Gender Equality in Peru

TOWARDS A BETTER SHARING OF PAID AND UNPAID WORK



OECD

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BETTER POLICIES FOR BETTER LIVES

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Please cite this publication as:
OECD (2022), *Gender Equality in Peru: Towards a Better Sharing of Paid and Unpaid Work*, OECD Publishing, Paris, https://doi.org/10.1787/e53901b5-en.

ISBN 978-92-64-95996-5 (print)
ISBN 978-92-64-67064-8 (pdf)
ISBN 978-92-64-48118-3 (HTML)
ISBN 978-92-64-63271-4 (epub)

Photo credits: Cover design © Ana Lucía Soto.

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Foreword

The OECD review of Gender Equality in Peru is the second in a series focussing on Latin America and Caribbean countries, after a first review that focused on Chile. It puts gender gaps in labour and educational outcomes in Peru into a comparative context, and analyses the factors that contribute to unequal outcomes, including the uneven distribution of unpaid work. It discusses how existing policies and programmes in Peru can contribute to improving gender equality and, in particular, increasing men's participation in unpaid work.

Closing gender gaps in paid and unpaid work responsibilities is not only a moral and social imperative but also a central part of any successful strategy for stronger, more sustainable and more inclusive growth. The COVID-19 crisis and the associated lock-down measures have placed this cause at the top of the policy agenda in countries by showing that without addressing the gender unequal sharing of unpaid work, women will continue to have difficulty catching up with men's labour force participation, earnings and financial security.

The OECD has long championed gender equality. Building on an extensive body of work, the OECD Gender Initiative examines existing barriers to gender equality in education, employment and entrepreneurship. The OECD actively promotes policy measures embedded in the 2013 and 2015 OECD Recommendations on Gender Equality in Education, Employment, Entrepreneurship and Public Life. These include measures to ensure access to good quality education for boys and girls, policies to improve the gender balance in leadership in the public sector and providing fathers and mothers equally with financial incentives to use parental leave and flexible work options.

The flagship 2012 publication *Closing the Gender Gap: Act Now!* and the 2017 report *The Pursuit of Gender Equality: An Uphill Battle* assessed policies to promote gender equality in different countries. These reviews have informed novel policy initiatives like *NiñaSTEM PUEDEN*, which the OECD and the Mexican Ministry of Education jointly launched. The OECD's online Gender Data Portal has become a leading global source for statistical indicators on female education, employment, entrepreneurship, political participation, and social and economic outcomes. The OECD Development Centre's Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI) measures discrimination against women in social institutions across 180 countries.

The OECD was also instrumental in defining the target adopted by G20 Leaders at their 2014 Brisbane Summit to reduce the gender gap in labour force participation by 25% in 2025. The OECD continues to work closely with G20 and G7 Presidencies on monitoring progress with reducing gender gaps such as these.

Informed by these initiatives, *Gender Equality in Peru* puts forward a comprehensive policy strategy for greater gender equality in the country. The first part of the report reviews the evidence on gender gaps in economic and educational outcomes and on the related possible drivers, including gender-based attitudes and the distribution of unpaid work. The second part develops a comprehensive framework of policies to promote an equal distribution of paid and unpaid work between men and women and to increase women's

labour income.The final part examines the effects of the COVID-19 crisis and addresses how the policy priorities of the government have changed to take into account these effects.

The objectives of *Gender Equality in Peru* align to Goal 5 of the UN Sustainable Development Goals for a better and more sustainable future for all, which contemplates achieving gender equality and empowering all women and girls. In particular, Goal 5.4 states the importance to "*Recognize and value unpaid care and domestic work through the provision of public services, infrastructure and social protection policies and the promotion of shared responsibility within the household and the family as nationally appropriate*."

Acknowledgements

This report is part of a series of country projects within the OECD programme of work on *Gender Equality in Latin America: Towards a better sharing of paid and unpaid work*. The report has been produced with the financial assistance of the European Union (EU), as part of the Regional Facility for Development in Transition in Latin America and the Caribbean.

The OECD team is grateful to the Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Population (*Ministerio de la Mujer y Poblaciones Vulnerables*) for its invaluable guidance, inputs and comments throughout the project and for its help in convening and organising the OECD mission to Lima and subsequent virtual consultations. The team would in particular like to thank Diana Miloslavich Túpac, Minister of Women and Vulnerable Populations, Maria Pia Molero Mesia, Vice Minister of Women of the Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations, Inés Gisella Martens Godínez, General Director of the General Directorate for Gender Equality and Non-Discrimination, and Karina Milagros Huaraca Bruno, Director of the Directorate for the Promotion and Development of the Economic Autonomy of Women. We would also like to thank Elisabeth Flores, from Peru's Ambassy in Paris, for her continuous support to facilitate the liaison between the Peruvian administration in Lima and the OECD team.

The OECD *Gender Equality in Latin America* project is a horizontal effort involving the OECD Global Relations and the OECD Directorate for Employment, Labour and Social Affairs. José Antonio Ardavín, Head of the Latin America and the Caribbean Division, OECD Global Relations Secretariat and Alessandro Goglio, Head of Partner Countries, Directorate for Employment, Labour and Social Affairs, provided co-ordination and support.

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Pauline Fron, Lucy Hulett and Brigitte Beyeler (OECD Directorate for Employment, Labour and Social Affairs), Julie Whitelock, Yomaira Lopez and Ana Lucía Soto (OECD Global Relations), provided invaluable support for mission organisation, report layout and design, publication planning, proofreading and editorial support.

The OECD wishes to express sincere gratitude to the EU Facility for Development in Transition in Latin America and the Caribbean, for its support and financial contribution to this project.

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Executive summary

Over the past decades, gender equality in Peru has advanced along several dimensions. Achievements include improved educational attainment at all levels, particularly for women; higher returns to education among women; and their greater labour market inclusion. Close to six out of ten women are employed in Peru, which is higher than in the Latin American comparator countries used for this study – Chile, Colombia and Cost Rica – but lower than the OECD average.

Notwithstanding these achievements, challenges remain. Like in all countries, men and women do not share paid and unpaid work activities equally. Women are less likely to work for pay, and to do so full-time. Instead, they typically spend more hours looking after children and elderly relatives and doing housework. On average Peruvian women spend 24 more hours per week on unpaid tasks than men do and men devote 21 more hours to paid work activities per week than women, which points to a strong gender divide.

Even when they work for pay, Peruvian women tend to be overrepresented in the relatively sizeable informal sector, which creates a barrier that prevents them from moving into more productive, better-paid and better quality jobs. At 75%, the rate of informal employment for women workers is significantly higher in Peru than in Chile, Costa Rica and Colombia, for example. At the same time, female workers are more likely to earn a low income and less likely to advance to management positions. Furthermore, girls are much less likely to study in the more lucrative science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) fields.

Peru has suffered the highest COVID-19 death rate per head worldwide. This contrasts with the fact that in the immediate aftermath of the pandemic's outbreak, the international community largely credited Peru for being the first country in Latin America to implement resolute countering actions. Such a significant divergence between efforts displayed and outcomes has unveiled the full extent of pre-existing economic and social challenges. A key one concerns the difficulties of reconciling paid employment with family responsibilities, with social distancing measures and school closures having led many Peruvian women with young children to abandon the labour market. They also sparked stress and mental health problems and an upsurge of episodes of violence against women. The health, labour and social effects of the COVID-19 crisis have been stronger among women of indigenous groups and Afro-descendants women.

The OECD review of *Gender Equality in Peru* puts forward a comprehensive policy strategy to reduce the barriers that stand in the way of a more balanced allocation of time and responsibilities between men and women and to increase the participation of women in the labour market. It also looks at the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, how it has exacerbated pre-existing challenges to greater gender equality in Peru, and suggests policy measures on how to overcome such barriers.

Main recommendations for reducing barriers to sharing paid and unpaid work more equitably

- Increase the capacity of childcare services to cover children of low-income families. In particular, gradually expand the number of childcare places in tandem with the increase of the income

threshold to qualify for access. The latter measure would meet the need of many working parents whose combined income is either too high to qualify for a place in a public day-care centre, or too low to afford a quality private day-care centre. Develop and encourage dialogue between employers and employees to meet a growing interest towards engaging the private sector in the provision of childcare services.

- Improve parental leave rights by complementing the maternity leave – which already meets the international standard established by the ILO – with the establishment of a reserved paternity leave, as a way to encourage the take-up by fathers. At the same time, strengthen the expansion of parental protection to uncovered categories of workers, by raising the income cut-off for entitlement to the programme *Juntos*, alongside the level of the benefits provided. Simplify enrolment procedures through decentralised and mobile registration units and paperless registration.
- The recent reform of the National Curriculum for Basic Education has the potential to set a strong basis for raising awareness of future generations about the importance of the equal representation of men and women in all aspects of life. To implement the spirit of the new Curriculum: i) foster the recourse to inclusive language, while also achieving a balanced representation of men and women models in textbooks; ii) train teachers to address gender attitudes and stereotypes at school; and iii) engage the supportive role of parents, through information campaigns, workshops and talks.
- Reinforce efforts to attract girls into STEM disciplines by expanding teacher training to tackle gender biases in such areas. This could include equipping teachers with appropriate pedagogical tools to help children overcoming anxiety about mathematics and the lack of confidence in their science and mathematics abilities.
- Step up ongoing efforts to increase levels of safety and security on public transport, including by reinforcing ad hoc training for transport employees, and delivering prevention campaigns in public transport vehicles and stations.

Main recommendations for making women's paid work pay more

- Ensure access to quality education for all by providing additional support to vulnerable girls and teenage mothers and by rewarding the benefits of completing studies. Raise awareness about the benefits of completing studies by introducing communication and information programmes, such as the pilot programme *Decidiendo para un futuro mejor* (Deciding for a better future), which was devised by the MineduLAB.
- Promote women's access to leadership positions and achievements in non-traditional careers, with a particular emphasis on: i) the role of business associations and networks in supporting women achievers acting as role models; ii) promoting an academic culture that integrates women faculty members and supports them to excel; and iii) continuing the efforts to strengthen women's representation in public leadership.
- Raise the attractiveness of the formal labour market to female workers, by developing social protection programmes capable of compensating individuals for the contribution losses incurred while working part time, or during times spent out of the labour force caring for dependents – e.g. in the form of pension "top ups" or "care credits". Promote consultation mechanisms to engage informal female workers in policy design. Foster ongoing efforts to improve the formalisation and labour rights of domestic and care workers.
- Support women's entrepreneurship through developing and improving "bundled" strategies, which combine access to formal saving services and flexible debt repayment conditions with non-financial measures, such as markets and business training, for example, alongside financial education and the acquisition of digital skills.

Responding to the COVID-19 pandemic

- Facilitate access of low-income families – in particular single parents, who are predominantly female – to benefits, as well as to social security programmes, which support families as a whole and allow women return to formal employment.
- In anticipation of possible new waves of infections, step-up efforts to prepare firms to use emergency measures against the increase of women's labour market inactivity and exclusion – e.g. reduction of working hours and recourse to flexible work options, relief for working parents, and the management of redundancy payments related to temporary lay-offs and sick leave.
- Ensure that any further closure of education institutions remains as limited as possible and based on an assessment of area specific infection conditions. This is essential to preserve continuity of educational programmes and to help women stay at work or actively searching for a new job.
- Improve the efforts to push back on social acceptance of domestic violence by strengthening the integration of services for victims across different spheres. This requires that all relevant public agencies involved, in the domains of health, social services, education, employment and justice, work in a closely co-ordinated manner so to provide timely access to justice. Step up existing mechanisms to facilitate the reporting of these situations at workplaces, schools and universities, and provide integrated social services for survivors and their children.

More fundamentally, the above measures must be embedded in broader efforts to mainstream gender in government's responses. In the short term, this means, wherever possible, applying a gender lens to emergency policy measures. In the longer term, it means implementing mechanisms of gender mainstreaming, relying on ready access to gender-disaggregated evidence in all sectors so to promptly asses differential effects on women and men.

1 Gender gaps in Peru: An international and sub-national comparison

This chapter reviews the evidence on gender gaps in economic outcomes in Peru and discusses the drivers of these gaps. It starts with an overview of gender gaps in educational and labour market outcomes across different dimensions (enrolment and out-of-school rates, skills outcomes, along with labour market participation, gender pay gaps and the interactions between motherhood and access to better quality jobs). It then discusses the main contributing factors to these gaps (unbalanced unpaid care and domestic work, the access to care facilities, attitudes and gender-based stereotypes, and legal barriers). In addition to comparing Peru with other Latin American and OECD countries, the chapter addresses the articulation of gender differences across socio-economic groups (urban *vis-à-vis* rural differences, along with differences across levels of education, age cohorts and levels of incomes).

In Peru, just as elsewhere in Latin America and all around the world, men and women do not share paid and unpaid work equally. Women are less likely to work, and to work full-time hours, for pay. Instead, they typically spend more hours looking after children and elderly relatives, doing housework, shopping for food, and so on. When they work, they tend to be overrepresented in the informal labour market. One important trait of Peru is the strong polarisation across women and men of the time undertaken for paid and unpaid work activities. On the one hand, on average Peruvian women spend 24 more hours per week on unpaid task than men do. On the other, Peruvian men devote 21 more hours to paid work activities per week than women do. Shedding light on the driving forces for this marked divergence in the gender distribution of paid and unpaid work in Peru is the main objective of Chapter 1.

Across the OECD but even in Peru and Latin America at large, the unequal partition of working hours and of categories of work is reconcilable to a broad set of interdependent forces. Key examples of interactions are with the relative distribution of educational and labour market outcomes between men and women. Such economic outcomes are influenced, in turn, by a complex set of attitudes and gender stereotypes. Furthermore, the intersectional character of the drivers is very important, given that gender inequalities vary widely across socio economic groups – between younger and older generations, between urban and rural areas, between indigenous and non-indigenous populations and between couples and single parents.

The chapter provides a systematic review of these interactions placing Peru in the international comparative perspective. It starts with a review of gender gaps in educational and labour outcomes, along with a discussion of time-sharing and earning patterns, seeking to distinguish areas where there has been progress, from those where achievements have been less visible or hardly visible at all. The chapter then looks at international indicators of well-being and gender gaps that capture the influence of stereotypes and discrimination.

In recent decades, gender gaps in educational and labour market outcomes have shrunk in Peru. Some of these differences, such as the share of university graduates in STEM degrees and the employment rate, are nowadays smaller than in other Latin American countries and across the OECD. On other metrics, such as the median labour income, for example, they are larger, which points to less favourable outcomes in paid employment among women than among men. The main drivers of these developments are women's higher unpaid work burden and still widespread conservative attitudes concerning the respective roles of men and women for a relatively high share of the population. Although reforms have largely eliminated legal barriers to women's equal participation in the labour market in Peru, they remain strongly represented in the informal labour market.

This section first presents gender gaps in educational and labour market outcomes across different dimensions and then discusses the contribution of unpaid work, attitudes, the legal environment and other factors to these gaps. In addition to comparing the outcomes and drivers in Peru with other Latin American countries and the OECD, it also discusses sub-national differences whenever possible.

Gender gaps in education and labour market outcomes

Education

There is an extensive body of research and literature focussing on the importance of education for individuals and society: individuals with higher levels of education typically have a higher probability of being employed, earning a higher income (OECD, 2019[1]) and being healthier (Conti, Heckman and Urzua, 2010[2]; Dávila-Cervantes and Agudelo-Botero, 2019[3]). At the societal level, the return on the investment in education reflects mainly the enhanced contribution to productivity growth generated by a more educated labour force (Mincer, 1984[4]).

In the case of women, these benefits are even greater, reflecting the double effect of education on earnings. On the one hand, education increases skills, productivity and income opportunities, as it does for men (Woodhall, 1973[5]; Montenegro and Patrinos, 2014[6]). Additionally, it contributes to reducing the gap in earnings between men and women that is attributable to discrimination (Dougherty, 2005[7]). Beyond these beneficial effects, gains also materialise in terms of decreased child mortality and unwanted pregnancy. Importantly, inter-generational redistribution will improve, since the increased education of mothers will typically lead to improve health and educational outcomes of their children, even when taking into account the father's education and household income (Schultz, 1993[8]). Furthermore, by making women feel more empowered to speak out to affirm their needs and aspirations, higher levels of education for girls are a cornerstone of a stronger political voice and representation (Marcus and Page, 2016[9]).

Evidence for Peru corroborates these patterns by showing that the returns to education are higher for women than men, including for completing primary education (Montenegro and Patrinos, 2014[6]). In addition, recent analysis using qualitative longitudinal data from the Young Lives study in Peru finds that increased access to higher education acts as a key driver to stronger personal identity as well as the economic independence of single young women without children (Guerrero and Rojas, 2020[10]). Qualified young women, holding a professional certificate, can support themselves and have a greater sense of autonomy compared to their mothers at a similar age, who generally devoted more time to traditional domestic and care occupations. Nevertheless, the analysis also concludes that education does not significantly challenges the prevalent gender norms that define girls and young women as natural born caregivers.

Box 1.1. The benefits of a more equitable division of paid and unpaid labour between men and women

Individuals working outside the home generally have a higher degree of economic independence from their partners and other family members than those who do not. Unpaid care and domestic work is also valuable, but in general does not garner the same respect as other activities do. In countries where women carry out a disproportionally large share of the unpaid work burden, they are also more frequently employed in part-time or vulnerable jobs, which are often poorly paid (Ferrant, Pesando and Nowacka, 2014[11]). This is because high unpaid care and domestic work burdens often imply that women cannot find an occupation corresponding to their qualification level on a part-time basis, decreasing their job quality and earnings (Connolly and Gregory, 2008[12]).

By contrast, an equal division of unpaid work responsibilities can be beneficial to the entire family. To the extent that a more equal sharing of unpaid work reduces women's overall work hours – in particular regarding tasks that are considered less desirable, namely housework and care of the elderly – it can reduce their stress levels (MacDonald, Phipps and Lethbridge, 2005[13]). A study of British families suggests that couples in which men do more unpaid care and other housework are less likely to divorce (Sigle-Rushton, 2010[14]). The negative effects of an unequal division of unpaid work on marital quality are particularly strong when couples disagree about how egalitarian a marriage should be (Ogolsky, Dennison and Monk, 2014[15]). Men who spend more time with their children may have higher life satisfaction, and their children may have better mental and physical health and cognitive development. However, it is unclear whether these differences are driven by confounding factors that these studies do not account for (WHO, 2007[16]).

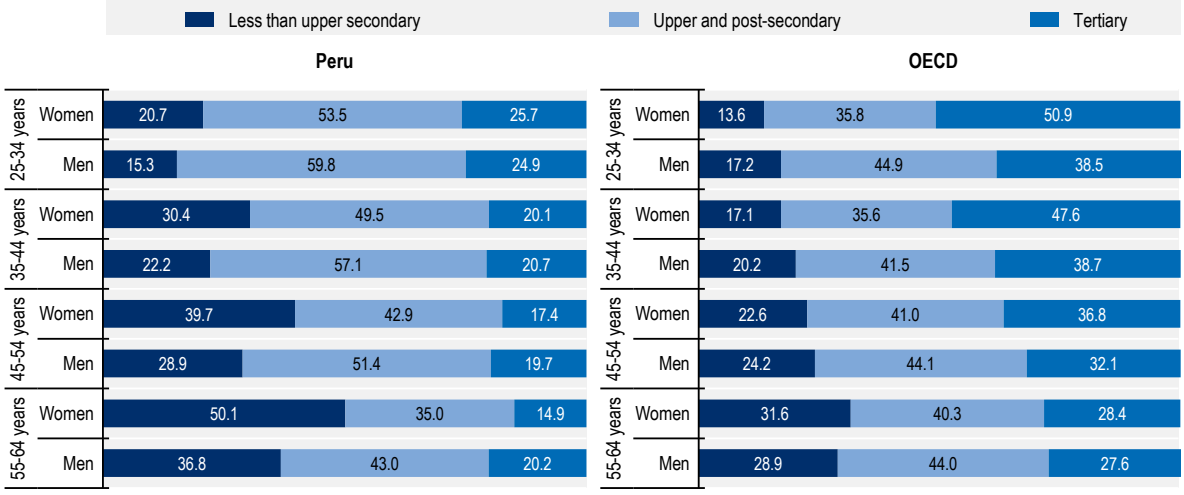
Individuals' well-being may be boosted even more if overall unpaid work hours can be reduced. When an increasing share of the population is able to access stable utilities (such as running water and electricity) and labour-saving appliances (such as washing machines), and thus needs fewer hours for housework, this reduces time-poverty and increases choices and well-being. As a result, in countries with higher GDP levels, the number of hours that need to be devoted to unpaid work decrease, benefitting women in particular (Ferrant and Thim, 2019[17]).

The increased participation of women in paid work will likely increase economic growth. The impact will go far beyond an accounting 'trick' of simply substituting unpaid by paid work: estimates based on the 2010 time-use survey suggests that in Peru, unpaid domestic work contributes 20,4% of a modified GDP measure (INEI, 2016[18]). Women's increased participation in the labour market would substitute lower- for higher-added value activities and increase the stock of human capital employed. Since young female university graduates now outnumber their male counterparts, using their human capital fully has become more urgent. Moreover, firm-level research suggests that teams that are more diverse may be more cohesive and innovative. Therefore, bringing more women into the labour market, including into management positions, could strengthen productivity growth.

Educational attainment levels in Peru have risen strongly from one cohort to the next, with particularly large gains among women. In 2017, close to 37% of men and 50% of women aged 55 to 64 years in Peru just had less than an upper secondary degree (Figure 1.1). Among young adults that had gone to school three decades later, the same share had dropped to about 15% for men and around 21% for women. Concomitantly, the share of high-school achievers (those having competed an upper and post-secondary education curriculum) had increased by close to 19 percentage points among women, whereas the increase approximated 17 percentage points among men. The share of tertiary graduates had increased by 5 percentage points for men and 11 points for women in the 25-34 age bracket, compared to the 55-64 age group.

Figure 1.1. The educational attainment of women has been constantly rising

Percentage distribution of educational attainment by sex and age, 2019 or last year available



Note: The statistics are for 2017 for Peru and 2019 for the OECD. For more information please refer to the OECD Database on Gender gaps in Latin America and the Caribbean under https://www.oecd.org/latin-america/regional-programme/gender/.
Source: OECD Education at a Glance and UN Demographic Statistics Database, United Nations Statistics Division.

StatLink https://stat.link/7hq8zr

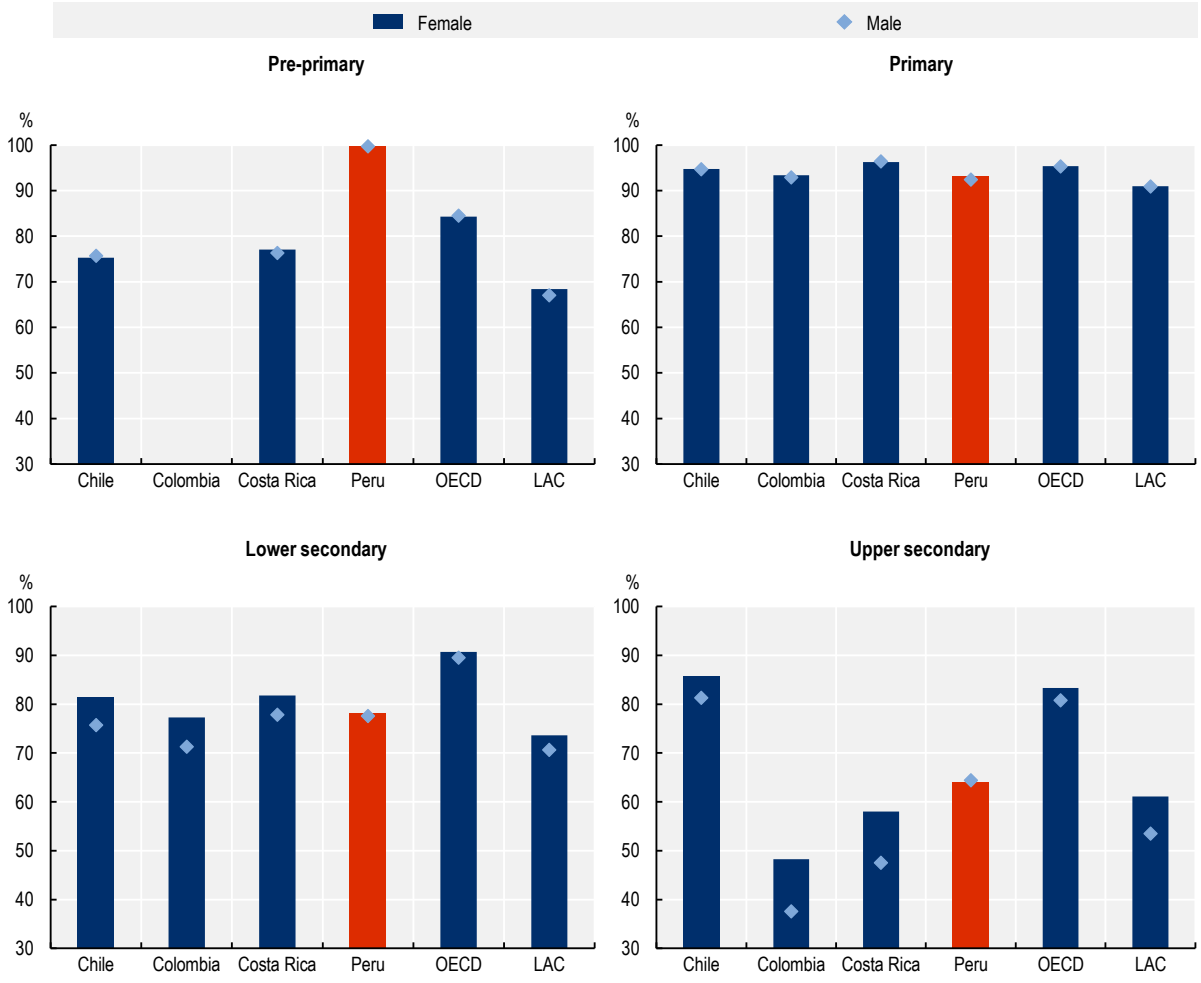
Nevertheless, results from a qualitative study suggest that the average figures hide important differences between income groups. Particularly, the tendency to prioritise the post-secondary education of boys remains dominant among low-income families in Peru, whereas the bulk of the domestic chores continues

to fall on the shoulders of girls and women (Rojas, Guerrero and Vargas, 2016[19]). This signals that in contexts of high poverty many parents still see education as a cause of concern, attending school can divert their daughters away from duties within the households.

Today, at all levels of pre-primary to upper secondary education Peruvian rates of enrolment for boys and girls are essentially the same (Figure 1.2). Illiteracy among older teenagers of either sex has practically disappeared; for boys and girls of 15-19 years-old, the illiteracy rate approximates half a percentage point. Among older cohorts, by contrast, women tend to be more frequently illiterate, with the gap rising up to 18.7 percentage points among 60+ year olds (INEI, 2019[20]).

Figure 1.2. Enrolment rates in Peru are similar between boys and girls

Net enrolment rates, 2018 or latest



Note: Data for Costa Rica, Ecuador, Peru refer to 2018, otherwise 2017 except primary Peru (2015). Data for pre-primary education in Colombia are not available. The Latin American average refers to Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay where available. For more information please refer to the OECD Database on Gender gaps in Latin America and the Caribbean under https://www.oecd.org/latin-america/regional-programme/gender/.
Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics Database, "Net enrolment rate", http://data.uis.unesco.org/.

StatLink https://stat.link/gtua6q

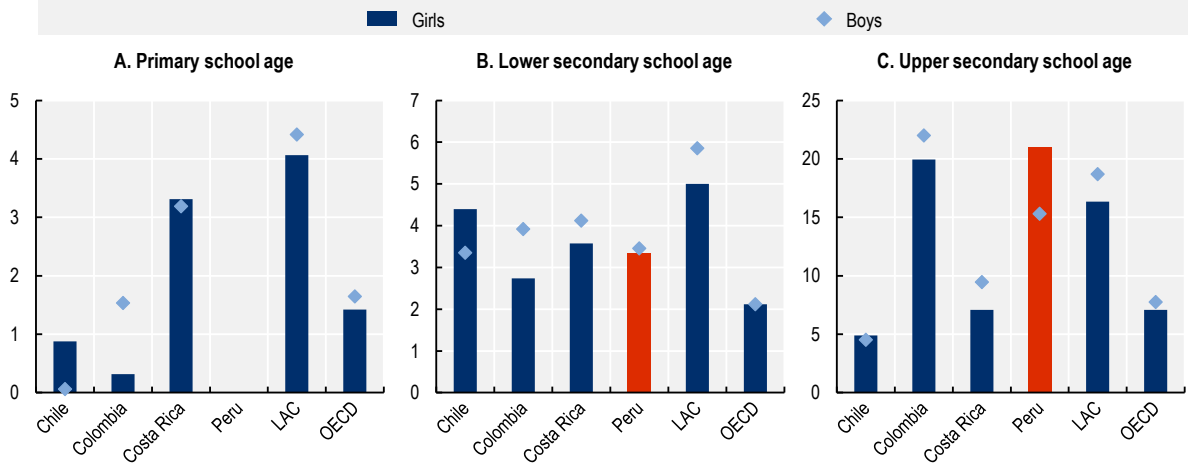
However, although the share of children who attend primary school is similar across Peru's regions, for secondary school there are important differences. In 2018, about 94% of 6 to 11-year-olds in both urban and rural areas were enrolled in primary school (INEI, 2019[21]). In contrast, the enrolment rate of 12 to 16-year-olds was around 10% higher in urban than in rural areas (87.2% compared to 79.1%). Similarly, 87.2% were enrolled in coastal areas compared to 84.6% and 77.1% in mountainous and forest areas, respectively (INEI, 2019[22]). Despite relatively similar net enrolment rates, among upper secondary school age teenagers, a higher share of girls in Peru are out of school (Figure 1.3). In contrast, in many other Latin American countries, the out-of-school rate is higher among boys.[1]

One of the contributing factors for school dropout among girls in Peru are teenage pregnancies (UNESCO, 2014[23]; OECD, 2019[24]). In Peru, 6.8% of girls aged 15-17 were pregnant or mothers in 2018. The rate is more than twice as high in rural than in urban areas (11.9%, compared to 5.3%), ranging from 3.0% in Cusco to 22.4% in Loreto. By age 18-19, nearly one in two girls (47%) living in rural areas are mothers or are pregnant for the first time, which compares with a national average of nearly one in four teenage girls (22.5%) (MINEDU, 2019[25]). Positively, the teenage fertility rate in Peru is below the Latin American and Caribbean average; and is the second lowest in South America after Chile. However, it is also noteworthy that the regional rate is second only to the Sub-Saharan African region (PAHO, UNFPA and UNICEF, 2017[26]).

Another factor that can influence educational attainment relates to the work obligations of teenagers outside of school. In Peru, regardless of their sex, slightly more than one in four children and teenagers aged 5 to 17 years work. In rural areas, the share is nearly four times higher (57.7%) than in urban areas (14.7%) (MINEDU, 2019[25]). As discussed below, the total (paid and unpaid) work burden of female teenagers exceeds that of male teenagers. This has important implications on school attainments in turn, as shown by the fact that sixth-grade Peruvian students who worked performed worse on a standardised test in both reading and mathematics, starting from one hour of work per day. Elsewhere in the Latina American region, the negative effects are for the most part only apparent from three hours of work per day (Chile, Colombia and Ecuador, for example) (Post, 2011[27]).

Figure 1.3. A higher share of older teenage girls than boys are out of school in Peru

Rate of out-of-school children by age group (% of children in age group), 2019/20 or latest available



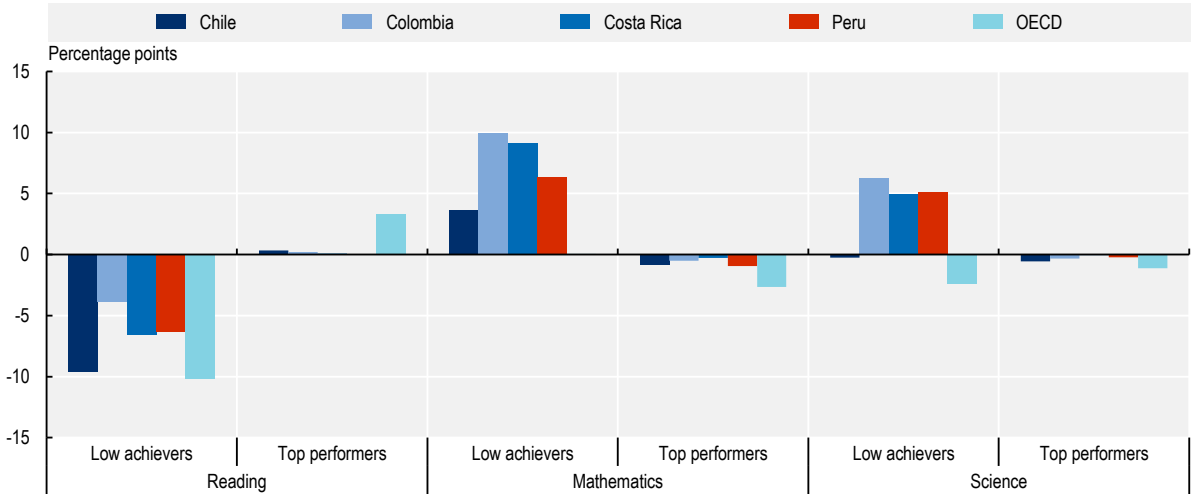
Note: Data are not available for Primary school age in Peru. The Latin American average refers to Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay where available. For more information please refer to the OECD Database on Gender gaps in Latin America and the Caribbean under https://www.oecd.org/latin-america/regional-programme/gender/
Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics Database, http://data.uis.unesco.org.

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Surveys among students and adults depict the presence of gender skill gaps. According to the OECD Survey of Adult Skills (PIAAC), women in Peru have slightly higher average literacy skills than men. The opposite is true for numeracy skills (OECD, 2019[28]). These results mirror findings based on the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) survey: for 15-year-old girls the share of low achievers was lower in the reading and higher in the mathematics and science sections than observed for men (Figure 1.4). Across different subjects, the average score for Peruvian students is slightly less than 90 points lower than the OECD average (OECD, 2018[29]), a value which corresponds to the skills typically gained during around three school years, according to some studies (OECD, 2019[30]). In part, this gap is not surprising, since per-capita GDP accounts for 44% of the variation in average PISA reading scores. Nevertheless, Peruvian students also underperform relative to several countries with similar levels of GDP per capita, such as Costa Rica and Colombia (OECD, 2019[30]). Improving the quality of schooling and as a result, cognitive skills would be a boon to economic growth (Hanushek, 2013[31]).

Figure 1.4. In Peru gender differences exist in the share of low performers but not top performers

Difference in the share of low achievers and top performers by subject (girls – boys) in PISA, 2018



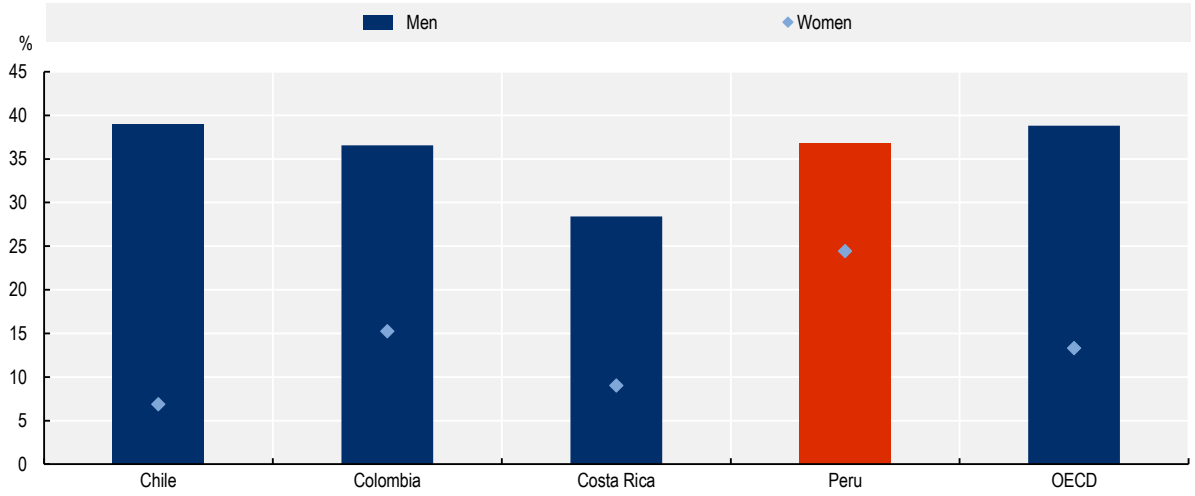
Note: For more information please refer to the OECD Database on Gender gaps in Latin America and the Caribbean under https://www.oecd.org/latin-america/regional-programme/gender/.
Source: OECD (2019[30]), *PISA 2018 Results (Volume II)*, Annex B1.7 Results (tables): Girls' and boys' performance in PISA, https://doi.org/10.1787/b5fd1b8f-en.

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The skill gap in maths and sciences among teenagers is reflected in the later education and occupation choices of women. One quarter of female tertiary graduates in Peru has a STEM degree compared to well above a third of male tertiary graduates (Figure 1.5). It is important to signal, however, that while noticeable the extent of the gap is markedly lower than in some other Latin American countries and across the OECD on average. There is a multitude of explanations for performance differences in quantitative subjects between girls and boys and for the lesser orientation of women towards STEM occupations. Yet, the fact that score differences in math tests are negligible among young children (Kahn and Ginther, 2018[32]), is an indicator that suggests that gender stereotypes play an important role in shaping observed differences later on during the school curriculum, in both outcomes and preferences (Nollenberger, Rodríguez-Planas and Sevilla, 2016[33]). Chapter 2 of this report discusses how gender-sensitive education can help the reduction of gender stereotypes.

Figure 1.5. Women in Peru are under-represented among STEM graduates, though less so than across the OECD

Share of graduates in STEM subjects (% of women graduates), 2019 or last year available



Note: All tertiary levels combined. STEM subjects include natural sciences, mathematics, statistics, information and communication technologies, engineering, manufacturing and construction. For more information please refer to the OECD Database on Gender gaps in Latin America and the Caribbean under https://www.oecd.org/latin-america/regional-programme/gender/.
Source: OECD Education at a Glance and for Peru (2017): UNESCO Institute for Statistics Database (UNESCO Institute for Statistics).

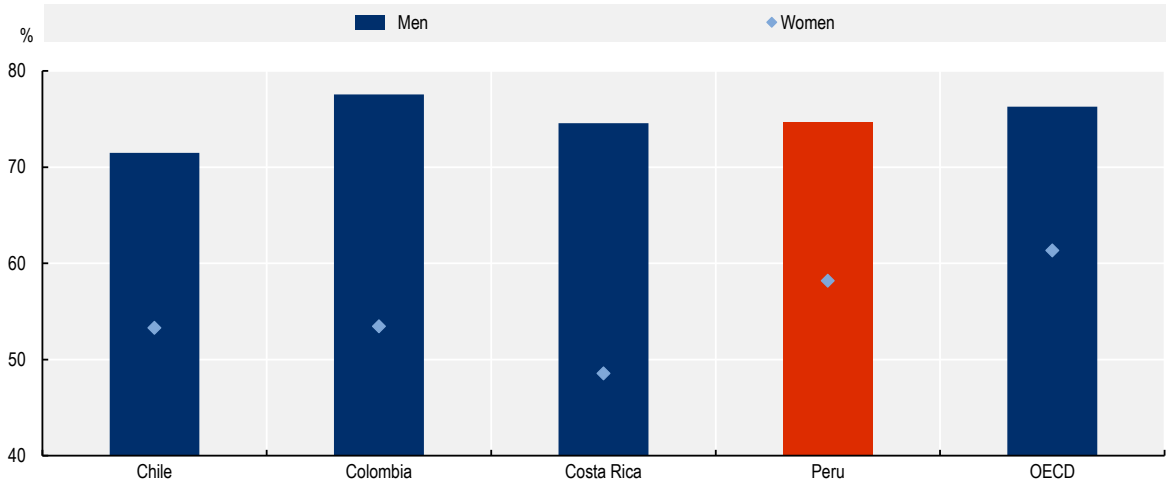
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Employment

A high and increasing share of adults in Peru work for a pay. In 2020, close to six out of ten women and more than seven out of ten men aged 15-64 years were employed (Figure 1.6). These rates are higher than in other Latin American, although still somewhat below the OECD countries, and represent increases of 9.4 and 3.7 percentage points, respectively, compared to 2002. The gender gap in labour force participation differs across age groups and education levels. It rises with age, from 10.2 percentage points among 14-24 year-olds, to 17.7 percentage points among 25-44 year-olds and 26.7 percentage points among 45-64 year-olds, according to figures for 2018 (INEI, 2020[34]). However, this increasing gap across age group is only observable in urban areas, while it remains constant at around 15 percentage points in rural areas. Among women who graduated from upper secondary school and university, 80% and 90%, respectively, participate in the labour market, while the same share among those with lower levels of formal education is below 50%. This pattern is similar to that in other Latin American countries (ECLAC/ILO, 2019[35]).

Figure 1.6. The employment rate of both men and women in Peru is comparatively high

Employment-to-population ratio (% 15-64 year-olds), 2020 or latest available



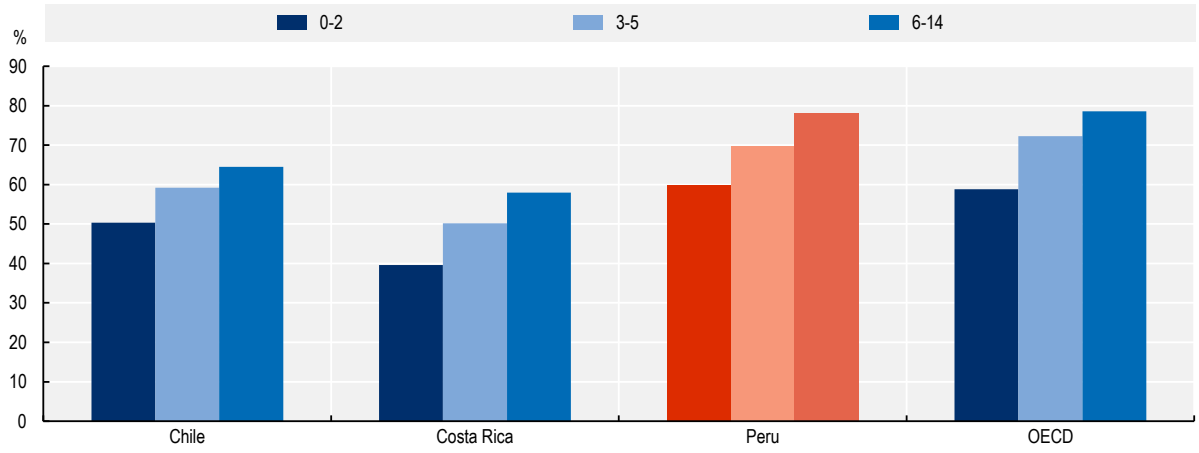
Note: Data for Peru refer to 2020, otherwise 2019. For more information please refer to the OECD Database on Gender gaps in Latin America and the Caribbean under https://www.oecd.org/latin-america/regional-programme/gender/.
Source: OECD Employment Database, https://www.oecd.org/employment/emp/onlineoecdemploymentdatabase.htm, and ILOSTAT (https://ilostat.ilo.org/.

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Just as elsewhere, one of the factors that pushes many women to withdraw (at least temporarily) from the labour force is motherhood. In Peru, the employment rate of women with children under the age of three is approximately 10 percentage points lower than that of women with older toddlers, which in turn is around 8 percentage points lower than the rate for mothers with school-aged children (Figure 1.7). Recent cross country assessment of the links between motherhood and labour market outcomes in four Latin American countries – Chile, Mexico, Peru and Honduras – finds that motherhood lowers women labour supply and tilts occupational choices towards more flexible jobs, such as part-time jobs, self-employment, and informal work arrangements (Berniell et al., 2021[36]). The authors underline that these effects occur right after childbirth and tend to persists in the medium or long term. Since fathers' labour outcomes remain unaffected, these findings reveals that motherhood triggers the polarisation of labour markets, with quality jobs more likely to be a prerogative of men and women more likely to work in low quality jobs.

Figure 1.7. Mothers of young children have low employment rates

Maternal employment rates by age of youngest child, 2019 or latest year available



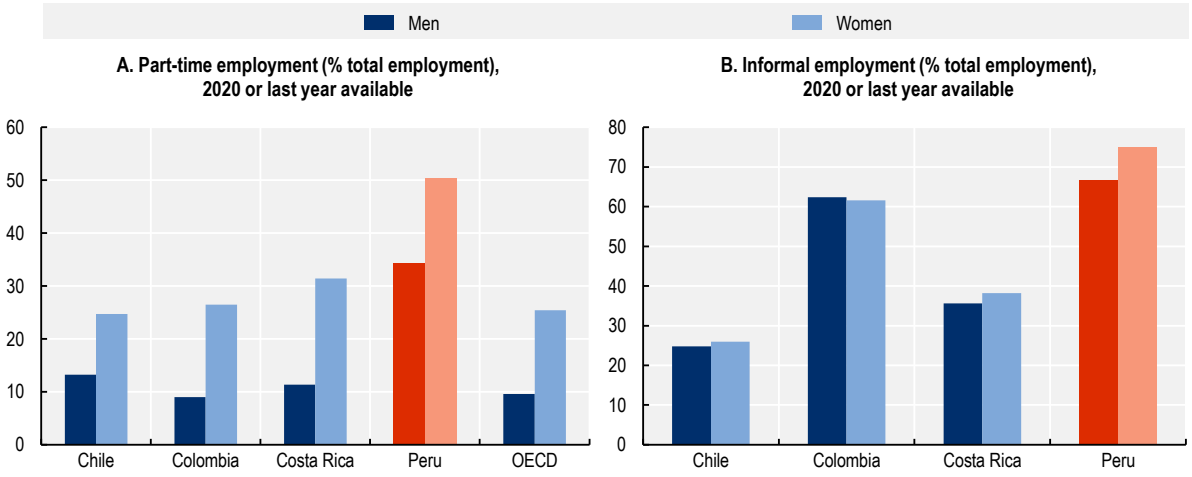
Note: Data refer to 2017 for Chile and 2018 for Peru. For Costa Rica, data cover mothers who are reported as the head of the household or the spouse/partner of the head of the household, only. For more information please refer to the OECD Database on Gender gaps in Latin America and the Caribbean under https://www.oecd.org/latin-america/regional-programme/gender/.
Source: OECD, "LMF1.2.C Maternal employment rates by age of youngest child", OECD Family Database, http://www.oecd.org/social/family/database.htm; and own estimations based on the INE (2019), Encuesta Nacional de Hogares.

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Although the female employment rate is higher in Peru than observable in Chile, Colombia and Costa Rica, women are often employed in low-quality jobs. For example, the level of part-time employment rate, which in Peru far exceeds the shares seen in other Latin American countries and across the OECD, is particularly pronounced among women (Figure 1.8, Panel A). Correspondingly, only half of women workers work full-time in Peru. In addition, the vast majority of women and men work informally in Peru. At 67% for men and 75% for women workers, respectively, the rates of informal employment are significantly higher in Peru than observed in Chile and Costa Rica and (for women) in Colombia (Figure 1.8, Panel B).

Informality is more widespread outside metropolitan Lima and in rural areas. In Lima, around five in ten men and six in ten women workers are informally employed, compared to around eight to ten in the rest of the country. In rural areas, almost all workers are informally employed: 94.8% of male and 96.6% of female workers (INEI, 2020[34]). Despite these high levels, a trend towards formalisation can be observed, with the national average of Peru showing that in 2018 the share of men and women employed informally were some 8-9 percentage points lower than in 2009 (ILO, 2020[37]). This continues a pattern observable since the early 2000s and that reversed some of the increases that took place in the previous 20 years (Chong, Galdo and Saavedra, 2008[38]; Centro Nacional de Planeamiento Estratégico, 2016[39]).

Figure 1.8. A high share of female employees in Peru work part-time and informally



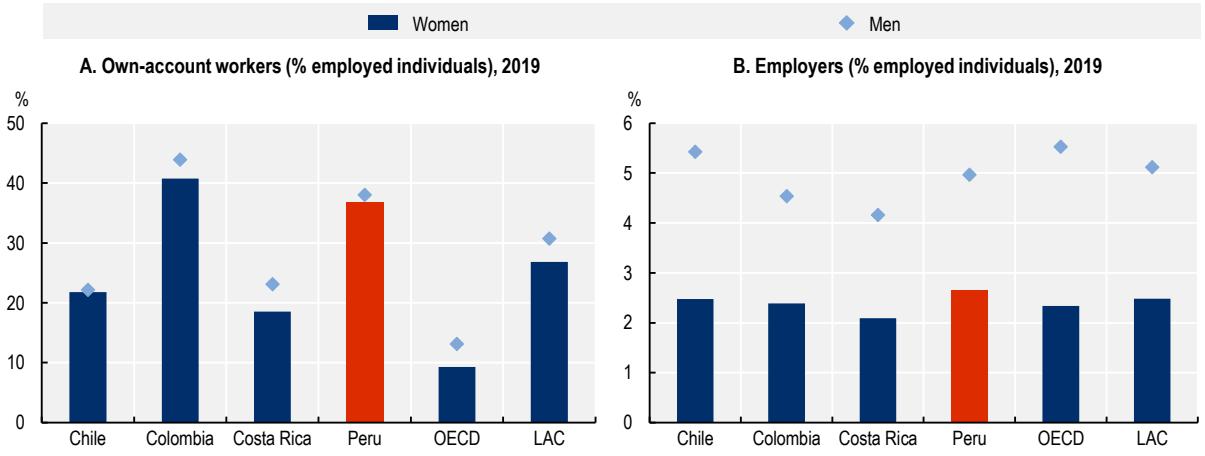
Note: Panel A: Data for Peru refer to 2020 otherwise 2019. Panel B: Data refer to 2020, except for Colombia where it refers to 2019. For more information please refer to the OECD Database on Gender gaps in Latin America and the Caribbean under https://www.oecd.org/latin-america/regional-programme/gender/.
Source: Panel A: OECD Employment Database, https://www.oecd.org/employment/emp/onlineoecdemploymentdatabase.htm, and ILOSTAT (https://ilostat.ilo.org, Panel B: ILO Stat (SDG indicator 8.3.1 – Proportion of informal employment in total employment by sex and sector (%)), https://ilostat.ilo.org.

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In Peru, the rate of self-employment is lower among women than among men, although the gap is very small and smaller than in other countries in the region (Figure 1.9, Panel A). This being said, in Peru the share among women exceeds the regional average by 10 percentage points. Moreover, the share of employers among employed women is half the share among men (Figure 1.9, Panel B).

In 2018, 73.6% of registered Peruvian enterprises were in the judicial form of natural persons, which excludes other registered enterprises such as anonymous societies and limited liability companies, as well as unregistered enterprises. Among this subset virtually all are microenterprises, whether they are led by a man or by a woman (INEI, 2019[40]). In Peru, the ratio between those who start a business because they have identified a good opportunity to those who did so out of necessity is larger among male than among female entrepreneurs (Serida et al., 2017[41]). 4.7% of CEOs or managing directors are women (CENTRUM PUCP, WomenCEO Perú and PwC Perú, 2018[42]).

Figure 1.9. A smaller share of female workers are employers



Note: The Latin American region average refers to Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, and Uruguay where available. For more information please refer to the OECD Database on Gender gaps in Latin America and the Caribbean under https://www.oecd.org/latin-america/regional-programme/gender/.
Source: ILO Stat Employment by sex and status in employment – ILO modelled estimates, November 2020.

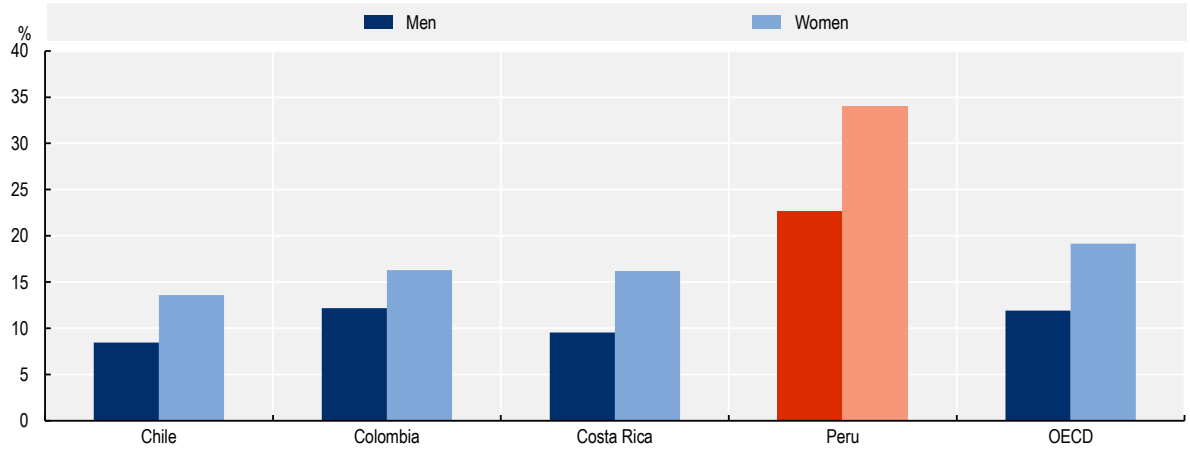
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Occupations characterised by a higher percentage of women workers generally pay less than occupations with a lower percentage, even controlling for education and skill demands. Empirical analysis of the reasons that stand behind this association has focussed on two different socio-economic perspectives: devaluation and queuing both of which point to a type of discrimination by the employers (Levanon, England and Allison, 2009[43]). According to the former, the pay offered in an occupation affects its women proportion, due to employers' preference for men. The latter argues that the proportion of females in an occupation affects pay, owing to devaluation of work done by women.

In Peru, full-time women workers are around 1.5 times more likely than male workers to earn less than two-thirds of the median wage (Figure 1.10). This is similar to the ratio across the OECD but below that observed in other countries in the region, in particular Costa Rica. It is important to underline, however, that the general share of low-income workers in Peru is considerably higher than in other regional comparator countries. Moreover, given that a larger share of workers in Peru work part-time, the overall share of low-income workers is likely to be proportionally more important.

Figure 1.10. In Peru as elsewhere, women are more likely to be low-paid

Share of full-time workers earning less than two-thirds of the median wage, 2019 or latest year available



Note: Data refer to 2017 for Chile, 2018 for Peru, otherwise 2019. For more information please refer to the OECD Database on Gender gaps in Latin America and the Caribbean under https://www.oecd.org/latin-america/regional-programme/gender/.
Source: OECD LFS – Decile ratios of gross earnings – Incidence of low pay, and own calculations based on the 2018 annual ENAHO (INE, 2019).

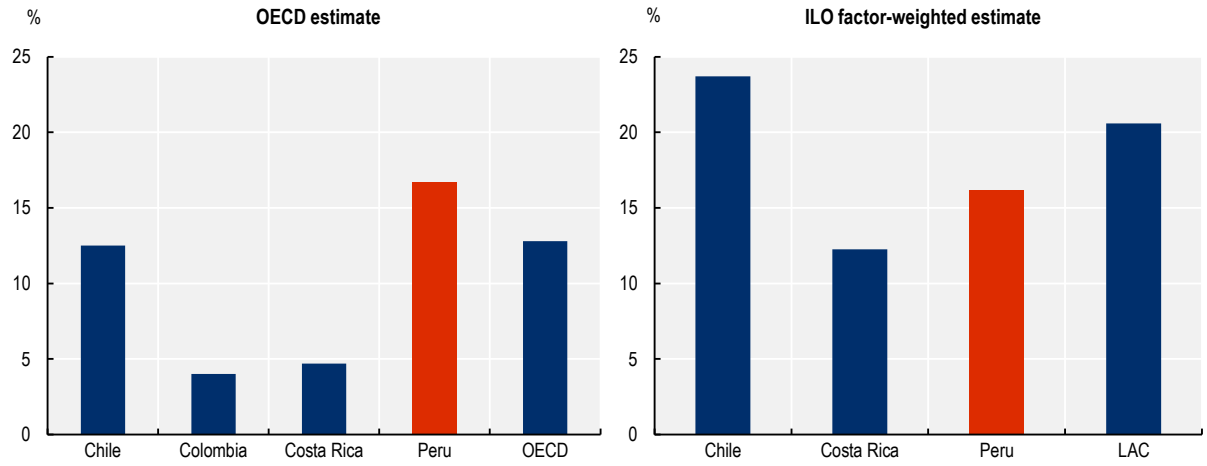
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Different methodologies exist to estimate the gender pay gap, the difference in labour incomes of male and female workers. These range from the simple comparison between the mean or median wages of men and women to complex approaches that control for the characteristics of workers and their jobs that typically influence pay, such as their education level and the sector they work in. These different approaches are best thought of as complementary, rather than substitutes, since they fundamentally measure different things. The simpler approach provides evidence on how much less money the average female worker earns – and thus for example the extent of the incentive couples have for a husband rather than a wife to work full-time. The more complex approach seeks to highlight what part of the pay gap cannot be explained by the characteristics of workers and their jobs, thus pointing towards the extent of discrimination of female workers, for example.[2]

According to different measures, women in Peru earn approximately a sixth less than men do. First, the median female full-time worker earns 17% less than the median male full-time worker (Figure 1.11, OECD estimate). This difference exceeds that observed in Chile, Colombia and Costa Rica, as well as the OECD average. Second, according to a factor-adjusted approach that includes both part- and full-time workers, the Peruvian estimate remains at 16% (Figure 1.11, ILO factor-weighted estimate). For other countries, however, the two estimates are not so aligned. In particular, according to the factor-weighted estimate the pay gap is still larger in Peru than in Costa Rica, but it is smaller than in Chile and the region overall.

Figure 1.11. Using the OECD definition, the gender pay gap in Peru is particularly high

Gender pay gap, 2019 or latest year available



Note: The OECD gender pay gap is equal to the difference between the median monthly wages of male and female full-time employees. The ILO factor-adjusted pay gap is based on hourly wages and includes both part- and full-time dependent workers. It is equal to a population-size weighted sum of the gender pay gap for different subgroups defined by four education and age groups each, full- and part-time work status and private versus public sector employment. For more information please refer to the OECD Database on Gender gaps in Latin America and the Caribbean under https://www.oecd.org/latin-america/regional-programme/gender/.
Source: OECD Employment Database, "Gender wage gap", https://stats.oecd.org/index.aspx?queryid=54751; own calculations based on the INE (2019), Encuesta Nacional de Hogares; and ILO (2018), Global Wage Report 2018/19: What lies behind gender pay gaps.

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Drivers of gender gaps in outcomes

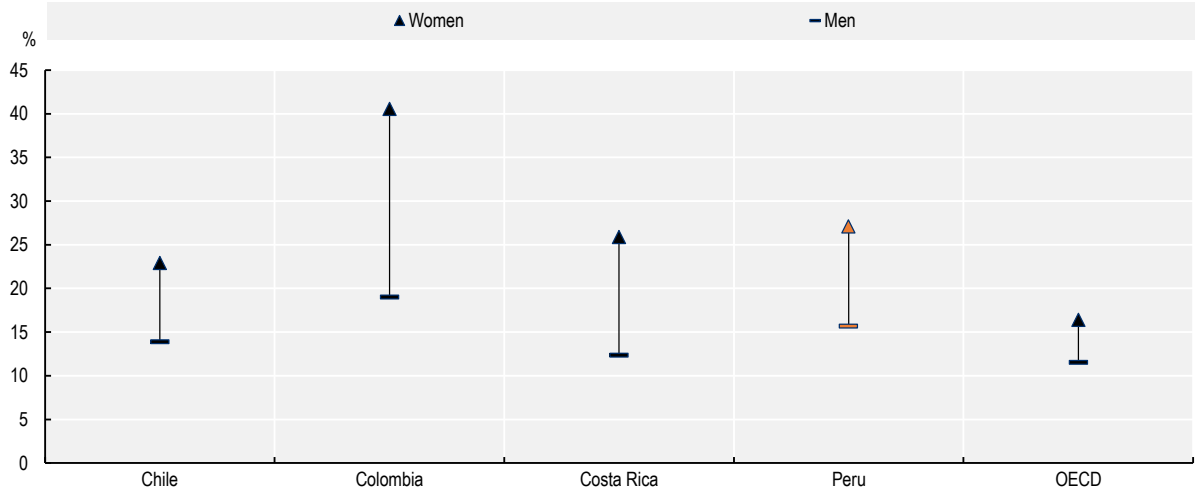
Various economic theories explain the causes of the gender gaps in economic outcomes. The approaches that put the accent on human capital factors emphasise the characteristics of workers and their jobs, as captured by the level of education, the work experience and the skills required to fulfil specific tasks and responsibilities. However, human capital characteristics are not enough to capture the wide range of factors explaining gender gaps. As highlighted in the previous sections, although education certainly represents an important factor in explaining female employment outcomes, also other drivers matter, which relate more intrinsically to the fact of being a woman (Bertrand, 2020[44]; Ciminelli Gabriele and Schwellnus Cyrille, 2021[45]). Indeed, despite important educational gains, women continue to make educational choices likely to result in lower labour market earnings than men. One evidence of this is the underrepresentation of women in STEM disciplines. Likewise, motherhood can lead women to change labour market decisions in ways that permanently alter careers and undermine earning prospects. Moreover, when launching a new business activity, this will more likely be out of necessity, rather than responding to an innovative entrepreneurial opportunity with a potential for further expansion in the future. Much of these patterns in choices, preferences and opportunities are endogenous to the presence of sticky stereotypes about gender-specific skills, professions and roles.

In addition, the nature of such factors as lack of qualifications, which preclude the access to good job opportunities, alongside the struggle with personal and social problems, for example, are typically intersectional. In other words, they tend to associate with other disadvantages, like being in a young age, living in a rural area, coming from a poor household, or belonging to an indigenous population group.

One very synthetic but telling manifestation of these intersectional disadvantages is provided by Figure 1.12, which depicts the international comparison of the rates for women and men Not in Employment, Education or Training (NEET) as a percentage of the youth population. In Peru, young women are 1.7 times more likely to be NEETs than young men are. This sizeable gap compares with an OECD-wide average of 1.4 times, although there are variations from country to country.

Figure 1.12. Women are more likely to be NEETs than men are

Share of population unemployed or inactive (NEET) among 15-29 years, 2020 or latest year available



Note: Data refer to 2020 except for Chile and Peru where they refers to 2017.
Source: Data for Peru refer to Encuesta Nacional de Hogares (ENAHO) otherwise OECD Database on Transition from school to work https://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=EAG_TRANS.

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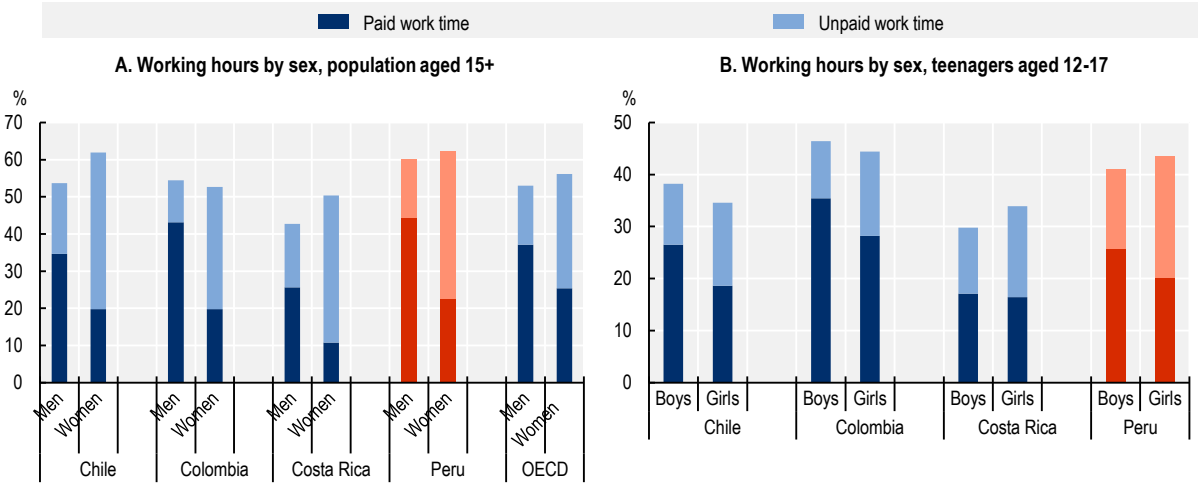
As noted, the reasons behind this situation are multiple. They trace back to the traditional gender-related assignment of roles, whereby women do most of the unpaid domestic work, the caring for children and other family members. Other reasons reflect the influence of inherited cultural factors, gender stereotypes and attitudes and their interplay in influencing attitudes and behaviours. Another driver relates to the interplay with the role of laws and institutions. Finally, access to the infrastructure also matters, with the availability of quality care facilities and the supporting physical infrastructure representing one example. The remainder of this section provides a review of these forces, which integrate the role played by human capital factors in shaping gender economic outcomes.

Unpaid work

One key factor that contributes to the lower labour force participation and higher part-time employment rate of women is the higher number of hours spent on unpaid care and housework activities. Women in Peru spend 24 more hours per week on these tasks than men do, which corresponds to a slightly more pronounced gap than observed in Chile (23 hours), Colombia (22 hours) and Costa Rica (23 hours), although significantly more pronounced than the average of the OECD countries (15 hours) (Figure 1.13, Panel A). At the same time, Peruvian men work 21 more hours in paid work per week than women do, which makes for a sizeable gap, both compared with Chile and Costa Rica (15 hours in both countries) and the OECD average (12 hours).

The pattern according to which girls do more unpaid work and boys more paid work also exists among teenagers (Figure 1.13, Panel B). On average, girls in Peru spend on unpaid work 8 hours per week more than boys, which are essentially dedicated to household chores. Conversely, boys spend on paid work 6 hours per week more than girls. As noted above, work adversely affects educational performance on a standardised test in Peru (Post, 2011[27]). A study based on 20 countries found that regardless of whether it is paid or unpaid, work performed outside of the school, affects maths scores negatively, even when family resource and school effects are taken into account (Post and Pong, 2009[46]).

Figure 1.13. Women and girls in Peru work longer hours than men and boys



Note: Panel A: Data for LAC countries refer to population aged 15+. Given that the survey instruments of the time-use surveys are not identical across countries, more attention should be paid to intra- than to cross-country comparisons. The reference year is 2017 Colombia and Costa Rica, 2015 for Chile, 2010 for Peru and around 2014 for the non-weighted OECD cross-country average. The OECD average refers to the entire population aged 15-64 and is calculated by multiplying daily time use values by seven. Panel B: The Colombian average for teenagers refers to 10-17 year-olds. For more information please refer to the OECD Database on Gender gaps in Latin America and the Caribbean under https://www.oecd.org/latin-america/regional-programme/gender/.
Source: Panel A: OECD Time Use Dataset (June 2021) and ECLAC CEPALSTAT Gender Statistical System (Working Time by type of work); Panel B: ECLAC (2018), Los cuidados en América Latina y el Caribe.

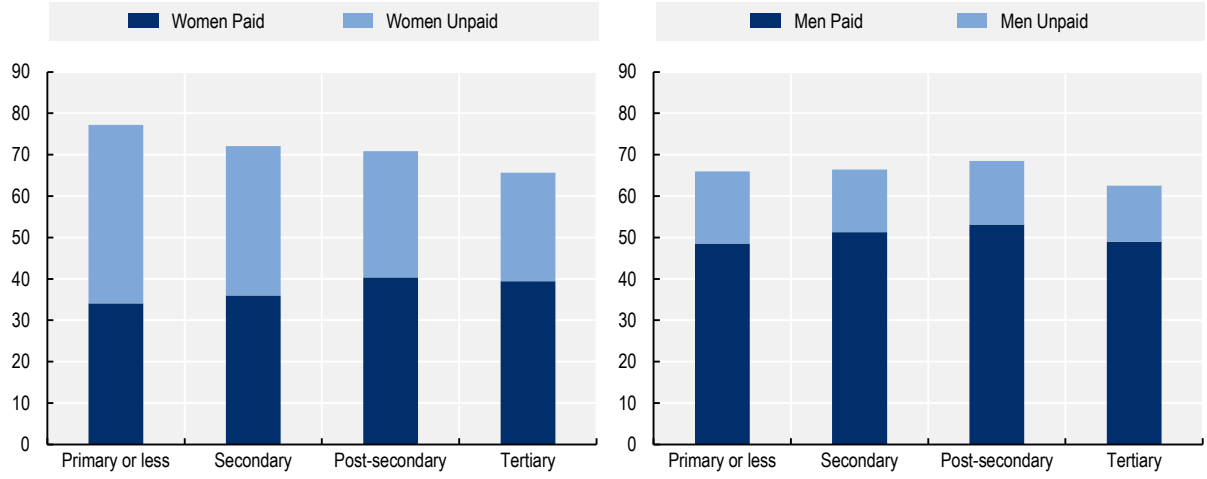
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The time spent on unpaid work differs between socio-economic groups in Peru:

- Among working age population, indigenous men and women who grew up speaking an indigenous language spend an additional six and ten hours more on paid and unpaid work per week, respectively, compared to those that grew up speaking Castilian (Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Informatica, n.d.[47]).
- Similarly, in rural areas, the time spent on domestic non-remunerated activities is six and 11 hours longer than in urban areas, for men and women, respectively. The observed difference in the total workload becomes even more drastic when considering the indigenous-non-indigenous divide. Men in urban areas work slightly more hours than men in rural areas do, while the opposite is true among women.
- In addition, there is evidence that the gender gap in total work hours is far larger for those with lower educational attainments. It falls from 11 hours among those with primary education to three hours among those with a tertiary degree (Figure 1.14). Women with a university degree on average work 11 hours less than women who at most completed primary school (Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Informatica, n.d.[47]).

Figure 1.14. In Peru, the gender gap in total working hours falls with education

Paid and unpaid working hours by highest educational attainment for people who participate in the paid labour market, by sex, 2010



Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática (INEI), Indicadores de Género, "Carga total de trabajo de mujeres y hombres que participan en el mercado de trabajo remunerado, según característica seleccionada, 2010.

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Even in countries where egalitarian attitudes are more prevalent and where there are small or no gaps in the labour market outcomes of young men and women, the paid and unpaid work distribution often starts diverging when the individuals become parents. New mothers often stay home initially after the birth and the patterns that emerge during this time may significantly alter the division of work within the couple, becoming permanent thereafter. However, the extent of this shift will depend upon the attitudes of parents (also see the following section) and their relative labour income (Schober, 2011[48]; Sanchez and Thomson, 1997[49]).

In Peru, for slightly more than one-third of couples with children under the age of 15 both parents work full-time. A further third have one person working full- and one working part-time with the person working part-time almost systematically being the woman (Table 1.1., Panel A). Interestingly, the share of couples that are split between full- and part-time work is considerably bigger in Peru than in Chile and Costa Rica and an average across 29 OECD countries. The reasons behind this imbalance can be practical, for example if a mother is still breast-feeding. However, it often reflects cultural attitudes, according to which care and homework duties are 'women's prerogatives', along with financial reasons, if the male partner earns more than the female partner.

On the other hand, the division of labour whereby one partner works full-time and the other does not work at all for pay occurs in fewer than one in four couples with children in Peru, which is below the OECD average, as well as Chile and Costa Rica. In the Peruvian context, characterised by a high incidence of low-quality and low-paid jobs, this attitude may be the outcome of economic necessity, rather than preferences. The low prevalence of non-working single mothers (around 11% in Peru, compared to 29-35% in the comparison countries and the OECD average) seems to support this presumption (Table 1.1., Panel B).

Table 1.1. The employment rates of parents in Peru are comparatively high

A. Distribution (%) of employment patterns in couples with at least one child aged 0-14					
	Proportion (%) of couple households with:				
	Both partners full-time	One partner full-time, one partner part-time	One partner full-time, one partner not working	Both partners not working	Other
Chile	39.0	9.6	44.5	3.0	3.9
Costa Rica	21.1	12.7	36.4	1.2	28.6
Peru	35.2	32.0	22.8	1.2	8.7
OECD average	45.6	16.9	25.8	3.4	8.3

B. Distribution (%) of single parents with at least one child aged 0-14 by employment status				
	Proportion (%) of single parents with at least one child:			
	Working full-time	Working part-time	Working – no information on hours	Not working
Chile	57.2	13.5	0.1	29.3
Costa Rica	44.2	21.1		34.7
Peru	64.7	24.8		10.5
OECD average	57.3	15.5	1.0	26.1

Note: Data refer to 2019 except for Chile (2017) and Peru (2018). For Chile, the distinction between part-time and full-time work is based on actual hours worked in the main job during the survey reference week, rather than usual weekly working hours. For Peru, working hours were imputed when responses were missing. For Costa Rica, data refer to the employment status of the two parents in 'two parent households' or 'couple families' with at least one child aged 0-14, rather than to couples themselves. For Costa Rica data cover households where at least one child (aged 0-14) shares a relationship with the reported 'head of household' only. For more information please refer to the OECD Database on Gender gaps in Latin America and the Caribbean under https://www.oecd.org/latin-america/regional-programme/gender/.
Source: OECD (n.d.[50]), "LMF2.2 Patterns of employment and the distribution of working hours for couples with children" and "LMF2.3 Patterns of employment and the distribution of working hours for single parents ", *OECD Family Database*, http://www.oecd.org/social/family/database.htm accessed on March 2022; and own estimations based on the INE (2019[51]), *Encuesta Nacional de Hogares.*

Gender-based stereotypes and attitudes

Gender stereotypes can influence female employment in multiple ways. Everything else equal, women who believe that their role is in the home will likely feel less inclined to seek outside employment (Christiansen et al., 2016[52]). This supply effect often appears compounded by the attitude of the partners, if they not only hold the same view but also believe that it is their right to impose it on the wives. In addition, the views about gender roles in the labour market can also influence the demand for female jobs: employers who believe that certain jobs should go to men, rather than women, are less likely to hire women or to pay them the same wage. In fact, in countries where more men than women believe that scarce jobs should go to men first, the gender pay gap tends to be larger (Fortin, 2005[53]). On the other hand, women's employment itself will likely have feedback effects on gender attitudes, changing them over time (Seguino, 2007[54]).

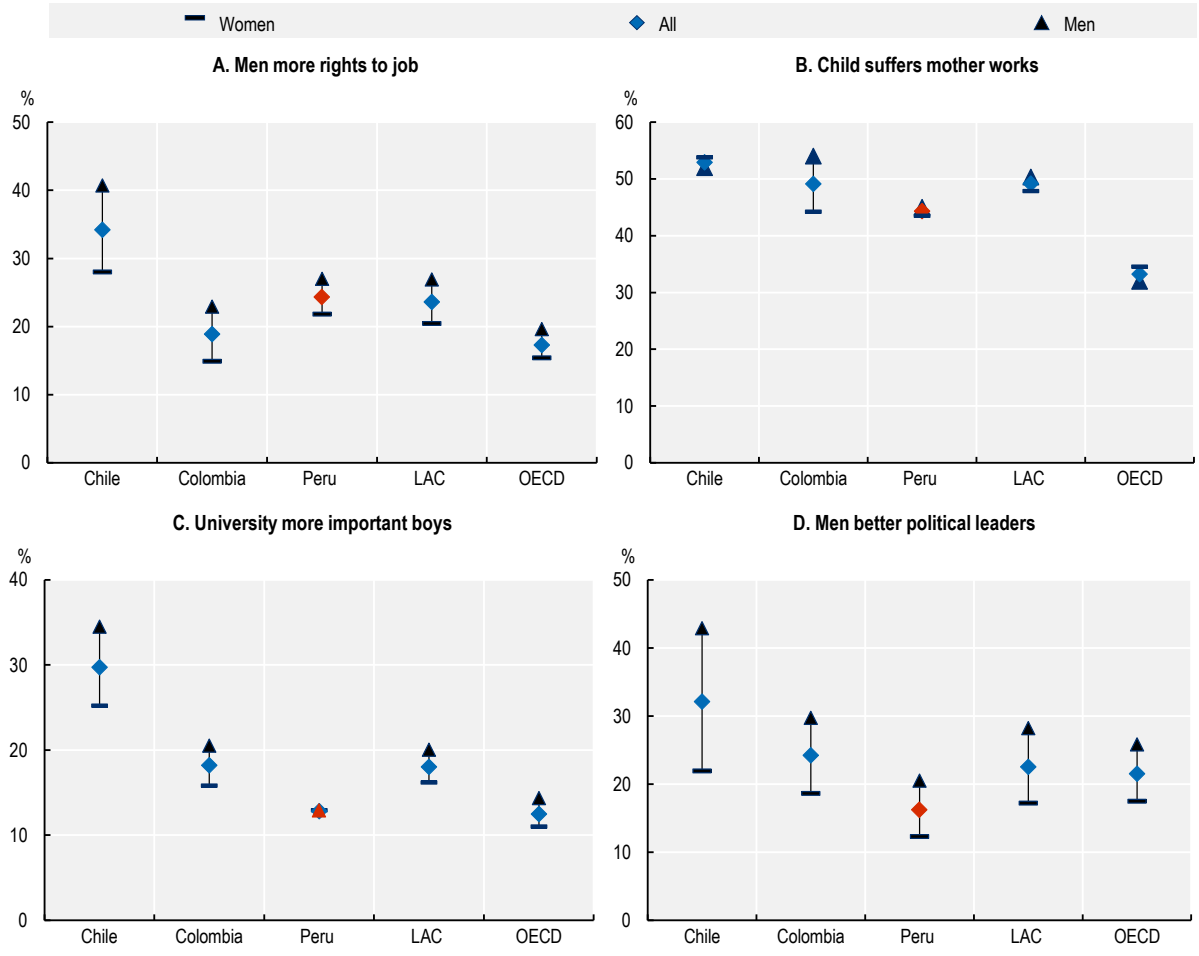
In Peru, the share of men and women whose beliefs align strongly to the traditional "male breadwinner"-"female homemaker" model divide is smaller than seen in other countries. For several decades, the World Value survey has analysed these attitudes by inviting feedbacks on:

- i) the 'right' of women to participate in the labour market and education ("When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women" and "A university education is more important for a boy than a girl");
- ii) the leadership potential of both genders ("On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do"); and
- iii) the compatibility of being a mother and working ("When a mother works for pay, children suffer").

The share of people who agree with the more traditional norms has declined overtime in many countries (Seguino, 2007[54]). In Peru, fewer individuals support the conservative attitudes compared to individuals in other Latin American and a selection of OECD countries (Figure 1.15). This lower prevalence may reflect the higher labour force participation of women in Peru. One interesting piece of evidence is that the views of men and women appear to be broadly aligned, while almost everywhere else, a higher share of men agree with the socially conservative statements (Seguino, 2007[54]). In addition to influencing labour market participation, gender attitudes may also influence the division of paid and unpaid work. An analysis of Ecuador, Mexico and Peru shows that countries with more egalitarian attitudes have lower gaps in the total work burdens between men and women (Campaña, Giménez-Nadal and Molina, 2018[55]).

Figure 1.15. In Peru, the share of men and women with traditional views on women's role in economic life varies less than elsewhere

Share of respondents to 2017-20 World Value Survey who (strongly) agree with the statement



Note: The statements respondents are asked about are: "When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women"; "When a mother works for pay, the children suffer"; "A university education is more important for a boy than a girl"; "On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do". The Latin American average is based on Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico and Peru. The OECD average is based on Australia, Austria, Chile, Colombia, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Japan, Korea, Mexico, the Netherlands, Norway, New Zealand, Poland, Slovenia, the Slovak Republic, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States. Both averages are unweighted. For more information please refer to the OECD Database on Gender gaps in Latin America and the Caribbean under https://www.oecd.org/latin-america/regional-programme/gender/.

Source: Haerpfer et al. (2020), World Values Survey: Round 7 – Country-Pooled Datafile. https://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSContents.jsp.

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Despite these comparatively more egalitarian social norms, in Peru one in ten women declares to have experienced economic violence during the previous 12 months. In 2015, 28.9% of women 18 and older in Peru reported that they experienced economic violence at some point in their life. Economic violence is defined as denying them money for household expenses, taking away their salary, preventing them from knowing what the family income was, forbidding them from working, and other similar acts. Evidence from other countries suggests that women who experience economic violence from their partners often also experience physical violence – with the latter being an important issue for concerns in Peru, particularly among middle-lower income, urban and less educated women, and among those who have witnessed or experienced domestic violence in childhood (Muller and Paz, 2018[56]).

More than a third and a quarter of adult respondents agreed that a woman who leaves the house neglects her domestic duties and that a woman should not work if her partner did not want her to, respectively. More than half agreed that women needed to first fulfil their role as mother, wife or housewife before realising other aspirations (INEI, 2016[57]). Economic violence might make women more reluctant to take up and retain employment because the violence might escalate when women have a job (Bettio and Ticci, 2017[58]).

Institutions and laws

An analysis across developing and emerging economies suggests that equality under the law, the respect of the right of equal inheritance and of the right for women to be head of a household are associated with a decline in the gender gap in labour force participation of around 4.6 percentage points (Gonzales et al., 2015[59]). Over the past three decades, Peru has made great strides in reducing discriminatory laws and regulations that can limit the ability of women to choose any profession they want, start a business and be paid equally. The adoption of a new Constitution in 1993 established the equality of men and women under the law and paved the way to the elimination of many customary laws, which prevented women from working outside the home, having a bank account, and getting loans, owning and inheriting assets. In addition to the elimination of customary laws, Peru adopted a range of national policies to combat all forms of discrimination based on gender. Among others, in 2000 Peru introduced a law to outlaw discrimination based on gender and in 2007 a law on equal opportunities between women and men. More recently, in 2019 the Peruvian State reaffirmed its commitment to combat all form of discrimination against women, while strengthening the participation of women in social and political life and granting equitable access to productive resources and employment (State Policy Nº 11 of the National Agreement). Within ten years since the launch of these reforms, women's labour force participation increased by 15 percentage points, with beneficial effects also accruing to the women from the indigenous population and rural communities (Council on Foreign Relations, 2022[60]).

Recent international surveys detect the progress achieved by Peru to improve the regulatory framework against gender discrimination. Specifically, the OECD's *Social Institutions and Gender Index* (OECD, 2019b) rates the level of gender discrimination in Peru's national laws as low (Table 1.2.), although gender discrimination persists in practice, in particular with regard to women's land rights. At the same time, the World Bank *Women, Business and the Law* index scores Peru 95 out of 100, which is the highest among Latin American countries and close to the average OECD score (Table 1.3). According to expert judgement, women in Peru have the same rights to mobility in the workplace, for pay, in entrepreneurship and regarding assets and pensions as men have. The two important components for which Peru does not receive a full score are marriage (reflecting the fact that women do not have the same legal rights to remarry as men do) and parenthood (reflecting the lack of mandatory paid parental leave).

Table 1.2. The OECD Social Institutions and Gender Index suggests gender discrimination in Peru is comparatively low

	SIGI		Discrimination in the family		Restricted physical integrity		Restricted access to productive and financial resources		Restricted civil liberties	
	Score	Cat.	Score	Cat.	Score	Cat.	Score	Cat.	Score	Cat.
Colombia	15	Very low	9.6	Very low	14.9	Low	14.5	Low	20.6	Low
Peru	24.5	Low	47.7	Medium	26.6	Medium	5.5	Very low	12.9	Low
Costa Rica	27.9	Low	45.7	Medium	24.8	Low	27.5	Medium	10.5	Low
Chile	36.1	Medium	36.4	Medium	18.8	Low	64.8	High	16.6	Low
Latin America	25.4		31.2		21.8		22.9		20.2	
OECD	17.2		25.1		12.6		13.4		17.3	

Note: The Latin American and OECD averages are unweighted means. The Latin American and the Caribbean average of the SIGI is based on Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Haiti, Guatemala, Jamaica, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru, Trinidad and Tobago and Uruguay. The discrimination in the family indicator is in addition based on Antigua and Barbuda, Bahamas, Barbados, Belise, Cuba, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Argentina, Panama and Venezuela (the latter three also for the productive and financial resources and civil liberties dimensions). For more information please refer to the OECD Database on Gender gaps in Latin America and the Caribbean under https://www.oecd.org/latin-america/regional-programme/gender/.
Source: OECD (2020[61]), *SIGI 2020 Regional Report for Latin America and the Caribbean,* https://dx.doi.org/10.1787/cb7d45d1-en.

Table 1.3. Peru scores high in the Women, Business and the Law Index of the World Bank

	WBL INDEX	Mobility	Workplace	Pay	Marriage	Parenthood	Entrepreneurship	Assets	Pension
Chile	80	100	75	75	80	100	75	60	75
Colombia	82	100	100	50	100	80	75	100	50
Costa Rica	83	100	100	50	100	40	75	100	100
Peru	95	100	100	100	80	80	100	100	100
LAC	86	100	95	75	93	69	84	96	77
OECD	94	100	98	88	96	89	95	99	86

Note: The LAC and OECD averages are unweighted. For the index, 35 questions are scored across the eight indicators based on laws and regulations that were in force at the time of the development of the index. Overall scores were calculated by taking the average of each indicator, with 100 representing the highest possible score. For more information please refer to the OECD Database on Gender gaps in Latin America and the Caribbean under https://www.oecd.org/latin-america/regional-programme/gender.
Source: World Bank (2021[62]), *Women, Business and the Law data 1970-2021.*

Care and physical infrastructure

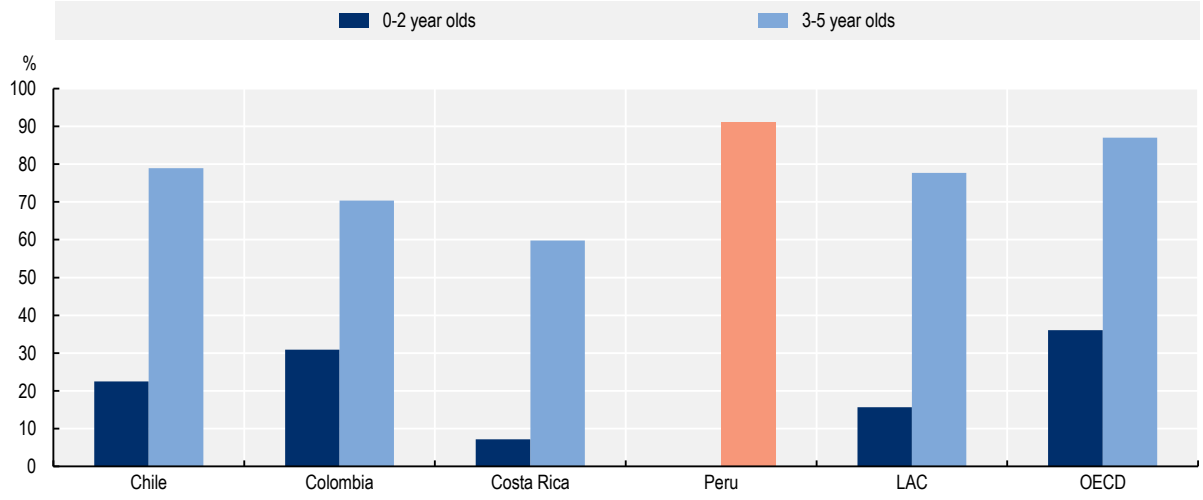
One additional factor that can contribute to differences in economic outcomes between men and women is the access to the physical and social infrastructure and, related to this, the availability of labour-saving household technology. On the one hand, the availability of reliable and affordable local transports, child and elderly care facilities, and electricity and running water, determine how many hours adult household members need to spend on commuting, looking after children, cooking and cleaning and hence how many hours they can spend in paid work. As discussed, given prevailing gender stereotypes and gender pay gaps, women usually end up doing a disproportionate share of unpaid work in the household. On the other hand, access to public infrastructure affects how safe people feel and hence their perception about what activities they can pursue. For example, when girls and women have to walk throughout poorly lit areas to get to school or work, or if sexual harassment is common on public transport, they may avoid going out when it is dark or taking the bus. This can limit the range of educational and economic options open to them.

Although the infrastructure plays an important role in facilitating women's active participation in the labour market and public life in general, it likely varies strongly by geographic areas, as well as by households' income levels. Well-off households generally live in areas where different types of infrastructure are available and of better quality. Moreover, even if certain infrastructures are not available in these areas, richer citizens can more easily compensate for this absence. For example, instead of using public transport, higher-income women will opt in favour of driving a car; and instead of sending their children to a public day-care centre, they will hire a nanny or pay for a private day care centre.

Access to affordable and quality formal or informal childcare acts as a decisive factor in allowing women to increase their participation in the labour market (Mateo Díaz and Rodriguez-Chamussy, 2016[63]). In Peru, pre-school education for children aged three to five is mandatory. Correspondingly, nine out of ten toddlers enrol in childcare (Figure 1.16). However, the share of younger children that are in formal out-of-home care remains unknown. In addition to childcare, many people – and women in middle age, in particular – also have to provide care for their elderly relatives. Compared to childcare, care of the elderly can be even more problematic to plan, increasing the difficulty of combining care and work (Laczko and Noden, 2007[64]). The current state of the Peruvian care system and suggestions for further improvements are addressed in the following chapter on the policies to support equal sharing of paid and unpaid work.

Figure 1.16. Peruvian enrolment rates in pre-school education are high

Percentage of children enrolled in early childhood education and care services or in primary education, by age group, 2019 or latest year available



Note: Peru refers to 2018 and data are not available 0-2 year-olds. For more information please refer to the OECD Database on Gender gaps in Latin America and the Caribbean under https://www.oecd.org/latin-america/regional-programme/gender/.
Source: For more information, see OECD, "Formal care and education for very young children – PF3.2 Enrolment in childcare and pre-school", OECD Family Database, http://www.oecd.org/els/family/database.htm and MINEDU (2019), "Tasa neta de asistencia, educación inicial (% de población con edades 3-5)", Estadistica de la Calidad Educativa.

StatLink https://stat.link/aefxhi

Long and onerous commutes negatively affect the well-being and economic opportunities of men and women alike. However, it is important to take into account that the transport needs of women on average differ from those of men. Across many countries, men tend to spend more time commuting to and from work. Women more frequently make short or multi-stop trips that consist of dropping a child at school before work, for example, and stopping by the market on the way home from work. They are more likely to walk and take public transport and are less likely to drive (Duchène, 2011[65]). These patterns also

characterise different Latin American cities, including Lima (Dominguez Gonzalez et al., 2020[66]). Women who regularly need to move between different areas of the outskirts generally lack access to the service, which reflects the incapacity of the system to ferry passengers from the periphery to the centre.

Even if transport options are available, women may be reluctant to take them if they are afraid of being a victim of robbery, sexual harassment or otherwise attacked. In a 2014 survey of 15 of the 20 largest capitals around the world, women in the Latin American cities (in particular in Bogota, followed by Mexico City and Lima) felt the most unsafe (Boros, 2014[67]). With perceived safety conditions affecting the transport choices of women, in Lima, for example, as in other Latin American cities, women often reported that they prefer to use minibuses than other public transport, even though they are more expensive and slower compared to the metro. The stated reason was that they have their seat in the minibus, which makes them feel safer from harassment. Women who take busses often wait for less crowded ones. A lack of security also arises from having to walk on poorly maintained and lit sidewalks and having to wait for a long time at bus stops in isolated locations (Dominguez Gonzalez et al., 2020[66]).

Finally, the amount of work required for maintaining a household in good conditions and the hours available for other activities also depends on the access to electricity and labour-saving technology. Appliances such as the washing machine have massively reduced the physical and time effort needed to wash clothes, clean the home and cook. The timesaving effects of household appliances are so massive that some economists believe that they have changed the world more than the internet (Chang, 2012[68]). In Peru in 2018, 95.2% of households had access to electricity, strongly up from 72.5% in 2000 and 88.1% in 2010. However, in rural areas nearly one in five still do not have access. In Chile, Costa Rica and Colombia, in contrast, access is close to universal, while the average access around Latin America is 98.3% (World Bank, 2022[69]). Access to electricity does not necessarily entail ownership of labour-saving appliances: in 2017, 49% had a refrigerator or freezer and 30.3% had a washing machine. In rural areas, only 7.7% had a refrigerator and 1.5% had a washing machine (INEI, 2018[70]). Still, some urban inhabitants without a washing machine may be able to access laundromats, which is unlikely to be the case in rural areas or in poor urban areas. In many households, people need to spend significantly more time shopping (since they cannot keep food fresh for a long time), washing, cooking and cleaning than they would have to if they owned household appliances.

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Notes

[1] A possible explanation for the discrepancy between the enrolment rate and the share of out-of-work children is that a higher share of boys who are of the theoretical age to be in upper secondary school are still in lower secondary school, thus not contributing to a higher upper secondary net enrolment rate but not being among out-of-school children.

[2] An adjusted gender gap that controls for too many variables can obscure other systematic disadvantages women face. For example, pay may differ across sectors. If the sector is controlled for but women face disadvantages in hiring in this sector, the wage gap understates the pay disadvantage women face.

2 A holistic policy framework for achieving a balanced sharing of paid and unpaid work

This chapter argues that achieving a better sharing of paid and unpaid responsibilities between men and women in Peru requires a comprehensive policy strategy and presents a holistic framework for its development using two policy axes. The first axis comprises the policies aimed at reducing the barriers that stand in the way of a more equitable division of time and responsibilities between men and women: creating a more effective care system; expanding parental leave; reducing the transmission of gender stereotypes through the education system; and strengthening the access to safe and secure public transportation. The second axis includes the policies that support the participation of women in the labour market: ensuring access to quality education for all; increasing women integration in the formal labour market; promoting women in non-traditional careers and leadership positions; supporting female entrepreneurship; and fighting violence against women. The chapter reviews each area in details and provides policy insights for possible improvements.

As discussed in Chapter 1, a combination of societal, institutional and economic factors stands behind the higher unpaid work burden of women, which weakens their economic outcomes. Policy changes and a gradual shift in attitudes have practically eliminated gender gaps in basic education and reduced those in the labour market.

Nonetheless, women in Peru continue to be less frequently employed; to more frequently work in the informal sector; to steer away from better-paid STEM careers; and to earn lower wages than men earn. With the welfare and income gains of reducing these gaps being potentially substantial for both men and women, a more equitable division of paid and unpaid work represents a high priority policy concern.

Given the interplay between different drivers, a holistic policy framework is needed to achieve a more balanced sharing of paid and unpaid work in Peru. For practical descriptive reasons, it is useful to structure such a broad approach using two policy axes:

- On the one hand, the policies aimed at reducing the barriers that currently stand in the way of achieving a more equitable division of time and responsibilities between men and women, and
- On the other hand, the policies that aim at fostering the participation of women in the labour market through ensuring that women's paid work pays more.

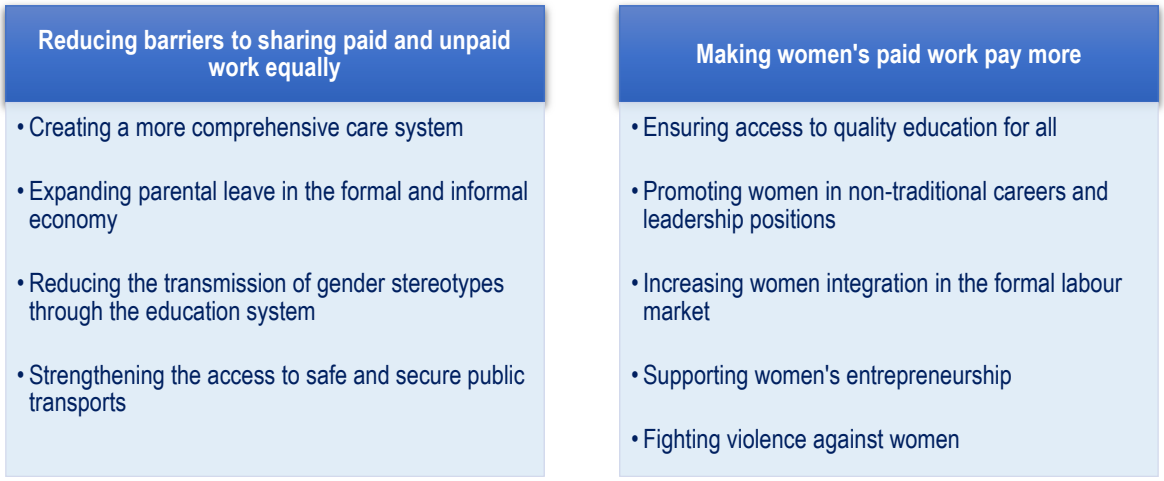
The first axis consists of the policies to reduce the overall amount of unpaid work that families have to carry out, as well as to tackle the hurdles that make it difficult for couples to share unpaid and paid work more equally. Key examples of specific areas within this axis are the policies aimed at the expansion of the public care system for both children and the elderly; introducing or strengthening the regulations governing parental leaves and flexible work regulations; and the promotion of gender-neutral approaches at all levels of education.

The second policy axis spots light on the policies that help reducing the gender gap in labour income and that lessen the incentive for women to spend long hours on unpaid work and can free more hours, in turn, that they can destine to paid work. These policies include addressing the barriers for all groups of girls to access quality education; increasing the opportunities of women to find a job of higher quality in the formal labour market; promoting women careers, including in leadership positions; strengthening gender equality in business entrepreneurship; and fighting violence against women in public spaces and the workplace.

Figure 2.1 provides the diagrammatic illustration of the policy framework and its components. The two policy axes are mutually reinforcing: the interplay of positive policy changes across each of them has the potential to significantly increase the number of women who could and would like to work outside the home as well as the number of men willing to take over caring and domestic tasks.

While not the only policies that contribute to these changes, the specific areas addressed in this chapter emerged as the most relevant, in terms of both potential impact and feasibility, during a project's fact-finding mission to Lima. The reminder of the chapter reviews each area in details starting with an assessment of the challenges and existing policies. A discussion of policy insights completes the analysis of each area, building on the lesson from the international experience and the OECD knowledge of international practices. While there is a general need to ensure that policies and programmes benefit all women, many of the policy recommendations addressed focus on the needs of some population groups more particularly, including indigenous women and women living in remote areas. The key policy insights of each policy area are summarised in Box 2.2 and Box 2.3.

Figure 2.1. A comprehensive policy framework for achieving a balanced sharing of paid and unpaid work in Peru



Reducing barriers to sharing paid and unpaid work equally

Creating a more comprehensive care system

The long-term educational and social benefits of early childhood education are well established. The available studies show that these benefits are particularly relevant for vulnerable children (Nores and Barnett, 2010[1]; Heckman et al., 2010[2]). Peru has a long tradition of non-formal early childhood education programmes. The pioneer of these programmes, the PROPEDEINE programme, also known with the original names of *Wawa Wasis* and *Wawa Uta* (children's houses in Quechua and Aymara languages, respectively), dates back to the late 1960s (Llanos, 2015[3]). At the time, poverty rates were very high among children and mothers in the most deprived areas of the country, particularly the Andes and the rural regions. They materialised in widespread malnutrition and both high infant and maternal mortality rates.

The aim of these programmes was to develop community-based services and awareness raising campaigns for improved health and nutrition by relying on the support of native volunteers. Locally hired *Animadores* (Facilitators) underwent courses in such areas as motor, language and socialisation development for children between 3 and 5 years old. With the requirement being that at a minimum the *Animadores* had a primary education degree (5 years of schooling), men ended up playing a prominent role as facilitators because at that time most women born in Peru's remote villages were illiterate.

The early childhood care system has evolved since the establishment of *Wawa Wasis* and *Wawa Uta*. In 2012, the Ministry of Social Development and Inclusions' (MIDIS) launched *Cuna Más*, a large-scale programme for the development of children aged below three years and living in poverty through improving families' childrearing. At the same time, day-care services (*Servicio de Cuidado Diurno*) provide comprehensive care to children between 6 and 36 months living in marginalised urban areas. In rural communities, a home visiting service (*Servicio de Acompañamiento a Familias*) delivers individual weekly visits and monthly group sessions for children under three along their primary caregivers and pregnant women. Experimental impact evaluation of the home visiting services provided by *Cuna Más*, concludes that home visitors are often poorly trained and receive little feedback, despite the fact that they are generally requested to master specific competencies and to interact on sensitive issues (Araujo, Dormal and Rubio-Codina, 2018[4]). Addressing these gaps is important to enhance the quality of intervention with improving the communication between caregivers and the children a key requirement (Rothstein et al., 2021[5]).

Turning the attention to children of pre-school age, between 3 and 5 years old, Peru relies on two categories of mandatory services targeting the development of cognitive and non-cognitive skills. Children from densely populated urban areas go to the *Centros de Educación Inicial* (CEI, Initial Education Centres, also called *Jardines*, gardens), which are formal establishments. At the same time, children living in marginalised urban and rural areas, not having access to *Jardines*, enrol in *PRONOEI*, a public programme with a strong community-based vocation. Unlike *Jardines*, who relies on certified teachers, most *PRONOEI*'s teachers are mothers from community villages who have received a training in child development and learning from a certified teacher hired by the Ministry of Education.

Assessment of the two programmes reveals that primary school achievements are generally poorer for pupils previously enrolled in *PRONOEI* (Cueto et al., 2016[6]). Beyond gaps in service quality, this outcome reflects, at least in part, unobserved characteristics of the children and their families, such as the parents' education – which typically associate to parenting capacity (Diaz, 2006[7]). Some observers have concluded that supporting the teachers through comprehensive training, including on how to engage with parents, would be a key to increasing the quality of *PRONOEI* (Cueto et al., 2016[6]).

Access to care services for girls and boys is uneven, particularly among children aged between 0 and 2 years. For girls and boys in this age bracket coverage is 12.4%, which compares with 86% among girls and boys between 3 and 5 years (María Amparo Cruz-Saco, 2016[8]). Such a wide difference in coverage reflects the fact that universal education begins at the age of three years in Peru. In addition, regardless to the age of the children, coverage varies significantly across geographical areas and is particularly low in the poorest and most needy areas of the country. For example, recent figures show that the home visiting service capacity of *PRONOEI* approximates 85 000 families, corresponding to about 32% of the target rural population. *PRONOEI* operates in about 580 out of 713 eligible districts (Early Childhood Workforce Initiative, 2017[9]).

Empirical evidence suggests that childcare programmes have helped increasing the number of hours that women in Peru spend working for a pay in the labour market. Young mothers under the age of 25, whose children benefit from *Cuna Más* work on average six more hours per week for pay (García and Collantes, 2018[10]). However, the low availability of public and private day care services implies that many mothers of young children still have to stay at home. Those who opt to work, although they lack access to the service, continue to depend upon the support of other family members, such as the grandmothers or grandaunts. Other families hire domestic care workers, many of whom are indigenous women and earn low wages. While higher-income households are more likely to hire domestic workers, a report notes that lower-middle income households also employ domestic workers, often without registering them (Fuertes Medina, Rodríguez and Casali, 2013[11]).

In Peru, as in the rest of Latin America, older adults are growing rapidly as a proportion of the total population. More than 3 million people are over 60 years old, corresponding to about 10% of the population (UNFPA, n.d.[12]). In 2050, this population is projected to reach 8.7 million (about 20% of the population). Four out of every ten Peruvian households have at least one elderly person (over 60 years old) and six out of ten older adults are heads of the household. Caring for the elderly, ill and disabled adults will be more and more challenging for families in Peru, given that the proportion of people who have difficulty performing basic daily activities, such as cooking, clothing or bathing themselves, increases with age (MIMP, 2012[13]). In addition, population ageing compounds the effects of non-communicable diseases such as depression and heart disease (Gianluca Cafagna et al., 2019[14]). Recent work on adults aged 50 years and older, using the 2017 Peru Demographic and Familiar Health Survey (Barboza et al., 2020[15]), found that 5% of the study population had a disability and 43.3% was screened positive for depression (13.2% for moderately severe or severe depression).

Some vulnerable old adults can find assistance in the residential and outpatient care centres for seniors, the *Centro Atención para Personas Adultas Mayores*, of which there are about 80 in Peru and primarily located in the urban areas. However, in most cases the burden of care responsibilities falls on the families

– directly, each time a family member takes up the caring responsibility, or indirectly, when the family hires a domestic worker, or stands the cost of the placement of the relative in a private institution.

The cost, time, emotional and physical burden of becoming an informal carer for an adult typically far exceeds the costs associated to the caring of a child. While women in the highest income quintile devote to the caring of children and teenagers about three hours less than women in the lowest income quintile, the difference in the hours spent on caring for household members with physical or mental difficulties, or who are elderly, increases to more than nine hours (Freyre Valladolid and López Mendoza, 2011[16]). While higher-income households can afford to outsource elderly care services, lower and middle-income households have no other choice than to provide the care themselves.

Without access to any professional support to care for their elderly or disabled relatives, informal family carers are generally unprepared and overloaded. This puts at risk the mental and physical health conditions of both carers and dependent individuals (Michelle Ferng, 2014[17]), which, in extreme cases, can fuel violence against elderly persons. Available surveys of older women and men report that discrimination based on age is common (HelpAge, 2013[18]), with up to a quarter of seniors having felt mistreated in some way during the previous year, according to an epidemiological study for Lima and Callao (MIMDES, 2005[19]).

Policy insights

Addressing the lack of public early education and care programmes is a pillar of Peru's National Policy for Gender Equity (see Chapter 1, Box 1.2). Congress recently considered the establishment of a National Care System, which would regulate public and private childcare provisions and set out a coverage target of 30% for children aged between 0 and 2 years in urban areas. Moreover, it would define care as a right. Meanwhile, the Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations is working at the creation of a regulatory framework and tools that will enable advancing with the implementation of a National Care System. A nursery bill foresaw that private and public companies with at least ten employees would have to provide day care services. However, financing considerations suggest that the costs for the firm sector of implementing such a system might be non-negligible. On the other hand, the costs for the public sector of expanding the pre-school childcare system are also potentially important. For example, estimates of the combined cost for Peru of achieving universal childcare and education for 3-5 year-olds and 40% coverage for 0-2 year-olds suggest that such an expansion would approximate 1.4% of GDP (Cruz-Saco, Pérez and Seminario, 2016[20]).

Explore flexible options for implementing employer-supported childcare: Peru's policy makers have recently considered different options to engage the employer sector in the provision of childcare services. One such options requires mandating all firms above a certain size threshold to secure the services to their employees. A 2019 draft bill sets the threshold at 50 employees overall – men and women combined – to avoid creating a disincentive on the hiring of women. The scope of the reform has changed subsequently, with the requirement no longer applying when 20% of the workers are mothers, fathers or other caregivers of children under age of three.

Representatives of the business sector, seconded by numerous Peruvian policy makers, have expressed concerns about the introduction of a rule-based approach, claiming that it would impose serious cost overruns on companies. Examples of emerging economies which statutory require employers to provide or support childcare include Brazil, Chile, Ecuador, India, Jordan and Turkey (IFC, 2017[21]). Among these countries, Chile is currently abandoning the statutory approach in favour of a more universalised early childhood care system, supported through a general employer contribution.

A recent report reviewing ten case studies of companies that have implemented employer-support childcare, located in different emerging and advanced countries, finds that there are more flexible solutions than the option based on regulatory compliance (IFC, 2017[21]). The options available to employers seeking to support their employees' needs for childcare range from more resource-intensive strategies, such as

workplace crèches, to less resource-intensive ones, including information and referral services and back-up care services. Complementary benefits, such as flexible work arrangements and the recourse to paid parental leave, enable parents to care for their children more directly. Many employers provide childcare supports as part of their general approaches to achieve better business outcomes, since these forms of compensation are seen to improve recruitment and productivity and to lower employees' turnover.

The same report finds that considerable gains are also achievable through partnerships and collaboration between the public and private sectors and civil society organisations. For example, evidence from case studies in Jordan and Vietnam suggests that staff turnover and sick leave were significantly reduced following the decision by textile companies to offer workplace childcare (by a third and close to 10%, respectively). However, it is important that the approach be flexible, with consultations with employees and their representatives being a key to ensure that childcare options meet affordability and accessibility needs of employees. For example, depending upon where the majority of employees live and how they get to work, they might prefer a child care option that is closer to their home, rather than at their workplace.

Step up efforts to create care services for low-income families: Although employer-supported childcare responds to the needs of couples whose members work in larger companies in the formal sector, it will hardly reach out to the self-employed workers, the employees of smaller companies and those working in informally (INEI, 2021[22]). This is an important issue, given that, as shown in Chapter 1, about three quarters of all women workers in Peru work informally. In addition, when both parents work it often happens that their combined income is either too high to qualify for a place in a public day-care or too low to afford a quality private day-care centre. One possible approach to address this situation is by expanding the number of places available for public day-care in tandem with increasing the level of the income threshold to qualify for access.

Evidence from high-income countries suggests that publicly funded childcare services tend to have a more uniform quality and offer better working conditions to childcare workers (Moussié, 2016[23]). The process of opening new public day-care centres can be gradual, giving sufficient time to hire qualified personnel and to expand the budget devoted to early childhood care and education. In areas where there are spots left over after all eligible households have been offered care, higher-income families could be invited to send their children while paying a fee.

Private childcare providers that fulfil the educational and psychological requirements can receive a grant to convert a space at home and purchase the caring equipment (ILO and WIEGO, 2019[24]). In Mexico, for example, the *Programa Estancias Infantiles para Apoyar a Madres Trabajadoras y/o Padres Solos (PEI)* pays a subsidy for the care of children from low-income households directly to a home-based childcare worker, with the parents covering the rest of the fee. In addition, the government can provide subsidies for the private childcare spots that fulfil quality requirements. The recourse to flexible solutions can be particularly useful in areas where the demand for day-care spots exceeds the supply.

Expand and professionalise community-based programmes: The challenges of developing formal childcare services in far-away areas and in the main urban centres, such as metropolitan Lima, differ. Labour force shortages, particularly of a well-trained childcare workforce, are likely to weigh more in the rural areas than in the urban centres. In addition, the demand for childcare services is likely to be less stable than in the urban areas reflecting the seasonality of agriculture outputs. While increasing sharply when agriculture and harvesting activities reach a peak, it declines afterwards as soon as seasonal sources of pressure moderate. These variations imply a capacity to adapt.

The further expansion and rationalisation of community-based childcare programmes can help addressing these challenges. In particular, as part of ongoing efforts to improve *Cuna Mas* (for children aged below 3 years) and *PRONOEI* (for children between 3 and 5 years) and their networks of home visiting services, Peru could decide to strengthen the training programmes for supervisors and caring volunteers. Other Latin American countries have taken similar initiatives recently. For example, the Colombian Institute

for Family Well-being offers scholarships to community carers and educators wishing to further their knowledge and skills in early childhood education (Instituto Colombiano de Bienestar Familiar, 2020[25]).

Some countries have chosen to reinforce the supply of continuous training to childcare workers, by increasing the options for shorter but more regular and better-spaced programmes. Vietnam, for example, offers opportunities for continuous training of up to two months each year (Neuman, Josephson and Chua, 2015[26]). In Peru, a similar approach could result in the adaptation of training schedules to the seasonality of agriculture productions. Such an adaptation could have positive returns on parenting capacity, if it facilitates attendance by both parents.

A number of countries have adopted more decisive compensation policies. Ecuador, for example, has tripled the pay for community childcare providers from one-third to the full minimum wage (Moussié, 2016[23]). Aside from pay increases, the growing professionalisation can entail feedbacks effects on the expansion of formalisation if the time devoted to childcare work qualifies the individual for pension credits and health coverage. By increasing the attractiveness of the childcare profession this will support the expansion of labour force participation.

Support informal carers: There is no univocal definition of informal carer. Under one common definition, an informal carer, or caregiver, is an individual who provides care assistance to those in need of it within the context of a pre-existing relationship – a family member, a close relative, a friend or neighbour – and without having received a qualifying training. However, the definition can also capture an activity that takes place beyond the sphere of existing relationships, such as the case of a non-professional, non-trained individual, for example, who works for a pay in a private household without a formal contract. Many migrant workers fall into the latter category.

Informal carers form the first line of support for elderly people in all countries, regardless the level of development. Low- and middle-income economies rely on the unpaid labour of informal carers to a high extent because the supply of specialised health care services is scarce in these countries, while they also have a sizeable informal care sector. However, in the advanced economies the attention devoted to informal care has also increased remarkably, over the past years. This reflects a range of driving forces and sources of pressure, with longer life expectancy, changing illnesses, the growing number of elderly people with limitations and population ageing, the most frequently cited. Today about 14% of people aged over 50 provide informal care on a daily or weekly basis on average in the OECD countries. Three out of five daily carers are women. The recognition of the role those informal caregivers play is an issue of relevance to all societies.

The OECD has recently carried out an extensive review of the policies to support informal carers in EU countries (Rocard and Liena-Nozal, 2022[27]). Taken together, the key messages of this work provide a framework for responding to challenges as countries increasingly commit themselves to recognise and protect the rights of informal carers:

- In the past decade, countries have taken steps to facilitate access to information to support informal carers through websites and social centres. In France, for example, local information centres, such as “House for older people and carers” are successful in reaching out to carers. In the Netherlands, General Practitioners (GP) are involved in the identification of informal carers. Public services and NGOs also run various types of local information centres. One example for Latin America is the city of La Plata in Argentina where a network of residents, academic experts and service providers has created a website with such information.
- Training plays a key role to prevent physical and mental exhaustion of carers and strengthen the quality of long-term care. Countries increasingly adopt schemes to strengthen the access of caregivers to individual learning and online training. In Peru, a study on the effectiveness of measures to improve the lives of people with dementia and their caring families in Lima has shown that even brief, simple interventions focusing on family caregiver education and training about specific long-term illnesses, such as dementia, may be highly beneficial in contexts characterised

by low awareness and limited support from formal services. Benefits are visible in significantly reduced stress of family caregivers and increased quality of care for older people (Mariella Guerra et al., 2011[28]).

- Respite care is a necessary tool to help carers rest and manage other responsibilities. Countries can include the financial support for respite care in the allowances towards carers or their families. In Germany, for example, a beneficiary family caregiver may be eligible for respite care for 4 weeks a year. In Brazil, the city of Belo Horizonte has introduced a pilot project in which trained social and health workers spend a week working with the families of dependent older people to bring some respite care to people's homes but also to train family members on how to care for the relatives (UN Women, 2017[29]).
- The overwhelming majority of EU countries provide financial support to carers through cash benefits, either paid to carers directly through a carer allowance or indirectly via those receiving the care. At least part of this sum is used to compensate formally family carers.
- Beyond providing financial support to carers, countries increasingly take measures to ensure that caring time qualifies for pension credits and that carers benefit from health coverage.
- One important economic cost of caring stems from the effects it has on formal labour force participation, particularly on the female workforce. Typically, high-intensity caring leads to reduced rates of female employment and hours of work. These concerns explain the growing commitment by countries to support informal carers as they combine work and caring. Currently, over half of EU countries provide some rights of leave in order to care for a family member – either paid or unpaid.
- To ensure that carers provide high-quality care, countries mostly rely on visits of health and social care professionals to witness signs of neglect or abuse. Public oversight is also important to ensure that labour standards are respected.

Expanding parental leave in the formal and informal economy

Maternity and paternity leave policies affect how families split paid and unpaid work. Where there is no maternity leave, mothers will likely drop out of the labour force, subsequently finding it more difficult to re-enter. In OECD countries, the female employment rate rises with the length of the statutory maternity leave but starts falling when the duration exceeds two years. This evidence suggests that beyond a certain length the maternity leave may lead the gender employment gap to widen, rather than to shrink (Thévenon and Solaz, 2012[30]). It also brings to the attention the important balancing role that fathers play when they take a paternity leave to counter the frequent pattern whereby couples revert to a traditional division of labour when they become parents. For example, in Norway, couples whose child was born four-week after the introduction of paternity leave reported fewer conflicts about the division of unpaid work than experienced by couples whose child was born before the new regulation and improvements in the sharing of housework tasks (Kotsadam and Finseraas, 2011[31]). Evidence from Sweden and Spain likewise suggests that couples split unpaid work more equally following the introduction of more gender-equal parental leave policies (Hagqvist et al., 2017[32]). A detailed analysis from Germany shows that fathers who took parental leave decreased their paid work afterwards and increased the hours devoted to childcare. However, only fathers who took more than two months of leave also increased the involvement in other types of unpaid work (Bünning, 2015[33]).

In Peru, mothers have a right to 14 weeks of maternity leave, equally divided between prenatal and postnatal days (Figure 2.2). Mothers of twins or children with disabilities can get 30 days additional leave. Although this length corresponds to the minimum standard as defined by 2000 ILO Convention No. 183 on Maternity Protection, it is below the 18 weeks suggested by ILO Recommendation No. 191. Contingent upon approval by a doctor, mothers can transfer a large share of the pre-natal days to the postnatal period.

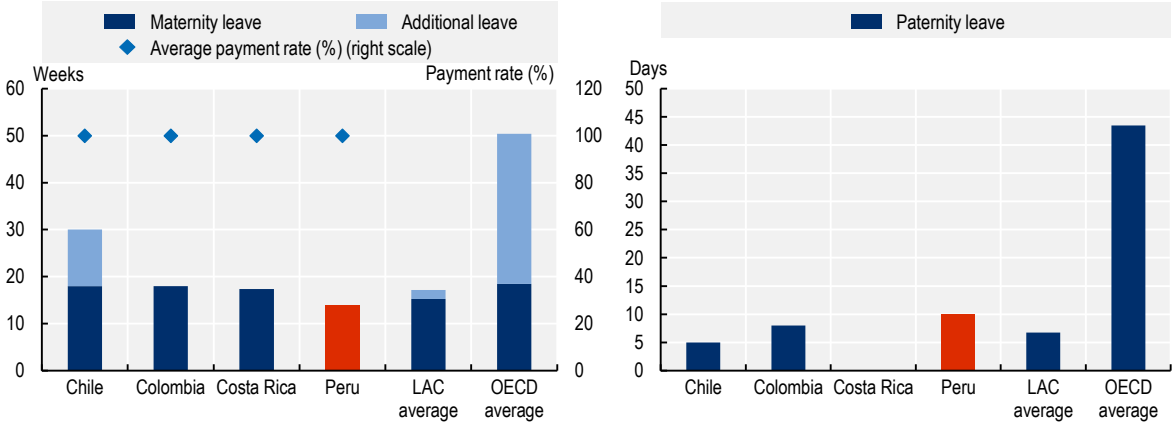
The costs of maternity leave are born by the social security system, thus reducing the cost to employers and guaranteeing equal conditions of access for men and women to the labour markets.

However, women who work in the informal sector cannot benefit from the system because they are not associated. This means that in Peru a large number of women workers are not entitled to maternity leave, with some groups of women being more affected than others – those working as domestic workers and in retail trading, for example. Although precise information on coverage rates are not available (IPC-IG and UNICEF, 2020[34]), a recent survey by the INEI shows that in 2021 out of a total of 8.7 million mothers in Peru (aged 15 years and above), 48.4% work as self-employed and 78.7% work in a small enterprise (INEI, 2021[35]). It is likely that many new mothers in these groups are not covered by a maternity leave.

Beyond income losses, the lack of maternity protection for female informal workers can exacerbate risks of infant mortality reflecting the fact that expectant mothers cannot afford to take time off work before the birth. It also inhibits the capacity of mothers to breastfeed exclusively for a six-month period and continue breastfeeding to supplement solid foods until children are two years old, as per the recommendations of the World Health Organization.

Figure 2.2. Maternity and paternity leaves in Peru are at or above the regional average, respectively

Maternity leave in weeks and paternity leave in days, 2020 or latest available



Note: The Latin American and Caribbean (LAC) and OECD averages are unweighted. The 12 weeks of additional leave in Chile can be taken by either mothers or fathers and can be extended to 18 weeks at 50% rather than 100% of pay. Values for Latin American countries generally refer to the leave that workers in the formal sector are eligible for. The weeks of paternity leave are multiplied by five to arrive at a daily value, assuming a five-day working week. The OECD average is based on the sum of paternity leave and parental leave reserved for fathers.
Source: For OECD countries, data refer to OECD, "Table PF2.1.A. Summary of paid leave entitlements available to mothers" and "Table PF2.1.B. Summary of paid leave entitlements for fathers", OECD Family Database, http://www.oecd.org/els/soc/PF2_1_Parental_leave_systems.xlsx and IPC-IG and otherwise data refer to UNICEF (2020), "Table 6: Duración y beneficios de las licencias (regímenes generales)", Maternidad y Paternidad en el lugar de trabajo en América Latina y el Caribe – Políticas para la licencia de maternidad y paternidad y apoyo a la lactancia maternal", https://www.unicef.org/lac/media/13931/file/Maternidad_y_paternidad_en_el_lugar_de_trabajo_en_ALC.pdf.

StatLink https://stat.link/6djqya

New fathers in Peru working in the formal sector can take two weeks of paternity leave (Figure 2.2). Although twice as much as the regional average, this length is far below the OECD average for paternity leave and other parental leave reserved to fathers. However, it is important to note that the OECD average of around eight weeks reflects in part the extremely long entitlements of one year of paternity leave in Korea and Japan. In either of the two countries, very few men take any paternity leave, let alone during a period of one year. For example, in Japan, only 6% of eligible fathers took leave, and most stayed at home

for only two weeks (Rich, 2019[36]). Some firms in Peru may offer extended paternity leave to their employees.

Once parents return to work, they have little options for easing the time-crunch of simultaneously working and caring for the children. At 48 hours for full-time and a maximum of 24 hours for part-time work, maximum work hours are above the standard work week of 40 hours that is common to many OECD countries. In addition, many workers may work longer hours. In Latin America in the mid-2010s, 21.4% of workers worked more than 48 hours and 8.1% worked more than 60 hours (ILO, 2018[37]). In Peru, the shares are likely to be higher than the regional average: in Lima in the period between September and November 2019, 29.3% worked more than 50 hours and 13.2% worked more than 60 hours (INEI, 2020[38]). Although overtime work should be compensated, the regulation is seldom applied, in particular among informal workers. Adding commuting time, many women opt for part-time employment, if they want to allocate time to childcare.

Policy insights

Establish parental leave with reserved paternity leave weeks: As discussed, Peruvian maternity leave rights currently align to the minimum established by the relevant ILO convention. In addition, a parental leave that can be taken by both mothers and fathers, no matter who stays home at a particular point in time, can ease family life by giving fathers a concrete opportunity of becoming more involved. Many European countries have gone further than this and opted in favour of a more decisive approach. Namely, they had success with boosting the take-up of parental leave by fathers through reserving a given share of the parental leave for fathers only, meaning that the total leave that a couple can be on is larger if both take it.

Extend maternity protection to informal workers: Extending maternity protection to workers in the informal sector is essential to achieve a more balanced distribution of paid and unpaid work activities between partners. In addition, by releasing women who work in the informal sector from the pressure to work too far into pregnancy and to return too soon after childbirth, it will likely help reducing the high exposure of the vulnerable populations to health care and economic risks (WIEGO/ILO/UNICEF, 2020[39]).

To open protection coverage to workers that are not included, Peru could consider reinforcing the system of maternity cash benefits, that are tax-funded, rather than being contributory. The J*untos* programme already provides benefits to pregnant women and children living in extreme poverty (ILO, 2016[40]). One way to further expand coverage could be by raising the income cut-off for entitlement and the level of the benefits provided. In addition to making eligibility criteria more inclusive, enrolment procedures should be simplified, for example, through decentralised and mobile registration units and paperless registration. Nation-wide campaigns can support the demand for social security enrolment amongst workers in the informal economy, while also increasing awareness for their needs.

In addition, providing breastfeeding arrangements can help reducing absenteeism and strengthening the retention of experienced workers. They are generally simple to implement and affordable even by small and informal enterprises. Peru could consider adjustments in the regulation to facilitate the introduction of flexible work schedules allowing mothers to arrive later or leave earlier to breastfeed their children.

Reducing the transmission of gender stereotypes through the education system

Attitudes about gender roles and norms in private and public life not only influence the degree to which men and women take up care responsibilities. They also affect expectations and beliefs about what people should and can do. They shape and structure ambitions, including the professional careers people aspire to (UNESCO, 2021[41]; OECD, 2020[42]).

Gender marginalisation starts at a very early age. It is in early childhood that boys and girls start believing that some abilities, environments, games, sports and behaviours are for girls while others are for boys

(Karlson and Simonsson, 2011[43]; Wahlstrom, 2003[44]). Another important source of concerns is that the competencies of boys and girls and their activities are valued differently, with "leading" roles being for boys, while "subordinate" roles for girls.

Gender marginalisation contributes to shy girls away from assertiveness and from pursuing educational tracks and occupations that are perceived as traditionally masculine, such as programmes in STEM degrees. Given that occupations with the higher share of male workers are often better paid, the transmission of gender stereotypes across generations leads to perpetuate earning gaps (Kunze, 2018[45]). On the other hand, boys brought up to believe in traditional gender roles may avoid care professions and be less willing to participate in housework and child care activities once adults (OECD, 2017[46]; Lachance-Grzela and Bouchard, 2010[47]).

Gender equality and education are at the heart of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (UNESCO, 2020[48]), which recognises the key role that education can play in challenging and transforming unequal social and gender relations, norms and practices. Education has enormous potential to foster the acceptance of gender equality as a fundamental value and human right. A gender-sensitive educational approach allows boys and girls to develop their strengths fully and to pursue their interests freely. It aims to open up the widest possible range of options for all students through more inclusive and gender-equal curricula, teaching practices and materials. By shaping social norms, inclusive learning is an essential component of the fight against gender-based violence (EU, 2011[49]).

School attendance and completion have increased steadily the Latin American countries over the past decades, especially at the primary education level (Munhoz Fabíola and Ndebele Philani, 2020[50]). Despite this progress, disadvantaged socio-economic groups – identifiable by gender, ethnicity, race and territory, for example – remain largely excluded from education (UNESCO, 2020[48]). Such a contrasted landscape has fuelled growing attention to the policies to increase the access to quality education by all.

One increasingly supported view among Latin American policy makers and stakeholders, including in Peru, is that the curricula and the textbooks are important means through which an education system can become more inclusive (UNESCO, 2020[48]). This is in recognition of the fact that the choices made in the design of the curricula and the textbooks provide a representation of the diversity of society and the commonalities shared by all its members. Country initiatives to address these issues include the introduction of a more inclusive language in the textbooks and improving the balance between numbers of men and women represented in textbooks (UNESCO, 2020[48]). Across Latin American countries, the textbooks continue to act as an important driver to the reproduction of traditional roles assigned to men and women. In Peru, for example, textbooks still largely misrepresent traditional gender roles. In Chile, a study of history textbooks showed that, for each female character, there were five male characters, and representations of women and girls were largely linked to domestic chores (UNESCO, 2020[48]). Some countries are developing curricular guidelines towards more inclusive systems by addressing gender inequality and recognising sexual and gender diversity. In Bolivia, the enactment of the Comprehensive Act to Guarantee Women a Life Free from Violence in 2013 allowed the incorporation of gender equality concepts into the curriculum at all levels and in teacher training programmes.

Another issue of growing policy attention concerns the role of teachers and how it shapes the interest of students and career orientations (UNESCO, 2020[51]; OECD, 2015[52]). In the strongly polarised Latin American regional context, governments are increasingly concerned by the fact that teachers' behaviours, attitudes and narratives compound other disadvantages and risks of exclusion, such as being part of an ethnical minority, for example, and being from a rural community (UNESCO, 2020[48]). A study carried out by the Chilean Ministry of Women and the National Women's Service (SERNAM) shows that the examples given by the teachers generally place female characters in the domestic "private world" of childcare and care of the elderly. Conversely, they place male characters in the "public world" and workplace settings (2009[53]). Even when the teachers believe that the students have the same learning potential, they often unconsciously treat boys and girls differently (OECD, 2019[54]).

The misrepresentations of teachers reinforce, in turn, concerns regarding the lower participation of women in sciences. When teachers are less confident in girls' scientific abilities and provide them with less feedback, girls' success and interest in these subjects diminishes. In Australia, Norway and Hong Kong, China, the influence of gender norms on the scientific expectations of teachers are already apparent at the pre-primary level and manifest through a stronger engagement of boys in games that develop scientific understanding (UNESCO, 2020[51]). Female teachers in science and mathematics have a potentially important role to play in addressing these biases and in reorienting girls' interests and choices towards STEM disciplines (OECD, 2019[54]; Breda et al., 2020[55]; Ahmed and Mudrey, 2019[56]).

Beyond the attitude of the teachers, the gender biases of the parents can also influence the attractiveness of STEM disciplines to girls. Data from PISA assessments suggest that girls do not seem to be getting much encouragement from their parents. In all countries and economies surveyed on this question in 2012, parents were more likely to expect their sons, rather than their daughters, to work in a STEM field – even when boys and girls performed equally well in mathematics and science. Some 50% of parents in Chile, Hungary and Portugal reported that they expect their sons to have a career in science, technology, engineering or mathematics, but less than 20% of parents held such expectations for their daughters (OECD, 2012[57]; OECD, 2019[54]). In Peru girls that perform well in mathematics and sciences often pick non-STEM educational pathways (OECD, 2018[58]; UNESCO, 2014[59]).

As part of its broader policies to promote equal opportunities for men and women, the Peruvian Government has introduced important measures to address discriminatory practices in the educational sector. The 2012-17 National Plan for Gender Equality aimed at mainstreaming gender equality in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of public policies in all ministries (MIMP, 2012[60]; MIMP, 2019[61]) (see, Chapter 1, Box 1.2). In the field of education, the measures spanned from the use of gender inclusive language and awareness campaigns, to the explicit recognition of the principle of gender equality at school, from comprehensive sexual education and the non-discrimination of expectant mothers, to their reintegration in the school system after pregnancy.

Building on the findings of the 2013-15 National Survey on Social Relations (ENARES), which revealed that violence in school affects seven out of ten Peruvian children (INEI, 2016[62]), the recent measures also contain a focus on the fight against gender-based violence. Furthermore, as a way to reduce gender-based violence from a young age and reduce sexist gender stereotypes, in 2019 Congress delegated the Ministry of Education to reflect into the education system the nationwide gender approach to combat gender violence and discrimination between women and men (MIMP, 2019[63]).

The reform of the National Curriculum for Basic Education -- the implementation of which started in 2020, following final approval in April 2019 --, marks a fundamental step in the right direction. Building on international practices (UNESCO, 2020[48]), the new curriculum provides concrete guidelines to raise awareness of future generations about the importance of gender equality and the equal representation of men and women in all aspects of life (MINEDU, 2016[64]).

Policy insights

Encourage the introduction of inclusive examples in school textbooks. Although Peru should be praised for the adoption of a gender-sensitive approach in the basic school curriculum, this change will not be enough if left alone. As a complementary measure, Peru should ensure that school textbooks and materials align with the spirit of the new curriculum and that teachers receive appropriate training to implement it. Notwithstanding the 2000s saw signs of progress, such as the introduction of communication guidelines to foster the recourse to inclusive language and to improve the balance in the representation of men and women in textbooks, actually implemented initiatives to avert the reproduction of traditional gender roles remain isolated (UNESCO, 2020[48]). Argentina, Colombia and Uruguay offer teacher support materials for inclusion of sexual and gender diversity.

Box 2.1. Recent policy measures to promote gender equality in Peru

In 1995, Peru signed the Beijing Platform declaration which aims to eradicate gender gaps and all forms of discrimination based on sex. Since then, Peru's policies to eliminate discriminatory practices and to promote gender equality through public policy have focused on four milestones:

- The Ministry of Women was created in 1996 with a mandate "to design, propose and execute social and human development policies promoting gender equality". The Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations (MIMP) maintains the leadership in national and sectoral policies on women, and promotes gender mainstreaming of public policies.
- The Law of Equal Opportunities between Women and Men (LIO, Law 28983 of 16 March 2007), established and institutionalise the public policy framework for gender equality at the national, regional and local level. According to the LIO, binds the Peruvian state to enact and implement laws and regulations that protect all individuals from discrimination. It also requires that the outcomes of public policy decision-making on the matter be monitored and evaluated (MIMP, 2007[65]).
- The 2000-17 period saw the launch of three government plans on gender equality. The third in this series, the National Plan for Gender Equality (PLANING, 2012-17) aimed at implementing the Equal Opportunities Law between Women and Men. It also mainstreamed the gender approach in public policies of all levels of the Peruvian State (MIMP, 2017[66]).
- The National Policy for Gender Equality (PNIG-2019) is the most comprehensive state policy for gender equality in Peru to date (MIMP, 2019[67]). Its aim is to correct the structural discrimination against women. The policy includes six priority objectives: 1) reduce violence against women; 2) ensure access to sexual and reproductive rights; 3) ensure women's participation in decision-making spaces; 4) guarantee women's economic and social rights; 5) reduce institutional barriers that hinder the equality between women and men; and 6) eradicate discriminatory sociocultural patterns in the population. Implementing the principles of the National Policy for Gender Equality is the objective of the Multisector Plan for Gender Equality (PEMIG- 2020), which defines progress indicators and goals (MIMP, 2020[68]).

Train teachers to address gender attitudes and stereotypes at school. International experience suggests that the efforts to create a culture conducive to gender equality should start from early education and with the willing support of the teachers (OECD, 2012[69]). Through appropriate training teachers can improve the language and pedagogical approaches used in the classroom and in ways that are better adapted to the age of the children (UNESCO, 2017[70]). In the Flanders (Belgium) teachers received trainings to detect the presence of gender attitudes and stereotypes in the curriculum material and were encouraged to propose solutions on how to improve the situation. As a result, they could play a pivotal role in the initiatives undertaken by the government to raise awareness about gender roles in Flemish schools. For example, they became more mindful about the importance of spoken language in averting the development of stereotyped gender roles.

Some countries see teacher training as part of a broader effort to ensure that all teachers are prepared to teach all students. For example, since 2013 Costa Rica promotes training for teachers from indigenous communities, including through scholarships and other support for studies and professional development (UNESCO, 2020[48]).

Engage families in the process of creating gender-sensitive education. Beside the direct responsibility of the teachers and the schools in the creation of a gender-sensitive education system, the supportive role of the parents is also very important. Parents may be apprehensive about the concept of inclusive education, when not openly against the new initiatives to promote its implementation. In 2019 the

Peruvian Ministry of Education launched a national campaign to inform parents about the importance of gender-sensitive education, involving the creation of 140 initiatives to engage families (MINEDUC, 2019[71]). In addition to workshops and talks, games were organised to challenge traditional gender-roles (WAPA, 2019[72]).

On international practices, the pedagogical guidelines implemented by the Chilean Government encourage the schools to take a more pro-active role to engage the families by exploring options for co-operation with the parents' associations (OECD, 2021[73]). The guidelines include a video that parents can watch for their background ahead of participating to a discussion meeting. In Ireland, the guidelines prepared by the Ministry of Education and Science provide the parents of children from primary and secondary schools with information about school obligations in relation to gender equality and the supportive role that parents can play (Council of Europe, 2011[74]; EIGE, 2020[75]). The Spanish *Irene* programme informs and trains parents as part of a wider initiative aimed at preventing sexual violence committed by young cohorts in secondary education (Council of Europe, 2014[76]).

Continue the efforts to increase the interest of girls in STEM disciplines while promoting role models. The Peruvian Government supports various collaborative initiatives to attract girls to STEM subjects, often under the impulse of the *Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología e Innovación Tecnológica* (National Council for Science, Technology, and Technological Innovation, CONCYTEC) working in close collaboration with the Ministry of Education. For example, *Eureka* is a long-standing nationwide programme on science and technology that dates back to the mid-1980s. It aims at stimulating the curiosity of children in primary and secondary education for STEM disciplines. Teachers and students work together to the development of a scientific culture using pedagogical approaches adapted to the age of the children.

MaCTec Peru (Mini Academy for Sciences & Technology) – again created by CONCYTEC, in partnership with private donors and the academic community – is a non-profit organisation for the reduction of the gender gap in STEM fields. It targets young Peruvian girls from urban and rural areas through quality science education. Since its creation in 2012, it has promoted workshop participated by established scientists at which girls from different backgrounds, between 8 and 11 years old, learn, create and experiment. Upon returning home, they can share their experience and apply their learning with their peers and possibly more widely with their communities. Some 200 girls from diverse social and economic background in Lima, Huancayo and Huaraz, have benefitted from MacTec's training and have gone on to hold workshops in schools and reach out to their peers. MaCTec estimates that at least 20 000 children have been reached during the first 5 years of existence of the initiative, without counting the impact of MaCTec girls in their family and community at large. MaCTec Peru was awarded the UNESCO Prize for Girls' and Women's Education for its "Mobile MaCTec Bus Labs" project (MaCTec, 2020[77]).

Mentoring and role models have shown to have concrete positive results in stimulating girls' interest in STEM fields. Similarly to the MacTEC initiative, in 2017, the OECD and the Government of Mexico jointly launched the *"NinaSTEM Pueden"* programme, a project aimed at stimulating the curiosity and passion of Mexican girls for STEM subjects through educational opportunities outside the classroom, inspired by meetings with women mentors who had excelled in these fields (OECD, 2020[78]). Another Mexican programme,"*Codigo X"*, promotes the inclusion of girls and women in the ICT sector by organising workshops, conferences and hackathons for girls and young women on digital literacy, robotics and programming while showing them the different areas of opportunity they have in technology careers (OECD, 2018[79]).

To further strengthen ongoing initiatives, the government could expand teacher trainings to tackle gender biases in STEM educations (Corbett and Hill, 2015[80]; OECD, 2017[46]). These efforts could include by equipping the teachers with appropriate pedagogical tools to help children, particularly, girls, overcoming the anxiety about mathematics and their lack of confidence in their own science and mathematics abilities. Initiatives such as the one implemented by VHTO – the Dutch National Expert Organization on

Girls/Women and Science/Technology – train teachers to help the young generations to become aware of their talents and how to use them in STEM professions (VHTO, (Dutch) National Expert Organisation Girls/ Women and Science/Technology, 2014[81]).

Encourage boys to become more involved in care and domestic work. Masculinities are social constructs that relate to perceived notions – shared by both men and women – about how men behave and how they are expected to behave in order to be considered "real" men violence (OECD, 2021[82]). They are shaped by and are part of social institutions – formal and informal laws, social norms and practices. Diverse forms of masculinities coexist across cultures, geographical locations and time, and some of these masculinities directly hinder women's empowerment and gender equality. "Restrictive masculinities" and their associated norms are often rigid and promote inflexible notions and expectations of what it means to be a "real" man.

Education and awareness-raising initiatives at school play a potentially important role in addressing "restrictive masculinities", for example by helping boys develop from a young age a positive disposition towards equal opportunities and shared responsibilities among partners (Council of Europe, 2014[76]). In Germany, the long-established *Girls' Day*, has grown to become an awareness raising tool for boys in lower secondary schools about the importance to support domestic work and care activities domestically and for boys and girls about cultural misperceptions, such as with regard to certain occupations that are traditionally perceived as female or male. More recently, schools, universities, companies and associations have introduced the *Boys' Day – Future Prospects for Boys*. Boys from 5th grade can learn more about occupations in the education, social, health and other sectors where men are under-represented. They also have the opportunity to join activities in the fields of life planning and social competences (German Ministry of Family, Seniors, Women and Youth, 2019[83]).

Keep the momentum for change. Enhancing gender equality in education is a long-term process that requires capitalising on present and previous efforts to promote improvements. Continuous monitoring of achievements can be of great value to put Peru on a sustainable path of progress. As part of a defined long-term strategy, Peru could identify a clear set of intermediate targets and standards, delegating an independent monitoring body to regularly assess progress and disseminate success stories at school. Impact evaluation on whether the gender mainstreaming approach in Peru's curriculum affects students 'attitudes and educational paths could provide an important source of information on possible gaps in the approach and how to improve it over time.

Strengthening the access to safe and secure public transports

Overtime, the interplay between economic expansion, the diversification of employment opportunities, better pay and well-being prospects, has attracted increasing flows of Peruvians to Lima. In the ten years to 2017, Lima reached almost 10 million inhabitants, which corresponds to one-third of Peru's population (INEI, 2017[84]). Although these patterns have led to significant progress in poverty reduction, Lima's infrastructure has hardly kept pace with the needs of an increasing population (The World Bank, 2020[85]). Given the lack of an adequate infrastructure to secure the proviso of basic necessities – roads and public transportations, appropriate sewers and water treatment facilities, to mention the most important – Lima's residents have to create their own provisions with whatever is available (OXFAM, 2020[86]).

Public transportation stands out as one of the main preoccupation of *Limenos* (Lima Como Vamos, 2019[87]). This is unsurprising in a highly strained urban environment, where economic opportunities concentrate in few areas and many people live far away. For example, a resident of Lima can use up to six means of transport in the same day to move within the city (IZA, 2018[88]). People have to take the limited transports available in close physical proximity, which represents a critical source of concerns for vulnerable residents and particularly women. Recent surveys by Thomson Reuters into women's safety in the world's largest capitals ranked Lima as the fifth riskiest city (Thomson Reuters Foundation, 2018[89]) and the third most dangerous transport system for women after Bogota and Mexico City (Thomson Reuters

Foundation, 2014[90]). According to the Inter-American Development Bank, 78% of female public transport users have been victims of, or have witnessed, a robbery while using public transportation (IADB, 2016[91]). Limited access to safe transportation is one of the most important barriers hindering the labour force participation of women in developing countries (IZA, 2018[88]).

Travel patterns depend strongly on gender (ITF-OECD, 2018[92]). More than half of women declare to have changed transport habits in order to feel safer and a fifth to no longer travel alone. Insofar as these adaptations typically result in longer commuting times, they are costly for women (IADB, 2016[91]). Instead, because so many women take care of children and/or older parents, and work part-time, they would need short trips with few transport changes to be able to carry minors and more bags than men usually do (The World Bank, 2016[93]). Long journeys to or from work increase the exposure of women to the threat of violence, generating fears about personal safety. Some characteristics of public transports, such as the space available to travel comfortably and compliance with the journey schedule, may affect the probability of sexual violence. The greater the space available is and more reliable the schedule, the less time passengers wait for the arrival of the transport, which lowers the probability of sexual harassment (IADB, 2016[91]).

Safe and secure urban transport reduce the barriers of access to education and employment experienced by women. A 2019 resolution issued by the Peruvian Ministry of Transport and Communications (MTC), mandates public transport service providers to display a notice indicating that sexual harassment behaviours are prohibited and subject to sanctions and criminal prosecution. The notice also includes the emergency line of the Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations.

Recently launched alert campaigns – such as, for example, *"Yo viajo segura en el Metropolitano"* "(I travel safely in the metropolitan), *"Si eres víctima denuncia"* (if you are a victim, report it) and *"No mas, alto al acoso!"* (No more, Stop arrestment!) (MTC, 2020[94]) – have led to a 50% reduction in the number of reported cases, also thanks to the installation of security cameras. The MTC's 2020 National Protocol of Response to Acts of Sexual Harassment in Land Transportation of People (MTC, 2020[95]) establishes a protocol for providing assistance to victims of sexual harassment for use by drivers. In 2018, the MTC launched a digital survey *"Seguridad en Transporte Publico en Trujillo #AcosoEsViolencia"* to improve information gathering on violence in public transports (MTC, 2020[96]).

Policy insights

Ensuring access to safe, quality, affordable and reliable transportation is essential to free women's time for productive activities and enable better access to health and education services and jobs.

Step up ongoing efforts to increase levels of safety and security on public transport. Although Peru has already pursued several campaigns, more could be done to improve safety on public transport. As one example of good practice, the *Viajemos Seguras* (Let's Travel Safe) programme in Mexico City points to the importance of pursuing an integrated approach to address the issue. This initiative includes four main components: service kiosks inside metro stations where users can seek help or report incidents; *ad hoc* training for transport employees, including drivers and operators; the delivery of prevention campaigns in public transport vehicles and stations; and options for women using the Metro and bus systems to sit in women-only cars. Fifty-eight percent of the Metro lines and virtually all Bus Rapid Transit lines (BRT), for instance, have now implemented this approach (IADB, 2017[97]).

However, it is worth noting that many urban inhabitants, particularly from low-income households, depend on *peseros* and private small buses that have no women-only spaces and that are perceived as quite dangerous. In addition, the creation of women-only areas on public transport – mostly in countries where women face institutional discrimination, severe sexual harassment, or both – has met with mixed success. Women are split between those who welcome the measure as a safe haven and those who feel even more discriminated. It often happens that men ignore the rules and monopolise the areas, in which case the measure becomes irrelevant. Recent analysis among college students in Tokyo/Kanagawa, Japan, finds

that women-only cars are not as effective as surveillance cameras or increased police patrols (Shibata, 2020[98]).

Support female representation in public transport workers. Women represent less than 15% of the total workforce in the transportation sector in Latin America and the Caribbean (IADB, 2020[99]). Increased participation of women as employees and decision makers within the sector will underpin the understanding of the diverse needs that a secure transport system should respond to. In France, sector ambassadors go to professional schools to attract young women to the careers of maintenance and driving. As a result, in 2017, 26% of public transport drivers were women, among the highest participation among OECD countries (EU, 2018[100]). If accompanied by an increase in the stock of transport vehicles, the expansion of women hiring would bring about an increase of the frequency of busses and other types of public transport, especially during peak hours.

Expand data and information gathering to support the development of adapted solutions. Mobility data disaggregated by sex are important to better understand needs and find transport solutions that are more accessible and inclusive for women. For example, they could support the development of adapted gender-friendly plans to address infrastructure bottlenecks (IADB, 2016[101]). These could include the availability of basic facilities, which typically include elevators and level crossings, alongside maintained hygiene supplies and lightened platforms in subway stations, as well as priority seats. In terms of urban infrastructure, they include the presence of lightened sidewalks and bus stations. A range of technologies can reduce the perception of insecurity during waiting times, from the design of automated stations to the installation of emergency buttons (ITF-OECD, 2019[102]). Digital applications can provide real-time information on waiting times at subways and bus stations.

Box 2.2. Summary of policy options for reducing barriers to sharing paid and unpaid work equally in Peru

Institutional, legal and cultural constraints lie in the way of reducing the barriers to achieving a more equitable sharing of unpaid work activities in Peru. The OECD suggests to:

Create a more comprehensive care system

- **Explore flexible options for engaging the employer sector in the support of childcare.** Peru's policy makers have recently considered different options to engage the employer sector in the provision of childcare services. One such options requires mandating all firms above a certain size threshold to secure the services to their employees. However, the analysis conducted in this chapter suggests concerted solutions at the company level generally work better than the option based on regulatory compliance. Reflecting specific characteristics and based on consultations with workers' representatives, companies have different options to support employees' needs for childcare, ranging from resource-intensive strategies, such as establishing workplace crèches, to less costly approaches, including information and referral services and support to back-up care services.
- **Step up efforts to create care services for low-income families.** Employer-supported childcare can satisfy the needs of parents who work in larger companies in the formal sector. But it will hardly meet the needs of the self-employed workers, as well as the employees working for the smaller companies and in the informal sector. Concerns also stem from the fact that often, when both parents work for pay, their combined income is either too high to qualify for a place in a public day-care centre or too low to afford a quality private centre. One approach to address this is by expanding the number of places available for public day-care in tandem with increasing the level of the income threshold to qualify for access.

- **Expand and professionalise community-based childcare programmes.** The challenges of developing formal childcare services in far-away areas and in the main urban centres, such as metropolitan Lima, differ. Labour force shortages, particularly the lack of a well-trained childcare workforce, likely weigh more in the rural areas than in the urban centres. In addition, the demand for childcare services in the rural areas can vary considerably during the year, reflecting the seasonality of agriculture outputs. The further expansion and rationalisation of community-based childcare programmes can help addressing these challenges. In particular, as part of ongoing efforts to improve the programmes *Cuna Mas* (for children aged below 3 years) and *PRONOEI* (for children between 3 and 5 years) and their networks of home visiting services, Peru could strengthen the training for supervisors and caring volunteers. For example, the Colombian Institute for Family Well-being offers scholarships to community carers and educators wishing to further their knowledge and skills in early childhood education.
- **Support informal carers engaged in long-term care most of whom are women.** The OECD has recently developed a framework for helping countries with their commitments to recognise and protect the rights of informal carers. Some of the framework's recommendations could be of interest to Peru. They include supporting information sharing through websites and social centres, alongside more training to prevent physical and mental exhaustion of carers and to strengthen the quality of long-term care. In addition, respite care is a necessary tool to help carers rest and manage other responsibilities. Financial support to carers can take the form of cash benefits, either paid to carers directly through a carer allowance, or indirectly via those receiving the care. Beyond providing financial support to carers, countries increasingly take measures to ensure that caring time qualifies for pension credits and that carers benefit from health coverage.

Expand parental leave in the formal and informal economy

- **Extend maternity and paternity protection to informal workers.** Peru should adjust the existing social insurance framework by opening protection coverage to workers that are not included, particularly the self-employed. To this effect, the government could consider using a mixed approach that combines recourse to a maternity cash benefit – which will have to be tax-funded, rather than contributory -- with actions to reduce the administrative barriers that stand in the way of access. Peru's *Juntos* programme already provides benefits to pregnant women and children living in extreme poverty. As a way to expanding coverage, the government could raise both the income cut-off for entitlement to *Juntos*, alongside the level of the benefit provided. Recourse to decentralised and mobile registration units and paperless registration would help to simplify enrolment procedures. These measures will likely relieve women who work in the informal sector from the pressure to work too far into pregnancy and to return too soon to work after childbirth.
- **Establish parental leave with reserved paternity leave weeks.** In Peru, maternity leave rights currently align to the minimum established by the relevant ILO convention. In addition, a parental leave that can be taken by both mothers and fathers, no matter who stays home at a particular point in time, can ease family life by giving fathers a concrete opportunity of becoming more involved. Many European countries have opted in favour of a more ambitious approach than this. Namely, they had success with boosting the take-up of parental leave by fathers through reserving a given share of the parental leave for fathers only, meaning that the total leave that a couple can be on is larger if both take it.

Reduce the transmission of gender stereotypes through the education system

- **Encourage the introduction of inclusive language in school textbooks.** Although Peru should be praised for having adopted a gender-sensitive approach in the new basic school curriculum, this change will not be enough if left alone. It will need to be complemented by the introduction of inclusive language in school textbooks with a view to achieving a balanced representation of men and women. Additionally, appropriate training for teachers is important to equip them with the competences to address gender stereotypes at school in ways adapted to the age of the children.
- **Engage families in the process of creating gender-sensitive education.** Beside the direct responsibility of the teachers and the schools in the creation of a gender-sensitive education system, the supportive role of the parents is also important. Some parents may be apprehensive about the concept of inclusive education, when not openly opposing the initiatives to promote implementation. In 2019 the Peruvian Ministry of Education launched a national campaign to inform parents about the importance of gender-sensitive education, involving the creation of 140 initiatives to engage families. In addition to workshops and talks, games were organised to challenge traditional gender-roles.
- **Continue the efforts to increase the interest of girls in STEM disciplines while promoting role models.** The Peruvian Government supports various collaborative initiatives to attract girls to STEM subjects, often under the impulse of the *Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología e Innovación Tecnológica* (National Council for Science, Technology, and Technological Innovation, CONCYTEC) in close collaboration with the Ministry of Education. The long-standing nationwide programme *Eureka* aims at stimulating the curiosity of children in primary and secondary education for STEM disciplines. MaCTec Peru (Mini Academy for Sciences & Technology) is a non-profit organisation for the reduction of the gender gap in STEM fields. To strengthen these initiatives, the government could expand teacher trainings to tackle gender biases in STEM educations. These efforts could include by equipping the teachers with appropriate pedagogical tools to help children overcoming the anxiety about mathematics and the lack of confidence in their science and mathematics abilities.
- **Encourage boys to become more involved in care and domestic work.** Education and awareness-raising initiatives at school can help boys developing a positive disposition towards equal opportunities and shared responsibilities among partners from a young age.
- **Keep the momentum for change.** Enhancing gender equality in education is a long-term process that requires capitalising on present and previous efforts to promote improvements. This long-term perspective suggests that continuous monitoring of achievements can be of great value to put Peru on a sustainable path of progress.

Strengthen the access to safe and secure public transports

- **Step up ongoing efforts to increase levels of safety and security on public transport.** This could include through creating more service kiosks inside metro stations, reinforcing ad hoc training, including for transport employees, and delivering prevention campaigns in public transport vehicles and stations. As one example of good practice, the *Viajemos Seguras* (Let's Travel Safe) programme in Mexico City points to the importance of pursuing an integrated approach. This initiative includes through the establishment of service kiosks inside metro stations; ad hoc training for transport employees, and the delivery of prevention campaigns in public transport vehicles and stations.

Making women's paid work pay more

Ensuring access to quality education for all

Although most countries have made important strides in expanding opportunities of access to quality education, giving all children and youth access to quality education remains essential to support well-being and to create the conditions for economic independence. Poor children and young people who drop out of the school system prematurely are more likely to find themselves in situations of vulnerability, to be exposed to violence and to adopt risky behaviours. Adolescent girls and young women from the poorest households are more likely than girls and young women from wealthier households to become pregnant or give birth before the age of 18 (UNFPA, 2013[103]).

As discussed in Chapter 1, in Peru educational outcomes are highly heterogeneous (OECD, 2017[104]). Attendance of primary schools is high, regardless of whether children live in rural or urban areas (INEI, 2019[105]). By contrast, the enrolment rate of children in early secondary education (in the age bracket between 12 and 16 years) is around 10% higher in urban than rural areas (INEI, 2019[106]). The average years of education vary significantly across socio-economic groups. Between indigenous and non-indigenous groups, citizens living in rural and urban areas, and the lowest and highest income households, the difference equals 5.5, 3.7, and 3 years, respectively (INEI, 2018[107]). In the Programme of International Student Assessment (PISA), Peruvian secondary students under-perform compared to other Latin American countries with comparable levels of per-capita income, such as Colombia, for example.

Work activities of teenagers outside school influence educational attainment**.** In Peru, regardless of sex, about 2 million children work at least one hour per week. From 12.1% among 5-9 years old the share rises to 29.3% among 10-13 year-olds and 40.5% among 14 to 17-year-olds, respectively. In rural areas, the percentage share is nearly four times higher (52.3%) than in urban areas (16.2%) (ETI, 2015[108]). The share of boys involved in work activities is slightly higher than that of girls. Likewise, boys tend to work slightly more hours. About 24% of girls and adolescent women work and 5% of these girls also perform domestic chores at home and attend school. Such a triple shift is more frequent in rural areas where 46.3% work and 20.3% carry out the three activities.

Teenage pregnancy stands out as a major source of concern in Peru, where as many as 13.4% of girls aged 15-19 are mothers or currently pregnant – a rate that has stayed relatively stable over the past 20 years. Teenage mothers are less educated than their pairs, since adolescence motherhood associates to a high probability of attending classes irregularly, repeating school grades and leaving formal education prematurely (OECD, 2018[109]). It also means a drastically reduced probability of attending higher education (GRADE, 2019[110]). In 2017, 32% of teenage mothers had not (yet) completed primary school; 45% had obtained a primary degree; 12% a secondary and only 7% a tertiary degree (UNFPA, 2018[111]). In addition, adolescent pregnancy increases the health vulnerability of girls, further to triggering socio-economic inequalities that persist into adulthood (MINSA, 2012[112]).

Likewise, there is a close correlation between educational achievements and teenage pregnancy. The probability of teenage pregnancy is lower among 15-years girls who are still attending school and girls who scored high at tests when they were 12-years old. This reflects the fact that more hours spent at school mean less exposure to unsecurity and violence in outdoor areas. In addition, girls who attend school have more chances to receive a sexual education and develop a knowledge of the life-long implications of adolescent pregnancy. Conversely, the risk of becoming teenage mothers is higher for girls who loose self-efficacy and educational aspirations during teenage years. Losses of self-esteem often relate to poor school performance (IZA, 2016[113]).

Moreover, there is a strong correlation between teenage pregnancies and gender-based violence. More than two-thirds of the registered fathers of new-born babies by 11 to 14 years old mothers are adults, with

half of these between 20 and 24 years old (MCLCP, 2016[114]). In Peru, having sexual relations with a minor under 14 years old is illegal and sentenced by penal law (UNFPA, 2018[115]).

Furthermore, the risk of being a teenage mother is more than twice higher in rural than in urban areas (23.2% compared to 10.7%), ranging from 6.6% in Arequipa to 30.4% in Loreto. Vulnerable, marginalised girls are more likely to become pregnant, reflecting limited access to health care and information to avoid pregnancy. Girls living in poverty are more than eight times (24.2%) as likely to have been pregnant than those growing up in non-poor households (3.9%) (ENDES, 2019[116]; UNFPA, 2018[111]). The exposure to the risk of teen pregnancy is particularly strong among girls of indigenous populations.

Policy insights

Reward poor families for their engagement at children education. The opportunity cost of primary education refers to the loss of returns accrued by the family from child labour and/or from the contribution that the child gives to the household by absolving domestic tasks, such as taking care of younger siblings, performing household chores, and caring for livestock. Opportunity costs are especially relevant in poor, rural, agrarian households, where child labour is in high demand and therefore the immediate returns from schooling may be lower than the returns from the labour market. In certain contexts, the issue is of greater concerns for girls than for boys, reflecting the gendered distribution of household chores, marriage customs, and the lack of employment opportunities for girls after schooling. Boys may be responsible for livestock or other farming activities in the family.

In principle, by providing regular transfer benefits to parents of poor background who chose to keep their children at school, conditional cash transfers (CCTs) should entice a decline of the opportunity cost. In Peru, for example, the programme *Juntos* provides a bi-monthly transfer, which is conditional on the mother providing access to education, nutrition, and health services to their children. However, experience with *Juntos* shows that accessing the benefit can be costly for beneficiaries, reflecting infrastructural gaps that limit mobility, or the limited reach-out capacity of digital network services, for example (OECD, 2019[117]). Work by Innovations for Policy Actions (IPA) finds that the average recipients of a CCT payment travel five hours to get to the nearest point equipped to perform a financial transaction. This implies that 10% of the payment is disbursed in transportation costs, which reduces the potential of the programme to generate desirable effects (Innovations for Policy Actions, 2016[118]). Furthermore, beneficiaries may lack the knowledge, or the confidence, to interact with formal financial institutions.

These findings point to the need to ease mothers' access to the benefit as a key pre-condition to enhance the positive effects of CCTs – and *Juntos*, in particular – on schooling outcomes. One option for Peru is to potentiate the branchless banking network in Peru using digital means of payment, or local agents serving as deposit and withdrawal points – typically shopkeepers –, where the capacity of the digital service network is limited. To change beneficiaries' attitudes the introduction of branchless banking should take place alongside the creation of local workshops as a way of building digital knowledge and trust in the formal financial system (Innovations for Policy Actions, 2016[118])

Communicate the benefits of completing studies. Students from low-income families often are ill-informed about the monetary and social returns of education and the opportunities to progress through studies. Influenced by the perception that education does not affect their future well-being, students may drop out of school prematurely to support the income of their families. Previous OECD analysis suggested that scaling up the pilot programme *Decidiendo para un futuro mejor* (Deciding for a better future) devised by the MineduLAB could be a rapid and fairly inexpensive way to inform students about the returns to education (OECD, 2019[117]). This pilot consisted of a campaign to transmit information on the monetary and social returns of basic and higher education through videos and infographics sent to educational institutions (MineduLAB, 2018[119]). The videos showed students reflecting on the importance to study and have goals, based on their personal experience and family environment. They also provided information on funding opportunities to higher education, such as via scholarships and educational credits. To ensure

contextualisation and adaptation to local characteristics, the videos destined to the urban and rural areas were not the same.

The results of a randomised experiment to evaluate the pilot programme show a significant decrease in the number of dropouts (MineduLAB, 2018[119]). At the same time, they point to improving academic achievements for the group of students who most strongly underestimated the returns to education before receiving the information about their real value. The observed progress of student performances were particularly strong among girls, which reveals that one of the most important potentials of the programme resides in the ability to help closing gender gaps in education. The pay-offs of replicating this experiment at the national level could be significant and even more desirable in light of the fact that the information campaign has proven to be highly cost-effective.

School mentoring and student counselling are also a key to making girls and young women stay in the education system. Interestingly, private sector can play a leading role in these initiatives. One example is *The Girls' Network* (https://www.thegirlsnetwork.org.uk/), which is a UK national charity aiming to inspire and empower girls aged 14 to 19 from disadvantaged communities by connecting them to a peer mentor, and a network of professional women acting as role models. The initiative involves partnerships with schools and colleges. All mentors are women who have received a yearlong training in mentoring, after having undergone an application process. More than five hundreds trained mentors give practical advice on how to identify and access opportunities and how to develop the confidence to seize them.

Ensure comprehensive sexuality education and information at school and out-of-school. Peru has taken important steps to prevent teenage pregnancies following the launch of the 2013-21 Multisector Plan for the Prevention of Pregnancy in Adolescents. This plan sets out five main objectives: 1. Postpone the start of sexual activity in adolescence; 2. Increase the percentage of adolescents who complete secondary education; 3. Ensure the inclusion of Comprehensive Sexuality Education (CSE) in the National Curricular Framework; 4. Increase the use of modern contraceptive methods among teenagers; and 5. Reduce sexual violence against girls and teenagers (MINSA, 2012[120]). Different ministries have launched initiatives actions to achieve these objectives (UNFPA, 2017[121]; UNFPA, 2018[122]):

- **Reproductive rights and information.** In 2016, the Ministry of Health (MINSA) introduced a law on family planning, advocating in favour of CSE and the establishment of health services tailored to the needs of a youth population. Creating adolescent-friendly spaces in primary health centres preserves confidentiality, while also respecting the autonomy of adolescents. This is particularly important in Peru, given that adolescents continue to face barriers when accessing modern methods of contraception. For example, many health practitioners still require the presence of a parent when they prescribe a contraceptive to a teenager, despite the fact that the law no longer requires this. In 2018, the Ministry of Health reported 8 026 health facilities at the national level, but only 44.5% of these have differentiated services for adolescents. According to the National Statistical Institute, only 48% of adolescents aged 15 to 19 years old who are in a relationship use modern methods of contraception (UNFPA, 2018[122]).
- **Education.** Recognising the critical role that training for teachers plays in supporting change, the Ministry of Education has implemented and disseminated guidelines and virtual courses for teachers on comprehensive sexual education at all levels of education. The law grants school retention and re-entry for pregnant adolescents and adolescent mothers.
- **Sexual violence.** The Ministry of Health has developed technical guidance on skills, training and resources to assist girls and teenagers who are victims of violence (such as psychological first aid and basic referral, for example). In parallel, the Ministry of Education has created an awareness-raising campaign at schools and universities to prevent family and sexual violence and adolescent pregnancy. This work seeks to raise awareness among students and parents and includes training for teachers.

Despite the above broad ranging prevention initiatives and campaigns, teenager pregnancy rates have not changed and large disparities continue to persist in the country. The Amazonian regions deserve special focus given the high cases of teenage pregnancy and reports of sexual violence. However, also Lima shows large numbers of adolescent mothers.

As one objective of the Multisector Plan for the Prevention of Pregnancy in Adolescents, Peru's decision to integrate CSE into the educational curriculum, is in line with the international guidance provided by UNESCO (UNESCO, 2018[123]). UNESCO defines CSE as a curriculum-based process of teaching and learning about the cognitive, emotional, physical and social aspects of sexuality. CSE addresses sexual and reproductive health challenges – reproduction, modern contraception, pregnancy and childbirth, along with sexually transmissible infections (STIs). Insofar as it uses a human-rights-based approach, CSE involves raising awareness among young people about own rights and the respect of the rights of others, including the right to safe responsible and respectful sexual choices free of coercion and violence. The ultimate goal of CSE is to equip young people with the tools that they need to achieve healthy lives and relationships. Awareness about the importance of this objective is particularly important, given the growing exposure of young people to scientifically incorrect, conflicting and confusing information about sexuality and gender.

In absolving their role as places of teaching and learning, schools play a central role in the provision of CSE. Teachers and school health nurses can reach large numbers of youth with sexuality education before they become sexually active, with school offering a structured environment for such an education. However, in order to present concepts, and deliver on common national objectives, such as the guidelines of Peru's Ministry of Education, the teachers and health nurses need to acquire the right skills through training and access to appropriate sources of information (UNESCO, 2018[123]). This is important to ensure that they can communicate with youth in a manner that is appropriate to their age (MINEDU, 2017[124]). Acting as social support centres schools may also facilitate the links between the children, the families and the communities with other services, such as health care services, for example. Where families are reluctant to engage in discussions on topics that they consider challenging, schools can channel information among parents about the importance for their children to become exposed to appropriate information on sexuality (Motta, Keogh and Prada, 2017[125]). Work on the case of Finland, which represents an advanced model of comprehensive sex education in Europe, points to the effectiveness of the co-operation between school and health authorities on sexuality education for the young as one key strength of the Finnish model (Kontula, 2010[126]).

As mentioned, the Multisector Plan for the Prevention of Pregnancy in Adolescents includes among its objectives the postponement of the start of sexual activity in adolescence. This is the main objective of the campaign *Todo a su tiempo!* (All in good time!), which was launched by the Peruvian Ministry of Health following the publication of the Plan. According to the brochure prepared for the campaign "If you are in high school and your classmates are talking about having sex, you should know that the best thing for you to do is to postpone this activity. Adolescence is a very important stage of life where you achieve your identity as a unique and valuable person, establish friendships, consolidate your habits, direct your studies and strengthen your life project. Sexual relationships should begin when you have completed your physical and emotional maturity." However, the conclusions of a strong body of empirical evidence underscore that "abstinence only" programmes are of very little or no help to reduce teen pregnancy and potentially harmful to young people's sexual and reproductive health and rights (Santelli et al., 2017[127]; Duflo, Dupas and Kremer, 2015[128]). The approach followed by the UNESCO's guidelines on the matter is that the right to choose when and with whom a person will have any form of intimate or sexual relationship also includes the right to abstain (UNESCO, 2018[123]). Nevertheless, recognising that abstinence is not a permanent condition in the lives of many young people, the UNESCO's guidelines also stress that a CSE-based curriculum process has to encourage more than abstinence as a method of protection against adolescent pregnancy and STIs.

With the average years of education varying significantly across socio-economic groups in Peru, it is essential that CSE programmes reach out-of-school young people and children, who are often most vulnerable to misinformation, coercion and exploitation. The UNFPA's guideline on out-of-school CSE complements the initially provided guideline of UNESCO by providing evidence and informed insights to address this specific dimension (UNFPA, 2020[129]). It recommends a more informal and flexible setting than may be possible in school, involving smaller learning groups, adaptable class times, more varied and creative delivery of the curriculum, and more interaction among learners. One important aspect relates to the question about who should be in charge of delivering the information. Facilitators can encourage learners to share questions and perspectives that they may be reluctant to voice within a learning environment that they perceive as excessively formalistic. Of essence is ensuring that both girls and boys feel that they can safely and comfortably raise questions, clarify doubts and address concerns. Trained young individuals who students can identify as peers can help the creation of a supportive information setting.

Provide medical and financial support to vulnerable girls and teenage mothers. Peru's initiatives to ensure prevention and to limit the risk that adolescent pregnancy leads to school leaves represent a major advancement. However, although medical and psychological help is crucial, financial support is also very important. For example, in Uruguay a programme aims at promoting educational projects for mothers under the age of 23. It provides mothers with financial support for childcare, alongside with social support to help them acquire skills and competencies. In Australia, the government has created several transfer programmes for teenage parents, including the JET Child Care Fee Assistance subsidy, for example, which allows young mothers and partners paying for the care of the children during work or school times. Paid directly to childcare providers, the amount depends on the income of the family, the child's age and the hours that the mother and partner spend at work or in education. These programmes underscore the importance of targeting, especially with a view to reaching out to rural and remote areas.

Promoting women in non-traditional careers and leadership positions

In Peru fewer than three in ten businesses are led by a woman (INEI, 2015[130]). The majority of these businesses are SMEs (Aequales, 2019[131]), which typically are less capable than large companies to support work-life balance and promote women's careers. The most committed large companies to support women's career advancement include many multinational corporations. By contrast, the biggest Peruvian companies are managed almost exclusively by men (PWC, 2019[132]). Women hold fewer than one in ten board of director posts (9.2%) (Republica, 2020[133]), which is below the OECD average (12%) (OECD, 2016[134]), although somewhat above the regional average (8.5%) (IDB, 2018[135]).

A number of barriers prevent Peruvian women from attaining leadership positions. A key one relates to the influence of gender stereotyping about leadership figures and the entrenched prejudices they have to overcome to rise in their careers (Nathan Associates, 2016[136]). Managers are more likely to hire candidates whose characteristics are similar to theirs but since most hiring managers are men, women are less likely to be candidate for senior management positions. Furthermore, talent is frequently defined as a pattern of behaviour associated with male characteristics – such as assertiveness and competitiveness, for example – which reinforces the belief that good managers are men (Warren and Walters, 2002[137]; Cabrera, 2007[138]).

Career interruptions due to maternity further reduce opportunities for promotion (PNUD, 2010[139]). In addition, corporate, academic or political leadership positions require long work hours, a high degree of flexibility and a disposition to travel. These characteristics are difficult to reconcile with the fact that women in Peru spend significantly more time on family and domestic obligations than men do.

Although a significant gender imbalance is also observable in academia, there are indications suggesting that women's participation in university positions is increasing. A study carried out by Nathan Associates for the United States Agency for International Development and the Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation

found that at the *Universitad del Pacifico* (Lima) 35% of professors were women, which was higher than at other universities (Nathan Associates, 2016[136]). The same report underscores that universities often prefer to recruit faculty members with a doctorate from a prestigious university abroad, with one problem being that moving abroad can be challenging for women with children. Once abroad, unless the husbands find an equally rewarding profession, the situation of reversed gender roles in a foreign culture represents a test for the marriage.

Balancing work and life responsibilities is very difficult for women in scientific academic fields. This means particularly high risks of career slowdowns, when not abandonments. The *Universidad de Ingeniería y Tecnología* (UTEC), a private university in Lima for engineering, finds it difficult to recruit female professors in some fields, notably mathematics, although there are more potential candidates for teaching and faculty positions in other STEM fields, such as chemistry, for example.

With regard to the representation of women in congressional electoral lists, although Peru has progressively increased the statutory share, from 25% in 1997, to 30% in 2001 and 40% in 2019, the actual share of elected female candidates falls short of the quotas. At least in part this reflects the practice to concentrate the names of women candidates at the bottom of the lists, which reduces the chances of been elected by lowering visibility (UNDP, 2020[140]). To address the latter bias, the 2020 Law N°31 030 further modified the rules regarding electoral lists (Diario Oficial del Bicentenario, 2020[141]), by introducing a requirement (effective from the 2021 elections) according to which the names of men and women candidates alternate in the electoral lists. Under the new requirements, the minimum quota of women on electoral lists is set to expand further, reaching parity by 2031. To reinforce implementation and monitoring, the office of the Ombudsman will present an assessment report to Congress, following the elections, proposing actions for further improvements. Both the executive and private sector companies, in contrast, are not subject to any legal obligations for gender parity. A bill sent to Congress in July 2020 proposed binding targets for women's representation on boards of directors and the executive (Congreso, 2020[142]).

Policy insights

Create targets for women's representation in private companies. Currently, only 11% of companies in Peru have set voluntary targets for the composition of their board of directors, with the enterprises that have set out a committee for gender parity having 34% more women in decision-making positions (Aequales, 2019[131]). In Germany, the 2015 Act on equal participation of women and men in executive positions in private and public sectors set a 30% gender diversity quota for supervisory boards and required listed and co-determined companies (where workers can vote for representatives on the board) to establish targets for gender equality at the top two levels of management. Israeli state owned enterprises have a legal target of appropriate representation for both genders on the board of directors – usually 50% unless there is a sound reason why such representation are not achievable. Until reaching the goal, preference shall be given to directors of the under-represented gender. Enterprises that do not comply can be sanctioned.

Further to rule-based approaches that involve sanctions, certification mechanisms that praise and put forward companies that comply with announced objectives and commitments in favour of gender equality can generate positive reputational effects, which act, in turn, as an incentive for other companies to adopt similar practices. As one example, the UNDP runs the Gender Equality Seal Certification Programme in the LAC region, which aims to create certification incentives for private companies that meet commitments towards gender equality (OECD, 2020[42]).

In addition, international experience shows that business associations and networks can play a strong role in supporting women who are in leadership positions to act as role models, and raise awareness of women in leadership (OECD, 2017[46]). At the company level, mentorships programmes or networking spaces for women inside companies can also help strengthening the interest of women to participate in governance

and decision-making bodies. However, only one-third of companies in Peru currently have such initiatives (Aequales, 2019[131]).

Promote an academic culture that integrates female faculty members and supports them to excel. Particularly in the STEM fields, finding qualified candidates for academic positions starts with creating an inclusive learning environment for all students (Nathan Associates, 2016[136]). To this end, mentoring for junior faculty members and nurturing a culture that promotes work-life balance for all faculty members will help ensuring that women are more satisfied with their careers and have the opportunity to excel. Women who chose to stay in academia are more likely to have opportunities for training and career development, to have support from co-workers or supervisors, and for balancing work and non-work roles than were women who left the profession (Corbett and Hill, 2015[80]).

Continue the efforts to strengthen women's representation in public leadership. Although the quota system in Peru's Congress and state owned enterprises has provided positive results, more actions remain needed to address women's persisting under-representation in public leadership (OECD, 2017[46]). Changes to the law and policy reform are important to ensure that men and women have equal access to political representation in election practices and public office, in civil service recruitment and promotion, and in human resources management in general within the public sector. Requirements for gender balance in positions of leadership need to be strengthened at national, subnational and institutional levels as part of the push for change. Tackling the mind-sets of incumbent male leaders and managers and changing institutional cultures still embedding gender bias in both public and private sectors is also key.

Implement specific targets, monitoring and evaluation systems. Tracking progress in gender-balanced leadership and addressing remaining challenges with tangible reforms might require the support of specific targets and the collection of gender-disaggregated data, in both private and public sectors. Measurable objectives are important to evaluate whether goals for women's representation in different professions and at the leadership level are met. A way of measuring these achievements could be by increasing companies' participation in the PAR Ranking, a virtual, free and confidential tool that measures the gender equity performance of private companies, public entities and SMEs. In Australia, the Workplace Gender Equality Act requires non-public sector employers with 100 or more employees to disclose their "Gender Equality Indicators" in annual filings with the Workplace Gender Equality Agency.

Increasing women's integration in the formal labour market

Agriculture, fishery, construction, retails, transports and person-to-person services are key examples of sectors characterised by a particularly high presence of informal workers in Peru. Women are overrepresented in some forms of informal work, such as retail and paid household work activities, for example; by comparison, most informal drivers are men (Gamero Requena and Carrasco, 2013[143]).

General reforms play an important role in boosting formalisation. The broad priorities of the 2018-21 Strategy for Labour Formalization in Peru foresee extending the protection against social risks (e.g. unemployment, old age, maternity and ill health) to the most vulnerable workers, including the self-employed. At the same time, the adaptation of skills and training programmes, for example, is also a priority of the strategy, which likewise involves the administrative simplification of norms and procedures that currently prevent companies from formalising employment. Furthermore, the strategy aims at strengthening the controls of the labour inspectorate, along with scaling up awareness campaigns about the gains of formalisation (MTPE, 2018[144]).

One frequently reported limit of general formalisation strategies is that they neglect to take account risks and vulnerabilities that relate specifically to gender (OECD/ILO, 2019[145]). For example, they generally assume full-time employment careers with hardly any interruptions over the work life, which is at odds with the fact that interruptions of women's employment careers are more frequent than men's are, while they also involve longer periods devoted to caring for others, more part-time work and lower earnings.

To overcome these problems, some policies focus on addressing the traits of specific groups of workers, who tend to be overrepresented in the informal sector. One illustrative example is the group of domestic workers, which in Peru accounts for about 420 000 individuals, among whom 90%work in the informal sector without access to social security approximates (Eurosocial, 2021[146]). At the same time, 95% of domestic workers are women, which broadly equals 7% of all employed women in the country (ILO, 2021[147]; Otárola Peñaranda et al., 2014[148]). More than half of these workers (52.5%) earn a monthly income that is below the legal minimum wage.

Domestic jobs are very different from other occupations. For example, a domestic worker may work full- or part-time; may have a single employer or multiple ones; and may or may not reside in the household of the employer (ILO, 2016[149]) Furthermore, domestic workers in Peru combine different sources of discrimination, by gender, by ethnic origin and by migration status (Pérez and Llanos, 2017[150]). Together with generally low educational attainments, this confluence of factors explains why many women domestic workers still serve for life in this position with limited alternatives and hardly any protection.

Over the past years, Peru has taken important steps to strengthen the recognition of the rights of domestic workers. The Domestic Workers Convention No 189 entered into force in 2019, one year after depositing the instruments of ratification with the ILO. In 2020, in the midst of the crisis generated by the COVID-19 pandemic, Peru adopted the Legislative Decree No. 1 499, which mandates the employers to set out the terms and conditions of a domestic work relation using a written contract. Furthermore, Law No. 31 047 equate the rights of domestic workers with those of the rest of the salaried sector. Since 2021, a regulatory framework supports the implementation of the law.

As a result, domestic workers have full rights today, including the extension of minimum wage coverage, the definition of working time, rest time, the right to take paid annual leaves, the right to social security, and the right to receive bonuses as other employees do (50% of the monthly wage twice a year, in July and December, respectively). Peru has a registry of household workers maintained by the National Superintendence of Customs and Tax Administration. However, a very small proportion of domestic workers actually register (Lexartza, Chaves and Cardeco, 2016[151]).

One additional barrier to formal employment for women stems from the fact that it may be more difficult for them to find an occupation in sectors where formal employment tend to be more prevalent. Although gender-neutral education helps reducing these differences, employers' prejudice against women may continue after hiring. Women working at graduate-level positions in the Peruvian construction industry, for example, report that they have less opportunities to advance their careers than men have (Barreto et al., 2017[152]). By contrast, when looking at hiring of salespersons, secretaries and accounting assistants in Lima, women tend to be favoured. Nevertheless, there is evidence that discrimination against women of indigenous origins persists when they apply for a secretarial position (Moreno et al., 2012[153]).

Policy insights

Foster the general policies to tackle the gender dimension of informality. In Peru, like in other Latin American countries, contributory social insurance programmes to protect against social risks, cover a limited share of the population and this population typically work in the formal sector (OECD, 2018[154]). Since women are overrepresented in the informal workforce, the proportion of women who are ineligible to participate in social insurance programmes is much higher compared to men (Holmes and Scott, 2016[155]). In addition, when contributory provision, such as private pensions or individual savings schemes, are designed the same for men and women, effectively they discriminate against women, reflecting lower earnings and more frequent interruptions during their working life due to reproductive and caring responsibilities.

In an effort to extend coverage and raise the attractiveness of social insurance programmes to women working in the informal sector, countries around the world, including some in Latin America, have opted in favour of introducing top up mechanisms for women contributing to pensions. Other countries have

introduced “care credits” to compensate individuals for the contribution losses incurred during the time they have spent out of the labour force caring for dependents. The equalising element stems from the fact that usually the beneficiaries of the credit are women.

Engage informal female workers and their representatives in policy design. Beyond the design and implementation of social insurance schemes, other complementary policies deserve attention. A previous section of this chapter discussed the benefits arising from the extension of maternity provisions to self-employed women, which is a relevant dimension to take into account given the informal character of many of the activities that these women carry out. Other relate to the policies to enhance women’s employability and income security. Key examples in this respect include the policies that aim to reduce hiring and wage discrimination, as well as those that aim to scale up access to childcare services. Other parts of this chapter have addressed these policies.

One important question that has generated much debate recently concerns the interplay between informality and the programmes and provisions that condition the receipt of non-contributory benefits to specific behaviours by the recipient households (Camilletti, 2020[156]). On the upside, conditionality can be gender-friendly, if, by design, the programme helps the solution of women’s practical needs and increases their disposable income. On the downside, where compliance requirements onto women result in an exacerbation of their time burdens, conditionality ends up being gender-discriminatory. This can happen when the outcome of the conditionality is to reduce even more the already limited time that the women can spend on a paid work activity. Reflecting the disruption of time-schedules, they will at best continue to search for a job in the informal sector. The worst-case scenario is that they will stop searching for a job altogether.

Recent research addresses these important questions for Peru with a particular focus on *Juntos* (Cookson, 2018[157]). This work accounts the time spent to access the benefits of *Juntos* as unpaid work. Above and beyond usual caring responsibilities at home, this time involves the efforts that mothers must display to meet programme conditions and collect the payments, alongside transportation costs and the waiting time spent in community centres, including for queuing (Cookson, 2018[157]). The findings illustrate that in order to comply with strongly disciplining conditions; women take children to underfunded and short-staffed schools and health clinics, which are ill equipped to deliver an adequate service. In rural areas, for example, the time spent walking to the centres for delivery considerably adds to the time to wait for the services.

These results highlight that the effectiveness of cash transfers in responding to the needs of women, both as workers and mothers, depends strongly on the implementation of other complementary investment, in childcare and health care infrastructure, for example, along with in human capital to equip the centres with an appropriately staffed and well-trained service workforce (OECD, 2018[154]). They also point to a delicate balancing act in public spending since it is undesirable that the expansion of conditional cash transfer programmes crowds out the financing of other investment in social infrastructure and related services.

The involvement of informal workers and their representatives in policy design can play a pivotal role in facilitating the identification of complementarities between gender policies and in limiting the unintended outcomes of programmes. One approach to achieve this outcome is by promoting women’s voices and participation, including in collective decision making associations, such as trade unions and work councils (OECD/ILO, 2019[145]). However, recent research work concludes that the engagement of the informal female workers, or extension agents and fieldworkers who have experience of working with them, and who have their trust, is essential for improving policy design and raising the impact of gender-friendly formalisation policies (Holmes and Scott, 2016[155]). This reflects the fact that representatives of formal workers may not have the same incentive to represent the informal sector. The Self Employed Women’s Association (SEWA) for women in informal employment in India offers a wide range of services, including childcare provision and health insurance, and facilitates access to government benefits and services.

Improve the labour rights of domestic workers. Following the progress achieved to conform Peru’s legislation to the mandates of Convention 189, policy attention concerning the status and recognition of

domestic workers has shifted to implementation. This includes with regard to the measures needed to guarantee access to social security, the labour inspections to verify compliance with the law, union's organisations to promote collective bargaining and information and awareness-raising campaigns (ILO, 2016[149]).

Uruguay provides the example of a pioneering country in the policies to promote social protection of domestic workers, with one salient feature being the possibility to bundle together workdays and wages from different jobs. In this way, the system allows social security coverage for part-time workers, which is particularly important in light of the different forms that domestic work may take and the fact that workers are often hired via a verbal agreement only.

Ecuador and Chile have followed a process of gradual equalisation of the minimum wage of domestic workers with that of other workers. Uruguay establishes the minimum wage for domestic workers in a tripartite commission of the Wage Council, which provides a framework for collective bargaining. For example, further to agreeing on the wage setting, the parties use the Wage Council to establish a seniority bonus, design measures to achieve dignified working conditions, free of moral or sexual harassment. Bolivia and Argentina have also established a framework for social dialogue and collective bargaining for domestic workers. Social dialogue also facilitates the agreement and launch of joint public awareness campaigns between partners, through the dissemination of printed materials, and animated videos to explain rights and procedures.

In addition to the recourse to mandatory registries, a number of countries are developing mechanisms to increase the effectiveness of the inspections. For example, Chile gives the employers the option to either let the inspectors enter the house or go to the labour inspectorate with the documentation showing the conditions of work. In Uruguay, teams of labour inspectors can interview the employers and the employees at the door of the home, rather than inside. In case the inspectors observe a violation of labour rights, they visit multiple households in the area in order to protect the anonymity of the employee (Lexartza, Chaves and Cardeco, 2016[151]).

Supporting women's entrepreneurship

In Peru, despite the fact that the rate of self-employment among women is almost as high as among men, the share of women who are also employers is only about half as large (see Chapter 1). The reason why few women become employers is that women entrepreneurs have a lower propensity to engage in added value and profitable forms of self-employment with a high potential to expand. Reflecting the factors that confine women to certain activities and sectors (*e.g.*, accommodation and food services, wholesale, and so on) while reserving others to man (*e.g.*, construction, technology, transportation, for example), most businesses that women create concentrate in relatively low added-value sectors. Taken on aggregate, this "horizontal segregation" is responsible for a large part of the difference in profitability between women-led and men-led businesses.

Moreover, most women-led businesses take the form of micro-enterprises, which operate in the informal sector and are created out of necessity, rather than building on the opportunity of a regular, possibly growing, income. As a result, many women-led businesses do not develop enough to become an established business that drives to further job creation. In Peru, the average life span of a micro-enterprise is six years, while that of a small enterprise does not exceed seven years. These figures compare to an average lifetime of 13 years for the larger companies (Lozano Girón, 2020[158]).

Several interdependent forces stand behind these patterns. As discussed in other parts of this report, women do not have the same opportunities of access to education and training as men have. Additionally, the longer hours that they devote to care and household chores reduce the time that they can spend in income generating activities. Furthermore, the lack of access to financial services – such as, saving

accounts and credit loans – significantly limit the ability of women to focus on the design and the development of productive businesses.

According to a recent survey of Peru conducted by the Pacific Alliance, more than two-thirds of female entrepreneurs identify the lack of financial inclusion as the single most important obstacle to the development of their entrepreneurial projects (OEAP, 2018[159]). Regarding demand side barriers, only 22% of women have a saving account, compared with 37% of men (Alliance for Financial Inclusion, 2021[160]). On the supply side, one important factor that hampers the access to finance in Peru is the situation of high interest rates (Lozano Girón, 2020[158]). The annual interest rate that banks apply to the small businesses that revert to the banking sector for capital averages 30% and 20% for the microenterprises and the SMEs, respectively. The interest rates applied by the non-banking financial institutions can exceed 50%.

Beyond the lack of financial empowerment, the survey of the Pacific Alliance points to the deterrent effects induced by the lack of business training. Experimental analysis of the effects of development training on female micro-entrepreneurs in capital Lima (Valdivia, 2014[161]), finds that the stronger availability of training can boost retail sales by more than 15% two years after the end of the training. This makes for a sizeable amount.

Furthermore, the Pacific Alliance's survey draws attention to the importance of having in place a business environment conducive to the circulation of information through facilitating the interactions with more experienced women entrepreneurs, for example. This is essential to support the sharing of experiences between peers, which stimulates mutual learning. Interesting insights on the matter are apparent from another experimental study on female entrepreneurship in Peru, conducted as part of the initiative Women Leadership in Small and Medium Enterprises. The latter programme aims at disseminating information about successful business models for women's entrepreneurship in SMEs (Valdivia M, 2017[162]). The study finds evidence that in addition to strengthening the managerial skills of women entrepreneurs, the transformative benefits of experience sharing spill over to the household, reflecting the stronger bargaining power of the women at home. This important "agency" outcome materialises in a more balanced distribution of chore and childcare responsibilities between partners.

Tackling the mix of barriers to financial inclusion is a key to ensuring that Peruvian women can engage in new businesses and subsequently expand their activities (Girls Who Venture, 2020[163]). Telling examples of the different initiative that Peru has in place to help addressing training, financing, networking and mentoring obstacles to the promotion of women's entrepreneurship include:

- The *Ella Exporta* programme promoted by *PROMPERÚ*, the Peruvian Commission for the Promotion of Export and Tourism, provides four to five-months long export training programmes on topics such as financing, e-commerce, and logistics, accompanied by technical assistance on taxation and accounting to women entrepreneurs. Around 70 entrepreneurs have benefitted from the programme so far. The current year's programme implemented in co-operation with the US embassy and focuses on the value chain of cocoa and sweets. The Ministry of External Trade and Tourism furthermore supports efforts to include a gender chapter in trade agreements, as pioneered by Chile and Ecuador.
- The programme *Tu Empresa* promoted by the Ministry of Production is a platform for micro- and small entrepreneurs led by women. It provides training and technical assistance and contributes to disseminate the advantages of formalisation.
- The Ministry of Women's *Mujer Produce* and *Mujer Produce Digital* programmes provide training to experienced women entrepreneurs, for example with a view to improving digital competences, but also facilitating the dissemination of marketing tools.
- The *Innóvate Perú* programme co-finances entrepreneurial projects through national competitions. Although it is open to both men and women applicants, women-led start-ups make up only about a fifth of the winning participants (OEAP, 2018[164]).

- The *Redes Regionales de Mujeres Emprendedoras y Empresarias, promoted by the MIMP,* is a network for linking economic enterprises led by women to regional, national and international markets. To this effect, it offers access financial and training services and technical assistance in business management. The Network reaches out to all regions of Peru.
- The Ministry of Production and of the Economy are jointly developing a training programme for teachers on entrepreneurship education.

In addition to financial inclusion, the barriers to the creation of a dynamic entrepreneurial sector comprise the lack of a friendly administrative environment, which discourages the formal registration of companies. While common to men and women, the adverse effects of these barriers may be particularly important for women whose time and mobility is typically more limited, given existing norms and the dominant division of caring obligations in Peru. A recent survey by the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada ranks "inefficient government bureaucracy" as the most burdening factor for doing business in Peru, just before "restrictive labour regulations" (Asian Pacific Foundation of Canada, 2020[165]). Specific examples of acting constraints that entrepreneurs identified include lengthy administrative procedures, an obstructive municipal bureaucracy, and a restrictive legislation.

A further pre-requisite to bolster women's entrepreneurship is the equal treatment of men and women about the rights on the property and the use of land. Land tenure security is a key factor for the development of the rural communities (Navarro-Catañeda et al., 2021[166]). In Peru, after a period of considerable progress, the process of granting concessions and land titles has shown a deceleration more recently (ILO, 2016[167]). The slowdown reinforces precariousness because many communities are still without land titles.

The issue about the rights on the property is particularly acute for the population with an indigenous language as their mother tongue. This reflects the fact that the majority of this population still live in rural areas – although rapid urbanisation implies that the situation remains evolving. Since the distribution by gender of the indigenous population is approximately equal in Peru, women are directly concerned (ILO, 2016[167]). There is a widespread consensus that the initiatives taken in the past by the government to include women's names on land titles and the related identification documents have helped increasing the share of agricultural plots jointly held by men and women (USAID, 2016[168]). However, in rural communities the voices of women remain underrepresented when reaching decisions concerning land uses. Tensions appear compounded by the threat to land security stemming from informal loggers and miners.

Policy insights

Promote the use of bundled approaches to strengthen women's entrepreneurship. A growing body of research explores the interplay between finance and women's entrepreneurship development in contexts of high informality (ILO, 2014[169]; ILO-WED, 2018[170]). These works concur that access to formal saving services – e.g. opening a bank account in a women's names – can encourage women to put some money aside for business uses, while at the same time withstanding pressures to share the money with relatives. Moreover, they agree that more flexible debt repayment conditions – such as a grace period on loans, for example – help women's business activities and increase the likelihood of their survival.

Another important conclusion of these works is that reaching a strong level of financial inclusion requires more than just the opportunity to open a banking account and to access loans. This reflect the complex nature of the gender financial divide, which involves the coexistence of many layers of structural and individual barriers. Of potential relevance for Peru, these conclusions highlight the importance of continuing to foster the dissemination of programmes that combine access to financial services with other dimensions of entrepreneurship development, such as markets and business training, for example, alongside financial education and the acquisition of digital skills (Alliance for Financial Inclusion, 2021[160]).

Recent work assessing the impact of microfinance to low income women in the "Sacred Valley" of Peru's Andean highlands stresses the relevance of other specific needs to support the businesses activities of

women in rural communities (McNamara, 2021[171]). For example, the microcredit programmes *ProMujerPeru* and *FINCAPeru* include the provision of health care services and awareness raising prevention initiatives against gender-based violence. Such a broader approach has led to shifts in women's self-confidence and their assertiveness as economic agent at the household, community and business levels. One important condition to ensure quality will be the certification of the entities in charge of providing the services that go along with the loan.

A worth considering approach to tackle "horizontal segregation" and facilitate the creation of women-led businesses in sectors traditionally dominated by men-led businesses requires setting aside a number of public procurement contracts for women-led businesses in sectors where women are underrepresented (construction, mining and quarrying, *etc.*).Adaptability is also a key to increasing the attractiveness of programmes to women. For example, encouraging women to participate in business training sessions that they would not otherwise attend requires flexible modules that take into account the limits of their time schedules. Accordingly, recourse to short courses, online courses and training videos, could be preferable to long training programmes.

Furthermore, the training should match the needs of women. Empirical evidence in this regard points to the importance of ensuring that the training focusses on tasks and techniques that women perceive as their prerogative. For example, the explanation behind the observed very limited initial participation of women to a research initiative to improve potato farming in Peru (less than 15% of all participants) was that they thought of potato as a "male" crop, rather than perceiving it as "women's work". By contrast, participation peaked to 60% for the sessions addressing planting, harvesting and evaluating potato clones, because women play a central role in the execution of these tasks (FAO, 2011[172]).More broadly, the availability of affordable and secure transportation modes plays a seemingly critical role. Securing the delivery of the training in locations not too distant from where the women live and arranging the proviso of affordable and safe transportation facilities, could significantly improve access to business training.

Finally, it is critical that Peru continues the parallel efforts to simplify the administrative procedures to formally register companies. The number of procedures to start a business have declined gradually since the early 2000s. This pattern should continue by (i) having government agencies substitute to notaries and municipalities in the registration process in order to limit anti-competitive practices and (ii) creating an online one-stop shop for firm creation.

Increase the focus on disadvantaged groups. Initiatives to revamp land-titling programmes play an essential role in supporting the entrepreneurial activities of indigenous women. At the same time, the conclusions of recent work on the impact of land-titling programmes on farm investment suggest that policy makers should be wary of overemphasising the impact of tenure security on agrarian investment (Navarro-Catañeda et al., 2021[166]). This is because land titling programmes typically work as a complement – without substituting for – other programmes aimed at fostering women economic empowerment. According to the ILO highlights such complementary programmes should include technical trainings to improve the economic performance of women businesses (ILO, 2016[167]), ranging from improving seeds, for example, to the acquisition of managerial skills, alongside other skills related to identify potential markets. One important bottleneck identified by the ILO, particularly in Amazonia, where transports are expensive and not always viable, is the lack of connectivity. The telecommunication network helps overcoming these difficulties by fostering links to sale markets, alongside experience sharing with surrounding communities. Both factors are important for supporting the production of goods and to integrate supply chains.

The creation of networks of school ambassadors could help overcoming the lack of role models that women entrepreneurs from indigenous communities typically suffer. The *Frauen unternehmen* initiative in Germany provides a potentially interesting example of how the programme could be organised. The ambassadors are selected by a jury, which increases their prestige. In addition, they generally attend a limited number of events with peers so to keep the required commitment relatively light (OECD/EU, 2017[173]).

On financing, one option could be to set up specific funding mechanisms reserved to people of indigenous descent (Del Aguila, 2016[174]) that could ideally be combined with training, mentoring and networking. Any specific programmes for indigenous entrepreneurs should be developed in co-operation with the Chamber of Commerce of the Indigenous Peoples of Peru.

Monitor the effects of policies. Systematic review of the wide-ranging effects of entrepreneurship programmes in low- and middle-income countries points to the complexities of evaluating outcomes both in terms of job- and firm-creation (Grimm and Paffhausen, 2015[175]). This reflects the fact that many conditions have to be met before interventions in favour of individual enterprises improve business performance and lead to the decision to create a new business or to hire additional employees. In other words, it likely takes a long chain of intermediate results before policy interventions materialise into a sustainable expansion of employment, which is also linked to improving and more secure working conditions.

It is also important to consider that many of the policy measures implemented do not primarily aim to create employment but rather to improve management practices, to achieve more stable income flows and reduce poverty. For example, the benefits of mentorship and access to role models tend to materialise in changes at the degree existing resources are utilised, without necessarily delivering more jobs (ILO, 2014[169]). Similarly, the evidence available seems to suggest that although finance and training programs have positive effects on business outcomes such as improved knowledge and practice and sometimes income, the effects on a general set of labour market activities are generally weaker and sometimes insignificant (Grimm and Paffhausen, 2015[175]). These findings highlight that it may be more desirable to seize the effects of interventions on sales, revenues and income levels than to quantify employment outcomes, which may depend by other causes. The availability of disaggregated indicators by gender might also deserve attention as a mean to portraying possible unintended inequalities of outcomes that may emerge on the way to financial inclusion (Trivelli Ávila and Caballero Calle, 2018[176]).

Fighting violence against women outside the home

Women safety plays a key role in women economic empowerment. In all countries, women are victims of violence, not only at home (perpetrated by their current and former partners or other family member) but also in public spaces, public transports, school, universities and at work.. Adding to physical and mental suffering, harassment, sexual or physical abuse and rape undermine girls and women educational and economic opportunities, ultimately affecting their participation in the labour market (ILO, 2018[177]). For instance, the victims of domestic violence are less likely to be economically active, and when still active, less likely to be productive, a consequence of physical and mental suffering (ECLAC, 2016[178]).

To limit the exposure to violence in public spaces, at school and at work (ECLAC, 2016[178]), many girls and women restrict their movements, which potentially limits their educational and work opportunities, alongside to enjoy life (OCAC, 2020[179]). Violence at work may lead to quit a potentially good job opportunity; if the women choses to stay, she does so at a cost to her well-being (ILO, 2018[177]). A high percentage of girls who have experienced a traumatic episode at school have to change school or leave the educational system altogether (OCAC, 2020[179]).

Peru has one of the highest rates of violence against women in Latin America (Wilson Hernández Breña, 2019[180]; PAHO, 2014[181]). At home, almost half of Peruvian women have reported cases of domestic violence and calls to the centres of the Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations increased drastically during the COVID-19 health crisis (MIMP, 2020[182]). Chapter 3 reports that cases of violence increased sharply during the pandemic (ENDES, 2020[183]). The main victims of harassment in streets and on public transports are young women. According to a 2012-16 survey, in Peru, seven of every ten women between the ages of 18 and 29 years has been victim to street harassment, a share that rises to nine in ten women in urban areas such as Lima or El Callao (PUCP, 2016[184]). The number of reports of workplace sexual harassment to the National Superintendence of Labour Inspection increased nearly five-fold between 2019

to 2020 (from 96 to 484 complaints) (GOB, 2020[185]), potentially pointing to progress in the means available to report such complaints and the protection of privacy. Domestic workers are also significantly exposed to situations of sexual harassment and abuse at their workplace. An estimated 30% of domestic workers have been victims of sexual harassment in the household they work in (MIMP, 2008[186]). According to a study conducted at a public university in Lima, three out of ten men and six out of ten women say they have experienced sexual harassment in the university setting.

In 2019, 164 women were recognised feminicides murder victims, corresponding to the highest number in a decade. Among them, 70% were in an intimate relationship with the killer, before or at the time of the murder (MIMP, 2019[187]). In recent years, mobilisations against feminicides has increased across Latin America, which has the highest rate of feminicides in the world. After the murder of a young Argentine woman, the #Niunamenos collective launched an awareness campaign focusing on violence against women. In Peru, a mass demonstration in 2018 brought thousands of people to streets of Lima.

Peru has a number of laws and accompanying measures against different forms of violence against women. Among these laws are the 2003 Law No. 27 942 on the Prevention and Punishment of Sexual Harassment and the 2013 Law No. 38 068 that defined feminicide. The 2015 Law N°30 314 to prevent and sanction sexual harassment in public spaces was the first of its kind in Latin America (MININTER, 2015[188]). 2011 and 2014 laws specifically aim to reduce violence and gender discrimination in schools and universities. Several measures to fight violence accompany these laws. For example, specific online platforms make it easier for students to report harassment cases. A practical guide on preventing and punishing workplace sexual harassment helps individuals recognising that they are victims of some type of harassment; and companies that do not investigate such allegations can be fined. The campaign *Violencia disfrazada de amor* (Violence disguised as love) targets young people aged 18 to 29. *Acoso Es Violencia* (Harrassment is violence), launched in 2020, focusses on the fight against street sexual harassment. The initiative *Haz la difrenecia, frena la violencia* (Make the Difference, Stop the Violence) supports the fight against domestic violence by disclosing the danger of misleading believes, attitudes and practices that might justify the acceptance of gender-based violence (MIMP, 2019[189]; MIMP, 2019[190]; MIMP, 2021[191]). The brochure is translated in six indigenous languages.

Policy insights

Although Peru has made progress by creating laws against different forms of violence against women, there is scope for further efforts to ensure their implementation and enforcement, particularly in remote and rural areas. For example, while regional and local governments are supposed to enact decrees to prevent and punish sexual harassment, only 44% of regional governments for example had internal decrees regulating the procedure for the prevention and punishment of acts of sexual harassment at work (OEFA, 2018[192]). Updated and more frequent data on sexual harassment is needed, especially in public spaces, at school and universities.

Lower barriers restricting access to the justice system by victims of violence and harassment. Women who have been victims of violence and harassment often hesitate to report the crime because of the fear that this will open the way to an exhausting judicial process, which will re-victimise them and rarely ending in a conviction. In light of the specific barriers that women and girls encounter when accessing to justice, survivor/victim-centred justice pathways as well as the integration with services that remove barriers, are vital. Law 30 364 aims to accelerate the process for reporting domestic violence and other forms of violence against women. Complaints can be made by the victim herself, by someone acting on her behalf, or by *Defensoría del Pueblo* (office of the Ombudsman). These efforts should be reinforced through increasing the availability of training programmes for police and justice officers on best practices for interacting with victims can make the process of reporting these crimes less difficult. Currently, only half of the police personnel in charge have been trained on gender issues; and the majority of victims do not think that police stations have the adequate environment to collect denunciations of sexual violence – for

example because they lack privacy (Defensoria del Pueblo, 2018[193]). As one example of training programme, in 2019, Mexico launched a police-training programme that aims to ensure that procedural protocols are correctly applied in situations of gender violence. The current six-month deadline for reporting harassment or sexual violence should be extended considering their psychological impact. This is particularly true when the victims are minors.

Encourage and guarantee safe complaint processes for victims. At workplaces and in schools, women may be reluctant to report harassment or violence, reflecting the fact the perpetrators are often in a superior hierarchical position, such as that of a teacher or a boss (ILO, 2018[177]). Peru should step up already existing mechanisms to facilitate the reporting of these situations in schools and universities. Prevention workshops and trainings could also help reducing the incidence of violence. A number of private employers ask their employees to follow these courses, which in addition to explaining the law against sexual abuse at work address different manifestations of abuse and how to report them. Making these courses widely available is desirable. Be it in the private and public sector and in educational institutions, it is essential to ensure monitoring and compliance with internal protocols in the event of sexual abuse and violence.

Continue educating the public about the different aspects of sexual violence and harassment. As mentioned above, Peru already implement awareness campaigns to incentivise detection and denunciation of sexual violence. Currently, these are mainly directed at an adult audience, including young adults. Given that young women are at especially high risk of intimate partner violence and that patterns of relationship interactions are set early, it would make sense to create campaigns targeted at younger youth. One example is the Spanish #pasiónnoesposesión campaign that consisted of a rap video and associated flyers and radio ads.

Box 2.3. Summary of policy options for making women's paid work pay more in Peru

A range of interdependent policies can reduce the gender gap in labour income, thus leading to strengthen the incentive for women to spend more hours on paid work. The OECD suggests to:

Ensure access to quality education for all

- **Reward poor families for their engagement at children education.** By providing regular benefits to parents of poor background who chose to keep their children at school, conditional cash transfers have the potential to strengthen engagement at education. However, experience with *Juntos* shows that accessing the benefit can require long transport commuting, which is time consuming and costly for beneficiaries. To overcome these barriers Peru could potentiate the branchless banking network using digital means of payment, or local agents serving as deposit and withdrawal points – typically shopkeepers, where the capacity of the digital service network is limited. The introduction of branchless banking should take place alongside the creation of local workshops as a way of building digital knowledge and trust in formal finance.
- **Communicate the benefits of completing studies.** Low-income students and their families are often ill-informed about the monetary and social returns of education and the opportunities to progress through studies. Scaling up the pilot programme *Decidiendo para un futuro mejor* (Deciding for a better future) devised by the *MineduLAB* could be a rapid and relatively inexpensive way to inform students about the returns to education. School mentoring and student counselling are also a key to making girls and young women stay in the education system. The private sector can play a leading role in implementing mentoring initiatives.

- **Ensure comprehensive sexuality education and information at school and out-of-school**. Peru's decision to integrate Comprehensive Sexuality Education (CSE) into the educational curriculum is in line with the international guidance provided by UNESCO. In order to present concepts and deliver on common national objectives, such as the guidelines of Peru's Ministry of Education, teachers and health nurses need to acquire the right skills through training and access to appropriate sources of information. With the average years of education varying significantly across socio-economic groups in Peru, it is essential that CSE programmes reach out-of-school young people and children, who are often most vulnerable to misinformation, coercion and exploitation.
- **Provide medical and financial support to vulnerable girls and teenage mothers**. International experience shows the benefits of providing young mothers with financial support for childcare and for acquiring training to improve their work skills and competencies. These programmes underscore the importance of reaching out to rural and remote areas.

Promote women in non-traditional careers and leadership positions

- **Create targets for women's representation in private companies.** In Peru, women hold fewer than one in ten board of director posts (9.2%), which is below the OECD average (12%), although somewhat above the regional average (8.5%). Just about one out of ten private companies in Peru have set voluntary targets for the composition of their board of directors. In Germany, the 2015 Act on equal participation of women and men in executive positions in private and public sectors set a 30% gender diversity quota for supervisory boards and required listed and co-determined companies (where workers can vote for representatives on the board) to establish targets for gender equality at the top two levels of management. Israeli state owned enterprises have a legal target of appropriate representation for both genders on the board of directors – usually 50% unless there is a sound reason why such representation are not achievable. Until reaching the goal, preference shall be given to directors of the under-represented gender. In addition, business associations and networks can play a strong role in supporting women who are in leadership positions to act as role models, and raise awareness of women in leadership.
- **Promote an academic culture that integrates female faculty members and supports them to excel.** Balancing work and life responsibilities is very difficult for women in scientific academic fields. There are signs that universities in Peru find it difficult to recruit female professors in STEM fields. Finding qualified candidates for academic positions in scientific fields has to begin by creating an inclusive learning environment for all students. Mentoring for junior faculty members and nurturing a culture that promotes work-life balance for all in universities will help ensuring that women feel attracted by an academic career and are more satisfied with it, thus staying focussed on the search for new opportunities to excel.
- **Continue the efforts to strengthen women's representation in public leadership.** Requirements for gender balance in positions of leadership need to be strengthened at national, subnational and institutional levels. For example, although Peru has progressively increased the statutory share of women representation in congressional electoral lists -- from 25% in 1997, to 30% in 2001 and 40% in 2019 -- the actual share of elected female candidates falls short of the quotas. At least in part this reflects the practice to concentrate the names of women candidates at the bottom of the lists, which reduces the chances of being elected since it lowers visibility.
- **Implement specific targets to support monitoring and evaluation.** Tracking progress in gender-balanced leadership and addressing remaining challenges with suitable reforms will require the support of specific targets and the collection of gender-disaggregated data, in both private and public sectors.

Increase women integration in the formal labour market

- **Foster the general policies to tackle the gender dimension of informality**. In an effort to extend coverage and raise the attractiveness of social insurance programmes to women working in the informal sector, countries around the world, including in Latin America, have introduced top up mechanisms for women contributing to pensions. Other countries have "care credits" to compensate individuals for the contribution losses incurred during the time they have spent out of the labour force caring for dependents. Gender equalisation stems from the fact that usually the primary beneficiaries of the credit are women.
- **Engage informal female workers and their representatives in policy design.** Consultation mechanisms to engage informal female workers, or extension agents and fieldworkers who have experience of working with them, and who have their trust, can help improving policy design and raising the impact of gender-friendly formalisation policies.
- **Improve the labour rights of domestic workers.** Following the progress achieved to conform Peru's legislation to the directives of Convention 189, policy attention concerning the status and recognition of domestic workers has shifted to implementation. Uruguay provides the example of a pioneering country in the policies to promote social protection of domestic workers, with one salient feature being the possibility to bundle together workdays and wages from different jobs. In this way, the system allows social security coverage for part-time workers. Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador and Uruguay, have established a framework for social dialogue and collective bargaining for domestic workers, encompassing minimum wage coverage. Furthermore, social dialogue helps agreeing on and launching joint public awareness campaigns between social partners, through the dissemination of printed materials, and animated videos to explain rights and procedures. Many countries are developing mechanisms to increase the effectiveness of inspections.

Support women's entrepreneurship

- **Promote the use of bundled approaches to strengthen women's entrepreneurship.** Given the interplay of many layers of barriers to entrepreneurship, the OECD report puts forward the view that strengthening women's entrepreneurship could require the use of bundled approaches. This means that more opportunities of access to formal saving services – e.g., opening a bank account in a women's names – and to more flexible debt repayment conditions – like a grace period on loans, for example – could combine with other non-financial measures, such as markets and business training, for example, alongside financial education and the acquisition of digital skills.
- **Increase the focus on disadvantaged groups.** Initiatives to revamp land-titling programmes play an essential role in supporting the entrepreneurial activities of indigenous women. As a complement to land titling, a stronger focus on technical training is advisable to improve the performance of the businesses that these women run. This ranges from improving seeds, for example, to the acquisition of managerial techniques, alongside skills related to the identification of markets. One important bottleneck in Amazonia, where transports are expensive and not always viable, relates to the lack of digital connectivity.
- **Monitor the effects of policies.** Recent empirical analysis points to the fact that it typically takes a fairly long chain of intermediate results before policy interventions to support entrepreneurship leads to a sustainable expansion of employment. This suggests that in its policy thinking about how to monitor the effects of interventions it might be more desirable for Peru to seize the impact on sales, revenues and income levels than to quantify employment outcomes. The availability of disaggregated indicators by sex deserves significant attention to portray possible unintended inequalities of outcomes that may emerge on the way to financial inclusion.

Fight violence against women

- **Lower barriers restricting access to the justice system by victims of violence and harassment.** Women who have been victims of violence and harassment often hesitate to report the crime because of the fear that this will open the way to an exhausting judicial process, which will re-victimise them and rarely end in a conviction. It is welcome that Law 30 364 aims to accelerate the process for reporting domestic violence and other forms of violence against women. Complaints can be made by the victim herself, by someone acting on her behalf, or by *Defensoría del Pueblo* (office of the Ombudsman). To increase trust in reporting, it would be important to raise the availability of training programmes for police and justice officers on best practices for interacting with victims.
- **Encourage and guarantee safe complaint processes for victims**. At workplaces and in schools, women may be reluctant to report harassment or violence, reflecting the fact the perpetrators are often in a superior hierarchical position, such as that of a boss or a teacher. Peru should step up already existing mechanisms to facilitate the reporting of these situations in schools and universities. Prevention workshops and trainings could also help reducing the incidence of violence. A number of private employers ask their employees to follow these courses, which further to explaining the law against sexual abuse at work aim to raise awareness about different manifestations of abuse and how to report them.
- **Continue educating the public about the different aspects of sexual violence and harassment.** As mentioned above, Peru already runs awareness campaigns to incentivise the detection and denunciation of sexual violence. However, currently these mainly target an adult audience, including young adults. Given that relationship interactions are set early, it would make sense to create campaigns targeted at younger youth. One example is the Spanish #pasiónnoesposesión campaign that consisted of a rap video and associated flyers and radio ads.

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3 The compounding effects of COVID-19

This chapter provides an overview of the health social and economic well-being impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic in Peru. It finds that COVID-19 and the lockdown have dramatically exacerbated gender inequalities at least temporarily. The chapter starts with a discussion of the educational effects of school closures and a review of labour market developments. The pandemic has led many Peruvian women to stop working without searching for re-employment because they took on additional caring work. In addition to higher labour market inactivity, the pandemic also led to an exacerbation of stress and mental health problems and an upsurge of episodes of violence against women. The chapter then reviews the measures that the Peruvian Government has taken to mitigate these adverse consequences and advances a set of policy insights for continued government efforts to support women, particularly the most vulnerable.

The policy responses to counter the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic have varied considerably across Latin American countries. While some countries implemented prompt and decisive countering measures, others, in an attempt to perform a balance between economic expansion and citizens' health, opted in favour of milder actions. Within such a diverse regional landscape, the Government of Peru chose to side the more resolute approach involving as rapid and firm responses as possible.

In the aftermath of the first confirmed COVID-19 cases in early March 2020, this approach materialised in the introduction of severe restrictions to mobility, including stay-at-home requirements, alongside an evening curfew, a strict and prolonged quarantine, the ban of crowd-gatherings and the temporary closure of borders. Implementing these measures required the support of the closure of schools, universities and public meeting places. As a result, Peru was widely credited internationally for being the first country in Latin America to take actions against the pandemic. Nevertheless, despite the adoption of early and stark measures, the effects of the pandemic in Peru have been devastating. Having reached the milestone of 200 000 deaths, in a population of 34 million, Peru stands out for being the country with the highest COVID-19 death rate per head worldwide.

Such a significant disproportion between efforts displayed and outcomes has inevitably unveiled a number of endemic economic and social challenges. For example, the difficulties of reconciling paid employment with family responsibilities in an altered setting for education and care services – due to social distancing measures and school closures – led many Peruvian women with young children to abandon the labour market. They have sparked stress and mental health problems and an upsurge of episodes of violence against women. These adverse labour and social effects have been stronger among women of indigenous groups and Afro-descendants women.

This chapter provides an account of the health, social and economic impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic in Peru. It reveals that the COVID-19 and the lockdown have dramatically exacerbated gender inequalities and reviews the steps that the Peruvian Government has taken to mitigate these consequences.

Women and COVID-19 in Peru: Review of impacts and challenges

Almost two years since the outbreak of the pandemic, Peru stands out in the international context as the country with the highest number of deaths worldwide, measured per million of inhabitants (Our World in Data, 2021[1]). Adding to these direct effects, the indirect scarring effects of the pandemic on the Peruvian population have become increasingly apparent. Particularly, the data reveal that high numbers of adult deaths have translated into high numbers of children having lost their parents and caregivers to COVID-19. Indeed, Peru has suffered one of the highest rate worldwide of children orphaned or bereft of their primary caregivers (Hillis et al., 2021[2]). Children and adolescents bereft of parents or caregivers are exposed to increased risks of post-traumatic stress disorder and depression. Under the circumstances, these consequences appear further compounded by mitigation-related isolation measures and school closures.

Poor outcomes have sparked scholarly discussions to explain the reasons behind the observed wide gap between efforts and achievements. From an health care perspective, the most frequently mentioned explanations include a fragmented and already overwhelmed public health sector, lack of infrastructure and specialised personnel to tackle the pandemic, governance problems and the lack of leadership from health authorities (Schwalb and Seas, 2021[3]). These problems are seen to have also contributed to slow down the vaccination process. By mid-December 2021, in Peru the share of people fully and partially vaccinated equalled 58.8% and 69.4%, respectively, which compares with 84.4% and 88.0% in Chile, 50.8% and 76.8% in Colombia and 63.8% and 76% in Costa Rica.

In addition, the pandemic unveiled the impact of underlying structural fragilities, both economic and social (Vázquez-Rowe and Gandolfi, 2020[4]). For example, a rampant informal labour market and a limited social protection system have meant that the mobility restrictions were very difficult to enforce among the many

workers who could not afford to stay at home, off work. This problem materialised in erratically implemented distancing measures in a number of typically crowded activities, such as street food markets and public transports, for example. As one example of the limited effects on the most vulnerable groups, distancing measures were particularly difficult to implement among Venezuelan migrants to Peru, many of whom have yet to finalise their migratory regularisation process. Other examples of important socio-economic groups, which experienced strong difficulties at enforcing self-isolation, are domestic workers, among whom many acted as care workers, and people in indigenous communities.

School closures

Learners around the world have undergone extended periods of educational disruption due to school closures following the outbreak of COVID-19. By the end of 2021, ten countries in the Latin American and Caribbean region had schools fully open, four countries still had schools fully closed, and 20-three had their school partially closed (UNICEF, 2021[5]). The latter group also included Peru. Specifically, out of a total 111 640 schools and educational services only 11 627 (10.6% of total providers) were open and offering semi-face-to-face services. Correspondingly, the percentage share of students benefitting from face-to-face classes equalled 6.5%, which is very low in the regional comparison. For example, in Argentina, Colombia and Chile, the same students' share equalled 94%, 71% and 52%, respectively. In Costa Rica, all students were back to face-to-face classes.

As a way of replacing in-person classes, the government launched the *Aprendo en casa* (I learn at home) programme. A nation-wide online portal, *Aprendo en casa* spanned across different subject and grades, with plans to translate the learning materials into different languages so to reach out to the indigenous populations. In addition, radio and TV stations offered educational programs aligned with the national curriculum. Moreover, telecommunication providers were exempting usage of the *Aprendo en Casa* website from data charges (Lechleiter and Vidarte, 2020[6]).

Available analysis for the OECD countries suggests that the educational disruptive effects of school closures can have far-reaching consequences. The immediate ones take the form of learning losses and school dropouts. Research from the United States projects that on average and depending on the subject, students may learn one to two-thirds less than in a normal school year. Learning losses are even stronger in lower-income areas and for academically weaker students (Kuhfeld et al., 2020[7]; Opportunity Insights, 2020[8]; Chetty et al., 2020[9]). An unknown number of pupils lost complete contact with their teachers and may not have engaged in any distance learning: different national administrations and school districts in OECD countries have reported ranges of 5-10% of students with whom there was no contact (franceinfo, 2020[10]; Hildebrandt, 2020[11]; Kohli, 2020[12]). Students who were already struggling prior to the pandemic and who fall too far behind academically were at particularly high risk of dropping out of school altogether.

In Peru, these effects have likely been more dramatic. A marked divide emerged in the country between, on the one hand, the well-connected children who could access remote learning – generally residing in the wealthier regions and districts – and, on the other hand, the poor children who don't have the same access and often live in the rural areas (Chauvin Lucien O. and Faiola Anthony, 2020[13]). With less than 40% of household nationwide and 5% in rural areas having access to the internet, distance learning is more difficult to implement in Peru than in most OECD countries.

As part of the measures adopted by the Peruvian Government to limit risks of educational disruptions for students in rural areas and disadvantaged students, 50 000 students of low-income families received meals that replaced the usual school meals. Starting from July 2020, there was a distribution of tablets, giving priority to low-income students in rural areas. From July 2020 onwards, the partial reopening of schools in the rural regions with no COVID-19 cases and where teachers live locally also helped (Gestión, 2020[14]). Despite the efforts displayed, lower-income students are less likely to have used a computer and to have enjoyed a quiet place where to study (OECD, 2020[15]).

There is no clear-cut evidence as to how the effects of the closures vary between boys and girls. Yet in families in which girls already had more unpaid care obligations than their brothers, the pandemic is likely to have exacerbated the divide, since increasingly girls had to look after their younger siblings no longer at (pre-) school. As a result, girls' educational outcomes may suffer even more than boys' outcomes and more girls are at risk of dropping out from school (UNESCO, 2021[16]).

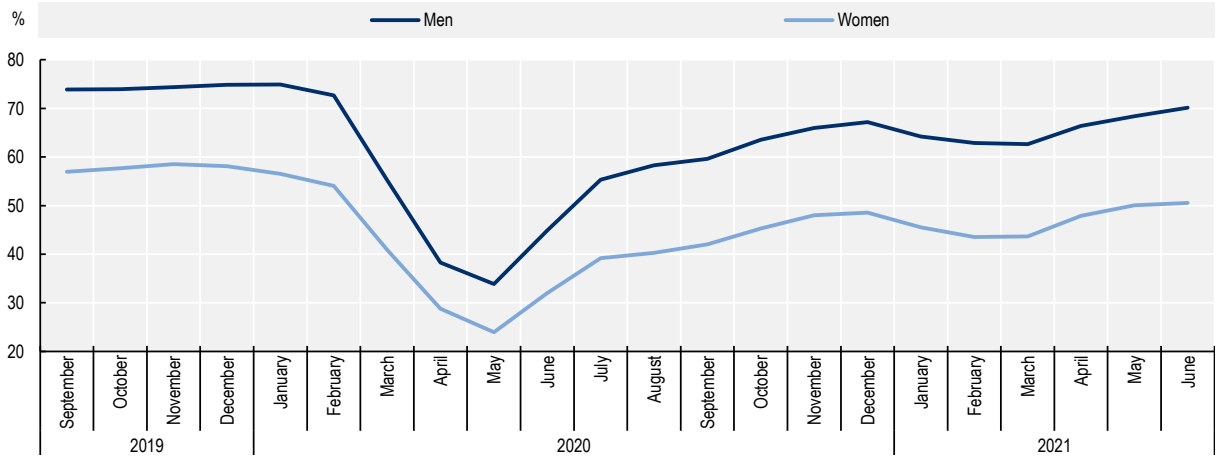
Labour market developments

The temporary closure of schools and day care centres have exacerbated the burden of unpaid work activities on Peruvian families, with a disproportionate share of this extra workload falling on women. As a counterpart, the number of hours that women could devote to paid employment activities declined sharply (OECD, 2020[17]). In addition, many structural characteristics of the Peruvian economy imply that the lingering effects of the COVID-19 crisis on the employment of women will be more severe and protracted than for men. For example, more female than male workers are employed in restaurant and hotel services (12.3% of female, as opposed to 3.5% of the male workforce) or in private households as domestic carers (4.9% compared to 0.2%). The activities in which women are overrepresented in the labour market underwent a sharp cut of work hours at the height of the pandemic restrictions.

Aggregate labour market figures show that in Peru the employment rate dropped sharply between January and May 2020, both among men and women but particularly the latter (by 54% and 57%, respectively) (Figure 3.1). Given that the subsequent job recovery has been stronger for men than women, the resulting level of the gender gap in employment has widened compared with the level existing before the outbreak of the pandemic.

Figure 3.1. Employment fell sharply following the outbreak of the COVID-19 crisis and the gender gap widened during the subsequent job recovery

Employment-to-population ratio by sex in Peru, 2019-21



Note: Data refer to population aged 15+.
Source: ILO, ILOSTAT. https://ilostat.ilo.org/topics/employment/.

StatLink https://stat.link/f8u3lq

One particular reason for concerns that the ILO has pointed out relates to the fact that the labour force participation declined significantly more sharply among women than among men during the pandemic, suggesting a higher rate of labour market exit (ILO, 2021[18]). Peru is not the only country in Latin America where women have experienced a higher rate of labour market exit. As elsewhere in the region, this

reflected the growing difficulties of reconciling paid employment with family responsibilities in an altered setting for education and care services, due to social distancing measures and school closures. Some women were able to take advantage of the increased opportunities for flexible work arrangements to increase the time spent working from home. However, in a country where most women are unable to take advantage of this option, because they do not have the facilities to engage in digital teleworking, for example, or they lack digital skills, the responsibilities for domestic care took precedence over paid work (Murray Christine and Elliott Lucinda, 2021[19]).

The contraction of employment has been particularly severe for the women who were working in the informal sector or as own-account workers. These two groups of workers were lying at the bottom of the wage scale well before the crisis. In Peru, around half of women lost their informal employment between the fourth quarter of 2019 and the second quarter of 2020, exceeding the decline in informal employment among men by 20 percentage points (ILO, 2021[18]). One important explanation behind this outcome is that Peru underwent one of the longest school closures in the world – a total of 75 weeks according to the UNESCO. While somewhat shorter than experienced by Chile and Argentina (77 and 79 weeks, respectively), for example, this length is considerably longer than the average of the European countries.

Unsurprisingly, the group of women that have fared the worst is that of the mothers with young children (Murray Christine and Elliott Lucinda, 2021[19]). Namely, in Peru 57% of women heading households with young children lost their jobs (UNDP, 2020[20]), making for the highest rate in Latin America and about 20% above the regional average. As background, in Peru the number of female-headed households increased by 127% between 2001 and 2018 – compared to an increase of male-headed households of 35%. As a result, in 2018 almost 3 million households were women-headed.

An analysis by Peruvian researchers points to the strong intersectional nature of these developments, which implies that some groups of women experienced particularly high risk of increased economic and social precariousness (Jaramillo and Ñopo, 2020[21]). This work finds that the adverse labour markets effects induced by the pandemic have been stronger among women of indigenous groups and Afro-descendants women than they have been among the general population.

Overall, the review of labour market developments in Peru during the pandemic suggests that women remain particularly exposed to the risks of possible new waves of contagion and the introduction of confinement measures. If economic activity and employment falls in the sectors characterised by a greater female representation, it will be more difficult to recover women's employment and gender labour gap will continue to widen.

Mental health

Changes in routines, forced isolation and the anxiety of losing income have fuelled stress and fear. Studies of the effects that COVID-19 had on citizens in Peru find that the perception that well-being and mental health conditions are getting worse disproportionately affected women and the younger population (Antiporta et al., 2021[22]; Ruiz-Frutos et al., 2021[23]; Ministerio de salud, 2021[24]). One possible explanation of the observed differences between age and gender relates to the fact that, for many girls, the halting of classes at schools and universities has meant a rise in the time spent on the care of their siblings. These works also show substantial disparities by key socio-economic variables with risk factors being lower among those with higher household income, education, and employment. By contrast, living in the Andes, and having comorbidities increased the probability of depressive symptoms.

Violence against women

Since the introduction of mobility restriction measures in mid-March 2020, female disappearances have risen dramatically in Peru (The Organisation for World Peace, 2020[25]). In 2021, more than 5 900 women

reported missing, three-quarters of whom were girls and teenagers. The number of cases doubled in the jungle and Amazonian regions.

In addition, the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic led the levels of gender-based violence and crimes against women and girls, such as rape and sexual assault, to increase significantly. A randomised research analysis assessing the impact of COVID-19 lockdown on physical domestic violence in Peru, using a sample of young people aged 18-26, finds that 8.3% of the sample experienced an increase in physical violence during the lockdown (Porter et al., 2021[26]). In 2020, the number of calls to Line 100 of the Ministry for Women and Vulnerable Populations (MIMP) registered an increase of 97% increase (MIMP, 2021[27]). As a result, the overall number of calls related to domestic violence against women, family members and sexual violence was close to 236 000.

It is likelihood that these figures imply a lower bound. While data from sources such as police reports, helplines, health centres, and shelters provide essential insights, they are unlikely to reflect the true situation since many victims were confined with the perpetrator. In addition, the victims of violence often do not report episodes for fear of shame, stigma, or retaliation and because they have emotional linkages with the person imparting mental and or physical violence on them. This under-reporting may be even greater during a period of pandemic because mobility restrictions and the risk of contagion may hinder the capacity to seek help in person. Telephone or internet reporting may also be limited, given that victims have fewer opportunities to reach out secretly when confined at home with their abuser.

Gender sensitive policy responses to support economic security

The COVID-19 Global Gender Response Tracker, produced by the UNDP and UN Women, provides regularly updated information about the policy responses taken by governments worldwide to tackle the pandemic, highlighting those that have integrated a gender lens. The tracker's section devoted to Peru reveals that the Peruvian Government introduced numerous gender sensitive policy measures to counter the economics and social effects of the pandemic (UNDP and UN Women, 2021[28]).

Measures to support SMEs and employment

With an eye to the responses most likely to support the economic security of women, the government introduced the *suspencion perfecta*, which foresees the temporary suspension of a dependent work relation without terminating a contract. As part of this, a new wage subsidy was created to support the firms that reported a fall in sales of at least 30% during the April-May period of 2020. The subsidy covered between 35% and 55% of the wage bill and was expected to benefit some 350 000 people.

In addition, the government provided a three-month extension of the income tax declaration for SMEs and granted some flexibility to enterprises and households in the repayment of tax liabilities. The programme *Reactiva Peru* aimed at guaranteeing loans in local currency with a view to ensuring payments in the supply chain and short-term debts of SMEs.

Tailored measures to support employment included strengthening the protection of the social and labour rights of domestic workers, such as mandating the stipulation of a written contract, for example, along with enforcing the principle of fair and equitable remuneration. Specific measures also involved the introduction of cash benefit to health care workers in the Intensive Care Units. Economic support also extended to cultural workers and enterprises, as well as transport workers.

All public and private companies were encouraged to implement remote work. The government also increased the amount of resources destined to public works, while at the same time easing the conditions for budget execution at the local government level. The launch of the programme *Todos Connectados* aimed at accelerating the efforts to bring free internet to local and rural areas, as a way of reducing digital infrastructure gaps.

The Ministry of Women launched a new facility, the Regional Networks of Women Entrepreneurs, to strengthen the capacity of women entrepreneurs to cope with the COVID-19 pandemic. The Networks constitute a partnership between the Ministry of Women, the regional and local governments, and the local association of women entrepreneurs. Information were provided to women entrepreneurs on how to access economic support programmes, such as the Business Support Fund (FAE) for SMEs, and similar programmes for specific sectors – e.g. tourism (*FAE Turismo*) and agriculture (*FAE Agro*) (Ministerio de la Mujer, 2020[29]).

Protecting incomes

Cash transfers to the least favoured populations included the advanced monthly payments of the social programmes – *Juntos*, *Pensión 65* and *Contigo*. The *Bono Rural*, a new cash transfers for people in extreme poverty in rural area, targeted 980 000 households. The *Bono Familiar Universal* targeted those households whose members did not receive any income during the state of emergency. The measure aimed to benefit 75% of the country's households, corresponding to some 6.8 million families. The *Bono Trabajador Independiente* (Independent Worker Grant) targeted 800 000 self-employed households to help them facing the economic impact of the pandemic.

The government authorised the partial withdrawal from private pension fund accounts by members who had not contributed for six consecutive months. It also introduced measures to ease employees' conditions of access to their individual severance payment accounts – the *Compensation de tiempo de servicio*. The payment of overdue bills for electricity, natural gas and telecommunications of households was split into several instalments, without interest charges, late payment charges, or service cuts.

The fight against gender-based violence

The government undertook numerous measures to prevent and/or respond to violence against women and girls (UNDP and UN Women, 2021[28]). Some of these measures focussed on the improvement of the information system about state services for survivors of violence, for example through SMS and WhatsApp messages about helplines 100 and chat 100. Preventive actions in rural communities included the broadcast of radio programs to inform women in these areas about how to report an event of violence and ask for help. The creation of a mobile care team allowed addressing urgent cases of violence against women and girls in areas where there is no *Servicio de Atención Urgente* (emergency care service) for psychological, legal and social services assistance.

Decreto Legislativo No. 1 470 established the reinforcement of emergency health care for all women and members of the family group who are survivors of violence. This included by relying on the Mental Health Centres, of which there are 175 in Peru and in charge of services to survivors of violence through multidisciplinary services. The municipality of Lima created two new shelters for women survivors of violence. These services can be accessed via telephone or online and are available 7 days a week.

Dissemination campaigns ensure that people are aware of the existence of assistance services for women in need. The Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations, in partnership with the UNDP, the Spanish Agency for International Development Co-operation (AECID) and local governments have reached out to more than 300 commercial establishments (supermarkets, markets, pharmacies) to launch the campaign *No estás sola* (You are not alone). The aim is the dissemination of messages promoting non-violence, respectful relations at home, and the sharing of household and domestic responsibilities. The campaign *Mascarilla Violeta* (Purple mask) encourages the use of purple masks to show solidarity and commitment to end violence against women.

The Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Population, through the National Aurora Program launched the radio programme: "Aurora accompanies you". The initiative promotes messages aimed at reducing social tolerance of GBV. The programme duration is 30 minutes once per week, with the goal of expanding time

coverage and radio spaces by location. “Aurora accompanies you” airtime will give priority to the following topics: prevention of GBV, good treatment, self-esteem, economic empowerment, new masculinities, decision-making, and services providing attention and prevention to VAW.

Policy insights

The COVID-19 pandemic has uncovered the real extent of pre-existing labour market and well-being challenges facing Peruvian women. It has magnified labour market inactivity, along with exacerbating symptoms of acute stress and mental health and an upsurge of episodes of violence against women.

The significant increase in labour market inactivity heightens the importance of continued government efforts to support the most vulnerable women. Even before the pandemic, only about 57% of all women in a working age were employed in Peru, compared with 74% for men. Compounding this situation, the closure of early childcare institutions and schools, in combination with the increased vulnerability of the elderly, led to a surge in the demand for care within the households, at a point in time when the health system was operating at maximum capacity. The evidence of large increases in inactivity underscores the importance to facilitate the access to benefits of low-income families -- in particular single parents, who are predominantly female --, as well as to social security programmes, which support families as a whole and allow women return to formal employment.

In anticipation of possible new waves of infections, Peru should step-up the efforts to prepare firms to use emergency measures against the increase of women’s labour market inactivity and exclusion. This support includes actively informing firms about how to reduce working hours, provide relief for workers, and manage redundancy payments related to temporary lay-offs and sick leave. It also includes ensuring that the self-employed can access emergency measures, especially those who do not qualify for employment insurance. The effects of more forward looking support measures with a potential to strengthen the resilience of women’s employment and support gender equality in the future, deserve close assessment. This includes by monitoring the outcomes of the Regional Networks of Women Entrepreneurs, the programme *Todos Conectados* and the new measures to encourage remote working, alongside the stepped up regulation to protect the social and labour rights of domestic workers.

Any further recourse to the closures of education institutions should remain as limited as possible and based on an assessment of area specific infection conditions. Available analysis for OECD and Latin American countries shows that the disruptive effects of school closures have far-reaching consequences in terms of learning losses and school dropouts. Such losses are even stronger in lower-income areas and for academically weaker student. With less than 40% of household nationwide and 5% in rural areas having access to the internet, distance learning is particularly difficult to implement in Peru. Indeed, a marked divide has emerged in the country during the pandemic between, on the one hand, well-connected children who access remote learning – generally residing in the wealthier regions and districts – and, on the other hand, poor children who lack access and often live in the rural areas. This evidence suggests the importance of, to the extent possible, keeping children at school both to ensure the continuity of educational programmes and to help women staying at work or actively searching for a new job.

Continue the efforts to push back on social acceptance of domestic violence. Following the introduction of mobility restriction measures in mid-March 2020, female disappearances have risen dramatically in Peru. In addition, levels of gender-based violence and crimes against women and girls, such as rape and sexual assault, have also increased significantly. Recent actions taken to foster the introduction of more electronic-based modes of communication should be complemented by measures to ensure that service delivery for victims is integrated across relevant spheres. This will ensure that all relevant public agencies involved in the spheres of health, social services, education, employment and justice can work in a closely co-ordinated manner so to provide timely and survivor/victim-centred access to justice. In the short-term, this is essential to face possible new waves of the crisis.

More fundamentally, all of the above economic and social policy measures must be embedded in broader efforts to mainstream gender in governments' responses. In the short term, it means, wherever possible, applying a gender lens to emergency policy measures. In the longer term, it means that the government implements a well-functioning system of gender mainstreaming, relying on ready access to gender-disaggregated evidence in all sectors so that differential effects on women and men can be promptly assessed.

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Gender Equality in Peru

TOWARDS A BETTER SHARING OF PAID AND UNPAID WORK

The OECD review of *Gender Equality in Peru: Towards a Better Sharing of Paid and Unpaid Work* is the second of a series focusing on Latin American and the Caribbean countries. It compares gender gaps in labour and educational outcomes in Peru with other countries. Particular attention is put on the uneven distribution of unpaid work, and the extra burden this places on women. It investigates how policies and programmes in Peru can make this distribution more equitable. The first part of the report reviews the evidence on gender gaps and on what causes these, including the role played by attitudes. The second part develops a comprehensive framework to address these challenges, presenting a broad range of options to reduce the unpaid work burden falling on women, and to increase women's labour income. The final part discusses the impact of the COVID-19 crisis and considers how the policy priorities of the government will have to change to address these. An earlier review in the same series has looked at gender equality policies in Chile (2021).

PRINT ISBN 978-92-64-95996-5
PDF ISBN 978-92-64-67064-8

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