Young Lives Qualitative Research: Round 1 – Peru

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Young Lives
An International Study of Childhood Poverty

Contents

Executive Summary

This report presents an initial analysis of some of the qualitative data collected in four of the 20 Young Lives sites in Peru between August and December 2007. Data collection was carried out with both cohorts of Young Lives children (the Younger Cohort are aged 5/6 and the Older Cohort are aged 11/13), as well as their caregivers, teachers, community representatives and other children. The sub-sample includes 51 children.

Three overriding questions guided the qualitative research. These were designed to be sensitive to both differences between children (for example, age, gender, socioeconomic status, ethnic, linguistic, or religious identity), and intergenerational differences (for example, in the perspectives of children and their caregivers).

1. What are the key transitions in children's lives, how are they experienced (particularly in relation to activities, relationships, identities, and well-being) and what influences these experiences?

2. How is children's well-being understood and evaluated by children, caregivers and other stakeholders? What shapes these different understandings, and what causes them to change? What do children, caregivers and other stakeholders identify as sources of and threats to well-being, and what protective processes can enable children to minimise these threats?

3. How do policies, programmes and services shape children's transitions and well-being? What are the different stakeholder perspectives on these processes? What is the interplay between public, private and not-for-profit sectors and communities within these processes?

The qualitative research entailed a mix of methods to generate data on the themes of transitions, well-being and services, including individual interviews with children, caregivers and teachers, and group interviews with children (both cohorts), as well as with adults in the community. Creative methods such as drawing and neighbourhood walks with the children were used as a basis for discussion of key research themes. Semi-structured observations of homes, schools and community settings provided the context for analysing and understanding the data.

Childhood transitions

Educational transitions were important for both cohorts of children. An analysis of school transitions among the Younger Cohort shows that almost half (ten of the 24 children) had already made the transition from pre-school or home to primary school, with a further 12 in pre-school and two at home waiting to start first grade primary the following year. Among the Older Cohort, most (20 of the 27 children) had moved from primary to secondary school, with a further five children experiencing the transition at the time of the research.

Children, in general, were aware of the importance of education. Older children were keen to complete secondary school and go on to higher education and careers as professionals. Most children made this link between education and future career opportunities, and girls especially associated the completion of secondary school with their overall well-being.

Children discussed their experiences of school transitions and reflected on differences between previous and current schools. Information covered their views on several dimensions of school quality, including school environment, quality of teaching, basic

amenities, recreational facilities and school performance. Among the Younger Cohort, the main difference identified between pre-school and primary school was the greater emphasis on study and the fewer opportunities to play. Despite this, the younger children preferred primary school because they felt they would learn more and they saw the more serious environment as a sign that they were 'growing up'. The older children identified a number of differences in secondary school, including more difficult subjects, more time spent studying, and the need to take more responsibility for their own education as teachers were less attentive to the needs of individual students than in primary school. Secondary schools were also seen as a more dangerous and violent environment than primary schools.

Educational transitions were also linked to social transitions, particularly in terms of changing roles and responsibilities. For the Younger Cohort, the move from pre-school to primary school coincided with a transition from being mainly taken care of to a status of greater responsibility and learning to take care of others (especially younger siblings and other relatives). Children, especially in rural areas, move through progressive stages of participation in domestic and productive activities from as young as 3 or 4 years old through to adolescence. Older Cohort children had a greater degree of responsibility than the younger children, participating in a range of family activities and contributing to income generation. There were significant differences in the degree and nature of their contribution depending on location and gender.

Children's well-being

Information on younger children's understandings and experiences of well-being and ill-being highlighted a range of social, emotional and education related indicators. Family was central to younger children's understanding of well-being and was described in terms of having both parents, being well cared for and having strong family relationships. Younger children also valued education as an indicator of well-being, described in terms of going to school regularly, getting good grades and having access to food aid programmes in schools. Helping parents with domestic activities, having time to play and friends to play with, and living in a pleasant environment were all identified as important indicators of well-being. Well-being was also defined by material indicators such as having a nice house, land, enough food and toys. Poor health and getting physically punished were seen as signs of ill-being by younger children.

Older children also valued family as an indicator of well-being, which was described in terms of having both parents, living with them, having their love and support, and enjoying strong, harmonious family relationships. Physical punishment, at home and at school, was seen by older children as an important indicator of child ill-being. Education was also central to older children's understandings of well-being and was described in terms of doing well at school and having increased opportunities for the future. Work was also valued as an indicator of well-being and was seen as a way of learning important new skills and contributing to family income. However, having to work 'too much' and exposure to hazardous work were considered signs of a child not doing well. Having material possessions, such as a nice house, clothes and items such as televisions and computers were identified as signs of well-being. Being well nourished, having good health and living in a clean and safe environment were also valued by older children as signs of well-being. Older girls identified discrimination, sexual abuse and physical changes as signs of ill-being.

Services

The quality of and access to services has a major impact on children's well-being, with access to education services strongly affecting school transitions. Generally, access to health and education services was good in all four research communities. However, children and caregivers were critical of the quality of services, especially in rural areas.

Education services varied greatly between rural and urban areas, and between public and private provision. In all of the research communities, caregivers felt that their children's education could be better. Caregivers and children highlighted the need for better trained teachers, more attention given to individual students, improved school infrastructure, and better, cleaner facilities. Corporal punishment in primary schools was especially unpopular among children. Caregivers were concerned about the limited access to childcare for children under 3 years old.

Health services, particularly in rural areas, were considered of poor quality. Overcrowding, insufficient medicines, under-staffing, and mistreatment of patients were among the main criticisms of health services. Caregivers and children also mentioned the need for more information on nutrition. The research also collected information on social assistance programmes, such as the 'glass of milk' programme, security and policing services, and recreation services such as parks and playgrounds. In the urban communities, lack of green spaces and safe places for children to play emerged as a particular problem.

1. Introduction

1.1   **About Young Lives**

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

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

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

The potential of the project lies in its focus on tracking children's progress throughout childhood – over 15 years. We collect quantitative and qualitative data at the individual, household and community level. Quantitative data is gathered through comprehensive surveys that include interviews with the children once they are old enough to participate directly, with their parents and caregivers, and with key community members (such as teachers, village elders or elected council representatives). Data are collected in each round on households' economic circumstances, livelihoods, assets and social capital. The questionnaires also collect evidence related to coping strategies such as migration, parental education and other experiences, child outcomes and the extent to which children and their parents and carers use services (e.g. health care, pre-school care or education programmes). This data is combined with data collected from a smaller sample of younger and older children (204 children across the four study countries), their caregivers, and their teachers, using child-focused qualitative methods (Crivello, Camfield and Woodhead 2009). In this way, we can create a detailed picture of children's experiences and well-being linked to information about their households and communities and set within the national context. This provides us with data suitable for in-depth analysis of children's poverty and the effectiveness of government policies that concern their lives and well-being.

Young Lives is a collaboration between key government and research institutions in each of the study countries with the University of Oxford, the Open University, and the Institute of Education (London) in the UK, alongside the international NGO, Save the Children-UK. The partners in Peru are the Instituto de Investigación Nutricional (IIN, the Institute for Nutrition Research), responsible for data collection and analysis, and the Grupo de Análisis para el

Desarrollo (GRADE, the Group for the Analysis of Development), responsible for data management and analysis, including a small team who carry out our policy engagement and communications work in Peru. The first round of qualitative research took place in 2007 and was led by Patricia Ames, a researcher from the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos contracted by GRADE. She also led on the second round of qualitative research, from September to November 2008. Data from the second round is still being processed.

1.2   About this report

Qualitative research is a major feature of the Young Lives Project during Phase 3 (2006-9), drawing on a mix of complementary methods to understand the diverse experiences and aspirations of children from different geographical, socioeconomic and cultural locations. This report presents an initial analysis of some of the qualitative data collected in four of the twenty Young Lives sites in Peru between August and December 2007. Data collection was carried out with both cohorts of Young Lives children, as well as their caregivers, teachers, community representatives and other children.

The qualitative research component is premised on the recognition of children as social actors who provide an essential source of information about how poverty impacts on their lives and well-being. Children's own understanding and perspectives serve as a major source of qualitative data, along with those of key adults in their lives. The aim has been to produce a detailed, grounded description of children's lives and of the dynamic processes that underlie life trajectories, in ways that will complement quantitative data analysis and inform policy.

Young Lives uses an innovative methodology, with interdisciplinary research and a mix of qualitative and quantitative methods. While this report focuses on the first round of qualitative data gathering, it is important to note that its interpretation will be strengthened and complemented by analysis of both the quantitative data and the qualitative data from the second round.

1.3   Methodology

The qualitative research team conducted a data gathering activity at four sites in Peru: Rioja, Andahuaylas, San Román and Lima 3. The sites were selected to enable exploration of variations in location, ethnicity and socioeconomic status, and how these characteristics interact and affect access to education and formal healthcare, government support, and child participation in the labour force (Ames 2008). The four sites included: two rural and two urban, two with a high presence of indigenous population (measured by language) and two with a mixed population with Spanish as their first language, two that were more poor and two that were less poor, and at least one for each of the main regions (coast, Andes and Amazon). The communities where the subsamples are located are briefly described below:

- *Rioja* is a rural community settled in the Upper Amazon, in the region of San Martin, located in the north of the country. The village is ten minutes by car from the district capital, about one hour from the provincial capital and three to four hours from the regional capital. The *Carretera Marginal*, an important highway connecting several provinces and regions, passes through the village. The village, like most of the region, is populated largely by Spanish-speaking Andean immigrants, but there are also neighbouring villages inhabited by the indigenous Awajun population. The village has about 1,673 inhabitants, dedicated mainly to agriculture (coffee) and cattle raising. Basic services in the village include piped water but no sewage system, and electricity did not arrive until August 2007. There is a pre-school, primary and secondary school available in the village as well as a health post. Two other

neighbouring villages were visited in this district. One is located next to Rioja, about five minutes by car. It is smaller than Rioja, with about 183 households. It has a pre-school and a primary school, but not a secondary school, and similar services: piped water and latrines; electricity was installed in August 2007. The other village is even smaller (about 40 households) and is not along the road but within the forest. There is no pre-school, but a PRONOEI (*Programa No Escolarizado de Educación Inicial* – a non-formal, community pre-school programme), and a multigrade school with two teachers for the six grades of primary school. There is no health service in the village, and neither piped water, sewage nor electricity.

• *Andahuaylas* is a peasant community located in the southern highlands of Peru, with lands between 3,000 and 3,500 metres in altitude, in one of the poorest regions of the country, Apurimac. The distance by car to the village from the district capital is about 30 minutes and it is 45 minutes from the provincial capital. The road that connects the latter with the regional capital passes through the village after about eight hours in driving time. Houses are dispersed through the hills in which the farming areas are located. The village is inhabited by the Quechua indigenous population. There are about 2,014 inhabitants grouped into 335 households. The population is dedicated mostly to agriculture (potatoes and corn) and cattle raising only as a secondary activity. Basic services available are piped water, electricity and latrines (the latter only in 40 households). The village has a pre-school, primary and secondary school, as well as four community centres for day care (*Wawa Wasi*), one PRONOEI and a public health post. The region had suffered seriously from the political violence in the country between 1980 and 1992 and can certainly be considered a post-conflict area.

• *San Román* is a city in the southern Andes, at about 4,000 meters of altitude, in the region of Puno. It represents the economic and commercial centre of the region. The city is inhabited not only by Spanish-speaking people, but also by members of the two main indigenous groups in the Andes: Quechua and, especially, Aymara. Much of the population is of rural origin and the people keep their links with their birthplaces. Here we worked in four neighbourhoods, the biggest of which has about 3,000 households (15,000 inhabitants) and the smallest 143 households and 715 inhabitants. The population is dedicated to formal and informal trade, commerce and the textile industry. In addition to the formal and informal trade, the city is known for the existence of two highly profitable (although illegal) activities carried out by its inhabitants: drug dealing and smuggling. As an urban settlement, there is electricity, piped water and sewage, as well as telephone and internet in the four communities. However, only a few streets are paved, most are not. There is a public pre-school and a public primary school in the main neighbourhood, as well as some private schools, a regional hospital and a recreational park. Secondary schools are available in other nearby neighbourhoods.

• *Lima 3* is also an urban settlement, located in the southern part of Lima, the national capital. The main neighbourhood we visited has about 1,118 households (7,825 people), but some children attend school in the adjacent neighbourhood, so we also include this in the study. Lima 3 is located in one of the districts founded through invasions of the desert hills surrounding the city, which started back in the 1950s. Today, the district has about 350,000 inhabitants, making it one of the most populous in the capital city. The neighbourhoods are inhabited by people who come from all over the country and new generations born in Lima. Inhabitants are dedicated to a variety of economic activities, from informal trade to teaching. As an urban settlement, there is electricity, piped water and sewage, as well as telephone and internet

services. Most streets are paved, but some are not. There are several schools in these and the surrounding neighbourhoods, including public and private pre-schools, primary schools and secondary schools, as well as one W*awa Wasi*, PRONOEIs, a vocational centre and an academy preparing for university admission. There is also a health centre.

The children at each site were selected randomly considering gender and cohort. A core group of 51 'case study' children from across the four communities were selected, in addition to another ten children to be 'stand by' cases. Of the 51 case study children, 24 belonged to the Younger Cohort (12 girls and 12 boys) and 27 belonged to the Older Cohort (12 girls and 15 boys).

1.4 Legal and institutional context for Young Lives children in Peru

Children have become progressively more prominent in the Peruvian policy agenda in the last two decades, a trend encouraged by international agreements such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) and Education for All (EFA). United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child was endorsed by the Peruvian Government in 1990, only one year after the UN approved it. In 2001, Peru also signed the OIT Agreements No. 138 and 182 concerning minimum age for working and suppression of the worst forms of child work, respectively. The minimum age for work is 12 years old, though some specific activities require the child to be older. All require authorization by central or local government. About 30% of children from 6 to 16 years old work.

Currently, there is in place a National Plan of Action for Childhood and Adolescence (PNAIA 2002-2010) which involves different Ministries and must be monitored every year, with a report from the Prime Minister to the Congress. The Board for Antipoverty Fight (*Mesa de Concertación de Lucha contra la Pobreza*) has recognised early childhood as a priority and demanded more funding for health and education. Likewise, the National Agreement (*Acuerdo Nacional*) has requested more funding as part of state policy, acknowledging that attention to early childhood is necessary to reduce poverty and achieve equality of opportunity without discrimination (state policies 10 and 11). In the education sector, a new General Law of Education which included pre-school as part of basic education, making it free and compulsory, was approved in 2003. More recently (2007), pre-school education has been extended to include children from 0 to 2 years old. The structure of the Peruvian education system is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. *Structure of the Peruvian educational system*

Educational level	Normative age	Number of compulsory years	% enrolment in private education against total enrolment1
Pre-school	0-2	0	Nd
	3-5	1	16
Primary	6-11	6	14
Secondary	12-16	5	Nd

A national plan of Education for All (2004) has been approved following the international agreements at Jomtien and Dakar. A national education project (2006-2021) was produced by the National Council of Education and approved as state policy in 2007. This profuse body

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1   Source: Compendio Mundial de la Educación 2005. UNESCO-UIS.

of laws and regulations constitutes a more positive context within which to address childhood poverty issues, although implementation and action should be monitored closely to ensure they are addressed in practice.

There are several social assistance programmes in place that target children, such as:

- Food aid programmes, such as the 'glass of milk' programme (run by local government); community kitchens, with support from central government and NGOs; and school breakfast/school lunches in some public schools, run by central government.

- Health programmes, such as vaccinations; the school health insurance (for all children attending school); regular free height and weight monitoring for children under 5 years old; and concomitant food-aid schemes when malnutrition is identified.

- Cash transfer programmes, such as Juntos, which is conditional upon children's enrolment in and assistance to school, as well as periodic health checks for under 5 year olds and pregnant women, plus national identity documents for all children in each family within the programme.

1.5   Report structure

The following three sections present some preliminary analysis of the data on the three research themes: transitions, well-being and services. Section 2 examines the key transitions in children's lives and how they are experienced. It begins by looking at school transitions for the Younger and Older Cohorts and then explores the social transitions that accompany educational transitions for both, especially in terms of children's changing roles and responsibilities. Data on children's activities and time use is also presented. Section 3 examines how children understand and evaluate well-being and ill-being, looking at younger children's perceptions first and then at those of older children. Section 4 examines the main services, policies and programmes that impact on children's lives, including education, healthcare, food aid programmes, child protection and security, and recreation. Finally, Section 5 outlines the implications for future research emerging from the analysis and suggests some areas for policy change.

2. Childhood transitions

This section presents initial findings from the first round of qualitative data collection on the questions: What are the key transitions in children's lives, how are they experienced (particularly in relation to activities, relationships, identities and well-being) and what influences these experiences? The questions were broad enough to allow us to identify a variety of transitions. However, we could not cover each transition in depth.

This section begins by looking at school transitions. Given the age of the two cohorts, we anticipated that two important educational transitions would be taking place at the time of the qualitative research: for the younger children, moving from the last year of pre-school to the first year of primary school and for the older children, beginning secondary school. These transitions were considered important by the children and their caregivers. Both cohorts of children were aware of the importance of going to school and the impact that education could have on their future lives. Caregivers saw education as fundamental among life choices. This may signal an important change in Peruvian families, where school trajectory has become central in their children's lives. Or it could be that our questions were interpreted in that

direction (although we were very careful to phrase the questions in very general terms, asking for 'changes' and 'important moments'). Education also featured very prominently among well-being indicators.

The section goes on to examine the social transitions that accompany educational transitions, particularly in terms of the children's changing roles and responsibilities. This provides a broader socio-cultural context for understanding educational transitions. Finally, we look at children's activities and time use.

2.1   School transitions

Access to education in Peru has improved greatly during the last two decades. In all of the four research communities, pre-school, primary and secondary education was available either in the neighbourhood or close by. In the two rural sites, there were no secondary schools within the villages, but children could travel to villages about 30 minutes away for secondary school. One of the rural communities had an informal pre-school instead of formal pre-school. One of the urban research sites did not have all the levels of education available within the neighbourhood, but they were accessible in a nearby neighbourhood.

The increased availability of educational services has had a positive effect on school enrolment in Peru, which is almost universal (96 per cent) at the primary level. However, universal enrolment is still a challenge for pre-school (67 per cent enrolment rate) and secondary school (86 per cent enrolment rate).[2]

Among Young Lives children, all of the Older Cohort was enrolled in school. This is consistent with the Young Lives survey carried out in 2006-7, which showed 99 per cent enrolment among the Older Cohort (Escobal et al. 2008). At the time of the 2006-7 survey, the younger children were aged 4 to 5 years, so most were still in pre-school. The enrolment rate among the Younger Cohort was 78 per cent (Escobal et al. 2008). By the time of the qualitative research, all but two of the Younger Cohort case study children were either in pre-school or the first grade of primary school, as we now discuss in more detail.

2.1.1   The Younger Cohort

Of the 24 Younger Cohort case study children, only six were 6 years old at the time of the qualitative research, and the rest were 5 years old. As the mandatory age of starting school is 6 years old, we expected about 18 of the 24 children to still be in pre-school or at home. However, ten children were already attending primary school, 12 were in pre-school and two were at home waiting to start first grade the following year. Thus, almost half of the sample was already experiencing their transition to primary school. We explored all the children's experiences of pre-school or school, asking those who had already made the transition to compare the two and looking at the expectations of those who were to start school the following year. This allowed us to compare actual experiences with expectations.

Most children had experience of pre-school: 18 were in pre-school by age 4, and 19 by age 5 (most attended two years of pre-school but five children attended only one year). Only four children, all from the capital city, attended pre-school from age 3, when the service starts. Only three case study girls had started or were due to start first grade with no pre-school experience at all. This shows an important shift towards increasing enrolment in pre-school, which is observable in national statistics. Indeed, we found widespread recognition among

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2   Source: Educational Statistics, Ministry of Education, 2008.

parents of the importance of pre-school across rural and urban areas, and 21 out of 24 households sent their children to pre-school. There is more attendance by 5 years olds, but progressively younger children are being enrolled. Hidden costs such as school materials appeared to be limiting the years of pre-school attendance, with parents waiting until the last year to enrol their children, especially if they have many children of school age.

Young children starting first grade had positive initial perceptions of school. They saw it as a place to encounter other children, make new friends and to play, as well as a place to study and learn. However, there were also aspects of school that the children did not like, such as violence among children and punishment by teachers. Bullying and fights were most frequently reported in the urban setting in the Andes. In rural areas, children who had attended pre-school were more familiar with each other than those in urban areas, because they were neighbours or relatives. In urban areas, children encountered new classmates they had never met before and this may have contributed to the increased feeling of vulnerability, especially where there was violent behaviour. Physical (or corporal) punishment was present in all the schools we visited.

The children reflected on the differences between pre-school and primary schools. The main difference identified was the relative amounts of time allocated to play and study. In pre-school, there was more time to play and draw, and there were more toys and puzzles available. Learning corners were usually thought to be more attractive in pre-school and there was more outdoor play equipment, such as slides and swings. In primary school, there were fewer toys and games and more time was allocated to studying and doing homework. Children needed more notebooks and a big backpack to carry them in. Despite these observations, they preferred primary school because they believed they were going to learn to read and write and to study. They were keen to learn new skills and had been told by their caregivers how important school was. They may also have felt that they were growing up because they were studying more than playing.

Children also discussed differences between pre- and primary school in terms of teachers, spaces and practices or behaviours. Pre-school teachers were seen as 'better' and generally more supportive, while primary school teachers were felt to do things more quickly and not give enough individual attention to each child. These observations show that children can be very perceptive about the different pedagogical approaches teachers follow (a more individualised or a more 'whole class' approach). In one of the research sites, children reported that physical punishment was not used in pre-school but was used in primary school.

The children also felt that spaces were different in the two types of school: not only in terms of better learning corners and playgrounds in pre-school, but also that primary schools were bigger and in a different location. They also reflected on differences in their classmates' behaviour during the transition from pre- to primary school. One child who went straight from pre-school to second grade reported that his classmates in pre-school were disorganised, whereas in second grade they were more orderly. He valued this difference, possibly because it was a sign of growing up.[3]

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3   Transition to first grade is explored in more depth, including in terms of institutional aspects and parents' and teachers' perspectives, in a working paper by Ames et al. (2009), *Starting School: Who is Prepared?: Young Lives' Research on Children's Transition to First Grade in Peru,* Young Lives Working paper No.47. Available at: http://www.younglives.org.uk/publications/working-papers/index_html

2.1.2 The Older Cohort

The Older Cohort children were aged between 11 and 13 years old at the time of the qualitative research. We therefore expected these children to be experiencing another important educational transition between the last year of primary school and the first year of secondary school. However, we did not expect all of the children to be in the same grade or level, because repetition or drop out would have affected their educational trajectories.

All of the case study children (as well as the 'backup' children) were enrolled in school at the time of the research: 20 children were in secondary school, and seven were in primary school (five were in sixth grade, one in fifth grade and one in fourth grade). As with the younger children, we explored all the children's experiences of primary or secondary school, comparisons between the two for those who had already made the transition, and the expectations of those who were to make it in the future.

Older children were aware of the importance of secondary school and were keen to complete it in order to go on to higher education. This emerged as the most important attribute of secondary school: it was the necessary step to become a professional later on. This view was shared by girls and boys, and girls were especially explicit in connecting the completion of secondary school to their overall well-being. The goal of becoming a professional is a commonly-held aspiration for children and their families throughout Peru, as shown by several studies (Ansión et al. 1998; Ames 2002). In rural areas, the goal of not being a peasant anymore and avoiding the hardships associated with that lifestyle was especially strong. For rural children, however, this implies temporary or permanent migration, although in the Andes there seems to be an ultimate desire to come back to the community and help it as a professional.

Despite the great importance given to secondary education, the case study children were also aware of the many obstacles that could prevent them from completing their secondary education. However, they seemed very determined to overcome these obstacles. Children were willing to combine work and study in order to meet the costs of their education where parents could not afford to support them. Children also enlisted the help of other people to convince their parents to support their schooling in cases where they were against it for financial reasons. Some boys even considered dropping out of school to work in order to save money and then return to school the following year. This may help to explain why urban boys were less likely to have achieved the expected grade for their age, as found in the Young Lives survey (Escobal et al. 2008).

Children who had already started secondary school reflected on the differences between secondary and primary education. Information covered their views on curriculums, teaching methods, classmates and the difficulties and stresses associated with new schools. Secondary school subjects and courses were considered more difficult than those in primary school and children mentioned that there were more exams. There were more teachers in secondary school, with different teachers in charge of different courses and some only teaching a few hours each week. Secondary school teachers were seen as more detached, taking less interest in pupils and being less supportive than primary teachers. This also reflects the different expectations of secondary school students in terms of being more independent and taking greater responsibility for their own studying and learning, as the children themselves pointed out. This was both an opportunity and a challenge. Other people in the children's lives (parents, siblings and teachers) also stressed the shift towards greater responsibility at this age.

Going to secondary school involved not only more study time during the school day – usually an hour or two more than in primary – but also doing homework after school. Children also mentioned that they had to make more effort. Less time is devoted to recreation at secondary school. One girl mentioned only having one break a day, unlike in her primary school. No food aid programmes were available in secondary school, whereas in primary school there had been a breakfast provided.

All the case study children who attended secondary school went to one that was independent from their primary school. In some cases, this meant moving to a location that was far away from their previous school. Some children, in some of the rural areas for example, moved to secondary school with their classmates from primary school. Others, for example some rural children who went to the school in the next village or the nearby city and most urban children, moved to a new school without any familiar faces. For these children, changing schools also involved getting new classmates. And classmates were found to be essential for adapting well to a new school.

In general, peer relationships emerged as central to successful educational transitions for the Older Cohort children. Friends and classmates were identified as the biggest help in adapting to secondary school by both boys and girls. Peers provide each other with companionship, advice and help with homework. Urban girls also highlighted how being with friends helps to protect them from potential dangers inside and outside the school. Not having friends is therefore seen as a major problem which can be particularly difficult for children in urban areas who go to big schools and rural children who go to schools in other villages or nearby towns. Having bad relationships with classmates, including problems such as bullying, made it especially difficult to adapt to a new school.

Children also valued support from parents during their transition to secondary school. This was not so much in terms of support with homework, but parents providing children with advice on how to deal with the challenges of a new school, encouraging them to focus on their studies and supporting them financially. For girls, parents were also seen as a source of help and protection during a time of heightened vulnerability associated with entering into puberty and becoming aware of the risks of being sexually molested by teachers or classmates. Older siblings were also an important source of support, sometimes providing even more information and advice than parents, as they had gone through the transition to secondary school more recently.

Teachers were less likely to be seen as sources of support, although girls mentioned teachers' support more than boys did. Some primary school teachers had given children information on the transition to secondary school. However this tended to be general and superficial, such as references to the greater level of difficulty, the presence of more teachers and courses, and the need to make more effort studying. Nevertheless, teachers may be important in encouraging children to continue with their studies, especially in cases where family difficulties are a threat to this.

In general, there was a view of secondary school as a more dangerous and violent environment than primary school. This was mentioned by both girls and boys and was especially emphasised in the capital and was more observable in urban sites. Children mentioned the presence of others who were 'bad influences' and gangs as sources of danger, as well as fights that should be avoided.

Children reported physical punishment in all primary schools – even from first grade. In secondary schools, physical punishment was reported only by boys in the Andean urban and rural sites. In the Amazon, one of the differences between schools was that there was no

physical punishment in secondary, whilst it was common in primary. In this rural secondary school, punishment was no longer physical but instead consisted of reduced grades. However, in both Andean sites there was a greater frequency of punishment in secondary school, with the Andean urban site utilising a wider variety of physical punishment methods.

Only urban girls mentioned the issue of sexual harassment and sexual abuse. They associated the beginning of secondary school with greater independence but also with being more exposed to these dangers, both inside and outside school. Thus, in the capital, girls stressed the importance of walking to school with others, whilst in the Andes girls were more concerned about being abused by their teachers.

Children were aware of the stresses associated with the transition from primary to secondary school and some reported having difficulties adapting at first. They acknowledged that negative information or overly strict teachers could scare them and that lack of support from peers could make the transition more difficult. Overall, however, children were optimistic about the transition to secondary school, believing that they would adapt, overcome any difficulties and complete their schooling.

2.2   Other transitions

This section explores the social transitions that accompany educational transitions, especially in terms of children's changing roles and responsibilities. It begins by looking at the ways children contribute to household activities and goes on to examine their involvement in productive work and some of the problems associated with puberty and adolescence.

Children go through several stages of participation in domestic and productive activities, especially in rural areas (this is discussed in more detail in the following section on time use). This emerged clearly from the qualitative research and is supported in the literature. Children start to 'help' their mothers from a very early age. In rural areas, we found that some children as young as 3 or 4 years old were helping with cooking, going with their mothers to graze the flock or to the farming area, carrying water and wood, and so on. In the Andean rural site, children of about 5 years old were considered more 'judicious', which may have meant that they were able to take greater responsibility for their actions. By the age of 7, girls were already cooking simple things on their own, and by the age of 8 boys were already working in the farming areas. Both boys and girls of this age helped care for younger siblings. Thus, between the ages of 4 and 7, children were experiencing a transition from being young children that were taken care of to another position in which they took care of others and contributed to family activities in a more autonomous way (although usually surrounded by other family members). Interestingly, this coincided with starting pre-school (between the ages of 3 and 5, but only mandatory at 5) and primary school (mandatory at 6 years old) and thus needs to be taken into account when examining these educational transitions.

This progressive process of participation continued until about 10 years old, by which time children were already contributing fully to agricultural tasks on their family's lands. At aRound 11 to 12 years old, some children also started to work on other people's lands, to earn some money either for themselves or to contribute to the family income (some children started paid work before this age). Several case study boys were already working. This shows a transition to work which is much more progressive and smooth than in other societies, with children assuming increasing amounts of responsibility over time, and therefore may not be experienced as a transition as such. Through this process, a strong work ethic is instilled in children from an early age. The research found that children valued work and being a good worker. Nevertheless, special circumstances such as the loss of a parent or extreme poverty can push children towards inappropriate work; for example, forcing an early involvement in paid

work or participation in physical work that is beyond the child's strength and level of physical development. Traditionally, physical development is more important than age in determining a child's suitability for different tasks, as found in previous research (Montero et al. 2001).

In urban areas, the situation was mixed. In the Andean city, children were involved in their parents' productive activities, such as helping them with selling at market. These families were of rural origin and were possibly observing the traditional rural practice of involving children in work from an early age. Most of the families were involved in small trading and cloth making, which lend themselves to the involvement of children. Work was also highly valued by parents and children, as long as it did not interfere with education. In the capital city, however, young children were not as involved. Their parents mostly worked in places where children could not go. So it was not only traditional practices but also working conditions that determined how involved in work children were. Some parents were also worried that their children might leave school if they got too used to work and earning money. However, urban girls helped their mothers when they worked at home, in the family shop or in small trading.

Caregivers felt that puberty and adolescence was a very important transition for children. Children start to behave differently, their bodies change and they start to take an interest in the opposite sex and to fall in love. This process coincides with the beginning of secondary education (at about 12 to13 years old), a more independent role in the household and, in the rural areas and the Andean city, children beginning to 'earn their own money'.

The main concern for parents during this stage is the risk of early parenthood and the interruption of the school trajectory for this reason, especially in the case of girls. Peru has one of the highest rates of teenage pregnancy in Latin America: 11 per cent of teenage girls between the ages of 15 and 19 are pregnant or have given birth.[4] In the rural research communities, pregnancy in girls as young as 14 or 15 years old was reported, although this was not the norm. In the urban communities, mothers of 15 or 16 years old were also reported. Parents wanted their children to finish secondary education (usually at 16 to 17 years old) before getting pregnant. For preference, they also wanted their children to go on to higher education before settling down and having a family. The ideal was for girls to marry after the ages of 20 or 22 and boys after they were 25.[5]

Although the case study children were not yet experiencing transitions such as falling in love, pregnancy and marriage, it was clear from the research that parents felt that this stage was approaching and this was having an impact on family relationships and activities. For example, in the Amazon rural site and both the urban sites, a greater degree of control over Older Cohort girls was observable (such as not allowing them to go out alone or far away from home) in an attempt to protect them from such risks. Other risks at this stage, especially for urban boys, were falling in with 'bad influences' and getting involved in gangs. Because of this, urban boys spent less time 'in the streets' than those living in rural areas, where gangs are not an issue.

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4   Source: Encuesta Demográfica y de Salud Familiar ENDES 2004.

5   Couples may live together for several years before actually marrying, but socially they are recognised as a family, especially when they have children. In the Andean rural site this phase is called servinacuy. In rural areas, civil and religious marriage may take place after several years and after having children. The couple saves for the special occasion, since it involves a party and related expenses.

2.3   Time use

This section presents findings from the first round of qualitative data on the questions: What are children's everyday activities? How much and in what ways do children activities differ among sites? What are the meanings given to these activities by children and caregivers? This analysis will be complemented by subsequent rounds of data collection to enable us to track how children's activities evolve over time, how their transitions affect their time use, and how their well-being is affected by and affects time use and everyday activities. We structure this section by cohort, because each cohort used their time quite differently.

2.3.1   The Younger Cohort

The younger children participated in a great variety of everyday activities. They took care of themselves in terms of washing, brushing their teeth, combing their hair and so on and also helped to take care of others, particularly younger siblings. Young children were more likely to look after a younger sibling, feeding or cleaning him or her, in the rural sites. In the urban sites, they were more likely to play with their younger siblings than look after them.

As noted in Section 2.2, the degree of responsibility children had in terms of contributing to the support of their family also varied between urban and rural areas. In both, young children helped their mothers with domestic activities such as cooking, (e.g. peeling vegetables), cleaning the house, washing the dishes, making beds, running errands and going shopping for small items. In the rural sites, these activities were seen as children's responsibilities or duties, although many enjoyed doing them. In the urban sites, these activities were seen more as first attempts to help, and were thus considered useful for learning. The range of activities that children were involved with was also broader in rural areas, including fetching water and wood for cooking, helping with laundry and cooking, collecting grass or grinding corn for feeding, and taking care of animals.

Taking care of animals was considered an important activity in both urban and rural areas. Again, the degree of responsibility and type of activity varied depended on location. In rural areas, taking care of farm animals and pets was a daily responsibility children had to fulfil. It could involve feeding them in the house or nearby barnyard, or taking the whole flock to graze on the outskirts of the village, an activity which children of this age perform with older siblings or their mothers. In urban areas, children mostly had pets which they played with but who were cared for by their caregivers. Whether children had pets or farm animals such as chickens, cows, sheep, and so on, they made it clear that their animals were very special to them.

In rural areas, children were also involved in productive activities. They accompanied their parents to their gardens and farms and helped with various activities, including feeding animals, cleaning the crops, scaring birds away from the crops and making holes in the land to sow, while gradually learning other skills such as milking cows, getting honey, moving the animals around the pastures, and sowing and harvesting. In urban areas, the nature of children's involvement in their families' productive activities varied between the Andean site and the capital city, as discussed in Section 2.2.

Play was a common activity for younger children in all four research sites. In urban areas, children tended to play more inside the house, whereas in rural areas children were freer to move around the community (although there was usually an adult supervising them). Also, in rural areas, children played not only at 'playtime' but tended to combine play and work, for example when grazing the animals or fetching water. This is important to take into account since, when asking about time use for discrete activities, the fact that play and work are combined may result in only one of these activities being reported, leading to a distorted

representation. This may mean either a picture of children who either work too much or who do not work at all: both will spring from a false understanding that there are separate times and places for different activities.

Children in rural areas played with tires, cars, balls, marbles, slings, spinning tops, domestic objects such bottles and pots, with their animals, and with other children, often their siblings. Some organised games were observed, including *kiwi,* football and *chapa-chapa*. Television was watched mostly at night, for a short time, but radio was listened to at different times of the day. Girls in one rural site also played with dolls and teddy bears. Playing with puzzles and reading books was only reported in one of the rural sites. In contrast, children in urban areas played more with toys and puzzles, enjoyed drawing and painting, and played more organised games such as volleyball, football, basket*, pesca-pesca, chapadas* and *liga*. Urban children also spent more time watching television and films on DVD and playing with video and computer games. Other recreational activities included going to a larger town or market to shop at weekends with their families (in the rural areas and one of the urban sites). In the Andean urban area, children also visited the countryside during weekends and holidays, where they played with animals and ran around playing with other children. Urban children tended to enjoy this as they had more freedom to move around than they had in the city.

As discussed in Section 2.1 on school transitions, all but two of the case study girls (one rural and one urban) went to school, either pre-school or primary, usually on weekday mornings for between three and five hours. They also spent some of their time doing school homework, with the help of their caregivers. Homework was done at different times of the day depending on the site and the family dynamics, but usually before children were allowed to go out to play or watch television.

The data on time use depicts general patterns found in each of the research communities, but there were considerable variations depending on various factors such as gender, family size, birth order, mother's education and so on. Two short case studies give an idea of how time use varies for a young boy and girl from the same village.[6]

> **Gabriela** was a 5 year old girl who was in first grade of primary school at the time of the qualitative research. She lived with her parents and her eight siblings. When we met her at the school grounds, she seemed very tiny and shy. However, when we saw her at her home and garden, she transformed into a much more 'grown up' girl. For example, although she was very small and thin, she was strong enough to carry her baby brother, feed and clean him, and change his clothes, something she did regularly and without anyone asking. Gabriela also helped her mother with carrying water and wood for cooking, peeling vegetables, cooking rice and feeding the chickens. She played mostly with her siblings, especially those closer in age (1 and a half, 4, 7, 12 and 14 years) either in the house or the yard, but rarely on the streets. Gabriela enjoyed going with her mother and siblings to the farm area, especially on weekends. While her older siblings milked the cows and grazed the flock with her mother, she took care of the younger ones. She also drank milk her mother gave her, ate fruit her brother gathered from the trees and played around. On the way back, she would sometimes carry milk or wood.

> **Hugo** was a 5 year old boy who went to pre-school. He lived with his parents and older sister. He was very sociable and energetic. Being the youngest in a small family, he was still very much cared for by his mother and sister. His 7 year old sister helped with domestic activities while he spent most of his time playing, usually in the street or in his

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[6] All personal names have been changed to protect the identity of research participants.

friends' houses nearby. He always told his mother where he was. Hugo was not very keen on going to the farming area with his mother. He got tired and bored, and his mother had to carry him for a while, so she preferred not to take him.

2.3.2   The Older Cohort

The older children were busier than the younger children and had a greater degree of responsibility, especially in rural areas. Families expect children to contribute to domestic and productive work and children were willing to do so. Differences between girls and boys were clearer among the Older Cohort. Girls took more responsibility for domestic activities while boys undertook more productive work. However, girls did also contribute to productive work, with the extent of their participation depending on the livelihoods and traditions in their community. For example in one of the rural sites in the Amazon, girls mostly worked at home and went to the garden to get food, or took lunch to the workers or cooked for them at harvest time. But when there was a lot of agricultural work, girls would also harvest or clean the garden. Girls usually worked with other family members rather than alone. Boys, on the other hand, could go alone or accompanied, were in charge of cleaning, sowing, harvesting, milking, grazing the animals and so on. Boys reported more involvement in paid work during harvest time than girls.

Boys from the rural Amazon site also had a much greater degree of mobility in and around their village than girls. During the neighbourhood walks, the scope of territory covered by the boys was much greater than that covered by the girls, who limited their tour to the centre of the village. However, in the other rural site in the Andes, the situation was the opposite: because girls were often in charge of grazing the flock, their neighbourhood walk and community map showed a wider territory than those of the boys. Girls in the Andean rural site also participated in agricultural activities and took food to the farming areas. Boys in this site were very involved in agricultural work, not only in their family farming areas, but also as paid workers for others. This was less the case among girls. A difference also highlighted in the Young Lives Round 2 survey (Escobal et al. 2008: 40). The Round 2 survey also showed an increase in the participation of the Older Cohort in paid work; from 24 per cent in Round 1 to 51 per cent in Round 2, an increase that may be expected as children grow up. However, this percentage is close to the proportion of children who work in the poorest quintile of the population, whilst in the richer quintile it is five times less (Escobal et al. 2008: tables 6, 20 and 21).

Agricultural work in the Andean village was hard, and older children had less chance to combine work and play than the younger children in the other rural site. Play usually had to wait until work had been completed, although grazing the flock did allow some mix of work and play. Older Cohort girls could go alone with their sheep and usually met other shepherds in the grazing areas. Girls could also take their younger siblings to show them how to graze sheep and play with them at the same time.

In both the rural sites, children valued education. All the case study children went to school on weekday mornings and dedicated some time during the day to homework. The children also greatly valued work and being a good worker. Children combined school work with their domestic, agricultural and ranching activities, going to the farms and taking care of animals after school and at the weekends. Domestic activities included cooking, cleaning the house, washing clothes, collecting water, wood and grass (for animals), feeding the animals, taking care of younger siblings, running errands and so on. Older Cohort children also helped with family businesses such as running a shop.

The extent of child work depended on the family's poverty status and composition. For example, children from poor families or those with only one parent were more involved in paid work for others in order to contribute to the family income (this is consistent with the survey findings). Girls with no male siblings tended to be more involved in agricultural work, and boys with no female siblings tended to be more involved in domestic activities to help their mothers. Work demands also varied according to the season and time of the year.

Despite their responsibilities, Older Cohort children in rural areas also enjoyed play and recreational activities. Children from the rural Amazon site enjoyed more free time than those from the Andean village. In both cases, children played sports such as football, volleyball, and organised games (*kiwi, chapa-chapa, piz-piz*). In the Amazon village, boys went to the river to bathe and fish, hunted birds and rode bikes. At night they watched television; mostly movies and music videos on DVD. Girls also went to the river, played in the streets, listened to music, watched television and read. On weekends children sometimes went with their parents to the nearby town or market to do some shopping and stroll around. Children looked forward to local festivities such as sporting activities and parties. In the Andean village, girls read and watched television (soap operas and cartoons), and played games and sports. Boys played games and sports and watched television, but they did not read. The day in the rural areas started very early, usually at 5 am, and children went to bed around 10 pm. Children usually watched television at night once all their other activities were finished. In the Amazon village, electric lighting had only just arrived when the research took place so this may affect time use in future.

Children in urban areas were also very active, although their day started a bit later, at around 6 or 7 am, and ended later, at about 10 or 11 pm. Older children carried out a wide variety of domestic activities, such as cooking, cleaning, washing the dishes, washing their clothes and ironing, caring for younger relatives (siblings, nephews or nieces, cousins) and helping them with homework, feeding domestic animals (such as chickens, rabbits and guinea pigs) and watering the plants. In one of the sites, boys also carried water because it was not available in their home. There were some gender differences in domestic activities. Girls cared more for younger relatives and did more ironing and, in one site, they did most of the domestic work. But usually both girls and boys participated as a way of helping their parents.

Urban children also work in a variety of ways. Some worked for family businesses, such as textile workshops, or for other businesses producing pieces at home. Some helped their mothers to sell products in the family shop or in the market. Some sold small items at school and some boys carried packages for the family business. Girls also helped their mothers manufacturing small items at home and sometimes got paid for caring for younger relatives. During school holidays, some children at one site work in summer jobs. However, boys from Lima did not report any paid work either inside or outside their home. This contrasts with the survey findings that indicate that boys, both urban and rural, were more likely to be involved in paid work. In the qualitative sub-sample however, most girls were involved in some kind of paid work, usually with their mothers. As most of this work was done at home, it may be under-represented. Urban boys in the capital city, and some of the boys in the Andean city, were less likely to have paid work. In general, child work in rural areas seemed more essential to family survival and more demanding than in urban areas.

All the Older Cohort children in the urban communities were going to school, some during the morning and some during the afternoon. They also did homework, for which some used computers and the internet. In the capital, children who were getting bad grades had extra private tutoring after school. In all the research communities, the Older Cohort children felt that studying was the most important activity for their futures. Most children (except rural girls) also

valued the work they did to help their families. They gave various reasons for this including generating income which they could use themselves or give to their families, and acquiring the skills and knowledge they would need to run their own businesses and homes in the future.

Like rural children, urban children also played sports and games (marbles, *matagente*) and listened to music. They were more likely than rural children to use the internet (especially internet chat), computers and video games, usually in public places such as internet cabins. They also watched television and had access to cable television and DVD movies. Children played with relatives and siblings at home but not very much outside, except when they went to a sports field to play soccer or volleyball.

Urban streets were seen as dangerous, in contrast to the open spaces in rural areas where children moved around very freely. Girls in one site reported talking to friends as one of their recreational activities. In one site children liked to go to the markets or to the countryside with their families at weekends, and attend family parties. In the other site, in the capital city, it was surprising that children rarely left their neighbourhood. In the other urban site and the rural areas, children went to nearby towns and the countryside regularly and sometimes travelled around the neighbouring regions.

3. Children's well-being

This section presents a preliminary analysis of children's understandings of well-being and ill-being. It seeks to answer the questions: How is children's well-being understood and evaluated by children? What shapes these different understandings, and what causes them to change? What do children identify as sources of and threats to well-being, and what protective processes can enable them to minimise these threats? We were aware that children's well-being may affect the way they live their transitions, and that transitions in turn may affect their well-being, and thus see a close interconnection between those two questions. This section begins by looking at younger children's understandings of well-being and ill-being before examining those of the Older Cohort.

3.1 Children's understandings of well-being and ill-being: The Younger Cohort

Data on younger children's understandings and experiences of well-being and ill-being highlighted a range of physical, social, emotional and education related indicators of well-being. Younger children emphasised the importance of family. To live with both parents, be cared for by them, and protected and provided for were considered indicators of well-being. Children also believed that being well cared for is apparent in a child's physical appearance: having nice, clean clothes, combed hair and being clean. In the rural sites, children referred mostly to their mothers and fathers. In the urban sites, children also valued the presence of other relatives such as grandparents, aunts, uncles, who sometimes looked after them when their parents were at work. In one of the urban sites, mothers were considered particularly important and a mother's absence was seen as a sign of ill-being and was feared.

Ill-being was defined by losing one or both parents, or having parents who do not take care of their children. Children's concepts of ill-being mixed problems with the family and material factors. They said that children without parents had no house and had to live in the street or sleep in the fields, nobody took care of them and they had little or bad food, wore old and dirty clothes and shoes and generally looked dirty.

Another important indicator of well-being was having strong family relationships, and especially not getting beaten by relatives. Children did not like being punished, although they understood that sometimes children needed to be corrected when they behaved badly or were disrespectful. Children's understandings of ill-being, therefore, included a child being punished and also a child being disobedient, bad mannered and badly behaved.

Contributing to domestic activities, helping parents with their work and fulfilling responsibilities were seen as indicators of a child doing well. However, children from the rural sites were also aware of some of the risks involved in work, such as being hurt by animals. Urban children were aware that a child who 'only works' and does not study and play as well was an indicator of ill-being. Well-being was defined as having the time and opportunity to play, friends to play with and the availability of toys and games. Other recreational activities such as family outings or watching television were also part of children's understandings of well-being.

Education was central to children's understandings of well-being. In the urban sites, this was described in terms of doing well and getting good grades. In one of the rural sites, it was also described in terms of the food aid programmes, such as school lunch or school breakfast. In one of the urban sites, the lunch box children took to school from home was also seen an indicator of well-being (having enough, nice things to eat), as well as the school environment and the relationship with teachers. Not going to school, or going to school irregularly, were seen as indicators of child ill-being.

The children also felt that health problems were indicators of ill-being. Health problems were caused by lack of care, shelter and proper food. Although good health was not given as an indicator of child well-being, in one of the research communities a child who was 'fatty' was seen as one who was doing well (this may have been seen as an indicator of good health).

Well-being was also defined by material indicators, such as having a nice house and clothes, animals and food. In the urban sites, toys and pocket money were also mentioned, as well as having your own room and parents with jobs so they could buy things for their children. Lack of material resources was prominent in children's understandings of ill-being. In the urban sites, lack of money was particularly important because without money families cannot buy food. In the rural areas, lack of land or animals were considered more important than lack of money because they were sources of income, though keeping animals has emotional as well as material value.

Rural children in one site clearly identified the natural environment as a source of well-being and valued their community for that. In the other rural site, children did not express this so clearly but obviously enjoyed their natural surroundings. Urban children, on the other hand, stressed environmental issues such as rubbish in the street, burning rubbish and the smoke it produced, and traffic accidents as indicators of ill-being.

Children of the Younger Cohort identified themselves with the images of well-being they depicted, although they also experienced some ill-being factors, including environmental issues and physical punishment (which seemed to be part of most children's lives, albeit to different degrees).

3.2 Children's understandings of well-being and ill-being: The Older Cohort

As was the case for the younger children, older children also valued their family environment. They placed importance on strong family relationships: having both parents and there being a good relationship between them, living with parents and having their love and affection,

their advice and their support to study. Harmonious relationships and good communication within the family were considered very important for well-being and children were conscious that bad or violent family relations could lead to the reproduction of violence in the streets or with their own children later in life. The case study children had various family situations. Some had both parents while others only had one and there were examples of good and bad family relationships. The well-being indicators that the children identified, therefore, reflected not only what they had, but also what they would have liked to have and what they need. Overall, well-being indicators showed children's critical point of view on family relations and its impact on their own well-being.

Ill-being was defined as the absence of parents. Losing a mother was most feared. Girls at one of the rural sites associated the fear of losing their mothers with feelings of vulnerability. Children without parents are forced to live in poverty and have to work hard for a living. Having parents who do not care about their children's development or who constantly fight were also seen as indicators of ill-being. In one of the research communities, having parents who did 'simple' (low paid) work was considered a sign of ill-being because they would be unable to provide properly for their children.

Physical punishment within the family was seen as an important indicator of child ill-being. Although children understood the need for punishment, they felt bad about it. In the children's drawings of ill-being, a child shown sad and crying had usually been punished by their parents. Parents beat their children for a range of reasons, including disobedience, lack of respect and not doing well in school. Physical punishment seemed to be a common experience in the lives of the case study children across sites, both at home and at school. The nature of the punishment and its intensity varied. Children usually associate images of ill-being with punishment which is considered too harsh or becomes mistreatment. But punishment is not only bad because of the physical pain it causes, but also because of what it says about the child's relationship with caregivers or teachers: it generates feelings such as sadness for disappointing them through bad behaviour. However, children justified physical punishment as a way to learn how to behave, be respectful and obedient. This was consistent with child rearing practices followed by their families and communities. Only in the capital city were children thoroughgoingly critical of physical punishment and mistreatment, pointing out that an abused child could become an abuser in the future. In this community, there was also violence between adults in the family.

Education was central to the older children's understandings of well-being, in both urban and rural areas and for girls and boys alike. As discussed in Section 2 of this paper, older children were very aware of the importance of education for their futures. They saw it as a way out of poverty to a better life. In three of the research communities, children felt that good performance at school was important. In two, they felt that education should be a child's main activity, although they were aware that household circumstances and poverty could affect capacity to focus on schooling. The family environment could have a positive or negative influence on performance in school and education trajectories. In two of the research communities, children were especially aware of the sacrifices their parents had made for them to be educated and felt that they should respond by studying hard at school. In general, data from parents and children shows an intergenerational communication and agreement on the importance of education. Older Cohort girls also felt that being well treated by teachers at school was important for well-being.

Doing badly at school, not showing interest in studying and failing to realise the importance of education for future work prospects were considered characteristics of ill-being. It was also felt that children living a 'bad life' were usually from poor families and at risk of ending up in

gangs. Children considered a combination of study and work to be ideal. However, only working or having a job that interrupted schooling were seen as indicators of ill-being. They believed it was important to finish school in order to gain qualifications, have a good life and help their families financially.

However, work was also considered an indicator of well-being. Children talked about work being character forming, an opportunity to acquire a work ethic, learn new skills which would be useful for the future, learn to be responsible and independent, and contribute to the household expenses. Work was also seen as fun. Within the household, it was seen as a way of contributing to the family which was appreciated. Girls saw helping with domestic activities as a way of showing that they were obedient and respectful of their parents. Rural children, and those in urban areas with rural links, enjoyed going to the farms to help their families.

Children also mentioned indicators of ill-being related to work. As well as work sometimes interrupting study, children mentioned tiredness from physical work and work-related accidents, such as being hurt by animals or cutting themselves with tools. Children who worked on farms were particularly scared of having work-related accidents because of the impact not only on their health, but also on their ability to work and study. For children who traded, not selling well was considered an indicator of ill-being.

Older Cohort children valued friendships as an indicator of well-being. Peer relationships were very important to both cohorts of children, but especially to the older children. Having time to play, friends to play with who you can talk to and who will advise you, being a good friend yourself and being pleasant to other people were seen as important indicators of well-being for boys and girls. At important moments in their lives, such as changing schools or becoming interested in the opposite sex, friends were seen as especially important by older children. They felt that not having friends, or having friends who were a bad influence, were signs of ill-being which could also lead to other ill-being situations (such as getting into gangs or early pregnancy).

Well-being was also defined by material indicators, although these were not considered the most important. In fact, some children recognised that too many material things can lead to unhappiness. In rural areas, having enough food and good food, a big, nice house, new clothes, toys, animals and land were considered indicators of well-being. In the rural community close to the city, having a television, a DVD players and money for healthcare were also mentioned. In the urban communities, having money, electrical goods such as computers, televisions, DVD players and playstations, equipment such as bicycles and skates and branded clothes were seen as signs of well-being. Ill-being in return was marked by the lack of such things. In the rural communities, lack of land, animals and the resources necessary to find work and earn money were seen as important indicators of ill-being. In the urban communities, being unemployed, having a low paid job and having no money were seen as signs of ill-being. In one remote rural community, one child also mentioned lack of access to basic services such as electricity, transportation and a health centre.

Adequate nourishment and good health were also considered indicators of well-being, while the opposite were indicators of ill-being. Sicknesses and malnourishment were closely associated with material resources: malnourishment being a sign of not having enough food (but also of not having parents' care and attention) and being sick associated with not having money for medicine.

The natural and social environments in which children lived were also considered a source of well-being or ill-being. Rural children in particular were very clear about the benefits of their environment: a sign of well-being was to live where they did. In the Amazon, children

highlighted the availability of food, having everything they needed, a natural environment, trees, good weather, plenty of room to play around and safety. In the Andes, children valued the natural surroundings and basic services available. Interestingly, the rural sites were the poorest in our sample, yet rural children felt happier and more comfortable than their urban peers. Urban children were very critical about their natural and social environments. In the Andes, children complained about pollution. Comparing the city with the countryside, which they visited with the families who still had land or relatives with land, they found the countryside less polluted. However, they recognised that the countryside lacks the comforts they had in the city such as basic services, as well as televisions, computers, internet access and so on. Urban children also mentioned rubbish in the streets, the burning of rubbish and the lack of pavements as contributing to ill-being. In both the urban sites, the social environment was considered dangerous: gangs, delinquency and traffic accidents made their neighbourhoods unsafe. Lack of green or recreational areas also made the neighbourhoods unappealing for children. Despite being wealthier than their rural peers, urban children did not necessarily enjoy the environment they lived in because of the social and natural characteristics that made these places less child-friendly.

A final set of indicators of well-being were related to personal characteristics, which varied according to location and gender. For example, being obedient was valued in rural sites and the Andean urban site as a sign of well-being. In the capital, having the resilience to face difficulties or problems was seen as a sign of well-being, because it helped children overcome obstacles and avoid mistakes such as joining gangs and dropping out of school. Girls also considered having high self-esteem as an important indicator of well-being because it helped children combat mistreatment, verbal abuse and discrimination. In one of the rural sites, girls mentioned that being too modest and quiet could lead to teasing and that being over anxious was a sign of ill-being.

Although boys and girls indentified similar indicators of well-being and ill-being, there were three important signs of ill-being that only girls highlighted: discrimination, sexual abuse and physical changes. Girls may have been more sensitive to these issues, more aware of them or simply more expressive about them. However, only girls reported ethnic, socioeconomic or gender discrimination as sources of ill-being. Sexual abuse, especially in urban areas, was a major concern for girls and sometimes came top of their ranking of ill-being indicators. Finally, physical changes such as menstruation and acne were identified as sources of discomfort by girls who were experiencing puberty at the time of the research.

4. Services

The quality of and access to services has an undeniable impact on children's well-being. This section presents initial findings from the first round of qualitative data on the questions: How do policies, programmes and services shape children's transitions and well-being? What are the different stakeholder perspectives on these processes? What is the interplay between public, private and not-for-profit sectors and communities within these processes? This report cannot answer these broad questions in full, but it does offer preliminary insights into the topic by analysing children's, caregivers' and teachers' perspectives on the services they have as well as on those they need.

The section begins by looking at education services, before going on to examine healthcare and other services. In each case, the availability of services is outlined before discussing children's and adults views. Uses and perceptions of services varied across communities and

we aim to present an overview of the different views, and of the similarities and differences between them. For example, urban communities were generally more critical of services than rural communities, although research participants from the Andean rural site were also critical of service quality. In general, it was not just access to services but the quality of services that concerned people. In respect of education and healthcare services, they wanted to see better trained staff, more attention for the individual pupil or patient, and improved infrastructure.

4.1   Education

All research communities within the qualitative subsample had a pre-school and primary school, but not all had a secondary school. The data on access to educational services from the qualitative research subsample reflects that of the whole Young Lives sample, as reported by the last survey (2006/7): 77 per cent of the communities had a pre-school on site, and 13 per cent had one nearby; 98 per cent had a public primary school on site or nearby; and 56 per cent had a secondary school on site or nearby (41 per cent).

In contrast, childcare for children under 3 years old was patchy among the visited communities. One rural and one urban site had access to a *Wawa Wasi* (public childcare centre), but only families in the rural site mentioned using it. In the whole Young Lives sample, only 35 per cent of communities had a public childcare centre, although 22 per cent had one nearby. A significant 43 per cent had no access to childcare for under-3s.

In the Andean urban site, caregivers were pleased with the pre-school education available in the neighbourhood, as well as with the primary school. Despite problems with infrastructure and facilities, caregivers felt that the staff were committed to taking care of the children and teaching them well. However, they found it difficult to meet the costs of education materials and complained about having to buy them. Childcare for under-3s was not available, although caregivers would like to access to this service. They stressed the need for well-trained staff and safe childcare centres, because they had heard stories about children dying from lack of proper care.

Caregivers believe the public primary school in the neighbourhood is good, but nonetheless have their children enrolled in other schools outside of the neighbourhood which older siblings attend or in private schools that offer better services (or at least less strikes than public schools). Secondary schools are not present in the neighbourhood but are located nearby. Caregivers were critical of the quality of secondary school education in general, saying that the teachers were poorly trained, that they did not explain lessons well and their children did not understand the lessons. However, lack of parental support may also have been part of the problem, as they themselves recognise.

The Older Cohort children liked their schools, especially facilities such as laboratories, halls and playground areas. However, they also discussed improvements they would like to see in terms of the facilities available, condition of furniture and decoration, the cleanliness of toilets, and so on. They disliked overcrowding in schools because it could be difficult to play and made accidents more likely. Like their parents, children mentioned that secondary school teachers did not teach well and added that teachers punish them. Teacher-student relationships were therefore complex. Girls also referred to the danger of sexual harassment and abuse from teachers. Despite this, they preferred secondary school to primary school, because by and large physical punishment was used more in the latter. The Younger Cohort children liked both pre-school and primary school, especially classroom layout and design, and playgrounds. They were critical of poor facilities, such as smelly toilets, and the burning of rubbish close to the playground. Younger children also disliked being hit by teachers. There were several private schools in this site, although only two case study children

attended them. Parents seemed to have a high opinion of private schools but children preferred public schools because they were bigger and demanded more from their students.

Teachers reported that most children in the town went to school, although some children did not because they had to work, had less educated parents or belonged to poor households.

The capital city urban community had pre-school, primary and secondary schools, public and private, as well as public daycare centres. However, caregivers did not use the daycare centres because they believed they were overcrowded and unsafe, and had heard that children were not properly fed and got sick. This community had both formal and informal pre-schools. All the caregivers used the formal pre-school, which also offered school lunch. Children liked the pre-school, especially the playground and the teachers who were usually nice and taught well, although they sometimes shouted and hit the children. There were many primary schools in the area, both private and public. Here too teachers were found to be approachable and good at teaching. Children were critical of the lack of games, the smelly toilets, and teachers that hit their students. Teachers felt that school attendance was good. There were few cases of non-enrolment in primary school, usually because of family or economic problems.

There were two main high schools in the area. Both were characterised by insecurity because of students belonging to gangs. Generally, children liked their secondary schools especially because there was enough room to play. However, children mentioned that they did not like the graffiti, smelly toilets that sometimes had no water, and limited green space. Children thought that teachers were strict and some used physical punishment, but they also felt they could discuss things with their teachers and get advice. One student reported corruption problems at their school. Teachers only commented on children dropping out of school, which they attributed mainly to family or economic problems that prevented them from continuing their education and meant they had to work.

In contrast to the urban sites, in the rural communities we only found public educational services and only one school for each level (pre-school, primary, secondary). In the Amazon, caregivers were happy with the pre-school, which had good facilities and good teachers. In contrast, the community-based pre-school (PRONOEI) in the neighbouring village was much poorer and the community teacher reported little help from parents. Pre-school teachers reported that most parents only sent their children at 5 years old, despite the service being available from 3 years old. Teachers acknowledged that the pre-school buildings were good, but complained about low enrolment rates and lack of operating resources. They blamed this on parents not wanting to spend the money needed (about $6 a year) for educational materials, which were not provided by the government. Caregivers highlighted the need for a daycare centre for young children in the community. Young children had to go with their families to the farms. This was exhausting for mothers and children, as well as potentially dangerous.

Caregivers were generally satisfied with the primary school in this community, although some felt that education was better in the district capital and urban areas. However, infrastructure at the school was good and the municipal government had just built new and modern toilets. The secondary school needed more classrooms because children from neighbouring communities attended and classrooms were sometimes overcrowded. Caregivers and local representatives felt that improvements such as computers and computing lessons in schools would be beneficial. The introduction of electricity to the village may have made this more feasible.

Children liked secondary school because they were punished less than in primary school and because the teachers were good, gave advice and only punished through lowering grades. Primary teachers were also good according to older children, despite the fact that they hit children to correct their behaviour. Younger children were less likely to justify their teachers' actions and were critical of teachers who shouted and hit their students.

Primary school teachers reported that state regulations, such as the numbers of students per teacher, sometimes prevented them from giving children more attention. Most children accessed primary education but some did not because of their family's poverty and many children did not have adequate educational materials. According to teachers, some parents valued agricultural work more than education and did not support their children going to secondary school (although our interviews with parents show a consensus about providing both primary and secondary education). The distance from some villages to the nearest secondary school might have been discouraging some children from attending. Also, more girls than boys dropped out of secondary school because of early pregnancy. Teachers in this community reported more cases of children not achieving the expected grade for their age, mainly because of repetition and lack of support from their families and the need to contribute to family work. There were no higher education institutions in the district, which limited children's possibilities to continue their education.

The Andean rural site was the only community to have a successful public daycare service for children under 3 years old (the *Wawa Wasi*). This was a free service, run by local mothers in their own homes. The government gave them a small allowance, plus training, guidance, materials and food aid. Service users also contributed some food and firewood for cooking. Children spent the whole day in the *Wawa Wasi*, having three meals a day and medicine if they got sick. There were several *Wawa Wasis* in the village. Mothers who worked on the farms were very satisfied with the service and found it very useful. However, some mothers complained about the rule stipulating that a person needed to be literate to run a *Wawa Wasi* because they felt that raising children should be sufficient experience. Some mothers also criticised the use of food aid, believing that children were not fed well enough. However, others said that children adapted well to the service and got more food than at home.

Research participants generally thought that the pre-school in the village was good, despite problems with conflicts among teachers, teachers not teaching well and children being left to play. Caregivers also disagreed with the exclusive use of Spanish in pre-school, despite the children speaking Quechua. The food aid programme at pre-school got some criticism. Mothers pay for lunch at pre-school, as a supplement to what the government provides, but the cook takes with her whatever food is left, and mothers don't like this. Children liked their pre-school, their teachers and the toys and games, as well as the playground areas and the facilities, that were described as very good. Children also reported physical punishment when they misbehaved.

Primary and secondary school were also described as good services. The primary school had a strict head teacher, who caregivers valued, and teachers were good and went to their classes, although they could have been more punctual. Nevertheless, caregivers thought that education was better in the district and provincial capitals, and some children went to school there. Children had a positive opinion of their schools because of their good facilities and teachers, as well as plants and green spaces, although they would have liked cleaner toilets, more laboratories and libraries, and they felt some classrooms needed renovation. Children also felt that some teachers were not good because they physically punished their students and did not go to their lessons.

Teachers acknowledged that parents were interested in education and reported that children only dropped out or did not enrol when there were severe financial difficulties in the family. However, some children missed school when they worked on farms or with animals. This sometimes resulted in them having to repeat years at school. There was lower enrolment in secondary school, partly for economic reasons and also because some children were sent to the district capital to study (less than 50 per cent study in the village). Caregivers felt that education in the provincial capital was of a better quality and that their children would learn better Spanish there. Most children are Quechua speakers, but the language of instruction at the school is Spanish, creating some difficulties for appropriate learning. Although parents want their children to learn Spanish, teachers sometimes used Quechua to communicate with children, in order to be understood. However, they tried to reduce their use of Quechua in upper grades.

4.2 Healthcare

The two rural research communities visited had a health post. In the Young Lives sample, only 46 per cent of the communities had a public health post, although 43 per cent had one nearby, and only 11 per cent of communities in the sample had no access. Private provision of health services was mostly found in urban settlements. One of the urban research communities had a hospital, and in the other, residents had the choice of using a health post or attending private clinics run by the church (hospitals were available nearby).

In one of the urban sites, criticisms of health services included bad quality service, the mistreatment of patients, delays and lack of commitment from health workers. Talking about the hospital, caregivers believed that despite it being a public facility, only those who could afford to pay were well treated (although the public health service is supposedly free, patients have to pay for medical appointments, medicines and any supply that is needed for medical interventions). Caregivers and children were distrustful of the hospital and had heard of cases of death due to negligence. Thus, although the service is available, caregivers were afraid of being mistreated or wrongly diagnosed and so were more likely to use pharmacies or self medication. Folk medicine was also used, either through a specialist or by using family recipes. In the other urban site, criticisms of the hospital focused on its being overcrowded and the service being poor. Children from this community, however, believed the treatment in hospital to be better and more specialised than that available in health posts. Caregivers also felt that the health post was too small, and the staffing levels insufficient, to serve the area's population. This contributed to delays in being treated. The health post was also badly equipped, with health workers not available during all their working hours and making mistakes in diagnosis. However, a health post nearby offered better service, facilities and treatment by staff. Nevertheless, private clinics operated by the church are preferred by caregivers as they are believed to have a better quality service. As in the other urban site, pharmacies and folk medicine were extensively used.

In the Amazon rural site, although caregivers would have liked the health post to have had more staff and medicines, they recognised that the service was good and that the health worker was always there and available for them. They made some specific proposals, such as talks for caregivers on how to prepare nourishing food and visits by a doctor (or the permanent appointment of one to the post). Although the health post used to distribute food aid, it no longer did at the time of the research. Children did not like going to the health post because they associated it with injections and grumpy nurses, but they also seemed to recognise that they got better after going there.

In the Andean rural site, the health post offered medical attention and food supplies to families with young children. Thanks to the school health insurance, children got free medicines. Information on child development was also provided. However, caregivers reported being mistreated when they did not have enough money to pay, and reprehended for not bringing their children more often or for having too many children. For this reason, many women felt embarrassed going to the health post and expectant mothers only went when they were in the last stage of pregnancy. Nevertheless, women preferred to give birth in the health post rather than at home as they would have done before. Caregivers said that they would like to see a free healthcare service for poor adults. Children valued the health post and had visited it on several occasions. However, they did not like the bad smell there, the fact that they did not get seen unless accompanied by a parent, or that some of the nurses were rude to them. They also said they didn't like having to renew their school health insurance every year. The hospital in the nearby district capital was more expensive and the appointment and consulting system more complicated, according to caregivers.

4.3 Other services

4.3.1 Food aid programmes

Food aid programmes were operating in the two rural communities and in the urban site in the capital. In the Andean urban site caregivers and local representative were not aware of any food aid programmes at the time of the research but expressed interest in accessing them, despite considering similar programmes corrupt and inefficient. In the other urban site, community kitchens and the 'glass of milk' programme were available but caregivers were very critical of them. They felt that these programmes failed to reach the poorest and, in the case of the glass of milk programme, that it operated irregularly. Caregivers also criticised the cleanliness and the variety and quality of food in the community kitchens. Children, however, saw them as a cheap place to eat and as an alternative when they did not like the food available at home.

In the Amazon rural site, community kitchens and the glass of milk programme were available and caregivers felt that both offered a good service. They did, however, think that the community kitchen was a bit expensive and recognised that the poorest were not reached by these programmes. They explained that the school lunch provided in the pre-school was the best food aid programme because it was well organised. Primary schools also provided a school breakfast, but this service was not available in secondary schools. In the Andean rural site, the glass of milk programme only provided four litres of milk per month, which lasted just four days. The community kitchen requires beneficiaries to provide food complements (i.e. the programme provides oil, rice, canned fish, but people have to supply meat, potatoes, vegetables, etc.). However, caregivers do not think the lunch good enough even so. Also, the organisation is reported to have conflicts. For all these reasons, interviewed caregivers do not use community kitchens. They valued the PRONAA (*Programa Nacional de Asistencia Alimentaria* the national food aid programme) not so much for providing food (such as, for example, school lunch at pre-schools and *Wawa Wasis*) but as a client, because the programme buys their milk.

4.3.2 Child protection services and security

The DEMUNA (*Defensoría Municipal del Niño y el Adolescente*), the municipal office for protecting children's rights, was available in the four main research communities, although in the Andean rural site it had been relocated to the district capital. However, there appeared to

be little information available on the functioning of these services although it was known that they can be used for sexual abuse charges, domestic violence and family trials for food pensions.[7]

National and municipal police were present in both the urban sites, and the community in the Amazon rural site had formed *rondas campesinas* (night watch groups). During the research, security services were discussed mainly in two sites: one urban and one rural. In the Amazon rural site, the *rondas campesinas* organised protection against robberies and could also intervene in cases of domestic violence. In the urban site in the capital city, research participants were highly critical of the national and municipal police, explaining that they took too long to answer calls for help or failed to attend them altogether, and that they committed insufficient resources to controlling gangs in schools. The national police were especially criticised for being corrupt and inefficient. This urban site had had community-based security groups, but they were no longer operating at the time of the research.

4.3.3 Recreation and other services

Recreation services such as parks, playgrounds and sports fields were present in all sites, but they did not always meet the needs of the local population. Children in rural areas had the countryside for playing and running around. In urban areas, however, the lack of recreational spaces and facilities was more of a problem.

In the Andean city, there was one playground and a sports field that charged for entry, meaning that children rarely went there. Parents were concerned that the lack of recreational spaces and facilities could lead to children engaging in risky activities, such as drinking alcohol and going to nightclubs. In the capital, there were a couple of sports fields, but these were potentially dangerous as they were used as a meeting place by gangs and drunken men. There was a playground and a sports complex, but it was a bit far from the neighbourhood, operated only in summer, charged for entry and was not well maintained. There was also a park where children could go with their parents on weekends. Caregivers and children in the Andean city were especially concerned about the lack of an organised rubbish collection service, the responsibility of the local government. They described how their neighbours burned rubbish or threw rubbish into the streets where it remained for days. This was seen as potentially contaminating and a source of illness among children.

Churches were present in all the research communities. Electricity was available in three sites and in the fourth it arrived just days before the fieldwork, so some families still did not have access to electricity but would have soon. Rural children mentioned the highway, which was important for connecting their village with major towns (despite being dangerous because of the many accidents). In the Andes, children also highlighted the radio, the market and the irrigation canals. Only in the Andean rural site was the cash transfer programme (*Juntos*) operating. However, the programme was only available to families with children under 5 years old and the number of beneficiaries had dropped, so little information was gathered on this service during the qualitative research. This was also the only one of the research sites where a non-governmental organisation (NGO) was operating. The NGO provided free school uniforms, school supplies and books, and had helped to build two new classrooms and paint the school.

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7   When parents are separated or divorced and the father does not provide any money to support the child, the mother requests he provide some money for food (food pension). The demand is usually carried out through a legal trial.

5. Conclusions and implications for further research and policy

This final section discusses some of the themes emerging from the first round of qualitative data collection in four of the Young Lives sites in Peru and the implications for further research in the second round. It also discusses some of the policy implications.

Analysis of the first round qualitative data indicates that the data on time use is strong with plenty of scope for triangulation, contrasting individual and collective information collected from caregivers and children, as well as direct observation. In the second round we collected new information to compare to the first round and identify any changes in time use after a year (a year in which several transitions occurred). Rather than repeat the same exercises, we used new research methods to prevent the children getting bored. For the Older Cohort, we introduced self-report time-use dairies and community maps. For the Younger Cohort, we adapted an exercise previously tried in rural areas of Peru which explores what children do and do not like to do (Vásquez de Velasco 2002).

The first round of qualitative research highlighted the importance of direct and ethnographic observation with both cohorts, particularly the Younger Cohort. This offers a more contextualised approach in studying children. In the second round we continued this approach, collecting field notes on home and community issues. For this we developed clearer guidance for fieldworkers, as field notes for Round 1 varied greatly in quantity and quality.

Educational transitions featured prominently in the first round of data collection. This continued to be a major theme in the second round. Half of the Younger Cohort children were beginning primary school, while about ten were moving to second grade, enabling us to check on their progress in this transition. Contrasting expectations with real experiences from pre-schoolers interviewed in the first round allowed for the addition of new and rich information to the data already gathered. New research methods using drawing and drama were used for this.

Most of the Older Cohort children had already made the transition from primary to secondary school and were in the second or third year at the time of the first round, with a further five children experiencing the transition at the time of the research. In the second round, children were asked to reflect on their educational trajectories and transitions, using a collective timeline to articulate their narratives on education (which feature prominently in the data) in more general terms and to locate their educational transitions within this narrative.

This report has mainly presented children's perspectives on their educational transitions. However, further analysis is being conducted to take account of teachers' and caregivers' perspectives, as well as institutional arrangements that foster or prevent transitions. This analysis is reflected in a Young Lives working paper (Ames et al. 2009). Similarly, future research will examine children's expectations related to higher education, looking at the real opportunities children have to pursue higher education and how these chances evolve over time. Future rounds of data collection will focus on the gaps between expectations and access, as well as on what this educational project means for children and their families.

Future rounds will also explore the theme of other transitions, looking at non-institutional, social transitions.

The analysis of data on well-being from the first round has also highlighted the need for further exploration of certain issues and stronger data, particularly as well-being is strongly linked with education and educational transitions. Well-being is also related to the concept of poverty. This could be explored more deeply, especially the way children identify non-material indicators of poverty. In the second round of data collection, this will be explored through individual interviews, rather than through collective methods.

A key issue for children's well-being is the existence of good, healthy family relationships. However, there is a notable lack of services that can address problems within the family. Services such as family advice and counselling, and mental health services more generally, as well as programmes to deal with domestic violence, are few or non-existent. Parents and teachers were keen for more information on raising children, especially teenagers, but none was available. One recommendation emerging from this research therefore is the need to fill this gap in service provision. Similarly, the physical punishment of children at school and in the home across the four research communities indicates that more effective advocacy against its use is needed. A children's rights based approach should underpin such policy work.

The research has also shown that child work continues to be a complex issue in Peru. While children felt that it was bad to work 'too much' or for work to interrupt education, it was nevertheless seen as an important learning experience, as well as a way to contribute to family income and well-being. Child work needs further analysis, including an examination of the differences between sites, and of the extent to which the design and implementation of policies and programmes take account of how children conceptualise their own work. In the second round of qualitative data collection, we continue exploring child work. We also inquire into the ways in which work may become a possible trajectory instead of education, or how the two may be experienced simultaneously.

Another policy issue emerging from the research was the insecurity detected in urban areas. Urban children and caregivers identified the inefficacy of institutions in charge of safety and security, making the streets a dangerous place for children. In rural areas, local people have taken security into their own hands after being abandoned by public services such as the police.

Views on public services varied greatly between sites. Generally, access to health and education services was good but research participants were critical of the quality of service. This shows a more informed and demanding population and highlights the need to improve quality and not just quantity. Healthcare services came in for most criticism because of the service quality, the mistreatment of women (in the indigenous site) and overcrowding (in urban sites). These findings clearly indicate that improvements to healthcare services are needed.

Education also emerged from the research as an important issue. Research participants were aware of differences in service provision, for example between rural and urban areas or between public and private schools. In all four research communities, parents felt that their children's education could be better. The data on the characteristics and quality of education is strong and needs to be analysed further. This analysis can then be used to contribute to debates around the quality of education in Peru.

Another theme emerging from the research was the lack of adequate provision for the under-3s. In the Andean rural site, caregivers valued the early years care and education provided

by the *Wawa Wasi*, a finding reflected in previous Young Lives studies (Cueto et al. 2009). In urban areas, parents mistrusted the *Wawa Wasi* service and did not use it. The issue of early years care and education in Peru could be an area for policy and communications work.

Nutrition was a constant concern among caregivers and children, especially in rural areas. They wanted more and better information and advice on nutrition. The Young Lives team in Peru produced an information leaflet with some of the research findings and several recommendations for distribution in the second round of qualitative data collection and during tracking, as was a similar leaflet on the topic of education with special reference to pre-school enrolment and parental involvement in education.

A notable absence in terms of public services, especially in urban areas, were recreational services. Poor urban areas lack parks and green spaces, have few playgrounds (and those that exist charge a fee) and sports fields are shared by children and adults. In rural areas, provision is not much better, but the countryside and natural environment give children the space to play. Rural areas are also generally safer than urban areas, meaning that children can safely play on the streets. In one of the urban communities, research participants were concerned about uncollected rubbish in the streets which was potentially harmful to children's health and well-being. The lack of organised refuse collection services at the local level is another area that requires attention.

We propose that community reciprocity, understood as giving back the research results to participants, could be implemented with the additional goal of validating the results with the population itself. Thus, during the second round of data collection, a session for caregivers and local representatives was conducted to address results and recommendations and ask for participants' own view on this. Such meetings can also help to elucidate the image of the project and how is it understood, and thus clarify any misunderstanding that may have arisen.

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Young Lives
An International Study of Childhood Poverty

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