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CHILD DOMESTIC WORKERS IN LIMA, PERU

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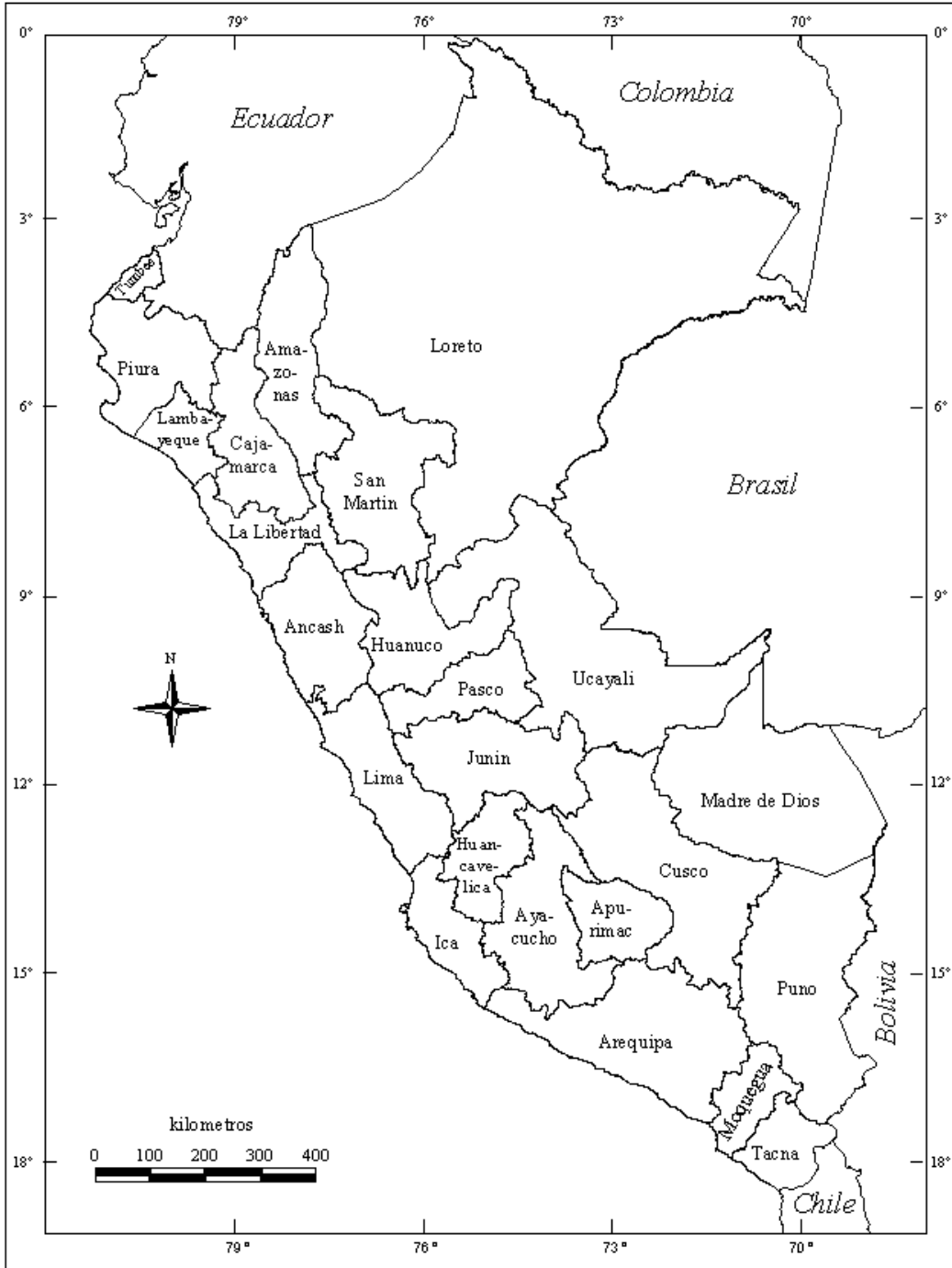
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Map of Peru



(AGTR-EBA report 2004)

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List of Acronyms

AGTR- Asociacion Grupo de Trabajo Redes
(Group Association of Labor Net)

ASI- Anti-Slavery International

CDWs- Child domestic workers

EBA- Educacion Basica de Adultos
(Basic Education for Adults)

ILO- International Labor Organization

MANTHOC- Movimiento de Adolescentes y Ninos Trabajadores hijos de Cristianos
(Movement of Christian child/adolescent workers)

MNNATSOP- Movimiento Nacional de Ninos y Adolescentes Trabajadores Organizados
de Peru (National Movement of organized child/adolescent workers of
Peru)

NGO- Non-government organization

UNICEF- United Nations International Children's Fund

Spanish-English Translation

Campesino/a- literal meaning is peasant. This term was made to replace the term, 'indio'. But it still holds the similar negative meaning.

Cholificación- Process of the acculturation of Indians

Cholo/a- An Indian man or woman

Costeno/Costena- A man or woman from the coast.

Criollo- Person of Spanish descent, born in Peru

Indios- Indigenous people (Indians)

Limeno/Limena- A man or woman from Lima. Also being socially white

Marianismo- Cult of Virgin Mary

Mestizaje- Miscegenation, racial / cultural mixing of Amerindians with Europeans. In Latin America, there has been attempt to use *mestizaje* as a concept to embrace the whole population.

Mestizo- Child of Indian and criollo

Pesimismo criollo- The idea that someone only identifies with whiteness and rejects everything associated with the indigenousness

Selva- Andean jungle

Serrana- A girl from the Sierra

Sierra- Andean highlands

Introduction

This study explores the experience of child domestic workers (CDWs) in Lima, both Lima-born and child migrants from rural areas. It examines the social, cultural background of Lima and Peru which influence the living and working conditions of CDWs. In particular, this study explores the different backgrounds of CDWs, educational achievement and the relationship between the employer and the CDW. Furthermore, it will look at the influence of having education and overall experience as CDW to the possible future of CDWs.

Child domestic work has a long history all around the world wherever there was a relation of master and servitude. 'Cinderella', a European fairytale of the eighteenth century, portrays fantasy to children on this issue of child domestic work. Yet young readers do not realize that there are still a lot of invisible 'Cinderellas' in many countries.

In Latin American countries, where employing a young girl as a domestic worker is not unusual, quite often there are scenes about domestic workers in the popular soap-opera series. In Peru, in the late 1960s, one soap-opera series, 'Simplemente Maria' (Simply Maria), was very popular. It showed a very rosy picture of a young domestic worker who came from the rural area to Lima after hardship in the rural village (Smith 1985: 127). Domestic worker is still a popular material in TV series in many Latin American countries, but it does not really represent the real life of them. Yet, the colourful scenes from the TV programme often make people blind to the reality that there is a child working in their own house, accepting it as a social custom without raising any question. This phenomenon in Latin America represents how this custom is embedded in everyday life of Latin American people.

Generally, because of the notion of feminized occupation, the focus is mostly on girls. It is true that there are more girl CDWs than boys in Lima. This study will be mainly about girl CDWs, so it gives importance to concepts of gender, patriarchy and Marianismo. However, I attempt to include boys in my analysis: firstly, because they have not been given much attention in the literature and the development field; secondly, to compare the condition of girls and boys CDWs of Lima.

CDWs have slowly been gaining attention from the academic and development field, and International Labor Organization (ILO) recognized the matter of CDWs as significant. It has been mentioned in the Recommendation of ILO Convention 182 on the worst forms of

child labour as to give attention to the “problem of hidden work situations in which girls are especially at risk”.

However, in spite of guidelines from the Recommendation, there has been no explicit way on how to handle this matter, and whether children should work or not as domestic workers (Unicef 1999). Concerning their working environment, the workload and treatment, CDWs remain invisible. When they are hidden from the public view, they are under the total control of employer (Ilo-Ipec 2004).

On the other hand, it cannot be denied that some children actually can have more chances while they are working as CDW. One of the biggest benefits they would like to achieve by working is higher educational achievement, and advancing their lives.

In Peru, many CDWs, especially from the Sierra (Andean Highlands) decide to come to city and work like Maria from ‘Simplemente Maria’, because there are few resources in rural areas compared to cities. They believe that they have a higher chance of studying and improving their life in a big city.

There has been ongoing discussion and intervention on the issue of child domestic work. Yet, it needs to be remembered that child domestic workers are not a homogenous group but come from different backgrounds, with various motives and influence from their work.

This paper is organized as follows: Chapter one explains the objectives and methodology of this study and theoretical framework. Chapter Two provides a historical and sociographic overview of Peru. Chapter Three introduces child domestic workers (CDWs) in Lima in general and their background. Chapter Four analyzes the educational achievement of CDWs, the relation with employers and children’s possible future. The conclusion sums the experience of CDWs and suggests a more inclusive approach toward CDWs hidden from the main focus.

Chapter 1

Research Question, Research Justification, Methodology and Theoretical Framework

Research Objective:

This research aims to explore the experience of child domestic workers (CDWs) in Lima. It analyzes the extent of educational achievement, relation with employer, and it examines their possible future afterwards.

Research Questions

- How is race and class perception in Lima, related to CDWs?
- Who are CDWs in Lima? Where are they from under what backgrounds?
- What is the legislation of domestic workers in Peru? How are CDWs affected by the existing legislation?
- What is the level and condition of education available to CDWs in Lima?
- What relation do the CDW and employer establish?
- What is the possible future of children after working as CDWs?

* The research questions above do not mention about differentiation of CDWs, but these questions aim to look at differences in backgrounds, working/living conditions and educational opportunities of CDWs, thus to be able to see whether any difference among children may contribute to similarity and difference of their overall experience as CDW.

Research Justification and Methodology

I got interested on the issue of child domestic workers of Lima during my stay in Peru, especially while working with the Non Governmental Organization (NGO), Asociación Grupo de Trabajo Redes (AGTR). From the local centre run by AGTR for domestic workers, 'La Casa de Panchita', I learnt of the issue of domestic workers more through observation and interaction with them, especially from my students in English class every Sunday. And they made me see this issue through their eyes and voice.

In the beginning, I did not realize how deep the custom of having domestic workers has been imbedded there, nor did I know that it shows very well the complexity of economic status, class and race in Peru. I learnt that many children are involved in this occupation, and that their daily life can be quite separate from their employers. The gap between CDW and employer becomes bigger in the upper class households, because the difference is

not only based on economic wealth, but on race and class differentiation as well.

I believe this study is relevant in studies or interventions on CDWs mainly on two points. Firstly, this study tries to give attention to CDWs as a whole, not only focusing on girl CDWs. Especially in Latin America, there has been a strong tendency to give more attention to girl CDWs. Furthermore, in studies about CDWs, children working under the family realm have been often excluded. This study tries to bring CDWs of girls, boys, live-in and live-out altogether, and compare their conditions and experiences. Secondly, it is relevant to ongoing discussion over relation between education and work. In the case of Lima CDWs, many children come to Lima to work in pursuit of further studies as well as economic reasons. Children try to find ways to achieve education. In this sense, this case study may stimulate thoughts over the education-work discussion, whether it could be 'education or work' or 'education and work'.

As this study is based on secondary data, there was difficulty in obtaining sources needed. I could not research enough on the last part of the analysis: the influence of having education for their future. Therefore, I am aware that there are limitations in the last part of the analysis.

The issue of child domestic workers has a deep-rooted, historical and social background in Peru, so I begin with the anthropological approach to the background on these parts in Chapter 2, and I utilize my observation and interaction with CDWs when needed.

Secondary data used:

For the data in this Research Paper, I used 5 different sources of secondary data. Four are reports of a Peruvian Non-governmental Organization- Asociación Grupo de Trabajo Redes (AGTR), and one is a part of the primary data of a Masters thesis from Veera Blomster, Finalnd. Two reports are exclusively focused on female domestic workers. However, the other three includes information of boy CDWs (education, work experience), so the condition of boy CDWs is compared to girls. As AGTR focuses on the domestic worker, especially as a gendered issue, some reports only include female ones, but from the reports on CDWs, both girls and boys are represented. Each report and data may concentrate on specific parts, lacking some elements, but altogether it may compensate the lack of elements and helps to establish the whole picture of CDWs in Lima. These sources are further ascribed below.

AGTR project on CDWs (2008– San Juan de Miraflores)

age	No. of girls	No. of boys
– 17 year	170	57

This data-set covers mostly Lima-born CDWs (mostly live-out). Data provides information on the age, family relation, working status, work experience, schooling status and occupation of parents. This information altogether helps to shape what kind of living environment CDWs are in. Yet, as it is a data-set, it does not provide qualitative information or much observation on CDWs. This data-set is based on 1 low-income area of Lima, so it cannot be generalized as the common picture in different areas of Lima. In addition, it does not show the educational environment or the status of educational performance. However, it gives a good general idea of how Lima-born CDWs live and involved in work in Lima.

Perfil EBA (Profile Basic Education for Adults) in Lima 2004

No. of schools	No. of students	Location
23 primary schools	Almost 10,000 (3~4 th grade)	Lima districts

This is a report on Promotion of education and human rights for Domestic workers in several districts of Lima. It is used as complementary information with the data-set above. As the former does not provide information on night class and EBA, it is a good material to compare the educational environment. It shows the female/male ratio among students, occupational ratio as domestic worker, self-perception as domestic worker, origin place, payment, attendance to class, etc. Status of origin place is an important source to see the migration trend of CDWs to Lima. This report shows the surrounding condition of domestic workers, and it is especially useful to compare female/male students. However, it does not show the actual result of the EBA programme: effects or improvement of the students are not stated, because the purpose of the report was to look at the dynamism of students, especially domestic workers.

To compensate the lack of information on educational performance and satisfaction of CDWs, and to measure the overall educational condition, I used 2 other materials which are a consultation report of AGTR and part of original interview material (Annex) from the MA thesis of Veera Blomster, Finland.

AGTR Consulta con trabajadores infantiles domesticos (TID) y ex trabajadores infantiles domesticos (EXTID) en la ciudad de Lima-Peru: Consultation report of CDWs and ExCDWs of Lima, Peru (AGTR CR)

Girls (total 25)

Age	study	work	Number
- until 13 year	No study	CDW	5
- until 13 year	Study	CDW	5
14 - 17 year	No study	CDW	5
14 - 17 year	study	CDW	5
17 - 25 year	-	Ex-CDW	5

Boys (total 25)

Age	study	work	Number
- until 13 year	No study	CDW	5
- until 13 year	Study	CDW	5
14 - 17 year	No study	CDW	5
14 - 17 year	study	CDW	5
20 - 25 year	-	Ex-CDW	5

This is a research report about girl/boy CDWs and Ex-CDWs. They were asked about the overall experience as a CDW, from entry to actual work experience. Questions are about right to education, rest, and contact with family, expectation of the future, etc. Following the questions, answers are divided into different categories. As the research is on the equal number of boys and girls, it is easier to compare the experience of boys and girls. As many boys are also migrants themselves, it may compensate the lack of life stories of boys from Blomster's Annex, which only covers females. This research is especially useful to explore the relation between the employer and the CDW, attitudes of male/female employers. Questions are more focused on 'work' experience, but some on family relations of children were exposed through motives of working. Answers from Ex-CDWs are important regarding the possible future of CDWs. However, the number of Ex-CDWs or the depth of answers is not enough, so the Annex of Blomster is combined as well.

Annex from MA thesis of Blomster, Finland– interview materials (24 girls); interviewed in 2004

Age	15 – 26 year
Schooling	1 – primary school (studying) 19 – secondary school (studying) 4 – secondary completed

It is a part of original interview material of the MA thesis by Veera Blomster, Finland and also primary data of AGTR publication, “De la Sierra a la Capital”. This material is generally about the migration experience of young girls who work as domestic workers, the life in rural areas, family relationships, motivation to move to Lima, cultural difference, racism, education, etc. It also covers their work experience, adaptation to urban life and influence to identity/self-esteem. It is based on the life story of young female domestic workers. It focuses on life changes through migration experience, perspectives on the future and cultural experience. Although it has rich life story of girls, it only deals with young female domestic workers, so I combined AGTR CR above to see male migration experience.

Annex 2008 – information on domestic workers in 3 suburb areas of Lima (Ate, Comas, Ventanilla)

This report is based on information on 900 female domestic workers surveyed from 3 areas of Lima: 300 people each in Ate, Comas and Ventanilla. It consists of 7 tables: the number of domestic workers, educational level, reasons to stop studying, entry age as a domestic worker, first working area, experience as baby-sitter, what kind of work they perform. The main focus of this Annex is educational achievement and work experience. As it is divided by age group, it shows the proportion of CDWs among domestic workers in 3 areas. Since it is on female domestic workers, there is a limit to measure the situation of boy CDWs from this report.

Theoretical Framework

Concepts of social construction of childhood, Fictive kinship/Pseudo kinship, class, gender and social construction of ethnicity are important in guiding this study, because these concepts are intersected in the analysis of CDWs. Their origin, background, being

boy/girl, economic condition, education, etc are all intertwined in CDWs issue, so the combination of these concepts is useful to explain its complexity as a social, cultural phenomenon.

Social construction of Childhood

Social construction of childhood is influenced by historical and social background (Ansell 2005: 9, 21, Prout and James 1990: 8–9). Within the societies, depending on social classes, ethnic groups and gender, there are different expectations of children, and it gives a huge impact on constructing childhood. Childhood should not only be seen as mere natural chronological change, but as historical social process (Holloway 2000: 4). Newly emerging and widely accepted new social studies of childhood since 1990 emphasized the historical, geographical and social variability of childhood as well as being aware that children are living beings (Ansell 2005: 20–21, Prout and James 1990: 8–9), and that they are influenced differently according to historical, cultural, social and political contexts within society.

Children, as both ‘being’ and ‘becoming’, they shape their present and future life, influenced by their surroundings (Ansell 2005: 9,21). Children as growing, ‘becoming’ adults, are decided by how they live their present, as ‘being’. They interact with internal and external factors, such as family, friends, other adults and social structure. Under the given condition, their experience may be different from other children. And it may result in a different future for a child accordingly. With this as a basis, I would like to explore similarities/differences among CDWs and their probable influence.

Fictive-kinship or Pseudo-kinship

Fictive kinship, as a process of giving kinship to someone who is not related biologically, refers to people with positive close relation, but it can also mean the relation which is manipulative, disguising the ‘kinship’ relation. This ‘familial ideology’ is often used between employer and employee, especially young children. By emphasizing the close relation between them, it can weaken the negotiating power of the employee, and maintain the less-professionalized relationship (Bridget Anderson 2000: 122). This kinship is also explained as ‘pseudo-maternalism’, ‘benevolent maternalism’ or ‘benevolent paternalism’ (King 2006: 13, Rollins 1985: 179).

Considering that most direct employers in domestic work are female, the employer often

takes the role of 'mother-figure', imposing the role of daughter or son to the employed. Especially young CDWs, who still need parental care easily fall for this kind of relation with the employer. The role as a guardian may help the CDW in his/her growing-up in childhood, but it can be risky because of the nature of the work, which is solitary, and a possible manipulative influence to facilitate the exploitation and control of a child. Considering that their relation starts as an unfair power relation, 'fictive kinship' is important to analyze the relation between the employer and CDWs.

Class

Class is an important concept to describe the economic and social status of a child as CDW in Lima. Following the logic of Marx, a person is stratified by the person's economic power (Scott 2003: 695). Domestic worker is one of the least preferred occupations according to Goldthrope (Giddens 2006: 306), and in Peru it is not much different. CDWs are placed at the near bottom of social stratification of Lima. In addition, according to CDWs of Lima, being indigenous descendants, often migrant status and their occupation as domestic worker, they are also seen as having low status by others in Lima society. As a historical category, class describes the relation between the evolution of society and its constructed social structure (Stavenhagen 1975).

The social positions of CDWs determine their social status within Lima society. And 'status situation' further can work as important components in their life chances for CDWs' future (Scott 2003: 698). It can make major influence in their path of life, possibly creating 'inequality in life chances' (ibid.). By using the concept of class, I explore the social status of CDWs and their possible life chances in Lima.

Gender

Considering the characteristic of domestic work, females are mostly involved in this occupation. As it is often called 'feminized occupation', the concept of gender is important to analyze the experience of CDWs, especially girls. Throughout history, reproductive role has been imposed to women, and domestic division of labour has been prevalent till now (Scott 2003: 164-165). Middle/upper class women find a way to free themselves from this responsibility by hiring a domestic worker. Instead of freeing themselves, they bind their domestic workers into the gendered division of work: domestic work. From a feminist perspective, patriarchy means general male domination. Yet it does not only refer to domination of male over female, but domination of the old to the young

inside/outside the household (Marshall 1998: 485). CDWs, as children, are under the patriarchal order of the employer's household.

In addition, whether the employer is male or female may give different influence to a CDW, so gender is important to analyze the relation of employer and CDW.

Social construction of ethnicity

Ethnicity is a general grouping of people who share the common identities (Scott 2003: 202). They build 'imagined community' (B. Anderson 1991, Scott 2003: 202), and develop solidarity or group consciousness of their own group. Among various elements which could shape the 'ethnicity', it can be rooted from common experience, such as exclusion, discrimination, shared culture or common geographical origin (Hall 1989, Scott 2003: 202). Through the colonization and de-colonization of Peru, the power division between the Creole elites and the indigenous descendants still prevail, and it contributes to maintain the imagined superiority/inferiority among the population, which were imposed during the colonial era. Systematic exclusion and discrimination against the indigenous population internalized the feeling of inferiority within them. In Peru, with a lot of immigrants for a long period of time, it is not possible to define the precise ethnicity. However, the notion of superior 'white/socially-white' persists, together with another element of superiority: geographical origin- being Limeños (people from Lima). These elements are crucial to analyze the overall experience of CDWs, as they are in the middle of this complex.

Chapter 2

Historical, sociographic overview of Peru

The phenomenon of CDWs in Lima has a historical, sociographic background behind it. The history of domestic workers in Peru cannot be detached from the colonial and post-colonial history of Peru, because this occupation tells the hardship and status of especially women and young girls. Catholicism influenced traditional beliefs and customs of indigenous people, and it made big changes in daily life and the relation among people. The issue of 'race' is regarded as issue of class, power, domination and subordination in Peru. The place which the obsession of race is mostly distinctively shown is the Capital city, Lima. For CDWs, their occupation and being a child place the CDW at the lowest position in the social structure.

Therefore, I decided to look at the sociographic background of Peru, which I believe is very relevant to analyze the situation of current CDWs in Lima.

In this part of the paper, I explore the historical, social background of Lima and Peru which influenced the issue of CDWs in Lima. I examine the historical marginalization of the indigenous people through colonization and after independence. Then I look at Marianismo (Cult of Virgin Mary) and complexity of race and class in Lima as social relevance to CDWs. Finally, I examine the internal migration, urbanization and the influence to CDWs issues of Lima.

2.1 Imposed inferiority to indigenous people through Inca to de-Colonization

In Peru, most domestic workers are indigenous descendants or direct migrants from rural area. Historical marginalization toward the indigenous population stimulates the discrimination against domestic workers. In light of this, it is important to briefly review the marginalization of indigenous people through colonization/de-colonization to understand better CDWs issues in Lima.

During the Colonial era, Lima was one of the first settling-down places of Spaniards, so it worked as one of centres for colonizers to reach other regions. Thus, the influence of colonialism was strong in the system of society, attitudes and behaviour of people. Early Spanish colonizers and Creole elites managed to maintain the lifestyle as it was in Europe through the exploitation of indigenous people and their resources.

With self-superiority of colonizers, indigenous culture and institutions were destroyed

systematically throughout 300 years of colonization, and indigenous people were forced to be the lowest in the social ranking.

Marginalization of indigenous people continued during the Republic. The result of independence was the political revolution for the Creole elites, but not social revolution to include the marginalized indigenous people (Algoed 2006: 19).

Under exploitation for a long time, it made the indigenous people to internalize the beliefs that they are naturally inferior and they should be submissive to the Creole (Yelvington 2001). In Peruvian society, it is still prevailing, and the hardest, low-paid jobs are occupied by non-Creole migrants or low-income mestizos (De La Cadena 2000). The feeling of inferiority toward the indigenous and their descendents are so deepened that it makes it even more difficult to claim their rights as human and citizens under those circumstances.

2.2 Gender relations & patriarchal order

- **Marianismo (Cult of Virgin Mary) and patriarchal order**

When examining the relation between the employer and the CDW, and the justification of hiring domestic worker by upper/middle class women, it is interconnected with the ideology of Marianismo. Most direct employers of CDWs are female, and their relation is often not strictly employer/employee relation, but possibly having the characteristic of familial ideology. In addition, although Marianismo itself is focusing on female relations, it works as a strong element of patriarchal order between the old and the young. In light of this, it is important to understand Marianismo to examine its influence to employer/CDW relation and patriarchal order influencing CDWs.

When Catholicism was brought to Peru by the Spaniards, its belief and view were quite distinct from indigenous ones. While suppressing the image and role of women, it imposed stronger patriarchy in Peru more than it had existed among the indigenous population (Kuznesof 1989: 17–18). Exploitation of indigenous population and imposition of Catholic ideology destroyed the relation of balance/harmony (*ayni* in quechua) which was the relation between man and woman (Silverblatt 1980).

While the image of Latin American men is often described as ‘macho’: which is used as ordinary concept to describe a ‘true man’ and classify men by their masculinity (Melhuus 1996: 14–15), the image of Latin American women is not as much mentioned as its counterpart. Marianismo has worked as a moral standard for upper/middle class Creole women in the beginning, and affected indigenous population gradually. Marianismo

supports gender-based division of labour by restricting public participation of women, through emphasizing the female responsibility as reproductive role. And it expects women to be moral figure of household (Tiano 2001). Accordingly, women were expected to follow this 'socially-accepted' custom and conduct.

Yet, upper/middle class women managed to find a way to free themselves from their 'female responsibility' by hiring domestic servants. Often, upper/middle class women who do not work outside home still hire domestic workers. In a sense, they find way to free from their 'duty and responsibility', in spite of Marianismo, or due to benefit of it by ensuring that they fulfilled the reproductive role at home, which is done by their domestic workers (Stevens 1973: 98).

'Scholasticism' as Catholic theology, which is stricter in principles among other theologies, was taught widely and extensively in educational institutions of Latin America, and to indigenous population through the Catholic Church. Thus the influence of Marianismo and patriarchal order from 'Scholasticism' remains stronger in Latin America.

In Marianismo, women should endure and accept the behaviour of men, because men are imperfect and childlike. At the same time, they also should be submissive toward their mother and mother-in-law, because they are seen as reincarnation of Virgin Mary. And older women's attitudes toward their daughter, especially daughter-in-law were quite strict, even to the extent of cruelty (Stevens 1973: 94-95)

Therefore, it promotes certain relations of women toward men, and the young toward the old through generations. Women's attitude to endure any failures of men, such as infidelity, was regarded as virtue. And young people were expected to respect old people and endure the hardship (Stevens 1973: 98). With this systemized custom, both men and women, and the old and the young internalized 'acceptable' attitude and the 'virtue of endurance' respectively (ibid.). Boys, despite being young, had more freedom under the permission of adults. Combined with patriarchal order within the household, boys would learn how to be the patriarchal head of the house, and girls would be located at lower status than boys since young.

In Peru, the relation between CDW and female employer is often blurred as motherly-figure and daughter or son. As a dutiful 'daughter' or 'son', she/he is expected to obey the 'mother-figure'- employer, and it would be 'unsuitable' to confront their employer. Regarding this, understanding Marianismo is useful in analyzing the relation of employer and CDW, power exercising of employer toward the CDW, especially girls as well as the aim of employing domestic worker by upper/middle class women.

2.3 Complexity of race & class in Peru: indigenous, mestizo, white

Race is often socially constructed according to specific social context. Even without scientific support to clear differentiation, it does not cease to differentiate and discriminate against people, and Peruvian society is not exceptional.

With a history of colonization, de-colonization, and immigration from other countries, it seems somehow difficult to distinguish which 'race' people belong to anymore, especially in big cities. Yet I noticed the obsession of 'being white' through my experience in Lima, and also several Peruvian scholars admit it (Algoed 2006: 33–35, De La Cadena 2000, Harrison 2005, Manrique 2002). In Peruvian context, the concepts of 'race' and 'class' are interconnected, so it is difficult to detach one from the other.

In overall Latin America, 'whiteness' is correlated to being superior. Socially constructed ethnicity as 'white/socially white' has dominated the nation of Peru as well. 'Mixing race' is only seen positive when the next generation gradually becomes lighter-skinned (Algoed 2006: 20,24). In Peru, 'being white' represent both physical features and the higher social status of a person. However, the obsession of 'whiteness' is rather contradicting, because most Peruvians are indigenous descendants, and a few are European-descendants. Regardless of this, the true reason about obsessing 'whiteness' can be answered when it is correlated with the matter of class, domination and subordination (Algoed 2006: 29–31). Creole culture and lifestyle have been imposed as superior among high-class, educated 'white' people, and indigenous culture and lifestyle as non-valued. It continued to the present, and some intellectuals distinguished indigenous society as premodern, illiterate, magical and backward, and nonindigenous Peru as potential for progress, rational, literate and modern, thus insisting that both are incompatible (Vargas Llosa 1990).

Some scholars insist that racism does not exist in Peru anymore (Algoed 2006: 32), because of the *mestizaje* which has existed for long. However, Henriquez – a Peruvian scholar, says that during the Republic, humiliation of indigenous people by the Spanish, European descendants was so much, the stigma of 'being of indigenous descendant' is deeply internalized. As a result, people reject everything about being indigenous, and only identifies 'being white'. Thus, people detect any trait of being indigenous and minor difference from someone, and it is called '*Pesimismo Criollo*' (Algoed 2006: 28).

Yet, having darker skin may be ignored among the people from the same social class, because they are considered as 'socially-white' due to their class position. De La Cadena,

Peruvian author, explains her growing up in Lima as socially white, because she is middle class, educated intellectual. As a darker skinned one in the family, she was constantly reminded by her grandmother that she is “a very decent lady”, meaning *Criollo* (De La Cadena 2000: 11).

Out of Lima, in spite of her ‘mestiza’ look, she was still distinguished as ‘socially-white’ because of geographical, cultural construction of race in Peru, being *Limeña*. During her field research in Cusco, she was told that although she could be seen as the same mestiza by the skin colour, she is different because she’s *Limeña*. It shows that Lima as a ‘social whitened place’ has been internalized by both *Limeños* and non-*Limeños* (ibid.). For the ordinary people of Lima, being *Limeño* is a pride, and it makes that person feel superior despite other similarities. *Limeños* often distinguish themselves differently from other Peruvians and vice versa as well.

De La Cadena says that in Peru, people think that they do not discriminate based on race, but on “cultural differences” and it is well-justified (Algoed 2006: 34, De La Cadena 2000: 2). Borrowing from Stolcke, they are claiming “cultural fundamentalism” (De La Cadena 2000: 26, Stolcke 1995: 4). By using the word, culture, as a marker of difference (De La Cadena 2000: 2), race was culturally constructed, and culture was racially defined (Young 1995: 54). In spite of attempts to integrate all the Peruvians by using the concept, ‘mestizaje’, it does not remove the subordination to ‘decent people’; *Criollo*. And hegemonic acceptance of ‘legitimate’ hierarchies according to the level of education makes dominant culturalist racism more unquestionable and therefore more formidable (De La Cadena 2000). Peruvians living in the coastal cities, including Lima, are very proud of their distinctive Creole culture– music, food, etc. and sometimes culture from the Sierra is looked down upon. Disrespect of indigenous culture leads to disrespect of people, although it should avoid generalization of all *Limeños*.

In addition, the process of ‘*de-Indianization*’¹ and ‘*cholificación*’² (Algoed 2006: 25, De La Cadena 2000: 7) are important to analyze the race and class in Lima. Literally, ‘cholo/a’ (Schellekens and Van Der Schoot 1989: 305) refers to someone who went through cholification, but it does not convey positive self-representation in Peru (Algoed 2006: 26). In addition, it is the term which employers commonly call or mention about their domestic employees in Peru.

¹ ‘De-Indianization’: process of distinguishing between ‘Indianness’– as inferior social status and ‘indigenous culture’– sharing the same culture with ‘Indians’, but having higher social status.

² ‘Cholification’: categorization, it describes the process of abandoning cultural custom by the indigenous after migration to urban area

This calling denounces the dignity and the right as human beings. By denouncing the meaning and implying inferiority to indigenous-origin, the society negates their ethnicity, and it also forms the stereotype of indigenous-descendant mestiza as a domestic worker. It helps to justify restriction of their rights, by lowering that they are dirty, thieves, ignorant (Llaja 2004: 3). The calling 'chola' is a clear example that shows the systematic discrimination against domestic workers prevalent in Peru. Discrimination against domestic workers and attempts of separation from them can be seen in both private and public space. Below is a sign in one private beach of Lima. It shows the consistent denouncing of human dignity of domestic workers in general.

“Prohibido que entren al mar perros y empleadas domesticas”
(Prohibited dogs and domestic workers from entering)

Overall, class and race complexity, and social construction of 'social whiteness' are important to analyze the social position/class of CDWs in Lima, because almost all of them are indigenous descendants, and many of them are migrants from provinces.

2.4 Characteristic of Domestic worker in Peru.

Domestic work in Peru has been an occupation with a long historical background since the colonization by Spaniards in Latin America, from 1492 to 1800. Highly influenced by 'patriarchal order' as primary ideology of social control (Kuznesof 1989: 17), domestic-related occupation was seen as work for women and 'temporary', thus less value was given to domestic workers compared to other occupations. In Latin America, this work position was mostly occupied by young indigenous women who left their homes to seek work in the city. There were also other domestic workers, but indigenous domestic workers were the most exploited and paid the least. With patriarchal order imposed onto indigenous communities and social structure system, indigenous women became more marginalized in relation with men and access to resources (Kuznesof 1989: 18, Silverblatt 1980). To make a living, many indigenous women often had no other choice but to work as domestic workers. Thus, with a high supply of female inflow from indigenous community to the city and low pay to them looked attractive to upper/middle class to employ them instead of others. With time, women from other classes would not want to be involved to this occupation (Algoed 2006), and ranked as one of the least favorable job in the occupational strata in Peru (Kuznesof 1989: 32). Even among CDWs, the ratio of girls is relatively high, and it shows the unchanged 'custom' practice since.

2.5 Internal migration from province to Lima, urbanization and CDWs

Rural–urban migration to Lima which began 18–19th century increased more since the 2nd World War and the industrialization in Peru. Due to fast developing technologies, human labour was replaced by machines, and exclusion of women in the agricultural sector left little space for rural women to work. Thus, there have been more female migrants than male (Algoed 2006: 14). With mass migration, especially from the Sierra due to geographical convenience, it brought rapid urbanization in Lima.

In migration literature, child migrants have been considered as a part of adult migration, passive actors, ‘passive movers’ (Giani 2006: 2) within the migration context until recently. More children from the rural area decide to migrate to the city through their own will, but due to lack of skills or education, the occupational opportunity they can find are quite slim. Thus, the most common occupation these child migrants, especially girls, could obtain is domestic work (Kuznesof 1989: 24). Lima, as the biggest city in Peru, is receiving these child migrants, whose high number works as CDWs.

Although most domestic workers are females, and literature on domestic work in Latin America focuses on female ones and feminized migration, there do exist ‘quite a few’ boy CDWs, and they are also part of the migration trend and CDW issue of Lima. However, they are more invisible in the research, because many of them tend to work for their close families in Lima. The national–level research does not include domestic workers working for their family or relatives (Sharma 2006: 7), so boy CDWs can be easily ignored in literature or research. Mostly, boys come to Lima to ‘help–out’ their relatives in the house or workplace. As they often do not receive any payment but food, accommodation and sometimes schooling expense, they are often not categorized as CDWs, but what they do in the house are the same as what CDWs actually do. Therefore, boy CDWs should not be left out from the migration analysis and CDW issue of Lima, although the number of boys seems low.

Once migrants came to Lima, they started to settle down in the suburbs of Lima, such as San Juan de Miraflores, Ate, Comas and Ventanilla. Many migrants come to Lima with hope of more opportunities, but in reality mostly they find irregular, unstable work. In general, after the debt crisis during the early 1980s in Latin America, there has been lack of employment. Formal jobs in public and private sector were reduced. Those people who lost jobs are mostly with higher education, so when these educated unemployed turn to informal or less–paid jobs, low–educated people’s choice is even narrowed to much

lower-paid jobs (Chant 2004: 215–220).

This insecurity of income affects the whole household income, and children are involved in contributing to income. In Lima, it is not rare to see the children selling sweets or playing music for petty money in the middle/upper-income area. With a growing population in Lima, and not-available jobs matching the increased number of people, children may work to compensate the lack of household income. Among jobs available to children, what both parents and child think safer and more natural to perform for children is domestic work and taking care of small children. Therefore, 'helping out' in the neighbour's or their relatives can be one of entry points to child labour.

Chapter 3

Who are Child domestic Workers in Lima?

This chapter aims to introduce CDWs of Lima from different backgrounds: girls/boys, live-in/live-out. It mentions the limited attention to parts of CDWs of Lima (girls, live-in CDWs) and the necessity to include those who are more invisible (boys, live-out CDWs). In addition, different backgrounds of girls/boys, live-in/live-out CDWs are compared with the intention to find out whether it contributes to a different experience as a CDW in Lima.

According to ASI report on Peru, at national level, there are about 300,000 domestic workers in Peru, of which 110,000 are under 18, that is CDWs (Asi 2006: 7). It is about 1/3 of the whole domestic workers, and it shows how extensively children are engaged in domestic work. Still, this may underestimate the number of domestic workers, especially CDWs, because it does not include those who work for their close family, and most of them are children.

CDWs are either direct child migrants from provinces or from low-income households in Lima. Their residence is usually scattered among middle/low-income areas of Lima. Especially when they work for their relatives or work as 'live-out', their living and working space may overlap. From the survey by AGTR, in 3 suburb areas of Lima, Ate, Comas and Ventanilla (Agtr 2008b), 566 people out of 900 interviewed domestic workers entered domestic work at ages between 6 and 17. This is more than half of the surveyed people, so it shows the high rate of children engaging as CDW. From this finding, it is not difficult to predict that now there may be a similar number or more children entering the domestic work between the age of 6 and 18. Half of the surveyed domestic workers remained domestic workers since they started working. It may mean that it is not easy to get out of the work, although the reason would vary.

Among CDWs, especially until the age of 13/14 years old, it is not unusual to find a number of boy CDWs as well as girl CDWs. From the AGTR project on CDWs in 'Pamplona' (part of San Juan de Miraflores), one of low income areas in Lima, there are about 50 boy CDWs, and about 170 girl CDWs. The estimated number of boys is quite low, 3 or less out of 10 CDWs, so they tend to be less-represented compared to girls. Boys' work often involves other activities such as helping out in a store as well as domestic chores. I will come back to the boy/girl CDWs' representation part later.

As mentioned earlier, it is not so easy to find out who CDWs are, due to various reasons.

Due to invisibility of domestic work, private household as workplace, it becomes hard to investigate the working conditions, therefore intervention as well. Another thing to consider is that many employers and CDWs themselves do not see those children as CDWs, but only as helping hand, getting some food or pocket money in return. When the children work for their close family, this tendency is higher.

Recently domestic workers in Lima have gained quite a lot of attention and intervention, so many NGOs are involved. Yet, it seems harder to figure out CDWs' situation, and more sensitive to handle. In spite of intervening efforts and investigation, the focus is still on 'live-in' ones. It is even shown from UNICEF publication on child domestic work (Unicef 1999). Although it explains that its focus of investigation is on 'live-in' CDWs, maybe with difficulty to investigate other CDWs, it cannot deny the current focus on 'live-in' CDWs. CDWs are already quite invisible, and the current interest on exclusive group of them may prevent us from acknowledging that there are more of them hidden from our sight. Therefore, I will try to explore the issue of CDWs as a whole, and compare different groups of CDWs under different conditions and backgrounds.

3.1 CDWs' background

Children and their childhood are constructed by various social settings, custom, traditions, etc. All the cultural, social dimensions and factors of the present Peruvian society are reflected in everyday life from the family relationship to community level. In order to explore the working experience of CDWs, it is essential to start from the general family life of children, and analyze what causes children to work in the domestic field.

Although CDWs have some commonalities in their background, especially being from low-income families, they have different conditions in their family, living environment, and so on. These differences may shape their experience as CDWs, motivation of working, entry point, etc in various ways. And the outcome of different backgrounds can affect their present as CDW and the future as well.

Lima-born CDWs usually tend to live with their own family, mostly with parents, although some live with relatives or others. Occupation of parents is usually informal sector work; the most common occupation of the father was construction worker/carpenter, and the two highest occupations of the mother were domestic worker and housewife (Agtr 2008a). Some people are involved in other jobs, but the proportion is not very high. As parents' occupation is quite irregular and unsettled informal job, the household income is expected to be insecure as well. From some research on CDWs in different countries, it mentions

that there is a higher possibility of a domestic worker's child becoming a CDW. According to the results of a research paper of AGTR-ILO (Agtr 2008a), the number of mothers, working as domestic workers, is relatively high.

And if a housewife wants to work for a temporary time, domestic work can be an easier option, compared to other jobs, because she will not need any initial expense compared, for example, to vending at the market. With mother's job as a domestic worker, there can be certain influence to a child if a mother brings in her child as 'helping-out' at her work place. There were some cases that a child works where her mother also works as a domestic worker from AGTR-ILO project (ibid.). On the positive side, the child may work in a better condition when she/he works with mother, because they would work within their mother's sight. But, as easier and safer entry point to CDW, it may facilitate the child's further working as CDW later.

The residential area of most Lima-born CDWs is a suburb of Lima, such as San Juan de Miraflores, Ate, Comas, and Ventanilla. These are also areas of which residents are mostly migrants to Lima. With lack of entertainment or cultural facilities within the area, there is no space for children to play or enjoy being a child, so children try to find some other things to do. Even in some cases, the family does not desperately need children to work for family income. Boredom was one of the reasons the children decided to engage in domestic work (Agtr 2004b: 14).

Migrant CDWs usually live with their employer in Lima. Some CDWs may 'help-out' their own relatives, and some others would start working in other houses, very often as 'live-in', after they get accustomed to life in Lima. Children who have families in Lima at least have someone to rely on or to visit, but those who know no one in Lima have only employers to rely on, until they make new friends.

Among migrant CDWs, majority of them are from the Sierra. Their parents are mostly peasants, who cultivate the land and raise live stock. Children are actively involved in helping their parents' work, from working on the land to domestic work, from when they are very young. Yet, CDWs do recall the memories of playing in nature, and it is one of the things they miss the most from their homes. In spite of the harsh condition, these children managed to have a chance to enjoy being a child. But, at the same time, excessive work and the monotony of work was part of reasons children wanted to leave their home and go to Lima (Agtr 2004c)

Unless parents work in non-agricultural activities, their daily life necessities come from nature. They produce the most basic needs to live, and the money they may make by selling the rest is spent on purchasing some modern products they need. As they mostly

eat what they can produce, the issue of malnutrition is quite problematic. In addition, they usually have a lot of children, so food is often not sufficient for all (Agtr 2004c: 25–26).

Rural Sierra, especially the very remote areas, is extremely poor. In these areas, there is no electricity or portable water, and there is also a problem with hygiene.

The educational condition/environment is quite poor in rural areas compared to cities. Most parents have a little education or many of them are illiterate. Men tend to have slightly higher education than women, of whom a higher number is illiterate (Algoed 2006: 21, Boesten 2004: 19). The number of primary schools is higher than secondary ones. And secondary schools are usually located in bigger towns, often too far to reach from small villages (Agtr 2004c: 27).

In many rural areas, quechua, aymara or other local languages are spoken in everyday life. Some children only start learning Spanish when they enter the school, and classes are usually taught in Spanish. Children have to struggle with following the class taught in non-familiar language for them (ibid.). I heard that students also learn quechua or their maternal languages in schools, but it is limited to schools in rural area (talk with friend). And still few schools practice bilingual teaching (Agtr 2004c: 27).

Low interest of educating girls in spite of efforts of the Ministry of Education (Agtr 2004c: 27, Garvich 2008), and the tendency of early marriage and child-bearing (Agtr 2004c: 28) make it more difficult for girls in rural area to accomplish basic education. Although boys may have more educational chance than their sisters, the overall environment for higher education is limited due to distance to the school and economic problems.

Overall, both in Lima and rural villages, within households, patriarchal order dominates the relationship between husband and wife, and it influences the decision-making and economic power of a wife. Very often, a single mother raises many children, and there is almost always a lack of necessities. In this household, the father figure does not exist, or he would come, stay for some time and then leave again. Often, a man would have several partners and children in different places, and visit them occasionally. In most cases, wives cannot exercise negotiating power in demanding to give material support to the family. Or she would just accept her sole responsibility of taking care of the family without support from her husband (Agtr 2004b: 16).

CDWs are coming from various backgrounds, having many motives. Most children aspire to engage in domestic work, in a big part, due to economic problems of the household, the pursuit of further study and improvement of their life in general. One of highest

motives in general is to achieve higher education, thus they could look for better opportunities afterwards. Very often, whether a CDW can study or not depends on their working time, workloads and employer's consent to CDW's right and wishes to study. Although there were some CDWs, who enjoyed their work (Agtr 2004a), most of them think of working as CDW as instrumental and temporary to achieve other goals (Agtr 2004b, 2004c, 2004d). Thus, for them, education is a main stepping stone not to be tied down in their present situation.

Yet, some children mention familial problems or domestic violence as motive to work as 'live-in' (Agtr 2004c: 31). Here, it is interesting to note that due to family violence or an abuse-enduring atmosphere they experience during their childhood, they sometimes tolerate, justify and even normalize the aggression or abuse done to them at work (Agtr 2004b: 22). Employers can influence children a lot and function as a part of establishing a child's future. If a child is separate from their family or does not attend school, the role of the employer, as a sole adult around CDW, can be maximized. It will be further explained in the relation between employers and CDWs.

Although CDWs had similar general reasons to start working as CDWs, there are some differences among children, depending on whether they are Lima-born or province-born, girls or boys. According to research paper of AGTR-ILO, highest number of Lima-born CDWs mentioned the motive of working as helping out their family, then maintaining themselves, paying for their schooling (Agtr 2008a). On the other hand, CDWs from provinces, mostly 'live-in', as a primary reason, had motive to maintain their life and keep studying, which is more personalized goal (Agtr 2004c: 31).

There was not much difference between boy and girl CDWs in their motives of entering the work: due to economic hardship, further study, family break-up. Although both boys and girls mentioned some common familial problem as reasons for leaving the family and seeking work, girls seem to be more motivated to leave by family violence problems than boys (Agtr 2004a: 9).

These similarities and differences among CDWs are important to analyze their situation in depth. Keeping it in mind, in chapter 4, I analyze the working condition, the educational achievement of CDWs, the relation between employer and CDW, and then discuss the impact to CDWs, whether their current occupation will become a 'bridging-occupation' or a 'life-occupation' extending into adulthood.

Chapter 4

Education, work relations and the future

4.1 Being a child domestic worker in Lima

In Peru, “Ley 27986”, the legislation which protects domestic workers passed in 2003, after a long struggle of domestic workers and NGOs which support them. It regulates the working hour of domestic workers according to the age:

Table 1: Legal working hours according to age and minimum payment

Less than 14 year	14 year	15 – 17 year	Minimum payment (adult standard)
No work	4 hrs per day	6 hrs per day	460 soles per month (120~130 USD)

However, the content of the legislation or even its existence is often not known of to many employers and domestic workers. According to the EBA report (Agr 2004e: 6), none of 14 year old CDWs who were surveyed in night schools had heard of this legislation, and only 2,9 % of those between 15 and 17 year old knew about it. Although information on CDWs less than 14 year old is unknown, it is hardly likely that young children would be well-informed of this. Furthermore, CDWs who do not attend school will know even less of the legislation. Knowing of the legislation does not guarantee the protection of CDWs and the right to claim their basic labour right, but it becomes the most basic legal boundary they can rely on and start the action from. Therefore, ignorance of “Ley 27986” among the CDWs is significant in the analysis of CDWs issue. It can be more problematic for children who work for their close family. Although the absolute number of boy CDWs is less than girls, most of them work for their relatives. The fact that more boys work for their close family than the 3rd person relates to the payment of CDWs.

Table 2: Domestic workers according to payment and age

Payment (Soles)	Female				Male			
	Age							
	< 17		18-25		< 17		18-25	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No payment	25	4.1	22	2.2	22	16.1	21	10.4
<100	52	8.4	39	3.9	25	34.3	32	16
101-300	421	69	702	71.7	60	43.8	71	35.5
301-450	25	4	111	11.3	7	5.1	34	17
>450	6	1.1	19	1.9	2	1.5	23	11.5
No indication	85	14	86	8.8	21	15.3	20	10
Total	614	100	979	100	137	100	201	100 ³

EBA report (Agrtr 2004e: 20)

From Table 2, although there are a lot more girl CDWs than boys in absolute numbers, the percentage of boys is significant, so it should not be overlooked.

In general, boys are less-paid than girls, and there is higher percentage of boys who are not paid at all than girls from the table. Of course payment also varies between 'live-in' and 'live-out' workers. But what matters more in payment is the regularity, frequency of work and working hours of CDWs than 'live-in/out' per se. From table 1, adult worker standard payment is 460 soles a month. Many CDWs work the equivalent as or even more hours as an adult worker does, but according to Table 2, it shows that mostly their payment does not reach the minimum payment. Higher percentage of CDWs younger than 17 year old receives 101-300 soles at work, 69 % among girls, 43.8 % among boys respectively. Yet it should be noticed that domestic workers between 18 and 25 years of age are not paid much higher than CDWs. Adults are also paid quite similar amounts, although some get paid more than 300 soles per month. It seems that both adult and child domestic workers are exploited in terms of payment, and that CDWs' payment will not get much higher although they keep working.

³ Number of domestic workers older than 25 was quite low, so it was not included in the table

Payment is also related to whether a CDW is allowed to study or not. I will explain this further in the section on working hours.

The age of entering employment as CDW varies from 8 to 14 years of age, but according to AGTR CR (Agrtr 2004a: 9,37), it shows that girls enter a bit earlier, at the average age of 12,7, than boys, at 13,7. It is also supported by the data-set which surveyed 900 domestic workers in 3 suburb areas of Lima, Ate, Comas and Ventanilla (See Table 3 below).

Table 3: Number of surveyed domestic workers on the age of entry in domestic work from three suburbs of Lima (according to age)

Age of entry in Domestic work	DISTRICTS			
	ATE	COMAS	VENTANILLA	TOTAL
6 – 10 year old	22	20	13	55
11 – 13	58	69	41	168
14 – 17	139	106	98	343
18 – 25	58	73	101	232
26 and more	23	32	47	102
TOTAL	300	300	300	900

(Agrtr 2008b: 2)

Table 3 shows that at the age between 11 and 13, the number of domestic workers who started working increased quite sharply, and between 14 and 17, it hit the highest number. Not all of respondents were CDWs at the moment of survey, but it shows that the age of entry point as CDW has not changed much at present.

Mostly, contract is made informally, as verbal one. There were some CDWs who mentioned paper contract, but this is quite rare.

On working hours per day of CDWs, there are some differences between girls and boys (Agrtr 2004a: 12,40). ‘Live-in’ CDWs, under 13 year old, both boys and girls work more or less 12 hours a day. However, it changes as CDWs get older, and they work the most between 14 and 17 year old. Below is the table of working hours of CDWs.

Table 4: Working hours of CDWs aged between 14 and 17 year old according to status of studying

	Girl CDWs	Boy CDWs
Study	11,5 hours	8 hours
No study	15,8 hours	13 hours

(Agtr 2004a: 12,40)

From Table 4, girls work longer than boys in general, although they work similar hours when they are younger (< 14 year old). Boy CDWs tend to work fewer hours than girls, but as they often combine domestic work and non-domestic chores, it can give more physical burden to boys from the work. Thus, fewer working hours does not necessarily mean boy CDWs have less workload.

Table 4 shows that CDWs who study work less, but it does not necessarily mean that their workload is less. Often, they are expected to perform as the same workload as other CDWs who do not study. Employers tend to pay less if a CDW attends school. Actually they consider this offer as a favour to a CDW, without regarding it as CDW's right to education. Without knowing this, and desperate to find work, a CDW who is willing to study would choose a job that pays less, but allows them to study.

"I found a job and told my employer: I want to study. I don't care even if you pay me little."
(Juliana, 20 years, Annex-(Blomster 2008: 3)

*"My employer told me: if you want to study, I'll transfer you. I'll teach you.
When I moved to Lima with her, she told me: I'll pay you little, but I'll let you study."*
(Rina, 21 years (Agtr 2004c: 39)

Knowing the difficulties of finding a job providing education, CDWs themselves often suggest lower payment on condition that they will be allowed to study. Because employers know this, they can easily control the child regarding the studying opportunities. In the case of Rina, at the beginning, the employer did not specify the payment of costs related to studying. By mentioning it after she moved to Lima, her employer did not leave her any other choices but to accept the working term.

In Peru, there are two well-known child workers' movement organization: MANTHOC (Movimiento de Adolescentes y Ninos Trabajadores hijos de Cristianos) and MNNATSOP (Movimiento Nacional de Ninos y Adolescentes Trabajadores Organizados de Peru).

MANTHOC, established in 1976, aimed to be a 'community' for child workers that it would concern whether exploitation occurs, then discuss what can be done for preventing. It promoted the development of other similar organizations: one of them is MNNATSOP (Chacaltana 2000: 59). MANTHOC serves as social network, promoting participation and discussion, etc. Members are working children, receiving vocational education, education of rights, etc. Although this movement is known to be successful, members usually carry out relatively light/visible work, very often under the family realm. In addition, mostly boys who work at the public place, streets or markets, consist of members (Chacaltana 2000: 73, Van Den Berge 2007). Furthermore, CDWs' working time clashes the organization's activities or meetings. Especially, for 'live-in', their participation is more constrained. Therefore, CDWs' representation within the organizations is minimal. Nonetheless, existence and effort of these organizations are important, because they make the space where CDWs may claim their rights, negotiate on wages and working hours, etc. There is certainly limit to include 'live-in' CDWs for now, but 'live-out' ones who may work less hours, boy CDWs who often combine non-domestic chores in public place can bridge the gap between the organizations and CDWs.

4.2 Looking for Education

For most CDWs, especially child migrants, education is one of the primary motives to work as a CDW. For Lima-born CDWs, according to AGTR-ILO data, the motive for helping out family income is higher than other motives (Agtr 2008a). And relatively few of Lima-born CDWs directly talked about 'studying' or 'progressing their life' as a motive for working, while provincial ones expressed these motives more strongly (Agtr 2004a: 9-10, 37-38). Most CDWs consider education as the first step to improve the quality of their life and become a professional in the future. They even endure the excessive workload or maltreatment of employer so that they could keep studying.

"Always, I tried to study. The first year of secondary school, I only earned 100 soles a month, but, it really didn't matter. If I have to study, I have to study." (Juana, 22 years, Annex-(Blomster 2008: 2)

"My employer would tell me; What do you study for? All the girls here have children, besides, they are all single mothers. One day, you will see and remember what I told you. You won't even finish your secondary school!

- It made me really angry. but I wanted to study although I had little time because of

work.” (Rina, 21 years - (Agtr 2004c: 38)

Many CDWs talk of low quality of education in the rural area, and also, until recently, low value was given to education of girls and it even shows from the attitudes of teachers.

“Teaching is very different. Teachers don’t teach very well, because they think we will just stay here, not further studying. Also maybe students don’t pay much attention, because we are too many students.” (Roxana 17 years, Annex- (Agtr 2004c: 17)

“In the Sierra, at school, when girls get older, teachers would start sexually harassing them. They don’t have good professional ethic.” (Tania, 19 years- Annex- (Blomster 2008: 1)

However, one cannot deny that a child becomes more vulnerable, when they come to Lima by themselves at a young age. Furthermore, access to education is hard for CDWs in general, because their working hours usually clashes with the school time. That is why many children attend night class, if they are allowed to study.

The Peruvian educational system comprises four main phases with levels according to age.

Table 5: Educational system of Peru according to age and levels

Pre-primary	primary	secondary	College or vocational school
3–5 year	6–11	12–16	17 and above

Formal schools usually have a morning slot and an afternoon slot. And at night, there is an educational course for adults who could not finish studying at schooling age: ‘Educación Básica de Adultos’ (Basic Education for Adults). It does not allow students younger than 14 year old in this course, but in reality, many young adolescents study here, and most of them are working children. Not surprisingly, quite a majority of them are CDWs (Agtr 2004e: 2). I will discuss this further at a later part of this chapter.

With EBA as an alternative, the overall registration of children in school is quite high in Lima. The Ministry of Education has made a big effort to provide basic education to the population in general all over Peru, so even children in remote areas have a higher chance of getting education now. According to Censo de Población del 2007, the number of people who are older than 15 year old with secondary school education increased from

35,5 % (4,855,297) in 1993 to 38,2 % (7,277,761) in 2007 (Garvich 2008: 16).

In addition, in Pamplona Alta, among the children of primary school age, it was quite hard to find children who were not registered in school (investigation with an NGO, BrucePeru, 2006). Parents' enthusiasm toward children's education is quite high. However, there is a high rate of drop-out at higher grade of primary school and secondary school in general. It has a relation to the fact that many older-aged children are attending lower grades of primary or secondary school (Agtr 2008a). From this data, many children between 13 and 16 year old are still attending 2nd grade to 4th grade of primary school. It indicates that they are failing and staying more than 1 year in the same grade. In this area, Lima-born CDWs are mostly registered to morning or afternoon class (Agtr 2008a). They are mostly 'live-out', so they usually work before or after the class or on weekends.

Due to low payment for teachers, most teachers at night class have other jobs during the day. Consequently both teachers and students are already tired from their work before the class. The teacher is often not very enthusiastic in teaching, and child cannot concentrate during the class. Even if a good teacher is allocated, he/she is soon transferred to day class (Algoed 2006: 71). Thus, day class is known to be more productive in terms of better-quality teaching and students' progress.

"I'd like to have a good study. Not like now (night class), People say, night class is like a revision class, for those who couldn't finish studying. I'd like to study in the afternoon class, because teaching is better there." (Claudia, 15 years, Annex-(Blomster 2008: 7)

EBA classes are usually in middle-income residential areas or more secure part of town within low-income area. For example, in San Juan de Miraflores, especially Pamplona Alta, it is quite dangerous to walk around at night because gangs may appear. In this area, there are mostly morning/afternoon classes. In a way it may provide safer educational environment to children, but those who work during the day are excluded with no alternative.

Earlier I mentioned that EBA class has a considerable number of young adolescents, mainly domestic workers. From EBA report, which investigated about 3,400 students in 23 primary schools in Lima, big majority of students are female (65,4 %), and young adolescents from 10 to 25 year old are 85,7 % among all the students (Agtr 2004e: 3). It means that there are quite a number of young people who have not been able to attend

the day school, and this tendency is particularly high among young women. The high number of adolescents in the night school means that there are many children who cannot complete the formal schooling.

The combination of all these factors can explain the high number of children at lower grades of school, and many adolescents at primary-level night class (Agtr 2004e: 7).

Among night class students, the percentage of domestic workers is 64,3 %. Exclusively among women, it reached 81,1 %, showing a higher concentration of female domestic workers among students, whereas 42,4 % of male students are involved in domestic work.

For the origin of students, Lima shows the highest percentage of 17,3 % among regions of Peru, and they are mostly children of migrants. And it is interesting to note that the Sierra area of Peru- Cusco, Cajamarca, Huánuco and Apurímac consist of 35,8 % (Agtr 2004e: 4,17). It shows the high tendency of migration from the Sierra to Lima. Given the high rate of domestic workers among students and the origin places of CDWs (Agtr 2004a: 8,36), it shows that a relatively high percentage of Sierra-born ones are working as domestic workers and many of them attend night class in Lima.

For young night class students, especially Lima-born ones, one of the main reasons to attend the EBA is economic hardship. The fact that most young students at night class are either children of migrants or migrants themselves is quite significant to analyze that many migrants or their descendants in Lima have low-paid jobs, highly likely informal works, thereby suffering from economic problems. It is quite relevant to CDWs, especially young females, as they occupy the majority of the migrant population in Lima (Algoed 2006). It may help explain the social position of migrants in Lima, and the unchanged poverty chain of first migrant generations.

Once CDWs manage to take EBA night class, they are confronted with other problems. Considering their workload during the day and coming to school at night, punctuality is one of problems in EBA. In general, class is from 6 to 10 pm. But as many students come late, it is often difficult to precede class on time, so children would have less time to study at school.

"I go to school about 6:30 pm, but classes start at 6:30. Because my employer makes me do things, I arrive late. Sometimes she doesn't send me to school. From school I leave about 10:10 pm, and arrive at home about 11:30 pm. I walk to school and home" (Maria, 13 years, (Agtr

2004a: 22)

CDWs only can go to school after completing assigned workload. Many of them walk to school to save travel expense. When the school is far, they arrive home quite late, and it is obviously unsafe to walk alone late at night. After work, study and long journey back home make them exhausted, not leaving much time to prepare for the next day's class or do homework.

According to EBA report, 40,5 % of students cannot afford time for studying at home. After the class, CDWs, especially 'live-in', are expected to do other extra works before going to bed, or sleep right away to wake up early next morning (Agtr 2004e: 5).

As it shows, although CDWs do attend the class, possibly with less-quality teaching compared to day class and no time to spare for homework, it can be doubtful to what extent schooling may help CDWs change their situation and improve their life as they had hoped when coming to Lima.

Considering the high percentage of CDWs who came for study, it is important to note that many of them could not achieve their original goal of studying even after some years of working in Lima (Agtr 2004a: 21–22,50, 2004c: 52). It is quite related to CDWs' age, work contract and the attitude of employers toward CDWs. If a CDW is young, the employer takes the role as a guardian. Some CDWs mentioned that their employers were afraid to send them to school (night class), because they are still too young, and it could be dangerous outside at night. Or because they are not used to Lima life yet, children should be ready to confront people and life in Lima. In this case, children were often given promises of being sent to school some time later. However, this promise is not always kept, but postponed or ignored without giving proper reasons.

"My uncle brought me to Lima, promising that he would send me to school. But nothing happened. Because he mentioned of sending to school, I left my village and came here. But he didn't keep the promise, and I worked there for 3 years." (Juana, 22 years Annex- (Blomster 2008: 3)

Some employers would be sincere in worrying about CDW's safety. But as the employer holds the total control of a child on deciding what a child should do or not, and when, even with good intention, for a child, there is a danger of being tricked, especially when a CDW was promised of studying before entering the work.

"I wanted to study, but the employer didn't want me to. She said that I was too young, only 13 year old, and night class can be dangerous, because classmates are older than me. Now I'm 15 years old, just started studying at secondary school". (Roberta, 16 years, Annex- (Agtr 2004c: 52)

Some employers purposefully do not send CDW to school so that CDW will not be 'spoiled' by other children, and know about their rights. Thus, in an employment agency, a provincial girl with less education, who has newly arrived in Lima is often preferred by employers for easier control (Algoed 2006: 73). Often, when CDWs arrived in Lima, their identification documents are taken away by the employer. In Peru, according to the law, everyone should bring their ID document, and show this to the police when asked. If a child is caught without any document, they will be sent back to their employer (Asi 2006: 8). That's why many CDWs cannot leave the workplace easily even under unfair conditions and treatment. Relations between employers and CDW will be further explored in the next part.

Obviously, many CDWs do benefit from education in spite of difficulties. Children do not only learn academic knowledge, but they gain important social skills to negotiate working terms with their employer and demand their rights. CDWs learn self-respect, and know the importance of education to gain respect from others, protect themselves and their rights (Agtr 2004c: 70). Furthermore, considering that many young students at night class are working children, and a significant number consists of CDWs, schools have the responsibility to promote their labour rights and human dignity. School can become a social support network to promote their rights.

In addition, for children, this social network at school is important to fill the lack of human relations. Due to the working environment, a CDW can be easily left by him/herself without much communication. School is a place children may learn to socialize with the peer group and be a social person. Especially for those who have few acquaintances in Lima, it can be one of few places they can make social links and express themselves more freely. From Bertha's voice, change through time in Lima is shown below.

"For me, it was very difficult, because I didn't know my aunt before. When I came with my aunt, there were only 2 old people (employers), there were no children to play with. I was 10 years old then. I felt so sad. Little by little, I got better. Now I'm used to here, alone, with my aunt, with old employers. I've changed a lot. Before I was happier, I liked to play with friends, but now I've

become more timid and closed, I don't communicate with other people. Before I liked talking to friends, but not now." (Bertha, 20 years, Annex-(Blomster 2008: 7)

School can work as a strong element of socially constructing childhood for CDWs who do not have many people to rely on. Experience from the school helps shape the overall child development in terms of social ability as well as acquiring the necessary knowledge.

4.3 Relation between the employer and CDW, treatment..

According to the report of AGTR CR (Agtr 2004a: 13–14,42), about positive aspects of treatment, CDWs commonly pointed out treating them as a member of family. It shows that in good relationship, CDWs expect to receive near-parental affection and attention from employers. Children actually mentioned specifically about giving affection, understanding them, daily conversation, teaching things as parents would do, receiving gifts, encourage them to study, etc (ibid.). Through this relation and interaction, CDWs seem to develop confidence in themselves and in the relation with the employer.

"They treated me well, although it is not like their children. As my employer and I spend the whole day together, she talks to me, jokes to me. And I can also tell things to her. She gives me a lot of confidence." (Angela, 16 years, (Agtr 2004a: 14)

"She was like my mom. She says; Do this, son, do your homework, then you'll go to school. She would tell me; Study. You should become someone." (Adolfo, Ex-CDW, 20 years, (Agtr 2004a: 43)

Emotional attachment of CDW to the employer is quite different, compared to adult domestic workers. For example, CDWs would feel bad about eating alone, feeling frustrated, whereas adult domestic worker often would prefer to eat alone, feeling more comfortable. Adult workers would rather not involve in employers' family matters, keeping 'professionalized distance' (Bridget Anderson 2000: 169–171). It can come from their learnt lesson or experience from working as a domestic worker for long, even since young. On the other hand, CDWs still want parental attention, and it is shown quite clearly from their answers.

"My employer is nice, when she treats me. She tells me 'daughter', she is affectionate, she doesn't shout." (Juana, 17 years, (Agtr 2004a: 14)

“My employer, he is a good person. He understands me, he talks to me, and he encourages me.” (Pedro, 14 years, (Agtr 2004a: 42)

At this point, it is important to reconsider the meaning of ‘like a family member’. It is possible that the employer is genuinely a good person and a CDW is treated very well. However, it solely depends on the employer’s ‘generosity’. And a CDW cannot demand anything when the ‘good’ employer may ignore or exclude him/her unexpectedly. The story of Olga may explain this.

Olga mentions her employer’s daughter, Sandra, when she explained how she feels like a part of family. She may have believed that they had developed a friendship. But, at Sandra’s birthday party, her belief was rejected.

“Once my employer told me I can’t stay in the living room when there are visitors, because I’m not part of her family. I cried alone; it was Sandra’s birthday. She would only look at me.” (Olga, 12 years, (Agtr 2004a: 15)

For Olga, the bad role was maybe taken by the employer, not Sandra – Olga’s ‘friend’. But, it does not hide the fact that her ‘friend’ decided to ignore her situation. From this incidence, both children might have learnt class difference and discrimination based on it; CDW by confronting it, the employer’s daughter by accepting it from her mother. Surely, it cannot be generalized in every case, but it is significant to realize that two children did not have the equal power to control their relation. Olga was more dependent on her ‘friend’s generous friendship, not having fair relation.

This familial ideology (King 2006), ‘like a family member’, creates ‘Pseudo-kinship/fictive-kinship’ (Morice 2000: 203–206, Schlemmer 2000: 5–7), and it can manipulate the relation between employer and child. For Olga, it might have been the first time of this experience. But with time and repetition, a child can realize what game their employer is playing.

An Ex-CDW, Eva says:

“For those people, you’re just a ‘Serrana’. They could say; This girl is my domestic worker. You’re my goddaughter, my family’. They could tell you all these things, but in the end, you’re just a girl from Sierra, and nothing more. (Eva, 24 years, (Agtr 2004a: 15)

For employers, it can be advantageous to make quasi-familial relation with CDWs, because it may weaken the negotiating power in working terms. If CDWs try to change the condition, they are seen as ungrateful to 'family' (Bridget Anderson 2000: 122). Young children are more dependent and pliant, so it is harder for them to negotiate. Especially children with low education are more disadvantaged. By keeping them in the state of ignorance, employers can maintain authority to themselves (Morice 2000: 209). For CDWs, especially 'live-in', it is difficult to have 'professional' relation (Bridget Anderson 2000: 169–171) with employers, because they are children who still seek affection, prior to being workers.

On the other hand, CDWs themselves sometimes promote this familial ideology as well unconsciously. It can be related to early age of separation from family and the change of family relation dynamic. In the Andean community, family relation is very important for individual, so losing a family member or being abandoned means great loss in one's life (Agtr 2004c: 35–36). If a family relation is broken up, children are usually sent away to their relatives. Especially girls go to a city to work as a domestic worker, as it can provide work and accommodation at the same time (ibid.). Based on this, the lack of parental affection may lead CDWs to seek parental figure from employers. Then CDWs can interpret employers' behaviour as what they would want to believe or see. This can further explain justifying attitudes toward employers of their occasional scolding or punishment.

"When I don't do my work, when I'm not careful, they beat me; but they don't punish me for nothing (with no motive). (Paola, 13 years, (Agtr 2004a: 18)

"Sometimes they shout at me. They don't beat me much, only when I do things wrong. Often I don't understand what they tell me, so if I've done something wrong, they shout." (Isaias, 14 years, (Agtr 2004a: 43)

Therefore, 'familial ideology' can be established by both employer and CDW. However, it is important to remember that they are not at the same position to control the relation. The child should not be victimized as only manipulated by the fictive-kinship, but the limitation of CDWs in the relation should be recognized clearly as well.

For negative aspects of treatment toward CDWs, they mostly mentioned physical/verbal maltreatment, humiliation, not sending to school, discrimination by their occupation and ethnic origin (Agtr 2004a: 14–18,43–47). The act of hiring someone to do domestic work

already degrades the kind of work, thus making the status of domestic worker lower primarily. It can establish the class relation between CDW and employer (Bridget Anderson 2003: 104–106).

It is quite clear from the story of Juana :

“My employer is really nice, but sometimes she would tell me: you are a domestic worker in this house. I know what I am at this house, but why would she remind me of that every time? It’s like looking at myself through the mirror every moment, and reminds me of being a domestic worker again and again.” (Juana, 22 years, Annex- (Blomster 2008: 8)

Although the employer may treat her well, she does not stop drawing the line between them. Class difference between them is constantly reminded by the employer.

On ethnic origin, being from provinces, mostly the Sierra, makes domestic workers ‘second-class citizen’ in Peru (Agtr 2004c: 48). This race-based discrimination is shown as humiliation to CDWs, by names which they are called: Campesina, serrana, chola.

Why would the employer keep trying to divide herself from her domestic worker? It may be explained by King: “Our perception of self is conditioned by the ‘recognition of the other’”. And “Affirmation of my difference from you is victory cry, voice of supremacy in my success in recognition of self through you.” (King 2006: 25). These quotes are especially interesting when looking at employers, because many employers are actually migrants themselves, or descendant of migrants. By insulting CDWs, they are equally insulting themselves and their parents.

“People discriminate us, and we discriminate among ourselves. For example, you insult me, then I give it back to other people. In Peru, there is always this atmosphere. Those people who insult us usually were given the same treatment before. Quite often, their parents were migrants, so in a way they are also migrants themselves. It’s just that their economic situation got better and they have more money now. With a bit of money, they may feel superior, thinking that they are from Lima, or people say, ‘costeños’ (people from coastal regions). But it is not like that, they’re thinking out of their reality.” (Juliana, 20 years, Annex-(Blomster 2008: 9)

They try to erase their past, and pretend to be other people through material accumulation and the concept of ‘socially-white’, by excluding newcomers.

From Juliana’s comments, they may have illusion of being superior, but it is important not

to miss that this attitude might be their defending strategy who were recently 'included' as one of 'Limeños' after settling in Lima, or still struggling to be included to society of Lima.

Fictive kinship is also explained through the preference of male/female employer by CDWs, and control of communication/visits. Commonly, both boy and girl CDWs say that it depends on each employer's characteristic. But there are some differences among boys and girls. Mostly, CDWs' direct supervisor is female employer, so sometimes children can explain their characteristic more in detail. And male employers at the top of household authority may make children uneasy under patriarchal order within the household.

In general, girls showed various opinions on male/female employers, not having certain patterns of answers. According to AGTR CR (Agtr 2004a: 15–16), some girls preferred female employers, whereas they felt male employers were more harsh. But others mentioned that female employers tend to treat CDWs badly.

Boy CDWs had a certain tendency in preference, compared to girls. Boys especially older than 14 year old seemed to prefer male employers more. On the other hand, most boys younger than 14 year old seemed to prefer female employer, feeling distant from male employer (Agtr 2004a: 44–45).

"My uncle treated me well. Sometimes when we go out, he would buy me something, but my aunt never." (Jaime, 24 years, Ex-CDW, (Agtr 2004a: 44)

"Female employer treats better. She likes me more, she understands me better. I feel more comfortable with her; with her husband, no." (Javier, 14 years, (ibid.)

Young boys seem to seek motherly/caring figures, and this preference transfers to fatherly/manly figure when they get older. Considering that most employers of boy CDWs are their relatives, it may be easier for boys to feel comfortable with female employers. And the fact that older boys may spend more time with male employers at work, doing non-domestic chores (Agtr 2004a: 41), can make boys feel comfortable with them.

Employers control CDW, under the guise of protection, in permitting communication and visits. Mostly, visits to CDWs are restricted. Primarily, they do not want the 3rd person within their private property. And some employers argue that it is for the safety of young CDWs (Agtr 2004a: 24–25,52–53). 'Live-out' CDWs have daily contact with their family, and those who have family in Lima may visit them on their day-off. However, CDWs

without any acquaintance in Lima, mostly 'live-in' are cut off from outside, and may experience complete isolation.

"My aunt doesn't like me to have friends. She says they distract me." (Jacinta, 14 years, (Agtr 2004a: 24)

"I can't open the door to the street. They say the zone is dangerous; they don't let me." (Omar, 13 years, (Agtr 2004a: 52)

According to Palmer, employers may treat domestic workers well and with 'respect', but it can be only as being a domestic worker, not interested in other relationships or needs. It denies their humanity, thus making CDWs deeply depersonalized. They are only perceived by their occupational role, not as 'a person with their own needs and rights' (Bridget Anderson 2000: 125).

Overall, for CDWs, a good experience as CDW is equated with good treatment like a family (Agtr 2004a), in spite of risk in the relation. Employer can adapt a pseudo parental role and establish another form of near-family relation, such as Godmother-Goddaughter. The pseudo parental relation is reinforced by the traditional image of child as "an evolving being, someone incomplete, not fully-responsible, thus requiring guidance and protection, training and control" (Schlemmer 2000: 6). Under this logic, child keeps prolonged lack of responsibility, and always remains as a dependent being (Morice 2000: 209).

However, I would argue that this does not apply to all the CDWs in Lima, because they keep trying to make progress in their life with strong determination. This will be further explained in the next part.

From the experience as CDW, they learn 'socially-accepted' customs: having a domestic worker at home. Actually, transferring from being domestic worker to employer is another aspiration among CDWs (Agtr 2004c: 69).

"When I have my domestic worker, I won't give her treatment like this." (Wara, 20 years, Annex- (Blomster 2008: 12)

Relation of servitude gives influence to employers' children as well. Even if they may give 'fair treatment' to domestic workers at their home, they are used to having domestic workers around, and learn 'the accepted attitude and behaviour' from adults. Therefore,

the idea of class differentiation is imbedded into children of employers, and it becomes cyclical which might be hard to end.

4.4 Child domestic workers in Lima: 'bridging-occupation' or 'life-occupation'?

CDWs mostly would like to finish studying and find other jobs, something professional. They value the education very highly, and expect to achieve their dream once they finish their education (Agtr 2004a: 29,57). However, sometimes the value and effect of education is overestimated (Agtr 2004c: 65-70). In reality, many university graduates in Lima are unemployed, or not having professional jobs as CDWs expect.

"In Peru, the government doesn't support those who study. Now, people who studied work as taxi drivers... Firstly, because of little time you get to study, you can't prepare well. Secondly, although you put all your effort, you can't find a job because you're not competent, and it is because you couldn't prepare well." (Rina, 21 years, Annex-(Blomster 2008: 11)

After a lot of efforts, sometimes their dreams get frustrated in reality. After secondary education, many CDWs often fail the University entrance exam because of incompetency (Agtr 2004c: 65-70).

Many CDWs hope that domestic work would be a transient occupation to other ones. Yet, often they do not know what kind of professional job they would like to have. Due to occupational characteristics, their little contact to the outside world may limit their views or knowledge of other jobs, especially those who do not study have less chance to share the information with others.

CDWs say that they have dreams, but some of them doubt whether their dream would be achieved. For migrant CDWs, it seems harder to sustain their daily life and study at the same time, without any external support. In University or certain institutes, classes often clash the working hours, and it takes 3 to 6 years to finish the education.

"I'd like to study law, but it will be very difficult, because I have no one to support me. My father lives far away. My siblings are still in school. He is helping them for their study. I am 22 year old. It makes me embarrassed to think of asking him for support. For now I'd like to finish studying cosmetology first, and then maybe I want to study administration so that I could go on. Then with time I may able to study to be a lawyer. But now I don't have possibilities. At least it is not

only me; all the girls from provinces. We left our home, and now we are studying at night class. We are supporting ourselves. We came to study, want to become someone in life.” (Juana, 22 years, Annex-(Blomster 2008: 11)

The reality Juana will face after the education is not uncommon. There are quite many people who managed to finish secondary education, but still work as domestic workers, because they could not find another job. However, although Juana realizes the difficulty, she thinks of alternative ways to achieve her dream in a long term. She does not give up her dream, and tries her best what she can do at her present position. It is impressive how CDWs like Juana try to cope with the given situation.

Yet, in reality, their effort is often compensated little or through long time. Some CDWs and EX-CDWs say that they would continue working as domestic worker, and it is fundamentally due to economic problems. Especially as a ‘live-in’, they think they could save money on accommodation and food.

“Look at the situation of this country. If I work in the house, there is food. Now I’m working at a shop, but I have to spend my own money for food, accommodation, for everything. For one side, I have freedom, which I don’t have in the house. But if employers treat me well, it will help me with my rights.” (Eva, Ex-CDW, 24 years, (Agtr 2004a: 30)

“I should see what I have to do. If I have no money, and if they pay me, then I won’t reject working in the house.” (Abel, Ex-CDW, 24 years, (Agtr 2004a: 57)

On the other hand, if CDWs are accustomed not to be concerned about paying for their own expense, it can somehow make them postpone being self-responsible in a way, as Morice noted (Morice 2000: 209). A long time without self-responsibility may make them dependent on others in long term.

“I would work as a domestic worker if I can choose: I have a place to sleep and food. (Joseph, 16 years, (Agtr 2004a: 58)

Especially for ‘live-in’ CDWs, they have not been used to having their own place. In childhood, living and learning to be a ‘dependent-being’ to the employer may influence them at a later age, and it is possible to make CDWs reluctant to be fully responsible for themselves.

But, in the case of domestic workers in South Africa, some domestic workers showed that they chose to play the role of dependent in the relation with the employer to show deference to her, thus facilitating the relation with the employer (King 2006: 128–130).

Nevertheless, CDWs' determination to accomplish what they work for, and willingness to finish an education of 10 years – primary and secondary, carried out together with their work is incredible.

"I know people who came from my village. Now they are professionals, they have their own companies. They succeeded on their own. I say to myself; if they achieved, why not me? It gives me a lot of strength to move on." (Juana, 22 years, Annex- (Blomster 2008: 15)

"This year I'll finish my secondary school. My goal is to study law. It is my dream. I don't know how long it will take to get in. But what one wants is what one can sometimes. I don't know how, but I'll achieve it." (Juliana, 20 years, Annex- (Agtr 2004c: 70)

Some success stories give hope to CDWs to continue their work and study so that they become one of them. Considering the present situation, surely it requires a lot of will, effort and support for them. It has been 5 years since "Ley 27986" was passed. But in reality, no small numbers of CDWs may remain at their work, not as a bridging-occupation they wish, but as a probable life-occupation. The issue of child domestic work involves social, cultural practice prevalent in Peru for a long time, so the solution cannot be found by detaching from the society as a whole. There will not be an easy or quick remedy, but slow yet persistent effort, patience and attention to CDWs in Lima.

Conclusion

This study has aimed to explore the experience of child domestic workers in Lima. It focused specifically on the educational achievement of CDWs, relation between employer and CDW, and lastly their possible future after their work experience. The research started with the assumption that different backgrounds of children, opportunities, especially access to education and the treatment at work would shape the overall experience of CDW differently. And that it would consequently have influence on CDWs in establishing their future.

The main findings may be summarized as below. CDWs of Lima are from both Lima and rural area (especially Sierra), working as either 'live-in' or 'live-out'. Both boys and girls are involved, but the absolute number of girls is higher as in general domestic work is known to be a feminized occupation. Yet, often children who work for their own families are not counted. Many boy CDWs work for their close family, and combine non-domestic chores together, so they tend to be under-represented. "Ley 27986", the legislation for domestic workers was passed in 2003, but regarding CDWs, it has not worked very effectively.

Many CDWs are overworked and underpaid. Among aspirations to work as CDW, education is one of the main motives to start working, apart from poverty. Many children come to Lima, expecting a better-quality education compared to their village, where the quality of teaching and the attention to girl students are lower. Many of them study at night class (EBA) due to a clash of working time and class schedule. In spite of high expectation and motivation to educate oneself, it is not easy to study because of employer's opposition, inefficiency of night class and exhaustion after work. However, studying itself becomes a driving force for CDWs to move forward, and it is important for development of the sociality of a child, because it can be one of few places a child, especially live-in CDW, has a contact with other people.

For CDW, employer takes the role of guardian as well, and this is more obvious when a child works for relatives. Sometimes employer puts a CDW into the familial ideology of 'fictive-kinship', as disguised to protect and care for a child, employer may manipulate a child and has total control of him/her. However, this kinship is also imposed or accepted by a CDW him/herself as well, who would seek parental affection from the employer. Although the employer may care for a child for real, and he/she may benefit from this

relation, the risk coming from the unequal power relation should be deeply considered.

The CDW's motivation to study is related to the hope of making a better life and becoming a professional after education. However, completing education does not always result in a 'dream-come-true' for CDWs. Their incompetency due to lack of preparation, overall lack of employment opportunities, economic hardship make their dream to move on to another job difficult, thus many of them remain as domestic workers, as a permanent occupation. However, CDWs make a lot of efforts with strong determination to succeed in life, although their future may be uncertain.

Overall, educational opportunity and relation with the employer do influence and shape the childhood of CDWs, determination toward their future. Girls showed stronger wills to achieve their goals than boys. As girl CDWs mostly work for the 3rd person, they tend to become stronger emotionally. Educational progress can definitely give more strength to CDWs, but the social, cultural environment makes it hard for them to reach their goal. CDWs are in the process of 'becoming' as well as their 'being children' at present. This process is influenced by a lot of factors, only a part of this has been explained in this study. But what is important to remember is that children are making a lot of efforts and struggling to obtain what they want.

There is a lot of attention on child domestic workers in Lima from the academia and development field. But in Peru, there has been greater focus on girl CDWs than boys, 'live-in' ones than 'live-out' and migrant CDW than Lima-born. This study is an attempt to embrace CDWs as a whole. Surely, difference among them should be distinguished and the solution cannot be the same. Yet the attempt will shed light on even more invisible children among the invisible child domestic workers in Lima.

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