The Socioeconomic Advantages of *Mestizos* in Urban Peru

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Abstract

In Peru, the racial/ethnic category *mestizo* refers to mixed-race people. The mestizo category, however, presents several analytic challenges. At first, the boundaries of the mestizo group are blurry due to the phenotypic diversity of mestizos. Furthermore, while most Peruvians identify themselves as mestizos, many do not recognize the mestizo status of others who claim the same identity. Nonetheless, the prominence of the mestizo racial/ethnic condition in the mainstream discourse and the prevalence of the dynamics of *mestizaje* justify the use of these categories in racial/ethnic studies. In this article, I interpret the self-reported race/ethnic identity following a cultural definition of the mestizo group. I also analyze racial/ethnic socioeconomic differences in urban Peru using survey data. I find evidence of significant advantages favoring the mestizo group over the *Quechua* and *Aymara* indigenous groups with respect to education and income.

The Socioeconomic Advantages of *Mestizos* in Urban Peru

As other Latin-American countries, Peru is characterized by racial/ethnic diversity. The formal/official racial/ethnic categories are *mestizos* (for mixed-race people), indigenous (mainly for the Andean ethnic groups *Quechua* and *Aymara*, and the Amazonian ethnic groups), whites, blacks (*negro/mulato/zambo*) and Asians. This diversity is determined by the degree of Indo-Latin American physical traits (evident in the vast majority of Peruvians), by the degree of whiteness from the Spanish legacy, and by the influence of other ethnicities, such as the African and the Asian heritages. Nonetheless, these phenotypic components do not automatically determine the racial identity of the person. A mestizo, for instance, could be considered as white by more indigenous people or could be considered as indigenous by whiter people depending on the specific context. Class and regional differences also might influence how an individual is classified. Peru is composed of strikingly disparate realities at various regional levels. It is not the same to live in the coastal, metropolitan Lima than to live either in the Andean highlands or in the Amazonian jungle.

Moreover, Peru's socioeconomic stratification is severely associated with its racial hierarchies, in which the most disadvantaged people are the indigenous ethnic groups. Not only were they historically dominated, but they were also isolated from the mainstream ideal of nation, and consequently excluded over time. These differences are often depicted by the distinction between rural and urban. According to the 2010 Peruvian poverty rates (INEI 2010), 54.2 percent of the rural population is below the poverty line; and 23.3 percent, below the extreme poverty line. Another sign of the social distance is how those who are not excluded are not capable of understanding the seriousness and the complexity of the distance itself. After the 1980s and 1990s war against terrorism (the Shining Path and the *Túpac Amaru Revolutionary*

Movement – MRTA), many Peruvians have not accepted that it was the rural, Andean and Amazonian, Quechua and *Asháninka*, peasant and formally uneducated Peru that bled while nobody paid attention to the real dimension of the tragedy (CVR 2008: 27). Although it is safe to assert, based on cultural and historical reasons, that the rural population is traditionally indigenous, neither is the category rural the main nor the only racial marker of indigenousness.

It is, therefore, possible to identify a national racial hierarchy with categories acknowledged by the majority, either internalized or challenged through certain dynamics. Despite the prevalence of these categories, their boundaries are not clearly identifiable due to the overlapping of phenotypic and cultural issues. Certainly, the aforementioned rural category has limitations as a common racial/ethnic marker. On one hand, a 21 percent of the population in urban settings reported themselves as Quechuas or Aymaras; on the other hand, a 45 percent of the population in rural areas reported themselves as mestizos (INEI 2006: 92). These boundaries even become less clear if we consider that Peruvians do not necessarily accept the self-adopted racial/ethnic identities of other Peruvians.

This lack of clear racial boundaries is a problematic sign of social integration. Racism has been one of Peru's main problems. Carrión, Zárate and Seligson (2010) suggest that Peru has a very high rate of racial discrimination among the nations that have a high proportion of indigenous populations (only below Dominican Republic and Bolivia). They also suggest that racism in Peru is "invisible," neither openly acknowledged by the Peruvians nor sufficiently addressed as a major problem by the mainstream. Muñoz, Paredes and Thorp (2006: 6) also suggest that the prevailing discourse in Peru is reluctant to admit the importance of ethnicity in spite of a high degree of horizontal inequality.

A key aspect in Peruvian race relations is the notion of *mestizaje*, rooted in this nation's colonial past, and crucial to understand the dynamics that allow Peruvians to be aware of their racial identities. The importance of mestizaje in Latin America has been underlined by many scholars from a variety of disciplines in order to analyze socioeconomic and cultural fissures in their studied countries (de la Cadena 2000; Hale 2002; Wade 2004, 2009; Telles 2001, 2004; García 2005; Arnold 2009; Moreno Figueroa 2010; Villareal 2010; Beck, Mijeski and Stark 2011). In this article, I analyze socioeconomic differences by race/ethnic group to reveal the advantages that mestizos have over people from certain ethnic groups in urban Peru using survey data. By doing this, I introduce the Peruvian mestizo condition as a locally acknowledged racial/ethnic category for phenotypically heterogeneous individuals. To my knowledge, only a few studies have statistically examined socioeconomic differences in Peru associated with racial and ethnic distinctions (Ñopo, Saavedra and Torero 2004; Torero, Saavedra, Ñopo and Escobal 2004; Benavides, Torero and Valdivia 2006; Barrón 2008).

THE HEGEMONIC RACIAL HIERARCHY IN PERU

I define the hegemonic racial hierarchy in Peru as the conceptual ranking of prevalent racial/ethnic categories legitimized over time by the mainstream. It has been explicitly and subtly spread out in different levels by interaction, by education and by the media. This hierarchy still resembles the colonial prejudice against indigenousness and blackness. The white category is on the top, being followed by the categories Asian and mestizo; the black and indigenous categories are on the bottom. According to the National Continuous Survey (INEI 2006: 92), 59.5 percent of Peruvians self-reported as mestizos; 22.7 percent, as Quechuas; 2.7 percent, as Aymaras; 1.8 percent as Amazonians; 1.6 percent as blacks (*negro/mulato/zambo*);

4.9 percent, as whites; and 6.7 percent as others (*Moche*, Chinese, Japanese, among others). These estimates reveal the relevance of the mestizo and the indigenous categories.

In Peru, white people are a minority. They descend from Europeans, mostly from Spaniards. Similarly to other European colonial experiences, the colonists' whiteness embodied superiority and dominance. The *criollos* were initially the descendants of Spaniards born in the viceroyalty of Peru, and had a higher status in the racial hierarchy than mestizos, indigenous people and blacks. However, they were below the Spaniards who were born in Spain. For the latter, according to Portocarrero (2004: 190-191), everything that was native was undervalued, considered as a "second class copy," and criollos "absorbed" this image. The criollo society rejected this system, considering it to be abusive, illegitimate and corrupt. Nevertheless, rather than building a counter-hegemonic proposal, they subtly transgressed the imposed order following the example of the Spaniards who plundered the viceroyalty. Eventually, this transgression led to the tacit normalization of illegal practices and the abuse of others, weakening in this way the collective moral order, and thus impeding the development of the ideal of a society that integrates its individuals. The criollos developed a distant attitude, lacking initiatives for promoting order in the society while they got used to enjoying the benefits of being more powerful than others. It is safe to assert that the old criollo "habitus" (see Bourdieu 1984; García 2005: 29) defined the sociocultural characteristics of the white elites.

Mestizo was the category for the descendant of a Spaniard and an *indio* according to the caste system of the viceroyalty. Its etymological meaning points out the mixed-race condition. However, the notion of mestizaje changed with the creation of the republic in the 19th century while the prevailing conceptualizations of development were embedded in the notions of modernity and scientific racism. The migrants who chose Peru during that period were not the

flow of white people that would have "improved the race" according to the hegemonic beliefs. Instead, Asians started to migrate to Peru during the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century as cheap labor after the abolition of black slavery in 1854 (see Casalino 2005; Takenaka 2004). Opening the doors to white foreign people was not a viable option for the local white *criollo* elites because the vast majority of the population was indigenous; thus, they had to find other ways of settings the base for progress. In that context, the notion of mestizaje became a more complex ideology, which invited everybody to leave the indio status behind through education in order to achieve citizenship (see Portocarrero 2007: 22). According to Gootemberg (1995: 14), this invitation "worked." The proportion of the indigenous population around half of the 19th century was 59.3 percent. By 1876, the proportion of indigenous people dropped to 54.8 percent as the consequence of embracing the mestizo category.

Afro-Peruvians descend from the slaves brought by the Europeans during the colonial period, and they are still stigmatized. Like the indigenous ethnic groups, they still suffer from poverty and discrimination (Benavides et al. 2006). Conversely, the status of Asian-Peruvians has improved over time. Nowadays, it is safe to assert that being Asian is associated with positive stereotypes, reinforced by the economic success of prominent Asian descendants. Although Afro- and Asian-Peruvians have always been tiny minorities in relation to other ethnic groups, they have significantly contributed to the Peruvian culture with their traditions. Afro- and Asian-Peruvians initially formed their respective enclaves, which still endure in many provinces and neighborhoods even though many have left these places behind and assimilated themselves. While some still identify themselves as black/Afro-Peruvian people or Asian-Peruvians, many individuals with black and Asian phenotypic traits see themselves as mestizos. The phenotypic diversity within the mestizo group became dramatically heterogeneous.

The evolution of the mestizo ideology has gradually incorporated certain cultural traditions and practices from indigenous, Afro-Peruvian and Asian heritages assimilated to the mainstream. Nowadays, for instance, indigenous textiles, Afro-Peruvian music, or *Chifa*, the fusion between Chinese and criollo food, are accepted as national mainstream symbols, rather than merely manifestations of specific ethnic groups. The mestizo discourse on equality has become stronger over time integrating the accepted non-white symbols of the mestizos who achieved some prosperity with the criollo cultural manifestations and beliefs. Nonetheless, the mestizo discourse on equality has not shortened the socioeconomic distances among whites, mestizos, indigenous and Afro-Peruvian people. Cultural dynamics of differentiation are still at the core of the ideology of mestizaje.

Cánepa (2008: 28) points out the importance of culture on mestizaje in the sense that groups and individuals use indigenous and mestizo referents in a contextualized and situated way to empower themselves. While embracing the criollo whiteness could be a more identifiable dynamic among mestizos with a certain degree of white phenotypic traits (see Beck et al. 2011: 106), the dynamic of *de-Indianization* (de la Cadena 2000) refers to a more cultural redefinition and construction of the mestizo identity. De la Cadena (2000: 6)[1] suggests that essentialist notions of culture have been redefined by replacing regional beliefs in fixed identities with infinite degrees of fluid *Indianness* or *mestizoness*. From this perspective, mestizos did not just assimilate themselves, paraphrasing Vargas Llosa, through the adoption of "the culture of their ancient masters" (1990, qtd. in de la Cadena 2000: 6); they also incorporated meaningful cultural practices to the construction of the mestizo identity.

[1] de la Cadena's research was conducted in Cusco. Although her research was about cusqueños as indigenous mestizos, this dynamic is identifiable everywhere in the nation.

Nonetheless, the mestizo racial condition only has relative and contextualized advantages over the indigenous and Afro-Peruvian conditions. Racial/ethnic boundaries are fluid to the extent to which the individual can circumstantially negotiate a better racial status (see de la Cadena 2000; Paredes 2007; Cánepa 2008; Sulmont 2010: 6). A migrant, for instance, could be perceived as a mestizo who succeeded in his peripheral district by his neighbors, but this successful individual will not necessarily be recognized as a mestizo by someone from a traditional middle class district in Lima because of their cultural and socioeconomic differences. Likewise, indigenous mestizos in Andean areas are more likely to be considered just as indigenous individuals from a hegemonic perspective without acknowledging their local differences. The mestizo status is more likely to be successfully achieved if the cultural or physical indigenous characteristics of the person are circumstantially less noticeable. These cultural dynamics have permeated the mestizo identity with its inherent contradictions and conflicts, keeping in mind that the mainstream ideals of power, goodness, and beauty have always been white (see Portocarrero 2007; Bruce 2007).

THE ANALYSIS OF RACE AND ETHNICITY IN PERU

In Peru, ethnicity has usually been studied with qualitative theoretical approaches. These analyses have the old *indigenista* paradigm as its base[2], complemented later by other approaches such as development and cultural theories in the 1960s; Marxism, ethnohistory and dependency theories in the 1970s; and Andean studies and migration in the 1980s and 1990s (Degregori 1995). Foundational studies such as the works by Fuenzalida (1970), Cotler (1978), Matos Mar ([1984] 1986), Flores Galindo (1987), Nugent (1992), and Portocarrero (1993) emphasized development, national integration, migration and modernization as crucial frames for

[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.

understanding the indigenous world. The conceptualization of races (and race variables as appropriate indicators of race) has not necessarily been accepted by local scholars (see Sulmont 2010: 5). Degregori, for instance, criticized the definition of racial groups as differentiated, well defined blocks, arguing that the racial boundaries among Peruvians are not as clear as the boundaries in the U.S. (1999). He also criticized the "hierarchizing" ethnic views that are incapable of conceiving Peruvian social change as a possible step toward an endogenous modernity that integrates the nation and leads it toward a representative democracy (Degregori 1995: 320). Nonetheless, these "hierarchizing" views have often corresponded to the persistence of racism, discrimination, and exclusion (see Callirgos 1993; Huayhua 2006; Planas and Valdivia 2007; Reyes and Valdivia 2010) in spite of any simultaneous dynamic of integration.

In order to analyze different aspects of the economic impact of social exclusion in urban Peru, Ñopo et al. (2004) and Torero et al. (2004) used self-reported racial scores and scores assigned by the pollsters from the 2000 Living Standards Measurement Survey. Race by phenotype was measured with ordinal measures of intensity for the categories white, indigenous, black and Asian, ranging from 0 (lowest) to 10 (highest) in each independent dimension. This survey did not obtain representative samples of the black and Asian groups because of their relative small sizes. Moreover, a considerable share of the population self-reported themselves as having a median intensity of 5 (from 0 to 10 in each dimension) for the categories white and indigenous, which could be interpreted as the lack of judging elements that people had at the moment of racially classifying themselves (Torero et al. 2004: 5). The data also suggested that the respondents perceived themselves less indigenous compared to how they were perceived by the pollsters. Ñopo et al. (2004) and Torero et al. (2004) worked with the pollsters' perception variables because their main aim was to identify labor market exclusion given observable ethnic

characteristics. Ñopo et al. (2004) found that the average individual with the highest white intensity earns approximately 49.47 percent more than the average individual with the lowest white intensity in per hour terms. After controlling for a set of variables such as sex, years of schooling and years of occupational experience, among others, the gap shrinks to 11.95 percent. Torero et al. (2004) add that there is a significant correlation between educational attainment and ethnicity that favors whiter people, and that there is no conclusive evidence of discrimination in credit accesses.

Following Figueroa's Sigma theory (2003, 2006)[3], Barrón (2008) differentiated discrimination and exclusion in order to explain differences in income between indigenous and non-indigenous Peruvians. In this paper, exclusion is represented by an underclass –the indigenous– that face serious disadvantages (in relation to other ethnic groups), which consequently thwart its access to more human capital. Discrimination is the unfair compensation for people from the underclass compared to those from other better ranked racial groups with the same qualifications. This distinction made him refer to the work by Ñopo et al. (2004), suggesting that roughly one fourth of the initial gap (12 percent over 50 percent) is due to discrimination (after other observable characteristics were controlled); and three fourths, to exclusion. Considering region of birth as a proxy for ethnicity, Barrón suggests that two thirds of the Peruvian population is indigenous. Using this conceptualization, he identified that the annual mean income for non-indigenous (13,145 real nuevos soles) is twice the annual mean income for indigenous (7,369 real nuevos soles), even excluding the elites from the analysis. He also posited that exclusion explains a larger share of income inequality than discrimination. His

[3] As an alternative to neoclassical theory, Sigma theory explains the existence and persistence of discrimination. It supposes, among other assumptions, that there are different hierarchical levels of citizenship for each ethnic group (Figueroa 2006: 6).

simulations revealed that, without discrimination, income inequality (measured by the Gini index), would be reduced by 20 percent; and without exclusion, by 28 percent.

Benavides et al. (2006) aimed to explain the differences between the Afro-Peruvian population and other racial/ethnic groups. Based on the 2003 INEI's National Household Survey (specifically, on its information about households with Afro-Peruvian characteristics), they oversampled Afro descendants from those who previously reported themselves as Afro-Peruvians, and those who had Afro-Peruvian relatives in the 2004 Household Survey. Using a rigorous method of classification, they determined that a 37.5 percent of the subsample was Afro-Peruvian. They compared the socioeconomic characteristics of Afro-Peruvians with the characteristics of other groups obtained in the Household Survey, being these groups those who self-reported themselves as indigenous and non-indigenous at the national level, and those who self-reported themselves as indigenous and non-indigenous in the coastal areas excluding Lima. The emphasis on the coastal areas is explained by the fact that most Afro-Peruvians live in the coast. Among their results, they found that the average household income per capita of Afro-Peruvians (220.64 nuevos soles) was lower than the average household per capita income at the national level (290.64 nuevos soles), and lower than the non-indigenous average household per capita income at the national level (342.64 nuevos soles) and in the coast (243.23 nuevos soles). However, it was higher than the indigenous average household per capita income at the national level (166.98 nuevos soles). The difference with the indigenous average household per capita income in the coast seemed to be smaller, but there was not enough evidence to make a conclusion about the latter.

Sulmont (2010) calls attention to several important issues associated with quantitative analyses on race and ethnicity in Peru. Following Brubaker (2004, qtd. in Sulmont 2010: 3-5),

he points out the risk of reifying racial categories; thus, the risk of promoting and legitimating a clearly delimited depiction of reality. Sulmont also affirms that racial/ethnic categories have suggested different empiric measures of "ethnic/indigenous groups" associated with indigenous identity due to their lack of precision for measuring the Peruvian diversity. Furthermore, he emphasizes the importance of multidimensional approaches for measuring ethnicity that incorporate several indicators, such as region, language, and ethnic self-ascription. These issues are addressed in the following sections.

THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS FOR THE ANALYSIS

I posit the following theoretical assumptions for addressing relevant issues associated with this analysis. The first and second assumptions point out the importance of understanding the aforementioned racial/ethnic categories as socially and ideologically meaningful constructs. The third assumption deals with the self-reported race/ethnic variable as a reliable measure of these racial/ethnic categories.

In Peru, Racial/Ethnic Categories Are Meaningful Social and Ideological Constructs

The social understanding of racial/ethnic categories can be outlined as continuously socially defined constructs based on prevalent stereotypes that are not currently supported by scientific biological explanations (Texeira 2003; Winant 2004; Planas et al. 2007; Wade 2009). Understanding these categories as social constructs also might lead to a more elaborated understanding of race/ethnic relations in terms of systemic or structural phenomena (see Essed 1991; Santa Ana 2002; Feagin et al. 2003; Bonilla-Silva 2006).

Moreover, Essed (1991: 43) suggests that the idea of race has never existed outside of a framework of group interest. From this perspective, racial meanings are also ideological. On one hand, these meanings are deliberately constructed and disseminated, understanding ideology

as the ideas and beliefs that contribute to legitimize the interests of a group or dominant class (Eagleton 1997: 54; Essed 1991: 44). On the other hand, these meanings are historically inherited understanding ideology as the articulated social order to which people are normally oblivious (Santa Ana 2002: 18); the deceptive and fake beliefs that support our affective and unconscious relations with the world, pointing out how we are pre-reflectively tied to the social reality (see Eagleton 1997: 40, 54).

I underline the significance of these categories as a caveat against certain claims on equality that often dim the importance of the racial hierarchy. The common claim "We are all mestizos" does not reflect the hierarchical reality. Otherwise, it would not make sense as a claim. Based on this significance, I also attempt to address the reification issue highlighted by Sulmont (2010). Even though race has not been measured by the official surveys and censuses since the 1940 census[4] (Sulmont 2010: 7), the prevalent official racial/ethnic categories have never disappeared from the mainstream racial discourse. From this perspective, I consider necessary to keep analyzing the effect of these mainstream categories on the production of reality depicted in socioeconomic and cultural differences, rather than disregarding their relevance. Although Sulmont (2010: 5-6) affirms that the average individual (especially the indigenous individual) is not necessarily familiar with certain categories, it is safer to expect that the future generations of indigenous people will become more familiar with these terms, considering that rural people travel to the cities and bring back urban habits, values, behaviors and tastes (see Diez 1997).

[4] Recent exceptions are the self-reported race/ethnic variables measured by the National Continuous Survey and the National Household Survey.

In Peru, Racialized Terms Are Associated with the Mestizo Differentiation

As implied above, racial/ethnic categories are commonly acknowledged by Peruvians, but they are not necessarily the most popular categories used in racialized interactions. The lack of clear phenotypic boundaries is stressed by many ambiguous popular epithets that circumstantially reveal the fluid racial status of the individual. *Demonyms*, ethnic words, and ambiguous epithets are often preferred to racially differentiate either others or even the self from the indio status to the extent to which the interaction is racialized. In low racialized contexts, these words might be used as endearment terms. In high racialized contexts, these words are understood as insults. Negro is a common nickname that is often accepted as a normal, even affectionate term in spite of their condescending meaning. *Cholo* refers to the indigenous or mestizo person with the purpose of pejoratively pointing at her/his indigenousness; however, like negro, it also might be used as an endearment term. *Serrano* (from the highlands) is a racialized demonym that, like cholo, is used to despise indigenous or mestizo Andean people either in the coast or in the jungle. These terms are often used to differentiate a specific racial/ethnic status from the inferior archetypical category indio (Planas et al. 2007: 11; Cánepa 2008: 28; de la Cadena 2000; Portocarrero 2007).

These differentiations still refer to the ideology of mestizaje, but they are not always made by people who ascribe a racial/ethnic identity using the mestizo label. Other racialized terms (e.g. Quechua terms, other demonyms) might be locally preferred in certain regions (see, for instance, the use of the terms *chutos*, *campesinos*, and *mistis* in the work by Muñoz et al. 2006: 15-17). Despite the complexity of the associations between these racialized terms and the mestizo and indigenous racial categories, I argue that the differentiation represents an attempt of mestizaje that might lead the individual to culturally identify herself/himself as a mestizo.

Although this individual might identify herself/himself more with other racialized labels, it would make sense if she/he ascribes the mestizo status to deny her/his contextualized indigenousness. The mestizo category becomes meaningful not only by the self-acceptance of the identity label "mestizo," but also by the practices associated with the mestizo beliefs.

The Mestizo Group Can Be Partially Identified by Cultural Boundaries (Racial Ascription by Culture versus Race by Phenotype)

Although categorical race/ethnic variables are common measures of race/ethnic groups, it is necessary to distinguish them from the race/ethnic construct, in which the phenotypic component is often the most important one, but not the only one. Race variables in databases attempt to describe the race/ethnic construct with the proportional relevance of each race/ethnic group in the studied population. These are powerful measures to the extent to which the construct they describe is clearly identified. In racial/ethnic analysis, the more homogeneous by phenotype the racial/ethnic group is, and the more differentiated racial/ethnic groups are in a society, the more reliable its corresponding traditional race/ethnic variable will be as an indicator of the construct race.

** INSERT FIGURE 1 HERE **

Figure 1 depicts how the self-reported and the pollster's perception race/ethnic variables are insufficient for dealing with the mestizo heterogeneity and the circumstantial blurry boundaries if the construct mestizo is defined by phenotype. In contrast, the race/ethnic variable seems to better indicate the race construct if the race is phenotypically homogeneous. Certainly, less traditional variables such as skin tone (see Villareal 2010) and the ordinal measures of intensity suggested by Ñopo et al. (2004) and Torero et al. (2004) are necessary if the analysis prioritizes the phenotypic component as a significant determinant of social stratification,

discrimination and exclusion. Undoubtedly, the emphasis on the phenotypic component is necessary in an exhaustive quantitative analysis of racial/ethnic stratification. Obtaining traditional and non-traditional, self-reported and assigned by the pollster[5] measures of race as well as the racial characteristics of the pollsters (see Villareal 2010: 663-665) on a frequent basis would be necessary in order to better accomplish this purpose. Nonetheless, data on race and ethnicity in Peru are still scarce, being the self-reported racial/ethnic categories the most common obtained variable in surveys.

However, it also would be necessary to identify whether the cultural and ideological commonalities of a non-homogeneous racial/ethnic group by phenotype have a structuring effect. From this perspective, the self-reported racial/ethnic category can be understood as the racialized role-identity (see McCall and Simmons 1966: 67) of an adult respondent at the moment of answering the question. It is very likely that the respondent, as an adult, has already structured the main components of her/his self (see McCall and Simmons 1966: 76-78). Therefore, it is expected that the racialized role-identity of the respondent is consonant with her/his claimed racial status.

It would be rare if the mestizo admits in front of a non-familiar person (the pollster) her/his failure in negotiating the claimed racial status, something that the mestizo is more likely to share only with the mirror considering that she/he has to overcome racial discrimination in order to attempt success in life. This interpretation is indirectly supported by Ñopo et al. (2004) and Torero et al. (2004), whose data suggest, as mentioned above, that the respondents consider themselves less indigenous compared to how they are perceived by the pollsters. Pointing at the

[5] Although debatable, this method seems to be less biased, considering that pollsters have to follow standardized guidelines that do not necessarily match the respondents' self-reported races. These measures are needed in order to address the local hegemonic view on races, being this view supported by standard criteria of inclusion and discrimination.

results of other studies, Planas et al. (2007: 8-9) also affirm that even though Peruvians describe their society as racist, only a few Peruvians admit that they were victims of racial discrimination. The mestizo would be revealing his lack of racial agency if she/he portrays herself/himself as a victim of racism in front of others. Following this logic, the self-reported race variable seems to be reliable for identifying those who claim the mestizo condition in spite of how they are seen by others.

Consequently, rather than an indicator of those who could fit in a mestizo category determined by an average phenotype, the traditional self-reported race/ethnic variable is a mutually exclusive indicator of those who claim mestizaje in contrast with those who do not claim it. Then, it can be useful to estimate the extent to which embracing a category, understanding this micro event as an ideological and cultural racial/ethnic phenomenon, has a significant structuring effect in Peru. Instead of automatically disregarding this variable as an unreliable measure of racial/ethnic group, I considered necessary to reinterpret it in order to better identify the cultural construct it describes.

DATA AND VARIABLES

The data used in this analysis comes from the project "The Americas and the World: Public Opinion and Foreign Policy," run by the International Studies Division at *Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas* (CIDE) in Mexico.[6] The 2008 survey was conducted by the *Instituto de Opinión Pública* (Institute of Public Opinion) – *Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú*. It was designed to measure the public opinion about the international relations between Peru and other nations at the national/urban level in Peru. The sampling methods were probabilistic, multistage, cluster and systematic, starting with blocks and continuing with

[6] The data, the methodology report and the questionnaire are downloadable at http://mexicoyelmundo.cide.edu/home2010english.swf

households. Quotas were assigned for sex and age according to the demographic distribution of the population. The sampling size was 1235 interviewed adults (18 years and older). The interviews were made between September 5 and September 8, 2008. All the provinces where the surveys were conducted concentrate the 49.41 percent of the Peruvian population.

The variables used in this analysis belong to the section on the general information of the respondent. I took advantage of these data in order to work on a general approach to the topic in order to make a different sense of the self-reported race/ethnic variable. Identifying different socioeconomic effects by racial categories in urban Peru reveals that the socioeconomic stratification by race/ethnic group is not just relevant at the national level, in which the rural indigenous people are noticeably excluded. Urban Peru is also severely fragmented, being its socioeconomic differences associated with the racial hierarchy.

** INSERT TABLE 1 HERE **

The categorical self-reported race/ethnic variable has the racial/ethnic categories Quechua, Aymara, Amazonian (*de la Amazonía*), black (*negro/mulato/zambo*), mestizo, white (*blanco*) and Asian (*asiático*). I discarded the Asian observations for the analysis: only 7 respondents (.57 percent of the sample) identified themselves as Asians. I also anticipate that some of these categories are not conceptually reliable, but I kept them in the analysis as control variables. The category *de la Amazonía* could refer to either indigenous Amazonian people or to those individuals who do not belong to an Amazonian ethnic group, but use the Amazonian term as a demonym. Likewise, the category white is also problematic because it would not be rare that many individuals could have claimed the white racial status following the logic of mestizaje, being these individuals different by phenotype in relation to the archetypical privileged white Peruvian. The self-reported race/ethnic variable is, in this sense, insufficient to identify the

differences between those who are more likely to fit into the white category and those who would better fit in the rest of the racial categories. In addition, I did not create a race/ethnic variable for the indigenous people because the Quechuas and the Aymaras are not the only people that could be considered as *indios*. It would make sense to create this variable if other indigenous ethnic groups were able to be incorporated. Therefore, the aim of this analysis is to statistically examine whether those who claim the mestizo condition have advantages over those who identify themselves in ethnic terms as Quechuas or Aymaras in urban Peru.

The variable education is categorical and ordinal. It refers to the educational attainment of the respondent with ten categories. I added the eight observations from the last category "graduate degree" to the previous category "complete university," creating in this way the category "complete university or more." Undoubtedly, this variable is fundamental in the analysis. On one hand, the educational attainment depends on the socioeconomic stratification of the society: the more privileged the person is, the better the education this person will get. On the other hand, as suggested above, education becomes a mean to a racialized success under the ideology of mestizaje: the more educated the person is, the higher this person's likelihood of becoming a mestizo will be. Similarly, the variable monthly household income is categorical and ordinal with nine categories. Unfortunately, neither does this survey include information about the personal income of the respondent nor the number of residents in the household. Nonetheless, this analysis conventionally assumes that household income is a major determinant of the economic wellbeing of the individual. Furthermore, I considered the dummy variable "You would say that the total family income: (4) it is not enough and we have a lot of [economic] problems" as the respondent's self-perception of poverty in order to complement the analyses on income.

The categorical variables female, region, and speak indigenous language, as well as the continuous age are gradually incorporated in the models as control variables. It is necessary to underline the importance of region and speak indigenous language from this group (see Sulmont 2010: 8). As suggested above, Peruvian socioeconomic realities are geographically very dissimilar (see Barrón 2008: 57). The main criterion for identifying urbanity in Peru is usually size by number of households. In this sense, it is very different to be from and to live in Lima, the capital city, probably the only city that has the evident features of a main global urban city in spite of the noticeable disparities within the area.[7] Although other main Peruvian cities have significantly grown in recent years, rural activities are still major local economic enterprises in these urban areas.[8] The region variable differentiates those who were in Lima (the reference category) from those who were in other coastal areas, and from those who were in the highlands and the jungle.

The indigenous language variable identifies those who can speak Quechua or Aymara, the languages of their respective ethnic groups. However, there are people who identify themselves as Quechuas or Aymaras and do not speak indigenous languages (35 percent of Quechuas and 23 percent of Aymaras in the sample), and there are mestizos who speak these languages (7 percent in the sample). According to the 2007 census, the proportion of ethnic languages native speakers is decreasing over years (see INEI 2008: 117). A plausible argument is that those who identify as Quechuas or Aymaras and do not speak the respective ethnic languages still have other strong cultural bonds with their ethnic groups. The case of mestizos who speak indigenous languages points out that they have negotiated the mestizo status or, more

[7] Almost one third of the Peruvian population –8,445,211 individuals, 30.8 percent– resided in the department of Lima during the 2007 census (INEI 2008: 23).
[8] However, it is safe to assert that rural activities are generally more developed in these cities than the rural activities in more isolated rural areas.

rarely, that they have been prone to culturally seeing themselves as mestizos in relation to the indigenous others in their respective local contexts.[9] Nevertheless, not only does this variable work as a necessary control in the models, it is also a considerable indicator of indigenousness, although not the main one in this analysis.

The first part of the statistical analysis examines the relation between educational attainment and race/ethnic group. I use two educational attainment variables –the dummy variables "complete primary school or less" for low educational attainment and "complete university or more" for high educational attainment– as response variables in logistic regression models. I excluded those who have not completed the requisite previous level of education (those who have not completed secondary school) for the models predicting the attainment of complete university or more (high educational attainment), which are standard "continuation-ratio" logit models. Region and indigenous language are gradually incorporated as control variables.

The second part examines the association between income, race/ethnic group and education. Firstly, I use the categorical variable "minimum monthly wage or less," obtained from the variable income (those who monthly earn less than US$200.00[10]) as the response variable in logistic regression models. As a reference, it is necessary to indicate that the poverty line per capita in Peru during 2008 was around US$80.00.[11] Moreover, I use education as a control variable, considering it as an ordinal discrete variable, rather than incorporating its categories as dummy regressors. In order to complement these models, I also use the categorical variable "self-perception of poverty" as the response variable in logistic regression models.

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[9] I remember an old *hacendado* (landowner) who told me that he learned Quechua to rule the Indians ("Hay que saber Quechua para darles órdenes" was his expression in Spanish).

[10] The minimum monthly wage in August 2008 was US$190.16 (see www.inei.gob.pe).

[11] See www.inei.gob.pe and www.exchange-rates.org/Rate/USD/PEN/12-31-2008 for the information about the poverty line and the exchange rate to U.S. dollars in 2008, respectively.

Secondly, I treat the ordinal variable income as a discrete response variable in ordinary least squares (OLS) regression models with race/ethnic group dummy variables, considering the average mean of each interval in U.S. dollars for the value of each category[12] and then transforming it to its natural logarithm. According to Fox (2008: 287), working with a discrete response variable is only serious in extreme cases. I use F-tests to address nonlinearity (Fox 2008: 287), which suggest that there is no evidence of nonlinear associations between the transformed income with the discrete education variable for the categories mestizo, Quechua and Aymara. I also use Levine's F-tests to address nonconstant error variance (Fox 2008: 290), which suggest that there is no evidence of nonconstant error spread in the aforementioned OLS models. These F-tests are presented in Appendix A.

RESULTS

Differences in Educational Attainment

** INSERT TABLE 2 HERE **

The results of the first set of regression models presented as odds ratios in Table 2 reveal significant associations between low educational attainment and mestizo (negative), and low educational attainment and Quechua (positive), even when other characteristics (gradually incorporated into the models) are taken into account. Model 3a suggests that the odds of just attaining complete primary school or less are 62 percent lower for mestizos compared with non-mestizos (1–.38). Additionally, Model 3b suggests that the odds of just attaining complete primary school or less are 298 percent higher for Quechuas compared with mestizos (3.98–1).

[12] The exception is the last category for which I used the value US$3,334. This is a high monthly income at the national level, even far from the income of the middle class. In 2007, the average monthly incomes per household of the socioeconomic groups A (high), B (upper middle) and C (middle) were approximately US$3,171.00, US$801.00, and US$434.00, respectively (see http://www.ipsos-apoyo.com.pe/ estudio_ nse _peru). I converted these averages to U.S. dollars using the exchange rate of 2.996 nuevos soles per dollar (see http://www.exchange-rates.org/HistoricalRates/A/USD/12-31-2007).

Furthermore, the variable indigenous language is also significantly associated with low educational attainment. Model 3b suggests that the odds of just attaining complete primary school or less are 108 percent higher for indigenous languages speakers compared with those who do not speak these languages (2.08–1). Nonetheless, there is no conclusive evidence about the association between low educational attainment and being Aymara.

Only two of the second set of these regression models (2c and 2d) indicate significant associations between high educational attainment and being mestizo or Quechua. Model 2c suggests that the odds of attaining complete university or more are 56 percent higher for mestizos compared with non-mestizos (1.56–1). Model 2d suggests that the odds of attaining complete university or more are 46 percent lower for Quechuas compared with mestizos (1–.54). After incorporating the variable indigenous language (Models 3c and 3d), the evidences of the associations between high educational attainment and being mestizo or Quechua disappear at the a-level of .05. However, I considered necessary to highlight that these odds ratios would be relevant considering a laxer a-level of .1 in order to point out that they still make some sense.

Differences in Income and Perception of Poverty

** INSERT TABLE 3 HERE **

The regression coefficients presented as odds ratios in Table 3 indicate that there are significant associations between earning the minimum monthly wage or less and being mestizo, Quechua or Aymara. Model 2a suggests that the odds of earning the minimum monthly wage or less are 36 percent lower for mestizos compared with non-mestizos (1–.64). In addition, Model 2b suggests that the odds of earning the minimum monthly wage or less are 65 percent higher for Quechuas compared with mestizos (1.65–1) and 214 percent higher for Aymaras compared with mestizos (3.14–1). After controlling for indigenous language (Models 3a and 3b), the evidences

of the associations between earning the minimum monthly wage or less and being mestizo, Quechua and Aymara disappear at the a-level of .05. Again, I considered necessary to highlight that the odds ratios for mestizos and Aymaras would be relevant considering a laxer a-level of .1 in order to point out that they still make some sense. It is also noticeable that the association between earning the minimum monthly wage or less and speaking indigenous language is significant. Model 3b suggests that the odds of earning the minimum monthly wage or less are 68 percent higher for indigenous languages speakers compared with those who do not speak these languages (1.68–1).

** INSERT TABLE 4 HERE **

Complementing the models that predicted the odds of earning the minimum monthly wage or less, the prediction of the self-perception of poverty corroborates the order within the hierarchy. The regression models presented as odds ratios in Table 4 reveal that there are significant associations between self-perceiving as poor and being mestizo, Quechua or Aymara. Model 2a suggests that the odds of self-perceiving as poor are 44 percent lower for mestizos compared with non-mestizos (1-.56). After controlling for indigenous language (Model 3b, with standard errors adjusted by robust logistic regression), the odds of self-perceiving as poor are 85 percent higher for Quechuas compared with mestizos (1.85–1) and 358 percent higher for Aymaras compared with mestizos (4.58–1).

** INSERT TABLE 5 HERE **

The final set of regression models (the OLS models) presented in Table 5 indicates that there are significant associations between income and being mestizo, Quechua or Aymara.[13] Average incomes by racial categories (Model 1) are US$315.10 for mestizos (exp(5.75)), US$195.76 for Quechuas (exp(5.75–.48)), US$181.47 for Aymaras (exp(5.75–.55)), and

[13] There was no evidence of significant interactions between the racial categories and education in these predictions.

US$238.05 for Afro-Peruvians (exp(5.75–.28)). Accordingly, mestizos earn 61 percent more than Quechuas, 74 percent more than Aymaras, and 32 percent more than Afro-Peruvians. This is the only situation in which the effect for Afro-Peruvians is significant. Furthermore, after controlling for education, sex, age, region, and indigenous language (Model 4), the average incomes by racial categories (for the average values of education and age after centering their respective variables, and zero values for the rest of the dummy variables) are US$370.95 for mestizos (exp(5.92)), US$311.77 for Quechuas (exp(5.92–.17)), and US$268.32 for Aymaras (exp(5.92–.32)). Accordingly, mestizos earn 19 percent more than Quechuas and 38 percent more than Aymaras.

Here I make an exception integrating the Quechua and the Aymara ethnic groups. Comparing the weighted average of the predicted incomes from Model 1 for Quechuas and Aymaras (by the number of observations for each category), US$194.56, with the average income of mestizos, mestizos earn 62 percent more than the grouped Quechuas and Aymaras. Likewise, the weighted average of the predicted incomes from Model 4 (for the average values of education and age, and zero values for the rest of the dummy variables) for Quechuas and Aymaras is US$308.12. Thus, mestizos earn 20 percent more than the grouped Quechuas and Aymaras. These estimates are not comparable with the numbers suggested by Ñopo et al. (2004) cited above because of the different definitions of the racial categories, but they might serve as a possible future reference, considering that the group of Quechuas and Aymaras is a different concept than a more encompassing indigenous category. Following the discrimination/exclusion frame suggested by Barrón (2008), 32 percent of the gap in Model 1 is due to discrimination (20 percent over 62 percent) and 68 percent, to exclusion.

METHODOLOGICAL AND MEASUREMENT LIMITATIONS

Although I found significant evidence to statistically corroborate the order within the racial hierarchy in urban Peru among the mestizo group and the ethnic groups Quechua and Aymara, the evidence disappears in some of these models after the variable indigenous language is incorporated. For this reason, Models 3c and 3d in Table 2 and Models 3a and 3b in Table 3 seem to be less interesting. Nevertheless, Models 3a and 3b in Table 3 are still relevant because of the association between the indigenous language variable and earning the minimum monthly wage or less. These associations do not strengthen the difference between the mestizo group and the ethnic groups, but, like the models predicting low educational attainment, they point out the disadvantage of the indigenous language speakers. Furthermore, Model 3c and 3d in Table 2 suggest that the odds of attaining complete university or more are significantly higher for those who live in the highlands and jungle, often associated with the homeland of the less favored Peruvians, compared to those who live in Lima. We have to consider the difference between urban Lima and urban highlands and jungle. As the main big city, the former is much more diverse and populous than the latter; thus, these results do not necessarily seem unreasonable. Contrastingly, the effects for regions in the OLS models (Table 5) reveal that income and region are significantly and negatively associated; thus, suggesting that attaining high education in Lima has substantial economic advantages.

Another limitation is the discrete and categorical nature of the variable income. A continuous variable income would have been more precise. Working with the averages of each category does not account for the distribution of the income of the respondents within each category. But, instead of disregarding this data because of this limitation, I still could find enough evidence to explain the advantages of mestizos over the Quechuas and Aymaras; thus to

present these differences using this data, considering that data on race and ethnicity is still scarce. In this sense, I attempted to take advantage of the availability of a race/ethnic variable in a Peruvian survey with the purpose of complementing my updated explanation of the Peruvian mestizo group with statistical evidence.

It is also necessary to mention that these models are incapable of suggesting reciprocal relations between the response variables and the racial categories. Rather than showing evidence of the continuation of the socioeconomic differences by race/ethnic group, these models only depict these differences found at a certain moment. As suggested above, any sturdier statistical approach on socioeconomic stratification by race/ethnic group would require more data, such as the pollster's perception race/ethnic variable, the racial/ethnic characteristics of the pollsters, measures of intensity, larger sample sizes (for more precise estimates by race/ethnic group), and an oversample of Afro-Peruvians.

CONCLUSIONS

These differences in socioeconomic outcomes by racial/ethnic categories are not sufficient to depict in detail the prevalence of discrimination and exclusion in urban Peru. Nevertheless, they reflect the relevance of the hierarchical order among mestizos, Quechuas and Aymaras. This order can be explained by the historical colonial heritage and by the complex evolution of the cultural/ideological beliefs that led to the legitimation of the mestizo racial condition. I underline the importance of understanding mestizaje as a cultural and ideological phenomenon. In Peru, the ideology of mestizaje served as the cultural vehicle that the Peruvian elites have promoted to develop the consciousness of Peru as a project of nation-making. Situating the beginning of this project in the 19th century context, the understanding of progress was affected by the prevalent scientific racism. In this sense, the discourse of equality was just

partially inclusive because it influenced Peruvians to reject any links with an often embodied indigenous culture. Nowadays, however, the mainstream beliefs still relates indigenousness to an ontological inferior condition, encouraging in this way the negotiation of mestizaje to develop a non-indigenous racial identity.

I argue that the embracement of the mestizo category in a survey reflects the racial identity of the individual with emphasis on the cultural aspects that lead this individual to self-identify as mestizo. Thus, my statistical analysis "portraits" the socioeconomic differences by race/ethnic group with the purpose of explaining the relevance of the hierarchy, but this picture is not sufficient to deal with the complications associated with racial identification. More systematically obtained data and alternative/complementary models are necessary to frequently adjust and update these estimations incorporating more restrictive definitions of racial categories as well as their respective reliable indicators. In consequence, it might be possible to arrive at more consistent estimates. Nonetheless, it is also very likely that the blurry racial/ethnic boundaries and the fluidity are still going to be addressed with different theorizations and definitions of indigenousness. Many respondents who self-identify as mestizos in this survey still could fit into "more indigenous" categories, and offer alternative pictures.

According to these statistical models, the mestizo condition is only favorable in relation to the indigenous one. Analyzing the socioeconomic differences by phenotype within the mestizo group is still a pending topic, for which it is necessary to identify the physical characteristics that enable the researcher to decompose this group.

The mestizo condition in Peru is an interesting example of how the historical circumstances of a nation can contribute to the reformulation and legitimation of a phenotypically diverse group as a racial/ethnic group. After a while, the boundaries for the local

notion of white also encompassed successful darker people, and the boundaries for the indigenous group shrunk after some individuals could successfully negotiate the mestizo condition. Although skin tone is still an important indicator of phenotype, it is not necessarily the most important one at the moment of racial identification. Therefore, a better understanding of Peruvian mestizaje could be useful to alternatively ponder cultural aspects in the evolution of racial boundaries.

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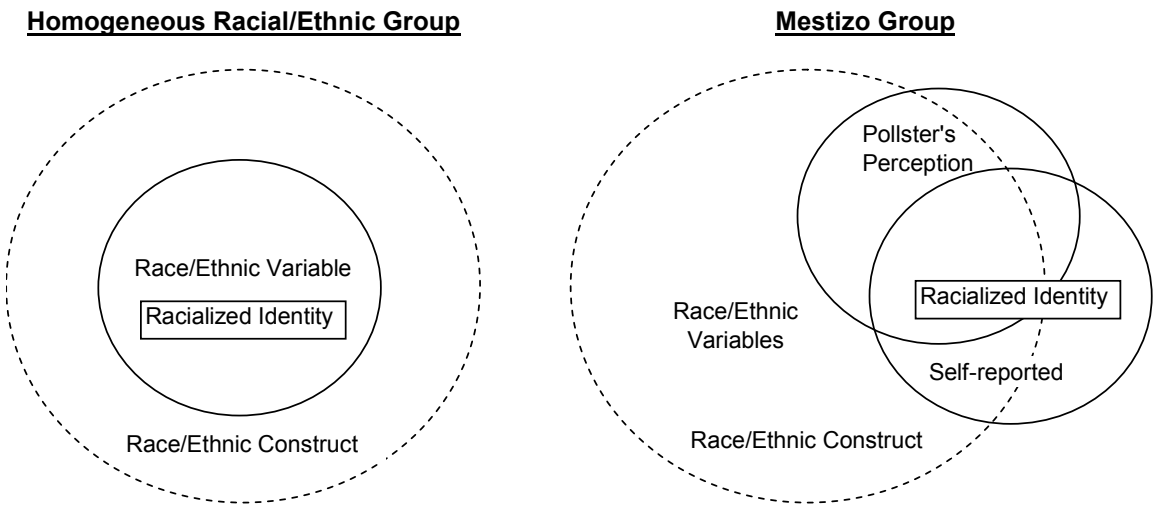

Figure 1. Traditional Race/Ethnic Variables as Indicators of Racial/Ethnic Group by Phenotype

Table 1. Summary Statistics for the Variables Used in the Analysis

Variables	Frequency	Percentage (or Mean)
Racial Categories		
Mestizo	697	60%
Quechua	283	24%
Aymara	26	2%
Amazonian	51	4%
Black	38	3%
White	66	6%
Monthly Income		
Less than $100	111	10%
Between $100 and $200	290	25%
Between $201 and $333	326	28%
Between $334 and $500	187	16%
Between $501 and $667	100	9%
Between $668 and $1000	80	7%
Between $1001 and $1667	46	4%
Between $1668 and $3333	14	1%
More than $3333	6	1%
Education		
None	22	2%
Incomplete Primary School	67	5%
Complete Primary School	60	5%
Incomplete Secondary School	125	10%
Complete Secondary School	350	28%
Incomplete Technical Education	99	8%
Complete Technical Education	192	16%
Incomplete University	159	13%
Complete University or More	161	13%
Self-Perception of Poverty	110	9%
Female	627	51%
Age[a]	-	37.79
Region		
Lima-Callao (reference category)	535	43%
Coast	355	29%
Highlands and Jungle	345	28%
Speak Indigenous Language	270	22%

[a]Minimum 18, Maximum 93.

Table 2. Odds Ratios Predicting Educational Attainment

	Complete Primary School or Less						Complete University or More					
Variables	Model 1a	Model 2a	Model 3a	Model 1b	Model 2b	Model 3b	Model 1c	Model 2c	Model 3c	Model 1d	Model 2d	Model 3d
Racial Categories												
Mestizo	.3496***	.2708***	.3817***				1.3170	1.5564*	1.4325†			
Quechua				3.8685***	5.8009***	3.9757***				.6690†	.5381*	.6246†
Aymara				2.1771	2.8470	1.8759				1.8537	1.2651	1.5378
Amazonian				2.2254	2.8077†	2.9064†				.6751	.5404	.5316
Black				2.2386	2.3014	2.2546				.9634	1.0521	1.0420
White				.4503	.6243	.6821				.2973	.7092	.6954
Female	2.6049***	2.7313***	2.7898***	2.7319***	2.8616***	2.8595***	1.0062	1.0400	1.0374	1.0108	1.0395	1.0373
Age	1.0841***	1.0861***	1.0830***	1.0856***	1.0873***	1.0850***	1.0258***	1.0268***	1.0281***	1.0256***	1.0265***	1.0278***
Region												
Coast		4.7437***	5.8363***		5.3339***	5.9126***		.9485	.9376		.9490	.9370
Highlands and Jungle		2.9679***	2.2450**		2.5968**	2.2526**		1.8764**	2.0318**		1.9141**	2.0528**
Speak Indigenous Language			2.8604***			2.0749*			.7289			.7059
Pseudo R-Squared	.2442	.2853	.3015	.2630	.3055	.3116	.0246	.0369	.0386	.0288	.0410	.0427
N	1161	1161	1161	1161	1161	1161	912	912	912	912	912	912

†p < .1; *p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 3. Odds Ratios Predicting the Odds of Earning the Minimum Monthly Wage or Less

Variables	Model 1a	Model 2a	Model 3a	Model 1b	Model 2b	Model 3b
Racial Categories						
Mestizo	.5644***	.6444**	.7528†			
Quechua				1.9270***	1.6482**	1.2776
Aymara				4.8892**	3.1410*	2.3714†
Amazonian				1.2038	.9669	.9945
Black				1.5150	1.6972	1.7133
White				1.2339	1.3477	1.3931
Education	.6292***	.6252***	.6276***	.6237***	.6212***	.6232***
Female	1.4011*	1.4869**	1.4990**	1.4308*	1.5040**	1.5055**
Age	.9909†	.9904†	.9883*	.9899*	.9892*	.9876*
Region						
Coast		1.4589*	1.5525*		1.4662*	1.5324*
Highlands and Jungle		2.7369***	2.4233***		2.6565***	2.4312***
Speak Indigenous Language			1.7181**			1.6837*
Pseudo R-Squared	.1450	.1684	.1737	.1512	.1720	.1758
N	1092	1092	1092	1092	1092	1092

†p < .1; *$p <$ .05; **$p <$ .01; ***$p <$ .001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 4. Odds Ratios Predicting Self-Perception of Poverty

Variables	Model 1a	Model 2a	Model 3a[a]	Model 1b	Model 2b	Model 3b[a]
Racial Categories						
Mestizo	.5215**	.5623*	.6341†			
Quechua				2.0565**	1.9607*	1.8462*
Aymara				5.8491***	4.8794**	4.5759**
Amazonian				1.1801	1.0959	1.1025
Black				1.8890	1.9509	1.9438
White				.6822	.7378	.7446
Female	1.2504	1.2715	1.2717	1.2999	1.3113	1.3108
Age	1.0389***	1.0391***	1.0376***	1.0389***	1.0386***	1.0381***
Region						
Coast		1.4950	1.5574		1.5162	1.5296
Highlands and Jungle		2.0018**	1.8239*		1.7688*	1.7274*
Speak Indigenous Language			1.4109			1.1201
Pseudo R-Squared	.0668	.0776	.0798	.0815	.0889	.0891
N	1155	1155	1155	1155	1155	1155

†p < .07; *p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001 (two-tailed tests)

[a]Adjusted standard errors using robust logistic regression.

Table 5. OLS Regression Models Predicting Income (LN Income)

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Racial Categories[a]				
Quechua	-.4760***	-.3012***	-.2304***	-.1738**
	(.0590)	(.0584)	(.0551)	(.0638)
Aymara	-.5518**	-.5823***	-.3869**	-.3239*
	(.1653)	(.1455)	(.1454)	(.1497)
Amazonian	-.0846	.0253	.1415	.1358
	(.1201)	(.1059)	(.1052)	(.1051)
Black	-.2804*	-.1207	-.1781	-.1781
	(.1389)	(.1226)	(.1192)	(.1191)
White	-.0391	.0269	.0089	.0011
	(.1086)	(.0957)	(.0931)	(.0931)
Education		.1928***	.1905***	.1893***
		(.0108)	(.0112)	(.0112)
Female			-.1441**	-.1438**
			(.0423)	(.0423)
Age			.0023	.0026
			(.0015)	(.0015)
Region				
Coast			-.1525**	-.1607**
			(.0517)	(.0519)
Highlands and Jungle			-.4138***	-.3915***
			(.0537)	(.0551)
Speak Indigenous Language				-.1184
				(.0675)
Constant[b]	5.7529***	4.7575***	4.8944***	4.8942***
	(.0317)	(.0625)	(.1030)	(.1029)
Adjusted R-Squared	.0593	.2710	.3138	.3151
N	1092	1092	1092	1092

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

Note: Standard errors in parentheses.

[a]Mestizo is the reference category.

[b]After centering education and age, the coefficient for the constant in Model 4 is 5.9161***.

APPENDIX. Diagnostics for OLS Regression Models with Discrete Data

	Racial Categories		
	Mestizo	Quechua	Aymara
Incremental F-Tests for Nonlinearity of the Relationship Between Income and Education (model $Y_i = \alpha' + \gamma_1 D_{i1} + \gamma_2 D_{i2} + \ldots + \gamma_{j-1} D_{ij-1} + \varepsilon'_i$ versus $Y_i = \alpha + \beta X_i + \varepsilon_i$)	F = 1.74 df1 = 7 df2 = 646 pF = .0960	F = .94 df1 = 7 df2 = 257 pF = .4739	F = 1.11 df1 = 6 df2 = 17 pF = .3946
Levene's F-Tests for Nonconstant Error Variance in $Y_i = \alpha + \beta X_i + \varepsilon_i$ (One-Way ANOVA of $Z_{ij} \equiv \lvert Y_{ij} - \tilde{Y}_j \rvert$)	F = .67 df1 = 8 df2 = 646 pF = .7164	F = .28 df1 = 8 df2 = 257 pF = .9727	F = .79 df1 = 7 df2 = 17 pF = .6062

Note: j refers to the categories for education.