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# Improving the Status of Indigenous Women in Peru

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**CLAREMONT McKENNA COLLEGE**

**IMPROVING THE STATUS OF INDIGENOUS WOMEN IN PERU**

**SUBMITTED TO**

**WILLIAM ASCHER**

**AND**

**DEAN GREGORY HESS**

**BY**

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**FOR**

**SENIOR THESIS**

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## **CHAPTER 1: Clarifying Goals**

Neoliberal agrarian reforms in Latin America have led to both advances and setbacks for the women's and indigenous movements. While most neoliberal policies were the same in terms of goals, like creating institutions that encourage a capitalist markets, the results were somewhat heterogeneous in part due to the role of the women's and indigenous movements in individual countries. The rise of the international women's movement, which was marked by the UN's decade on women from 1975-1985, coincided with an unfavorable economic climate in Latin America.

This decade was plagued with a series of economic hard times, as cash strapped countries were forced to end assistance programs at the beginning of the debt crisis and the implementation of structural adjustment programs created severe cleavages between winners and losers. Even in this adverse economic environment, women were able to achieve a substantial amount of gains, especially through their commitment to people's kitchens and mothers clubs with the aid of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), which grew substantially during this time.

Women throughout the world gained more clout as international organizations began to address women's rights at an institutional level. There were international conferences in Mexico City (1975), Copenhagen (1980), Nairobi (1985), and Beijing (1995) that placed women's property rights at the forefront of the discussions.<sup>1</sup> Over time, there was increasing international awareness of the importance of women's access to land. The discourse of female land ownership developed from arguments simply about efficiency of women as means of production, to recognizing that women had an economic right to control her own productivity, its link to women's empowerment, and its consequent connection to development. Another cornerstone treaty that had an

immediate impact on women was the 1979 Convention to End All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, which went into effect in 1981.

Many Latin American nations, including Peru, responded to international pressure by revising their constitutions in the late 1980s and 1990s in order to reflect new attitudes of equality for women. Another outcome of the international conferences was the creation and consolidation of national women's offices. These offices varied in terms of structure and immediate goals within Latin America. In Peru, the Ministry of Women and Development was created in order to provide aid to poor families and to promote the empowerment of women. As will be discussed in much greater detail, the Ministry has focused its attention on social welfare as opposed to addressing gender inequalities. It is imperative to evaluate the content of the neoliberal reform from the perspective of poverty reduction and gender and ethnic equity. In other words, how successful was neoliberal legislation in promoting equality for indigenous women? Moreover, what obstacles still exist and how does that shape policy priorities?

### **Characteristics of Rural Poverty**

Before evaluating these questions, it is important to understand the characteristics of rural poverty and structural discrimination women face. Poverty is a multidimensional phenomenon that is characterized by economic, and cultural, social factors. Although the rural are by no means homogenous, the World Bank defines the rural poor broadly in five categories: the landless; those with a low asset base, or smallholders which have no more than two hectares of cropland; nomadic pastoralists obtain their income through raising livestock; rural women, especially female-headed households; and ethnic minorities and

indigenous people. While rural workers can have different kinds of jobs, the vast majority is tied to the land and agriculture is the main source of rural economic growth.

With the implementation of the neoliberal models in developing countries during the 1980s, international institutions inadvertently changed the conception of “the rural”. With an emphasis on urban areas and industrialization, rural areas were effectively left stagnate while urban centers boomed with new business. In implementing such a process there were two presumptions made about rural society. First, they assumed the wealth created in urban areas would trickle down through government projects. Second, on both the international and national scope, the rural individual’s potential was only seen in so far as they were the suppliers of labor for urban economic activity.<sup>2</sup> Considering the fragility of Latin American economies, the occurrence of environmental degradation, and the lack of social justice, the level of poverty has been effectively unchanged for decades. This lack of attention to the rural sector for both international organizations and national agendas has made rural communities more vulnerable and, on the whole, suffer from lower living conditions.

There is an inextricable link between sustainable agricultural development and poverty reduction and, consequential, food and nutritional security. A 1 percent increase in agricultural GDP per capita led to a 1.6 percent gain in the per capita incomes of the poorest one fifth of the population in 35 countries analyzed. Similarly, a 10 percent increase in crop yields led to a reduction of between 6 percent and 10 percent in the number of people living on less than US \$1 a day.<sup>3</sup> While improvements in agricultural productivity are necessary to increase rural household incomes, they are not sufficient in guaranteeing food security. Gender-based inequalities are a major hindrance to achieving



this goal. This is especially a problem when one considers that increasing a woman's income, leads to increases in food security and healthcare for the family.

Since women are primarily responsible for buying and preparing food, they are consequently responsible for their family's nutritional consumption. Studies indicate that when women have income, they are more likely to spend the extra money on the food and health of the family than male counterparts.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, female-headed households are more likely to provide more nutritional food than those headed by men. Some studies and personal accounts have blamed this on high alcoholism rates of men.<sup>5</sup> In order to maximize the impact of agricultural development on food security, women must play an active role in the decision-making process and their dual role as both primary caretaker and agricultural producers must be recognized. In order to do this effectively, they must overcome many structural barriers related to being rural, indigenous, and female workers.

Agricultural workers, in general, are vulnerable on many levels. This has been intensified with international pressure to adopt neoliberal reforms. With the implementation of the neoliberal models in developing countries during the 1980s, international institutions inadvertently changed the conception of "the rural". With an emphasis on urban areas and industrialization, rural areas were effectively left stagnate while urban centers boomed with new business. In implementing such a process there were two presumptions made about rural society. First, they assumed the wealth created in urban areas would trickle down through government projects. Second, on both the international and national scope, the rural individual's potential was only seen in so far as they were the suppliers of labor for urban economic activity.<sup>6</sup> Considering the fragility of

Latin American economies, the occurrence of environmental degradation, and the lack of social justice, the level of poverty has been effectively unchanged for decades. This lack of attention to the rural sector for both international organizations and national agendas has made rural communities more vulnerable and, on the whole, suffer from lower living conditions.

Farmers are also vulnerable because they are constantly faced with unsteady incomes since they depend on unpredictable events like weather. Environmental degradation is both a cause and an effect of poverty. Its effects are exaggerated with increasing global climate change. Also, with limited access to arable land, the poorest are forced to over-work lands that rapidly become nutrient deficient. Rural communities are also associated with dispersed populations, which results in unreliable systems of communication and access to services. Additionally, large and spread out numbers make it difficult for rural workers to have a strong political voice, especially in a country that is disproportionately focused on developing industry and is run by Lima-focused politicians. Their lack of political voice is both a cause and an effect of the lack of infrastructure, both physical and financial.

Infrastructure problems include lack of access to electricity, sanitation, clean drinking water, sewage systems, and waste disposal systems. Without proper irrigation systems, for example, farmers are not able to reach their potential crop yield. The winding and poorly maintained dirt roads have trapped farmers in the Highlands from selling in urban areas where they can sell goods at a better price. Other market obstacles include the predominately small scale of enterprises, few private providers of credit and services, lack of competition which leads to thin markets, and many nearly natural

monopolies, and high transaction cost due to poor infrastructure and many small, dispersed buyers and sellers.<sup>7</sup>

### **Obstacles Faced by Rural Women**

Among the rural poor, women are in most vulnerable socially and economically. Structural poverty affects women more than men. Structural poverty, as opposed to transitional poverty, is chronic and is caused by structural impediments to economic development. Structural obstacles—lack of education, social conditioning to remain in the home and independent on business, lack of property rights, lack of access of land independent of a spouse, lack of job skills, and lack of political voice—have made women more vulnerable than their male counterparts. The table below provides a comparison between of male and female farmers in Peru. Of these, perhaps the data about education highlights structural inequalities most.

Table 1.1 Characteristics of Male and Female Farmers in Peru, 1994<sup>8</sup>

	% Women	% Men	% Total
Need technical assistance	75.6	80.5	79.5
Receive technical assistance	6.8	9.8	9.2
Used improved seed	14.8	17.1	16.7
Applied for credit	4.6	8.8	8.0
Received credit	3.6	6.8	6.1
Possess registered land titles	81.3	67.5	70.3
Illiteracy Rate	49.8	18.8	25.0
Over 65 years of age	23.3	14.9	16.6
Total	351,929	1,379,835	1,731,764
	20.3	79.9	100

Source: Ministerio de Agricultura (1998), various tables; based on the 1994 agricultural census.

The rate of illiteracy amongst female agricultural workers is astounding—one in two women cannot read. This has serious economic implication as women do not have the skills necessary for hired labor, nor do they have the tools to defend themselves in the event of employer abuse. Women comprise 17.3 percent of heads of households in Peru. Of the economically active women, 21.1 percent worked in the agricultural sector. Government figures suggest households headed by women are twice as likely to live in absolute poverty—defined as a family of four surviving on \$1 a day—than households headed by men.<sup>9</sup>

The lack economic advancement opportunities in rural areas have encouraged men more than women to abandon agricultural work to try and find jobs in urban centers. This trend has changed the division of labor between families and often has put more stress on women. They are left with the responsibility of the day-to-day decisions about agricultural production and raising a family but with little legal protection or rights to property ownership. Even though Peruvian law upholds right to ownership for all citizens under The Constitution and the Civil Code, the law of “informal ownership” effectively negates women this right. Under this system, a man does not have to obtain a women’s consent to sell the house or property within it. In practice, a husband has sole control of the family’s property.<sup>10</sup>

In terms of land rights, all government programs give land to “head of household,” which is traditionally defined as a man and excludes women from becoming beneficiaries. Globally women represent over half of the population and provide 60-80 percent of the world’s agricultural labor, yet some studies indicate that they own less than 5 percent of the land.<sup>11</sup> Land rights provide women with increased market access and

social access or bargaining power within households and that gives individuals clout in the community. Additionally, land rights also give people rights to the natural structure on their property like water, pastures, and crops.<sup>12</sup> Formal law and state institutions have limited effectiveness outside of major urban areas. As a result, issues of land rights have become the responsibility of local authorities that usually abide by customary law. The informal system denies women the framework necessary to repeal decisions or stand up for their rights.

Access to land is unfortunately not the only obstacle to producing high crop yields. Often women are excluded from agricultural extension services, even though women have an intimate understanding of local biodiversity and have proven to be more effective at selecting improved varieties for local cultivation than male plant breeders.<sup>13</sup> Women are not targeted because it is assumed that their husbands or fathers will share information with them, which does not always happen. Leaving women out of training opportunities gives them a clear disadvantage over males who have access to technology for improving yield. In cases women-headed households, women can still be neglected from technical assistance, given their lack of credit.

The hardships faced by women are amplified considering the multifaceted roles that they play in their communities. Women play three distinct roles in agricultural households: productive, reproductive, and social. The productive role is focused on economic activities. Although responsibility is shared between men and women, women are often responsible for domestic agricultural activities, especially when their husbands are in urban centers or as seasonal employees on large estates. The reproductive role is exclusively shared with women and involves child bearing and caretaking, preparing

meals, fetching water and fuelwood, and providing healthcare to children. Women also play important social roles, as they are usually responsible for community development like arranging weddings and funerals. Persistent social injustices and current trends have put more pressure on women and have made them more vulnerable to economic hardship.

While women's role is clearly integral to the community, they are usually relegated to the family instead of public sphere. While the level varies among cultures, the practice remains widespread. In the case of Peru, indigenous women are not involved with the public sphere because they are missing logistical skills like Spanish language to play an active role in business negotiations.

### **A Call for Immediate Action**

These injustices need to be addressed immediately. Aside from providing women with the tools to achieve human dignity, action is also imperative for other development reasons. Increase in hunger and lack of nutrients in rural households will continue; the migration from rural to urban areas will put more pressure on already overpopulated cities; and increasing environmental degradation and climate change are causing long-term effects and will get progressively worse.

In a time of increasing globalization and international accumulation of wealth, a disturbing paradox remains: the existence of pervasive malnutrition in a world of abundant food supplies. As former director of the World Bank explained, "Many of the benefits of an increasingly interconnected and interdependent global economy have bypassed the least developed countries, while some of the risks—of financial instability,

communicable disease, and environmental degradations—have extracted a great price.”<sup>14</sup> While poverty and food insecurity can take root in all regions and affect all ethnicities, some people are disproportionately disadvantaged like the rural poor. Among those that are living in absolute poverty, 75 percent are estimated to live in rural areas and they are expected to outnumber their urban counterparts for at least another generation.<sup>15</sup> Peru is no exception. In 2004, just over half of Peru’s population was poor and about 20 percent were extremely poor.<sup>16</sup> Food security and access to basic needs is not just a product of effective rural and agricultural development; it is a right guaranteed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and is amplified by Article 11 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights.

Even though agricultural workers’ livelihoods are invested in the cultivation and production of food, many remain hungry. Studies indicate that hunger is less strongly related to food availability and more related to household income. This enigma is likely to continue since those affected are dispersed geographically and consequently strength of political voice becomes diluted. Because rural people are dispersed, it is more logistically challenging and more expensive, on a per capita basis, for the government to offer the same public infrastructure, social services, and safety nets that it provides to urban counterparts. The political action necessary to correct these problems is not likely to come to fruition as rural influence is weak and political voice falls on deaf ears.

It is also important to take immediate action because of the increasing migration of rural poor to urban areas. While poverty affects more people in rural areas, the number of urban poor is also growing, mainly due to rural citizens looking for economic opportunity. There will be an increase of 1.94 to 3.38 billion-person increase in

urban centers in the next thirty years.<sup>17</sup> This puts more pressure on cities to create more jobs, which leads to increased pollution and consequently health problems. The increases in urban slums lead to more traffic congestion, increases in trash and pollution, and overburdened sanitation systems. Widespread epidemics are more likely to travel quickly in unsanitary and heavily populated areas. Illness puts more financial pressure on families and leads to a decrease in national income. The link between rural and urban means that rural development will have to address this interconnection, especially between smaller cities and market towns with more remote areas.

Another pressing reason to act now is the increasing and irreversible degradation of the environment. There is a strong, multi-directional link between poverty and environmental degradation. In other words, while poverty, at times, encourages environmental degradation for short-term gratification, prolonged abuse of the environment intensifies poverty. When farmers deforest land, for instance, they are able to plant crops in the short-run, but this can lead to soil erosion and depleted soil richness and thus loss of crops. Prolonged unsustainable use of land will cause environments to hit a tipping point after which environments can never return to their previous biological value. Studies indicate that if women are granted land rights, they would adopt sustainable farming practices and invest in their land.<sup>18</sup>

## **Conclusion**

The indigenous women of Peru are the most economically vulnerable, uneducated, monolingual, and politically underrepresented. Social prejudices related to *machismo*, women's difficulty in obtaining and keeping properties, and the lack of



gender-equality language within legislation, are structural obstacles that prevent indigenous women from becoming equal members of society. This is particularly troubling when one considers the inextricable link between increasing a woman's income and enhancing food security and healthcare of the family. The second chapter examines the historical trends that have led to the current status of indigenous women. The third chapter describes the existing conditions that would affect indigenous women's decision-making power by considering three case studies—the development of people's kitchens and mothers clubs, women's access to land markets, and bilingualism in education. The fourth chapter lays out potential policy solutions and evaluates the political and financial resources required for implementation. Finally, the fifth chapter discusses what the political priorities should be within government, NGOs, international institutions and indigenous women's groups. The thesis argues that changes related to strengthening the legal language and enforcement of property rights, increasing access to both legal and agricultural technical assistance, and increasing education projects are paramount to improving the condition of indigenous women.

## **CHAPTER 2: Describing Trends**

Land reform has been a point of political contention since it was first discussed in 1920 election. It took on greater importance as Peru transitioned in to a capitalist economy in the early 1960s. The most substantial legislation has been the 1969 Land Reform because it dramatically restructured rural life by increasing opportunities for landless farmers. Even though the land reform improved the lives of rural people generally, men and women received markedly different benefits. Women generally have been excluded from direct benefits, but have gained some standing in specific circumstances.

Some of the main sources of gender inequality within legislation are based on the culturally accepted divisions of labor and the widely acknowledged tradition of female subordination. Two culturally charged concepts have pervaded the Peruvian psyche: the idea of the agriculturalist and household head. Regardless of the extensive time committed, women's contribution to agriculture has been viewed only as a supplement to men's work. Agriculture in Latin America has been socially constructed as a male profession and as a result, women's contribution is largely unrecognized legally.

Patriarchal dominance is prevalent in almost all social interactions. Rooted in Hispanic law, it does not acknowledge women's mental capacities. As a result, women were not allowed to conduct their own legal affairs and wives were required to be obedient in exchange for the protection and economic support of husbands. This aspect of Spanish culture was adopted throughout Peruvian society, at least at some level. Even after independence, the concepts of machismo and subordination remain widely accepted cultural norms. As such, women were excluded from agrarian reforms for legal,

structural, cultural or ideological, and institutional reasons. In order to analyze trends, it is essential to understand the progression of land reform since 1969 and the social, economics, and political consequences for women.

### **Property Rights of Women after the 1969 Land Reform**

General Juan Velasco Alvarado was committed to national modernization through structural reform of the agrarian sector, as he believed it was the crux of social change. The slogan of the 1969 agrarian reform campaign was based on the anti-feudal concept of “land for he that works it”. Through Decree Law 17716 in 1969, approximately 427,000 households, or approximately one-third of rural households, were allocated almost half of Peru’s agricultural land. People received land through various types of associative enterprises like *Cooperativas Agrarias de Producción* (CAPs), *Sociedades Agrícolas de Interes Social* (SAISs), and *Cooperativas Comunales*.<sup>19</sup> While the division of land took different forms, they had similarly negative consequences for women.

Despite Velasco’s success in reallocating a substantial amount of land to peasant families, the reform yielded unequal benefits for men and women. The 1969 Land Reform is unfavorable to women generally, although the positive benefits to widows should not be overlooked. Specifically, the language of the reform as well as the qualifications of who could be a beneficiary disadvantaged women.

The language of the 1969 legislation seemed to be gender neutral, as it referred to beneficiaries in terms of social groups like “tenants” or “permanent wage workers” and did not explicitly exclude women. However, the content of the document effectively excluded women as potential beneficiaries because referred to the agricultural worker

only in masculine terms. Moreover, the expectation that males would be the beneficiaries was demonstrated in the inheritance provisions. In the case of death, the legislation used the term “widow” and never the term “widower” when determining who would inherit the land. This demonstrates that it was culturally expected that a man would automatically keep the land in the event of a wife’s death, while it was less clear who would inherit the land in the alternative scenario.

Additionally, the expectation that males are both the agriculturalists and household heads is also evident in that none of the government forms regarding agriculture asked for information about gender. Most notably, the gender of the agriculturist was not included in beneficiary applications, as all were assumed to be male.<sup>20</sup> Also, the agricultural census, which is used for land allocation, has routinely underestimated the role of women as agricultural workers.<sup>21</sup> While this evidence is subtle in nature, it indicates the pervasive, socially constructed assumptions about gender roles, which inherently exclude women as beneficiaries of agrarian reforms.

The qualifications to become a beneficiary of agrarian reform constitute a more obvious example of female exclusion. Reformers stated their intention to benefit all members in peasant families by providing land to the head of household. The premise was that the benefits allotted to household heads would translate into improved conditions for all in the family. However, this was not always the case. When given the opportunity, many men squander the money before their wives have a chance to invest it in the family.

The vast majority of women could not qualify as beneficiaries because of the required conditions: be heads of households, be over eighteen years of age, have

dependents, employed exclusively in agriculture, and work permanently under pre-capitalist forms of tenancy on a *hacienda*. As discussed above, husbands were considered the heads of households, which automatically precludes the vast majority of women. Often female-headed households were excluded from benefits because they did not qualify as permanent workers.

Traditionally, only men had access to permanent work, while female workers were either considered temporary or seasonal, if their contributions were acknowledged at all. Even though women made up 40 percent of the temporary workforce, few women held permanent jobs and, consequently, only two percent of the cooperative membership was female.<sup>22</sup> The reform's stipulation that land was given to only permanent workers was detrimental to both men and women, but effected women more deeply since women were primarily only seasonal and men were represented in both categories.

Thus, having to qualify both as head of household and permanent workers, the vast majority of women was excluded from participation. The Peruvian government did not collect national data disaggregated by gender, since their focus was on collecting data on households. The estimate of women's percentage of temporary workforce really may have been lower since this estimate did not include sugar cooperatives on the Coast, which membership was almost exclusively male. While there is no data about the exact number of women who received land, it is widely accepted that women were not direct beneficiaries of the program.

Not only were women prohibited from becoming beneficiaries of government land reform programs, they were also excluded from community organizations that worked with the government to reach solutions to land-related problems. Women's

participation within reform was severely limited due to their lack of membership in community voting. Until the 1980s women were largely excluded from formal participation within peasant groups, even though women were active in demonstrations, land take-overs, and confrontations with military and police.<sup>23</sup> Without membership or voting rights, women did not have a platform for voicing gender-related concerns. The struggle of land reform was put in terms of class struggle, which inherently denies recognition of problems outside of class subjugation. Gender concerns were not a part of the political discussions, as class justice was perceived as the most pressing social injustice.

### **Widow's Inheritance Rights**

Although the requirements to qualify as beneficiaries severely limited women, the provisions about widow's rights benefited women, even more than civil codes of the time. However, the law provided provisions to protect widows, in reality they were often coerced out of their land. In cases where the law was ignored, many widows were left without legitimate recourse during their most economically vulnerable times.

Article 88 of the legislation allowed women to inherit land upon the death of a beneficiary who had not finished paying for the land under the provisions of the land reform. The women were not required to continue payments for the land until their youngest child was eighteen. This law was positive for women because it assumed that widows would be the second head of household. Also, this legislation allowed for widows in consensual unions to inherit land. This was important because it was the first time consensual unions, which are exceedingly common in the Highlands, were

recognized on any level. In fact, it was not until 1984 that consensual unions were recognized, and even then inheritance rights were not the same as formally married couples.

If the beneficiary owned the land fully and had a will, the property would go to those mentioned, usually spouses, in order to provide for the family. If the beneficiary died without a will, it would be the responsibility of the heirs (spouse, children, and parents of the deceased) to determine property rights. If there were disputes, the agrarian authorities would determine who would own land. Their criteria for determining was that the heir was over eighteen, worked the land directly, and were the household head. This presented a problem for women if they had grown male children that could claim the property as their own. Often on the grounds of increasing population and lowered land-to-man ratio, often women were denied their land in disputed cases.

This provision was less favorable to women than the civil code, since the latter guaranteed one-third of the estate automatically. However, the civil code is not favorable on all levels. Magdalena León explains that the provision excludes permanent companions because civil codes do not provide for partners in consensual unions to inherit from one another.<sup>24</sup> This is especially disconcerting for women in the Highlands, where unofficial unions are widespread among indigenous populations. The provisions for widows clearly favor those families that are still transitioning to land ownership. Though there are still many problems regarding the rights of widows, the provision was successful in that it recognized the right of women to own property, at least on some level.

While the legislation did not explicitly deny women the right to own land, cultural norms effectively deprived women of land rights. The “gender neutral” legislation failed to yield equality between genders. The lack of specific language granting women property, as well as the stipulations for beneficiaries, was exceedingly unfavorable to women.

### **Impacts on Neoliberal Agrarian Reform in 1980s and 1990s**

Despite Velasco’s success in instituting the sweeping land reform, by 1980 farmers within the collectives began a slow yet steady process of usurping land and creating individual plots. People were inclined to encroach on communal lands because they were able to gain more profits than simply farming for the cooperative. This transition improved the female agriculturalists’ status because they gained more immediate control over the land. Family plots allowed women to better assert power than within the cooperative because women were excluded from membership and voting privileges in the latter. While the individual plots gave women relatively more control over farming, the transition presented other significant problems for rural farmers.

Before explaining the direct impact on women, consider the legislative changes within agrarian reform that dramatically changed the landscape of farming for the end of the twentieth century. By the end of the 1970s, Peru was in a deep recession and the military regime agreed to have an election for the restoration of constitutional rule. Belaúnde won the election with a forty-five percent victory in an election with fifteen candidates. As a democratically elected leader who had been in exile in the United States,



he was eager to introduce neoliberal policies. This legislation benefited women on some levels, even though it was not its primary intention.

In 1980 Belaúnde legalized reform that was already beginning to happen. The reform allowed for the once communal land under the Velasco regime to be privatized by dividing land into parcels and selling it to farmers, effectively abolishing SAIS and CAPs. The Law for the Promotion and Development of Agriculture did not apply to lands that were officially recognized peasant communities of the Highlands and Coast and the native communities of the tropical lowlands.<sup>25</sup> By 1986, approximately half of the failing production cooperatives had been sold and transformed into private plots. The economic reasons for the rapid change are the lack of governmental support under Belaúnde, the large debt accumulation created from the unprofitable cooperatives, and the negative macroeconomic climate of the 1980s which had resulted in agricultural crisis. Internal pressure by peasants to own their own land, which had begun shortly after the cooperative system had been introduced, also led to the land being parceled.

While there has not been extensive investigation on how women were affected by the policy, it is clear women, even those who were members of the cooperatives, did not receive the same benefits as males. The most common outcome of the process was for women to receive smaller parcels of land than men, especially if they were married to a male member. In the case of Pisco, a southern coastal district, members were assigned four hectares each. Married couples, however, only received 5 hectares.<sup>26</sup>

Even though women received unequal benefits, they were still in favor of parcelization over cooperatives. According to Maria Julia Méndez:

In the cooperatives, they had little possibility of directly influencing decision-making. In addition, women were an important share of the

temporary labor force of the cooperatives [but were excluded from membership]. If they farmed individual parcels, they would have greater autonomy in organizing their work as they saw fit as compared to working for the enterprise.<sup>27</sup>

While the legislation gave married women more say in familial farming practices, the legislation did not flush out all the details in the event of a marital separation. This omission had serious consequences, especially for women that were eager to leave their husbands but did not in fear of landless destitution. Méndez explains what happened in instances of separation, “Men were titled to the land and the wives were dispossessed.”<sup>28</sup> While this was the norm, there was one instance where female household heads overcame injustice. After single women were denied land, they lobbied the National Institute of Cooperation, which intervened on their behalf to insure they too got access to land.

The parcelization had mixed effects for women and it presented a series of obstacles for all farmers irrespective of gender. Other problems included unavailable credit, which were exacerbated by the lack of individual land titling. By 1990 only 14 percent of land was officially titled. This lack of administrative initiative limited formal channels of credit, which is necessary for markets to thrive.<sup>29</sup> If farmers could not get the initial capital needed to invest in fertilizers and tools, there would be no way to have a successful harvest. This vicious cycle caused many farmers to not reach their agricultural potential. This was especially prevalent in the Highlands which exacerbated inequalities between agro industry on the Coast and family parcels in rural areas. Additionally, the increased familial labor replaced the seasonal worker and decreased the demand for wage labor and consequently many poor, landless farmers moved to urban areas seeking better

employment opportunities. This rural to urban migration often leads to rural people migrating into urban slums.

The rural-out migration yielded mixed results for women. In situations where men leave to find work in urban areas, women have increased decision-making power on everyday issues. Women also become the primary agricultural worker and could have more freedom to make production decisions. However, this does not apply to all families, as it is possible that men make more long-term decisions about what to grow, when to plant and consequently when to harvest, and the amount of plants chosen to grow. Women face increased pressure; the onus of her husband's day-to-day activities falls on the wife. Women must also cope with the expectation that the parcel of land will still produce enough to provide for the family.

With their spouses in urban areas, women take on new roles and increase the amount of time dedicated to home, family, and farm. This system can disadvantage women because they are not adequately compensated for their increased time working. Another major problem that women can face is that their lack of control or access to their husband's income. When men are far from the family, many spend the money on alcohol and women. While this is not always the case, it is obviously detrimental to affected families.

While men are often migrants, young women also go to urban areas in order to gain employment as domestic workers. While the role of female urban workers is beyond the scope of this thesis, it is important to note that these women can be the most vulnerable. Often women are not paid sufficient incomes according to the minimum wage standards and are not a part of the mandatory pension plans for all employees. The root of

this problem is the nature of the informal job sector and the lack of documentation of many Highland citizens. Without the paperwork, it is exceedingly difficult for women to gain recourse. Additionally, since women are both inferior in education and experience in the city, many feel intimidated and are too frightened of losing their jobs to report domestic violence and sexual harassment.

### **Development of the women's rights movement**

Peru's fragmentation and severe inequalities of wealth and education are obstacles that have made it difficult to change society's attitudes about women. Additionally, these structural imbalances make it difficult for women to participate regularly and effectively in civil society. Virginia Vargas takes this concept further by arguing:

Fragmentation and polarization has hindered women's efforts to participate in institutions that are capable of responding to conflict and demands in a democratic way, and it has prevented women from thinking about their own proposals from a women's perspective.<sup>30</sup>

While these claims were definitely true about women in the early to mid-twentieth century, women's movement began to gain more clout with modernization. Two of the consequences of neoliberal policies were the increased access to education and labor markets, which benefited men and women.<sup>31</sup> Another consequence that helped women specifically was the emergence of the women's movement. This movement was by no means homogeneous and included an eclectic group of women like feminists, community-based volunteers, and politicians. Each of these groups had different perceptions of what the role of women should be and how to best achieve their goals. The

conflicting opinions about the breakdown of stereotypes created tensions within the different strains of the women's rights movement. Therefore, at times different subgroups within the movement disagreed with one another.

What these groups did agree upon unanimously was the need for the female voice to be heard within society and their opinions to be reflected within legislation. The results of the social movement contributed to the democratization of the society, as organizations themselves became more democratic on an organizational level. Women became increasingly democratized as a result of women being active within decision-making institutions.

### **History of indigenous mobilization in Peru**

Beginning slightly after but occurring simultaneously as the women's movement, the indigenous movement of the 1980s and 1990s gained international attention, especially in countries with large indigenous populations. Much like the women's movement required international support to get off the ground, so did the indigenous movement. The 1989 of International Labor Office Accord 169 of Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries was fundamental in recognizing the rights and the independence of indigenous peoples.<sup>32</sup> Before the legislation, the Peruvian government's policies involving indigenous people were focused on assimilating them to mainstream culture and integrating them into the national political economy. This legislation, however, encouraged governments to recognize and celebrate their diversity in culture. Moreover, the law recognized the unique relationship between indigenous people and the land and the communal ownership of land within communities.

In neighboring Andean countries like Ecuador, Bolivia and Colombia there was an emergence of a powerful national indigenous organization during the 1990s. Peru, however, is an anomaly. Even though Peru has a population who was approximately 40 percent indigenous, there is no overarching highland indigenous association.<sup>33</sup> Some scholars attribute the lack of ethnic mobilization to a series of factors—Marxist policies during the first major wave of agricultural reform, assimilation campaigns under Juan Velasco Alvarado, and fear associated with organizing politically in during the 1980s and 1990s.

The Marxist policies of the 1960s and 1970s organized the individual in terms of class, instead of cultural identity. Marxism focuses on the role of the individual in terms of the economy and emphasizes only class struggle. Thus, there was no room within political discourse to raise concerns about individuals based on different criteria, such as ethnicity. Another reason for the lack of indigenous mobilization was the emphasis on assimilation under the authoritarian regime of Velasco Alvarado, from 1968-1975. The administration prohibited the term “Indian,” referring to the people of the Highlands instead as “peasants”. Moreover, the administration actively denounced the use of native languages. In a meeting of concerned parents, a father recalled a time when the state, forbidden to speak Quechua, even in the home. He said, “Before, we were hit if we spoke Quechua; we were not allowed to speak the language anywhere, not even outside of school. If a teacher saw us talking in Quechua, he would yell at us and we would get it in school the next day.”<sup>34</sup>

Finally, the Peruvian government, *Sendero Luminoso*, and *Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amaru* all played a role in creating a milieu of terror and violence.

The rise of political violence, repression, and persecution resulted in the ubiquitous fear of communal associations, which severely limited the potential for grassroots movements to take hold. Vying for political dominance on the countryside, *Sendero* saw any economic or social associations as a threat to their own power. *Sendero* was also willing to use any means, albeit ferocious, to oppose those in its path. Since *Sendero* was a countryside phenomenon, the Lima-based government associated Quechua communities as supporters, or at least empathizers of the *Sendero* movement. This made it difficult, especially in the 1980s, for Quechua peasants to rally around the notion of cultural identity. The maltreatment of the Quechua during the time of colonization coupled with the political violence in mid-twentieth century resulted in severe suspicion of government and seriously impeded mobilization.

### **Women's rights within indigenous and peasant communities**

Since 1987, civil law has recognized women's equal rights to be members of the recognized peasant and indigenous communities. However, this legislation was in contention with the Law of Peasant Communities or *Ley de Comunidad des Campesinas*. The law obligated the state to recognize "the customs, practices, and traditions of the community" and distinguished between community members and qualified members, or *comunero calificado*.<sup>35</sup> While all community members reserved the right to use communal property and lands, it was only the qualified member that could participate and vote in community meetings.

Qualified members had to be at least of legal age, a registered voter, a member of the community for at least five years, an official part of the community registry, and meet

any other specific requirements of the individual community.<sup>36</sup> Most importantly there could only be one qualified member per household, which was traditionally represented by the man. The only women who were permitted to participate were widows. While there are no disaggregated national statistics, a survey of 83 production cooperatives revealed that only five percent of the members were female.<sup>37</sup> In reference to a highland community in the Department of Lima, researchers Susan Bourque and Kay Warren explain operational procedures:

Mayobamaba men say that each family is represented by a single *comunero* and as long as there is a male to take on this role, it should be done by a man. In any given family, brothers become *comuneros* while sisters must gain access to representation and resources through their fathers and husbands who are *comuneros*. Only when a woman has been widowed or when she is a long-term single mother and no longer attached to her father's family does she receive *comunera* status.<sup>38</sup>

Moreover, *comunera* status can be revoked if a woman decides to remarry, as she will then be represented by her new husband. This system is disadvantageous for women because even as valuable members of the community, they are not given an official outlet to express and vote on their opinions. Excluding women from the voting process is especially deleterious when one considers the new legislation about privatizing communal land.

### **Debate on Indigenous Communal Lands**

The paramount political issue of the indigenous movement in Latin America has been the recognition of historic land claims, including both reallocation of indigenous territories and legally affirming collective land rights. Although most Latin American countries have been willing to recognize indigenous land claims, they are reluctant to recognize indigenous territories. Territories are defined "as a geographic area or natural



space under the cultural influence and political control of a people.”<sup>39</sup> Recognizing indigenous territories implies granting the right of self-determination and self-government, which is linked to the concept of nationhood. Not only are there clear, contentious political implications for recognizing indigenous territories, there are also negative economic consequences for the state. Territorial recognition would also include subsoil and mineral rights of the land in indigenous control. Governments are usually unwilling to sacrifice land that is known to have economic value, as it is usually a significant source of government revenue. Even though governments are hesitant to relinquish power over indigenous lands, many, including Peru, signed the Ratification of the International Labor Organization Accord 169. It acknowledges “the special relation of indigenous people to the land and territory which they occupy” and their “right of property and possession of land.”<sup>40</sup> Peruvian government ratified the Accord in 1994 and had incorporated the recognition of indigenous land claims in their 1993 Constitution and their 1995 Agrarian codes.

Even though the Peruvian government legally recognized indigenous’ land claims and collective property rights, the issue of the inalienable nature of these rights remained in flux, as they recognized that collective land could also be privatized. The 1969 Land Reform encouraged the collectivization of land, but by the 1980s it was obvious that cooperatives were not as economically successful as anticipated. Instead, Peruvian government implemented neoliberal policies, which favor individual over collective land rights due to their profit maximizing characteristics. However, the 1987 *Ley de Comunidades Campesinas* specifically guaranteed the integrity of communal property.<sup>41</sup>

The 1995 Law of the Lands, or *Ley de Tierras*, changed the language and explicitly said that native communities could choose, with a two-third majority percent vote, any “entrepreneurial organization”.<sup>42</sup> While this may seem to provide more autonomy of the land to the native people generally, there were very serious implications for indigenous women. Since women were ineligible to vote, they were subject to decisions made by their spouses. According to Carmen Deere, “If the individualization of land rights takes place, women may see the family usufruct parcel transformed into male private property.”<sup>43</sup> If women choose to seek justice within the court system, they may have to navigate both state and communal courts.

### **Navigating two legal systems**

In order to understand the political and social obstacles facing indigenous people, it is important to understand the relationship between state laws on the one hand and indigenous laws on the other, in terms of legal norms, attention to legal culture and administration of justice. State law refers to the formal, national legal system. Hearings are conducted in Spanish and the majority of the statutes are product of Spanish colonization. In contrast, indigenous judicial systems had been evolving for centuries before conquest. Indigenous law provided an alternative form of justice outside of the Peruvian legal system, which was often corrupt and successful navigation required having the right connections. The establishment of indigenous law also allowed for the local administration of justice. Having two mechanisms for adjudication of rights claims allows for indigenous people to seek justice outside the scope of Lima-based justice systems that many in rural areas do not have the means to access and have discriminated

against indigenous peoples in the past. It is impractical and often unfeasible for people in rural areas to reach courts in urban centers, tactically difficult to navigate legal systems in a foreign language, and incredibly costly both in terms of time lost from work and legislative fees. While the indigenous system allows the opportunity for reaching justice, there are cases when it is necessary for indigenous people to navigate through channels of state law. In order to understand legal obstacles faced by indigenous people, consider the two forms of Peruvian law—indigenous and state law. Each has its own dynamic and, at times, the two can be in contention with one another.

Indigenous law is not homogeneous, as various indigenous groups have developed their own set of customary laws that complements community standards. However, there is some loose associations between indigenous communal laws as they are based on shared Andean principles of reciprocity, duality, and equilibrium.<sup>44</sup> Indigenous law includes informal laws, which are generally understood norms within the community and formal laws. Pierre Bourdieu describes how people who follow customary law, which is usually informal, are both held to it and are arbiters of it. He elucidates, “The precepts of custom... have nothing in common with the transcendent rules of juridical code, everyone is able, not so much to cite and recite them from memory, as to reproduce them (fairly accurately) It is because each agent has the means of acting as a judge of others and of himself that custom has a hold on him.”<sup>45</sup>

This distinction highlights an important aspect of customary law—it is reasonably flexible when applied to various circumstances. While customary law consists of sets of rules that are generally acknowledged, the rules are mostly evident in their application, which can change depending on the situation—the actors involved, their

interests, and the obstacles they wish to overcome. Since customary rules are designed to meet the needs of a social group, they reflect evolving opinions and interests of the community and thus are subject to change. While all legal systems struggle with fair implementation of the law, unwritten law can provide more room for unequal adjudication, as people are not legally held to standards of precedence and defendants do not always have the ability to appeal decisions.

Due to mounting pressure from Spanish colonizers to establish relative uniformity, indigenous people have created a system of formal laws to mitigate such concerns.<sup>46</sup> The formal system of indigenous law has provided a framework for providing more consistency and legitimacy. Despite some customary law changing into formal law, most indigenous people still view indigenous law, as opposed to state law, as supreme. Often Quechua and Aymara refer to their customary law as “*su derecho*” (your right) and the formal Peruvian system as “*la otra justicia*” (the other justice).

Many indigenous people have come to distrust state law, as it has, since colonialism, been a means of maintaining control over indigenous peoples and bolstering elite hegemony. However, they have come to depend on state law as a legal framework to file rights abuses and to settle conflicts, especially with neighbor landowners that did not abide by customary laws. Moreover, even though the state “penetrated and restructured” indigenous law by requiring codification, it did not undermine indigenous justice systems. In fact, indigenous law, at times, circumvented state law and even influenced it to reflect indigenous values. It has been through both indigenous and state legal systems that indigenous people have gained more communal autonomy and to limit the power of local elites.

### **Political Obstacles: Characteristics of the Peruvian state**

Peruvian government has held to democracy tenuously over its recent history, as eight military governments have come to power in the twentieth century. While Peru's state has been characterized as a democracy in the sense that people have the right to vote, it has by no means been a liberal democracy throughout its history. A fundamental element of liberal democracy is the state's relation with civil society. While elected leaders should have the authority to execute directives, it is imperative for there to be systems of accountability that ensure that the state does not usurp power arbitrarily. The most important form of this check is civil society. The increasing political violence with *Sendero Luminoso*, the government's inability to provide protection to citizens and state agents, the vacuum of power in many rural areas indicated that there was a breakdown in state and capacity by the end of the Garcia Administration.

This failed administration allowed for the personalistic leader, Alberto Fujimori, to centralize executive authority and consolidate a network of clientelist relationships that necessarily undermined civil society and created an expanding cleavage between the state and marginalized groups. It is important to understand the development of the current political structure in order to know marginalized groups, like indigenous women, can work within or outside of the system.

By 1889 and 1990 *Sendero Luminoso*'s influence had grown significantly, especially in the countryside. The number of political deaths had risen from 2.0 deaths per day increased to 8.8 and 9.4 per day in 1989 and 1990.<sup>47</sup> Moreover, by July 1990 the fear of *Sendero* amongst rural communities was palpable—656 mayors and town council members had been killed or had resigned from their posts.<sup>48</sup> These statistics indicate the

declining levels of state capacity and legitimacy. The political turmoil was equally matched with the economic failure. The Garcia's heterodox economic program was stopped amidst political corruption, breakdown of a political party coalition, and formal economic decline. The failure to nationalize the banks and Garcia's unilateral decision to reduce debt payments to 10 percent of export earnings caused many investors, including Peruvian elites, foreign direct investment, and multilateral financial institutions to remove their money from the Peruvian economy.

However, the deterioration of the Peruvian economy and the breakdown of civil society was not just a result of Garcia and his Administration; there were also structural problems that are to blame. Since colonization, decision-making power has been relegated to political elites, and has excluded those with low socioeconomic status, especially indigenous people. While reformist policies introduced under Velasco's military regime sought to strengthen relationship between the people and the state by promoting the inclusion of all types of Peruvians, the model ultimately failed, especially under the Garcia Administration.

The fiscal crisis, increasing bureaucratic incompetence, the breakdown of state authority, and rampant corruption created a situation in which Peruvians were desperate for new leadership. Alberto Fujimori was elected and while he coated his rhetoric in democratic terms, he was very authoritarian. The reconstruction of Peruvian government under Fujimori is an interesting case study of how the deterioration of social and political life, which is a central check on government, lead to conditions for the establishment of arbitrary and personalistic forms of rule.

The Fujimori Administration was notorious for strengthening executive power and undermining civil society. Understanding the legacy of Fujimori is integral in understanding the current state of the political system and women's role and capacity to make changes within it and outside of it. Fujimori transformed the strength of central government, which further dissociated civil society from the state. Fujimori implemented a variety of mechanisms for reconstituting the state and strengthening his own power. These included catering to international pressure to adopt neoliberal policies, strengthening clientelist networks, and using pre-existing women's networks to achieve development goals. These policies had both advantages and disadvantages for women and indigenous groups.

### **Establishing Fujimori dominance**

By 1990, the Peruvian state was in dire need of strong leadership. The wrath of *Sendero Luminoso* had become ubiquitous on the countryside and consequently dissembled most social groups and organizations. The economy was suffering from hyperinflation had reached 7,650 percent with an average annual inflation rate of 746.<sup>49</sup> In order to control inflation and gain the support of international investors, Fujimori adopted a series of neoliberal reforms. While these reforms were essential to future growth, there were negative short-term consequences. A significant part of the population that was hovering above the poverty line fell below it, as the unemployment rate increased. Fujimori was able to dampen some of the effects of these reforms with support from international investors and financial institutions.

The increase in capital also gave the Fujimori Administration the resources to reorganize key government agencies under the Executive branch. By restructuring the tax and customs agencies, for example, he was able to invest directly to public works. He also created new agencies within the Executive like the Social Compensation and Development Fund (FONCODES). Albeit driven by clientelist relationships, since the aid that was given was directly from Fujimori's branch, it gave legitimacy to Fujimori's plan of neoliberalism.<sup>50</sup>

Fujimori also centralized a great deal of power under the Executive branch with the *autogolpe* of April 5, 1992. This was a self-induced coup in which Fujimori took control of the judiciary system, the military, the police, and large parts of the media. Fujimori created an authoritarian-populist rule, which he was able to disguise through rhetoric of social integration, emancipation and popular support. Also, the events surrounding the *Sendero Luminoso* later that year scared the urban dwellers and increased their desire for strong leadership. The Tarata bombing on July 16 of the same year was monumental. It was the deadliest and first *Sendero* attack in a major city. In the heart of one of Lima's most expensive districts, the *Sendero* detonated two car bombs at the height of morning traffic. The attacks killed 24 people and injured 200. This event sent shock waves through Lima's elite who had otherwise felt removed from the violence that plagued the countryside. The dismay of these events and the capture of *Sendero* leader Abimel Guzman in September allowed Fujimori's centralization of power to go uncontested.

Fujimori's centralization of power was reinforced by his strong allegiance to clientelist relationships with a wide range of civic organizations. After the



reconfiguration of government agencies after the self-coup, Fujimori gave himself control over many sources of revenue. This revenue was both used to sponsor development programs, but also served to reinforce a social hierarchy based on inequalities of ethnicity, gender, and class.

### **CHAPTER 3: Analyzing Conditions**

Chapter 3 is a series of case studies that help illuminate the conditions and obstacles faced by indigenous women. In order to understand how the developments in the Fujimori Administration affected women's groups consider the historical context of client-patron relations and the case study of people's kitchens and mother's clubs. Next, consider the connection between land ownership, economic security, and decision-making power within the household and community. Finally, consider how monolingual curriculum mobilized indigenous communities to speak out against the state, claiming that knowledge of Spanish is associated with economic advancement.

#### **Client-Patron relationships**

Fujimori fortified clientelist relationships between the government and grassroots women's movements, which had mixed results for advancing the development of women. Women used their roles as mothers to expand agency and provide for their communities. However, women did not receive the kind of essential technical training and education necessary to gain full autonomy and equality in society. Before discussing the details of women's movements further, it is important to understand the entrenched nature of clientelist relationships in Peru.

Client-Patron relationships are neither a recent nor geographically isolated phenomenon in Peru. Spanish colonist used clientelism as a means of gaining support and to create permanent inequality between the conqueror and the conquered. This tactic continued to be employed by the landed class and the rural worker, especially after the parcelization of communal plots during the military rule of Velasco.<sup>51</sup> Client-Patron

relationship are asymmetrical relationships where patrons with money and status use their influence and resources to provide protection, service, or both, for a person with lower socioeconomic status in return for support and assistance.<sup>52</sup>

The most common clientelism in rural areas is based on a relationship of wealthy landowner and tenet or subsistence farmer. While this relationship can be useful to both parties involved, most of the time the wealthy landowner gets a better deal. In other words, while the patron can provide essential capital for the means of production, and even the land itself, the client becomes indebted to the patron. In the long-run an imbalance is created and exacerbated by the severe poverty of the most vulnerable people in society. As the client becomes more dependent on the patron, the patron can heighten their demands, break contracts, and terrorize the poor.

Clientelist relationships thrive in areas where state power leaves a vacuum and basic needs are not being met. However, Fujimori was able to manipulate existing clientelist frameworks as well as create new ones. Fujimori gained popularity and power in the countryside through exploiting clientelist relationships and populist distributive programs. Specifically, he built public works like roads, schools, and water purifications in order to secure political capital in the countryside. By funding for these projects through the Ministry of the Presidency, he was able to effectively endorse a patronage network with himself at the top appointed local and regional heads under him. The collapse of Fujimori's regime in 2000, provided an opportunity for some former patrons to reestablish clientelist practices, but there was also an opportunity for rights-based initiatives to take root in the countryside.

Within urban centers, Fujimori also forged clientelist relationships with a variety of sources and organizations. The most notable was with women's groups who ran people's kitchens and mother's clubs. Clientelist relationships legally recognized grassroots women's groups, which had mixed results for the advancement of women. Although the language of the newly created Ministry indicated that the government prioritized improving the structural inequalities for women, the government failed to deliver on their promises.

### **Case Study: People's Kitchens and Mother's Clubs**

Pressed with increasing economic obstacles both in slums and rural areas, women began to band together for survival. Urban migrant communities created *comedores populares*, peoples' kitchens, during the late 1960s. The goal was to meet basic needs and pool resources in order to cook, raise children, and take care of sick in poor slums in and around Lima. Indigenous women, immigrants from rural areas, band together not only to share household tasks, but also to fight for social services and neighborhood infrastructure in their local communities.

Women's groups known as *clubes de madres*, or mother's clubs, in rural areas also worked together for survival. They created networks in order to protect and hide family members that were most at risk—mainly adolescents and men—from attacks by *Sendero*.<sup>53</sup> They also organized searches for missing relatives, kept track of the names of the dead and the detained, and proliferated information about rights and justice systems.<sup>54</sup> According to Isabel Coral, who studied the women of Ayachuco for many years, the women's groups were the strongest, most successful form of resistance in the late

1980s.<sup>55</sup> By 1988 the first provincial federation of mother's clubs was founded in the city of Ayacucho, in a rural southern province. Mother's clubs throughout the district began to register themselves, so that by 1991 they all joined together under a departmental federation called *Federación Departamental de Clubes de Madres de Ayacucho* (FEDECMA). In 1995 the federation in the Ayacucho province had 1,400 mother's clubs, consisting of 80,000 women.<sup>56</sup>

Using their roles as mothers, women were able to form cohesive social organizations. While many other rural associations dissolved for fear of *Sendero* attacks, women's groups were continued to function both because *Sendero* leaders assumed they would not be a threat and their own desire to provide and protect their families. Similarly in urban areas, women were able to gain relative political autonomy because they united under the banner of motherhood, which was not perceived to be politically threatening. While successful at accomplishing their original goal—providing for the family unit, they were less successful at closing the gender inequality gap.

Overall, these organizations yield mixed results for women. On the one hand, women received aid to meet their basic needs; participated within democratic institutions; and established relationships with NGOs to defend rights claims in the legal system. On the other, the goal to provide for the “integral development of women” was not achieved as autonomy was not guaranteed within women's groups, adequate technical and educational assistance was not given, and women's development was strictly understood in terms of women's role as caretakers of the family.

Before evaluating these results more deeply, consider some theoretical framework and next consider the changes made under the Fujimori Administration. Finally, note that

while clientelist relationships weakened many women's associations, the networks established a precedent and an infrastructure for future rights claims. Even with the successes achieved by women's groups, there are still a series of social, political, and economic obstacles that exist.

### **Theoretical considerations**

Within Peru's hierarchical society, it is important to pose whether the people's kitchens were successful both in terms of achieving their immediate goals, like providing food for their families, and also if they significantly reduce gender inequality. Sometimes these two goals can act in opposition of one other, which makes it difficult to evaluate its relative success. In other words, while women may be able to acquire food security for their families through the communal kitchen network, it serves to confirm their traditional role as subordinate, unpaid domestic servants.

This distinction has been elucidated by Maxine Molyneux, who conducted her original analysis about tensions between feminism and socialism in Nicaragua. Molyneux argues that there is a difference between "strategic" and "practical" gender interests. Strategic interests are those that are derived from "the analysis of women's subordination and from the formulation of an alternative more satisfactory set of arrangements to those, which exist". In other words, strategic interests reference those that are concerned with reducing female subordination. "Practical" interests, on the other hand, are "usually respond to an immediate perceived need" and "do not in themselves challenge the prevailing forms of gender subordination."<sup>57</sup> Molyneux also suggests that one type of interest can follow the other; in attempting to achieve practical interests the group can

begin to build strategic agendas and expand their interests without being explicitly motivated to do so. However, Molyneux's analysis does not seem to capture that women's demands can be simultaneously strategic and practical. In other words, this distinction is somewhat artificial, since practical actions constitute precedents and can shift expectations and demands.

In the case of the communal kitchens, the pressure to secure nutritional needs for the family led to the development of social networks and eventual understanding of the woman, not just in her role as a mother, but as a citizen. As women were able to gain more control over their own livelihoods by obtaining basic needs, they were able to gain self-confidence and awareness of systemic prejudice. However, there remain a variety of social, political, and economic obstacles that prevent women from gaining full equality. The different types of community kitchens—*independent of government handouts and politically sponsored*—endured different fates during the Fujimori Administration. Political manipulations and the strengthening of clientelist relationships served to undermine the women's movements in a variety of ways. Specifically, the groups lost autonomy, ministries failed to meet their objectives to remove structural obstacles to equality, and women confirmed social understanding that her "natural" role was solely caretaker.

In order to understand how people's kitchen networks have empowered women to change their own perspectives of gender roles and to challenge the status quo, it is important to discuss the significance of their development. Developmentalist scholar Nalia Kabeer has concluded that the empowerment of women is a transformative strategy for poverty eradication. She also concludes that since both development and women's

empowerment are equally important, governments pursue them equally. However, Jelke Boesten points out that Peruvian case did not follow this pattern. Instead, the Fujimori Administration attempted to achieve developmental goals under the pretense of female advancement. In other words, the government used rhetoric of female empowerment to put the onus of poverty reduction on women in the most impoverished communities. The next section seeks to answer: How did people's kitchens change under the Fujimori Administration? What were the long-term consequences? And what social obstacles influence these consequences?

### **Fujimori and women's groups**

Fujimori needed to placate the poor after the economic shocks from the neoliberal reforms. To achieve the lofty goal of gaining the support from the most devastated, Fujimori used the existing infrastructure of popular kitchens and mother's clubs to provide food aid and gain political support. He institutionalized the "sporadic and paternalistic" aid given to grassroots women's organizations by creating a permanent system of food distribution called *Programa Nacional de Asistencia Alimentaria*, the National Food Assistance Program (PRONAA). PRONAA changed government's support from temporary poverty alleviation to a systematic operation that depended on the free labor of women. By 1995, at least 76,300 grassroots women's groups provided food for 25 percent of the population, which totaled about 5 million US dollars to the economy.<sup>58</sup>

Government-sponsored people's kitchens became increasingly political. Independent kitchens had to compete for food rations and often went without. For those



that accepted government rations, it came with strings attached. Kitchens had to be painted orange, the color of the Fujimori campaign, and display the PRONAA logo; all utensils and supplies had the PRONAA logo; and most inconveniently, women were expected to attend political protests as supporters of Fujimori. Although these requirements may not seem burdensome, these measures lead to a significant loss of autonomy. Autonomy was supposed to be guaranteed under Law 25307, which established that women's groups were independent grassroots movements. Notes from minute books from mother's clubs in Ayacucho show women were continuously frustrated with male bureaucrats who tried to interfere in internal organization decisions.<sup>59</sup> Though women recognized the illegal nature of these relationships, they had difficulty defending their rights.

Another burdensome task came with the government's introduction of the Glass of Milk Campaign or *Vaso de Leche*. PRONAA's responsibilities expanded to providing at least one meal a day to all people in need. Though designed to help the most in need, many more mothers became a part of a growing, unpaid workforce. Other logistical problems at the national level prohibited people's kitchens from properly allocating food. Shipments were selectively distributed, often did not show up regularly, and never reached remote areas in the Highlands. Thus, the PRONAA program was somewhat successful since it offered poverty relief but without structural reform.

PRONAA a government program developed under the Ministry for the Promotion of Women and Human Development, PROMUDEH. Fujimori used gender-equality rhetoric like the "promotion of women" and at the same time emphasized the important role of mothers within community development. The promotional material for the

Ministry describes the goal of the Ministry: “to appreciate her, to support her, and to promote her development and that of her family; to give her the primordial place in our society and in the political and economic development of the country that she deserves.”<sup>60</sup> Other material produced by the Ministry claimed that it was created “as gratitude to her invaluable support” and claimed that the goal was to “make a world of equity.” While the Ministry claimed it was meant to provide institutional support for women to express concerns related to gender inequality, most of the effort was allocated to promoting poverty-relief programs which required the use of women’s free labor.

PROMUDEH became responsible for overseeing a wide variety of social programs. This created a high need for acquiring new skills like managing money and negotiating in the market place. Monolinguality and illiteracy made women particularly vulnerable to municipal abuse. To avoid exploitation, women demanded literacy and business classes. Many NGOs and middle-class progressives promoted networking and focused on literacy and bilingual education.<sup>61</sup> However, access to these resources was unequal. Mother’s clubs in the Highlands did not receive nearly the same amount of aid as people’s kitchen volunteers in slums since funds were scarce and it was logistically challenging to reach distant communities. Also, people’s kitchens that remained independent of government sponsorship were more intimately tied to NGOs. These NGOs have been integral to the development of women’s movements since it has provided them with a framework to assert their agency and to access resources necessary to meet their goals. NGOs also had special programs that combined aid with technical support like literacy training.

Part of the difficulty with achieving true equality was related to the national iconography and perceptions of what an ideal woman should be. Discussions about equality were limited by maternalist discourse and the expectation that women were “naturally” caretakers of the family and the community. Most all Peruvians would not disagree that women are expected to raise and provide for family. However, this framework discourages women from seeking other economic and political activities and society, from in general to recognizing women’s potential generally. In an interview conducted by Rosemary Thorp, one woman noted how easily people’s kitchens are dismissed as merely a woman’s issue. She notes, “You are always in a minority of one or two, the men monopolize the posts, the debate. There are plenty of qualified women. But there is discrimination, including by some women... You know they’re just waiting for you to finish speaking.”<sup>62</sup> This social problem of viewing women as inferior also has political ramifications.

The harsh political climate was exemplified in the violent reaction of the collectively-organized march called Protest with a Proposal, or *Protesta con Propuesta*. Police used violence against women and children to prevent them from reaching the Presidential palace, which undermined the movement’s emphasis on ending violence against women. This protest has been repeated year after year and has yet to invoke a response from the government and hence has developed a new name Protest without a Response or *Protesta con Propuesta sin Respuesta*.<sup>63</sup> The lack of recognition by the government is a reflection of the lack of channels that women have for political change. In other words, while women have become more organized through the communal kitchens, they still face serious discrimination in social, political, and economic spheres.

Even with serious obstacles, women's groups have established networks and a precedent in which they can continue to fight for equal rights.

### **Long-term consequences for women**

Even though the Fujimori Administration did not fulfill all of the goals stated in PROMUDEH, women's groups were relatively successful. They provided basic needs and security for the family. As collective bargainers, women demanded social services and communal infrastructure. Working within democratic organizations women learned the importance of the individual, especially within the context of collective action. This is especially true for the people's kitchens that remained independent of government intervention. Experts predict that 25-30 percent of the people's kitchens remained independent.<sup>64</sup>

Eventually women's groups provided a source of political empowerment because they gave indigenous women a space in which they could discuss gender issues at a time when women were otherwise confined to their homes. Even though discourse was originally related to their traditional role as caretaker in the family, it expanded to more politically driven questions of female autonomy. In a poll of views about women as political actors in 1997 Blondet argues, "The experience these women gained in social and political organizations and trade unions over the last fifteen years was vital in building a self-image of efficient, developing self esteem and gaining confidence in their ability—and that of other women—to assume positions of public responsibility."<sup>65</sup>

Women established agency by negotiating with local authorities and the state, especially with the assistance of nongovernmental organizations. Forging meaningful

relationships with NGOs was integral in starting new social programs that focused on the specific needs of women, particularly in regard to technical and bilingual education. The support of the NGOs was also vital to help women navigate the legal system, which is steeped in discrimination.

Networks allowed women not only created a forum in which women could talk about the issues that most affected their lives. There was an increasing consciousness and discussion on family issues, domestic violence, and small business management.<sup>66</sup> When Fujimori passed the *Ley de Cuotas* or Law of Quotas in 1998, many leaders within the women's groups responded with alacrity. The law required that 25 percent of municipal candidates had to be female. This provided an opportunity, albeit limited due to the authoritarian nature of the Fujimori Administration, to voice concerns and change policies to promote women's advancement. However, the requirement to have women in Congress does not necessarily equate with increased political power for women. Often advocates from women's groups do not have the political support required to pass sweeping legislation on women's initiatives.

While emphasizing motherhood gave women's groups more political autonomy to operate, as they were not seen as a political threat, in some ways it also boxed women into being seen as caregiver instead of citizen. The PROMUDEH did not help women gain equality with men and instead focused on reducing poverty. The preoccupation with temporary relief, supported with free labor of women, reinforced the disadvantaged position of poor women and their families. Hierarchies of gender, ethnicity and class were entrenched since it was the belief in these hierarchies and common conceptions of the place of women that bound them to their role as mother, instead of her role as citizen.

### **Case study: Women's perspective and Land Markets**

Rural women widely acknowledge land ownership as an important means for insuring economic security for themselves and a source of income generation for their families. Owning land gives women status and more bargaining power in household and community decisions. A Mexican woman expressed an opinion that is held by many Peruvian women, "To own land strengthens [women], it gives them security with respect to the present and future."<sup>67</sup> Women can go to great lengths to save over several years in order to buy their own land. However, a series of exclusionary obstacles make women's land ownership disproportionately less than men's.

Peruvian land markets are not gender neutral. In fact, land markets have structural inequalities that disadvantage women. If land markets were neutral, the transactions both in terms of amount of land sold and the cost of it would be relatively equal and the reasons for purchasing land would be similar. However, reasonable evidence suggests women are at a disadvantage in terms of bargaining and purchasing power. Carmen Deere characterizes the situation of women in land markets:

Women did not participate in the market under the same terms as men; rather, these terms were conditioned by a host of other factors, some economic—such as the resources at their disposal—and others non-economic—such as their desperation to buy land and their greater degree of subservience to landlords, factors that lowered their bargaining power in this market.<sup>68</sup>

The graph below also highlights the differences of how men and women acquire land. The majority of female owners acquired their land through inheritance, even though it is uncommon for parents to give land to daughters

over sons. In real terms, women had significantly less land than men.

Additionally, half as many women purchased land as inherit it. Men, on the other hand, inherit and purchase land at similar rates. This would indicate that land markets are imbalanced such that women are able to purchase less land.

Table 3.1 Form of Land Acquisition by Gender in Peru (percents)<sup>69</sup>

	Women	Men	Total
Inheritance	39.4	26.7	29.3
Purchase	22.1	24.1	23.6
Agrarian Reform Allocation	6.2	9.5	8.8
Other	3.6	4.8	4.6
None of the above	28.7	34.9	33.7
Total	100	100	100
	n=351,929	n=1,379,835	n=1,731,764

Note: “None of the above” probably refers to holdings within peasant communities.

Source: Data made available to authors by the Oficina de Información Agraria, Ministry of Agriculture, from CENAGRO 1994.

A case study from the department of Cajamarca in the 1960s before land reform reflects that women did receive less land than men. In a sample of 374 land transactions of nine hacienda lands, 37 percent of purchases were made by men alone, while 25 percent of the purchases were by women.<sup>70</sup> Note that this is not percentage of land sold, but instead the percent of transactions. On all but one *hacienda*, men purchased significantly higher parcels and paid less per hectare.

The significant number of women who purchased land at the time reflects both the prevalence of female-headed households and the important economic role of female agriculturalists. Women were usually responsible for raising livestock, which can serve as a critical source of savings. However, this source of income is meant to be a

supplement a family income and few women make enough profit to purchase their own land.

Women are disadvantaged in terms of their ability to bargain for adequate prices given the size and quality of land they purchase. Adherence to cultural norms, including perceived gender roles, is common among the landed aristocracy. Although it is difficult to demonstrate, concepts of *machismo* pervaded some landowner's ideology such that they were, and continue to be, reluctant to sell land to women. A host of reasons affect both an owners' willingness to sell and women's ability to buy land.

Owners are willing to sell land only to those they deem credit worthy and able to generate an income high enough to pay mortgage installments. This introduces another set of obstacles, especially in regard to purchasing power. Women's difficulty in generating savings and access to credit act as exclusion mechanisms. It is difficult for women to save money because they are usually only employed as temporary or seasonal workers, who receive lower wages than long-term employees. Additionally, women usually get paid less than men for performing the same tasks.<sup>71</sup> Since women are denied income opportunities in the market, it is difficult to generate enough to have any left over as savings. Women lack access to credit for a host of reasons. First, rural women, much like their male counterparts, can be geographically removed from banking systems. Thus, community members often have no choice but to borrow money from one of the few lenders who charge exorbitant rates. Second, in order to get credit it is essential to have collateral, which is almost impossible without savings or land titles.

It is uncommon, if not impossible, for women to obtain full-time employment in a formal sector in rural communities as it often requires high school degree and working



knowledge of Spanish. Moreover, the pervasiveness of *machismo* also hinders women's ability to gain full time in employment. The limited number of jobs as well as the social expectation that a man, rather than a woman, must provide for the family, allows for an unconditional assumption that a man should get a job over a woman.

### **Case Study: Bilingual Education Debate**

The issue of language rights in education is an important case study about indigenous rights. At its core lies a question of paternalism—Do the Quechua people know what is best for their community? This question is related to many development issues including collective land rights.

While many activists support teaching both Quechua and Spanish in schools, Peruvian indigenous communities have been staunchly opposed to such measures. Intellectual activists from state agencies in Lima, international NGOs, and indigenous leaders in neighboring countries designed new education policy with the goal of unifying and promoting a cohesive ethnic identity among Quechua peoples. Activists support a bilingual, intercultural education arguing that it “will better equip indigenous people to empower themselves and demand that the state grant them rights as indigenous citizens.” In implementing such a program, activists hope to also develop a civil society in rural areas, which will increase the political participation and clout of indigenous people.

Paradoxically, it is members of the indigenous community that are the most opposed to bilingual education in schools, claiming that Spanish proficiency is imperative for economic mobility. Peruvian Quechuas are preoccupied with securing economic opportunity for their children, as most equate citizenship with economic advancement. In

other words, while intellectuals and activists believe that effective political voice is imperative for empowerment and advancement, Quechuas believe that economic opportunity is the best way to empower and advance people in their own community. To be clear, Quechua people are not necessarily eager to assimilate into Spanish culture, but realize the pragmatic value of learning Spanish. So, while Quechua will continue to be spoken in the home, they want Spanish to be the only language taught in school because it is the language used for all business negotiations and contracts. In a community meeting with activists an indigenous representative framed their perspective on the issue when he said, “They learn Quechua from us, their parents, in their homes with their families. In school they need to learn the skills that will help them become something more than just *campesinos*.”<sup>72</sup> Resistance to educational reform has intensified indigenous mobilization in the countryside in a way that had been absent before. The clash between activist efforts, parents’ mobilization against those, and activists’ response has created a paradoxical synergy, which is at the heart of indigenous politics of Peru.

It does not follow that the lack of a pervasive indigenous movement means that Quechua communities take less pride in their cultural heritage or are submissive and weak. Instead, this condition is a product of social and economic factors that require knowing Spanish as a prerequisite to economic advancement. This case study is valuable not only because it highlights the tension between preserving culture and assimilation, but also because it demonstrates how local interests and national policy initiatives have very different expectations and base values. Acknowledging this distinction and how to improve communication is imperative in creating effective policy.

## **CHAPTER 4: Projecting Potential Solutions**

In order for there to be substantial changes in the advancement and empowerment of women, it is imperative the government continue to work with existing advocates of rural women on the local and departmental level, as well as to adopt and enforce legislation that provides for the equal opportunity of women. It is important to note that given the structural inequalities that exist, supposedly gender neutral language does not guarantee equality of benefits or opportunities for women. If the government hopes to meet international agreements to end the discrimination of women, they will need to create policies that actively seek to change the status of women politically, socially, and economically. Moreover, these government initiatives cannot be based only on temporary relief, as is now the case, but must seek structural reform. Without structural reform, the long-term advancement of women will be very limited.

While Peru has made great strides in reforming some of the legal language associated with women in agrarian reform, there are still many ways that it could improve women's legal status. Most of the changes are related to properly enforcing the laws that already exist and eliminating or clarifying those that implicitly discriminate. The most important advocates for indigenous women's rights and empowerment are women's groups themselves. The government must strike a balance between supporting the women's groups while allowing them to keep their autonomy.

It is likely and appropriate rural and indigenous women's groups continue to be the primary agent of action to fight for change and betterment of their group. Indigenous women will have to band together as a distinct group, instead of a subset of either the women's or indigenous movement. The concerns raised by members of each of these movements do, at

times, overlap with indigenous women's priorities, but not consistently or completely. For example, the women's movement currently gets a significant amount of support from middle class women in urban areas, which have their own priorities and policy interests. The indigenous movement's leadership is currently concerned with maintaining land rights, especially for parcels rich in natural resources. As has been discussed, the indigenous women's movement has a rich history of protecting and providing for the community. Here are some suggestions as to how women's status could continue to improve.

### **Strengthen community building capacity**

The first step to developing policies that help women overcome social, political and economic obstacles is to properly enforce and strengthen existing legislation. A series of laws are designed to advance women, but are not effective because they are not properly enforced. Some of these include respecting the grassroots status of women's groups, enforcing property rights, and registering all citizens.

Grassroots women's organizations have increased their political influence and expanded their networks with the help of active leaders within mobilization efforts, financial and technical support from NGOs, and in some cases limited government funding. In order to strengthen these groups, it is important for the government to support community-building capacity without trying to control or manipulate the leadership or policy priorities of the groups. Before discussing how a government can contribute to community building, it is important to define community.

A common definition of "community" refers to people living or conducting business within the same geographical area. This is not always a useful definition when discussing

community organization, since many people in the same geographical area have markedly different interests and base values. A more useful definition refers to community in terms of people who have a sense of common interests and identification with one another, usually due to a common history and shared characteristics.<sup>73</sup> Using this definition of community highlights that indigenous women's groups should maintain their own groups that seek to reform injustices that plague indigenous women specifically.

In order for indigenous groups to maintain autonomy, the government must respect the 1991 Law 25307 that designated women's groups under the PRONAA program to be independent *organizaciones sociales de base* (grassroots social organizations). This provision was meant to ensure the political autonomy of women's groups. However, reports from minute meetings in Ayacucho explain that local politicians sought to control women's groups in order to gain electoral advantage or to gain access to supplies given to the women's groups. The minute book from August 7, 1997, noted that "We also ask that *señor* administrator stop dividing the *clubes de madres* and that he does not participate in internal organizational problems."<sup>74</sup>

The government should make it clear to government officials at departmental and district levels that mother's clubs are independent grassroots movements. This could be done through strengthening language of the PROMUDEH as an independent, apolitical association. Also, attempts to interfere with internal politics should be a criminal offense. This could be challenging to implement effectively because there is no clear standard of what constitutes interference. However, repeated offenders should be punished, either by reallocating funds to mothers groups from the districts or through public censuring. Another important element is ensuring that women's groups know their rights and have access to legal recourse if necessary.

Achieving this goal may be best achieved through the use of NGOs, which have a history of helping women's groups navigate legal systems.

Governments should also strengthen community capacity building by providing unrestricted or unconditional funds for women's groups. If women's groups have flexible funding, groups will better be able to improve their specific community. So while one group may need a truck to better distribute goods, another may need a computer to create spreadsheets for more efficient delivery. Giving women the autonomy to choose how to spend money not only allows for more efficient use of funds, it also a way the government can support the women's groups as an independent, grassroots movement.

The government should also be receptive to suggestions of women's groups in terms of improving the structure of food programs and generating new policy initiatives that seek to redress structural injustices of the poor generally, and indigenous women, specifically. Without open communication and the willingness to negotiate, PROMUDEH will never be able to achieve its goal of empowering and improving the status of women.

### **Strengthening enforcement of property rights**

While there have been considerable gains in equal rights, terms of strengthening women's property rights legally, there has been little substantive change in improving the gender inequality of landownership. Women have significantly less land than men for a variety of reasons. One of these is that women can lose their property in the event of divorce or death of her spouse. Often older children, in-laws, or neighbors can take the land away from legally entitled women.

In order to reduce the unjust loss of property, the Ministry of Justice must extend judicial services to extend access to indigenous women. Government will need to navigate the potential clashes between Peruvian law and indigenous law. This will require providing Quechua translations of the Constitution and key laws that effect indigenous women. The current website has some information in Quechua but it is hardly sufficient. The Ministry of Justice should also consider sponsoring traveling courts so that people in remote areas can also have their land claims heard. Often the obstacles—such as health and financial constraints—deter people from traveling to get claims heard. Additionally, NGOs should continue to help women navigate the legal system and inform them of their rights as citizens. This is especially important since many indigenous, monolingual women can be intimidated by the legal jargon and bureaucratic nature of the legal system. It would also be beneficial for these representatives to be women themselves as they may appear to be more approachable and empathetic to women's needs and concerns.

### **Register all citizens**

One of the most flagrant problems with the current system is the high number of individuals, especially rural women and children, who are not registered with the government. This creates a problem in which a sizable part of the rural population is not accounted for and is essentially invisible. Women's Issues and Social Development Minister Ana Maria Romero explains, "Having a name and an identity is one of the most fundamental rights. We are not working as fast as some would like, but we are making progress in guaranteeing women's rights and equality."<sup>75</sup> Tens of thousands of women lack these documents, which can be

detrimental to future empowerment. Not only can they receive benefits from social safety nets and other government programs, they have no legal recourse for rights violations.

Ensuring that all women and children have birth certificates and national identification documents will afford women the wherewithal to demonstrate citizenship, which is the first step in gaining a political and economic voice. To achieve this, the government could choose to support nonprofit organizations that already have experience finding, approaching, and documenting women. Some examples include *El Cruzada por Nombres*, the Crusade for Names Campaign and the Peruvian Women's Center Flora Tristan that started the Campaign for Citizenship Rights for Rural Women.<sup>76</sup> The documentation effort should go hand in hand with educating people about their rights. Often people in informal sectors are unaware of their rights or what to do when they are violated. By educating people about their rights and the responsibilities of the government, women can take on enhanced roles in civil society. A healthy civil society is essential for holding government officials and offices accountable, limiting corruption, and advancing society generally.

### **Equality within Agrarian Legislation**

Agrarian legislation needs to include gender specific language that guarantees women equal opportunity to participate. In contrast to Constitutions in neighboring Andean countries, like Bolivia and Colombia, that explicitly mentions the equality of land rights between men and women, Peru's legislation claims that all "natural and juridic persons" could own land. While this wording is better than former Agrarian programs that automatically equated beneficiary with household head, a level of imbedded inequality remains. The presumed neutrality of Peruvian legislation assumes that circumstances and social obstacles are equal for



both genders, even though this is hardly the case. In the previous chapter, we discussed obstacles like bargaining and purchasing power that serve to exclude women from the land market. Deere goes as far as to argue, “Unless given explicit gender content, land-market programs by themselves will do little to increase women’s ownership of land.”<sup>77</sup> By rewriting legislation with stronger language, the government will confirm its commitment to limiting inequality. It would draw an important distinction between implicit gender prejudice to explicit attempts to correct the injustice and allow for women to have equal opportunity to benefit from government programs. Also, the stronger language gives women legal recourse to rectify abuse within the system.

Rewriting legislation is notoriously difficult, as policy makers are usually reluctant to open a new can of worms associated with rewriting policy. A more viable solution may be to create a new government agency that focuses on ensuring female and male farmers have equal opportunity in farmer education and technical assistance offered by the government. An example of a successful program is El Salvador’s CENTA (National Center of Agricultural and Forestry Technology). This program used to be under the Agricultural Ministry but developed into an independent agency that focused on providing technical assistance and training to rural women.<sup>78</sup> Peru could benefit from a similar organization or give more authority and funding to NGOs that emphasize providing training and assistance to rural women

Another approach is based on existing government agencies designing and self-monitoring goals aimed at reducing discrimination. Programs in Chile, Costa Rica, Honduras, and Colombia focus on institutionalizing a gender-sensitive approach to state planning and addressing rural women’s issues within and across government agencies, ministries, and extension agencies.<sup>79</sup> This approach may benefit women since all agencies would be required

to consider their discriminatory practices. However, with the responsibility spread throughout many actors, it is possible for agencies to pass the bill and significant change may not be possible.

The Peruvian case would benefit from either type of programming since both emphasize the importance of ending discrimination against rural women. The most beneficial would be a combination of both a unanimous pledge to end discrimination in all levels of government bureaucracy and an agency specifically designed to defend and provide for rural women. Peru's PROMUDEH program comes close to achieving these goals, but in practice does not actively seek to redress injustice and create equal opportunity for female farmer.

On its website, PROMUDEH indicates that the program's vision is for gender equality and to protect the rights of vulnerable people suffering exclusion, but its mission is "to implement an effective system of food security and prevent malnutrition."<sup>80</sup> While these two goals do not inherently contradict one another, it is clear that the program's main interest is providing people with food instead of defending women's rights. This program also seems to suffer from urban bias, such that women in rural areas can be left without any benefits.

Peru needs to restructure PROMUDEH so that it actively seeks to achieve both its mission and vision to help defend the rights of the vulnerable, like rural women. However, it may not be possible for restructuring to occur within the organization. It may be best to create an additional program; maybe even within the PROMUDEH organization that provides specific technical assistance and training to rural women. By having an organization that is directly and only responsible for defending rural women's needs, there is more accountability and women will have a clear agency to appeal to.

### **Mandatory Joint Titling**

One way to achieve equality within the agrarian system is to implement mandatory joint titling of land for all couples, either formally married or within consensual unions. The Special Project for Titling (PETT, *El Proyecto Especial de Titulación y Catastro Rural*) was created in 1992 in order to clarify land ownership under the National Land Registry. It set an ambitious goal to register one million land titles by 2000. The level of awareness or cynicism revealed in a statement by the Vice-Minister of Agriculture, “There is no discrimination against women” and no further measures was necessary to ensure equal results.<sup>81</sup> PETT’s disinterest in creating equal opportunities for women to own land was also made clear in that it did not collect gender-related data until after 1996.<sup>82</sup>

PETT changed its approach to land titling after facing mounting pressure from NGOs that noted that the organization was discriminating against women. Undocumented women or those in consensual unions were never considered in the land titling process. These women were usually not included on land titles, even though 1997 law recognized that spouses or partners’ names had to appear on the title.<sup>83</sup> Since the Peruvian government considers members of a consensual union to be technically single, many men filled out paperwork claiming to be single (as was written on their identification cards). So “single” men were the sole owners of the land, even though they had a significant other with whom they shared children and a home. Often, men whose marital status was labeled as “single” were not asked if they were also a part of a consensual union.<sup>84</sup> This is probably due to the fact that no PETT officials went through gender-sensitivity training and they were paid by the number of titles they registered, and thus may not be motivated to find out all details about the family.

In order to create equal opportunities for women, PETT should adopt suggestions made by *Red Nacional de la Mujer Rural*, an NGO focused on providing for the needs and demands of rural women. In their 1998 campaign to support gender-equal land titling, they lobbied PETT officials to clarify language about land ownership within consensual unions, to require officials to undergo gender training sessions with NGO personnel, and to evaluate the program in terms of gender equality. Titling programs should hire and train women to work for PETT so that females in rural communities who may have been intimidated, or are too shy to demand property can approach someone who empathizes with their situation.

In addition to PETT's efforts to joint title new land, there should be another initiative to give land to women retroactively. This may not be feasible, as men will be reluctant to give up property and the power associated with it. Instead, the government should create incentives for joint titling by attaching benefits like subsidized fertilizer or improved seed to couples that own land jointly.

### **Formally recognize consensual unions**

Consensual unions need to have the same legal rights and privileges as formal marriages. As discussed above, the ambiguity of laws as well as irregular implementation of the law disadvantages women in consensual unions. Correcting this is especially important to providing equality for indigenous women, who make up the vast majority of the 28.5 percent of consensual marriages nationally. The legislation surrounding consensual unions is inconsistent. Consensual unions were recognized in 1979. However, women in consensual unions were never given the same inheritance rights as married women. Aside from Chile, which does not recognize consensual unions on any level, Peru is the only Latin American

country to not afford the same inheritance rights for women in consensual unions as married women. Moreover, even though joint titling became mandatory in 1995, the law only applied to married couples.

It is unlikely that the 89 percent of Peruvians who consider themselves Catholic would pressure their representatives to change legislation so that marriage and consensual unions were completely equal.<sup>85</sup> Instead, it is possible that the government can formally recognize consensual unions such that women within the unions can receive similar benefits and protections as women in legalized marriages. The government could also adopt policies to encourage people in consensual unions to formalize their marriages by lowering the cost of marriage certificates and making registration easier in rural areas

### **Equal Opportunity Law**

Article 2 of the 1993 Constitution of Peru states, "Every person shall have the right to equality before the law," and "nobody shall suffer discrimination by reason of origin, race, sex, language, religion, opinion, economic status or for any other motive." While this law is positive for women, a distinction needs to be highlighted. A law that forbids government from instituting blatantly discriminatory practices is not the same as a law that guarantees women equal opportunity both in employment and as beneficiaries of government programs.

Moreover, certain articles of the constitution, especially related to employment, explicitly deny women equality. Some examples are excluding women from participating in certain types of employment, requiring permission of a spouse to work outside the home, and providing domestic workers half as many vacation days as any other occupation. Additionally, the law does not criminalize rape in all forms, including within marriage. This leads most

obviously to discrimination of victims and married women, as it does not acknowledge her right to her own body. While further discussion about the Constitution is outside the scope of this thesis, suffice it to say, legal discrimination represents commonly held beliefs about the proper, subordinate role of women.

In order alleviate problems associate with discrimination, the government should pass a stronger Equal Opportunity Law that promotes women’s participation and equal pay for equal work. Maria Esther Mogollon, who heads a coalition of 15 organizations known as the Co-coordinating Committee of Women for Equal Rights, believes that the Peruvian government has placed too much emphasis on women’s involvement in welfare programs rather than addressing the source of structural inequality. She explains, "We need legislation that guarantees equal rights for women, but the Ministry of Women's Issues and Social Development focuses on programs that provide food or other forms of assistance. While these efforts are important, they distract attention from the goals of equality and empowerment."<sup>86</sup> Changing the language of the Constitution to have a stronger stance on the equality and inclusion of women is necessary to eliminate structural inequalities. Reforming law is a powerful means of shaping Peruvian society and encouraging private actors to include women equally. Even with the change in legislation, mechanisms of inclusion are still needed, like mandatory joint titling or affirmative action measures, in order to remedy the imbalance of women’s landownership.

### **Affirmative Action for land ownership**

As discussed in chapter three, land markets have structural inequalities that disadvantage women. These include her disproportionate ability to generate enough income to

save and limited bargaining power for purchasing land. Unless given explicit gender content, land-market programs by themselves will do little to increase women's ownership of land.<sup>87</sup> Thus, women will require government or NGO intervention to change policies such that women and compete equally with men. This phenomenon is not limited to Peru and is in fact a serious problem for many Latin American states. Costa Rica tried to ameliorate this problem by implementing an affirmative action program.

In Costa Rica, the 1990 Law to Promote the Social Equality of Women established that since land and houses were family property, that they should be put in the names of both spouses. This law was also the first to recognize the rights of women in consensual unions and in Article 7 it went as far as to put land titles in the names of women in consensual unions. Proponents of this legislation claimed that this law was necessary to lessen women's vulnerability of becoming homeless. They argued women, as opposed to men, would go to great lengths so that their children would not be destitute. An expert explains how proactive action would be necessary for true change and equality to be established, "Society and the judicial apparatus had never given women in consensual unions any rights whatsoever. To balance such an unequal relation among couples required strong measures...the law wished to protect such women to assure their children continuity and permanence in the home or parcel of land."<sup>88</sup>

The legislation yielded different results for women. Since the change in the law was mainly due to pressure from poor urban women, some women in the countryside were confused by the law since many women did not seek to change the status quo. Others did not like it because they felt they were now culpable for the success of the farm. Other women

understood that this legislation gave the most vulnerable economic security. A peasant woman expressed her support of Article 7 when she stated:

This law is for the good of both the man and the woman; if it [land] was only in his name, he could sell it and leave, and I would be left with my children wandering around, suffering a great deal... It's a form of protection for women in case their men turn out to be drunks and beat them, for in case he leaves, the woman can continue to work the parcel.<sup>89</sup>

Even though this program, on the whole, was beneficial to Costa Rican women, it was repealed two years after its original implementation. A group of men from Río Frío challenged this in court arguing it violated that Article 33 of the Constitution established that “all men are equal before the law” and “no law can be applied retroactively to the detriment of the established patrimonial rights of another person.”<sup>90</sup> The Peruvian Constitution has similar laws, which recognize that no person can be discriminated against because of their sex. However, affirmative action can be legally justified as it tries to root out discriminatory practices that eventually lead to the end of gender discrimination.

The policy of naming women in consensual unions as the sole owner of land could help officials in PETT circumvent the problem of men in consensual unions being named the sole owner of land. If Peru were to successfully adopt a similar program as the Costa Ricans, it would be imperative that land ownership also be combined with affirmative action programs to give women proportionate increases in technical assistance and education. This is essential so that women could cope with increased responsibility and expectations. Additionally, without the additional technical and credit assistance, there will likely not be much change in the status of women since land ownership is necessary but not sufficient for generating sufficient income. If affirmative action programs were to be adopted, women would greatly benefit as they would



be less economically vulnerable and increase their decision making power within their homes and the community.

### **Improving Access to Credit for Farmers**

As mentioned above, economic success is predicated on having enough capital to invest into the land. Given the nature of the agricultural business, farmers usually need to take out a loan before planting season in order to buy fertilizer, pesticide, and improved seed. The lack of credit in rural areas effects all agriculturalists and business people. However, women are disproportionately excluded from this process. Part of the reason is because women usually do not have collateral. This is because the land title may not be in their names, and they do not have a substantial income since they are usually excluded or discriminated against in employment opportunities. A study in 1994 indicated that of the 4.6 percent of the women that applied for credit, 3.6 percent received credit and the 8.8 percent of male farmers that applied for credit 6.8 received it.<sup>91</sup> Even though the percentage of approval is pretty similar, the actual number of women who benefited was significantly less.

International financial institutions, the Peruvian government, and NGOs are all responsible for alleviating this program. Microfinance has improved many poor people's lives through income generation and smoothing. However, very few microloans are available for farmers. International institutions should design a new type of microcredit that considers the inherently high risk of farming and seasonal payment structure. The Peruvian government could also increase credit opportunities by creating a crop insurance program. Many private organizations have shied away from investing in this because of the high risk nature of planting crops, which depend entirely on an undependable source—the weather. The government may

need to seek aid from international institutions in order to know how to model the program and possibly to get some additional financial backing. Additionally, NGOs could help with the distribution of cell phones. Cell phones have transformed farmers' businesses as they provide information like the price of crop at market and allows for money to be transferred more easily.

The solutions offered refer to improving credit access in rural areas generally. Another solution for overcoming women's discrimination to credit and, consequently land is for NGOs or the government to purchase large tracks of land. By buying in bulk, the government and NGOs could use the saved money to sell the land at either a discounted rate and/or offer loans at significantly reduced interest rates. The other important caveat to this program is that the beneficiaries should be women. Since land is traditionally passed down to sons, men are viewed as the main agriculturalists, and many women are excluded from inheriting land. This program would provide women with an opportunity to purchase land on equal terms.

### **Urban bias in development programs**

Another major impediment to improvement in rural areas is urban-bias of development projects. The Peruvian national government is very Lima-focused and disproportionately invests in improving urban life, often to the detriment of rural areas. This pattern is likely due to the lack of strong mobilization in rural areas. As indigenous women's groups gain more influence, they will continue to pressure elected officials to improve conditions in the countryside. Rural development projects are also imperative for limiting the migration to the cities by desperate rural people.

In order to enhance development the government could employ rural workers to build new roads, irrigation systems, and replant deforested areas. By creating a work program the

Peruvian government can accomplish a few goals at once—lowering unemployment, increasing economic opportunities for some of the most destitute, creating incentives to remain in the countryside, and investing in future growth. Officials could emphasize any one or combination of these goals in order to gain broader support for the program. The government should also invest in hydroelectric power, which would have large energy yields given the mountainous terrain of the Andes. Providing power to remote areas is critical to further development and increasing mobilization efforts. Though easing urban-bias will be challenging given the Lima-focus of the national government, it is essential to development of rural areas.

### **Increase education**

Women's education is one of the most important components of development as it provides women with tools to raise themselves out of poverty. Literacy allows women to connect with outside sources of information, organize and correspond with women in other communities, better exercise their civil rights, and gain more economic opportunities.

Technical education is especially important for agriculturalists in developing areas. Learning about advanced farming techniques raises crop yields, which in turn, increases income levels.

The government should promote education for all children, but rural women are by far the most illiterate and attend school the least amount of time both in terms of years in school and days of the year. A 1997 study concluded, of the population that was between 15 and 24 years old, rural women were the most uneducated—40.3 percent were illiterate and 39.5 did not have a complete primary education.<sup>92</sup> These statistics are indicative of social pressure for women to have a domestic education and economic hardships of the rural poor.

Rural women's education should be a priority of federal and municipal governments, NGOs, and women's groups themselves. Education efforts should be centered on providing immediate technical assistance, teaching women about their rights, and investing in human capital by encouraging young girls to attend school. Technical assistance is particularly important for rural women who are too old to attend traditional school and would prefer to learn or hone agricultural skills. The Ministry of Agriculture along with the Ministry of Women and Development (PROMUDEH) should create programs to give female farmers opportunities to learn about new science and farming techniques. It would be important for the Agricultural Ministry to hire and train women as extension agents in order to confirm the legitimacy of the female farmer and encourage other women to attend the classes. The government could even establish an agricultural or technical school in large towns in rural areas and provide scholarships to female farmers.

The dearth of civic education is also alarming since knowledge about rights is essential for maintaining autonomy. As mentioned above, many rural women are unaware of their civil rights and do not feel comfortable navigating convoluted legal systems. NGOs should combine efforts to register citizens with information sessions about the individual rights of rural women. NGOs should also offer legal services or help subsidize the cost of litigation. Educating women about their rights and how the state ought to protect them, leads to civil empowerment and encourage community mobilization and action to obtain basic rights and implement changes.

The Ministry of Education, which is currently centered in Lima, should heed to concerns of parents living in culturally different circumstances. This is especially important in regard to the bilingual education debate. While academics in Lima believe that the Quechua language should be taught exclusively in some grammar schools, many parents feel that it

would be detrimental for the future prospects of their child. Women's groups should work with PROMUDEH and NGOs to voice their opinions about education and implement changes.

Additionally, the Ministry of Education and the national government should provide more funding for teachers in rural areas and encourage urban students to teach in rural areas through scholarship opportunities. In order to improve girls' attendance in school, the government can offer conditional cash transfers dependent on number of days daughters are in school and provide vouchers for school uniforms and books. The government could give extra money to families who send their daughters to high school, since many girls drop out during early adolescents to begin working in the home. NGOs can also combat adult illiteracy by training and providing educational resources for women's groups. Teaching a woman how to read is not only crucial in that it empowers her to act autonomously; increased education is correlated with lower rates of poverty, decreased fertility rates, and increased standard of living.

### **Conclusion**

The government can adopt a series of measures to remove structural obstacles so that women and men exercise full citizenship, owning and keeping property, and gain the education necessary to gain status and maintain autonomy. Indigenous women's groups will be the most important advocates in mobilizing rural women and encouraging their participation in demanding more rights and social services. With increasing clout and support, the indigenous women's groups will be able to hold elected officials accountable and in so doing, providing basic needs for their communities and enhancing their decision making power within community.

While there are many hypothetical solutions to the problems presented thus far, there are practical limitations like funding and information, which require policy makers to pick and chose policy priorities. The next chapter evaluates what role each actor—women’s groups, governments and NGOs—should take in order to maximize resources and provide the most sustainable, positive change for rural women.

## **CHAPTER 5: Prioritizing Policy Options**

Since there are limitations both in terms of finite resources and political support, the indigenous women's movement, the NGOs that support them and the Peruvian government need to prioritize its policy agenda. Each of these actors needs to play a distinct role in strengthening the status of women legally, politically, socially, and economically. The most fundamental changes are related to strengthening women's property rights, through regulatory reform and enforcement, and increasing access to education and technical extension services to indigenous women. However, a series of obstacles—social prejudice, unequal access to education, unfair land markets, unequal access to permanent jobs, and increased difficulty in getting loans—still exist.

### **Government**

There are several changes that the government should make in order to improve the condition of indigenous women. Since there are many different governmental organizations—Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry for the Development of Women, Ministry of Education, and Congress—it is necessary to discuss each separately to identify specific priorities and policy objectives. The priorities of what each agency must do reflects its relative importance.

The most fundamental reform is to provide legal recognition to the principle that men and women should be equal in accessing the job markets, owning land, and participating as citizens. However, the current legislation does not go far enough, since it claims men and women are equal without addressing the structural gender discrimination that still pervades most aspects of life. While strengthening legal status of women is imperative, Peru is not ready to pass sweeping equalizing measures in Congress. Instead,

gender equality may better be achieved by changing regulations within existing programs. Regulation changes in the Ministry of Agriculture, for example, would be especially important for improving the condition of rural indigenous women.

### **Ministry of Agriculture**

Reforms within the Ministry of Agriculture would include strengthening joint titling efforts, especially for women in consensual unions. This would include ensuring that wives and consensual-union partners are present during negotiations and included as a co-owner in the land title. The Ministry could also include pro-women initiatives, especially in regard to technical training. The Peruvian Agro-Innovation and Competitive Project (INCAGRO), for example, is a program designed to increase access to agricultural extension services at a significantly discounted rate. With the national government covering 75 percent of the total cost, and farmers covering the rest, the services are more likely to be client-oriented, manage the quality of services, and adequately identify demand.<sup>93</sup> Requiring that a small, yet significant, percentage of the participants is for women would ensure that women are able to gain access to information. Additionally, the government may need to give small, additional supplements to the most disadvantaged women, like single mothers.

This change, while significant, does not require a lot of political resources. Since the changes are mainly within regulatory practices of the Ministry of Agriculture, they do not have to be approved directly by Congress. Additionally, regulations are a lot less publicized than sweeping legislation, so it will be easier to make changes. Regulatory changes do not require much extra funding. Congress should approve more money in the budget for the Ministry of Agriculture so it can organize extension services. Changes in



regard to gender neutrality within agricultural programs could act as a catalyst for change in other parts of government. Also, by increasing benefits to women, it would set the tone for women to demand more rights.

## **PROMUDEH**

Another cornerstone to improving the conditions of women involves changes within the Ministry of the Promotion of Women and Human Development (PROMUDEH). Currently PROMUDEH allocates the vast majority of its resources to distributing goods to the poor rather than promoting the status of women. It should reevaluate its mission and vision to see how it can make changes in order to achieve both goals. Evaluating if and how the organization is currently achieving its goals is an important first step to making improvements.

If women leaders within PROMUDEH were to evaluate their organization, they would have the evidence to make some reforms that support women's advancement. Many women in the mother's clubs in Ayacucho, for example, have repeatedly documented their interests in literacy programs for members. Since the women involved with the distribution of aid do not receive an income from their participation, the government can instead provide women with materials to set up their own reading groups. By training and paying a few women to teach others how to read, the government can fulfill PROMUDEH's goal to improve the condition of women, reward those who volunteer, and employ women, which has immediate benefits for the trained teachers and invests in future human development.

The evaluation process could require a limited amount of political and

financial resources. In order to ensure that the evaluations offer a complete view of the current status of the program it is important to include the opinions of government officials at the national, department, and district levels; women leaders at all levels; a select number of women volunteers in all regions; a select few recipients of aid; and the NGOs that work with the PROMUDEH. By incorporating the views of all involved PROMUDEH can have a holistic understanding of how well the system currently works and how it can be improved. Conducting such a wide survey may be more technically demanding than holding community meetings on the subject, but it would provide a more concrete understanding of how the Ministry could improve. The Ministry needs to serve as a portal for women to express concerns and receive information about aid programs

In regard to specific programs in PROMUDEH should implement, literacy efforts would likely have the most political support, since it achieves the goals stated in PROMUDEH's vision and it creates an incentive for women to continue to volunteer to distribute government aid. Additionally, it should not be too difficult to fund this program, since it would require reallocating funds within the Ministry to provide learning materials and training staff. There is not much overhead cost considering that women want to teach others in their community how to read and would likely do so for little compensation, if not for free. The Ministry could take a more aggressive approach in which they set up a program to train and pay women to teach reading skills other women in their community. This program would also have political support, but would require more funding. With the additional funding, illiteracy rates would decline. By offering an income, there would be a competition such that the most competent and qualified women would want to become teachers.

It is important to note that while being functionally literate provides many benefits, it is not sufficient for improving the condition of women. Literacy allows people to conduct business, read about current events, demonstrate political rights and organize group efforts. However, functional literacy is not sufficient for interpreting legal jargon in contracts or to navigate the intricate judicial system. Therefore, technical assistance, especially legal expertise provided by NGOs, is still very important. Additionally, it is significant to note that the literacy program outlined above is based on correcting current injustice instead of preventing the need for it in the future. In other words, changing aspects of the education system within the Ministry of Education is imperative for future generation's literacy rates.

### **Ministry of Education**

The most imperative priorities of the Ministry of Education are twofold—improve the quality and access of rural education and create incentives for adolescent women to be in school. The former is more challenging since it requires training a great number of teachers. The Ministry of Education should create a pilot program in which the government helps subsidize the education of university students and in return they agree to teach in a school in a rural area. The U.S. Teach for America could serve as an example, but would need to be simplified and modified given the immense need for bilingual teachers. By encouraging young students to become teachers and move to the countryside, even temporarily, could have the added benefit of making young graduates and future leaders aware of plight in the countryside. Improving the quality of school both in terms of qualified teachers and adequate school supplies are imperative for future

generations to increase incomes and raise themselves out of poverty.

Related to improving the quality and access to education in rural areas, is the bilingual education debate discussed in chapter 3. As mentioned, monolingual parents are especially desperate for their children to learn Spanish in schools and the Ministry of Education is concerned with preserving the native languages. However, it is essential that the Ministry listen to the concerns of parents in rural areas, especially since Lima-based administrators have often never lived in rural areas and are, therefore, unaware of their specific circumstance. Since Quechua and Aymara are usually the primary languages in the home, native languages will still remain a large part of culture. Additionally, since Spanish is the language of business and spoken in urban areas, learning Spanish is often a prerequisite for poverty alleviation.

Thus, the Ministry should improve the access and quality of education by hosting community forums to hear the opinions and needs of rural people. This would likely have political support and would take few financial resources. The Ministry would have to train and pay employees to go to rural areas and host forums. Challenges could arise when trying to implement the suggestions of rural people. However, this could be ameliorated if some of the Ministry's responsibilities related to curriculum were more decentralized. Devolving power of the Education Ministry to departmental and local districts will take a lot of political resources, since the Ministry will not want to cede its power or influence. At this time, decentralizing schools is not as important as the Ministry facilitating a mechanism for the voices of rural parents to be heard and integrated into education policy, especially in regard to Spanish being the primary language learned in school.

The second priority is to increase the number of adolescent women who attend school regularly. While girls and boys often both go through primary school together, young girls around the age of twelve or so are taken from school and expected to perform household tasks. In order to create an incentive for rural families to continue to send their girls to school, the government can implement a combination of conditional cash transfers, offer uniform and tuition vouchers, as well as provide scholarships for rural women to attend universities. Conditional cash transfers are especially important because it essentially pays the family to send their daughters to school. By supplementing household income in the short-term, the daughter's education has the potential to substantially increase future incomes and make her less economically vulnerable than she would have been.

### **Registering all Citizens**

Knowing information about citizens—name registration, age and number of people in a family, income levels, land registration, enrollment in school—is an essential element in designing effective policy. Without this type of information, it is difficult for government agencies to design programs targeted at the right people to achieve the most beneficial ends. While registering and documenting citizens should be a priority for all agencies that extend social services, the onus falls primarily on the Ministry of Finance, which was created to plan, direct, and control the policies of state-run agencies and PROMUDEH, since the majority of the undocumented are rural women. The Peruvian government could likely also receive for aid from international financial institutions and the UN since documenting citizens helps Peru reach its Millennium Development Goals.

Conducting a national crusade for names is an expensive and arduous process, which is made more difficult given that officials will not know when they have adequately completed their task. While significant funding would be required, the Ministry of Finance should pay for a majority of the costs since obtaining this kind of information is crucial for effective, appropriate economic policy. A successful campaign will require the government to pay for it, PROMUDEH to provide infrastructure and information to NGOs, and NGOs that have the trained staff to officially document citizens. Since women's groups are grassroots, built from the bottom up, and attempt to help the most destitute women, they are best equipped for assisting NGOs find the undocumented women. Also, PROMUDEH also has its own networks of women's groups that would be able to aid in such a campaign. NGOs are needed since women's groups are usually burdened by the daily tasks of providing basic needs to people in their neighborhoods.

This effort will require significant political resources since the cooperation of multiple actors is required. However, there should be broad base of support for this campaign, since those that support could possibly win over newly registered voters. More importantly, however, being documented citizen is a human right outlined the Peruvian constitution, so officials are legally obliged to support such efforts.

In order to make this process the most effective, it will be important for the documentation initiative to be accompanied by an explanation of rights, especially in regard to voting, property rights and domestic violence. While it is important to document people to have an accurate account of the people in the country in order to design social programs, it is also exceedingly important for the individuals who become

documented. Providing paperwork to these women provides them with the opportunity to express their rights as a citizen. However, it is likely that the women, who were undocumented are also unaware of their rights. Thus, NGO representatives who document citizens should provide an explanation of basic rights and let them know who they can go to in the event that their rights are violated. This kind of information would be more costly to implement, but necessary if people are to exercise their new citizenship effectively.

### **Reallocating Development funds to rural areas**

This is less of a priority since it does not benefit indigenous women directly, but instead provides infrastructure to improve the community as a whole. This should also be a less significant priority since it requires a lot of political and economic resources. Allocating development projects requires a significant amount of political resources as most national politicians usually preoccupied with initiating visible projects in Lima. Small-scale hydro-electric projects have the potential to raise the quality of life for many rural people by providing electricity, but are expensive. The initial cost of installation is high but the operational costs could be covered by the increased access to technology. The internet is a huge resource for learning new agricultural techniques. Also knowing the demand of crops in world markets allows farmers to make better planting decisions and the current prices of certain commodities allows farmers to know if it is worth going to market at a particular time. Additionally, moderate increases in refrigeration can add markedly to the shelf life of produce. These advances could help the community increase their net income, which could then be reinvested into other

community projects.

Even though small-scale hydroelectric projects would be moderately expensive, other development projects related to the physical landscape would be less expensive.

Creating and maintaining roads, building small irrigation systems, and replanting cleared trees are all essential for improving the economic vitality of the community. Creating work-for-pay programs in which rural people participate in such projects has the joint benefit of creating employment opportunity in rural areas and investing in infrastructure for future growth. Instituting such programs may have more political support if it was characterized as a way for poor people to generate their own income and help themselves out of poverty. This type of project, while less expensive than hydroelectric power, is still costly since it includes the cost of the materials for the project, their transportation, and the income to workers. Work for food projects could be sponsored by PROMUDEH, if women were given priority in employment. However, this will not cover all of the cost since many of the tasks require intense physical labor. Thus, rural projects should be encouraged, but not at the expense of other policy priorities.

### **NGOs**

NGOs encompass a wide variety of missions and their organization is heterogeneous—ranging from international, national and local of varying in size; resource availability; and number of people affected. Thus, each type of NGO can play a distinct role given its ability to financially contribute or offer key insights about what is happening and needs to happen on the ground. NGOs within Peru also play an imperative



role in strengthening community building, providing technical support, collecting information in a geographic area or about a specific problem, advocating for the impoverished and facilitating networks of communications across different sectors of society. Considering that different types of NGOs serve specific goals better than others, they should be discussed separately.

### **Local NGOs**

The highest priority of local NGOs is to continue to provide technical assistance, especially legal and financial aid. Technical assistance is essential for indigenous women to express their political and economic rights. In other words, without technical aid from NGOs, many rural women would not be able to defend their property rights in court nor gain access to capital to invest in their land. The second priority needs to be related to strengthening community-building efforts by facilitating network building between women's groups, the government, and other NGOs. Both of these are already being achieved at some level, but could improve.

Defending one's rights in courts is a taxing and expensive process, which makes it difficult for the poor to access. Literacy alone is not sufficient to navigate the intricate legal system. Additionally, embarking on a conventional lawsuit is incredibly costly compared to the income of typical rural women since one has to pay for a lawyer, travel costs, and opportunity costs from not working on the farm. Moreover, women's property rights, especially widows', are the most vulnerable to having their rights usurped without the NGOs to help protect and advocate on their behalf. NGOs are able to provide legal counsel, offset part of the cost of going to court, and supply communities with vital

information about rights generally. Sometimes established NGOs can also serve as a mediator between a woman and another party and threaten to sue in order to encourage the other party to follow the contract without going through the burdensome legal process.

Another key to indigenous women's success is gaining access to credit markets, which traditionally give fewer loans to women as they are less likely to have a regular income, maintain savings, or have sufficient collateral. NGOs could offer financial assistance in a number of ways—backing the loans of women, providing their own credit to women, and buying land in bulk in order to sell to women at a discounted price. Each requires increased levels of political and financial support.

Local NGOs would only be able to take on small risk loans given the inherent risk with any farming investment. NGOs, like banks, will be wary of taking on unnecessarily high risk, which would leave the most impoverished farmers without recourse. Also, this could risk permanent financial losses such that the NGO would not be able to fund other services. Thus, it may be more appropriate for large, multinational NGOs to take on medium to large risk loans.

Local NGOs are distinctly in touch with what is going on around them since they have more communication and interaction with the people that they are trying to help. Thus, they have the means to play an integral role in forging new alliances between their recipients, women's organizations, other NGOs and varying levels of government. An example of this would be to write and speak to officials on behalf of the people they represent, participate in negotiations on behalf of the locals, provide women with information for other aid programs, and organizing community events. Sharing resources

and working with other local NGOs may be challenging given the specific circumstances, especially if local NGOs are competing for the same resources.

Community-building efforts are also limited by a law passed in 2006, which stipulates that NGOs must register with the Peruvian Agency for International Cooperation (APCI) and that their work plans should be consistent with state's priorities and guidelines.<sup>94</sup> This law was passed after mounting contention over an NGO's representation of indigenous people who were negotiating with multinational corporations who wanted access to mining rights. The implication for NGOs is that they must restrain themselves from organizing political demonstrations, which makes it more difficult for NGOs to participate in community mobilization. Also, now that NGOs' efforts must coincide with state and neoliberal policies, the most vulnerable people can be exposed to mistreatment in the capitalist system. Since this law only applies to Peruvian NGOs, they will need to strengthen relationships with multinational NGOs in order to ensure that the most vulnerable are protected.

### **International NGOs**

International NGOs main priorities should be to provide financial assistance to local NGOs, to give loan assistance to farmers, and to raise funds in order to start rural development projects. Since successful international institutions get funding from a variety of sources, they are likely to have more resources available. Multinational NGOs could fund projects of local organizations that have already built community ties and understand the nuanced cultural and historical perspectives of individual communities. Thus, multinational NGOs can do the most good by vetting and supporting local NGOs that share similar missions. This would not require many political resources since most

people who donate care less about who delivers the aid and care more about the results on the ground.

Maintaining technical assistance is paramount to helping indigenous women acquire basic needs. As mentioned, financial assistance, especially in regard to acquiring loans is essential for providing farmers with the tools to harvest their crops. Since there is a lot of risk associated with loaning to poor farmers, it is important that the NGO have sufficient resources to be able to cover losses. It would also be important that the loan repayment scheme reflects a farmer's irregular income flows throughout the years. It may be challenging for established NGOs to expand services, since it requires hiring banking experts, loan agents, and understanding of local markets, soil, and culture in a specific geographic area. Thus, it may be best for multinational organizations to work with local institutions in order to gain the distinct perspective of a community. It is also imperative that these organizations give women-headed households priority since they are often the demographic that faces the most obstacles in obtaining loans.

Another priority that for international NGOs is to finance small rural development projects like small-scale hydroelectric power, irrigation projects, and road construction. Investments in infrastructure are imperative for advancing the livelihood of rural people, as it provides them with the framework to improve their current condition. Also, it may be more appropriate for large international organization to support such efforts since they require a moderately significant level of funding. Additionally, international intuitions may have greater access to advanced technology and may be able to get discounted parts if they buy them in bulk.

The international NGO could work with or without the government to deliver these

services. If the NGO works with the Peruvian government by sharing costs and working together to design programs, they may be able to develop meaningful relationships for future development projects. Whenever a NGO works in conjunction with the Peruvian government, however, it runs the risk of becoming subject to the government's policy orientation and objectives. Thus, a NGO will have to decide whether the extra funding from the government is worth dealing with bureaucratic red tape. The alternative is for the NGO to act independent of national government and work local NGOs. The advantage of this is that local NGOs know how money could be best invested given the particularities of an individual community.

### **International Institutions**

Similar to international NGOs, the World Bank, IMF, the UN and the InterAmerican Bank need to continue to finance current projects, especially those related to education, microcredit for farmers, and development projects in rural areas. These institutions are unique because they have significantly larger financial resources than any other independent actor. However, it is worth noting that these institutions are offering aid in the form of loans, so they will eventually need to be paid back for their investments.

The World Bank, for example, has over 30 active projects in Peru ranging from education, clean water, rural electrification, transportation and health. The most notable both in terms of money spent and people affected has been related to rural primary and secondary education project. The World Bank invested roughly \$170 million over four years (with counterpart funds totaling nearly US\$350 million) to improve rural primary

teaching, to test incentive systems to improve teacher and student attendance, and to develop a secondary school distance education system.

Intervention by the World Bank was necessary given Peruvian student's low scores on International Student Assessment (PISA). The top 10 percent of achievers in Peru on Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) scored at about the same level as the 60th percentile in Argentina.<sup>95</sup> The World Bank also played an integral role in providing consistency for the program. According to Independent Evaluation Group within the World Bank pointed out, "The Bank has ended up being an important shaper (as well as institutional memory) of many, if not most, Peruvian primary educational improvement efforts during this period."<sup>96</sup>

Peruvian government changes ministers of most agencies once a year, which can make it difficult for programs to develop over time effectively. Ministers are inclined to interrupt functioning programs to establish their own legitimacy and to make it seem as though they accomplished a lot in their term. Ministers are especially eager to dismantle their predecessor's programs if they were from an opposing party. Often international institutions offer to give money over a series of years instead of a lump sum in order to ensure the longevity of the project, which is particularly important in Peru.

Second, the World Bank should develop pilot programs for agricultural microfinance and crop insurance. Currently, there are very few microcredit institutions that provide loans to farmers due to the high risk. International Banks are best able to take on the extra risk given their large size. They also have the resources to conduct various pilot programs to determine which is best. However, in order for microcredit programs to be successful, it will have to consider geographic, historical, and cultural

circumstance.

Although international institutions have the potential to do a lot of good given their vast amount of resources, permanent and meaningful change is best assured when it comes from the poor within a country. Internal change requires the mobilization of grassroots movements and community action. Once a civil society is created, the government becomes more accountable to its citizens and therefore, citizens can demand more rights. Thus, all of the actors that have been discussed thus far in the chapter are significant, but the most important is the indigenous women's groups themselves.

### **Indigenous women's groups**

What were once fragmented and geographically isolated groups, have become an immense network of women committed to providing aid to their communities and seeking to end gender discrimination. Indigenous women's groups are distinct from women's rights or indigenous groups since they share cultural perspectives, base values and expectations. The most important priority for indigenous women's groups is to remain autonomous of the state to prevent political manipulation of the state. Other priorities include being a portal for a discussion of rights, providing technical assistance, and to teach one another how to read.

It is imperative for indigenous women's groups to remain independent of the state so that they can continue to pursue their own agenda regardless of national politics. Even though the Peruvian Constitution recognizes that PROMUDEH is an apolitical, grassroots movement, they have been manipulated by the state—at the national level, especially under the Fujimori Administration, and at the local level in places like Ayacucho. It is especially important to maintain independence given Peru's high levels of

corruption. Peru ranked 3.7 out of 10 (1 being the most corrupt) on the Corruption Perception Index.<sup>97</sup> Though women's indigenous groups should be wary of political imposition, they will have to work within government institutions to establish lasting success.

The second priority of indigenous women's groups should be to teach one another about their rights, issues related to women, and how to take action. Understanding one's rights and the responsibilities of government is absolutely necessary for political participation. Moreover, discussing gender and the state is important for creating long-term goals for ending the discrimination against women. One topic that will be discussed inevitably is the difference from freedom from discrimination and legislation that actively seeks to correct structural obstacles that create vastly unequal results. These types of discussions are not always a priority for women trying to sustain basic needs, but participating in a democratic institution could encourage women to become more active citizens and hold the state accountable. The first signs of this have already been witnessed when mother's clubs came together to demand clean water and sanitation services in the barrios of Lima. Participating in demonstrations like this will lead to women taking on bigger issues, which can provide long-term improvements instead of temporary relief.

Additionally, indigenous women's groups should work with NGOs to get technical, financial, and legal assistance. Given the low income of women's groups, they will likely not be able to allocate a substantial amount of funds to members. However, women's groups can provide information through its networks to inform women about NGO support. Groups and NGOs should work together and communicate frequently to



ensure that the needs of the women in a community are met. While NGOs have the potential to help women empower themselves and advocate legislative changes, indigenous women's groups should be careful not to depend on NGOs too much. NGOs are not accountable to the citizens they help, but are instead can be more concerned with interests of donors. Moreover, NGOs have the potential to run out of funding and leave. Therefore, indigenous women's groups should build a coalition between groups and a wide range of NGOs.

The final priority indigenous women's groups should have is based on literacy. As mentioned, women are significantly less educated than men. Many female agriculturalists want to learn how to read, but never learned because they did not go to school long enough. Women's groups should work with PROMUDEH to fund literacy groups. The goal of these groups should not be to drastically lower rural illiteracy rates of older women. Instead, it should be to empower women and encourage education of young girls. Even if older women do not become highly literate, being able to read simple news papers and correspondence is essential in accessing more political and economic rights. Moreover, creating literacy groups for older women could lead to new attitudes about girl's education. In other words, emphasizing the importance of literacy for women of all ages could have positive benefits for future human development.

### **Conclusion**

While there are many policy options to improve the status of indigenous women, most meaningful change will happen incrementally. Over the last thirty years the indigenous women's groups have mobilized rural women across Peru. This apparatus has only begun to tap into its potential and will continue to demand more from the state both

in terms of legal recognition and technical assistance. However, gender and indigenous discrimination remain ubiquitous in social, political, and economic arenas. Therefore, the women's groups in conjunction with NGOs will have to work from the bottom up to demand incremental change while international institutions will have to work on a larger scale to promote the equality and development of women. If Peru wants to close the gender gap in the long-term, both government and society will have to invest in poverty alleviation and education projects, which benefit future human development. Also important to permanent equality is for Peruvian government to modify language in legislation to strengthen the legal standing of women, like passing an Equal Opportunity Act. In the meantime, however, the ministries within the Peruvian government should pass regulations that help end the structural discrimination, most important of which is providing women with land titles and defending their property.

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<sup>1</sup> Carmen Deere Diana and Magdalena Leon. "Institutional Reform of Agriculture under Neoliberalism: The Impact of the Women's and Indigenous Movements." *Latin American Research Review*. 36 (2002): 32.

<sup>2</sup> The World Bank. *Reaching the Rural Poor: A renewed Strategy for Rural Development*. Washington DC: World Bank, 2003, XIX. (December 2, 2009).<http://site.ebrary.com/lib/claremont/docDetail.action?docID=10044930>, 13.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, 15.

<sup>4</sup> The World Bank. *Gender in Agriculture Sourcebook/The World bank, Food and Agriculture Organization, and International Fund For Agriculture*. Washington DC: World Bank, 2009, 6. (December 2, 2009) <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/claremont/docDetail.action?docID=10255166/> , 38.

<sup>5</sup> In a study men reported higher rate of alcohol consumption (42 of 57, 75 percent) than women (43/120, 26 percent, P=.0001). Nawaz, Haq, Mustapha A. Rahman, Devon Gramham, David L. Katz and James F. Jekel. "Health Risk Behaviors and Health Perceptions in the Peruvian Amazon" *The American Society of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene*, 65 (2001): 254.

<sup>6</sup> The World Bank *Reaching the Rural Poor*, 13.

<sup>7</sup> The World Bank *Reaching the Rural Poor*, 18.

<sup>8</sup> Carmen Diana Deere and Magdalena Leon. *Land and Property Rights in Latin America: Empowering Women*. Pittsburgh: Pittsburg University Press, (2001): 327.

<sup>9</sup> Lucien Chauvin. "Helping Peru's 'invisible' women". *BBC* September 14, 2005. (January 7, 2010).

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<sup>10</sup>OECD. "Gender Equality and Social Institutions in Peru". OECD (November 15, 2009) <http://genderindex.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/PER.pdf>.

<sup>11</sup> Rural Development Institute. "Women's Land Rights." Rural Development Institute (November 15, 2009)

[http://www.rdiland.org/OURWORK/OurWork\\_WomenLand.html](http://www.rdiland.org/OURWORK/OurWork_WomenLand.html) .

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, 151.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, 41.

<sup>14</sup> The World Bank. *Gender in Agriculture Sourcebook/The World bank, Food and Agriculture Organization, and International Fund For Agriculture*. Washington DC: World Bank, 2009, 6. (December 2, 2009) <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/claremont/docDetail.action?docID=10255166/>

<sup>15</sup> The World Bank *Gender in Agriculture* 7.

<sup>16</sup> The World Bank. "Peru Poverty Assesment" (November 15, 2009).<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/LACEXT/0,,contentMDK:20862551~pagePK:146736~piPK:146830~theSitePK:258554,00.html> .

<sup>17</sup> Ibid executive summary.

<sup>18</sup> Rural Development Institute.

<sup>19</sup> The CAP was designed to be an indivisible collective where any personal farming is technically prohibited. Since everyone farms together, the total profits are divided up by numbers of days worked after deductions for overhead cost, social security, and education are taken out. This agricultural structure was most widely accepted in the Coastal estates and less so in the Highlands.

The SAIS is similar to the CAP in that it is collective; however, ownership is divided differently. SAISs are legally own and run by former estate workers and neighboring peasants,

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which form the Service Cooperative. *Cumuneros*, people from neighboring communities, who invest in the infrastructure, but do not work the land directly, also get some of the SAISs' profits. All SAISs are located in the Highlands, where the soil has fewer nutrients.

Peasant communities also were organized in communal cooperatives, which were meant to be transitional in nature. The government hoped that the peasants would organize themselves into cooperatives and share the land collectively. Instead, the peasants divided the land and farmed privately, as they believed it was more advantageous.

<sup>20</sup> Carmen Diana Deere and Magdalena Leon. *Land and Property Rights in Latin America: Empowering Women*. Pittsburgh: Pittsburg University Press, 2001, 100.

<sup>21</sup> Carmen Diana Deere. "Changing Social Relations of Production and Peruvian Peasant Women's Work." *Latin American Perspectives* 4 (1977): 57.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, 91.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, 105.

<sup>24</sup> Deere *Empowering*, 92.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, 145.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, 146.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, 147.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, 146.

<sup>29</sup> Stephen Baranyi, Carmen Diana Deere, Manuel Morales. "Land & development in Latin America: openings for policy research". Ottawa: The North-South Institute, 2004. (November 15, 2009) <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/claremont/docDetail.action?docID=10141234> .

<sup>30</sup> Virginia Vargas and Victoria Villanueva "Between Confusion and the Law: Women and Politics in Peru." *In Women and Politics Worldwide*, edited by Barbara J. Nelson, Nājamā Caudhurī, 575-590. Hartford: Yale University Press, 1994, 577.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid, 577.

<sup>32</sup> Deere "Institutional Reform of Agriculture under Neoliberalism," 33.

<sup>33</sup> Maria Elena Garcia. "The Politics of Community Education, Indigenous Rights, and Ethnic Mobilization in Peru" *Latin American Perspectives* 128 (2003), 72.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid, 77.

<sup>35</sup> Deere *Empowering Women*, 256.

<sup>36</sup> Deere "Institutional Reform of Agriculture under Neoliberalism" 55.

<sup>37</sup> Deere *Empowering Women* 91.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, 256.

<sup>39</sup> Deere "Institutional Reform of Agriculture under Neoliberalism," 44.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, 44.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid, 46.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid, 47.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid, 56.

<sup>44</sup> Joanna Drzewieniecki. "Indigenous People, Law, and Politics in Peru." Paper prepared for delivery at the Meeting of the Latin American Studies Association Washington, D. C., September 28-30, 1995, 4.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid, 3.

<sup>46</sup> The transition from unwritten customary to explicitly indigenous law was due to pressure from Spanish colonizers to codify their state legal system. One of the most important examples of this was the 1920 law that specified in a "rigid and precise" way that the highest decision

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making entity would be the assembly, meeting of all household heads. To go into further detail, the leader of the assembly is the president of the community who is elected annually. However, there are many communities that have traditional authorities that play a central role in resolving disputes. In either case, however, the leader has always been male due to traditional gender roles and because members of the assembly must be heads of households. So, even if a widow were to be a member, who has happened in rare instances, tradition would suggest that other male representatives would not elect a woman to be their leader.

<sup>47</sup> Burt, Jo-Marie, "State Making Against Democracy." *Politics in the Andes: Identity, Conflict, Reform*, edited by Jo-Marie Burt and Philip Mauceri, 247-269. Pittsburg: Pittsburg University Press, 2004, 250

<sup>48</sup> Ibid, 250.

<sup>49</sup> Vargas, 578.

<sup>50</sup> Burt, 256.

<sup>51</sup> Since the Spanish arrived the sixteenth century, the countryside has been affected by clientelism. With the implementation of massive land reform and a shift of resources to urban areas, the military's regime, which lasted until 1976, dramatically changed the power relationships on the countryside. Once landowners and patrons lost their land, many moved to Lima where there were more economic opportunities. In leaving they left a vacuum that was filled by Sendero Luminoso.

<sup>52</sup> Vargas, 571.

<sup>53</sup> Jelke Boesten. "Poor Women in Peru: Reproducers of Poverty and Poverty Relievers." *Women's Studies Quarterly* 21 (2003): 118.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid, 118.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid, 119.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid, 119.

<sup>57</sup> Rosemary Thorp. "Collective Action, Gender and Ethnicity in Peru: a case study of the People's Kitchen." *Center for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity*. working paper no. 67 (2009), 7.

<sup>58</sup> Boesten, 116.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid, 120.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid, 117.

<sup>61</sup> Thorp, 11.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid, 12.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid, 11.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid, 14.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid, 11.

<sup>66</sup> Thorp, 10

<sup>67</sup> Deere *Empowering Women*, 324.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid, 321.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid, 314.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid, 320.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid, 322.

<sup>72</sup> Garcia, 71.

<sup>73</sup> William Ascher. *Communities and Sustainable Forestry in Developing Countries*. San Francisco: Institute for Contemporary Studies, 1995, 83.

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<sup>74</sup> Boesten, 120.

<sup>75</sup> Chauvin.

<sup>76</sup> Flora Tristan NGO website “Rural Development.”

[http://www.flora.org.pe/prog\\_desarr\\_rural.htm](http://www.flora.org.pe/prog_desarr_rural.htm) accessed on March 29, 2010.

<sup>77</sup> Deere *Empowering Women*, 323.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid, 328.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid, 328.

<sup>80</sup> Ministerio de la Mujer y Desarrollo Social, “Visión y Misión” PROMUDEH official website [http://www.pronaa.gob.pe/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=136&Itemid=77](http://www.pronaa.gob.pe/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=136&Itemid=77) accessed on March 29, 2010.

<sup>81</sup> Deere *Empowering Women*, 302.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid, 303.

<sup>83</sup> The application form for land titling was revised and the new instructions expanded who qualified to share a joint title.

1. If an applicant is married, the wife’s name should be included;
2. If the applicant lives in a consensual union, without any impediment to marriage, the partner’s name should be included;
3. If the applicant lives in a consensual union and has an impediment to marriage, but he has children with this partner who also lives on the farm, then their names should be included.

Ibid, 303.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid, 304.

<sup>85</sup> NationMaster.com “Peruvian Religious Stats”

<http://www.nationmaster.com/country/pe-peru/rel-religion> accessed on April 2, 2010.

<sup>86</sup> Chauvin.

<sup>87</sup> Deere *Empowering Women*, 323.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid, 198.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid, 200.

<sup>90</sup> Empowering, 200.

<sup>91</sup> Empowering, 327.

<sup>92</sup> Garcia, 8.

<sup>93</sup> module 7-2 pg 5

<sup>94</sup> Howard, April. “Peru Passes Anti-NGO Law” December 12, 2006. (April 2, 2010).

<http://upsidedownworld.org/main/content/view/543/1/> .

<sup>95</sup> Independent Evaluation Group. “Case Study: Peru Executive Summary” The World Bank. April 17, 2010

<http://www.worldbank.org/oed/education/peru.html>.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

<sup>97</sup> Transparency International: the global coalition against corruption. “Corruption Perceptions Index 2009.” April 23, 2010

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