

**Peruvian Youth and Racism:
The Category of "Race" Remains Strong**

By

Joanna Drzewieniecki, Ph.D.
j65d65@hotmail.com

**Prepared for delivery at the 2004 Meeting of the Latin American Studies
Association, Las Vegas, Nevada, October 7-9, 2004**

INTRODUCTION¹

Until recently, "race"² has been considered either an irrelevant issue in Peru or too controversial to talk about. In academic and political spheres, the deep social divisions in Peru traditionally have been conceptualized as based on *culture* (indigenous people and non-indigenous people) or *class*. For the rest of Peruvians, *culture* and *class* also have been important concepts and, in addition, the high degree of "racial" mixing and a mostly latent or un verbalized preference for "white" skin and facial features led to an avoidance of discussions of the subject of "race" in public. The fact that the top elite of Peru traditionally have been "white" or "whiter" than the rest of the population reinforced the taboo on discussion of "race" in the media and elsewhere. The one sector of the population for whom "race" has always had some salience are Afro-Peruvians, but they and their concerns were completely marginalized, without their being segregated.

During the last two decades, however, academics have started to take a closer look at issues of "race" in Peru³ and more recently, it has become the topic of some debate through the efforts of individuals, the human rights community, Afro-Peruvian organizations, and to a lesser extent, the Peruvian government.⁴

While issues of "race," racism, and discrimination are being taken more seriously than ever before, when it comes to discrimination, both scholars and other Peruvians continue to struggle to understand the relative importance of "race," ethnicity, culture, and socio-economic status in everyday discrimination in Peru. This is not surprising considering the complexity of the issues. First, most Peruvians do not have strong "racial" or even ethnic identities. In addition, "race" and ethnicity are not always identical. Furthermore, cultural characteristics and class overlap substantially but not always.

The current study endeavors to shed light on some of these issues by exploring Peruvian young peoples' ideas about "race" and their perceptions of racism and discrimination in Peru as well as in their own lives. The research instrument was a 57 question survey administered to 320 high school and college students in eight educational institutions in Lima, chosen for their contrasting student populations.

¹ This survey was developed and administered while the author was a cooperant of the Canadian development agency CUSO in Peru and is part of a larger project on discrimination against Afro-Peruvians. Though this project was interrupted when the author had to leave Peru for family reasons, the research continues with the permission of CUSO.

² The words "race" and "racial" are in quotes throughout this paper to remind readers that these are cultural categories. As such, they are subject to distinct definitions and understandings among different cultural groups. "White" and "black" are also in quotes for the same reason.

³ An isolated pioneering empirical study on racism is Valcarcel (1974). Flores Galindo (1988) stimulated academic interest in the issue. Some of the most important studies published since include Asociación Laboral para el Desarrollo ADEC/ATC (1993), Callirgos (1993, 1995), De la Cadena (2000), Manrique (1999), Montoya (1998), Montoya Uriarte (2002), Portocarrero (1993), Rádda Barnen (1993), Santos (2003), and Valdivia Vargas (2002).

⁴ For example, the Mesa de Trabajo para la No Discriminación of the Coordinadora Nacional de Derechos Humanos, Wilfredo Ardito of the Instituto de Defensa Legal, and Afro-Peruvian organizations such as Movimiento Nacional Afroperuano "Francisco Congo," CEDET, ASONEDH and others; the Ministry of Women (PROMUDEH) and the Comisión Nacional de Pueblos Indígenas, Amazónicos y Afroperuanos (CONAPA) also sometimes play a role.

The research questions can be divided into two broad categories: 1) how do Peruvian youth conceptualize "race," and 2) do these young people think that racism and "racial" discrimination exist in Peru and are these phenomena part of their personal experiences?

The exploration of the students' conceptualizations of "race" includes several separate issues. First, there is the question of the terms used in Peru to describe "racial," ethnic, cultural and/or socio-economic categories. The survey explored the students' understanding of several of these terms. Second, the survey tested for elements of biological determinism in the students' perceptions of "race." The idea of "race" as conceptualized in the western world fuses ideas on biology with ideas on cultural behavior. The American Anthropological Association (AAA), in its "Statement on Race" (1998) argues that:

"Race" ... evolved as a worldview, a body of prejudgments that distorts our ideas about human differences and group behavior. Racial beliefs constitute myths about the diversity in the human species and about the abilities and behavior of people homogenized into "racial" categories. The myths fused behavior and physical features together in the public mind, impeding our comprehension of both biological variations and cultural behavior, implying that both are genetically determined.

This crucial aspect of racism — fusing behavior and physical features — was also studied through questions referring to "racial" stereotypes. Finally, this part of the study sought to determine if students perceive hierarchies among "races."

The survey addressed issues of racism and discrimination from different angles. One set of questions explored students' perceptions about the existence of racism and the practice of "racial" discrimination in Peru, where discrimination takes place, and who discriminates against whom. The second set of questions investigated students' own experiences with "racial" discrimination and asked them to evaluate to what degree they see themselves as racists and whether they ever discriminate on the basis of "race."

The research instrument demonstrated a high degree of reliability. Some of the results significantly advance our understanding of issues of "race" in Peru while others successfully replicate previous research. In addition, as is often the case with surveys, the results also raise questions for future research.

The discussion below summarizes some of the most important findings. A longer analysis soon will be available in Drzewieniecki (Forthcoming A).

METHODOLOGY⁵

An anonymous questionnaire with 57 questions was administered to 320 students, 40 students each in 4 high schools and 4 universities in Lima in September and October 2002. The results were coded and then analyzed using SPSS.

⁵ More detailed information on methodology can be found in Drzewieniecki (Forthcoming A).

The Sample

The educational institutions chosen represent a cross-section of students from a wide variety of social, cultural, and economic backgrounds. However, the sample is not *representative* in that no attempt was made to assure that it accurately reflects the universe of students in Lima⁶ according to social and economic status. Instead, the sample was designed to contrast the views and experiences of students from what can broadly be characterized as "popular sectors," on the one hand, and "elites" on the other. In this study, "popular sectors" is understood to include youth whose parents are employed in the informal sector, are low wage employees, or earn a middle class income but live in "popular sector" neighborhoods. "Elites" includes the middle class whose members live in what are referred to in Lima as "residential" neighborhoods as well as the upper middle class, and the upper class.

The educational institutions where the questionnaire was administered include 2 public high schools, 2 private high schools, 2 national universities, and 2 private universities.⁷ The questionnaire was administered to students in the last two years of high school (evenly divided among the two) and first two years of college (without distinction). Four private and four public institutions were chosen because parents' ability to pay for private schooling is a good indicator of their economic status.

The two public high schools in the sample are from two different "popular sector" districts of Lima. One is located in San Juan de Lurigancho, in an area with a relatively high percentage of Andean indigenous migrants. The other school, in the district of San Juan de Miraflores, is an area where there are fewer migrants and more Afro-Peruvians.

The two private schools also represent contrasting populations. One is in the "popular sector" district of San Juan de Lurigancho and its student population consists of children of parents who are not part of traditional "elites" and who made their money recently. The other private school is located in La Molina, one of the "residential" districts of Lima, and its students come from "elite" sectors of the population.

The universities in the sample were also selected for their contrasting student bodies. One of the public universities has a primarily "popular sector" student body while the other has a slight majority of "elite" students. The two private universities have more similar student bodies, with few "popular sector" students.

⁶ Twenty-nine percent of the Peru's population lives in Lima (Altamirano et al. 2003:8).

⁷ I am very grateful to the director of the NGO EDUCA, Betty Evans, and her staff for help in contacting administrators from the three high schools in "popular sector" districts of Lima and everyone else who helped me contact administrators and teachers at the other institutions. Thanks too, to the teachers who administered the questionnaire.

Figure 1 The Sample: "Popular Sectors" and "Elites"	
"Popular Sectors"	2 public high schools (located in the districts of San Juan de Lurigancho and San Juan de Miraflores)
	1 private high school (located in the district of San Juan de Lurigancho)
	1 public university (71.9% public school graduates)
"Elites"	1 private high school (district of La Molina)
	1 public university (35.1% public school graduates)
	2 private universities (10.3% and 7.5%, respectively, public school graduates)

Figure 1 shows the breakdown of the sample by social and economic status (SES); percent of public high school graduates among the college students in the samples from each university is used to contrast their student bodies. The sample was originally planned to include two high schools and two universities as representative of each social and economic sector. However, the characteristics of the student bodies in two of the educational institutions were somewhat different than expected and so it was decided that the arrangement by SES illustrated in Figure 1 was the most appropriate.

The sample includes 55.8% females and 44.1% males.⁸

The Questionnaire

The questionnaire⁹ was constructed so as to elicit information related to the research questions in a variety of ways and, in some cases, questions on related issues were placed in different sections of the instrument.

After the preparation of the first version, several steps were taken to assure its validity. The questionnaire was tested and discussed in three 50-minute sessions at Villareal University with sociology students.¹⁰ Villareal is a public university with a primarily "popular sector" student body. The staff of the Afro-Peruvian NGO, CEDET, also provided useful suggestions.

A few additional explanatory comments on the questionnaire are in order. First, those terms employed in the questionnaire which it was thought might be controversial, were put in quotes. In the questions that employed the term "racial group," the words "or cultural group" were added. This was done to limit some students' possible discomfort with the term "racial." Finally, some questions did not provide useful results for various reasons – details are available from the author.

⁸ In 2003, there were 52% males and 48% females in elementary and high schools (Perú. Ministerio de Educación. 2004:13) and in 2001, there were 46.91% females and 53.09% males enrolled in Peruvian universities (Asamblea Nacional de Rectores:

http://www.anr.edu.pe/paginas/estad_univ3.htm)

⁹ Available on request from the author and in Drzewieniecki (Forthcoming A).

¹⁰ I am very grateful to Prof. Marcela Benites for help in testing the questionnaire and to her students at Villareal for their very useful comments and suggestions. Many thanks too, to Prof. Marina Zuloaga for assistance with editing the questionnaire and general moral support.

The questionnaire was administered by teachers at each of the educational institutions, after obtaining permission from school administrators. Teachers were asked to make the questionnaire obligatory. Neither teachers nor students were not told that the researcher was from a highly developed country in order avoid any possible bias. Brief written instructions were provided to teachers in order to: a) encourage willing student participation and honest answers, b) lessen anxiety (or anger) regarding some possibly controversial questions, and c) prevent contamination of the survey by comments by teachers or discussion among students.

RESULTS¹¹

"Racial," ethnic, and cultural identities of the students

General Considerations

The first set of questions in the survey that tested for the students' conceptualization of "race" inquired into how students identified themselves according to "race," ethnicity, and/or culture. As indicated at the outset, one of the most difficult problems in analyzing issues of "race" in Peru is defining "racial," ethnic, or cultural categories. "Racial" and ethnic identities are weak in Peru, except among indigenous people from the Amazonian lowlands. Peruvians are usually reluctant to identify themselves using "racial" categories and people of indigenous descent from the mountains do not generally use ethnic terms to describe themselves.¹² In addition, terms that seem to be "racial" can also be used as cultural signifiers or to refer to social and/or economic status. Furthermore, the same terms can carry different meanings in different contexts or when they are used by people from different social, economic, or cultural backgrounds. Even within what appear to be more homogeneous groups of Peruvians, connotations of specific terms may vary. Finally, terminologies (and identities) have changed over time as a result of social transformations within Peru and international influences, primarily transmitted through television.

Peruvian terminology related to "race," ethnicity, and culture also cannot be understood without keeping in mind that while Peruvians may be hesitant to apply "racial" or ethnic categories to themselves, they do not have the same hesitancy when applying "racial" or ethnic categories to others. It is quite common to use "racial" or ethnic epithets as insults; in fact, this is one of the most important expressions of racism in Peru.

Before looking at how Peruvian students in the survey classified themselves, it is useful to describe the "racial" and ethnic composition of Peru according to the most common international categories. The Peruvian government eliminated "race" classifications from its census many decades ago. Nevertheless, it is generally agreed that

¹¹ The analysis that follows has benefited from comments on some of the results by the staff of the Peruvian NGO EDUCA and members of the Mesa de Trabajo para la No Discriminación of the Coordinadora Nacional de Derechos Humanos, Lima.

¹² See Callirgos (1993:213ff), De la Cadena (2000:1-43), Portocarrero (1993:208), and Valdivia Vargas (2002). The Aymara of the area of Puno are the exception.

the vast majority of the population of Lima is of mixed descent.¹³ There are also significant minorities of African, European, and Chinese ancestry as well as smaller groups of Japanese and Arabs. There is some data on subgroups. According to Valdivia Vargas (2002:17), 29.5% of the population of Lima is of direct indigenous origin (many more have one or more indigenous ancestors). Recent estimates of the Afro-Peruvian population of Peru conclude that this population is "no less than 1.4 million and could be as high as 2.5 million" or between 5 and 9 percent of the total population (Oakley 2001:63). The majority of Afro-Peruvians live in Lima. Many more Peruvians who do not have "black" skin or facial features have one or more Afro-Peruvian ancestors.

Students were asked to classify themselves according to "racial" or ethnic categories in two different sections of the questionnaire. In Question 9, located on the first page of the survey, they were asked about their "ancestries"¹⁴ and were instructed to check off as many of the categories listed as applicable. The second question, no. 44, was located in the last part of the questionnaire and asked students to choose the "racial" or ethnic category they most identified with. In both questions, they were given the option of writing in an ancestry or a category that was not listed.

In order for readers to understand the discussion that follows, a brief introduction to the terms used is essential. The survey results presented in this paper offer additional insights regarding the meaning of these terms to different sectors of Peruvian youth. All the terms are in quotes and in Spanish to remind readers that these are not categories with universal meanings but must be understood in terms of the way Peruvians use them and understand them.

"Mestizo." In Latin America *"mestizaje"* (mixture) refers to sexual mixture, "but implied is the spatial mixture of peoples and the interchange of cultural elements in mixed and new cultural forms" Wade (1997:28). Through approximately the middle of the 20th century, in the Andes of Peru, *"mestizo"* referred to an intermediate position in social stratification between the *"criollo"* elites and members of indigenous communities. For the majority of Peruvians it has now taken on a broader meaning of a mixture of "racial," ethnic and cultural backgrounds. *"Mestizo"* is the most neutral of terms used in this study, though not bereft of positive and negative connotations (De la Cadena 2000:5-6; Portocarrero 1993:200). Callirgos (1991:218) notes that calling oneself a *"mestizo"* is also not a

... panacea. It can be a "cushion" that alleviates, avoiding extremes. But it can also create conflicts, a feeling of being in "no man's land."

When pressed to identify themselves according to "racial" categories, most Peruvians chose the category of *"mestizo"* (e.g. Callirgos 1993:155-162; Valcarcel 1974:131). In the present study, *"mestizo"* was not included in the first question dealing with ancestry to force students to choose among the ancestries that form part of the *"mestizajes"* in Peru. *"Mestizo"* was included in the later question in which students were required to choose only one term to identify themselves.

¹³ Saavedra, Torero, & Ñopo (2002:1) note that though the majority urban population of Peru "has a mixed background..... this mixed population is and is perceived as highly heterogeneous."

¹⁴ Question 9: "My ancestry is (check off one or more options)." For options listed see Table 1.

"Negro"/"Zambo." *"Negro"* is the word most frequently used by Afro-Peruvians and by those who refer to them. *"Moreno"* (dark-skinned) is sometimes considered a more polite term. The descriptors "Afro-Peruvian" or *"afrodescendiente"* (descendent of Africans) are now preferred by Afro-Peruvian leaders and organizers and recently has been adopted by the Peruvian government. *"Zambo"* ("sambo") is a term used by both Afro-Peruvians and others and usually refers to lighter-skinned Afro-Peruvians (Luciano Huapaya & Drzewieniecki 2002:124). *"Zambo"* and *"zambito"* as well as *"negro/negra"* and *"moreno/morena"* are regularly used by Afro-Peruvians and others as terms of affection. Nevertheless, *"negro/negra"* are also regularly used as epithets.

"Amazónico": Indigenous people in the lowlands of the Amazon basin (the largest but least populated area of Peru) have strong ethnic identities and usually identify themselves by the name of their group. *"Amazónico"* was included to provide an option for those whose ancestry lies among these indigenous groups.¹⁵

"Blanco": The literal translation of this term is "white." However, in Peru, *"blanco"* can refer to skin color, facial features, socio-economic status or cultural characteristics. Depending on who uses the word, it may have one or more of these meanings and the weight given to each of these components of meaning may vary. Even when *"blanco"* is used in a "racial" sense, its meaning can be relational. For example, Peruvians who look "white" to people of European descent may see themselves as not fully "white" in comparison to these Europeans. On the other hand, people from a "popular sector" district who are lighter skinned than those around them may claim to be or maybe seen as *"blancos"* though their skin is darker than that of Europeans. When *"blanco"* is used to refer to socio-economic status, it inevitably refers to people who have a higher economic status (objectively or subjectively). Some people from "popular sectors" use *"blanco"* to refer to all people whom they perceive as wealthy, including members of Peru's struggling middle class (Degregori, Blondet, & Lynch 1986:238).

There is considerable evidence for the general preference of the facial features of "white" Europeans. For example, relatives tend to praise babies who have physical characteristics linked to "whiteness" (e.g., Portocarrero 1993:217). Researchers have found that up to 90% of Peruvian television commercials feature people with "white" physical features (Estupiñán Maldonado 2001:3; Kogan 2001:22).¹⁶ In addition, until recently, many newspaper want ads for almost all positions outside of factory work, domestic work, or security guards often asked for *"buena presencia,"*¹⁷ code words referring to "white" skin and/or facial features. Recently, the Peruvian government prohibited discrimination in hiring though this law has not yet been strictly enforced.¹⁸ "Whiteness" is sometimes also preferred when looking for a marriage partner (e.g., Callirgos 1991:219-220).

The "'white' is best" idea is also a source of difficulties for researchers who ask Peruvians to identify themselves by "race." De la Cadena (2000:44) recounts that researchers at the University of Cusco were unable to carry out an accurate census of

¹⁵ Only 0.9% of the students in the survey chose this option and it is unknown if they are indigenous people or others whose families hail from the Amazonian lowlands.

¹⁶ See Ardito Vega (2004) for several other examples of how "'white' is best" images permeate Peruvian life.

¹⁷ This expression is difficult to translate literally. The best rendering is probably "appealing appearance."

¹⁸ Law No. 26772 was adopted on March 27, 1997.

students by "race" because of "the tendency both of the interviewer and of the interviewee is and will always be to prefer to be included as white..."

Finally, it should be noted that the word "*blanco*" is not generally used as an epithet though this does not mean, as we shall see, that views of "*blancos*" are necessarily always positive.

"**Andino**" [Andean]. The majority of the indigenous people of the Peruvian Andes have not developed a modern ethnic identity and there is currently no positive term to describe their ethnicity. The term "*andino*" or "Andean" was formerly used primarily by academics but it has now percolated into society to some extent. De la Cadena (2000:6-7) found that the term is currently used with pride in reference to the culture of indigenous people in the Andean city of Cusco (De la Cadena 2000:6-7). In the present study, the term was employed on an experimental basis to see whether any students would identify themselves with it.

"**Cholo**". "*Cholo*" is the most discussed term in the literature. The initial conceptualization of the term described being "*cholo*" as a transition phase between being "indigenous" and being "*mestizo*" (Quijano 1980). However, in Lima, in the last decades, "*cholo*" has generally been used as an insult. The best short description of this usage is provided by Twanama (1992), who states that "*cholo*" refers to:

....someone who is considered racially inferior due to his/her Indian ancestry, but who is also evaluated using socio-economic, educational-linguistic characteristics as well as their status as a migrant.¹⁹

However, in the last years, there is evidence that some Peruvians have accepted their identity as "*cholos*" either with resignation (Valdivia Vargas 2002:76-77) or with pride. For example, the current president of Peru, Alejandro Toledo, proudly proclaims that he is a "*cholo*."

"*Cholo/chola*" or "*cholito/cholita*" can be used as terms of affection, sometimes even when the person addressed is obviously not a "*cholo*" by any definition of the term. The inclusion of this term in the present study is meant to test whether it is indeed more accepted and acceptable.

"**Chino**": This term, which literally means "Chinese," is popularly used to describe people of Chinese or Japanese descent. Of course, people of Japanese ancestry call themselves "Japanese."

Discussion of Results

Table 1 (Appendix) shows the breakdown by number of ancestries chosen in Question 9 and the breakdown of the particular ancestries checked off by the 64.1% of students who claimed only one ancestry.

It is interesting and surprising that 64.1% of the sample chose only one ancestry. When one talks to Peruvians about "race," one almost inevitably hears the expression "En el Perú, quien no tiene de inga, tiene de mandinga," which means: "In Peru, those who don't have [some] Indian [ancestry], have [some] African [ancestry]." Despite the ubiquity of this expression and Peruvians' insistence that it applies to the vast majority of

¹⁹ This translation and all others in this text are mine.

the population, this mixed background is not generally a source of real pride and it is probably for this reason that most students in this study did not chose more than one ancestry. In addition, there seems to have been a special reluctance to admit Afro-Peruvian ancestry. Only 4.4% of students chose "*negro*"/"*zambo*" as one of their multiple ancestries. Oakley (2001:66), in a study prepared for the World Bank, contends that:

Peru's whites and *mestizos* in particular have the most entrenched racist attitudes towards *Afro-Peruanos* whom they see as both spoiling the ethnic purity of *lo Peruano* and as essentially little better than their slave forefathers. Many Peruvians are 'embarrassed' by *Afro-Peruanos* and show little tolerance to their plight and poverty.

In contrast to the case of "*negros*," the percent of students who chose only "*blanco*" ancestry seems higher than the "white" population of Peru if "white" is defined as exclusively "white" European ancestry (Table 1). The real surprise, however, are the percentages of students choosing "*andino*" and "*cholo*." For what is considered to be a little used term, "*andino*" made sense to a lot of students, particularly from "popular sectors." Table 1 also shows that the term "*cholo*" is gaining respectability: 27.8% of students marking a single ancestry chose "*cholo*." It is noteworthy that half of these are "elite" students and are scattered among all four of the "elite" educational institutions. Finally, 9.7% students wrote in "*mestizo*," confirming the tendency to prefer this term even when it is not provided as a choice.

Table 2 (Appendix) summarizes the results of the single self-identification question.²⁰ It should be kept in mind that since this was the 44th question in the questionnaire, the students had had an opportunity to think a bit about the issues of "race" and ethnicity. We can see that when given the option, 45.6% chose the category "*mestizo*." However, this percentage is lower than that found in previous studies (Valcarcel 1974; Callirgos 1993). This new willingness of some students, especially, but not only from "popular sectors," to identify themselves as "*cholos*" and to a lesser extent, "*andinos*" is an important finding.²¹

A "*blanco*" single self-identification was chosen by 19.7% of students (71.4% of these were "elites" [29.8% of all "elite" students]). Among "popular sectors," 12.2% of students identified themselves as "*blancos*." We can achieve a better understanding of self-identification as "*blancos*" by looking at Table 3 (Appendix).

There were 88 permutations from the "ancestry" question to the single self-identification question. Table 3 shows how the 64.1% of students who chose a single ancestry on the multiple ancestry question answered the single self-identification question. It provides stunning evidence of the lack of clearly defined "racial," ethnic, and cultural identities in Peru. Many students who chose only one ancestry in the Question 9, chose a different "racial," ethnic or cultural identity in Question 44. In addition, those who chose multiple ancestries in the first question, sometimes chose yet another term to identify themselves in the second question.

²⁰ Question 44: "If you had to choose only one of the following categories to identify yourself, which one would you choose?" See Table 2 for the options provided.

²¹ In the two "popular sector" high schools, almost 11% of students identified themselves as "*andinos*."

The most surprising change is in the category of "*blanco*." Only 68% of the students who chose "*blanco*" as their only ancestry chose it as their primary self-identification. Twenty-one percent changed from "*blanco*" to "*mestizo*"! While more than one hypothesis can be advanced for these changes (see Drzewieniecki Forthcoming A), at very least we can conclude that this result confirms that "*blanco*" is not only a weak identity and a relational identity, but, as previous research indicates, it is a term that refers not only to "race" but also to culture and/or socio-economic status.

An average of 37.5% of the students who chose "*andino*" or "*cholo*" as their only ancestry, stayed with these categories as their preferred self-identification. For the rest, the preferred choice was "*mestizo*" though some chose other options. It is interesting that a small percentage from both categories decided to identify themselves as "*negros*"/"*zambos*," possibly indicating an initial hesitancy to admit to this ancestry.

If we evaluate the popular Peruvian saying quoted above to the effect that all Peruvians either have indigenous or African heritage with the results of this survey, we can conclude that not all students are willing to admit these ancestries. In the multiple ancestry question, only 57.9% of all students admitted to one of these ancestries and in the single self-identification only about 7% more students chose categories that reflected one of these ancestries, still well below the degree of actual "*mestizaje*" in Peru (Drzewieniecki Forthcoming A).

Finally, it is very important to keep in mind that choosing a category to identify oneself does not necessarily mean one is altogether happy with this choice. The discussion above has already provided some evidence that most "racial," ethnic, and cultural categories used in Peru not only do not have clear boundaries but that there are both positive and negative values attached to them. Several questions in the survey tested for "pride" in group pertinence. Most importantly, one question asked students if they agreed or disagreed with the following statement: "The majority of Peruvians are proud of their 'race' or cultural group." The majority (63.0%) disagreed, a clear indicator of the ambiguous feelings that Peruvians have on this matter.

"Race": Biology, Culture, and Socio-Economic Status

Six different questions tested for the "biological," cultural, and socio-economic components of the "racial"/ethnic terms employed in this study. Despite some methodological problems, students' answers to these questions provide clear indications that biological determinism persists among some Peruvian youth. Further support for this persistence is provided by answers to the questions on racial stereotyping discussed in the following section.

When asked "Is 'race' a 'biological' or a 'cultural' concept?", 53.2% of the students in the sample said that it was "biological." This view was more prevalent among "popular sector" (57.9%) than "elite" (48.7%) students.

Students were also asked if the principal categories used in the survey ("*mestizo*," "*cholo*," "*blanco*," and "*negro*") were "racial," cultural or socio-economic or a combination of one or more of these. "*Negro*" was rated as the most "racial" category. In the case of "*blanco*," while most students thought it had a "racial" component, 22.5% of the sample thought that "*blanco*" is solely a "socio-economic" category (the majority of these – 79.0% – were from "popular sectors"). There is a saying in Peru "*la plata*

blanquea" (money whitens). The results here indicate that this belief persists, but that it is stronger among "popular sectors" than among "elites." Finally, while the majority of students thought that the terms "*mestizo*" and "*cholo*" have a "racial" component, an average of 27% expressed the view that these categories are exclusively "cultural." These results, like many others in this study, demonstrate the variation in views on "race" according to subgroups of the Peruvian population.

"Racial" Hierarchies

The discussion above has already provided information regarding the hierarchical views of "races" common in Peru. The evidence thus far suggests that "white" is the most desirable while "black" is the least desirable.

Eight questions in the survey tested for racial hierarchies.²² Further information on this issue was obtained from the questions on "racial" stereotypes discussed below.

The expression "*todos somos iguales*" (we are all equal) is common in Peru and forms part of both a religious discourse on equality before God and an "official" discourse that proclaims the equality of individual in the interests of promoting democratization (Callirgos 1991:213). When asked if they agreed or disagreed with the statement that "we are all equal," 82.2% of the students said they agreed. Nevertheless, in Peru (and elsewhere) democratic ideals can coexist in the same individual with far less egalitarian conceptions as the answers to the other questions on "racial" hierarchies demonstrate (see also Callirgos 1991).

Another question located near the end of the questionnaire, after students had a chance to reflect on matters related to "race," directly inquired into the issue of "superior" and "inferior" "races," asking: "In your opinion, are there 'races' that are superior in terms of their specific abilities and others that are inferior?" These days, the idea of superior and inferior "races" is politically incorrect in many parts of the world, including Peru. Nevertheless, 16.7% of the students in the sample answered "yes" to this question and 59.3% disagreed. A surprising 23.9% marked the option "don't know/no opinion." Opting out of answering this question in an anonymous survey certainly indicates that these students at least entertain the possibility that some "races" are superior to others. In the breakdowns by subgroups, the answers of "*blancos*" stand out: 26.7% of "*blancos*" agreed that there were "races" that are superior. Of course, "*blancos*" benefit the most from the prevalent ideas on "racial" hierarchies in Peru.

Another question directly addressed the issue of alleged "*blanco*" superiority: "Do you think the majority of Peruvians would like to be '*blancos*'?" The results are once again very revealing though we should remember that "*blanco*" does not only refer to "race." Almost 40% of the students answered "yes," 36.4% "no," and 24.3% marked "don't know/no opinion." Clearly "wanting to be '*blanco*'" is an important aspect of the way a significant number of Peruvian youth think and feel about "race" and socio-economic status.

²² Three of these were not useful because of methodological problems.

"Racial," Ethnic and Cultural Stereotypes

"Racial" stereotyping is an inevitable part of the racist's "baggage." Ruiz (1988), in one of the few large empirical studies of attitudes toward people of African descent in the Americas²³ describes linkages between "race," culture, and behavior in Latin America:

According to common understanding, race has the attribute of producing culture; according to this reasoning a particular race will invariably produce a certain type of culture (Ruiz 1988:94)

Physical features and skin color, more than anything else, are key elements used by the racist to classify his victim and attribute to him inferior hereditary qualities, both physical and cultural, belonging to the racial group among whom the racist situates his victim. (Ruiz 1988:96)

Among the virtues of this quote, is that it makes clear that racism is not a victimless crime. While it is possible to be a racist without practicing discrimination, generally racism is an attitude that leads to behavior that causes pain or harm to someone.

The first question (no. 34) on "racial" stereotypes asked students: "Do you think that there are characteristics associated with 'racial' and/or cultural groups?"²⁴ The majority of students (58.9%) answered "yes" to this question and 17.8% marked the "don't know/no opinion" option. A higher percentage of "popular sector" students (62.3%) than "elite" students (55.6%) answered "yes," confirming the tendency observed earlier for "popular sector" students to have a more biologically deterministic view of "race."

Question 34 was a lead-in to a "table of characteristics" of "racial" and/or cultural groups (Question 35). Students who answered "yes" to Question 34, were asked to fill in the table, choosing among 19 characteristics that could be applied to 8 different "racial," ethnic or cultural groups (in addition to the categories used in other questions, Jews and Arabs were added). The characteristics listed in the table include some of the most prevalent stereotypes in Peru.

Filling out the table required considerable effort on the part of the students and thus including it in the questionnaire was a bit of a gamble. However, 61.5% of the students in the sample checked off characteristics on the table, a sufficient percentage to draw conclusions regarding stereotyping. Of those who filled out the table, 64.4% were high school students, primarily from the high schools located in "popular sector" districts.

A certain amount of protest against "excessive" stereotyping was expressed by some of the students. Most importantly, 22.8% of those filling out the table checked off one or several characteristics for every group (in addition to checking off other characteristics for fewer than all groups). By far the most popular characteristic for this kind of treatment was "intelligent" The second most popular characteristic treated in this way was "vivo" (28.9%). "Vivo" is a very Peruvian expression describing someone who is

²³ Ruiz's study was done with children in Costa Rica and Panama.

²⁴ For methodological considerations regarding this question see Drzewieniecki (Forthcoming A).

clever and finds ways of getting what he/she wants by doing things that are somewhat (or considerably) unethical, unfair, or even perhaps illegal, but non-violent.²⁵

Tables 4 and 5 (Appendix) show the most popular stereotypes of the major "racial," ethnic or cultural groups²⁶ referred to in this study, with a breakdown by sex and "racial"/ethnic self-identification. The results provide material for a very rich, in-depth analysis. Limitations of space do not permit a full analysis here.

"Blancos." According to the students who filled out the questionnaire, "*blancos*" are the most attractive and the luckiest. They are also "liars," "*vivos*," "exploiters," and "overbearing and arrogant" [*prepotentes*].

When we look at the breakdown by sex and by "racial"/ethnic self-identification, all groups agree that "*blancos*" are the most attractive. This is an unhealthy result for young people in a country where the vast majority of the population is not "white" by European standards. In addition, the perception that "*blancos*" are so attractive clearly illustrates the "racial" component of "*blancos*."

Tables 4 and 5 also reveal that despite the favorable place of "*blancos*" on the Peruvian "racial" hierarchy, there also some very negative stereotypes associated with this group. These stereotypes are primarily related to the perception that "*blancos*" exploit the rest of the population and lord it over everyone and, secondarily, to the various emotions that the perception of such behaviors engender in those who feel they are among the exploited and mistreated. Portocarrero (1993) and Callirgos (1993) comment extensively on the contrast between the desirability of "white" skin and physical features, on the one hand, and the abuse and exploitation associated with the "*blancos*."

The negative stereotypes of "*blancos*" and the apparently positive stereotype "lucky" need to be analyzed together with two positive characteristics not generally attributed to "*blancos*": hard workers and honest. Another question in the survey asked students if they agreed with the statement that "The "*blancos*" in Peru had been successful thanks to their exploitation of other sectors of society." Among all students, 47.8% agreed with this statement. This result tends to confirm that a significant percentage of students see "*blancos*" as exploiters. The image of "exploiter" carries with it the idea that the success "*blancos*" is not based on hard work but rather on the exploitation of others. The idea that "*blancos*" as well as everyone who is rich and/or powerful does not work hard but gets others to work for them is common in Peru (e.g. Callirgos 1993:167; Portocarrero 1993:200). The stereotype "lucky" [*suertudo*] also reinforces the idea that the success of "*blancos*" is not due to their own efforts. The stereotypes of liars, "*vivos*," and being "overbearing and arrogant" [*prepotente*] are also associated with both exploitation of others and getting ahead in ways that are not quite legitimate.

²⁵ Peruvian sociologist Guillermo Rochabrun (Personal Communication) comments that "The *vivo* moves in an environment where others are not *vivos*. But there can also be a competition of *vivezas*." In this study, one student wrote on his questionnaire "no one is *vivo* because there is always someone more [*vivo*] than you" – a typical opinion among those who have a pessimistic attitude toward their fellow-Peruvians. Rochabrun adds that "In the conduct of the *vivo* there is an element of surprise, of unexpectedness, that can consist in breaking a rule or else following regulations with great exactitude."

²⁶ "*Mestizos*" were not included since this is the most neutral category and it was thought that there are fewer stereotypes of "*mestizos*." However, evidence from this study indicates that in the future, researchers would be wise to include this category when testing for stereotypes.

When we look at "*blancos*" through their own eyes (Table 4), they agree with the majority of students that they are the most attractive, lucky, *vivos* (along with "*cholos*"), exploiters, and "overbearing and arrogant" [*prepotentes*]. However, "*blancos*" do not think they tell the most lies and they do think that they are the most intelligent, the best businesspeople (together with "*chinos*"), and the best lovers (along with "*negros*")!

"**Cholos.**" The stereotypes most often associated with "*cholos*" by the students who filled out the "table of characteristics" are: "sentimental," "strong," "ignorant," "hard workers," and "lazy." The adjective "sentimental" is a positive one in Peru and refers to sensitivity and tenderness. In this study, "*cholos*" and "*andinos*" are seen as the most sentimental by the various subgroups of students. It is possible that in this case, both categories refer to the same group of people: indigenous people and/or their children or grandchildren. The indigenous people of the Andes are known for their sad and tender songs and for waxing sentimental.

Other positive perceptions of "*cholos*" include "strong" and "hard workers." Given the perception that those on top of the social scale do not work hard, it is hardly surprising that those "racial," ethnic or cultural groups that tend to be lower on the economic scale are thought of as hard workers and strong. Reading across on Table 4, we note that two other groups often perceived as low on the Peruvian social hierarchy, "*negros*" and "*andinos*," are also perceived as "strong."

Two negative stereotypes were attributed to "*cholos*": "lazy," and "ignorant." The apparent mystery that "*cholos*" could be seen as both the hardest working and the laziest is explained by the fact that 80.4% of those who thought "*cholos*" were lazy were "elite" students while 67.3% of those who thought "*cholos*" were hard workers were from "popular sectors."

When we look at "*cholos*" through their own eyes, we see that they see themselves as the most "intelligent," "wise," good business people (along with "*chinos*"), hard workers, and liars (along with "*blancos*"). These results help us to further understand how students who have accepted an identity as "*cholos*" see the positive characteristics of their own group. In the eyes of "*blancos*," on the other hand, "*cholos*" stand out in three categories: lazy, liars, and "*vivos*" (along with "*blancos*"). In other words, the "*blancos*" in this sample do not have any positive stereotypes of those they call "*cholos*."

"**Andinos.**" According to the students who filled out the "table of characteristics," "*andinos*" stand out among the other groups for only one characteristic: honesty. This is related to the perception that indigenous people from the Andes are particularly honest, unlike perhaps, the "*cholos*" who have been transformed by city life into "*vivos*."

"**Negros.**" The stereotypes of "*negros*" evident in Table 4 unfortunately confirm the stereotypes found in other studies (Estupiñán Maldonado 2001:2; Hevia 2001; Montoya Uriarte 2002). "*Negros*" are considered the most "lively [*alegres*] and amusing," the best athletes, and thieves. The idea that "*negros*" are thieves is so ingrained that Afro-Peruvians, and especially males, suffer its consequences in their daily lives in Lima (Drzewieniecki Forthcoming B). This stereotype seems to have little basis in fact. Crime statistics by "race" are not kept in Peru, but research by the Afro-Peruvian NGO ASONEDH demonstrates that from 1994 to 1999 not one Afro-Peruvian belonged to any Peru's most dangerous criminal gangs.²⁷

²⁷ Hermes Palma, ASONEDH (Personal Communication).

"*Chinos*." "*Chinos*" are portrayed as the most intelligent, wise, and best businesspeople (Table 5). At a discussion of the results at the Peruvian NGO EDUCA, which works with public school teachers, the staff thought that the "wisdom" attributed to "*chinos*" has to do with the idea of "oriental wisdom," acupuncture, and the sophisticated martial arts originating in Asia. In addition, they noted that in "popular sector" neighborhoods, people often ask "*chinos*" where to locate their businesses because of "*chinos*" perceived business acumen.

Racism and Discrimination

Twenty-two questions in the survey dealt directly with racism and discrimination. Students were asked to answer general questions on these issues and then to specify who discriminates against whom and where "racial" discrimination takes place. There were also several questions about their own experiences with "racial" discrimination. Finally, two questions inquired if the students considered themselves to be racists and if they ever discriminated on the basis of "race." The answers to all these questions reveal that "racial" discrimination or "race"-based aggression is part of the daily lives of many Peruvian young people.

Before reviewing the results of this part of the survey, some general background on the modalities and impact of racism and discrimination in Peru are in order. The analysis above has already touched upon some types of discrimination, including in hiring and the media. In this section, several other common manifestations of racism will be reviewed. However, readers should keep in mind that despite the evidence in this study that racism is a prevalent and structural problem in Peru, Peruvians of all "races" and ethnic groups currently are to be found (to varying degrees) in all important areas of endeavor and in political office on the local, regional, and national levels. In addition, in daily life, Peruvians of many "races" and cultural groups do find harmonious ways of getting along (Montoya Uriarte 2002). In fact, the very fluidity of borders in defining "racial," ethnic or cultural groups leads to more easy going relationships than exist in the U.S. between "whites" and Afro-Americans.

Students were asked directly: "Does racism exist in Peru?" An overwhelming majority answered "yes" (97.7%) and there were no significant differences by SES, sex, or "racial"/ethnic self-identification. This result was higher than that found in previous surveys and polls. For example, the Swedish children's agency Rädde Barnen surveyed 11 to 17 year-olds in 1993 and found that 65.3% said that there was racism in Peru. More recently, the polling agency Datum, in March 2001²⁸ found that 84% of all Peruvians think that racism exists, 14% say it does not, and 2% don't know or have no opinion.

Students were also asked to rate several of the "racial," ethnic or cultural groups named in the survey according to their degree of racism.²⁹ When we combine the results for "medium" and "high" degrees of racism, we find that "*negros*" were rated as the most racist (68.2% of the students said their degree of racism was "medium" or "high"), followed by "*blancos*" (60.6%) and "*cholos*" (63.0%). The group rated least racist was "*chinos*" (49.8%). A larger percentage of males (71.3%) than females (65.5%) thought

²⁸ Obtained directly from Datum.

²⁹ The question was phrased: "Indicate the level of racism of the following groups: *andinos*, '*blancos*', '*negros*'/'*zambos*', *amazónicos*, '*cholos*', '*chinos*'."

that "*negros*" are the most racist. Those identifying themselves as "*blancos*" and "*mestizos*" (who together make up 65.3% of the sample) were the groups most convinced that "*negros*" are the most racist. This result is unexpected and cannot be accounted for by previous research. The only clue is Callirgos' 1995 study that found considerable "race"-based conflict between Afro-Peruvian and "*cholo*" youth in "popular sector" high schools. In addition, it is possible that the somewhat stronger "racial" and/or cultural identity of Afro-Peruvians (in comparison to similar identities of other Peruvians) may lead young people to think Afro-Peruvians are more "racist." Paradoxically, the strong distinction that non-Afro-Peruvians make between themselves and Afros as well as the prevalent discrimination against Afro-Peruvians may have led to an Afro-Peruvian identity that other groups then perceive as too strong and self-affirming (even though this identity is somewhat weaker than Afro identities in Latin American countries with larger Afro populations). We can hypothesize that this possible perception of a "too strong" Afro identity is related to the normal hesitancy of Peruvians to identify themselves "racially," which is based partially on weak identities but also on the idea that it is in "bad taste" (or perhaps, "racist"³⁰) to affirm such an identity. However, Peruvians who are unmistakably "Afro" cannot escape this identity, cannot easily hide behind the label "*mestizo*."

Students were first asked about discrimination on the basis of "facial features" in the early part of the questionnaire (Question 18).³¹ A large majority of all students (88.2%) said this kind of discrimination exists in Peru. This result is similar to that obtained by the Peruvian polling agency Analistas & Consultores in November 2002, which found that 92.8% of the residents of Lima and next-door Callao think there is discrimination against "*cholos*" in Peru.³²

Question 38 asked students to select the group that most discriminates against people of other "races." The choices were: "*blancos*," "*cholos*," "*negros/zambos*," "everybody discriminates equally," and "don't know/no opinion." By far the most popular choice was "*blancos*" (67.3%) but 20.3% of the students said they thought that "everybody discriminates equally," an indication that a significant number of students believe discrimination is pervasive and practiced to one extent or another by everyone.

If we compare the results from question 18 and 38, we can conclude that while the majority of students think that there are racists among all the groups in Peru, most are convinced that "*blancos*" are the group that most acts on its racism. Given that "*blancos*" (understood as both "race" and socio-economic status) are the most privileged group in Peru, their position of power gives them the means with which to discriminate and, in addition, their actions against members of less privileged groups are more likely to be perceived as racist. "*Negros*," on the other hand, though perceived as highly "racist," are overwhelmingly poor and thus rarely discriminate from a position of power, though they can, of course, mistreat those of different "races" (still, the students in this survey

³⁰ The content of discussions by commentators in the media in the last years also supports the idea that some Peruvians believe that mentioning "race" or talking about "racial" discrimination is, in and of itself, racist (Drzewieniecki Forthcoming A).

³¹ The question was phrased: "Do you think that people are treated differently in Peru according to their facial features?"

³² Noti-Aprodeh (Peruvian e-mail news service), November 12, 2004, access number: 2002-03718.

conclude that "*negros*" do not do so frequently). In any case, these results do suggest that it is worth investigating just what Peruvian youth mean by "racism."

The students also were asked which group was "treated the best" and which group was "treated the worst" in Peru. The choices provided were "*blancos*," "people with Andean features," "people with African features," "everyone is treated equally," and "don't know/no opinion." "African features" turned out to be an unfortunate choice of words since evidence indicates that some students understood "African" as foreign and not Afro-Peruvian. Despite this problem, the two questions did produce interesting results. Students overwhelmingly (82.5%) expressed the opinion that "*blancos*" are treated the best. At the same time, 64.1% of the students said that "people with Andean features" were treated the worst. Still, a significant minority (21.6%) answered that "*blancos*" were treated the worst – 63.6% were from "popular sectors" and 36.4% "elites." This result is unexpected but not difficult to explain. First, the very privileges of "*blancos*" make them the target of low-level aggression (primarily on the streets of Lima) by non-"*blancos*" (e.g., Denegri 1991). Second, as Callirgos (1995) discovered, for male "popular sector" high school students, "white" is not necessarily the best skin color to have. For these young people, "white" skin color is associated with physical weakness and the favored skin color for a real "macho" is browner.

When the results on discrimination against "*blancos*" were discussed with audiences in two Peruvian NGOs, there was a certain amount of resistance to the idea that discrimination against or mistreatment of "*blancos*" was worth considering. However, it is important to remember that all ill treatment on the basis of "race," ethnicity, and culture (or for any other reason for that matter) can be painful to those on the receiving end. To think that the pain of a "*blanco*" student is somehow less important than the pain of a "*cholo*" or "*negro*" student flirts with prejudice. In addition, the problem for Peru is mutual discrimination, resentment, and mistreatment. Just as importantly, a solution to racism and discrimination can only be found by recognizing the concerns and feelings the members of all groups.

The next question on discrimination inquired where "racial" discrimination takes place. Students were provided with a list of eight possible locations or aspects of their lives³³ and asked to check off all that applied. "In the street" was the most popular choice: 71.3% indicated that discrimination was in evidence in street encounters (Lima is a city where the majority of people walk or take public transportation although the richer people get, the more likely they are to use their own cars and drive their children everywhere they need to go). The second most selected option was "at work" (68.4%). As mentioned earlier, many Peruvian young people have an awareness of job discrimination by "race" (requiring "*buena presencia*," for example).³⁴

Two other answers checked off by students in this question also deserve comment. First, 64.7% of students said that there was "racial" discrimination "at school or college" (55.8% of "popular sector" students and 76.9% of "elite" students checked off this choice). Second, while "in families" was a less popular choice, 20.3% of the students said that there is discrimination on the basis of "race" in families. This statistic confirms

³³ The choices were: "in the street," "at school or college," "in families," "at work," "in government offices," "in private businesses," "in places where people go to have fun," and "in the media."

³⁴ Ñopo, Saavedra and Torero (2002) found significant correlations between earnings and ethnicity.

information gathered by the author when teaching at a Lima university and in interviews with Afro-Peruvians (Drzewieniecki Forthcoming B).

The next set of questions asked if students had experienced discrimination themselves. First, Question 46 inquired if they had ever been "mistreated"³⁵ or discriminated against because of their "race" or cultural group. If they answered "yes," they were then asked to answer four questions (46a-46d) about how, where, and by whom they had been discriminated. The results are among the most important in this study. Table 6 (Appendix) shows that 39.8% of students said that they had been discriminated against and a further 10.6%, though they answered "no," went on to check off where or by whom they had been discriminated against in questions 46a-46d. Thus, a total 50.4% admitted, in one way or another, that they had suffered discrimination. This is a very worrisome.

Table 7 (Appendix) shows the breakdown by sex and SES for Question 46. More "popular sector" students (65.6%) reported being discriminated against than "elite" students (40%). The breakdown by sex demonstrates that males (64.5%) are much more prone to experience discrimination than females (42.5%). Callirgos (1995) reveals one of the most important reasons for this, namely that among "popular sector" male high school students, "racial" epithets are part of their toolbox of strategies employed in male rivalries. Another contributing factor to the higher percentage of reported experiences of discrimination among male students is that they spend more time in "the street" than females and, as noted above, "the street" is the principal scene of conflict in which "race" plays a role. Finally, Table 7 shows that the most sheltered of all the groups – "elite" females – are least likely to experience discrimination or mistreatment based on "race."

Those students who reported experiencing discrimination were asked to check off: a) what types of discrimination they had encountered, b) where they had experienced discrimination, c) what kinds of people discriminated against them, and finally, d) the facial features of those doing the discriminating.

Among the forms of discrimination listed in Question 46a,³⁶ the most frequently chosen were "practical jokes" (*bromas pesadas*) (51.5%) and "unpleasant looks" (48.5%), followed by "insults in the street" (17.7%) and "I wasn't addressed with respect" (13.8%). Female students reported "practical jokes" and "unpleasant looks" significantly more frequently than male students. On the other hand, "insults on the street" and "I wasn't addressed with respect" were reported about twice as frequently by male students as by females.

Question 46b asked students to indicate the places where they were mistreated.³⁷ The answers to this question confirm the high degree of "race"-based discrimination or "mistreatment" that occurs in the street life of all the students – 45.9% reported discrimination on the street, of these 65.6% were males and 57.4% were from "popular

³⁵ The word "mistreated" was included because the Peruvian teachers and students consulted thought that some students would not be familiar with the word "discriminated."

³⁶ The list was prepared with the help of students and educators. The choices included: "insults in the street," "practical jokes," "unpleasant looks," "I wasn't paid the same as others where I work," "I wasn't addressed with respect," "teachers didn't treat me the same as other students," and "I wasn't allowed to enter certain places."

³⁷ The places listed were "in the street," "at school or college," "in my family," "at work," "in government offices," "in private businesses," and "in places where people go to have fun."

sectors." The second most popular answer was "at school or college," checked off by 39.8% of all students reporting discrimination, with the majority of these once again from "popular sectors" (64.2%).

Question 46c asked students to identify the type of person who had discriminated against them.³⁸ Two results stand out: 44.4% of those who answering this question checked off "unknown people in the street" and 28.9% reported that their friends had discriminated against them. While discrimination from unknowns is unpleasant, discrimination by friends must be even more painful. Of those reporting the latter source of discrimination, the overwhelming majority (82.1%) were high school students from "popular sectors," once again demonstrating that "popular sector" young people must not only deal with discrimination by "elites," but also with manifestations of racism from other "popular sector" youth. It is also important to note that while "popular sector" youth may suffer more discrimination from friends, the evidence shows that this also happens among "elites."

Question 46d asked those students who had reported discrimination to identify the physical features of those who had discriminated against them. This question directly addressed the issue of "race." As demonstrated above, all of the Peruvian categories related to "race" also have cultural or socio-economic components. Question 46d was intended to filter out these other meanings and to find out if the students identified their "discriminators" by their "racial" features. Students could chose one or more categories from the following: "*cholos*," "*negros*," and "*blancos*." Of the 161 students who reported experiencing discrimination in Question 46, 95% answered Question 46d, indicating that they had little difficulty in identifying those who discriminated against them by "race."

The majority of these students (62.5%) indicated that "*blancos*" had discriminated against them; 39.1% reported discrimination by "*cholos*" and 18.0% said that "*negros*" had discriminated against them. There were significant differences by SES. Among the "elite" students answering this question, 52.0% reported discrimination by "*cholos*" in comparison to 30.8% of "popular sector" students.³⁹ When it came to "*blancos*," 64.1% of "popular sector" and 60.0% of "elite"⁴⁰ students reported discrimination by this group. The most likely explanation is that the "elite" students reporting discrimination by "*blancos*" are themselves darker skinned or have more Andean, African or Asian features than those who discriminate against them.

More generally, the answers to Question 46d broken down by SES, sex, and "racial"/ethnic self-identification confirm that to one degree or another all "racial" groups in Peru are perceived as engaging in discrimination.

Finally, students were asked "When you think about it, would you say you are somewhat racist?"⁴¹ and "Do you think you practice racial discrimination?" Approximately half (49.4%) of the 320 students who filled out questionnaire admitted to being "somewhat racist." There was a significant difference by SES. While 61.0% of

³⁸ The choices were "unknown people in the street," "police," "military," "government officials," "security guards or doorkeepers," "employees or owners of private businesses," "students in my school or college," "teachers," and "members of my family."

³⁹ 31.3% of all "popular sector" students in the sample.

⁴⁰ 18.8% of all "elite" students in the sample.

⁴¹ The question was phrased in this way to encourage responses. It was suspected that if they had been "Are you a racist?" many more students would have answered "no." The phrasing introduced the possibility that one could be "a little bit racist" but "still not such a bad person."

"elite" students said they were "somewhat racist," only 42.4% of "popular sectors" made the same admission. This result seems to contradict the answers discussed above demonstrating that "popular sector" students have a more "biological" conception of "race" and that there is a relatively high level of mutual discrimination among "popular sector" students, especially males. Based on this evidence, readers may have drawn the conclusion that "popular sector" students are relatively more racist than "elite" students. However, the students themselves seem to have a different interpretation. Perhaps many are not conscious of their racism. This might be the result of having received less education on racism at home and at school. However, there is another reason that is probably more important. Young people and many other Peruvians tend to see racism as something that flows "top down" in the imagined "racial" and socio-economic hierarchies. Thus, many "popular sector" students may think that if they are positioned low on this hierarchy, they cannot be racist. In addition, since they are relatively powerless, they may be convinced that they are not in a position to discriminate. Nevertheless, the evidence in this study indicates that "racial" discrimination is by no means solely the province of "elites."

In the breakdown by "racial"/ethnic self-identification, we find that "*blancos*" and "*chinos*"/Japanese were the most likely to admit to being somewhat racist (66.7% each) followed by "*mestizos*" and "others" (57.1% and 42.9%, respectively). Those who identified themselves as "*andinos*," "*negros*," "*cholos*," and "*amazónicos*" – in other words, those who are perceived as being the least prestigious groups – were the least likely to think they are racists (less than 30% each).

The answers to the question "Do you discriminate on the basis of 'race'?", show that fewer students admitted to actually discriminating than admitted to being "somewhat racist" (43.4% in comparison to 49.4%). This is not particularly surprising since it is possible to be racist without actually practicing discrimination. There was very little difference by SES and sex with the exception of "popular sector" males, 55.9% of whom admit discriminating. It is interesting that in the breakdown by SES and sex, "elite" males were the group most likely to admit being "somewhat racist" while "popular sector" males were the most likely to admit actually practicing "racial" discrimination. If we consider what has been learned in the course of the analysis, these results make sense: "popular sector" males use "difference"⁴² as a weapon in their competition with each other while "elite" males feel superior to those with darker skins or less "white" facial features than their own, but their upbringing sanctions overt actions based on these ideas (though, of course, they may sometimes indulge in them anyway).

CONCLUSIONS

The most important conclusion of this study is that no matter what some Peruvian academics and social commentators may say, "race" is a category that makes a great deal of sense to Peruvian youth. While culture and socio-economic status matter, young people are aware of skin color and facial features and many perceive an imagined "racial hierarchy" in Peru running approximately from "black" to "white." The students surveyed also think that racism and "racial" discrimination are rampant in Peru; not only that,

⁴² Juan Carlos Callirgos (1995) speaks of the "horror of difference" in "popular sector" high schools.

almost half of those surveyed report that they themselves have been discriminated against because of their "race."

Members of all the "racial," ethnic, and/or cultural groups in Peru are subject to discrimination and other manifestations of racism. At the same, there are people among all groups who themselves engage discrimination and racist acts against members of one or more of the groups they see as different from themselves.

The study provides very interesting information on various terms referring to the imagined "racial," ethnic and/or cultural groups in Peru, how students perceive these groups and how they position themselves within or among the groups. First, this survey confirms previous findings that Peruvian youth are uncomfortable in defining themselves according to "racial," ethnic and cultural categories (Callirgos 1991; Portocarrero 1993). The methodology employed – the placement of two questions in different locations in the questionnaire, the first inquiring about "ancestries" and the other requiring a single "racial"/ethnic self-identification – was highly successful in demonstrating that students from various "racial" or ethnic groups will sometimes choose different groups to identify with, according to criteria of their own.

The category "*blanco*" is, for better or worse, the most important one in any analysis of "race" and racism in Peru. When the topic of racism comes up, many Peruvians will say that racism doesn't really exist in Peru because "*la plata blanquea*" (money whitens). This study confirms the validity of this statement to some extent, since it clearly shows that in the minds of Peruvian young people, "*blanco*" can refer to "race," culture, socio-economic status or any combination of the three. However, the question remains why money should "whiten" rather than make one "greener," "brownier," "redder," or "blacker,"? Unfortunately the answer is that for too many Peruvians, "white" is the best "race." Given that this is an unachievable goal for most, earning a lot of money or improving social status turns into a kind of "whiteness" that is within reach. Nevertheless, the high value placed on "white" as "race" is confirmed by the answers to several questions in the survey. For example, for the majority of students "*blancos*" are the "most attractive." Furthermore, 62.5% of the students who said that they had experienced discrimination reported that those who discriminated against them had the facial features of "*blancos*."

While "whiteness" is something that over a 33% of the students think that all Peruvians aspire to, the students' opinion of those they call "*blancos*" are not entirely positive. For the majority of students who filled out the stereotypes table, "*blancos*" are also exploiters, liars, "*vivos*," and "overbearing and arrogant" [*prepotentes*]. In these stereotypes, ideas about "race" and "culture" combine with more general perceptions about the political and economic order in Peru. These stereotypes paint an image of a "ruling class" (the broadest meaning of "*blanco*") whose achievements are based on exploitation of others and not their own hard work, which acts arrogantly and dishonestly, and, by implication, cares little about the rest of Peruvians. There is some preliminary evidence (which merits further research) that the "racial" component of these associations between the "ruling class" or "elites" and "whiteness" spills over into the treatment of "white" skinned Peruvians of any class.

The term "*cholo*" has been a negative term for decades. However, this study indicates it is now becoming an acceptable self-identifier for at least some students, mostly but not only from "popular sectors." There is also evidence that most students

have a clear idea of who is referred to as "*cholos*": in the stereotypes table, opinions on the characteristics of "*cholos*" were clearly split between "popular sectors" (who attributed characteristics such as "hard workers" to "*cholos*") and "elites" who labeled them as lazy.

The term "*andino*," which is not usually used in Lima as an identifier, did appeal to students as a way of indicating their indigenous background, given that not a single acceptable self-identifier exists for the majority of Andean Peruvian Indians (Valdivia Vargas 2002). Finally, "*mestizo*" continues to be the favorite self-identifier but its popularity has fallen somewhat in comparison to previous studies.

None of the major studies of racism in Peru pay much attention to Afro-Peruvians. This is unfortunate since, as this study shows, an accurate understanding of how Peruvians understand "race" is impossible without taking to account this minority group. According to the students surveyed, "*negro*" is the most "racial" of the terms Peruvians use to refer to "racial," ethnic or cultural groups. The students also demonstrated a clear reluctance to admit any Afro heritage and applied the usual stereotypes to Afros: "lively and amusing," good athletes, and thieves though "popular sector" students did note that "*negros*" are hard workers. In general terms, the image that emerges is that for the students, "black" is the least desirable "race," the lowest rung on the racial hierarchy.

The views of the students on racism and "racial" discrimination are the most dramatic results in this study. The evidence presented demonstrates without a doubt that Peruvian young people consider racism and "racial" discrimination to be serious problems that affect them in their everyday lives. While those at the top of the "racial" hierarchy as perceived by Peruvians – "*blancos*" – are viewed as the primary culprits, the results show that members of all "racial," ethnic, and/or cultural groups in Peru discriminate and none is entirely free of racism. The results also demonstrate that "racial" discrimination takes place in a wide variety of settings and anyone can be its victim, even when they are the most privileged members of Peruvian society.⁴³

This study replicates and confirms the results of Juan Carlos Callirgos' 1995 study regarding racism among "popular sector" high school students.⁴⁴ The results of the present study show that "racial" discrimination plays a role in strategies used by young "popular sector" males in their competition with each other. In this study, there are also some suggestive results regarding female students (see Drzewieniecki Forthcoming A).

This study demonstrates that "the street" is the most important setting for low-intensity conflict between individuals, who may or may not know each other, in which "racial" strategies play a role. Callirgos (1991:215) notes:

In contrast to the clarity of people who are older, youth express their prejudices in different ways. Although there is no desire to appear racist, racism comes to light in situations of conflict, when censure mechanisms are low: in insults, in violent situations or practical jokes or humor.

⁴³ Valcarcel's study (1974:145-146) – the only other large survey on discrimination in Peru – produced similar results.

⁴⁴ No studies have tested for any role that "race" may play in conflicts between "elite" males.

In addition to "racial" comments made in situations of conflict (and there is no one who lives in Lima who has not heard one of these on many occasions⁴⁵) other "racial" insults or comments are made without any pre-existing conflict. In the case of Afro-Peruvians, sexually charged comments are often made to Afro-Peruvian women, based on stereotypes regarding their sexuality or their bodies. Afro-Peruvian young men (and, indeed, little boys) also have negative "racial" comments directed at them by people they do not know, identified by Afros as "*cholos*" (Drzewieniecki Forthcoming B).

If "the street" is the main scene of conflict or situations in which "race" plays a negative role, virtually no important area of the lives of many of the young people surveyed is entirely free of the danger of encountering racism or "racial" discrimination. They find discrimination in institutions, in stores, at work, and in some of the places they go to have fun. Not even their schools and universities are free of "racial" discrimination by students or even, by teachers. Most sadly, some students are also discriminated on the basis of "race" by their friends or family members (Drzewieniecki Forthcoming A).

Finally, in what is the most graphic illustration of racism and discrimination in this study, about half of the students in the survey admitted either to being "somewhat racist" or to actually practicing "racial" discrimination.

The richness of the results of this survey opens up many avenues for further research. For example, there are indications that more attention needs to be given to sub-groups of students such as children of migrants, residents of different districts of Lima where differing social dynamics may exist, Afro-Peruvians, Asian immigrant communities as well as different sectors of "elites" (for example, traditional Lima "elites," migrant "elites" from the provinces, emerging "elites," darker-skinned members of "elites"). In addition, more nuanced studies need to be done regarding differing attitudes on "race" among females and males. This study and Drzewieniecki (Forthcoming A) provide some suggestive results on these differences but much more research is necessary.

Finally, this research also provides some good news. Many students, through their answers to different questions in the survey, rejected racism and "racial" prejudices. Many others demonstrated an awareness of racism and its pernicious effects. While none of the educational institutions where the survey was conducted had implemented a formal racism education program, the teachers of approximately 70% of the students had discussed the subject with their students at some point. This survey demonstrates that more education on racism and discrimination needs to be undertaken by both public and private educational institution. The Peruvian government and Peruvian society as a whole also have an important role to play in stimulating a debate on racism and discrimination. It is essential to end the suffering racism causes and build self-esteem among Peruvian youth from all "racial," ethnic, cultural, and socio-economic groups.

⁴⁵ The most popular insult is "*cholo de mierda*" (freely translated: Shitty *cholo*).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Altamirano, Teofilo et al. 2003. Poverty Studies in Peru: Towards a More Inclusive Study of Exclusion. Economic & Social Research Council, Research Group on Wellbeing in Developing Countries.
- American Anthropological Association. 1998. Statement on "Race." <http://www.aaanet.org/stmts/racepp.htm>
- Ardito Vega, Wilfredo. 2004. ¿Sólo las mujeres blancas son madres felices? Ideemail (Publicación electrónica del Instituto de Defensa Legal, Lima) no. 361, 9 de junio.
- Asociación Laboral para el Desarrollo Adec/Atc. 1993. Cuestión de piel: Testimonios de racismo en el Perú. Lima.
- Callirgos, Juan Carlos. 1995. La discriminación en la socialización escolar. Lima: Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, PUCP.
- . 1993. En blanco y negro: El racismo: La cuestión del otro (y de uno). Lima: DESCO.
- . 1991. Identidades, estereotipos, tabú: El problema de las razas. Márgenes (Lima) no. 8: 211-230.
- De la Cadena, Marisol. 2000. Indigenous Mestizos: The Politics of Race and Culture in Cuzco, Peru, 1919-1991. Durham/London: Duke University Press.
- Degregori, Carlos Iván, C. Blondet, & N. Lynch. 1986. Conquistadores de un nuevo mundo. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
- Denegri, Francesca. 1991. Gringa machichi saca tus chichis pa' hacer cebiche. QueHacer (Lima) no. 128: 120-127.
- Drzewieniecki, Joanna. (Forthcoming A). [Expanded version of the current paper in Spanish].
- . (Forthcoming B). [Study of discrimination against Afro-Peruvians].
- Estupiñán Maldonado, Máximo. 2001. Los estereotipos raciales: o, las celdas que aprisionan la mentalidad humana. Paper presented at the "Foro: Como consumimos "lo negro" en el Perú. Estereotipos raciales y discurso de los medios de comunicación", PROMUDEH, November 8-9, Lima.
- Flores Galindo, Alberto. 1988. Buscando un Inca. 3rd ed. Lima: Instituto de Apoyo Agrario/Editorial Horizonte.
- Hevia Garrido Lecca, Julio. 2001. Los lugares de los negro y los negros del lugar. Paper presented at the "Foro: Como consumimos "lo negro" en el Perú. Estereotipos raciales y discurso de los medios de comunicación", PROMUDEH, November 8-9 de noviembre, Lima.
- Instituto Cuánto. 2002. Encuesta Nacional de Hogares sobre Medición de Niveles de Vida (ENNIV). Lima
- Kogan, Liuba. 2000. ¿El número uno es usted? Monitoreo de mensajes publicitarios comerciales en la TV de señal abierta de julio de 1998 a julio de 1999. Lima: DEMUS, Estudio para la Defensa de los Derechos de la Mujer. Mimeo.
- Luciano Huapaya, José Carlos and Joanna Drzewieniecki. 2002. "Conversando con Pepe Luciano" [interview]. In José Carlos Luciano Huapaya, Los afroperuanos. Trayectoria y destino del Pueblo Negro en el Perú, Lima: Centro de Desarrollo Étnico – CEDET: 97-131.

- Manrique, Nelson. 1999. La piel y la pluma. Escritos sobre literatura, etnicidad y racismo. Lima: SUR/CIDIAG.
- Monge, Carlos. 1998. Tierra, institucionalidad e identidad en el Perú rural. In C.I. Degregori, ed., Comunidades: tierra, instituciones, identidad. Lima: DIAKONIA/CEPES/Asociación ARARIWA.
- Montoya, Rodrigo. 1998. Multiculturalidad y política. Derechos indígenas, ciudadanos y humanos. Lima: SUR-Casa de Estudios del Socialismo, Lima.
- Montoya Uriarte, Urpi. 2002. Entre fronteras: convivencia multicultural, Lima Siglo XX. Lima: CONCYTEC/SUR.
- Ñopo, Hugo, Jaime Saavedra, and Máximo Torrero. 2002. Ethnicity and Earnings in Urban Peru. Lima: GRADE. [mimeo]
- Oakley, Peter. 2001. Social Exclusion and Afro-Latinos: A Contemporary View. Inter-American Development Bank.
- Peirano, Luis and Abelardo Sánchez León. 1984. Risa y cultura en la televisión peruana. Lima: Desco. Cited in Callirgos 1991:215-216.
- Perú. Ministerio de Educación. 2004. Cifras de la Educación 1998-2003. Lima.
- Portocarrero, Gonzalo. 1993. Racismo y mestizaje. Lima: SUR.
- Protzel, Javier. 2001. Informe sobre tres talleres de debate acerca de la diversidad cultural en el Perú (FORTEPE-IDIC Universidad de Lima). [unpublished manuscript]
- Quijano, Aníbal. 1980. Dominación y cultura. Lo cholo y el conflicto cultural en el Perú. Lima: Mosca Azul Editores.
- Perú. Ministerio de Educación. 2004. Cifras de la Educación 1998-2003. Lima.
- Rádda Barnen. 1993. Voces con futuro: Sondeo Nacional opinión de niños y adolescentes. No. 15, Lima, July. Cited in Manrique 1999:27.
- Ruiz, María Teresa. 1988. Racismo: algo más que discriminación. San José, Costa Rica: Departamento Ecuménico de Investigaciones.
- Saavedra, Jaime, Máximo Torero, and Hugo Ñopo. 2002. Social Exclusion in Peru: An Invisible Wall. A Research Program on the Relationship Between Ethnicity and Economic and Social Outcomes. Lima: GRADE. [Report]
- Santos Anaya, Martín. 2003. La “cuestión racial”: un ajuste de cuentas en tiempos de globalización y postmodernidad. Debates en Sociología no. 27: 133-171.
- Twanama A., Walter. 1992. Cholear en Lima. Márgenes (Lima), no. 9: 206-240.
- Valcárcel C., Rosina. 1974. Universitarios y prejuicio hacía el negro en los universitarios de Lima. Lima: ESAN.
- Valdivia Vargas, Néstor (with the collaboration of Martín Moreno Vigo). 2002. Etnicidad, pobreza y exclusión social: la situación de la población indígena urbana en Perú. Informe Final. Reporte preparado para el Banco Mundial. Lima: GRADE.
- Wade, Peter. 1997. Race and Ethnicity in Latin America. London: Pluto Press.

APPENDIX

Table 1					
Multiple Ancestries (Question 8): Number of Ancestries Chosen With Single Ancestry Breakdown					
No. of Ancestries and Single Ancestry Breakdown	Percents: Single and Multiple Ancestries	Percents: Single Ancestries	SES % of Single and Multiple Ancestries		
			"Popular Sectors"	"Elites"	Total
1 ancestry	64.1%		48%	52%	100.0%
<i>"Negro"/</i>					
<i>"Zambo"</i>		2.4%	20%	80%	100.0%
<i>"Blanco"</i>		30.7%	17%	83%	100.0%
<i>"Cholo"</i>		27.8%	48%	51%	100.0%
<i>"Andino"</i>		15.6%	84%	16%	100.0%
<i>"Mestizo"</i> (written in under <i>"Other"</i>)		9.7%	75%	25%	100.0%
<i>"Chino" /</i> <i>Japanese</i>		1.9%	25%	75%	100.0%
<i>"Amazónico"</i>		1.0%	100%	0%	100.0%
<i>Others</i> ¹		12.2%	68%	32%	100.0%
2 ancestries	26.9%		52%	48%	100.0%
3 ancestries	5.0%		31%	65%	100.0%
4 ancestries	0.1%		67%	33%	100.0%
No data	3.1%		60%	40%	100.0%
Total	99.2% ²	101.3% ²			
¹ Includes regional, Arab, and European identities, references to color of skin (in 6 cases), and frivolous answers. ² More or less than 100.0% due to rounding					

Table 2
Single Self-Identification (Question 44)

"Racial"/Ethnic Self-Identification	Percent	SES			
		"Popular Sectors"		"Elites"	
		% of Self-Identification Category	% of "Popular Sector" Total	% of Self-Identification Category	% of "Elite" Total
"Negro"/"Zambo"	3.1%	50.0%	3.4%	50.0%	3.3%
"Blanco"	19.7%	28.6%	12.2%	71.4%	29.8%
"Cholo"	10.6%	58.8%	13.5%	41.2%	9.3%
"Andino"	5.0%	87.5%	9.5%	12.5%	1.3%
"Mestizo"	45.6%	50.0%	49.3%	50.0%	48.3%
"Chino" or Japanese	1.9%	66.7%	2.7%	33.3%	1.3%
"Amazónico"	0.9%	66.7%	1.4%	33.3%	0.7%
Others ¹	6.6%	57.1%	8.1%	42.9%	6.0%
No Data	6.6%	--		--	
Total	100.0%		100.1% ²		100.0%

¹ Includes regional, Arab, and European, identities, references to color of skin (in 6 cases), and frivolous answers.
² More than 100% due to rounding.

Table 3				
Transformations from Single Ancestry Chosen in Question 9 to Single Self-Identification Chosen in Question 44 ^{1,2}				
Single Ancestry chosen in Q. 9	"Racial"/Ethnic Identities Chosen in Q. 44	Q. 44 as % Percent of Original Single Ancestry		
		Transformation Percents	SES Breakdown	
			"Popular Sectors"	"Elites"
"Negro"/"Zambo"	"Negro"/"Zambo"	80%	50%	50%
	"Mestizo"	20%	0%	100%
"Amazónico"	"Amazónico"	100%	0%	100%
"Blanco"	"Blanco"	68%	16%	84%
	"Cholo"	2%	100%	0%
	"Mestizo"	21%	15%	85%
	Other	5%	0%	100%
	No data	3%	0%	100%
"Chino" or Japanese	No change			
"Andino"	"Andino"	38%	83%	17%
	"Blanco"	6%	100%	0%
	"Cholo"	6%	100%	0%
	"Mestizo"	34%	91%	9%
	"Negro"/"Zambo"	6%	0%	100%
	Other	3%	100%	0%
	No Data	7%	50%	50%
"Cholo"	"Cholo"	37%	57%	43%
	"Blanco"	4%	50%	50%
	"Chino"	2%	100%	0%
	"Mestizo"	51%	45%	55%
	"Negro"/"Zambo"	1%	100%	0%
	Other	4%	100%	0%
"Mestizo" (written in under "Other")	"Mestizo"	90%	78%	22%
	"Blanco"	5%	100%	0%
	Other	5%	100%	0%

¹ 205 of 320 cases.
² Some totals may be less than 100% due to rounding.

Table 4
Question 35: "Racial" and Cultural Stereotypes¹

Characteristics arranged by categories	All students	Sex		"Racial"/Ethnic Self-Identification				
		Females	Males	"Mestizo"	"Cholo"	"Andino"	"Blanco"	Others ²
PHYSICAL APPEARANCE								
Attractive	"Blancos"	"Blancos"	"Blancos"	"Blancos"	"Blancos"	"Blancos"	"Blancos"	"Blancos"
EMOTIVE OR SUBJECTIVE CHARACTERISTICS								
Lively (Alegres)/ Amusing	"Negros"	"Amazón-icos"	"Negros"	"Amazón-icos"	"Negros"	"Negros"	"Amazón-icos"	"Amazón-icos"
Sentimental	"Cholos"	"Andinos"	"Cholos"	"Cholos"	"Andinos"	"Andinos"	"Andinos"	"Cholos" & "Andi-nos" ³
Lucky (Suertudos)	"Blancos"	"Blancos"	"Blancos"	"Blancos"	"Blancos"	"Blancos"	"Blancos"	"Cholos"
PHYSICAL ABILITIES								
Strong	"Cholos"	"Negros"	"Cholos"	"Cholos"	"Andinos"	"Cholos"	"Negros"	"Cholos"
Good Athletes	"Negros"	"Negros"	"Negros"	"Negros"	"Negros"	"Negros"	"Negros"	"Negros"
INTELECTUAL ABILITIES / KNOWLEDGE								
Intelligent	"Chinos" ⁴	"Chinos"	"Chinos"	"Chinos"	"Cholos"	"Chinos"	"Blancos"	"Chinos"
Wise	"Chinos"	"Chinos"	"Chinos"	"Chinos"	"Chinos"	"Cholos"	"Chinos"	"Chinos"
Ignorant	"Cholos"	"Cholos"	"Cholos"	"Cholos"	"Andinos"	"Cholos" & "Amazón-icos"	"Andinos"	"Cholos"

Table 4
Question 35: "Racial" and Cultural Stereotypes¹

Characteristics arranged by categories	All students	Sex		"Racial"/Ethnic Self-Identification				
		Females	Males	"Mestizo"	"Cholo"	"Andino"	"Blanco"	Others ²
PRACTICAL ABILITIES								
Good businesspeople	"Chinos"	"Chinos"	Jews	"Chinos"	"Cholos" & "Chinos"	"Blancos"	"Blancos" & "Chinos"	"Chinos"
Good lovers⁵	"Amazón-icos"	"Amazón-icos"	"Negros"	"Negros" & "Blancos"	"Amazón-icos"	"Negros", "Blancos" & "Andinos"	"Negros" & "Blancos"	"Negros"
PRACTICAL BEHAVIOR								
Hard workers	"Cholos"	"Cholos"	"Cholos"	"Cholos"	"Cholos"	"Cholos" & "Andinos"	"Andinos" & "Chinos"	"Cholos"
Lazy	"Cholos"	"Blancos"	"Cholos" & "Negros"	"Blancos"	"Blancos"	"Blancos"	"Cholos"	"Blancos"
ETHICAL CHARACTERISTICS								
Honest	"Andinos"	"Andinos"	"Cholos"	"Andinos"	"Cholos"	"Cholos"	"Amazón-icos"	"Cholos" & "Amazón-icos"
Liars (mentirosos)	"Blancos"	"Cholos"	"Blancos"	"Cholos"	"Cholos" & "Blancos"	"Blancos"	"Cholos"	Blancos
Vivos⁶	"Blancos"	"Blancos"	"Blancos"	"Blancos"	"Chinos"	"Negros" & "Blancos"	"Cholos" & "Blancos"	"Blanco" & "Chinos"
Exploiters	"Blancos"	"Blancos"	"Blancos"	"Blancos"	"Blancos"	"Blancos"	"Blancos"	"Blancos"
Overbearing, Arrogant (prepotentes)	"Blancos"	"Blancos"	"Blancos"	"Blancos"	Jews	"Blancos" & Jews	"Blancos"	"Blancos"

Table 4 Question 35: "Racial" and Cultural Stereotypes ¹								
Characteristics arranged by categories	All students	Sex		"Racial"/Ethnic Self-Identification				
		Females	Males	"Mestizo"	"Cholo"	"Andino"	"Blanco"	Others ²
Thieves	"Negros"	"Negros"	"Negros"	"Negros"	"Negros"	"Blancos"	"Negros"	"Negros"

¹The "racial" or cultural groups included in the "table of characteristics" included: "Negros"/"Zambos," "Blancos," "Cholos," "Andinos," "Amazónicos," "Chinos," Jews, and Arabs.

² Includes those who classified themselves as "Negros"/"Zambos," "Amazónicos," "Chinos," and Japanese as well as foreign ethnic identities, religious and regional identities, etc.

³ Two groups in the same box indicates a tie.

⁴ The second most intelligent group, according to the students, were "Blancos."

⁵ This characteristic was not included in the high school questionnaire at the request of teachers.

⁶ "Vivo" describes someone who is clever and finds ways of getting what he/she wants by doing things that are somewhat (or considerably) unethical, unfair, or even perhaps illegal but non-violent.

Table 5 Principal Stereotypes Attributed to Major "Racial" or Cultural Groups in Peru (Column 1, Table 4)	
"Racial" or Cultural Groups	Stereotypes
"Negros"/"Zambos"	Lively (<i>alegres</i>), amusing; Good athletes; Thieves
"Blancos"	Attractive; Lucky; Liars; "Vivos"; Exploiters; Overbearing, Arrogant (<i>prepotentes</i>)
"Cholos"	Sentimental; Strong; Ignorant; Hard workers; Lazy
"Andinos"	Honest
"Amazónicos"	Good lovers*
"Chinos"	Intelligent; Wise; Good businesspeople
* This characteristic was only included in the questionnaire administered to college students.	

Table 6 Question 46: Have You Ever Been Mistreated ¹ or Discriminated Against Because of Your "Race" or Cultural Group?		
Answered "Yes" ¹	39.8%	39.8%
Answered "No"	55.9%	
Answered "No" but then checked off answers in Questions 46a-46d regarding how, where, and by whom they had been discriminated against		10.6%
SubTotal		50.4%
Answered "No" and did not answer Questions 46a-46d regarding where and by whom they had been discriminated against		
No data	4.4%	
Total	100.1% ²	
¹ The results for the choices "a few times," "once in a while," and "frequently" have been combined.		
² More than 100% due to rounding		

Table 7			
Question 46: Have You Ever Been Mistreated ¹ or Discriminated Against Because of Your "Race" or Cultural Group? ^{2,3}			
Breakdown by Sex, SES, and "Racial"/Ethnic Self-Identification			
	Yes	No	Total
Sex:			
Females	42.5%	57.5%	100.0%
Males	64.5%	35.5%	100.0%
SES:			
"Popular Sectors"	65.6%	34.4%	100.0%
Females	59.8%	40.2%	100.0%
Males	73.4%	26.6%	100.0%
"Elites"	40.0%	60.0%	100.0%
Females	23.8%	76.2%	100.0%
Males	56.8%	43.2%	100.0%

¹ The word "mistreated" was included because the Peruvian students and educators consulted thought that some students might not be familiar with the word "discriminated."

² The alternatives provided the students were: "never," "a few times," "once in a while," and "frequently." The results from the last three answers were added together for this table.

³ This table includes the answers of the 10.6% who answered "no" to Question 46 but went ahead and answered Questions 46a-46d regarding how, where, and by whom they had been discriminated against (Table 6).