GENDER GAPS IN PERU
AN OVERVIEW

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GENDER GAPS IN PERU: AN OVERVIEW
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INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

1.1 PURPOSE AND SCOPE

Closing the existing gender gaps will be required to boost shared prosperity and maximize poverty reduction efforts in Peru over the coming years. Gender inequities are not only unfair from an ethical and social perspective, but also economically inefficient. Greater gender equality can raise overall productivity, improve development outcomes, especially of the next generation, and lead to more representative decision making.¹

According to a study by Teignier and Cuberes (2016), only the long term average per capita income loss stemming from excluding women from labor markets amounted to 13.56 percent in Peru in 2011. Access to economic opportunities by women is particularly important in the context of a rapidly unfolding demographic transition characterized by the end of the demographic dividend and population ageing in the country.

This review of gender issues aims to uncover the main gender gaps in the country, and to identify potential policy recommendations that could help closing them in the coming years. The note is an input to the development of a Gender Action Plan for the Andean Countries under the Gender Analysis Work Program (P164267). As such the note lays out a descriptive overview of gender gaps in endowments, economic

¹ World Bank 2012
opportunities and agency – the explanation of the observed situation is outside the scope of this note.

1.2 METHODOLOGY

The note applies the analytical framework devised by the WDR 2012 on Gender Equality and Development. Chapter 1 covers the legal and institutional framework and the issue of the agency of women – e.g. political representation and violence against women, time use, and attitudes towards women; Chapter 2 provides an overview the situation with regards to the main endowments of health and education; and Chapter 3 deals with the existing gender gaps in economic opportunity – labor force participation and unemployment, the quality of employment, earnings, entrepreneurship and access to finance. The main sources of data used for the analysis are outlined below.

Sources of data for the analysis

- The World Development Indicators World Bank database has been used for the sections on health and education, entrepreneurship and access to finance.
- The SEDLAC (Socio-Economic Database for Latin America and the Caribbean) database has been used for the education and labor markets section.
- The ECLAC database has been used for political representation and legislation.
- The HHS – Encuesta Nacional de Hogares - ENAHO has been used in the sections on education and labor markets.
- DHS - Encuesta Demográfica y de Salud Familiar ENDES - data has been used for the section on gender-based violence and on health.
- A dedicated survey - National Time Use Survey 2010 – has been used in the section on time use.
- World Values Survey data (last wave) have been used in the section on gender attitudes.
- Estimations from the UN have been used in the section on contraception use.
This draft review is the result of the first stage in the assessment process. The note mainly reflects an initial descriptive exercise, and will be revised after the completion of stakeholder consultations in the countries; the results of such consultations will not only help identify additional literature and research on specific issues, but also help to prioritize the key gender gaps to be addressed based on the way discussions on the issue are currently taking place in the country.

1.3 OVERVIEW FINDINGS

Peru has made substantial progress in the promotion of gender equality in recent decades, particularly in access to education and health services. With regards to education, the small existing differences in educational attainment and completion at the secondary and tertiary levels are to the detriment of boys. Maternal mortality rates, access

**Figure 1: Key take-aways and priorities identified**

**KEY TAKE-AWAYS AND PRIORITIES IDENTIFIED**

- Rural and indigenous women’s access to education and health services remains a challenge.
- Teenage pregnancy rates remain high among the poorer segments of the population and among rural women.
- The quality of women’s labor force participation remains a problem (high informality, low wage employment, sectoral and occupational segregation and lower earnings).
- Women’s representation in decision-making, both in politics and in companies is low.
- Violence against women is a severe problem in the country and effective access to services remains low – hence women’s protection from violence is not guaranteed.
- Women carry the burden of unpaid work.
- Traditional gender norms are perpetuating the existing gender gaps in the country.
to contraception and adolescent fertility have evolved positively and compare favorably to other Andean countries. Peru has also made important advances in the development of an adequate legal and institutional framework for gender equality, and with regards to female labor market inclusion – the country shows one of the highest rates of FLFP in LAC.

Evidencing these improvements, Peru’s UNDP gender inequality index \(^2\) value in 2015 was below – if only slightly – the average in LAC (see Figure 2); this indicates a comparatively lower level of gender inequality in most dimensions considered including maternal mortality, labor force participation and access to secondary education.\(^3\) Peru fares better than other Andean countries including Ecuador, Bolivia and Venezuela.\(^4\)

However, some very important differences between women and men still persist in the country (see Figures 1 and 3). More specifically, gender gaps are still large in access to quality jobs and in entrepreneurship. Women’s access to financial products is one of the lowest in the world. In addition, women continue being under-represented in politics,

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\(^2\) The UN Gender inequality index focuses on maternal mortality ratios, adolescent birth rate, share of women in parliaments, population with at least some secondary education, and labor force participation rates.

\(^3\) The country ranked 87 out of 188 countries included in the index worldwide.

\(^4\) LC6 Andean Countries include Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Venezuela and Ecuador.
regardless of the existing 30 percent quota for candidates’ lists, and in firms’ management. There are also important differences between men and women regarding the use of time and the distribution of household and caring tasks; this, together with the disproportionate representation of women in informal work explain the existing large gender wage gaps. Entrenched traditional gender norms, which may have strengthened over time in the country, underpin the persistence of the observed gaps.

Moreover, national data hide very relevant rural-to-urban and ethnic gender differences. There is evidence that gender inequality combines with other social factors such as residence and ethnicity in Peru. Women with an indigenous background, for instance, tend to be much more disadvantaged than non-indigenous women across all dimensions analyzed. The rural-urban background also contributes to shaping gender gaps: In most cases, rural women tend to be more disadvantaged than women living in cities. However, national aggregates ignore these very relevant intersections.\footnote{\textit{5} World Bank 2011}

\textbf{In addition, gender-based violence continues being a major social issue, largely in connection with the lack of adequate enforcement of the existing norms.} According to the most recent DHS data (2014) 70.8 percent of women who have had a partner reported suffering some kind of violence by the husband or partner. Moreover, women victims appear to be largely helpless; most of them do not search for assistance, in particular institutional, due to the perception of lack of effective support. The prevalence of patriarchal social norms often leads women victims to stay with their abusers. Institutions appear to lack the necessary capacity to curtail this phenomenon, and the enforcement of related regulations is poor.
Some key takeaways from Consultations held in March 2018

After completion of a first draft of the gender notes for the Andean countries, consultations were held in Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru with local stakeholders (CSO, academia, development partners) to gather insights, data and information on the key gender gaps and validate the information provided in the notes.

The following priorities emerged during those consultations:

• Gender-based violence, teenage pregnancy, and the low quality economic opportunities were highlighted as priority areas.

• The importance of persistent and traditional social norms that identify the role of women in the home as caregivers and not as actively pursuing work and income was referred to strongly and multiple times as one of the drivers behind some of the most pervasive gender inequalities observed.

• More attention is needed to diminish inequalities between rural and urban women: In fact, national or regional average data may not speak to the many different realities of different women (intersectionality).

Knowledge gaps and areas to focus more:

• The impact of climate change and resulting migration on gender relations was raised in all three countries as one area where more evidence and knowledge is needed.

• Better use of data: Even if gender disaggregated data may be available in countries, statistical offices may not have the capacity to process and analyze it sufficiently. Valuable information hence remains underexplored.

• The importance of better data on gender-based violence, including the support in setting up a comprehensive information system between different service providers was also mentioned.

• Promoting women’s economic opportunities may have positive preventive effect on gender-based violence – which as mentioned is among the key gender priorities in all the three countries visited.

• The importance of gender-sensitive infrastructure was also raised.
**Figure 3: Main developments and persistent gender gaps in Peru**

**PERU**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>ENDOWMENTS</strong></th>
<th><strong>ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES</strong></th>
<th><strong>AGENCY</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Educational gaps in primary and secondary education enrollment have been closed.</td>
<td>Female labor force participation is among the highest in the region; the gender gap in labor force participation is also comparatively small.</td>
<td>With the exception of the criminalization of abortion, the legal and institutional framework for gender equality in Peru appears to be advanced. Significant increases in female political representation in the past two decades both at national and local levels.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Significant reductions in maternal mortality and now comparable to regional standards.</td>
<td>The share of women in wage employment, which is associated with higher benefits and stability, is much lower than that of men.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Increase in births attended by skilled staff from 60 percent (2000) to 90 percent (2014).</td>
<td>Gender gaps in labor force participation are larger when there are children in the HH, especially when they are younger.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Adolescent fertility rate has decreased and remains below the LAC average.</td>
<td>Gender differences persist with regards to number of hours worked and the types of occupations or sectors.</td>
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**NEW AND PERSISTING CHALLENGES**

- Contraception use remains comparatively low.
- Significant urban-rural and also ethnic divides exist in access to maternal services.
- Reverse gender gaps (to the advantage of girls) can be identified in completion and in secondary and tertiary education enrollment.
- At the tertiary level, a growing and large gap can be observed to the advantage of women.
- The reasons for boys and girls to drop out differ: work is more important for boys, and household chores for girls.
- In line with regional trends, the incidence of teenage pregnancies is higher in rural areas among poorer women.
- Gender gaps in labor force participation are larger when there are children in the HH, especially when they are younger.
- Gender differences persist with regards to number of hours worked and the types of occupations or sectors.
- The share of women in wage employment, which is associated with higher benefits and stability, is much lower than that of men.
- Women are disproportionately represented in informal work, part-time jobs, and in traditionally female sectors and occupations.
- Large earning gaps persist, much above those observed in other LAC countries. Wage differences are mostly driven by informal employment (almost no gap in formal wage employment).
- The presence of women in management or ownership of firms is low for regional standards, as well as their access to financial products (e.g., bank accounts and loans).
- Female political representation remains slightly below the regional standards, despite the 30 percent quota in all candidates’ lists, probably in connection with the lack of a zipper system.
- In addition, violence against women is a persistent and concerning social issue.
- Most women victims do not search for assistance, and even less so for institutional aid. The share of women victims of violence that searched for assistance is low and has been constant for most of the period: In 2004, 40.7 percent of women who experienced any form of violence searched for assistance in their close environment, and only 24.2 percent turned to institutions for help. Carazas et al. 2015
- Traditional patriarchal social norms contribute to perpetuating the existing gender gaps.
- A majority of unpaid work is carried out by women in Peru (17hs per week by men versus 42.5hs by women). These differences are more pronounced in rural areas, in the presence of children and among working age women-men.
CHAPTER 1: THE AGENCY OF WOMEN

1.1 THE LEGAL AND INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR GENDER EQUALITY

The legal framework for gender equality appears to be comparatively advanced in Peru. Peru ranks low in the OECD Social Institutions and Gender Index 2014 (SIGI)\(^6\) - 31 out of 108 countries worldwide. This indicates a relatively high level of institutional gender equality, especially with regards to son bias, restricted physical integrity and restricted civil liberties. LAC on average shows good results in the SIGI, and Peru still lags behind many countries in the region. In particular, the country ranks medium in the areas of discriminatory family law and access to resources (see Figure 4 below). However, Peru’s ranking in this area is above that of other Andean comparator countries such as Ecuador, Bolivia and Venezuela.

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6 The OECD Development Centre’s Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI) is a cross-country measure of discrimination against women in social institutions (formal and informal laws, social norms, and practices). The index covers five dimensions of discriminatory social institutions, spanning major socio-economic areas that affect women’s lives: discriminatory family code, restricted physical integrity, son bias, restricted resources and assets, and restricted civil liberties. The SIGI’s variables quantify discriminatory social institutions such as unequal inheritance rights, early marriage, violence against women, and unequal land and property rights.

7 The SIGI comparison is included in this section because it has a strong focus on legal and institutional gaps.
No substantial legal differences appear to exist between women and men in the country. Peru is one of the 18 countries covered (out of 173) in the Women, Business and the Law report where no legal differences were identified between men and women. The country has signed and ratified all the most relevant international instruments in this area, and passed national legislation mandating or promoting gender equality in all key spheres of life (see annex 1).

However, enforcement issues seem to persist. Some sources for instance indicate that the new law on Violence against Women remains ineffective due to the lack of budget allocated to its implementation across sectors – e.g. judiciary, police, etc. The National Program against Family and Sexual Violence received 59 percent more money in 2017 than in 2016, but this is mainly devoted to the emergency centers and telephone hotline. The same sources indicate that not only resources but also capacity building will be required to improve the implementation of the law by institutions such as the police. Additional analysis on the adequate enforcement of gender equality legislation would be necessary.

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8 World Bank 2016

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Figure 4: Social Institutions and Gender Index value, LAC 2014

Source: OECD
** 1 impparity, 0 parity
The Ministry for Women and Vulnerable Populations is the main agency in the area of gender equality in Peru. Created by Decree Nº 1098, the Ministry is in charge of the integral development of women, the strengthening of families and of equality of opportunity between men and women. The law on its Organization and Functions specifically establishes that the Ministry is the ruling agency with regards to the national and sector policies on women, which revolve around the National Plan on Gender Equality 2012-2017 (see Annex 1 for further details). Other relevant institutions for the promotion and protection of gender equality exist in the country (see below).

The Observatory of Violence against Women established by the Law Nº. 30364 on Violence against Women, is in the process of being developed. The main objectives of the Observatory will include monitoring, collecting, producing and systematizing public policies and international commitments adopted by the State on gender equality.

Institutions for gender equality

The Regional Councils for Women are present in 19 Regional Governments as consultative and interlocution spaces with women.

As a response to the endemic problem of violence against women in the country, the Peruvian Ministry for Women and Vulnerable Populations decided to create in 1999 the Centros Emergencia Mujer as part of the National Program against Sexual and Family Violence. During the period 1999-2014, the number of WJC centers has grown from 13 in the first year to 226 by the end of 2014, covering 100% of the 24 regions of Peru and 96% of the provinces. The WJC centers are specialized police or judicial institutions whose main purpose is to improve access to justice to victims of domestic violence by providing legal, psychological and medical support.

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MESAGEN (Mesa de Género de la Cooperación Internacional en el Perú) also plays an important role in advancing women’s rights. This is an international assistance and coordination group that promotes gender equality and empowerment of women, girls, and adolescents in Peru through collaboration with public, private, and civil society organizations. The organization operates in three ways: 1) promote international assistance on gender equality and rights for women, girls, and adolescents;

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10 Kavanaugh et al. 2017
11 Source: Plan Nacional de Igualdad de Género 2012 - 2017
12 Source: Plan Nacional de Igualdad de Género 2012 - 2017
2) create spaces of dialogue between international assistance and public, private, and civil society organizations; and 3) carry out joint activities on gender equality and rights of women, girls, and adolescents. MESAGEN’s main priority areas are gender-based violence prevention, political participation of women, gender mainstreaming in public policy, and gender sensitive educational policies.13

1.2 MANIFESTATIONS OF THE LACK OF AGENCY

1.2.1 Political representation

Despite its steady growing trend with the establishment of a 30 percent quota, the share of women represented in Parliament is still low in Peru compared to the LAC average and relative to other Andean countries. The Peruvian legislation mandates a quota of at least 30 percent of women in candidate lists.14

As shown in Figure 5 below (left-hand graph), until the introduction of the gender quotas in 1997 the representation of women in the Peruvian Parliament barely exceeded 10 percent;
The comparatively poorer representation of women in Peru is probably related to the lower existing quota and the lack of a zipper system. Quotas generally strengthen the position of women in political parties, increase the number of capable, educated women with the necessary professional experience in the field of politics and management of states and have a symbolic function in terms of women’s political participation. However, the existing quota in Peru is low compared to those established in other countries in the region. Moreover, this measure is not effectively enforced in the country, since parties often position most women candidates at the end of their lists. The National Office for Electoral Processes, among others, promotes a legal reform that mandates a zipper system of alternate male-female candidates in all lists to ensure that quotas are effective.

15 Poskočilová 2015
16 Poskočilová 2015
The share of women ministers has increased in the last legislature, but is also relatively low. The percentage of women appointed as ministers has grown from 2006-2011 to 2011-2016, and then declined again in 2016 (see Figure 5, right-hand graph). In 2017, 31.6 percent of the ministries were occupied by women (INEI 2017). Most of them are in charge of areas more traditionally associated with women’s social roles (e.g., Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations, Health, Development and Social Inclusion, Environment and Justice and Human Rights). A recent study has connected the increase in female ministers with factors related to parliamentary quotas, such as the enhanced bargaining power of women, more suitable female candidates with contacts, a more evident support from voters to having women represented in government, the decreased risk of negative impacts on the credibility of the government and the possibility to reflect on the advantages of having better balanced political institutions. Yet, the share of women ministers in Peru is lower than that observed in other Andean countries with lower income levels including Ecuador and Bolivia (see Figure 6).

The local representation of women in local bodies as well as their presence in top courts is also lower than the regional average, especially among mayors. The percentage of women mayors has kept almost constant in Peru since 1998, and much below that observed in LAC on average (2.9 compared to 13.4 percent in 2016) (see Figure 7, left-hand graph). This is likely to be a result of the lack of alternation in candidates’ lists, and to the prevalence of social norms preventing women from participating at the local level, reflected for instance in violence and harassment towards female politicians. Although the share of women in local councilor positions has been higher than that observed in the rest of the region for much of the period, it became lower – at around 28 percent – since 2014 (see Figure 7, right-hand graph). The share of women in top judiciary bodies in Peru is also substantially lower than that observed in LAC on average – around 15 percent compared to almost 30 percent as regional average.

1.2.2 Violence against women

Femicide is a concerning phenomenon in all LAC countries. An escalating number of violent female homicides committed by men in the last two decades have compelled Latin American countries to adopt specific measures to curtail this phenomenon, especially after the Convention of Belém do Pará, such as the inclusion of “femicide” as a specific aggravated crime in countries’ legislation. Despite the difficulties in measuring and comparing the incidence of femicide, it is generally understood to involve the intentional murder of women because of their sex, and most usually by their current or former partners.
idence of these types of crimes across countries, related to the lack of capacity, under-reporting, etc., the region appears to have one of the highest rates of femicide in the world.

This is also the case in Peru. Between 2009 and 2016, 952 cases of femicides were reported.\(^{21}\) According to the existing official data, the femicide rate, close to 0.6 percent in 2016, has been constantly decreasing over the last ten years, and remains low for regional standards.\(^{22}\) For example, the cases of intimate femicide\(^ {23}\) decreased from 135 in 2009 to 92 in 2016. In addition, non-intimate femicide cases decreased from 19 to eight during that same period.\(^ {24}\) However, the available data in this regard are not reliable and may not offer an accurate picture about the real incidence of this phenomenon. Indeed, the Ministry for Women and Vulnerable Populations highlighted that since the Law on Violence against Women was passed in 2015 the number of femicides has increased – the number registered in 2017 relative to that of 2015 was 32 percent higher. This may be related to the enhanced easiness to identify these types of crimes, although further analysis would be necessary in order to understand the drivers of this change. Data from the 2017 INEI report on gender gaps also revealed that in 2016, 64 percent of victims of femicide were between the ages of 18 and 34, and more

\(^{21}\) INEI 2017

\(^{22}\) ECLAC - however, comparability of this data remains questionable given the potential differences in capacity and efforts to register and monitor these murders as femicides

\(^{23}\) Intimate femicide refers to femicide committed by partner, ex-partner, or family member while non-intimate femicide refers to femicide committed by a stranger such as neighbor, friend, or client, as defined by INEI

\(^{24}\) INEI 2017
than half of the cases between 2009 and 2016 occurred inside of the house.

**Domestic violence can have important repercussions for the entire household, especially for children.** For instance, a recent study found that exposure of the mother to such violence increases the probability of grade repetition for children below 11 years of age.\(^{25}\) Exposure to domestic violence can be psychologically harmful to children, and is often associated with physical violence against children and neglect.\(^{26}\) This type of violence has for instance been associated with internalizing behaviors in children, with decreased parental ability – and mental health – of mothers partially mediating this relationship in a sample of urban migrants in Peru.\(^{27}\)

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\(^{25}\) Alcazar and Ocampo 2016  
\(^{26}\) UNICEF 2016  
\(^{27}\) Kohrt et al. (2015)

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**There are also economic costs of domestic violence.** One study by GIZ (2013) found that intimate partner violence has high costs for businesses, and affects the labor productivity of the victims, as well as their abusers and colleagues. The authors examined various data including from the 2011 Demographic and Health Survey regarding women’s experiences of violence, and found that the total annual costs of domestic violence were estimated at $6.7 billion and equivalent of 3.7% loss of GDP driven by diminishing productivity. Another study found that 71.2% of female owners of microenterprises experienced intimate partner violence at least once during the relationship.\(^{28}\) Peruvian microenterprises lose between 1,982 and 2,417 millions of dollars per year, which is the equivalent of 1.2% of national GDP, from intimate partner violence. Other conclusions on the economic impact of gender based violence include the following: female victims of intimate-partner violence lost between 42.9 and 47.3 productive days by year; female owners of microenterprises that experienced intimate partner violence in the last month worked 1.6 times slower than usual; 98.3% of the female victims had to use out-of-pocket expense for their physical and mental health in the past month; and female owners who experienced violence in the past month were 1.6 times more likely to miss or not open their business because of sickness (Ibid).

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\(^{28}\) GIZ 2015c
Domestic violence remains a concerning social problem in Peru. According to the most recent DHS data (2014) 70.8 percent of women who have had a partner reported suffering some kind of violence by the husband or partner, including psychological or verbal abuse (67.4 percent), physical violence (32 percent), and sexual abuse (7.9 percent) (see Figure 8). At the same time, the number of cases of family violence registered by the police has grown steadily, by around 78 percent, between 2005 and 2014. The increase in reported cases may be a reflection of improvements in social awareness on the issue, progress in women’s empowerment or higher trust in institutions, although further analysis would be required to identify these associations. Moreover, it must be noted that official data is likely to underestimate the real incidence of this problem.29

Violence tends to be more common among middle-lower income, urban and less educated women, and among those who have witnessed or experienced domestic violence in childhood. The percentage of women who ever experienced physical violence by a spouse or partner is higher among urban than rural populations (Figure 9, left-hand graph), and lower among women with higher education (see Figure 9, right-hand graph). Physical violence also appears to be more common among women in the middle quintiles of income (II, III and IV), and particularly low among women in the wealthiest quintile. However, domestic violence is not restricted to low-income households: With the exception of the wealthiest quintile, the share of women reporting some form of violence across quintiles is remarkably similar.30 A recent study using DHS (ENDES) data (2016) confirmed that low educational attainment, low socioeconomic status and urban residence increased the likelihood of abuse; however, the most significant risk were having witnessed parental domestic violence and having experienced physical punishment during childhood.31

Most women victims do not search for assistance, and even less so for institutional aid. The share of women victims of violence that searched for assistance is low and has been constant for most of the period: In 2014, 40.7 percent of women who experienced any form of violence searched for assistance in their close environment, and only 24.2 percent turned to institutions for help.32 In addition, while 91.5 percent of female owners of microenterprises that experienced violence sought help from family members, only 18.6 percent went to the police.33 This is largely related to the perception that institutions will not provide

29 The rates reflected in the DHS compare favorably to the WHO 2005 survey, which used a more suited methodology to capture the prevalence of violence. Moreover, the under-reporting of gender-based violence is common across countries, often leading to substantial under-estimations in official data.

30 World Bank 2017
31 Castro et al. 2017
32 Carazas et al. 2015
33 GIZ 2015c
adequate help, and to the prevalence of patriarchal social norms preventing women from trying to change their situation.

**Institutions do not provide effective support to women’s victims.** On the state level, women’s emergency centers and shelters are chronically underfunded. According to a recent qualitative study [34], various institutions have failed to help in particular impoverished women to leave their abusers, either because they are indifferent to the abuse (police, prosecutors), inaccessible to victims (governmental agencies), or have inadequate resources to provide assistance (shelters). Many of the women interviewed attributed the difficulties they had in accessing resources to poverty—they believed that if they were not poor, institutions would be more responsive to their needs. [35]

**Social barriers to leaving abusers are also persistent.** According to a qualitative study, although Peru was one of the first Latin American countries to criminalize domestic violence, women still face substantial personal and institutional barriers to leaving their abusers. Personal obstacles include the attitudes of family members who put pressure on these women to stay in their relationships and cultural ideals of what it means to be a “good” wife and mother. [36] Indeed, out of the femicide cases registered over the last four years less than a fourth ended up in a condemnatory sentence; in half of these cases the sentence was lower than 15 years in prison. [37]

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[34] Based on qualitative interviews with 38 Peruvian women, the majority of whom were indigenous or mestizas.

[35] Alcalde 2010

[36] Alcalde 2010

[37] https://thewire.in/165270/ill-tell-story-violence-wom-
Access to justice seems to be very relevant in this regard. A recent study found that providing better access to justice for women can reduce domestic violence, femicides and female hospitalizations for assault and have positive spillovers on children’s human capital. After the opening of the Centros Emergencia Mujer 38, femicides and hospitalizations for assault declined by 2-7 percent and children improved their school attendance by 2 percent. Moreover, larger benefits are seen in girls at school. In addition, women resort more to formal institutions in case of violence, suggesting an increase in trust on state institutions which might lead also to an improvement in women’s intra-household bargaining power.39

38 WJC centers are specialized police or judicial institutions whose main purpose is to improve access to justice to victims of domestic violence by providing legal, psychological and medical support.

39 Kavanaugh et al. 2017

40 During consultations, GIZ shared information about their regional program ComVoMujer (“Combatir la Violencia contra las Mujeres en Latinoamérica”) which aims to promote collaboration among the state, non-state, and private sectors in fighting gender-based violence in Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Paraguay. The project improves exchange of experiences, lessons learned, and cooperation between regional and national actors, and promotes partnership with the private sector. The initiative seeks to reduce violence against women (with a focus on preventive approaches) through a regional orientation involving actors from different sectors (private sector, government institutions, universities, civil society, women’s organizations and networks, and media). Results of the project include: “Ruta Participativa: ¡De salto en salto a la violencia ponemos alto!” The program is directed at boys and girls between the ages of 6 and 9 on the topic of violence prevention. More than 17,000 children have been educated on the topic and 1,800 teachers have been trained.

1.2.3 Social attitudes towards women and aspirations

Patriarchal social norms are persistent in relevant areas such as labor markets and decision-making. Around 17.6 percent of participants in the 2013 World Values Survey in Peru agreed with the statement that men should be given priority over women at times of jobs scarcity. In addition, around 19 percent agreed that men make better political leaders than women, while around 14 percent believe that men are better business executives. More strikingly, violence against women is justified by a still large share of the population.41 Only 65.5 percent of the surveyed population answered that beating a wife is never justified in 2013. In addition, over 50 percent considered abortion never justifiable and 23 percent held the same view with regards to divorce (see Figure 10). Social norms also play a considerable role in determining education policy.42

41 One report by the GIZ found that found that the traditional roles of men and women in society throughout history contribute to the root causes of violence against women. Similarly, another report by GIZ highlighted that the change of attitudes on gender and masculinity during the 18th century played a significant role in the reduction of violence against women during that time.

42 Social norms are also relevant to education. For example, in 2016, the “Con mis hijos no te metas” movement occurred in response to policies by the Peruvian government on implementing a gender approach in schools. Consequently, the gender curriculum had to be taken out of schools and is pending final vote from the Supreme Court, reflecting the influence of radical and conservative views in hindering progress on gender equality.
The evolution of the survey results between 2006 and 2013 suggests that these traditional gender norms may have strengthened in Peru. For instance, the share of respondents who disagreed with the statement that men should be given priority at times of job scarcity was higher in 2006 than in 2013: 71 percent compared to 63 percent. It is also noteworthy that while in 2006 80 percent of respondents disagreed with the statement that men make better political leaders than women, this share declined to 75 percent in 2013 (see Figure 9). The CEDAW Committee has expressed its concern over the prevalence of such discriminatory social norms in its last recommendations. Further research in this area would be necessary to adequately assess changes in social perceptions over the period.

Social norms may give shape to women’s aspirations or internal drivers of agency. Having the possibility of overcoming a gender gap through, say, the availability of a specific service, does not necessary entail that women will have effective access to it; indeed, aspirations, self-esteem or knowledge are all important aspects operating as internal constraints to agency; these therefore deserve similar attention in intervention design, and are often shaped to a large extent by the existing social norms in the close entourage of women and girls. Interventions aimed at improving specific female development outcomes may at the same time improve their agency by focusing on internal aspects of agency. Perova and Vakis (2013) offer several examples of interventions where the agency of women has been improved directly or indirectly for the specific Peruvian context.

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43 Traditional gender attitudes are seen at schools. For example, gender curriculum had to be taken out of the school and is pending final vote from the Supreme Court. Radical and conservative positions have gained relevance and power in the country making progress in this area more difficult. Manifestations under the slogan ‘Con mi hijo no te metas’ are reflective of their opposition to the curriculum.

44 Perova and Vakis (2013)
**Figure 10: World Values Survey responses on gender attitudes 2013 and 2006**

- **When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women - 2013**
  - Agree: 17.6%
  - Neither: 16.1%
  - Disagree: 63.4%
  - No answer: 1.1%
  - Don’t know: 1.9%
  - 2006: Agree: 17.3%, Neither: 9.3%, Disagree: 71.2%

- **If a woman earns more money than her husband, it’s almost certain to cause problems - 2013**
  - Agree: 25.1%
  - Neither: 26.4%
  - Disagree: 43.9%
  - No answer: 1.2%
  - Don’t know: 3.4%
  - 2016: Agree: 60.9%, Neither: 18.2%, Disagree: 16.9%

- **On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do - 2013**
  - Agree: 4.1%
  - Neither: 14.8%
  - Disagree: 44.8%
  - Strongly disagree: 30.3%
  - No answer: 1.8%
  - Don’t know: 4.2%
  - 2006: Agree: 2.3%, Neither: 14.7%, Disagree: 69.1%

- **Having a job is the best way for a woman to be an independent person - 2013**
  - Agree: 30.3%
  - Neither: 44.8%
  - Disagree: 14.8%
  - Strongly disagree: 4.1%
  - No answer: 1.8%
  - Don’t know: 4.2%
  - 2016: Agree: 2.3%, Neither: 14.7%, Disagree: 11.1%

- **On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do - 2006**
  - Agree: 2.3%
  - Neither: 14.7%
  - Disagree: 69.1%
  - Strongly disagree: 11.1%
  - No answer: 2.7%
A university education is more important for a boy than for a girl - 2013

- Agree strongly: 53%
- Agree: 9%
- Disagree: 30%
- Strongly disagree: 17%
- No answer: 2%
- Don't know: 

- Agree strongly: 19%
- Agree: 10%
- Disagree: 15%
- Strongly disagree: 2%
- No answer: 

On the whole, men make better business executives than women do - 2013

- Agree strongly: 51%
- Agree: 12%
- Disagree: 28%
- Strongly disagree: 4%
- No answer: 0%
- Don't know: 

- Agree strongly: 18%
- Agree: 12%
- Disagree: 16%
- Strongly disagree: 3%
- No answer: 

When a mother works for pay, the children suffer - 2013

- Agree strongly: 47%
- Agree: 29%
- Disagree: 14%
- Strongly disagree: 2%
- No answer: 4%
- Don't know: 

- Agree strongly: 37%
- Agree: 29%
- Disagree: 9%
- Strongly disagree: 2%
- No answer: 6%
- Don't know: 

Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay - 2013

- Agree strongly: 37%
- Agree: 15%
- Disagree: 14%
- Strongly disagree: 9%
- No answer: 4%
- Don't know: 6%

- Agree strongly: 17%
- Agree: 29%
- Disagree: 8%
- Strongly disagree: 2%
- No answer: 5%
- Don't know: 4%

Gender Gaps in Peru: an overview
Abortion - 2013

- Never: 57.4%
- 2: 10.9%
- 3: 5.5%
- 4: 4.9%
- 5: 8.8%
- 6: 2.1%
- 7: 2.1%
- 8: 2.1%
- 9: 0.8%
- Always: 1.5%
- No answer: 1.5%
- Don't know: 1.5%

Divorce - 2013

- Never: 23.3%
- 2: 7.3%
- 3: 6.1%
- 4: 6.5%
- 5: 6.5%
- 6: 7.8%
- 7: 6.5%
- 8: 7.8%
- 9: 4.6%
- Always: 9.9%
- No answer: 1.6%
- Don't know: 2.2%

A man to beat his wife - 2013

- Never: 65.5%
- 2: 13.8%
- 3: 6.5%
- 4: 4.1%
- 5: 3.3%
- 6: 1.4%
- 7: 0.6%
- 8: 0.6%
- 9: 1.2%
- Always: 1.2%
- No answer: 0.6%
- Don't know: 0.6%
Improving the agency of women in Peru

Juntos is a CCT program implemented in Peru since 2005; it offers eligible families a monthly cash transfer conditional on attending regular health controls for children under 5, school attendance of children 6-14 and attending prenatal and post-natal check-ups.

Corredor Puno-Cusco is focused on the promotion of savings through incentives among rural women with low incomes; for that purpose, it provides technical assistance in the use of financial services.

The Innovative Socio-economic Interventions against Tuberculosis (ISIAT) project offers TB affected families integrated community and household socio-economic interventions aiming to enhance uptake of TB care and reduce poverty. As part of the project, Community workshops focusing on gender equality were pragmatically complemented with the facilitation of income-generating activities for both sexes; and with the promotion of TB screening for women as well as for men during all community and household events.

The existing research suggests that these programs have achieved their objectives. *Juntos* has increased welfare outcomes of beneficiary families, as well as their utilization of medical services (Perova and Vakis, 2009); the *Corredor Puno-Cusco* program improved the financial inclusion of rural indigenous women (Trivelli and Yankari, 2008); while ISIAT interventions have shown positive impacts on a number of TB related outcomes (Rocha et al., 2011).

While these programs were successful in achieving their goals, the evidence suggests that they also contributed to enhancing the agency of their beneficiaries. In some cases, the programs jointly lifted external and internal constraints. In other cases, the programs only affected one component of agency – external or internal – and the beneficiaries’ agency expanded due to a joint effect of the program and some additional factor, which addressed the other component.

As an example, econometric analysis suggests that enrollment in the Juntos program is associated with a 9 percent decrease in physical violence and an 11 percent decrease in emotional violence, (Perova, 2009). In addition, evidence from the qualitative studies suggests that participating in the Corredor program significantly raised the ahorristas’ level of control over resources.

Source: Perova and Vakis (2013)
CHAPTER 2: ENDOWMENTS

2.1 HEALTH

2.1.1 Life expectancy, mortality and morbidity

Life expectancy and mortality rates show the usual trend for a LAC upper-middle income country. Life expectancy is higher for women than men, and it has been increasing steadily since 1996 for both groups. Female life expectancy in Peru, at 77.4 years in 2015, is however slightly lower than the LAC average of 78.4.\textsuperscript{45} Mortality rates for both men and women have been decreasing over the last two decades. The gender gap in mortality is small in Peru for regional standards largely because male mortality is much lower. Both male and female mortality are higher in Peru than the UMI average, although the gender gap is similar. The main cause of death among women is cancer: 22.6 percent of deaths in 2014 compared to 20.7 percent among men. Accidents, on the contrary, account for 13.2 percent of deaths among men compared to only 5.2 percent among women. Circulatory illness is the second cause for both groups, accounting for 14.8 of deaths among women and 16.6 percent of deaths among men.\textsuperscript{46}

Some gender gaps can be observed in morbidity, although the reasons for these trends are not clear. The share of women with chronic health conditions is much higher than

\textsuperscript{45} WDI
\textsuperscript{46} INEI 2016
that of men and it has been rapidly growing over the last years. In 2016, 40.6 percent of women reported having chronic health problems compared to only 32.2 percent of men. Potential factors explaining this trend include the long and growing working hours of women, or more frequent health checkups among women than men. However, further research would be necessary in order to confirm these associations. Although the risk to suffer mental illness is the same among men and women, the incidence of serious depression is higher among the later. HIV/AIDS is more frequent among men than women; yet the number of reported cases among women who have been infected by their partners has been increasing in recent years. Girls generally show better health outcomes than boys. For instance, girls have a lower incidence of chronic malnutrition and lower incidence of anemia.

2.1.2 Fertility trends

The marked drop in fertility rates appears to have been a major driver of women’s labor market inclusion in Peru. The fertility rate in Peru has decreased from above 3 births per woman in 1996 to less than 2.5 in 2015 (see Figure 11). However, it is higher than that registered on average for the LAC region and among upper-middle income countries. Changes in fertility partly explain the ongoing changes in the age structure of the population, and are related to shifts in values, life styles, and sexual and marital behaviors, such as the increasing use of contraceptives and the postponement in the age of marriage and childbirth. Moreover, the drop in fertility explains the progressive incorporation of women to the labor market in Peru. According to a recent study, 27 percent of the total increase in women’s rate of employment between 1993 and 2007 can be attributed to the reduction in fertility rates.

Fertility is higher among rural women, women with lower educational attainment and those from the poorest quintiles. There is a substantial gap in fertility rates between rural and urban areas (see Figure 12, left-hand graph). In 2015 women in rural areas had 3.3
children on average compared to 2.3 in urban areas. However, fertility rates are falling much faster in rural areas. In 2015, women with no education had an average of 3.7 children compared to only 2.1 children among women with higher than secondary education (see Figure 12, right-hand graph). In addition, it is women from the poorest quintile that show the highest fertility rates over time: In 2015, women in this quintile had on average 3.5 children compared to 1.9 among women in the wealthiest quintile.

2.1.3 Maternal mortality and access to health services

Maternal mortality rates in Peru have dropped significantly over time and are now comparable to regional standards, although still far from the UMI average. The maternal mortality rate in Peru was much higher than the LAC average in 1996; however, since then and up to 2012-2015 it has converged to regional levels. Yet it still remains much above the UMI average (see Figure 13).

This trend is likely to be the result of the increase in access to maternal health services, especially in urban areas; indicators in rural areas, however, lag behind. The share of births attended by skilled staff has increased from around 60 percent in 2000, much below the LAC average, to almost 94 percent in 2016. The same trend can be observed with regards to the share of women receiving prenatal care for the elderly and children when they are sick. In the public system, the lack of an appointment system and frequent stock-outs lead to much loss of time, resulting in a disproportionate loss of productivity for women, as cited by the World Bank report.

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53 Poorly performing health services disproportionately affect women. Mothers and daughters often are responsible for caring for the elderly and children when they are sick.

54 INEI 2017
care, which has substantially increased reaching almost 100 percent in 2013 since 1996. However, in 2016, 79.9 births per 100,000 live births in rural areas were attended by skilled health personnel (an increase from 44.9 in 2004/2006) compared to 98.5 births in urban areas (which slightly increased from 91.9 in 2004/2006) (INEI 2017).

**The different use in these services in rural areas can be associated with different factors, including differences in preferences among indigenous peoples groups.** The lack of adequate services in remote areas, distance to facilities and scarce or inappropriate infrastructures may be some of the explicative factors of rural-urban gaps (see below). In addition, differences in preferences among ethnic groups that concentrate in rural areas can also partly account for these discrepancies. For instance a qualitative study among Kukama Kukamiria women found that a preference for traditional care exists, and is justified based on feelings of neglect and vulnerability at institutionalized health centers, resulting from the lack of consideration by the health services for the cultural and well-being specificities of this group. Another qualitative assessment found that cultural barriers were important among ethnic women, leading the Government to develop and implement some targeted measures (see below). 55

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55 Avellaneda Yajahuanca et al. 2013
Reducing maternal mortality in rural areas of Peru

Maternal and peri-natal mortality are closely related to the coverage of institutional births (IBs) (and to the capacity of health care facilities to adequately attend childbirth). Even though on average 70 percent of births were IBs in 2005, this varied between over 90 percent in urban areas and under 50 percent in rural areas; falling as low as 25 percent in some regions. Education level, wealth index, area of residence, and affiliation to a health insurance affect the probability of having an institutional delivery.

However, there might be non-monetary barriers on the demand side, such as cultural factors. In order to understand the role of cultural beliefs in seeking birth care, a qualitative assessment was carried out in 2008 in four rural districts of extreme poverty in the Sierra region –two districts located in mainly Quechua speaking areas, and two in Aymara speaking zones. This assessment suggests that some indigenous women might perceive IBs as ‘inappropriate’ and not respectful of their cultural preferences and standards. Related to that, the Government has implemented several important policy actions which, if sustained and fully implemented, are likely to reinforce the positive trend in IB coverage.

MINSA has promoted culturally-informed practices related to the birthing process, such as allowing a vertical birthing position, use of outer clothing, presence of family members, the participation of unrelated males, specific foods, light and others, as well as the disposition of the placenta by the mother. In 2005 Peru adopted the Technical Norm for Attention of Vertical Intercultural births. The norm was further strengthened by the 2006 Technical Health Norm for Crosscutting Focus on Human Rights, Gender Equity, and Interculturality in Health which promotes respect for cultural diversity by health workers. Finally, in 2008 the National Health Strategy for Indigenous Peoples was approved providing for modification of health services and facilities such that they are more culturally appropriate, which is particularly relevant to childbirth. Maternal waiting homes, where pregnant women and their relatives can live in the weeks before the birth, have been developed since 1997, to bring maternal care to women facing access barriers.

The World Bank Peru REACT Development Policy Loan represents a good reference of gender mainstreaming in this area. This issue of low levels of IBs in rural areas and particularly amongst indigenous women is explicitly mentioned as an objective: Increasing institutional births coverage in the 10 poorest regions by over 40 percent between 2005 and 2011. In
addition, MINSA is monitoring and reporting on compliance with the norm for culturally adequate birth attention. Among the expected outcomes, there are two related to these objectives.

Women living in remote areas have limited access to health services. A study on women at La Pampa, an illegal gold mining in Peru’s Madre de Dios region of the Amazon found that the public health care system had limited coverage for temporary female migrant workers.\textsuperscript{56} The authors analyzed the female composition, especially women subject to labor and sexual exploitation at this zone and found limited access to and use of health services among this group of women. High incidences of disease among the surveyed women from the study caused by high levels of female exploitation were also identified.

It must be noted in this regard that abortion is still considered a crime in the country. Abortion is considered a crime against life, the body and health in the Criminal Code of 1991 and is only allowed in Peru based on therapeutic reasons up to 22 weeks. A recent (2015) attempt to decriminalize abortion in cases of rape and forced pregnancy was not successful (the bill was rejected in Parliament) but raised a controversial public debate on the issue that keeps the Peruvian civil society divided.

2.1.4 Contraceptive use and teenage pregnancy

The prevalence of contraceptive use has increased at a slow pace to higher-than-LAC average levels in 2015. The use of contraceptives in Peru, at 65 percent in 2015, is above the LAC average; in particular, use prevalence is high compared to other Andean countries such as Ecuador, Chile, Bolivia and Venezuela (see Figure 15). Although much positive progress has been made over time, in 2015 there was still an unsatisfied demand for family planning of over 10 percent of women. The use of modern contraceptives is higher in urban areas (by 7.5 percentage points), while that of traditional methods is more common in rural areas (by 6.9 percentage points).\textsuperscript{57}

Furthermore, there have been improvements in reproductive health rights, especially for the poor who do not have the financial means to buy medication out of pocket. For example, in August 2016, the First Constitutional Court of Lima ordered through a precautionary measure that the emergency oral contraceptive (EOC or morning-after pill) be made effective in all public health centers

\textsuperscript{56} Arriarán and Chávez 2017  
\textsuperscript{57} INEI 2016
in the country free of charge. This reversed a 2009 judgement by the Constitutional Tribunal that prohibited free distribution of the EOC, although it allowed paid distribution in the private sector. Following this new judgment, Ministry of Health started offering emergency contraception free of charge.

Adolescent fertility has decreased over time, and is lower than the LAC average, although its incidence is higher among lower

income and rural women. At the same time, the adolescent fertility rate has decreased significantly since 1996, always remaining below the average for LAC (see Figure 16, left-hand graph). The adolescent fertility rate currently stands at 48.5 (births per 1000 women age 15-19) compared to 63.7 for the region. The rate of teenage pregnancy in Peru is much lower than that observed in most of the LAC countries, and especially other Andean countries including Ecuador, Bolivia and Venezuela (see Figure 16, right-hand graph). However, the rate of teenage pregnancy differs among groups. In 2015, 24.9 percent of the young women (15-19) in the poorest quintile were mothers or pregnant (see Figure 17, left-hand graph). In the same year, the share of rural young women who were mothers

58 This report presents a concise, descriptive analysis of levels and trends in key family planning indicators from Model-based Estimates and Projections of Family Planning Indicators 2015 and the data set World Contraceptive Use 2015, representing 195 countries or areas. The Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat provides regular updates of the estimates and projections of family planning indicators as part of its contribution to global monitoring of progress on internationally-agreed targets to achieve universal access to sexual and reproductive health.

59 Cunningham et al 2008.
or pregnant was 22.5 percent compared to 10.8 percent in urban areas (see Figure 17, right-hand graph).60

60 INEI 2016

By region, the highest rates of adolescent fertility is found in the Amazon. In 2016, 23.3 percent of adolescents who were mothers or pregnant for the first time were from the Am-
azon, 14.4 percent were from the coastal part of the country (not including Lima), and 12.6 percent were from the mountain range. Only 8.6 percent were from the metropolitan area of Lima (province of Lima and Callao).62

2.2 EDUCATION

2.2.1 Literacy

The literacy rate is still larger among men than women, especially in rural areas and among indigenous populations. Literacy rates have steadily increased among women and men in Peru over the last decades; the gender gap has also decreased, from 11.7 to 6 percentage points between 2003 and 2015 – among 25-65 year olds. As expected, the gender gap is larger among older age groups: 29.9 percent among women compared to 9.1 percent among men in the 60+ year old group were illiterate in 2015. The differences are also much more pronounced in the case of native-speaking (i.e. indigenous) populations, and among those populations living in rural areas. For native women living in rural areas, in particular, illiteracy rates reached 33.6 percent compared to 9.2 among men.63

Figure 18: Tertiary education enrolment rates, net

Source: SEDLAC, ENAHO

2.2.2 Gender gaps in enrolment

There are no overall gender gaps in access to primary and secondary education in Peru; however, women from the poorest quintile are much less likely to enroll in secondary education. Around 99 percent of both girls and boys were enrolled at the primary level in 2015, up from less than 97 percent in 2004. In addition, there are no differences in access based on socio-economic background, which indicates that equity has been attained at this educational level.64 Slightly below 90 percent of both girls and boys were enrolled in secondary education in 2015, up from under 70 percent among girls in 2003 and around 74 percent for boys in the same year. However, at this

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61 INEI 2017
62 INEI 2017
63 INEI 2016
64 INEI 2016
level substantial gaps between the poorest and wealthiest quintiles are identified: While 91.2 percent of women in the richest quintile were enrolled in 2015, this percentage declines to 72.6 for women in the poorest quintile. Among men the difference was not as pronounced, although it also exists: 74.3 percent of men in the poorest quintile compared to 88.8 percent in the wealthiest quintile were enrolled in secondary education in 2015.\(^{65}\)

Moreover, women from the lowest quintile are also less likely to attend secondary school. While the primary school attendance rates were similar for women from the poorest and wealthiest quintiles (91.0 percent and 92.9 percent, respectively\(^{66}\)), the differences were much higher for secondary school attendance rates. For example, in 2016, only 72.9 percent of women from the poorest quintile attended secondary school compared to 89.4 percent of women from the richest quintile.\(^{67}\) For men, the primary school attendance rates were also similar and actually favored men from the poorest quintile (93.1 percent vs. 90.8 percent), however, differences were more pronounced in secondary school rates (76.0 percent of men in the poorest quintile compared to 92.7 percent in the wealthiest quintile).\(^{68}\)

At the tertiary level, a growing and large gap can be observed to the advantage of women. Indeed, 43 percent of women compared to 34 percent among men were enrolled at this level in 2015. This reverse gender gap has been increasing since 2007, which calls for attention (See Figure 18).

### 2.2.3 Attainment/dropout and performance

Primary and secondary education completion rates in 2015 appear to be much higher among girls than boys. Primary completion rates have been higher among girls than boys since 2005; this reverse gender gap was close to the LAC average in 2015. A similar pattern can be observed in lower secondary completion rates. Completion rates are below 90 percent at this level, with girls outperforming boys both in Peru and LAC; both girls and boys show higher completion rates at the lower secondary level in the country compared to the LAC average.

The gender gap in educational attainment at the post-secondary level has disappeared over time. Only slightly over 20 percent of the population older than 25 years old has completed post-secondary education in Peru. The existing gender gap to the detriment of women seems to have closed since 2009: In 2015, the share of women and men with such educational level were very similar. When observing the number of years of education among both men and women by age group, it appears evident that the existing gap has been closed for the younger groups. Indeed, in the

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65 INEI 2016
66 INEI 2017
67 INEI 2017
68 INEI 2017
group of 15-19 year olds, women have a slight advantage.  

**Important gender gaps appear to exist in educational performance.** Based on the national second-grade test (ECE) and international exams such as TERCE or PISA, boys outperform girls in mathematics, while girls outperform boys in language. This is a common pattern across LAC countries.

2.2.4 Factors that explain differences in completion

The reasons for both boys and girls not to be in school are different. The main reasons not to be enrolled in education for boys in Peru in 2016 – other than having finished studies, being in vacation or in pre-university academies – were work and economic problems; for girls, however, economic problems and work were as important as dedication to household chores (See Figure 19). The gender gaps in attainment are also much higher in rural than urban areas of the country, while both female and male years of education are much lower in rural than urban areas.

**Figure 19: Reasons not to be enrolled in education (basic and higher) 2016**

![Figure 19: Reasons not to be enrolled in education (basic and higher) 2016](image)

Source: ENAHO?

69 INEI 2016  
70 World Bank 2017  
71 However, there are programs in place to help boys and girls who have not finished secondary school. For instance, “Beca Doble Oportunidad” by Peru’s Ministry of Education provides scholarships for students between the ages of 17 and 25 who have not completed secondary school, and at the same time, trains them to enter the labor market. The scholarship aims to help at-risk youth who are behind in school achieve basic education and receive technical training needed to improve their employability and participation in the labor market (PRONABEC 2017).
CHAPTER 3: ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES

3.1 LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION

Peru is among the countries in LAC where female labor force participation rates are highest, and the gender gap is the smallest in the region. The gap in labor force participation between men and women in Peru has remained almost constant for the last decade, although it is comparatively small. Female labor force participation is almost 77 percent compared to male labor force participation rates of 95 percent in 2015 (see Figure 20). There is evidence that the drop in fertility rates has been a major driver of the increase in female labor force participation in recent years.

Gaps in participation are larger among married people, those with children, and among Afro-Peruvian populations; FLFP is higher among indigenous than non-indigenous peoples. The gender gap in LFP is similar in rural and urban areas; however, the labor force participation of both men and women tends to be higher in rural areas (see Figure 21). Gender gaps are also lowest among those women and men who never married as compared to married and cohabiting people (Figure 22, left-hand graph); in addition, the gender gap is larger when there are children, especially when they are younger (Figure 22 right-hand graph). The gap tends also to be smaller with
gender gaps in peru an overview

Figure 20: Labor force participation LAC 2015

Source: SEDLAC

Figure 21: Labor force participation by location

Source: ENAHO?

age (younger age groups do not seem to have such large gaps in participation); the gap is largest among the 55-64 years old group. Women and men living in female-headed houses also face smaller differences as compared to those living in male-headed households. The female labor force participation is higher among indigenous than non-indigenous populations: 71.5 compared to 63.6 percent in 2015. On the contrary, the gender gap in participation is also larger for Afro-Peruvian populations.72

72 World Bank 2017
3.2 UNEMPLOYMENT

Unemployment rates have been substantially higher among women than men since 2003, up till 2015 when the difference became very small. Unemployment rates have substantially declined for both men and women since 2003. The gap in favor of men has been large over the period and up till 2014 and 2015, when it narrowed substantially. In 2015, the unemployment rate among women reached 2.2 percent, 0.2 percentage points above that of men. Among 15-24 year olds this gap reverses: In 2015, unemployment rates for male youth reached 7 percent compared to 6.3 percent among women.

Women are disproportionately represented among the ni-nis. In Peru, the share of women who are neither working nor studying (ni-nis) is over twice that of men in the group of 15-29 year olds: 23.6 vis-à-vis 11.9 percent in 2015. The gender gap tends to grow with age. Most of male ni-nis are single, while 41 percent of the women ni-nis live with their partners and 8.5 percent are married. It must be however noted that the share of women ni-nis in Peru is much lower than the average for LAC, and the gender gap is much smaller. 73

Among other factors, the ni-ni phenomenon appears to be related to gender roles and time use patterns. Women in the 18-29 years old group dedicate an average of 37 hours and 38 minutes per week to non-remu-

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nerated activities compared to 13 hours and 27 minutes among men. The time burden appears to increase with age forcing women to choose between studying, working or dedicating full time to domestic chores.\textsuperscript{74} Indeed, the share of women 14+ in Peru who do not have their own income was 32.2 percent in 2015, compared to only 12.5 percent among men. This gap is much larger in rural areas, where the percentage of women without an income increases to 47.7 percent, compared to 13.3 percent of men.\textsuperscript{75}

\section*{3.3 QUALITY OF EMPLOYMENT}

The share of women in waged employment is much lower than that of men. Women are frequently self-employed or engaged in non-remunerated family work: 34.8 and 17.8 percent of women were in these types of occupations in 2015. However, the share of women in wage employment, which is associated with higher benefits and stability, is much lower than that of men: 38.3 percent of women compared to 53.2 percent of men (see Figure 23). That is likely to explain to a certain extent the observed differences in access to any pension.

\textsuperscript{74} Scheerens 2016
\textsuperscript{75} INEI 2016
Women are also more frequently found in informal jobs than men. The share of women and men in informal jobs has decreased since 2003; over the period, a larger share of women than of men has been engaged in informal work – 5 percentage points higher in 2015. Informality is much higher among both men and women in rural than in urban areas. For example, in 2016, 96.4 percent of women and 94.5 percent of men in rural areas worked in the informal sector compared to 69 percent of women and 61.4 percent of men in urban areas. Jobs in the informal sector are characterized by low productivity and protection levels, and lower salaries.

Gender differences persist with regards to the number of hours worked and the types of occupations or sectors. The number of weekly hours in all jobs has been systematically higher among men than women. Men have worked around 45 hours per week compared to around 37 among women between 2003 and 2015. Most women are engaged in services and trade (40.5 and 25.6 percent respectively), while men concentrate in agriculture (27 percent), services (23.1 percent), trade (12.4 percent) and manufacturing (10.1 percent).

3.4 Entrepreneurship and Access to Finance

Peru is one of the LAC countries that offer a more favorable environment for female entrepreneurship. According to a recent ranking exercise, with its robust business networks and technical support programs for SMEs, PERU ranked a close second in the region in the environment for female entrepreneurship, only after Chile. In 2014 women made up 40 percent of all formal entrepreneurs, nearly all micro and small businesses. The number of formal female entrepreneurs increased by 31 percent between 2004 and 2014; female owned business however tend to earn significantly less than their male-owned counterparts and they tend to remain informal, which significantly constraints their growth potential.

Although the percentage of women with an account in a financial institution has increased between 2011 and 2014 it still remains very low for regional standards. The share of both women and men with bank accounts is low for regional standards and the existing gender gap is large compared to the LAC average (See Figures 24 and 25). Only 22 percent of women report having an account in

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76 INEI 2016
77 INEI 2016
78 INEI 2017
79 INEI 2016
81 USAID and APEC 2016
Peru, one of the lowest rates in the world. The lack of penetration of financial services appears to be related to the high costs of accessing financial services.82

Women who start enterprises generally begin with their own funds, borrow from friends or family, or seek other sources. According to the WEVentre Scope Index 2013, 46.7 percent of capital investments and 20 percent of the working capital of women-led micro and small enterprises in Peru are financed by banks. Moreover, 52 percent of borrowers of microloans in Peru are women, representing 42 percent of the microfinance portfolio. Financial literacy remains an obstacle to grow women-owned business. 83

82 World Bank 2017
83 USAID and APEC 2016

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Figure 24: Female/male with an account at a financial institution

Source: WDI
Note: LAC excludes high income countries

Figure 25: Female/male with an account at a financial institution LAC

Female - 2014

- MUS
- SRB
- CHN
- MKD
- BHR
- CRI
- ZAF
- RUS
- LBN
- DZA
- NAM
- BWA
- KAZ
- ARG
- BLZ
- ALB
- PER
- GAB
- TKM
3.5 TIME USE

A majority of unpaid work is carried out by women in Peru. According to the last (2010) time use survey while men dedicate 15 hours and 54 minutes per week to unpaid work activities, the amount of hours among women more than doubles: 39 hours and 28 minutes. Men also dedicate more time to paid work activities than women: 50 hours and 46 minutes vs. 36 hours and 27 minutes (see Figure 26).

These differences are more pronounced in rural areas, in the presence of children and among working age populations. The gender differences in the load of unpaid work-
ing time are even larger when there are children under 5 years old, followed by those cases where there are children under 15 years old in the household. The hours of non-remunerated working time are more numerous among both women and men in rural areas, and the gender gap is larger. In rural areas, women spent 47 hours and nine minutes and 29 hours and six minutes on unpaid and paid work, respectively, compared to 20 hours and 11 minutes and 44 hours and 37 minutes for men. The gender gap in non-remunerated working time is the largest among the 25-59 and 75+ year olds, although it persists across all age groups.

3.6 EARNINGS

In 2015 women made around 19 percent less than men in hourly income. While the wages of both men and women in Peru have increased since 2003, the gap between them has also widened (See Figure 27). A recent study controlling for different factors found that being male is associated with an additional 30 percent in hourly earnings on average. Women are also 140 percent more likely than men to be low earners in 2015; this gap has doubled since 2004. In 2015, one in four women had earnings below the poverty line compared to one in ten men. In addition, women tend to work longer hours to compensate this gap and make earnings that are above the poverty line.

84 INEI 2017
85 INEI 2016
86 In his study on gender and ethnic disparities in labor earnings in the region, Hugo Nopo analyzed the gender wage gap in Peru between 1997 and 2009, and found that women earned an average of 21 percent less than men in hourly income. Using data from Peru’s national household survey (ENAHO) conducted by the National Institute of Statistics and Informatics, he found that the gender earnings gap fluctuated around 21 person, with the exception of the years 2007 and 2009 during which women earned more than men. In addition, the measures of the gap (multiples of average hourly earnings for women) were crude data, and considered all men and equal regardless of differences in observable characteristics. Nopo’s study also found that the gender wage gap increased at around the age of 30 and peaked between the ages of 45 and 54. Finally, his other findings revealed that the largest gap occurred among people with university degrees, in urban areas, for people who worked part-time, and among “best rewarded occupations, directors, and upper-level managers.”

87 World Bank 2017

Figure 27: Labor income (hourly income in nominal LCU)

Source: SEDLAC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Different factors appear to contribute to the existing gender differences in earnings. By level of education, the hourly gender gap in earnings tends to be higher among those with basic education, while it decreases slightly for those with higher education. By occupation, the gap is much larger among those women and men engaged in trade and services, and it declines for professional and technical occupations.\textsuperscript{88} Ethnicity also appears to be an important factor: Indigenous women show a 40 percent gap in earnings over men.\textsuperscript{89} Differences in earnings appear to be largely explained by a higher incidence of informal work among women than men; therefore, anti-discrimination laws are largely ineffective in this area.

\textsuperscript{88} INEI 2016
\textsuperscript{89} World Bank 2017
Gender Gaps in Peru an overview
CONCLUSIONS

Key messages:

• Peru has made substantial progress in granting women access to reproductive health services, as well as granting them equal access to education services. Peru has also placed an adequate legal and institutional framework for gender equality. In addition, female labor force participation rates are high for regional standards, in connection with lower fertility rates and a more advanced stage in the demographic transition relative to other Andean countries.

• However, the representation of women in political institutions remains comparatively low, probably due to the lower quota and the lack of a zipper system. Moreover, violence against women is a persistent social problem affecting over 70 percent of women with a partner. Institutions appear to lack the adequate capacity to provide support to women victims, and social norms most often lead them to stay with their abusers. Indeed, patriarchal norms regarding the role of women vis-à-vis that of men are persistent and may even have strengthened in recent years.

• Maternal health and sexual health indicators are also poorer among rural indigenous women, as well as educational outcomes. Teenage pregnancy rates also remain high in the country.

• Although female labor market participation rates are comparatively high, the quality of female employment remains a challenge. Women are over-represented among informal workers and a larger share of women than men are ni-nis. Women also bear the brunt of unpaid work. Although the
environment for female entrepreneurship appears to be favorable in Peru, women still face specific constraints including deficient access to financial resources.

**Knowledge gaps:**

- Further information about the main challenges faced in the enforcement of laws and in the implementation of policies would be useful. It would be necessary to better understand what is behind weak enforcement and capacity gaps in particular with regards to gender-based violence.

- It would also be necessary to further explore the persistence and evolution of social norms regarding the role of women in the country. Are these changing among the new generations? How are they shaping the internal drivers of agency (e.g., aspirations), and thus central gender gaps in the country?

- In-depth information on the main drivers of gaps in access to basic services among rural and indigenous populations and the main barriers faced by these populations would be very helpful to address them.

- It would also be interesting to gather more detailed information on the main factors driving the over-representation of women in lower quality jobs and among *ni-nis*, and about the main obstacles faced by women vis-à-vis men in entrepreneurial activities and representation in firm’s decision making positions.
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Annex 1: The legal and institutional framework for gender equality in Peru

Legal framework: International dimension

Different international treaties - ratified and incorporated to the national legislation - operate as the framework for the integration of gender equality in government policies in Peru. The most relevant include: 90

1. The International Covenant for Civil and Political Rights, ratified in 1978, which established the commitment of the State to ensure that women and men enjoy equal political and civil rights.

2. The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and its Protocol were passed in 1982, and mandate that member states adopt the necessary measures to prevent, investigate and punish discrimination against women.

3. The Inter-American Convention to Prevent, Sanction and Eradicate Violence against Women - Convención Belém Do Pará91 - was approved in 1996, and recognizes that gender

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90 Source: Plan Nacional de Igualdad de Género 2012 - 2017
91 The Belém do Pará Convention entered into force on March 5, 1995 and was the world’s first binding international treaty to recognize that violence against
Based violence constitutes a serious violation of human rights that the States need to prevent, punish and eradicate.

4. The **statute of Rome for the International Court** approved in 2001 recognizes any sexual aggression and trafficking as crimes against humanity.

5. The **UN Convention against Organized Crime** approved in 2001 establishes the obligation of States to assist and protect the victims of trafficking.

6. **ILO Conventions** – Convention 100 on equality of remuneration, 111 on discrimination, 122 on employment policy and 156 on workers with family responsibilities.


Other international commitments are:


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92 The Beijing Platform for Action, adopted at the UN’s Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing, China, 1995), flagged 12 key areas where urgent action was needed to ensure greater equality and opportunities for women and men, girls and boys. It also laid out concrete ways for countries to bring about change.

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11. **Inter-American program on the promotion of the human rights of women and gender equality and equity** adopted in 2000 (OEA).

12. The **Mexico Consensus**93 adopted in 2004.


14. The **Brasilia Consensus**95, adopted in 2010.

**Legal framework: National dimension**


93 Regional Consensus adopted after the Ninth Regional Conference on Women in Latin America and the Caribbean held in Mexico City in June 2004. The governments of the region renewed their commitment to continue adopting measures aimed at the advancement of women’s rights, incorporating a gender perspective into public policies, adopting proactive policies for job creation, recognizing the economic value of domestic work, guaranteeing sexual and reproductive rights, curtailing violence against women, or addressing HIV/AIDS, among others.

94 The Consensus followed the Tenth Regional Conference on Women in Latin America and the Caribbean held in Quito, Ecuador, in August 2007. The Consensus focused on two strategic issues: i) political participation and gender parity in decision-making at all levels, and ii) the contribution of women to the economy and social protection, especially in relation to unpaid work. Representative governments established specific measures to overcome gender discrimination in political participation, employment, education, health and the economy.

95 Government leaders agreed to facilitate women’s access to new technologies, promote a democratic and non-discriminatory media, improve health and sexual and reproductive rights of women, and promote international and regional cooperation for gender equity.
based on sex. The text was reformed in 2002 when the principle of gender representation was introduced. In this way, the Constitution makes the State responsible for the removal of obstacles to equality or discriminatory acts.\textsuperscript{96}

Other norms that guarantee the right to equality between men and women include:\textsuperscript{97}

1. Law on Equal Opportunities between women and men (Ley Nº 28983 de 16 de marzo de 2007), which constitutes the normative, institutional and public policy framework in the area of gender equality.


8. Law 29819 that modifies the Criminal Code and incorporates femicide, published on December 27, 2011.


10. Law that recognizes the right to paternity leave published on September 20, 2009.


12. Law No 29700 that includes non-remunerated work in national accounts published on June 4, 2011.

13. Law 29715 that modifies the regulation of the process of judiciary filiations of extra-marital paternity published on June 21, 2011.

\textbf{Policies:}

The National Plan on Gender Equality 2012-2017 is the third national plan on the issue, and the first one to be conceived under the umbrella of the new Law on Equality of Opportunity 2007. It develops eight strategic objectives to reach gender equality in those areas where inequality especially affects women and represents an obstacle for their access to

\textsuperscript{96} Source: Plan Nacional de Igualdad de Género 2012 - 2017

\textsuperscript{97} Source: Plan Nacional de Igualdad de Género 2012 - 2017
development opportunities (see Figure 28). For these, 60 outcomes are established.98

The National Plan on Violence against Women 2016-2021 is the third after those approved for 2002-2007, 2009-2015. The Plan establishes 2 main priorities and strategic objectives, and 7 and 6 actions within each, respectively; the main priorities are: changing cultural values underlying patriarchal and discriminatory social norms and behaviors that justify and reinforce gender based violence and due attention to the victims of violence and the aggressors.99

Figure 28: The objectives of the National Plan on Gender Equality 2012-2017

- Objective 1: Promote and strengthen gender mainstreaming in the three government levels.
- Objective 2: Strengthen a culture of respect and appreciation of gender differences.
- Objective 3: Narrow the educational gaps between men and women.
- Objective 4: Improve the health of women and guarantee sexual and reproductive rights.
- Objective 5: Guarantee economic rights in equality conditions.
- Objective 6: Reduce violence against women.
- Objective 7: Increase the participation of women and men in decision making and political and civic activities.
- Objective 8: Appreciate the contribution of women to the sustainable management of natural resources.

Regional and local equal opportunity plans also exist in Peru. One of the main objectives of equal opportunity plans for women and men is the reduction of gender gaps in accordance with the constitutional mandate of the right to equality and non-discrimination by sex. However, an analysis of seventeen regional plans between 2006 and 2010 concluded that the majority do not include elements that ensure implementation in their design, and are therefore not capable of facilitating the reduction of gender gaps at the regional level.100 Local equal opportunity plans have been approved in 56 local governments of Lima, Ancash y Cajamarca out of a total of 195 provincial municipalities and 1637 district municipalities.

98 Source: Plan Nacional de Igualdad de Género 2012 - 2017
100 Beltrán Varillas 2014