Institute of Social Studies

Graduate School of Development Studies

When Home is not a Sweet Home: Psychosocial Consequences of Child Domestic Service

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(Peru)

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for Obtaining the Degree of:

Master of Arts in Development Studies
Specialization:

Human Resources and Employment

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The Hague, November 2004

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To "Monkey" and Pancho wherever you are now;

to my parents, because of their support

and to all the friends who accompanied me in this process

Acknowledgements

First, I would like to thank to the Dutch government, whose support through a NUFFIC scholarship has made it possible to accomplish this paper and my degree in Development Studies.

Secondly, to the domestic servants in *CESIP* and *La Casa de Panchita* who taught me to appreciate willpower, motivation and hope as important resources in our life. Thank you for sharing your experiences with me.

To Lee Pegler, my supervisor, because of his dedication and support from the beginning of this research, for his trust in my abilities and for his constant encouraging despite the difficulties along the process, and very especially for his friendship. To Rachel Kurian because of her insightful comments and suggestions for the research. In addition, to other staff member and teachers of the ISS who supported me with logistics, comments and suggestions supported this research.

To Nadia Mendoza for her orientation in the beginning of the research and her logistic support to contact *CESIP* and to Blanca Figueroa for allowing me to have a close approach to *La Casa de Panchita*. To my colleagues Raquel Asencios and Fabiola Quesada and my friends Margarita Barcomb and Camilo Rodríguez for their help during the primary data collection and final revision of the paper respectively. Thank you for your suggestions.

To my parents and family in Lima because of their constant interest, concern and support despite the little time I had for them during the interviewing process.

Finally, a very special acknowledgement to all my friends at the ISS who closely shared the effort implied in accomplishing this project, particularly to *"las Ballas"* who made adapting to life in the Netherlands an easier task. Thank you for your sharp comments and notes and of course for the long listening hours, support and patience during all this process.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements 1

Table of Contents 2

List of Tables and Figures 4

List of Acronyms 5

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1. Problem Statement 6

1.2. Background and Justification of the Research 7

1.3. Research Objectives 8

1.3.1. Research Questions 9

1.3.2. Research Hypothesis 9

1.4. Research Methodology 9

1.4.1. Participants and Sampling Criteria 9

1.4.2. Instruments 11

1.4.3. Procedure 11

1.5. Contributions and Limitations of the Research 12

1.6. Organization of the Paper 12

Chapter 2 Migration, Adaptation and Child Domestic Service

2.1. Migration and adaptation from Cross-cultural Psychology 13

2.2. The Impact and Social Context of Migration 16

2.3. Characteristics of Child Domestic Service according to International Institutional Frameworks 19

Chapter 3 The Context of Migration and Child Domestic Service in Lima

3.1. The Dynamics of Migration, Exclusion and Poverty in Peru 24

3.2. Peruvian Statistics on Child Labour and Domestic Service 27

3.3. Peruvian Regulations Concerning Child Labour 29

3.4. Domestic Service, Migration and the Problematic of Child Labour in Peru 31

Chapter 4 Case Study: Girls Working in a House other than their own

4.1. Working Conditions and Nature of Work 34

4.2. The Process of Migration and Adaptation 38

4.3. Psychosocial Problems Experienced Literature 43

Chapter 5 Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1. Implications of Child Domestic Service and Migration 48

5.2. Towards a better Regulation of Child Domestic Service 49

References **54**

Annexes **64**

Annex A: List of Interviewees for Non-Structured Interviews **65**

Annex B: Interview Schedule to Child Domestic Servants (Translation) **66**

Annex C: Two Case Studies **68**

Annex D: Peruvian Map and Place of Origin of the Girls Interviewed **72**

Annex E: Pictures of the Project Activities and the Girls Interviewed **73**

List of Tables and Figures

Table 1: Sampling Frame 10

Diagram 1: Migration and Motivations to Migrate 13

Diagram 2: Migration and Types of Acculturation 14

Diagram 3: Interaction between Child Domestic Service and Migration 22

Table 2: Occupied Population between 6 and 17 years old, according to Provinces 26

Table 3: Activities of the Population between 6 to 17 years old, according to Provinces 27

Table 4: Distribution of Domestic Servants according to Socio-economic Levels 28

List of Acronyms

This section contains the abbreviations and acronyms that are used in this study and their meanings.

CESIP:	Centre of Social Studies and Publications
CDSs:	Child domestic servants
CDS:	Child domestic service
CL:	Child Labour
CWs:	Child Workers
DEMUNAS:	Municipal Agencies of Children and Teenagers
DS:	Domestic Service
DSs:	Domestic Servants
DW:	Domestic Work
ECLAC:	Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
HDR:	Human Development Report
IE:	Informal Economy
ILO:	International Labour Organization
INEI:	National Institute of Statistics and Informatics
IPEC:	International Programme on Elimination of Child Labour
LM:	Labour Market
MINDES:	Ministry of Women and Social Development
NGO:	Non-Governmental Organization
OIT:	International Labour Organization
PROMUDEH:	Ministry of Women's Promotion and Human Development
SNs:	Social Networks
UNICEF:	United Nations Children's (Education/ Emergency) Fund
WC:	Working Children
WHO:	World Health Organization

Chapter 1

Introduction

Child Labour (CL) and child domestic service (CDS) have been continuously increasing in Peru. Migration, recent years' most important social phenomena (Altamirano, 1998) has changed living conditions of the capital increasing unemployment and underemployment, forcing children to enter the labour market (LM). Most domestic servants (DSs) migrate from provinces – to the capital and larger cities (Chaney and García Castro, 1993; Blomster, 2004) – and belong to different ethnic and social environments.

This research provides some case study data that could contribute to a better understanding of the consequences that CDS has for migrant girls, assessing it from a socio-psychological perspective. The focus group studied is migrant children coming from a different socio-cultural context which they abruptly have to leave behind. Additionally, this data raises issues for further consideration from a policy perspective.

1.1. Problem Statement

Currently, there are 25000 children working in Lima, half of them working in the informal sector (Canadian Labour Congress: Challenging CL, 1998 in Global March Against CL, 2004:1). Even though Peruvian law intends to control CL, legislation requires proper enforcement to face the difficulties of regulating the private sphere and the informal economy (IE) via public regulations.

Current regulations include banning all kinds of work which involve exploitation, lack of protection and rights and high risk. According to the *Centro de Estudios Sociales y Publicaciones* (CESIP) (2003:1) the most common ways in which DSs are abused are: 1) work at low ages – from 5 years on; 2) excessive responsibilities; 3) long working shifts; 4) remuneration below the legal minimum wage, or no salary at all; 5) discrimination from members of the household they work in; 6) physical, psychological and sexual abuse; 7) deprivation of the right to education; 8) isolation and separation from their families and social

environments; and 9) servitude. Another important issue is the lack of access to leisure and recreation and to other services such as health and educational facilities.

Domestic service (DS) – especially performed by younger girls – is one of the most "hidden"[1] kinds of work. These girls enter into the IE by means of relatives and social networking that allows them to start working. Because of these kinds of "contracts" they are required to fulfil their employer's request which sometimes includes facing abuse and difficult working conditions.

The implications of CDS can be addressed from different perspectives. However, this research focuses on understanding the potential psychosocial consequences of domestic labour and migration and their implications for the normal development of these children. It intends to provide case study data that contributes to a better understanding of this issue.

1.2. Background and Justification of the Research

Since the second half of the past century and up to the present, internal migration in Peru has been increasing. According to professionals in the social sciences (Mendez, 1997; Altamirano, 1988), it has become the most important historical and social phenomenon of recent years. Mainly due to social exclusion and poverty, and because of the political and economic centralization in the Peruvian capital, people who seek better work or educational opportunities migrate. As a consequence, Lima's unemployment growth forced many households to turn to the subsistence economy working in the informal sector.

In most cases, migrant families – including children – integrate into the IE because of their lack of qualifications and the number of job opportunities that this sector offers. However, while migration seems to suggest a better economic situation, the kinds of jobs migrants find in the city barely cover their basic subsistence (Altamirano, 1988; Golte, 2001). Migration also implies a severe adaptation process to new practices and habits which are translated into new identities, implying a conflict between the characteristics of migrants' places of origin and their new urban "homes".

Many poor families in Peru send their children to work because their economic contribution is regarded not only as an additional help but also as a necessary income for their household. Traditionally, children are considered as a "helping hand", especially in Andean regions where most CDSs come from. These children migrate to the capital or to big cities located mainly in the coastal region where they commonly become DSs of wealthier people –

[1] Because of employers' unwillingness to recognize it because of its illegality, making it "invisible".

high and middle class families – leaving their social environments and livelihoods behind. They have to adapt to live in homes and environments which do not necessarily reflect their own habits and culture.

The interaction between accepted cultural patterns – socially assumed divisions of labour – within Peruvian society, along with economic crisis had forced many women and children to participate in the subsistence economy. Culturally assumed, gender oriented justifications of exploitation and discrimination shape and reproduce the social relationships from which this problem originally stems. In this light, CL appears as an immutable situation, and its gradual acceptance – tied to the needs that drive it – may persuade authorities to disregard direct responsibility over this issue and tacitly ignore its consequences.

CDS has been socially accepted through time as an ethically legitimate alternative, having even acquired a sense of solidarity and paternalism. It has also been socially internalised to be naturally carried out by girls and women. Nowadays, DS is performed almost exclusively by children and women, being the third major occupation below agriculture and family businesses (ILO, 2002:1). Nowadays, the estimate for CDSs in Lima is 150000 (UNICEF, 1999 in Global March Against Child Labour, 2004:2) and 22.7% of all DWs are children (Verdera, 1995:56).

On an international level, Peru subscribes to international treatises. Convention 138 on the Minimum Age (ILO) was ratified in November 2002. Even though the Peruvian Children and Adolescents Code (in 1990 and 2000) ratified the minimum working age at 12 years old this is not always respected. Additionally, the fact that DS is not considered as one of the worst forms of child labour (Convention 182, ILO) forces us to question its severity and evaluate the psychosocial consequences it has on children and their future development. There is, thus, a strong need to elaborate accurate definitions for the Peruvian context surrounding CL. More awareness and knowledge about the situation of migrant children could improve definitions and understanding of the risks and consequences of CDS.

1.3. Research Objectives

The aim of this paper is to analyse primary data of CDSs assessing the psychosocial consequences that DS adds to the special situation of migration for a particular group of girls. The focus is on the conditions that they currently experience, the nature of their work and their process of cross-cultural adaptation to living and working in the capital.

This research additionally includes an analysis of secondary data of the Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) that currently work with the children and teenagers of our sample and other psychosocial indicators previously researched, such as: coping strategies, problems experienced and mental health, among others. The main contribution of this research would be to provide useful insights to the experience of these girls.

1.3.1. Research Questions

- What psychosocial consequences does child domestic service have on migrant girls working in Lima?

1.3.2. Hypothesis

- Domestic service performed by migrant girls has negative psychosocial consequences because of the working conditions they experience and the nature of activities performed.

1.4. Research Methodology

This study is based on both primary qualitative data and on secondary qualitative and quantitative data. Girls involved in –paid or unpaid – domestic activities who are between 6 and 17 years old compose the population of CDSs in Lima. Additional non-structured interviews were carried out with key actors[2]: NGOs' representatives and other experts in the area such as people involved in policy consulting services for children.

1.4.1. Participants and Sampling Criteria

The participants were 32 migrant girls – aged between 12 and 17 years – currently working as DSs. They attend two NGO programs. One of these is from CESIP[3], an NGO working according to objectives of the International Labour Office (ILO) and the International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC). The other one is from "*La Casa de Panchita*", organized by *Asociación Grupo de Trabajo Redes*, an NGO working in favour of girls, boys, teenagers and women of low-income households in order to improve their capabilities, autonomy and empowerment. Both programs have as a common objective

[2] Annex A

the capacity building[4] of CDSs and are recognized by International Organizations such as ILO, The Global Fund for Women, Save the Children (UK), UNICEF, among others. Their strategies combine social sensibilisation, direct educational intervention with children and teenagers and provision of access to services and spaces of support, listening and shelter near their workplaces. Additionally, they provide DSs with a space to share their experiences with other girls who are in similar conditions.

Two groups were considered according to age because of Developmental Psychology criteria (Papalia and Wendkos, 1992), as the maturational processes determine common characteristics for children and teenagers. Criteria for selection include age (between 12 and 17) and the fact of being migrants coming from different regions of Peru[5]. Unfortunately, this research does not include younger girls because of their "invisibility"[6], which hinders access to them. Another sampling criterion refers to the number of years since they first migrated. The sample has a reasonable representation of the number of years of permanency in the capital, thus being sufficiently representative of the process of migration and adaptation. Additionally, for older girls, special interview emphasis was put on their first years of stay in Lima.

The participants live and work in different districts of the metropolitan area of Lima. On average they have been working 3.2 and 5.1 years respectively for both age groups defined[7]. Three quarters of the sample work full-time and a quarter work part-time, evenly distributed among the two age ranges. Three quarters are regular participants[8] of these NGOs' projects and thus benefit from services such as legal orientation, educational intervention and psychological counselling. These programs operate every Sunday on a weekly basis.

The sample was selected according to the availability and willingness of the children to take part in the research. Both institutions were contacted and they determined the best time and day to interview the children, taking into account the planned activities for the girls. Children volunteered for the interviews after being asked for their consent.

[4] Acquisition of basic capacities which enable children to exercise their rights.
[5] Annex D
[6] Inability to observe the work and situation of younger children, being them the ones whose work is mostly hidden.
[7] See Table 1
[8] Participation in Sunday meetings at least twice a month.

Consequently, the sampling frame is:

Table 1: Sampling Frame

Age		
From 12 to 14 years	From 14 to 17 years	**Total**
12	20	32

1.4.2. Instruments

Data was collected through semi-structured interviews with the DSs and the other key informants, in meetings scheduled according to their availability.

The interviews[9] with children addressed three specific areas:

- Current working conditions and nature of work
- Process of migration
- Comparison between former and current situation.

This structure obeyed considerations related to sensitive topics raised during the interviews. In depth questions were postponed to a period after which a proper rapport had been achieved.

1.4.3. Procedure

After selection, all the interviews were conduced individually for approximately 30 minutes per case. Additional feelings and experiences introduced during the process, such as specific cases of verbal and physical abuse, were discussed and addressed through counselling.

To conclude the process, written feedback was provided to the NGOs. Thus, the research contributed NGO workers and children with ideas about how to face the problems they experience and thus make a closure to the exercise.

For the other key actors, appointments were made and non-structured interviews, according to their personal experience, were conducted.

[9] Annex B

1.5. Contributions and Limitations of the research

This research provides case study data to contribute to a better understanding of CDSs from a psychosocial perspective. Consequences of DS experienced by migrant children from different socio-cultural contexts are assessed. The analysis considered the length of stay and age and thus bias could be controlled to some extent by comparing the results to previous research on factors affecting the adaptation process.

The representativeness of the sample is the most important limitation of the study. Because of the difficulty of contacting young migrant girls who work in DS individually it was decided to reach them through NGOs. The fact that they are a captive sample and participants of such projects can also influence the way they perceive their situation and experiences. They could have developed a more positive approach and personal resources to confront difficult situations compared to other girls who may not have access to these kinds of services. However, this does not necessarily imply a problem because all these children have experienced difficult conditions when initially arriving to the capital. This could hinder or retard the adaptation process and consequently made the impact of DS harder.

1.6. Organization of the Paper

This paper is divided in five chapters. Chapter 2 deals with migration and DS, emphasizing theory from sociological and psychological perspectives, which influence the process of adaptation. Chapter 3 explains the context and dynamics of DS in Lima, focusing on the current legislative and social context and considering welfare and problematic issues for CDSs. Chapter 4 deals with the case study of migrant girls working in DS addressing their working conditions, nature of work, process of migration and consequences experienced. Chapter 5 concludes with broader points for a better understanding of CDS identifying ways of regulating it more effectively. Annexes are also included.

Chapter 2

Migration, Adaptation and Child Domestic Service

This chapter provides an explanation of the dynamics and underlying causes of the difficulties for working children (WC). It is divided into four sections. The first explains a cross-cultural psychology approach to the processes of migration and adaptation. The second section outlines how migration and the social context determine social relationships among people who live in capital cities. Finally, the third section discusses the international institutional framework that supports interventions concerning CL and within it explains the characteristics of CDS.

Overall the chapter provides a theoretical framework to address the consequences of CDS and migration from a psychosocial perspective. The surrounding context of migration influences a large group of population including CDSs. This adds up to the components of the dynamics of CL.

2.1. Migration and Adaptation from Cross-cultural Psychology

Internal migration[10] is a process by which people living in rural areas leave them for urban ones in search of better opportunities (Altamirano, 1988). There are different models for the processes of migration and adaptation. Some push-pull and economic models are defined according to the willingness to migrate and the motivations that make people leave their places of origin. Concerning the willingness to migrate there is a difference between forced and desired migration.

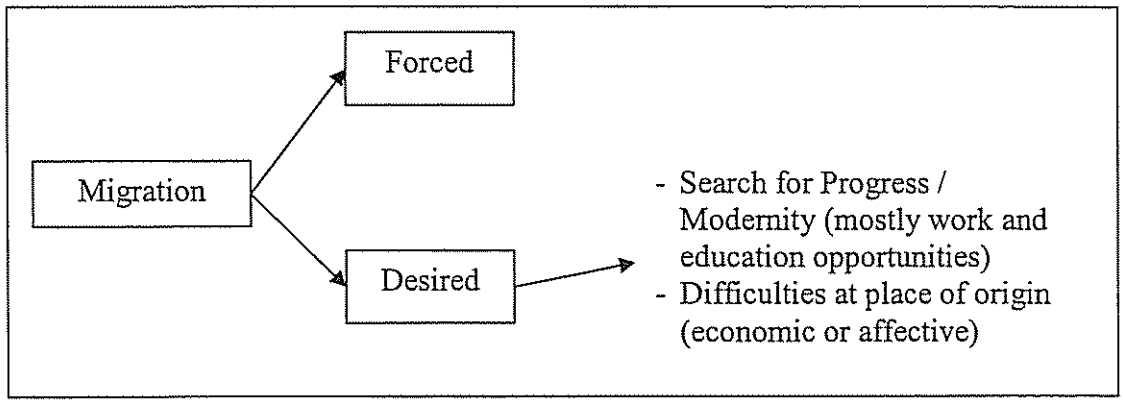
For this research, what is emphasized is not only the motivation but also the *social networks*[11] (SNs) that bring migrants to the capital and keep them there. On the motivational side, there can be a wide variety of factors ranging from a search for progress to a difficult situation at home, not only in economical terms but also in the way the environment is

[10] Understood as a consequence of market economy, which forces people to move from the countryside to larger towns and cities, mostly in pursuit of employment (Altaminaro, 1988).

[11] Continuum of linkages and intermittent ties which have a significant role maintaining physical and psychological integrity (Figueroa et al, 1996).

perceived (i.e. bad familiar relationships, lack of education, etc.). This can be appreciated from the following diagram:

Diagram 1: Migration and Motivations to Migrate



In the case of Peru, the search for opportunities of progress and benefit from the modernity of urban areas start by migrants' recognition about their own needs and the idea that it is possible to access something different (Asencios, 2002:12). The aspirations and search for progress stimulate seeking and this is used as support for the plan to migrate, one is full of possibilities, risks and failures (Adams et al, 1991; Mendez, 1997). Thus, intentional migration is reinforced by a common collective imaginary (Altamirano, 2000 in Asencios, 2002:11) – shared representations about the meaning of their destination – that sustain and reinforce expectations.

From a psychological point of view, the discrepancies experienced by migrants about their current situation (life in their communities) and their ideal (life in capital city) motivate behaviour towards a goal which will reduce the disconformities caused by unsatisfied needs (Reeve, 1995). Within this context, expectations act as the main motivation in determining migration according to the value and satisfaction placed on it.

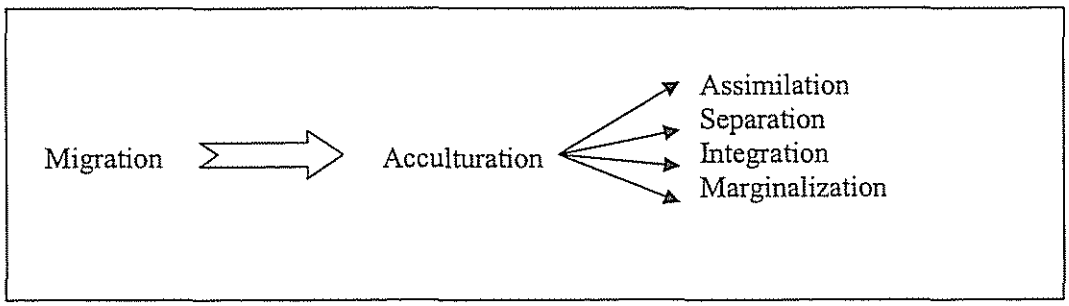
While all these occurs within a context of planned migration, things often turn out to be completely different when migration is forced or decided by someone else. In many cases, especially for children and women, fathers – or the household-head – often decide on the migration of daughters who are thereafter expected to provide substantial assistance to parents and siblings (Chant and Radcliffe, 1992). Thus, children who do not participate in the

decision to migrate, or who were not willing to leave their places of origin, will have a more difficult adaptation process[12] because they lack of strong motivators to remain in the capital.

Cross-cultural adaptation is rooted in the concept of "*acculturation*", which refers to the migrants' attitudes towards the culture that "receives" them, which is going to determine – psychologically and sociologically – the processes and results generated by the "encounter" with a different culture (Berry et al 1996). These attitudes are also determined by the maintenance of their cultural identity and relationships with members of the new culture.

There are four types of acculturation attitudes. Firstly, *assimilation* happens when migrants do not want to maintain their cultural identity and deny it in order to interact with the new culture. Secondly, *separation* is when migrants only value their own cultural traits and identity and avoid contact with members of the new culture. The third one is *integration*, when migrants maintain a certain degree of cultural identity and seek social participation in the new culture at the same time. And the fourth, *marginalization*, when there is little interest in maintaining a cultural identity and to have interpersonal relationships with people from the new culture (Berry 1990; Berry et al, 1992; Altamirano, 1997). The migration process and types of acculturation can be viewed in the next diagram.

Diagram 2: Migration and Types of Acculturation



Adaptation happens within the complexity of these social and psychological variables. This process is characterized by an interaction of internal psychological results, such as a sense of cultural and personal identity, good mental health and personal satisfaction in the new culture. There are also some external psychological results – socio-cultural adaptation – that link migrants with their new context, such as the ability to cope with practical problems within family, work, school and community (Ward and Kennedy, 1993; Berry et al 1996;

[12] Strategies migrants acquire to be suitable for living in the capital (Asencios, 2002: 22).

Ward and Rana-Deuba, 1999). After a certain period of time migrants adapt to a new culture, facing a process of adaptation described within these categories.

Cross-cultural adaptation is the set of strategies that migrants acquire to respond to a new culture where psychological elements interact, such as the responses to new things, maintenance of cultural identity, personal satisfaction in the new culture and interpersonal relationships. Processes of adaptation vary because of the context, according to variables such as migrant's personal characteristics (personality), and political and social context, among others. For this reason, it results crucial to consider culture to distinguish the ways of adaptation to Lima.

Another aspect – a psychosocial variable – crucial for adaptation and further development is the SNs. Networks are defined as a cultural attribute, which facilitates strategies of insertion into the receiving culture. From a psychological point of view, social support influences emotional stability, which is the basis for coping successfully with different situations and which facilitate adaptative responses (Asencios, 2002:7). Following these, if networks – either formal or informal – are well established they could facilitate the adaptation process. There is substantial research about the relationship between acculturation, social support and mental health. For this reason it is important for a migrant – especially children – to maintain a proper network of supporting people when arriving to the capital.

The phenomenon of migration makes a person assume different roles. Migrants often bring their native languages and dialects, their worldviews, values and memories of their social organization, which later undergo a profound transformation in the urban setting (Altamirano and Hirabayashi, 1997:7). On the one hand, geographical mobility may "exclude" migrants from their community, but it may also "integrate" them as wage earners or informal workers, allowing them to integrate a group with fellows who experience the same situation (Figueroa et al, 1996:24). Moreover, social support and personal relationships facilitate adaptation processes and coping strategies. These SNs could replace previous ones.

2.2. The Impact and Social Context of Migration

Internal migration and migrant adaptation are well known and documented processes of Latin American urbanization. These processes have placed people in "clusters" accentuating differences among various ethnical, cultural and socio-economic groups. Differences in language, dress and other general cultural codes as well as social habits between migrants and the urban middle and upper classes are accentuated due to the

particular characteristics of regional culture. Despite that, the constitution of urban cities in Latin America has not led to the formation of, "clear-cut class identities" (Roberts, 1997:1), ones which reflect class divisions. There has been a certain grade of adaptation of practices and habits among the different social strata and groups which is influenced not only by their socio-economic status but also by their place of origin.

In many cases, all these differences have led to economic and social discrimination by the dominant "white" middle classes (Vila, 1991 in Roberts, 1997:2). One person discriminates another in order to defend a situation of superiority and privilege, justifying it on the basis of supposedly objective criteria of a biological, moral and/or cultural nature, such as sex, race or ethnic origin (Figueroa et al, 1996:25).

The cultural component integrated to the analysis of processes of exclusion is important when analysing the discrimination of migrants. According to Figueroa et al (1996:24) culture is a system of values that establishes a hierarchy of types of people, types of activities and goods and also types of ideas. In this context, family background, occupation, education, gender, age and race all have different social values. Consequently, the discriminated tend to internalise the representation of inferiority they are attributed, leading to psychosocial consequences on their adaptation process.

Since the nineteen fifties, Latin American cities have offered opportunities and attracted different people but have been unable to offer stable employment for its entire population. While cities grow and become modernized much of the population still depends on community relationships and regional identities (Roberts, 1997:2). In most cases this is the way migrants enter the LM in larger cities (Altamirano and Hirabayashi, 1997; Asencios, 2002; Roberts, 1997). The IE provides an easier entry for migrants, who can be incorporated either to enterprises of fellow villagers, or use *"familiar relationships"*[13] as the necessary link for finding a job.

The IE is also a great source for exploitation which fosters the poverty in which many migrants are trapped (Roberts, 1997:3). Nevertheless, the main obstacle for migrants who are eager to work – especially in times of crisis – is the lack of formal contracts that guarantee good working conditions. As Roberts continues, "In the crisis years of the 1980s, the informal economy expanded with women and young children seeking any kind of work to supplement their household incomes, which had declined substantially in real terms". For the

[13] Traditional relationships between *"compadres"*, *"madrinas"* or *"padrinos"* (a kind of political linkage consequence of religious festivities such as baptisms or marriages) and *"paisanos"* (people from the same province or hometown) which are ways migrants use to feel a person closer by creating a sense of community.

ones left behind in the provinces the issue is to profit from migrants and their remittances. Therefore, labour migration is considered as a normal means by which families supplement their small-scale agriculture (Roberts, 1997:4).

Regional identities influence peoples' language, dialect, as well as their religion and conceptions of time and space. In urban settings, native languages and dialects are reinforced especially by female children and senior members of the household (Altamirano and Hirabayashi, 1997:10). It is thus, a "cultural shock"[14] for children to start living in a house not of their own with strangers who do not speak their language, or where they are regarded as lazy because of having their own distribution of time[15].

Regional identities provide means for adaptation and assimilation to the urban culture. For this reason adaptation would be harder for children who arrive in the capital and do not maintain close contact with parents, relatives or "*paisanos*"[16] (lacking enough social support and feedback in their adaptation process). This is also valid in the case of indigenous migrants who face serious barriers due to their social class and status (Altamirano and Hirabayashi, 1997:14). Consequently, people who lack good SNs are exposed to a more difficult situation being more vulnerable when arriving to the city. There is a feeling in migrants that "a common geographic origin encompasses and entails a common heritage and ties" (Altamirano and Hirabayashi, 1997:9).

The need for community and communitarian relationships is more evident in countries that have relatively separated rural and urban structures, or where migration is a recent phenomenon such as in Quito, La Paz, Cuzco, Cuenca and Cochabamba. In contrast, the need for basic resources, information and services is stronger where the urban infrastructure is weak and where there are already decades of sustained migration, such as in Guayaquil, Monterrey, Mexico City, Trujillo, Arequipa and Lima (Altamirano and Hirabayashi, 1997:14). This is how context determines the kind of relationship that newcomers will have with former and fellow migrants.

As observed, the impact of migration can be different for different people depending on their particular situation and context. For children, migration does not only mean adapting to a new culture but also leaving behind – in most cases – family and relatives who were their immediate affective reference point. Discrimination embedded in most of the social

[14] State of unconformity with the new culture or acculturative stress (Berry, et al 1996).
[15] "Tiempo Latino" or so called Latin time is characterized not so much by being late but by its flexibility as well as subjectivity (Altamirano and Hirabayashi, 1997).
[16] People with the same place of origin (district, region or province), not necessarily relatives.

relationships of the capital city makes them more vulnerable to psychological and physical abuse. This, added to the labour conditions that CDSs face, requires clear attention from an institutional perspective.

2.3.Characteristics of Child Domestic Service according to International Institutional Frameworks

There is a large concentration of WC in the world's poorest regions. This places them in a vulnerable position because they become the "weakest social actors" of the globalised economy (Arrunátegui, 2001:2). Additionally, an inconsistent response form governments aggravates their situation.

In a broader way, there are three main streams of thought regarding CL: abolitionists, protectionists and promoters. The *abolitionists* advocate the abolition of CL, promoting restrictive laws and prevention regulations. The *protectionists* prefer that working conditions be improved rather than banning labour. Finally, the *promoters* more radically propose labour as a right pertaining to children. It would be important to consider these arguments because policy on this issue is still evolving.

Additionally, there are problems defining CL appropriately. Some authors like Nieuwenhuys (1994:27) include in their definition of CL, productive and visible activities, disregarding for example household labour, which would set aside gender issues in the household. Unfortunately, this criterion is used in instruments for measuring CL in different countries. For the case of DSs our definition includes participation in the delivery of services, domestic chores within a household, for which children may receive earnings (CESIP in OIT, 1998:59).

For ILO, the work that must be eradicated is the one practiced by children who prematurely assume adult roles and responsibilities that deviate them from their normal social and individual development. This kind of work usually involves working many hours a day for a low salary and under hazardous conditions for their health and physical-mental development (OIT, 1998:60). The 1973 ILO Convention 138 about the minimum working age was the fundamental framework for CL policies until 1999, when the Convention 182 to eradicate the worst forms of child labour was signed. After this, the focus shifted to activities that constitute a health, moral or safety threat to children. Even though these treaties are widely accepted, their implementation in regulations such as national laws, defined by

competent authorities upon consultation with employers and workers' organizations. ILO (1999) suggested this still requires more attention.

Based on the objectives of Convention 182, in 1992 ILO launched the International Programme for the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) to support the progressive elimination of CL emphasizing Conventions 138 and 182. Additionally, the Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour SIMPOC (the statistics and monitoring unit of IPEC) provides assistance in developing CL surveys, as well as enhancing capacity in ILO member States to collect, process, disseminate and analyse CL data on a regular and sustainable basis. Unfortunately, Peru is not included among the countries which benefit from this programme.

The framework provided by Conventions 138 and 182 determine the basic lines that regulations concerning CDS have to follow. The minimum age for admission to any type of employment or work (ILO, 1973) should be defined by each of the countries that ratified this treaty. However, national laws may permit the employment of persons on light work if it is (a) not likely to be harmful to their health or development; and (b) not such as to prejudice their school attendance or their capacity to benefit from the instruction received. Competent authorities shall determine the activities in which work may be permitted, prescribing number of hours and working conditions.

Convention 138 emphasizes avoiding working which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to jeopardise the health, safety or morals of young persons less than 18 years. Convention 182 includes as definition of the worst forms of CL, exploitation and violations of basic human rights of children, namely the right to education, the right not to be exploited or abused and the right to be excluded from harmful activities for their normal physical, mental, spiritual, and moral development (ILO, 2002). In the case of DS – which is not included in this framework – it could be regarded among jobs that by their nature or by their conditions could affect or damage the health, security, and morality of children.

UNICEF (ILO, 2002) establishes the following criteria to elucidate the exploitation that children face: full-time work at early ages, long working shifts, excessive physical, social or psychological stress at work, work and living on the streets, inadequate remuneration, excessive responsibility, education deprivation, forced work, servitude, sexual exploitation and jobs that hinder a complete social and psychological development.

Moreover, ILO (1995:1) considers *working conditions* and their effects on children. Working hours, exposure to physical and psychosocial risks and child slavery are important issues to address. Related to DS, the lack of information hinders the targeting of protection of children in risky conditions. The working hours tend to be long and in most cases without a break, especially for children working full-time. This causes not only physical fatigue but also inability to benefit from education. As ILO (1995:1) notes, girls are especially at risk because they work longer hours than boys and are often engaged in both economic and household tasks.

Even though DS may not expose children directly to physical risks, as do other kinds of work, many DSs face physical hazards more associated to a poorly controlled working environment. In the case of migrant children that have to adapt to a different way of doing things and to appliances they have never seen before. Chronic pain and accidents such as cuts or burns are frequent (Cohen, 2004:23).

For DSs the exposure to psychosocial risks – and consequent psychological and social adjustment – is increased because of migration. According to ILO (1995:1):

> "The number of children used as domestic servants, working and living away from homes, is said in many areas to be increasing. The little information that is available about these children indicates that they routinely work very long hours, under pressure, among unloving adults and almost in total isolation from family and friends. This combination of factors is known to represent a profound risk for the psychosocial health and development of children, particularly the youngest".

They also acknowledge that girl DSs can work over 60 hours per week and that there is also evidence of widespread physical, mental and sexual abuse of young females working in households other than their own. Studies of the World Health Organization (WHO) report that child baby-minders and household helpers in Kenya suffered psychological stress, symptoms of withdrawal and regression, premature ageing, depression and low self-esteem, among others (ILO, 1995:1).

Finally, child slavery – which sometimes takes the form of DS – implies that employers exercise rights of temporary or permanent ownership over a child. Contemporary forms of child slavery seem to be evolving all over the world and a large number of child slaves are to be found in domestic help (ILO, 1995).

This research focuses on two aspects of domestic work (DW): working conditions and the nature of work, which can have significant consequences for children's development. *Working conditions* refer to the working environment, the existence of physical and/or

psychological abuse, forced labour and the access that children have to leisure and other facilities such as education. The *nature of work* refers to the kind of work, specifically to the activities performed and the actual risks that these activities represent for children.

Even though promoters of work recognize labour as a dignifying activity, which in some cases helps to strengthen some positive values on children (Arrunátegui, 2001:11) they still face many problems directly related to their psychosocial development (Mendoza, 2004; Cohen, 2004:75). Many identity problems are experienced, especially related to discrimination i.e. DSs are placed in a different room when eating and not even receiving the same meal of the family, they are called by denigrating nicknames or by a name which is not theirs, and they may be verbally attacked or abused when committing mistakes. Another important problem is that DS, because it is composed of different tasks and because it demands much of the children's time, impedes them from attending school and reduces their leisure time.

Diagram 3: Interaction between Child Domestic Service and Migration

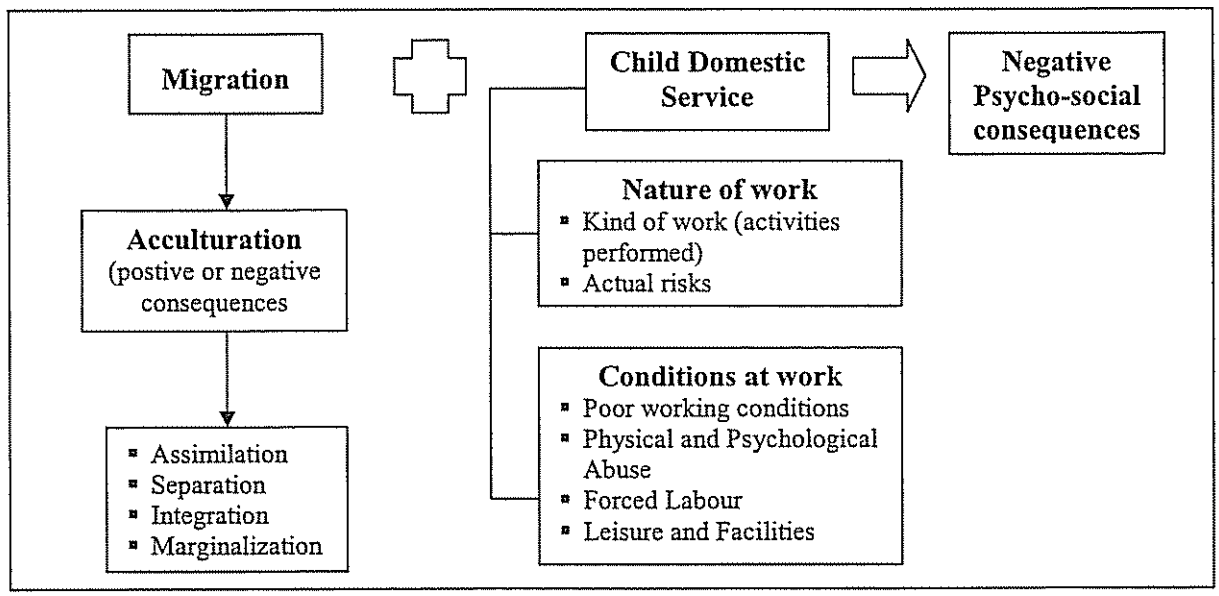


Diagram 3 summarizes the topics discussed previously. As shown above, there can be positive and negative effects of migration. However, for CWs the effects are more likely to be negative. In the next chapter, specific issues related to Peruvian reality and current legislation are addressed in order to determine the peculiar characteristics of CDS within the Peruvian context.

Chapter 3

The Context of Migration and Child Domestic Service in Lima

The main aim of this chapter is to describe the current situation of CDS within the Peruvian context. The first section discusses the dynamics of migration within the Peruvian context of exclusion and poverty. The second section deals with statistics concerning CL and DS in Peru, specifically in Lima. The third section presents the legislation and the political processes that have influenced the promulgation and implementation of laws concerning CL. Finally, the fourth section deals with DS, migration and the current problematic of CL in Peru.

3.1. The Dynamics of Migration, Exclusion and Poverty in Peru

Peru is one of the countries with the highest degree of economic and social inequality in Latin America (Human Development Report – United Nations, 2001). This inequality is not only reflected in economic terms but also includes political and cultural elements (Figueroa et al, 1996:1).

> "In terms of culture exclusion may be expressed in two forms: first, the marginalization of certain social sectors which do not participate in the basic codes required to communicate and interact with the community[...] and second discrimination against certain persons who are viewed by others as of inferior category and, as a result of this perception, are subject to differentiated and humiliating treatment in their social relations" (Figueroa et al, 1996:4).

From a historical perspective the roots of social exclusion in Peru have three starting points: *colonization* which resulted in ethno-cultural discrimination; *economical and social modernization* which meant the introduction of the urban-industrial culture and the *crisis and adjustments* which limited LMs (Figueroa et al, 1996:32-33). These three processes have accentuated the differences between certain groups of people, resulting in disadvantages for the poor and indigenous. Differences are appreciated almost as a dualism between urban-based Spanish colonial and rural-based Indian populations (Roberts, 1997:2) and are also reflected in internal migration in which the place of origin is important for adaptation and discrimination.

The concept of *exclusion* is also related to other categories of analysis used to explain inequality such as poverty, exploitation, marginalization and structural heterogeneity. The latter is based on a hierarchical dualist vision of society that emphasizes the persistence of profound excluding processes and social barriers. As Figueroa et al (1996:8) stated, a part of the *"campesino"*[17] population has access to the LM by means of temporary work and children's migration. Following this, heterogeneity implies exclusion and also multiple forms of economic integration.

The majority of people in Peru have migrated from the Andean valleys and live along the "urbanized desert coast" (Doughty, 1997:68). The population living in urban areas has increased greatly over the past 50 years. In 1940, 65% of the population lived in rural areas, for the year 1993 this proportion had fallen to 30% (Figueroa et al, 1996:33). Migration of recent decades has created a "popular overflow" in the towns (Matos Mar, 1984) that has influenced the way people react against each other and how the LM operates.

In a multicultural and multiethnic society such as the Peruvian, discrimination and racism have led to the segregation of various groups that are not integrated because they have different value systems. Due to cultural hierarchies people seek to acquire the social values of the dominant groups. Thus, those with low cultural assets suffer the higher rates of exclusion in LMs (Figueroa et al, 1996:27), in this case indigenous people. Children are valued according to their social or individual values: personal characteristics such as language, race, gender, education, occupation, religion and geographical origin. The hierarchy of these characteristics is determined by the cultural values socially assumed as given, and indicates who the person is in relation to their status (Figueroa et al, 1996:5).

Additionally, as a result of overpopulation people go into unemployment or to self-employment. Women and children take the worst part, because they have to contribute to their household income, sometimes being forced to enter the LM within conditions of the IE. Therefore, migration is contributing to accentuate the differences between rural and urban settings.

Migrants to Lima usually arrive from small or intermediate size places-hamlets, villages, small and large towns. Most of the time, the "cultural shock" that this process implies is not mediated by step migration[18]. Migrants move directly from their hometown,

[17] Rural peasantry

[18] Gradual migration in which several small movements from rural areas to urban centres and then to the capital prevent migrants from one traumatic move.

relying on those who preceded them for help with finding work, initial shelter and general orientation in an unfamiliar place (Roberts, 1997:3-4).

Another significant cultural factor in the process of exclusion, besides origin, is *education*, expressed in language and illiteracy. Being illiterate implies greater exclusion not only from rural but also from urban settings. In the costal zones, most illiterates come from the Sierra[19] of Peru. In Lima, most of them live in the new towns east and south of the city and are mostly women and ethnically and culturally indigenous. However, there has been an increase of literacy among women and girls – 21.8% in rural areas by 1993 – which fostered their incorporation in internal migration. Nowadays, it is estimated that 50% of migrants are women (Figueroa et al, 1996:71-72).

There are various degrees of exclusion in society and culture, within which social mobility and inter-cultural mixing are tangible factors (Figueroa et al, 1996:23). Between dominant and indigenous groups there is a group of people – about 75% of the population – in which races and cultures intermix. Here informality operates, and migrants from rural areas find a place to work. As some researchers have stated, it is where the "new face of Peru" lies (Matos Mar, 1984; Portocarrero, 1993).

Academic work also emphasizes the prevalence of *poverty* as one of the major determinants for CL. In the rural areas of Peru children are affected by a lack of resources, scarcity of adult labour supply due to migration, and poor educational conditions (Verdera, 1995:29). Despite this, other factors, such as the role of the family are important "to understand why similar macro-social structures generate different outcomes in terms of labour participation" (Alarcón, 1991:21). For some households, working constitutes a first-option path parents envision for their children when economic conditions are bad enough to push them to be economically active. In fact, "when economic conditions are harsher, the likelihood of having children working under more hazardous conditions increases" (Arrunátegui 2001:32).

Additionally, when families send their children to work they may replace activities formerly performed by adults, thus lowering the salary for those occupations in which there is competition between adults and children. According to Verdera (1995:47) this perpetuates poverty as well as unfavourable labour conditions.

[19] Andean Region

3.2.Peruvian Statistics on Child Labour and Domestic service

Even though in the last years concern about CL has increased, the number of CWs in Peru has not declined. Lack of accurate data mean that the current figures are probably underestimates. In the following table, which gather data from the last National Household Survey on living conditions, it can be noticed that the percentage of WC is still high. In Peru, the Ministry of Labour's Urban Employment Survey of 1995 (UES) estimated that half a million children performed some kind of remunerated activity (Arrunátegui, 2001:4). This table indicates that more than 13% of the child population are currently working, which does not seem to be a significant number. Nevertheless, most of the time data on the magnitude of CL is not fully reliable because of the difficulties of measuring work that is mostly hidden.

Table 2: Occupied Population between 6 and 17 years old, according to Provinces

	Total Population between 6 and 17 years	Occupied Population		Occupied Population in relation to Total
	2001 Abs	Abs	%	2001
Lima (including Callao)	1 922 315	242 214	13.2	12.6
Perú	6 924 135	1 833 375	100.0	26.5

Source: INEI - Encuesta Nacional de Hogares sobre Condiciones de Vida y Pobreza, 2001 IV Trimestre

Migration also affects the real possibilities of getting a good job. Workers with the lowest cultural assets – considering not only formal education – are the most likely to be excluded from the LM. Social groups that belong to different subcultures inside society are viewed by employers as the least reliable workers for a number of reasons, mainly because of language and cultural barriers (Figueroa et al, 1996:15).

As Werner and Ferrer state (1993:30) migrants are more open to work in "lower category" occupations and also are on average younger and have lower educational levels than the ones born in Lima. This is also represented in the daily increase of working hours for informal workers, probably because they do not have a legally fixed schedule and as extra working hours used as a means of avoiding a real income fall during crisis (Werner and Ferrer, 1993:34).

Additionally, research has demonstrated that child employment is higher for those who are over aged in respect to their schooling (Patrinos and Psacharopoulos, 1996 in Arrunátegui 2001:7). In the case of WC who combine work with education this means that they are unable to attend school at the same rhythm as children who do not work, thus

retarding their learning process. Table 3 shows the total number of children working in Lima. The majority (8.9%) of them combine work with studies. This can result in learning disadvantages when compared to their peers who only study.

Table 3: Activities of the Population between 6 to 17 years old, according to Provinces

	Study and work	Only work	Only Study	Do not study do not work
Lima	8.9	3.4	83.4	4.2

Source: INEI - Encuesta Nacional de Hogares sobre Condiciones de Vida y Pobreza, 2001 IV Trimestre

In an economy such as Peru, the amount of labour surplus takes the form of unemployment and self-employment. DS is the alternative some people chose – or consent to – when their only option is to integrate into the IE. Most DSs are women, 98% in 1993 compared to 1.3% of men (Werner and Ferrer, 1993:129). There are also more unemployed women than men and underemployment is more prevalent for women (Werner and Ferrer, 1993:31).

In the case of children, the rise in the number of WC is related to the economic crisis which worsened in 1983 (Verdera, 1995:49-50). The social condition of the household-head and the relative value of work in relation to education are important determinants of the decision to enter the LM. Social condition is understood as the children's value due to their integration into the LM as family income-contributors. As Ramos (in Verdera 1995:51) states: "the roles that children perform in the peasant family unit may have been translated into the cities through migration". All of this highlights the important role of the family – extended family and "*paisanos*" – as the main channel through which children start working.

Another important issue to consider is that DSs are employed by the higher social classes, even though, some lower middle class households can also afford to have DSs. In Peru, there is a clear segmentation of social strata in levels that rank from A to E[20] (Apoyo Opinión y Mercado, 2003), A being the one with higher income. The following table shows the distribution of DS according to the socio-economic level of the population. According to this it can be seen that DS is concentrated in the two highest groups, implying a huge difference. The CDSs usually belong to the lowest groups.

[20] Household Socioeconomic Levels are the result of applying a formula composed by the variables: education and occupation of the household-head, house appearance (according to pre-established patterns), number of bathrooms inside the house, tenancy of home appliances (washing machine, refrigerator), tenancy of domestic servants and number of members of the household (Apoyo Opinión y Mercado, 2003).

Table 4: Distribution of Domestic Servants according to Socio-economic Levels

	Socio-economic Level		
Percentage of	A	B	C
Domestic Service tenancy	98	48	9
Domestic servant working permanently	78	25	5
Domestic servant working per hours	56	27	5

Source: Apoyo Opinión y Mercado (2003:37) IGM - Niveles Socioeconómicos Gran Lima - Julio 2003

It seems that the IE and the actual LM in Lima encourage unfavourable conditions for CL. In some cases children lose educational opportunities and/or are placed in environments in which they find few similarities with their household of origin. As the Table 4 presented, there are more DSs working full-time *("cama adentro")* and living permanently inside the employers' house rather than working part-time *("cama afuera")*. This creates a completely different dynamic. The former are in a more vulnerable position.

3.3. Peruvian Regulations Concerning Child Labour

The history of children's participation in the LM can be counted back to colonial times when it was not regulated. Gradually, with the evolution of the conceptualisation of childhood, the demand for child workers shifted downwards (Alarcón, 1991:19). Despite this, currently at least a half of WC perform labour on a full-time basis, barely enjoying any educational and recreational opportunities (Arrunátegui, 2001:2).

In Peru, one of the recurrent problems, as in other Latin-American countries, is the gap that exists between the recognition of formal rights and their effective enforcement. This gap is maintained because of the never-ending conflict between the defence of privileges and the recognition of principles of equality (Figueroa et al, 1996:19). This discriminatory situation operates in different spheres such as the LM, labour relations, public administration and the administration of justice.

Defining CL is still a debate in Peru. CESIP (in OIT, 1998:59) defines CL as any legal and socially accepted activity practiced by children with the following features:

(1) Direct participation in production processes, trade or delivery of services to be consumed mainly outside the children's home

(2) Activities that children may or may not receive earnings for – not necessarily monetary

(3) Activities in which participation implies patterns of a determined amount of working hours per day or week.

According to the last Peruvian Children and Adolescents Code (2000) an *"Ente Rector"*[21] will periodically define a list of jobs and dangerous/harmful activities for children's physical and moral health, establishing that those whose work should be protected by the State. Additionally, an intervention of the different actors involved in policy implementation is required, such as MIMDES (Ministry of Women and Human Development), coordinated with other State bodies such as those for Labour, Health and Education Ministries, and the Regional and Local Governments.

Legal definitions of childhood, age of consent, and its sociological/cultural definitions vary from culture to culture. In the case of Peru, current legislation allows DS after the age of 12 whenever child and tutors consent. Even still, the State only recognizes the right of children to work when there is no economic exploitation and the economic activity does not involve risk or danger, when it does not affect the educative process or when it is not harmful to either their physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social condition.

The legal loopholes of Peruvian legislation complicate the administration and hinder the regulation of child issues and the protection of children's rights. This obstacle, added to the lack of political will of some groups, has favoured no institution to assume direct responsibility over the issue of CL. Nevertheless, in the last years it seems that not only NGOs but also other sectors of civil society, are giving more importance to CL interventions.

Peru, along with other countries such as Guatemala and Tanzania, has a minimum working age below that required for completing compulsory education (Arrunátegui 2001:20). This gap may encourage children who have reached the minimum working age – and not yet finished compulsory schooling – to join the work force, neglecting their studies or dropping out of school. It seems that current regulations foster CL, especially when families compare educational costs to the economic benefits they can perceive from their children's work.

[21] Ente Rector should be the regulatory body in charge of CL issues.

In 1996, a National Commission to Fight CL was created with representatives from the Ministries of Labour, Health and Education, the National Police, the National Statistics Institute and the Confederation of Private Business Institutions of Peru (CONFIEP). Despite low commitment of some sectors, they produced a document that synthesizes the scope and objectives of policy-making for each sector (Arrunátegui 2001:21). The Ministry for Women's Promotion and Human Development (PROMUDEH), created in October of 1996, absorbed the *Ente Rector* under one of its management areas and the following year the National Directing Committee on CL was created. However, this institution was new and was creating mixed agencies without providing a favourable environment to prioritise CL (Arrunátegui 2001:22; Callirgos, M. personal communication, September 10th 2004).

In 2002 the Ministry of Women and Social Development (MINDES) was created and PROMUDEH was abolished. Therefore, the authorities in direct responsibility of taking care of this issue were changed again. This ministry is in charge of designing, proposing and executing development policies for women, children and the elderly (MINDES, 2004). In 2003 the Ministry of Labour assumed direct responsibility over CL. This was motivated more by a political decision (Callirgos, M., personal communication, September 10th 2004). Currently, the mixture of bodies involved in CL policy creates responsibility diffusion.

In terms of addressing the issue of CL at a local level, the most important initiative has been the implementation of the *Defensorías Municipales del Niño y Adolescente* (DEMUNAS) in 1993 – municipal agencies to protect children and adolescents. At present there are 450 DEMUNAS nationwide and 51 in Lima, in each of the districts of the Metropolitan area. These agencies work closely with other institutions at the local level such as the police, schools, health centres, judiciary courts, as well as with religious organizations, women's organized groups, communities associations and NGO's (Arrunátegui 2001:24).

During 2003, and due to the participation of UNICEF and various NGOs, a report was presented as a general diagnosis of the current situation of CL in order to make the issue unavoidable for the Peruvian Congress. However, there is still a lot to be accomplished because when the Congress signed the law for institutionalising "Children's day" they also committed themselves to present an annual report on CL.

3.4. Domestic Service, Migration and the Problematic of Child Labour in Peru

The main problems that DSs experience are the ones related to the informal market into which they integrate. Some children, especially the youngest girls, work under illegal

conditions, i.e. at ages below the minimum allowed, experiencing hazardous labour conditions or without working contracts. Furthermore, it is also considered that the younger the child the more vulnerable they are to inherent risks from economic exploitation, since they have a longer period exposed to cumulative risks (Arrunátegui 2001:25) and because they are less aware of the dangers they are exposed to.

In Peru, most CDSs are girls who work under the guise of protective, family-like arrangements such as "*madrinazgos*"[22] (Arrunátegui 2001:25; Figueroa 2002:7). They are often assigned all the household chores and work *"cama adentro"*, which places them in a more vulnerable position as they have to be available for employers at all times of the day. DSs often work long hours and in some cases for no other compensation than meals, shelter, lodging and clothing. They are often maintained in dependent relationships because they lack alternative places to go (Arrunátegui 2001:26, Figueroa 2002:55).

In the case of education, the 1996 report of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) indicates that WC and adolescents have, on average, two years less schooling than those who do not work. Work steals time from education. The time taken away from children to work translates into less time available for education (Arrunátegui, 2001:9), which in the long run reinforces poverty cycles. Having less education often means repeating and maintaining the narrow possibilities of their parents to integrate into the LM thus perpetuating low productivity as adults. Generally, poor children only have access to low-quality education. Most WC also attend schools with fewer resources, and when combined with labour and fatigue. This reduces the likelihood of learning and completing a satisfactory education (Arrunátegui, 2001:11). Moreover, the combination of poverty and the lack of a widespread and institutionalised social security network potentially facilitate the development of harsher forms of CL (Arrunátegui, 2001:9).

As most DSs in Lima are migrants they carry an additional burden. There are a number of accumulated disadvantages they face. For example: being a child, illiterate and indigenous sets up rigidities, prejudices, and barriers against them making it difficult to access better conditions when arriving in the capital. The social issue in Peru is the fact that the indigenous population is not fully integrated into "national society" (Figueroa et al, 1996:80). Nevertheless, the most important mechanism of social integration of the indigenous

[22] Having a "madrina", a lady who can be a relative or not to arrange migration and jobs for the children, sometimes in her own house.

population has been the migration process by which they try to be incorporated into the life of the city.

Yet, migration does not always have a clearly negative impact on children. For some, cultural integration may be higher because they more easily acquire western values than adults, and also because some reproduce certain values and cultural practices of their places of origin. This is called the "size effect" of migration. Migrants have no choice but to acquire the city culture. However, their cultural adaptation is facilitated when they are grouped and start disseminating their own culture (Figueroa et al, 1996:80).

In the case of migrants – as discussed in Chapter 2 – it is noticeable that a group may at the same time be highly integrated in relation to itself, but excluded from others (Figueroa et al, 1996:3), operating as SNs which can reduce risks. Recent migrants enter the LM by networks and contacts with "*paisanos*" who had previously arrived in the capital and know how the market works for certain activities.

This chapter has discussed the dynamics of migration and DS within the Peruvian context focusing on informality and SNs. Even though statistics are scanty an overview of the magnitude of CL raised awareness of the necessity for better organization by the regulatory bodies. The lack of a proper regulatory framework is frequently translated into negative psychosocial consequences for WC, as is shown in the next chapter.

Chapter 4

Case Study: Girls Working in a House other than their own

This chapter presents and analyses the data collected from a group of migrant girls who have been working in DS within periods ranging from 6 months to 6 years. They are participants of two NGOs projects from which they take part in workshops and other activities. This offer interaction and educational and counselling spaces where they can talk about their personal problems and receive advice to resolve particular difficulties.

The first section of this chapter assesses the nature of work and working conditions that these DSs experience, considering not only physical aspects but also environmental factors that can produce distressful conditions. The second section deals with the process of migration as experienced by the children – planned for some, while taking others by surprise – and their feelings and changes after arriving in Lima. The last section assesses the psychological and social consequences of migration and DS, emphasizing that there is no standard response. Its impact is not homogenous because of individual characteristics, which facilitates or complicates adaptation.

4.1. Working Conditions and the Nature of Work

> *"When I arrived I was staying in the house of my "madrina"[23]. It was very small. There was almost no space there; I was sleeping on the couch outside in the living room [...] they make me eat in an old chair, in a corner of the kitchen".*
>
> (H. 15 years old from Huancavelica)

> *"My sister told me "it has to be that way". You know how it is. You have to get used to it. That is how it is. If you are lucky you can find a good person, but here in Lima not everyone is good [...] they don't let you eat when you are hungry, you have to wait after they finish".*
>
> (Z. 17 years old from Andahuaylas)

[23] "Godmother"

"When I just arrived I had some problems with the appliances at the house. Look here (pointing out a scar) I burned this with the iron".

(M. 12 years old from Chimbote)

"They cook here in a different way, not as my mother or in "mi tierra[24]" at first you don't like it but you get used to it, you have to eat but remain hungry [...] When I was frying potatoes the oil split over my hand. That is why I have this (pointing a dark spot on her hand). I don't know if this will disappear one day".

(H. 17 years old from Huancayo)

"I don't like washing. When I have to wash jeans or blankets it is always hard, they weight a lot and I always finish being tired, my back hurts until the following days".

(V. 14 years old from Pucallpa)

Most DSs coming to Lima experience difficulties, either physical or environmental, which are also related to the status attributed to them. They are not considered to have the same rights as the children or the adults of the household where they work in. In this case, 81.25% of the girls have been exposed to unfavourable working conditions and even to abuse, which is perceived as normal or as necessary in order to keep their employment.

Related to the nature of work, four main problem areas were found: 1) exposure to accidents, 2) chronic pain, 3) access to education and 4) psychological abuse. Exposure to accident refers to the increased risks which are part of DS, i.e. to cuts and burns when serving in the kitchen. This happens due to the difficulty of chores with unknown elements. Cooking is particularly risky, because CDSs have to use electric appliances they have not learned to use previously and because they are not so dexterous in cutting and cooking. This has left them with unwanted marks and scars in different parts of their body, mainly from boiling water or frying oil. Hence, certain activities – cooking, washing – not usually regarded as difficult for adults, can be extremely dangerous for children.

Chronic pain is mainly provoked by washing. In some households DSs wash by hand without using a washing machine, which forces them to work in uncomfortable positions,

[24] Can be interpreted as "my place" or "my land" referring to their places of origin.

especially when washing heavy clothes. All CDSs agree that the hardest day they have at work is when they have to wash, and almost 63% report pain in their backs and necks. This was also reported in another study (Cohen, 2004:24), along with allergies and similar symptoms. Washing is also dangerous because of the products used, such as detergents and chloride, that can damage children's skin and cause permanent injuries.

Not always do the children have a proper place to sleep or eat. Even though they may have space or food available, 93.75% of the DSs eat in the kitchen and at a different time from their employers – girls have to be serving them while they are eating. Due to the differences in alimentation, quantity and kind of food affect children. Most CDSs have to get used to the food of the capital, which is different from what they ate in their places of origin. Sometimes they feel that food is not enough and they remain hungry during the working day.

> *"This lady was very mean. Her daughter was studying at the university and she always came late. She was studying until 2 or 3 after midnight. I always had to wake up in the middle of the night to serve her the food. When there was food I had to warm it up in the kitchen but when there was no food I had to prepare something for her to eat. She would never let me sleep".*
>
> (G. 17 years old from Huánuco)

> *"I wake up at 6 a.m. and then I prepare the breakfast and lunchbox for the sir who is going to work. Later I have my breakfast, clean the house and cook. When they return from their work all has to be perfect. I serve the lunch and then I can do my homework to go to school at 6 p.m. After school I return, do the dishes and leave everything ready for tomorrow. I sleep at 11 p.m. When I have homework or exams I also stay longer, until 1 or 2 a.m., and the next day all over again".*
>
> (H. 16 years old from Huancavelica)

DSs experience an excessive working schedule. All of the girls working full-time have to start at around 6 o' clock in the morning, preparing breakfast and taking children to school. After that, they are supposed to return to the house, do some shopping and finish the household chores. If they are lucky, they can attend school in the afternoon, from 4 to 8, but if not they go to night school or they simply do not attend school. Usually when they return

home there are some chores still waiting to be done, and the next day and the following day it will be the same[25].

> *"I came here because I wanted to study. I am in second grade (primary). Last year I went to school but I couldn't finish because I stopped working near the school. Then I had no money for the fares (bus tickets) to get there. So I had to wait for the next year".*
>
> (G. 12 years old from San Martín de Pangoa)

> *"I want to study but the lady that brought me here told me that at first I shouldn't study. When I was with my family she told us that I was going to study but now I can't. The lady where I work told me that I could try next year".*
>
> (K. 13 years old from Andahuaylas)

> *"I came to Lima because my sister was living here, she told me to come, that I could work and study. That's why I came here. Now I am studying because I "help" in the house of my aunt and she sends me to school in the afternoons".*
>
> (J. 14 years old from Piura)

Expectations and constraints regarding access to education is another problem CDSs experience. For some girls education diminishes free time, because they come back tired from school. This could also cause delays at school the next day because they lack of enough time to fulfil domestic chores (Alarcón, 1989).

Education is a delicate issue for other reason. As some employers consider that room and board is enough payment for the CDSs, they do not provide them with any education. However, some DSs are enrolled in school. Yet the question here is whether the school they go to is especially oriented to their needs. Most DSs attend school at night; these nocturnal schools are designed for adult education and not for WC. This also generates risky situations because girls have to return home alone and late.

Generally, the difficulties embedded in DW are assumed as natural, some children are being told that this is a part of the process of adaptation, thus they get used to and never question it. There are also other kinds of abuse, besides physical conditions and hygiene of

[25] See Annex C.

the environment in which the DSs work. Almost every CW suffers psychological abuse, and especially the ones working for low-income employers (Figueroa, 2003:19). Additionally, there is an increased risk of being exposed to sexual abuse for the ones working full-time. The NGOs working with this population report that some employers assume that their sons will be sexually initiated by their DSs (Callirgos, M. personal communication September 10th 2004).

Psychological abuse based on discrimination and exclusion is not only verbal but also expressed with certain attitudes assumed as natural, such as eating what was left over from the meals served, or in a different place and moment than the employer family, wearing different kinds of clothes or only used ones, or having restricted contact with their families.

4.2. The Process of Migration and Adaptation

"Because of that I don't think about it anymore. When I thought about it, I cried. I remember when I just arrived that I was crying everyday. But you know, it is like that. Everybody tells you that it is like that. Then I went to school and talked to my friends, and they explained me that this was going to pass. They said that at the beginning it is always like that, but later you get used to it".

(M. 16 years old from Ayacucho)

"One lady asked me if I wanted to go with her to Lima. I talked to my parents, my father wouldn't allow me to go, but then he told me that if I really wanted to go, then I could go. Then I came and this lady had a work for me, but in the house they were very mean to me. You know, that this happens normally. Because I didn't have where to go, and I had to stay there".

(M. 15 years old from Huancayo)

"I came to Lima and first I was staying at the house of an aunt. I was helping her with the chores but then I found a job, because she knew a lady who needed somebody to help in her house taking care of her baby".

(B. 15 years old from Moyobamba)

"My sister was living here, but I missed my family a lot. She was the first to come and convinced me to stay here. Now I don't see her often, because she is married and when I visit her I always have to help in the house with the children, and her husband is there. It seems as if I were working also on Sundays".

(H. 16 years old from Huancavelica)

"At the beginning I didn't know what to do. Sometimes they tell you do something but they don't explain it to you, and you don't know what to do. Then they shout at you. I wanted to leave but they didn't let me to. They didn't give me any permission to go out even on Sundays. And I was thinking where I could go".

(V. 14 years old from Pucallpa)

All DSs have a different history of migration. For most of them the migration takes place with *"madrinazgos"* or following the footsteps of relatives and *"paisanos"*. After the initial contact in their hometowns girls are given to a godmother who acts as their contact. In some cases a dependent relationship is created when godmothers receive children's "papers"[26] because girls cannot leave their work without their documents (Figueroa 2003:39). In other cases, the relationship is limited to finding their first job and after that they are left alone.

Living in a house not of their own puts children at the disposition of their employers almost all the time. Sleep and rest hours are not respected and holidays and free days are somewhat restricted. In some cases girls are not allowed to leave the house because they do not have any place to go in the capital, consequently they work seven days a week. For other CDSs, Sundays are difficult days because they have to beg for permission to go outside. Some employers deny it because they think girls are going to fall into "bad company". Usually what happens is that they meet other people, and in the case of those participating in one of these NGO programs, they become more aware of their rights.

Just as going out is restricted so is contact with family. In some cases this may be because they do no want the children to comment about the abuse they experience. Sometimes the family calls the employers to get to know more about the situation of their child but they are not allowed to talk much. Additionally, there is hardly any habit of communication whether by mail or phone. Most of the families that these DSs come from are

[26] Documentation such as birth register and other official documents.

located in rural areas where such means of communication are not so common. On the other hand, there are other girls who prefer not to phone home.

When CDSs start living alone in the house of employers who are not their relatives, their perception of loneliness is increased. It also exposes them to abuses and situations of risk where there are no adults to help them. Physical abuse is known to happen in some households, even though CDSs do no report them as systematic abuse but as the result of the bad mood of their *"patrona"*[27] (Cohen, 2004). Due to traditionally differentiated gender roles, the person in charge of household duties is commonly a woman, *"la señora de la casa"*[28]. This, can either lead to protective or abusive situations, i.e. the housewife is either acquainted with the girl or she tends to abuse her because of her age and marginal status. When abuse occurs DSs are usually stopped from leaving the household to prevent them from reporting it to the authorities.

Some children become fearful to stand up for their rights, as they fear being fired and having no place to go. Even though some DSs have relatives in Lima they are afraid to contact them because they are expected not to loose their jobs when placed in a "good house". Psychological abuse is a day-to-day issue, which ranges from being excluded from the family table to receiving a different meal than the employer family. Additionally, when CDSs commit mistakes they become denigrated being pejoratively called "*chola*" or "*serrana*"[29] followed by some insult or some sort of punishment. Sexual abuse has not been reported during this study. However, there is some evidence of this in research and in the experience of the NGOs working with this population.

> *"I was there with my sisters, we went to see (to look after) the animals and we were all the day together, helping at the house. Lima is different because everything is different. The cold is different; it is very cold, not as in my house. Sometimes is hard when they tell you to go to the shop in the corner because it's very cold".*
>
> (J. 14 years old from Piura)

[27] Usually women take responsibility on domestic servants because they are more acquainted with household chores. *"Patrona"* could be a synonym for master.
[28] "The house owner"
[29] Names having a negative connotation which are given to people originally from the Andean region.

"My heart has become hard. My family doesn't give me any support. They didn't help me before. I never call them, they never call me either [...] I have to continue by myself and get a profession, to be able to "help my family come forward".

(D. 17 years old from Jaén)

"Everything was different here, but you have to get used to. It is true that at the beginning you don't know how to talk, what to do, what not to do. I came from the jungle, sometimes we don't use shoes. Here everything is different. It was different of which I thought"

(G. 17 years old from Huánuco).

"Especially at the beginning you miss the most, because your family have stayed at home. In "mi tierra" everything was different, everything is cleaner, you have a lot of things to do. Here you have to stay in the house all the time".

(M. 13 years old from Huancavelica)

"Yes, I miss my family. But in part it is better to be here because my parents were always fighting. When that happened, they hit my siblings and me. Now I can do my own things here. But I miss them sometimes, that is how it is. Now I don't miss much anymore, at the beginning it was harder".

(N. 14 years old from Juliaca)

As illustrated above, there are different ways of adapting to the situation of migration and DS. Sometimes girls consciously deny what they experience and re-interpret their situation while others accept it with resignation. The ability to take up permanent residence in Lima reflects a migrant's personal resources[30], the fact that they have employment as well as their socio-cultural adjustment (Doughty, 1997:76). Moreover, the motivation that these CDSs have is also an important variable. Some girls stay in Lima because it offers them opportunities that they cannot have in their places or origin such as monetary earnings – with which they can help their families – or the expectations of having access to higher and better education.

[30] From a psychological perspective, resources are individual capacities and abilities that each person uses for coping with stressful situations.

Some DSs succeed in living by themselves in Lima without any family members[31]. Related to the individual differences, Asencios (2002:147) found that the perception of support is related more to individual characteristics, such as personality, than to the type of network that the migrants have. However, not all WC who lack of SNs are well adapted to the capital. Based on this data, all DSs present different and ambivalent feelings towards their inclusion in Lima. Family members are still the main connection between the capital and the community of origin. They provide information before migration and are the ones who host their relatives when arriving to the city.

It is also acknowledged that migrants – especially the ones with indigenous background – find themselves under enormous stress and have to alter their cultural identities. They rapidly start learning Spanish and change their clothes whilst denying their cultural origins in doing so (Doughty, 1997:73) trying to cope with the new culture. Also, Altamirano (1998:35) notes that the Andean migrants with no relatives, or only a small number of them in the city have an increased risk of experiencing loneliness and unemployment. Nevertheless, the ones who undertake a solitary adventure have greater difficulties (Doughty, 1997:74), which stress the importance of SNs.

Additionally, time from migration and willingness to migrate are important variables when assessing the adaptation process. It seems logical that the newcomers will experience more difficulties than the children who have been living for a while in the capital, or the ones who have participated to a certain extent in the decision to migrate to Lima. Most CDSs adapt through *assimilation*, a stage clearly observed between 1 and 4 years from migration, when girls intentionally avoid having resemblances of their places of origin and relatives. No cases of *separation* were observed, probably because DSs – working full-time – are forced to have direct contact with members of the new culture.

Social support and SNs are critical issues that can be substituted somewhat by their involvement in groups of peers and in programs such as the one these NGOs provide. The girls that are better of are certainly the ones who have well-established SNs in which they can lean on – either friends or family. Some DSs have siblings in the capital, some others have distant relatives who they can visit. But when visiting some also have to "help" with domestic chores, so they decided to visit them less frequently in order "not to work from Monday to Sunday". For other cases, even their days of rest are difficult to overcome because they

[31] See Annex C.

hardly know where to go or what to do and are fearful of the dangers of the city. However, their perception of risk is distorted[32] because of ignorance.

In relation to health issues, most CDSs do not know the symptoms of diseases. Thus, when they feel sick they are not able to speak that up. Access to services, especially to health facilities is difficult because they are not provided with insurance. Additionally, employers prefer not to spend on health services but go to a drugstore – where they can get medicine without prescription – to get some solution to their problems. In most cases it is effective, but they still lack of knowledge about what is happening and of information on how to prevent diseases and pregnancy because sexuality is a taboo for most DSs.

Above all, despite the negative aspects of this situation, the girls of this study show "resilience"[33]. This could be related to their participation in the programs and it is shown especially in the ones who consider it impossible to return to their places of origin. Mendoza (personal communication September 27th 2004) stresses the importance of coping strategies to continue under the same situation for a long period of time. Moreover, SNs (friends and school colleagues, other institutions – church; municipality – informal organizations and some employers) can favour the development of personal resources, helping them to eventually adapt to their working environment.

4.3. Psychosocial problems experienced

> *"I was with my mother, and one lady told us that we could stay at her house. We were trying to call my aunt from a public phone but she didn't answer, so we explained that we had no place to sleep. And this lady told us to go with her, that she had a work for me. My mother had to go back to Huánuco because there was no work for her and I stayed alone. I miss her, but she knows that this is for my good sake".*
>
> (G. 17 years old from Huánuco).

> *"My father told me to come back, that he is going to give me some piece of land to build a house and to have put my beauty salon. He knows that I am studying, and he misses me much. I would like to go back and start a business, but I don't know if*

[32] There is a low perception of risk among DSs, even when aware of risks they think "this is not going to happen to me".
[33] Capacity to cope/recover quickly from setbacks in life such as change or misfortune.

I will have the money. I don't like Lima so much to stay here. I prefer to go back, much because my father always tells me to go back, and he is planning everything. If it would be like that I would like to go back".

(H. 17 years from Chumbivilcas).

"I miss my little brothers, not my mum; we didn't love each other much. I don't know if I would like to go back. Maybe I will go back when I finish studying. Yes, otherwise I won't go back".

(J. 14 years old from Piura).

The psychosocial problems perceived among DSs are expressed in their daily experiences, as well as in the ambiguous love-and-hate feelings concerning their current situation. The main motivator for their permanence in the city is the perception of having the opportunity to access a different kind of life – one that they would not be able to have in their places of origin. Sometimes girls feel "lucky" for having the opportunity to come to the capital to work, and later plan to bring their family with them. On the one hand, they feel lonely because they have left their places of origin and family. On the other hand, they are proud of themselves, of earning money and/or studying at the same time. Even though most DSs express unwillingness to return to their hometown they continuously and nostalgically remember the times they were living in their original homes.

The portrayal of CDSs comprises the interaction between the individual and the social processes illustrated in the former chapters. That is, the girls have to demonstrate a variety of personal resources in order to adapt to the new culture. Nevertheless, this process of adaptation can be facilitated or hindered by the immediate context in which they are living. Thus, it would be easier – even though it is not true for all the cases – for the DSs who work part-time and who are accompanied by family members or relatives and for the ones who are working in a "good family" – as they refer to – where they are provided with a good room, food and education.

"They don't allow me to eat in the living room. I always have to eat in the kitchen. The sir told the lady that I don't know how to eat. That's why they don't want to see me while eating".

(V. 16 years from Otuzco)

"At first, they were not paying me. They said that I have to learn first. Because it was the house of my "madrina" I couldn't say anything. Then she started giving money to me and some to my sister".

(K. 13 years old from Andahuaylas)

"When this lady saw us in the street she was very good with us. She told me that if I would like to work she had a job for me. I was looking for a job and I said yes, that I wanted to work. Then I started to work there immediately and it was fine. [...] At the beginning I was crying because my mother had to go back to Huánuco".

(G. 17 years from Huánuco)

Psychological consequences are perceived mainly in areas such as self-esteem, and depressive mood. These children, being in a vulnerable position, are frequently abused by their parents and employers, which has diminished their self-esteem. Generally, DSs present low self-esteem, which is reinforced somewhat by their employers. Girls report have being insulted, called by other names, hit and/or deprived from food assuming that these behaviours are natural consequences when they do not do something "as their employers want". All of these makes them feel diminished and acts against their self-efficacy sense[34]. Thus, they are shy and less assertive than other children of their age. Sometimes, girls are also fearful of experiencing new things or facing new situations.

Depression is not currently shown in this sample. However, when discussing the hardest period of their work, they always recall their arrival in Lima. Most DSs report having being depressed – either transitorily or not – during the first months of their arrival without noticing when this feeling disappeared. This symptomatic period lasted six months on average. Additionally, the lack of contact with their family and the differences encountered in the city make some girls feel anger, as the capital was not what they were expecting.

Discrimination also generates negative effects on CDSs. According to Figueroa et al (1996:7), the presence of "poor people" affects human relations, yet it not only provokes repulsion and distancing but also inspires compassion, indignation and solidarity. This captures the facts that DSs are treated in different ways depending on the household that

[34] Trust in own capacities to solve problems efficiently.

employs them. Sometimes they are treated with respect and they are provided with benefits that they were not used to having such as education or an own room. But other times they are mistreated, stigmatised, valued less than the employers' children and are economically exploited. This contrast greatly with their assessment of their NGO network they are part of.

> *"I came here because one of my friends from school told me to come. I liked coming here because here you can study, they help you. They talk to you and give you advice. I come here since last year, but it is not so that I come every Sunday, when I can I come. I think I will continue coming".*
>
> (M. 14 years old from Cuzco)

> *"I like it here. Before coming here I didn't have where to go on Sundays. That is why I didn't leave the house. I am the only one of my family here. All my sisters are living back in Puno. I never call home. It is really hard to call because we lived far away from the nearest telephone".*
>
> (I. 15 years old from Ilave)

The fact that these CDSs belong to projects being conduced by NGOs has meant a positive influence in most cases. Participation in these groups provides the girls with more resources at a personal level. They not only receive information about legislation and their rights but also receive social and peer support for the difficulties they experience in their day-to-day work. These groups constitute a space of dialog where they learn to value their rights and how to make their employers respect them. This space acts as a place of reference for them, one where they are going to be accepted, especially for the girls who don't have any other place to go. However, as Asencios (2002:147) noted, the contact with other informal groups is the main relationship for migrants in the new culture.

It is worth noting that the psychosocial problems experienced by DSs, depend in the first place on their personal resources (as described in section 4.2). Some girls are more adapted to living in the capital and think that the experience of living in Lima is a necessary one or some kind of sacrifice in order to accomplish their goals. It is also important to note, that for the ones who personally decided to migrate by themselves – escaping from home, or going to Lima with "a lady" – it is hard to recognize when they experience difficulties. They believe their families will take that as a signal of failure of their personal decision.

CDs maintain their work because of the possibility it offers to access benefits they did not have before, such attending school or deciding on their expenses. Nevertheless, the discussion in former chapters has provided a dynamic framework to understand the choices these children have made and explains their behaviour to certain extent.

In general terms, these girls wish to go back to their hometown and show that they have succeeded living in Lima, working and studying at the same time. Others want to bring their families to Lima – "to live with them" – and try to recover their original SNs and environment. "Social networks are also privileged places for the expression and rebuilding of cultural orientations (beliefs, values) which have an impact on the standard-setting order of social and economic life" (Figueroa et al, 1996:6).

Summarizing, in this chapter the data has shown that CDSs are affected by different situations and that this mostly hinder their adaptation to living in Lima. However, as also noted, the consequences that CDSs experience depend mainly on how they perceive and value the conditions that they are facing. While some value them as a challenge and as a transitorily and short situation, others experience them as really difficult. This will determine the extent that they become affected by the nature of their work, their working conditions and by the fact of having migrated.

That Peru constitutes a multicultural society is undeniable. Ethnic groups that have historically suffered discrimination have become social agents everywhere. This is inconsistent with the fact that cultural integration remains an open wound in social relations and economic activities. There is still a need to implement public policies and to improve education when referring to mutual respect between different ethnic groups. These groups still carry a cultural and historical heritage of violence and confrontation that can neither be denied nor erased from one day to another, but which require more evaluation. Therefore the next chapter presents recommendations in this respect.

Chapter 5

Conclusions and Recommendations

This chapter presents the conclusions and recommendations derived from the case study and the theoretical review made on the current situation of CDS in Lima, Peru. The first section addresses broader points about the case study of migrant DSs considering the perspective of the children involved. The second part suggests some recommendations on the regulation of CL from a legislative and institutional point of view.

5.1. Implications of Child Domestic Service and Migration

From the case already explored, there are some broader points to be emphasized from the analysis of these issues. First of all, what are the particular situations that motivate children towards DS?[35] They start working at such young ages – most of them around 12 years old – thus being in a vulnerable position due to the risks implied by the nature of their work and its working conditions. But these children are in many cases willing to work because they perceive it as the sole option to reach to the capital and access benefits that none of their communities can offer them. The promises of a new home and the illusion of having an opportunity to grow personally are the main reasons for a girl to migrate – or to try to convince their parents to allow her to migrate.

Other common reasons for migration are 1) the social context, a bad situation at home (problems with siblings, stepfathers and continuous quarrels with other family members) and 2) poverty limitations. Especially the ones who already have relatives in the capital are encouraged to leave because they "have to" follow previous migrants. But beyond all these situations, the main motivation is the aspiration of improving their current situation, either by earning money or by gaining education.

There are four major areas in which problems with the nature of work and working conditions have been identified: 1) unclear and excessive working shifts, 2) alimentary needs,

[35] Callirgos, M. commented on a recent educational research in Ancash in which the highest expectation of school children was going to Lima and become a DS to earn money and access to better education.

shelter and access to services, 3) access to education and 4) discrimination. Moreover, working conditions of CDSs are not defined either by law or by a formal contract between employer and employee.

The perception and feelings that DSs have about their work are contradictory. On the one hand, as discussed earlier, they are fully aware of their poor working conditions. On the other hand, and despite the pressure, control and material limitations some are relatively satisfied. DS gives them a sense of having more control of their lives than when they were living in their hometowns. This contradiction is important from a psychological point of view, because, as part of the integration process to the capital, children have to make a balance about positive and negative outcomes.

Summarizing, the way in which CDSs perceive their work and its consequences influences their attitude towards it, their adaptation process and the distress they experience. Children should not be simplistically categorized because their situation and decisions reflect a complex range of social, cultural, economic and personal factors. For these reasons, as shown in this paper, attitudes towards DS are complex, combining both positive and negative views.

5.2. Towards a better Regulation of Child Domestic Service

The conclusions of this study contain certain theoretical implications from a psychosocial perspective, because traditionally the emphasis is placed on physical and "tangible" damage caused by CL. This research demonstrates the importance of psychosocial aspects usually disregarded by authorities when it comes to policy implementation. Moreover, the violation of the Minimum Age convention puts children in a vulnerable position physically, psychologically and morally, which can make work unsuitable for them.

What are the implications of CDS for migrant girls? First of all, CDS has a negative impact on children because migration implies a rupture from the family. They are not longer in contact with their former reality and environment. Additionally, having to leave family and friends behind means the negation of one of their most important affective areas. Because they have been separated from their nucleus of origin there are some habits that they have to stop practicing, such as cooking with wood, or walking without shoes, because they could appear to be abnormal or unacceptable to average behaviour in the capital.

Secondly, there is – in most cases – clear economic exploitation as the majority of the children are underpaid, receiving a salary below the minimum wage. Some do not receive

payment at all. It is true that they come to Lima with the expectation of earning "400 soles" (around 100 € per month) which is the minimal legal remuneration established by the state. Nevertheless, working full-time most girls only receive a quarter of this, or even less. Additionally, full-time DS *("cama adentro")* implies no schedule, no paid vacations and hardly any rest during the day, plus the fact that the divisions between work and personal life tend to disappear. Thirdly, discrimination appears as a consequence of cultural differences such as language, dress and habits. Devalorisation because of their places of origin stigmatises DSs adding barriers for their integration into the new culture.

Although the subject of this study was restricted to a particular group of girls in a specific situation, there are still some open questions concerning migration and DS. However, as Doughty (1997:75) suggests, the conditions that stimulate migration should be placed in the general context of the centralized structure of the state and the economical contrast between Lima and the rest of the country, as well as the general policies that operate therein.

It is also necessary to reflect about the current situation in some provinces, where the expectations of the young girls living there are to move to the capital and become DSs (Callirgos, M. personal communication September 10th 2004). Is this really the highest goal for a young girl to accomplish? Due to the economic and administrative centralization of the country, Lima appears to be the very "capital of the universe" (Doughty, 1997:75), and migration is not just an external or additional problem but the logical consequence of centralization and the way in which the city has grown and acquired its urban character. The relation that the *"provincianos"*[36] have with the capital is one of love and hate, because on one side they expect to participate in the wealth and opportunities that the capital appears to offer, and on the other, the capital – and its inhabitants – reject them because of their status as migrants and all the differences that this implies. Thus, they end up engaged in an unequal struggle for access to the nation's wealth and power.

Within this context, it is necessary to develop psychosocial perspectives that open up the scopes for understanding CL and DW and re-orientate the focus of public policies and legal dispositions to protect children's rights based on an understanding of their life experiences. Nevertheless, the reinforcement of civil and political rights in Peru and most of Latin America, is not the struggle against ignorance on how to run public policies or how to protect civil rights. It is a struggle against the conscious interests of the dominant classes whose concentration of wealth and power is so disproportionated that it translates into the

[36] People who were not born in the capital.

final ineffectiveness of the institutions responsible for the administration of justice (Figueroa et al, 1996:20).

In the case of children, the issue is the effective exclusion – negation of their inherent rights. The legislation about DS is not explicit when referring to the legal mechanisms, instruments and means to prevent child abuse at work and protect children's rights from violation. Moreover, in the case of migrants – "the new face of Peru" – economic and social demands have increased, but not so the capacity of either the market or the public policies. On the contrary, and due to the economic crisis, both the capacities of the market and state have declined and offer fewer possibilities. This has led to the expansion of the IE; a formal contract is practically a non-existent possibility under these conditions (De Soto, 1986). Economic instability and the consequent illegality of work conspire against the situation of children because there are no instances of protection.

Despite a gradual improvement, social integration remains far from being complete, and the possibility of expecting good working conditions is still not guaranteed. Some people live being excluded from their basic rights and have to face discrimination and stigmatisation every day. Children, as one of the poorest groups of workers, are excluded from formal markets (Figueroa et al, 1996:84). Additionally, often having an indigenous background, they become exposed and vulnerable to the highest rates of exclusion and abuse. It may sound absurd to describe the situation of children as encompassing a large group of workers, and to explain the obvious disadvantages they experience as such, but in this context, it would also be hypocrisy to deny this form of exploitation.

Considering that there is not a single policy for preventing the development of conditions that lead to CL, the issue goes far beyond having clear goals and institutions that can guarantee the disposition or mobilization of the necessary resources (Arrunátegui 2001:32). It is a fact that under some circumstances, children's economic contribution is required for subsistence and even for their family's survival. Nevertheless, in the actual social and economical context, WC do not face an ideal scenario for their normal and healthy physical and psychological development.

Thus, Arrunátegui (2001:34) suggests:

> "The State needs to set priorities, choose a leading agency, identify feasible objectives, key stakeholders, and conciliate policies on different areas in a way that a long-run fight to child labour is not to bear over the shoulders of a couple of agencies working in isolation with weak power decision".

The promotion of policy initiatives through IPEC provides a framework within which CL and DS are currently addressed. Thus, intervention must be consistent across the agencies involved. Coordinated institutional intervention and sufficient institutional independence may lead to advances. However, as ILO-IPEC suggests, there must be "strong political will" (ILO, 2002) from the state to intervene in this matter, setting priorities and guaranteeing independence of action of the entities involved.

In the Peruvian case, priority must be placed on children under the legal age who work under hazardous conditions. No poverty level or future expectation can justify exposure to high-risk activities. In some cases of DSs, DEMUNAS have intervened to enable children to reach for help from other existing institutions. They also act as a decentralized body, which makes them capable to deal with regional differences and the nuances of specific cases. Provided that DEMUNAS act and figure as "local ombudsmen" (Arrunátegui, 2001:35) they become responsible for children and adolescent issues. Thus, they need to articulate a strong network with all the necessary other institutions that provide help for CWs: "...a mixture of DEMUNAS which assist in localities and the departmental offices of the *Defensor del Pueblo* (Ombudsman) in the capitals of *departamento*, could become the institutional infrastructure required to build a solid policy network on child labour issues". In recent years some DEMUNAS had provided children with the legal means to stop situations of abuse. Working with psychologists and social workers they are able to provide also social and psychological support and counselling by which the consequences of CL can be treated and reduced.

Nevertheless, the issue of abusive hard working conditions for CWs transcends the visible mechanisms of control. Its complexity is appreciated by the discourses which try to describe its elements and relations and the possibility to expect and produce changes. Beyond the obvious need for political will, administrative effectiveness, and sufficient academic knowledge, is the need for a change in cultural values.

CL in general, and CDS in particular, are not only the direct result of a history charged with cultural, social discrimination and violence. But poverty and social inequality, much rooted in exclusion and discrimination have caused the need for CL. In order to revert this situation cultural values must be changed because the historically excluded indigenous are now the new social agents in the country and in the towns (Figueroa et al, 1996:91). Integration policies should be oriented towards the mutual respect of the cultural values of each ethnic group. However, it seems that CL is more a consequence of poverty than an

entirely cultural driven outcome. Consequently, as Ray suggests (in Arrunátegui 2001:32), it is probable that income improvements will help to reduce CL. But poverty eradication is far more complex than improving income. Other changes must happen simultaneously. If participation of children in the LM is a way to survive poverty, one of the main goals of government policies should be to fight it.

Another important issue is the lack of knowledge about the conditions that DSs are experiencing because of the difficulty to access the private sphere with traditional public policies. Official surveys fail to consider different criteria to measure CL and its conditions. This is why there are not clear estimates on this matter. Nevertheless, information is necessary to enhance policy targeting identifying all the actors involved. The need for an inner cultural change is one of the fronts on which this struggle has to be carried out, but reality urges for a more direct and short-term struggle. There is need for renewal of strategies to develop more effective policies and means for the intervention of immediate situations, such as vigilance systems that could involve civil society.

CDS should not be a concern only limited to the state, because within it there are some institutions more responsible than others. The Ministry of Education should enhance education as a real option to escape poverty and have a better quality of life. One way of doing this may require a major inversion in public education, making it more attractive to children and their families. The Ministry of Labour should provide better inspection systems – to regulate the IE and the private sphere. The Interior Ministry should promote enforcement of laws; identify promoters of hazardous economical activities involving children, and guarantee sufficient control and safety in this area (Arrunátegui 2001:36). It is important to institutionalise a coordination board for policy design and implementation with commitment from the parties.

Furthermore, it is necessary to be aware of the consequences that international agreements may pose over the internal Peruvian context, especially in what is related to labour standards. To succeed against CL, policy coordination must be institutionalised through a solid relation between civil society and the state, strengthening this relation at the local, regional and national stages to guarantee sustainability.

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ANNEXES

Annex A

List of Interviewees for Non-Structured Interviews

- **Marcela Callirgos:**

  Director NGO Trazos.

  President of REDNARI (National Network for Prevention and Rehabilitation of Drug Consumption of Boys, Girls and Adolescents in high risk).

  Former Manager of the Area of Children and Teenagers in PROMUDEH.

- **Blanca Figueroa:**

  President of the Board of Directors: *Asociación Grupo de Trabajo Redes*. Association which coordinates *La Casa de Panchita.*

- **Nadia Mendoza:**

  Project Assistant "Pilot Program: Sensibilisation on Child Domestic Work and Rights Promotion of Teenagers who work as domestic servants in Metropolitan Lima": *CESIP.*

Annex B

Interview Schedule to Child Domestic Servants (Translation)

Name: _____

Age: _____ Birth date: _____ Time of residence in Lima: _____

Place of origin: _____ Zone (rural or urban): _____

District where they work: _____ Number of persons that she work for: _____

Level of instruction: _____ Marital status: _____ Working full time? _____

Lives with (describe): _____

I: Nature of Work and Working Conditions

Nature of work

1. How is your average day of work? (Kind of activities performed)
2. Have you got used to living and working outside of your house / in a different house? (Explore working conditions)
3. How do you feel with the kind of job you are doing? How do you find it? (Explore perceptions: Hard, tiring, etc.)
4. What did you find the most difficult? (Explore actual risks)

Working Conditions

5. How do you get along with the people in the house you work in? (Explore relationships with all the family members: housewife, head of the household, children and other members)
6. Do you have somebody supporting you in Lima (economically and emotionally) if anything goes wrong?
7. Do you do anything else besides working? (Ask about schooling and payment of studies)
8. If it were possible, which kind of things would you like to change at your work?
   Explore **physical** conditions (Abuse, forced labour, malnutrition and other risks),
   Psychological (feelings about responsibilities, psychological abuse, identity, interpersonal relationships – friends and others, self-esteem, trust, objectivity, leisure)
   Education (access to education, performance – failing, retard in learning) and
   Personal development (leisure and recreation)

II: Migration Process

1. Where and when were you born?
2. How long did you live in the town where you were born?
3. With whom were you living there?
4. Since when do you live in Lima?
5. How old were you when arriving to Lima?
6. Did you arrive alone or with any relative? (In the case of arriving with other relative explore if they still do some activities together and how she feels about it)
7. How (Why?) did you come to live to Lima? (Explore if it was because of personal improvement, lack of family income and other motivations)
8. Before arriving to Lima what did you know about the city? (Explore if she has received any previous information and who provided it)
9. Who took the decision of migrating to Lima? (Explore if somebody suggested it from Lima or if she did it because of family pressure or if she is forced to)
10. Do any of your relatives (members of nuclear family) live outside of Lima? (If the answer is negative) When did they move to Lima?
11. When was the last time you saw your parents / other relatives? (In each case)
12. Have you returned to your hometown since you arrived here? When? (In case the answer is positive, ask about feelings related to this process)
13. Have you ever received money or gifts from your family? When? In which occasions?
14. Have you ever sent money or gifts to your family? Why? For which reason? What for?

III: Past vs. Present Conditions

1. How was your life before coming to Lima? (Explore about an ordinary day in her former house)
2. Which was your first impression when coming to Lima? (Explore novelty and differences with place of origin)
3. How do you think that moving to Lima and finding a job has changed your life?
4. What are the things you like most about living in Lima?
5. What are the things do you like less about living in Lima?
6. Do you miss your hometown / city of origin?
7. What do you miss the most?
8. Would you think of returning to your place of origin? Why?
9. Now that you live in Lima, Has your opinion about your hometown changed?
10. If you would have to choose a place to live in, which would it be? Why?
11. Do you think that you (as a person) have changed as a consequence of moving in Lima?
12. Do you feel happy now that you are living in Lima? (Explore feelings about this)
13. What would you like to do in the future? Do you have any plans? What would you like to happen? (Explore real and imaginary goals).

THANK AND CLOSE THE INTERVIEW

Annex C

Two Case Studies

Case 1: J. 17 years old from Ambo

J. is 17 years old. She was born on August 9th in 1987 in Ambo, a rural area in the province of Huánuco. In Ambo, she lived with her parents and brothers and her daily task at home was to graze the cattle (sheep and cows). Nowadays, she still remembers with nostalgia the days in her hometown when she used to wake up early in the morning to prepare breakfast before taking the family cattle to graze. She returned around 5 p.m. and went to bed early to do the same the next day. She misses her cows, her sheep and her mother.

She arrived to Lima when she was 13. While she was in Lima her mother died. She used to think about returning to Ambo, but now that her mother is not longer there she does not want to go back, she says her mother was the only one she really missed. At the beginning what she most disliked was that she never went out, always staying inside the house. She even stayed on Sundays because she did not know the city. Something J. really feared at the beginning was sleeping alone because she was used to sleeping with her little brothers and now she has to sleep all alone.

In Lima J. does not have anyone to help her if she has any problem. For her arrival, her father brought her to Lima and then returned to Ambo where he still lives with her brothers. When J. first arrived, she missed her mother and brothers. She lacked of information about Lima "they had told her nothing about it", she says. However her first impression was positive. She liked the trees and some streets that looked like Huánuco. Nevertheless, the differences in things impressed her greatly, the kitchens and other things of the households.

J. had a cousin, who told her: "we should go together", she motivated her final decision to migrate. Unfortunately, she has already returned to Ambo. J. migrated to Lima because she wanted to study and work, to work for herself and for sending money to her smaller brothers. In the past, J. has sent money to her parents. With this money, they bought clothes, shoes and food especially for her younger brothers. Despite this, since she is in Lima she has not received anything from her family (either money or other kind of help).

Nowadays J. is working full-time in Cercado[37], for a family composed of four people: the wife, husband, a girl and a boy. Her employers treat her well "it seems she is a good person and her husband too" she refers. She is just recently working for her new employer – 8 days. They have two children, a girl and a boy who are not spoiled and behave well with her. Previously J. was working in another house and the housewife did not treat her well – she did not wanted to talk about that bad experience – so she decided to leave.

During an average day at work she performs different tasks. First, prepare the children for school; make their clothes ready, iron them and then help them to change. Then she prepares, serves and gives them their breakfast and their parents take them to school. She stays in the house to clean and wash. After lunch, she has to iron clothes, which is the activity she dislikes the most besides washing. Then she has to get ready for going to school during the evenings between 6 and 10 p.m. When returning, she prepares oats and sometimes a soup for the night meal. J. is in 5th grade of primary school; her employers allow her to go but she has to buy things for her classes. She says that what she likes most from Lima is studying; and going out with her girlfriends.

J. considers that the experience of living in Lima has changed her a little. Back at her home she did not know much about many things and now she feels that she has learned some. J. recognizes the difference among her former and current situation and feels that now – with these new employers – she is doing better of.

J. says she felt better in Ambo when she was there with her mother, father, and brothers, but now she prefers to be here because her mother is no longer there. Her father has come several times to visit her in Lima; the last time he came was around 15 days ago. He visited her and stayed for a day, but her brothers did/do not come. She has never returned since she arrived in Lima.

In the future, she would like to live in Huánuco (the closest urban town to Ambo) because it is "more or less similar to Lima". She likes everything about Huánuco because she considers it prettier than Lima. When she finishes school she would like to study something, but she does not know what yet. She would like *"to progress, to study something"*. J. believes that if she studies more she could succeed. She is currently thinking about learning sewing and dressmaking.

[37] Lower middle class district

Case 2: R. 17 years old from Apurímac

R. was born the 31st of December of 1986 in Huancará, a rural community close to Apurímac, in the province of Abancay. There she lived with her mother and her two brothers. Before coming to Lima three years ago, her mother had begun to live with a new couple in her house.

She is single and has been working as a domestic servant for a year and a half. At first for a Peruvian family in Surquillo[38], and the last two weeks for an English couple in Pueblo Libre[39].

R. decided to come to Lima for the first time at the age of 14, because she wished to know her father, who according to the information of some relatives lived in Villa María del Triunfo[40]. She managed to localize him but received any support from him, for which she decided to look for her aunt (relative of her mother) who also lived in Lima. After a few weeks and her frustrated attempt, R. returned to Apurímac, but felt it was no longer the same living there.

Exploring the reasons for her disconformities, it turned out that she did not have a good relationship with her mother, and the problem worsened with the arrival of her new couple. R. and her brothers were both physically and verbally abused by her mother. Although her new couple was not a direct aggressor, his presence made the situation more stressful.

R. returned to the house of her aunt in Lima, and started to work in the *juguería*[41] of her aunt's own property. After a year, her aunt recommended her for her first work as a domestic servant to a family in Surquillo. Working in that household she experienced constant distress due to the aggressive treatment she received from the family. At first she stayed, studying evenings and nighttimes, but many times her employer forced her to stay home cleaning, not being able to attend school. R. was permanently doing things over and

[38] Lower middle class district.
[39] Middle class district.
[40] One of the poorest districts in Metropolitan Lima.
[41] Shop where fruit shakes are sold.

over again, because once she was finished, the children would bring everything to disorder again. Her salary was low and many times she had to stay working on Sundays.

R. then had a new opportunity to change her job thanks to a new recommendation of her aunt. In this occasion, an English couple living in Pueblo Libre employed her. Her conditions bettered, being her working hours between 7:00 a.m. and 4:30 p.m. Her new employers respect her school schedule between 6:30 and 10 p.m. She has free days on weekends, leaving on Saturdays and returning on Sunday night, and the treatment from her employers is respectful.

R. comments that the difference between the two jobs and the treatment received lies in definite in the origin of the employers, "Peruvians always treat you worse".

R. now works to satisfy her own needs and comments that she rarely sends money or packages to her family. She decided not sending things home because the last time she did so, her mother left the packages she had sent in the agency and everything became spoiled. R. still resents this strongly.

She does not want to return to Apurímac, or maybe and only for a visit or at the end of her life. In Lima she feels independent, she can work and study and beyond all, she does not become physically mistreated. Within her plans she thinks of studying something related to engineering or maybe to become teacher.

In terms of working, she would like to work in a shop or in a market, somewhere where she could have more independence and a better income. Personally, she would like to feel free from obligations with her family and to improve her relationship with her mother and father, with whom she has almost no contact.

She considers the help she receives from the NGO house very important, because it is not only a place to relax or to learn but also because they paid her registration fee at school. She does not intend to leave the group.

Annex D

Peruvian Map and Place of Origin of the Girls Interviewed

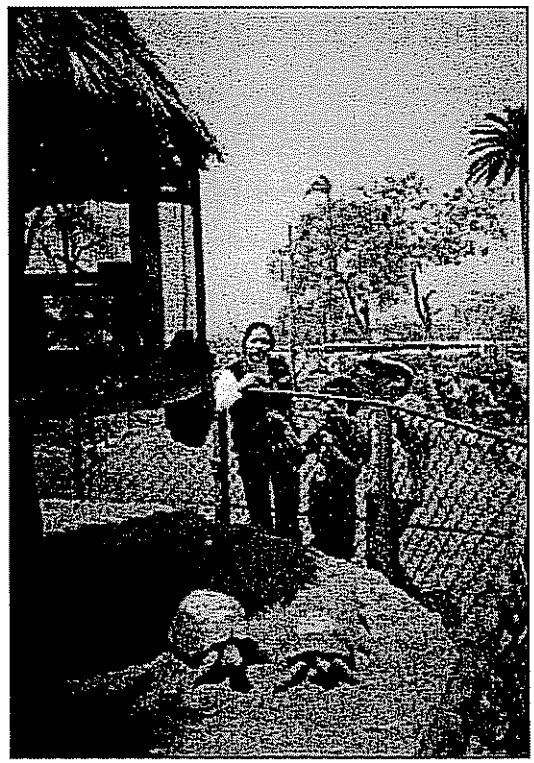
Interviewees' Place of Origin according to Region

	North	Centre	South
Coast	Chimbote, Piura, Chumbivilcas	Ica, Huaura	Ilo, Moquegua, Camaná
Andes	Jaén, Otuzco	Huancayo, Huancavelica, Ayacucho	Andahuaylas, Ambo, Ilave, Puno, Huancará
Rain-forest	Moyobamba, Pucallpa	San Martín de Pangoa, Huánuco	Juliaca, Cuzco, Sicuani

Annex E

Pictures of the Project Activities and the Girls Interviewed

A Sunday educational workshop in *La Casa de Panchita*
September, 2004



During a picnic organised by *CESIP*
October, 2004