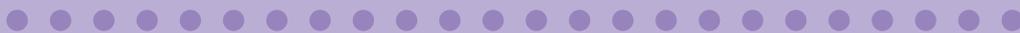




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Childhood, Transitions and Well-being in Peru: A Literature Review



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1. Introduction

1.1 About Young Lives

Young Lives is a long-term international research project investigating the changing nature of childhood poverty in four developing countries – Ethiopia, India (in the state of Andhra Pradesh), Peru and Vietnam – over 15 years. This is the time frame set by the UN to assess progress towards the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Through interviews and group work with children, their parents, teachers, community representatives and others, we are collecting a wealth of information not only about their material and social circumstances, but also perspectives on their lives and aspirations for the future, set against the environmental and social realities of their communities.

We are following two groups of children in each country: 2000 children who were born in 2001-2 and 1000 children who were born in 1994-5. These groups provide insights into every phase of childhood. The younger children are being tracked from infancy to their mid-teens and the older children to adulthood, when some will become parents themselves. When this is matched with information gathered about their parents, we will be able to reveal much about the intergenerational transfer of poverty, how families on the margins move in and out of poverty, and the policies that can make a real difference to their lives.

The longitudinal nature of the survey and our multi-dimensional conceptualisation of poverty are key features of the Young Lives research. Much existing knowledge about childhood poverty is based on cross-sectional data that reflect a specific point in children's lives, or relate to only one dimension of children's welfare. Children's own views on poverty and well-being are seldom explored. Research is rarely tied in a systematic way to investigation of broader societal trends or policy changes.

The potential of the project lies in its focus on tracking children's progress throughout childhood – over 15 years. We collect quantitative and qualitative data at the individual, household and community level. Quantitative data is gathered through comprehensive surveys that include interviews with the children once they are old enough to participate directly, with their parents and caregivers, and with key community members (such as teachers, village elders or elected council representatives). Data are collected in each round on households' economic circumstances, livelihoods, assets and social capital. The questionnaires also collect evidence related to coping strategies such as migration, parental education and other experiences, child outcomes and the extent to which children and their parents and carers use services (e.g. healthcare, pre-school care or education programmes).

This data is combined with data collected from a smaller sample of younger and older children, their caregivers, and their teachers, using child-focused qualitative methods (Crivello, Camfield and Woodhead 2009). In this way we can create a detailed picture of children's experiences and well-being linked to information about their households and communities and set within the national context. This provides us with data suitable for in-depth analysis of children's poverty and the effectiveness of government policies that concern their lives and well-being.

Young Lives is a collaboration between key government and research institutions in each of the study countries with the University of Oxford, the Open University, and the Institute of Education (London) in the UK, alongside the international NGO, Save the Children-UK. The partners in Peru are The Grupo de Análisis para el Desarrollo (GRADE, Group for the

Analysis of Development) and the Instituto de Investigación Nutricional (Institute for Nutritional Research).

1.2 About this literature review

This document provides a broad context for the Young Lives research being done in Peru by reviewing the academic literature, research findings, statistics and official documents available. It was carried out by the Young Lives qualitative researchers, and thus privileges the main areas to be explored by qualitative research in its first two rounds of data collection (2007 and 2008). The document identifies gaps which the Young Lives research could fill and areas of further investigation which the project could focus on. By examining the available literature, it shows which areas have been covered thoroughly and which have not been the specific focus of much research. It also briefly examines the extent to which this research has influenced government policy, and whether this policy is effectively implemented.

The main themes the review focuses on are children's key transitions, their access to services and their well-being. Transitions are defined as 'key events and/or processes occurring at specific periods or turning points during the life course' (Vogler et al. 2008). These include educational transitions, such as going from home or a pre-school setting to primary school, and from primary to secondary school, experiences that Young Lives children were undergoing at the time of survey and case study data collection (2006/7–2007/8 respectively). As the review makes clear, 'transitions' as such is not a topic which has been studied much, and the information gathered on these transitions comes from a variety of sources. The topic of 'socialisation', for example as well as related concepts such as life cycle or life course, yielded interesting information about a variety of transitions, including baptisms, indigenous traditions and integration into the wider community, as well as the home–school transitions mentioned above. The availability, access and quality of services for children and their families are examined in a variety of studies considered here, especially those evaluating the functioning and results of such services. Finally, child well-being is addressed, looking at general welfare indicators and some specific topics such as violence, work, resilience and development.

1.3 Review structure

The introduction to the review gives an overview of the search strategy used by the researchers. The search terms used are listed, followed by a discussion of which yielded most results and how the researchers found studies related to their themes.

The first part looks at service access, policies and programmes. It outlines the legislation relevant to educational access, child work, children well-being and child rights, and examines whether these policies are being effectively implemented by looking at enrolment and staying-on rates.

The second part is about well-being, and looks first at the general welfare of children in Peru, through welfare indicators. It then investigates the topics of child labour, violence, resilience and child development.

The third part looks at transitions, first in terms of 'socialisation' (a controversial term but one which covers some of the issues the review focuses on). It then goes on to 'time use' and early childhood transitions.

Finally, there are some brief conclusions, which summarise the main findings and make some recommendations for further investigation.

1.4 Search strategy

This review focuses on the literature about childhood poverty and well-being in Peru. This has been produced mainly in Peru, with a few additional titles published internationally that are available in libraries in Peru. Searches were carried out at the main libraries in Lima, such as the Universidad Católica, Grupo de Análisis para el Desarrollo (GRADE), Instituto de Estudios Peruanos (IEP); on the websites of international agencies which specialise in childhood (UNICEF, Bernard van Leer Foundation); and on those of relevant government ministries (education, health, women and development). The Young Lives collection in Lima was also searched.

The same key terms were used to search all the databases. In a first, broad round of searching, the following terms were used:

- childhood / *niñez, infancia*
- boys, girls / *niños, niñas*
- children social conditions Peru / *niños condiciones sociales Peru*
- adolescence / *adolescencia*
- youth Peru / *juventud Peru*
- education / *educación*
- sociology of education / *sociología de la educación*
- children health / *salud infantil*
- children well-being / *bienestar infantil/bienestar infancia*
- educational policy / *política educativa*
- labour-children / *trabajo-niños*
- studies on childhood / *estudios sobre la niñez*
- transitions / *transiciones*
- time use children / *uso del tiempo niños.*

However, since one of the search terms ('transitions') showed few results in a first round of searching, we decided to narrow our search in terms of disciplinary fields and focus more on the social sciences in order to capture more studies related to cultural practices and life transitions. Thus we used new words for searches such as:

- life cycle / *ciclo de vida*
- rearing practices-social sciences / *crianza-ciencias sociales*
- families Peru / *familias Peru*
- games and social aspects / *juegos y aspectos sociales*
- children-social sciences / *niños-ciencias sociales.*

This search yielded about 20 more titles. However, a further round of searching used new key words to expand on these topics:

- children socialisation/ *socialización niños,*
- violence and childhood/ *violencia e infancia*
- children-education/ *niños-educación*

- family raising/ *familia crianza*
- family Andes/ *familia andes*
- children school/ *niños escuela*
- rural education/ *educación rural*
- rites of passage/ *ritos de pasaje*
- youth gangs/ *pandillas juveniles*.

Finally the last round of searching, carried out about 18 months after the previous ones, included the above terms (to check for any new studies and references) and some other terms as set out below:

- rituals / *rituals*
- peasant communities / *Comunidades campesinas*
- family / *familia*
- school violence / *violencia en la escuela*
- family violence / *violencia familia*
- public education Peru / *educación pública Peru*
- first grade of primary / *primer grado de primaria*
- school drop out / *deserción escolar*
- pre-school education / *educación preescolar*.

Around 185 references have been collected and summarised so far. A list is available in a printed document in Spanish for consultation by researchers and students at the Young Lives office in Lima. Below, we present an overview of the findings from this search.

1.5 Building the big picture: Childhood studies in Peru

The main objective of this literature review is to map the field of childhood studies in relation to the key research themes on which the Young Lives project is focusing, especially with regard to qualitative studies. These are:

- Transitions
- Well-being
- Service access, policies and programmes.

The children under study in the first rounds of qualitative data collection (2007 and 2008) belong to two age groups: 5–6 years old (Younger Cohort) and 11–12 years old (Older Cohort). These age groups therefore received priority when searching academic literature (see 1.1. for further details on both cohorts).

Given the research themes chosen, our first search was broad, as outlined above. We identified around a dozen sub-topics within our three general themes. ‘Service access’ and ‘well-being’ produced more search results than ‘transitions’, which is a less well-developed topic in Peru – certainly under that particular name, as is clearly shown in Table 1.

Table 1 *Summary of literature review according to topics and sub-topics*

Service access, policies and programmes		Total
Childhood policies: legal frameworks	5	
Evaluation of programmes and services	32	75
School system	30	
Health	8	
Well-being		
General reports on main indicators	13	
Family and childhood	16	
Child labour	16	73
Violence	16	
Resilience	5	
Child development	7	
Transitions		
Socialisation	33	
Time use	1	37
Early childhood transitions	3	
Total		185

We will briefly report on each theme and the kind of publications available within the literature, starting with the topic for which there was the greatest number of results to that which produced the least, although all of them are related.

2. Service access, policies and programmes

Our first step in relation to the topic of service access, policies and programmes targeted at children was to address the current policy framework in place in Peru. From the literature review it is evident that childhood has become progressively more prominent as part of the policy agenda, a trend encouraged by international agreements such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Education for All (EFA). However, in many cases it is also evident that the concerns about childhood outlined in policy documents are scarcely addressed in practice.

Peru currently has a National Action Plan for Childhood and Adolescence 2002–2010 (PCM 2002).¹ Based on a diagnosis of current childhood well-being indicators, the plan focuses on four objectives: a) to ensure a healthy life for children aged 0–5; b) to offer a good-quality basic education for children aged 6–11; c) to create opportunities for participation for children aged 12–17 and to promote their personal development; and, d) to promote a system that guarantees child rights from birth to age 17.

These four objectives reflect the areas of major concern in terms of well-being indicators. However, although the plan represents a joint effort by several ministries (education, health, labour, women and social development, justice, internal affairs), it is scarcely known of by

¹ This is the second plan. The first one covered the period 1996–2000.

many of the regional and local authorities who should also be responsible for its implementation. A study promoted by Save the Children and conducted by children in six regions of the country in 2003 showed that 56.5 per cent of the local authorities interviewed did not know of the existence of the plan (Save the Children 2004). Dissemination to a wider audience is also lacking, thus reflecting a view of children, parents and communities as passive beneficiaries of these policies and not as agents who could intervene in their design, implementation and evaluation.²

An evaluation of the Plan in regard to the health of mothers and young children (Cavero and Villanueva 2008) shows several achievements and some progress (such as an increase in vaccinations and medical attention during pregnancy and at birth). However, it also shows the persistence of inequalities, with rural areas showing worse indicators than urban ones. At the same time the study found that an increase in coverage does not necessarily engender improvements in the quality of services, and identified management problems in the health sector that prevent the goals stated in the Plan being fulfilled.

There are also related plans such as the National Plan to Support the Family (CM–PNAF 2006); the EFA plan (MINEDU 2005) and the Plan to Prevent and Eradicate Child Labour (CPETI 2005). Also, several INGOs and NGOs campaign to promote action to favour child rights and well-being and coordinate with the public sector. With many public and private institutions working on the topic, there is a useful publication which traces overlapping areas of interest and work by different institutions conducting interventions related to childhood in different parts of the country (Diálogo por la Niñez 2005).

Despite the practical difficulties of carrying out all these plans, their very existence is no doubt an important step towards improving children's lives. Especially important is the focus of the institutions which work with children, both public and private, on acting in a more coordinated way (Diálogo por la Niñez 2005). This is reflected in the participation of a broad array of public agencies and civil society sectors in the drawing up of the above Plans. Nevertheless, another study shows that although a range of institutions and sectors are working to address the multidimensional aspects of childhood poverty, their activities are not coordinated (Monge and Joseph 2007).

The State's awareness of the need to improve the quality of the services offered to children, as well as its commitment to increasing the number of beneficiaries in all health, education and food aid programmes, reflected in the Plans referred to above, is no doubt important in improving children's lives. However, the resources needed to do both things at the same time are not always sufficient or timely.

Indeed, several studies assessing public expenditure on childhood and adolescence (Vasquez 2004, Vasquez and Mendizabal 2002, Vasquez and Nomura 2004, Monge and Joseph 2007) show that, despite the policy framework reported above, there are anomalies. Thus, the budget for working children and street children has been reduced, as has that for the *Wawa Wasi* programme³ and pre-school education, while special education has no budget in practical terms, and there is no clear priority regarding expenditure aimed at mothers and young children within the Health Ministry (Vasquez 2004). Assessing the 1990s, it was found that no more than 25 per cent of public social expenditure was focused on childhood and adolescence, when it should have been at least 45 per cent to cover the

2 However, children's rights have been widely disseminated in the last 15 years, especially with the support of INGOs and NGOs, with strategies that may work as well for related issues such as this Plan.

3 Community based, government funded day-care service for children under 3 years old.

needs of this population. In times of economic recession, the most vulnerable are not covered because of lack of resources. In general, public and social expenditure does not reach the poorest and the most geographically excluded, and children are almost invisible in public budgets (Vasquez and Mendizabal 2002; Cueto 2007).

However, although material resources are necessary in order to implement policies and programmes, they are not sufficient to improve the coverage and quality of such programmes (Pollarolo 2002). For example, in the 1990s, although the health sector received less than the education sector, the former achieved better outcomes (Vasquez and Mendizabal 2002). This shows the importance of the quality of the investment and how resources are used and managed to improve services. In the same vein, public expenditure has risen in recent years, but mainly to cover salaries, with few investments in infrastructure, equipment and training (Monge and Joseph 2007). Monitoring systems are required to improve the quality and management of social expenditure, with management systems oriented by results, and with the participation and perspectives of the beneficiaries (Boza 2007).

The debate about how much and how well public social expenditure is achieving its goals in poverty reduction, health, education, well-being, etc. has led to the flourishing of studies that evaluate social programmes, a relatively new (although long required) trend in the Peruvian context. Thus, our search identified about 22 studies conducted either to evaluate the impact of specific social programmes affecting children's well-being in different sectors or, more broadly, to review policies related to children and to assess the extent to which they are being implemented.

Thus we find analysis of policies directed at children, such as the first National Action Plan for Childhood (PROMUDEH 1999), protection against domestic violence, protection against economic abandonment, and food aid (Pollarolo 2002); and gender equity in educational policy (Muñoz et al. 2006). Most of these studies show the difficulties of putting plans into practice, largely as a result of lack of resources and political will.

There are more studies evaluating specific programmes. These are mainly concerned with health, education and child care programmes, such as, for example, health insurance for school students and mother–child insurance (Jaramillo and Parodi 2004); school breakfast programmes (Cueto and Chinen 2001); nutrition and food aid programmes (Alcazar 2007); girls' inclusion in education and child labour (Figueroa 2003); increasing teacher attendance through incentives (Cueto et al. 2008) and the *Wawa Wasi* programme (BID 1996; Cueto et al. 2007; Boza 2007). Programmes not focused on children's lives, but which have an impact on them, such as *Juntos*, the cash transfer programme to alleviate poverty, have also been the subject of study (Jones, Vargas and Villar 2007).⁴ In addition, recent processes, such as the decentralisation of educational management (Valdivia et al. 2008), or the use of educational evaluations (Ravela et al. 2008; Cueto 2007), which will have an indirect impact on educational services, are being studied. More general programmes such as the World Bank assistance to primary education in Peru (Benavides et al. 2007; Tirado 2007) are also an important line of study. In general these works show that, although there are some positive outcomes in terms of coverage and certain other areas, there are still some challenges regarding quality, as well as in sustainability, management, evaluation and communication of these programmes within the public sector and to other stakeholders. Certain lines of intervention, however, show promising outcomes.

4 Currently there are some other studies in progress on *Juntos*, such as the study sponsored by Young Lives by Alcazar and the UNICEF-sponsored study by Trivelli, Huber and Zarate.

Because of the age of the younger Young Lives cohort (5–6 years) at the time of the first qualitative research round, we give special attention to studies regarding access to pre-school education and the beginning of primary education. In Peru, the net enrolment rate for children aged 3–5 in pre-school education is the lowest within basic education (53 per cent) but is one of the largest in the Latin American region, and has shown considerable growth in recent years (MINEDU–UEE 2005; Guadalupe et al. 2002).⁵ Access to pre-school education is related to place of residence and economic standing; thus it is observable that rural and the poorest children show lower enrolment rates (43 per cent and 36 per cent respectively) (MINEDU–UEE 2005).

In recent years, pre-school education has been the subject of several programmes and evaluations, in an attempt to increase coverage and quality. There are several studies addressing good practice in pre-school education (Ochoa 2003; Aliaga 1999, 2000; Muguruza 2004), as well as in non-formal alternatives: PRONOEI (Cuanto 2003; Vásquez de Velasco 2004; Canal Enriquez 2003), pre-school through the media (Franco and Ghersi 2003) and several other models (Aliaga 1999; Valdiviezo et al. 1999; Herrera 2004); quality of pre-school education has been a concern in a number of studies (Silva 2004; Aliaga 2005).

However, the importance of access to pre-school services for children's transition from home to school has rarely been addressed within this body of literature. We identified only one study that explicitly addresses the relationship between pre-school experience and primary education, showing differential outcomes among first grade children according to their pre-school education (formal, non-formal, none) (Cueto and Diaz 1999). However, international literature on this transition is much more extensive, as a recent publication on the topic shows (Woodhead and Moss 2008).

In contrast to pre-school education, access to primary education is almost universal: the net enrolment rate for 6–11 years old is 93 per cent, with no significant differences by gender, poverty or place of residence (MINEDU–UEE 2005). Concerns regarding primary education are about educational quality because of low achievement in national and international tests, such as National Evaluations in 1996, 1998, 2001, 2004 and 2007, the LLECE examinations in 1997, PISA in 2001 and SERCE 2008.⁶ These also showed major gaps between rural and urban students, poor and non-poor students and public and private schools. In general, equity and quality are the two major concerns regarding the school system. Perhaps the document that best expresses and summarises these concerns is the National Educational Project 2006–2021 (CNE 2005), which clearly shows the gaps in the quality of service, and inputs and outputs of the public school system, and calls for urgent measures to provide more equal and better quality educational opportunities. The new General Law of Education (2003) also explicitly cites equity and quality as its two main principles.

In terms of the Younger Cohort's experience of primary school, first grade is of major importance. As in the rest of the Latin American region, the repetition rate (23.9 per cent) and dropout rate (9.7 per cent) in the first grade were the highest in the system at the beginning

5 Enrolment rate in pre-school education rose by 36 percentage points between 1985 and 1994. The expansion of pre-school services is a major factor in explaining this growth (MED UEE 2005).

6 National Evaluations are applied by the Unity of Quality Measurement at the Ministry of Education. They test literacy and mathematics in accordance with curricular goals for each grade tested. LLECE was the first test, also in literacy and mathematics, to be applied by the Laboratorio Latinoamericano de Evaluación de la Calidad de la Educación (LLECE) at UNESCO OREALC in most countries in Latin America; the second test applied by UNESCO OREALC was the SERCE; PISA is the *Programme for International Student Assessment* designed by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, and tests reading, mathematics and natural sciences among 15 years olds.

of the 1990s. Therefore around one third of children starting first grade did not continue to second grade. In 1995, a new programme was implemented that considered the last year of pre-school education (5 years old) plus the first two grades of primary as one cycle with no repetition. Thus first grade children were automatically promoted to the second grade. This measure lowered repetition and dropout rates in the first grade to 5.4 per cent and 6.5 per cent respectively (in 1999), although repetition increased slightly in the following years up to Grade 4, when the rate dropped again (Guadalupe et al. 2002). This situation, however, does not reveal much about whether the transition to primary school has improved or not, or about the quality of children's educational experience in first grade. We haven't found any programmes or studies which focus on the beginning of primary and/or secondary school as particularly important transitions.

Access to secondary school is also important for the Older Cohort children who were 11–12 years old at the time of the first round of qualitative data collection and were then due to finish primary school and/or start secondary school. Completion of primary school is almost universal but may show considerable delay (owing to repetition, temporary drop out or late enrolment). Thus, 73 per cent of children between 11 and 13 have completed primary school (with higher rates for urban and non-poor children), but by age 14–16, 91 per cent have done so.

The net enrolment rate in secondary school (for children aged 12–16) is about 70 per cent, and showed growth particularly between 1998 and 2003.⁷ As in the case of pre-school education, the poorest children and rural children (as well as girls to a lesser extent) show lower rates of enrolment (48 per cent, 53 per cent and 68 per cent).⁸ The transition rate from primary to secondary school was 91 per cent in 2003, but this clearly shows differences, with children from rural areas and from extremely poor households exhibiting lower rates (81 per cent and 84 per cent respectively). Thus, these children not only show lower rates of completion of primary education, but also lower rates of transition to secondary school. Educational access at this level is influenced by the availability of services in rural areas, family resources, economic need, and children's participation in work (Alcazar 2008). Dropout and retention are thus two topics highly relevant at this level both in Peru (Alcazar 2008) and in the region (Rincón et al. 2004). Recent studies on rural secondary schools show problems in management, resources and teacher training, although changes in methodology are becoming more evident (Jaramillo 2007a, 2007b; Balarin et al. 2007).

Despite figures which show parity, gender equity is still a concern in several studies concerning the educational system (Montero 2006; Espinosa 2006; Ames 2005, 2006). These show not only the qualitative dimensions of invisible gender gaps, but also quantitative evidence examining particular groups of the population, particularly indigenous, rural and poor people. Ethnicity is also a problematic situation for many children: statistics show not only severe inequalities in the education indigenous children get (Kudó 2004) but also in the educational attainment in their households, as well as in the asset endowments and welfare outcomes of their families (Escobal and Ponce 2007). About one third of indigenous children do not attend school, and this highlights the mismatch between school and the interests of indigenous children (Kudó 2004). In general, despite increased access to education,

7 Growth between 1998 and 2003 is 11 percentage points. However, compared to the net enrolment ratio in 1985 (52 per cent), there has been a significant increase.

8 It is important to pay attention also to possible combinations, where gender dimensions interact with poverty or rurality and may constitute worse scenarios, with poor rural girls showing the worst indicators for enrolment of any group (see for example Montero 2006).

inequities persist in the educational system, and in its outcomes, and the State has shown limited political will to address this situation effectively (Benavides 2007).

Parents' participation in education is increasingly encouraged by legal frameworks. A study in Ayacucho, a region in the Andean Highland, shows that notions of participation are developing, and different actors are willing to participate, but opportunities are limited to helping with building maintenance and the acquisition of school equipment (Talavera Minchola 2008). There is a lack of clarity as to what participation entails in different circumstances. Parents also ask for guidance on how to support their children pedagogically. Cultural wealth and local knowledge are still scarcely addressed as part of this 'increased' participation. A Young Lives' study looking at the type of participation by parents and its impact on school achievement (Cueto and Balarin 2008) shows the limitations in the opportunities for parents and in their capacity to participate within the current school organisation, as well as the narrow concept of participation being used by schools. The different meanings of participation are explored not only among parents, teachers and students, but also among officials at different levels and ranks both in the national system and in agencies influencing it, such as the World Bank (Tirado Taipei 2007).

Access to health services also shows inequalities: the rural population presents the worst indicators in nutrition (Valdivia 2002), child mortality, and medical care during childbirth (Dammert 2001). Although child mortality rates show an overall decrease over time, inequities persist between rural and urban areas and according to the educational attainment of mothers (a proxy for socio-economic status) and individual characteristics (Céspedes 2008). Inequities are also present in the low use of health services in rural areas (Valdivia 2002). This is due to different factors which include not only cultural conceptions about illnesses and ways to treat them but also the costs involved in accessing formal health services (Pérez 1999). Researching the linguistic background (indigenous or not) of mothers has shown also that immigrant populations from indigenous backgrounds assimilate progressively into the city and increase their interaction with the public health system once the geographical and social distances diminish (Valdivia 2007). However, more research is needed to understand the causalities behind this in a way that allows for better decision-making at policy level (Valdivia and Diaz 2007).

3. Well-being

3.1 Overview: From world to country reports on the state of childhood

Under the topic of well-being we can find several different related topics. We start by looking at the general reports on the state of childhood, first in the world and then in Peru and Latin America. Most of these give quantitative indicators on children's well-being within the framework of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Thus for example, an international report by UNICEF (2007) identifies four key areas within the framework of the MDGs: promotion of a healthy life; good-quality education; protection against mistreatment, exploitation and violence; and the fight against HIV and AIDS. The report shows achievements in indicators such as decreasing child mortality rates, but also little progress in increasing access to medical treatment for mortal childhood diseases, or treatment for pregnant women with AIDS. It also raises the issue of increasing enrolment in primary school, but cautions against apparent low attendance rates at the same time.

The report by UNICEF on the state of the world's children (2006) highlights the main problems affecting children globally – lack of official identity status, lack of protection by the State, exploitation, early marriage, participation in armed conflict and dangerous labour – as well as providing the figures giving evidence for such problems.

A recent study which focused on children in the developing world (including data from Peru) calculates that over 200 million children under the age of five are not fulfilling their developmental potential. This is because they are exposed to multiple risks, including poverty, malnutrition, poor health and unstimulating home environments, which detrimentally affect their cognitive, motor and social–emotional development (Grantham-McGregor et al. 2007). These disadvantaged children, the study warns, are likely to do badly in school and subsequently have low incomes and high fertility. They are likely to provide poor care for their own children, thus contributing to the intergenerational transmission of poverty.

Similar concerns about the effects of deprivation on young children can be found in a study about child development and school achievement in Peru (Pollit et al. 2007). This study considers several biological and social factors in order to build an index of the course of early life and analyse its relationship to the educational achievement of a national cohort at 16 years old. The study found a progressive disadvantage among children who live in poverty, which is cumulative, but could also be alleviated if the health, education and nutrition of children were improved before and during their school years.

At a national level, the last two reports by UNICEF for Peru were released in 2004 and 2008. The 2004 report (UNICEF/INEI 2004) showed that the state of childhood is a product of economic and social disadvantages that affect children even when still in the womb, constraining their quality of life in the future. Poverty and lack of access to health services are detrimental to birth control, medical attention during childbirth, and nutrition. The poorest children are especially vulnerable because of their poor quality of life and lack of opportunities. The State's role in providing assistance is being implemented but not enough, so further efforts are required both from the State but also from civil society to address these problems.

The 2008 report offers a comprehensive review of key indicators for early childhood, childhood and adolescence, and builds up an index of child development that combines health and nutrition, learning and education and environment and protection. The report presents not only national aggregated figures but also figures by region, location, socio-economic status, language and gender. It shows that currently 60 per cent of Peruvian children live in poverty, and most have access to education but with significant gaps between rural and urban areas, indigenous and non-indigenous children; poor, non-poor and extremely poor children (UNICEF 2008).

A report by CEPAL (2005) on childhood poverty shows a growth in relative poverty related to childhood. This is related to the increase in income concentration, a relative loss of buying-capacity among poorer families and the continued existence of a higher number of dependents per family in poor households.

Malnutrition is also a major topic affecting children in the region, and this is much more acute in rural areas, especially in countries where agriculture is affected by natural disasters and where water provision is inadequate (Martinez and Fernandez 2006). Many other factors are associated with malnutrition: poverty and lack of access to food; cash crops and increased nutritional vulnerability; the low educational attainment of parents, especially of the mother; lack of information on reproductive health, child nutrition and development; lack of access to, and poor quality of, health services; discrimination; geographical isolation of indigenous

peoples; and loss of social capital and social support networks due to migration (*ibid*). Malnutrition in Peru is high and has not varied since 1996 (Lanata 2007).

The state of childhood on a more local level has also been considered in recent years in relation to decentralisation processes. UNICEF (1994) published a report on childhood aimed at municipalities, showing general indicators of well-being and three case studies in three regions examining actions and achievements concerning children. More recently, *Young Lives Peru* (Niños del Milenio) in partnership with CIES (2006) published a series of indicators on child health, education and protection to analyse the circumstances of children in three regions. The aim was to make regional governments aware of these issues and motivate them to allocate the necessary resources for children in their budgets.

These reports present the main quantitative indicators as well as drawing attention to major problems. Also, they highlight factors related to major problems which it would be useful to take into account when researching well-being issues. However, most indicators refer to service access and health. Qualitative information is missed as well as subjective indicators of well-being.

3.2 The pervasive presence of violence

Besides the major issues of poverty and malnutrition, Peruvian children have suffered the impact of political and domestic violence (Alarcón 1994; Save the Children/Young Lives 2005). Political violence between 1980 and 2000 affected not only adults but also children. However, children were frequently invisible victims of the conflict. The findings of the Commission of Truth and Reconciliation (CVR) include forced disappearance (13 per cent),⁹ arbitrary executions (12 per cent), torture (7 per cent), injuries caused by war weapons, sexual abuse (85 cases), kidnapping and forced enrolment in conflict. The state was fairly inactive in preventing this and protecting children during armed conflict (Alarcon 1994; Dughi 2002). Moreover, over 70 per cent of torture and sexual abuse cases reported against children were perpetrated by state agents (police and army forces) (Save the Children/Young Lives 2005). The report by Save the Children/Young Lives combines quantitative and qualitative information and includes testimonies, showing an interesting way to combine different kinds of data to depict children's situations. Another publication based on the CVR final report (Foro Educativo 2004) also highlighted the consequences of the war on families, which included family disintegration, forced migration, loss of parents and dissolution of affective bonds with children. Forced migration was particularly hard for children who did not participate in the decision to migrate and may not have understood the reasons for it. Migration in this case may have had an impact on children's identities and ability to adapt to a new environment, which can be observed in their daily behaviour and play (Herrera 1995). These impacts may continue into adolescence, causing problems with children's intellectual development, social integration and interest (Herrera 1995). In many cases there were no support mechanisms to help children to overcome traumatic situations derived from the conflict, aggression, losses and separations, which were part of their daily lives (Villapolo and Vásquez 1999). Some of the children who lost their parents ended up on the city streets, working or robbing; as domestic employees; or in the orphanage. Their values and reference systems were deeply affected by these changes and by their need to survive (Cueto Galvez 1997).

Domestic violence is another major problem affecting children's well-being. Domestic violence in Peru refers not only to violence against a partner or spouse but also to violence

9 Percentage of children and adolescents out of the total reported.

against children. In Peru, over one third of the population beat their children as a way of disciplining them (Dughi 2002). An empirical study in one Andean region also highlighted the presence of excessive punishment in relation to children's behaviour, the predominance of negative sanctions over positive stimulus as a child-rearing practice, and violent and physical punishment of children (Villa Riveros 2002). In urban areas, domestic violence is also present and affects children's learning and education, as a book devoted to the issue in Villa El Salvador, an urban community, shows (Pimentel Sevilla 1995). Public policies aimed at addressing domestic violence lack coordination and often overlap, despite the few available resources. Thus, although many agencies contribute to the detection of domestic violence, (particularly known are DEMUNAS and the *Defensoría del Pueblo*)¹⁰ there are few that offer psychological treatment to the victims, and usually health workers are not properly trained and resourced to provide such treatment. In general, the harsh realities of the past two decades, including political violence, economic crisis and domestic violence have greatly affected children, especially those from poor households, whilst policies and programmes to treat them have been scarce or practically non-existent. This shows the invisibility of these problems and the lack of political will or capacity from the State to provide the necessary services (Dughi 2002; CVC 1998).

Violence is frequent not only within households but also in the school, on a daily basis (CVC 1998), both among children (Belgich 2003, Avellanosa 2008) and between adults and children (Belgich 2003; MIMDES 2005), configuring a situation of 'systemic violence' (Ross Epp and Watkinson 1999). Thus we found that some practical guidelines to treat conflict without violence had been produced as a response to this situation by the mid-1990s (Guerrero Ortiz 1994), and more recently we found a couple of handbooks for parents and teachers to tackle bullying (Avellanosa 2008; Calvo and Ballester; Fernandez 2007). It seems that the topics of bullying, physical punishment and violence in school are gaining more attention, as the literature review identified several new titles in Peruvian libraries on this topic, produced mainly in Spain, such as the above-mentioned handbooks and an overview of studies on bullying (Harris and Petrie 2006) which pays attention not only to victims but also aggressors and spectators.

Particular groups of Peruvian children, such as street children and working children, are especially vulnerable to violence (MIMDES 2005) and their well-being is fragile (Alarcon 1994), as we will see below. Some other groups have also been identified as particularly excluded from services and programmes and 'not visible' to the state, such as disabled children, children with HIV/AIDS and teenage mothers (Vásquez 2007).

3.3 The many faces of child labour and its impact on children's well-being

Child labour has indeed been the subject of a considerable number of studies, and we have identified more than a dozen publications, from the mid-1990s to the present. These studies usually include general analysis of the child labour situation (Verdera 1995), particularly in relation to dangerous forms of labour (Verdera 1995; Alarcon 1994); others address specific forms of labour such as domestic service (Espinoza 2001; Anderson 2007a, 2007b) or the trade of children for sexual and domestic exploitation (GTZ and Flora Tristán 2005; MIMDES 2005; OIT-IPEC, Asociación Vía Libre 2007). Both domestic service and sexual exploitation

10 DEMUNAS: Municipal agency for the defence of children and young people. *Defensoría del Pueblo*: State agency to defend the people's rights. Both are protection agencies that receive and process claims and demands for violations of children's rights.

put children in very vulnerable situations and are severe problems affecting Peruvian children, especially poorer ones. Recent studies show that domestic work by children is highly institutionalised in Peru and has economic, political, legal, cultural, religious and ideological bases (Anderson 2007a, 2007b); also, access to education for children in domestic work remains elusive (Espinoza 2001), or is of low quality and inadequate (Anderson 2007b).

The International Labour Organization is especially active in promoting the eradication of all forms of child labour, and this is reflected in national and international plans and programmes drawn up in collaboration with national governments, including the one currently in place in Peru (see above, CPETI 2005). More recently, the ILO released a study on perceptions by the general public towards child labour in Peru (Sulmont Haak 2007), which shows great tolerance in Peruvian society towards child labour.

There are, however, critics of eradication policies, since these do not take into consideration the many realities of children's work. Sometimes children are social and economic actors who contribute to their family survival and, as such, need support and organisations to represent their interests (Liebel 2000). When looking also at rural areas, it is evident that children have an economically productive role in their families, and that working and contributing is part of their learning and growing-up process from a very early age (Alarcon 2001). Children's work has a positive social value in the Andes and is encouraged within a framework that sees it as part of family activities and informal learning (Domic Ruiz 2004; Kudó 2004). However, the demands of work usually compete with school time, especially in the harvest and sowing seasons (Alarcon 2001; Montero et al. 2001; Ortiz Rescaniere 1993). Also, children who work are more likely to drop out of school, and their studies suffer since work affects their attendance rates and the number of years of study they can complete (Díaz 2008).

Initiatives to support working children exist in public and non-governmental organisations (NGOs). A study by Jaramillo (2003) compared two programmes (one public, one run by an NGO) and found more consistency in the programme run by the NGO. However, the study also identifies that even in the NGO programme, the children still receive a lower quality of education and experience very little parental support for their education. A child dormitory run by the municipality in Cusco (Baufumé 1999) appears as a novel way to support children who have left their families without punishing them for that decision.

Child labour may also be affected by bigger policy-making decisions, such as the Free Trade Agreement with the USA (Niños del Milenio 2005; Escobal and Ponce 2005). New employment opportunities in some sectors fostered by FTA, for women or children themselves, may cause an increase of child labour in rural areas, as well as exacerbating dropout rates in the school system.

3.4 Families and well-being

Turning our attention to children in less vulnerable situations, we look at studies that examine the role of families in their children's well-being, and find different approaches, from general characterisations of Peruvian families and their changes over time (Sara-Lafosse 1999, 1994) to their values, attitudes and decision-making processes, especially in relation to schooling.

Studies from the field of economics look at how family decision-making processes are influenced by economic situations. Thus, for example, Escobal, Saavedra and Suarez (2003) trace the effect that economic shocks have over family investment in human capital. They find that although economic shocks do not have an effect on the quantity of school education (years), they may affect quality, since they have negative effects on school expenditure made

by the family. Family structure and the changes in financial savings over the life course have also attracted attention from economists (Saavedra 2001), who have noted fluctuations with time and different arrangements of co-residence to cope with economic adversity. Also, to consider family structure from a different perspective, positive and significant correlations have been established between the characteristics of the mother, her decisions about marital status and fecundity and the overall indicator on children's quality of life (Cortez and Yalonetzky 2002).

Studies from sociology also ask about family decision making and the values that sustain it, particularly in relation to education. Benavides et al. (2006), for example, find that rural families value education highly and have high educational expectations of their children, but this does not necessarily lead to increased support with homework. Also, despite the high value placed on education, gender differences are still strong among rural families, which impact on gender gaps in schooling in these areas (Benavides 2006). From the field of anthropology, studies on families show the importance of parents' values and decisions in relation to schooling but also children's decisions (Uccelli 1999). More broadly, the role of culture in family expectations, values and decisions has been intensively explored in this disciplinary field.

Indeed, several studies have signalled the ambiguous character school has in the Andes: an institution that scares and attracts at the same time (Ansion 1990a), since it represents not only outside knowledge, the possibility of social mobility ('becoming someone' and 'progress') (Degregori 1986; Montoya 1990); but also a threat to indigenous culture and a menace (Ortiz 1990; Montoya 1990; Degregori 1986). A trend that has gained more and more strength is a view of the school as a way of connecting to the outside world as part of a family strategy (Ansión 1990b), and as an asset ('the best inheritance' – Ansión et al. 1998) that allows for better jobs and life. The cultural representations that associate schooling with progress were called 'the school myth' and were studied largely during the 1970s and 1980s in the above-mentioned studies. These studies found that rural and indigenous peoples place a high value on education. Education is equated with having eyes, with being in the light, with progressing in life, with becoming someone (Montoya 1990). Recent studies suggest 'the school myth' seems still to have a powerful presence among families and children, but expectations vary across contexts (Ames 2002).

Studies on children's resilience are few, and the ones identified are grouped in the same publication (Panez and Silva 2002). They refer to interventions to promote resilience among Andean children (Garcia and Rios 2002), using a child-to-child approach (Pillaca Tineo 2002) and a study of children's conflicts, their characteristics and children's repertoire in facing conflicts (Guerrero Ortiz 2000). A book chapter dedicated to the study of Andean socialisation and how it develops children's resilience is perhaps the most salient work relating to this topic and offers rich information about Andean socialisation patterns (Silva 2000).

Child development is also a topic strongly related to well-being, and a number of studies have focused on it in different ways. Thus, for example, Calderón Carranza (2004) compares child development among children that attend *Wawa Wasis*, private childcare facilities and those who don't attend either, and finds better indicators of child development in two areas with *Wawa Wasi* children. Children attending private childcare facilities perform better than their peers attending *Wawa Wasis*. Older children presented more marked differences. The study then shows the importance of service access and quality in relation to child development. Language development is also studied in poor areas and shows that in poorer, marginal settings there is less verbal interaction (Gonzalez 1996). A recent study of the cognitive development of rural Andean children (Reátegui Correa 2008) identifies

characteristics corresponding to the universal child (from a theoretical framework based on Piaget) and concludes that Andean rural children in the educational system have the same universal psychological characteristics as any other children. Therefore, the problems in learning outcomes seem to be more related to external conditions than internal ones.

Methods of studying child development use observation (Anderson 2003, Gonzalez 1996, psychological evaluation (Calderón Carranza 2004; Reátegui Correa 2008) and adapted tests such as the Drawing of Human Figure and Drawing of Dreams tests (Jara 2000). A study devoted to collecting rural children's perceptions on their identity, childhood and schooling (Vásquez n.d.) shows some methodological novelty among the ones reviewed, since it uses a participative approach through action research to gather children's perceptions, as well as their parents' and teachers' points of view.

4. Transitions

The study of transitions in children's lives in Peru seems scarcely developed in the country literature. We find references to institutional transitions (schooling) in statistical indicators, particularly the transition from primary to secondary school (see Section 1), but no reference is made either to the processes involved or to the point of view of the actors themselves on these transitions. Neither are programmes designed to facilitate transitions reported in the literature reviewed up to 2008. The very word 'transitions' yielded no search results. Even a recent title specifically devoted to the transition from pre-school education to primary school (Woodhead and Moss 2008) was classified as 'primary education'. A publication by Save the Children USA (2007) in Nicaragua also focuses on the transition to first grade, offering an overview of the literature produced on this topic.¹¹ Also, a lecture on transitions in early childhood was offered by Reveco (2008) in a conference sponsored by the Bernard Van Leer Foundation in Lima in 2007. Beyond these three publications, we haven't found transitions as a specific object of study.

However, we looked into a related topic which may offer some useful information on how children's lives develop and what stages they may experience: socialisation. This would allow the tracing of possible transitions that may emerge from the 'stages' recognised in socialisation studies. This term (socialisation) has been widely criticised in the North by the advocates of the new sociology of childhood for its traditional approach and the passive role of children it implies. Nevertheless, it is still used in the South, and it allowed us to identify studies of interest for our research topics.

Some of the studies we found were dedicated to the characteristics and the role of play and games in the lives of Andean children (Ochoa Rojas 2000; Lizana 2002; Panez and Ochoa 2000; Sánchez and Valdivia 1996). Others were dedicated more specifically to socialisation systems: one focuses on rural children from 0 to 3 (Anderson 2003) including the risk and protection factors that exist for them, based on empirical evidence; another centres on children's socialisation in rural and poor urban areas, with migrant populations (Anderson 1994); a third traces the relationship between beliefs about raising children and school achievement in urban mothers from different migration backgrounds (first/second generation) (Ugarriza 2002). Others explore empirically the role of peer groups in children's socialisation

¹¹ Both publications are available in English and Spanish, although most of the literature they refer to is available only in English, which may explain the relative absence of the topic and key word from Peruvian libraries.

in the Andes (Ortiz and Yamamoto 1994), or the role of siblings (Visscher 2005); and some others present the child-raising patterns among Andean people (Ortiz Rescaniere 1989, 1993, 2002; Ansión 1990; Bolin 2006; Diaconia 2003; Zuloaga et al. 1993).

These studies offer rich information on children's daily lives, family dynamics, and conceptions about rearing practices and childhood in general, and risk and protection factors. The studies about socialisation and child rearing practices are particularly interesting since they propose different stages in children lives that can be related to the transitions they experience.¹² An article on life cycle (Román de Silgado 1990) depicts different moments and stages in the lives of children, related to their growth and also their spirituality. Another focuses on the different roles and responsibilities children progressively assume (Ortiz Rescaniere 1989, 2001). Migration appears as a strong force reshaping traditional socialisation and child-rearing practices (Zuloaga 1993; Camino 2006).

From these studies, it is possible to identify several significant moments in the life of children. A well-known rite in the country is Catholic baptism. A child is initiated into the Catholic Church through this rite – and, in a way, to society (Ortiz Rescaniere 2001; Román de Silgado 1990). Parents choose 'godparents' among relatives or friends, who will guide the child to become a good Catholic. In the Andes, godparents are usually selected for their good reputation and/or good economic situation. People create a social bond and spiritual kinship among participants through this rite. There is a reciprocal relationship between godparents and godchildren, in which godparents become role models for the children, take care of them and provide them with moral advice and material aid (school materials, clothes). The godchild in turn should respect his/her godparent, and help them in domestic or productive work. It is a relationship of mutual obligation.

Less well known is the ceremony of a prior baptism, conducted during the week after birth. Bolin (2006) and Román de Silgado (1990) have reported it as '*unuchakuy*' and '*yacuchan*' respectively, and it is also known as '*Agua de Socorro*' among the Spanish-speaking population. This prior baptism aims to protect the child before the Catholic baptism by a priest takes place, and it serves also to name the child. One godparent is chosen to pick a name and say it when dropping water over the child's head (which also occurs during Catholic baptism).

In the Andes, there is also a rite of passage during early childhood: the first hair cut (*Rutuy chicuy* or *Chukcha Rutukuy*). According to the literature, this ceremony may indicate the end of a phase, from being with the mother most of the time to socialising with others, including the end of breast-feeding (Román de Silgado 1990) or the beginning of walking (Ortiz 2001); or the beginning of a more societal existence with social relationships (Bolin 2006).

Another transition identified in the literature, also in the Andes, is the change of clothes. Young babies, both girls and boys, wear a kind of skirt (called *Wali* or *Wara*) until they are about three or four years old, and thus gender identities are not so much stressed until that age (Román de Silgado 1990; Ortiz Rescaniere 2001; Bolin 2006). They then receive clothes more specific to their gender, resembling the ways adult males and females dress in the community.¹³

Rites of passage to mark puberty and adolescence are not reported in recent studies. Literature reports the existence of such rites during pre-Hispanic times: the '*Warachicuy*' for boys and the '*Quicuchicuy*' for girls, which signalled the beginning of puberty for the former

¹² Field research for one of these studies (Ortiz and Yamamoto 1994) was conducted in one of the sites selected for our research.

¹³ Ortiz (2001) also mentions that the change of clothes may be associated in time with the first hair cut.

and the onset of menstruation for the latter (Román de Silgado 1990), but no traces of them remain. However, Rivera Andía (2004) reports on rituals relating to cattle in a particular community, and shows a parallel between the symbolism of domestication rituals with the cattle and the maturation of young boys into adolescents.

Beyond specific rites of passages, literature suggests that children go through several stages of participation in domestic and productive activities, especially in rural areas (see for example Diaconia 2003; Ortiz and Yamamoto 1994; Ansión 1990). This progressive process of participation continues and at about ten years old children are already contributing fully to agricultural tasks on their family lands. At around 11–12, they may start to work not only on their lands but also on other people's lands, to earn some money either for themselves or to contribute to the family income. Some children start paid work before this age. In fact we have found several boys in this situation. This shows a transition to work which is much more progressive and smooth than in other societies, with children assuming increasing amounts of responsibility over time, and therefore may not be experienced as a transition as such. However, a life choice for a highly valued activity (work) is inculcated from a very early age through this process. Nevertheless, special circumstances such as the loss of a parent or extreme poverty may exert some pressure on children, forcing an early involvement in paid work for example, or not taking into account their levels of strength and physical development, which are traditionally the main criteria for assigning different tasks, even more so than chronological age (Montero et al. 2001).

We also searched for time use, and got only one title (Rodríguez 2002), a quantitative analysis of time use by children aged 6–16 in three activities: school, work and domestic work. The study showed time dedicated to work was higher in rural areas and for the older group (11–16). Twenty five per cent of children combine work and schooling, but this varies according to residence. Time use may also be found in socialisation (Bolin 2006) or educational studies (Montero et al. 2001) as a sub-theme, but rarely as the main topic of study.

The encounter with the literate world that rural children experience when entering school has been the topic of several 'classic' studies already reported (Ansión 1990a, 1990b; Montoya 1990; Ortiz Rescaniere 1990), and is approached in new ways in recent studies (Zavala 2002; Ames 2002). These works uncover cultural dimensions of the transition to school related to the use of the written word, a topic deserving further attention in different contexts. A recent graduate thesis exploring the meaning of the Quechua word *Yachay* through ethnography in a bilingual community also finds particular conceptions around learning and teaching, whereby the learner is responsible for his or her own acquisition of knowledge.

Another transition could occur among peer groups such as youth gangs. Youth gangs are an increasingly important feature of urban children's daily life, for both girls and boys, and we therefore also looked at studies on this issue. Although the figures are difficult to estimate, the National Police Force offers statistics showing that about 12,000 young persons participate in about 395 gangs in Lima alone (Thierold 2003). There are also gangs in other cities, such as Ayacucho, that have been studied very recently (Strocka 2008). Studies of gangs explore masculine identities among gang members, their conflicts (Santos 2002), the particular ways in which gang members relate to each other, and their dispositions and attitudes (Thierold 2003). The work in Ayacucho (Strocka 2008) is the most complete ethnography on gangs and examines discourse and practices among gang members, looking at identities and daily life in the gang. A more psychological study finds that members of gangs show more signs of stress than their peers who do not participate in gangs, as well as more dissatisfaction with family relationships, expectations for the future and self-concept (Fernández Arris 2007).

5. Some reflections from the literature review

- Service access, policies and programmes, on the one hand, and well-being, on the other, are understood as broad topics, and brought up the greatest number of search results (75 and 73 respectively).
- Literature on service access relates mainly to education and health programmes as well as childcare programmes, and little attention is paid to child-protection programmes.
- Literature on well-being is broad, and includes many different topics, from general and traditional well-being indicators to reports on violence, family decisions and resilience.
- Transitions appeared to be a much less well-developed topic and we were compelled to rethink our search strategy. We decided to pursue in more depth the body of literature related to socialisation in order to trace possible transitions that may emerge from 'stages' recognised in socialisation studies. This strategy worked, and more titles were added to this section, but the topic of transitions itself is scarcely addressed in Peruvian academic literature.
- Transitions as a subject of study is clearly under-developed in the literature despite its importance. We therefore think the research Young Lives is carrying out in Peru could make an important contribution to current studies by focusing on this.
- We have identified major institutional transitions that children from both cohorts in the Young Lives research project are experiencing, such as beginning primary school and secondary school. The literature also presents information about changing socialisation patterns they are experiencing, as well as more informal transitions resulting from the increase of their responsibilities within their households. This has led to a proposal to focus on such transitions for the country study.
- In all the themes addressed, major differences are present among rural and urban areas: from access to services, to well-being indicators, to socialisation patterns. Ethnicity, gender and poverty are also key variables in understanding the different experiences of Peruvian children and their families.
- Regional differences are also important, particularly in relation to cultural practices but also to service access.

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