity variable in the 2000s. However, this variable has not been included in the census yet (the 2007 census was not the exception). "Indigenous language" has been the main census criterion to address ethnicity (INEI 2008: 117). Despite these limitations, several researchers have dealt with these challenges and have suggested noteworthy methods for the analysis of Peruvian ethno-racial disparities. They found evidence for suggesting that discrimination and exclusion of indigenous populations still prevail at the core of Peru's most severe problems (e.g., Macisaac 1994; Trivelli 2005; Torero, Saavedra, Ñopo and Escobal 2004; Ñopo, Saavedra and Torero 2004; Ñopo et al. 2007; Barrón 2008; Moreno, Ñopo, Saavedra and Torero 2012; Castro, Yamada and Asmat 2012; Galarza et al. 2012). Nonetheless, neither do these studies consistently work with similar measures of race

and ethnicity (see Sulmont 2011: 54, 2012: 60-62) nor give enough attention to the *mestizo* condition and its fluid boundaries.

My first objective is to analyze the stratification of several socioeconomic outcomes by race and ethnicity in contemporary Peru using the 2010 survey data from the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP), representative at the national level. I simultaneously work with several markers of race and ethnicity with the purpose of capturing different aspects of the phenotypically fluid ethno-racial status in regression models. I explain the access to education, income, clean water and sanitation, and household possessions by examining the effects of skin color, ethno-racial self-perception, variables for ancestry such as indigenous language, and variables for region as explanatory ethno-racial variables under the logic of *mestizaje*. I argue that (1) these explanatory variables can concurrently depict several cultural aspects associated with the de-indianizing cultural capital used by Peruvians for negotiating a better ethno-racial status; and that (2) the ethno-racial condition should not just be approached by skin color or by the ethno-racial self-perception (the agency variable), but by all of these indicators. While skin color is undoubtedly important as a predictor in ethno-racial stratification analysis, the effects of other ethno-racial predictors, net of skin color and other control variables, are also statistically significant. Therefore, in Peru, skin color alone serves only to partially explain the ethno-racial disparities.

I also follow the work by Villareal (2010) with the purpose of examining the interviewer and the respondent effects on skin color classification. I analyze whether the respondent effects of self-identification, ancestry and region on skin color classification are significant in order to examine how other ethno-racial markers are associated with skin pigmentation under the logic of *mestizaje*. I complement these findings with a descriptive section that better contextualizes these

results. My second objective is to offer evidence of the dynamics of *mestizaje* as cultural

differentiation. I suggest that the ethno-racial self-identification as white does not refer to the

whiteness associated with the elites, but refers to a segment of the population that culturally

differentiates as white under the logic of *mestizaje* regardless of the ethno-racial status of

individuals. This cultural differentiation is reflected in the stratification analysis of educational

attainment, which offers apparently contradictory results between skin color and ethno-racial

self-perception, and in the stratification analysis of household possessions, which reveals that

those who self-identify as white have a greater access to goods associated with a more western

lifestyle. In this article, I seek to challenge the notion that *mestizaje* unavoidably equates to

partial indigenousness or to phenotypic brownness, which is often taken for granted in the U.S.

(e.g., Anzaldúa 1987; Portes and Rumbaut 2006: 8).

THE IDEOLOGY OF *MESTIZAJE* IN PERU

By the time of colonial independence and the creation of Latin-American nations (during

the first half of the nineteenth century), the old systems of castes that sanctioned socioracial

distinctions among Spaniards, *criollos* (descendants of Spaniards), *mestizos* (mixed-race people

with indigenous and Spanish heritage), *indios* (indigenous people), and blacks were already

irrelevant due to miscegenation (Mörner 1967). In Peru, the prevailing conceptualizations of

development after the Peruvian independence were influenced by the notions of European

modernity and scientific racism, which thwarted the idea of nation as a feasible project

(Portocarrero 2007; Quijano 1980; Nugent 1992).[1] Old debates suggested that the solution was

the promotion of the immigration of European "strong races" that were capable of renewing the

weak local genes of the indigenous people, who were the majority of the population. However,

Peru never became an attractive destiny for massive European immigration. Hence, the only

possibility was the conversion of the indigenous person into a *mestizo* through education (the acculturation process of *acriollamiento*, or "becoming a *criollo*"). In order to become a citizen, the indigenous person was "invited" to leave her/his "heinous" condition behind: his language, tastes, and cultural beliefs (Portocarrero 2007: 22). This invitation was extended to those immigrants who came later to the nation in adverse conditions as cheap labor after the abolition of black slavery in 1854, especially Asians (see Casalino 2005; Takenaka 2004); and increased the degree of phenotypic diversity through more miscegenation. Consequently, several Peruvians who self-identify as *mestizos* not only show white and indigenous features in different degrees, but also Asian and Afro characteristics.

Peru became a *mestizo* nation under the assumption that everybody was supposed to be mixed, therefore, equal (Portocarrero 2007; Oboler 1996; see also Wade [1997] 2010; Paschel 2010; and Beck et al. 2011 for the *mestizo* premise of equality in Latin-America; see Telles 2004 for racial inclusion). The ideology of *mestizaje* gradually incorporated cultural symbols, traditions, and practices from indigenous, Afro-Peruvian and Asian heritages assimilated to the local mainstream. Nowadays, indigenous textiles, *Chifa* –the fusion between Chinese and criollo food–, or Afro-Peruvian music are examples of national mainstream symbols, rather than merely manifestations of specific ethnic enclaves. The *mestizo* discourse on equality is emphasized and disseminated in the celebration of Peru's diversity, and in the recognition of dialogues and fusions among Peru's ethnic heritages (see Romero 2007; Lloréns Amico 1983). However, neither has this discourse been exhaustively inclusive with the great diversity of Peruvian cultural manifestations nor has significantly shortened the sociocultural distances among Peruvians (see Rozas 2007).

Cultural dynamics of differentiation are also at the core of the ideology of *mestizaje*. On one hand, *mestizaje* offered a legitimate path for upward mobility through education. On the other hand, *mestizaje* invited Peruvians to reject their indigenous roots because of their "abject" nature. Despite the claim of equality supported by the mainstream ideology of *mestizaje*, the *mestizo* identity is contradictorily fissured to the extent that its indigenous traits, either physical or cultural, point out the distance between the self and the ideals of whiteness that have been promoted over time by the criollo elites (Portocarrero 2007; Callirgos 1993). In this context, a person develops a *mestizo* identity to the extent to which this person is able to negotiate it in specific circumstances with resources such as education, socioeconomic status, and appearance. *Mejorar la raza* (to improve the race) became a normal (and eventually tacit) everyday attempt (Quijano 1980; Nugent 1992; Peirano and Sánchez León 1984; Rowell, Jones, and Carrillo 2011; see cultural whitening and *mestizaje* in Wade [1997] 2010 and Golash-Boza 2010a). Those who succeed in these circumstantial negotiations are less likely to suffer the negative consequences of discrimination at least compared with those who cannot leave the lower rungs of the ethno-racial hierarchy: the indigenous populations and the Afro-Peruvians.

Moving beyond the mainstream premise on equality, other *mestizo* sociocultural dynamics reveal the lack of social closure within the *mestizo* category at the national level. Peruvians who self-identify as *mestizos* in certain areas could be more inclined to favor regional beliefs that national standards, which are locally adapted according to their needs and preferences. From this perspective, de la Cadena (2000) argues that the process of "de-indianization" associated with *mestizaje* does not necessarily lead to assimilation and thus to cultural disappearance. In certain regions such as Cusco, de la Cadena (2000) argues, education does not necessarily make *mestizos* who reject the indigenous condition, but *mestizos* who

embrace indigenous discourses influenced by past *indigenista* stances as compatible with literacy and progress.[2] Not only have indigenous manifestations been influenced by the *mestizo* culture in the past (for instance, the use of string instruments in indigenous music), but indigenous aesthetics have also influenced views and tastes in more sophisticated ways (Lloréns Amico 1983). Nonetheless, *mestizos* who embrace indigenous discourses still self-distinguish from the indigenous status. They locally justify social hierarchies based on racial beliefs by differentiating themselves from those who could be seen as more indigenous (e.g., the peasants) while they honor their indigenous heritages (see de la Cadena 2000; García 2005: 19). Indigenous-*mestizo*/indigenous distinctions have been made not only in urban areas, but in traditionally indigenous regions where criteria such as geography and occupational activities (e.g., highland peasants who live in even higher areas) have determined a greater degree of "indianness" (Fuenzalida 1970; Bourricaud 1970).

TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

Table 1 presents the percentage distribution of the population according to the ethno-racial categories used by official surveys and the estimates of the 2006 National Continuous Survey. Quechua and *Aymara* refer to the predominant indigenous Andean ethnicities. Amazonian refers to the geographic region where *mestizos* and numerous ethnicities coexist. In Peru, a greater percentage of Peruvians self-identify as *mestizos* compared with the other categories. Note that this self-identification even occurs in the rural realm, which is traditionally associated with indigenousness (CVR 2008).[3] Therefore, it is safe to assert that the *mestizo* category is overall salient (see also Moreno et al. 2011: 1228). Rural people travel more to urban areas due to their connections with their families and friends as the result of internal migration, and bring back urban habits, values, behaviors and tastes (Diez 1997). However, it is necessary

to point out that the term *mestizo* could be not well recognized in monolingual indigenous communities or in too isolated populations.

Although the official ethno-racial categories are commonly acknowledged by Peruvians, they are not necessarily the most popular categories used in racialized interactions. Other terms that refer to the *mestizo*/indigenous distinction –ethnic words, regional categories, or ambiguous epithets– are eventually preferred in daily life (e.g., the use of *Huamanguinos* in Leinaweaver 2008 or the use of *chutos*, *campesinos*, and *mistis* in Muñoz, Paredes and Thorp 2006). In highly racialized contexts, these words are understood as insults or inappropriate expressions. Otherwise, they even may be used as endearment terms. Two terms deserve special attention for this analysis. The category *serrano* literally means "from the *sierra*" (the Andean highlands), and it has commonly referred to indigenousness by region in discriminatory ways (Barrón 2008; Mayer 1970). In Peru, region refers to ethnicity, and, like ethnicities, regions have been normally racialized. Several underdeveloped regions have represented indigenousness such as those departments known as *la mancha india*, "the indian [geographic] spot [on the map]" (Trivelli 2005; Cotler 1994; Gootenberg 1991). Furthermore, *cholo* pejoratively refers to the "indianness" of indigenous or *mestizo* people who have adopted urban manners (Bourricaud 1970; Quijano 1980; Nugent 1992; Oboler 1996; Golash-Boza 2010a). The prevalence of both terms as racial epithets also refers to the importance of internal migration both as a historical phenomenon and as a contemporary issue associated with the *mestizo* acculturation (Gootenberg 1991; de Soto et al. [1986] 1990; Degregori, Blondet and Lynch 1986; INEI 2011). Using Matos Mar's metaphor ([1984] 1986), internal migration "overflowed" Lima (the capital city) over time due to a dramatic centralism that has offered better access to opportunities. Currently, Lima is the only metropolis in Peru with more than a million inhabitants (8,486,866 in 2007). About one

third of the total population lives in Lima. In contrast, Arequipa, the next large city according to

population size, has less than a million inhabitants (805,150 in 2007; see INEI 2011).

To summarize, the *mestizo* distinction is salient, not only politically as an official

category, but also socially, as the most popular ethno-racial identification. Although the

category *mestizo* might not necessarily be the more frequently ethno-racial term used in daily

life, it is commonly associated with the *mestizo* claim of equality. Also, the social closure of the

category *mestizo* is weak because it is only supported by the circumstantial self-differentiation

from the indigenous condition. However, while several self-identified *mestizos* may enjoy the

benefits of not being associated with indigenousness in average daily life (only eventually in

specific circumstances), others might suffer the consequences of being associated with

indigenousness more frequently. There are other criteria for cultural differentiation among

mestizos that refer to its fluidity in ambiguous ways such as the racialization of the region of

origin, the condition of immigrant, or the phenotype by degrees of "indianness." The *mestizo*

differentiation has prevailed as a structuring principle in Peru in spite of its fluid condition, its

variations of meaning over time and across regions, and its conceptual intricacies (see de la

Cadena 2005).

THE EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS OF ETHNO-RACIAL STRATIFICATION IN PERU

A major objective of the scholars who study race and ethnicity in Peru using quantitative

methods has been the analysis of inequality between indigenous and non-indigenous

populations.[4] Indigenous language has been commonly used to capture indigenousness, formerly

as a foundational measure of ethnicity used by the World Bank (Macisaac 1994); and later, either

alone for comparative purposes (Trivelli 2005; Yamada, Lizarzaburu and Samanamud 2012) or

combined with other variables like ethno-racial self-reported identification or language of

parents (Trivelli 2005; Castro et al. 2012; Montero and Yamada 2012). Even though the analytic limitations of these measures are often indicated (and occasionally elaborated), the authors rarely discuss either the fluidity of the ethno-racial categories or the connection between the measures of indigenousness and the ideology of *mestizaje*. Instead, their central topics emphasize several disparities in different socioeconomic outcomes as well as the relevance of their methods for estimating these disparities.

Among several noteworthy findings, Trivelli (2005) identified that indigenous households were between 11 and 15 percent more likely to be poor compared with non-indigenous households depending on the different measures of indigenousness using the 2001 National Household Survey and logistic regression models. She also found that (1) the income gap between non-indigenous and indigenous households (differentiated by indigenous language as mother tongue) is 49 percent in average; and (2) using the Oaxaca method, that 57 percent of the gap is explained by salary structure, which reflects the prevalence of discrimination. Trivelli (2005) also pointed out that a greater share of inequality can be attributed to region, rather than to indigenousness.

More recently, Castro et al. (2012) examined educational drop-out risks by race and ethnicity (captured by the combination of indigenous language and ethno-racial self-reported identification) using Cox models and a pool with the National Household Surveys from 2004 to 2009. They identified that the drop-out relative risks of Quechuas/*Aymaras*, Afro-Peruvians, and Amazonians are higher compared with the white/*mestizo* group: 14 percent higher for the Quechua/*Aymara* 25 to 30 cohort; and 42 percent higher for both the Afro-Peruvian 25 to 30 cohort, and Amazonian 25 to 30 cohort (Castro et al. 2012: 36, see the regressions with control variables). These risks were lower for the Afro-Peruvian and Amazonian older cohorts, and

about the same for the Quechua/*Aymara* older cohorts. By relaxing the proportionality

assumption of their Cox models, Castro et al. (2012: 45-46) captured the heterogeneity of these

risks over time, and illustrated in detail the educational disadvantage of the Afro-Peruvian

population, whose drop-out relative risks are dramatically higher during the initial years of

schooling (about 120 percent greater compared with white/*mestizo* for 2 years of schooling).

The drop-out out relative risk of Afro-Peruvians compared with the white/*mestizo* group is only

42 percent higher after 12 years of schooling. Similarly, they depicted the educational

disadvantage of females compared with males (Castro et al. 2012: 47). While the former Cox

models did not suggest relevant differences in the 25 to 30 cohort, the Cox models with the

relaxed proportionality assumption revealed a significantly greater drop-out risk for females

during the years of primary school (about 100 percent greater compared with males for 1 year of

schooling, which gradually decreases until it equals the risk relative to males after 9 years of

schooling). A key contribution of this study is a detailed depiction of the lack of educational

opportunities of Afro-Peruvians. It is unusual to find statistical evidence of the disadvantages of

Afro-Peruvians because they represent a small proportion of the population and they are rarely

oversampled (see Benavides et al. 2006).

Based on Figueroa's Sigma theory (2003, 2006), Barrón (2008) used the 2003 National

Household Survey to attain two objectives.[5] Firstly, Barrón (2008) analyzed the differences in

the returns to education on annualized income for indigenous and non-indigenous using hurdle

models (to avoid dropping out the observations of unpaid workers) with instrumental variables

for addressing endogeneity. According to his hurdle model with Heteroscedastic Two-Stage

Least Squares, the average returns to education on income are 18 percent for non-indigenous

people compared with 14 percent for indigenous people (Barrón 2008: 68). Secondly, Barrón

(2008) examined the extent to which exclusion and discrimination contribute to income inequality by performing simulations.[6] The simulations revealed that, without discrimination, income inequality, measured by the Gini index, would be reduced by 20 percent; and without exclusion, by 28 percent. More importantly for the purpose of this analysis, Barrón (2008) used region of birth as a proxy for ethnicity, rather than conceptually differentiating region from ethnicity as Trivelli (2005) did.

Ñopo and colleagues (Ñopo et al. 2004; Torero et al. 2004; Ñopo et al. 2007) used self-reported racial scores and scores assigned by the interviewers from the 2000 Living Standards Measurement Survey and its additional ethnic module for analyzing various aspects of the economic impact of social exclusion in urban Peru. Race according to phenotype was measured with ordinal variables of intensity (both self-reported and assigned by the interviewers) for the categories white, indigenous, black and Asian, ranging from 0 (lowest) to 10 (highest) in each independent category. Only the categories white and indigenous assigned by the interviewers were used in their studies because the black and Asian samples were not representative, and because the respondents self-perceived less indigenous compared to how they were perceived by the interviewers. To my knowledge, these measures of racial intensity were only gathered through the aforementioned survey.

Ñopo et al. (2004) used an extension of the Oaxaca decomposition and a continuous variable that accounts for the white and indigenous assigned scores. They found that the average individual with the highest white intensity earned approximately 11.95 percent more than the average individual with the lowest white intensity after controlling for sex, years of schooling and years of occupational experience. This gap was 49.47 percent before incorporating the control variables; an estimate close to the number suggested by Trivelli's (2005) despite the

conceptual differences. Moreover, Ñopo et al. (2007) analyzed disparities by race for the self-employed and for private wage earners using more sophisticated methodological approaches. They worked on a parametric approach incorporating a white intensity indicator as a polynomial of degree four in the Mincer equation with the purpose of capturing in more detail the heterogeneity (and nonmonotonicities) of the impact of racial characteristics on earnings. They also developed a semi-parametric approach that obtains linear parametric estimators for the typical earnings equations' regressors and ethnicity-related variables as well as nonlinear, nonparametric estimators for the racial intensity indicators, considering the white and indigenous dimensions simultaneously, without aggregating them as in the single-dimension indicator of whiteness (see Ñopo et al. 2007 for more details).

While the contributions of these studies are undoubtedly remarkable, none of them have conceptually dealt with the fluidity of the ethno-racial condition or with how this fluidity is associated with measuring indigenousness in the context of *mestizaje*. In Peru, language and indigenousness should not be considered as equivalent (Moreno et al. 2011). As suggested by de la Cadena (2000) and García (2005), there are Peruvians who self-identify as *mestizos* in certain regions, honor their indigenous heritages, and speak indigenous languages. Also, Quechua and *Aymara* native speakers are decreasing over time due to the *mestizo* acculturation, and to immigration to urban areas (INEI 2008: 117). Keeping in mind that many cultural manifestations that are understood as indigenous today were formerly influenced by non-indigenous practices, it is possible that several indigenous communities are still honoring their indigenous traditions in Spanish. Furthermore, it is also noticeable that there is no emphasis in the distinction between whites and *mestizos*. Although the unusual measures and findings used and obtained by Ñopo and colleagues suggest the relevance of the *mestizo* fluidity, quantitative

researchers have not discussed the meaning of ethno-racial self-perception in a context of ethno-racial negotiation, or the relevance of skin color, ancestry and region as ethno-racial markers.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

In this article, I suggest an alternative approach to conceptualize *mestizaje* in the stratification analysis of race and ethnicity. In a context of fluid boundaries and ethno-racial negotiation buttressed by the ideology of *mestizaje*, several ethno-racial characteristics – phenotypic and racialized cultural characteristics– concurrently determine a general/average ethno-racial status that is neither fixed nor uniquely associated with specific characteristics. These ethno-racial characteristics can be conceptualized as the cultural capital used in ethno-racial negotiations based on the assumption that a better ethno-racial status can be converted to economic or social benefits (see Bourdieu 2002). In this analysis, the ethno-racial status refers to how Peruvians are overall perceived from an national perspective based on phenotypic and cultural characteristics, which does not necessarily coincide with how this person self-identifies in ethno-racial terms, or with how this person is identified by others in daily life. The more ethno-racial cultural capital a Peruvian can attain, the more prestigious her/his ethno-racial status will be. This constructivist approach works under the assumption that the ethno-racial characteristics are locally recognized as legitimate means to achieve the ethno-racial status. This status is averagely reflected in the stratification of several socioeconomic outcomes.

Race as a social construct refers to the perception of phenotype in a society created with characteristics that gain meaning through human action (see Cornell and Hartmann [1998] 2007). While common race labels indicate characteristics associated with skin color, they also connect the color label to other phenotypic characteristics such as the color and shape of the eyes, shape of the nose, and even size. This perception depends on the demographic characteristics of the

society and on its most relevant racial ideologies. In the U.S., those who self-identify as white, not Hispanic –presumably people of European descent (Gans 1979) – outnumber those who self-identify differently (U.S. Census Bureau 2010). The ideological prevalence of the "one-drop rule" could block the ethno-racial status of those who are not capable of defend their whiteness with clear phenotypic evidence (see, for the "one-drop rule," Foley 1997; Lee and Bean 2007). The white/not-white boundary is still salient, and may differentiate those who lack a "pure" Caucasian phenotype.

In Peru, the highest ethno-racial status is also embodied by those who conform to the phenotypic characteristics of western whiteness. Whiteness represents "Europeanness," beauty, and power; therefore, it is perceived and promoted as superior in the mainstream (Portocarrero 2007; Bruce 2007; Galarza et al. 2012). Nevertheless, according to the estimates presented above, only about 5 percent self-identify as white. Contrary to the U.S. demographic characteristics, those who self-identify as white are a minority. In addition, it is problematic to determine whether these *criollo* whites conform to the rigorous phenotypic standards of European whiteness in a nation built over the ideology of mestizaje. Although these phenotypic characteristics are more evident (more concentrated) among those who belong to the highest socioeconomic status (in private beach clubs or in the most expensive schools in Lima), these characteristics are less evident (less concentrated) among the *criollos* and *mestizos* who belong to the upper-middle and middle classes. In accordance with the ideology of *mestizaje*, they are not necessarily phenotypically white, and even may suffer anxieties about their "contaminated" racial heritages (Larson 2004; de la Cadena 2000; Bruce 2007). Nevertheless, these *criollos* can pass as whites because they can convince others of their whiteness to a certain extent under the *mestizo* logic of ethno-racial negotiation, and also because they are closer to those who belong to

upper socioeconomic statuses and often have whiter phenotypic attributes. These *criollos* can

better imitate those who enjoy the highest ethno-racial status.

This ambiguity within the white/*criollo* group already existed during the colonial times.

While several scholars point out that the distinction between indigenous individuals and *mestizos*

is essentially cultural and not phenotypic (Harris 1964; Bourricaud 1970; Fuenzalida 1970),

Mörner (1967) elaborates on the phenotypic ambiguity of the Spaniard/Not Spaniard distinction.

Mörner (1967: 68) considers several testimonies such as the opinion about the difference

between an indian and a Spaniard of Concolorcorvo ([1773] 1908), a chronicler from the 1770s:

indians and Spaniards were not different in "the shape of the face." Mörner (1967: 69) also

complements these testimonies with examples taken from tax lists (in Aguirre Beltrán [1940]

1989) to illustrate how individuals were already claiming the superior Spaniard status despite

their lack of a clearer skin tone: "Manuel Hilario López, Spaniard as he says but of very suspect

color."

Not only does the ethno-racial ambiguity blur the *mestizo*/indigenous distinction, but also

the white/not white differentiation despite the prevalence of white skin color as legitimate

cultural capital. Under the ideological umbrella of *mestizaje*, a white skin tone does not

necessarily make you achieve the highest ethno-racial status of white. As certain Peruvians can

self-identify (and be identified) as indigenous *mestizos*, others also can be perceived as

indigenous despite their white skin tones. In their analysis of Tulio Loza, a popular fair-skinned

comedian who sold himself as *Cholo de acero inoxidable* (The "Stainless Steel" *Cholo*), Peirano

et al. (1984: 103) asserted that:

> The *cholo* can be a white *cholo* with green eyes; in other words, a "whiter" *cholo*, [or]
>
> almost not a *cholo* even if he speaks Quechua as Tulio Loza –because not everyone who

speaks Quechua is a *cholo*–; therefore, he can aspire more than the black or the *zambo*, and he can work with the whites (…) [My translation].

Like Loza, other Peruvians who self-identify as indigenous or *mestizos* and can be perceived as such might have evident white phenotypic characteristics. However, those characteristics do not necessarily make them attain the local ethno-racial status of white. It is commonly pointed out that the cultural diversity of indigenous people and *mestizos* can be identified by ethnicity (Quechua, *Aymara*, Amazonian), but the phenotypic diversity within indigenous and *mestizo* populations has rarely been addressed with the exception of popular stereotypes (e.g., depicting people from certain regions as "whiter *cholos*"). Thus, miscegenation should not be merely understood as a mix of skin colors on a palette. In the context of *mestizaje*, white skin and green eyes also can be combined with other indigenous phenotypic characteristics. Leaving aside his Quechua proficiency and his marketable prestige as *cholo*, Loza's phenotype resembles more an average *mestizo* appearance than the appearance of a white *criollo*. In Peru, rather than automatically signifying a white racial status, a fair skin color serves as phenotypic cultural capital legitimized by the mainstream preference toward whiteness useful to negotiate the ethno-racial status. From this perspective, other Peruvians might self-identify as white or *mestizo* using other white phenotypic characteristics such as type of hair, height, and body shape (including the shape of the nose or the eyes) despite their lack of white skin (see Golash-Boza 2010a). It is possible that some of these individuals succeed in attaining a whiter status because, among other reasons, only a very small proportion of Peruvians evidently resembles Spanish/European whiteness.

In the Peruvian *mestizo* context, the perception of phenotype is also complemented with racialized cultural characteristics that also contribute to the shaping of race as a social construct.

Beyond the whitening hypothetically attained through higher levels of income (money "bleaches") and education (the official path toward the *mestizo* condition), ancestry and region are not only markers of ethnicity, but also cultural traits that can signify an inferior racialized indigenousness. Even though indigenous ancestry may not be as evident as physical appearance (see Villareal 2010: 653), it can be locally identified through different cultural practices such as tastes, manners, everyday habits, and Spanish usage (Golash-Boza 2010b; Paredes and Valdez 2008; Callirgos 1993). Similarly, not only does region refer to different degrees of underdevelopment due to centralization, but also to the racialization of those who are affected by the underdevelopment. Region symbolizes the racialized *serrano* and the racialized Amazonian as well as the geographical and historical distribution of populations according to ethnicity, and focalized racialized differentiations by geography (Barrón 2008; Fuenzalida 1970). The more urban the region is, the less indigenous it will be for the average Peruvian.

Understanding that the ethno-racial status depends on a combination of ethno-racial characteristics as cultural capital in Peru, I empirically examine the significance of these characteristics by incorporating them as explanatory variables in the stratification analysis of several socioeconomic outcomes using regression models. These ethno-racial characteristics are skin tone, ethno-racial self-perception, indigenous ancestry, and region. Rather than focusing on the conceptual differences of etic and emic approaches to race (Harris et al. 1993), I argue that, in Peru, due to the *mestizo* fluidity, skin color and self-perception are both components of the ethno-racial status that do not necessarily coincide, and neither of them automatically defines the latter. By concurrently incorporating skin color and self-perception as predictors, we can observe some of their coincidences and contradictions in the analysis of the stratification of specific outcomes.

Note that self-perception is conceptually not interpreted as a fixed measure of race and ethnicity at the individual level (Telles 2004; Moreno et al. 2011; see also Saperstein and Penner 2012). According to this framework, self-identifying as white or as *mestizo* reveal the agency of the individual (consciously or unconsciously developed) for improving their ethno-racial status. This agency (1) can be either significant or irrelevant as cultural capital as predictor of certain socioeconomic outcomes; and (2) does not disregard the possibility that the individual's ethno-racial status corresponds to a more indigenous status. Therefore, the white and *mestizo* self-perception as a category of analysis is understood as the self-differentiation from indigenousness with respectively different meanings –the local meanings of "white as superior" and "*mestizo* as equal (but not *indio*)"–, rather than as malleable ethno-racial identities (see Brubaker 2004). Here the fluidity of the ethno-racial status could be captured by combining skin color and self-perception with ancestry and region. For instance, a dark-skinned Peruvian may self-identify as white or a Quechua speaker may self-identify as *mestizo* (the indigenous *mestizo*).

Finally, I argue that analytic distinctions between race and ethnicity in Peru are problematic due to the *mestizo* fluidity. Unlike Golash-Boza (2006: 34-35), who suggests that "ethnic characteristics can be expected to dissipate over the course of generations while racial characteristics are more likely to persist across generations," the case of Peru exemplifies how ethnic distinctions –and other characteristics stereotypically attributed to ethnicity– have been racialized over time while skin color alone has not necessarily overcome these racializations.[7] Although the measures that are associated with these racializations –ancestry and region– mainly refer to cultural differentiations, they also might consider other phenotypic characteristics that are not captured by measures of skin color that are still relevant for Peruvians.

DATA, METHODS, AND MEASUREMENTS

The cross-sectional data used in this analysis come from the 2010 America's Barometer by the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP 2010). The 2010 Peru survey was carried out using a national probability sample design of voting-age adults taking into account stratification and clustering with a sample size of 1,500 respondents. Although the Latin American Public Opinion Project has been primarily concerned with the analysis of political issues in several Latin-American countries, the 2010 surveys introduced a module for gathering ethno-racial information designed by the Project on Ethnicity and Race in Latin-America (PERLA) at Princeton University.[8] I analyzed this data using Stata 12 (StataCorp 2011).[9]

TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

Table 2 lists the variables used in the analysis. To my knowledge, this is the first survey that gathered information about individuals' skin color in Peru. Interviewers coded skin color based on their evaluation of the appearance of respondents at the end of each interview using the PERLA skin color palette.[10] This palette classifies the skin color of the respondents starting at 1 for the lightest and ending at 11 for the darkest. I recoded this variable using zero for the lightest (also subtracting 1 from the rest of the categories), and grouped the original categories 8, 9 and 10 in the category 7 for those with the darkest skin tone (there were not any respondents coded as 11; there were 16 respondents coded as 8; 4, as 9; and 2, as 10). It is safe to assert that individuals with 8 or more would be already locally considered as very dark-skinned (Afro-Peruvians). Based on this recoding, category 3 indicates a light brown whereas categories 1 and 2 still indicate white skin colors. Although discrete, I treat skin color as a continuous variable when it serves as an explanatory variable keeping in mind that the tonalities of the palette represent a continuum (see Ñopo et al. 2007; Fox [1997] 2008: 287). Figure 1 in the next section

depicts in detail this variable. For consistency, I did the same for the variable skin color of the interviewer, which, as it is explained below, is incorporated as a control variable into the regressions.

I work with four ethno-racial categories as explanatory variables: white, Afro (for which I grouped black and mulatto as it is done in official surveys), indigenous and *mestizo*. I specially pay attention to the effects of *mestizo* and white as indicators of the ethno-racial agency of Peruvians. It is worth noting that the percentage of those who self-identify as indigenous is very low, which may be the consequence of the negative connotation of the term *indígena* present in the question as it is discussed later. Therefore, I do not expect it to be a great measure for capturing indigenousness. For the same reason, I do not expect to find any noteworthy effects for those who self-identify as Afro-Peruvians. However, several disadvantages of blackness may be captured by skin color if its effect is statistically significant. I removed those individuals who self-identify as other (6), as Oriental for Asian (2), as well as the missing values (43) from the sample (it ended in 1449 observations). Moreover, I use three dummy variables to capture ancestry: (use of an) indigenous language (most of them speak Quechua); mother's ethnicity (neither white nor *mestiza*); and language(s) of parents (neither do they speak Spanish only nor Spanish and a foreign language). Region is composed of five categories that successively reveal their population sizes: from metropolitan Lima as the most urban to the traditionally indigenous rural areas. In the analysis, variables for ancestry and for rural represent negative ethno-racial cultural capital. In addition, the ethno-racial variables are going to be sequentially incorporated into the regression models, starting with skin color alone, then the variables for self-perception, ancestry, and finally region.

In this article, I examine the ethno-racial stratification of education, household income, the access to clean water and sanitation, and household possessions. I created a categorical variable for education based on completed years of schooling that serves as a response variable for the analysis of education, and its separate categories as explanatory variables in the analysis of the other outcomes.[11] I treat the categorical household income measure as a continuous response variable by using the midpoint of each category in Nuevos Soles, by assuming a Pareto distribution for estimating the value of the top open-ended category with a log-linear regression, and by finally computing its natural logarithm. There were 122 missing values for which I inputted income values according to education (obtained by using an OLS regression). I created an ordinal variable with the variables access to clean water (*agua potable*) and sanitation (*cuarto de baño*) at home: [access to] neither of them, one of them, or both. Furthermore, I computed an indicator of household possessions by averaging the ownership of a television, refrigerator, home phone, cell phone, washing machine (for clothes), microwave, computer, flat screen television, and internet, and scaled it from zero to 100.

The first part of the statistical analysis consists in examining the interviewer and the respondent effects on skin color classification using regression analysis (see Villareal 2010). I use ordered logistic regression models for not assuming a specific distance between categories when skin color serves as a response variable. These models are also multilevel in which respondents are nested within interviewers for capturing unmodeled heterogeneity at the respondent and interviewer levels with separate error terms (see Villareal 2010: 663). Firstly, I expect that the interviewer's skin color is significantly associated with the skin color categorization of the respondents. Contrary to what Hill (2002) found in the U.S., I hypothesize that, in the context of Peruvian *mestizaje*, the darker the interviewer is, the darker she/he will

find the respondent. A darker Peruvian is not necessarily inclined to accept any whiter phenotypic attributes of others under the *mestizo* emphasis on equality. Moreover, I expect that ancestry and region are not associated with skin color. Even though ancestry and region are certainly racialized, they refer more to cultural than skin color characteristics (although they might capture other phenotypic attributes beyond skin color). In this sense, I expect that skin color in Lima is not significantly differently between regions. In contrast, contrary to the findings of Villareal (2010) in Mexico and Telles (2004) in Brazil, I expect that women are perceived as darker with respect to men. According to de la Cadena (1991), women are more indigenous than men due to the modern dynamics of patriarchy in certain communities ("*las mujeres son más indias*"), a statement reaffirmed later by Trivelli (2005). Although I argue that indigenousness is not equivalent to skin color, it is possible that they are perceived as more indigenous due to a more rigorous gendered racialization, which eventually could lead to an overall darker perception of women. Furthermore, I expect that the self-perception as white, indigenous, and Afro-Peruvian compared with *mestizos* are accordingly correlated with skin color –negative, positive, and positive, respectively– assuming that self-identifying as a *mestizo* makes the person clearer in the eyes of others compared with those who self-identify as Afro or indigenous. As it is shown later, I complement these findings with some necessary descriptive statistics.

Next, I continue with the analysis of the stratification of education and household income. I use ordered logistic regression models for the analysis of education to avoid assuming a specific distance between categories (see Villareal 2010: 660). Conversely, I use linear regression models for the analysis of income because, as mentioned above, I treat the variable household income as a continuous response variable. Keeping in mind the prevalence of racism

and the ethno-racial hierarchies described above, I expect that skin color is negatively associated with higher educational attainment and with income. Likewise, I expect that the self-perception as white compared with *mestizo* is positively associated with higher educational attainment and income, and that the rural variable and any of the ancestry variables are negatively associated with higher educational attainment and income. Even though I expect negative effects for the self-identification as indigenous and as Afro-Peruvian compared with *mestizo*, it is possible that these effects are statistically insignificant due to their sizes in the sample. Keeping in mind the evidence favoring males found by Castro et al. (2012), I expect that females have, in average, lower educational attainment. However, it is also possible that the male advantage is not necessarily going to be portrayed by these regressions as it happened with their Cox models before relaxing the proportionality assumption (Castro et al. 2012: 47).

Not only do access to clean water and sanitation, and household possessions represent in this analysis socioeconomic outcomes, but also two opposite cultural poles that reflect contrasting lifestyles within the nation. On one hand, the availability of clean water and sanitation at home refers to the extent to which people are able to satisfy their basic needs. Table 2 indicates that about 22 percent of Peruvians have access to neither of them or just to one of them, which reveals the seriousness of the problem. On the other hand, those household possessions listed above represent an access to a different lifestyle with standards closer to the standards of life in urban areas of developed western societies. Higher income alone does not necessarily guarantee the acquisition of these goods either for cultural reasons (e.g., a washing machine, a microwave) or for lacking access to them in certain areas (e.g., internet, home phone). Although I expect that education and income are positively associated with both variables, I also expect that the ethno-racial measures that represent indigenousness –ancestry

(any of the ancestry variables), rural, and skin color–, net of education and income, have negative effects. Conversely, I expect that the self-identification as white compared with *mestizo* is positively associated with access to clean water and sanitation, and with household possessions. I also expect that the self-identifications as indigenous and as Afro compared with *mestizo* are negatively associated with access to clean water and sanitation, and with household possessions (but keeping in mind the problem of these categories' sizes). Like in the respective analyses of education and income, I use ordered logistic regression models for the analysis of access to clean water and sanitation, and linear regression models for the analysis of household possessions.

RESULTS

Analysis of Skin Color Categorization

Table 3 presents the regression coefficients of the multilevel ordered logistic regression models converted to odds ratios predicting the interviewer and the respondent effects on skin color categorization. As expected, the interviewer's skin color is positively associated with the skin color categorization of the respondents in every model. Conversely, the effect of the interviewer's sex becomes statistically insignificant after all the ethno-racial variables are incorporated as predictors in Model 3. Also, the interviewer's age has no effect on their classification of respondents' skin color. Due to the significance of the interviewer's skin color in these models as a predictor of respondents' skin color, I opt to use multilevel regression models for the analyses of socioeconomic outcomes in which respondents are nested within interviewers, and to incorporate interviewer's skin color as a control variable in these models with the purpose of obtaining more efficient estimates.

TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE

Moreover, as expected, ancestry and region are ethno-racial markers that are not associated with skin color. The positive effect of indigenous language in Model 2 disappears in Model 3. Contrary to the findings of Villareal (2010) in Mexico, region is statistically insignificant in every model as predictor of skin color categorization. These findings suggest the relevance of the racialization of ancestry and region more as a sociocultural dynamic, rather than as a differentiation by skin color. They also may make wonder whether there are any other phenotypic characteristics that might be locally relevant for ethno-racial differentiations. Therefore, I assume that there is no problem between skin color categorization and exposure to sunlight due to the statistical insignificance of rural, which serves as a control for rural residents' greater exposure to sunlight (see Villareal 2010: 670-671). Furthermore, unexpectedly, the odds of being classified as darker are lower for females compared with males in agreement with the findings of Villareal (2010) in Mexico and Telles (2004) in Brazil (about 12 percent lower: 1-.88). By "women are more indigenous," Trivelli (2005) referred in ethno-racial terms to gendered income disparities that favored males, rather than to phenotypic characteristics. It is implied in her viewpoint the racialization of the disadvantage as a general practice. Under the logic of *mestizaje*, for which disadvantage is embodied by indigenousness, it makes sense to assume that this gendered racialization is prevalent and relevant in Peru as a cultural issue regardless of the average perception of women's clearer complexion. This disadvantage is supported by evidence of gender disparities favoring males in the stratification analysis of education presented in the next subsection.

As expected, the self-perception as white and Afro are accordingly associated with skin color. Model 3 suggests that the odds of being perceived as darker are 89 percent lower for those who self-identify as white compared with those who self-identify as *mestizos* (1-.11), and 423

percent higher for those who self-identify as black compared with those who self-identify as *mestizos* (5.23-1). Model 1 suggests that the odds of being perceived as darker are also higher for those who self-identify as indigenous compared with those who self-identify as *mestizos*, but this effect disappears in the subsequent models after the other ethno-racial variables are incorporated. Therefore, there is no evidence to suggest differences in the perception of skin color between those who self-identify as *mestizos* and indigenous. This lack of evidence seems to reinforce Harris' thesis (1964) that the difference is cultural rather than phenotypic, at least based on the importance of skin color.

FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE

Nevertheless, these results only explain part of the story. Keeping in mind that category 3 indicates a light brown phenotype, Figure 1a reveals that about 70 percent of Peruvians are categorized as brown, which reinforces the association of a brown complexion with the average mestizo perception. However, Figure 1b reveals that those who self-identify as *mestizos* have different skin colors. Figure 1b shows that about 42 percent of those in category 0, about 54 percent of those in category 1, and about 72 percent of those in category 2 –the categories for white skin color– self-identify as *mestizos*. Certainly, the odds of being perceived as darker are lower for those who self-identify as white compared with those who self-identify as *mestizo*, but we cannot disregard that the percentage of those who self-identify as *mestizo* in each color category (with the exception of the first category) is greater than 50 percent. Light-skinned Peruvians might prefer to see themselves as *mestizos* because they might not be as white as those who embody the ideal of whiteness. Like the comedian Tulio Loza, they might be fair-skinned, but other phenotypic or cultural characteristics might suggest their lack of whiteness. Dark-skinned Peruvians might argue that they are not only black or indigenous, but mixed-race like

everybody else. Also, while several brown-skinned Peruvians might self-identify as white to avoid discrimination and to improve their status under the logic of *mestizaje*, others might have legitimate phenotypic traits to justify their whiteness such as the color of the eyes and the shape of the face. In Peru, self-identifying as a *mestizo* refers to its ideological claim of ethno-racial equality as mixed-race (as the etymological meaning of the word *mestizo* suggest) in spite of other phenotypic and cultural differentiations among those who self-perceive as mixed. In consequence, a white skin color should not be automatically understood as white race in the context of Peruvian *mestizaje*.

Differences in Educational Attainment and Income

Table 4 presents the regression coefficients of the multilevel ordered logistic regression models converted to odds ratios predicting educational attainment. As expected, skin color is negatively associated with educational attainment even when other ethno-racial and demographic characteristics are taken into account. Model 4 suggests that the odds of attaining an educational degree are 25 percent lower for each additional darker category of skin color (1-.75). Model 4 also reveals that skin color is not the only significant ethno-racial indicator of the ethno-racial status associated with educational attainment. As expected, beyond skin color, indigenous language and rural are also negatively associated with educational attainment. The odds of attaining an educational degree are 62 percent lower for those who speak an indigenous language (1-.38), and 55 percent lower for those who live in rural areas (1-.45). Furthermore, there is evidence to suggest that the educational attainment of females is lower compared with the attainment of males. As expected, females have 15 percent lower odds of attaining an educational degree compared with males (1-.85).

TABLE 4 ABOUT HERE

The effects of ethno-racial self-identification as predictors of educational attainment are noteworthy. As a possibility suggested above, there is no evidence to suggest that the effects of self-identifying as Afro or indigenous are different with respect to those who self-identify as *mestizo* maybe because of their sizes in the sample. The effect of those who self-identify as white seems to be contradictory. Even though the effect of skin color is negatively associated with educational attainment, the odds of attaining an educational degree are unexpectedly 43 percent lower for those who self-identify as white compared with those who self-identify as *mestizo* (1-.57 in Model 4). This significant association suggests that those who self-identify as white do not represent the whiteness of the Peruvian elite. Members of the elite have better access to educational opportunities in prestigious private schools and universities where the phenotypic and cultural criteria for whiteness are more exclusive.[12] Model 5 reveals that those who self-identify as *mestizo* have 46 percent greater odds of attaining an educational degree compared with non-mestizos. Not only does this association serve as evidence of the significance of the *mestizo* agency, but it also highlights the conceptual link between being/becoming a *mestizo* through education as suggested by Portocarrero (2007).

TABLE 5 ABOUT HERE

Table 5 presents the regression coefficients of the multilevel linear regression models that predict household income. Unexpectedly, the effects of skin color, self-perception, and ancestry, according to these regression models, are statistically insignificant. Note, however, that all variables for region have significantly negative effects, especially the effect for rural, which is greater in magnitude. Skin color is significant in Model 1 (although notably lower in magnitude compared with the effects for region in Model 4), but it disappears after the variables of ancestry are incorporated. Surprisingly, the effect of indigenous language, the official indicator of

indigenousness, is statistically insignificant in Model 4 maybe because of insufficient statistical power. However, the effect of indigenous language is statistically significant in Model 5, which considers all the predictors in Model 4 except mother's ethnicity and language(s) of parents, and works as the only indicator of ancestry.

A possible reason behind the lack of statistical significance of most of the ethno-racial variables in Model 4 is the downward mobility suffered by the Latin-American middle classes during the transition to neo-liberal economies in the 1990s. Public sector employment –the backbone of the middle class– notably declined in the 1990s, and this shortfall was not compensated by growth in formal private employment; it was absorbed by the less formal petty bourgeoisie (Portes and Hoffman 2003). This explanation makes sense if we assume that the previous, more traditional Peruvian middle class had overall more ethno-racial cultural capital.

These findings also can be associated with Trivelli's discussion (2005): a greater share of inequality can be attributed to region, rather than to indigenousness. Nonetheless, it is necessary to underline that the number of indigenous native speakers are decreasing over time, and that region still refers to ethnicity, which is normally racialized. Moreover, these findings may be problematic if we define race only as skin color or ethnicity as indigenous language keeping in mind the importance of household income as one of the most relevant socioeconomic outcomes. From this perspective, it could be argued that there is no evidence of ethno-racial disparities in household income with the purpose of convincing others that ethno-racial inequality is not a relevant problem (for instance, in the political arena); thus, the historical relevance of region as an indicator of indigenousness would be disregarded. Therefore, it is necessary to continue the analysis of poverty and affluence using other approaches and methods to determine whether

there are any significant ethno-racial disparities associated with ancestry, skin color, and self-perception.[13]

Differences in the Access to Clean Water and Sanitation and Household Possessions

Alternatively, I opted to examine whether there are any significant ethno-racial disparities associated with ancestry, skin color, and self-perception in the access to clean water and sanitation and household possessions. As mentioned above, not only do these socioeconomic outcomes represent respondents' overall living standards, but they also reflect two cultural poles that reflect contrasting lifestyles within the nation. Table 6 presents the regression coefficients of the multilevel ordered logistic regression models converted to odds ratios predicting access to clean water and sanitation. As expected, mother's ethnicity, rural, and skin color are negatively associated with access to clean water and sanitation; and also household income is positively associated with access to clean water and sanitation. Conversely, neither do the effects of self-perception nor the effects of education are statistically significant.

TABLE 6 ABOUT HERE

Model 4 suggests that moving to a darker skin color category lowers the odds of access to clean water and sanitation by 15 percent (1-.85). Also, the odds of having clean water and sanitation in rural areas, according to Model 4, are 76 percent lower with respect to Lima (1-.24). In addition, the odds of those who classify their mothers as neither white nor *mestiza* are 52 percent lower compared with those who classify their mothers as white or *mestiza* (1-.48). This finding is particularly interesting because it better captures a "neither white nor *mestizo*" ancestry compared with any of the language variables. Unexpectedly, the effect of the official measure indigenous language was statistically insignificant. This may be associated with the decreasing number of people who speak indigenous languages, but still recognize their "neither white nor

mestizo" heritage. In this context, it is also noticeable the positive association between intermediate cities compared with Lima and access to clean water and sanitation. This effect may reflect the relative disadvantages of those who live in Lima's peripheral slums.

TABLE 7 ABOUT HERE

Table 7 presents the regression coefficients of the multilevel linear regression models that predict household possessions. These possessions indicate –and serve as evidence to support– a culturally superior status that contrasts with the inferiority permanently attributed to indigenousness. As expected, the effects of mother's ethnicity, rural, and skin color are negatively associated with household possessions. Also, the effects of income and of the two highest educational categories are not only positively associated with household possessions, but notably greater in magnitude compared with the other coefficients, with the exception of rural. Again, mother's ethnicity points out the relevance of ancestry. The effect of parents' language(s) became insignificant in Model 4, when the region variables were incorporated. The coefficient of respondents' age is also positively associated with household possessions.

The effect of white self-perception deserves special attention. Model 4 suggests that self-identification as white is positively associated with household possessions, being *mestizo* self-identification the reference category. This finding contrasts with the statistically insignificant effects of white self-identification in the analysis of household income and in the analysis of access to clean water and sanitation, and with the significantly negative association of white self-identification and educational attainment. It suggests that, beyond income, education, skin color and the other significant ethno-racial indicators, those who self-identify as white have better access to possessions that associate them with the lifestyle of modern western urban areas. The modernization of the western *criollo* culture, supported by its western symbols and material

artifacts like the household possessions, shaped the identities of the privileged Peruvians as superior, and the identities of the subordinates as more indigenous (Nugent 1992: 71; Quijano 1980: 90-93).

CAVEATS

As mentioned above, the percentage of those who self-identify as indigenous in the 2010 LAPOP survey is very low, especially when they are compared with the percentage of those who self-identify as Quechua or *Aymara* in Table 2 (3 percent versus 25 percent, approximately). The acceptance of the term *indígena* as an ethno-racial category in Peru is particularly conflictive because, like the term *indio*, it refers to an inferior ethno-racial condition in a negative way (Mamani Humpiri 2009). The negative charge of indigenousness is also emphasized along the survey questionnaire with questions that connect the indigenous condition with prejudice and discrimination before the self-perception question, motivating the respondents in this way to choose another answer.[14] Moreover, for several Peruvians, *indígena* also signifies modern colonizing impositions from above by institutions such as transnational companies and NGOs despite the seminal activation of indigenous identity in the context of political conflicts (see Wright et al. 2012, Degregori 1995). It would be interesting to examine whether the percentage of those who self-identify as *mestizo* decreases in the survey if the ethnic terms Quechua and *Aymara* replace the indigenous category (maybe in the next round of the LAPOP survey, or by measuring skin tone in an official survey). In this scenario, people would be asked to choose whether they self-identify more as a *mestizo* or as a Quechua. It also would be necessary to keep the indigenous language question because it is possible to find monolingual Spanish speakers who self-identify as Quechua for other cultural reasons in the context of Peruvian *mestizo*

fluidity and acculturation. A lower proportion of self-identified *mestizos* may affect the findings presented in this analysis.

The measure of skin color also may be problematic. Villareal (2010) points out that the difference in socioeconomic status by skin color may result from interviewers classifying respondents perceived as individuals of higher socioeconomic status. Nevertheless, observed differences in income, access to clean water and sanitation, and household possessions are net of respondents' educational levels and of respondents' income in the last two socioeconomic outcomes, which should work as a proxy for the shift in skin color categories that might occur with increasing socioeconomic status (Villareal 2010: 670). Moreover, due to the cross-sectional nature of the data, I cannot evaluate the statistical reliability of skin color categorization (see Villareal 2010). It is necessary, however, to keep in mind that data on ethno-racial characteristics and longitudinal datasets about Peru are still unusual. Hopefully, the relevance of these findings might serve to keep gathering more ethno-racial information through surveys in the future that allow us to revise these estimates, and also to adjust our conceptual approaches. It would be interesting to work not only with measures of skin color, but also with various measures of assigned phenotypic ethno-racial intensity similar to those gathered in the surveys used by Ñopo and colleagues, and compare their effects. Indicators of migration status also would serve as measures of ethno-racial cultural capital due to the racialization of the migrant, especially of those who come from rural areas.

The region variables, especially rural, serve in this analysis as measures of racialized ethnicity that transcend skin color, ancestry, and self-identification. However, its effect also may refer to other regional characteristics that are not associated with race or ethnicity. Decomposing this effect is not the purpose of this analysis. On the contrary, I suggest that this effect, net of

education in the analysis of income, and net of education and income in the analysis of access to clean water and sanitation, and household possessions, represents a disadvantage that is stereotypically identified as ethnic and continually racialized.

CONCLUSION

The analysis of ethno-racial stratification in Peru serves to better understand the social dynamics of contemporary *mestizaje*. Beyond the understanding of *mestizaje* as miscegenation or as the term for the mixed-raced person –the descendant of an indigenous person and a Spaniard– in the colonial system of castes, *mestizaje* is nowadays associated with an ideologically integrative premise of equality. Nonetheless, despite this premise, *mestizaje* still implies the rejection of indigenous (or black) phenotypic and cultural characteristics. The case of Peru exemplifies that, in the context of *mestizaje*, ethnic distinctions have been racialized over time while skin color alone has not necessarily overcome these racializations. These racialized ethnic distinctions also may be associated with the relevance of other phenotypic characteristics that are not considered (captured) by skin color. Therefore, this analysis required alternative conceptualizations of race and ethnicity that notably contrast with those used in the U.S. (see Wimmer 2008; Wade [1997] 2010). Race should not be just understood as skin color; thus, *mestizaje* should not just be understood as brownness. In Peru, race is intertwined with ethnicity, and both together transcend the notion of skin color pointing out the relevance of cultural and possibly other phenotypic ethno-racial characteristics not captured by skin color. Moreover, miscegenation should not be interpreted as skin color mixing. In this analysis, self-identifying as *mestizo* or as white is understood as the agency of the individual for improving her/his ethno-racial status, rather than as an emic approach to capture the ethno-racial condition of the respondent. This alternative interpretation makes sense in the *mestizo* context of fluid

boundaries, in which the ethno-racial status is rarely fixed, and commonly negotiated with the available phenotypic and cultural ethno-racial cultural capital.

Even though skin color works as a relevant ethno-racial predictor in the stratification analyses of socioeconomic outcomes, with the exception of household income, it does not determine alone the ethno-racial self-identification or the ethno-racial status of the individual. There are also other ethno-racial characteristics that are significant predictors of the socioeconomic outcomes: ancestry, region, and self-identification. The relevance of the ethno-racial cultural capital is reflected in the statistical significance of these ethno-racial predictors as independent variables in the analyses of socioeconomic outcomes. The effects of ancestry and region suggest that the racializations of the ethnic distinctions –and other characteristics stereotypically attributed to indigenous ethnicity– are noteworthy. Moreover, the effect of self-identifying as *mestizo*, net of skin color and other predictors, indicate that the ethno-racial agency as *mestizo* is significantly positive as a predictor of educational attainment, in agreement with the acculturation through education supported by the ideology of *mestizaje* (Portocarrero 2007). Conversely, the net negative effect of self-identifying as white interestingly contradicts the negative association between educational attainment and skin color, which suggests that the white self-identification does not capture the whiteness of the elite. Following the logic of *mestizaje*, self-identifying as white is supported by a greater access to household possessions, which culturally justify the superior status of those who have more of these possessions according to western standards (Nugent 1992; Quijano 1980).

This analysis may serve to consider other aspects for understanding the racial system of Latin-America. Sue (2009) points out the lack of consensus to characterize this system, the relevance of a color continuum that may lead to a tri-racial or a multiracial system, and the

assumption of ancestry as constant with the purpose of explaining the importance of skin color. Beyond highlighting the insufficiency of skin color as the only marker of race, this analysis also attempts to challenge the assumption of ancestry as constant. In a context of Peruvian *mestizaje*, cultural characteristics of ancestry have had varying meanings over time through the incorporation of various discourses on inclusion and exclusion associated not only with whiteness, "mestizoness," and indigenousness, but also with blackness and "Asianness." This assumption does not consider the role of racialization of culture for the dynamic of "de-indianization," which implies hiding the indigenous characteristics and polishing the civilized, culturally whiter stance of *mestizos*. It confuses recognition of non-white heritages with balanced acceptances between heritages in self-definition and interaction. That is, a person who self-identify as white may recognize an indigenous ancestor, but the indigenousness of this ancestor is not necessarily going to affect the ethno-racial status of the person or the self-identification, especially if she/he has resources to conceal that indigenous link. This redefinition of whiteness in cultural terms is also interesting for the analysis of racialized assimilation and the formation of boundaries (Golash-Boza 2006; Frank, Akresh and Lu 2010). The analysis of racialized assimilation suggests that self-identification as white by Latinos in the U.S obeys to the recognition of U.S. racial hierarchies. Nonetheless, it is possible that this self-identification also may be associated with other causes, net of skin color, especially if the Latino is familiar with the negotiation of the ethno-racial status.

Finally, this article also attempts to contribute with updated views from an empirical sociological perspective to the current academic debate on ethno-racial issues in Peru. This analysis attempts to deal with the great complexity of contemporary ethno-racial relations in Peru by integrating views that initially seemed to be irreparably divorced: ethno-racial fluidity

and empirical analysis (see Degregori 1999). Understanding that the ethno-racial fluidity of

mestizaje can be empirically approached should lead specialists of Peruvian ethno-racial issues to

revalidate the usefulness of quantitative methods as a necessary tool to improve the

understanding of the topic without disregarding several necessary critiques. From this

perspective, ethno-racial variables should not be understood as fixed understandings of races or

ethnicities. They can be conceptualized in different ways for the purpose of examining the

relevance of the construct they represent, rather than the condition of the respondent. Moreover,

dealing with terms in the article that are often fairly contested such as *indio*, *indígena* and *cholo*

may be useful as categories of analysis. I doubt that their analytic use unavoidably leads to their

reification, especially after considering their conflictive prevalence in daily life and in

mainstream discourse. It is still a pending issue for the specialists of Peruvian ethno-racial issues

to contribute to a better understanding of Peruvian race relations beyond the academic sphere in

simpler terms.[15]

Notes

1. According to Gootenberg (1991), post-colonial *mestizaje* was delayed in Peru during its initial years as an independent nation. An interpretation suggests that this delay is the consequence of Peru's halting patterns of *criollo* state building and capitalism (see Gootenberg 1991 for more interpretations).
2. *Indigenismo* refers to the study of Indo-American indigenous groups, to the sociopolitical and economical stance that advocates the vindication of the indigenous populations, and to the Indo-American indigenous themes in art and literature. In Peru, *indigenismo* prevailed as an important trend during the first half of the 20th century (see Mariátegui [1928] 1995; Gonzales 2012). See also Espinosa (2012) for the case of the Amazonian *Shipibo-Konibo* ethnic community in which *Shipibo* youth still embrace *Shipibo* values while opting for formal education.
3. "Rural," according to the official survey, are towns that have no more than a hundred contiguous dwellings (INEI 2006: 150).
4. Although not directly associated with the purpose of this article, the works by Moreno et al. (2012) and Galarza et al. (2012) deserve to be mentioned. Following the work by Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004), these studies examine discrimination in employers' hiring decisions using field experiments.
5. As an alternative to neoclassical economics theory, Sigma theory explains the existence and persistence of discrimination. It sustains that there are different hierarchical levels of citizenship for each ethnic group (Figueroa 2006: 6).
6. Barrón (2008) defines discrimination as the unfair compensation for people from the underclass compared to those from other better ranked racial groups with the same qualifications; and exclusion as the existence of an underclass –the indigenous– that faces serious disadvantages in relation to other ethnic groups, which consequently thwart its access to more human capital. In Barrón's analysis (2008: 75-76), discrimination refers to the differences in the slopes of the regression lines; and exclusion, to the distribution of the regressors.
7. Golash-Boza's argument (2006: 35) refers to the racialized assimilation of non-white Latinos in the U.S., those who fit the Hispanic somatic norm image. This argument makes better sense in the U.S. due to the relevance of the color line as a major analytic issue (see also Frank, Akresh and Lu 2010; Sue 2009; Lee and Bean 2007).
8. See http://perla.princeton.edu/
9. I used *xtmixed* and *gllamm* for multilevel linear and multilevel ordered logistic regression models, respectively (see http://www.stata.com/help.cgi?xtmixed and http://www.gllamm.org/).
10. See http://perla.princeton.edu/surveys/perla-color-palette/
11. In Peru, primary education is attained at 6th grade; secondary education, at the 5th year of secondary education (total of 11 years for school), and university careers are usually completed after the 5th year of university education (see http://www.dgb.sep.gob.mx/tramites/revalidacion/estruc_sist_edu/estud-peru.pdf).
12. It is safe to assert that whiter phenotypic characteristics are more concentrated in elite private schools than in the most prestigious private universities, which also welcome upper-middle and middle-class *criollos* and *mestizos*. However, whiter phenotypic characteristics are more noticeable in the most prestigious private universities compared with other universities.

13. An alternative would be to examine household income per capita, rather than household income alone (see Villareal 2010). Although the 2010 LAPOP survey provides information about the number of sons and daughters who live at home and the marriage status of the respondent, it does not offer the total number of household residents. I prefer to avoid the assumption that the number of sons and daughters plus the respondent and the spouse (if the respondent is married) equate the total number of household residents. In Peru, the total number of many household residents may be composed of other family members such as the parents and siblings of the respondent, and even other families such as the family of the son or daughter. This family structure may be evident not only in lower income households, but also in middle class households.

14. For instance, in questions such as "would you accept that your daughter/son marries an indigenous person?" (my translation). See the questionnaire in http://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/peru/2010_Peru_Cuestionario.pdf.

15. It is therefore commendable the recent initiative of the Ministry of Culture, *Alerta contra el racismo* ("Beware of Racism," in http://alertacontraelracismo.pe/), as an initial step toward a better dissemination of updated views on Peruvian ethno-racial issues.

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Table 1. Percentage Distribution of the Population (12 Years and Over) According to the Self-Reported Race/Ethnicity

	Mestizo	Quechua	Aymara	Amazonian[a]	Black[b]	White[c]	Other[d]
National	59.5	22.7	2.7	1.8	1.6	4.9	6.7
Urban	64.1	18.7	2	1.2	1.7	5.4	6.9
Rural	44.7	35.7	5.1	3.8	1.5	3.2	5.9

[a]De la Amazonía

[b]Negro/Mulato/Zambo

[c]Blanco

[d]Mochica-Moche, Chinese, Japanese, others

Source: Encuesta Nacional Continua ENCO 2006 (INEI 2006: 92)

Table 2. Summary Statistics for the Variables Used in the Analysis

Ethno-Racial Cultural Capital Variables	Percentage (or mean and s.d.)			Response Variables	Percentage
Skin Color of the Respondent	3.22	(1.35)	(mean and s.d.)	Education	
Ethno-Racial Self-Perception				No formal schooling (zero years)	.83%
White	12.84%			Incomplete Primary Education	10.14%
Afro	4.55%			Complete Primary Education	5.11%
Indigenous	3.31%			Incomplete Secondary Education	12.22%
Mestizo	79.30%			Complete Secondary Education	30.30%
Ancestry				Some University or Technical Degree	24.29%
Indigenous Language	13.73%			Complete University or More	17.12%
Mother's Ethnicity	9.18%			Income	
Language(s) of Parents	28.02%			Less than S/.100	4.07%
Region				From S/.101 to S/.200	5.05%
Metropolitan Lima	34.09%			From S/.201 to S/.400	14.62%
Large Cities	20.63%			From S/.401 to S/.600	15.22%
Intermediate Cities	13.94%			From S/.601 to S/.800	19.07%
Small Cities	9.04%			From S/.801 to S/.1,200	20.05%
Rural	22.29%			From S/.1,201 to S/.1,600	10.32%
				From S/.1,601 to S/.2,000	4.07%
Control Variables				From S/.2,000 to S/.3,000	5.28%
Female	49.48%			More than S/.3,000	2.26%
Age	39.22	(16.19)	(mean and s.d.)	Access to Clean Water and Sanitation	
Skin Color of the Interviewer	3.25	(1.21)	(mean and s.d.)	Neither of them	7.87%
				One of them	14.07%
Response Variable				Both	78.07%
Household Possessions	45.22	(27.07)	(mean and s.d.)	Sample size	1449

Table 3. Odds Ratios of Multilevel Ordered Logistic Regression Models Predicting Skin Color Categorization Using Respondent and Interviewer Characteristics as Predictors

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Interviewer Characteristics			
Skin Color	1.5553 ***	1.5847 ***	1.5697 ***
	(.1143)	(.1203)	(.1168)
Female	1.2149 *	1.1787 *	1.1696
	(.0963)	(.0885)	(.1004)
Age	1.0036	1.0020	1.0021
	(.0034)	(.0035)	(.0035)
Respondent Characteristics			
Ethno-Racial Self-Perception[a]			
White	.10358 ***	.10581 ***	.10583 ***
	(.0225)	(.0232)	(.0232)
Afro	6.2659 ***	5.1950 ***	5.2284 ***
	(2.255)	(1.876)	(1.862)
Indigenous	2.3579 **	1.4920	1.4422
	(.7796)	(.4691)	(.4562)
Ancestry			
Indigenous Language		1.4943 *	1.4200
		(.2729)	(.2646)
Mother's Ethnicity		1.4449	1.4495
		(.3510)	(.3513)
Language(s) of Parents		1.1890	1.1685
		(.1978)	(.1954)
Region[b]			
Large Cities			1.0303
			(.2435)
Intermediate Cities			.97559
			(.1763)
Small Cities			1.0259
			(.3189)
Rural			1.3664
			(.3034)
Female	.87864 **	.87482 **	.87641 **
	(.0421)	(.0424)	(.0427)
Age	1.0036	1.0020	1.0021
	(.0034)	(.0035)	(.0035)
Variance Component for Intercept	.96560 ***	.99888 ***	1.0030 ***
N	1449	1449	1449

Notes: Skin color categories are ordered from whitest to darkest with the darkest category subjectively assigned the highest value. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. Threshold values for each category in the dependent variable are omitted to save space.

[a] Mestizo is the reference category

[b] Metropolitan Lima is the reference category

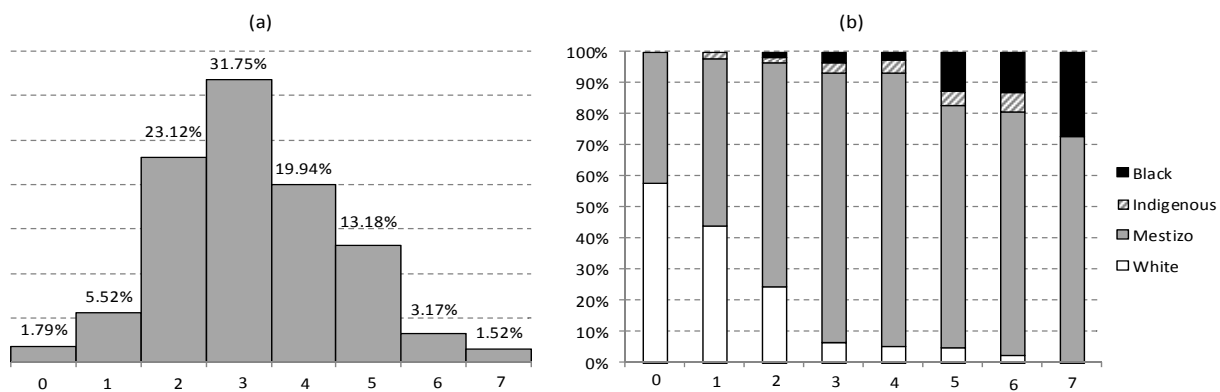$*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001$ (two-tailed tests)

Figure 1. (a) Skin Color Categorization; (b) Skin Color Categorization and Self-Reported Ethno-Racial Identification

Table 4. Odds Ratios of Multilevel Ordered Logistic Regression Models Predicting Educational Attainment

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Skin Color	.76453 ***	.73233 ***	.73852 ***	.74932 ***	.76796 ***
	(.0355)	(.0352)	(.0370)	(.0360)	(.0353)
Ethno-Racial Self-Perception[a]					
White		.57351 ***	.54906 ***	.56690 ***	
		(.0923)	(.0899)	(.0887)	
Afro		.82255	.90442	.91148	
		(.2076)	(.2368)	(.2405)	
Indigenous		.71344	1.2687	1.2387	
		(.2335)	(.4656)	(.4566)	
Mestizo					1.4640 **
					(.1967)
Ancestry					
Indigenous Language			.31612 ***	.37973 ***	.38875 ***
			(.0679)	(.0849)	(.0855)
Mother's Ethnicity			.81189	.80012	.98942
			(.1503)	(.1491)	(.1863)
Language(s) of Parents			.88381	.97798	1.0019
			(.1307)	(.1455)	(.1479)
Region[b]					
Large Cities				1.1396	1.1587
				(.2324)	(.2342)
Intermediate Cities				1.4226	1.4259
				(.2653)	(.2647)
Small Cities				1.5748	1.6180
				(.4939)	(.5012)
Rural				.45262 ***	.45624 ***
				(.0875)	(.0887)
Female	.70529 ***	.84314 ***	.84816 ***	.84588 ***	.83800 ***
	(.0588)	(.0354)	(.0359)	(.0361)	(.0358)
Age	.97202 ***	.97089 ***	.97316 ***	.97214 ***	.97239 ***
	(.0035)	(.0037)	(.0039)	(.0039)	(.0038)
Skin Color of Interviewer	.99295	1.0089	.97317	1.0048	.99265
	(.0528)	(.0524)	(.0565)	(.0582)	(.0574)
Variance Component for Intercept	.47133 ***	.46548 ***	.45986 ***	.31704 ***	.31077 ***
N	1449	1449	1449	1449	1449

Notes: Skin color categories are ordered from whitest to darkest with the darkest category subjectively assigned the highest value. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. Threshold values for each category in the dependent variable are omitted to save space.

[a]Mestizo is the reference category

[b]Metropolitan Lima is the reference category

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

Table 5. Multilevel Linear Regression Models Predicting Household Income

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Skin Color	-.0372 *	-.0313 *	-.0292	-.0259	-.0270
	(.0149)	(.0158)	(.0160)	(.0160)	(.0159)
Ethno-Racial Self-Perception[a]					
White		.01259	-.0003	.00185	.00994
		(.0525)	(.0526)	(.0519)	(.0533)
Afro		-.1158	-.0676	-.0712	-.1098
		(.0825)	(.0794)	(.0810)	(.0830)
Indigenous		-.1172	.02145	.05078	-.0253
		(.0910)	(.0981)	(.1043)	(.0932)
Ancestry					
Indigenous Language			-.1707	-.1430	-.1920 *
			(.0875)	(.0909)	(.0803)
Mother's Ethnicity			-.1011	-.0989	
			(.0836)	(.0864)	
Language(s) of Parents			-.0800	-.0690	
			(.0554)	(.0522)	
Region[b]					
Large Cities				-.1961 **	-.1924 **
				(.0634)	(.0636)
Intermediate Cities				-.1345 *	-.1345 *
				(.0673)	(.0678)
Small Cities				-.2668 **	-.2633 **
				(.0870)	(.0865)
Rural				-.4664 ***	-.4685 ***
				(.0849)	(.0848)
Education[c]					
Incomplete Primary Education	.42724 *	.42441 *	.35673	.42283	.42539
	(.2104)	(.2134)	(.2140)	(.2191)	(.2174)
Complete Primary Education	.65733 **	.65427 **	.57421 **	.61141 **	.61028 **
	(.2005)	(.2040)	(.2102)	(.2150)	(.2114)
Incomplete Secondary Education	.80406 ***	.79899 ***	.72757 ***	.76399 ***	.76228 ***
	(.2023)	(.2039)	(.2079)	(.2118)	(.2094)
Complete Secondary Education	1.0524 ***	1.0477 ***	.94953 ***	.96864 ***	.97410 ***
	(.2047)	(.2069)	(.2068)	(.2122)	(.2108)
Some University or Technical Degree	1.3931 ***	1.3878 ***	1.2805 ***	1.2973 ***	1.3021 ***
	(.2155)	(.2175)	(.2184)	(.2247)	(.2229)
Complete University or More	1.6806 ***	1.6766 ***	1.5688 ***	1.5749 ***	1.5799 ***
	(.2109)	(.2134)	(.2145)	(.2217)	(.2199)
Female	-.1916 ***	-.1951 ***	-.1935 ***	-.1956 ***	-.1978 ***
	(.0349)	(.0348)	(.0345)	(.0342)	(.0343)
Age	.00079	.00078	.00111	.00078	.00074
	(.0011)	(.0011)	(.0011)	(.0012)	(.0012)

(continues)

Table 5, continued

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Skin Color of Interviewer	.01441	.01154	.00387	.01801	.01885
	(.0268)	(.0271)	(.0269)	(.0258)	(.0254)
Constant	5.4606 ***	5.4650 ***	5.6207 ***	5.7707 ***	5.7504 ***
	(.2452)	(.2478)	(.2477)	(.2586)	(.2576)
Variance Component for Intercept	.35731 ***	.35803 ***	.34039 ***	.29088 ***	.28748 ***
Variance Component for Residual	.63428 ***	.63354 ***	.63173 ***	.62993 ***	.63127 ***
N	1449	1449	1449	1449	1449

Notes: Skin color categories are ordered from whitest to darkest with the darkest category subjectively assigned
the highest value. Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

[a]Mestizo is the reference category

[b]Metropolitan Lima is the reference category

[c]No formal schooling (zero years of education) is the reference category

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

Table 6. Odds Ratios of Multilevel Ordered Logistic Regression Models Predicting Access to Clean Water and Sanitation

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Skin Color	.85943 *	.88663 *	.87323 *	.85182 *
	(.0507)	(.0533)	(.0557)	(.0612)
Ethno-Racial Self-Perception[a]				
White		1.4599	1.3633	1.3876
		(.3955)	(.3677)	(.4151)
Afro		0.8887	1.1238	1.3194
		(.2929)	(.4402)	(.4494)
Indigenous		1.1057	1.4765	2.0156
		(.2347)	(.6312)	(.8425)
Ancestry				
Indigenous Language			.61272	.79025
			(.1710)	(.2176)
Mother's Ethnicity			.58847	.48035 *
			(.1998)	(.1673)
Language(s) of Parents			.63857	.69545
			(.1981)	(.1751)
Region[b]				
Large Cities				.64578
				(.2940)
Intermediate Cities				2.9965 *
				(1.502)
Small Cities				.80662
				(.4069)
Rural				.23802 **
				(.1209)
Education[c]				
Incomplete Primary Education	.39317	.41768	.34565	.49901
	(.2757)	(.2833)	(.2099)	(.2863)
Complete Primary Education	.44538	.45981	.35551	.48959
	(.3498)	(.3480)	(.2485)	(.3162)
Incomplete Secondary Education	.46741	.49855	.39535	.52056
	(.3398)	(.3505)	(.2501)	(.3180)
Complete Secondary Education	.98209	1.0455	.72732	.90941
	(.7163)	(.7344)	(.4570)	(.5434)
Some University or Technical Degree	1.4208	1.5325	.97988	1.1192
	(1.069)	(1.123)	(.6652)	(.6964)
Complete University or More	1.6068	1.7657	1.1227	1.2420
	(1.193)	(1.273)	(.7380)	(.7910)
Female	1.3510	1.3612 *	1.3223	1.3063
	(.2098)	(.2135)	(.2090)	(.1940)
Age	1.0118 *	1.0124 *	1.0135 *	1.0113 *
	(.0055)	(.0057)	(.0057)	(.0056)

Table 6, continued

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Income	2.2587 ***	2.2641 ***	2.2666 ***	2.1303 ***
	(.2630)	(.2571)	(.2558)	(.2219)
Skin Color of Interviewer	.87563 *	.86084 *	.89042	.89158
	(.0502)	(.0505)	(.0614)	(.0858)
Variance Component for Intercept	2.6493 ***	2.6406 ***	2.7052 ***	1.9717 ***
N	1449	1449	1449	1449

Notes: Skin color categories are ordered from whitest to darkest with the darkest category subjectively assigned the highest value. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. Threshold values for each category in the dependent variable are omitted to save space.

[a]Mestizo is the reference category

[b]Metropolitan Lima is the reference category

[c]No formal schooling (zero years of education) is the reference category

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

Table 7. Multilevel Linear Regression Models Predicting Access to Household Possessions

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Skin Color	-1.686 ***	-1.202 **	-1.133 **	-.9868 **
	(.3888)	(.4055)	(.3994)	(.3661)
Ethno-Racial Self-Perception[a]				
White		4.7288 **	4.0815 *	4.2128 **
		(1.706)	(1.697)	(1.625)
Afro		.78634	2.6293	2.0941
		2.0673	2.2162	2.2844
Indigenous		-5.431	-.7572	-.1740
		(2.676)	(3.328)	(3.412)
Ancestry				
Indigenous Language			-.7148	.98012
			(2.116)	(1.960)
Mother's Ethnicity			-4.519 *	-4.680 *
			(2.100)	(2.123)
Language(s) of Parents			-5.175 ***	-4.849
			(1.540)	(1.483)
Region[b]				
Large Cities				-7.123 ***
				(2.121)
Intermediate Cities				-6.492 **
				2.416
Small Cities				-6.092 *
				(2.740)
Rural				-18.28 ***
				(2.099)
Education[c]				
Incomplete Primary Education	-3.840	-3.407	-4.709	-2.253
	(3.801)	(3.627)	(3.340)	(3.246)
Complete Primary Education	-3.528	-3.685	-5.106	-3.659
	(4.120)	(3.958)	(3.643)	(3.684)
Incomplete Secondary Education	-3.645	-3.231	-4.255	-2.273
	(3.899)	(3.754)	(3.554)	(3.590)
Complete Secondary Education	2.861	3.339	1.582	2.947
	(3.859)	(3.711)	(3.463)	(3.431)
Some University or Technical Degree	14.114 ***	14.692 ***	12.907 ***	14.304 ***
	(4.233)	(4.092)	(3.774)	(3.658)
Complete University or More	15.564 ***	16.336 ***	14.600 ***	16.041 ***
	(3.976)	(3.892)	(3.628)	(3.536)
Female	.02331	-.2249	-.1637	-.4496
	(.8628)	(.8913)	(.8843)	(.8731)
Age	.08409 **	.09191 **	.10090 **	.08501 *
	(.0316)	(.0321)	(.0331)	(.0335)

(continues)

Table 7, continued

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Income	12.692 ***	12.671 ***	12.367 ***	11.490 ***
	(.8537)	(.8452)	(.8272)	(.8089)
Skin Color of Interviewer	-.7076	-.9476	-1.112	-.5196
	(.6727)	(.6673)	(.6756)	(.5689)
Constant	-40.37 ***	-42.10 ***	-36.61 ***	-26.04 ***
	(6.868)	(6.768)	(6.722)	(6.687)
Variance Component for Intercept	9.340 ***	9.084 ***	8.717 ***	6.595 ***
Variance Component for Residual	17.783 ***	17.733 ***	17.625 ***	17.426 ***
N	1449	1449	1449	1449

Notes: Skin color categories are ordered from whitest to darkest with the darkest category subjectively assigned the highest value. Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

[a]Mestizo is the reference category

[b]Metropolitan Lima is the reference category

[c]No formal schooling (zero years of education) is the reference category

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