

Gendered risks, poverty and vulnerability in Peru

A case study of the *Juntos* programme

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* Disclaimer: The views presented in this paper are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the views of DFID.

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Contents

List of acronyms	v
Executive summary	vii
1. Introduction	1
2. Overview of gendered risks, poverty and vulnerability	3
2.1 Gendered risks and vulnerabilities at national level.....	3
2.2 The case of Chiara and Los Morochucos in Ayacucho region.....	6
3. Integration of gender in social protection debates	15
3.1 Social protection in Peru	15
3.2 Gender in social protection debates.....	20
4. Policy and programme design: The <i>Juntos</i> programme	24
4.1 Targeting mechanisms.....	24
4.2 Institutional arrangements.....	25
4.3 Links with public services.....	26
4.4 Gender implications of <i>Juntos</i>	26
4.5 Links with other social programs	28
4.6 Staff capacity	30
5. Effects on individuals, households and communities	31
5.1 Effects on personal and familiar well-being	31
5.2 Effects on family dynamics	33
5.3 Impacts of the programme at community level	36
6. Political economy dimensions	39
6.1 Gender mainstreaming	39
6.2 The role of international cooperation and civil society	41
6.3 Evidence-based policy design.....	42
6.4 Political economy dimensions in <i>Juntos</i>	43
7. Conclusions and policy implications	45
References	49
Appendix 1: Social protection and gender, Peru	53
Appendix 2: Policy implications	71
Appendix 3: Methodology	74
Appendix 4: List of interviewees	76

List of acronyms

AECID	Spanish Agency for International Development Cooperation
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ANC	National Association of Centres of Research, Development and Social Promotion
APOMIPE	Small and Micro Enterprises Support Programme
BTC	Belgian Technical Cooperation
CCT	Conditional Cash Transfer
CEDAW	Convention against the Elimination of All Forms of Violence against Women
CEM	Women's Emergency Centre
CEPLAN	National Centre for Strategic Planning
CETPRO	Centre for Technical Productive Education
CGR	Office of the Controller-General
CGTP	Peruvian Workers General Confederation
CIAS	Inter-Ministerial Commission of Social Affairs
CIES	Centre for Economic and Social Research
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CIUP	Pacific University Research Centre
CONFIEP	National Confederation of Private Business Institutions
CRED	Centre for Research on the Epidemiology of Disasters
CVR	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
DEMUNA	Municipal Ombudsperson for Children and Adolescents
DFID	Department for International Development (UK)
DHS	Demographic and Health Survey
DU	Urgency Degree
EAP	Economically Active Population
EC	European Commission
ESSALUD	Peruvian Social Insurance
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FONCODES	Cooperation Fund for Social Development
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GoM	Glass of Milk Programme
GRADE	Group for the Analysis of Development
GSB	Gender-Sensitive Budgeting
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Syndrome
IADB	Inter-American Development Bank
IEP	Institute of Peruvian Studies
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
ILO	International Labour Organization
INABIF	National Integral Programme for Family Well-Being
INEI	National Institute of Statistics and Informatics
IDEA	Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
JBIC	Japan Bank for International Cooperation
LAC	Latin America and the Caribbean
LIO	Law of Equal Opportunities for Women and Men
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MARENASS	Management of Natural Resources in the Southern Highlands Project
MCLCP	Roundtable for Poverty Reduction
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MEF	Ministry of Economy and Finance
MEM	Ministry of Energy and Mining
MESAGEN	Gender Roundtable of Donors
MIMDES	Ministry of Women and Social Development

MINEDU	Ministry of Education
MINSA	Ministry of Health
MINTRA	Ministry of Labour and Employment Promotion
MVCS	Ministry of Housing, Construction and Sanitation
NA	National Accord
NAP	Nutrition Assistance Programmes
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
ODA	Official Development Assistance
ONP	Office of Social Security Normalisation
OPD	Public Decentralised Organism
PACFO	Alimentary Complementation Programme for High Risk Groups
PANFAR	Alimentary and Nutritional Programme for High Risk Families
PCM	Presidency of the Council of Ministers
PIN	Integral Nutrition Programme
PIO	Equal Opportunities Plan for Men and Women
PISA	Programme for International Student Assessment
PpR	Results-Based Budget
PRIO	Regional Equal Opportunities Plan
PRONAA	National Programme of Alimentary Assistance
PRONAMA	National Programme for the Activation of Literacy Work
PRONAMACHCS	National Watershed Management and Soil Conservation Programme
RENIEC	National Register of Identification and Civil Status
REPROSALUD	Reproductive Health in the Community Project
SEG	Free School Health Insurance
SERVIR	National Authority for Civil Servants
SISFOH	National Household Targeting System
SIS	Integral Health Insurance
SMI	Mother-Infant Insurance
SNP	National System of Pensions
SPP	Private System of Pensions
STD	Sexually Transmitted Disease
UN	United Nations
UNFPA	UN Population Fund
UNICEF	UN Children's Fund
UNIFEM	UN Development Fund for Women
US	United States
USAID	US Department for International Development
VRAE	Valley of the Apurimac and Ene Rivers

Executive summary

This report is one of eight country case studies (undertaken across Africa, Asia and Latin America), to come out of the Social Protection: Understanding Social and Economic Risks and Gender Inequalities project. The aim of the project is to generate lessons from existing programmes that address economic and social risks and gender inequalities, in order to inform ongoing and emerging social protection programmes and policies. The current study focuses on the conditional cash transfer (CCT) programme *Programa de Apoyo a los Más Pobres – Juntos*, implemented from 2005 in Peru, which currently reaches nearly half a million rural households. Fieldwork was carried in Ayacucho, a South Andean region in the country, using qualitative approaches (life histories and focus groups discussions (FGDs) with women and men programme beneficiaries.

Despite experiencing sustained economic growth (with a gradual impact on poverty reduction), Peru still has high levels of inequity and exclusion, particularly in rural areas, where the most vulnerable population resides.

The study identified many risks and vulnerabilities suffered by the population – many of them gender and generation specific. Among younger generations, limited access to human capital poses a major threat to achieving gender equality and development goals, with severe problems regarding access to and permanence in secondary school, as well as poor quality of public and rural education. Discrimination and issues such as teen pregnancy are major obstacles to the accumulation of human capital, an area in which the state has traditionally failed to deliver consistent intervention. In a region that presents the highest rate of female-headed households in the country, among adult populations male abandonment appears to be a major vulnerability, resulting in limited control by women over their reproductive lives and highlighting limited access to mechanisms that grant the fulfilment of women's rights. Violence against women is a widespread phenomenon, although interventions by public and private institutions are helping to address this increasingly public issue. Limited economic opportunities represent a risk for both adult men and adult women, although they have a distinct effect on women owing to existing gender gaps, particularly female-headed households. Similarly, environmental risks affect food availability and provoke the loss of economic assets, thus constituting a major cause of poverty.

The situation for the elderly is particularly precarious, given limited access to livelihood opportunities and lack of social protection mechanisms (i.e. social security and pensions, which are limited to the formal sector and are practically non-existent in rural areas). This has a significant impact on women, because of existing inequalities in labour market access and their greater life expectancy as compared with men. In the poorest areas of the country and in a context of limited formal mechanisms to mitigate social and economic risks, social capital and informal networks represent an important source of support for rural households.

Measures developed by the state are hindered by the fact that Peru lacks a national social protection system in charge of coordinating, financing and implementing social protection programmes and interventions that can address a wide range of vulnerabilities and risks. Clarification of the structure and objectives of such a system is necessary, as well as greater articulation among different levels of government, in a context of decentralisation of social programmes to sub-national units. This process poses major challenges regarding capacity building at the local level, the development of accountability mechanisms, adequate identification of beneficiaries and the establishment of public-private synergies. There have been advances in addressing spatial disadvantages through a greater focus on the most impoverished areas, although a wide range of vulnerabilities are still insufficiently addressed by the state.

Interventions that seek to address concerns of social equity for and exclusion of women have been developed in recent years with the use of a wide range of policy instruments (e.g. the Law of Equal Opportunities (LIO), quota laws and legislation regarding violence against women). These need to be translated into practice more efficiently in order to enable greater enforcement. Social protection interventions rarely incorporate gender concerns in their design and implementation and women are considered mainly as a vulnerable group (a welfare and anti-poverty approach persists in the way that gender is addressed by the state).

In this context, there is an urgent need to incorporate a gender-sensitive approach to social policy. The development of the Results-Based Budget (PpR) in the past two years and, recently, of mechanisms to favour gender mainstreaming in public expenditure represents an opportunity in this regard. International cooperation and civil society are playing a major role by promoting the development of gender-sensitive budgets and gender-specific indicators to track advances regarding gender equality. The Ministry of Economy and Finance (MEF) is a strategic target. Similarly, gender strengthening in sub-national units would enable better assessment of specific vulnerabilities and risks as well as of priority areas of intervention.

Like other CCT programmes in the region, *Juntos* aims to break the intergenerational transmission of poverty by promoting households' investment in human capital. *Juntos* is acknowledged by both the public sector and by academia in Peru as one of the most relevant policy instruments currently being developed, by drawing important lessons from similar experiences and by developing efficient geographical targeting mechanisms, including a criterion of reparation for victims affected by the internal conflict, as well as innovative institutional arrangements (i.e. inclusion of civil society in decision making and surveillance). *Juntos* promotes increased access to public services – health, education and nutrition – although major challenges exist in addressing existing shortcomings in the verification of conditionalities as well as in closing severe supply gaps that affect rural and poor areas. These issues could affect achievement of the programme objectives and mean a failure to address existing inequities regarding the right to health and education.

Greater access to health facilities is enabling a greater number of women to access preventive services and important health and nutrition messages, specifically a focus on children's malnourishment as a major public health problem, as well as access to family planning information. This issue is critical for women in terms of them exercising their sexual and reproductive rights, and should be a major area of intervention, particularly with regard to increasing women's bargaining power.

Although *Juntos* was not designed explicitly to promote women's empowerment, the fact that the transfer is given to women plays a role in enhancing women's decision making at the household level, as well as improving women's self-esteem and recognition. The tension between the traditional design of *Juntos*, which reinforces women's traditional roles and time poverty by relying on women as mainly responsible for children's well-being, and the fact that unexpected impacts of the programme can effectively lead to an improvement in women's status, should be acknowledged by programme designers and implementers so as to enhance the latter.

Juntos supports the 'right to identity' as a key measure to enable women to become full citizens and allow access to public services and resources, and it is having some impacts – in synergy with previous interventions in the area – on gender roles and responsibilities within the household, as well as on adults' perceptions with regard to children and the type of care they require. Nevertheless, there is broad space for intervention to promote more equitable distribution of care work and gender relations, as well as the design of activities targeted specifically at men – although, in a limited way, links are being established with services that address violence towards women. *Juntos* is also promoting radical changes to women's daily routines and common ideas regarding women's mobility and participation within the community, as well as developing productive activities that have the potentiality to increase women's incomes through initiatives led by them, thus helping to enhance their position in the household.

International cooperation is playing a major role in supporting the institutional capacity of the Ministry of Women and Social Development (MIMDES) and in the development of planning and monitoring instruments (such as measurable indicators for tracking advances regarding gender equality and the establishment of regional gender observatories), as well as through ongoing efforts to improve gendered statistics. Similarly, the role of civil society (particularly women's NGOs) has been critical in advancing the gender agenda and in addressing specific gender vulnerabilities and rights (e.g. violence against women and reproductive rights). These are key opportunities for the forthcoming elections (2010-2011). Similarly, the fact that *Juntos* has gained legitimacy in the technical and political arena should grant it continuity for the next electoral period; in this context, a gender-sensitive approach should be strengthened to enhance its contribution to gender equality.

1. Introduction

In recent years, Peru has been experiencing an important economic growth trend, which is gradually having an impact on poverty reduction. However, high levels of inequity, exclusion and vulnerability persist, particularly in rural areas, where poverty and extreme poverty rates are high.

Social protection is fundamental in reducing vulnerability and chronic poverty. It comprises all interventions (from public, private and voluntary organisations and informal networks) to support communities, households and individuals in their efforts to prevent, manage and overcome risks and vulnerabilities (Shepherd et al., 2004). Risk is defined as the likelihood of an adverse event from an external source, which may vary as to its onset and predictability (and thus its intensity – whether it is a shock or a stress). Vulnerability is defined as the susceptibility to risks or the likelihood of being negatively affected by shocks or stresses. This is linked to the capacity of individuals or households to prevent, mitigate or cope with adverse events (Holmes and Jones 2009).

Despite efforts to achieve greater efficiency in social policy, particularly in the second half of the decade, discussions around social protection have been very limited, which has hindered the development of a comprehensive social protection framework that addresses the multidimensionality of poverty and vulnerability. Meanwhile, the approach needs to take into consideration not only economic but also social risks such as gender inequality (i.e. gender-based violence, low human capital development, unequal access to resources and lack of voice and decision-making power at the household and community level, among others), which are likely to contribute to the impacts of economic and other social risks and vulnerabilities.

Social protection comprises a subset of interventions on behalf of the poor which provide: social assistance (e.g. cash or in-kind transfers); social services targeted to marginalised groups; social insurance to protect people against risk or shocks; and social equity measures to protect against social risks such as discrimination and abuse. Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler (2004) propose a transformative social protection network, comprising four categories of social protection interventions:

- *Protective*, providing relief from deprivation;
- *Preventive*, averting deprivation;
- *Promotive*, enhancing real incomes and capabilities; and
- *Transformative*, seeking to address concerns of social equity and exclusion.

This study forms part of the Social Protection: Understanding Social and Economic Risks and Gender Inequalities project, carried out in eight countries across Africa, Asia and Latin America. In Peru, the study focused on the conditional cash transfer programme *Programa de Apoyo a los Más Pobres – Juntos*, which was implemented in 2005 following other Latin American experiences (particularly in Brazil and Mexico) and currently reaches around half a million poor households in rural areas. The *Juntos* programme constitutes a significant contribution towards addressing gender-specific vulnerabilities and has the potential to enhance this by strengthening the gender approach in its design and implementation.

To date, several studies have examined the impacts of *Juntos* on households and communities, focusing on aspects such as compliance with conditionalities, transfer use, access to and quality of public services and community dynamics (see Alcázar, 2009a; Díaz and Miranda, 2009; Huber, 2009; Jones et al., 2007; Vargas and Salazar, 2009). Less attention has been paid to the impacts of gender relations and issues such as gender-based violence, or to the specific gendered and generational risks and vulnerabilities faced by poor households.

The objectives of the study were to learn, generate and share lessons (both positive and negative) from existing programmes that are addressing economic and social risks and gender inequalities, in order to inform and feed into ongoing and emerging social protection programmes and policies. It sought to address the linkages between social protection, risk and gender and appropriate policy responses, and to make more visible gender-differentiated experiences of poverty and vulnerability in international as well as national discussions about social protection actions.

Using a qualitative approach, the methodology included stakeholder interviews, life histories and focus group discussions (FGDs) with female and male beneficiaries of the programme. Fieldwork was carried out in Ayacucho, a South Andean region in Peru, focusing on two districts where interventions took place in the first stage of the programme (November 2005), on the understanding that impacts on gender relations can be visible only after a certain period. Two sites were selected in each district: Chanquil and Manzanayoc in Los Morochucos, and Motoy and Liriopata in Chiara. These districts are in the lowest quintile in terms of human development, placed 1712 and 1392, respectively, out of a total of 1831 districts.

Section 2 of the report focuses on the main risks and vulnerabilities that women and men face at the country level and then at the level of the selected region. Section 3 addresses the main aspects of the social protection debate in Peru, analysing the extent to which this includes gender considerations. Sections 4 and 5 describe the main characteristics of *Juntos* design and implementation and examine its effects on individuals, households and communities. Section 6 analyses political economy dimensions regarding gender issues. Finally, Section 7 presents the main conclusions and policy recommendations drawn from research.

2. Overview of gendered risks, poverty and vulnerability

2.1 Gendered risks and vulnerabilities at national level

After two decades of internal conflict, and after having gone through a recovery period at the beginning of this decade following a major economic crisis, Peru has undergone important economic growth in the past six years, with growth rates at over 6% of gross domestic product (GDP) (reaching 8.9% in 2007). Sustained economic growth initially had little impact on poverty reduction, reflecting the dynamism of sectors intensive in capital, such as mining and the financial sector, and benefiting population segments more linked to the modern and formal economy, with few effects on labour and income. In recent years, however, there has been a shift in the trend of economic growth, based on greater expansion of private investment and consumption as well as of sectors intensive in labour (commerce, construction and manufacture), in which poor households are highly represented (Vakis and Clavijo, 2007). Per capita incomes grew from \$2599 in 2004 to \$3886 in 2007.

Thus, only recently have poverty rates begun to experience a decline – falling from 48.3% to 39.3% in the period 2004 to 2007, although important inequalities persist: while urban poverty diminished from 37.1% to 25.7%, poverty rates in rural areas remained as high as 64.5%. Likewise, although extreme poverty diminished to 13.7% (from 17.1% in 2004), it continues to be mainly a rural phenomenon (32.9% vs. 3.5% in urban areas). Both poverty and extreme poverty are particularly concentrated in the rural highlands (*sierra rural*).

Around one-third of Peruvian households (28.5%) are headed by a woman, representing a total of 1,922,295 households, with an annual increase of 58,004 during the past 15 years. There is scarce information regarding the situation of these households as compared with male-headed households, although data from Latin America show that the amount of time dedicated by women heads of household to unpaid care work is significantly higher in comparison with men, a situation that affects women's incorporation and permanence in the labour market and increases time poverty (Manuela Ramos, 2008). According to official data on income, a male head of a household earns 1.79 times more than a female head. Nevertheless, statistics also show that the caloric deficit in female-headed households is lower as compared with male-headed households, suggesting a better allocation of resources to cover nutritional needs (INEI, 2009a).²

According to the Gender Gap Index in 2007,³ published by the World Economic Forum, Peru is ranked 48 out of 160 countries in terms of gender inequality. There has been a significant advance on political participation, which has not been the case for the other aspects considered.

The literature highlights several specific risk and vulnerabilities faced by women, the most significant being livelihood opportunities, low human capital, health and lifecycle vulnerabilities and violence against women.

2.1.1 Livelihood opportunities

Even though women have been incorporated into labour markets and production at a more accelerated pace than men in past decades (with an increase in participation rates of 4.4% and 2.1% in the past 15 years, respectively), employment conditions are highly precarious, as women are generally involved in the less productive, riskier and lower paid sectors of the economy, with

² In 2009, the proportion of female-headed households with at least one member with a caloric deficit was 24%, compared with 30.4% in male-headed households, a situation that shows a consistent trend in rural households (35% versus 39.6%).

³ www.weforum.org/en/initiatives/gcp/Gender%20Gap/index.htm. The index consists of four indicators: economic opportunities, academic achievements, health and survival and political participation.

important gender gaps in critical aspects such as salaries (Ñopo et al., 2009), education and training, access to credit, labour rights and reproductive roles. One-third of the economically active female population is made up of independent workers, mostly working as non-professionals in retail commerce and agriculture. Almost one-third work as unpaid familiar workers – more in rural areas (56%) – with no access to labour rights or social security (MINTRA, 2008).

2.1.2 Human capital

The benefits of investing in women's education (such as productivity, well-being and human capital in children) have been broadly documented, as has its value in enhancing women's ability to promote change. Despite advances in recent decades, female illiteracy remains significantly higher than that of men (10.6% vs. 3.6%), which represents 1 million illiterate women, and particularly affects rural and indigenous women. Likewise, even though primary education is almost universal, with equitable access for girls and boys (95% in both cases), important inequalities persist as a result of factors such as poverty, geographical access and language. Rural areas see the highest rates of delay, repeating and dropout, as well as poor performance, reflecting severe problems with regard to quality of education, particularly for the poorest population groups.

Access to secondary school is also equitable (88% for girls and 89% for boys), but girls tend to show higher levels of dropout as they advance in this level of education, particularly in rural areas. Thus, only 39% of rural girls finish secondary school, compared with 51.3% of boys (with 65% the national average of culmination for both boys and girls) (MINEDU, 2007). Several factors affect girls' permanence in school: the need to contribute as family workers in subsistence agriculture, domestic work and care of smaller siblings (Alcázar, 2008)⁴; insecurity resulting from the need to walk long distances in rural areas; and difficulties in continuing studying after teenage pregnancy or early marriage – the main reason for dropout in one-third of cases (INEI, 2006).

2.1.3 Health and lifecycle vulnerabilities

During the 1990s, Peru went through major neoliberal reforms based on market or efficiency principles which included, among other aspects, the introduction of fees for services (in a previously free system) – together with means testing of those who could not pay for services – and a targeted basic health care package for the poorest communities. This basic package sought to expand primary health care to remote urban and rural poor areas, an idea that continued later in Integral Health Insurance (SIS, discussed later), with an important focus on maternal and child health.⁵

Greater access to public services had an effect on the maternal mortality rate in Peru, although it remains one of the highest in Latin America (164 per 100,000 live births in 2002) (MINSAs, 2003), after Bolivia and Haiti. Prenatal care is relatively high (91%) and delivery in a health facility had increased to 72% by 2006 (from 59% in 2000, although still low compared with 92% in urban areas). The main causes of maternal mortality (haemorrhage, toxæmia and infections) are preventable with adequate and opportune attention, although cultural, geographical and economic barriers persist, particularly regarding access to medicines and indirect costs such as transportation, aggravated by social risks such as gender inequality and lack of social capital.

Regarding women's reproductive rights, the fertility rate has significantly decreased in recent decades to reach 2.5 as a result of an increase in birth control use, though it exceeds the desired number of children (1.5 one average) (INEI et al., 2006), evidencing difficulties in making women's

⁴ According to Alcázar, a greater number of dependants (children, adolescents and the elderly) reduces the probability of girls attending school; likewise, the number of hours dedicated to domestic chores by girls who have left school is double that of boys in the same condition.

⁵ As mentioned by Ewig (2010), fees impose a greater burden on women because they tend to need health care services more, to dedicate financial resources to children's health care and to have smaller independent incomes. Even under SIS, local health centres face pressures to generate fees for services, which may create the incentive to seek fee-paying clients and even to deceive patients into paying fees they rightfully should not have to pay.

reproductive intentions effective. Both indicators are highly related to women's education: women with primary education have on average 3.6 children, compared with desired fertility of 2.1; in women with no education, these figures are 4.3 and 1.4, respectively (Manuela Ramos, 2007).

Teenage pregnancy rates are relatively low compared with the average in Latin America (12.7% vs. 18%), although fertility rates in women between 15 and 19 have not decreased in the past 20 years (as has occurred with other age groups) and this disproportionately affects the poorest populations. In 2004, 39.2% of teenagers in the rural highlands were pregnant or already had a child, reflecting cultural values that affect age of first sexual relations and marriage. The proportion of teenage pregnancies is five times higher in the poorest quintile in rural areas as compared with the richest quintile (48.3% vs. 10.8%). This severely affects the development of human capital, raising by 30 percentage points the probability of girls neither studying nor working because of occupation in child care activities (INEI, 2006).

Unwanted pregnancies may lead to abortions, which are frequently practised in insecure and dangerous conditions, particularly for the poorest women. Estimates reveal that, every year, 370,000 clandestine abortions are practised in Peru, most of them performed on poor women, from both urban and rural areas, and adolescents. In fact, around 50% of women hospitalised as a result of complications of abortion are under 25 years of age (Ferrando, 2006). Septic abortion may represent a third cause of maternal mortality, although this indicator is difficult to assess.⁶

2.1.4 Violence against women

Violence against women is widespread in the country: according to national data, 42.3% of women with partners were physically ill-treated by their husband or partner,⁷ but only 21% of women victims of violence sought help in an institution (INEI et al., 2004). The magnitude of this phenomenon is reflected in the increasing number of cases of femicide in the country: between January 2004 and July 2007, at least 403 women were killed by their partner or ex-partner (an average of nine women a month), and 44% of murders occurred in the victim's house (in Meléndez López and Sarmiento Rissi, 2008).

Violence against women has significant personal and social costs. Women who live in non-violent environments generate more labour income as compared with women victims of violence, who see their income reduced by \$400 to \$520 a year. The social cost of violence thus amounted to around \$4000 to \$6700 million in 2007. Women in non-poor households see their labour productivity affected, and the number of hours worked by women in poor households is reduced as a result of violence (Díaz and Miranda, 2009).

Despite low levels of sexual violence registration and a shortage of national data disaggregated by sex, age or geographical area, National Police data for 2007 show that rape and sexual aggressions are the third most frequent crime in Peru; 93% of victims denouncing a crime against sexual liberty are women, with adolescents between 14 and 17 years the most affected group (44.5%) (MIMDES, 2008a). Likewise, the UN Children's Fund (2000) estimates that 8 of every 10 cases of sexual abuse are perpetrated by a member of the family environment, and 6 of every 10 pregnancies in girls between 11 and 14 years old result from incest or rape.

Finally, according to the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (CVR, 2003), 98% of victims of sexual violence⁸ during the internal conflict were women. In the majority of cases, sexual violence was perpetrated by the state (83%), with 11% perpetrated by subversive groups.

⁶ In 2005, 27.3% of births were not anticipated; in a similar proportion of births (29.2%), women wanted to postpone a new pregnancy; both represent 57% of all births and amount to 1.8 million children.

⁷ Some studies have found higher prevalence in the highlands of Peru: according to Gúezmes et al. (2002), 60.9% of women had suffered physical violence and 46.6% had suffered sexual violence from their partner in the city of Cusco. Similarly, 37.6% had been victims of forced sexual relations.

⁸ Sexual violence includes forced prostitution and union, sexual slavery, forced abortion and sexual abuse.

The CVR reports cases of women raped as a means of intimidation or punishment or as an instrument of pressure.

2.2 The case of Chiara and Los Morochucos in Ayacucho region

Figure 1: Map of Ayacucho



The districts of Chiara (Huamanga province) and Los Morochucos (Cangallo province) are located at 1 and 2.5 hours, respectively, from Ayacucho's regional capital (Huamanga). In Los Morochucos district, sites selected were Chanquil community and Barrio Manzanayoc, the latter being an extension of the district capital, Pampacangallo. Both locations have access to initial, primary and secondary schools, as well as to primary health centres, but lack basic services. In Chiara district, fieldwork was carried out in the communities of Motoy and Liriopata, at 45 and 10 minutes, respectively, from the district capital (Chiara), with consequent varying access to public services. Motoy has only a primary school, and the fact that adolescents must walk two hours to secondary school in Chiara generally excludes them from this level of education.

Ayacucho was disproportionately affected by the internal conflict initiated in the early 1980s, seeing the highest number of victims (more than 40%).⁹ An important proportion of the population was displaced, forced to migrate to larger cities.¹⁰ In 1993, the *Programa de Apoyo al Repoblamiento* was set up with international support, to facilitate the return of displaced populations through measures to recover and improve social and productive infrastructure and promote citizen rights. The investment was scattered, however, and the programme failed to articulate with other projects for regional development, with almost 80% of the budget oriented towards infrastructure (roads, irrigation channels and housing).

⁹ Research by the CVR (2004) estimated 70,000 dead and missing persons, 75% of whom spoke indigenous languages, 79% of whom were peasants and 68% of whom had primary or no education. Thus, internal conflict was concentrated in the historically marginalised, discriminated and excluded segment of the population.

¹⁰ Ayacucho is the only region in Peru where the number of inhabitants diminished between 1981 and 1993, by 3.5%, mainly because of the internal conflict, which forced the displacement of 400,000 persons in the region (Huber, 2003).

2.2.1 Economic and environmental risks

The main economic activities in the area are agriculture and cattle farming. The main market-oriented crop in Chiara is potato, with cereals grown mainly for self-consumption. Poor households have limited access to land or credit, so men usually work in subsistence agriculture and as a potato crop workforce for wealthier households. In Los Morochucos, cattle farming and the production of forage crops for local and national markets are more developed. Besides being engaged in subsistence agriculture, women and girls are the main responsibility holders for small-scale shepherding¹¹ and the production of milk and cheese, which they sell in local markets or to local traders. The resulting income – which can amount to \$1.50 to \$2 a day – is administered by women, generally to cover household and children's needs (clothes, shoes, food, etc). This follows a pattern whereby, even though many Peruvian families pool their income, men usually withhold some for personal expenses – such as alcohol, in poor rural and urban settings – reducing the amount available for the family's needs, such as food or health care. In turn, women's income tends to go almost fully towards answering the family's needs (Ewig, 2010).

Limited livelihood opportunities are a main economic risk. These are more restricted for women (who work mainly in agriculture or cattle farming and also in services such as washing). Men have a wider range of options (construction, temporary work in public infrastructure projects or temporary migration to work at the coast or in the jungle). Women are in demand for activities that require less strength (sowing, harvesting), less mobility and less knowledge of Spanish, which accounts for the lower salaries – the daily wage is between one-half and two-thirds of that of men (\$3 to \$5 vs. \$6 or more) – and jobs are irregular (generally, one to three days a week).

Ayacucho region has the greatest proportion of female-headed households nationwide: 33% (53,796), a fact probably related to the internal conflict and the significant mobility of the population. Evidence from the districts visited revealed that the scarcity of labour opportunities is particularly problematic for these households, with women in greater need of work as day labourers in addition to work in subsistence agriculture and cattle farming. The lack of child care facilities is an additional problem.

'As a single mother, I have to work to support my daughter ... Sometimes there is no work or the pay is little. I have to leave my daughter with my mother, and my brothers argue with me because of this. To be alone is difficult because a single woman cannot sow large extensions – she can only shepherd and sow in small extensions, so food rapidly finishes' (Single mother, 25, Motoy).

'We are all women, we work but earn little money ... Only my daughter works (remunerated) and I just shepherd pigs' (Mother of single mother, 88, Liriopata).

'I think women are more prone to falling into poverty, because their rights are violated ... The concept of equality does not translate into practice ... For example, in work ... a daily wage for men is 18 to 20 soles, whereas women only earn 13 to 15 soles. This is not fair' (Married male, 30, Manzanayoc).

Social capital is particularly important in the case of female-headed households, which have to rely on family networks for support. This is the case of one married woman, aged 24, who has looked after her family's livestock since she was a girl and continues to do so now that her relatives live in Lima, receiving goods in exchange (cloth, sugar, soap). Family support has been critical in her being able to access land as well as to buy a cow and build a house. Women also rely on neighbours for activities that demand greater physical strength. The need to develop diverse survival strategies may lead to neglect of livestock, care of which is typically a female activity, rendering these households more vulnerable to theft or loss of assets. Single mothers are regarded with sympathy by all interviewees, who consider them one of the main vulnerable groups.

¹¹ This activity is highly time consuming; in Chanquil, women have to be especially careful because of frequent conflicts among neighbours as a result of damage to the grasslands caused by livestock.

'We widows suffer more. Women with husbands, they go to work and earn money and can carry loads. Sometimes we find something on our farms but have nobody to carry it for us, because we women cannot carry heavy loads. I am sick, probably because of doing these things. Neighbours feel sorry for us, and say they must help us, but only some of them do, not all. Sometimes they help us with our work; when I cannot dig a ditch they help me' (Single mother, 44, Chanquil).

'When my daughter's animals were stolen, we cried a lot. We had bought them after much sacrifice and the robbers took them away ... My daughter saved part of her Juntos money ... She searched for her animals crying, my sons also helped her in her search but we couldn't find them ... As single women, sometimes we leave livestock alone, whereas others are always able to look after them... We poor people always face misfortune' (Mother of single mother, 88, Liriopata).

Livelihood opportunities are scarce for the elderly (both men and women) as a result of limited opportunities to participate in remunerated agricultural work (because of health problems and limited mobility), which is the main source of labour in the area. These groups carry out less demanding activities, such as shepherding for the family or neighbours and contributing to care work and subsistence agriculture. Their situation is particularly vulnerable because of a lack of social protection mechanisms specifically targeted at them, as access to social security and pensions is almost non-existent in rural areas. Greater life expectancy (as discussed later) and responsibility for the dependants in the family pose additional risks for women. As in the case of female-headed households, the elderly rely strongly on family networks (both within and outside the community). Those who lack these networks are in a situation of great vulnerability, frequently depending on the charity of neighbours.

'I live well with my daughter and my grandchildren, they give me food. I just remain seated ... What can I do if I cannot work anymore? I could spin before, but now even my hand hurts. Those who don't have a family suffer; they sometimes live off of a neighbour's charity but they also get tired. I cannot even wash my own cloth any more. What can I do? I suffer a lot; life is very sad' (Elderly female, 88, Manzanayocc).

'I live with my daughter. She works and I sometimes look after the livestock and they pay me a little. My children also help me – they buy me cloth ... Sometimes children forget the elderly – they leave them and they suffer. I still have strength but I don't know what will happen when I grow older ... The oldest suffer the most' (Mother of single mother, 88, Liriopata).

'We have difficulties because we can't find work. Sometimes we walk for nothing, looking for a job. We find nothing ... money is hard to find' (Elderly female, 62, Manzanayocc).

Sources of food and income are jeopardised by environmental problems, which are increasingly frequent in rural areas, where natural disasters are identified as the main factor associated with poverty (in contrast with job loss in urban areas). Evidence shows that every year between 4 and 12 such events occur, most of them linked to extreme temperatures (hailstorms and frosts) (Chacaltana, 2006),¹² which endanger crops (the main source of subsistence) and force families to adopt measures such as reducing consumption or distributing resources unevenly within the household (i.e. prioritising male members as breadwinners). There is little information on the effects of initiatives such as *Agro Protege*, an agricultural insurance programme aimed at supporting 1.5 million peasants and allocated \$13.8 million in 2008.

Precarious housing conditions and lack of basic services can lead to vulnerability with regard to ability to respond to these types of events, endangering households and provoking loss of economic assets. Several interviewees reported that strong winds affected their roofs and walls, forcing them to reduce the space available for living until they were able to reconstruct their homes. In the case of one single father, his children fell asleep with a lit candle, starting a fire in which he

¹² The number of affected persons increased from 5.3 million in the 1990s to 4.6 million in the first half of this decade, according to the Centre for Research on the Epidemiology of Disasters (CRED) (in Chacaltana, 2006).

lost practically all his possessions. He had to turn to local authorities and loans from his relatives in order to reconstruct his home and to be able to survive.

'One of my sorrows was when my house was set on fire. One of my children fell asleep with a lit candle ... We had to sleep in the kitchen, I had to ask my friends for a loan to buy a bed and I worked hard to pay for it. The community also supported me with food and a bed, and the municipality supported me with pots and sheets ... They helped me with a roof in less than a month, with the community and my relatives working on Sundays' (Single father, 42, Motoy).

2.2.2 Social risks

Gender inequality appears to be a significant source of risk in the area, as is the case in environments with similar characteristics, although the fact that non-governmental organisations (NGOs) that advocate for women's rights, such as Manuela Ramos,¹³ have intervened in both districts may mean that there is greater visibility of this issue. In our interviews, we asked whether men and women have equal opportunities and options. There was a clear notion that they have equal rights but that these are not really translated into daily life, as reflected in the idea that women lack a meaningful voice within the household as a result of limited access to education and prevailing discriminatory notions:

'Here, they put us women a little low ... As sometimes women do not know how to write or read, they tell us: "you don't know", "I know better'. (Married female, 30, Chanquil).

Access to opportunities and resources

Despite changes over time, cultural values and norms that assign certain roles and responsibilities to each gender and grant differential access to resources have a distinct effect on the young generations. Thus, even though men tend to participate more than in past decades in domestic activities, such as in looking after children or collecting firewood or water (as addressed later), there is clearly an uneven distribution of work between girls and boys in the household, suggesting little change in traditional patterns across generations. Women rely heavily on daughters in domestic work, which has implications in terms of time poverty and mobility constraints.

'Girls are different. Boys play but girls help their mothers. Cooking, washing ... boys are not the same' (Married female, 30, Chanquil).

'Older brothers help less but parents hold daughters tightly... Girls help mothers with housework; boys help fathers, although some boys also help at home' (Adolescent female, 16, Chanquil).

'Women are dedicated to cooking and men work on the farm. Some men play football when they rest, while we remain at home with house chores' (Adolescent female, 20, Liriopata).

Similarly, despite greater access to school in recent years, the younger generations (those under 25 and adolescents) feel that women clearly have less access to education than men, because girls' education is granted a lower value than that of boys (who are expected to become the main breadwinners) and because their contribution to activities such as shepherding is in many cases prioritised. The fear or actual risk of teenage pregnancy may also discourage families from sending girls to school and significantly affect their accumulation of human capital (as seen later).

Some girls do not go to school because their parents prefer to send boys to school rather than girls. They remain shepherding, this is the problem ... Sometimes parents think boys are better than girls.

¹³ In 1995, Manuela Ramos and the Centre for Research and Popular Education initiated the Reproductive Health in Community Project – REPROSALUD – financed by the US Department for International Development (USAID). The purpose was to improve the reproductive health of rural and peri-urban women through an increase in the demand for reproductive health interventions. The project developed a participatory design and implementation plan, strengthening women's abilities to organise, identify and mobilise resources to improve their reproductive health. Unexpected results included a strengthening of women's analysis of gender inequalities. www.manuela.org.pe/reprosalud.asp.

and they want boys to study ... Girls have the right to study but parents do not believe so' (Adolescent female, 16, Chanquil).

'Sometimes they don't want women to study. My father said that women go to school just to meet a man. This is why I could only study until third grade ... at that time, women did not study. When I was 14, I could study no more so I went to work picking potatoes ... and once I earned my own money I wanted to study no more' (Married female, 24, Motoy).

'I was taken out of school in fourth grade, when I was 17 or 18 ... when my sister met her boyfriend ... My uncles told my parents it was not worthwhile to let women study ... I cried and my parents yelled at me: "you only want to study for men". Then I started shepherding every day' (Single mother, 25, Motoy).

School failure seems to be common in both girls and boys. Low quality of education, particularly in rural and public schools, is reflected by the fact that Peru is one of the worst-performing countries in reading and mathematics worldwide.¹⁴ Access to initial education – which has a positive impact on school performance and contributes to children attending the grade that corresponds with their age, potentially reducing repetition and dropout rates – is particularly low in rural areas¹⁵ and affects timely entrance to primary school.

Families also frequently prioritise younger children when older ones reach adolescence and obtain a history of poor performance. This is particularly true in the case of adverse events (such as illness, death or abandonment), which forces older children to leave school and take part in productive activities (both remunerated work and unpaid family work, the latter particularly in the case of women).

'I think I didn't understand because he was too old. He repeated third grade twice, fourth grade three times and left school out of shame' (Single father, 44, Motoy).

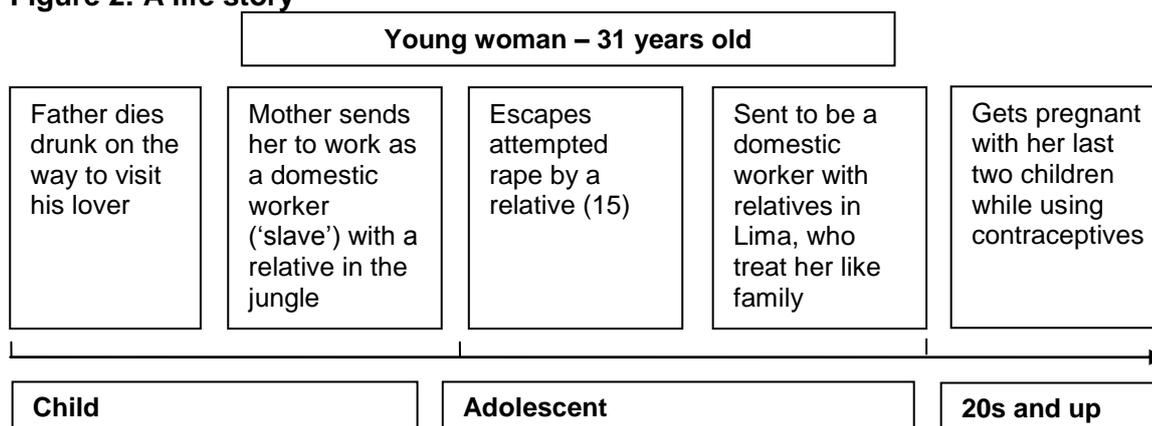
'I left school at 18, when I was in the second year of secondary school ... I failed one course and had no money to pay. I didn't attend the retake ... Also, my parents bought pencils and notebooks for my little siblings and there was not enough for me, so I left school. I made that decision' (Adolescent female, 20, Liriopata).

This situation exposes women and men to different risks. An alternative in the case of the former is domestic work, generally performed by women migrants in cities. Estimates put Ayacucho among the six regions from which 90% of domestic workers in Lima come from, 35% of whom are between 12 and 18 years old (Martínez, 2007). The case of one young woman is particularly significant, as it shows the conditions of exploitation and risk, including the risk of sexual violence, and reflects the situation of vulnerability among girls who are sent by their parents outside the community, in some cases to relatives, where the environment can be as insecure as it is when working for strangers (see Figure 1). This case is also significant because of her resilience and because of the fact that her main goal is to finish secondary school once her children are older.

'When I was a little girl, my parents left me and this caused me a great deal of pain. I was sent to the jungle and I didn't have anyone to call mother or father by my side ... My father used to drink and his mistress lived far away. He fell from a high hill [on his way to see her] and was found dead. My mother said, how can I have eight children? This was her concern, so she took me to the jungle to work when I was six My uncle and aunt forced me to cook for the agricultural workers ... I was like a slave ... In addition, my uncle tried to abuse me, so I decided to leave. I didn't have a safe home' (Married female, 31, Chanquil).

¹⁴ In 2008, Peru had the worst performance in the Programme for International Student Assessment tests (PISA), taking the last position out of 41 countries.

¹⁵ Coverage of initial education is at 66.2% at national level (67.4% for girls and 64.9% for boys), decreasing to 55.4% in rural areas (53.3% for girls and 57.5% for boys).

Figure 2: A life story**Reproductive rights**

Male abandonment appears as an extremely frequent event, in a context where *machismo* is syndicated as a common feature of gender relations. This concept refers to a particular way of organising gender relations, as characterised by aspects such as a double standard for sexual behaviour, control over women's sexuality and motherhood and an emphasis on virility, strength and lack of interest in domestic affairs in the case of men. As Fuller (1998) points out regarding Latin American society, 'practices that reproduce traditional hierarchies are still valid in spaces such as the family and religion, while modern rationality, which conceives human beings as individuals and as free and equal citizens, rules some aspects of political life and is disseminated by formal education. The gap between a legitimate egalitarian order and discriminatory practices tinges the subjectivity of social actors.'

In this context, there is a widespread social tolerance of male polygamy, as a 'natural' phenomenon that responds to a biological imperative. Both younger and older women and men mention father's abandonment as a common early experience, with variable effects on emotional well-being, educational opportunities and the need to contribute economically to the family. Male abandonment – be it real or resulting from an affective absence owing to problems such as alcoholism – generally leads to women assuming full responsibility for children. This situation reflects women's very limited control over their reproductive life. Another aspect worth mentioning is the high level of consensual unions in which there is no formal link between men and women (of partnered women 49% are in this situation, with the remaining 51% married), which may affect women's notion of rights regarding children's support. Limited access to information and services regarding the right to alimonies (through the Municipal Ombudsperson for Children and Adolescents (DEMUNA)) may also play a role in this situation.

'Men deceive and leave women because we are weak, illiterate; we suffer but have to look after our children. Men don't contribute at all, they forget' (Female FGD, Chanquil).

'It is sad that my daughter is a single mother, the man has forgotten his children, this is why my daughter is sick and cannot work well ... Men deceive and leave young women, they don't take them seriously... They leave town and don't come back ... Only once he sent her 100 soles, that was the only time' (Mother of single mother, 88, Liriopata).

'When my father started drinking he abandoned us. We are 10 living siblings and my mother had to sacrifice herself – she went to the farm to work alone, to wash the clothes of wealthier people ... [My father] was there but he contributed little or nothing' (Married male, 30, Manzanayocc).

The fact that some women have experienced more than one situation of abandonment may point towards social pressure on and stigma for women who remain alone – as is the case with those who don't have children. This situation can be related to the stereotypical and rigid roles assigned to women (and men). The following testimony of a young woman who started working in the

municipality shows the type of pressure faced by women who have gained a degree of independence and mobility within the community.

'Now I leave early in the morning and come back in the evening ... People come to my father with gossip and problems start ... I guess out of envy: as I am still alone and work they talk behind my back and tell my father. If someone goes from one place to another they think this is not right' (Adolescent female, 20, Liriopata).

'Even agricultural labourers fail to work well ... They don't pay any attention to me as they do to men ... My son is not recognised by his father ... I was a fool. I wanted an engagement because I was alone and suffered' (Single mother, 44, Chanquil).

'When me and my partner started together, [my family] told me I would spend my life with him: "you will live together because if you don't have a partner people will point at you' (Single mother, 24, Motoy).

Early pregnancies are one of the main risks identified by younger women and adolescents. During 2009, four teenage pregnancies occurred in Chanquil; only in one case did the girl (14 years old) intend to continue studying. Despite the fact that legislation forbids the exclusion of pregnant girls from school – during or after childbirth – in most cases girls leave school owing to social pressure and stigmatisation as well as to the need to look after the child, in a context where the family may offer limited emotional and economic support. This represents a major vulnerability, as there are no efficient policy instruments to grant opportune and integral sexual education to girls and boys or to provide labour opportunities (with the very limited exception of *Projoven*, which covers mainly urban areas) or daily child care to enable girls to cover their own and their children's needs. The following testimony highlights the problems faced by young girls and the ambivalence of families regarding this issue, which is condemned by the community.

'I cried when my son was born. I was happy when my parents and brothers helped me, but cried when they complained about this help ... Sometimes I was beaten. This was the period in which I needed many things, and didn't know how to take care of my son ... I couldn't work and I always lacked what I needed to support him' (Single mother, 24, Motoy).

Abandonment is much less frequent in the case of men (we found only two cases among *Juntos* beneficiaries). In the two cases interviewed, the greater access to economic opportunities enabled men to feel less vulnerable, and they assumed a greater proportion of the domestic chores. As in the case of single women, the support of family networks is critical, from both older children and the extended family.

'I thought, I will work as a man and will be able to support my children. When [my wife] decided to leave I thought I would be able to carry on and my brother would support me. I suffered at first, I cried, but my children are big now. I cooked and washed my small children's clothes ... When I went to work, I took the little one with his meal and we spent all day at work' (Single father, 42, Motoy).

Violence against women

In both Chiara and Los Morochucos, the population has access to public services that respond to violence against women and children, although their scope is limited to date (in terms of both preventive activities and coverage): DEMUNA and a Women's Emergency Centre (CEM), which offers services once a week in Pampacangallo (Los Morochucos).¹⁶ Health facilities are an important source of information on this issue, as health personnel address gender-based violence in sensitisation activities and during medical consultation. The Manuela Ramos REPROSALUD intervention has had an important influence with regard to the dissemination of a rights-based approach to gender equity in both districts. A major referent is *La Casa del Bienestar* in Los

¹⁶ Although DEMUNAs are targeted at children under 18, many women victims of violence attend this service in search of advice, which they normally receive, later being referred to specialised services such as CEM. The latter target all persons affected by violence, with women and children the main users.

Morochucos, where communitarian promoters offer legal advice and training regarding violence against women and children, as well as on other issues related to reproductive rights.

Violence against women is identified as an important risk, particularly highlighted in women's discourse. It is sometimes, but not exclusively, associated with alcohol consumption – which may trigger violence but is not a cause in itself (as violence against women is rooted in power relations and notions of superiority of men over women). Several situations may exacerbate violence, mostly linked to the attempt to limit women's mobility (and its implications in terms of autonomy, particularly in the sexual sphere) and in contexts in which women fail to comply with the traditional roles assigned to them in the productive and reproductive sphere. According to the testimonies, greater attendance to training sessions in the context of *Juntos* may provoke resistance and violence from partners: women are accused either of neglecting other activities, such as shepherding and domestic chores, or of engaging in relations with other men in the community.

'They send us to literacy lessons from four to eight in the evening and sometimes husbands are jealous. They beat and ill-treat women ... This is a requisite of Juntos, and mothers, poor them, they have to comply to get their 100 soles. Many come and say that their husbands don't want them to go, "What are you doing?" "What are you up to?" Sometimes they drink and some men are "machistas" and don't understand women. They grab them. This is difficult for women' (Married female, 30, Chanquil).

'There are arguments because [couples] do not understand each other... Sometimes my father comes home drunk and makes trouble... I don't know what are they thinking when they are sober and when they are drunk they cause trouble ... [Also], some women get involved with other men even if they have a husband. This is why they tell them "you are such and such"' (Adolescent female, 16, Chanquil).

A source of conflict highlighted in several testimonies and that may trigger violence is living with in-laws, particularly the relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, in a context where women normally live with their partner's family. If a woman fails to comply with standards regarding expected behaviour as a 'good wife', this generates tension; such was the case of one married woman, 24, who left her husband as a result of frequent ill-treatment, exacerbated and justified by her mother-in-law when she did not fulfil her domestic tasks as expected. The decision not to tolerate further violence and to live on her own led in this case to greater dialogue and communication between the couple.

'We were not living well; we were always beating each other. We lived with our sisters-in-law and took turns to do things. When it was not my turn I sat down ... So arguments started and we were beaten ... My mother-in-law used to tell my husband that I didn't help and that I just sat down, that is why I was beaten ... Once when he hit me very hard I went to my parents' home. My godparents came and made me come back ... but then we started to live by ourselves' (Married female, 24, Motoy).

Testimonies reveal an important generational difference in terms of vulnerability to violence. Older women, without exception, mention frequent ill-treatment episodes that may lead to extreme violence as part of the daily experience of living as a couple. The fact that a woman is pregnant does not dissuade men, as is also evident from the statistics in this regard.¹⁷ Differences in access to information and services are also highlighted, thus making resources to face this situation more available for younger women. As will be discussed in Section 4, violence towards women in the area is increasingly a public issue owing to the influence of public and private institutions, a situation that is having an impact on its intensity and frequency.

He used to beat me because he was jealous and he broke my head using a stone... I was very young and he deceived me. He told me that he would look after me and once I got pregnant he started hating me and beating me ... When I tell my daughters they say I was a fool to let him beat me, and that they

¹⁷ According to Güzemes et al. (2002), 28% of women reported physical aggression during pregnancy in a region in the highlands (Cusco) that is similar to Ayacucho.

would abandon their husbands in such a situation. But I had so many children, what could I do? I just cried in a corner ... Now women would leave if they were beaten' (Mother of single mother, 88, Liriopata).

2.2.3 Coping strategies to face risk and vulnerability

Chacaltana (2006) identifies several strategies used by Peruvian households to cope with economic shocks or negative events, particularly: i) working more or working more hours, decreasing consumption, savings and investments; ii) turning to community support mechanisms, such as loans or solidarity from family, friends or neighbours; iii) turning to formal mechanisms – public, civil society (NGO) or private insurance. The last is the least frequent strategy.

Given the limited formal mechanisms to mitigate social and economic risks in the poorest areas of the country, traditional systems of reciprocity and social solidarity are an important source of support for rural households. Reciprocity, or mutual aid, is a traditional institution in the Andes, in the form of *ayni* or *minka*. The first of these provides support in activities such as building a house, farming or harvesting, as well as in social events such as marriage or distressing events such as death. The second refers to collective work building and preserving communal assets. These mechanisms, although still in place in rural communities, may be losing efficacy as a result of a more individualistic approach and limited communal cohesion, as well as the competing demands posed by the need to be involved in remunerated work. In Liriopata, support networks appear to be weak, whereas in Motoy they are relatively strong.

'We help each other when we build our houses ... We always support each other in town, when we have difficulties, sadness or deaths ... We don't do anything differently if it is a man or a woman' (Single father, 42, Motoy).

'[In case of death] we have to spend, but we help each other with what we can, food, meat, we gather things together ... For relatives, friends, neighbours too, when you don't have anything, what can you spend? We help each other' (Married male, 67, Motoy).

Poverty also may reduce the efficiency of mutual aid mechanisms: households that rely on family networks in a better economic situation can obtain greater support. In the case of extreme poverty and vulnerability, or in the event of limited social networks, community support becomes critical to cope with situations such as illness or death, as does turning to local authorities to mobilise the community and collect necessary resources.

'There are troubles, there is no mutual support, you can even die because of a lack of aid ... Only around 50% [of the people in the community] help ... You have to turn to the communal authorities, you ask for help, how could it be otherwise?' (Married male, 39, Liriopata).

Typically, in the case of emergency or economic or environmental risks (such as crop loss or low agricultural prices), families sell their animals, a capital reserved for this kind of situation, or resort to family networks. Access to formal mechanisms (such as credit) is severely limited, and is offered mainly to households with market-oriented crops on larger extensions, which normally excludes the poorest, as well as women.

It is worthwhile mentioning that, in the event that a female close relative dies and leaves small children (such as in childbirth or as a result of the internal conflict), women traditionally play an important role as the main caregivers, assuming the task of upbringing orphans. This was the case for one woman, who decided to raise her sister as her own daughter when their aunt died leaving a newborn child in the charge of their mother.

'My mother's sister-in-law died and she left a newborn baby, who was given to my mother. But my mother also had a small child ... I didn't have children, I was a little girl, so I raised my sister from when I was little. Now neither my mother nor anybody else can take her away from me because she is my daughter' (Single mother, 44, Chanquil).

3. Integration of gender in social protection debates

Important changes have taken place in institutional arrangements in the first decade of the new millennium, including the strengthening of democratic institutions, the development of participatory mechanism in planning and resource allocation (Participatory Budget), the development of norms of transparency, accountability and civic surveillance, as well as the enforcement of political and economic processes of decentralisation.¹⁸

In this context, the National Accord (NA), framed in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and launched in July 2002 with the participation of the main political and organisational forces in Peru, established four national goals and 31 medium- and long-term policies that provide strategic guidelines for national plans, as well as poverty reduction-oriented indicators.

Social expenditure in Peru has been relatively stable in the past decade, reaching an average of 9% of GDP. In 2004, Peru spent 3% of GDP on education, 1.5% on health and 3.9% on social assistance and prevision (where pensions amount for 80% of total expenditure). Nevertheless, social expenditure in every one of the main sectors (education, health and social protection) is below the average for Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC). Social protection in Peru is therefore low with respect to national requirements and regional standards (0.76% of GDP in 2006, excluding pensions, as compared with 1.3% of GDP for LAC) (World Bank, 2007), reflecting the low level of public expenditure (one of the lowest in LAC) and the low priority assigned to social protection.

3.1 Social protection in Peru

Peru lacks a national social protection system in charge of coordinating, financing and implementing social protection programmes as well as developing linkages and synergies with other relevant sectors. The need to construct an integral social protection system is critical, to offer protection from a wide range of vulnerabilities, currently neglected (such as job loss or informality, lifecycle vulnerabilities, ethnic discrimination, etc) (author's interviews). Furthermore, lack of institutional coordination affects accountability and effectiveness. Social protection interventions in Peru – pensions, policies regarding the labour market and the social protection network (alimentary programmes, temporary employment programmes, *Juntos* and the Cooperation Fund for Social Investment (FONCODES)) – are dispersed across several ministries, agencies and levels of government.¹⁹ In this regard, recommended measures include clarifying the structure of the social protection system through a greater articulation between the poverty reduction strategy and the social protection network, with adequate definition of the objectives of each programme and of the system as a whole, as well as clear assignation of responsibilities within central government and local authorities regarding regulation, financing, implementation and monitoring and evaluation (World Bank, 2007).

¹⁸ Currently, social programmes are being transferred to local governments, particularly nutritional programmes, although there is a strong need for strengthening local capabilities to improve delivery through sustained monitoring and accompaniment.

¹⁹ The pensions system and the Glass of Milk Program (GoM) are under the Ministry of Economy and Finance (MEF); temporary employment is under the Ministry of Labour and Employment Promotion (MINTRA), as are other interventions in the labour market; the Ministry of Women and Social Development (MIMDES) is responsible for alimentary programmes (except GoM), FONCODES and programmes targeted at children and adolescents at risk, displaced populations and the elderly; the Ministry of Health (MINSa) is responsible for nutrition. Other agencies, such as *Juntos* and the Presidential Council of Ministers (through the National Strategy *Crececer*) also have an important role. The Ministry of Housing, Construction and Sanitation (MVCS) and the Ministry of Energy and Mining (MEM) also delivers subsidies that can be understood conceptually as social protection interventions. See World Bank (2007) for further information.

Few policy documents address the issue of social protection, which is one of the three main goals of social policy as established by the National Plan to Overcome Poverty 2004-2006, which constitutes one of the main references regarding this matter.

- **Development of human capabilities and respect for basic rights**, through the integral protection of children to prevent the loss of human capital. Most policy efforts have been concentrated on this goal, through programmes and initiatives such as the *Juntos* programme and *Crecer* (described later), nutritional programmes and access to health and education.
- **Promotion of economic opportunities and capabilities**, to link the population to the productive system. This has seen less of a focus but is currently being accorded greater attention.²⁰
- **Implementation of a social protection network** against risks (of natural or human origin) that affect individuals, households and communities in extreme poverty and greater social vulnerability, prioritising children under three and pregnant and puerperal women.

In general, most interventions focus on the poor population, and there is a relative consensus on the most vulnerable groups: populations in extreme poverty, children and abandoned children, the elderly and women victims of violence. Nevertheless, there has been no national debate regarding groups that should be covered by the social protection system and are currently excluded from it. One vulnerable group that lacks protection is the working poor, particularly those in the informal sector in rural areas, where women are highly represented as independent workers and unpaid family workers, lacking social security (which affects 99% of population in extreme poverty). Similarly, the elderly face great insecurity of income and only a small proportion (22%) have a social pension (World Bank, 2007).

Several criteria have been proposed to enable a broader understanding of vulnerability, although their incorporation in targeting design has been limited to date. The Multiannual Social Frame 2009-2011 establishes the main guidelines for social policy in the country. This proposes – in addition to populations in extreme poverty and populations facing lifecycle vulnerabilities (children, pregnant women, the elderly) and specific conditions or circumstances (children abandoned or facing social and/or moral risks) – other categories such as teenage mothers, disabled persons and populations affected by the internal conflict or by emergencies or natural disasters. Many of the criteria speak to conditions that particularly affect women – especially rural and indigenous women – such as lack of national identification, illiteracy, monolingual or native speaker (non-Spanish speaking), teenage mother/father or single mother/father or caregiver with dependants.

Following the Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler (2004) categories of social protection (see Section 1) – of protective, preventive, promotive and transformative interventions – Table 1 shows the programmes and mechanisms in Peru that make up the country's social protection network. Appendix 1 gives further detail. Socially transformative measures are addressed in detail later.

Table 1: Social protection network in Peru

Programme	Targeted population	Coverage
Protective: Social assistance (protection and productivity-enhancing measures)		
<i>Juntos</i>	Households in districts in extreme poverty	431,974 households
Integral Nutrition Programme (PIN)	Children under 12, pregnant and lactating women	580,000 children under 3 and 150,000 pregnant and lactating women
Glass of Milk (GoM)	Children under 6, pregnant and lactating women	Around 5 million beneficiaries

²⁰ *Crecer* has a second phase – *Crecer Productivo* – specifically targeting this goal, through programmes to enhance productivity and articulation with markets, such as *Agro Rural*, as well as greater involvement of local governments in promoting economic opportunities.

Programme	Targeted population	Coverage
Social pensions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> National System of Pensions (SNP): dependent workers (private and public sector), domestic workers and independent workers Private System of Pensions (SPP): dependent and independent workers. 	9.6% and 31.5% of economically active population (EAP) was affiliated to SNP and SPP in 2007
Protective: Social services		
National Programme against Violence towards Women Women's Emergency Centres (CEMs)	All people affected by domestic and sexual violence	Receives an average of 30,000 annual cases
Municipal Ombudsperson for Children and Adolescents (DEMUNA)	Children under 18	
National Integral Programme for Family Well-Being (INABIF)	Children, women, the elderly and disabled persons at social risk or abandoned	In 2008, around 2500 children and teenagers per month received attention in protection homes
Preventive: Social insurance		
Peruvian Social Insurance (ESSALUD)	Dependent workers (private and public sector), domestic workers and independent workers	17.4% of the population is covered by ESSALUD
Integral Health Insurance (SIS)	Universal affiliation of the population in poverty and extreme poverty, particularly pregnant and puerperal women, children and targeted adults	In 2006, over 11 million people were affiliated to SIS
Promotive		
Social and Productive Emergency Programme <i>Construyendo Perú</i> (public works)	Unemployed population with dependents in poverty areas, prioritising male- and female-headed households with at least one child under 18	271,564 jobs between January 2006 and April 2009 (around 5% of households with children under 18)
<i>Agro Rural</i> , which in 2008 merged several programmes and public decentralised organisms (OPDs) targeting rural agrarian development (e.g. the National Watershed Management and Soil Conservation Programme (PRONAMACHCS) and the Management of Natural Resources in the Southern Highlands Project (MARENASS))	Peasant communities in the Peruvian highlands, in situations of poverty or extreme poverty	<i>Agro Rural</i> will initially cover 1000 rural districts; PRONAMACHCS reaches 140,000 rural households and MARENASS, 25,044 women and 35,730 men
Social equity and socially transformative measures (on issues of social equity and exclusion)		
Law of Equal Opportunities for Women and Men (LIO) Gender quota		
Other social protection mechanisms		
<i>Projoven</i> (training and employment promotion)	16-24 year olds from peripheral urban areas, unemployed or underemployed	July 2007-June 2008, 25,000 (53% women)
<i>Revalora Peru</i> (training and employment promotion)	Workers of private companies who lost their jobs from 1 January 2008 onwards; currently under redefinition	
<i>Wawa Wasi</i> (daily child care)	Children from 6 months to 3 years, particularly those in poverty and extreme poverty (mainly urban areas)	In 2008, 53,000 girls and boys received attention in 6795 <i>Wawa Wasis</i>
National Programme for the Activation of Literacy Work (PRONAMA)	Illiterate persons of 15 or above	1.3 million, particularly women, in learning circles to date

The issue of social protection acquires particular complexity within the process of decentralisation initiated in the early 2000s in Peru, which has increased the responsibilities of sub-national governments regarding the implementation of social protection but has yet to establish clear accountability mechanisms in this regard. Regional governments must define, regulate and conduct regional policies in concordance with national and sectoral policies. In 2007, social protection programmes and services under MIMDES began to be transferred, namely CEMs, *Wawa Wasi* and services delivered by INABIF (Centres for Integral Development of the Family and Street Educators) – a process that has been extended to 2010 as a result of a number of delays.

This process represents an important opportunity to improve efficiency but also poses major challenges regarding issues such as: expanding coverage of services through the identification of potential and non-satisfied demand and characterisation of beneficiaries; building synergies between public, private and community-based organisations; strengthening local capabilities and managerial skills; clarifying competences of sectors involved in social protection services and strategies for articulation; developing quality standards and quality improvement plans as well as monitoring and evaluation (M&E) systems to measure efficiency and efficacy; and improving information and sensitisation on the process of transference (MIMDES, 2008c).

The debate around social protection is still embryonic. During the 1990s (under the Fujimori government), the main objectives of fiscal policy were to attain economic stability within a market economy and to reduce risk for private investment. Social policy appeared as complementary to or compensatory for economic policies. In the current decade, fiscal sanity and economic growth have led to greater recognition of the need for public policies aimed at a more equitable distribution of wealth, given high levels of poverty and social exclusion and the growing demands of marginalised groups. Following international trends and civil society advocacy, a rights-based approach has permeated the public arena, particularly through social ministries (MIMDES, MINSA, and the Ministry of Education (MINEDU)), although this perspective frequently remains at a discursive level and coexists with assistentialist practice (see below). The rights-based approach has a 'high density' regarding women and children and 'low density' regarding other groups such as adults and the elderly (author's interviews).

Two main issues have been a focus at a national level in terms of social policy.

3.1.1 Efficiency and efficacy of social programmes

Growing concerns around the efficiency of public expenditure and social programmes, particularly under the leadership of MEF, have been dominant, emerging from the scarce impact of public policies on poverty and chronic malnutrition (which affects one of every two children under five in the poorest regions). This concern has led to a prioritisation of the population in extreme poverty in an effort to reduce existing gaps in areas such as education, health and nutrition and to address spatial disadvantages that exclude huge numbers from political, economic and social resources and the benefits of development. Social programmes have been reformed (Box 1), although the impact of this has yet to be assessed, with regard to aspects such as quality of logical frameworks, monitoring systems, technical bodies and targeting (author's interviews). In this context, *Juntos* appears as one of the major policy instruments and one of the best targeted programmes.

Box 1: Reform of social programmes in Peru

On 29 March 2007, the government approved the Plan for the Reform of Social Programmes to improve the quality of social expenditure, as an attempt to deal with the duplicity, disarticulation, absence of priorities and high administrative expenses that characterised social programs (according to official data, around \$200 million of the \$1 billion assigned to social programmes were used on administrative costs) (MEF, 2009).

As part of this effort, the existing 82 social programmes were reduced to 26 and National Strategy *Crececer* was launched in 2007, as an articulated intervention against poverty and child malnutrition. The budget assigned to the main social programmes increased from \$1.1 billion in 2007 to \$2 billion in 2008. The nine

strategic programmes under the PpR implemented in Peru since 2007 (initially, maternal-child health, nutrition, learning achievements, access to birth registration, access to basic social services and market opportunities; with four more starting in 2010: environmental management, energy in rural areas, water and sanitation, telecommunications in rural areas), with specific results and indicators, aim at improving the efficiency and efficacy of these programmes. This is the first time that the national budget has incorporated a cause-effect relation in interventions, with common objectives and priorities regarding results, which are quantifiable and accountable (MEF, 2009).

In the same line, MEF has initiated – in coordination with the Inter Ministerial Commission of Social Affairs (CIAS), local governments and social programmes – the application of the Household Targeting System (SISFOH) through a Single Household Register, which provides information on the socioeconomic characteristics of households to improve the equity and efficiency of social programmes. This system is being applied to the GoM programme, SIS and *Techo Propio*, and intends to expand gradually to all social programmes. SISFOH administers Urban and Rural Household Registers, the latter being in charge of *Juntos*. Currently, the presidency of *Crecer* is preparing a bill to create a unique focalisation system (*Focaliza*) to prevent leakages in social programmes, based on information from SISFOH and *Juntos*.

Another measure of outcomes (discussed later) is the Results-Based Budget (PpR), incorporated in 2007 in the public budget, which allows a greater focus on poverty and vulnerability and aims at greater efficiency of public expenditure. PpR represented 3.8% of the public budget in 2008 and 8.3% in 2009. It is expected to increase to 50% to 70% in the next three-year period.²¹

Current efforts focus on the following aspects (author's interviews):

- Improved targeting to better identify beneficiaries through measures such as SISFOH and the Single Beneficiary Register currently being developed by MIMDES, although this kind of reform can be unpopular and may not have the sufficient political support, particularly at the current electoral juncture. Despite certain shortcomings, as noted below, the targeting system developed by *Juntos* in rural areas establishes a route for state intervention in the poorest districts. In this context, an urgent measure is to provide girls and boys with civic identification documents to be used by all social programmes as a main instrument for targeting.
- Delivery of social services, through the identification of cost-effective interventions: this may be hindered by the inertia of state machinery and by pressure from certain stakeholders (as has occurred with community-based organisations in the case of the GoM programme).
- Development of M&E systems as an urgent task: an important step in this regard is legislation passed in 2009²² which compels social programmes to evaluate their results and impact as well as to elaborate recommendations that can lead to their redesign.

3.1.2 'Assistentialist' vs. 'productivity-enhancing or promotive' social programmes

The distinction between protective and promotive programmes has recently emerged in official documents. Traditionally, the state's intervention has been characterised as assistentialist, using a benefactor logic rather than a right-based approach. Social programmes are mainly 'protective' (84% of the MIMDES budget is oriented to protective programmes).²³ The fact that the most vulnerable groups must be covered by protective programmes is widely acknowledged, although there is a growing concern to find more sustainable ways out of poverty, through programmes that allow for capacity building and the promotion of economic opportunities. This approach faces conceptual barriers or gaps in the public machinery, as social programmes are not conceptualised as generating this type of opportunity. Stakeholders also highlight the fact that protective

²¹ Roger Salhuana, PpR Coordinator, MEF, in *El Comercio*, 11 November 2009.

²² The Public Sector Budget Law for Fiscal Year 2009 (No. 29289) and its Amendment Law (No. 29328). The latter establishes that the CIAS, the Presidency of the Council of Ministers (PCM) and MEF must report periodically to Congress.

²³ INABIF, *Wawa Wasi*, National Programme against Domestic and Sexual Violence, National Programme of Alimentary Assistance (PRONAA) (Presentation by the Minister of Women and Social Development, Carmen Vildoso, 2009).

programmes should consider promotive or 'enabling' aspects, through greater information and capacity building in aspects such as hygiene, nutrition, birth control, etc.

'The debate between "assistentialist" and rights-based policies is still beginning. This is also true regarding social protection as a factor leading to development. A part of social protection will always include protective measures for the most vulnerable and excluded groups, but these should reduce in time' (Cecilia Aldave, ex-Vice-Minister of Woman).

3.2 Gender in social protection debates

The NA, launched in July 2002 during the Toledo government, establishes medium- and long-term policies regarding gender equality. The 11th Policy – Promotion of Equal Opportunities and Non-Discrimination – confers several responsibilities on the state regarding this issue, the fifth of which is of particular importance for social protection:

1. To combat all forms of discrimination, promoting equal opportunities;
2. To strengthen women's participation as social and political agents in dialogue and coordination with the state and civil society;
3. To strengthen a high-level institution as a governing entity for programmes and policies that promote equality between men and women;
4. To grant women equal access to productive resources and employment; and
5. To develop systems that protect girls, boys, adolescents, the elderly, women responsible for housework, persons who lack livelihood means, disabled persons and other discriminated or excluded persons.

Following Peru's commitment to certain international agreements, several policy instruments have been developed in the present decade, which fall into what Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler (2004) would consider **transformative interventions**, seeking to address concerns of social equity and exclusion. Major advances in this matter are the Equal Opportunities Law (LIO),²⁴ the Equal Opportunities Plans for Men and Women (PIOs), the Quota Law and the National Plans against Violence towards Women.

The LIO (2007) gives specific guidelines on the adoption of policies, plans and programmes on issues such as: full participation of women (including rural and indigenous women); elimination of violence towards women; access to productive, financial, scientific/technological resources and credit; promotion of full and equitable development for girls and boys; and improvement of the official statistical system (Ombudsperson, 2008). Advances in the LIO are monitored by the Ombudsperson through its Associate Ombudsperson for Women's Rights (created in 2002), which has to date produced two annual reports on this matter. The LIO has promoted greater enforcement of the Equal Opportunities Plans for Men and Women (PIOs),²⁵ and the formulation of Regional Equal Opportunities Plans is being supported by MIMDES in close collaboration with civil society and international partners, as is discussed later.

The Quota Law was passed in 1997 to promote women's political participation in Parliament, increasing from 25% in the 2000 elections to 30% in 2001. Although this quota is not always observed,²⁶ it has had an impact on women's participation (29% of women were elected to Parliament in 2006 as compared with 12% in 1995). Lack of a similar measure for the positions of

²⁴ The LIO establishes three areas of intervention regarding the role of the state: to promote and grant equal opportunities for women and men, to adopt temporary positive action measures towards accelerating equality and to promote inclusive language in all official documents.

²⁵ Two PIOs have been formulated to date, 2002-2005 and 2006-2010.

²⁶ According to the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA, 2007a), more than 90 lists with less than 30% of women were approved by the National Election Jury in 2006. Another problem highlighted is that political parties apply this mechanism only as a 'strictly legal minimum', rather than as a platform from which to build better opportunities for participation.

president of region and major accounts for the little or no representation of women in these positions of power – no women were elected presidents of region and only 2.7% were elected as majors at the local level. This aspect is being reformulated for the forthcoming regional and municipal elections in 2010.

The National Programme against Violence towards Women is identified as the main social protection mechanism with an explicit gender perspective in both design and implementation – a programme in which civil society has played a crucial role. There have been significant advances in recent years regarding availability of information on violence against women and the development of public policies,²⁷ with a rapid expansion of services specifically addressing victims of violence (CEMs),²⁸ although these do not offer preventive measures and integral attention. Similarly, the Ombudsperson in 2008 expressed its concern regarding limited enforcement and the lack of specialised services in rural areas for women victims of violence, which affects their right to access justice, as well as the lack of follow-up indicators and policy evaluation regarding prevention and the limited attention to violence against women.

Despite legal advances, a welfare and anti-poverty approach persists in the way that gender is addressed in the state and in sector proposals, with women mainly considered as vulnerable groups that need assistance and not included explicitly in competitiveness, managerial development and job-getting policies (Roeder et al., 2008).²⁹ This results in a high degree of feminisation of ‘protective’ programmes while programmes aimed at developing skills and promoting economic opportunities are highly masculinised (author’s interview). For example, rural development programmes are mostly addressed to men as heads of households and farming units, rendering women’s participation in the agriculture cycle invisible and leaving them without training and financial support.

Analysis of existing social protection interventions in Peru reveals that gender is very loosely incorporated, reflecting serious limitations in understanding and in putting the approach into practice, which may be understood as granting equal participation for men and women beneficiaries in social programmes rather than as transforming gender relations. Any impacts are generally not anticipated or foreseen, as most interventions seek to reduce poverty, lacking an analysis of problems and vulnerabilities that affect women and men differentially. Overall, the main social protection mechanisms either fail to address gender vulnerabilities or do so in a limited way, as is described in the following lines.

Social security through pensions operates in Peru under a parallel scheme, which comprises two main systems: the SNP, in which contributions from active affiliated workers support the pensions of retired workers; and the SPP, created in 1992 as an alternative voluntary system based on individual contributions. The SNP provides access to medical assistance and income, especially for the elderly and in the case of sickness, disability, working accidents or loss of the main provider in a family. Both systems cover only a small segment of the population, mainly the formal public and private sector. In 2006, only around 15% of the EAP had effective coverage – 4% under the SNP and 11% under the SPP. Low coverage particularly affects the poor (with less than 2% coverage in the lowest quintile for urban areas), given high levels of informality and the low productivity and lack of labour regulation in this sector. Although domestic workers and

²⁷ Among the main policy instruments elaborated are the National Plan against Violence towards Women 2002-2007 and 2009-2015 and the Plan for the Integral Prevention of Domestic and Sexual Violence 2008, with an emphasis on social participation (local governments, grassroots organisations and schools).

²⁸ CEMs expanded in number to 73 in 2009, covering 22 of the 24 regions in Peru. However, according to an Ombudsperson report in 2009, only 43% are delivering the expected legal, psychological and social assistance services.

²⁹ According to the analysis of Roeder et al. (2008), some initiatives by MINTRA include programmes that favour women’s participation as economic agents, such as *Mi Empresa* and the Small and Micro Enterprises Support Programme (APOMIPE). These are mainly initiatives supported by development cooperation agencies but they bear the potential to become part of public policy.

independent workers are also included in this scheme, practically no such independent workers pay contributions, suggesting that this mechanism fails to attract this segment of the population.

Besides problems of low coverage, the SNP is severely affected by a financial imbalance. Pension costs have increased at a rapid pace (owing to factors such as demographic changes and a greater life expectancy), whereas contributions to the SNP are experiencing a decreasing trend (as a result of the creation of the SPP and factors such as underemployment, increase in precarious and temporary forms of employment and early retirement). As a consequence, the state must assign important public resources to cover the pensions of affiliates (Ombudsperson, 2005); in 2007, the latter represented 71% of total pensions (Francke, 2008).

The fact that women are in a position of disadvantage in the labour market (concentration in the informal sector, reproductive work demands, higher unemployment rates, lower salaries as compared with men, discontinuous participation and contribution, etc), and the fact that they live longer, means they are subject to specific vulnerabilities. Greater life expectancy for women (on average five years more than men in 2005 – 72 vs. 67 years, respectively) frequently means living in precarious economic conditions with deteriorated health as a result of continuous pregnancies, which may cause chronic diseases normally excluded from health insurance (Dador, 2006). An alternative to this situation is currently being proposed by civil society (the Roundtable for Poverty Reduction (MCLCP)) and international cooperation institutions (such as the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the UN Population Fund (UNFPA)), through non-contributory pensions as a measure to address the economic and social vulnerability of the elderly.³⁰

SIS was created in 2002 under Alejandro Toledo, combining two previous insurance schemes (Free School Health Insurance (SEG) and Mother-Infant Insurance (SMI)), and was expanded under President Alan García (2006-2011). Following the national priority set in 2001 of improving the access of the poor to health services through integral and universal insurance plans, the SIS programme has enabled greater access for the poorest population,³¹ particularly in rural areas. By 2008, 8 million people had access to SIS and the number of rural affiliates – majority indigenous – was 66.2% (Ewig, 2010). SIS has enabled universal insurance for all gestating mothers and children under four, leading to significantly greater numbers of women covered by health insurance,³² which has had an impact on reducing previously extremely high maternal mortality rates. Nevertheless, improving the quality of services remains a major challenge, as evaluations demonstrate that the poor are covered by health insurance but receive ‘poor quality services’.

Other programmes, such as *Wawa Wasi*, address practical interests, by providing daily care for children under three, with women the main responsibility holders of family well-being (in GoM programme, community soup kitchens) as an extension of their domestic role, even if this has implications in terms of women’s empowerment. As noted by the representative for the MCLCP, ‘*social protection programmes have women as protagonists, incorporating them in important public tasks (i.e. Wawa Wasi), but they should be accompanied by universal public services to avoid overloading them (paternity leave, non-contributory pensions for the elderly generally under women’s care, etc*’ (author’s interviews).

³⁰ A joint study supports the fiscal feasibility of this type of system in Peru, considering a pension of 100 soles (approximately \$33) for persons over 65 who lack social protection. This measure would amount to 0.27% of Peruvian GDP and would directly benefit approximately 500,000 elderly persons and draw 200,000 out of poverty. The study estimates that the impact on extreme poverty would be larger, especially in rural areas (Clark et al., 2009).

³¹ SIS covers general health care for children ages 0-17 and women undergoing pregnancy, childbirth and 42 days of postpartum care, as well as other targeted groups, such as adults in need of emergency services and women working in community-based organisations. In 2007, a semi-subsidised alternative was included for low-income persons, who can now access integral health insurance at a low cost.

³² Ewig highlights the fact that, despite improvements in assessing household poverty, SIS fails to capture two important aspects of poverty: intra-familial poverty or power relations, which may deny women and girls the resources to pay for health services in families categorised as non-poor; and the temporarily poor, estimated at around 25% of the population.

Public works programmes such as *Construyendo Perú*, which aims at generating temporary income and developing working skills in urban areas, have larger participation of women (in 2007, women represented 60% of all beneficiaries), but mainly because of the working demand of women themselves and because the low wages attract those with fewer job opportunities. A positive aspect is that, through these public work programmes, women are engaged in non-traditional activities such as construction. In addition, the programme is targeted at male- and female-headed households who have children under 18, which represents an important measure to promote inclusion of the latter, as is the articulation of the programme with *Wawa Wasi* through itinerant services to facilitate women's access to temporary employment. Other programmes that have objectives regarding equal opportunities for men and women are *Projovent* (training and employment promotion that considers equal opportunities for young women and men), which is in a pilot phase for expansion to rural areas, and MARENASS, currently under *Agro Rural*, aimed at promoting agrarian development in rural settings (see Appendix 1).

Except for the above, there are few, if any, mechanisms to address social risks such as male abandonment, which is, as noted earlier, an important vulnerability faced by women.³³ The Ombudsperson (2008) highlights the lack of official information regarding the impact of sectoral policies on female-headed households in areas affected by the internal conflict – which reflects little or no action adopted in this direction – recommending that governmental intervention in these areas be oriented towards the respect and fulfilment of their rights.

Similarly, despite the magnitude of the problem of teenage pregnancy, public policies are inconsistent. The contradictory legal framework fails to serve as an efficient mechanism for prevention and affects the right to adequate and opportune information and services regarding reproductive health. In April 2006, Law No. 28704 modified Article 173 of the Penal Code (in the context of harshening penalties for child molesters), extending sexual indemnity (incapacity to decide over own sexuality) from 10 to 14 to 18 years old, penalising sexual relations in adolescents under 18, even in the case of mutual consent.³⁴ Efforts to provide a sound sexual education in schools and contraceptive methods for adolescents have traditionally faced strong opposition from conservative elements linked to the Catholic Church, and there has to date been limited capacity building regarding this issue. According to MINEDU, 60% of tutors feel insecure and lacking in sufficient training to give sexual and reproductive health orientation to their students.³⁵

In this context, there is an urgent need to incorporate a gender-sensitive approach to social policy. Current mechanisms that can favour gender mainstreaming are the PpR, which includes strategic programmes with explicit gender implications; Law No. 29083 passed in 2007 by Congresswomen Sasieta (one of the main advocators for a gender agenda in Congress); and the establishment of Compulsory National Policies for National Government Entities (Supreme Decree No. 027-2007-PCM), which include equality between men and women. These aspects will be addressed in detail in Section 6.

³³ In practice, there may be informal mechanisms, such as the inclusion of single mothers or the elderly as 'social cases' in community kitchens, which offer free meals to persons who cannot afford them.

³⁴ Similarly, the Article 30 of the General Health Law (No. 26842) establishes that family planning services and birth control methods cannot be delivered to adolescents under 16 without parental consent.

³⁵ 'Cuando la Realidad Rebasa una Ley'. *Diario el Comercio*, 14 July 2009.

4. Policy and programme design: The *Juntos* programme

The *Juntos* programme was launched in April 2005 in Peru, inspired by a number of similar cash transfer programmes in Latin America, particularly Mexico's *Oportunidades*³⁶ and Brazil's *Bolsa Escola*. *Juntos* gives a cash subsidy of 100 soles (approximately \$33, regardless of the number of children) to the poorest households to promote access to basic public health, education and nutrition services, with the aim of breaking intergenerational transmission of poverty through investment in human capital. The programme is targeted to households with children under 14 or pregnant women, and the transfer is given to mothers on the assumption that they are likely to be more accountable for their children's well-being. Families must fulfil various commitments: civic identification documents for women and children, attendance of children at primary school, health and nutritional check-ups (which include vaccination, growth and development controls and nutritional complements for children, as well as pre and postnatal checkups), delivery in a health facility and capacity-building sessions in sexual and reproductive health (primarily family planning) and nutrition, mainly developed by the health sector.

Unlike other conditional cash transfer (CCT) programmes, such as *Oportunidades*, *Juntos* lacks a conditionality regarding secondary education, an issue that is currently being considered (with the support of international donors) given the high levels of dropout, especially for girls in rural areas. An initial measure in this regard is the prioritisation of the Valley of the Apurimac and Ene Rivers (VRAE), where *Sendero Luminoso* continues to operate in alliance with drug traffickers.³⁷ A recent Urgency Decree (DU094-2009) establishes the delivery of an incentive of 300 soles (\$100) a year for each beneficiary household child of 14 or older who is attending secondary school and has been approved for the last grade attended, with an additional amount of 200 soles (\$65) for those with better performance. Other programmes, such as *Construyendo Perú* and *Projovent*, are also initiating interventions in rural districts of the VRAE.

The general objective of the programme is to reduce extreme poverty in rural and urban areas (even though it currently covers only rural areas). The specific objective is to reduce chronic malnutrition, mortality rates and school desertion through the expansion of demand for health and education services. *Juntos* is based on the MDGs, the policies developed in the NA and the National Plan for Overcoming Poverty.

Juntos has become one of the main social programmes in Peru and has expanded rapidly, from 110 districts in 2005 to 638 in 2008. Up to August 2009, the programme had reached 431,974 households in 14 regions. The total budget assigned to the programme rose from approximately \$40 million in 2005 to \$200 million in 2008³⁸ and depends completely on public resources, reflecting the political support and legitimacy that the programme has achieved.

4.1 Targeting mechanisms

The programme has well-defined criteria for targeting, based on mechanisms developed by independent entities (the National Institute of Statistics and Informatics (INEI) and MEF). Targeting is developed in three stages. The first is the geographic targeting, using four criteria to efficiently prioritise the poorest districts: extreme poverty rates, poverty gap, chronic malnutrition and history of political violence. Regarding the latter, Peru is the only country that has incorporated a criterion

³⁶ During the pilot phase of *Juntos*, a deed of intention was signed with *Oportunidades*, aimed at establishing a permanent cooperation and experience exchange mechanism. Likewise, a joint declaration was signed between the Brazilian Ministry of Social Development and Fight against Hunger and *Juntos*, to formalise cooperation.

³⁷ The intensity of the conflict has led the government to consider social development as part of the main strategy, which to date has basically consisted of a military approach.

³⁸ Data acquired from MEF.

of 'reparation' for those affected by the internal conflict.³⁹ These variables were compiled from the National Poverty Map elaborated by MEF and from the Report of Violence elaborated by the CVR.

The second stage is individual targeting, based on a social demographic questionnaire designed and implemented by INEI. A score is assigned to the items included, according to an algorithm that establishes the cut-off point between poor and non-poor (poverty line). The algorithm is applied only to households with a mother or a pregnant woman, a widow/widower or children under 14.⁴⁰ Errors have been reported from this stage, particularly omissions or misreporting during application of the questionnaire by INEI, as well as problems with the threshold in the application of the algorithm defined by INEI to preselect households. Thus, *Juntos* may hold the risk of becoming a factor of social disruption, creating rivalry and conflict among beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries in a context of extreme poverty, where the assessment of families for inclusion may be difficult.

Finally, community validation is undertaken. This validates or excludes households that will be affiliated to the programme and normally includes only potential beneficiaries. Problems have been reported from this stage also, which may have limited efficacy as a result of existing power relations in the communities and the fear of retaliation if information is given on household assets that may end in exclusion from the programme.

Regarding coverage in the districts of Los Morochucos and Chiara, the number of households included in the programme is, respectively, 756 (of a total of 1382) and 585 (of a total of 1329). Programme facilitators in Los Morochucos and Chiara express concerns about the second and third steps, regarding both leakages and insufficient coverage, excluding in the latter case extreme poor households that should be included in the programme (among which are female-headed households). In the fourth stage of *Juntos* (2009), a new survey was developed to cover households not included in the first survey (i.e. those that were absent or that have recently gathered together). This has helped reduce exclusion, although it fails to give due attention to cases where there is more than one family nucleus in each household (excluding, for example, teenage mothers).

Other groups identified as extremely vulnerable but not among *Juntos* beneficiaries – with limited or no access to other social protection mechanisms – are the elderly in abandonment, orphans and disabled persons.

4.2 Institutional arrangements

The institutional design of *Juntos* incorporates a number of innovative features that take into consideration lessons learned from similar or programmes in LAC and Peru, aiming to overcome key problems that have traditionally affected social policy in the country, such as politicisation, clientelism, corruption and leakage, a lack of synergies across sectors and inadequate reach to the poorest and most vulnerable sectors of the population (Jones et al., 2007).

These features include (Francke and Mendoza, 2006):

- Participation of civil society⁴¹ in the directive structure of the programme, with an effective power (in charge of approving strategic and operational plans and budgets, together with

³⁹ During the incorporation of new households in 2007, the last two criteria accounted for two-thirds of the weighting in selecting districts.

⁴⁰ A new methodology proposed by SISFOH was approved by the Directive Council to be implemented in 2008, under which districts with fewer than 20,000 inhabitants, poverty rates over 50% and chronic malnutrition higher than 30% would require geographic targeting only if they comply with the condition of having children under five. This methodology has not yet been applied.

⁴¹ These representatives are part of the NA: the National Confederation of Private Business Institutions (CONFIEP), the Peruvian Workers General Confederation (CGTP), the National Association of Centres of Research, Development and Social Promotion (ANC) – Social Development National Conference and Caritas Peru.

representatives from the social ministries and MEF). Civil society also participates in the committees of surveillance and transparency, with a role in supervising the correct functioning of the programme.⁴²

- Establishment of strict controls regarding fund allocation, to prevent concentration in administrative and operative budget lines (no more than 10% of the total budget) that would affect the assignation of resources to beneficiaries.
- Inclusion as a criteria for selection of the degree to which populations were affected by the internal conflict during the 1980s and 1990s, establishing a link between *Juntos* and the Integral Plan of Reparations to victims of political violence proposed by CVR.⁴³

Some limitations of the programme include: lack of baseline studies describing the initial situation in the areas of intervention, particularly regarding factors that explain the difficulties poor population face in accessing public services; and lack of an initial logical framework or similar instrument enabling clear identification of the programme's objectives and goals (MEF, 2009).

Juntos has an inter-sectoral approach in its design, although in practice there is weak coordination with sectors and local governments and the programme is relatively autonomous. Unlike other social programmes, *Juntos* is under the PCM, through the CIAS – responsible for the coordination, monitoring and evaluation of social policy – mainly because of the enormous weaknesses of MIMDES. The executive director, in charge of the administrative and implementation functions of the programmes, depends directly on the CIAS and is supported by regional coordinators and programme facilitators – generally, health workers, teachers or social assistants – selected through competitive public processes to guarantee transparency and suitability.

4.3 Links with public services

The programme initially transferred part of its budget (30%) to the social ministries (MIMDES, MINEDU, MINSA) in order to meet the immediate and strongly increasing demand for these services. These transfers were eliminated in 2008 because of serious problems (such as low percentages of execution and lack of mechanisms to verify that the amount transferred was used effectively in the areas of intervention).⁴⁴

Furthermore, final services to be delivered are not defined clearly, thus the conditionality is reduced to attending public services (health facilities or schools) rather than effective consumption of a specific service. Additionally, there are serious limitations in verifying compliance with conditionalities in health and education, which leads to an overestimation of the degree to which households effectively comply with them.

Several independent studies on *Juntos* have pointed out the low quality of public services, which affects the fulfilment of the programme's objectives regarding the development of human capital. Increases in demand have not led to improved supply conditions. This aspect of the programme is identified as critical, as is noted in the following section.

4.4 Gender implications of *Juntos*

Like other CCT programs in Latin America, *Juntos* was not explicitly designed as a mechanism for empowering women or transforming gender relations in society. Nevertheless, the fact that the

⁴² Included in the design of the programme, this comprises representatives from central, regional and local governments, as well as from the church, the private sector and the MCLCP.

⁴³ Despite CVR recommendations, the issue of individual and collective reparations to victims of political conflict has not yet been sorted out. Currently, a list of individuals and amounts for reparations is being elaborated.

⁴⁴ According to Alcázar (2009a), the health sector spent a greater amount of the transfers, although these were allocated to multiple activities and programmes, a fact that made follow-up extremely difficult.

transfer is given to women undoubtedly has important implications in this regard, as this condition can enhance women's decision making in the household – not only regarding the administration of the transfer and decisions over consumption but also by contributing to more equitable relations and improving women's self-esteem and recognition within the household and the community.

Some concerns have been raised in the region regarding the fact that CCT programmes reinforce women's traditional roles. In the case of Oportunidades in Mexico, Molyneux (2006) argues that the state plays an active role in re-traditionalising gender roles and identities, creating 'dependency on a subsidy which confirms mothering as women's primary social role, one which may enhance their social status and self-respect, but nonetheless, in doing little to secure sustainable livelihoods, puts them at risk of remaining in poverty for the rest of their lives'.

Farah (2009) analyses a rural setting of Colombia's *Familias en Acción*, concluding that, even though the programme reinforced traditional gender roles and relations, it was also adapted to recent gender trends, which resulted in men assuming domestic tasks, looking after children by themselves and sharing decisions in the households: 'In other words, the gender effects of the *Familias en Acción* programme in rural settings currently move between old gender customs and practices and changeable gender conditions'. Similarly, Maldonado et al. (2006) found that it is easier to break taboos regarding these activities than on others more related to women's autonomy and independence.

In the case of *Juntos*, compliance with conditionalities is mainly the women's responsibility. Men's participation in the programme is limited to date (mainly replacing women in meetings if they are unable to attend or assuming housework when women do attend or must draw the monthly subsidy). There is a broad space for the intervention to promote changes in notions around the distribution of care work, as well as regarding the design of activities specifically targeted at men.

The programme promotes the election of community facilitators (*madres líderes* or *presidentas*), who serve as a link between programme facilitators and beneficiaries. (Currently, there are 67 in Ayacucho and 687 at the national level.) Although this modality increases women's time poverty – by relying, as is the case with other women volunteers in poor communities, on 'significant time and personal resources dedicated by women to maintaining the social and human fabric of poor communities' (Ewig, 2010) – it also offers opportunities for participation and strengthening of women's leadership at community level. This increases women's self-confidence and self-esteem and helps overcome traditional barriers (perceived lack of skills, fear of speaking in public, etc).

The perception of stakeholders is that *Juntos* does not have a structured and transversal gender dimension, even though it promotes women's empowerment (by giving them the chance to decide on the use of the transfer) and offers important potential to enhance women's status. Two major areas of intervention are highlighted: enhancing economic initiatives or links with rural productive programmes and including access to secondary school as a conditionality, with positive discrimination towards girls, given their lower rates of enrolment.

The NGO Manuela Ramos highlights the need to track the gendered impacts of *Juntos*. Indicators proposed focus on two aspects of inequality (Box 2): education and sexual and reproductive rights. These aspects are interrelated and can contribute towards reducing fertility rates in the poorest strata by breaking the equation: low levels of education – perception of higher economic value of children – power relations within the couple – less access to modern contraceptives – less ability to decide over their use. Similarly, high levels of illiteracy can limit the success of the programme's actions, all of them directly or indirectly the responsibility of women. Congresswoman Sasieta has also proposed the inclusion of the issue of teenage pregnancy (under the maternal health programme of PpR), so as to track advances in this regard, directly related to monitoring the state's obligation to develop an integral sexual education policy for all years of schooling.

Box 2: Gender indicators for *Juntos*

- Percentage of beneficiary female-headed households in the programme out of the total number of beneficiary households
- Percentage of 12-, 13- and 14-year-old children of beneficiary households, according to the activity to which they give a greater amount of time: school, productive work, domestic and care unpaid work, disability.
- Percentage of girls and boys under five in beneficiary households that do not comply with health check-ups.
- Reasons given by mothers for not complying with children's health check-ups, among which: distance of health facilities, availability and cost of transportation, time poverty, importance given to check-ups.
- Percentage of pregnant women of beneficiary households that do not attend checkups with required frequency.
- Reasons given by pregnant women for not attending health check-ups, among which: distance of health facilities, availability and cost of transportation, time restrictions, importance given to check-ups, time poverty, autonomy regarding own health care, perception regarding quality of service, knowledge on importance of care.
- Percentage of pregnant women victims of physical, sexual or psychological violence.

4.5 Links with other social programs

Juntos has established links with other social protection programmes and mechanisms, such as the National Register of Identification and Civil Status (RENIEC), in order to address the restitution of the right to civic documentation for women (who constitute the vast majority of the undocumented population), as a condition to enter the programme. This is a key measure to reduce gender gaps and constitutes an entrance gate to becoming full citizens (enabling women, among other aspects, to vote and access public services and resources such as land titling and credit). Similarly, there is close coordination with SIS: efforts are currently being made to attain greater articulation with regional governments and the health sector so as to affiliate all (old and recent) *Juntos* beneficiaries with SIS and thus advance the goal of universalisation of health, and to develop individualised follow-up of the target population through the SIS information system.

In mid-2007, the government launched *Creceer*,⁴⁵ in part because of the almost null impact of state interventions on chronic malnutrition in the past decade, hindering the accomplishment of MDG 1 (and probably also because of the political benefits in putting *Juntos* achievements under the umbrella of *Creceer*). *Creceer* falls under the leadership of local governments, with the participation of civil society and international donors, through an articulated intervention of social programmes and sectors in the most impoverished areas, where *Juntos* is also intervening. *Juntos*, as a key component of *Creceer*, provides households with the economic means to improve nutrition and promote the implementation of 'complementary activities' (such as improved stoves, latrines, vegetable gardens, which are accorded almost the same weight as formal conditionalities). Local governments offer technical assistance and resources and promote learning exchange opportunities between communities through *pasantías*, which involve visiting other communities to learn from successful experiences. These opportunities have a particular significance for women, as they are generally scarce for them.

Creceer and *Juntos* constitute important policy instruments to ensure protection against domestic or sexual violence, particularly for women and children. Efforts to link *Juntos* with programmes and services have been developed in both districts, although not systematically: in Los Morochucos, with the CEM and *La Casa del Bienestar* (where community promoters from Manuela Ramos offer

⁴⁵ *Creceer* comprises several public programmes, some of which address women's particular vulnerabilities and needs: integral attention to reproductive health in health facilities, preventive activities in teenage pregnancy and nutrition, SIS and PRONAMA. Other programmes considered in are PIN (PRONAA), Water for All, PpR, RENIEC, *Construyendo Perú* and Rural Electrification. This reflects the priority given by *Creceer* to activities that respond to a causal model of malnutrition, which includes access to water and sanitation, improvement of nutritional practices and reduction of prevalent infectious diseases (diarrhoea and respiratory problems).

legal advice and develop consciousness-raising activities regarding women's rights and violence against women), developing sensitising activities and training for *Juntos presidentas*; in Chiara, with the recent creation of the DEMUNA, which is currently limited to the dissemination of information regarding services offered.

Juntos also establishes links with PRONAMA under *Crecer*, targeted at the illiterate population (in which the ratio of women to men is three to one). Beneficiaries must attend weekly training sessions; women highlight the fact that they have learned to sign and can now recognise their civic identification number and name on the *Juntos* registers, aspects which are highly valued and diminish their sense of exclusion. Nevertheless, complaints have been reported regarding the fact that women with primary and even secondary education are compelled to attend training sessions, as well as about administrative shortages (delay in paying trainers, limited commitment of facilitators, etc), which reduce the efficacy of the programme.

Even though they were not considered in the initial design of the programme, growing concerns regarding sustainability have led *Juntos* to actively promote productive activities, such as improved seeds to enhance productivity, the purchase of minor species or the elaboration and commercialisation of handicrafts, all of which are undertaken by 24% of beneficiary households (PCM, 2007). In the case of Ayacucho, 52% of households interviewed were developing these kinds of activities (CGR, 2007). Links with other social interventions, such as *Mi Chacra Productiva*⁴⁶ and *Agro Rural* – which seek to promote validated low-cost technologies (watering, crops, livestock, etc) and, in the latter case, to improve productivity and profitability in rural areas, promoting the implementation of family and community business – are still embryonic or non-existent. This component of the programme has significant potential to enhance women's decision making through the development of economic entrepreneurship and to increase household incomes through initiatives led by women, with the necessary training and technical assistance to reduce vulnerability, particularly in breeding of minor species and livestock. Efforts to date have been limited to promoting women's investment of part of the transfer in these activities, viewed as an important alternative once the programme ends.

'My brother told me to buy livestock so that when Juntos disappears I have something left My mother told me "look after these animals well to make them increase, so you can sell them when you are in need; because otherwise you will always work for others"' (Single mother, 25, Motoy).

'I would like there to be training on breeding animals, so women can learn animal health. This would be important so women can treat animals when they get sick ... In the event that men have to leave the community, how can they defend themselves? We want reinforcement in breeding animals' (Male FGD, Liripata).

In Los Morochucos, the local government is supporting the public Centre for Technical Productive Education (CETPRO) to provide training to *Juntos* beneficiaries (organised by communities) once a month, favouring women's access to training opportunities that are generally scarce or non-existent. Areas prioritised are livestock management and dairy products (both appropriate to the productive potential of the area), as well as knitting, embroidery and information technologies (oriented to younger women with higher levels of education). Even though women value this initiative, the training courses offered depend basically on supply (mainly on available personnel), with little attention to women's demands and characteristics (mostly theoretical, limited equipment, lack of methodologies for illiterate women, etc).

'It is useful; they teach us how to look after our cows, to improve. They teach us to wash our hands before milking them, or to use a tablecloth ... This is good, now we are cleaner. Grandmothers work in vain, they just washed the bucket but didn't wash their hands to make cheese. Now we use soap and clean the cow's udders before milking' (Single mother, 44, Chanquil).

⁴⁶*Mi Chacra Productiva* falls under MIMDES-FONCODES and has been allocated a small budget for 2009 – approximately \$3 million.

4.6 Staff capacity

Programme facilitators have to verify compliance with conditionalities of an average of 500 (or more) households in one district, collecting information from health facilities and schools and reporting it periodically to the central office. The main limitations are difficulties in terms of adequate follow-up of households, especially because of the high level of geographical dispersion in rural areas. Facilitators have received training sessions in areas such as leadership, participatory methodologies and organisation, among others, which are viewed as insufficient, and lack educational materials to aid them in their task.

Regarding knowledge and sensitisation on gender, the general opinion is that *Juntos* represents an important contribution to women's position within the household:

'From the top, they teach us to restore women's rights ... We try to grant them their place. The money is given to women because they know what the family needs are and know how to handle the money' (Juntos facilitator).

Despite the lack of guidelines and training on how to address gender issues, facilitators constitute an important channel for message transmission regarding gender equity, particularly the importance of shared responsibilities within the household, the enhancement of women's leadership and political participation at the community level and, to a lesser extent, violence against women. Nevertheless, facilitators' skills regarding women's rights need strengthening.

Finally, mechanisms for consulting women regarding the design and implementation of the programme are critical to improve relevance and sustainability. Such mechanisms have not been considered in the programme and local implementers must apply established procedures with little or no space for innovation. Women are consulted regarding timetables but not on issues such as content of training sessions (CEPTRO is an example of this), nor do they have a voice on aspects such as M&E. This is far from what Molyneux (2006) highlights as effective empowerment, generally understood as a process of transformation involving both the acquisition of capabilities and changes in subjectivity that enable agency to be exercised:

'Empowering the poor and the disadvantaged should result in their gaining more voice and presence in decision-making arenas that affect their lives and developing the capabilities to enable them to escape poverty. They are no longer "beneficiaries" or "clients of the state" but empowered, active citizens capable of formulating their own needs and engaging in the setting of priorities and the implementation of projects, whether community development schemes, health and housing or micro-credit enterprises.'

Likewise, there is a lack of institutional mechanisms to channel complaints from beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries. The Ombudsperson visits the nearest districts to collect suggestions and complaints (such as administrative problems regarding the transfer). Surveillance and transparency committees have been installed with the participation of civil society, although their role appears to be limited to issues such as targeting (particularly exclusion of families that should not be incorporated in the programme). The programme currently lacks more institutionalised mechanisms, such as a single social office which could be in charge of mapping non-beneficiary families, coordinating access to social programmes at the household level, providing information and receiving complaints regarding *Juntos* and other social interventions. However, such a mechanism is now in the initial design stages.

5. Effects on individuals, households and communities

'To do something, to do more things, to increase, to avoid trouble, maybe that is why it is called Juntos ("together") ... so people can live better' (Single mother, 25, Motoy).

This section analyses the direct and indirect effects of *Juntos* on households and communities, focusing on the perceptions of interviewed women and men in Chiara and Los Morochucos.

5.1 Effects on personal and familiar well-being

The *Juntos* transfer represents on average 13% of total monthly household consumption, and has a significant impact on reducing poverty and improving welfare (Perova and Vakis, 2009). It may represent up to 10% and 5% of daily wages, respectively, for women and men (considering the amounts earned for agricultural work in the area, of \$3 to \$5 for women and \$6 for men). According to interviewees, the transfer offers protection against adverse events in a context of high agricultural vulnerability resulting from climatic changes – such as hailstorms and frosts – as well as limited access to livelihood opportunities (see Section 1). This situation is particularly relevant for single mother and single father households, owing to the greater vulnerabilities they face.

'Juntos is okay, because we don't easily find money ... it helps us with children who lack a father ... Juntos money is for their clothes and food. The gentlemen in the health centre tell us we have to feed our children because they are malnourished, so we buy them meat, eggs, oatmeal ... I like it because it helps orphans. I am surely happy with this aid' (Mother of single mother, 88, Liriopata).

'Single mothers are mothers and fathers and Juntos helps. [Before] we worked on other people's farms ... that is, when work is available, twice a week ... But even if we have a husband, we don't find work here. Even if we have crops from the farm, we are always in need. The money from Juntos helps' (Female FGD, Manzanayoc).

'There have been hailstorms and frosts. This is why we didn't have food ... What could we do? We just cried. Sometimes we travelled to other places to help in the potato harvest. So little by little we managed to gather some money ... When frost damages crops, local authorities support us with beans, wheat, rice; otherwise, we buy sugar and rice with the money from Juntos. And so we eat.' (Single mother, 44, Chanquil).

According to testimonies, and consistent with previous studies, vegetable gardens and breeding of minor species ('complementary activities' of the programme) contribute towards improving food security, by supplementing the daily diet and reducing the need to sell nutritious foods such as cheese, eggs and milk (which previously were mainly turned into cash to cover other needs).

'We have vegetable gardens. Before, only those who had some money could buy from the store, this is why our children were malnourished. We sold cheese, eggs, hens to buy pencils and notebooks, not to feed our children. It was difficult before because men don't have jobs, just temporary jobs ... Now we can buy guinea pigs, hens, and we can support our children. We were in a difficult situation, we just sowed to eat' (Female FGD, Liriopata).

Evidence from other studies shows not only greater food consumption in beneficiary households but also consumption of calories of higher nutritional value. Greater access to public services and messages from *Juntos* promoters are contributing towards changes in diet, although impacts on final outcomes of health and nutrition have been limited to date. Concern over high chronic malnutrition rates (as high as 40% in Ayacucho in 2002) have led to an emphasis on this issue in health facilities through practical nutritional sessions. Thus, one of the main impacts highlighted by women is an improvement in child nutrition as a result of greater knowledge of basic nutritional aspects (such as diversification of diet, age-specific nutritional requirements – which is critical in

children up to three years, given the difficulties involved in reverting chronic malnutrition). There is also more information provided by health professionals regarding nutritional follow-up (appropriate height and weight for each age, understanding of health cards, etc). According to health professionals, weight gain is now more evident, an aspect that requires further assessment.

'We didn't know how to take care of our children, we had them unattended, children and adults ate similarly ... We didn't give children balanced nutrition, we mainly ate cereals ... Now we give them milk, meat, eggs ... Previously we had to sell milk and cheese to buy other things' (Female FGD, Motoy).

'[Before] we didn't know as we now know. We now know their weight, how children are growing ... There is control, things have changed a lot' (Female FGD, Manzanayoc).

'We didn't even know to read their control card, what is green, yellow ... This we have learnt with Juntos' (Male FGD, Liriopata).

As other analyses have highlighted (Jones et al., 2007; Vargas and Salazar, 2009), there seems to be a tension between the way in which the programme relates to beneficiaries (with a paternalistic approach, with women treated as 'girls') and the development of a rights-based approach that raises women's consciousness as full citizens. Women mention a major improvement in their lives, particularly regarding 'order' and 'cleanliness', at both personal and household level, bringing about a sense of progress and enabling them to feel better about themselves. However, many beneficiaries point out that this is the result of being forced to do so by the programme and also that such pressure is necessary to make them feel responsible for their own and their children's well-being. The programme should acknowledge this tension, so as to promote notions of co-responsibility that prevent reinforcement of tutelary relations with women and rural households in general.

'Sometimes men criticise us when we change clothes – they say we are dressing as teenagers ... If we take care of ourselves they observe [in suspicion] ... but now we decide over ourselves, we plan together, we talk more' (Female FGD, Motoy).

'We have changed even with regard to hygiene. Children have to be clean. Before, mothers were all dirty. Even if we have work, they go aside for a little moment and they comb themselves, wash themselves ... Hygiene is changing a lot' (Male FGD, Liriopata).

Women and men say that before the programme 'everything was in disorder' and that they lived 'like animals'. As such, the order coming in from outside, enabling them to become 'human beings', is particularly significant in a context where hygiene has traditionally been a mechanism of discrimination and social differentiation, especially towards rural populations.

'Before everything was disorder. We lived like little pigs. Now we are going upwards, everything is clean, in order. Houses are better ... With [improved] stoves we use less wood, there is less smoke, we have [adobe] refrigerators ... we are changing' (Male FGD, Motoy).

'Now everything is clean, we have improved stoves, [adobe] ladders ... We used to cook on the floor, we suffered because of the smoke, but now we are happy ... We are learning with public talks and we are changing. Things were not like this before ... Now we are good' (Female FGD, Motoy).

Local authorities and some beneficiaries (particularly women) perceive that *Juntos* increases women's time poverty. As has been mentioned, besides conditionalities *Juntos* promotes complementary activities – such as improved stoves, latrines and vegetable gardens, of undeniable value in improving quality of life and reducing infectious diseases such as diarrhoea and respiratory ailments. Moreover, women must attend other activities and perform communal tasks (with an alliance between *Juntos* promoters and local authorities to ensure participation), even cleaning the health centre in preparation for its anniversary. These activities are not part of the conditionalities initially agreed on by women, although they are frequently told that the transfer will be taken away if they fail to comply with them. Programme officials and implementers should

consider this dimension of the programme, carefully assessing the relevance of demands posed on women, so as to avoid overloading them.

'Some agree. Others hear Radio Programas where other people say ... they only have to comply with children's controls, by sending them to school ... Here, when you don't attend meetings you have to pay a fine'. (Female FGD, Manzanayoc).

'There are many difficulties here: communal work, meetings, anything, we have to go or otherwise pay a fine of 20 or 15 soles ... How can poor people pay such amount? We clean irrigation ditches, make adobe to improve the town, or we have to pay [Who calls you to do this?] Local authorities. president, major' (Single mother, 44, Chanquil).

'They comply with demands but also complain ... they are compelled to attend all kind of meetings ... This year they complain because older women beneficiaries are compelled to work exposed to cold weather ... They are utilised to avoid families being penalised' (Alderwoman, Los Morochucos).

'They are overloaded. You can tell there is an abuse. [They tell them] you have to do this or they will cut the money' (Sub-Manager of Social Development, Los Morochucos).

5.2 Effects on family dynamics

Juntos has had several unexpected impacts, which are not an explicit part of the initial design. These include some impacts on gender roles regarding responsibilities in the household, as well as in adults' perceptions of children and the type of care they require and greater involvement of fathers in their children's education. This study particularly explored perceptions of beneficiaries in terms of violence against women,⁴⁷ distribution of domestic chores and decision making.

In both Los Morochucos and Chiara, beneficiaries perceive that violence is diminishing, owing to the intervention of several public and private institutions, such as Manuela Ramos, health facilities and also *Juntos*. *Juntos* facilitators address the issue in meetings, particularly in the event of men's opposition to women participating in programme activities. One man interviewed said that public discussion of violence, along with fear of being confronted by facilitators, has had a deterrent effect on men, thus this has become a mechanism of social control. DEMUNA, CEM and *La Casa del Bienestar* disseminate information and also give public talks in *Juntos* meetings. Women continuously referred to legislation that protects victims of violence and to the fact that this situation is 'forbidden by law', which highlights the importance of sustained information and sensitising activities to raise consciousness on this issue. Nevertheless, there is broad space for enhancing the relationship between *Juntos* and services that offer protection to vulnerable groups such as women victims of violence, to promote greater synergy and efficacy of interventions.

'Before women were accused of everything. Now we are more respected but this is also out of fear, because in training sessions they tell us men have no right to beat us or yell at us. Sometimes we tell them this and they understand. Besides, there is a law and they are afraid' (Female FGD, Motoy).

'Mainly because of Juntos, if a man gets machista a woman from the health centre or the Juntos promoter calls him [and says] "what are you doing?" When my wife comes back [from training sessions] she says "do you know this woman is beaten by her husband? Juntos promoters can help them learn." Once I was being annoying [ill-treating his wife to an unspecified degree] and my wife told me "you come with me to the next meeting." So I think, my wife can tell on me, so I'd better avoid this' (Male FGD, Liriopata).

⁴⁷ The impact of CCT programmes on violence against women has been analysed in the context of Mexico's *Oportunidades*, out of the concern that giving the transfer to women might increase violence because it threatens men's traditional position in the household. Maldonado et al. (2006) find that because the transfer is not considered women's money, but a state contribution to children's well-being, this does not pose a threat to traditional roles. Similarly, according to Rivera et al. (2006), the possibility of living in a violent household is lower in women in *Oportunidades*: the transfer may be a factor in diminishing its prevalence because of its impact on power relations within the household.

'Before it was different, there were no training sessions. We didn't know, so when we argued with our wives we even kicked them or punched them. But with Juntos they always tell us we must live in harmony. Before, women were not aware of their rights, even men weren't, which is why there was violence ... Now it has diminished, we talk more' (Male FGD, Motoy).

'Before they even treated us as daughters. Now, with the law, they respect us, they don't beat us' (Female FGD, Liriopata).

Psychological violence, in the form of insults, is mentioned as frequent. The following testimony evidences tolerance towards this type of violence, which women may even justify.

'Yes, sometimes they insult us or curse us ... But sometimes this happens because we make mistakes' (Female FGD, Liriopata).

Regarding changes in gender roles related to *Juntos* – which makes synergies with previous interventions – testimonies reveal a gradual transition process from more traditional roles to greater equity in the distribution of care responsibilities, particularly in younger couples. Men mention greater participation in tasks such as looking after children and domestic chores, particularly when women attend meetings (although older children and particularly girls continue to have an important role in this regard). Men also say that this has meant a learning process that enables them to be more involved with children.⁴⁸ Less frequently, men are ashamed of assuming 'women's tasks'. Social pressure plays a major role here, as men see themselves as 'cowards' or 'commanded by women'.

'We dialogue, sometimes we take turns to do things. And women go out to attend several training sessions ... We prepare children to go to school, help in the kitchen, look after livestock. [Did you perform this kind of activity before?] Some men, but mainly mothers did' (Male FGD, Chanquil).

'We help in the kitchen, in washing clothes; women are also changing us' (Male FGD, Liriopata).

'When women attend meetings men must help them, looking after livestock; prior to Juntos, training opportunities were very limited; only men attended meetings and women remained with livestock. Now men know how to look after children, because meetings are obligatory; they have become accustomed to this. But things have changed because of Manuela Ramos more than because of Juntos' (Manuela Ramos Communal Promoter, Los Morochucos).

As has been noted in the context of other CCT programmes, women feel that *Juntos* has contributed towards them having greater decision-making power in the household and gaining greater respect from men. It is mainly women who decide what to do with the transfer,⁴⁹ and this contributes to an increase in their self-confidence – putting them in a better position to confront situations of violence or devaluation – and to a sense of being less dependent on men. This reveals the importance of promoting income-generating activities for women as a means to improve their bargaining power and position within the household.

'Before, men use to beat us even before the children, but this has changed. Now they respect us as they also attend public talks. Now, as we have money we answer back ... Women were ill-treated. Sometimes they didn't want to give us money, they wanted us to tell them what we used the money for ... Now we decide over our money. If he complains we answer back' (Female FGD, Liriopata).

⁴⁸ These results are consistent with those found by Alcázar (2009a) in a district in Ayacucho, where 73%, 84% and 86% of women interviewed say that the father must also wash clothes, collect water and look after children, respectively (percentages significantly higher than in a non-intervened district, which saw 21%, 42% and 50%, respectively).

⁴⁹ According to the survey developed by the Office of the Controller-General (CGR), 83% of women in Ayacucho reported that the transfer was administered by them; in 86% of the cases, men continued giving them the same amount of money as before the programme.

'I don't have to wait for my husband to give me money from his pocket ... I don't like that ... When you have money, your husband does not put you down ... For some women who don't work, the man tells you "you don't work, you don't know how to bring money [to the household]". Only now I bring money ... When you earn money, you can defend yourself' (Female FGD, Liriopata).

"How much do you want?" he would ask me, and I don't like that. [When you bring money] they value you. Before they used to say "you're of no value, I bring the money and what do you do, at home, sitting down?"" (Manuela Ramos Promoter, Casa del Bienestar, Los Morochucos).

'Before only men were the boss, "this we have to do" [we would say] ... Now it is different, we are changing ... Previously, my wife did what I said, she didn't give her opinion. Now she does, one can tell, and we reach a solution. Women's opinions were less important. Now she gives her opinion regarding how to progress in life' (Male FGD, Liriopata).

Another impact identified is the modification of common ideas regarding the mobility of women, who traditionally face several constraints to moving freely inside and outside of the community. *Juntos* is promoting radical changes in women's daily routines: they attend meetings and training sessions and, for many of them, drawing the transfer from the National Bank has represented the first opportunity to travel to an urban area. Although many men were initially opposed to women attending frequent meetings – accusing them of 'losing time' and neglecting domestic and productive responsibilities – there is now apparently greater space for negotiation, even if this remains a source of conflict and tension for some women.

'We now have reached an agreement, we go alone to the bank. [Previously] men did not understand, they got annoyed even when we attended meetings. We were afraid and even had to miss meetings' (Female FGD Motoy).

'Both men and women now understand more and now they have trust because they are learning. Before [men] were abusive and didn't let women [attend meetings], they treated them as daughters' (Male FGD, Manzanayoc).

'Out of jealousy, sometimes they asked us "why do you go? You leave your house unattended" ... Now they don't' (Female FGD, Chanquil).

'Some think it is okay, others wait for their wives, annoyed, saying women don't give them proper attention because of Juntos' (Female adolescent, 16, Chanquil).

On reproductive health decision making, *Juntos* is enabling greater access to information on family planning, through women's attendance in training sessions. Although there seems to be greater exposure on this issue, it remains insufficient,⁵⁰ considering its importance in terms of women exercising their sexual and reproductive rights. Some women say that training sessions contribute to greater dialogue and agreement on the need to prevent unwanted pregnancies.

'We didn't have any orientation or training before, but now we can talk more and prevent ourselves from having more children' (Female FGD, Manzanayoc).

Judging from the high rates of male abandonment and teenage pregnancies, interventions should focus on addressing barriers that prevent greater bargaining power among women (such as gender stereotypes regarding sexuality, timely and sound information on contraceptives, etc). Similarly, we found little information regarding other reproductive health interventions – such as access to services for early detection of uterine cancer, sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) or reproductive tract infections, a common ailment in rural women which should be enhanced in the context of reproductive health services.

⁵⁰ Perova and Vakis (2007) find that around 20% of *Juntos* beneficiaries attend sessions, compared with around 10% of non-beneficiaries.

Tracking the extent to which women attending health facilities more often than before (taking their children or attending prenatal and postnatal check-ups) results in a greater attention to women's health problems may highlight whether *Juntos* is reinforcing traditional women's roles and overloading them with responsibilities, or whether it is enabling them to address other relevant aspects of their own well-being.

5.3 Impacts of the programme at community level

Impacts at community level include greater participation in communal activities (assemblies, community work on improving roads, irrigation systems, etc), which previously did not see high attendance. Local authorities coordinate with *Juntos* facilitators to promote compulsory attendance of men and women, who are otherwise penalised (through a fine and/or less access to water distribution). Beneficiaries say that communities are now more organised, although non-beneficiaries were not interviewed, meaning that their perceptions are not known and that potential conflicts between beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries (highlighted by other studies) are excluded from analysis.

'We are more organised, we participate in communal meetings, now everybody attends because fines are charged to those who don't or water is restricted' (Female FGD, Motoy).

The fact that women attend frequent meetings and that *Juntos* actively delivers messages regarding women's right to participation in the public sphere and leadership (again in synergy with other local interventions) has an impact on the way women perceive themselves. Access to training is highly valued as a space for socialisation and learning, as is its effect on improving their ability to communicate and to become 'more liberal' (overcoming traditional barriers to expressing themselves). *Juntos* also promotes greater access to social capital (both bonding and bridging), increasing opportunities to relate to other women and to institutions and local authorities.

'Now women can be authorities. In the health centre they tell us men and women are equal. Before women were afraid and ashamed and we didn't go to community meetings. Only single mothers attended them but they didn't speak because men used to mock them. This has changed; I tell my husband "I must also know, if you die who will teach our children? How will we defend ourselves?" This is why we attend meetings together' (Female FGD, Motoy).

'It has helped me to be more liberal [expressive]; before I didn't talk with friends, I was afraid. It now helps me ... especially now that I am Juntos' President' (Married woman, 30, Chanquill).

'I like to go [to training sessions], to be content, to be happy. When I am crying at home, even when I am stupid and don't know a thing, I go to learn, to laugh ... I like that' (Single mother, 44, Chanquill).

Two major issues regarding impacts at the community level are access to and quality of public services. As in the case of most CCT programmes, *Juntos* promotes greater access to public health and education. In this regard, Perova and Vakis (2009) found an increase in the demand for health services, particularly preventive services (for children under five and women at childbearing age), although far below the programme's goal of universal access, and a moderate increase in enrolment rates, but no differences in attendance rates at primary school. Both results could be related to factors such as difficulties in verifying compliance with conditionalities, supply-side gaps and geographical exclusion (around 10% of the extreme poor do not attend health facilities for this reason) (Alcázar, 2009a). However, results show positive impacts at transition points (entrance to school and transition from primary to secondary, particularly in girls). No impact has been found on final outcomes on health and nutrition (illness, child mortality, malnutrition and anaemia).

In this study, men and women highlight that greater demand from public services results in a greater focus on children's well-being. Beneficiaries report improved relationships with teachers and greater attendance at school meetings, as well as parents being more involved regarding their

children's performance at school. Similarly, at least at a discursive level, beneficiaries emphasise particular changes regarding a focus on children's nutritional condition and deliveries at health facilities (two aspects emphasised by *Juntos*). Nutritional training sessions and follow-ups, as well as institutional arrangements adopted to better respond to women's cultural preferences during childbirth⁵¹ (such as the vertical position and partner's presence during delivery), are contributing to greater awareness on two major public health problems (chronic malnutrition and maternal mortality).

'Since Juntos came, parents are making more efforts and are more concerned. Before their children missed school two or three times a week and teachers let them attend normally ... Now they are sending them as soon as they are six, before they sent them at seven ... We now see if they have any homework' (Male FGD, Liriopata).

'They don't miss school so they learn more, they don't fail as before ... They missed school before because they helped us with harvesting and livestock. Especially girls missed school, but also boys when there were no girls' (Female FGD, Chanquil).

'Previously children were malnourished and we didn't take them to the health centre. Now we take them to health checks on time to see if they are gaining weight. This wasn't important before because we didn't know, we had no training. Now we fulfil this' (Female FGD, Liriopata).

'It is compulsory for us to take our children to their checks, and now we deliver in the health centre. Before women were afraid to go and some died. This is good for us. We use to be gruff; pregnant women were ashamed' (Female FGD, Motoy).

Quality of public services constitutes a major barrier to ensuring the effective development of human capital among poor populations, which should be granted the right to health and education following adequate quality standards to reduce existing gaps and inequities. A demand-based approach, such as that promoted by *Juntos*, is insufficient to attain this goal; it needs to be accompanied by the necessary strengthening and improvement of public services. *Juntos* has helped highlight serious supply gaps in the poorest areas, which initial transfers have been unable to close. According to a study by the CGR (2007), 43% of schools visited in Ayacucho had fissures in their infrastructure and 57% lacked bathrooms; similarly, 40% of health facilities had neither a water supply nor a drain, only 20% had specialists in nutrition and only 70% had the necessary instruments for prenatal controls.

Major areas for intervention lie in improving health and education infrastructure, as well as urgently adopting measures to improve the quality of education in rural areas (through capacity building and training of teachers as well as monitoring of teaching conditions), an aspect that could be addressed with the support of private institutions through corporate social responsibility policies (such as *Empresarios por la Educación*, discussed later). It is also critical to ensure an adequate number of health professionals, as increases in demand result in women having to wait longer to receive attention. Perceptions of quality of services are varied, although there is a general sense of improvement, particularly when comparing with the precarious conditions previous to *Juntos*.

'They are teaching well. Children have learnt a lot, teachers treat them well ... Things have changed with Juntos; promoters are always attending schools. Previously teachers used to drink alcohol. They are stricter, promoters themselves are evaluating how many absences teachers have, how many times they are late' (Male FGD, Liriopata).

'Yes, previously, nurses did not stay at the health centre. Now they are there permanently because women are constantly attending. There are even more professionals. Before there was only one, now there are four' (Male FGD, Chanquil).

⁵¹ Recently, a project developed in Ayacucho by the regional hospital in coordination with local governments and with the support of international donors, promoting an intercultural approach during childbirth, reduced maternal mortality by 80% (from 35 to 7 deaths a year) 'Una Estrategia Bien Concebida'. *Dario El Comercio*, 20 December 2009.

'Some offer good attention but sometimes there are delays. Some give us orientation but when there are too many people they make us wait' (Female FGD, Motoy).

6. Political economy dimensions

Political economy analysis is concerned with the interaction of political and economic processes in a society: the distribution of power and wealth between different groups and individuals and the processes that create, sustain and transform these relationships over time (DFID, 2009).

Unlike other Latin American countries, such as Mexico and Brazil, Peru lacks a governing entity in terms of social policy, in charge of designing a comprehensive social policy and articulating policy interventions developed by existing ministries and different governmental levels. MIMDES,⁵² as in many other countries, is relatively weak and has limited resources, lacking the power to establish adequate inter-sectoral coordination and synergies across sectors. The task of coordinating social policy is undertaken by the PCM through CIAS, although efforts lack the necessary strength owing to limitations in structure and functioning (in human and financial resources, among other aspects).

In this context, MEF is a key stakeholder. MEF assumed planning functions after the deactivation of the Planning Institute in 1992 during Fujimori's government⁵³ and has a crucial role to play in assigning public resources. One of the main concerns this decade has been to maintain macroeconomic stability and fiscal sanity and, recently, to increase the country's competitiveness and productivity in the global economy, particularly with the signing of several free trade agreements in the past two years. This has led to increasing interest in reducing existing infrastructure gaps and improving quality of education, areas in which Peru has shown extremely poor performance.⁵⁴ The latter offers an important opportunity to address gender and geographic inequalities in education in alliance with the private sector (as noted later), as there has to date been limited political will in the government to undertake major reform in this area.

The MCLCP plays a role regarding social policy and the overall strategy for poverty reduction. This has a mixed composition⁵⁵ and a direct influence over intermediate public officers, although the role of civil society is limited by factors such as the diversity of institutional agendas and uneven technical management (author's interviews). The MCLCP has had a critical role in policy initiatives such as the PpR, as well as in *Juntos* (by exerting pressure to restrict it to rural areas and designating the Directive Board, to prevent its politicisation by Toledo's government in 2001).

6.1 Gender mainstreaming

MIMDES has shown erratic performance, depending on its officials and technical bodies, which are subject to continuous change (four ministers in the past three years). It also has limited power regarding gender mainstreaming in different ministries and public offices, where gender focal points are mainly a formality, with little or no involvement in the main processes (Roeder et al., 2008). However, the presence in public positions of women's organisation and civil society representatives linked to the women's movement has enabled the advancement of a gender agenda and the sensitisation of public officers on this matter.

⁵² MIMDES was created in October 1996 following international recommendations to establish women's machinery to monitor and advocate for improvements in women's status.

⁵³ Recently, the National Centre for Strategic Planning (CEPLAN) was created to promote the alignment of national, sub-national and sectoral public policies and plans, in a context where the lack of long-term objectives and goals at the country level severely hinders continuity in development policies.

⁵⁴ According to the World Economic Forum Global Competitiveness Report 2009-2010, Peru must tackle these major problems in order to improve its competitive potential. Of 133 countries, Peru is 97th on infrastructure, 91st on educational standards and 91st and 81st on access to health and primary education, and higher education, respectively.

⁵⁵ The National Executive Committee of the MCLCP is made up of representatives of public ministries, civil society (trades, churches) and international donors.

Among the key mechanisms that have been put in place to monitor improvements in women's situation are the Associate Ombudsperson for Woman's Rights (created in 1996 as a Specialised Ombudsperson and in April 2006 as an Associate Ombudsperson);⁵⁶ the Women's Commission in Congress (created in 1997),⁵⁷ which passes judgements on law bills regarding women's rights; and the Roundtable of Women Parliamentarians, which brings congresswomen of different political leanings together around strategic issues. The impact of these mechanisms depends largely on their individual leadership.

MEF is a strategic target for integrating gender issues into national planning instruments, and thus addressing women's specific needs and vulnerabilities. Several instruments developed in the past two years constitute a valuable opportunity to operationalise a gender-sensitive approach. Created in 2007, the PpR includes nine strategic programmes for poverty reduction as national priorities, some of which have explicit gender implications, such as access to civic documentation, improvement of maternal health, achievements in education and access to basic social services and markets.⁵⁸

Two additional instruments are Law No. 29083 passed in 2007 by Congresswomen Sasieta (one of the main advocators of a gender agenda in Congress), which establishes the M&E of national budgets to track the final outcomes of public policies in terms of gender equality; and the establishment of Compulsory National Policies for National Government Entities (Supreme Decree No. 027-2007-PCM), which include gender equality and compel public offices to grant full exercise of civic, political, economic, social and cultural rights of women, as well as to prioritise families in poverty or social risk and female-headed households.

In this context, the development of gender-sensitive budgeting (GSB) following international trends (particularly in Brazil and Ecuador in Latin America) is a major opportunity and a challenge. This initiative has been put forward by the UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) and UNFPA, with the support of Congresswoman Sasieta and civil society (particularly NGO Manuela Ramos), in alliance with MIMDES and MEF, to promote the elaboration of a gender-specific classification to be included in the annual programming of the national budget and the formulation of gender-specific indicators for programmes included in the PpR. This issue is currently being discussed with the public sector and the PCM, to raise awareness on and analyse the incorporation of gender indicators in PpR strategic programmes.⁵⁹

MEF's interest in cost-effectiveness evaluations of gender awareness,⁶⁰ as well as in the use of validated practices and instruments to address gender issues and the inclusion of gender criteria at different phases of the project cycle, constitute a main entrance to improving gender mainstreaming in public expenditure. Two main challenges lie in generating the necessary commitments from MEF to GSB to contribute to disseminating gender equality policies and extending this practice to regional budgets.

⁵⁶ This office aims to contribute towards eradicating discrimination towards women in public administration and produces annual reports on the LIO (two to date), as well as specialised periodic reports on other issues.

⁵⁷ The creation of this commission enabled a shift from protective policies to others oriented towards promoting women's empowerment, on issues such as sexual harassment, political participation and gender-sensitive budgets.

⁵⁸ The first five prioritised programmes, approved by Congress, are: Nutrition; Maternal and Neonatal Health; Achievements in Education (2nd Year); Access to Identity; and Access to Basic Social Services and Market Opportunities. In 2009, four more programmes were included: Access to Water and Sanitation; Access to Telecommunications; Access to Electricity (all targeted at rural areas); and Environmental Management.

⁵⁹ An important activity to promote the involvement of local governments in GSBs is a forthcoming event organised by Congresswoman Sasieta with women regional and local authorities to discuss a methodology to formulate budget programmes that address gender equity regarding teenage pregnancy and access to decent work. Similarly, in August 2009, MEF and MIMDES organised a macro regional event to discuss how to include gender in public investment.

⁶⁰ As Roeder et al. (2008) state, attempts to include gender in National System of Public Investment project appraisals failed owing to lack of technical arguments and evidence about the costs and benefits of addressing gender issues through economic and social policies.

The process of decentralisation also creates several opportunities and challenges. MIMDES is promoting enforcement of national legislation and supporting the design of regional policies, in a context where several instruments provide legal support (LIO, PIO, Supreme Decree No. 027-2007-PCM), but limited capabilities at regional and local level prevent effective application (particularly of methodologies and managerial tools for gender-sensitive interventions). MIMDES offers technical assistance to strengthen the gender machinery at the local level (women's regional councils integrated into public institutions and civil society)⁶¹ and the elaboration of regional equal opportunities plans (PRIOs), which have currently been developed by 8 out of 25 regions.

An urgent task is to strengthen the role of MIMDES as a governing entity regarding gender equality. Several limitations and challenges are highlighted in this regard: a lack of adequately trained human resources with a sound conceptual understanding (to prevent distortions and resistance to mainstreaming) means it is necessary to identify a critical mass of women in decision-making positions with a greater understanding of and commitment to a gender approach, to contribute towards pushing forward a gender agenda. Initiatives regarding a public servants bill and the creation of a National Authority for Civil Servants (SERVIR)⁶² represent an important opportunity here.

Likewise, the transference of social protection programmes to regional and local governments requires accompaniment and technical assistance, so as to clarify articulation between the different levels of government and strengthen capabilities to assess whether programmes and services respond to the specific needs of women and men (on violence, daily care, participation in the labour market, etc).

The forthcoming electoral period (regional and municipal elections in 2010 and presidential elections in 2011) is an important opportunity to include social protection and gender on the political agenda, through the identification of critical issues to be incorporated in the electoral debate. One of these issues should be the imperative of improving access to and quality of education (particularly of girls) in the context of an expansive economic cycle and the need to improve the country's competitiveness, in alliance with the private sector. An important corporate social responsibility initiative in this regard is *Empresarios por la Educación*,⁶³ which seeks to improve the quality of public education in rural and impoverished areas.

6.2 The role of international cooperation and civil society

The 2005 Paris Declaration states the need to align official development assistance (ODA) with a country's objectives and to orient action towards strengthening state capabilities to ensure efficient use of resources, although alignment of aid with local planning and donor harmonisation are still at the initial stages in Peru. In 2008, development aid in the form of grants and loans represented, respectively, 4.3% and 2% of the national budget (Roeder et al., 2008). The US was the main donor in 2006 (54%) and the European Commission (EC) and Spain accounted for 13% and 8%, respectively (ibid).⁶⁴

⁶¹ Civil society – particularly NGOs Manuela Ramos and Flora Tristán – have during the past decade developed a strategy of strengthening women in positions of power at the local level (such as alderwomen) as gender focal points, thus collaborating in the process of institutionalisation and formulation of regional policies regarding gender equality.

⁶² SERVIR, under the PCM, is the entity governing management of human resources in the public sector, at national, regional and local level, with the task of training public managers. That Peru lacks a law for public servants is a major obstacle to promoting medium- and long-term policies, given the high mobility of public servants, subject to political rather than technical criteria.

⁶³ *Empresarios por la Educación*, created in 2007, aims to improve access to and quality of education through the private, public and international cooperation initiatives, the dissemination of information and communication technologies among teachers and specific actions regarding rural schools and poor urban settings.

⁶⁴ The Gender Roundtable of Donors (MESAGEN) (financed by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), UNFPA and UNIFEM, with the active participation of the Spanish Agency for International Development Cooperation (AECID) and USAID) promotes gender criteria in public sector decision-making spheres, particularly in MIMDES.

Multilateral agencies such as the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB) have an important influence in the country. These were the main advocators for the adoption of *Juntos*, also promoting exchange of experiences and offering technical assistance. Bilateral cooperation, such as that of AECID, as well as UNFPA have a role in supporting the institutional capacity of MIMDES, in the formulation of planning and monitoring instruments at national and regional levels (PRIOs, measurable indicators for tracking advances regarding PIOs) as well as in the establishment of regional gender observatories.

Despite the fact that the role of civil society is, overall, considered to be limited – because proposals are not supported by strong evidence and awareness-raising strategies are prioritised over advocacy, among other aspects – women’s organisations such as Manuela Ramos and Flora Tristán have had a crucial role in advancing a rights-based approach regarding gender equality. Their influence has enabled the development of several legal initiatives (such as the LIO and the Quota Laws) and their role has been significant in issues such as violence against women. An example of this is the recent incorporation of femicide as a priority for MIMDES, based on the generation of data to highlight its alarming prevalence.

Another major area of intervention has been sexual and reproductive health and rights, although this issue constantly faces opposition from conservative elements of society. During Toledo’s government (2001-2006), the Minister of Health – part of the ultra-conservative religious sect Sodality – restricted family planning policies; recently, during the García government (2006-2011), a debate to pass eugenicist abortion and abortion in the case of sexual assault resulted in a major withdrawal regarding the free distribution of the emergency contraceptive pill, which was prohibited by the Constitutional Court (after its approval in 2004). Similarly, conservative postures linked to the Catholic Church have played a major role in hindering the development of a sound integral sexual education in schools and access of adolescents to contraceptives (including use of condoms to prevent unwanted pregnancies, STDs and AIDS). Conservative sectors also exert permanent pressure to introduce a ‘family approach’ – in opposition to a gender approach – with periodic attempts to turn MIMDES into the Ministry of the Family.

One successful experience of a strategic alliance between public entities (MIMDES and RENIEC) and civil society is the initiative of NGO Flora Tristán to provide poor rural women with civic documentation – identified as one of the main barriers women face to accessing land titling, along with the lack of official statistics to support the design of public policies in this regard. Law No. 28316 has been passed to simplify proceedings and reduce costs.⁶⁵ MIMDES has promoted a modification of the requirements for obtaining free birth certificates, as well as the development of concrete actions by regional and local governments to favour access to birth certificates for women and girls in extreme poverty.

6.3 Evidence-based policy design

The role of evidence is critical to policy design, as the power to influence decision makers (such as MEF) depends largely on technical analysis (i.e. cost-benefit analysis, estimates of investments required to address issues such as violence towards women in rural areas, etc).⁶⁶ As has been mentioned, this principle is at the heart of the debate regarding GSB, where the aim is to make clear how this approach can contribute towards making public investment more efficient.

The limited development of evidence-based policy design in the country hinders a more fluid and systematic link between the state and academia. Influence of academia is restricted by limitations

⁶⁵ Additionally, Flora Tristán generated information regarding the profile of poor populations with no civic identification documents and an alliance of public and civil society organisations was created to put this issue on the public agenda.

⁶⁶ This factor is deemed responsible, for example, for the influence exerted by the Pacific University Research Centre (CIUP) on policy design.

in the ability to translate research into useful information for decision makers (as communication is not necessarily an 'expertise' of researchers), as well as the shortage of spokespersons and formal channels within the state (author's interviews). Institutions with a certain degree of influence are the Centre for Economic and Social Research (CIES); CIUP in policies targeted at childhood; the Institute of Peruvian Studies (IEP) in rural development; the Group for the Analysis of Development (GRADE) on economic policy and education; and *Propuesta Ciudadana* in the area of decentralisation. CIAS and the *Juntos* programme have become important spokespersons for academia in the public machinery in recent years.

Despite limitations, production and use of evidence are increasing. Some advances have been the inclusion of a chapter on violence against women in the country's demographic and health survey (DHS) since 2000, which has highlighted its dimensions and impacts on women. Likewise, Ombudsperson reports on abuses in family planning policies during Fujimori's government (1990-2000) have made possible the development of a surveillance system regarding sexual and reproductive rights.⁶⁷ Other examples are *Juntos*, where lessons learnt from international experience have played a critical role, as has been the case with SIS.

Evidence generated by academia and public entities often has an impact on policymaking through the media, one of the most powerful stakeholders in the country. The media has a major role in highlighting shortcomings in the implementation of public policies, as well as in the adoption of certain policies, by generating public opinion flows that impact on the definition of social policies.

However, information that allows for follow-up on the impact of social policies is extremely deficient, particularly data disaggregated by gender. Some efforts in this regard include greater coordination between INEI and MEF to enhance availability of information to track impacts of the PpR⁶⁸ as well as a project between Manuela Ramos and INEI with the support of UNFPA to develop a time-use survey to improve gendered statistics. The latter will enable a greater understanding of women's and men's economic role – in a context where economic research normally neglects the gender dimension as irrelevant to analysis – with important implications for policymaking in areas such as microcredit, training and technological innovation to grant equal access of women and men.

6.4 Political economy dimensions in *Juntos*

Juntos represents the first conditional social programme, in contrast with traditional assistentialist approaches. There is relative consensus among different sectors in society (technical and political) on the pertinence and efficacy of CCT programmes as a policy instrument that helps tackle the vulnerability of extreme poor households, as well as recognition of the fact that *Juntos* is adequately targeted and delivered. Despite initial opposition – because *Juntos* was launched at an electoral juncture by President Toledo, raising important concerns around a foreseeable politicisation – the programme gained legitimacy and was continued by President García. The inclusion of civil society in its directorate and in surveillance committees, as well as the fact that *Juntos* has been relatively open to public scrutiny, has helped and should grant the programme continuity.

However, several emerging issues should be granted greater attention. One critical aspect is improvement of the quality of public services, particularly in rural areas, which currently are failing

⁶⁷ Actions such as forcing poor and indigenous women to undergo sterilisations were made subject to public scrutiny. Other examples of an increasing use of evidence are international evaluations of education during the current decade (showing Peru's critical situation) and M&E of children's nutritional status (which has highlighted the scarce impact of public policies in this regard and has led to a prioritisation of this issue on the public agenda).

⁶⁸ In January 2008, MEF signed an agreement with INEI to extend the sample of the two most important national surveys – the National Household Survey and the DHS – to estimate result indicators on strategic programmes of the PpR: Nutritional; Maternal and Neonatal Health; and Access to National Identity.

to respond adequately to the increasing demand generated by the programme. A main task is to improve the quality of education and health, which should be seen as a major goal by all political forces and sectors of society in the context of the forthcoming elections. Similarly, there is a need to consider further conditionalities in a context of universal access to primary education. The inclusion of incentives for secondary education in the VRAE – owing to growing concerns over drug trafficking and the presence of *Sendero Luminoso* in this area – is a first step in this regard and should be expanded to other rural areas, considering the possibility of providing differential incentives for rural girls. Including initial education as a conditionality would face supply problems that must be considered in order to ensure access to this level of education, critical to performance in subsequent years.

Other pending issues are the need to strengthen links between *Juntos* and regional and local authorities – which have seen limited promotion because of concerns about political use of the program – particularly in a context of increasing competence of sub-national units regarding public services and social protection programmes. Finally, the programme to date lacks an exit strategy – one of the features acknowledged as an aggregated value of the programme in comparison with other social protection interventions (because no other social protection programme really has an exit strategy either). The maximum period for inclusion in the programme is established at four years, to be extended to a maximum of four additional years should the household maintain a situation of poverty that justifies this, although a gradual reduction of the transfer is anticipated. The households that first received the subsidy (November 2005) have already finished the initial four-year period, but the proximity of regional and national elections (2010 and 2011) has probably played a role in this issue seeing limited discussion to date. The issue should nevertheless be addressed to enhance links with other programmes (such as *Agro Rural*), to promote sustainable ways out of poverty through productivity-enhancing measures.

7. Conclusions and policy implications

Despite changes across time, cultural values and norms that assign certain roles and responsibilities to each gender and grant differential access to resources have a significant effect across generations. Social risks such as gender inequality pose particular risks to adult and young women and men.

1. In younger generations, limited access to human capital is a major threat to achieving gender equality and attaining development goals. In a context of universal access to primary education, there are existing inequalities in access to and permanence in secondary school, particularly for young rural girls. Quality of education in public schools (affecting both rural and urban areas) requires urgent intervention to tackle severe problems of underachievement, as does promoting access to initial education, insofar as early access to school has a potential impact on school performance and on reducing repetition and dropout rates.
2. Although little concrete knowledge is available, teen pregnancy has been identified as a major risk, affecting girls' right to education and the accumulation of human capital. The fear or actual risk of a teenage pregnancy may discourage parents from sending girls to school, and social pressure and stigmatisation generally prevent reinsertion. Inconsistent and contradictory policies, as well as pressure from conservative elements of society, hinder the development of effective mechanisms to prevent this phenomenon, particularly opportune and integral sexual education and access to contraceptives. Measures to reduce impacts are non-existent or limited (i.e. access to information on good parenting practices, labour opportunities and daily child care). Impacts on teenage fathers, which may include greater pressure to generate an income, should also be assessed.
3. Among the adult population, male abandonment is a major risk, related to the prevailing *machismo* in the area, with implications in terms of a double standard for sexual behaviour and control over women's sexuality. As in the previous case, this situation reflects women's limited control over their reproductive life as well as limited access to mechanisms that may grant fulfilment of their rights (sensitisation campaigns and information on rights regarding child support and on available services such as DEMUNA, questioning of prevailing discriminatory notions and stereotypical roles, access to effective mechanisms to prevent unwanted pregnancies) in a context of high tolerance of male polygamy and widespread consensual unions.
4. Violence against women is an important social risk, triggered by several factors, including desire to limit women's mobility or women's failure to comply with perceived gender roles. Greater access to information and interventions from public and private institutions is having an impact on its occurrence and on consciousness regarding women's rights. There is nevertheless limited enforcement of normative and institutional mechanisms. Preventive measures and alliances with social and community organisations to highlight the economic and social costs of violence, as well as capacity building in key sectors (police, judiciary, health facilities) are of the utmost importance. Similarly, there is broad space for enhancing synergies between *Juntos* and services addressing violence against women in order to improve access to opportune information and integral attention.
5. Economic risks, generated by limited livelihood opportunities for both women and men, represent a major threat to adult populations, with women earning less and facing a more restricted range of options, owing to demand-related factors. This is particularly problematic for female-headed households, which have a greater need to generate an income and

which have to rely on informal networks to access economic assets and support. Relevant measures include enhancing access to technical education (undertaken through public-private partnership) that improves employability for both women and men and breaks the existing labour market segmentation, as well as enforcement of existing mechanisms to reduce salary gaps.

6. In terms of environmental risks, natural disasters (particularly frosts and hailstorms in rural settings, but also, increasingly, landslides in urban areas) are a main factor associated with poverty, severely affecting means of subsistence by destroying crops, deteriorating already precarious housing conditions, endangering households and provoking loss of economic assets. These events may force families to adopt distress measures such as reducing consumption or distributing resources unevenly within the household. Despite their increasing occurrence, the state lacks a consistent preventive approach as well as mitigation strategies that could reduce their impact (such as use of lower-risk crops or livestock). Effectiveness of and access to recently introduced measures, such as *Agro Protege*, are yet to be assessed.
7. The elderly have a heightened level of vulnerability as a result of reduced opportunities to participate in the labour market and the lack of social protection mechanisms specifically targeted at them – in a context where coverage of social security and pensions is limited to formal workers and almost non-existent in rural areas. SIS represents an important mechanism for this group, although access to medicines may not always be granted. Among the elderly, women are particularly vulnerable, owing to high levels of informality and a greater life expectancy. Informal social networks are of great importance in protecting the elderly from complete abandonment, with the development of alternative mechanisms (such as non-contributory pensions for the most impoverished areas) an urgent task.
8. A critical issue in the country is the lack of a national social protection system in charge of coordinating, financing and implementing social protection programmes as well as developing linkages and synergies with other relevant sectors. Social protection interventions are scattered across several public entities, with limited inter-sectoral communication, despite recent efforts aimed at greater coordination and efficiency. Although interventions focus on the most impoverished areas and address certain lifecycle vulnerabilities, several others are excluded (such as the informal rural sector, teenage pregnancy, single-headed households and populations affected by emergencies or natural disasters). A broad debate on the objectives and characteristics of a social protection system should be promoted, favouring synergies between academia and policymakers and involving opinion leaders and the media as key sectors in this regard.
9. Several transformative interventions that seek to address concerns of social equity and exclusion have been developed in recent years in response to several major vulnerabilities faced by women, although there is limited enforcement to date. Within the ongoing process of decentralisation, efforts should be developed to ensure gender mainstreaming in regional and local planning and managerial instruments (such as coordinated development plans and participatory budgets), promoting the development of gender-disaggregated data and gendered indicators to make specific vulnerabilities and impacts visible. Challenges include reinforcing MIMDES in its role of providing technical assistance with the support of international donors, to effectively clarify functions regarding the articulation of each level of government, strengthen local managerial capabilities and accountability mechanisms and promote a critical mass of women in decision-making positions that can advance a gender agenda in the forthcoming regional and national elections (2010-2011).
10. Other recently introduced measures allow a greater focus on poverty and vulnerability targets and constitute a valuable opportunity to address gender-specific concerns: the PpR (which prioritises aspects with relevant gender implications, such as access to national

identity documents, access to basic social services and markets and maternal health); the obligation for M&E of national budgets to track final outcomes in terms of gender equality; and the establishment of equality between women and men as a compulsory national policy. In this context, enforcement of existing measures represents an important challenge. The development of GSB in Peru is a key measure to improve gender mainstreaming in public expenditure, although efforts are still at the initial stages and there is a strong need for capacity building in terms of developing gendered indicators and accountability mechanisms. The alliance between UNIFEM and MIMDES, as well as the involvement of international cooperation (particularly AECID), will support efforts in this direction.

11. Despite legal advances regarding gender equality, state interventions are characterised by a welfare and anti-poverty approach in which women are conceptualised mainly as groups needing assistance. Gender sees limited incorporation in social protection programmes and impacts on gender relations are generally not anticipated or foreseen, as most interventions lack an analysis of problems and vulnerabilities that affect women and men differentially. A relevant policy instrument that addresses gender-specific vulnerabilities is SIS, favouring access of poor and indigenous populations and universal coverage of pregnant women. Similarly, *Wawa Wasí* addresses practical gender needs by offering daily care and *Projovent* aims at reducing segmentation in the labour market through training. Other programmes, such as *Construyendo Perú*, have gender implications but fail to consider gender objectives in their design.
12. *Juntos* is a relevant policy instrument and is adequately targeted at the geographical level – including a criterion of reparation for populations affected by the internal conflict. Nevertheless, some aspects of the programme need to be addressed to improve efficiency and efficacy, such as household targeting (which creates social disruption between beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries and results in sub-standard coverage of vulnerable households), limitations in verifying compliance with conditionalities in health and education, weak coordination with sectors and local governments and the lack of a baseline to assess achievement of programme objectives.
13. Insofar as *Juntos* constitutes a demand-based approach, an important result is the increase in access to public services. Nevertheless, poor quality of services may affect the goal of breaking the intergenerational transmission of poverty. *Juntos* is highlighting serious gaps in granting poor populations the right to health and education in line with adequate quality standards. To improve education quality in rural and peri-urban areas, although training programmes and evaluations have been undertaken in the past two years, a major area of intervention is monitoring teachers' performance in the classroom, also highlighting issues to do with gender bias. In health, urgent measures include improving infrastructure and allocating sufficient human resources to respond to the increasing demand generated by the programme, as well as strengthening local capabilities for capacity building on key issues (i.e. reproductive health and rights, nutrition and hygiene), through strategies that respect the cultural and social characteristics of the population.
14. Regarding the gender implications of *Juntos*, there seems to be a tension with regard to the programme's traditional design – which reinforces traditional roles by relying on women as the main responsibility holder for childhood well-being – and the unexpected impacts on women's empowerment, which should be acknowledged by programme designers and implementers to ensure that they can be enhanced. Similarly, strengthening a rights-based approach – in contrast with the traditionally paternalistic approach that characterises the relationship between the state and poor populations – could offer an opportunity to promote a consciousness of rights and duties in women and men and to avoid reinforcing tutelary relations and infantilising women.

15. Relevant gendered impacts of the programme are the restitution of the right to identity as a key measure to enable women to become full citizens through voting and access to public services and resources (such as land titling and credit), although measures should be developed to grant national documentation to poor women and men beyond *Juntos*. Other impacts include a greater involvement of men in domestic activities and changes in women's perceptions regarding their bargaining power in the household, although there remains broad space for intervention to promote changes in notions around gender relations as well as to generate the design of activities targeted specifically at men. *Juntos* is also promoting radical changes in women's daily routine, modifying common ideas regarding women's mobility. Finally, although the use of women community facilitators may increase their time poverty, it also offers opportunities for greater participation and strengthening of women's leadership.
16. There is little information regarding the links of *Juntos* to other social protection mechanisms such as *Projovent* and *Agro Rural*, although this could be a valuable way to address issues such as teenage pregnancy and limited access to productivity-enhancing measures and markets for women. A link with the latter to support productive activities promoted by *Juntos* could result in increasing income generation through initiatives led by women. Greater involvement of local governments could help achieve this goal (their current support towards improving household conditions is a relevant example of state-citizen co-responsibility).
17. A more gender-sensitive approach should be strengthened in the programme to enhance its contribution towards improving women's status. In the context of the forthcoming elections, interventions with a potential major impact on women would include focusing on permanence in secondary education (expanding incentives adopted in the VRAE as a means of confronting the threat represented by the alliance of drug traffickers and terrorist groups) and enhancing synergies with programmes that address strategic gender needs (such as violence towards women and reproductive health and rights). Another challenge lies in developing an exit strategy for *Juntos*, through links with local governments and productive social programmes (as discussed above).

Detailed policy implications are included in Appendix 2.

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Appendix 1: Social protection and gender, Peru

Programme		Programme design (details of whether gender inequality is considered in the design of the programme in general and/or whether the programme addresses any gender-specific risks and vulnerability)	Programme linkages (does the programme link beneficiaries to other programmes or services? E.g. health, education, credit, skills training, etc)	Programme objectives (including any gender-specific objectives)	Targeting/ eligibility (who is targeted and how is targeting done)	Coverage (how many households or beneficiaries – disaggregated by sex if possible)	Results/outcomes (results of impact evaluations – at community, household and intra-household level)
Protective: Social assistance (protection and productivity-enhancing measures)							
<p>Social assistance: CCT for human development</p> <p>\$33 per family, regardless of number of children. Families remain in the programme for 4 years, which can be extended for 4 more years.</p>	<p>Juntos</p> <p>Started in 2005 and expected to end in 2015. Managed by the Technical Secretariat of CIAS in PCM, the most powerful central governmental agency, and administered by an executive director. Funded by the government of Peru. Budget represents 8.2% of the total budget assigned to social programmes. Substantial increase in budget, from \$106 million in 2006 to \$177 in 2007 (Alcázar, 2009b).</p>	<p>Conditionalities focus on child well-being (improved access to education and health services). Programme design considers the empowerment of women in the household, targeting the transfer at the mother. Programme facilitators address gender equity issues (decision making in transfer use, male participation in child care and prevention of violence against women), although these components have not been evaluated to date. Small-scale economic activities for women (not considered in the design) are promoted to improve</p>	<p>Links to health, educational and nutritional programmes through conditionalities. Promotes increasing primary school attendance and use of health facilities to improve preventive health care behaviour (mainly pre and postnatal care and child care). Nutritional complement given to children under 3. Initially, <i>Juntos</i> transferred resources to ministries involved (30% of total budget) (MIMDES, MINEDU, MINSA) to improve supply conditions, but limited expenditure owing to bureaucratic hindrances led to the withdrawal of transfers. There has been little impact regarding quality of services.</p>	<p>To reduce poverty and to break its intergenerational transmission through the promotion of human capital. No gender-specific objectives considered.</p>	<p>Geographical targeting of districts based on poverty maps, then proxy means formula to determine household eligibility (based on a survey undertaken by INEI), then a community validation to minimise errors of inclusion and exclusion. Mother of the household receives the transfer. Only one family per household receives the transfer (thus excluding vulnerable groups such as teenage mothers living with larger family). <i>Crecer</i> intervenes in same districts as <i>Juntos</i>, enhancing coordination between social programmes.</p>	<p>According to programme data, <i>Juntos</i> reaches 431,974 households (August 2009) – approximately, 6% of Peruvian households and 26% of rural households (INEI, 2008) and approximately 20% of population under the poverty line. The programme operates in 14 regions and 638 districts (from a total of 1833). To date, the beneficiaries add up to over 1 million children under 14, 187,000 children under 3, and 10,000 pregnant women.</p>	<p>Programme lacks baseline data. A non-experimental evaluation using national survey data for group comparison (Perova and Vakis, 2009) found: i) increased access of children to health controls, immunisation and medical attention (37%, 7% and 22%, respectively); ii) no impact on malnutrition or anaemia; iii) a small impact on overall enrolment rates in beneficiaries (4%), but a positive impact at transition points (ensuring children enter and finish primary school), with results stronger for girls than for boys after one year; iv) greater access of women to preventive health services (immunisation, birth control information and services) and medical attention; v) greater</p>

Gendered Risk, Poverty and Vulnerability in Peru

Programme		Programme design (details of whether gender inequality is considered in the design of the programme in general and/or whether the programme addresses any gender-specific risks and vulnerability)	Programme linkages (does the programme link beneficiaries to other programmes or services? E.g. health, education, credit, skills training, etc)	Programme objectives (including any gender-specific objectives)	Targeting/ eligibility (who is targeted and how is targeting done)	Coverage (how many households or beneficiaries – disaggregated by sex if possible)	Results/outcomes (results of impact evaluations – at community, household and intra-household level)
		sustainability (kitchen gardens, breeding of minor species, handcrafts), which involve almost 25% of beneficiaries. National ID is a requisite to enter the programme, and women are supported by <i>Juntos</i> to access this (100,000 women beneficiaries to date), thus addressing a major vulnerability faced by rural women (lack of ID is one of the major barriers to women's access to land and public services).					nutritional intake in beneficiaries.
Umbrella for social programmes	National Strategy Crecer Articulation of social programmes as part of the reform undertaken by the state to overcome duplicity, inefficiency and low impact of social programmes. Promotes articulation around common objectives (chronic malnutrition)	The formulation of national guidelines and goals around chronic malnutrition is strategic to mobilise local actors and should result in a greater efficiency in social expenditure under the leadership of regional and local governments. Multi-causal approach to	The programmes are: <i>Juntos</i> ; Regional Health Directorates (Integral Attention to Children and Women at a Fertile Age, preventive activities in teenage pregnancy and nutrition and SIS); PRONAMA; PRONAA PIN; <i>Agro Rural</i> Water for All; PpR; RENIEC, <i>Construyendo Perú</i> and Rural	To diminish by 9% the prevalence of chronic malnutrition in children under 5, especially under 3. Specific objectives include: to improve nutritional practices, to diminish diarrhoea and respiratory infections and to reduce the risk of low birth weight.	Geographical targeting based on poverty maps, prioritising districts with greater number of population of quintiles 1 and 2; and malnutrition rates. Then, individual (children under 5, pregnant and breastfeeding women) and household targeting	The goal is to provide integral attention to 1 million children in a situation of risk in the 880 poorest districts (811 of which belong to quintile 1), in rural and urban areas.	The strategy has no baseline study. Indicators include the following: incidence of poverty and extreme poverty, child malnutrition, exclusive breastfeeding, anaemia, diarrhoea, respiratory infections, low birth weight, neonatal mortality and birth registration. The estimated

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	<p>and areas of intervention, comprising the 3 governmental levels (national, regional and local) and 10 programmes. Managed by the Technical Secretariat of CIAS of PCM. The financing of services provided depends on budgets of sectors, programmes and regional and local governments, as well as on international cooperation and civil society.</p>	<p>malnutrition (water and sanitation, nutritional training to mothers, integral attention to women and children's health), addressing aspects normally under women's responsibility as caregivers. Promotes the participation of women's grassroots social organisations in local coordination committees.</p>	<p>Electrification. Links with SIS, which administrates and consolidates <i>Creceer's</i> Register of Beneficiaries in coordination with CIAS. RENIEC applies necessary procedures to grant national ID to beneficiaries. Links with the Fund for Equality, created in August 2006, to finance activities, and programmes to fight extreme poverty in rural areas (water and sanitation, among others), including projects presented by social organisations</p>		<p>(based on SISFOH).</p>		<p>prevalence of malnutrition in children under 5 (330 districts of 7 regions prioritised in the first stage) is 66% (145,822).</p>
<p>Social assistance: Targeted nutrition (including school feeding) Monthly nutritional complement for children, pregnant and breastfeeding women. Its composition varies according to type and age of beneficiary.</p>	<p>PIN Started in December 2007 as part of the reform of social programmes undertaken by the state to reduce overlapping and dispersion. PIN merged the 6 main nutritional programmes at the time: i) Preschool Children; ii) Alimentary Complementation</p>	<p>PIN focuses on child malnutrition and anaemia, addressing special nutritional requirements of pregnant and lactating women. The complement for children under 5 is delivered to mothers through health facilities; pregnant and breastfeeding women receive it during their monthly</p>	<p>PIN seeks to improve preventive health coverage (through immunisation, distribution of anthelmintics and iron supplements, and height and weight control during deliveries). The educational component (health and nutrition) has been irregular to date. The programme promotes affiliation to</p>	<p>Child Sub-programme: To contribute to preventing chronic child malnutrition and anaemia in 0-3-year-old children. School Sub-programme: To contribute to maintaining an adequate nutritional status in 3-12-year-old children.</p>	<p>Geographical targeting based on poverty maps (district level), then individual targeting in coordination with MINSa to identify 0-3-year-old children, pregnant and breastfeeding women, as well as 3-12-year-old children from quintile 1 and quintile 2 at a national level.</p>	<p>According to MIMDES, in 2008 82% of children under 3 (580,000) and around 25% of pregnant and lactating women (150,000) from quintile 1 and quintile 2 were covered by the programme.</p>	<p>The nutritional complement provides 100% of the daily requirement of iron and around 60% of other micronutrients; the proportion of energetic and protein requirements coverage varies in each target group. The World Bank estimates a modest contribution of all nutritional programmes to poverty reduction (in their absence, incidence</p>

Gendered Risk, Poverty and Vulnerability in Peru

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	<p>Programme for High Risk Groups (PACFO); iii) Alimentary and Nutritional Programme for High Risk Families (PANFAR); iv) School Lunch; v) School Breakfast; and vi) Soup Kitchens for Children. Administered and coordinated by PRONAA, part MIMDES. Budget for PIN represents 10.4% of total budget assigned to social programmes (data from MIMDES, 2009).</p>	<p>controls. The complement is thus a stimulus for women to attend health facilities (especially rural women, more reluctant to attend owing to distance and cultural barriers). The nutritional complements for children over 5 are delivered through school feeding (breakfast and lunch). Traditionally, PRONAA has emphasised food distribution and neglected health, hygiene and nutrition aspects. PIN considers an educational component, which should be reinforced so as to generate habilitating conditions for women.</p>	<p>SIS of women and children.</p>				<p>of extreme poverty increases in 4%), and no impact on chronic malnutrition. Evaluation of PACFO shows better results, given an efficient focus on children under 2 in rural areas (range considered a critical 'window of opportunity' to reverse child malnutrition)</p>
<p>Social assistance: Targeted nutrition Delivers a daily glass of milk to beneficiaries. In some localities,</p>	<p>GoM programme Started in 1983-1984 as a municipal programme. Administered and delivered by</p>	<p>The programme promotes women's organisation. 23% of Peruvian households are part of the GoM, the</p>	<p>Links to education in health and nutrition (nutritional practices and health care behaviour) are weak, thus failing to address</p>	<p>To improve the nutritional level of the poor population, prevent 0-3 year old children's malnutrition and</p>	<p>Simple targeting mechanisms, based on demographic selection (age) and self-selection (mothers must</p>	<p>The programme reaches around 5 million beneficiaries. 44% of poor households with children in urban</p>	<p>A quasi-experimental evaluation found no impact on the nutritional level of children beneficiaries, concluding that the programme fails</p>

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the milk is delivered unprepared, increasing the possibility that milk is consumed by other members of the households.	provincial governments. Organised women representatives participate in the Administrative Committee, and local GoM committees are in charge of preparation and delivery of rations. The GoM receives around \$110 million a year, which represents more than 40% of the budget assigned to food security programmes (World Bank, 2007), and 6.3% of the total budget assigned to social programmes.	greatest structure of grassroots social organisations in the country (World Bank, 2007 ⁶⁹). The programme faces serious problems of effectiveness owing to leakage and lack of accountability mechanisms. Reform attempts have met massive opposition from grassroots social organisations, reluctant to lose control and influence. Thus, the programme has been 'captured' by social organisations and is subject to politicisation and social pressure.	one of the key variables to reduce malnutrition. Local governments offer scarce opportunities for training. <i>Juntos</i> beneficiaries with children under 6, as well as pregnant and lactating women, have access to the program.	promote the participation of the organised female population.	collect the ration daily and contribute with part of their time). Focuses on 0-6 year-old children and pregnant and lactating women, but automatic exit is not always accomplished (in 2006, 58% of child beneficiaries were more than 6 years old). High rates of leakage and under-coverage are reported: 41.6% and 73.8%, respectively (data from SISFOH, 2007).	areas and 73% in rural areas have one or more beneficiaries (World Bank, 2007).	to be an efficient strategy of nutritional support, given its low energetic and protein content (Gajate and Inurritegui, 2003).
Social assistance: Targeted nutrition Comedores Populares: Provides a 200g portion/person/day, 20 days a month, for 12 months, at a cost of \$0.30. Hogares y Albergues:	Nutrition Assistance Programmes (NAP) NAPs were transferred to local governments during 2003-2006 by PRONAA. They are administered by a Local Management Committee	Comedores Populares have the potential to become dynamic social agents and contribute to women's organisational development, but lack a solid strategy for this goal.	Comedores Populares combines food distribution with training in nutrition, basic health, hygiene, food manipulation and conservation. Some local governments offer training in leadership and social participation.	Comedores Populares: To promote access to feeding for poor and extremely poor people through complementary food delivered to organised families. Hogares y Albergues: To	Comedores Populares: The community kitchens are located in poverty and extreme poverty areas. Social cases (extremely poor, old or disabled persons) receive free lunches.	Comedores Populares: No data available. Actualisation of lists of beneficiaries is currently in process. No data available for other programmes.	Hogares y Albergues: The daily portion covers 35% of caloric requirements and 83% of protein requirements. No data available for other programmes.

Gendered Risk, Poverty and Vulnerability in Peru

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<p>Provides a 90g portion/person/day for 312 days a year. Food for work 2kg of food are delivered per day worked.</p>	<p>(integrated by local governments and grassroots or beneficiary social organisations). Budget for NAPs represent 1.1% of the total budget assigned to social programmes (data from MIMDES, 2009). Comedores Populares started as informal initiatives of poor communities in response to structural adjustment policies in the 1980s. Hogares y Albergues is coordinated by MIMDES.</p>	<p>Food for work stimulates social participation in projects that will benefit their own communities, including women's participation.</p>		<p>contribute to improving the nutritional level of children in social risk accommodated in homes, shelters or rehabilitation centres for youth. Food for work: To encourage communitarian unpaid work of family members in rural and peri-urban areas, through activities related to social and farming services, as well as soil management and conservation, forestation and deforestation.</p>	<p>High levels of leakage and under-coverage reported: 46.2% and 97.7%, respectively (SISFOH, 2008). Hogares y Albergues: Targeted at children in homes, shelters or rehabilitation centres that are part of INABIF. Food for work: Grassroots and local organisations (mothers' clubs, producers' associations, 'popular kitchens', indigenous communities, etc) present a request for food aid to local government to be included in the annual budget.</p>		
<p>Social pensions Considers benefits for retirement, disability and survival. The average benefit per month in SNP is \$227.</p>	<p>Parallel scheme comprising: SNP created in 1973 and currently administered by the Office of Social Security Normalisation (ONP), part of MEF. SNP depends on a distribution formula</p>	<p>SNP depends on formal work that has not expanded to the majority of the population and has failed to incorporate the informal sector (where more than 75% of women are located).</p>	<p>The social security system in Peru is limited to pensions and health and does not cover unemployment insurance.</p>	<p>To grant access to medical assistance and income, especially for the elderly, and in cases of sickness, disability, working accidents or loss of the main provider in a family.</p>	<p>SNP target groups are: i) dependent workers from the private and public sector; ii) domestic workers; iii) independent workers (optional). SPP target groups are all workers, regardless of their</p>	<p>To December 2007, 1,559,227 workers were affiliated to SNP (compulsory and optional), and only 663,505 contributed (9.6% y 4.1% of EAP, respectively). Workers affiliated to SPP amounted to</p>	<p>A 2005 Ombudsperson Report states that pensions systems in Peru are currently undergoing a profound crisis (small amount of pensions, limited coverage), because of, among other factors, the transfer of an important number of workers to</p>

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	by which active affiliated workers support the pensions of retired workers with their contributions ('pay as you go'). Demographic changes, increases in life expectancy and the creation of SPP have created a financial imbalance in the system. SPP created in 1992 as an alternative option, as a voluntary system based on individual contributions.				condition as dependent or independent workers.	4,101,060, 1,698,782 of whom were actively contributing (31.5% and 11% of EAP, respectively) (Francke, 2008). In December 2006, the total affiliated population under SPP was 31.5%, while effective coverage was only 11% of EAP; similarly, total affiliated population under SNP was approximately 9.55%, with effective coverage only 4.09% of EAP.	SPP, as well as the high mobility of the workforce and the increasing hiring in the informal sector, affecting the contributions established by law. The report recommends the implementation of a complementary scheme, based on public and private participation, accessible by the whole population.
Protective: Social services							
Violence against women Public services that offer gratuitous multidisciplinary attention to victims of domestic and sexual violence, even if this goal is only limitedly achieved.	CEMs CEMs are the operative organs of the National Programme against Violence towards Women. Started in 1999, they are administered and delivered by MIMDES. Budget assigned to the programme represented only 0.3% of total budget assigned to social	The National Plan against Violence towards Women recognises violence as one of the most degrading expressions of discrimination and gender inequality, as well as its high prevalence (42% of women in urban areas and 39.6% in rural areas). Nevertheless, actions undertaken	CEMs offer legal and psychological advice, as well as judicial defence. They also develop – albeit limitedly – preventive activities: training (in schools, for legal and health practitioners, and of community leaders), communication campaigns, etc. If need be, victims are referred to other specialised services	To offer specialised orientation and attention to victims of domestic violence. It aims at protecting the affected person from new episodes of violence and to contribute to her recuperation.	The CEMs are targeted to all people affected by domestic and sexual violence. The most vulnerable populations attending the CEMs are women, children and the elderly and disabled persons.	There are 89 CEMs in the country, covering all the 25 regions and 80 districts. In 2008, 80,000 cases of domestic violence and 3824 cases of sexual abuse to 0-17 children were reported to CEMs. (The average annual number of cases reported between 2002 and 2006 was 30,000.)	An Ombudsperson Report (2009) found that more than 60% of victims do not receive follow-up visits and that the multi-sectoral model is not accomplished (which includes the following services: police station, prosecutor's office and forensic doctor), thus failing to limit the critical route followed by women in search of protection and justice). Recommends

Gendered Risk, Poverty and Vulnerability in Peru

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	programmes and 2% of MIMDES budget (data from MIMDES, 2009).	have limited to urban areas, with no specialised service units to provide integral attention to women victims of violence in rural areas.	(forensic doctors and others). Limited links are established between <i>Juntos</i> and CEMs, mainly for consciousness-raising activities, as well as for referrals.				assigning necessary resources and strengthening training of personnel to manage critical and risk situations. The 6th Shadow Report to the Committee on the Convention against the Elimination of All Forms of Violence against Women (CEDAW) (2006) highlights restrictions in personnel and limited enforcement of existing norms (only 11% of formal complaints on domestic violence are penalised) (Committee for the Defence of Women's Rights in Latin America and the Caribbean et al., 2006).
Protection of children's and adolescents' rights Promotion, defence and surveillance of children's and adolescents' rights	DEMUNA Starting as a civil society initiative, DEMUNAs were officially created in 1992. Services are administered by local governments (as well as public institutions and civil society, such as schools, churches, communities and NGOs). Local	DEMUNAs seek to protect children's and adolescents' rights, particularly in issues such as violence against children, alimony, child custody and regime of visits, through extrajudicial conciliation. A large proportion of women attend this service in search of	DEMUNAs develop information and communication activities for the prevention of problems affecting children and teenagers. If need be, DEMUNAs support formal complaints before competent institutions (police, prosecutor's office). This service also promotes birth	To promote and defend children's and adolescents' rights, through information, education and social mobilisation; and intervention in the case of threatening or violation of rights.	The target population is children under 18.	In June 2006, 1700 child and adolescent Ombudsperson offices were in existence, 41% of which were registered as DEMUNAs (Niños del Milenio, 2007).	A study by Niños del Milenio (2007) points out several limitations of DEMUNAs, among them: minimum budget, lack of human resources and multidisciplinary approach, limited accomplishment of objectives of prevention and promotion, no case follow-up and limited relation to institutions in charge of the cases

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	governments are responsible for regulating, organising and implementing this service – under MIMDES as the governing body – but there is no specific mandate for local governments to assign a budget for DEMUNA operation. Thus, this service depends on a mayor's political will and vision to assign human and financial resources.	counselling in cases of domestic violence, though this is not a competence of DEMUNAs.	registration of children, school enrolment and protection of abandoned or ill-treated children. Limited links are established between <i>Juntos</i> and DEMUNAs, mainly for consciousness-raising activities, as well as for referrals.				(police, prosecutor's office).
Foster homes and asylums	INABIF INABIF is part MIMDES. Budget assigned represents 1.3% of the total budget assigned to social programmes (data from MIMDES, 2009). Public charity societies run lotteries, earmarking the funds to finance social assistance activities.	The programme has 36 protection homes for children and teenagers in a situation of abandonment, which provide temporary attention (24 hours 7 days a week), and 100 public charity societies, in charge of foster homes and asylums.	INABIF offers nutritional assistance and occupational training workshops to populations at risk. It develops activities with child labourers, aiming at reintegrating them with families and school.	To promote, facilitate and establish a network of social protection for the most vulnerable groups (poverty, exclusion, natural disasters and violence).	Services managed by INABIF are targeted at children, women, the elderly and disabled persons in social risk or abandonment.	According to MIMDES, during 2008 2474 children and teenagers per month received attention in protection homes.	According to MIMDES, near 1000 children and teenagers were reintegrated to their families and to schooling, and 73 were inserted into the labour market
Preventive: Social insurance							
Health insurance	Peruvian Social Security Created in 1973 and administered by	(See Social pensions, above.)		To grant access to medical assistance, especially for the elderly, and in case	SNP target groups are: i) dependent workers from the private and public	17.4% of the population is covered by ESSALUD (21.6%	

Gendered Risk, Poverty and Vulnerability in Peru

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	ESSALUD. Since 1997, the Law for the Modernisation of Social Security in Health establishes the participation of the private sector through health provider companies.			of sickness, disability, working accidents or loss of the main provider in a family.	sector; ii) domestic workers; iii) independent workers (optional).	in urban areas and 4% in rural areas), with similar access for men and women (INEI, 2008).	
Health insurance	SIS Started in 2002, merging SEG and SMI. SIS is an OPD of MINSA. The budget assigned to SIS increased from \$89 to \$157 in 2008. The budget for SIS represents 7.1% of the total budget assigned to social programmes (data from MIMDES, 2009). Belgian Technical Cooperation (BTC) is focusing on improving SIS. Recently, Congress approved the Law of Universal Health Insurance, which will include a contributory and semi-contributory regime apart from the current subsidised regime.	SIS prioritises mother and child health, addressing age- and gender-specific health vulnerabilities, particularly high rates of mother and child morbidity and mortality in rural areas, aiming at diminishing economic barriers to access. Improving access of the poor to health services through integral and universal insurance plans was set as a national priority in Peru in 2001.	SIS is linked to <i>Juntos</i> , granting affiliation of all beneficiaries to provide a basic health coverage package, although quality of services remains a major challenge, including access to medicines.	To build a public insurance system aimed at diminishing morbidity and mortality rates and increasing deliveries in a health facility. The basic plan covers medical and preventive attention for pregnant women, children and newborns.	Universal affiliation of the population in poverty in rural and urban areas, focusing particularly on pregnant and puerperal women, children and targeted groups (such as accredited women from social organisations and working children).	In 2008, 8 million people were affiliated to SIS (Ewig, 2010), Around 1/3 of the total population (39.8% of women and 33.4% of men) and 2/3 of the rural population (70.0% and 60.2%, respectively) has access to SIS (INEI, 2009b). Nevertheless, quality of services remains as a main challenge.	The main impact of SIS is to have doubled coverage of the poor population between 2001 and 2005. It has enabled an increase in institutional deliveries (from 59% to 72% in the period 2000-2006) in rural areas. SIS increases by 26.9% the probability of a woman attending a public health facility for delivery (Parodi, 2007).

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Promotive							
<p>Public works programmes \$100 per beneficiary during a 4-month period</p>	<p>Construyendo Perú Started as <i>A Trabajar Urbano</i> in 2002 and renamed by García's government in 2006. The programme is administered by MINTRA, in coordination MIMDES for rural districts. Funded by the government of Peru, the budget for <i>Construyendo Perú</i> represents 1.2% of the total budget assigned to social programmes (data from MIMDES, 2009).</p>	<p>The programme finances workforce-intensive works and service projects presented by potential beneficiaries through social organisations or local authorities. Projects are oriented to maintaining and improving public infrastructure and green areas. Allows temporary job insertion for women, enabling them to develop skills in non-traditional sectors such as construction, from which they were traditionally excluded. Addresses women's strong need to generate an income, particularly in female-headed households.</p>	<p><i>Construyendo Perú</i> is part of <i>Creceer</i> (between 2006 and 2008, 329 district of the area of intervention of <i>Creceer</i> were covered) and currently establishes links with <i>Agro Rural</i> for reforestation in rural areas. No information regarding participation of <i>Juntos</i> beneficiaries in <i>Construyendo Perú</i> is available.</p>	<p><i>Construyendo Perú</i> aims at generating temporary income and the development of capabilities for the unemployed population in poverty and extreme poverty in urban and rural areas.</p>	<p>Geographical targeting based on poverty maps combined with self-selection (wage is lower than minimum). Addressed to unemployed population with dependents, prioritising male- and female-headed households with at least one child under 18. Programme considers a quota for young and disabled people, but not for women.</p>	<p><i>Construyendo Perú</i> generated between 2006 and 2009 283,336 temporary jobs (representing around 5% of households with children under 18), covered 591,508 participants and inserted 4393 persons in the labour market, in 1048 districts. According to programme information, in 2008 58% of participants were women, 62% were between 20 and 40 and 57% had not worked before the programme.</p>	<p>An independent evaluation of <i>A Trabajar Urbano</i> (Chalcaltana, 2003) showed the following results: i) similar participation of women and men and a net income increase of 32% in beneficiaries in relation to a control group; ii) women had greater gains (nearly 40% of women were dedicated to domestic unpaid work before the programme and their income increased 3 times more than men's), showing the importance of generating similar programmes to address women's scarce opportunities in the labour market.</p>
<p>Productive transfers Agricultural inputs, tools and technical assistance to</p>	<p>Agro Rural Launched in March 2008, merges several programmes and OPD, among</p>			<p>The aim is to promote rural agrarian development through the</p>	<p>Will initially cover 1000 rural districts in 20 regions of Peru, with more than 1900</p>		

Gendered Risk, Poverty and Vulnerability in Peru

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peasant communities.	the most important PRONAMACHCS and MARENASS. Administered and delivered by the Ministry of Agriculture.			financing of public investment projects in rural areas with the least economic development. Promotes the implementation of family and community productive projects, to improve food security and productive diversification.	professionals and technicians.		
	PRONAMACHCS One of the most important and early targeted programmes, PRONAMACHCS started in 1981 (in 1988 under the current name). It is administered by the Ministry of Agriculture and funded by the government and the Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC). Programme and peasant communities manage resources in micro-watershed through joint accounts.	Aimed at integrated management of natural resources, although recently it reinforced its production and participation components. The programme incorporates a gender perspective in its design, through training of women and men elected by their communities as promoters and promoting active participation of women and men throughout the project cycle.	Technical assistance and training in agriculture and cattle farming, soil conservation, irrigation and reforestation.	To contribute to the sustainable development of rural peasant communities and improvement of natural resource management, as well as productivity enhancement in agricultural, cattle farming and forest activities.	Targeted at peasant poor communities in the Peruvian highlands, based on demand of local governments and peasant communities. Currently, more than 200 local technicians are hired by local governments with their own resources.	The programme reaches 140,000 rural households (which represent 8.6% of all rural households) and works with more than 4000 peasant organisations in 16 Andean regions.	According to Programme data, during 1981 and 2007 the following achievements were made: i) over 4000 irrigation projects; ii). 370,000 ha reforested; iii) 350,000 ha of soil managed; and iv) 130,000 ha of crops and pastures installed.

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	<p>MARENASS Started in March 1997 as an autonomous organism of the Ministry of Agriculture. Funded by the government and the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD). Participatory planning and management, addressing priorities established by communities and transferring the funds for the administration and hiring of professionals. Budget for MARENASS represented 3.2% of the total budget assigned to social programmes (data from MIMDES, 2009).</p>	<p>Incorporates a gender perspective in its design, aiming at strengthening self-management capacities of communities and organised women's groups. The programme consists of private services of technical assistance and practical training through women and men <i>yachachiqs</i> – peasant experts elected by their communities to be trained and transmit knowledge 'peasant to peasant', combining traditional and modern technologies. Promotes peasant contests offering incentives to technological innovation (combat soil degradation, biodiversity loss, deforestation, etc).</p>	<p>The programme offers training and dissemination based on the social, productive, cultural and cognitive systems of communities, aiming at improving their efficiency through conservation and rational management of natural resources, as well as at increasing production and productivity in the long term.</p>	<p>To increase management capabilities of Andean communities and peasant families, exercising citizenship rights and duties within a framework of gender equity. It aims at strengthening the leadership of authorities, community promoters and <i>yachachiqs</i>.</p>	<p>MARENASS is targeted at the southeast and central south regions of Peru (Apurímac, Ayacucho and Cusco), covering 360 communities.</p>	<p>MARENASS has supported the formation of 558 organised groups comprising 7752 women and 608 men. 255 women were elected as authorities in their communities (10 as presidents and 7 as vice-presidents). 25,044 women and 35,730 men have been trained by the programme (CGR, 2008).</p>	<p>According to programme data, MARENASS has reduced the percentage of extreme poor (from 73.2% to 45.3%) and increased the percentage of poor and non-poor (from 25.6% to 45.2%, and from 1.2% to 8.3%, respectively) in the area of intervention (CGR, 2008).</p>
Social equity and socially transformative measures (addressing issues of social equity and exclusion)							
Regulatory framework to protect vulnerable	LIO (Law No. 28983) The LIO was	The guidelines include prevention of, attention to and			To establish a normative, institutional and		The 2nd Ombudsperson Report regarding the application of the LIO

Gendered Risk, Poverty and Vulnerability in Peru

Programme		Programme design (details of whether gender inequality is considered in the design of the programme in general and/or whether the programme addresses any gender-specific risks and vulnerability)	Programme linkages (does the programme link beneficiaries to other programmes or services? E.g. health, education, credit, skills training, etc)	Programme objectives (including any gender-specific objectives)	Targeting/ eligibility (who is targeted and how is targeting done)	Coverage (how many households or beneficiaries – disaggregated by sex if possible)	Results/outcomes (results of impact evaluations – at community, household and intra-household level)
groups	launched by Congress on March 2007. MIMDES is responsible for coordination and monitoring its observance by public and private entities.	elimination of all forms of violence against women; promotion of access to productive, financial, technical and credit resources, particularly for poor women and those affected by political violence; promotion of economic, social and political participation of rural and indigenous women, granting access to fair wages, social benefits and social security; prevention of discrimination in the labour market and protection from sexual harassment; granting exercise of sexual and reproductive rights; and access and permanence to public education.			public policy framework at the national, regional and local level, so as to guarantee the exercise of rights to equality, dignity, free development and autonomy to women and men, preventing discrimination in the public and private spheres to achieve full equality.		(2008) reports scarce advances by public entities (basically, the elaboration of plans, with no actions regarding their implementation or evaluation). Most of the actions reported were being developed before the law came into force. Some regional and provincial governments have adopted positive actions – gender quotas for regional and local coordination committees and promotion of inclusive language.
Positive discrimination quotas The gender quota considers the inclusion of no less than 30% women or	Gender quota The gender quota was introduced in 1997 through a change in electoral legislation. The quota for	As a mechanism of positive action, the gender quota addresses obstacles that impede adequate representation of		To grant the effective integration of women in elective decision-making positions in political parties and the state.	In the presidential elections of 2006, the governing party proposed a gender-balanced cabinet. Even if this was not achieved, there was		The gender quota has had a positive and effective impact on women's political participation. In the 2006 elections, 35 (29.17%) women were elected to

Programme		Programme design (details of whether gender inequality is considered in the design of the programme in general and/or whether the programme addresses any gender-specific risks and vulnerability)	Programme linkages (does the programme link beneficiaries to other programmes or services? E.g. health, education, credit, skills training, etc)	Programme objectives (including any gender-specific objectives)	Targeting/ eligibility (who is targeted and how is targeting done)	Coverage (how many households or beneficiaries – disaggregated by sex if possible)	Results/outcomes (results of impact evaluations – at community, household and intra-household level)
men on lists for Parliament, regional and municipal elections (with the exception of the positions of president of region and mayor), the Andean Parliament and boards of directors of political parties.	parliamentary elections in 2000 was 25%, increasing to 30% in the elections of 2001 and 2006.	women in the political arena. The preferential vote is also a critical issue for women, contributing to overcome their disadvantageous position on election lists. (In 2006 municipal elections, only 18% of candidates in Lima were located on the first half of the list.) The issue of alternation is currently being debated in Congress.			an important improvement, with 40% of women as ministers. However, owing to the lack of legislation to guarantee continuity regarding this measure, the recently designated cabinet (July 2009) is only 19% women (3).		Parliament (compared with 11.67% in 1995), the highest proportion in history. The number of women on parliamentary lists increased from 11.25% in 1995 to 38.56% in 2006. The proportion of women elected as municipal alderwomen was 28% (2896 vs. 7476 men). No women were elected as presidents of region and only a small proportion (2.67%) were elected as mayors (only 49 women), showing the importance of adopting the gender quota for these positions.
Transformative: Training and employment promotion							
Training and employment promotion	Projovent Created in 1996 under MINTRA, operates through accredited training entities. <i>Projovent</i> is funded by the IADB as a refundable fund that covers 80% of the total budget.	The programme considers women's inequality in access to the labour market, through equal training and employment opportunities. Nevertheless, pregnant women are not accepted in some enterprises during the training process, and the programme lacks measures on	The programme offers technical training articulated to information and labour intermediation services, that respond to labour market requirements <i>Projovent</i> has intervened mainly in urban areas, with recent pilot interventions in rural areas.	To increase youth participation in the formal labour market and wages, as well as to diminish occupational segregation through training and insertion in formal companies.	Targeted at 16-24-year-old males and females from peripheral urban areas, with low levels of education and labour qualifications, unemployed or underemployed. Recruitment is achieved through annual announcements directed to the target population.	From July 2007 to June 2008, the programme reached 25,000 young people across the country; 13,366 of whom were women (53% of the total).	In 2004, 52% of trained youth were working in a formal company. A 2003 impact evaluation reveals that: i) participants obtained 33% higher income per hour than the control group; ii) labour segregation was diminished by 13 percentage points (males working in traditionally 'female' activities and vice versa).

Gendered Risk, Poverty and Vulnerability in Peru

Programme		Programme design (details of whether gender inequality is considered in the design of the programme in general and/or whether the programme addresses any gender-specific risks and vulnerability)	Programme linkages (does the programme link beneficiaries to other programmes or services? E.g. health, education, credit, skills training, etc)	Programme objectives (including any gender-specific objectives)	Targeting/ eligibility (who is targeted and how is targeting done)	Coverage (how many households or beneficiaries – disaggregated by sex if possible)	Results/outcomes (results of impact evaluations – at community, household and intra-household level)
		sensitisation about gender.			Covers 16 regions. <i>Projoven</i> rural has been recently created.		
Training and employment promotion	Revalora Perú Started in March 2009 under MINTRA	The programme is oriented at the formal labour market – where women are underrepresented – offering free training for labour or self-employment; linking workers to companies needing personnel; and assistance to medium and small enterprises.		To promote employment and protect workers affected by the international economic crisis,	The programme is targeted at workers who lost their jobs in private companies after 1 January 2008, in any of 15 prioritised regions. In its first stage it aims to train 10,000 workers, emphasising the mining sector, where around 6000 employees have been fired.	No data available.	No data available.
Complementary measures							
Child care services Integral attention: early childhood learning, preventive health and nutritional assistance.	Wawa Wasi The programme was created in 1997, based on previous successful experiences of community houses (under MINEDU since 1993). The programme is administered by MIMDES. It was funded by IADB between 1997 and 2005 and is currently funded by the Peruvian government. The	The only public social programme to offer integral attention to early childhood, in response to lack of services for working mothers. Objectives include facilitating women's access to employment and education, creating jobs for women in poor areas. For a small fee, working mothers leave their children in day care home 'mother-in-	Mothers in charge from poor communities are trained in health care, early childhood stimulation and basic nutrition. The programme also offers training in child development to rural families of the poorest regions (<i>Qatari Wawa</i>), as well as nutritional supplementation with micronutrients. Links established with <i>Construyendo Perú</i> to offer itinerant daily care to working	To promote favourable conditions for integral development of girls and boys under 4, particularly those in a situation of risk.	Targeted at children between 6 months and 3 years old, particularly those in a situation of poverty and extreme poverty.	According to programme data, in 2008 53,000 girls and boys received attention in 6795 <i>Wawa Wasis</i> . Only 12,664 children in <i>Wawa Wasi</i> (24%) live in rural areas. Expansion of <i>Wawa Wasi</i> has been reduced owing to cuts and budget barriers, covering only 14% of current demand.	The programme was considered successful by IADB, which recommended it remained a permanent public activity. According to UNICEF (2000), <i>Wawa Wasi</i> has created quality basic services, fosters social inclusion and boosts the physical, social and cognitive skills of children. According to MIMDES data, 80.3% and 94.4% of children in <i>Wawa Wasis</i> have adequate height and weight

Programme		Programme design (details of whether gender inequality is considered in the design of the programme in general and/or whether the programme addresses any gender-specific risks and vulnerability)	Programme linkages (does the programme link beneficiaries to other programmes or services? E.g. health, education, credit, skills training, etc)	Programme objectives (including any gender-specific objectives)	Targeting/ eligibility (who is targeted and how is targeting done)	Coverage (how many households or beneficiaries – disaggregated by sex if possible)	Results/outcomes (results of impact evaluations – at community, household and intra-household level)
	budget for <i>Wawa Wasi</i> represents 0.8% of the total budget assigned to social programmes (data from MIMDES, 2009).	charge'. Meals are organised through communal kitchens or GoM committees, taking the burden of cooking off the main caregivers.	mothers. <i>Wawa Wasi</i> intervenes mainly in urban areas, a fact that limits links with programmes such as <i>Juntos</i> .				(respectively) for their age and 99.8% have an adequate psychomotor development. The programme has an M&E system (<i>Wawa Net</i>) with actualised information.
Literacy teaching	PRONAMA Started in Set 2006, the programme is administered by MINEDU and funded by the government of Peru. The budget for PRONAMA represents 1.4% of the total budget assigned to social programmes (data from MIMDES, 2009).	Illiteracy particularly affects women, with a illiteracy rate of 10.6%, compared with 3.6% in men.	Target population is provided with eye tests and glasses if needed.	The programme aims at reducing illiteracy to less than 4% in 2011, by developing competences for reading, writing and calculation. The goal is to reach a population of 2,500,000 persons.	Targeted at illiterate persons of 15 or more, of whom around 75% are women and 67% live in rural areas. Links to other social programmes as a mean of promoting participation of the illiterate population in literacy activities. Areas with higher levels of illiteracy and poverty are prioritised.	According to programme information, 1,300.000 persons, particularly women, participated in learning circles. No disaggregated data are available.	Programme reports satisfactory performance in reading and writing, although MINEDU differentiates between participants and persons who have acquired these capabilities permanently.
Housing Two programmes financing houses valued at \$6500 to \$59,000 (<i>Crédito Mi Vivienda</i>) and \$6500 to \$16,500 (<i>Techo Propio</i>), offering in the latter case a family housing bonus with a direct subsidy (up to 40%).	Fondo Mi Vivienda Started in 1998 and administered by MVCS. Currently, it offers two programmes: Crédito Mi Vivienda (which operates through established financial entities) and Techo Propio . Financed by the government and the IADB. The budget for <i>Techo Propio</i>			To promote the development of the property market (financing of housing acquisition, improvement and construction) and to facilitate access of poor population to housing.	The target population of <i>Techo Propio</i> is families with no house, land for construction or previous governmental support for housing, whose monthly family income is \$500. To access <i>Crédito Mi Vivienda</i> , the beneficiary must be considered subject to credit by	In 5 years of operation (2002-2006), <i>Crédito Mi Vivienda</i> provided 32,500 housing credits (around 7% of the annual market of housing construction). The housing deficit is estimated at 1.3 million homes (CGR, 2008). Only 5000 families had access to <i>Techo</i>	No data are available.

Gendered Risk, Poverty and Vulnerability in Peru

Programme		Programme design (details of whether gender inequality is considered in the design of the programme in general and/or whether the programme addresses any gender-specific risks and vulnerability)	Programme linkages (does the programme link beneficiaries to other programmes or services? E.g. health, education, credit, skills training, etc)	Programme objectives (including any gender-specific objectives)	Targeting/ eligibility (who is targeted and how is targeting done)	Coverage (how many households or beneficiaries – disaggregated by sex if possible)	Results/outcomes (results of impact evaluations – at community, household and intra-household level)
	represents 4.2% of the total budget assigned to social programmes (data from MIMDES, 2009).				the financial entity (requisite that excludes poor populations, particularly women).	Propio housing bonus in the last 5 years. No disaggregated data are available.	

Appendix 2: Policy implications

Policy implications	Knowledge base	Awareness	Policy framework	Implementation	Institutional responsibility and capacity building	Opportunities for engagement and strategic partnership
Mainstreaming gender in social protection debates	There is growing evidence of limited efficiency and efficacy of social programming, although the specific gendered experiences of poverty and vulnerability have not been made adequately available to inform social protection design to address women and men's different needs. Critical areas of intervention highlighted are: identification of beneficiaries, establishment of synergies and inter-sectoral coordination, M&E systems. Unprotected vulnerable groups have been identified (e.g. the elderly, people with disabilities, teenage mothers and single-headed households), and evidence to support feasible measures (e.g. non-contributory pensions for the elderly) is being generated.	A debate regarding social protection has not been undertaken in the country, although this issue has been limitedly addressed through discussions in the government on the need to improve social programmes, with the involvement of academia and (less so) civil society. The lack of a consistent medium- and long-term development plan hinders the formulation of a consistent social protection strategy (despite the recently created CEPLAN). There is limited awareness regarding the need to include gender-specific objectives in social programmes, as well as the value of identifying differential vulnerabilities and impacts on women and men.	The process of decentralisation offers a legal framework regarding the transference of social programmes to sub-national units, although limitations regarding the clarification of responsibilities for central and local governments (in financing, implementation and monitoring) should be addressed. Efforts should be developed to ensure gender mainstreaming in regional and local planning and managerial instruments (such as coordinated development plans and participatory budgets), promoting the development of gender-disaggregated data and gendered indicators to make visible specific vulnerabilities and impacts.	Implementation poses major challenges owing to weaknesses in the public machinery. The impacts of the social reform programmes undertaken in 2007 – to reduce their number through merging – are limited to date and only recently have logical frameworks been formulated for each programme. Problems of lack of inter-sectoral coordination and inefficient targeting persist owing to inertia. High-impact measures, such as providing children with national identification documents as a prerequisite for accessing social programmes can help improve targeting. Efforts in M&E and development of gendered indicators and of accountability mechanisms should be prioritised.	MIMDES is responsible for social protection programmes and should promote the inclusion of gender in policy discussions more broadly, but generally lacks the institutional capacity and resources to lead this task. Academia together with civil society (women's NGO and international donors) could promote or support initiatives in this regard.	A debate on social protection should involve academia and opinion leaders through the media, favouring a more inclusive debate on the conceptual and managerial implications of a broad social protection system in Peru. There is a need to balance a cost-benefit approach (particularly in MEF) with a rights-based approach (in the social ministries and in civil society).
Mainstreaming gender in public expenditure	Evidence from other countries in Latin America on GSB offers valuable lessons.	There is limited awareness on the benefit of introducing a gender approach in public expenditure to make visible differential impacts on women and men.	There is a favourable policy framework for mainstreaming gender in public expenditure (PpR, making norms to track the impact of public expenditure on gender equality and equality	Enforcement of existing mechanisms is a major challenge owing to institutional weaknesses. Strengthening of regional, local and sectoral capabilities in the development of GSB must be undertaken. Similarly, the fact that the PpR	Initial efforts by INEI and MEF to track impacts of the PpR are currently underway, which must consider the formulation of strategic gendered indicators and overcome shortages regarding the monitoring of budget	MEF is a key target for the development of GSB. Ownership of MEF in this matter should be promoted by MIMDES with the support of UNIFEM, by making visible the aggregated

Gendered Risk, Poverty and Vulnerability in Peru

Policy implications	Knowledge base	Awareness	Policy framework	Implementation	Institutional responsibility and capacity building	Opportunities for engagement and strategic partnership
		Ongoing efforts of MIMDES in alliance with UNIFEM targeted specifically at MEF and public sectors are aiming to increase awareness around this issue.	between women and men a compulsory national policy). These are inserted in a broader policy framework regarding gender equality developed in recent years (LIO, PIO, quota law), which represent a major opportunity but see limited enforcement.	is relatively new makes it necessary to strengthen capabilities in this regard, so as to improve efficacy in public expenditure.	allocations.	value of a gender-sensitive approach.
Improving quality of public services to address gendered vulnerabilities and risks	Poor quality of public services is a major obstacle to granting the poor population access to basic rights. This issue has been highlighted as one of the major challenges faced in attaining the <i>Juntos</i> objectives of building human capital. Although evidence regarding major areas of intervention in health and education is available, supply gaps should be better identified. The production of evidence on impacts and costs of violence towards women is improving and contributing to visibility and formulation of public policies.	Public authorities and civil servants, as well as civil society, are aware of the need to improve quality of public education and health, particularly in rural areas, where the poorest population lives. This is not translated into an increased budget allocation, however; some measures regarding education have been adopted, restricted mainly to primary education, but failing to promote a major reform in this area. Regarding violence against women, there is awareness of the need to improve access to mechanisms that tackle this specific vulnerability.	The decentralisation process assigns roles and functions to sub-national governments regarding the provision of public services. Local governments can apply for international funding and establish public-private alliances to improve services provided for the population, and must prioritise the most vulnerable segments. Existing policy and institutional instruments regarding violence towards women (including CEMs) are comprehensive and offer the necessary framework, although enforcement is also limited. The recently created Unified Register of Civil State (which allows identification of men already married) can support efforts to ensure obligations regarding child support.	The country has structural problems in ensuring that resources are effectively assigned to the most vulnerable areas (rural and peri-urban settings) so as to reduce existing gaps, which have been highlighted by <i>Juntos</i> and <i>Crecer</i> . A major task should be the involvement of regional and local governments to reduce gaps in health and education (infrastructure, human resources and inputs). As regard CEMs and DEMUNAs, enforcement of existing norms should be promoted to ensure access to integral attention and preventive measures for women victims of violence in rural and urban areas, as well as the adoption of a more aggressive strategy regarding child support.	There is a need to strengthen capabilities for preventive activities. Such is the case in prevention of teenage pregnancy (through joint efforts of MINEDU and MINSA, involving local governments), as well as regarding violence towards women and child support, through sensitising campaigns (identification of key messages, dissemination of statistics, information regarding rights and services available). Local governments need to identify bottlenecks to providing efficient services and act accordingly (through measures such as training and capacity building in operators). The ability to establish links with local stakeholders to improve mechanisms of social control should also be promoted.	On the major task of improving access to and quality of education, MINEDU should prioritise permanence in secondary education and access to initial education as measures of high impact to improve women's status. Alliance with the private sector to improve quality of education and access to technical education (addressing existing labour market segmentation) and respond to concerns on competitiveness should be promoted in the forthcoming elections, regardless of who wins. Sensitising campaigns involving opinion leaders in the media on issues such as teenage pregnancy and recognition of children outside formal unions could be undertaken, also debates regarding state secularity to promote a critical evaluation of religious interference in state affairs (such as sexual education). Civil society

Policy implications	Knowledge base	Awareness	Policy framework	Implementation	Institutional responsibility and capacity building	Opportunities for engagement and strategic partnership
						(particularly women's groups) is a powerful ally in this regard.
Reviewing <i>Juntos</i> design to improve its gender sensitivity	Several studies regarding the implementation of <i>Juntos</i> highlight several aspects that need to be reviewed or developed (household targeting, adequate follow-up system of conditionalities and a strong M&E system). Evaluation of gender sensitivity in <i>Juntos</i> design has been addressed more limitedly, although unexpected positive effects have been highlighted (i.e. contribution to women's decision making within the household). Gender indicators have been proposed by NGO Manuela Ramos to track specific gendered effects, and there is a need to consider certain aspects (such as impacts on women's time poverty and the reinforcement of a rights-based approach).	There is growing awareness of the need to revise conditionalities and include a conditionality regarding access to secondary school, given universal coverage of primary education. Similarly, there is growing concern over the development of productive activities to promote income generation in women through links with other social programmes. Other aspects, such as the impact of the programme in increasing women's time poverty through demands posed outside conditionalities, are less visible to programme designers and implementers. Gendered indicators proposed by civil society can help highlight these aspects.	Recently, an Urgency Decree regarding incentives for secondary school in <i>Juntos</i> beneficiaries in an area affected by drug trafficking and terrorism (VRAE) was launched, which also aims at greater coordination between social interventions in this prioritised area. Similarly, <i>Creceer</i> offers a policy framework to improve inter-sectoral coordination – and links with promotive measures such as training, productivity-enhancing measures and public works. Measures adopted by RENIEC through the Management Office for Identity Restitution prioritised poor vulnerable population and <i>Juntos</i> beneficiaries (women and children).	The lack of an efficient system for verifying conditionalities – owing to weaknesses regarding information in the education sector and limited human resources in the health sector – poses important implementation challenges. Efforts by RENIEC to improve access of women and children to national identification documents should be reinforced, guaranteeing the necessary resources. Regarding a gender approach, tensions between reinforcement of traditional roles and measures to promote women's empowerment should be considered (mechanisms for consulting beneficiaries, stronger links with services that offer protection against violence towards women, access to productivity-enhancing measures, addressing women's reproductive health issues beyond maternal health, etc).	There is a need to strengthen a rights-based and gendered approach in local implementers, providing them with materials that aid in this task, in coordination with MIMDES.	The support of international donors, such as the World Bank, is important regarding the feasibility of modifying conditionalities, as is the involvement of MEF. Local governments through <i>Creceer</i> should have an active role in enhancing coordination between social programmes and leading economic initiatives. The exit strategy of <i>Juntos</i> needs to be addressed, although the forthcoming elections may affect decisions in this regard.

Appendix 3: Methodology

The Peru case study was conducted during July and October 2009 and developed by a research team made up of a social psychologist as coordinator and an anthropologist as local researcher.

Methodology

The research methodology combined secondary information review and fieldwork using a qualitative approach. In the first case, the objective was to map social protection programmes and the extent to which they integrate gender considerations (Appendix 1) and to identify how gender is or is not discussed in the context of social protection policies and programmes at a country level.

Fieldwork included key informant interviews, FGDs and life histories.

The objective in key informant interviews was to enrich the overview of social protection design decision-making processes, to explore political economy dimensions of the integration of gender into social protection policies and programmes and to understand implementation dynamics at the sub-national level. A total of 18 interviews were conducted with decision makers (*Juntos*, MEF, MIMDES), academia, donors (UNIFEM, USAID, World Bank) and civil society (MCLCP and Manuela Ramos) at the national level, as well as programme implementers and local authorities at the local level (see Appendix 4).

FGDs were conducted with the objective of understanding the strengths and weaknesses in the *Juntos* implementation as a focus social protection intervention, in general and in terms of shaping community experiences of inclusion/exclusion and/or discrimination. Eight FGDs were developed (four per sub-national unit, two with men and two with women programme beneficiaries). Organisation was coordinated with *Juntos* community facilitators and health promoters, so as to gather a representative sample of beneficiaries (including different geographical areas). Women attended the FGDs in greater proportions than men (see Table A3.1), probably because of the compulsory characteristic of the programme. Discussions were organised early in the morning or late in the afternoon so as to fit in with the agricultural demands posed to rural households at this time of the year. The average age of women and men participants was 33 and 37, respectively.

Life histories aimed at exploring in depth individuals' gendered experiences of risk and vulnerability and the individual, household, community and policy level factors that shape available coping/resilience strategies, as well as at gaining an understanding of the relative importance of the focus social protection programme intervention in diverse individuals' lives. Using a lifecycle approach, 15 life histories were programmed (8 per sub-national unit: adolescent, married, single-headed household and elderly male and female), but 15 were conducted because only one male single-headed household beneficiary of *Juntos* was available for the interview.

Most FGDs and life histories with women and men were conducted in Quechua. All life histories were recorded and translated literally for analysis. The total number of informants for each research technique is presented in Table A3.1.

Table A3.1: Number of informants per research technique

	FGDs	Life histories
Men	23	7
Women	34	8
Total	57	15

Research site

The region selected for fieldwork was Ayacucho, where *Juntos* was launched in 2005. Two sub-national units (districts) were selected – Los Morochucos (Cangallo province) and Chiara

(Huamanga province), following four main criteria: i) poverty rate (non-satisfied basic needs) under average for provinces included in *Juntos* in Ayacucho; ii) districts included in Phase 1 of the programme (November 2005), in the understanding that impacts on gender relations may require longer interventions; iii) number of beneficiary households; and iv) accessibility (one-to-three hours from the regional capital).

Two communities were selected in each district, in order to cover the required number of beneficiaries for each research technique (FGDs and life histories). *Juntos* facilitators provided the necessary information for community selection. Research was conducted in Manzanayoc and Chanquil in Los Morochucos and Liriopata and Motoy in Chiara. These communities had been in the programme longer, had a greater number of beneficiaries and were less dispersed and more accessible than the rest.

Basic characteristics of the districts where the fieldwork took place are summarised in Table A3.2.

Table A3.2: Characteristics of selected districts

Province	District	No. of rural households	No. of beneficiary households	Distance from regional capital	Poverty rate	Date of incorporation in <i>Juntos</i>
Cangallo	Los Morochucos	1329	599	3 hours	82.5%	29/11/2005
Huamanga	Chiara	1382	772	1 hour	79.9%	29/11/2005

Appendix 4: List of interviewees

Institution	Contact	Position
Chanquil Health Centre	Moisés Vega	Health Technician
CIDA	Cecilia Aldave	Consultant, Former Vice-Minister of Woman
Congress	Chary Arcia Baca	Assessor Congresswoman Rosario Sasieta
GRADE	Lorena Alcázar	Senior Researcher
<i>Juntos</i>	Ivan Hidalgo	President, Former CIAS Secretary
<i>Juntos</i>	Betty Vega	Promoter, Chiara
<i>Juntos</i>	Fredi Mejía	Promoter, Los Morochucos
Manuela Ramos	Gina Yañez Rocio Gutiérrez	Director Coordinator of Reproductive Health and Rights Programme
MCLCP	Federico Arnillas	President
MCLCP	Maruja Boggio	Advisor on Social Issues, Former Vice-Minister of Social Development
MEF	Alejandro Olivares	Director's Office of Social and Economic Affairs
MIMDES	Silvia Quinteros	Equal Opportunities Director
Municipality of Los Morochucos	Héctor Cardenas	Manager of Social Development
Municipality of Los Morochucos	Ana Bertha Roca	Alderwoman
Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú	Carlos Eduardo Aramburú	Professor
Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú	Pedro Francke	Professor, Former FONCODES Director
Prodescentralización (USAID)	Violeta Bermudez	Assistant Director
UNIFEM	Karen Suarez	Coordinator of the GSB Initiative
Universidad del Pacífico	Enrique Vásquez	Director of Development
World Bank	Elizabeth Dazzo	Gender Focal Point