



# TRABAJO INFANTIL DOMESTICO



## Percepciones de niñas, niños y adolescentes

San Juan de Miraflores - Lima, Perú



# CHILD DOMESTIC LABOR

**Perceptions of girls, boys and adolescents<sup>1</sup>**

San Juan de Miraflores – Lima, Perú

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<sup>1</sup> La Asociación Grupo de Trabajo Redes thanks Greg Ritter for the translation of this study.

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## PRESENTATION

The present study forms one aspect of the “Protecting child domestic workers from abuse and exploitation” project (2008-2012) that is coordinated by Anti-Slavery International (ASI) and made possible with funding from the Department for International Development (DIFD) and the OAK Foundation, of the United Kingdom.

This project is worked by six organizations: Defensa de los Niños Internacional – DNI (Costa Rica), Visayan Forum Foundations (Philippines), National Domestic Workers Movement (India), Asociación Grupo de Trabajo Redes (Perú), Kivulini (Tanzania) and WAO Afrique (Togo).

The study, conducted in the aforementioned six countries en 2009, refers to the psychosocial effects of Child Domestic Labor. It is led by the University College London Institute of Child Health (United Kingdom) and the Psychosocial Support and Children’s Rights Resource Center (Filipinas).

In Peru, the study has been led by anthropologist Jeanine Anderson. Sociologist Li Minaya was an assistant to the investigation.

The results of the study in these six countries will offer greater precision and global relevance to the understanding of the current child domestic labor situation. In this report, we will show the results obtained in Peru, with hopes that it will be useful both in the creation of policies and in the planning of direct service projects directed toward the girls and boys involved in Domestic Child Labor.

Lima, November 2010

Blanca Figueroa  
President of the board of directors  
Asociación Grupo de Trabajo Redes

## ■ INTRODUCTION

In Peru, the study was conducted in the San Juan de Miraflores district<sup>2</sup>. It is located in the southeast of Lima, at kilometer 15 of Panamericana Sur highway at 50 meters above sea level. It was established by Law N 15382, dated 12 January 1965, its capital, Ciudad de Dios.

In 1954, in the time of its origins, it had a population of approximately 180,000; by the year 1999 that number had reached 354,680 inhabitants; in 2007, the total population of San Juan de Miraflores was 362,643<sup>3</sup> in an area of 23.98 square kilometers. It is the fourth most densely populated district, ahead of Lima Metropolitana and after San Juan de Lurigancho, San Martín de Porras and Lima Cercado.

It is now considered to be a disjointed district resulting from the different forms of urbanization, due to the fact that it is comprised of six conjoined and non-connected zones, each having its own characteristics and sizes. These zones are: Ciudad de Dios/Pamplona Baja, Pamplona Alta, Urbanización San Juan, María Auxiliadora, Pampas de San Juan y Panamericana Sur.

It is considered to be just the second district to focus more attention on *asentamientos humanos* (these are communities in which the impoverished live, most in makeshift homes built from whatever material is available). These inhabitants demand an adequate provision of the basic services of electricity, water and drainage that surpass that which the local government has the capability of providing.

More than 55% of this district's population find themselves in poverty, while more than 10% are in extreme poverty, especially in the upper areas of Pampas de San Juan and Pamplona Alta. *Las chancherías*<sup>4</sup> are located in the farthest areas called Rinconada and Nuevo Rinconada.

Pamplona Alta is the second most populated zone in San Juan de Miraflores, with 79 villages (26 sectors, 3 *Asociaciones de vivienda* housing that is actually recognized by the government and that is moderately better off than the *asentamientos humanos*), 5 *asentamientos humanos* and 45 *ampliaciones* (houses and buildings made bigger by additions/remodeling). More than 100,000 people live in Pamplona Alta alone; 60% of these households are of low social economic status<sup>5</sup>.

During the beginning of the 1940s a great migration began that led people from the Andean highlands to the city of Lima. It was thusly, in the middle 1950's, that Ciudad de Dios and Pamplona began to be

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<sup>2</sup> The information about San Juan de Miraflores was taken from:  
Chamorro, Pilar. Trabajo de campo en el distrito de San Juan de Miraflores. Documento de trabajo. AGTR. Lima, 2005.

Garvich, Javier. Cifras y datos de San Juan de Miraflores. Documento de trabajo. AGTR. Lima, 2010.

<sup>3</sup> Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INEI). Censos Nacionales 2007: XI de Población y VI de Vivienda, <http://censos.inei.gob.pe/censos2007>

<sup>4</sup> The practice of illegally raising pigs, done in unsanitary conditions.

<sup>5</sup> Plan de Desarrollo Integral de San Juan de Miraflores 2003-2012 - versión preliminar elaborada por equipo técnico de la municipalidad distrital de San Juan de Miraflores. diciembre 2003.

occupied, primarily by those who had already been living in the capital for some time, either with relatives or renting rooms in the old downtown of the city.

## **1** METHODOLOGY

The data that we will present below are the result of a study conducted by the Asociación Grupo de Trabajo Redes (AGTR) during May, June, July and August of 2009. A total of 404 girls, boys and teenagers were interviewed from the areas of Pamplona Alta, in the San Juan de Miraflores district, located in the southern cone of Lima, the capital of Perú.

### **1.1. The Interview**

As an activity prior to the study, AGTR administered a brief survey of 1,425 students from three Basic Education System (EBR) schools from Pamplona Alta (EBR is the general educational system in Perú that spans from early childhood through high school). The students, both male and female and all under the age of 18, were surveyed between March and April, the beginning of the 2009 school year<sup>6</sup>. They were asked about their working situation, with the intent to identify the girls, boys and teenagers working as domestic child laborers (TID) or at risk of domestic child labor. This allowed us to have a pre-selected group of respondents.

In the “Psychosocial health questionnaire,” administered in 2009, the first section gathered general information about the respondent, such as family, education, current living and work conditions; the second section referred to the relationships between the respondents and La Casa de Panchita; the third section asked about their physical health and the search for health care; the fourth section inquired about basic reading and math knowledge<sup>7</sup>; the fifth section sought information about their psychosocial health.

The interviews were conducted individually. Before beginning the questionnaire, the interviewers briefly talked about the interview; it was explained to the boys and girls that it was a voluntary interview and that they could stop at any question that made them feel uncomfortable. After this explanation, the children decided if they wanted to participate.

It ought to be noted that it was difficult for the respondents to respond to questions about violence and sexual abuse; thus, they told us about friends or acquaintances that had been victims.

### **1.2. Sample Location**

The respondents were located in three educational institutions (IE) in Pamplona Alta: la I.E. Ollantay 6038, la I.E. La Rinconada N 7221 y I.E. La Inmaculada N 7074. Also, in the facilities of La Casa de

<sup>6</sup> Survey conducted by Javier Garvich. Documento de trabajo. AGTR. Lima, 2009.

<sup>7</sup> Reference is not made to the results of this section because all of the respondents replied with common, known answers; they were studying from 6th grade of primary school to 5th year of high school.

Panchita (LCP), in the children's homes, in the homes of the local representatives from AGTR and at the AGTR team meeting places in Pamplona Alta.

The interviews were coordinated by the directors, tutors and helpers from each educational institution; also by the teachers of each boy, girl and adolescent selected for the interviews. The interviews were dictated by a multidisciplinary team of interviewers<sup>8</sup> that conducted all of the interviews: psychologists, social workers.

The interviews were conducted within the areas provided by the staff of each educational institution. Due to the precarious infrastructure and equipment of the schools, it was decided that it would be best to interview the children in places like the library, the teachers' staff room and the laboratory; within these environments it was possible to optimize space and privacy so that the interviewees felt comfortable. Generally the interviews were conducted during *la hora de Tutoría*<sup>9</sup>. The interviews were also conducted in locations in Pamplona Alta that are utilized by the AGTR staff.

Part of the sampling identified between the boys and girls that live in Pamplona Alta and those that use the services offered locally by AGTR, La Casa de Panchita. There, they had small separate rooms in which to conduct the interviews.

For many years, AGTR has helped the Pamplona Alta community, addressing the issue of child domestic service, both for boys and girls and for women 18 and older. AGTR runs various activities with the help of advocates – both teenagers and adults – in the area. The great relationship that AGTR maintains with the people and educational institutions was indispensable in the completion of the report conducted in San Juan de Miraflores.

### **1.3. Sampling composition**

Of the 404 respondents interviewed, a total of 344 were identified in the three educational institutions of Pamplona Alta and 90 were located throughout the various centers run by AGTR in Pamplona Alta.

#### **QUOTAS**

Not being able to rely upon a statistically representative sampling<sup>10</sup>, it was opted to select a quota of women (70%) and men (30%) because it was calculated that, in Peru, this approximately represents the proportion of girls and boys involved in domestic child labor (TID). Our population of respondents ran between the ages of 12 and 17<sup>11</sup>. They were asked if they were working in domestic service (TID), in order to establish two groups: a TID Group and a Control Group.

Given that it was found that a great number of women and men were not involved in domestic child labor (TID) but nevertheless were working in other occupations, it was decided to establish two subgroups for the control group: Group with Non-TID Jobs and a Non-Working Group. In many instances we will compare the three groups.

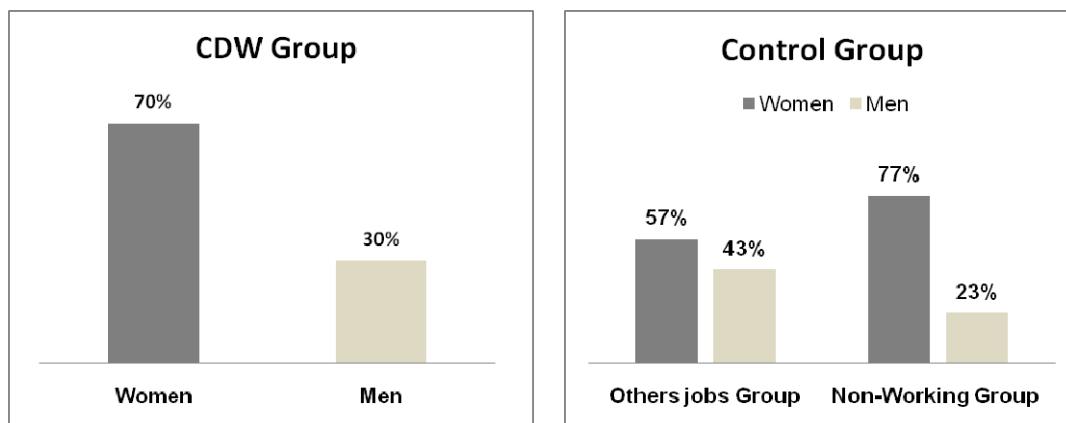
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<sup>8</sup> Ágata Zumaeta, Alberto Cerrón, Ana María Rueckner, Elisa Granda, Jacqueline Aliaga, Johana Reyes, Leidy Ortega, Li Minaya, Lilly Vizcarra, Ricardo Pacheco and Rosela Millones.

<sup>9</sup> A 30-40 minute period during which teachers provide guidance for their students and make announcements (similar to homeroom).

<sup>10</sup> The study didn't have a budget that allowed for this type of sampling.

<sup>11</sup> It was determined to interview children up to the age of 17 since, in Peru, one gains full rights and becomes a legal adult at the age of 18.



In the table we observed a lesser percentage of women and men in TID at the ages of 15, 16 and 17. In the case of the men, this is due to the difficulty in identifying male teenagers in TID<sup>12</sup>; when the teenagers were spoken with, they mentioned working as aides in construction, taxi drivers<sup>13</sup> and also as assistants in the markets; thus showing their preference for *chambitas de hombres* (masculine jobs)<sup>14</sup>. Even in cases when they were working “in-house” they were reluctant to admit it and generally said that they only were responsible for cleaning up. In the cases of women of the same ages, they had no problems admitting working in domestic service.

It should be mentioned in the study that the preference of the employers tends toward selecting women to act as caretakers for their children, especially girls of 12-13 years of age.

Table of quotas					
Age	Women= 280		Age	Men=120	
	TID= 140	Non TID= 140		TID= 60	Non TID= 60
12	30	30	12	15	15
13	30	30	13	13	13
14	30	30	14	14	14
15	29	29	15	10	10
16	14	14	16	5	5
17	7	7	17	5	5

Table of quotas segregated by work condition, sex and age					
Work Condition	Group TID	Group with Non-TID Jobs	Non-Working Group	Total	
Women	12--13	60	16	44	120
	14--17	79	30	52	161
	Total	139	46	96	281
Men	12--13	29	15	14	58
	14--17	31	20	14	65
	Total	60	35	28	123
Total	199	81	124	404	

## GROUPS

Finally, the sample was formed in the following manner:

<sup>12</sup> The same happened when a study on was conducted in three Peruvian cities with Anti-Slavery International. No Somos Invisibles. AGTR, Lima, 2006.

<sup>13</sup> Mode of transportation most used in Pamplona Alta.

<sup>14</sup> A common quote heard in conversations with adolescents in their fourth and fifth years of secondary school at I.E. Ollantay.

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- 199 were in the TID Group (i.e. those that up to six months before their interview had been employed in this occupation, although at the time of being interviewed were not necessarily employed).  
15% of the TID Group worked directly for their own family; 41% worked for relatives of their own families; and the rest worked outside of their familial environment.
- 205 were in the Control Group. In turn, this group had:  
81 that were in the Group with Non-TID Jobs; in this case, 100% worked for people outside of their own family circle.  
124 were in the Non-Working Group. (This ought to be understood as “not working outside of their own home”; nevertheless, we will see that there are reasons to believe that these children, especially the girls, were responsible for many things for their families and within their own homes).

**SELF-IMAGE**

The majority of the respondents were born to migrant parents in Lima.

At the beginning of their massive migration from the Sierras to the capital, the “others” were resented by many residents of Lima because of their different customs. They were received with disparagement and discrimination (and still are today). One reason for the exclusion of the Quechua speaking migrants is their difficulty speaking Spanish. Frequently the parents, in order to protect their children from discrimination, focused on teaching them Spanish and neglected to teach them the language of their ancestors: Quechua, Aymara or the native language of the Amazon. Thus, it is understandable why Spanish was the first language of all the respondents.

In the sampling there was a small presence of African descendents who had abandoned old neighborhoods in downtown Lima, having been displaced by new shopping malls, offices and apartment buildings they could not afford.

As a result, the children and teenagers were surrounded by a microcosm of the cultural variety that comprises Perú. It is a variety difficult to integrate into everyday life; both groups live in the midst of references, labels, stereotypes and insults that can easily pertain to features identified as belonging to certain ethnic groups.

In this context, with what self-image did our respondents identify? Two-thirds of the respondents defined their ethnic-racial identify amongst four closely related categories. These four made reference to the Andean origins of their parents and/or grandparents. These are (in order of frequency): “mestizo,” “cholo,” “indigenous” and “Andean.”<sup>15</sup> These four categories combined were chosen by 68% of Group TID, 62% by the Group with Non-TID Jobs and by 68% of the Non-Working Group.

Around 10% of the respondents (9% of Group TID, 9% of Group with Non-TID Jobs and 11% of the Non-Working Group) identified themselves as “white.” This is a prestigious category in Peru and is generally associated with a complexion lighter than those around you<sup>16</sup>.

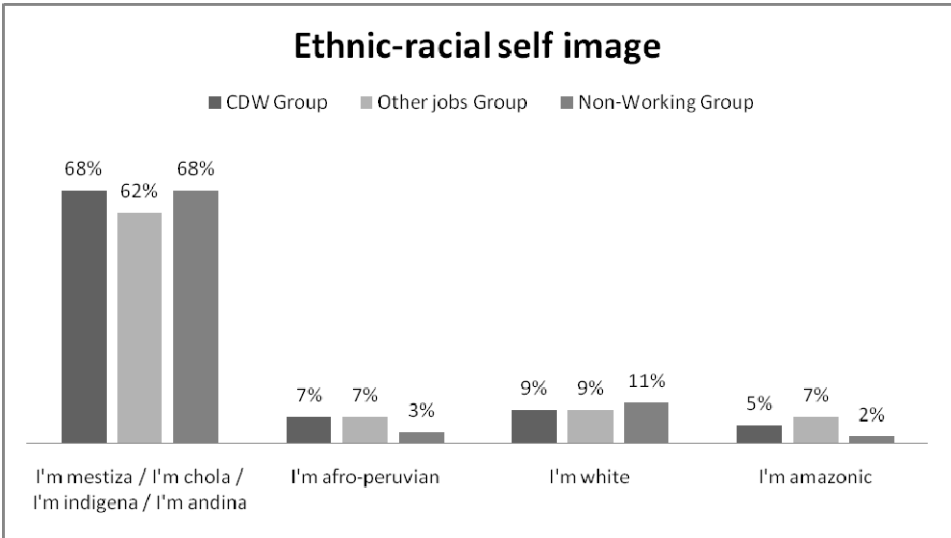
Seven percent of Group TID and Group with Non-TID Jobs identified themselves as blacks or African-Peruvians, “morenos” (brown/dark) or blacks. Five percent of Group TID, 7% of Group with Non-TID Jobs and 2% of the Non-Working Group, identified themselves as “selváticos” (literally people from the jungle), Amazonians or “charapas.”<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> These terms can be disrespectful when spoken by “other” but not when spoken amongst themselves.

<sup>16</sup> Compared to the European “whites,” the majority of the Peruvians are considered mestizos, Hispanics, Latinos, and even “other” by immigration authorities.

<sup>17</sup> Those born in the Peruvian Amazon are called “charapas.”

In Perú, the stereotype of a person that works in domestic service is that of a young girl, who speaks Quechua as a native language, migrated from rural areas of the Sierra and who has limited economic resources. In reality, there is no ethnic-racial profile of a domestic service worker.



**1.4. Analysis Type**

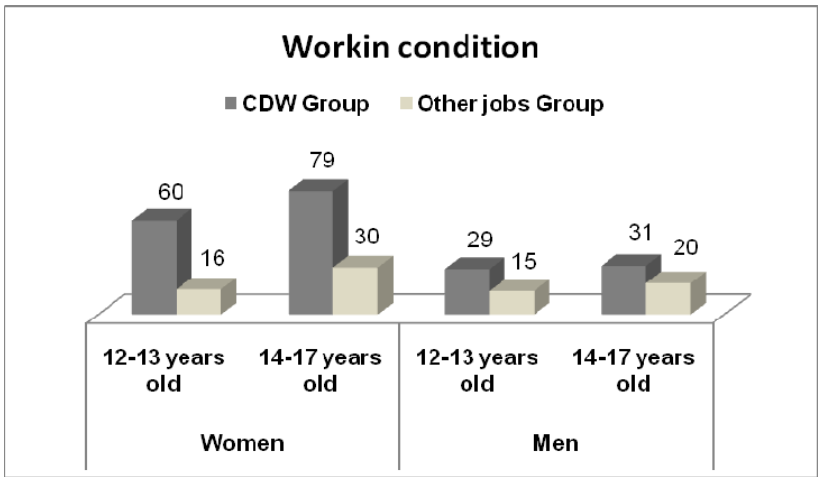
In our study, in as much as is possible, the following comparisons have been made:

- Sex: women and men.
- Age groups: 12-13 and 14-17.
- Working conditions: Group TID, Group with Non-TID Jobs, Non-Working Group

**WORKING CONDITIONS**

When they were asked the question, “do you work?” many of the children responded “no.” This indicates that they did not identify themselves as working in the labor market. As a result, before asking this question, the interviewers used the verb that our own respondents used to refer to work activity: “help”: “Do you help?” “What do you help with?” “Where do you help?”

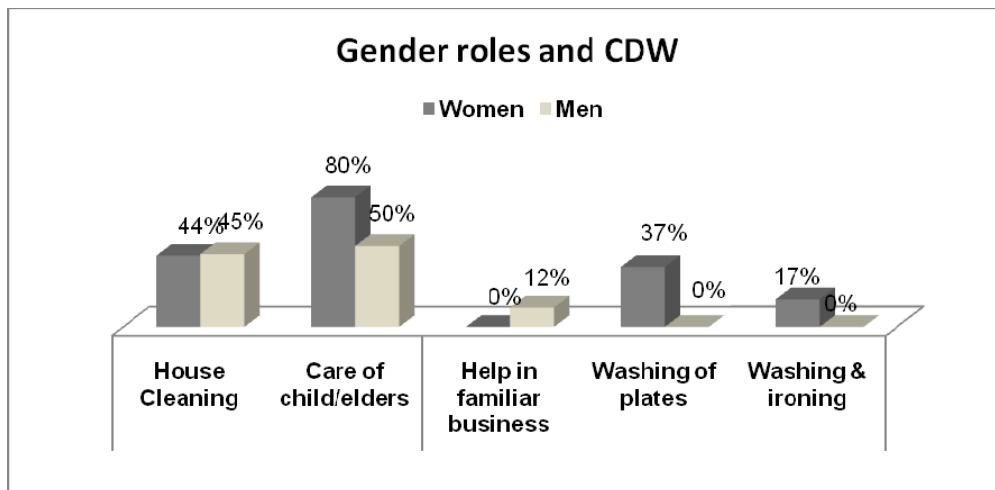
The following table shows the number of cases according to age, sex and working condition: Group TID and Group with Non-TID Jobs.



**What tasks does Group TID do?**

The job responsibilities vary, depending upon the sex of the respondent in TID.

- Among the females, taking care of children and/or the elderly<sup>18</sup> was the task that most did: 111 (80%) of them. Then cleaning the house (44%), washing the dishes (37%) and washing clothes and ironing (17%). It's clear that gender determined the type of tasks for the women.
- Among the males, the primary tasks were cleaning the house (45%), taking care of the children and/or elderly (50%) and helping with the family business (12%).



If we compare for sex and age in Group TID, we have the following:

- A total of 139 (70%) girls that are charged with taking care of children younger than themselves. If we consider the age, there were a total of sixty 12-13 year old girls acting as nannies; this is **100%** of the girls in TID interviewed that were 12-13 years old and that were charged with taking care of children as their first domestic service experience. In the group with ages 14-17, 51 (65%) also took care of children, and all but one had tasks cleaning the house, ironing and washing clothes.
- Of the males from Group TID between the ages of 12-13, only 3 out of a total of 29 took care of children younger than themselves. In the group with ages 14-17 we found that 27 (87%) males, from a total of 31 took care of children.

It should be noted that the same domestic worker could be doing more than one task for their employer.

**What tasks does the Group with Non-TID Jobs perform?**

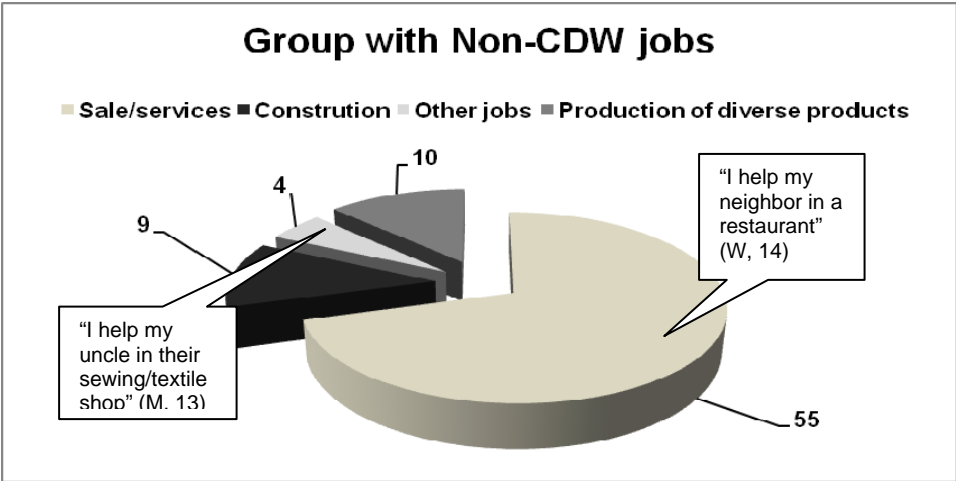
The Group with Non-TID Jobs is more likely to be representative of the working situation of teenagers in Pamplona Alta, given that entry into the group wasn't filtered by any selection prerequisites. This group emerged from those which were not inserted in Group TID, that is, those initially identified as not working in TID. This became a subgroup of the Control Group and was formed with 81 respondents and a group particularly interesting in comparisons with Group TID.

<sup>18</sup> The question combined both types of care giving into one question; however, in AGTR's experience the children most frequently take on the role as babysitters. For example, a 9-year old girl is in charge of taking care of children younger than her, perhaps by one or two years.

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Of those that worked in other jobs, 55 (68%) males and females found themselves immersed in the sales and service sector. Here we identified street vending, as well as selling at a booth at the market, bars and restaurants. A total of 10 (12%) worked in construction, either as laborers or helpers; 9 (11%) in other jobs, such as collecting fares to ride the bus; 4 (5%) worked to make a range of goods, either as a side job (wherein they only get paid for that which is made and sold) or for small family shops.

It should be noted that only the males worked as fare collectors on the buses, laborers or construction helpers.



**What tasks does the Non-Working Group perform?**

The Non-Working Group was at times misleading, or at least difficult to interpret. We have basis to assume that the respondents from this group were performing a series of tasks in their homes without any monetary compensation and, moreover, without awareness of working. The boys and girls felt that they were only doing the work necessary to contribute to the upkeep of their home and the wellbeing of their family, acting out their obligations as sons, daughters, grandsons and granddaughters.

Actually, it is debated whether the tasks that boys and girls perform in their own homes and for their immediate family should be considered as TID.

**2**

**THE FAMILY**

**2.1 Origin**

Pamplona Alta, like many other districts on the outskirts of Lima, was populated through waves of migration. Given that the participants of these migrations were usually extended families and people that originated from the same provinces we found that located in Pamplona Alta, are both relatives close and extended, as well as native countrymen originating from the same territories. It should be noted that those who have reached a better economic situation, are now frequently the employers of girls and boys in TID whose parents have less resources.

- A total of 235 (58%) of the respondents were born in Pamplona Alta or in other areas within the San Juan de Miraflores district: i.e. the same district in which they now live.
- Just over 40% were born somewhere other than Lima or the department in which it resides, but came to live in Pamplona Alta when they were young. This information explains the average time the respondents reported having lived in Pamplona Alta, which for the entire sample was 14 years.

From the above mentioned data, we can deduce that respondents and their families know Pamplona Alta well.

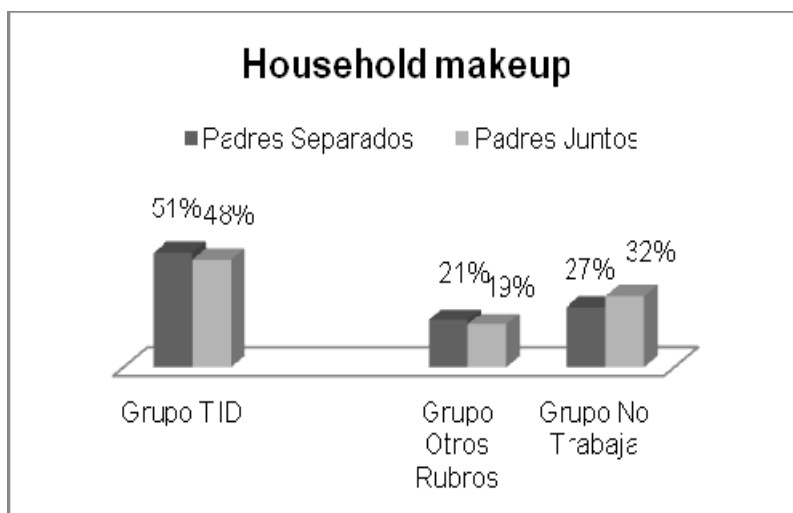
**2.2 Household makeup**

Generally, the respondents belong to small, relatively stable families. Sixty-three percent of the parents were married or living together. The latter, probably, was the more common situation and in a Peruvian context doesn't necessarily put the stability of the union in doubt.

We presumed that the majority of parents were the biological parents, but it could have been that some of the respondents considered their stepparents to be their mother or father. Suffice to say that the respondents indicated those whom they consider to be their parents.

The households consisted of three to six members. The respondents had an average of one brother and one sister. The grand majority in the household were siblings of the parents.

- Respondents that had a relative living with them: almost 100% of those sampled had a relative living with them.
- Respondents that lived with the mother and father: in Group TID, 48%; in the Group with Non-TID Jobs, 19%; in the Non-Working Group, 32%.
- Respondents that lived with the mother or the father: 27%. Of these cases, 72% were the result of a separation or abandonment. In Group TID 51% were living in a home with separated parents, while in the Group with Non-TID Jobs 21% found themselves in this situation and, in the Non-Working Group, 27%.



It was also found, with 18% of the respondents, that either their mother or father (4 and 29 respectively) was deceased.

The father was absent more both in cases of separation and in death. It should be noted that were fathers who worked outside of Lima; for example, several were farmers.

You would think that the household makeup would affect decisions about when it was appropriate for the boys and girls to begin work activities. Some theories indicate the absence of one of the parents as a principle cause of children being placed in the labor market, the absent parent having left a void in the family finances that the children are called upon to make up for. This even includes those children who feel obligated to fill this financial void even though they are not pressured by their families to do so.

Our data suggest that this theory has some validity but only in the case of the male children.

- When the parents did not live together:  
82% of the male children worked; of these, more than half in TID.  
68% of the girls worked; the majority in TID.
- When the parents lived together:  
74% of the boys worked; of these, 51% in TID.  
65% of the girls worked; of these, 47% in TID.

This means that in homes in which both parents were living, the children were shielded from child labor, the girls slightly more than the boys.

		Group TID	Group with Non-TID Jobs	Non-Working Group
Parents together	Women	47%	18%	35%
	Men	51%	23%	26%
Parents separated	Women	54%	14%	31%
	Men	44%	38%	18%

### 2.3 Father and mother: education level

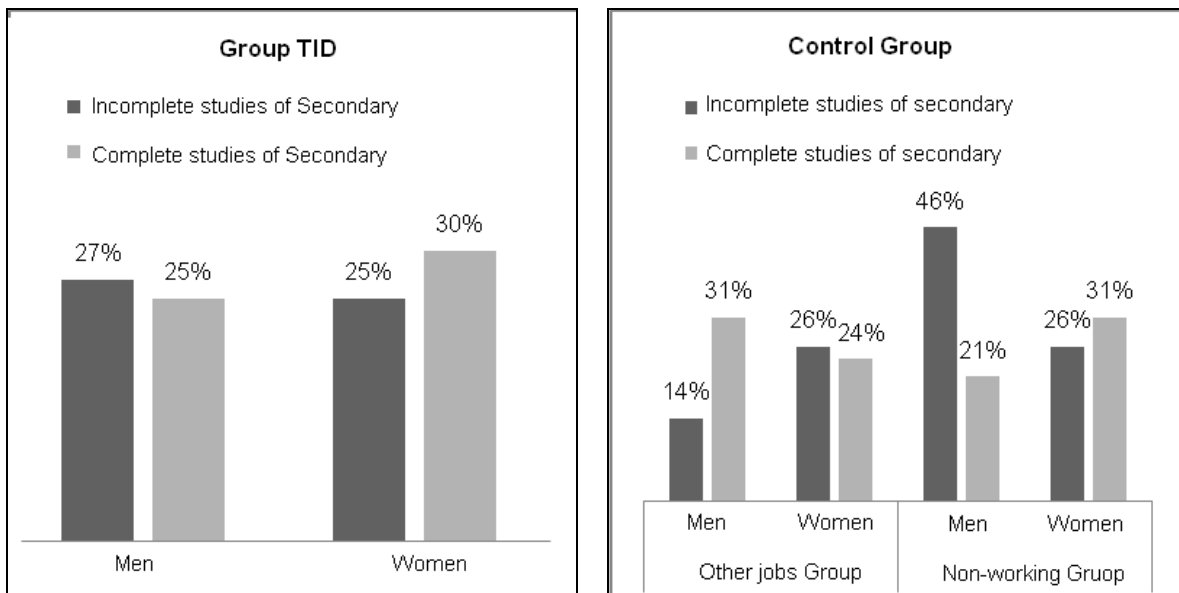
You would think that the education level reached by the father or mother has a significant influence in the educational expectations of the children, such as the possibility of starting work at an early age.

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- In the case of the father: 23 (48%) had not completed primary school. 100% of the children of these 23 parents worked in TID.
- When the father had completed primary school, 73% of the sons worked in TID, as well as 69% of the daughters.
- When the father had not completed secondary school, 25% of the sons and 25% of the daughters worked in TID.
- Of the fathers, a total of 114 (28%) of the sample had completed secondary school. Of these fathers, 56 (49%) had children working in TID.

Thus, in our sample, a higher educational level reached by the father reduced the risk of their children entering into TID.

**Father's educational level and the work status of their children**

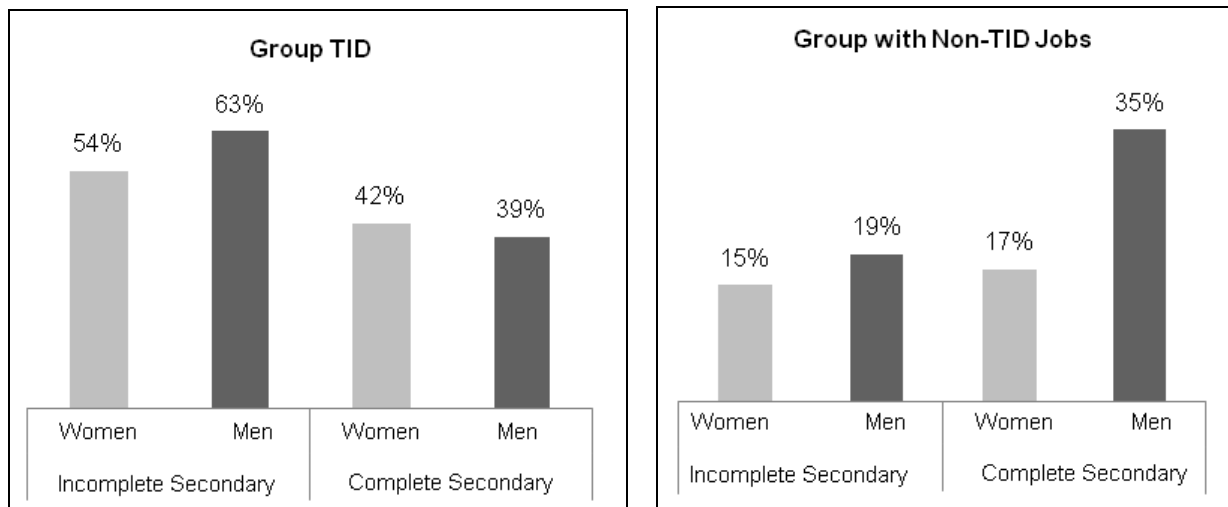


In relation to the educational level reached by the mother:

- In the case of the 90 mothers that did not complete primary school: 42 of the children of these mothers worked in TID.
- When the mother had completed primary school, 13% of their daughters and 10% of their sons worked in TID.
- When the mother had not completed secondary school, 54% of their daughters and 63% of their sons worked in TID.
- When the mother had completed secondary school, 41% of the children worked in TID (42% of the girls and 39% of the boys).

Thus, in our sample, a higher level of education by the mother slightly reduced the risk of a child entering into TID.

**Mother’s educational level and the work status of their children**



**2.4 Father and mother: occupation**

One important factor is the occupation of the mother and father since it relates to how they designate responsibilities amongst their children, including work.

**Father and mother Domestic Workers (DW)**

In our study, we found that if both parents worked in domestic service, it increased the possibility that their children worked.

- Ways in which it influences the labor activities of the children:  
19% in Group TID, 12% in Group with Non-TID Jobs, and 15% in the Non-Working Group.

If we consider the father working in domestic service:

- We found that 55% of the girls and 41% of the boys worked in TID.

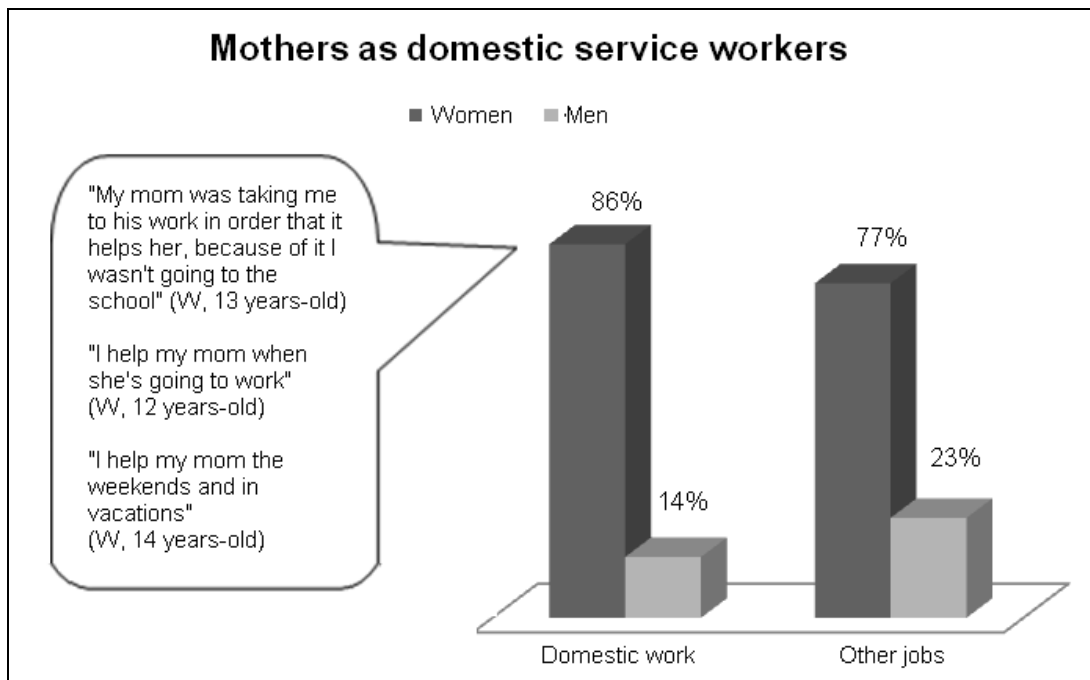
If we consider the mother working in domestic service:

- We found that 86% of the women said that their mother was a domestic worker<sup>19</sup>.

If we take into account the influence that the father or mother working in domestic service has on the children:

- In the global sampling we found that 75% of the male respondents were working. Of these cases in which the males confirmed that their father was a domestic worker, 50% were themselves in TID and 25% worked in non-TID jobs. Of these same cases in which the males confirmed that their mother worked in domestic service, 77% found themselves working in TID.

<sup>19</sup> Domestic work was the occupation exercised by the majority of the mothers; the second occupation, according to the girls, was that of housewife.



Thus, when both the father and mother are domestic service workers, it increases the risk that the children will also enter into TID, especially the girls when their mother works in domestic service.

**Fathers and mothers in other jobs**

If we consider the fathers that work in other jobs – such as a bus driver, bus fare collector or “datero”<sup>20</sup> – the following relates to their sons:

- 77% of those older than 14 belonged in Group TID and 33% were in the Group with Non-TID Jobs.
- Of the 33% placed in the Group with Non-TID Jobs, 67% of those older than 14 helped their father with his job. Many fathers (25%) that worked in construction took their sons to work with them during the school vacation months. Thus, January and February were the months in which the boys worked constantly, although some of them said that they were working sporadically throughout the entire year.

**2.5 Siblings and other relatives: occupation**

The parents’ jobs aren’t necessarily passed down to the children; however, the siblings and relatives do exercise influence over what jobs the children assume.

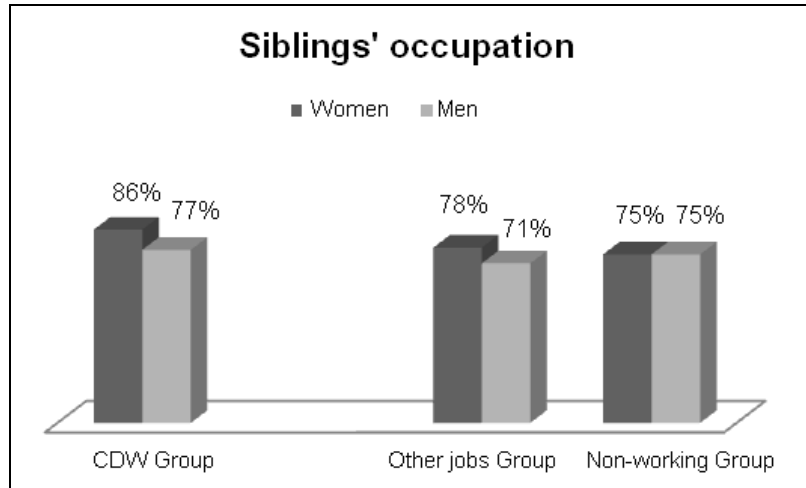
- In Group TID, 86% of the women said that they had at least one brother or sister that worked in domestic service. In this same group, the boys said that they had a brother that had worked, or was working in domestic service.

<sup>20</sup> Informal work done within the public transportation service industry; this job consists of informing the bus drivers of the *combis* (bus-like public transportation) the distance between their *combi* and a competitor’s.

## Percepciones de niñas, niños y adolescentes .....

- In the Control Group, 73% of the boys mentioned that at least one of their siblings was working, or had worked, in domestic service.  
77% of the women indicated the same.

In both groups, we found significant percentages of girls and boys in TID; the respondents are in a web of family members that have related experiences working in domestic service. Many of the respondents had brothers or sisters that had worked or were working in this occupation.



## 2.6 Childhood care

The respondents were asked who had been their caretaker during their childhood. They answered the following:

- One quarter of the respondents said that they had been cared for by their mother and father.
- 5 from Group TID and 5 from the Group with Non-TID Jobs reported that they had been raised and cared for solely by their father.
- A total of 135 girls and boys interviewed: 59 (30%) of Group TID and 76 (37%) of the Group with Non-TID Jobs, commented that they had been cared for by other people (siblings, grandparents and occasionally other relatives).
- It can be seen that Group TID appears to have been better integrated into a familial structure and more protected as a result of having been cared for by their parents. These percentages are 70% for Group TID and 63% for the Control Group.

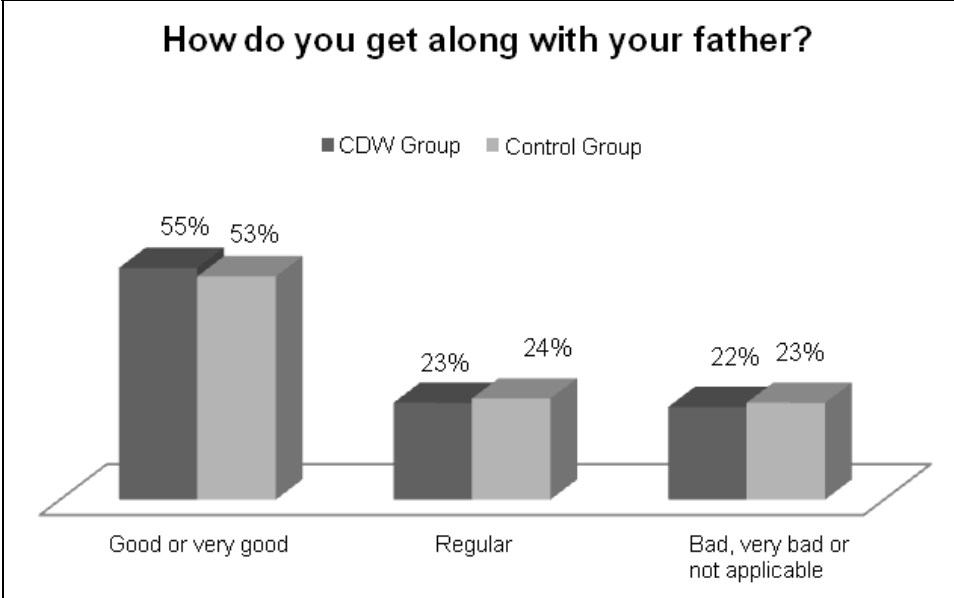
We were not able to deduce from this information that there were fathers and mothers that, in their own way, discriminated against the children in such a way so as to require them to work "in the house."

## 2.7 Relationship with the Father

A brief interview did not permit for a deep investigation into the household activities, nor about the feelings about the familial relationships. Hardly any questions were asked about how the respondents got along with their mother, father or siblings. Through their answers, it was apparent that the boys and girls felt closeness toward their mothers; likewise the distant relationship with their fathers and brothers was also observed.

**Percepciones de niñas, niños y adolescentes .....**

- Only a little more than half of the respondents said they get along well with their father: 55% in Group TID and 53% in the Control Group.
- The “we don’t get along well” answer would be increased with those that responded “not applicable:” absent or unknown fathers.
- No difference between the women and men was detected from Group TID or the Control Group.



It is probable that that there is a lack of communication between the children and their father, either as a result of conflicts about parental authority that the children begin to resent in their adolescence, or by the father’s daily absence. Although both the father and mother work to cover the family expenses, it is the father who would offer less time – both quality and quantity – hindering his ability to construct strong ties with his sons and daughters.

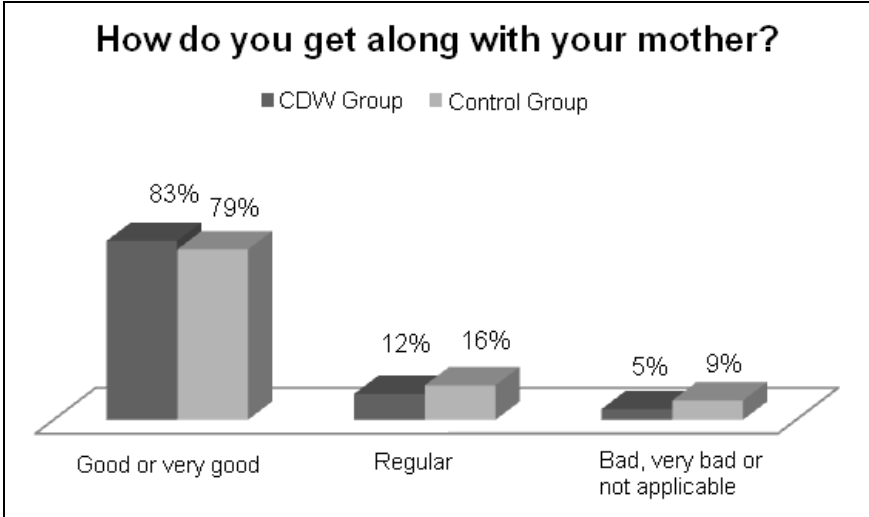
The data tells us that these situations equally affect both the males and females of Group TID and the Control Group, thus there was almost no difference between the two groups with respect to the relationship they reported having with their father.

**2.8 Relationship with mother**

We only found a small percentage (5%) of respondents that indicated having a bad relationship with their mother.

We found an important percentage of boys, girls and teenagers that mentioned having a good relationship with their mother in Group TID, as in the Group with Non-TID Jobs and the Non-Working Group. In Group TID, 83% said that they got along well with their mother; in the Control Group, 79%.

Throughout the interview it was found that many of the answers reflected good treatment toward the children by their mothers. Furthermore, they felt involved and responsible for the economic, health and emotional problems their mother had. Thus, they showed a disposition toward helping to solve these problems through working.



**2.9 Relationship with siblings and other relatives**

The relationships tend to become complicated when the children approach puberty and adolescence. People usually think that if communication with the parents is difficult, generally siblings will serve as support for them; our data put certain doubt to that.

On the whole, 60% of the respondents felt that they had a good, trusting relationship, comprised of mutual help with one or two of their siblings. This proportion increased slightly if we add those that responded that, generally, they got along well with “everyone” in their family.

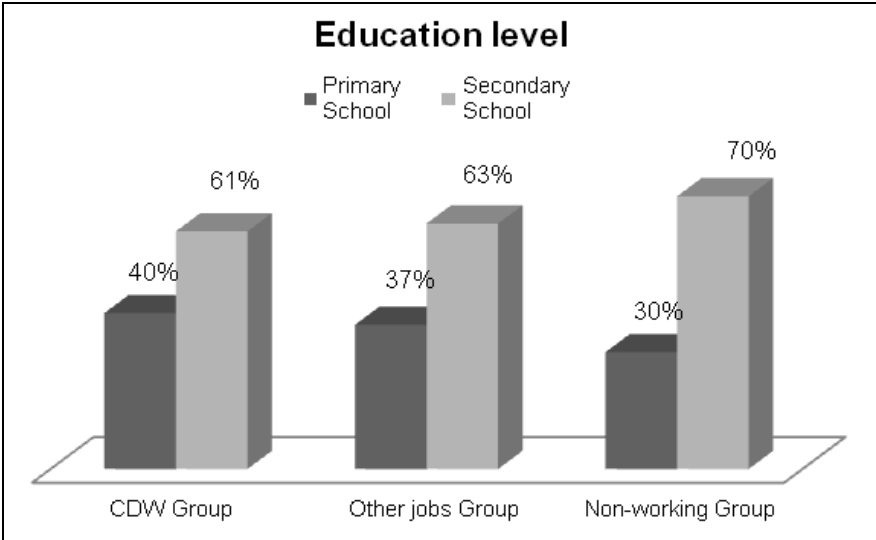
One-third of the respondents said that they did not feel close to any of their siblings. They live together, and share their daily lives, but there is not a relationship that we think would serve to support each other in times of need.

### 3 EDUCATIONAL SITUATION

#### 3.1 Highest level of education

With respect to the previous year, the results were as follows:

- 40% of the boys and girls belonging to Group TID were studying one of the primary education grades.  
61% from the same group were at a secondary level.
- In the Group with Non-TID Jobs, 37% attend a primary level school.  
63% attend secondary school.
- In the Non-Working Group, 30% attend at a primary level.  
70% attend secondary school.



#### 3.2 Current studies

##### CLASS SHIFTS

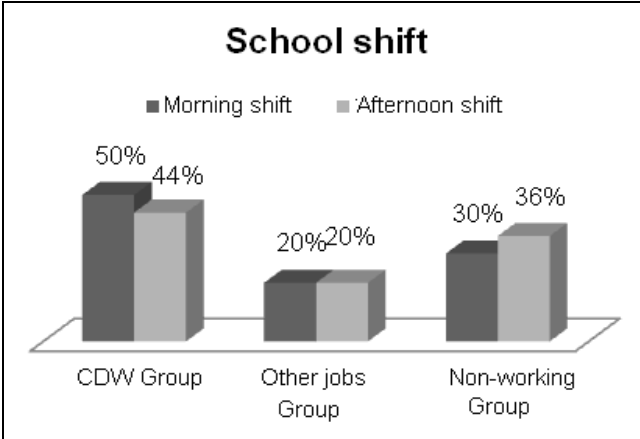
In the state educational institutions (public primary and high schools) there are three class-time shifts: the morning shift (8:00am – 1:00pm), the afternoon shift (1:00pm – 6:00pm) and the night shift (6:00pm – 10:00pm).

In the first two shifts the schools teach in the model of the Educación Básica Regular (Basic Regular Education, EBR); for the third shift, the Educación Básica Alternativa (Basic Alternative Education, EBA) was developed. The hope is that those who study in EBA are children or adults that have to work, older adults (that are too old to share a classroom with children), and those that dropped out of school but have now reenrolled in school at an older age.

We conducted the majority of our interviews with EBR students who, supposedly, ought to be boys and girls that don't work. However, in our sampling 69% of those interviewed were working.

**Percepciones de niñas, niños y adolescentes .....**

- 50% from Group TID and 20% from the Group with Non-TID Jobs attend classes in the mornings. In both groups, the respondents said that they are available all afternoon, thus utilizing this time to work at their respective jobs.
- 36% of the Non-Working Group mainly attend in the afternoon shift; this suggest that in the mornings they are doing chores at their own home, though this is not considered to be work per se.

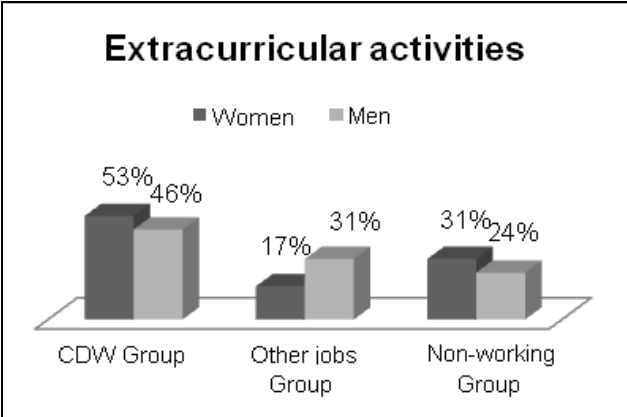


**EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES**

There are a limited amount of extracurricular activities at the schools at which the respondents attend.

On one hand, the schools have two or three shifts per day, thus making it difficult to organize these types of activities. On the other hand, there aren't spaces, budgets or teachers to encourage activities such as dance, chess or others that can channel the students' curiosity outside of their formal classes.

However, in Group TID, 50% affirmed participating in extracurricular activities; 24% responded equally in the Group with Non-TID Jobs and 28% in the Non-Working Group.



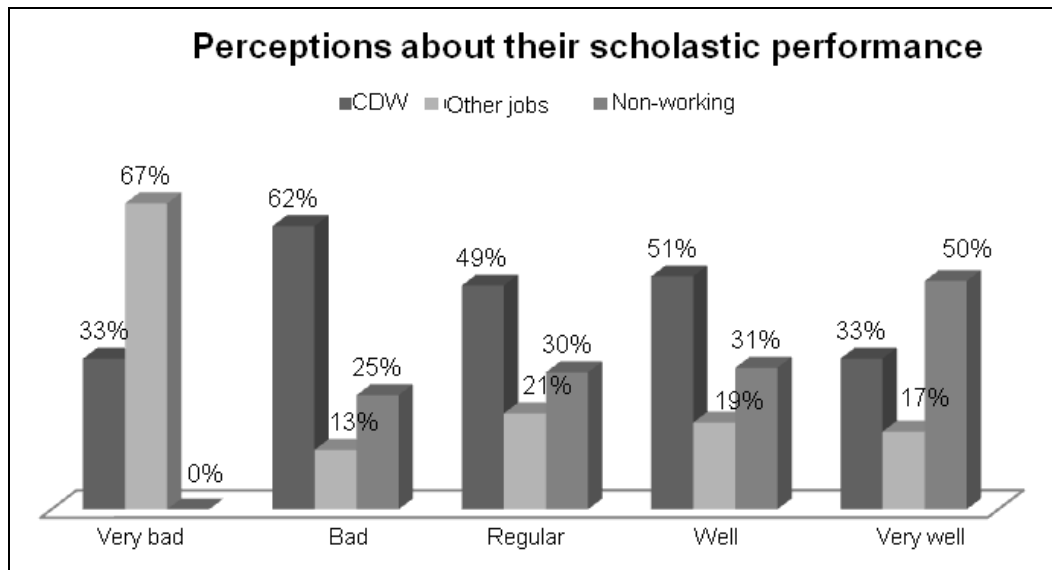
**PERFORMANCE IN SCHOOL**

In an evaluation of the students' achievements from EBR, compared to other countries, Perú finished next to last. The deficiencies of our educational system are evident but the children that study in the schools located in poor areas are not aware of the advantages that students who attend private high schools enjoy; thus it is practically impossible for the former to have an adequate reference by which to compare their education, thus rendering them unable to issue an accurate opinion about the quality of education that they receive.

**Percepciones de niñas, niños y adolescentes .....**

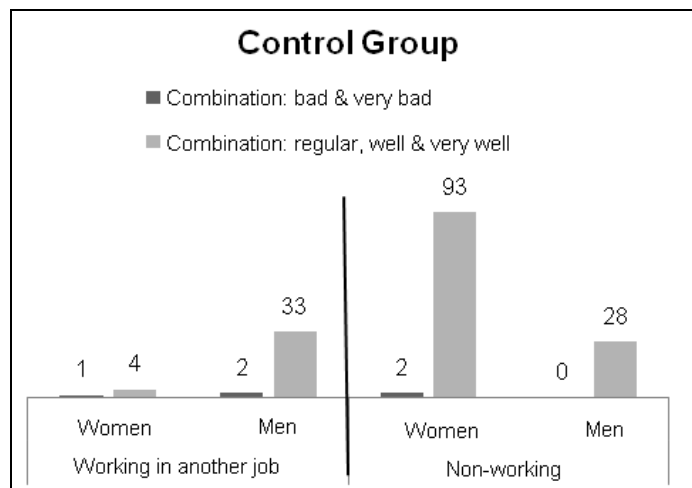
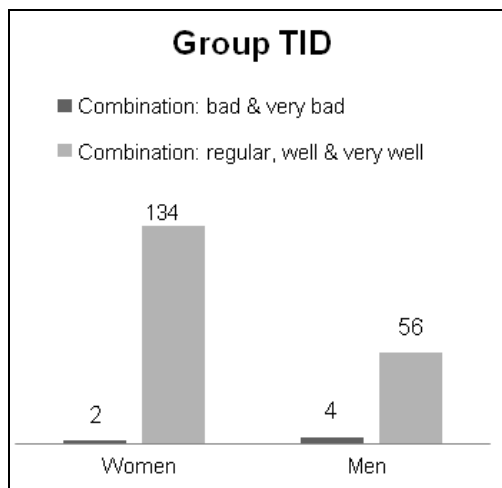
The children’s responses show several optimistic perceptions about their scholastic performance.

- 33% of Group TID and 67% of the men and women from the Group with Non-TID Jobs said that it was going “very bad” for them when speaking of their scholastic performance.
- 49% from Group TID, 21% from the Group with Non-TID Jobs and 30% of the Non-Working Group responded that their scholastic performance is “normal”.
- By and large, 33% from Group TID responded that it was going “very good” for them; the same can be said for 17% from the Group with Non-TID Jobs and 50% from the Non-Working Group.



Taking gender into consideration, the following was indicated:

- In Group TID all of the 134 women reported having a positive scholastic performance: “normal” or “very good”.
- In the Group with Non-TID Jobs, 4 females said that their scholastic performance was good; of the 35 males from the same group, 33 indicated that their scholastic performance ranged from “normal” to “very good”.

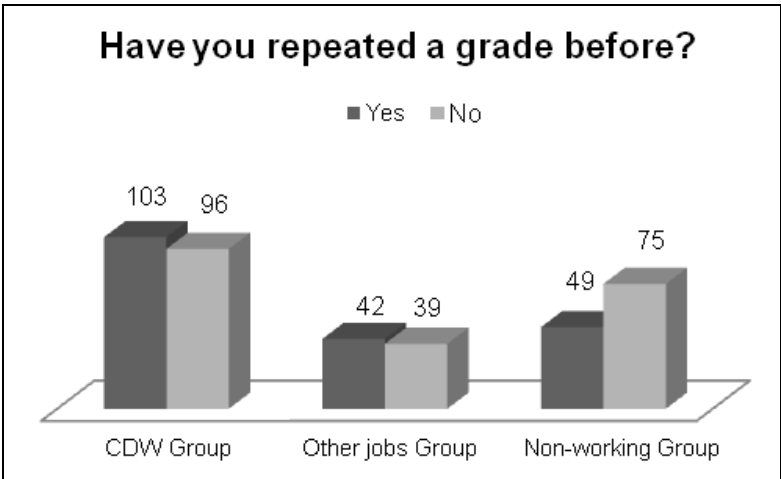


### 3.3 Repeating a grade and dropouts

#### REPEATING A GRADE

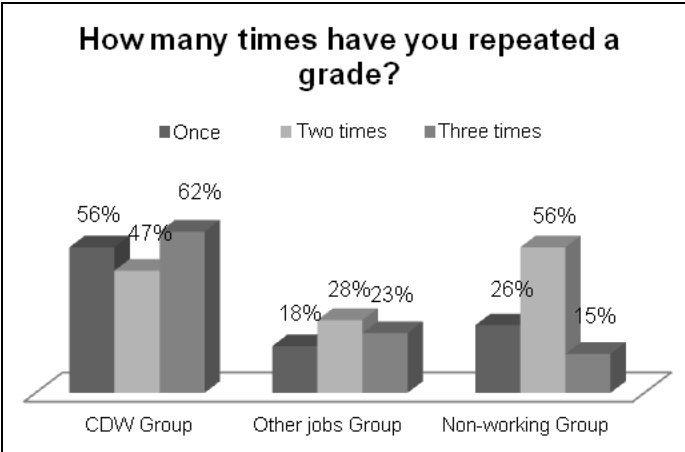
Educational setback frequently occurs in public primary and high schools located in areas with lower economic resources.

- In Group TID, 103 (52%) respondents said that they had repeated a grade in school.
- In the Group with Non-TID Jobs, 42 (52%) respondents reported the same.
- Unlike these two groups, we observed that in the Non-Working Group there are fewer respondents that had repeated a grade.



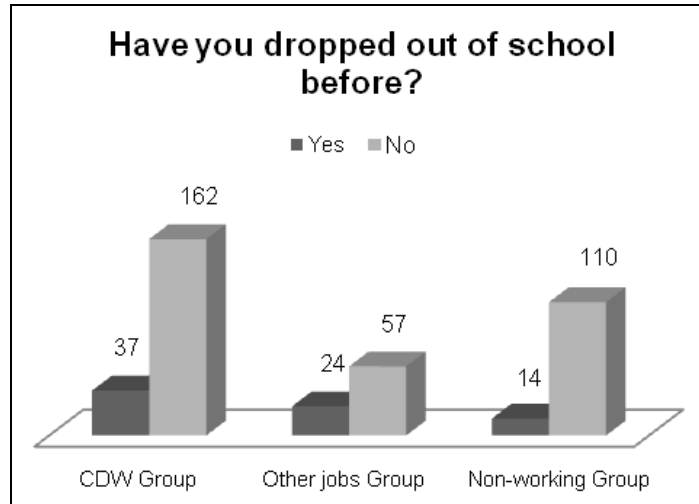
- When they were asked if they had repeated a grade one time, 56% from Group TID responded “yes;” 18% from the Group with Non-TID Jobs and 26% from the Non-Working Group responded likewise.
- When they were asked if they had repeated a grade twice, 47% of Group TID responded “yes;” 28% and 26% from the Group with Non-TID Jobs and the Non-Working Group, respectively, said the same.
- When they were asked if they had repeated a grade three times, 62% from Group TID responded “yes;” 23% and 15% from the Group with Non-TID Jobs and the Non-Working Group, respectively, answered the same.

As can be observed, Group TID repeated the most grades.



**DROPOUT**

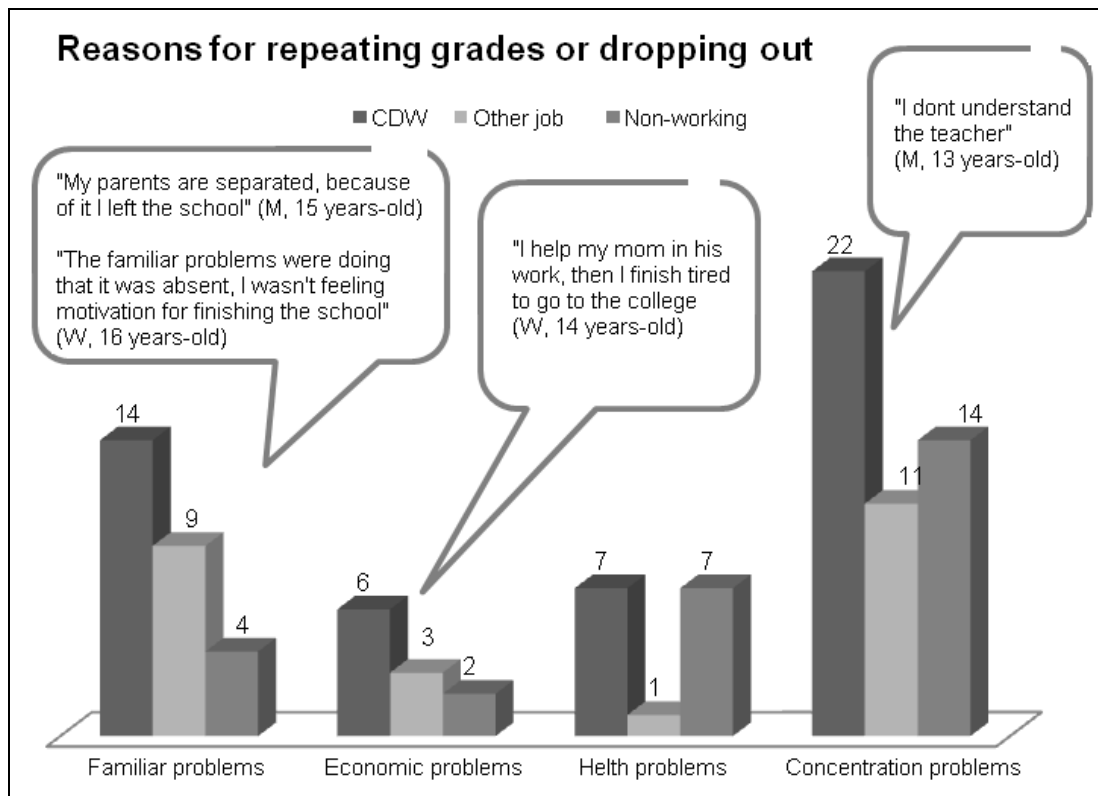
Nineteen percent of the total sampling said they had abandoned their studies for different reasons. Of these are 37 (19%) respondents from Group TID, 24(30%) from the Group with Non-TID Jobs and 14 (7%) from the Non-Working Group.



**EXPLANATIONS FOR THE REPEATS AND/OR DROPOUTS**

According to the respondents, the most frequent reasons for having to repeat a grade or dropout were the following: family problems, economic hardships, health problems and difficulty concentrating.

A total of 22 (11%) from Group TID referred to a lack of concentration for the reason of repeating and/or dropping out, 14 (7%) as a result of family problems and 13 (7%) from economic hardship or their health.

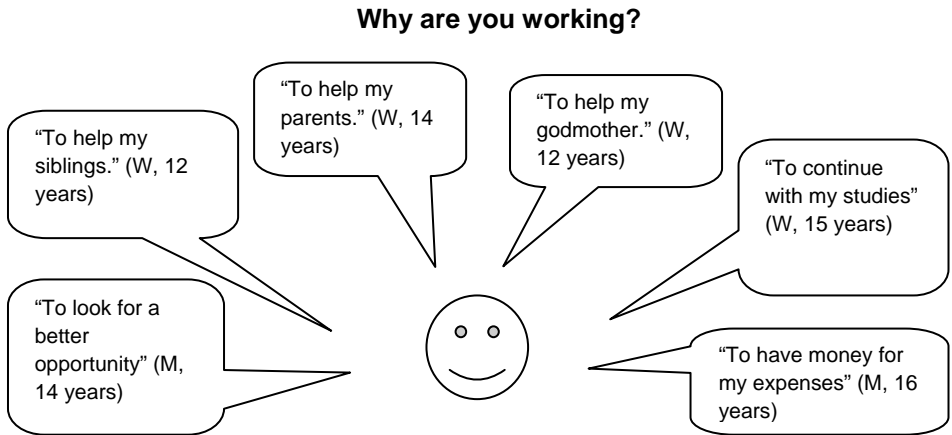


## 4 WORKING CONDITIONS

In Peruvian culture, child domestic labor is perceived as training; especially for girls, working in domestic service is considered an apprenticeship to learn their female roles. This perception impedes advancement in the prevention, protection and eradication of child domestic labor.

### 4.1 Reasons to work

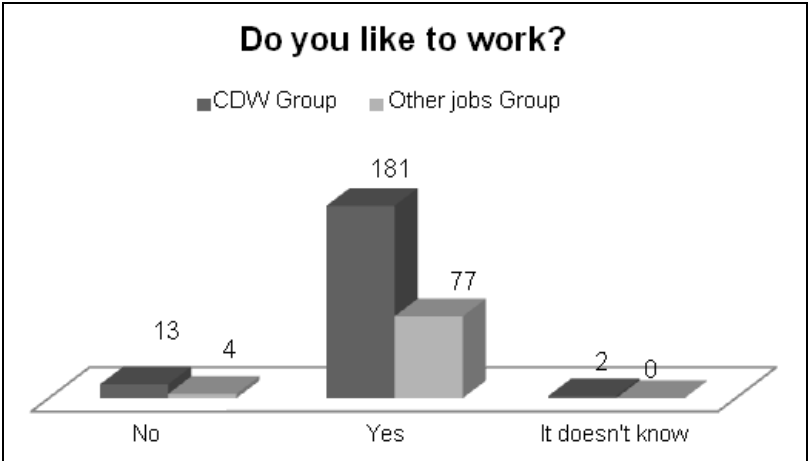
Economic problems continue to be the principle reason to enter into TID, although personal reasons are important for 21% of the sampling.



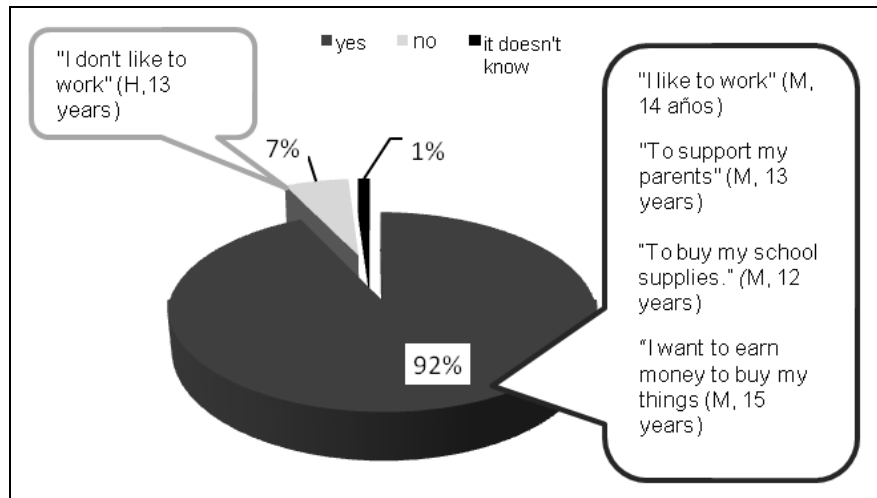
### 4.2 Do you like to work?

To the question, "do you like to work?" 91% from Group TID responded "yes," while 62% from the Group with Non-TID Jobs said the same and 1% responded that they didn't know.

Summarily, if we combine the perceptions from both groups about how they feel about working, 92% indicated that they do like it.



Comparing the responses between men and women, we found the perception is similar: 6% more men than women indicated that they liked to work.



### 4.3 Are you proud of your Job?

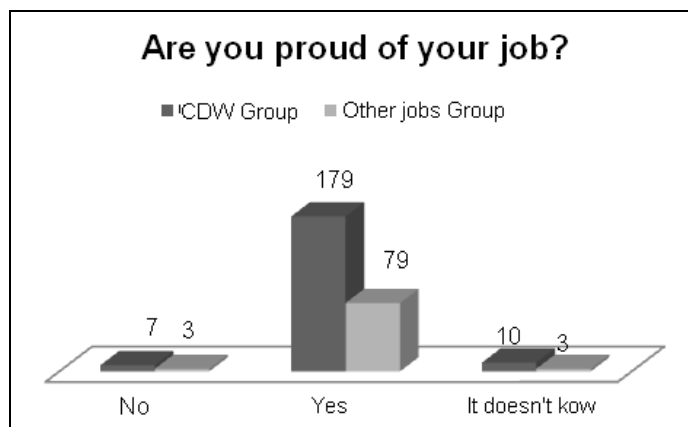
Hard work is a core value in the Andean culture. To show yourself as a hard worker is to show yourself as a helper. In the home, with the domestic chores and caring for other people; in primary or high school, it is doing the work assigned by the teacher, earning good grades and participating.

Another example of hard work is to be active in the pursuit of income:

- For children 12 to 13 years, hard work is considered getting small odd-jobs or when they are helpful to their parents in their strategies to get ahead in life.
- In adolescence, hard work is considered understanding the necessity of preparing oneself for work, be it through their studies or with practical experience, as well as in the accumulation of experience that their fathers or relatives recognize as potential.

To the question, "are you proud of your job?" 90% (179) of the respondents from Group TID answered "yes;" 64% (79) from the Group with Non-TID Jobs answered the same; 5% of Group TID responded by saying that they didn't know.

If we combine the perceptions about how the respondents feel about their jobs, 92% of the men and women from Group TID and the Group with Non-TID Jobs feel proud about their jobs.



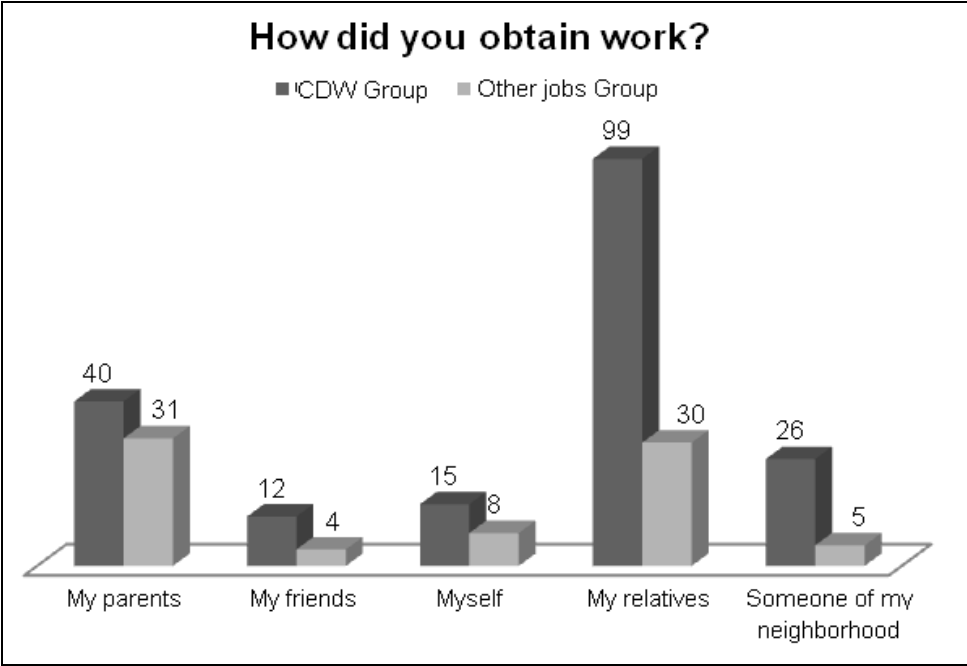
**4.4 Access to employment**

**WAYS TO OBTAIN EMPLOYMENT**

The respondents said that they had obtained employment, primarily, through family members; but also through their parents, friends, someone in the neighborhood or on their own accord.

In Group TID, a total of 99 (50%) of the respondents said that they had obtained employment through their relatives, 40 (20%) through their parents and 26 (13%) through someone they knew in the area in which they live.

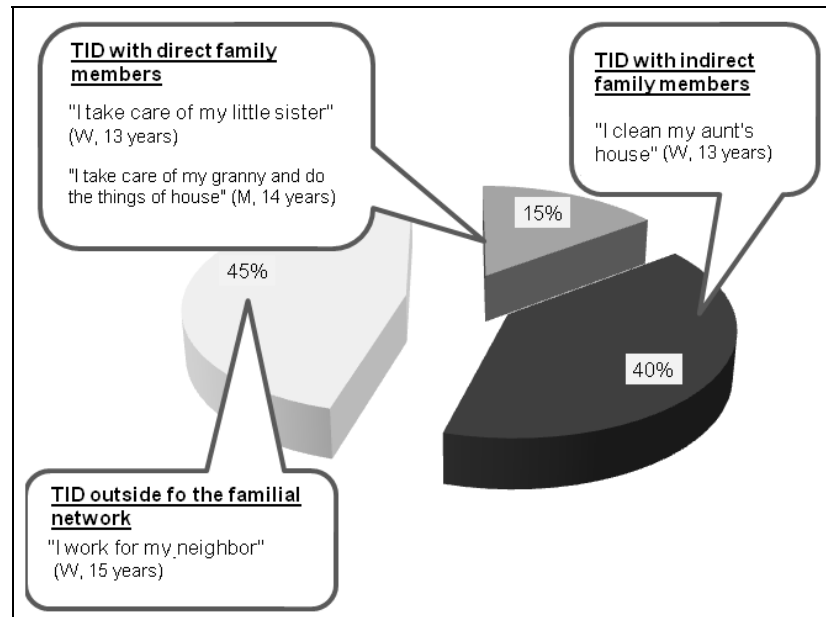
Thus, 70% from Group TID entered into their occupation with the help of their familial network.



**WHO THEY WORK FOR**

The men and women from Group TID developed occupationally with their direct family members, such as grandparents and siblings, as well as with indirect family members such as in-laws, cousins and aunts/uncles. In the following graph we see that 40% work for indirect family members, 15% for their direct family and, finally, 46% outside of their familial environment.

Thus, 55% from Group TID work for someone within their familial network.

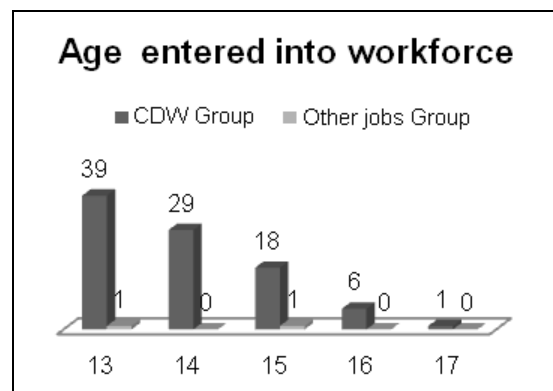
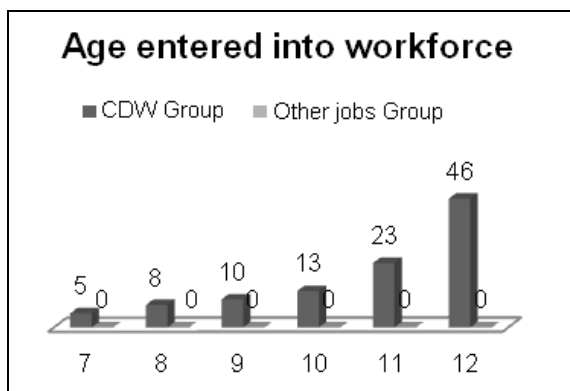


### AGE OF ENTRY INTO DOMESTIC SERVICE

In the total sampling, the age of entry into child domestic service fluctuated from 7 to 17 years old.

Within Group TID we found:

- 5 cases in which they started to work at 7 years of age
- 8 cases at 8 years
- 10 cases at 9 years
- 13 cases at 10 years
- 23 cases at 11 years
- 46 cases at 12 years
- 39 cases at 13 years
- 29 cases at 14 years
- 18 cases at 15 years
- 6 cases at 16 years
- 1 case at 17 years



We noted a concentration of boys and girls that began to work in TID between the ages of 11 and 14.

A total of 144 (72%) began work in TID before reaching the minimum legal age of being permitted to do so in this occupation.

### PERIOD OF TIME WITH CURRENT EMPLOYER

The amount of time that the respondents have been working with their current employer fluctuated between one month and three years.

A total of 49 (25%) of the cases of TID began one month ago, 10 (5%) six months ago, 25 (13%) one year ago and 8 (4%) three years ago.



It is likely that after summer vacation from school (January-March), the children look for a house in which to work.

### PLACE OF WORK

The majority of men and women between 12 and 17 years of age were working in the same area in which they were living: Pamplona Alta (69%); this is especially true for Group TID.

However, some teenagers said that during vacation from school (January-March) they worked “cama adentro” (living in the house in which they were working); this took place outside of the San Juan de Miraflores district in residential areas of Lima.

## 4.5 Tasks according to types of jobs

The tasks that comprise part of the responsibilities of those in Group TID are the following:

- 141 (71%) take care of children and/or elderly<sup>21</sup>
- 89 (45%) clean the house
- 60 (30%) wash the dishes
- 32 (16%) cook
- 27 (14%) wash and/or iron clothes
- 17 (9%) tend to the yard
- 16 (8%) help with the family business
- 9 (5%) take care of pets

We noted that one boy or girl working in TID can perform more than one task.

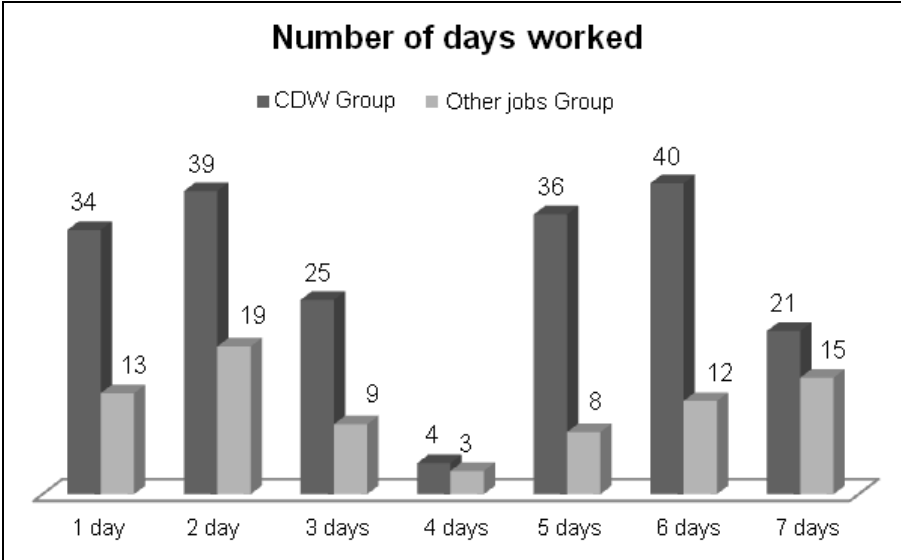
<sup>21</sup> The majority of these are taking care of the children, but the questionnaire didn’t separate the two types of care giving.

**4.6 Daily work**

In Peru, the minimum legal age to work in domestic service is 14; at 12 and 13 years of age, one can only work with special permission and under exceptional circumstances.

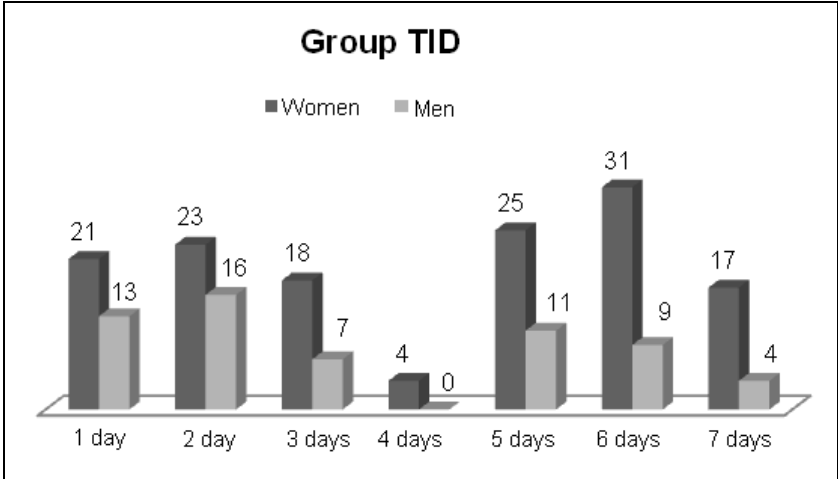
According to the 'Código del Niño y del Adolescente' (Regulations of Children and Adolescents) it is not permitted that an adolescent of 14 years of age work more than four hours per day; for those between 15 and 17 years of age, not more than 6 hours per day. Said job should not demand unusual physical effort or interfere with the student's ability to regularly attend school and complete the homework assigned by their teachers. These regulations are neither supervised nor sanctioned and generally are not abided by.

- In comparison to the Group with Non-TID Jobs, those in Group TID had longer work schedules. Men and women had less free time but nevertheless participated more in extracurricular activities at their educational institution.
- In Group TID, the respondents worked the following number of days per week:

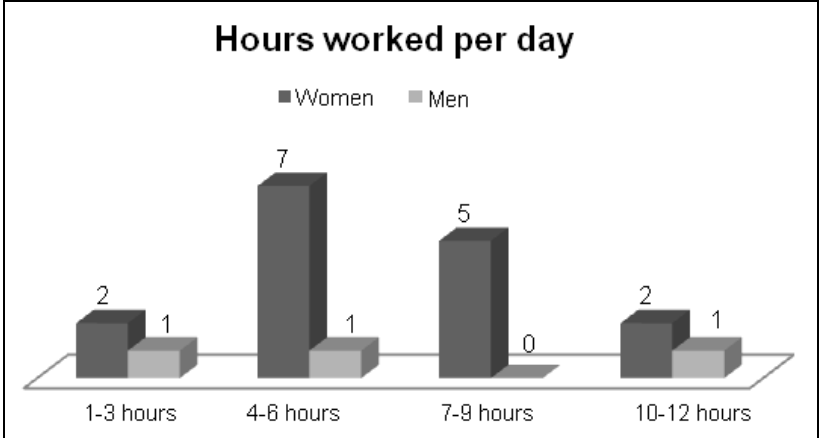


20% (40) worked 6 days per week  
 18% (36) worked 5 days per week  
 19% (39) worked 2 days per week

- The average number of days worked per week is 3.37 for Group TID and 3.88 for the Control Group.
- The males and females between 15 and 17 years of age worked slightly more than those between the ages of 12 and 14.
- The number of males and females in TID that worked 6 days per week varied: 22% (31) of females as opposed to 15% (9) of males.
- The number of days worked varied between the males and females in TID. For the males, there is a greater number that work 2 days per week, while a greater number of females are concentrated in the group working 6 days per week.



- There are a greater number of females in Group TID that work more hours per day in comparison to the males in the same group. 7 instances were found in Group TID in which females worked between 4 and 6 hours per day.



**4.7 Payment**

In relation to the payment received for their services, we discovered the following:

- In Group TID, 11% received payment in cash and 17% were paid with clothing or food.
- In the Group with Non-TID Jobs, 83% received payment.

Of those males and females that worked for their direct family, only 43% were paid for the work they did. However, of those that worked for other relatives, 71% received some payment.

Oftentimes, those in Group TID thought that what they did was just “help” to their family members and considered it okay that they were paid with clothing and/or food (this was the situation for 11% of the Non-Working Group).

---

“My sister pays me less because of family reasons” (W, 15 years old)  
 “Since they don't have anything, they didn't want to pay me” (W, 13 years old)

---

When they received payment, the situation was as follows:

- In Group TID the compensation varied between S/7.80 and S/12 nuevos soles (Peruvian currency) per day, depending on the gender and age of the employee. The women received an average of S/.8.90 nuevos soles per day and the men an average of S/10.20 per day.

It ought to be mentioned that in a poor area such as Pamplona Alta, one nuevo sol is significant for one's self esteem and has enough monetary value to buy junk food.

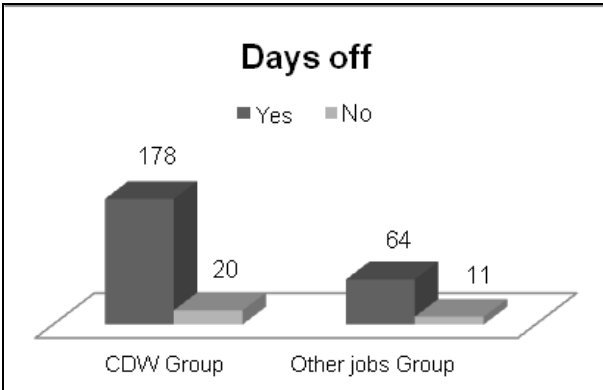
When those in Group TID received payment, they earned two-thirds of that which the Group with Non-TID Jobs earned. However, in Group TID, when a monthly salary was received, the amount could be equivalent to an adult domestic service worker in their area, thus earning more than those in the Group with Non-TID Jobs.

A total of 27 respondents from Group TID received a monthly salary, compared to 5 from the Group with Non-TID Jobs; it was probably a younger group of teenagers between the ages of 14-17 with work experience.

**4.8 Rest and days off: activities**

During their days off, the majority of the respondents that worked usually spent their time going out with friends, visiting relatives and resting.

- From Group TID, 178 (90%) said that they have days off, mainly the weekends; 20 (10%) said they didn't have any days off. The grand majority did not work full time (6 days per week).
- From the Group with Non-TID Jobs, 64 (79%) respondents reported having days off.



**4.9 Employer punishments**

Questions were asked about the employer's reaction when one of the boys or girls made a mistake in their job. Almost a third of the respondents from Group TID said "nothing;" almost a third from the Group with Non-TID Jobs responded that "they teach me." Both groups answered equally with the response "they scold me" or "they talk to me." None responded, "they punish me."

It ought to be noted that in our sampling the majority of Group TID worked under the "cama afuera" (did not live in the employes' house) model and, generally, it was for relatives or neighbors. Thus, the parents were able to supervise what was happening in the employer's home and hence it would have been

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difficult to inflict any physical punishment upon the children. This situation is different when the children are migrants, wherein they find themselves isolated from their families and are working under the “cama adentro” (living with the employer for whom they work) model.

Of those from Group TID that affirmed not receiving any type of punishment, 26% said that, on the contraire, they were talked to and taught how to improve their work.

## 5 GROUP TID "CAMA ADENTRO"

In our sampling, we found that 27 (14%) respondents from Group TID worked under the model *cama adentro*; thus, they lived in the house of their employers. Of the 27, only one was a male.

It ought to be noted that the employers could be direct family members, indirect family, neighbors or others.

### 5.1 Hours of work and hours of rest

Often times under the *cama adentro* model, the work schedule is not adhered to; the work generally begins when the worker wakes up and finishes when they go to bed. Our respondents worked more than 8 hours; they woke up around 7:00 a.m. and when to sleep around 10:00 p.m.

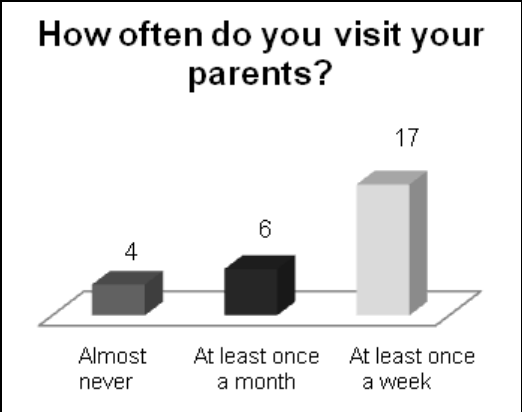
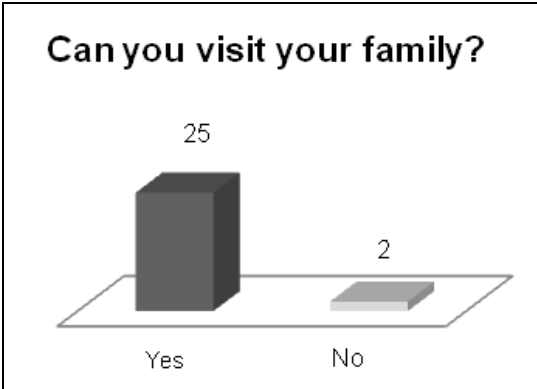
### 5.2 Bedroom

To the question, "where do you sleep?" the majority of the respondents answered that they have their own room. A total of 10 said they share a room with a family member of the employer; one mentioned that she slept in an area that was not a proper bedroom.

Details about the bedrooms	Group TID
Their own room	15
Room shared with a member of the employer's family	10
Room shared with other domestic workers	1
Not a bedroom (kitchen, livingroom, hallway, etc.)	1

### 5.3 Communication with the family

Sixty-three percent of the respondents said that they visited their family at least once per week. It ought to be noted that the family lives in the same area: Pamplona Alta.

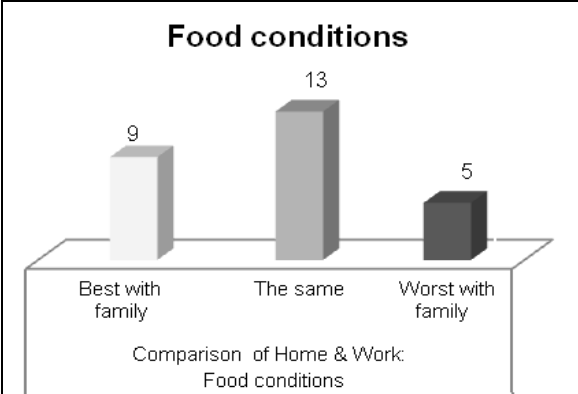


**5.4 Comparison of home and work**

The 27 respondents that worked *cama adentro* were asked to compare the situation in their employer’s home to that of their own family. The responses were as follows:

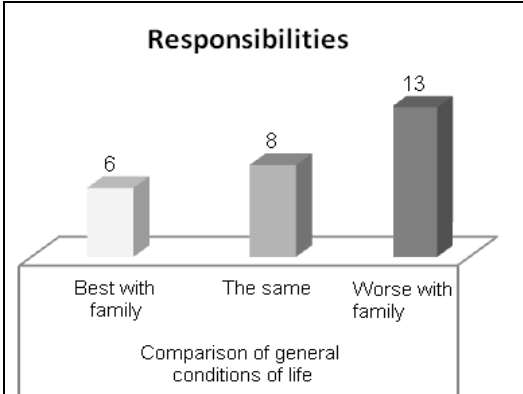
**THE FOOD**

By doing a quick comparison between the conditions of the food, 13 respondents indicated that there was no difference between the food they were given in their own home and that which they ate at their job. 19% indicated that the situation was worse at their home.



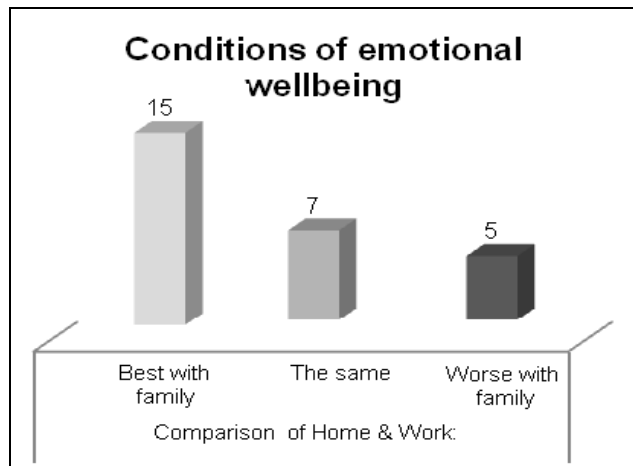
**AMOUNT OF CHORES**

A total of 13 respondents indicated that the workload was “worse with the family,” while 6 said that was “better with the family.” 48% said that it was worse in their home.



**HAPPINESS**

Generally, even though they had more work to do at their own homes, 15 respondents showed preference for that environment, indicating that they feel better with their family than in the home in which they work. 19% said that it was worse in their own home.



Nevertheless, the perception varied slightly depending upon the age. 46% of those younger than 14 preferred the living conditions in their employer’s home, compared to 40% of those 14 and older.

## 6 SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

The questionnaire explored three aspects of the respondents' social participation.

### 6.1 Friends

From the entire sampling, 170 (42%) indicated having a friend in TID.

- In Group TID, 92 (54%) said that they had a friend in TID.
- In the Group with Non-TID Jobs, 27 (33%).
- In the Non Working Group, 51 (41%)

### 6.2 Loved ones

This question was asked to all of the respondents: Are you in love with someone? A small number responded that they were: a total of 28 (14%) in Group TID, 12 (15%) in the Group with Non-TID Jobs and 16 (13%) in the Non Working Group.

It ought to be noted that the majority of respondents were under the age of 14. On the other hand, there are various conjoining factors that hinder adolescents from forming relationships with one another. The father and older brothers usually watch over their daughters and sisters, especially when they show interest in another boy.

The educational institutions try to prevent these relationships from forming by showing the teenagers what can result from starting a love life too early. This certainly has basis when all the dangers are taken into consideration, such as sexual violation after a girl consumes a drugged drink and the frequency with which a man will leave after finding out that his girlfriend is pregnant.

Nevertheless, neither the parents nor the high schools teach the teenagers about the use of contraceptives.

### 6.3 Community activities

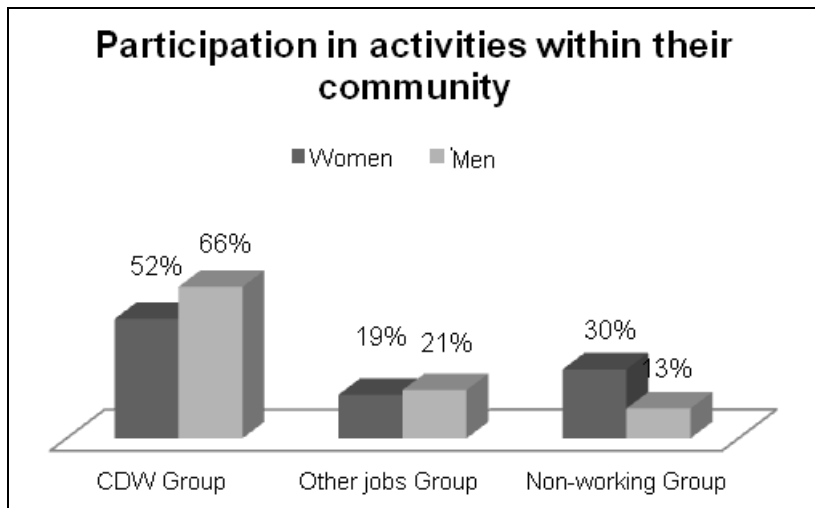
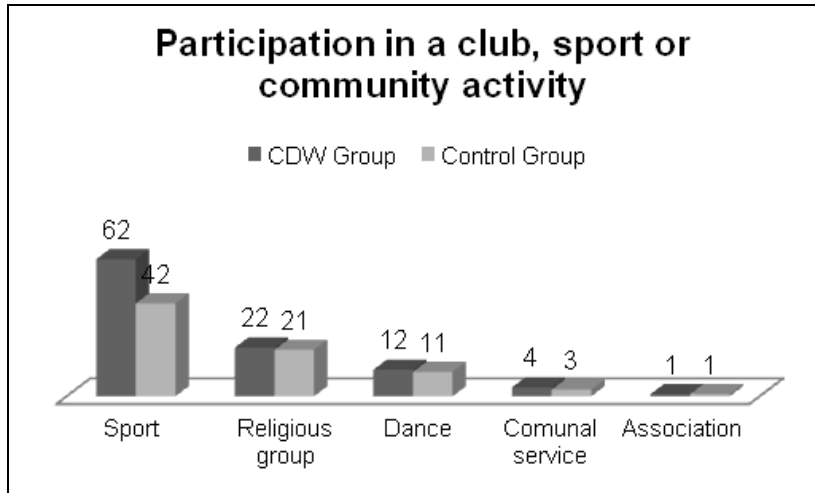
What activities and organizations do the respondents participate in outside of the school environment?

Playing and participating in sports is an important activity for boys and girls between 12 and 14 years of age. In the 14-17 year old group, it's about having free time, being with their friends without a predetermined schedule and pursuing individual interests, both alone and with others; above all they play soccer and volleyball.

Work in general, and especially domestic service work, deprives the workers of free time. Regardless, 62 (31%) from Group TID and 42 (20%) from the Control Group participate in sports.

In Pamplona Alta, as in other like neighborhoods, soccer and volleyball are the most popular sports played both in the streets and on the fields.

It is interesting to note that the males from Group TID participate in the most sports when compared to the other three groups.



There are differences in the percentage of participation amongst the women; they said that they participated in some group, club or sport in the community and the percentage is highest in Group TID. The respondents from the Group with Non-TID Jobs reported participating least, hardly 19%.

What explains this situation? In practice, as a result of being in the house, those that do not work have the greatest amount of free time. However, their lesser level of social participation might indicate that they have to complete domestic chores and take care of their own house, to such an extent that it infringes upon their time more than those who worked outside of their own homes.

It is also reasonable to think that the possibility of earning some money and making decisions about what to do with it, contributes to the social participation of Group TID and the Group with Non-TID Jobs.

## RELIGION

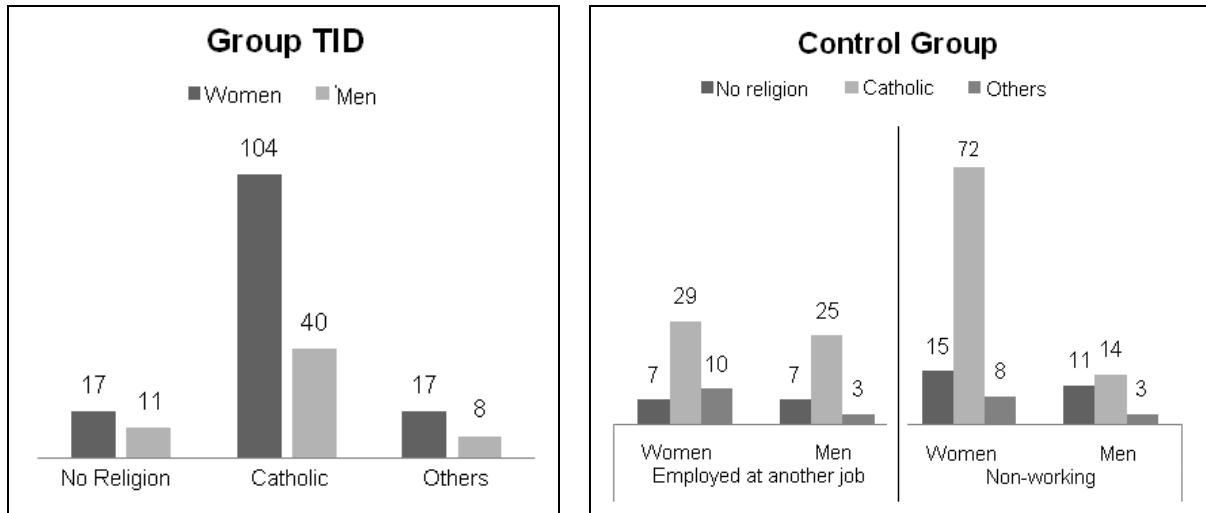
We found the following:

- A total of 144 (72%) of Group TID are catholic; 32 (16%) identified themselves as evangelicals, a category including Jehovah's Witnesses, Adventists and the Israelite Church<sup>22</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> Religion created in Peru in which they follow the principles of the Old Testament according to their own interpretation.

**Percepciones de niñas, niños y adolescentes .....**

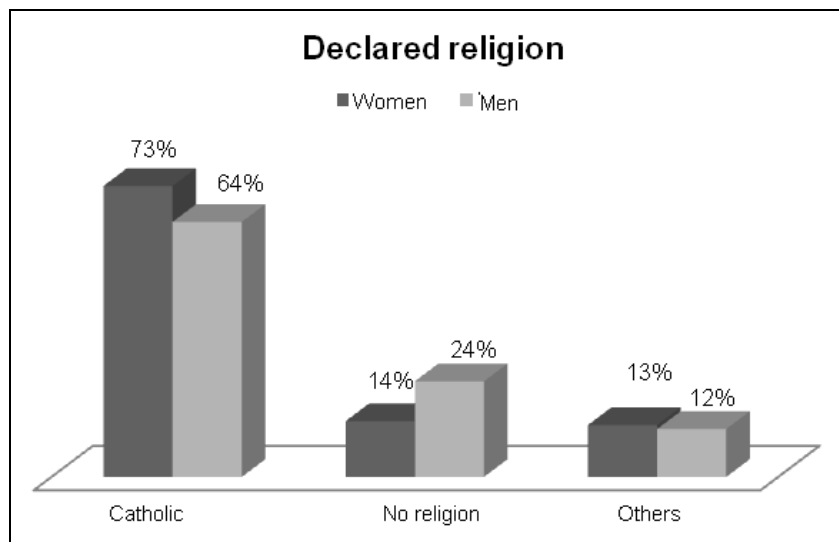
- A total of 140 (68%) of the Control Group are catholic. Also, 54 (66%) and 86 (69%) from the Group with Non-TID Jobs and the Non Working Group, respectively, are catholic.



The surprising fact is the number of respondents that indicated not having any religion at all. These respondents were 17% of the total sampling: 28 (14%) from Group TID, 14 (17%) from the Group with Non-TID Jobs and 26 (21%) from the Non Working Group.

This result suggests that religion is not an important issue in the family or that the parents do not actively practice religion. This is understandable, since on Sundays parents usually convene in the school or do communal work<sup>23</sup>; if they don't, they have to pay fines. Moreover, the little free time that they are left with is dedicated to domestic chores or other tasks.

It is usually assumed that the female sex is more drawn toward religion; thus we compared their answers.



Gender is a greater influencer than employment status in the data about the respondents' professed religious faith. Almost three of four parts of women were identified like catholic. The women who said have not a religion were adding a very much minor number than the men.

<sup>23</sup> Observation of the AGTR representatives that work in Pamplona Alta.

## 7 NUTRITIONAL PERCEPTIONS

The health and nutrition of the children and teenagers both that work and do not work is of great interest for several reasons. The phrase is trite but still true: “this is the future of Peru in training, just before reaching reproductive age.”

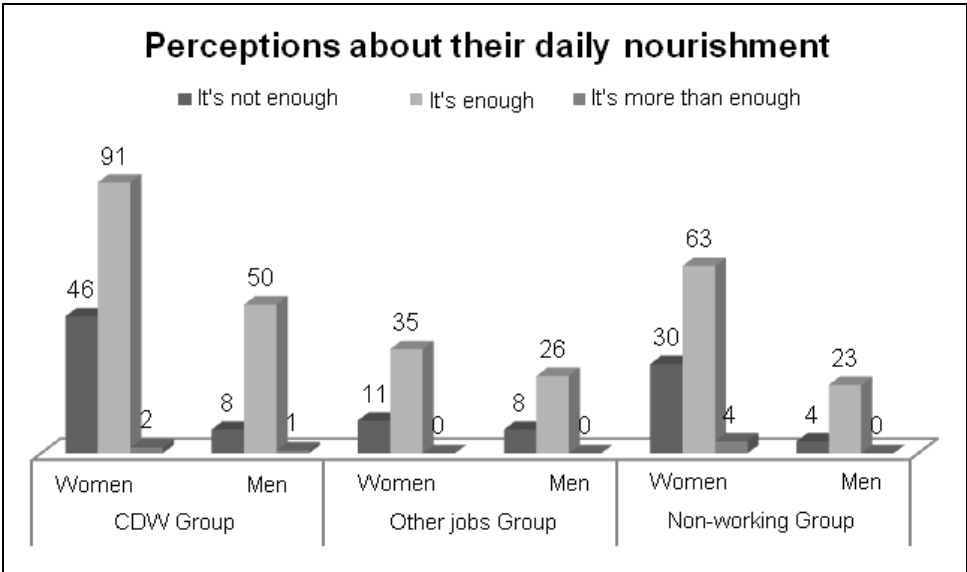
The men and women interviewed are starting to assume the responsibility of their own health and nourishment, although the majority of the decisions are made by adults, be it the parents, guardians or employers. Oftentimes it is the adults that decide when to go to the doctor and even when to recognize an ailment as a health problem, as opposed to something not worth paying attention to.

### 7.1 Do you have enough food to eat every day?

The answers obtained for this question are the following:

- Responded not having enough to eat:  
 In Group TID, 54 (27%)  
 In the Group with Non-TID Jobs, 19 (23%)  
 In the Non-Working Group, 34 (27%)
- Responded having enough to eat:  
 In Group TID, 141 (71%)  
 In the Group with Non-TID Jobs, 61 (75%)  
 In the Non-Working Group, 86 (69%)

Thus, of the total sampling, a total of 107 (26%) were not considered to be sufficiently nourished.



Once again it is necessary to remember that the employers are usually people that live in the same areas as their employees, whose economic situation is hardly better than the families of the children who work

for them. This may explain 27% nutritional dissatisfaction found both in Group TID and the Non- Working Group.

No cases were discovered in which the girls or boys were deprived food as a punishment or any similar situation that would allude to deficiencies in their nutrition; this both in Group TID and the Control Group.

**7.2. What did you eat yesterday?**

The men and women indicated to the interviewer the type of food they had eaten the previous day or had eaten the last day they worked (in the case of Group TID and the Group with Non-TID Jobs).

- In Group TID, a greater percentage ate vegetables and legumes (beans, lentils, wheat, lima bean, etc)  
 54% of the women and 67% of the men reported to have eaten vegetables<sup>24</sup>.  
 43% of the women and 64% of the men reported having eaten legumes.

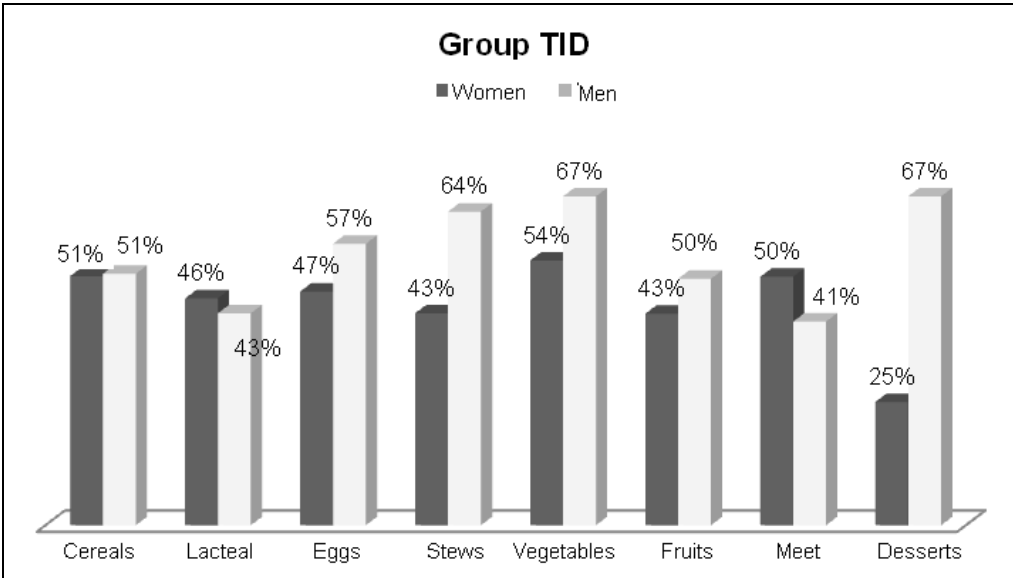
Almost half in all of the groups said they had eaten meat (chicken or other) or fish, although, clearly, we do not know the amount.

About the consumption of other products by Group TID:

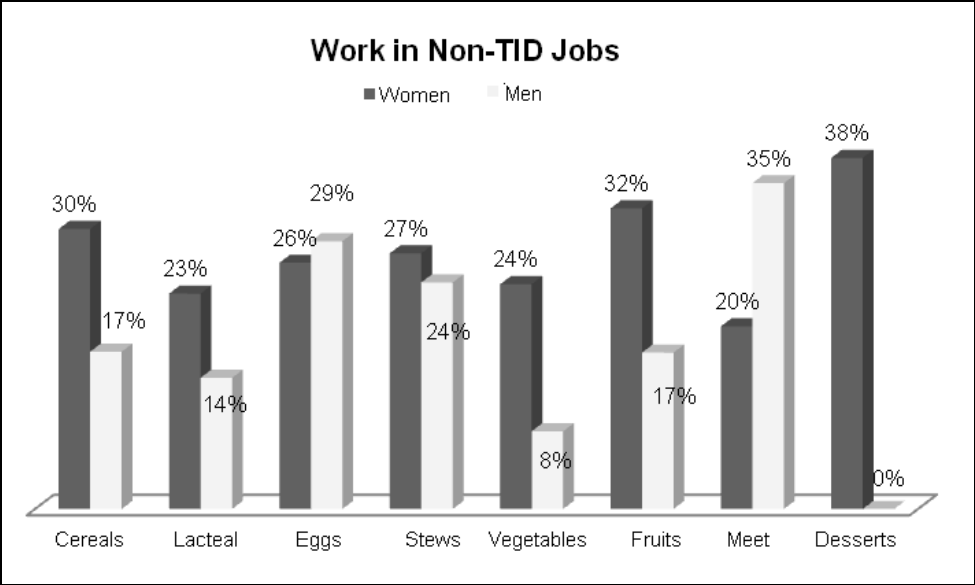
- 46% of the women and 43% of the men said they had eaten dairy products.
- 51% of women and 51% of men said they had eaten cereals.
- 25% of the women and 67% of the men said they had eaten deserts. One would expect that the sugar present in their diet is that of drink sweeteners.

In the Group with Non-TID Jobs, the majority of food consumed was that of fruit and meat. Moreover:

- 32% of the women and 17% of the men responded having eaten fruit.
- 20% of the women and 35% of the men responded having eaten some type of meat.
- 23% of the women and 14% of the men said they had consumed dairy products.
- 30% of the females interviewed and 17% of the males interviewed indicated having eaten cereal.

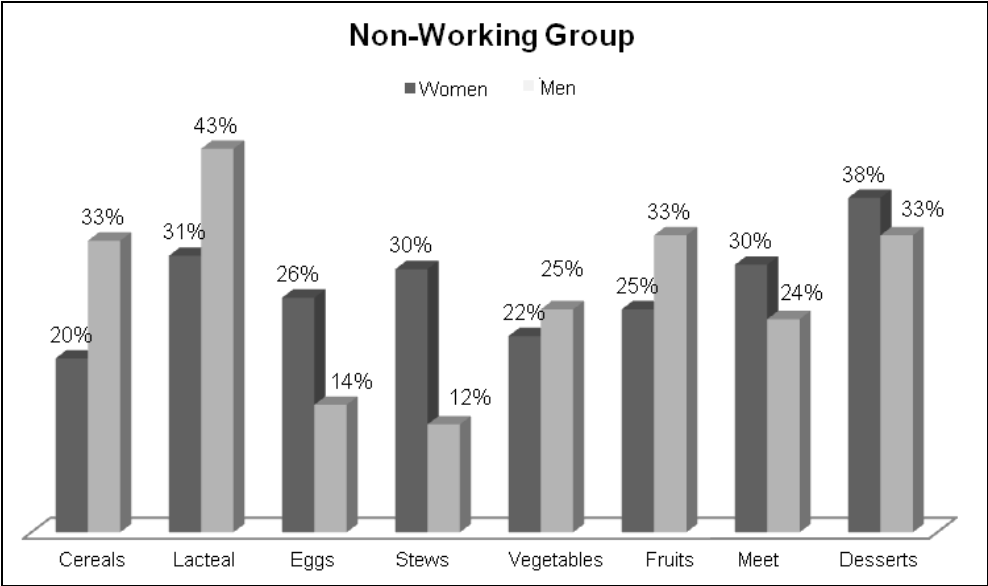


<sup>24</sup> This doesn't mean that they had eaten a fresh-vegetable salad. The Peruvian custom is to eat cooked vegetables, prepared in a soup.



In the Non Working Group, the majority of food consumed was that of dairy products.

- 31% of the women and 43% of the men responded having consumed dairy products.
- 30% of the women and 24% of the men responded having eaten some type of meat.
- 30% of the women and 12% of the men said they had eaten some type of bean.
- 25% of the women and 33% of the men responded having eaten fruit.



In summary, they seem to have a diet that characterizes a broad swath of the Peruvian population: heavy in carbohydrates with a basic presence of legumes and some type of animal protein, low dairy and almost no fruits and vegetables.

We ought to point out the weakness of the respondents' data: we do not know the portion size or the respondents' desired and preferred mix of food compared to that which was actually consumed. We need more detailed studies, including those which capture the spectrum of situations between different individuals, homes and times of the year.

## 8 PERCEPTIONS OF PHYSICAL WELLBEING

The respondents were asked to complete a general evaluation of the state of their health and were asked a series of questions about the last time they didn't feel well or sought out health care. The state of physical and emotional health was similarly reported for the majority of aspects investigated for Group TID and the Control Group.

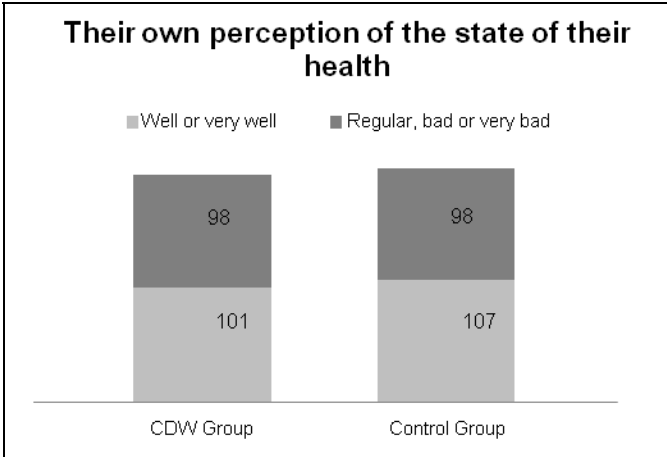
### 8.1. Perceptions of the state of their physical health

In accordance with their own evaluation, the two groups were divided almost evenly between those who considered their health to be "good or very good" and those who considered it to be "regular to very bad."

- In Group TID, 101 (51%) of those interviewed considered their health to be "good" or "very good," while 98 (49%) said their health was "regular" to "very bad".
- In the Control Group, 107 (52%) indicated feeling "good" or "very good," and 98 (47%) said they feel "regular" to "very bad".

Few considered that their health problems would become something to limit their activities: only 8% from Group TID and 11% from the Control Group.

In general, said that they suffered from illnesses and ailments that they experienced to a relatively transient and mild degree, considered to be "normal" and expected.



\*Almost no one classified the state of their health as "very poor." The vast majority fell into the "regular" category.

### 8.2. Illnesses and ailments

The two illnesses and ailments categories, both in Group TID and the Control Group, are respiratory (cough, cold, bronchitis). Also, for Group TID, stomach problems; while the Group with Non-TID Jobs complained of muscular pain (neck, arm and leg pain).

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- Group TID reported the most days of the following discomforts: 66 (33%) respiratory problems (cough, cold, bronchitis) and 50 (25%) stomach problems<sup>25</sup>.
- The Group with Non-TID Jobs reported the most days of having the following ailments: 29 (36%) respiratory problems (cough, cold, bronchitis) and 24 (19%) muscular pain.
- The Non-Working Group equally reported the presence of both types of health problems: 33 (27%) stomach problems and 33 (27%) lack of spirit, sadness and depression.

One way of expressing membership to a cultural tradition in Peru is by subscribing to the methods by which they diagnose health problems and to their ideas/beliefs about health. From the entire sampling, 13%, at one time or another, had been to a healer (this category could include herbalists or bonesetters). This type of offering is easy to find in Lima and often times the fee is less than would be charged in the general health system, where the visit generally ends with a medical prescription that needs to be purchased.

- Group TID showed a slight tendency over the other two groups to experience skin and eye problems.
- The Control Group showed a slight tendency over the respondents from Group TID to experience stomach and dental problems.

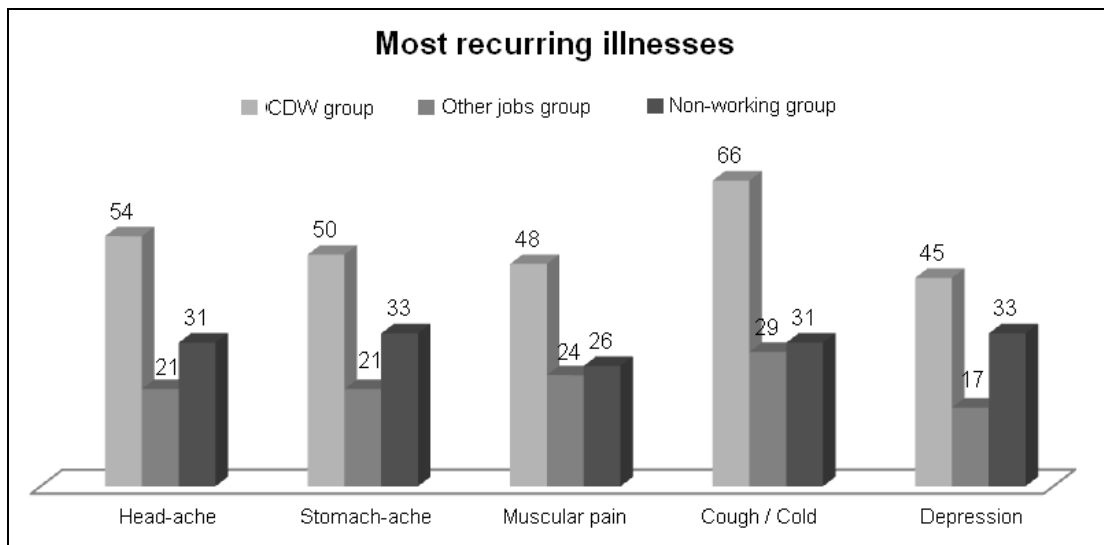
Beyond the small variances, the table is fairly similar for the entire population interviewed, with respect to the illnesses and reported health problems.

Health Problems	Group TID	Group with Non-TID Jobs	Non Working Group
Headache	54	21	31
Stomachache	50	21	33
Vomit	7	7	6
Back pain	40	14	23
Muscular pain	48	24	26
Skin irritation	29	3	21
Exhaustion	36	20	23
Nervousness, tension, stress	30	16	17
Lack of appetite	29	11	19
Diarrhea, indigestion	13	4	10
Dizziness, fainting	15	5	10
Menstrual problems	13	5	3
Respiratory problems - cough, cold, bronchitis	66	29	31
Fright, embarrassment	24	8	11
Toothache	19	9	16
Lack of spirit	45	17	33

The illnesses and ailments are grouped according to the greater or lesser need to worry about them, which is shared by the three groups.

<sup>25</sup> It ought to be noted that the two biggest and most common health awareness campaigns for the children in the housing projects of Lima, specifically because of the frequency with which they occur, are about acute respiratory infections and acute diarrheal disease.

Situations of greater concern	Situations of lesser concern
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Respiratory infections</li> <li>• Apathy, sadness and depression</li> <li>• Headache, migraine</li> <li>• Bone problems (back or spine)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Nausea</li> <li>• Dizziness, fainting</li> <li>• Diarrhea, indigestion, heartburn</li> <li>• Fright, nervousness</li> <li>• Folk illnesses</li> <li>• Loss of appetite</li> <li>• Skin and eye irritation and infection</li> </ul>

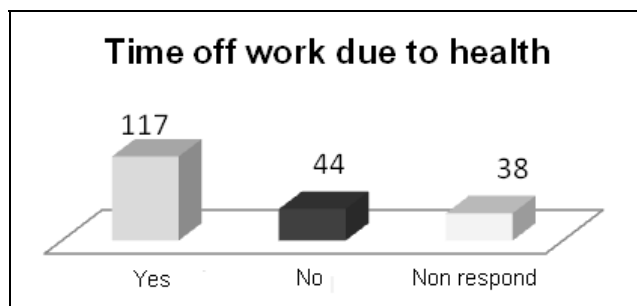


Three-fourths of the respondents said that they had not experienced “fright” or “nervousness.” These alternatives were present among other possibilities from an extensive list of problems that the respondents could have had.

### 8.3. Limitations due to illness

In Group TID, a total of 117 (59%) said that they were given days off for being sick, 44 (22%) responded that they had not and 38 (19%) did not respond to the question.

Nevertheless, almost a third said that they had not left work during their illness; one could suppose that their health problems had actually been as benign as the respondents had suggested.



## 9 IN SEARCH OF HEALTHCARE

The population interviewed ought to be determining their own ways to confront the health threats present in the environment as well as seeking help from specialists, relatives, friends and a from a variety of institutions.

### 9.1. Preventative healthcare methods

Peru's culture does not encourage health prevention. The health campaigns center upon two things: eating well and exercising.

- In Group TID, 98 (49%) said that they eat healthy, 32 (16%) said that they took care of themselves by exercising and 14 (7%) said they took care of their personal hygiene.
- In the Group with Non-TID Jobs, 45 (56%) said that they ate healthy, 11 (14%) said they exercise and 10 (12%) responded that they don't do anything.
- In the Non-Working Group, 73 (59%) affirmed that they ate healthy, 13 (10%) said that they took care of their personal hygiene and 12 (10%) exercised.

A small number of respondents considered sufficient sleep to be the best method of health prevention. On average, both Group TID and the Control Group reported sleeping, on average, more than 8 hours per night (Group TID = 8.46; Control Group = 8.63).

Of the respondents, little more than 12% of the entire sample said they "don't do anything" to prevent illnesses and take care of their health.

Also, at the age of our respondents in our study, sexual and reproductive health is an issue of vital importance.

We asked the 281 women in our study if they had any problems during menstruation.

A total of 188 (67%) said they had not experienced any ailments. 93 (33%) complained of menstrual ailments and, of these, 16 (6%) said they had ailments the majority of days during their menstrual period.

We know that there are taboos and barriers that make it difficult for pubertal adolescents to access trustworthy information about sexuality and contraceptives that is expressed in terms that they can understand and utilize.

In general, the respondents showed resistance to utilizing sources of reliable information, such as teachers, church members, books, the internet and even friends and classmates. There was some acceptance by the family to be sources of information and orientation for the respondents. Nevertheless, the respondents said that the most reliable sources are the state-sponsored health services, doctors and La Casa de Bienestar<sup>26</sup>. Half of the respondents said that they would send their friends to these sources in the event that they needed information about sexuality and reproduction.

<sup>26</sup> Project created by the NGO Movimiento Manuela Ramos, which is based in Pamplona Alta.

Despite the relevant information that the various health services give them, the respondents said they hardly ever turned to them as a resource. It should be noted that, on the one hand, state-sponsored health services are not authorized to hand out condoms or other contraceptives to minors under the age of 18; on the other hand, in Peru sexual relations between minors under the age of 18 are illegal and punishable by law<sup>27</sup>.

Sexual and reproductive health is an issue that deserves greater exploration, above all in light of the prevalence of urinary and vaginal infections that occur in a large segment of the female Peruvian population; not to mention the risk of sexually transmitted diseases and unwanted pregnancies amongst the teenage population.

## 9.2. Healthcare experiences

The grand majority of respondents (309 of 400 that responded to the question) had resolved their last episode of illness at their own home. This to say that they looked for help from their family members, without considering it necessary to visit a doctor, pharmacy or any sort of alternative medical assistance.

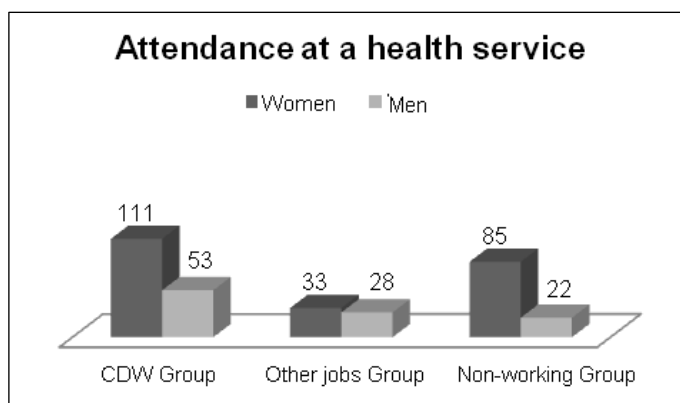
We have seen that their problems were concentrated in the two categories of colds and stomach problems. Only 9% of the entire sampling, in almost identical proportion to Group TID and the Control Group, had turned to a doctor, health center, pharmacy or health provider.

The men and women interviewed aren't very well acquainted with the health system. Less than 5% of the sampling regularly goes for medical checkups, although it ought to be noted that, in general, the Peruvian population does not usually turn to doctors for preventive medical checkups.

The majority of the respondents had been to a state health establishment (clinic, health center or hospital) perhaps more than once in their life<sup>28</sup>. In this respect, there is very little difference between men and women.

- In Group TID, 111 (57%)
- In the Group with Non-TID Jobs, 33 (41%)
- In the Non-Working Group, 85 (69%)

In the three groups, the men have gone to the health service centers less.



\*3 respondents didn't respond to the question; the rest of the sampling, 69 men and women, had never been to a medical center (doctor's office, health center, hospital or something similar).

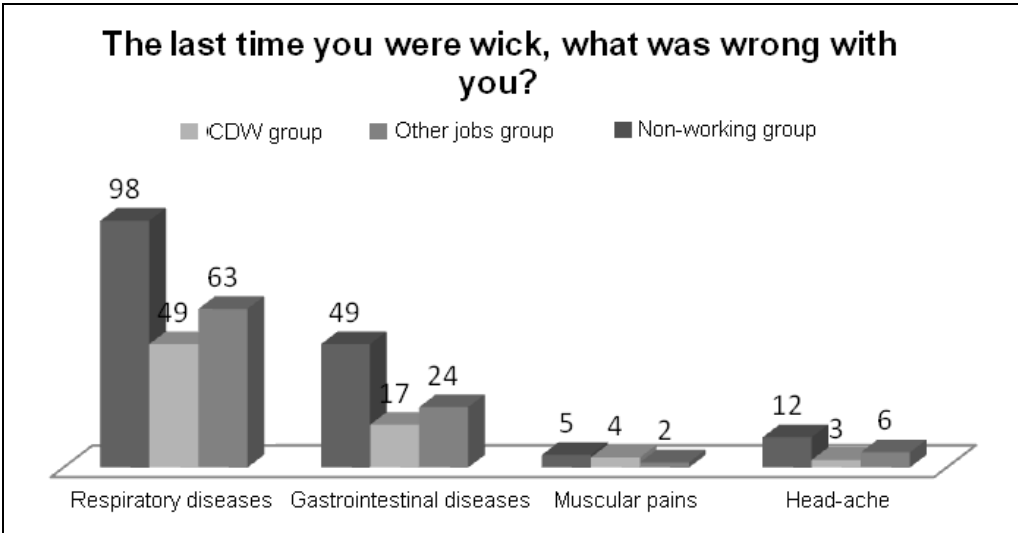
<sup>27</sup> In November 2010, there was a bill in process to decriminalize sexual relations amongst adolescents under the age of 18.

<sup>28</sup> They possibly don't remember their childhood immunizations, which nearly 100% of the children receive in the capital.

### 9.3. Last illness

To learn about the last illnesses that afflicted the respondents, we asked the following question: the last time that you were sick, “what was wrong with you?”

A total of 98 (49%) from Group TID mentioned some respiratory illness, as to have suffered from a cough or a cold during the days before the interview. A total of 49 (25%) from the same group commented that their most recent illnesses were related to their stomach.



### 9.4. Treatment

The grand majority of respondents said that they had suffered minor illnesses, for which they had been able to get the medicine they needed (85% from Group TID and 90% from the Control Group); this was almost always paid for by family members.

In very few of the cases of Group TID, the employer or the principle person had purchased low-cost medicines, since they treated transient and mild illnesses.

**10**

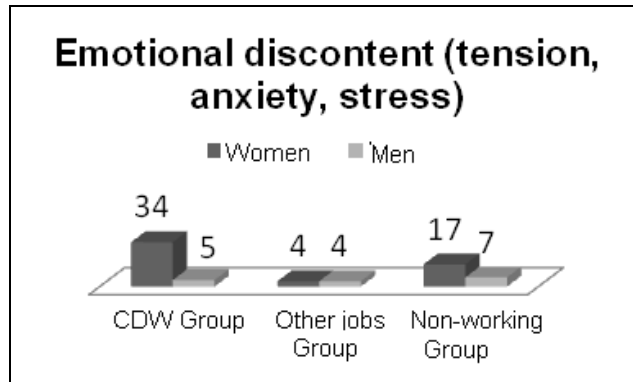
**PERCEPTIONS OF EMOTIONAL WELLBEING**

Our data gave us reason to be concerned about the emotional health of the respondents. Undoubtedly, you have to know how to interpret the information with the requisite care. The range between 12 and 17 years of age is a stage in life in which much dissatisfaction, confusion and protest usually occurs. Pubertal and adolescent teenagers are constructing their identity, in part forming a critical distance from their relatives and the people that exist in their surroundings. Often they turn their insecurities against themselves.

First, general stress and other signs of emotional problems will be examined. Then, it will be seen what is special in the situations of boys, girls and teenagers from Group TID and the Control Group. Lastly, it will be specified whether something in particular is affecting the men and women in TID, which could contribute to their labor situation.

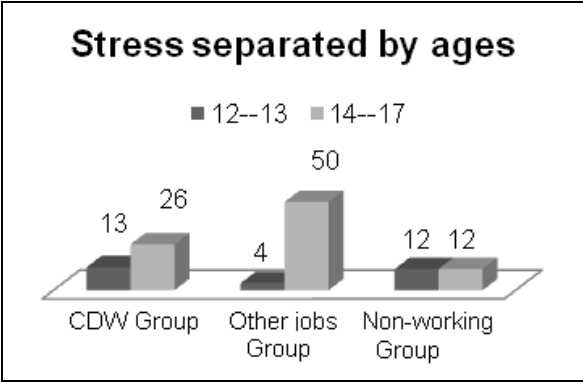
**10.1. Perceptions of their emotional wellbeing**

A total of 34 (17%) from Group TID said they felt stressed the majority of the days, a difference from the Group with Non-TID Jobs. Although they were not asked directly, many said that it was a due to their work responsibilities.



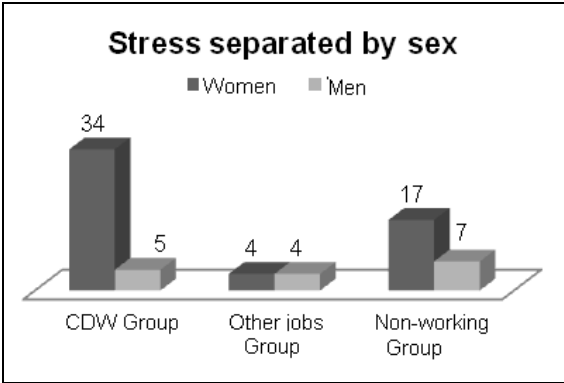
- In Group TID, we noted that 13 (15%) of the 89 men and women from 12 to 13 years of age and 26 (24%) of the 110 men and women between 14 and 17 years of age said they felt stress the majority of days.
- In the Group with Non-TID Jobs, 4 (13%) of the 31 men and women 12 and 13 years old and all women and men between the ages of 14 and 17 indicated feeling stress the majority of days.
- In the Non-Working Group, 12 (21%) of the 58 boys and girls 12 and 13 years old and 12 (18%) of the 66 boys between 14 and 17 years old responded that they felt stress the majority of days.

The men and women between 14 and 17 years of age showed a greater number of cases of stress compared to the respondents of 12 and 13 years of age.



- In Group TID, 34 (24%) of the 139 women and 5 (8%) of the 60 men said they were stressed the majority of days.
- In the Group with Non-TID Jobs, 4 (9%) of the 46 women and 4 (11%) of the 35 men indicated feeling stress the majority of days.
- In the Non-Working Group, 17 (18%) of the 96 women and 7 (25%) of the 28 men said they felt stress the majority of days.

The women are more vulnerable than the men to succumbing to emotional episodes, such as stress.

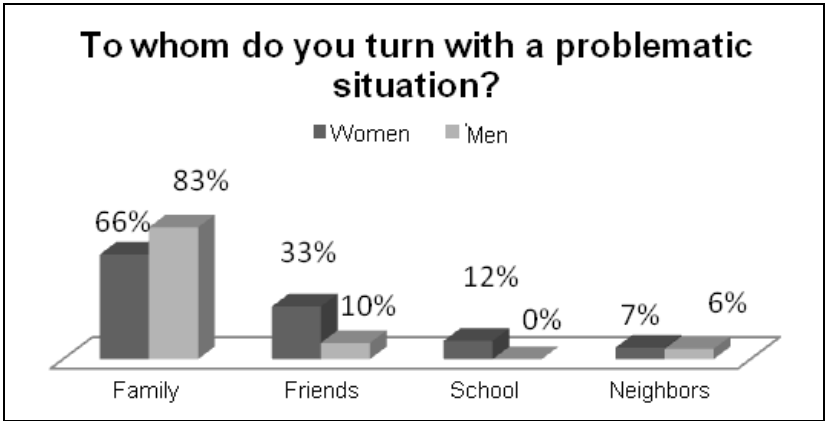
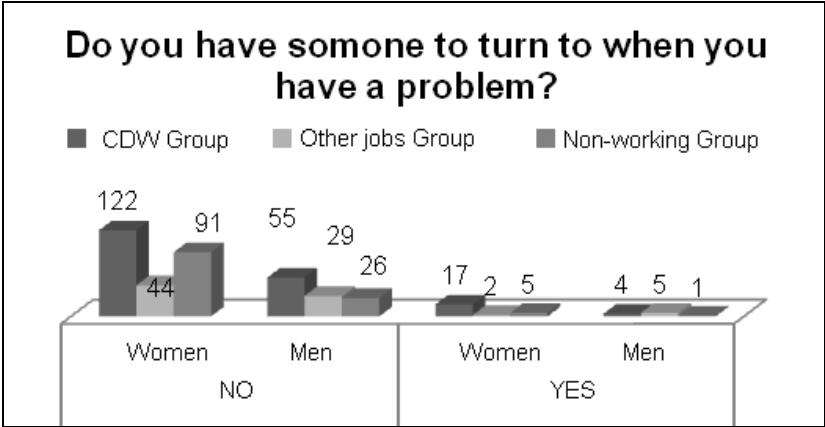


**10.2. The presence of someone in whom to confide**

The majority of the respondents don't have someone they can turn to when they experience a problem, with little difference between the men and women. The respondents both from Group TID and the Group with Non-TID Jobs feel more alone than those from the Non-Working Group.

- In Group TID, 88% of the women and 92% of the men revealed that they don't have anyone to turn to if they encounter a personal problem.
- In the Group with Non-TID Jobs, 73% of the women and 82% of the men indicated not having someone to turn to if they encounter a personal problem.

In general, it appears that it is more difficult for the men to share their personal difficulties.



Of the men that affirmed having some form of emotional support in problematic situations, 83% indicated family members, 10% friends and 6% neighbors, amongst others including church members and their employer. There isn't great variance between men of different ages, although the older boys less frequently turn to others for help.

In regard to the women, they sought help from: 66% with their family, 33% talking with their friends when they have problems, 12% with their teachers, 7% with neighbors, amongst others, such as neighbors, social welfare officials, doctors, employers and local leaders.

**10.3. Information about physical and sexual abuse amongst their peers**

A serious issue in our study is the vulnerability associated with the context in which the respondents live, where there is scarce attention given to domestic or street violence.

Generally, in quantitative studies, questions about sensitive subjects are not asked directly ("what happened to you?" "have you done it?"). Rather, it is preferred to ask indirectly about what could have happened to a friend, classmate or acquaintance. Thus was the strategy utilized in this study; the following questions were asked: Do you have friends that have been confronted with one of the following forms of violence and abuse?

- Physical abuse (hitting, punches, whipping, excessive pinching, locked in a room, torture, etc).
- Sexual abuse (violation, unwanted sexual contact, unwanted kisses, caresses, exposure to genitals, etc)<sup>29</sup>.

<sup>29</sup> The examples listed in parenthesis were only mentioned to the respondents if they didn't understand what type of sexual violence the question referred to.

The responses show that half of the respondents experienced violence or threats. Almost half (45%) of the respondents, without variation between Group TID and the Control Group, reported having friends that have experienced different forms of physical violence. We don't have the details, but it could be violence inflicted by the parents or older siblings; furthermore, some school teachers practice corporal punishment, although it prohibited by the state; it could also include gang violence in the streets.

A fourth of the total sampling indicated having friends that had experienced, or were experiencing, different forms of sexual violence (25% of Group TID; 23% of the Control Group).

In Group TID, the percentages reflect that the violence is greater for the women than for the men.

- 49% of the women knew someone that had suffered physical abuse and 31% knew someone that had suffered sexual abuse.
- 44% of the men affirmed having friends that have been victims of physical abuse and 25% had friends that had suffered sexual abuse.

**10.4. Information about risky behavior in their family and amongst their peers**

Alcohol abuse is a reality very close to our respondents, which reaches them both through their family and friends.

For the family, the questions were: Does someone in your family drink alcohol? Does this cause problem for you or your family?

- A total of 84 (42%) from Group TID responded there was someone who consumed alcohol; of these, 49 (58%) said that this caused them problems.
- A total of 44 (54%) from the Group with Non-TID Jobs said that there was someone who consumed alcohol; of these, 19 (43%) indicated that this caused them problems.
- A total of 54 (44%) from the Non Working Group responded that there is someone that consumes alcohol; of these, 28 (52%) indicated that it caused them problems.

About the friends, the questions were: Do you have friends that consume alcohol? Does this cause you problems?

- A total of 79 (40%) from Group TID responded that they had a friend that consumed alcohol; of these, 39 (49%) indicated that it caused them problems.
- A total of 45 (56%) from the Group with Non-TID Jobs responded that they had a friend that consumed alcohol; of these, 11 (24%) indicated that it caused them problems.
- A total of 46 (37%) from the Non-Working Group responded that they had a friend that consumed alcohol; of these, 12 (26%) said that it caused them problems.

The respondents from the Group with Non-TID Jobs had the most friends that consumed alcohol; however, it was also the group that reported the least amount of related problems. One wonders if this is because they themselves could be partaking in this activity as part of their social interactions with peers and adults, as is common in Peru.

## Percepciones de niñas, niños y adolescentes .....

As far as drug consumption amongst family members, this was limited to a small number of instances. Contact with drugs is much more frequent through friends.

- A total of 45 (23%) from Group TID affirmed having contact with friends that consumed drugs and 18 (40%) of these said that it caused them problems.
- A total of 15 (19%) from the Group with Non-TID Jobs affirmed having contact with friends that consumed drugs and 3 (20%) of these said that it caused them problems.
- A total of 19 (15%) from the Non-Working Group affirmed having contact with friends that consumed drugs and 6 (32%) of these said they it caused them problems.

Asked about their experience:

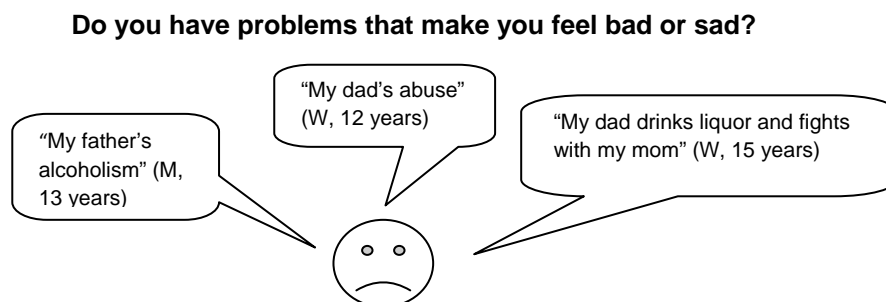
- In Group TID, 4 said they had had problems with alcohol (3 women and 1 man) and 3 women said they had problems with drugs.
- In the Group with Non-TID Jobs, 2 men admitted having problems with alcohol and 1 woman with drugs.
- In the Non-Working Group, 1 man said that he had problems with drugs.

One teenager from Group TID said that she had been a cocaine user but that she was in the process of detoxification. She showed concern for her younger sister, who had been converted into a user and who was not getting over the problem.

It ought to be noted that it is very easy to get cheap alcohol and drugs in Lima, though the quality of both are very bad.

### 10.5. Do you have a problem that makes you feel sad?

What is it that affects the boys, girls and teenagers of Pamplona Alta? A comfortable space was created that will help them open up and talk about their private situations without any fear. There was a list of various items that made the respondents feel bad or sad. The issues of familial violence and the father's alcoholism were recurrent.



**11**

## LA CASA DE PANCHITA

For several years, La Asociación Grupo de Trabajo Redes (AGTR) has been supporting boys, girls and adolescents involved in TID in Pamplona Alta. Almost every Sunday, in a rented bus, a group of 30-35 girls are taken to AGTR’s local institution, “La Casa de Panchita,” located in the Jesús María district.

They arrive at 10:00 a.m., accompanied by Suzana Reyes, local AGTR representative from San Juan de Miraflores and return by the same manner at 5:00 in the afternoon<sup>30</sup>.

At La Casa de Panchita, they run a “Sunday Workday,” wherein they develop and lead diverse and informal educational activities, developed by AGTR’s own strategies and methodologies<sup>31</sup>.

AGTR also visits families, promoting communication amongst household family members, good treatment toward the children and the improvement of work conditions for those children involved in TID, in case they are not able to leave the occupation.<sup>32</sup>

### 11.1. How did you hear about LA CASA DE PANCHITA?

Of the respondents, 52 (13%) said they had heard about La Casa de Panchita through their local advocate and by having participated in one of their activities.

It ought to be noted that in addition to the Sunday Workdays, La Casa de Panchita offers various activities of which the children involved in TID can freely choose to participate in. We offer the following: help with homework, with access to a library both for textbooks and for other types of books; computer and English classes; public speaking workshops, theatre and guitar lessons; karaoke, movies and dessert making.

Other services offered are: orientation of workers’ rights and legal counseling, sexuality workshops and psychological counseling. Furthermore, a domestic service employment agency works at La Casa de Panchita.<sup>33</sup>

The workers can also sit down at a table to do puzzles or can simply get comfortable in one of the big armchairs in the reception area and talk.

### 11.2. What does LA CASA DE PANCHITA do?

The respondents identified various activities orchestrated at La Casa de Panchita; these are some of the most common:

“They make plans and we meet other people” (W, 14 years old)

<sup>30</sup> Many children arrive not having eaten breakfast; thus, they receive a cup of milk with oatmeal. They are given the same for lunch.

<sup>31</sup> Cuando Sea Grande. AGTR. Lima, 2004.

Como Jugando. AGTR. Lima, 2007.

<sup>32</sup> Darse Cuenta, Hacer Algo. AGTR. Lima, 2007.

<sup>33</sup> LA CASA DE PANCHITA S.A.C. [www.lacasadepanchita.com](http://www.lacasadepanchita.com)

“They help us to learn and to become better people” (W, 14 years old)

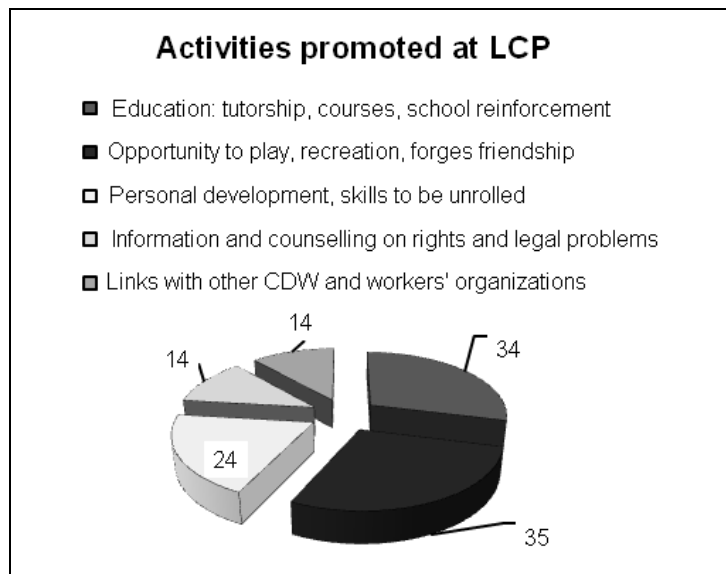
“They help us and teach us things” (W, 12 years old)

“They offer beautiful projects and activities” (W, 13 years old)

### 11.3. What has LA CASA DE PANCHITA offered you?

Some of the answers are specific to the respondents’ specific domestic service condition but others could be those from any adolescent from one of the low social-economic areas of the city.

Group TID selected the following activities and ways in which La Casa de Panchita helps them:



The respondents that are familiar with and make use of La Casa de Panchita are satisfying a variety of their needs. Some of these are clearly practical: receiving help with their homework that isn't explained sufficiently in their schools, obtaining advice about a problem with their employer, using the phone or internet to contact their family. Other concerns that they express reflect their social and psychological needs: companionship, fun, the feeling of not being alone in a difficult situation.

In general, AGTR works to ensure that boys and girls in TID and those at risk of TID are successful in school, are informed about their rights and receive protection against exploitation and abuses.

14

## EXPECTATIONS FOR THE FUTURE

The majority of respondents didn't indicate having aspirations or role models to follow and have only vague ideas, somewhat stereotypical of their future.

The Peruvian society offers hardly any alternatives or opportunities for these adolescents to escape out of their poor situations in the peripheral neighborhoods of Lima.

### 12.1. What person would you like to be like?

As far as role models, they selected the following:

- In Group TID, 86 (69%) didn't indicate a role model, 54 (27%) said a family member and 22 (11%) indicated someone in the artistic world.
- In the Group with Non-TID Jobs, 29 (36%) didn't indicate a role model, 22 (27%) said a family member and 8 (10%) mentioned someone in the artistic world.
- In the Non-Working Group, 46 (37%) didn't indicate a role model, 37 (30%) said a family member and 13 (10%) indicated someone in the artistic world.

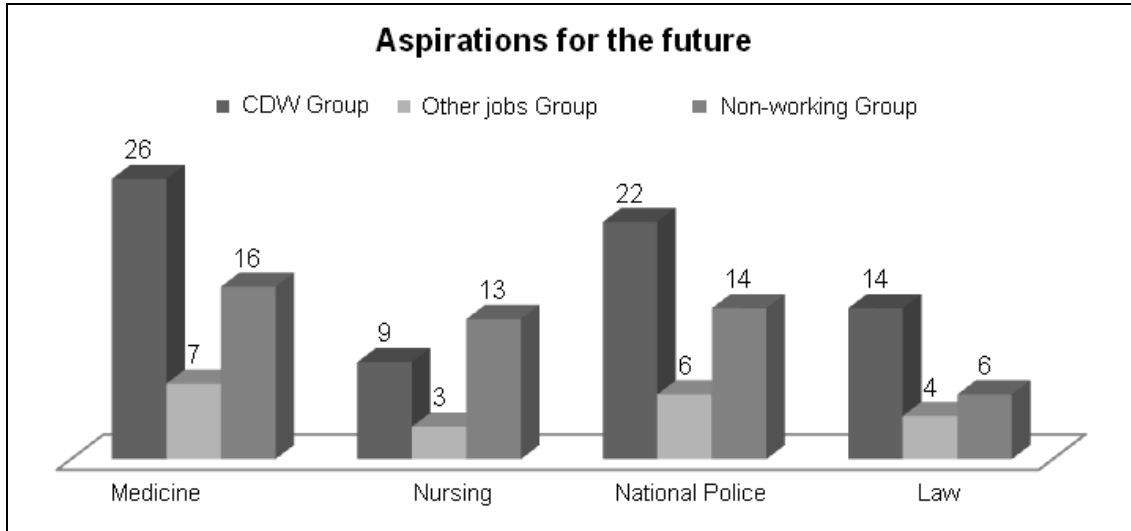
In the case of the men, 52% of Group TID said that they didn't have anyone that they wanted to be like when they grow older. In the Group with Non-TID Jobs and the Non-Working Group the same answer was given by 34% and 29% of the men, respectively.

In the case of the women from the 3 groups, 40% indicated not having a role model. Family members, actors and actresses were referenced as role models by the women.

### 12.2. What do you want to be when you grow up?

With respect to this question, 32 (8%) of the respondents didn't respond, while 58 (14%) gave individually specific responses, impossible to group together. If the most frequent answers are taken into account, we find the following aspirations for their future:

- In Group TID, 22 (11%) want to be in the military or national police, of these were 9 women and 13 men; 26 (13%) aspired to be doctors, of these were 20 women and 6 men; 16 (8%) wanted to be chefs, of these were 13 women and 3 men.
- In the Group with Non-TID Jobs, 9 (11%) wanted to be chefs, of these were 7 women and 2 men; 7 (9%) desired to be doctors, of these were 6 women and 1 man; 6 (7%) aspired to be in the military or national police, of these were 1 woman and 5 men.
- In the Non-Working Group, 16 (13%), all women, aspired to be doctors; 13 (10%) wanted to study nursing, of these were 12 women and 1 man; 14 (11%) elected to be in the military or national police, of these were 9 women and 5 men.



We can only suppose that the respondents hardly have a vague idea of the path they need to take in order to reach their goals and aspirations, which will be difficult to attain either because of the poor education system they are subjected to or because of the costs to pursue said careers.

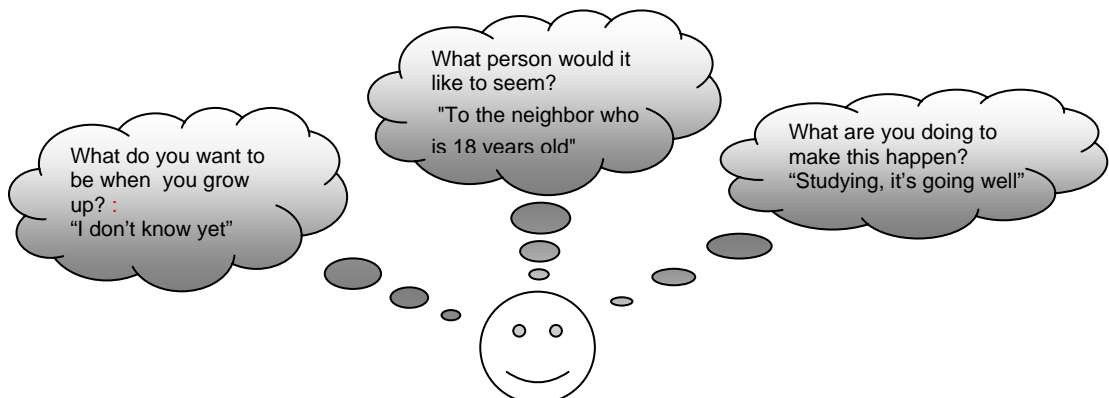
A disconnect was also noted between their professional goals and the person they wanted to emulate. For example, one may indicate that she wants to be a lawyer and advocate of women and children, yet the same person indicated that the person they admire is Thalía, a Mexican singer and soap opera star.

In order to reach their goals, the boys, girls and teenagers interviewed invoked three tried and true strategies that have been indicated in similar surveys taken in Peru for decades: study, hard work and practice.

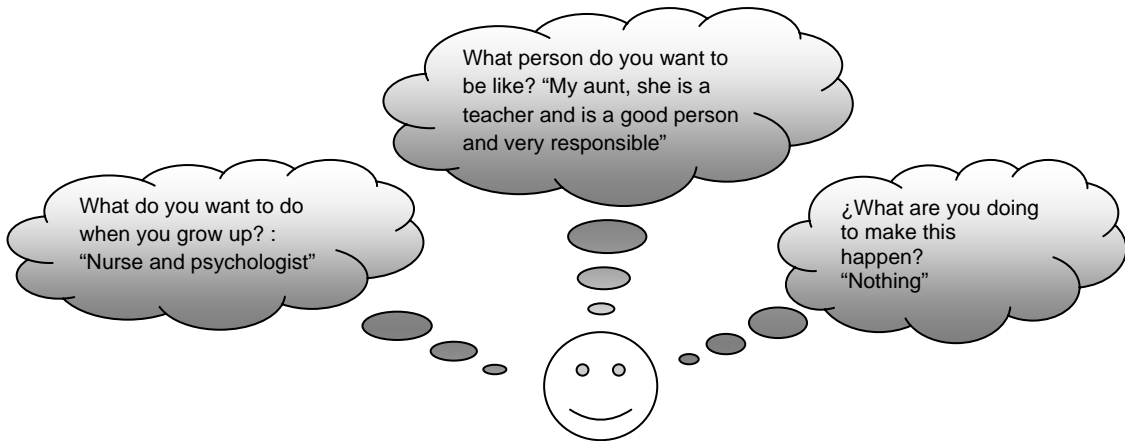
**(Group with Non-TID Jobs, Woman – 16 years old)**



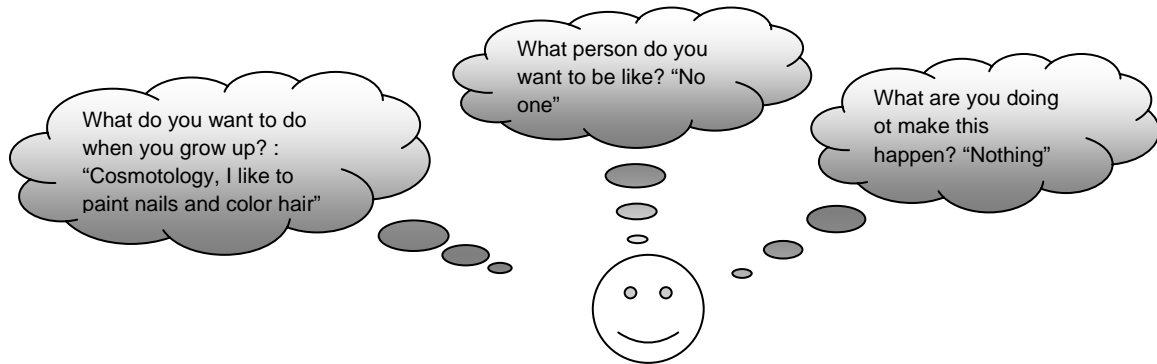
**(Group TID, Woman – 14 years old)**



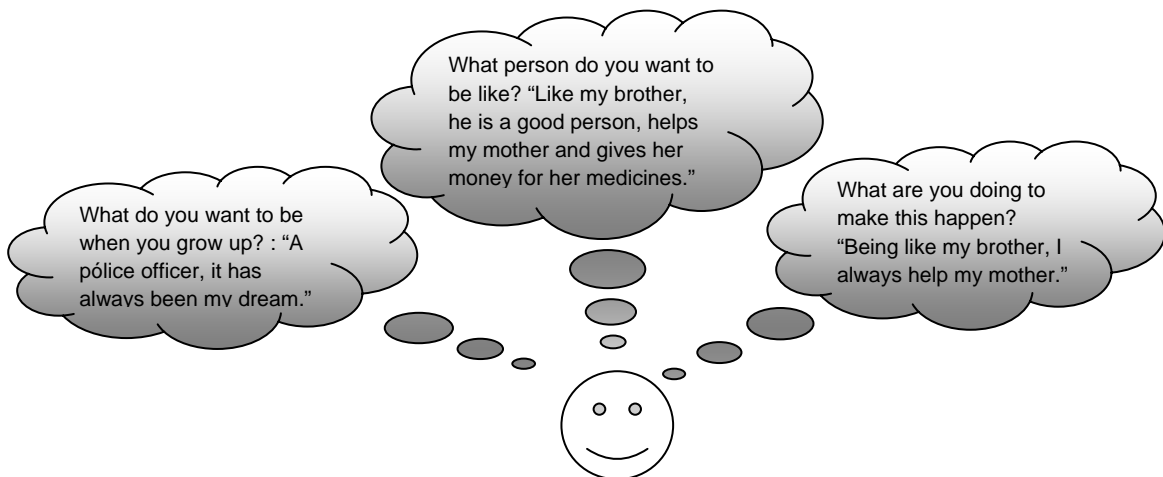
**(Group TID, Woman-15 years old)**



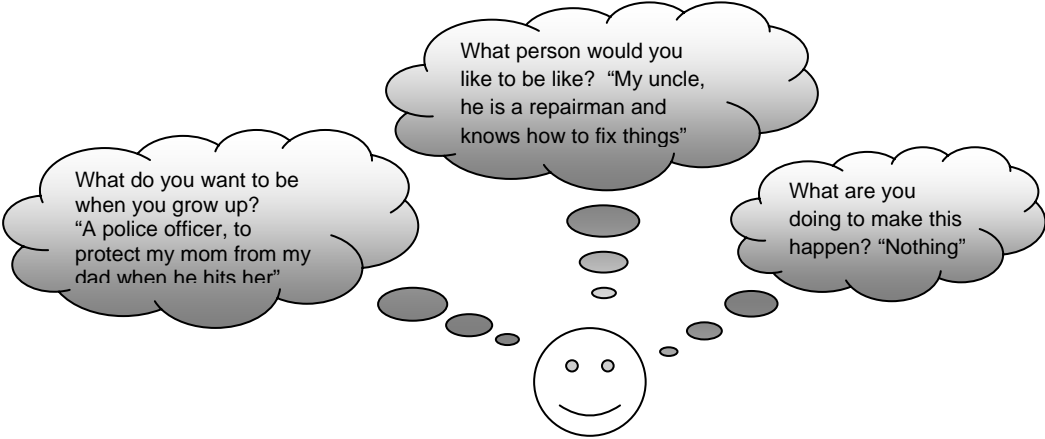
**(Group TID, Woman – 15 years old)**



**(Group TID, man – 12 years old)**



(Group TID, man – 15 years old)



**15**

**SELF-PERCEPTIONS**

The respondents were presented with a list of sentences related to subjects about family, friends, work and feelings. The respondents were to answer “Yes,” “No,” or “Not sure” (didn’t know how to respond) to these sentences depending how well the sentence matched their opinion and situation.

Their answers reflect their emotional state. Are they satisfied with their lives and the way they are? Do they feel capable of controlling their destinies and reaching their goals? At the same time, do they feel safe and protected?

In the following chart, percentages of the “yes” responses are noted.

	Group TID		Group with Non-TID Jobs		Non-Working Group	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
1. I can count on my friends when I need help or support.	79%	73%	76%	74%	77%	61%
2. I can count on adults when I need help or support.	58%	60%	61%	57%	66%	57%
3. I would like to be able to spend more time with my own family.	83%	92%	<b>94%</b>	<b>91%</b>	<b>90%</b>	82%
4. I am happy as I am.	<b>94%</b>	<b>95%</b>	<b>89%</b>	<b>86%</b>	<b>90%</b>	93%
5. I feel proud of myself.	87%	95%	<b>91%</b>	<b>91%</b>	87%	<b>89%</b>
6. When something bad happens to me, it's generally because I have bad luck.	30%	17%	22%	9%	24%	29%
7. I feel that I am an important member of my family.	75%	85%	70%	80%	77%	82%
8. I am responsible for my own life.	76%	83%	83%	83%	66%	82%
9. I feel like other people make all decisions for me.	29%	22%	20%	29%	32%	21%
10. It's better to work than to steal.	<b>91%</b>	<b>97%</b>	<b>98%</b>	<b>97%</b>	<b>95%</b>	82%
11. I don't like to play.	12%	15%	9%	11%	15%	11%
12. When I have lots of stuff to do, I sometimes can't decide which to do first.	60%	47%	59%	46%	62%	68%
13. I have problems concentrating.	50%	48%	52%	63%	47%	43%
14. My mind gets exhausted by all that I have to think about.	56%	40%	57%	66%	46%	54%
15. The activities that I spend most of my time doing are important to me.	<b>82%</b>	73%	<b>87%</b>	<b>89%</b>	82%	71%
16. I am shy.	58%	43%	52%	34%	48%	57%
17. I feel very stressed.	42%	33%	28%	40%	25%	29%
18. I know how to relax.	61%	75%	70%	69%	65%	71%
19. There is much about me that I prefer to hide from others.	55%	38%	46%	46%	44%	32%
20. I have hope that I can change my life for the better.	<b>93%</b>	<b>83%</b>	<b>80%</b>	<b>94%</b>	<b>89%</b>	<b>96%</b>
21. I have good friends.	73%	77%	63%	66%	70%	75%
22. I almost never take the initiative to start a conversation.	45%	52%	44%	49%	42%	54%
23. I don't have anyone that I can turn to if I need help.	26%	30%	35%	26%	26%	18%
24. I am alone in the world.	14%	17%	20%	6%	7%	14%
25. I can laugh at myself.	64%	63%	52%	63%	57%	54%
26. I laugh easily with my friends.	78%	<b>88%</b>	<b>80%</b>	80%	77%	<b>93%</b>

## Percepciones de niñas, niños y adolescentes .....

Next, we will see the results having grouped them in five categories:

- Sense of belonging / acceptance by their family (questions 3 and 7)
- Need for support (questions 1, 2, 21, 23 and 24)
- Self-esteem (questions 6, 8, 9, 16, 19 and 22)
- Depressed mood and anxiety (questions 11, 13, 14 and 17)
- Self confidence (4, 5, 10, 12, 15, 18, 20, 25 and 26)

### ***Sense of Belonging / acceptance by their family***

- At least one fourth of the women said that they didn't feel accepted or appreciated by their family. The Group with Non-TID Jobs felt slightly less appreciated. At least four fifths of the women wanted to spend more time with their family; curiously, the highest percentage corresponded with the Non-Working Group.

It ought to be noted that both parents generally work outside of the house, thus when the children are at home, they are usually alone.

- At least a third of the men said they didn't feel accepted or appreciated by their family. Like the women, the respondents from the Group with Non-TID Jobs felt the least appreciated. More than 90% of the men from Group TID and the Group with Non-TID Jobs desired to spend more time with their family, the same from 80% of the Non-Working Group.
- In Group TID there were a greater number of men (92%) that wanted to spend more time with their family, compared to the women (83%). In the Group with Non-TID Jobs, there were a greater number of women (94%) that expressed a desire to spend more time with their family, compared to the men (91%). In the Non-Working Group, there were a greater number of women (90%) that wanted to spend more time with their family, compared to the men (82%).

These answers suggest a greater feeling of loneliness amongst the men from Group TID, while the same occurs amongst the women from the other two groups. It ought to be noted that it would be easier for the women of Group TID to relate to their employers, causing them to miss their own home to a lesser extent.

### ***Need for help***

- In the case of the women, they declared neither being able to count on the support of an adult in their family nor a friend, respectively, 42% and 27% in Group TID; 39% and 37% in the Group with Non-TID Jobs; 34% and 30% in the Non-Working Group.
- In the case of the men, they declared neither being able to count on the support of and adult in their family nor a friend, respectively, 40% and 23% in Group TID; 43% and 34% in the Group with Non-TID Jobs; 43% and 25% in the Non-Working Group.

Generally, it was the women from the three groups that could least count on support from an adult in their family or a friend.

- Of the women, the following felt themselves to be alone in the world: **14%** from Group TID, **20%** from the Group with Non-TID Jobs and **7%** from the Non-Working Group.

## Percepciones de niñas, niños y adolescentes .....

- Of the men, the following felt themselves to be alone in the world: **17%** from Group TID, 6% from the Group with Non-TID Jobs and 14% from the Non-Working Group.

The men from Group TID that felt most lonely were those who desired to spend more time with their family. Although it was the women from the Group with Non-TID Jobs that had the greatest feelings of loneliness and, of those who responded, almost all wanted to spend more time with their family.

### **Self-Esteem**

- In Group TID, the women expressed the following:  
68% said they are shy.  
45% said that they hardly ever take the initiative to start a conversation.  
55% said that there were many things about themselves that they preferred to hide from others.  
76% said that they are responsible for their own lives and 29% said they feel other people make decisions for them.  
30% said that if something bad happened to them, it was due to bad luck.
- In the Group with Non-TID Jobs, the women expressed the following:  
52% said they are shy.  
44% said that they hardly ever take the initiative to start a conversation.  
46% said that there were many things about themselves that they preferred to hide from others.  
83% said that they are responsible for their own lives and 20% said they feel other people make decisions for them.  
22% said that if something bad happened to them, it was due to bad luck.
- In the Non Working Group, the women expressed the following:  
48% said they are shy.  
42% said that they hardly ever take the initiative to start a conversation.  
44% said there were many things about themselves that they preferred to hide from others.  
66% said that they are responsible for their own lives and 32% said they feel that other people make decisions for them.  
24% said that if something bad happened to them, it was due to bad luck.

The women from Group TID have the lowest level of self-esteem and almost a third tended to believe that negative experiences occurred as part of their destiny.

- In Group TID, the men expressed the following:  
43% said they are shy.  
52% said they hardly ever take the initiative to start a conversation.  
38% said there were many things about themselves that they preferred to hide from others.  
83% said they are responsible for their own lives and 22% said they felt that other people make decisions for them.  
17% said that if something bad happened to them, it was due to bad luck.
- In the Group with Non-TID Jobs, the men expressed the following:  
34% said they are shy.  
49% said that they hardly ever take the initiative to start a conversation.  
46% said there were many things about themselves that they preferred to hide from others.  
83% said they are responsible for their own lives and 29% said they felt that other people make decisions for them.  
9% said that if something bad happened to them, it was due to bad luck.
- In the Non-Working Group, the men expressed the following:  
57% said they are shy.

## Percepciones de niñas, niños y adolescentes .....

54% said that they hardly ever take the initiative to start a conversation.

32% said there were many things about themselves that they preferred to hide from others.

82% said they are responsible for their own lives and 21% said they felt that other people make decisions for them.

29% said that if something bad happened to them, it was due to bad luck.

The women from Group TID showed the lowest levels of self-esteem, when compared amongst the six groups (3 of the men, 3 of the women). Therefore, they had a lower self-esteem than the men in TID.

The men of the Non-Working Group showed the lowest levels of self esteem, both compared to the other men as well as when compared to the women in their same group. Like the women in TID, almost a third of the men tended to believe that negative experiences occurred as part of their destiny.

### ***Depressed mood and anxiety***

- In Group TID, the women expressed the following:
  - 12% said that they didn't like to play.
  - 50% said they have problems concentrating.
  - 56% said that their mind gets exhausted from all that they have to think about.
  - 42% said they feel much stress.
- In the Group with Non-TID Jobs, the women expressed the following:
  - 9% said that they didn't like to play.
  - 52% said they have problems concentrating.
  - 57% said that their mind gets exhausted from all that they have to think about.
  - 28% said they feel much stress.
- In the Non-Working Group, the women expressed the following:
  - 15% said that they didn't like to play.
  - 47% said they have problems concentrating.
  - 46% said that their mind gets exhausted from all that they have to think about.
  - 25% said they feel much stress.

Compared against the other two groups, the women from Group TID showed a tendency toward having anxiety and a depressed mood.

- In Group TID, the men expressed the following:
  - 15% said that they didn't like to play.
  - 48% said they have problems concentrating.
  - 40% said that their mind gets exhausted from all that they have to think about.
  - 33% said they feel much stress.
- In the Group with Non-TID Jobs, the men expressed the following:
  - 11% said that they didn't like to play.
  - 63% said they have problems concentrating.
  - 66% said that their mind gets exhausted from all that they have to think about.
  - 40% said they feel much stress.
- In the Non-Working Group, the men expressed the following:
  - 11% said that they didn't like to play.
  - 43% said they have problems concentrating.
  - 54% said that their mind gets exhausted from all that they have to think about.
  - 29% said they feel much stress.

## Percepciones de niñas, niños y adolescentes .....

In comparison with the 6 groups (three of men and three of women), the men from the Group with Non-TID Jobs were most weary, had the most problems concentrating and tended toward exhibiting anxiety and a depressed mood.

Compared with the men from the same group, the women from Group TID showed greater signs of fatigue, problems concentrating and had a greater tendency toward exhibiting anxiety and a depressed mood.

### **Self Confidence**

- In Group TID, the women expressed the following:
  - 87% said they were proud of themselves.
  - 94% said they were happy as they were
  - 82% said that the activities they spent most of their time doing were important to them.
  - 60% said that sometimes when they have lots of stuff to do, they don't know which to start with.
  - 61% said they knew how to relax.
  - 78% said they laughed easily with their friends.
  - 93% said they had hopes to be able to change their lives for the better.
- In the Group with Non-TID Jobs, the women expressed the following:
  - 91% said they were proud of themselves.
  - 89% said they were happy as they were
  - 87% said that the activities they spent most of their time doing were important to them.
  - 59% said that sometimes when they have lots of stuff to do, they don't know which to start with.
  - 70% said they knew how to relax.
  - 80% said they laughed easily with their friends.
  - 80% said they had hopes to be able to change their lives for the better.
- In the Non-Working Group, the women expressed the following:
  - 87% said they were proud of themselves.
  - 90% said they were happy as they were
  - 82% said that the activities they spent most of their time doing were important to them.
  - 62% said that sometimes when they have lots of stuff to do, they don't know which to start with.
  - 65% said they knew how to relax.
  - 77% said they laughed easily with their friends.
  - 89% said they had hopes to be able to change their lives for the better.

The women from the Group with Non-TID Jobs displayed the highest self confidence but had the least hopes of attaining a better future; the women from Group TID had the greatest confidence in attaining a better future. It ought to be taken into account that 54 women make use of La Casa de Panchita.

- In Group TID, the men expressed the following:
  - 95% said they were proud of themselves.
  - 95% said they were happy as they were
  - 73% said that the activities they spent most of their time doing were important to them.
  - 47% said that sometimes when they have lots of stuff to do, they don't know which to start with.
  - 75% said they knew how to relax.
  - 88% said they laughed easily with their friends.
  - 83% said they had hopes to be able to change their lives for the better.
- In the Group with Non-TID Jobs, the men expressed the following:
  - 91% said they were proud of themselves.
  - 86% said they were happy as they were

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89% said that the activities they spent most of their time doing were important to them.  
46% said that sometimes when they have lots of stuff to do, they don't know which to start with.  
69% said they knew how to relax.  
80% said they laughed easily with their friends.  
94% said they had hopes to be able to change their lives for the better.

- In the Non Working Group, the men expressed the following:  
89% said they were proud of themselves.  
93% said they were happy as they were  
71% said that the activities they spent most of their time doing were important to them.  
68% said that sometimes when they have lots of stuff to do, they don't know which to start with.  
71% said they knew how to relax.  
93% said they laughed easily with their friends.  
96% said they had hopes to be able to change their lives for the better.

Amongst the men, the Group with Non-TID Jobs displayed the most self confidence: they felt most proud of themselves, although also a bit less happy; they appreciated what they did and had faith in the future. There was a great deal of similarity with the women from their group, but the women showed less capacity to make decisions for themselves and relax.

The Non-Working Group displayed the lowest levels of self confidence; regardless, they were the ones who had the greatest faith in their future.

As far as Group TID, the men showed a greater self confidence than the women but a lesser hope that they could change their future, 83% and 93%, respectively.

## IMPLICATIONS

Pamplona Alta, in San Juan de Miraflores, is representative of a vast segment of low social-economic class urban housing projects – probably not very different from other districts in the outskirts of Lima – where the same combination of determinant life and work factors are present for adolescent men and women. Among those we found:

- Families with economic needs that are never satisfied.
- The expectations, both from the parents and children, of helping to augment the family income.
- Relatively low demands of the formal educational system.
- Strong incentives to learn to work at an early age and to participate as helpers in the activities/jobs that their parents, older siblings and other family members are doing.
- Few training opportunities to work outside of the familial or neighborhood network.

Our study proves that domestic service work occurs with the immediate and extended family structure. However, the same occurs with other occupations, such as the type of work done by the respondents from the Group with Non-TID Jobs. Other investigations about the youth and adolescents in low social-economic class urban areas confirm these same tendencies<sup>34</sup>.

As a result of the weak preparatory studies it offers its students, the Peruvian public educational system is at the epicenter of this problem. A set of deficiencies concerning the basic learning: language, mathematics, logical reasoning, as well as the wealth of historical and social knowledge ought to support the students in the process of finding their identity and help to raise their self esteem. While the children of upper and middle class families attend private schools with adequate libraries and labs, the state educational institutions, such as those in San Juan de Miraflores, should work with their students to make up for these disadvantages and combat this discrimination. The reality is that they seem to perpetuate the system that brings in their students. The study schedule is brief; each shift – morning, afternoon and evening – has to give way to the next. The extracurricular activities and workshops are extremely limited, if offered at all. The teachers are conscientious of the students' obligations outside of the classroom, be it a paid job or just helping out at their own home. The majority of teachers have low expectations for their students, serving as pretext for the minimization of their own efforts as an educator.

The family and neighborhood are usually the only sources of learning and/or recommendations for the children to get their first work experience. It's very difficult to break this cycle, especially when talking about teenagers between 12 and 17 years old that are still studying basic education (primary and secondary school).

The other factor that assertively lends itself to create the picture that this investigation has painted is the lack of infrastructure and support services for families in areas such as San Juan de Miraflores. Once again, it is a widespread problem that reflects the limited investment into sanitation projects, water networks, sewage, lights, telecommunications, efficient programs that adequately give attention to problems and auto/bus insurance. More seriously, it reflects the low investment into, and priority for, social services, such as adequate hours for healthcare facilities to be open, daycare for small children,

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<sup>34</sup> For one that was done in Pamplona Alta, see Anderson, Jeanine. 2007. *Urban Poverty Reborn. A gender and Generational Analysis*. EN: *Journal of Developing Societies*. Special Issue: Women and Globalization. Vol. 23(1-2):221-241.

community centers, outpatient care, recreation for the elderly, and both programs and transportation accommodations for the disabled.

The domestic chores and taking care of the family members present huge obligations that each family, by themselves, has to meet with the resources they are able to bring together. There are health and disability problems that are compounded by the fact they are not detected in time. Programs such as Wawa Wasi (daycare centers that watch children of working parents up to the age of four) or those that care for the elderly are extremely rare. Faced with these types of social service omissions, the trend is to use low-cost and easily accessible assistants: parents and younger children of neighbors who can dedicate several hours each day or week taking care of domestic chores and obligatory tasks that must be done, such as watching over and taking care of small children and, to a lesser extent, the elderly and/or disabled that cannot take care of themselves. In this manner, domestic workers make it possible for the adults to have a work life outside of the home.

This type of domestic work, not made for people with the usual profile of the employers, continues to grow evermore. It is associated with urbanization, the popular informal economy, the massive participation of women from these areas into jobs with poor employment conditions that don't allow for the employees to reconcile their family responsibilities with their work schedule, while serving to reinforce the role that gender plays in these types of employment. This last factor hinders the most just distribution – amongst all of the family members – of the domestic responsibilities, chores and caretaking of the family.

For the majority of the children involved, this form of domestic service work attenuates some of the most dangerous aspects of the “classic” child domestic labor situations. The present study has demonstrated the presence of important means of doing so:

- Not having to be placed too far from their neighborhood or own home.
- Move in a relatively dense social network in which the dangers of certain abuses would be discovered quickly.
- Having the option to select their place of employment from a network of friends and neighbors.
- To share these experiences with many schoolmates so as to avoid being seen as marginalized or, more importantly, oppressed.
- Regularly being able to attend school and even take part in extracurricular or community activities.
- To have relatively light physical obligations, though not necessarily psychological.

Other aspects of this work continue to be worrisome. According to our findings, the at-risk situations include:

- Young entry into the job.
- The small recognition of the value of the contributions that women and men in TID make, as well as the low value attributed to the domestic chores that they perform and the ways in which they care for the family, even when these tasks are done by the mother or other direct family members.
- The reduced and sometimes non-existent pay received in exchange for a significant dedication of time and energy.

- The limited possibilities men and women in TID have of exploring beyond their immediate social network to look for role models, identities, and alternate ways of living and working.

Beyond these risks, there are other unrealized dangers. The risk of accidents and emergencies are always present for the people under the care of the men and women in TID, especially if they act as babysitters. Another dimension of this work that doesn't receive the proper attention is the moral and psychological responsibilities inherently placed upon those workers in TID who don't have the maturity to handle the complicated situations that could arise, a factor that could be influencing the levels of stress and anxiety the respondents reported in the study. Furthermore, the risk of sexual abuse and harassment cannot be discounted, as this can go unreported since the victims feel that they don't have anyone in whom to confide.

Another risk linked to TID is what historians call *dependencia del sendero* (path dependence). This is the risk of staying the course, following the same path taken to that point, wherein as each year passes the cost to change paths grows. When the teenagers finish secondary school, they generally aspire to study a career; mainly to matriculate in an Instituto Superior Técnico (IST), but it is rare that a family has the financial resources to finance this type of education. Rather, what they have done is continue working in TID. Frequently, the mother or children in TID are urged to start working *cama adentro*. It's probable that, in an attempt to delay this continuation in TID, the adolescents begin to look for other employment more attractive to them (including those that can derive from the sex industry). Having exhausted their options, they resign themselves to be domestic workers, an occupation that will not lead anywhere; this because since no one values the work, they will not endeavor to acquire the necessary skills to achieve a goal of working in better labor conditions. An additional risk is becoming pregnant and perhaps abandoned, or being moved to the in-law's house or their own parents' house, which is sure to result in acting as an unpaid housemaid<sup>35</sup>.

It is a fine line between the role of domestic laborer for other families and that of their own. *La Encuesta Nacional de Trabajo Infantil* (National Survey of Child Labor)<sup>36</sup>, found that 77% of all children between the ages of 5 and 17 perform domestic chores in collaboration with their family. Our data shows proof of the obligations that the respondents have in their own home as well as show evidence of the huge mix of godparents, in-laws, neighbors and distant relatives that are employers, as well as the immediate family that ask for favors and work from the adolescents simply because they are members of the family and live in the same home. The men teeter on the aforementioned line between TID and assisting in their home up to a certain point, but the expectations and obligations fall much more swiftly on the women. This gives us a picture of the children and adolescents that rotate between the houses of neighbors, relatives and their own family, like a multifaceted assistant freely available whenever needed.

The interview found some men and women in a sort of "honeymoon" both as participants in this study as well as available assistants. We have seen many report that they feel useful, independent and in control of their lives, as well as an integral part of their family. As time and their horizons are widened, it is likely that this role becomes more restrictive to them. The questions presented in this study about self esteem, sense of control, decisions and future aspirations are of great importance. In order to correctly interpret the set of circumstance that the respondents found themselves in, it is necessary to understand the phenomenon frequently studied about the gender inequalities in Latin America. Many of the voids that open in the women's adult lives initiate long before, in their childhood, through subtle processes that plant within them almost imperceptible differences. The gender gap in our country is the result of a slow, exponential process of the accumulation of disadvantages toward women.

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<sup>35</sup> For an excellent study about the psychological and social processes that cut the ambitions of the adolescents from low social class areas, see Olthoff, Jacobijn. 2006 *A Dream Denied. Teenage Girls in Migrant Popular Neighbourhoods*. Lima, Perú. Utrecht University, The Netherlands: Latin America Research Series.

<sup>36</sup> Rodríguez, José y Vargas, Silvana. *Trabajo infantil en el Perú: Magnitud y perfiles vulnerables. Informe nacional 2007-2008*. Lima: Organización Internacional del Trabajo. 2009 xii

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*La Encuesta Nacional* (National Survey) about Child Domestic Labor found a total of 26,000 girls, boys and teenagers between the ages of 5 and 17 that were working in domestic service in Peru. It found ten times more girls, boys and teenager that were performing the tasks of domestic workers without pay, a category that certainly includes many of those who are performing domestic chores in addition to other work. These facts, in addition to other estimates about the presence of TID in the country, leave no doubt about the great variety of situations that are hidden under the same label: TID. What are these various situations and in what places foster the reality thus analyzed that occur within Pamplona Alta, San Juan de Miraflores?

There are various forms of TID, whose existence ought to be taken into consideration in every political proposal and program. A course classification of the variety of TID present in Peru would be the following:

In the neighborhood	Warning signs: (1) With indirect family members / with neighbors and other non-relatives (2) Part time / full time (3) With or without pay* (4) With or without an education at a state educational institution (EBR or EBA) (5) With or without social participation opportunities*
Outside of the neighborhood or birthplace	Warning signs: (1) Part time / full time, <i>cama adentro</i> (2) Within / not within reach of their family or other protectors in their social network.
Summer jobs (purpose: to finance the following year's studies) <sup>37</sup>	Warning signs: (1) In the neighborhood or town of their family / to move away from this place (2) With or without opportunities for apprenticeships and the accumulation of "social and cultural capital."
With <i>madrinas</i> (the mother of a family for whom a domestic service worker works, godmother, caretaker, protector, etc.)	Warning signs: (1) With <i>madrinas</i> y or actual family members / under hidden forms of <i>enganche</i> <sup>38</sup> (2) Within or not within reach of the family or other protectors in their social network.
Situations of open exploitation	<i>Enganche</i> , confinement, slavery and other unjust treatment.

It can be implied that, in all of these situations, the criteria that we will use to evaluate whether it is acceptable are already in the Peruvian laws: the legal age to work, access to education, pay, guarantees of sound nourishment and rest, adequate opportunities for psychosocial and emotional development, amongst others. It can also be implied that, without doubt, the risks of bad treatment in any form and any sexual abuse or harassment have to be eliminated. It was observed that certain situations can be combined; for example, a temporary or summer job, in TID, in the house of a *madrina* that lives in a city close to the rural town of an adolescent.

The present study has revealed problems that affect a large segment of Peruvian adolescents, working or not; whether they find themselves in TID or performing other jobs. The deficiencies of the educational system, the risks of ethnic, gender and class discrimination and the difficulty of situating oneself in the working world are just a few of the systemic problems that drag women and men into TID along with the rest of their contemporaries.

<sup>37</sup> It's an important variant in the rural provinces that surround the big Peruvian cities, particularly Lima. See Anderson, Jeanine. 2007 *Invertir en la familia. Estudio sobre factores preventivos y de vulnerabilidad al trabajo infantil doméstico en familias rurales y urbanas: el caso del Perú*. Lima: Organización Internacional del Trabajo.

<sup>38</sup> This is when a *madrina* goes to a rural area to convince a young girl to come work in domestic service at their home. They are promised more educational opportunities and to be treated like a daughter.

Nevertheless, our study has focused on TID and in one of the many ways that TID manifests itself in Peru. We have described multiple features of this work within the context of Pamplona, Alta, San Juan de Miraflores, and we believe – until proved wrong – that it functions the same in other low social-economic class urban areas of Lima and probably other Peruvian cities. We reiterate: this form of agreement that lends adolescents to relatives and neighbors is a growing concern for the youths. The growth of TID is guaranteed by many other social-economic processes in the country that we would probably see as positives: employment opportunity working for fathers (and especially for mothers of the family), the growing capacities of the adult women in low-social class families, the new feminine identities and new aspirations of consumption and wellbeing.

The laws and policies that respond both to the new and old forms of TID have to be centered upon and within the same complex contexts presented in this study. They can lead to the supply or demand side of TID. Many of the current policies related to child labor, and child domestic labor in particular, point to the same. The present study suggests the need to formulate policies that indirectly operate on the factors that stimulate the demand for children in domestic service and the factors that leave tens of thousands of girls, boy and adolescents without channels through which to develop their talents or opportunities to carve themselves a future to which they have every right to aspire. The general lesson we draw is that we are still very far from finishing to define, collectively, what we want from and for our boys, girls and adolescents.

## SUMMARY OF SITUATION OF THE CDW AT SAN JUAN DE MIRAFLORES

The results in this book have been based on research on the psychosocial effects of child domestic work, putting in context the relevance of the problem that child domestic work causes in Peru. In this way, our goal has been to highlight the perspectives of a group of children and adolescents in a specific area such as Pamplona San Juan de Miraflores, and thus make visible its context.

It seems important for us to note the following:

### ***CDW Group: Family composition***

In families where parents live together the number of men working in domestic service is greater. .

- 51% live in a broken home.  
In this case, 68% of girls and **82%** of boys work as a CDW
- 48% live with both parents.  
In this case, 47% of girls and 51% of boys work as a CDW

### ***CDW Group: Father's educational level***

- Father with incomplete primary school education, **100%** of children a CDW  
Father has completed secondary school education, 49% of children a CDW

### ***CDW Group: Mother's educational level***

- Mother with incomplete primary school education, **47%** of children a CDW  
Mother has completed secondary school education, 41% of children a CDW

### ***CDW Group: Father and/or mother domestic workers (DW)***

- Girls with a father DW: **55%** a CDW. Girls with a mother DW: **86%** a CDW
- Boys with a father DW: 41% a CDW. Boys with a mother DW: **77%** a CDW

### ***CDW Group: One or more sibling domestic workers (DW)***

- Girls with one or more sibling DWs, **86%** a CDW
- Boys with one or more sibling DWs, 77% a CDW

### ***CDW Group: Raised and cared for by both father and mother during childhood***

- 70% of the CDW group (63% of the Control Group)

### ***CDW Group: Relationship with father and mother***

- 53% gets along well with the father (55% of the Control Group)
- 83% gets along well with the mother (79% of the Control Group)

### ***CDW Group: Education***

- 33% reported having poor school performance
- **52%** said they had repeated the year (in the Other Works Group, 42%).
- **62%** said they had repeated the year three times (in the Other Works Group, 23% and in the Do Not Work Group, 15%).
- **19%** said they had dropped out of school (in the Other Works Group, 30% and the Do Not Work Group, 7%).
- **50%** said they participated in extracurricular activities (in the Other Work Group, 24% and the Do Not Work Group, 28%).

**CDW Group: Work**

- **90%** are proud of their jobs (Other Work Group: 64%)
- Entry to current job: **50%** through a relative, 20% through parents, 13% through an acquaintance in the area.
- Who they are working for: **41%** work for extended family members, 15% for direct family members, 46% work outside the family.
- Age of beginning CDW: 144 (**72%**) entered CDW without having reached the minimum legal age to work in this occupation.
- Youngest age of beginning CDW: 3% at the age of seven.
- Time lapse at their current jobs: 25% a month, 5% six months, 13% a year and 4% three years.
- Place of work: 69% in their living area, Pamplona Alta.
- Tasks: Looking after children younger than themselves:  
Gender: 80% girls and 50% boys.  
Age:  
12-13 years, **100%** of girls and 10% of boys.  
14-17 years, 65% of girls and **87%** of boys.
- Average number of work days per week: 3.37 days (Control Group, 3.88 days).
- Payment: **11%** receive their pay in cash and 17% is paid in kind (in the Control Group, 83% receive money).
- Payment by type of employer: **43%** of those who work for their immediate family get paid, and 71% of those who work for their indirect family get paid.
- Payment per day by gender:  
Girls receive an average of S/.8.90 soles and boys S/10.20 soles.
- Days of rest: 90% (note: are not full-time workers).
- Employer Sanctions: 56% said that when they make a mistake the employer talks to them and teaches them. None declared physical punishment.

**CDW Group: mode "Bed In"**

- Communication with the family: 63% said they visited their family (living in the same Pamplona Alta).
- Comparing home and work:  
Food: 48% said it was the same, **19%** said it was worse at home.  
Workload: 22% said it was better at home, **48%** said it was worse.  
Emotional well-being: 56% said it was better at home, **19%** said it was worse.

**CDW Group: Social participation**

- Friends: 54% said they had friend CDWs.
- Boyfriends/Girlfriends: 14% stated that they had a boyfriend/girlfriend.
- Activities in the community: 31% participate in sports (in the Control Group, 20%)
- Religion: 14% reported having no religion (Other Work Group: 17% and Do Not Work Group: 21%).

**CDW Group: Perception of the daily diet**

- Sufficient food: 71%  
Insufficient food: **27%** (23% of Other Work Group and 27% of Do Not Work Group said they did not eat sufficiently).

**CDW Group: Perception of physical well-being**

- State of health: good for 51% and poor for 49% (in the Control Group, good for 52% and poor for **47%**).
- Health problems that limit work: reported by 8% (in the Control Group, by 11%).
- Diseases and illnesses: 33% respiratory diseases and 25% diseases of the digestive system (Other Work Group: 36% respiratory diseases and 19% illnesses of the muscular system; in the Do Not Work Group, 27% illnesses of the digestive system and 27% depressive symptoms).

**CDW Group: Health care seeking**

- Preventive care: **49%** considered to have a healthy diet (Other Work Group: 56% and Do Not Work Group: 59%).
- Experience with health care: **57%** has used state health services (Other Work Group: 41% and Do Not Work Group: 69%).

**CDW Group: Perception of emotional well-being**

- By age groups: 15% of the 12-13 -year-olds and 24% of the 14-17 -year-olds reported anxiety and stress. (Other Work Group: 13% of 12-13 -year-olds; Do Not Work Group: 21% of 12-13 -year-olds).
- By gender: **24%** of girls reported being stressed most days, while only 8% of boys (Other Work Group: 9% of girls and 11% of boys. Do Not Work Group: 18% of girls and 25% of boys).
- Presence of someone to trust: **88%** of girls and **92%** of boys have no one to turn to if faced with a personal problem (Other Work Group: 73% of girls and 82% of boys).
- Whether they knew someone who had suffered physical abuse: **25%** reported having friends who had experienced physical violence (Control Group: 23%).
- Whether they knew someone who had suffered sexual abuse: **49%** of women knew someone who had suffered sexual abuse.
- Use of alcohol in the family: 42% said a family member consumed alcohol (Other Work Group: 54%; Do Not Work Group: 44%).
- Use of alcohol among friends: 40% said they had a friend who consumed alcohol (Other Work Group: 56%; Do Not Work Group: 37%)
- Use of alcohol of the interviewees: 4 said they had problems with alcohol (3 girls and 1 boy).
- Drug use in the family: in general very few cases were reported.
- Drug use among friends: 23% said they had a friend who used drugs (Other Work Group: 19%, Do Not Work Group: 15%)
- Drug use of the interviewees: 3 girls said they had problems with drug use

**CDW Group: Expectations for the future**

- Recognition of a role model to follow: **69%** declared to have no role model (Other Works Group: 36%; Do Not Work Group: 37%).
- Occupational Aspirations: 13% want to be a doctor (Other Works Group: 11% want to be a chef; Do Not Work Group: 13% want to be a doctor)

**SUMMARY OF THE CDW GROUP:**

- ✓ When the parents are separated, a greater number of boys enter CDW.
- ✓ If one of both of the parents are domestic workers, the risk of the child entering CDW increases, especially for girls.
- ✓ If the child's siblings work in CDW, he or she is more likely to enter CDW.
- ✓ Low educational level of the father and mother increases the risk of girls and boys entering CDW.
- ✓ The CDW group has lower educational achievements than the Other Works Group and Do Not Work Group: 62% reported repeating their year three times.
- ✓ 70% of the CDW Group entered CDW through a direct or indirect family member, and 56% work for a direct or indirect relative. 69% work in the same area where they live: Pamplona Alta.
- ✓ 72% entered CDW without having reached the minimum legal age to work in this occupation, even at the age of 7.
- ✓ 100% of girls 12 to 13 years old work as babysitter, so do 87% of boys and 65% of girls 14 to 17 years old. In contrast only 10% of men 12 to 13 years old is a babysitter.

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- ✓ When given a daily pay in cash, men in CDW receive better pay.
- ✓ The ones who worked "bed in" said that their home was worse in terms of: food (19%), workload (48%) and emotional well-being (19%).
- ✓ The majority of the CDW group feels a close relationship only with the mother, not with the father and not with the siblings.
- ✓ A quarter of the girls do not feel appreciated by their family members and the same occurs with 15% of the boys; the vast majority want to spend more time with their families, especially the boys.
- ✓ 14% of girls reported feeling lonely, 42% not having the support of an adult and 23% not having friends.
- ✓ 17% of boys reported feeling lonely, 40% not having the support of an adult and 23% not having friends.
- ✓ The girls in the CDW Group showed the lowest self-esteem, when compared between the six subgroups (three of girls and three of boys). Therefore, they had lower self-esteem than boys in CDW.
- ✓ Between the three groups of girls, the girls in the CDW Group reported more depression and anxiety than in the other two groups. And, when compared to boys in their group, girls in CDW showed more fatigue, concentration problems and tendencies towards depressive mood and anxiety.
- ✓ By age, 15% of 12 to 13-year-olds from the CDW Group reported having anxiety.
- ✓ 24% of girls aged 14 to 17 said to feel stress almost every day.
- ✓ In the CDW Group, 69% did not have a role model to follow and reported professional aspirations in their occupational aspirations.
- ✓ The boys in the CDW Group showed more confidence in themselves, although less hope for changing their future (83%) compared to women in CDW (93%).

