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THE LABOUR SITUATION OF INDIGENOUS WOMEN IN PERU: A STUDY

**THE LABOUR SITUATION
OF INDIGENOUS WOMEN IN PERU**
A study

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE
ILO Office for the Andean Countries

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Preface

Indigenous women all over the world experience discrimination, not only on the ground of sex, but also because of indigenous identity, ethnicity and other factors. The reality for indigenous women living in rural areas is different than for men from their communities, which contributes to structural disadvantage and discrimination. Indigenous women are among the most marginalized groups globally; if no one is to be left behind in the realization of the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda, ensuring indigenous women's access to decent work is crucial.

This report is part of an ILO effort to examine the labour situation of indigenous women in rural areas in a number of countries. This report, focusing on Peru, provides research on the labour situation of indigenous women as well as recommendations on how to improve the rights and access of indigenous women in rural areas to decent work. The report was written by Alicia del Alguila and was first published in Spanish in 2015. It has been translated from Spanish into English by Mark Johnson.

This report was made possible due to the support of the European Union, and was carried out by the Decent Work Technical Support Team and Country Office for the Andean Countries (DWT/CO-Lima) and the Gender, Equality and Diversity Branch (GED) of the ILO in Geneva. It has benefited from the technical comments of various ILO experts, including María Arteta, Deputy Director (DWT/CO-Lima), and Martin Oelz and Stefania Errico (GED). The preparation of the report was coordinated by ILO consultant Hernán Coronado.

In addition to documentary and statistical research, meetings were organized with women indigenous leaders (in Puno, Ucayali and Lima), trade union leaders and experts and public officials (see Annex 1). Liliana Loayza and Neli Loayza provided assistance with regard to meetings and events and regarding National Household Survey statistics, respectively. We would like to express our gratitude to all those who contributed to the study.

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Abbreviations

AIDSESP	Interethnic Development Association for Peruvian Amazonia
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CENAGRO	Agricultural census
COFOPRI	Institute for the Formalization of Informal Property Ownership
ENAHO	National Household Survey
FAO	United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization
IBC	Common Property Institute
CERD	Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination
INEI	National Institute of Statistics and Information Technology
MIMP	Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations
ILO	International Labour Organization
SICNA	Information System on Peruvian Native Communities
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund

Introduction

1

Peru has experienced substantial changes in recent years, especially in its economy. As from the 1990s, Peru has been able to recover from the critical situation of the 1980s, engaging in a series of changes to liberalize the economy, adopt stabilization policies and strengthen State institutions responsible for the economy, finance and production, as well as other sectors, such as education, with the extension of the education infrastructure (Loayza, 2008).

Between 2004 and 2013, Peru achieved annual average GDP growth of 6.6 per cent. Together with Argentina (6.7 per cent), this was the highest rate in Latin America, with the difference that in Argentina inflation was 9.4 per cent, compared with 2.9 per cent in Peru.¹

The economic boom has largely been concentrated in two sectors, mining and hydrocarbons. As observed by María Isabel Remy, while on the coast the liberalization of land tenure resulted in the consolidation of major agricultural owners, in the mountains and the forest this tended to be oriented towards “facilitating and ensuring the development of mining and petrol exploitation” (Remy, 2014: 89). This has had an impact on rural and indigenous communities in the country, leading to social conflict.

Over the past decade, the process of granting concessions in the country has resulted in a new situation of uncertainty for rural and indigenous communities, as many communities still do not have title to their land, and the process of

¹ Figures from the Ministry of Economy and Finance, provided by the Minister of the Economy, Alonso Segura. Available at: <http://www.investinperu.pe/RepositorioAPS/0/0/EVE/FORO_INVERSIONPRIVADA/1_ASegura.pdf>.

granting land title has decelerated in recent years. According to the 2012 agricultural census, there were 6,277 identified rural communities and 1,322 native communities in Peru, while COFOPRI figures show that 5,110 rural communities and 1,271 indigenous communities had been granted land title (*Defensoría*, or “Office of the Public Defender”, 2014: 21). Nevertheless, according to the *Instituto del Bien Común* (IBC – the “Common Property Institute”), in collaboration with the survey undertaken by the Directorate of Indigenous Communities, conducted by the Information System on Peruvian Native Communities (SICNA) in 2012, the figure for these communities is in practice 2006, of which 1,343 possess land title. In turn, based on the IBC’s calculations, as well as those of Laureano del Castillo (2012), it is estimated that the total number of rural communities is 8,413, of which 6,069 are registered. In other words, there still appear to be around 4,000 communities, of which 666 are native and 3,303 are rural, which are without land title (IBC, 2014: 20).

Over and above differences in the figures, according to the IBC, in recent years there has been a “deceleration” in the granting of land title to communities. During the five-year period 2006-10, only 52 communities were granted land title, and none in 2010 (Del Castillo, 2014). The same appears to have occurred in 2011, 2012 and 2014, with only three being granted land title in 2013 (Pacto de Unidad, AIDSESP, 2015: 54).

This situation is giving rise to tensions which, according to indigenous leaders, are compounded by the greater threats to the land security of their communities from informal loggers and miners, as well as from concession holders. This is the case, for example, in the Saweto community, the leaders of which participated in the workshop organized in Pucallpa within the context of the present study (see Annex 2).

Account also needs to be taken of the perception concerning the negative effects of climate change, which is having a significant impact on agricultural and livestock activities, in which indigenous communities are principally engaged, and is placing women in a situation of greater vulnerability.

Moreover, although economic growth has had a positive impact on poverty reduction, it has not remedied inequalities. According to the INEI, the poverty rate fell by 10.8 percentage points between 2009 and 2014.² Between 2004 and 2009, the fall was even greater, at 13.8 percentage points (Trivelli, 2010: 29). However, as indicated by Carolina Trivelli, “we are a poor country because growth does not

² INEI, *Evolución de la pobreza monetaria en el Perú* (“Trends in financial poverty in Peru”), April 2015. Available at: <http://www.inei.gob.pe/media/cifras_de_pobreza/evolucion_pobreza_2014.pdf>.

automatically result in less poverty among those affected, but mainly gives rise to a reduction in the groups of the poor” (Trivelli, 2010: 29).

Not only has poverty reduction therefore not been homogenous in the various social groups and geographical areas, but it has also failed to overcome certain gaps resulting from inequality. The greatest incidence of poverty is found in rural areas and, in those areas, among indigenous peoples. While the poverty level at the national level was 22.7 per cent in 2014, in that same year, among peoples whose mother tongue was Quechua or Aymara, it was 34.1 per cent and, among those with other indigenous languages, the rate was 64.7 per cent.³ Being rural, indigenous and, in addition, a woman increases the probability of being poor in Peru.

As indicated by Trivelli:

[...] A Peruvian woman who is an agricultural worker, lives in a rural area and, moreover, is of indigenous origin, has many fewer opportunities to escape poverty than a Peruvian woman living in Lima. The difference is not related to effort or personal characteristics, but is due to the fact that a Peruvian woman in agriculture has less of almost everything: fewer public services, fewer private services, fewer markets, fewer institutions and less information ... and more transaction costs. And as if this were not enough disadvantage, she is also confronted with discrimination (Trivelli, 2010: 33).

The objective of the present study is to focus on analysing this social group, which is affected by cross-cutting inequalities, or “intersectionality”, due to ethnic origin and gender. The present study focusses on their economic activities, employment and non-wage work, and the related problems and challenges, and puts forward proposals for the promotion and improvement of their conditions. Moreover, their situation not only directly affects them, but also their families, which are among the poorest in the country.

Following this introduction, the second section of the study covers conceptual and methodological aspects. In the first place, certain observations are made concerning the concept of “indigenous”, together with a brief historical overview of the subject of “indigenous” peoples in the country, and the criteria used to determine the “indigenous population” in Peru. Details are also provided of the concept of “gender systems” and “intersectionality”, or the accumulation of disadvantages and discrimination that confronts indigenous women due to the dual situation of their gender and ethnic origin. In this brief conceptual section, certain aspects of the

³ Ibid., p. 16.

conditions of indigenous women are described, including those related to living in communities and as members of the rural community.

In the third section, after covering the general employment situation of men and women in Peru, a number of the characteristics of the economic activities of indigenous women are described. Insofar as possible, a distinction is drawn between Andean indigenous women (Quechua and Aymara) and Amazonian indigenous women. In relation to agriculture, the issue of land ownership is raised, together with the size of land holdings and access to credit, based on evidence disaggregated by gender, which illustrates the conditions of inequality, and even the “invisibility” of indigenous women. Certain data are provided on other types of work, including retail trading, manufacturing, education and domestic work. A comparison is then drawn between income gaps in Peru, between men and women and between indigenous and non-indigenous women.

Finally, the fourth section of the study proposes certain conclusions and recommendations arising out of the research and evidence gathered, supplemented by the views expressed by women and men leaders, officials and experts. The recommendations made are mainly intended for public policy-making, at both the national and regional levels.

Indigenous women: Some conceptual and methodological aspects

2

2.1 The indigenous population

2.1.1 *Identification as indigenous*

The concept of “indigenous” has a long history. As recalled by Aníbal Quijano, with the Spanish conquest of America, the concept of “race” emerged for the first time. Accordingly, “European” was no longer used to identify a population in a continent, or in other words a geographical entity, but also came to take on a socio-racial meaning. Similarly, “indigenous” came to be used to identify a group of peoples who had, until then, been perceived as being different (Quijano, 2004: 229).

The term “indigenous” has passed through various meanings and contexts. During the course of Peruvian history, its use has on occasions been restricted to native Andean populations and those on the coast, based on a perception that the “savages” of Amazonia had a different status, or simply that it was better not to take them into account in terms of the regulations, rights and duties applicable to indigenous persons.¹ The peoples of the Peruvian forest remained in “relative autonomy”

¹ For example, in a reply to the Prefect of Moyobamba (1835) concerning the application of the electoral Act of the previous year, the Government authorities agreed with the latter that the Act, which granted the participation of indigenous persons, could not be applied equally to those inhabiting the jungle. The communication referred to the vast numbers of Amazonian “savages” and the few indigenous persons who had taken their catachism and left the forest, who were “neophytes” in a fragile transitional situation of cultural integration into the county. “[The authorities] of the department referred to the absolute ignorance of those inhabitants who, due to lack of zeal, are still ignorant of the very rudiments of faith and language, some are savages and others neophytes [...]. Those living in the parish of Moyobamba are, due to their absolute blindness, very far from being aware of these important relations [political, and in relation to rights and responsibilities], and much less so those which bind them by covenant to the majority of the nation. In brief, they are still ignorant of the meaning of the word “member” [...]. For all of the above reasons [...], the Council is

for centuries, some even until the beginning of the 20th century (Del Águila, 2013: 12).² This is how different terms, such as “native”, came to be used for these peoples. The term is still in use.

Indeed, the Andean indigenous population had a very different history from the Amazonian indigenous population, even before the Spanish conquest. Subsequently, when they were integrated into the colonial system, they were key elements in the system of exploitation. For centuries, these native peoples, and particularly the Quechua and the Aymara, interacted with other groups in the colony. Subsequently, interaction became more complex, with an increase in migration to cities and, from the end of the 19th century, and throughout the 20th and 21st centuries, conflicts concerning community lands have been a constant feature of the country. In the case of the populations known as native Amazonians, the intensity of interaction with colonial society and the early Republic was fairly low. Even in the 1940 census, departments such as Madre de Dios only gave a rough estimate of the “jungle” population. The result was that nearly 80 per cent of the population was not covered by the census, but was estimated (“estimated jungle dwellers”) and, in the case of Loreto, the proportion was 43.6 per cent (Del Águila, 2013: 26-27). This population, which was almost invisible in statistics and for the State, was only “emerging” for the rest of society over the following decades. In contrast, there has been long-standing rural/urban interaction among many of the communities in the Andes, with the movement of persons.

But who are indigenous persons now? The answer to this question is still a subject of debate.

For the purposes of the identification of indigenous peoples, a consensus has been reached in recent years, starting with Martínez Cobo, and particularly the ILO Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, 1989 (No. 169). Convention No. 169 provides, in Article 1(b), that it applies to “peoples in independent countries who are regarded as indigenous” for the following reasons:

[...] on account of their descent from the populations which inhabited the country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonisation or the establishment of present state boundaries and

of the view that [...] the elections shall be held, keeping as close as possible to the law” (Oviedo, 1861: 374-375). In other words, Amazonian peoples were recognized as being different from indigenous persons in the rest of the Republic, and the question of how to apply the law in their case was left to the interpretation of the local authorities.

² During the colonial period, various religious orders were sent to evangelize the Amazonian jungle. However, following the rebellion of Juan Santos Atahualpa, in the middle of the 18th century, the number of religious expeditions fell, until the middle of the 19th century (Del Águila, 2013: 12).

who, irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions.³

It then adds in paragraph 2:

Self-identification as indigenous or tribal shall be regarded as a fundamental criterion for determining the groups to which the provisions of this Convention apply.⁴

In Peru, in the early censuses (since 1940 and before), the criterion of “race” was used, or in other words identification by phenotype (together with mother tongue), in which, clearly, the subjectivity of the agent taking the census was particularly important, and the power or position of the respondents.⁵ Subsequently, as they were considered to be an instrument of discrimination, these questions were removed, leaving only the criterion of “mother tongue”.

For example, the criterion of “mother tongue” was used in the 2007 census and the 2012 agricultural census. It is clearly an approximate indicator for the identification of indigenous peoples, although it is used in the present study as it continues to be useful, especially in the agricultural census. However, since 2001, the National Household Survey (ENAHO) has begun to include questions to identify indigenous households and persons. The ENAHO includes the criterion of self-identification for the determination of the indigenous population in questions on employment (for persons over 14 years of age).⁶

³ ILO: the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, 1989 (No. 169). Available at: http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO:12100:P12100_INSTRUMENT_ID:312314:NO

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Since the colonial period, the category “race” was far from referring only to appearance or skin colour, although that was the claim. The censuses of the Republic were the setting for the interplay of power and negotiation, particularly in cities, where mixed race persons who claimed to have a social position sought to be recorded as “white” or “creole”. Accordingly, at the end of the 19th century, with the emergence of the positivism which, in Peru, was markedly racist, in the publication *Demografía de Lima en 1884*, by José Clavero, the variable “mestizo” (mixed race) disappears, to be included with “white”, resulting in a single option, “creole” (Del Águila, 2003: 73).

⁶ In the first place, the self-identification of the head of household is requested. Subsequently, in the section on employment, the question covers all persons over 14 years of age. There are two questions in this section:

Ethnicity 558c. In view of your origins and your customs, do you consider yourself to be:

Quechua? _____	1	White? _____	5
Aymara? _____	2	Mestizo (mixed race)? _____	6
Native or indigenous of Amazonia? _____	3	Other? (please specify) _____	7
Negro/mulatto/zambo (mixed race)/Afro-Peruvian? _____	4	Don't know _____	8

558d. Do you belong to or consider yourself part of an indigenous people?

Yes _____	1	<i>558D1. To which indigenous people do you belong? (please specify)</i> _____
No _____	2	
Don't know _____	3	

It is to be hoped that the next census in 2017 will include this type of question. The corresponding technical meetings are being held and certain reflections are appropriate on the debate that has been opened.

In the first place, it is necessary to recall the diversity of the indigenous population, as there is a tendency to see it from the outside as being uniform. This common element of being “indigenous” was a historical construction foreign to their self-perception as peoples. Nevertheless, it has become more widely recognized by their own organizations, with the term serving as a common denominator that integrates diversity.

Secondly, the specification made by Magnus Mörner (1968) should be recalled concerning the historical definitions of race in the Americas. While a concept prevailed in the United States that was unchanging and biological, in Latin America racial identification was transformed into a socio-cultural perception. Despite “racist” claims, the concept has been in constant movement.

This non-static idea also applies to other constructions of identity. “Indigenous” and, in practice, any other identity in societies marked by diversity and interculturality are a reflection of the context and of differing social relations. This is the reason for the view expressed by Marisol de la Cadena and Orin Starn:

There is a volatility in the changing policy on the borders of belonging and exclusion [...]. Indigenous identity operates within broader structures of ethnicity and identification. “National forms of otherness”, as they are described by Claudia Briones [...], place native peoples within hierarchies of colour, gender, generation, geography and class, leading to a differentiation between and within groups. The structure of society rarely, if ever, involves a clear binary division [...]. (De la Cadena and Starn, 2007: 29)

This leads to a reflection concerning self-identification. Its results should not be interpreted as static identities. In other words, changes over time should not be considered “errors”, but part of variations in the constructs of identity. Moreover, these constructs are not only ethnic, but also cut across variables such as class and gender.⁷

⁷ In this regard, see Rogers Brubaker (2004) and David Sulmont (2010). The complex structure of identity, on the one hand, has led the United States to opt for a dual question, first concerning origins, and then ethnic racial extraction. Moreover, it is assumed that there are various racial ascendancies, which is why the second question does not seek a single racial identity, but the “strongest”. This may also be more than one, and it is therefore possible to indicate more than one option (see Cohn, 2015).

2.1.2 The indigenous population in Peru

According to the 2014 ENAHO,⁸ the question of whether or not respondents consider that they belong to an “indigenous people” (persons over 14 years of age) elicited a “yes” in 15.47 per cent of cases. Based on this sample, if the results were expanded to the national level, they would be as follows:

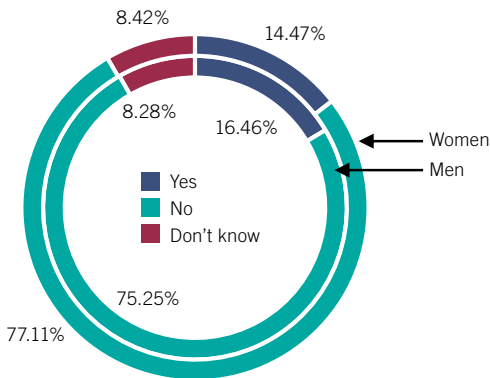
The 15.47 per cent of the population over 14 years of age who indicated that they belong to an indigenous people is fairly close to the 15.68 per cent of those who said that they had learned to speak an indigenous language in the 2007 census (population over three years of age).

Table 1. Population who are members of an indigenous people (self-identification), by gender

Self-identification as a member of an indigenous people	Gender				Total	%
	Men	%	Women	%		
Yes	1 916 346	16.46	1 682 179	14.47	3 598 525	15.47
No	8 758 840	75.25	8 962 619	77.11	17 721 460	76.18
Don't know	963 741	8.28	978 932	8.42	1 942 673	8.35
Total	11 638 927	100	11 623 730	100	23 262 657	100

Source: Author's calculations, based on ENAHO, 2014.

Figure 1. Population by self-identification as members of an indigenous people, by gender



Source: Author's calculations, based on ENAHO, 2014.

⁸ The National Household Survey (ENAHO) was first conducted in Peru in 1995. As from 2003, it has been conducted annually on a continuous basis. Visits are made to 2,200 households selected on a random basis. On the methodology, technical aspects, forms and results, see: <<http://inei.inei.gob.pe/microdatos/>>.

Table 2. Population over three years of age, by gender and mother tongue

Mother tongue	Population		Gender			
	Total	%	Men		Women	
			Total	%	Total	%
Quechua	3 360 331	13.02	1 619 820	48.20	1 740 511	51.80
Aymara	443 248	1.72	219 461	49.51	223 787	50.49
Ashaninka	67 724	0.26	34 577	51.06	33 147	48.94
Other native language	174 410	0.68	88 422	50.70	85 988	49.30
Spanish	21 713 165	84.13	10 815 490	49.81	10 897 675	50.19
Foreign language	21 434	0.08	11 219	52.34	10 215	47.66
Deaf	30 019	0.12	15 988	53.26	14 031	46.74
Peru	25 810 331	100	12 804 977	100	13 005 354	100

Source: INEI; 2007 census.

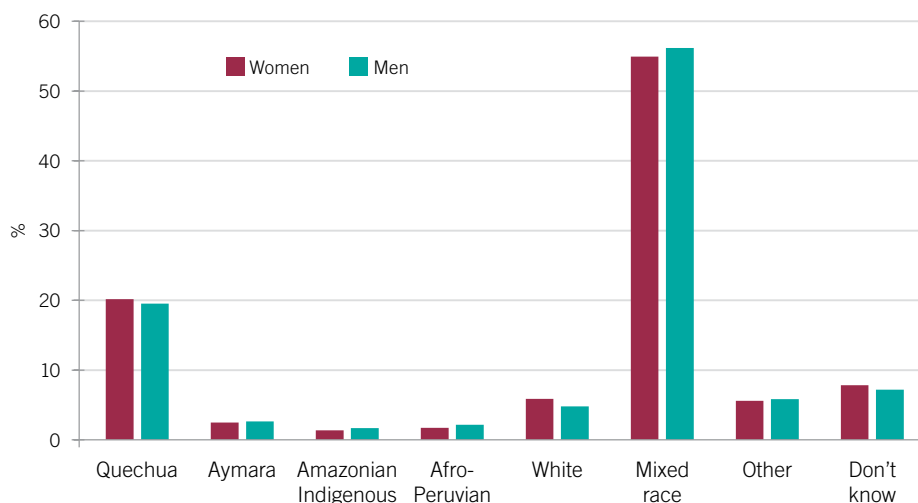
Table 3. Population over 14 years of age according to self-identification “by origin, customs and traditions”, by gender

Self-identification based on origin and customs	Gender				Total	%
	Men	%	Women	%		
Quechua	2 272 023.2	19.52	2 346 240.1	20.18	4 618 263.3	19.85
Aymara	305 685.6	2.63	290 038.8	2.50	595 724.4	2.56
Indigenous Amazonian	195 767.1	1.68	157 984.9	1.36	353,751.9	1.52
Afro-Peruvian	250 264.4	2.15	202 225.6	1.74	452 490.0	1.95
White	560 086.1	4.81	681 904.5	5.87	1 241 990.6	5.34
Mestizo (mixed race)	6 538 492.1	56.18	6 386 558.5	54.94	12 925 051.0	55.56
Other	680 141.7	5.84	648 603.3	5.58	1 328 745.0	5.71
Don't know	836 467.1	7.19	910 174.6	7.83	1 746 641.7	7.51
Total	11 638 927.0	100	11 623 730.0	100	23 262 657.0	100

Source: Author's calculations, based on ENAHO, 2014.

However, there is a slight difference from the gender viewpoint. Although, according to the ENAHO, more men than women identify themselves as belonging to an “indigenous people”, in the 2007 census more women than men indicated that they had learned to speak an indigenous language (2,083,433 compared with 1,962,280).

Figure 2. Population (over 14 years) according to self-identification “by origin, customs and traditions”, by gender



Source: Author's calculations, based on ENAHO, 2014.

The 2014 ENAHO contained another question relating to self-identification “by origin, customs and traditions” for the population over 14 years of age.

In response, 23.93 per cent of the population indicated that they self-identify themselves by “origins, traditions and customs” as Quechua, Aymara, native or indigenous Amazonian (5,567,739 inhabitants). In other words, when the question is based on “origins and customs”, there is greater identification as indigenous. The hypothesis may be advanced that the previous question (belonging or not to an indigenous people) is associated with sharing housing in or with territorial communities, or stronger roots in their traditions through the mother tongue.

In contrast, the second question alludes to family origins and customs, which are individual elements that do not necessarily mean that all those who replied in the affirmative are in a territorial community, nor in housing closely associated with it, but they may identify themselves as being “Quechua”, “Aymara” or “Amazonian” within an intercultural, and even a transcultural society. It is assumed that the question concerning self-identification is the one that offers a closer approximation to the indigenous population in Peru. Nevertheless, it is also interesting to take into account the results based on “belonging to an indigenous people” or mother tongue, especially when the focus is on rural areas (as in the case of the agricultural census).

Once again, in the case of the Quechua, more women self-identify as indigenous, while the opposite is true for other peoples. But in no case are gender differences major.

It may be considered that the approximation through the second question is the one that gives the closest idea of the indigenous population, and of indigenous women. Applied to employment, it will be used in particular in relation to occupations and average wages.

With regard to aspects relating to agricultural work (which accounts for the majority of the indigenous population), the agricultural census is indispensable. It should therefore be recalled that its focus on the mother tongue results in a more restricted concept of the indigenous population. The same occurred with the 2007 census, which has been used in the present study for types of economic activity. Despite these reservations, there can be no doubt that they offer important insight for the present research.

2.2 Gender systems and “intersectionality”

While progress has been made in the inclusion in national statistics of ethnic self-identification, resulting in more disaggregated information on indigenous peoples, there has also been progress with regard to gender gaps. But little progress has been made in producing evidence and studying the specific condition of indigenous women. These two elements, gender (women) and ethnic (indigenous) place them at the intersection of two conditions of disadvantage and discrimination.

In practice, this dual condition reinforces the situation of inequality of indigenous women throughout their lives. They are subject to various dimensions (gender, ethnic, origin, class, etc.), which may give rise to the “intersection” of several means of oppression or discrimination, and reinforce them. This is the case of indigenous women.

The ILO Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958 (No. 111), describes discrimination as “any distinction, exclusion or preference made on the basis of race, colour, sex, religion, political opinion, national extraction or social origin, which has the effect of nullifying or impairing equality of opportunity or treatment in employment or occupation”.⁹ The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD), adopted in 1965, also recognizes various types of discrimination.

⁹ In clause (b) it also refers to “such other distinction, exclusion or preference”. See: http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO:12100:P12100_INSTRUMENT_ID:312256:NO

North American feminists of African origin coined the term “intersectionality”, a critical concept that involves dual discrimination and oppression due to the dual conditions of race and gender.¹⁰ The paradigm of intersectionality, or intersection, is explained as follows by Fanny Gómez (2003):

The paradigm of intersection does not imply an equation of sums and remainders, but rather consists of the confluence of mutually reinforcing factors when experiencing racism, sexism, xenophobia, restrictions due to migrant status or national origin or any other form of exclusion or restriction. The multiple forms of discrimination that we are capable of inventing are all different dimensions of the same, of our way of seeing and understanding reality [...] in general in all spaces of socialization which conceive of reality from perspectives of dichotomy and exclusion.¹¹

In this regard, the ILO has emphasized that:

In recent years, discrimination on multiple grounds has increasingly become recognized as the rule, rather than the exception, with the cumulative effect being to generate situations of potentially extreme disadvantage and exclusion. Examples include the labour and socio-economic situation of indigenous women in Latin America. Challenges in addressing discrimination on multiple grounds arise at all levels and stages of the implementation of anti-discrimination measures, including research, data collection, advocacy, judicial interpretation, the development of remedial strategies (including proactive policies) and the formulation of broader social policy initiatives to address structural inequalities at work.¹²

A similar concept is that of “cross-cutting inequalities”, as developed by Raúl Asensio and Carolina Trivelli (2014: 17-18).

It is important to emphasize that conditions of inequality are reinforced over the lifetime of indigenous women. This is why it is important to analyse the “gender systems” or relations and roles which, as a whole, condition the situation of men and women in a specific group or community. These gender systems strengthen gender

¹⁰ See, for example, the pioneering work by Kimberle Crenshaw (1989), *Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics*. University of Chicago Legal Forum.

¹¹ Free translation from the Spanish original.

¹² ILO, *Fundamental principles and rights at work: From commitment to action*, Recurrent discussion under the ILO Declaration on Social Justice for a Fair Globalization and the follow-up to the ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work, International Labour Conference, Report VI, 101st Session, Geneva, 2012, para. 81.

gaps, which end up being multi-causal and are constantly reinforced. For example, disparities in educational levels between indigenous men and women have an impact on differences in the field of labour. According to the study by Hugo Ñopo, in the case of Ecuador, “equalizing educational opportunities for girls would only marginally reduce gender earnings differentials. However, in the case of indigenous women, equalizing educational opportunities would be important in reducing the earning differential with other groups” (Ñopo, 2012: 176). Education is therefore a factor which would be more important for indigenous women than for other women, in the case of Ecuador.

It is also important to note the additional point made by Ñopo in the case of Ecuador (and which may apply to other countries), when he suggests that gender inequalities in labour markets cannot be reduced through policies that improve human capital endowments for women. Instead, “action must be oriented toward changing practices that may discriminate against women” (Ñopo, 2012: 180).

A number of elements are described below which determine the situation of indigenous women.

2.3 Situation of indigenous women

2.3.1 *Indigenous women, rurality and agricultural work*

The indigenous population has historically been principally associated with rural communities and areas. Although this image, as will be seen, is changing, the majority of the population with an indigenous language as their mother tongue still live in rural areas. In Amazonia, this percentage is still very high, at over 80 per cent. In other words, the association between rurality and indigenous populations continues to be important.

However, the rural population in Peru is in decline and amounts to only 25.7 per cent of the total population (INEI, 2014).

Over recent decades, there have certainly been substantial changes in the rural world. The expansion of cities, and of economic activities (with extraction taking on the broadest economic dimensions, and generally the greatest social and environmental impact), and the development of public policies and communications, have reconfigured the rural world.

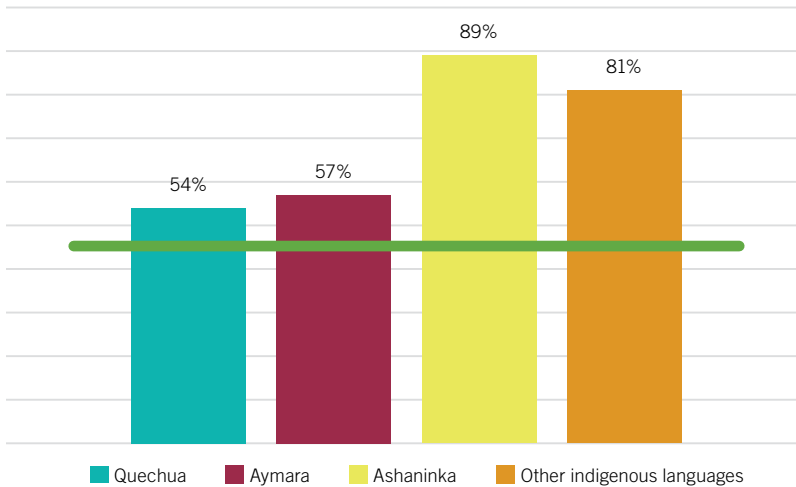
According to the 2007 census, 44 per cent of the indigenous population considers that it lives in urban areas, and 56 per cent in rural areas (INEI, 2007 census). However, as indicated above, if this information is disaggregated, the level of

Table 4. Indigenous population in rural areas, by mother tongue

	Total	Population in rural areas	
		Total	%
Quechua	3 360 331	1 823 571	54
Aymara	443 248	252 435	57
Ashaninka	67 724	59 951	89
Other native languages	174 410	141 024	81
Total	4 045 713	2 276 981	56

Source: Author's calculations, based on INEI, 2007 census.

Figure 3. Indigenous population in rural areas, by mother tongue (%)



Source: Author's calculations, based on INEI, 2007 census.

rurality differs widely between the Quechua and the Aymara, on the one hand, and Amazonian peoples, on the other.

As can be seen, levels of rurality differ greatly between the Andean and Amazonian populations, with more of the population with Quechua as its mother tongue, who are the most numerous, living in urban areas, even though in 2007 the majority were still in rural areas (54 per cent). In contrast, among the native populations of Amazonia, the percentage of those in rural areas is above 80 per cent, reaching almost 90 per cent among the Ashaninka.

Among the indigenous rural population, figures for the genders are more or less equal, with women accounting for 50.4 per cent and men 49.6 per cent

Table 5. Rural indigenous population, by gender and mother tongue

Mother tongue	Rural population (%)	
	Men	Women
Quechua	49.3	50.6
Aymara	49.7	50.2
Ashaninka	51.0	48.8
Other languages	50.7	49.3

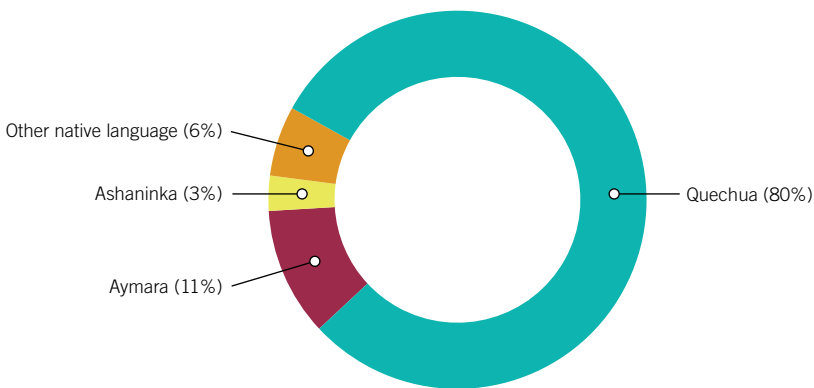
Source: Author’s calculations, based on INEI, 2007 census.

(INEI, 2008). These figures appear to confirm a trend throughout the continent for the “defeminization” of rural areas.¹³

If this information is disaggregated by the mother tongues identified in the census, by gender, a significant difference emerges: in the Andean populations, women continue to account for a greater percentage of the rural population, while the trend is inverted among Amazonian peoples.

If the data are taken only with reference to indigenous women, the distribution by mother tongue is shown in figure 4.

Figure 4. Indigenous women in rural areas of Peru (2007 census)



Source: Author’s calculations, based on INEI, 2007 census.

¹³ In contrast with what is usually expected, this appears to have been the trend in recent years. This trend seems to be common throughout the region, as shown by Raúl Asensio (2014: 46), with women accounting for under 50 per cent of rural populations in Latin America. In the case of Peru, data from the ENAHO 2010 show a femininity rate of 0.99 (ibid.: 47).

This characteristic of rural women who, it is assumed, are engaged largely in work in the fields and forest, involves the superposition of conditions of disadvantage. For this reason, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) accords special attention to rural women (Article 14(1)):

States Parties shall take into account the particular problems faced by rural women and the significant roles which rural women play in the economic survival of their families, including their work in the non-monetized sectors of the economy, and shall take all appropriate measures to ensure the application of the provisions of the present Convention to women in rural areas.¹⁴

Over and above the trend for a decline in the rural population, indigenous women continue to have strong roots in the fields and forests. This is because, as will be seen in the following section, their various economic activities are associated with agricultural work. As will be seen, 42 per cent of indigenous women are engaged in work related to agriculture and livestock, forestry or hunting as their principal economic activity. In the case of Amazonian women, the percentage is even higher. In other words, even though the indigenous population is in part losing its rural character, most of them continue to have strong links with rural areas and work.

2.3.2 Communities, agricultural holdings and gender

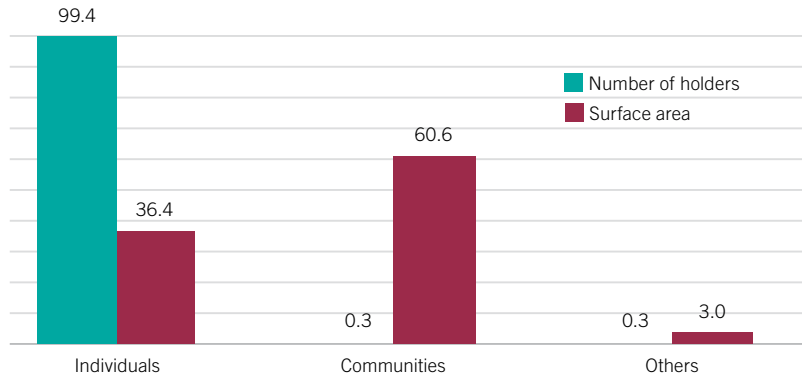
Communities

According to the 2012 agricultural census, communities retain 60.6 per cent of the land engaged in agricultural use, even though they account for 0.3 per cent of all producers/holders. In other words, consisting of a holding (with various members), communities are much less numerous in formal terms than individual holders, who represent 99.4 per cent of all holders. Cooperatives and limited liability companies, which together account for a similar number of holders as communities, merely have 3 per cent of agricultural land.

It is interesting to note that, when these data are compared with the agricultural censuses conducted in 1994 and 1972, it can be seen that the surface area worked by communities has grown. While in 1972, they held 6,120,781 hectares, or 26 per cent of the total area of land used for agricultural and livestock production, in 1994 the figure was 14,171,967, or 39.7 per cent of the total area of such lands in the country (Del Castillo, 2004). According to Del Castillo, this increase between

¹⁴ CEDAW, available at: <http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/ProfessionalInterest/cedaw.pdf>

Figure 5. Agricultural producers and surface area of holdings by legal status, 2012 (%)



Source: Author’s calculations, based on the 2012 agricultural census.

the 1972 and 1994 censuses was due to “a relatively recent process of increased access to land and the legal recognition of communities. Both processes are associated with the implementation of the Agrarian Reform in the 1970s, and the subsequent restructuring of associations established under the reform, particularly in the southern department of Puno” (Del Castillo, 2004).

In subsequent years, a substantial process of the granting of land title continued. Between 1996 and 2000, title was granted to 712 communal lands (Robles, 2002: 65). Over the past decade, as indicated at the beginning of this study, the situation has changed. Nevertheless, as can be seen from the agricultural census, communities are still owners of over 60 per cent of the land used for agricultural, livestock and forestry activities in the country.

According to the IBC, rural and native communities with land title own 27.3 per cent of the national territory. Rural communities are reported to control 42 per cent of agricultural land (38,742,464 hectares, according to the IVth agricultural census), while native and Amazonian communities own 18.34 per cent. “Taken together, communal lands account for 60.57 per cent of agricultural land” (IBC, 2014: 21).

Communities therefore continue to be a relevant economic and productive element in the rural world. They also shape the social life of their members.

In order to understand the differences in the economic conditions of either gender in rural indigenous populations, it is necessary to examine their communal structures. As indicated by Patricia Quiñones (2014), in the 1970s there was almost no reference to gender relations within communities. Shortly afterwards, research emerged on this subject (mostly in the Andean context), but from a viewpoint of “complementarity”. Feminist critiques arrived in the following decade:

In the 1980s and thereafter, there began to emerge harsh critiques of this approach. The principal issue was that a vision of this type does not see as a problem the situation of subordination of women (Harris, 1985; La Piedra, 1985; among others) or their absence from the public and political spheres (Quiñones, 2014: 17).

One of the classic works exploring gender relations in Andean communities is the article by Marisol de la Cadena, *“Las mujeres son más indias”* (“Women are more Indian”, 1991). As indicated by De la Cadena, even though women work in the same way as men on the land, their situation is very different. They suffer physical ill-treatment and discrimination, which are also reflected in their working conditions.

As observed by De la Cadena, with reference to the case of the Chitapampa community (Cusco), “The differentiation between genders was incorporated in the ethnic stratification” (1991: 9). In the view of De la Cadena, within communities, the social hierarchy has to be understood based on ethnic and gender differentiation.

This is reflected in the various types of everyday work and responsibilities. Quiñones explains that women may not even be recognized as community members with full rights, as one of the two types of community leaders found in the localities covered by her study (Ayacucho and Puno) only include family representatives, who are normally men, unless the women are widowed or single, under the responsibility of their sons (Quiñones, 2014: 91). Quiñones adds that, “at the outset, the participation of women in these assemblies is not restricted, although certain codes are established, over and above normative frameworks, which prevent the access of women to these bodies” (ibid.: 93). For example, in certain Ayacucho communities, only men are convened for ordinary assemblies, as they are considered to be the heads of families, with the convocation being extended to women for extraordinary assemblies (ibid.: 94). Similarly, Verónica Arapa, a participant in the Puno workshop, complained that in community meetings the opinions of women were not usually taken into account and men end up taking the decisions (see Annex 2).

Even when women are single, their rights are not equally recognized. Indeed, as indicated by various women interviewed in Puno, widows and single women are in a situation of greater vulnerability. María Anahua, a leader in Puno (see Annex 2) indicated that:

In rural communities, say a woman receives a plot of land to cultivate crops, it is smaller than that of men. Say that they give men an hour of ploughing, but only half an hour for women. So these are the difficulties with our authorities and in our rural community.

In their community, therefore, due to the sole fact of being women, they receive less land and less time to use machinery to cultivate fallow land. A woman without a husband or family has to confront this inequality, which also affects her children.

Work in the fields is distributed by gender. However, that depends on the locality because, as indicated by Quiñones, migration has made it necessary to rethink such work (ibid.: 101). Work gives rise to different responsibilities, which results in women acquiring decision-making capacities individually, or shared in their couple, for certain types of work.

In the case of land, although the gender gap continues in the distribution of land, such inequality probably varies as a function of the value of the land in each locality. As explained by De la Cadena, in the community that she studied between the beginnings of the 20th century and the 1970s, the average number of women inheriting land increased considerably. She observes that the reason is the lower value of such land, as other options offer greater prestige and income, such as “urban contacts” (ibid.: 13-14).

Individual agricultural holdings

As indicated above, the great majority of agricultural holders in the country are individuals. This information can be disaggregated by gender. According to the 2012 agricultural census, women holders (that is, with an agricultural holding) account for one-third of the total (34.27 per cent). However, there is a problem with this figure. It is therefore necessary to review the definitions used in the census.

It would appear that the identification of the “holder” of an agricultural holding is conducted in a similar manner to the identification of the “head of household” in censuses. In the latter case, there is no option to reply “joint head of household”. In the absence of this option, in the great majority of cases, the answer given is that the “head of household” is the husband, even though the wife may participate equally in decision-making and the couple may consider that the household is managed jointly. Only in cases where they are not in a couple is it usual to accept a woman as “head of household”.

With regard to the concept of “holder” and agricultural censuses, the FAO (1998) observes that:

The frequently used term “holder” is not a very appropriate choice from a gender perspective, as it almost always refers to just one male individual. [...] When only one person is considered, that person is unlikely to be a woman. The situation is even more critical when two or more members of the same household jointly operate the same farm, given the expressly stated instruction that the holder is considered to be the head of the household. [...] There is, therefore, an urgent need

to find and use a term that reflects the notion of individual or joint responsibility for the holding and that is quite distinct from the more technical term that captures all the persons exercising this responsibility.¹⁵

This problem does indeed arise in agricultural censuses in Peru.¹⁶ The difficulty therefore lies in the information generated failing to capture the real situation of producer families in rural areas. For example, the works of Deere and León (1982) and Deere (2011) in Cajamarca record cases of the distribution of responsibilities and decision-making in rural households. Decisions such as the distribution of the harvest and the selection of seed types, for example, are responsibilities which are either assumed principally by wives (56 per cent for crop distribution, and 59 per cent for seed types), or by both spouses (37 per cent for crop distribution, and 34 per cent for seed types). Responsibilities that are predominantly male include work that is more closely related to external relations, such as hiring labour from outside the family (79 per cent men and 14 per cent both), the purchase of seed or fertilizer (53 per cent men and 44 per cent both) and the coordination of work in the fields (49 per cent men, and 45 per cent both) (Deere, 2011).

It would therefore be appropriate to revise concepts such as “holder” to record more accurately the roles of men and women, and the reality of co-management in many cases.

As can be seen in table 6 and figure 7, the masculinity index for “agricultural holders” is over 100 in all departments of the country. In five of them, it is over 400, mainly in Amazonia (Amazonas, Loreto, San Martín, Ucayali and Tumbes). In contrast, the masculinity index of those “participating in agricultural work” is in almost all cases under 100. However, it should be noted that those who participate in the agricultural work, as recorded by this census, are members of the holding in addition to the owners.

¹⁵ A similar critique is also found in the work of Carmen Deere (2011).

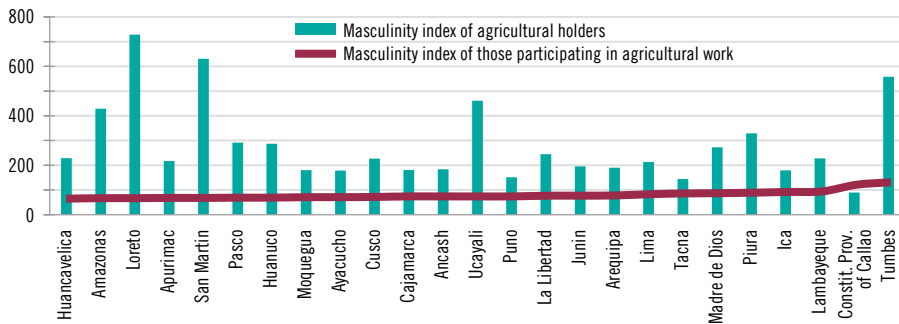
¹⁶ In the 2008 census, it is explained that this is due, in part, to the fact that “land title” is assigned in most cases to the man (INEI, 2009: 13).

Table 6. Masculinity index of individual agricultural holders and persons engaged in agricultural work, by department

Department	Masculinity index of agricultural producers	Masculinity index of persons engaged in agricultural work
Huancavelica	229	65
Amazonas	429	67
Loreto	729	67
Apurimac	217	68
San Martín	631	68
Pasco	291	69
Huánuco	287	69
Moquegua	180	71
Ayacucho	178	71
Cusco	227	72
Cajamarca	181	74
Ancash	184	74
Ucayali	461	74
Puno	151	74
La Libertad	245	77
Junín	195	77
Arequipa	190	78
Lima	213	83
Tacna	144	86
Madre de Dios	273	87
Piura	329	89
Ica	179	92
Lambayeque	228	94
Callao Constitutional Province	89	121
Tumbes	558	131

Source: Author’s calculations, based on INEI, 2012 agricultural census.

Figure 6. Masculinity index of individual agricultural holders and persons engaged in agricultural work, by department



Source: Author’s calculations, based on INEI, 2012 agricultural census.

Indigenous women and employment

3

3.1 Employment in Peru: Gender gaps

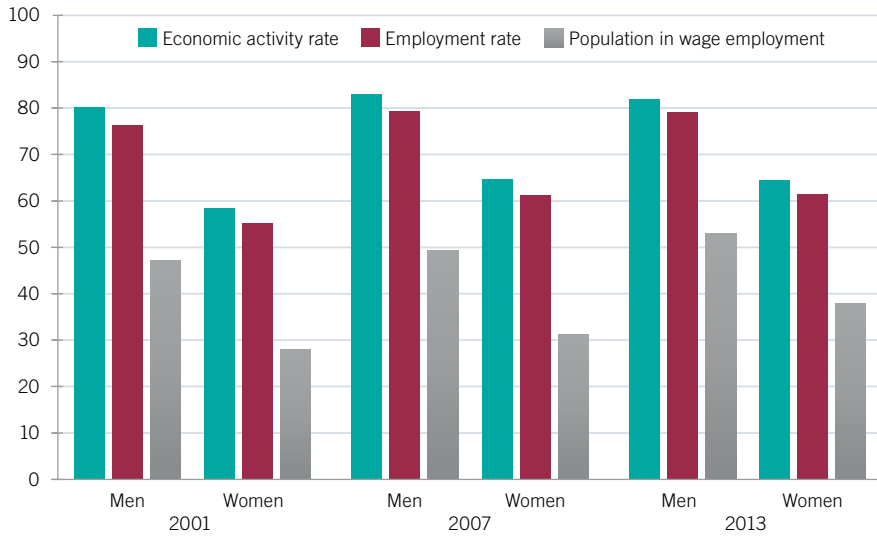
According to the INEI report on decent work in Peru, 2001-2013, the percentage of persons of working age who are in employment in Peru (the employment rate) increased over this period from 65.7 to 70.3 per cent. Over the same period, the employment rate of women rose from 55.2 to 61.5 per cent, and that of men from 76.3 to 79.2 per cent (INEI, 2015: 10). In other words, the employment rate of women increased over twice as rapidly as that of men. Nevertheless, at over 17 percentage points, the gender gap is still significant. It also appears that there have been no substantial changes in this growth since 2007. Indeed, the employment rate in Peru in 2007 was the same as in 2013, namely 70.3 per cent, with the highpoint of 71.1 per cent in 2010 (ibid: 10).

However, as is known, not all of the population of active age who are in work receive pay. If only the population engaged in wage employment is taken into consideration, the gender gap is greater, as the figures in 2013 were 53.1 per cent of economically active men, and only 37.8 per cent of economically active women (ibid: 17).

Moreover, when taking into account the activity rate, or the whole of the population engaged in or seeking work, the gender gap is even wider. In 2013, the average activity rate was 73.2 per cent, with the figure for women being 64.5 per cent, compared with 82.0 per cent for men (ibid: 14).

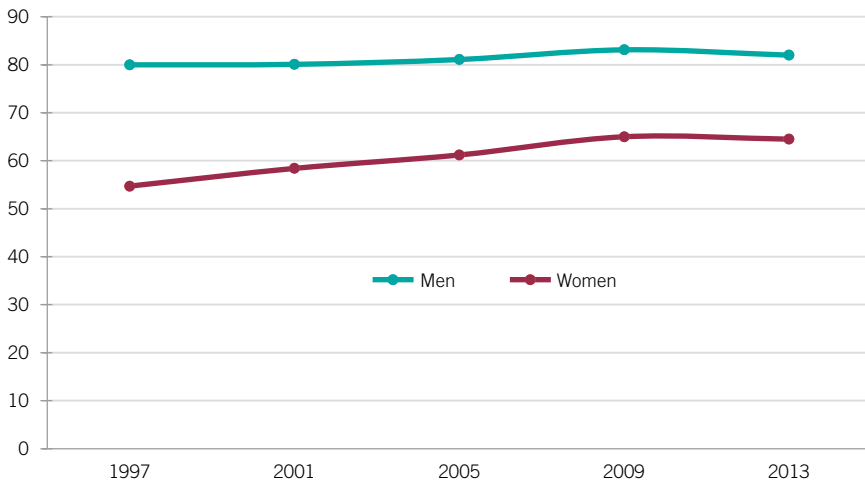
Nevertheless, as indicated by the INEI and by Manuela Ramos in relation to gender gaps (2015: 292), if the changes in activity rate by gender are reviewed since 1997, it is found that the increase among women has been significantly greater than

Figure 7. Employment rate, economic activity rate and population in wage employment, by gender (2001–03)



Source: Author’s calculations, based on INEI, 2015.

Figure 8. Economic activity rate by gender, 1997–2013



Source: Author’s calculations, based on Manuela Ramos, 2015; INEI, 2015.

for men, rising from 54.7 per cent in 1997 to 64.5 per cent in 2013. For men, the increase was merely two percentage points, from 80.0 to 82.0 per cent.

Another important figure concerns the self-employed and unpaid family workers. These categories, which are characterized by greater vulnerability in their rights and lower pay, include a large proportion of women. Indeed, in 2013, half of women were engaged in these types of work (50.1 per cent), compared with 36.5 per cent of men (with a national average of 42.5 per cent). Nevertheless, it should be noted that there has been a decrease in these categories in recent years, as the figures in 2001 were 59.3 per cent of women, compared with 42.5 per cent of men.

The gender gap among the poorest categories of workers is also fairly significant. Although there has been a significant fall in the numbers of workers with income below the poverty line (from 37.4 per cent in 2001 to 24.9 per cent in 2013), this category continues to be predominantly female. In 2013, while 15.9 per cent of men in employment were in this situation, the figure for women was 36.3 per cent (INEI, 2015: 19). And, in terms of the extreme poverty line, the figure for men was 10.7 per cent, compared with 27.0 per cent for women (*ibid*: 20). In other words, over 25 per cent of women in employment in Peru had earnings below the extreme poverty line.

In short, on the one hand, it can be seen that there has been significant progress in recent years in reducing the gender gap in relation to the employment of men and women in the country. However, as shown in figure 8, disparities persist. There are also gender differences in the quality of employment. Self-employed and unpaid workers (family workers) continue to be predominantly female. There is therefore a greater percentage of women than of men in the poorest quintile of workers.

3.2 Indigenous women of working age

3.2.1 *Population of working age*

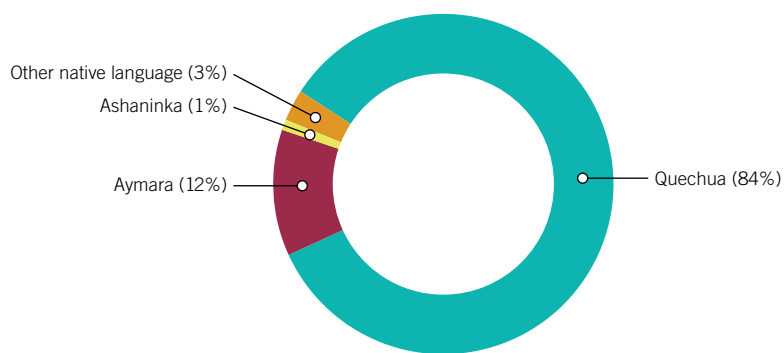
There are slight differences in the percentage of women of working age by mother tongue. While Quechua women account for nearly 80 per cent of all indigenous women in Peru (see Chapter 2), according to the 2007 census they make up 84 per cent of indigenous women of working age. Similarly, in the case of Aymara women, although they constitute 11 per cent of indigenous women, they account for 12 per cent of indigenous women of working age. The opposite applies to Amazonian indigenous women, for whom the percentage is falling (see figure 9), which may well be due to the greater incidence of the population under 14 years of age in relation to the total population of working age.

Table 7. Indigenous women of working age (14 years and over)

	15 to 24 years	25 to 34 years	35 to 44 years	45 to 54 years	55 to 64 years	Total
Indigenous women of working age	2 633 219	2 223 268	1 799 999	1 291 177	824 171	8 771 834
Quechua	266 952	263 369	261 059	219 780	171 192	1 182 352
Aymara	34 030	37 899	37 159	30 750	23 638	163 476
Ashaninka	7 466	4 974	3 701	2 154	1 027	19 322
Other native language	19 259	12 766	9 216	5 308	2 906	49 455
Total						1 414 605

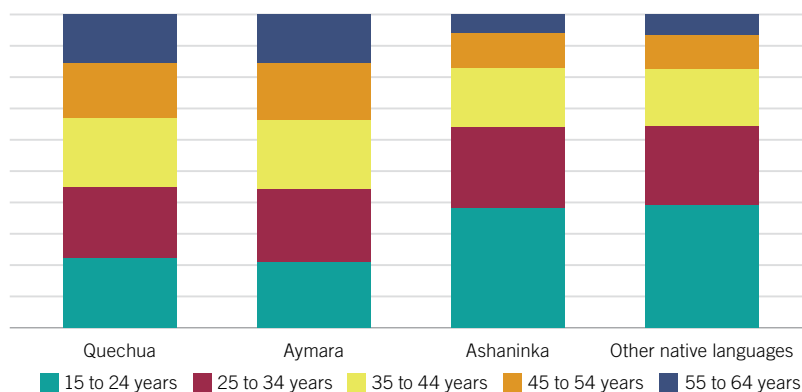
Source: Author’s calculations, based on INEI, 2007 census.

Figure 9. Indigenous women of working age, by mother tongue



Source: Author’s calculations, based on INEI, 2007 census.

Figure 10. Indigenous women of working age by mother tongue, by age group



Source: Author’s calculations, based on INEI, 2007 census.

If each language group is analysed by age category, it is found that the youngest age group of Amazonian indigenous peoples (15 to 24 years) accounts for a higher percentage than among the Andean peoples (Figure 11). The 25 to 34 age group is also slightly bigger. Among Andean indigenous peoples, the 35 to 44, 45 to 54 and 55 to 64 age groups are bigger among adult women.

3.2.2 Economic activity of indigenous women: More work by girls and by older women

As indicated by Trivelli, women agricultural workers of indigenous origin are a recurrent profile among the poorest groups in the country. And the poorest category of the working population in the country is concentrated in agricultural activities. According to the data of the ENAHO 2012, almost 80 per cent of the working population who are in a situation of extreme poverty are engaged in agriculture, fishing or mining. No other branches of activity have so many extremely poor workers, with over half, or 54.1 per cent of the working poor, in that branch (INEI, 2013: 23).

For this reason, many of those concerned have to engage in additional activities, such as artisanal manufacturing activities or retail trading which are, as indicated above, the other major economic activities of indigenous populations, and particularly women.

The economically active population in indigenous populations therefore includes older adults and children. For example, in native communities in Amazonia, 35.3 per cent of persons between 80 and 84 years of age continue to be active, while the national average for this age group is 14.9 per cent (INEI, UNFPA, 2010: 48). The high number of older women who work is related to the absence of pensions. In 2012, barely one-third of the population covered by a pension system were women (33.7 per cent). It should also be noted that only one-third of the total active population is covered by a pension system, or 5,064,100 persons (INEI, 2013b: 239). The elderly rural indigenous population is among the most vulnerable in view of the high numbers who are without any type of pension. The non-contributory “Pension 65” has achieved important progress in coverage in recent years, covering 469,760 beneficiaries in 2015 (MIDIS, 2015). However, as happens with other programmes, rural Amazonia generally, as well as other areas high in the Andes in which the population is very dispersed and difficult to contact, are those with the lowest levels of beneficiaries. A number of participants in the Puno and Pucallpa workshops reported elderly women who are not yet beneficiaries of any type of programme, including Pension 65, as they are not even documented.

In contrast, children under 14 years of age start working early. Of these, girls are on average reported to be engaged in most household and agricultural work. For example, this is the case of rural populations in San Martín where, according to an FAO study (1995), in the provinces of Rioja, Huallaga and Lamas, a much higher proportion of girls are engaged in work than boys. Among the population of Huallaga between the ages of 6 and 14 years of age, 2 per cent of boys worked in agriculture, compared with 16.6 per cent of girls. In Lamas, 3.1 per cent of boys were engaged in these types of work, compared with 15 per cent for girls. And in Rioja, the percentage for boys was 3.8 per cent, compared with 22.6 per cent for girls (FAO, 1995: 29).

Most indigenous children aged between 6 and 16 years who work are unpaid, as family workers, or are starting out as domestic workers (INEI, 2007 census). However, as the census only uses the variable of “mother tongue”, and indigenous children are the category of that population group which speaks the most Spanish, the data from the latest census are particularly imprecise.

In any case, account needs to be taken of the specific characteristics of child labour, and especially the burden on girls in indigenous populations. These conditions traditionally include not only sending girls to undertake domestic work in other households but, in most cases, in households far from their homes. In other cases, they enter the circuit of trafficking in persons, which in many cases leads them to prostitution. In view of the increase in illegal mining and logging settlements in Amazonia and in areas high in the Andes, this situation is becoming even more of a concern. This was the view of women leaders in the workshops in both Puno and Pucallpa. In particular, women artisanal gold miners from mining settlements in Putina reported an increase in prostitution and trafficking in girls in these settlements.

These are undoubtedly serious problems, as indigenous girls and young women are in one of the most vulnerable population groups, and are victims of alarming levels of forced child labour, trafficking in persons, labour exploitation and prostitution.

3.3 Economic activities

3.3.1 *Principal economic activities*

Agriculture and livestock, hunting and forestry are the economic activities in which most of the indigenous population in the country are engaged, both in the Andean and Amazonian areas. In response to the question concerning their principal economic activity (2007 census), 49 per cent of the population of indigenous mother tongue indicated that they were engaged in these activities. This was followed, at a much lower level, by retail trading, at 12.56 per cent.

It should be emphasized that one significant difference between indigenous populations is the proportion of the active population engaged principally in agriculture, hunting, livestock and forestry. While, among the Quechua-speaking population, these amount to fewer than half of the population (47.3 per cent), and the figure is 50 per cent for the Aymara, these activities are much more common among the Amazonian peoples. Among the Ashaninka, they are the principal economic activity, accounting for 83.9 per cent of the working population, while the figure is 73.3 per cent for other Amazonian peoples. This difference may be due to the impact of other activities, such as the production and sale of artisanal goods, in populations such as the Shipiba.

Focussing on the principal economic activities of indigenous women, it can be seen that the proportion of some activities varies in comparison with the figures for the total indigenous population.

A first difference in relation to table 9 is that the percentage of women engaged principally in agricultural work, including the cultivation of crops, forestry, hunting or livestock, is slightly lower than for the total group of indigenous populations (41.95 per cent compared with 49.04 per cent). Among Quechua women, this type of activity has been falling, at least as their principal activity (38.4 per cent). In comparison, among the Amazonian populations, it continues to be the fundamental activity for over two-thirds of active women (73.2 per cent for the Ashaninka and 69 per cent for other native language groups).

In any case, men are still most numerous in agriculture, livestock, forestry and hunting, at least among the Quechua (51.8 per cent) and Amazonian peoples (88.4 per cent among the Ashaninka and 75 per cent for the other peoples). However, among the Aymara the percentage of those primarily engaged in these activities appears to be similar for men and women. The lower proportion of women is probably due to a higher proportion who have sought alternative sources of income, which have become their main livelihoods.

Table 8. Indigenous population by mother tongue and economic activity

Economic activity	Language in which the respondent learned to speak					Total	% of total
	Quechua	Aymara	Ashaninka	Other native languages			
Agriculture, livestock, hunting and forestry	646 423	111 947	20 273	41 828	820 471	49.04	
Fishing	1 481	1 582	32	406	3 501	0.21	
Mining and quarrying	27 553	1 672	45	174	29 444	1.76	
Manufacturing	88 073	14 433	518	2 246	105 270	6.29	
Electricity, water and gas supply	1 872	195	17	23	2 107	0.13	
Construction	80 572	11 244	169	864	92 849	5.55	
Sale, maintenance and repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles	14 990	2 814	53	224	18 081	1.08	
Wholesale trade	7 000	1 188	24	111	8 323	0.50	
Retail trade	176 285	31 154	463	2 215	210 117	12.56	
Hotels and catering	56 234	6 719	262	653	63 868	3.82	
Transportation, storage and communications	58 429	12 767	223	980	72 399	4.33	
Financial services	956	140	13	35	1 144	0.07	
Real estate, rental	22 752	2 523	273	594	26 142	1.56	
Public administration, defence, social security	23 910	5 282	174	688	30 054	1.80	
Education	40 541	6 328	424	2 462	49 755	2.97	
Social and health services	10 335	1 364	76	382	12 157	0.73	
Other service, social and community activities	24 690	2 511	114	513	27 828	1.66	
Private households and domestic service	46 875	5 008	388	1 016	53 287	3.19	
Extraterritorial organizations	6	3	-	2	11	0.00	
Unspecified economic activity	39 099	4 702	620	1 683	46 104	2.76	
Total	1 368 076	223 576	24 161	57 099	1 672 912	100	

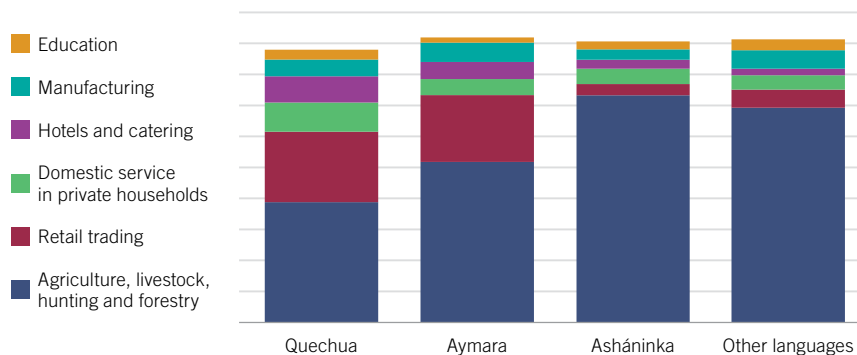
Source: Author's calculations, based on INEI, 2007 census.

Table 9. Principal economic activities of indigenous women by mother tongue

Economic activity	Language in which learned to speak									
	Quechua		Aymara		Ashaninka		Other native languages		Total	%
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%		
Agriculture, livestock, hunting and forestry	179 939	38.38	47 416	51.78	5 269	73.26	14 018	69.23	246 642	41.95
Retail trading	106 617	22.74	19 700	21.51	262	3.64	1 186	5.86	127 765	21.73
Domestic service and private households	44 074	9.40	4 742	5.18	356	4.95	934	4.61	50 106	8.52
Hotels and catering	39 738	8.48	5 081	5.55	206	2.86	432	2.13	45 457	7.73
Manufacturing	23 385	5.41	5 698	6.22	241	3.35	1 213	5.99	32 537	5.53
Education	14 912	3.18	1 522	1.66	186	2.59	709	3.50	17 329	2.95
Others	38 300	8.17	5 039	5.50	247	3.43	799	3.95	44 385	7.55
Non-specified activity	19 911	4.25	2 367	2.59	425	5.91	957	4.73	23 660	4.02
Total	468 876	100	91 565	100	7 192	100	20 248	100	587 881	100

Source: Author's calculations, based on INEI, 2007 census.

Figure 11. Principal economic activities of indigenous women, by mother tongue (%)



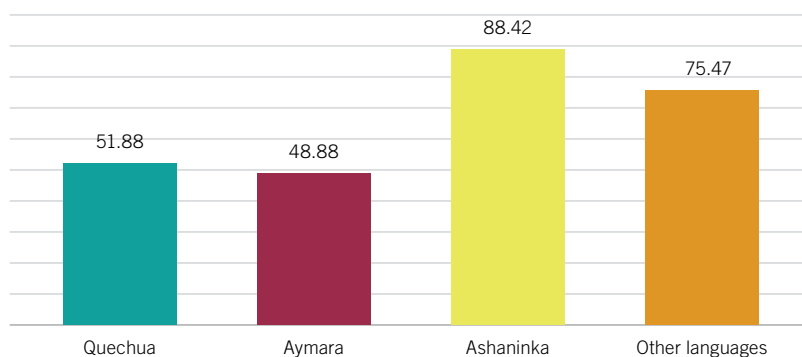
Source: Author's calculations, based on INEI, 2007 census.

Table 10. Economically active men in indigenous peoples engaged in agriculture, livestock, hunting or forestry, by mother tongue

	Quechua	Aymara	Ashaninka	Other languages
Agriculture, livestock, hunting and forestry	466 484	64 531	15 004	27 810
Total, men with economic activity	899 200	132 011	16 969	36 851
%	51.88	48.88	88.42	75.47

Source: Author's calculations, based on INEI, 2007 census.

Figure 12. Indigenous men engaged in agriculture, livestock, hunting or forestry, by mother tongue (%)



Source: Author's calculations, based on INEI, 2007 census.

A second difference that emerges from a comparison of Tables 8 and 9 relates to retail trading. Both for the whole of the working indigenous population, and for women in that group, this type of trading is the second major activity. However, the percentage of indigenous women engaged in retail trading is almost double that of the figure for the population as a whole (21.73 per cent, compared with 12.56 per cent). Clearly, more women, specifically among the Quechua and the Aymara, are engaged in these types of activities in their different forms, namely street trading or in markets or shops. Some of these activities are related to agriculture (the sale of vegetables and fruit, or meat in markets, for example). In contrast, trading is not an essential activity for women in the various Amazonian peoples.

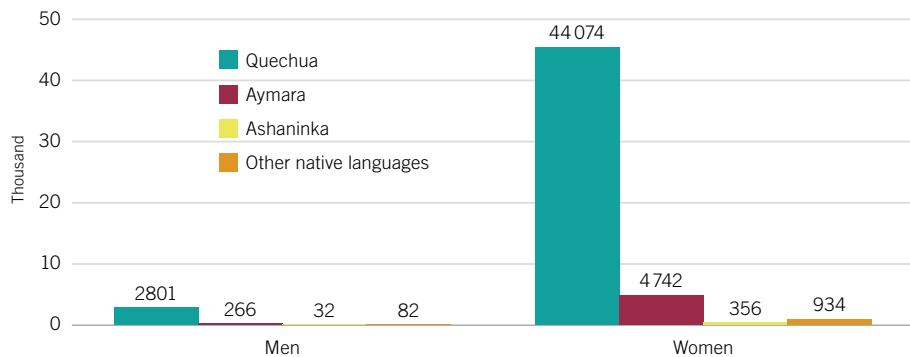
A third difference is in the area of domestic service in private households. The general average is 3.19 per cent, although the figure is almost double for women (8.5 per cent). As indicated in table 11, this is a predominantly female activity in all indigenous populations, by a wide margin. The highest rate is among the Quechua, followed by the Aymara.

Table 11. Indigenous population engaged in domestic service in private households, by gender and mother tongue

	Quechua	Aymara	Ashaninka	Other native languages	Total
Men	2 801	266	32	82	3 181
Women	44 074	4 742	356	934	50 106
Total	46 875	5 008	388	1 016	53 287

Source: INEI, 2007 census.

Figure 13. Indigenous population engaged in domestic service, by gender and mother tongue



Source: INEI, 2007 census.

With regard to domestic workers, it should also be noted that it is not easy to identify the real number of persons engaged in this type of work. Many of those concerned, the great majority of whom are women and indigenous, are in their early adolescence and are often placed by their own parents or relatives as a means of seeking a household with better opportunities, or simply to reduce the number of children to be maintained at home. Moreover, as this type of work is largely informal, in which family relations or “guardians” are sometimes used to disguise for the workers concerned the work-related nature of their stay and duties in a house, their recognition as “workers” is sometimes controversial. In addition, the indigenous women concerned are often subject to physical, social and cultural uprooting, as a result of which difficulties may arise in certain cases in self-identification with an indigenous people.

There is probably therefore significant underestimation of the number of women household workers. This underestimation includes a much greater proportion of indigenous women, precisely in view of the manner in which they come to be engaged in this activity.

It can be seen that in the ENAHO 2014,¹ responses among domestic workers to the question of “belonging to an indigenous people” merely gave 14 per cent “Yes” and 10 per cent “Don’t know”.

However, when the question concerns identification based on “origins and customs”, the percentage rises to 23 per cent. As indicated in the previous chapter, the first question may be understood as maintaining closer collective relations at the present time. In any case, “Don’t know” continues to receive a significant 10 per cent.

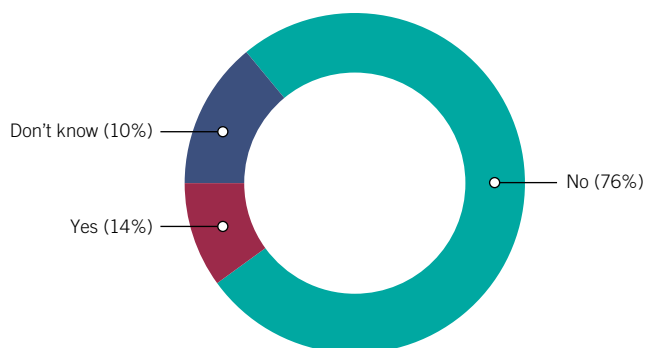
Table 12. Domestic workers belonging to an indigenous people

Do you consider that you are part of an indigenous people?	Total	%
Yes	163	14
No	855	76
Don't know	111	10
Total	1 129	100

Source: Author’s calculations, based on ENAHO, 2014.

¹ The absolute figures for the sample are also given.

Figure 14. Domestic workers belonging to an indigenous people



Source: Author's calculations, based on ENAHO, 2014.

Table 13. Domestic workers by gender and ethnic self-identification

Based on your origins and customs do you consider yourself to be...	Gender				Total	
	Men	%	Women	%	Total	%
Quechua	6	12	202	19	208	18
Aymara	–	0	25	2	25	2
Amazonian native or indigenous	–	0	38	4	38	3
Black/mulatto/Afro-Peruvian	2	4	16	1	18	2
White	2	4	56	5	58	5
Mestizo (mixed race)	29	59	567	53	596	53
Other	3	6	68	6	71	6
Don't know	7	14	108	10	115	10
Total	49	100	1 080	100	1 129	100

Source: Author's calculations, based on ENAHO, 2014.

It is the author's belief that the percentage of indigenous self-identification continues to be very low. The conditions of distance, loss of links and discrimination may contribute to an underestimation of the indigenous population engaged in domestic work (principally women). Nevertheless, the underestimate is probably related more to the informality of this type of work, which is covered by family or affective relations as "guardians".

Women are also in the majority in employment in *hotels and catering*, where the percentage of women is more than double that of men (7.73 per cent, compared with 3.82 per cent). Nevertheless, it should be noted that the working conditions, although precarious, cannot be compared to those of domestic work, which are

characterized by informality and exploitation. Domestic work in Peru is regulated by an “extraordinary regime”, on which more will be said later.

Another important area is *education*, which employs almost 3 per cent of the population with an indigenous mother tongue, and is particularly relevant for the Quechua population. As will be seen below in this chapter, women are concentrated in primary education.

One type of activity which, although it is not the most significant in terms of absolute levels of employment, is a valued and strategically important alternative is the *public sector* (as distinct from education). Data from the 2007 census show that there are a total of 30,054 persons with indigenous mother tongues in public administration, defence and social security (out of a national total of 343,331). Of these, there are barely 6,000 women. As may be supposed, an important number of these jobs are in practice in the armed forces.

Health care is a distinct area, which employs 12,157 persons with indigenous mother tongues (out of a national total of 241,375). The majority of them are women, namely 6,928.

The women participants in the workshops provided indications of discrimination in relation to the public sector. It should be understood that it is not that discrimination does not exist in the private sector, but that there is greater awareness that the State as an employer should offer treatment based on justice and equality of opportunities. However, this is not seen to be the case in practice.

Indigenous women consider that discrimination against them is dual, based on their gender and ethnicity. For example, María Anahua (Puno) commented that, when they seek work from the municipality, they have sometimes been told that it would be better to send their husbands, without any assessment. Brígida Curo, also in Puno, explained that language, for those who do not speak Spanish well, as well as their clothes, are considerations which lead to discrimination in job offers. And Elsa Cueva added that even when they find work it normally consists of low-skilled work in offices, with some women being blackmailed to obtain such jobs.

The opportunity of access to these jobs is not only important for women and their families but, as explained by various women leaders, it is also important to improve the quality of public services, and especially intercultural understanding. This is particularly important in the health sector. For example, Yolanda Nunta, a leader who participated in the Pucallpa workshop (see Annex 3), commented that if there are no indigenous professionals in health centres, it makes it difficult for the indigenous population to have access to such centres. The lack of understanding of the local language by personnel means that the work of indigenous professionals as interpreters is of great importance, from the initial process of dealing with insurance claims to accompanying patients on medical visits. Another difficulty consists

of the mistrust of spouses concerning practices such as the medical examination of women, which can be carried out better with personnel who speak the same language and understand their cultures, values and fears.

3.3.2 Strategy of complementarity

The determination of principal economic activities is particularly difficult in the rural context, especially in the case of women. This is basically due to the fact that their precarious economic conditions oblige them to seek more than one source of work, often without giving up working a parcel of land or farming livestock. The qualification “principal economic activity” is therefore far from being objective or easy to determine. This is particularly the case for women, as they do not consider many of their activities to be “work”, but rather an extension of their “housework”. For example, in the meeting held with women leaders in Puno, one woman indicated that she was a “housewife”. Nevertheless, shortly afterwards, she was speaking with the others about her real work in the fields. Luis Enrique Rivera recounts similar experiences in research to identify the economic activities of women in Puno: “Interviewees expressed certain doubts in their answers and some considered that they were not engaged in economic activities, and identified themselves solely as ‘housewives’” (Rivera, 2012: 91).

Even when they bring in income, it is possible that these types of women’s work are not given the same consideration or value as those undertaken by their male peers. The diversification of work activities by indigenous women in rural areas is therefore normal. It varies according to the situation of each region, family needs and local reasons. For example, artisanal workers in Cusco may also be engaged in growing potatoes, while those in Puno may rear sheep for their wool and to trade.

Alternative jobs in rural areas, as they are badly paid, and even paid lower than a day’s agricultural work, tend to reinforce inequality of income. Nevertheless, “their value can be recognized, as in a context characterized by permanent underemployment, any additional employment contributes to increasing income, however modestly” (Phélinas, 2009: 194).

3.3.3 Economic activity, credit and skills development

In the first place, it is necessary to take into account the national data on credit and loans to agricultural producers, by gender.

Credit does not appear to be an attractive option for agricultural producers, and particularly for women, with 89.6 per cent of male producers and 93.6 per cent women producers indicating that they had not applied for credit or loans.

In a situation of considerable vulnerability, with most of those concerned living around the subsistence level, bank credit is seen by many women as being a risk. Agrarian insurance or subsidies through procedures established by local governments were described by a number of women leaders as being better alternatives. Such alternatives could be linked to local revenues from mining fees. This is the case in Echarate (Cusco) where, according to the indigenous leader Emma Díaz, mining concession fees have enabled a group of artisanal women workers in the area to obtain comprehensive support, ranging from the development of their products to participation in trade fairs and markets. Moreover, at an earlier stage, they received support to group together in an organization and to become formal.

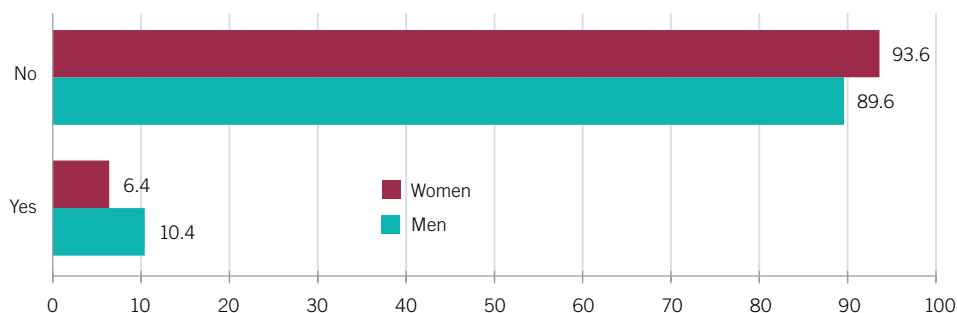
Technical assistance and skills development, especially when seen from a comprehensive viewpoint, are therefore considered by many to be tools that are necessary

Table 14. Agricultural producers applying for loans or credit, by gender

Gender	Yes	No	Total
Men	161 192	1 393 589	1 554 781
Women	44 245	647 676	691 921
Total	205 437	2 041 265	2 246 702

Source: INEI, 2012 agricultural census.

Figure 15. Agricultural producers applying for loans or credit, by gender (%)



Source: INEI, 2012 agricultural census

to improve their income opportunities. Social programmes, such as *Juntos* or *Sierra Exportadora* (“Mountain Exports”) are specifically seen as means through which these objectives can be achieved. *Juntos* has been implementing skills courses, such as financial management, and has been extending the use of bank cards. The programme *Sierra Exportadora* offers a broader supply of training targeted at agricultural producers and traders, and includes courses on industrial innovation and processing. Nevertheless, in contrast with *Juntos*, it is not necessarily focussed on rural populations living in extreme poverty, nor on indigenous populations. Moreover, the programme recently changed to *Sierra y Selva Exportadora* (“Mountain and Forest Exports”). The workshops with women leaders showed the interest in various types of skills development, ranging from courses focussing on productivity to the genetic improvement of livestock and seeds, as well as the processing of products which go hand-in-hand with the installation of machinery for industrialization (cheese-making, for example, or the transformation of quinoa). However, in most cases there is a perception that, without coordination with markets, such skills development initiatives are inadequate. The scarcity of opportunities in market outlets is identified as a central problem. For example, Beatriz Casanto, an indigenous leader from Ucayali, commented on the case of the Pichis Palcazú project, which promoted the planting of rice in border areas. But as alternative market opportunities had not been envisaged, it was not possible to sell the produce, as transport to Pucallpa made it more expensive, meaning that rice from Brazil was cheaper. The produce therefore had to be sold to local traders at a price that was considered unjust (see Annex 3).

The improvement of opportunities is therefore directly related to problems of access and the higher prices of intermediaries, which are covered in the following section.

Other structural problems also certainly need to be resolved. One of these is the education gap. For example, in 2013, while the average number of years of schooling (educational achievement) at the national level was 10.1, in rural areas it was merely 7.6 (INEI, ENAHO).² When this information is disaggregated, it can be seen that the rate for men is 7.9, compared with 7.1 for women (INEI, ENAHO).³ With specific reference to the indigenous population, data from the 2007 census indicated that 19 per cent of young persons were outside the education system. In terms of educational achievement, around 2008, the Ministry of Education estimated that over 90 per cent of students in the fourth primary grade who were Quechua, Aymara, Awajún or Shipibo did not achieve the desired objectives for this level of

² INEI, *Cuadros estadísticos sociales*. Available at: <<http://www.inei.gob.pe/estadisticas/indice-tematico/sociales/>>.

³ INEI, gender gap indicators. Available at: <<http://www.inei.gob.pe/estadisticas/indice-tematico/brechas-de-genero-7913/>>.

education, and the lowest results were found among the Amazonian peoples (Office of the Public Defender).⁴ Progress has admittedly been made in recent years, especially with regard to bilingual intercultural education. Nevertheless, the disparities are still significant.

The reduction of such disparities is essential to improve productive, economic and commercial capacity. It is also fundamental to have access to additional opportunities. This is the case of *Beca 18*.⁵ The learning gap means that it is more difficult to benefit from the financial opportunity offered by *Beca 18* to gain access to higher education. Moreover, delays in completing secondary school, particularly in remote Amazonian communities, where students may only finish secondary school after the age of 20, also raise difficulties in relation to access to the programme.

3.4 Income

3.4.1 Indigenous women earning income

Statistical data on the employment of indigenous women outside the agricultural sector are limited. Nevertheless, it is possible to gain an idea of their work situation through different entry points.

One of these is analysis of information on the population without income, for which the INEI has data disaggregated by gender and language. Knowledge of the female population who are in this situation is very important, and more so than the specific economic activities in which they are engaged as, among other aspects, it is an indicator of their potential autonomy.

It would appear that between 2007 and 2013 there were no substantial changes in the population without their own income, except among indigenous women. Indeed, there were no changes among men, both Spanish speakers and those speaking native languages (the figures were the same for the latter, and the

⁴ Presentation by the Office of the Public Defender, Indigenous People's Programme, *Pueblos indígenas del Perú: Situación de sus derechos a la salud, educación, participación, tierras y recursos naturales* ("Indigenous peoples of Peru: Situation with regard to their rights to health, education, participation, land and natural resources"). Available at: <http://www.crime-prevention-intl.org/fileadmin/user_upload/Seminaire_Autochtone/Alicia_Abanto.pdf>.

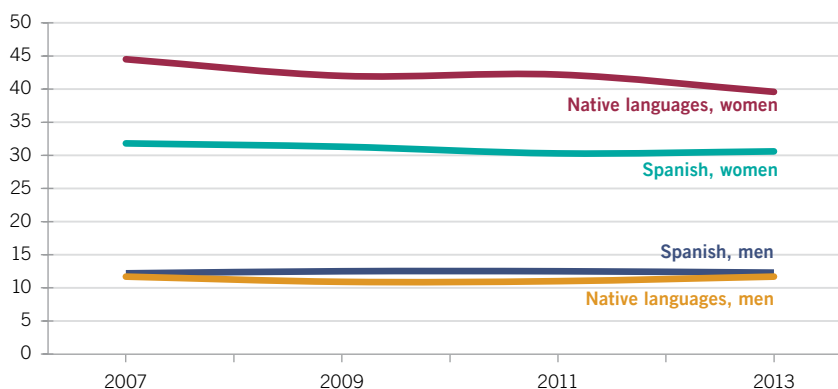
⁵ *Beca 18* ("Grant 18") finances preparatory studies in universities and higher technological institutions, both public and private, within the country and abroad. It targets young persons with low economic resources and high academic potential. In 2013, there were 11,100 beneficiaries of the programme, which accepted 11,400 new students the next year. Radio Programas del Perú (8 May 2014). Available at: <<http://rpp.pe/lima/actualidad/beca-18-mas-de-11400-nuevos-beneficiarios-se-han-incorporado-este-ano-noticia-690549>>.

Table 15. Men and women without income, by gender and language (%)

Mother tongue	Gender	2007	2009	2011	2013
Spanish	Women	31.8	31.3	30.3	30.6
	Men	12.2	12.5	12.5	12.3
Native languages	Women	44.5	42.0	42.2	39.6
	Men	11.7	10.9	11.0	11.7

Source: INEI, gender gap indicators.

Figure 16. Men and women without income, by gender and mother tongue (%)



Source: Author's calculations, based on INEI, gender gap indicators.

difference was minimal, at 0.1 per cent, for the former). There was a very slight reduction (1.2 per cent) in the percentage of persons without their own income among Spanish-speaking women. In contrast, among indigenous women the change was four times greater, with a reduction of 4.9 per cent over this six-year period.

If these data are analysed in detail, it will be seen that there appear to have been errors in the compilation and processing of the information. An examination of the following table shows that there are departments with values of 100 per cent or 0 per cent, which then vary considerably. This is the case in Cajamarca, Piura and Tumbes.

Attention may also be drawn to the highest percentage of indigenous women without their own income who, in 2013, appeared to be in the departments of Amazonia and the mountains in the north of the country (including departments considered to be coastal, but with Andean zones): Loreto (77.5 per cent), Amazonas (65.5 per cent), Lambayeque (64.5 per cent), San Martín (58.2 per cent) and Ucayali (56.9 per cent). The departments with an asterisk indicating possible data errors have not been taken into account.

Table 16. Women with indigenous or native mother tongues without income, by department (%)

Department	Year			
	2007	2009	2011	2013
National	44.5	42.0	42.2	39.6
Amazonas	72.5	69.6	65.5	65.5
Áncash	49.1	47.7	51.4	44.9
Apurímac	52.6	52.2	47.2	45.7
Arequipa	34.0	40.5	40.4	3.7
Ayacucho	43.4	41.9	45.2	39.1
Cajamarca*	67.4	100.0	50.9	55.3
Callao	34.2	32.5	29.7	34.4
Cusco	47.3	44.4	41.3	42.7
Huancavelica	55.6	50.8	46.0	45.2
Huánuco	51.6	51.9	55.8	51.7
Ica	25.7	35.4	26.3	18.1
Junín	41.9	45.3	49.9	52.5
La Libertad*	19.6	18.9	15.9	74.3
Lambayeque	63.6	51.6	50.3	64.5
Lima	37.6	32.6	36.0	32.1
Loreto	77.2	68.1	76.6	77.5
Madre de Dios	38.9	33.8	36.5	35.6
Moquegua	45.0	42.6	37.8	34.3
Pasco	47.8	51.6	53.2	49.8
Piura*	100.0	0.0	0.0	46.0
Puno	41.5	37.8	35.6	31.1
San Martín	70.7	57.5	76.7	58.2
Tacna	35.4	31.7	35.7	28.0
Tumbes*	0.0	20.6	0.0	0.0
Ucayali	62.6	57.2	46.5	56.9

*Possible error in the processed data.

Source: INEI, gender gap indicators.

In contrast, the departments with the lowest level of indigenous women without their own income are: Ica (18.1 per cent), Tacna (28.0 per cent), Puno (31.1 per cent), Lima (32.1 per cent), Moquegua (34.3 per cent), Callao (34.4 per cent), Madre de Dios (35.6 per cent), Arequipa (36.7 per cent) and Ayacucho (39.1 per cent). In other words, they include both the capital and departments in the south on the coast and in the mountains, and clearly Andean departments such as Puno and Ayacucho.⁶

⁶ In the case of Madre de Dios, demographic changes in recent years have transformed the “Amazonian” profile of its population due to “Andean” migration.

3.4.2 Remuneration

Over and above their economic activities, the occupations and levels of remuneration of indigenous women are two indicators that can provide certain basic information on their conditions of employment.

Table 17 shows average earnings in soles. As can be seen, the lowest scale of remuneration includes agricultural workers, which is the occupation of a large part of the Andean indigenous population and the majority of the Amazonian indigenous population. No other occupation has earnings that are so low. This is followed by unskilled workers. On the scale of averages, the highest earnings are for members of the armed forces and the judiciary. Clearly, this does not mean that they are the richest in the country, but that income in these occupations is more regular, giving rise to these averages.

It should be noted that in table 17, irrespective of ethnic distinctions, gender is a factor of inequality. In all cases, women earn less than men. In institutions in which remuneration is strictly determined by hierarchy, it is not possible for men and women to receive less at the same grade, but women earn less on average because there are fewer of them in the higher grades.

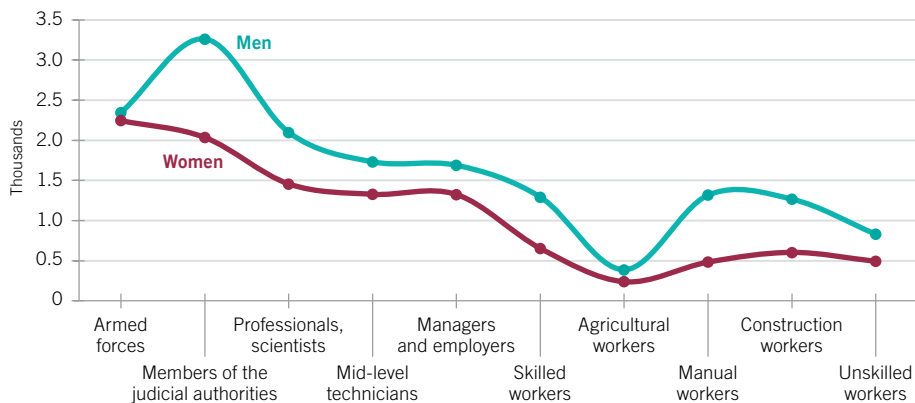
As can be seen, the most important gender differences between indigenous men and women are among members of the judicial authorities, professionals, skilled workers and manual workers. The gender earnings gap in agriculture and the armed forces is relatively small.

Table 17. Average income of population self-identified as indigenous by principal occupation and gender

Type of occupation	Gender		Average men and women
	Men	Women	
Armed forces	2 346.26	2 245.17	2 346.15
Members of the judicial authorities	3 261.36	2 035.49	2 346.15
Professionals, scientists, intellectuals	2 098.11	1 457.33	1 756.48
Mid-level technicians	1 731.46	1 328.31	1 609.41
Managers and employees	1 688.73	1 325.20	1 508.14
Skilled workers	1 292.23	653.76	847.63
Agricultural workers	388.11	238.94	360.37
Manual workers	1 316.91	483.68	1 040.70
Construction workers	1 266.55	604.21	1 239.95
Unskilled workers	830.33	492.99	683.39
Average	1 110.08	747.63	971.72

Source: Author's calculations, based on INEI, ENAHO, 2014.

Figure 17. Average income of population self-identified as indigenous, by principal occupation and gender (soles)



Source: Author’s calculations, based on INEI, INAHO, 2014.

In terms of poverty, indigenous men and women, who are mostly engaged in agriculture, would appear to be more equal. Nevertheless, in practice the difference is not small, as men earn 60 per cent more in average wages than women. This gap was also commented upon in the workshop in Puno where, for example, María Anahua indicated that women working in the cultivation of crops receive five soles, or two fewer than men. According to the 2007 census (based only on the mother tongue indicator, and not on self-identification), there were at that time 89,055 skilled women indigenous workers in agriculture and fishing in Peru, compared with 393,485 men. The figure for the total population for both genders was 1,314,707.

With regard to the armed forces, although in relative terms earnings are among the highest, high-ranked officials self-identified as indigenous (probably very few) may well have raised the average. In any case, these figures show the role of the armed forces in social mobility within the rural population, including the indigenous population (with the military accordingly becoming an important sector of the population).

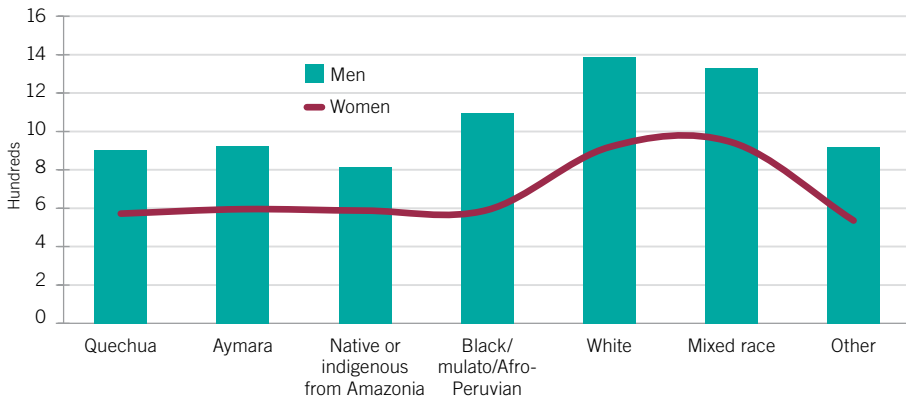
Figure 18 shows average income by gender and ethnic group. In this case, it is based on the question of self-identification by origin, customs and traditions. As indicated above, this is a question that results in more people identifying themselves as being of indigenous origin than the other question concerning whether or not respondents belong to an indigenous people (which was the basis for table 17 on income by occupation).

Table 18. Average total income by gender and self-identification based on origins and customs

Based on your origins and customs, do you consider yourself to be:	Gender		Average for men and women
	Men	Women	
Quechua	902.00	571.37	768.45
Aymara	922.89	594.65	788.15
Native or indigenous from Amazonia	814.65	587.02	751.36
Black/mulatto/Afro-Peruvian	1095.24	590.19	926.98
White	1386.35	919.07	1183.41
Mestizo (mixed race)	1329.89	944.69	1171.81
Other	920.60	535.24	774.35
Don't know	1068.51	701.86	914.68
National average	1178.98	810.32	1029.47

Source: author's calculations, based on INEI, ENAHO, 2014.

Figure 18. Average income by gender and self-identification (based on origin, customs and traditions)



Source: Author's calculations, based on INEI, ENAHO, 2014.

As seen in figure 18, the gender wage gap is greater among Andean indigenous peoples (Quechua and Aymara) and Afro-Peruvians than in other groups. The wage difference can also be seen based on ethnic self-identification.

For example, among the Quechua, the gender wage gap is 37 per cent, while the figure is 35.5 per cent among the Aymara and 46 per cent for Afro-Peruvians, taking into account the fact that on average men have higher wages than those of indigenous persons.

In contrast, among *mestizos* (mixed race), whites and indigenous Amazonians, the gap is smaller, although still substantial. In the latter group, this is due to the fact that both men and women are more “equal” in poverty. While the gender wage gap is 29 per cent among *mestizos*, and 33.7 per cent among whites, it is only 27.9 per cent among Amazonians, which is the ethnic group with the lowest wages for men, and the second lowest for women.

Setting aside gender differences, the figures for average earnings show clearly that identification as indigenous means lower wages in Peru. Moreover, women, especially indigenous women, are those who on average have the lowest wages in the country.

3.4.3 Connectivity and income

One fundamental aspect in the improvement of the economic opportunities and income generation of rural populations, as advocated by academics such as Richard Webb (2013) and Daniel Cotlear (1989), is the issue of connectivity. Cotlear’s study quantifies differences in incomes and the price of produce, and the percentages of the produce sold, by the remoteness of rural communities (in Cusco), and shows the clear advantages of better connectivity. Other authors have published similar findings.

During the meetings in Puno and Pucallpa, the problem of distance was identified as being important and directly proportional to “abuses” by intermediaries. In the view of Ucayali indigenous women leaders, the greater the distance, the greater the power of traders, and the lower the possibility for negotiation. For example, the case was described of the Alto Tamaya-Saweto community, located six days by boat from Pucallpa, which does not have a nearby market and only produces for its own consumption. They denounced what they considered to be a standing abuse by intermediaries (“*mestizos*”), who engage in barter with them. Diana Ríos, a leader of the community, said that, for example, they exchange soap, which costs five soles, for a hen, which costs 25 soles. Virginia Quiñones, who lives in a community located in Yurúa, added that everything is very costly, as access is difficult and air travel is very expensive (see Annex 3).

Indeed, although roads are not the only means of connectivity, Amazonia is the natural region with the greatest difficulties. River and air transport is very expensive, which does not allow products to be put on sale at a low price. In contrast, telecommunications appear to be very useful alternatives, especially in the most remote areas. Clearly, that does not resolve the problem of the transport of the produce itself, especially when it is perishable, which depends on good roads

and a permanent supply. Nevertheless, in the case of other products, it is easier to negotiate. Telecommunications also allow better communication between the communities themselves since, as pointed out by Gonzales de Olarte (1984: 253), connectivity is also a problem for the segmentation of markets. Without this articulation, it is difficult to promote production chains.

In this regard, Webb indicates that in recent years the rapid fall in the price of mobile telephones has been such that 30 per cent of families considered to be living in extreme poverty had one in 2011 (Webb, 2013: 205). And, according to Mariana Barreto, Andrea García and Raúl Asensio, 64.4 per cent of rural households already had one around 2012 (Barreto et al., 2014: 324). Moreover, although the Internet has not arrived, and is far from doing so in households, it has reached various rural localities through Internet cabins. Accordingly, somewhere in the region of 10 per cent of the population with indigenous mother tongues were already active on the Internet by 2012 (ibid.: 326). As might be expected, the generation gap is important in the use of new technologies. While only 3 per cent of rural women between the ages of 25 and 35 had used Internet once in the last month, this figure was 12 per cent among the young (14 to 17 years) (ibid.: 331).

3.5 Employment of Quechua and Aymara women

Economic activities grouped, on the one hand, for Andean indigenous women and, on the other, for Amazonian peoples, are reviewed in the following section. As noted repeatedly, it is essential to deal with these two groups separately.

Agricultural work is the most important economic activity among indigenous populations, including the Quechua and the Aymara. In rural areas, communities continue to be the social units which organize local economies, even though there have been significant changes in recent years, to the detriment of the traditional rural Andean order.

Something over half of the Andean indigenous population live in rural areas. However, many of those who have left these areas still maintain links with communities as their basic social units.

3.5.1 *Agriculture and livestock*

The great majority of the Quechua and Aymara population still have their roots in the land, undertaking agricultural work and being engaged in the rearing and exploitation of livestock. According to the 2012 agricultural census, there were 700,926 producers managing agricultural holdings.⁷

As indicated above, the fact that 65.73 per cent of Quechua producers have been identified as “men” does not mean that women are marginalized from decisions concerning agricultural production. This reply may indicate that there is an individual male producer who manages a production unit that is normally family based, or that a man and a woman are both responsible for such work to varying degrees. What is most probable is that there are various types of management, with different levels and types of responsibilities for each individual.

On the other hand, figure 19 shows how the gap is reduced when agricultural holdings are without land, which is the case for 46.5 per cent of women producers.

In the case of Quechua women, 34.27 per cent of whom are considered to be producers, it may be deduced that they are either single, widows, without their spouses or abandoned, or that they have had to migrate to seek other income-earning opportunities. They may also be women who are recorded as holders because they inherited the land worked by the family. As indicated by De la Cadena, in the case of Chitapampa (1991), the greater number of women inheriting plots of land may be due to their low valuation, and the higher consideration in which other assets are held in terms of personal and family status within a community, as well as the actual income of families from these various sources.

In the case of the Aymara, there is in general a greater proportion of women producers, that is those who are in charge of an agricultural holding. As they live in stock-rearing areas, more than arable land (depending on altitude and conditions), heads of livestock and trade take on greater weight in the family income than the crops produced. Moreover, in the case of agricultural holdings without land, there is almost equity between Aymara men and women (the latter are producers in 46.5 per cent of agricultural holdings). The lower the income, as will be seen below when analysing the land surface worked, the lower the gender gap.

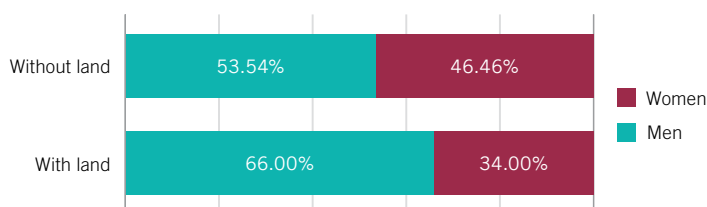
⁷ The figures from this census apparently show differences from the results of the 2007 national household census. Nevertheless, it is necessary to take into consideration, apart from the different years, the fact that the questions are not exactly the same. With regard to “principal activity”, taken from the 2007 census, as indicated above, there is also the problem of subjectivity, especially among rural indigenous women, as many of them do not know whether what they are engaged in is an “economic activity” in itself, or an extension of their household work.

Table 19. Quechua mother tongue producers with an agricultural holding (with or without land), by gender

Agricultural holding with/without land	Gender				Total
	Men	%	Women	%	
With land	452 519	66.00	233 089	34.00	685 608
Without land	8 202	53.54	7 116	46.46	15 318
Total	460 721	65.73	240 205	34.27	700 926

Source: Author's calculations, based on INEI, 2012 agricultural census.

Figure 19. Quechua mother tongue producers, with or without land, by gender (%)



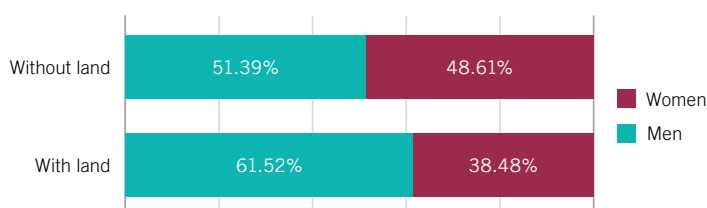
Source: Author's calculations, based on INEI, 2012 agricultural census

Table 20. Aymara producers with an agricultural holding (with or without land), by gender

Agricultural holding with/without land	Gender				Total
	Men	%	Women	%	
With land	64 020	61.52	40 039	38.48	104 059
Without land	738	51.39	698	48.61	1 436
Total	64 758	61.38	40 737	38.62	105 495

Source: Author's calculations, based on INEI, 2012 agricultural census.

Figure 20. Aymara mother tongue producers, with or without land, by gender (%)



Source: Author's calculations, based on INEI, 2012 agricultural census

Size of agricultural holdings by gender

The following observations are based on data from the 2012 agricultural census concerning the size of land holdings by gender and the mother tongue of the holder.

With regard to the size of agricultural holdings, it can be seen in general that the smaller the land surface, the higher the proportion of holdings headed by women. This trend is less accentuated among the Aymara than the Quechua (see figures 21 and 22).

Table 21. Quechua agricultural holdings by gender of holders and size of holding

	Men	Women		Men	Women
Without land	8 202	7 116	20.0 to 24.9 ha	4 206	1 511
Less than 0.5 ha	119 689	89 278	25.0 to 29.9 ha	2 107	700
0.5 to 0.9 ha	73 109	41 152	30.0 to 34.9 ha	2 495	939
1.0 to 1.9 ha	86 905	40 280	35.0 to 39.9 ha	974	311
2.0 to 2.9 ha	46 204	17 935	40.0 to 49.9 ha	1 873	715
3.0 to 3.9 ha	29 045	10 388	50.0 to 99.9 ha	4 161	1 658
4.0 to 4.9 ha	17 799	6 161	100.0 to 199.9 ha	2 485	1 022
5.0 to 5.9 ha	14 059	4 947	200.0 to 299.9 ha	1 059	460
6.0 to 9.9 ha	24 481	8 284	300.0 to 499.9 ha	898	358
10.0 to 14.9 ha	13 859	4 736	500.0 ha and over	838	296
15.0 to 19.9 ha	6 273	1 958	Total agricultural holdings	460 721	240 205

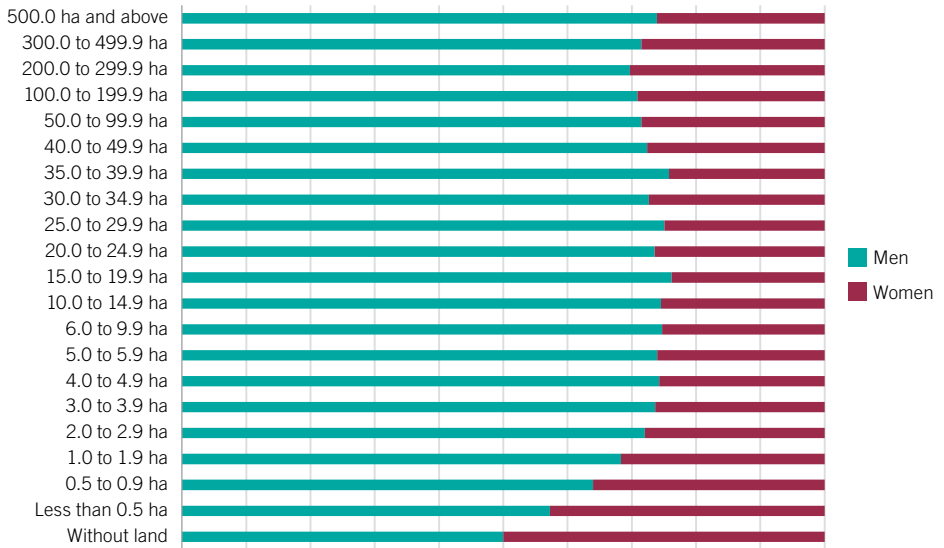
Source: Author's calculations, based on INEI, 2012 agricultural census.

Table 22. Aymara agricultural holdings by gender of holders and size of holding

	Men	Women		Men	Women
Without land	738	698	20.0 to 24.9 ha	744	395
Less than 0.5 ha	22 669	18 781	25.0 to 29.9 ha	340	174
0.5 to 0.9 ha	7 910	4 960	30.0 to 34.9 ha	485	266
1.0 to 1.9 ha	8 661	4 590	35.0 to 39.9 ha	187	95
2.0 to 2.9 ha	5 017	2 346	40.0 to 49.9 ha	424	244
3.0 to 3.9 ha	3 216	1 459	50.0 to 99.9 ha	1 293	659
4.0 to 4.9 ha	2 190	996	100.0 to 199.9 ha	892	439
5.0 to 5.9 ha	2 089	1 008	200.0 to 299.9 ha	312	152
6.0 to 9.9 ha	3 575	1 563	300.0 to 499.9 ha	222	92
10.0 to 14.9 ha	2 559	1 237	500.0 to 999.9 ha	184	72
15.0 to 19.9 ha	1 051	511	Total agricultural holdings	64 758	40 737

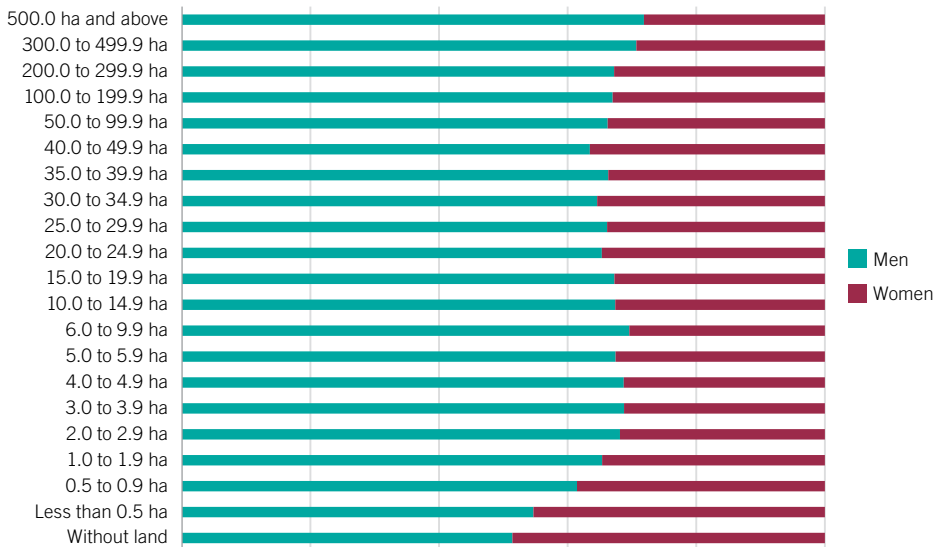
Source: Author's calculations, based on INEI, 2012 agricultural census.

Figure 21. Percentage of agricultural holdings by gender of holders (Quechua) and size of holding



Source: Author's calculations, based on INEI, 2012 agricultural census.

Figure 22. Percentage of agricultural holdings by gender of holders (Aymara) and size of holding



Source: Author's calculations, based on INEI, 2012 agricultural census.

Credit and skills

In view of the lack of data on credit and skills disaggregated by mother tongue in the 2012 agricultural census, it is necessary to seek an approximate idea for indigenous women by focussing on provinces with a large indigenous population. These include, for example, the province of Chucuito, for the Aymara population, and Carabaya for the Quechua. As noted in Chapter 2, although a large part of the population with Spanish as a mother tongue can be considered indigenous, the (restrictive) criterion of having an indigenous mother tongue will continue to be used for the purposes of ethnic identification.

In the department of Puno, 94.1 per cent of agricultural producers indicated that they had not used credit. Among women, the percentage is slightly higher at 94.5 per cent.

Focussing on Chucuito, with a population that is in the majority Aymara (86,305 out of 119,280, according to the 2007 census), it can be seen that 96.4 per cent of those in the province indicated that they had not sought credit, with the average among women being 97 per cent. In Carabaya, with a population that is mainly Quechua (57,703 out of a total of 68,596 inhabitants), the percentages are very similar: 96.4 per cent had never taken out credit, with the percentage among women being 97 per cent.

According to the responses to the 2012 agricultural census, 36.8 per cent of women agricultural producers indicated that they do not seek credit because they do not require it, with the percentage in Puno being 21.1 per cent. Nevertheless, in view of the situation of poverty and extreme poverty of most agricultural producers in the country, and of almost all indigenous producers, this reply may conceal other concerns.

In the meeting with women indigenous leaders in Puno, most indicated that they did not seek access to credit as it ended up being a problem, adding one more uncertainty to their already precarious situation. They explained that agricultural crops and livestock rearing are subject to the uncertainty of climate change, particularly at the present time. Others indicated that their produce is mainly for subsistence, which gives them little margin to pay back loans and interest, and that the situation is aggravated when nature reduces harvests through excessive rains or frosts.

Eugenia Mamani, in Puno, said that:

In such cases, they suffer when they take out a loan, as they are worried, and then the end of the month comes quickly and they cannot pay [...] and when you don't pay, your bank account goes into the red and they tell you that you can no longer take out loans, and that your house is mortgaged. This is how banks make

communities suffer [...] The interest rates that they offer are very high, and we know that we are in the Andes, where agricultural production and livestock are not profitable. Taking out loans is not appropriate for agriculture or livestock.

The poverty of agricultural producers, both men and women, therefore gives rise to a vicious circle which puts them off seeking loans. Measures are needed, not only to improve productivity, but also access to markets, before going on to loans. This issue is raised again below.

3.5.2 Retail trading

As can be seen in table 9, the retail trade is the second most important economic activity for Quechua and Aymara women (22.7 per cent of the former indicate that it is their principal activity, and 21.5 per cent of the latter). There is a significant difference with Amazonian women, whose principal sources of work continue to be agriculture, forestry, hunting and livestock.

Moreover, agricultural work is normally accompanied by other activities, mainly trading. For example, in the case of Puno, in a survey undertaken by a team from the Manuela Ramos Centre covering women in four districts with a majority of the Quechua or Aymara populations (Juli, Mazocruz, Moho and Vilque), only 10.4 per cent indicated that they are engaged exclusively in agriculture, and 22.5 per cent in livestock. In contrast, a greater proportion of women indicated that they are engaged in more than one activity: 19.1 per cent in agriculture and livestock; 4.6 per cent in agricultural and artisanal work; 7.5 per cent in agriculture, livestock and artisanal work; 2.3 per cent in livestock and artisanal work; 1.7 per cent in trading and livestock; 1.2 per cent in agriculture, livestock and trading; and 2.3 per cent in artisanal work and trading (Rivera, 2012: 90). Although various strategies are adopted, the common denominator is precariousness, which confines them to a situation of poverty.

It is through this complementarity of activities that some women end up becoming more involved in retail trading. According to the National Population and Housing Census 2007, the following types of retail trading are carried out by Quechua and Aymara women.

Retail trading is a predominantly female activity. In 2007, a total of 106,617 women of Quechua mother tongue and 19,700 of Aymara mother tongue were engaged in this activity, while the figures for men were 69,668 and 11,454, respectively (INEI, 2007 census). For example, in Puno, the study conducted by Romina Seminario found that women traders are very active and, according to

Table 23. Principal types of retail trading undertaken by Quechua and Aymara women

Principal activities: Retail trading	Quechua	Aymara
Retail sale in non-specialized stores mainly selling food, beverages and tobacco	26957	3717
Retail sale of other products in non-specialized stores	313	34
Retail sale of food, beverages and tobacco in specialized stores	13224	2954
Retail sale of pharmaceutical and medical goods, cosmetic and toilet articles	1251	127
Retail sale of textiles, apparel, footwear and leather articles	7317	2687
Retail sale of household goods, articles and equipment	863	260
Retail sale of metal, paint and glass products	1238	218
Retail sale of other products in specialized stores	14754	2097
Retail sale of second-hand goods in stores	141	100
Retail sale through mail order firms	–	–
Retail sale of products of all types in market stalls	11187	1359
Other types of retail sale not in stores	29177	6115
Repair of personal and household goods	195	32
Total	106617	19700

Source: Author's calculations, based on the 2007 census.

one of those involved: “Women say that we travel more because customs officials take note of us when we complain, cry and shout. They have more consideration for women, and we can complain that they are touching us” (2007: 60). In this situation of risk, informality and borders, women take on a more active role. That study also found that women traders have a strategy of going beyond subsistence and accumulation, travel more and have a network of relations, both for sales and for purchases. To do so, they need to have the capacity to negotiate in the household, not only regarding the investment of the couple's income, but also to ensure that other people carry out their care work. These points are key in enabling women traders to obtain more than subsistence income. Women traders who manage to rise higher than the subsistence level, in contrast with those engaged in crop and livestock farming, have a slightly different view of credit. It can help them, or at least those who are in a better situation:

Banks are good for commercial trading. We work with the bank. It makes you more flexible. You get up earlier and you know that you owe money to the bank. We take out loans more or less when we can earn an amount of around that level. This is in the village, but in the fields I think that they take out loans and can't repay them. In my view, they worry, until they die of it (Eugenia Mamani, Puno).

Taking out loans to do some business or other is fine in areas where there is trade, such as Puno, Juliaca, Ilave or Desaguadero, or the capital of the province, but in more rural areas it is suicidal. There is not enough economic activity to pay the banks back in these situations, because they charge 3 or 4 per cent a month (Ángela Chislla, Puno).

Returning to table 23 on the types of trading, it can be seen that sales “not in stores”, or in other words street or itinerant trading, is the principal type of trading activity among Quechua and Aymara women (29,177 and 6,115, respectively).

That is followed by the sale of food, beverages and tobacco (more in “non-specialized stores”, but also in “specialized stores”). In second place comes the sale of apparel, textiles and footwear.

A significant number of women are also engaged in trading in markets, which are a predominantly female space. Among Quechua men, 4,970 indicated that they were engaged in trading in markets in 2007, and the figure was 564 among Aymara men. In contrast, 11,187 Quechua women and 1,359 Aymara women worked in market stalls.

3.5.3 Manufacturing

Manufacturing, which is on average the third most important activity at the national level among indigenous populations includes a high proportion of artisanal activities, as well as the manufacture of textiles and apparel. When the various related activities are taken together, it can be seen that 16,900 Quechua women and 4,539 Aymara women are engaged in these activities (which include the preparation of textile fibres, textile weaving, the finishing of textiles, the manufacture of made-up textile articles, except apparel, the manufacture of other textiles, knitted, stitched and crocheted articles, and the manufacture of apparel, except leather clothes). Once again, these are decidedly female activities, except for the manufacture of apparel, in which men participate in greater numbers.

It should be noted that many textiles are products that are considered to be artisanal. Manufactured goods also include other types of product, such as ceramics, which are normally predominantly male activities.

Table 24. Production of manufactured goods by Quechua and Aymara women

Manufacturing	Quechua women	Aymara women
Processing and preserving fish and fish products	180	77
Processing and preserving fruit and vegetables	439	58
Manufacture of dairy products	258	20
Manufacture of grain milled products	126	6
Manufacture of bakery products	1 702	190
Manufacture of other food products nec	199	20
Preparation of textile fibres, textile weaving	485	47
Finishing of textiles	773	349
Manufacture of made-up textile articles, except apparel	1 385	402
Manufacture of other textiles nec	742	156
Manufacture of knitted, stitched and crocheted fabrics	5 675	2 270
Manufacture of wearing apparel, except leather clothes	7 840	1 315
Manufacture of footwear	308	67
Printing	191	22
Manufacture of plastic products	176	12
Manufacture of non-refractory ceramic goods other than for construction purposes	390	25
Manufacture of non-refractory clay and ceramic goods for construction purposes	644	39
Manufacture of structural metal products	120	15
Manufacture of furniture	486	76
Manufacture of jewellery and related articles	208	10
Other manufactured products	3 058	522
Total	25 385	5 698

Source: Author's calculations, based on INEI, 2007 census.

3.5.4 Other activities

As noted above, domestic work is principally a female activity, and the profile of the women involved is predominantly indigenous.

According to the 2007 census, 9.4 per cent of economically active women whose mother tongue is Quechua are engaged in domestic work. In the case of Aymara women, the figure is 5.18 per cent (table 9).

It would therefore appear that domestic work is an important component of the economic activities of indigenous women, especially those who speak Quechua.

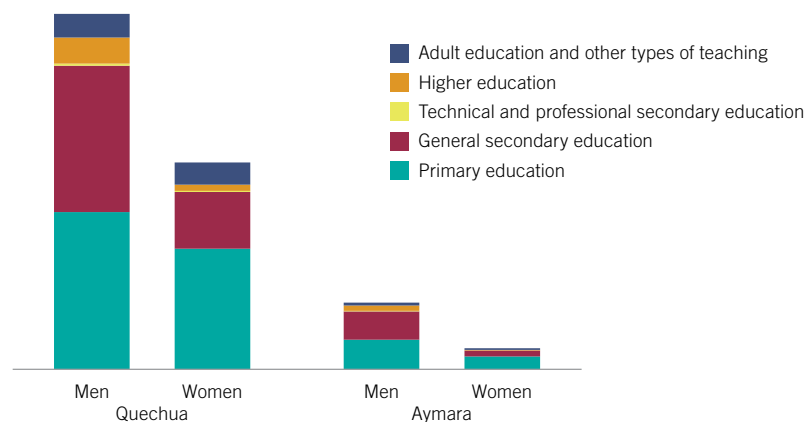
As is known, women household workers in Peru are covered by a “special labour regime”. In other words, their conditions and rights are below the standards

Table 25. Economically active population engaged in teaching, of Quechua and Aymara mother tongue, by type of education and gender

Teaching	Quechua			Aymara		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Primary education	11 338	8 697	20 035	2 131	924	3 055
General secondary education	10 553	4 086	14 639	2 047	423	2 470
Technical and professional secondary education	157	84	241	40	13	53
Higher education	1 878	447	2 325	378	37	415
Adult education and other types of teaching	1 703	1 598	3 301	210	125	335
Total	25 629	14 912	40 541	4 806	1 522	6 328

Source: Author's calculations, based on INEI, 2007 census.

Figure 23. Economically active population engaged in teaching, by mother tongue and gender



Source: Author's calculations, based on INEI, 2007 census.

commonly recognized for other workers in the country. The ratification of the ILO Domestic Workers Convention, 2011 (No. 189), would ensure the possibility of legal protection against the various forms of abuse, harassment and violence (Article 5). It would also create the obligation to eliminate wage discrimination (Articles 3 and 11), with domestic workers being granted minimum wage coverage while ensuring that remuneration is established without discrimination based on sex. It also requires measures to be taken towards equal treatment between domestic work and workers generally in relation to working time (Article 10).

Among women employed in the public sector, one of the most important sources of employment is teaching, and particularly primary teaching, even though the percentages do not appear to be particularly high: 3.18 per cent of Quechua-speaking women and 1.66 per cent of Aymara-speaking women (see table 9). It should be noted that 58 per cent of Quechua-speaking women teachers and 60 per cent of Aymara-speaking women teachers are in primary education. Over and above the figures, women educators (together with their male colleagues) fulfil an important role in educating indigenous populations and are key elements in any effort to improve their conditions, including those relating to employment.

3.6 Employment of Amazonian indigenous women

3.6.1 Agriculture

As indicated in table 9, the number of Amazonian indigenous women engaged in agriculture, forestry and hunting is even higher than among Andean indigenous women. These activities are central to the economic and, certainly, the social life of families. In Amazonia, other activities are much less relevant, or are considered complementary, as the fields and the forest continue to be essential sources of work and income for women and men.

As can be seen from table 26, according to the 2007 census, more men are engaged in these activities, especially among the Ashaninka (88.4 per cent).

Once again, it is necessary to take into account the probable underestimation of women's work, as many women do not consider that their "household work" can be included within the concepts of "work" or "economic activities".

Within these activities, slash and burn agriculture is predominant (Tournon, 2002: 225; INEI, UNFPA, 2010: 23). The principal crops cultivated are manioc, red beans, rice, peanuts, bananas, maize, as well as fruit, such as pineapples, papaya, guava and root crops, including yampee (*sachapapa*) and sweet potatoes. In addition, cotton is crucial for the production of clothing, and plants such as achiote for medicinal use.

Hunting and fishing are additional activities. Similarly, crops such as coffee and achiote, as well as rice and timber, are also grown for commercial purposes or barter (in exchange for clothes, kitchen utensils and tools). The rearing of poultry is also both for consumption and for trade and barter (INEI, UNFPA, 2010: 23).

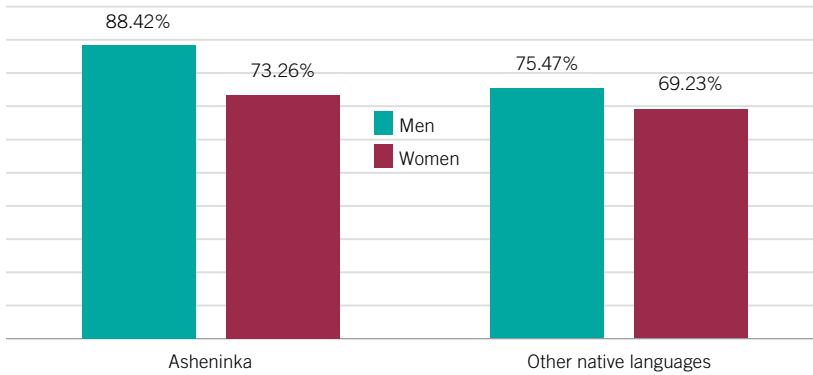
In the case of the Andean populations, in the 2007 census, the employment variable corresponding to "growing of cereals and other crops nec" covers the great

Table 26. Amazonian indigenous population engaged principally in agriculture, livestock, hunting and forestry, by gender and mother tongue

Gender	Ashaninka (%)	Other native language (%)
Men	88.42	75.47
Women	73.26	69.23
Total	83.91	73.26

Source: Author's calculations, based on INEI, 2007 census.

Figure 24. Amazonian indigenous population engaged principally in agriculture, livestock, hunting or forestry, by mother tongue and gender (%)



Source: Author's calculations, based on INEI, 2007 census.

majority of their activities,⁸ although there are some differences in the case of Amazonia. As indicated previously, throughout this territory, the principal technique used is slash and burn, and diversity is sought in cereals and in root crops and fruit. Accordingly, among the Ashaninka, 41 per cent are engaged principally in cultivating fruit, nuts and plants for the production of spices and beverages. Among other ethnic groups, these activities are the principal occupation of 29 per cent of their population.

The figures for women show that the cultivation of cereals and other crops (market gardening, root crops, etc.) is even more important for them than for men (for 59.5 per cent of Ashaninka women and 65.9 per cent of women who speak other Amazonian languages).

⁸ Among the Quechua and the Aymara, the variable "Growing of cereals and other crops nec" covers the great majority of cases. Perhaps, in future, it would be appropriate to disaggregate this entry.

Table 27. Amazonian indigenous population engaged principally in agriculture, livestock, hunting and forestry, by predominant specific activity, gender and mother tongue

Activities	Ashaninka				Other native language			
	Men	Women	Total	%	Men	Women	Total	%
Growing of cereals and other crops nec	7 679	3 136	10 815	53.35	16 347	9 241	25 588	61.17
Growing of vegetables, market gardening and horticulture	128	187	315	1.55	345	141	486	1.16
Growing of fruit, nuts and plants of which the leaves and fruit are used to prepare beverages and spices	6 623	1 705	8 328	41.08	9 631	2 513	12 144	29.03
Rearing of cattle and sheep, goats, horses, donkeys, mules and hinnies, dairy herds	96	41	137	0.68	227	158	385	0.92
Rearing of other animals and manufacture of animal products nec	28	85	113	0.56	276	756	1 032	2.47
Growing of crops combined with farming of animals (mixed farming)	194	103	297	1.47	591	1 181	1 772	4.24
Agriculture and animal husbandry service activities, except veterinary services	26	4	30	0.15	28	2	30	0.07
Ordinary hunting, trapping and game propagation	2	–	2	0.01	35	5	40	0.10
Forestry, logging and related service activities	228	8	236	1.16	330	21	351	0.84
Total	15 004	5 269	20 273	100	27 810	14 018	41 828	100

Source: Author's calculations, based on INEI, 2007 census.

Moreover, when examining the headings “Rearing of other animals” (not cattle, goats or dairy herds, etc. but, for example, poultry) together with “Growing of crops combined with farming of animals (mixed farming)”, it can be seen that these are the principal activities of 13.8 per cent of Amazonian indigenous women, with the exception of the Ashaninka. This means that Amazonian women, more than men, are engaged in, or take responsibility for rearing livestock, such as poultry, to complement their crops.

Agricultural producers

As in the case of Andean women, it should be recalled that these figures are underestimates, as it is only possible to define a single agricultural producer for each holding. In any case, it is important to note that the gender gap between agricultural producers, as indicated in the agricultural census, is even greater in Amazonia than in the Andean areas. Indeed, 82 per cent of agricultural producers with an indigenous mother tongue are men in Amazonia, compared with 18 per cent women.

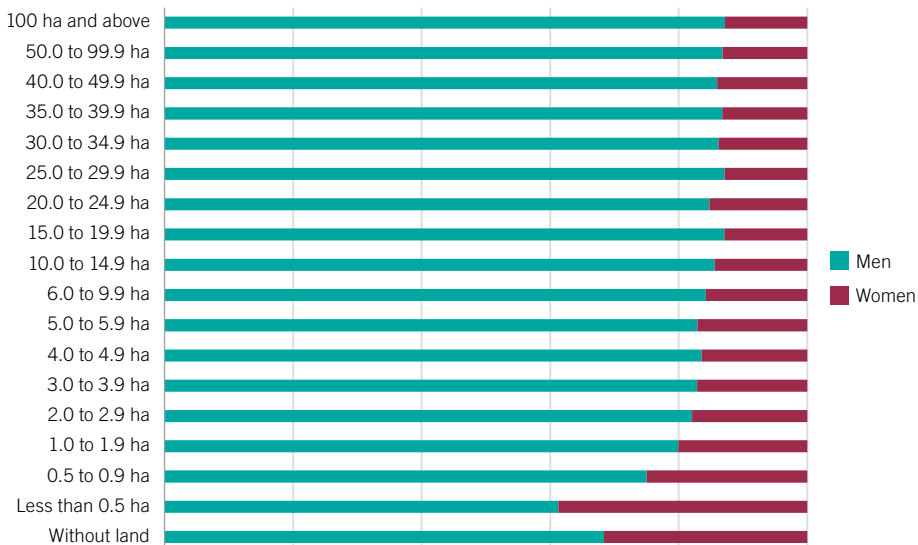
Figure 26 shows that there is greater gender balance among producers with the smallest plots of land, of under 0.5 hectares, of whom 61 per cent are men and 39 per cent women. In contrast, the proportion of women producers falls for holdings with more land. Accordingly, at the higher levels of 25 hectares and above, the percentage of women producers is barely between 14 and 13 per cent.

Table 28. Agricultural producers by gender, mother tongue and size of holding

Size of holding	Men			Women		
	Ashaninka	Other languages	Total	Ashaninka	Other languages	Total
Without land	18	170	188	37	50	87
Less than 0.5 ha	178	357	535	178	160	338
0.5 to 0.9 ha	807	1 522	2 329	289	487	776
1.0 to 1.9 ha	2 291	5 670	7 961	536	1 461	1 997
2.0 to 2.9 ha	1 775	4 618	6 393	384	1 010	1 394
3.0 to 3.9 ha	1 276	3 462	4 738	237	741	978
4.0 to 4.9 ha	803	2 205	3 008	130	462	592
5.0 to 5.9 ha	759	1 984	2 743	159	406	565
6.0 to 9.9 ha	1 011	3 694	4 705	156	726	882
10.0 to 14.9 ha	752	2 432	3 184	115	420	535
15.0 to 19.9 ha	319	985	1 304	60	133	193
20.0 to 24.9 ha	281	698	979	49	127	176
25.0 to 29.9 ha	84	289	373	17	38	55
30.0 to 34.9 ha	243	452	695	40	71	111
35.0 to 39.9 ha	116	133	249	20	18	38
40.0 to 49.9 ha	112	274	386	23	40	63
50.0 to 99.9 ha	193	465	658	30	70	100
100 ha and over	51	140	191	5	23	28
Total producers	11 069	29 550	40 619	2 465	6 443	8 908

Source: Author's calculations, based on INEI, 2012 agricultural census.

Figure 25. Percentage of agricultural holdings by gender of native or Amazonian mother tongue producers, and size



Source: Author’s calculations, 2012 agricultural census.

Agricultural credit

As noted earlier, most agricultural producers, and particularly women, do not consider that credit is a viable option. As in the case of the Quechua and Aymara populations, as there are no disaggregated figures on agricultural loans by mother tongue, two areas have been selected with a significant native Amazonian population. One of these is Ucayali where, in addition to having a large native population, a meeting was held with indigenous leaders. In contrast with the Andean areas, it is preferred in this case to focus on districts, as the indigenous population is in the minority at the provincial level. The districts chosen are Tahuania, in Atalaya, with 3,581 native mother tongue inhabitants, compared with 2,888 whose mother tongue is Spanish, and Purús, in the province of the same name, with 2,324 native mother tongue inhabitants, compared with 1,011 Spanish speakers (INEI, 2007 census). Moreover, in these districts, irrespective of the language, most of the population can consider themselves to be integrated or linked to indigenous families.

As can be seen from the data in table 29, the agricultural producers who have sought credit or loans are a very small minority, namely 2.45 per cent, almost all of whom are men (93 per cent).

Table 29. Agricultural producers in the district of Tahuania who have sought to obtain credit or loans, by gender

Gender	Have sought to obtain a loan or credit		
	Yes	No	Total
Men	27	987	1 014
Women	2	167	169
Total	29	1 154	1 183

Source: INEI, 2012 agricultural census.

Table 30. Agricultural producers in the district of Purús who have sought to obtain credit or loans, by gender

Gender	Have sought to obtain a loan or credit		
	Yes	No	Total
Men	6	443	449
Women	–	38	38
Total	6	481	487

Source: INEI, 2012 agricultural census.

The situation in the district of Purús is even more serious:

Only six agricultural producers out of 487, or 1.2 per cent, have sought credit or a loan. Of these six, none were women.

Admittedly, these populations live in poverty and extreme poverty. Agricultural work and forestry, with little or no land, normally only provides a subsistence level livelihood. Seeking credit would be one more source of uncertainty for them, and would not offer any great possibility of changing their lives.

3.6.2 Other activities

The information provided below, disaggregated by principal economic activity, covers the Ashaninka and Amazonian indigenous peoples with other native mother tongues, both men and women.

As can be seen in table 31, after agriculture, livestock, hunting and forestry, teaching is the activity with the next highest number of the economically active population (2,886), followed by manufacturing (2,764) and retail trading (2,678). These data are interesting as they illustrate the importance of educational activities within the indigenous or native Amazonian population.

Table 31. Amazonian indigenous population by mother tongue, by principal economic activity

Economic activity	Men		Women		Total		Total
	Ashaninka	Other native languages	Ashaninka	Other native languages	Ashaninka	Other native languages	
Agriculture, livestock, hunting and forestry	15 004	27 810	5 269	14 018	20 273	41 828	62 101
Fishing	29	379	3	27	32	406	438
Mining and quarrying	43	157	2	17	45	174	219
Manufacturing	277	1 033	241	1 213	518	2 246	2 764
Supply of electricity, gas and water	14	19	3	4	17	23	40
Construction	157	840	12	24	169	864	1 033
Sale, maintenance and repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles	48	208	5	16	53	224	277
Wholesale trade	17	84	7	27	24	111	135
Retail trading	201	1 029	262	1 186	463	2 215	2 678
Hotels and catering	56	221	206	432	262	653	915
Transport, storage and communications	204	912	19	68	223	980	1 203
Financial intermediation	10	17	3	18	13	35	48
Real estate and rentals	213	446	60	148	273	594	867
Public administration and defence; public social security	134	552	40	136	174	688	862
Education	238	1 753	186	709	424	2 462	2 886
Social and health services	38	240	38	142	76	382	458
Other community, social and personal services	59	342	55	171	114	513	627
Private households and domestic service	32	82	356	934	388	1 016	1 404
Extraterritorial organizations and bodies	–	1	–	1	–	2	2
Unspecified economic activity	195	726	425	957	620	1 683	2 303
Total	16 969	36 851	7 192	20 248	24 161	57 099	81 260

Source: INEI, 2007 census.

Table 32. Manufacturing activities of Amazonian indigenous women, by language

Manufacturing activity	Mother tongue	
	Ashaninka	Other native languages
Preparation of textile fibres, textile weaving	27	20
Finishing of textiles	8	131
Manufacture of made-up textile articles, except apparel	1	29
Manufacture of other textiles nec	13	43
Manufacture of knitted, stitched and crocheted fabrics	21	21
Manufacture of wearing apparel, except leather clothes	38	217
Manufacture of non-refractory ceramic goods other than for construction purposes	0	90
Manufacture of other wooden products, manufacture of cork, straw and basket work articles	21	9
Manufacture of jewellery and related articles	7	23
Other types of manufacturing (23)	105	630
Total	241	1 213

Source: Author's calculations, based on INEI, 2007 census.

However, the order is not the same when the data are disaggregated by gender. Table 9 shows that the second most important economic activity among Ashaninka women in 2007 was domestic service (4.95 per cent), compared to 4.61 per cent for women with other Amazonian languages. In this second group, the most important activities for the female population are manufacturing and retail trading.

Some communities have admittedly gained access to circuits for the marketing of certain products, and have also become integrated into tourist routes, especially those engaged in artisanal work. As can be seen in table 32, the manufacture of textiles and articles of clothing are the activities in which most native Amazonian women are engaged (preparation of textile fibres, finishing of textiles, manufacture of wearing apparel, etc.). It should be noted that, although this is not the case for the Ashaninka, some women in other Amazonian peoples are engaged in the production of ceramics. In contrast, among the Ashaninka, there is a larger group engaged in work with wood, cork and basket work articles.

Table 33 shows that retail trading is varied. A high percentage of native Amazonian women are engaged in sales in specialized stores (probably including artisanal goods), followed by sales not undertaken in stores (itinerant and other types of trading). These are followed by sales in non-specialized stores (such as local stores).

As noted previously, teaching appears to be an important source of employment for Amazonian native peoples, in which the percentage of men is certainly higher

than that of women. However, a higher percentage of women teachers are concentrated in primary education. The figure is 63 per cent for Ashaninka women, and a little over 66 per cent for women with other native languages. In other words, the profile of native Amazonian women teachers is mainly in primary education.

Table 33. Retail trading activities of Amazonian indigenous women, by language

Types of retail trading	Ashaninka	Other native languages
Retail sale in non-specialized stores mainly selling food, beverages and tobacco	54	235
Retail sale of other products in non-specialized stores	3	9
Retail sale of food, beverages and tobacco in specialized stores	39	126
Retail sale of pharmaceutical and medical goods, cosmetic and toilet articles	9	25
Retail sale of textiles, apparel, footwear and leather articles	18	99
Retail sale of household goods, articles and equipment	3	7
Retail sale of metal, paint and glass products	2	24
Retail sale of other products in specialized stores	61	341
Retail sale in second-hand stores	0	1
Retail sale of products of all types in market stalls	14	60
Other types of retail sale not in stores	59	255
Repair of personal and household goods	0	4
Total	262	1 186

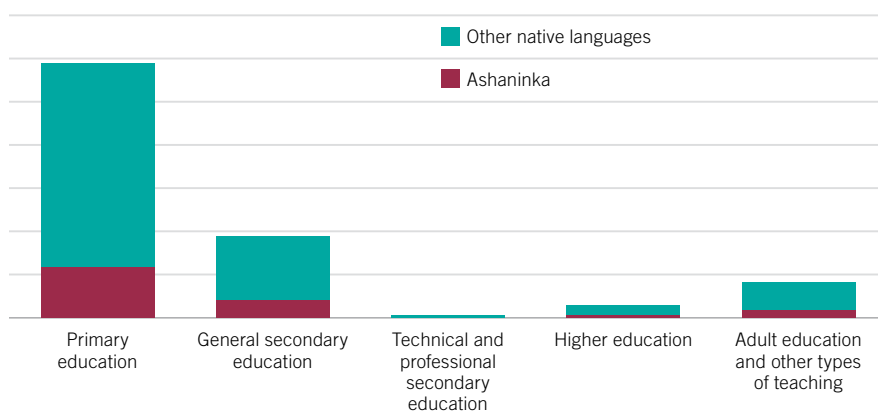
Source: Author's calculations, based on INEI, 2007 census.

Table 34. Amazonian indigenous women engaged in teaching, by specialization and mother tongue (Ashaninka and other native languages)

Activities related to education	Ashaninka	Other native languages	Total
Primary education	118	471	589
General secondary education	42	148	190
Technical and professional secondary education	0	5	5
Higher education	6	22	28
Adult education and other types of teaching	20	63	83
Total	186	709	895

Source: Author's calculations, based on INEI, 2007 census.

Figure 26. Amazonian indigenous women engaged in teaching, by specialization and mother tongue (Ashaninka and other native languages)



Source: Author's calculations, based on INEI, 2007 census.

Conclusions and recommendations

4

4.1 Conclusions

4.1.1 *General issues*

A first characteristic of the current situation is the perception of less land security. As indicated in the first Chapter, the economic boom has gone hand-in-hand with an increase in investment (concessions) in the vicinity of areas used by indigenous communities. This has gone on in parallel with a “deceleration” of the granting of title for communal lands. Taking into account the data from the agricultural census and COFOPRI, 1,167 communal lands and 51 native lands are still awaiting the granting of land title. Nevertheless, these figures could be higher, according to the Common Property Institute (IBC), as almost 4,000 communities are reported to be awaiting land title (IBC, 2014: 20). Over and above differences in the figures, it is a matter of concern that the IBC has itself referred to the “deceleration” in the granting of land title to communities. In 2011, 2012 and 2014, it is reported that no communal land titles were granted, and only one in 2013 (Unity Pact, AIDSESP, 2015: 54).

A second aspect is the profile of the poorest categories in the country: indigenous, rural and women. An indigenous woman who lives in a rural area therefore suffers from the “intersection” of elements which contribute to maintaining her condition of poverty, structural disadvantage and discrimination (Trivelli, 2010).

4.1.2 Indigenous women: Conceptual and methodological aspects

Indigenous population

A first aspect examined in the present study relates to the indigenous population in the country. As in the rest of Latin America, the term “race” is no longer used in national censuses. Since the 1960s, and up to the present (the most recent national census was conducted in 2007, and the last agricultural census in 2012), the variable used to determine the indigenous population is mother tongue.

According to the last national census (2007), 15.68 per cent of the population over the age of three years has an indigenous mother tongue (with 13.02 per cent indicating that Quechua is their mother tongue).

However, since 2001, the national household survey has included self-identification as: (i) belonging to indigenous peoples; and (ii) ethnic identification (by “origins, customs and traditions”). By deduction, the figures for the total indigenous population (among persons over 14 years of age), according to the ENAHO 2014, would be 15.47 per cent for belonging to indigenous peoples, and 23.93 per cent for ethnic identification based on origins, customs and traditions.

It is the author’s belief that the latter figure is more appropriate for the identification of the indigenous population in the country. Indeed, taking into consideration the age range (over 14 years), this percentage should even be a little higher.

Indigenous women

According to the 2007 census, the majority of the population with an indigenous mother tongue still live in rural areas (56 per cent). However, this figure must have fallen in recent years. Leaving aside variations in this percentage, what stands out is that, whether they are rural or urban, *agriculture, livestock and forestry are still the principal activities* of inhabitants with an indigenous mother tongue (49 per cent). Among the Ashaninka, this percentage is as high as 83 per cent, while the figure is 73.3 per cent in populations with other Amazonian languages. Other types of activities come far behind, as seen below.

Among *women*, this figure falls to 41.9 per cent. This difference probably reflects the need for women to seek alternative sources of income from those derived from agriculture and forestry. In any case, it should be noted that the figure remains high among Amazonian women (73.2 per cent for the Ashaninka and 69.2 per cent for women with another Amazonian mother tongue).

On the other hand, the size of the rural population and of agricultural and forestry activities indicates that community structure continues to be an important element that needs to be taken into account to understand gender relations in a significant proportion of the indigenous population.

Both the oral accounts received and the (few) research projects undertaken show that communal relations tend to reinforce gender inequalities. More specifically, in the economic field, women on average receive less land and less time for agricultural work. Moreover, depending on the community, they have fewer formal community rights.

Indigenous women and employment

The gender gap in economic activity rates appears to have fallen significantly in recent years. The activity rate for women has risen from 54.7 to 64.5 per cent, while the rate for men only rose by two percentage points, from 80 to 82 per cent (INEI, Manuela Ramos, 2015).

Nevertheless, the gap is still significant. And there are also differences in the quality of employment: half of women (50.1 per cent) are self-employed or unpaid family workers, compared with 36.5 per cent of men.

The conditions of employment of indigenous women are even more precarious, and they are subject to the highest gender gap.

Firstly, it should be noted the *economic life of indigenous women is longer*. For example, while 14.9 per cent of inhabitants in the country between the ages of 80 and 84 continue to work, in Amazonia this average is 35.5 per cent (INEI, UNFPA, 2010). In addition, boys and girls *start to work earlier* in farm work and other activities related to the family economy, and more of them work in urban centres, and at an earlier age. For example, according to research carried out in 1995 (FAO) among children between 6 and 14 years of age in Huallaga, 2 per cent of boys worked, compared with 16.6 per cent of girls. The figures were 3.1 and 15 per cent, respectively, in Lamas, and 3.8 and 22 per cent in Rioja.

Agriculture, animal husbandry and forestry continue to be the most important principal economic activities, especially in Amazonia. On average, the second most important activity is retail trading, especially among the Quechua and Aymara (22.7 and 21.5 per cent, respectively). Third place is taken by domestic service (8.52 per cent), followed by hotels and catering (7.73 per cent).

A number of aspects should be noted relating to agriculture. In the first place, according to the 2012 agricultural census, only 34.72 per cent of agricultural producers are women. However, this figure probably renders the co-management role of women in their agricultural holdings “invisible”. The problem is that the census requires the identification of a single holder who, when recorded in this manner, in the great majority of cases is the man. It is therefore important to assess the concept of “agricultural producer” or “holder” in censuses, as suggested by organizations such as FAO.

When examining the size of agricultural holdings, another gender gap becomes apparent. On average, the larger the holding, the lower the level of women holders.

In agricultural holdings without land, the difference between men and women producers is lower (with an almost equal distribution among the Aymara). As the size of holdings increases, the gender gap becomes more evident among the Amazonian populations.

The second most important activity is retail trading, especially among women with Quechua and Aymara as their mother tongue. However, it should be noted that a high percentage of indigenous women supplement their economic activities, for which reason the fact that they are engaged in trading, for example, does not prevent them from working in agriculture, particularly among women around the subsistence level. The manufacturing activities in which most indigenous workers are engaged are those related to wearing apparel and textiles. Household workers, workers in the hotels and catering sector and manufacturing are the other principal activities of indigenous women.

With reference to income, by drawing a distinction in the data covering the population by gender and mother tongue, it can be seen that indigenous women are still the category with the *highest level of persons without income* (39.6 per cent of women, compared with 11.7 per cent of indigenous men and 30.6 per cent of Spanish-speaking women). This is not because they do not work, but because a high percentage of these women are unpaid workers. However, it should be noted that indigenous women are the group who have experienced the biggest fall in the number of persons without income (from 44.8 per cent in 2007 to 39.6 per cent in 2013). The departments with the highest levels of indigenous women without their own income are in Amazonia and the departments or provinces of the mountainous areas in the north of the country. In contrast, the percentages are lowest in Puno, Ica, Tacna, Lima and Moquegua.

This raises the question of the *income gap* between indigenous women and the rest of the population. Table 17 shows the average income of indigenous men, by principal occupation. The most significant gaps are in occupations such as the judicial authorities and between manual and skilled workers. Table 18 shows a significant gap between the wages of indigenous and Afro-Peruvian women and those of white or mixed-race women. For the former, wages vary between 587 (indigenous women in Amazonia) and 595 new soles (Aymara women), while for the latter, persons self-identified as white average 919 soles, and mixed-race women, who are probably the most numerous, 944.7 soles. The difference between the latter and indigenous Amazonian women is 38 per cent, which is similar to the difference between men and women in each socio-ethnic group. These wage gaps clearly demonstrate the “*intersectionality*” or *dual discrimination suffered by indigenous women in the field of labour*.

4.2 Recommendations

This section focusses on the recommendations which emerged from the dialogue with indigenous women leaders (national and regional) and trade union leaders, as well as experts and public officials, in the light of the bibliographical and statistical research undertaken within the context of the present study.

The meetings held were as follows (for details, see the Annexes):

1. Meeting with national leaders of indigenous organizations, ILO Office, Lima.
2. Meeting with national trade union leaders, ILO Office, Lima.
3. Meeting with women leaders from the Puno region, city of Puno.
4. Meeting with officials from various bodies, ILO Office, Lima.
5. Others.

These recommendations (highlighted in grey) are principally directed at the public policy sphere, at both the national and regional levels.

4.2.1 Ensuring greater “visibility” for indigenous women

A first aspect that should be noted is the scarcity of administrative data and reports (by the various public institutions), or academic works on the situation of indigenous women. In the field of labour, the information available is even more scarce.

Works exist on indigenous populations in general, and on specific ethnic groups, as well as on women and gender relations, but less so on indigenous women. Most of the studies that do exist focus on sexual and reproductive health, or social and political participation. The problem with “economic activities” is that for a long time they were considered almost marginal, or as activities “complementing” their traditional work in the household or the community. Even many indigenous women still tend to consider them as “not being work”. An economic-labour viewpoint appears to be marginal to indigenous women.

Recommendations: Public sector

In the first place, it is necessary to ensure more and better “visibility” for indigenous women in public policy and academic work. Very little progress has been made at the economic and labour levels, for which there are almost no official documents. Informality, forced labour, work at a young age, the absence of labour rights, including coverage by insurance or pension systems, the risk of trafficking

in persons, to which indigenous women are exposed, particularly the youngest, and the vulnerability of the agricultural sector, in which they predominantly work, are some of the issues that need further attention.

Recommendations: ILO

Provide assistance to increase the visibility and produce evidence of the labour situation of indigenous women.

One particularly important subject is statistical records. The ethnic variable was left aside for decades, due to its discriminatory connotations. The debate on the subject of “indigenous” is currently still open, and will probably continue to be so since, as indicated by Marisol de la Cadena, it is a framework concept (De la Cadena, 2004). For statistical purposes, two definitions are followed in this study. One is that of mother tongue, as used in the national household census (2007) and the agricultural census (2012). However, the problem is that this is a “minimal” definition. The other is determination by self-identification, as in the ENAHO. However, in the ENAHO the question only applies to persons over 14 years of age, or in other words not to the whole of the population. On the one hand, there is a definition of “indigenous households” (the question concerning the head of household) which, for the purposes of the present study (work by individual women) would only serve as a frame of reference. The figures produced using the definition by self-identification, despite their limitations, are higher, although use is also made of data produced using the “minimal” definition used in censuses.

Even though a fair amount of progress has been made in statistical terms in giving visibility to gender differences in the various spheres of life, and in adjusting official statistics (ENAHO) so that they also provide data disaggregated, not only by mother tongue, but also by “ethnic” self-identification or belonging to “indigenous peoples” (a change that is currently under discussion with a view to its inclusion in the next census in 2017), there still remain aspects of these methodologies that need to be improved.¹

¹ According to the information available to the author, INEI has been organizing meetings with experts to improve the questions in the 2017 census from the viewpoint of gender and a better definition of indigenous (according to the progress indicated by ENAHO). Moreover, in collaboration with the Manuela Ramos Centre and UN Women, the document *Brechas de género: Perú 2001-2013* (2015, “Gender gaps: Peru 2001-2013”), has been prepared, in addition to the provision on the INEI webpage of a statistical series on “Gender indicators”.

For example, as indicated in Chapter 2, it is necessary to review the indicator “agricultural producer/holder” and “productive holding”. Currently, only one agricultural producer/holder can be identified for each productive holding, which is not close to the real situation, as in many cases there is a certain co-management within the couple in the family household. By restricting the options (limitation to a single holder), preference is given to recording the man as the holder. Accordingly, women remain “invisible”, even though in practice they play a more or less important role as co-managers. It is almost solely in the case of single women that they are registered as holders.

Recommendations: INEI

It is important to review the options for replies to questions in census forms to take into account more precisely the real situation of agricultural holders, and particularly to give “visibility” to women who share in the management of agricultural holdings.

4.2.2 Women members of communities and gender inequality

Communities are the economic, social and political structure around which the life of hundreds of thousands of indigenous women in Peru is organized. This includes the economic and productive life of women, and their different roles. According to the information provided in Puno, some women indicated that they are at a disadvantage in relation to men in terms of the community’s economic decisions. For example, they receive less land in rotation, or they are given less ploughing time for their land. Moreover, depending on the community, women may or may not be included in the community governance structures. The absence of full recognition of their rights is reflected in assemblies, the distribution of responsibilities and, once again, in economic decisions.

Recommendation: Organizations of indigenous women (ONAMIAP and others), indigenous and rural organizations, Congress of the Republic

A proposal that has been discussed is to revise Act No. 24656, the Act respecting rural communities, with a view to specifying the principle of equality between men and women community members, together with the right of the latter to be included in community governance structures.

It should be noted that the Act only refers to “men and women” in relation to “integrated community members”, who do not have equal rights with “skilled community members”, including community chiefs.

4.2.3 Agriculture

Poverty, precariousness and additional work activities

Indigenous populations are among the peoples in the country living in the greatest poverty and in extreme poverty. Most of them, especially in Amazonia, continue to be engaged in agricultural work. According to the ENAHO 2012, almost 80 per cent of the population living in extreme poverty, and 51 per cent of those living in poverty, are engaged in this type of work.

This leads to a fundamental consideration. The women leaders interviewed express great scepticism concerning their future as women mainly engaged in agriculture. The very uncertainty of nature, aggravated by climate change, the small size and low productivity of their plots of land, the lack of public support through public policies focussed on improving their economic opportunities, particularly in an international context of subsidies in other countries, are all shutting them off in a vicious circle of poverty.

In view of the cycles of agricultural work, many indigenous women engage in additional work activities. For example, in research carried out by the Manuela Ramos Centre, most of the Quechua and Aymara women interviewed who are engaged in agriculture indicated that they also carry out other types of work (Rivera, 2012). In areas such as Puno, these other activities are beginning to seem more profitable, or at least can allow them to implement a strategy of accumulation, in contrast with agricultural work.

The additional activities, particularly those carried out by young persons outside school terms, include domestic work. For many young girls, this is the first step in the process of entering this occupation, which subsequently leads to their migration.

Land security

One basic aspect that emerged as a claim, particularly in the workshop in Pucallpa, through women of the Ucayali Amazonian ethnic group, is the issue of land security, or in other words ensuring that they have title to their land, including the right to use their forest. This is a particularly important request for women leaders, such as those in the Saweto community, who are confronted with illegal loggers in a conflict that has already cost the lives of some of their leaders. As explained in the

introduction, the process of granting concessions in Peru has resulted in a situation of greater uncertainty for native and rural communities.

Recommendation: Ministry of Agriculture, Congress

A basic point for indigenous women is therefore to facilitate the granting of title to communal lands.

4.2.4 Support initiatives for production and trading

Financing

Due to precariousness and uncertainty, the indigenous women interviewed made it very clear that they do not consider credit or loans to be a viable option for agriculture. On the contrary, they consider them to be a source of greater uncertainty, as a bad harvest would be compounded by the burden of repaying the credit. Indeed, credit can be a cause of greater losses, including of their few assets. This is why credit is not widely sought in the agricultural sector: 89.6 per cent of men who are agricultural producers and 93.6 per cent of women have not had recourse to credit or loans (2012 agricultural census). These percentages are even greater among indigenous populations, and particularly women. For example, in a department such as Puno, with a high level of indigenous population, the 2012 agricultural census shows that 94.5 per cent of agricultural producers had not sought either credit or loans. In the province of Chucuito, where there is a majority of Aymara inhabitants, this figure is 97 per cent among women producers. In Amazonia, in remote areas, as might be expected, the figures are even higher. For example, in the province of Purús, in Ucayali, no women agricultural producers indicated that they had sought credit (out of a total of 38).

Recommendation: Executive authorities, Congress

During the dialogue with indigenous women leaders, the idea emerged of the development of an “indigenous fund” as a means of promoting entrepreneurship among indigenous women and men. The women were thinking more of the promotion of activities such as trading and manufacturing, for example, of artisanal goods.

Technical assistance, productivity and markets

The meetings with indigenous women leaders highlighted various types of technical assistance that they considered could help to improve their economic performance. These range from improving seeds, the genetic improvement of alpaca herds, poultry farming and skills related to management and the identification of markets. Most participants expressed the shared perception that markets are the bottleneck for their initiatives. One of the women leaders from Ucayali cited the example of a process of skills development in a native community a few hours from the capital. Productivity had indeed been improved, but the frustration then lay in not having access to markets where the excess produce could be sold. Accordingly, participation in trade fairs, as well as the identification of opportunities, particularly for export, were the most widely supported comments on this subject.

Recommendation: Ministry of Inclusion and Social Development (MIDIS)

Probably the most innovative experiment in relation to productive skills has been offered by *Sierra Exportadora*. Through the authentication of ancestral knowledge and the use of rural workers themselves as capacitors (*yachachiqs*),¹ productivity has been improved in communities in 14 regions of Peru. In certain cases, strategic alliances have been developed with enterprises, such as the MINSUR mining company in Puno. In this case in particular, assistance has been provided for agricultural production and alpaca herds (for their genetic improvement), and the manufacture of textiles (alpaca), from design to commercialization, with the identification of purchasers in external markets.

For various of the women leaders interviewed, social programmes are seen as opportunities for skills development. It was proposed that programmes such as *Juntos* should provide skills training for women in business management. In that programme, the amounts of financial support provided could be used as “seed money” to help them emerge from their economic survival strategies. Such skills development would also have to take into consideration a more balanced participation of men and women in the meetings convened by the programme, as women have to attend so as not to miss out on the benefits. In this way, they could have more real time for such initiatives and avoid the opportunities being taken up once again almost exclusively by men. The *Juntos* programme could also consider including the requirement of attendance at secondary school, or at least generate some type of stimulus or incentive for school attendance. In practice, it is in secondary school that there is the highest drop-out rate of young persons, and particularly of indigenous students. Indigenous girls could be included in skills courses to encourage them to look beyond the traditional expectation of forming a household at a young age. It should be noted that an important

challenge for *Juntos* and other programmes is the remoteness and dispersion of Amazonian communities.

The “indigenous fund”, referred to above, could also be linked to programmes such as *Sierra Exportadora*, which, as has been announced, will also include Amazonia (“*Sierra y Selva Exportadora*”). This programme could make indigenous communities its priority target populations.

¹ The recognition that it has received includes the prize “The World Challenge 2010”, organized by the BBC, Newsweek and Shell, as the second best innovative, enterprising and replicable project.

4.2.5 Connectivity and opportunities

One important aspect for the improvement of opportunities for better incomes in rural areas is connectivity. In the conversations held in Puno and Pucallpa, lack of connectivity was associated with higher prices for supplies and the impossibility of competing to market their produce. It is also related to a lower capacity to negotiate with intermediaries.

This latter point is of particular importance, especially in Amazonia, where river and air transport is very expensive, and roads are subject to constant difficulties and are not always viable. Telecommunications offer an alternative means of overcoming these difficulties in part (although not, clearly, for the physical transport of persons and goods). Nevertheless, they allow better access to markets and collaboration with surrounding communities, which can contribute to consolidating the supply of goods and production chains.

Recommendation: MIDIS, Regional governments

In this regard, a meeting with public officials emphasized programmes such as the Fund for Economic Inclusion in Rural Areas (FONIE) of the MIDIS, one of the objectives of which is the construction of access roads in rural areas. Proposals have to be presented by regional governments. As will be seen below, women indigenous leaders consider it important for these governments to focus attention on communities, with a special office for indigenous matters. In other words, they consider that opportunities such as the FONIE will not necessarily be beneficial to their communities, even though they meet the requirements to benefit from the Fund.

It should be noted that FONIE also finances the construction of infrastructure for telecommunications.

The lower cost of telephones in recent years, as well as the gradual extension of the Internet (through Internet cabins), offer the prospect of a better future for new generations, provided that they are accompanied by appropriate public policies. In any case, it is necessary to take into account the gender gap in the use of telephones and Internet.

Recommendation: Ministry of Education, MIDIS, Ministry of Transport

The articulation of new technologies in the context of the education of indigenous peoples, focussing on information and communication technologies, where possible with tools adapted to their languages, would constitute a means of promoting their production and commercial activities, and their work. This could be aligned with the proposal relating to the *Juntos* programme, in terms of special measures for indigenous girls.

*4.2.6 Employment in other activities
(neither commercial nor agricultural)*

Domestic work

As indicated in the present study, domestic work has the profile of indigenous women. Dealing with problems of labour discrimination against women workers in the household involves taking on an important issue for a proportion of economically active indigenous women. For example, it is the most important activity among migrant indigenous women. Almost one-in-ten economically active Quechua-speaking women are engaged in domestic work. Indigenous women with other mother tongues do so to a lesser extent.

Recommendation: Congress

The ratification of ILO Convention No. 189 is an essential recommendation, as it would provide better legal protection.

Recommendation: ILO

The provision of technical assistance to generate information on the situation of women in domestic service would contribute to strengthening the arguments in the debate concerning ratification.

Public employment and intercultural policies

Teaching is an important occupation among indigenous populations, and especially Amazonian native populations. Admittedly, significantly more men continue their studies and are then employed as teachers. Indigenous women teachers are found in particular in primary education.

Employment in the health sector, although not to the same extent as the education sector, was considered as being key in the conversations with men and women leaders. The existence of indigenous women working in health centres, especially for pregnant women, is a concern, as their absence is perceived as resulting in poor care or inappropriate treatment, which may even be perceived as ill-treatment. For example, touching the body of a woman for a medical check-up is a delicate matter for certain indigenous peoples, which would warrant the presence of a specialist sensitive to these concerns.

Recommendation: Regional governments, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Education, others

In general, the intercultural policies that are being implemented by the central government and in certain regions should be accompanied by the effective promotion of indigenous employment in key sectors, such as education and health, with attention being paid to the inclusion of women. This involves improving training opportunities and the recognition of ancestral knowledge, and inclusion in public career paths.

Discrimination and employment

With reference to Hugo Ñopo concerning the discrimination involved in the wage gap between men and women (and not only at different skill levels, and particularly training levels), one important aspect of the labour situation of indigenous women in Peru is the discrimination factor. For example, the women leaders in Puno indicated that young persons with higher education, but whose manner of speaking Spanish shows that they are not mother tongue, as well as their dress, are discriminatory elements when seeking work, including in the public sector. For indigenous women, in some ways the implicit requirement is to stop being themselves and “conceal” their origins in order to find skilled employment.

Recommendation: Indigenous organizations, Congress

In this regard, it would be important to make progress in terms of effective anti-discrimination provisions targeted at removing obstacles to the access of indigenous persons, and especially women, to employment. Particularly for the reasons indicated above, this is important in guaranteeing the success of inter-cultural policies.

*4.2.7 Monitoring, promotion and governance
of gender and indigenous affairs policies*

Recommendation: Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations (MIMP), regional governments

Finally, one general comment made in the workshops was the request for the greater presence of the MIMP as a leader in the field of gender policy. This is not only in relation to gender-based violence, which is considered to be very important, but also policies to promote employment and opportunities for indigenous women.

The establishment of offices for indigenous affairs in regional governments, with the participation of the indigenous population (not only as beneficiaries) is considered to be a positive administrative policy change that would assist in promoting indigenous employment and in generating employment opportunities.

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Annexes

Annex 1. List of participants in the meetings and dialogue days

Round-table meetings

1. Meeting with leaders of indigenous organizations

Lima, ILO Office, 14 April

- Jorge Prado, Rural Confederation of Peru CCP
- Norma Aguilar, ONAMIAP
- Percy Assem, CONAP
- Ketty Marcelo, ONAMIAP

2. Meeting with trade union leaders

Lima, ILO Office, 15 April

- Paola Aliaga, CATP
- Flor Guerrero, CGTP
- Guillermo Onofre

Invited:

- Margoth Quispe, Rainforest
- Diana Ríos, leader from Saweto, Ucayali

3. Meeting with women and men

leaders of indigenous organizations of Puno

Puno, Hotel Qelqatani, 28 April

- María Anahua Suca, Antaymarca
- Ángela Chislla Palomino, AMUAME/ONAMIAP
- Eugenia Mamani Hanco, FEDEMUCO/ONAMIAP
- Emiliana Jacinto Jacinto, COMI/ONAMIAP
- Anita Condo Mayhua, no organization
- Paulina Quispe Palomino, Bella Durmiente Association of Women Gold Seekers (*Pallaqueras*), Rinconada
- Inés Huaita Cari, ADEMUC, CCP
- Brígida Curo Bustincio, ADEMUC, CCP
- Edid Calisaya, Bartolina Sisa Organization of Aymara Women
- Yrma Mamani Chambi, Ascensión Nicol Women's Organization
- Verónica Arapa, AMUAME, ONAMIAP
- Isabel Gómez, ADEMUC, CCP
- Elsa Cueva, FEDEMUCO, ONAMIAP

4. Meeting with women and men leaders of indigenous organizations of Ucayali

Pucallpa, Hotel Manish, 12 May

- Diana Ríos Rengijo, Alto Tamaya-Saweto Native Community
- Nora Reátegui Castro, Coordinating Unit for the Development of Amazonian Indigenous Women (CODEMIA)
- María Rojas Maynas, CODEMIA
- Janeth Franco Rojas, CODEMIA
- Judith Rodríguez Reátegui, CODEMIA
- Elvia Franco Muñoz, CODEMIA
- Margoth Sánchez Escobar, Confederation of Amazonian Nationalities of Peru (CONAP)
- Ema Díaz Sebastián, CONAP
- Juana Tamani Ahuanari, CONAP
- Yolana Nunta Acho, Aidesep Ucayali Regional Organization (ORAU)
- Nely Pérez Ricardo, ORAU
- Beatriz Casanto Tovar, ORAU
- Virginia Quiñones, ORAU
- Noida Ahuarani, CONAP
- José Tamani, CONAP
- Alex Ríos Pinedo, Alto Tamaya-Saweto Native Community

5. Meeting with public officials

Lima, ILO Office, 27 May

- Inés Gonzáles, General Directorate of Decentralization and Coordination of Social Programmes, Ministry of Inclusion and Social Development
- Rocío Muñoz, Director General of the Directorate of Intercultural Citizenship, Ministry of Culture
- Mauricio Zavaleta, Advisor on indigenous policy affairs, Ministry of Culture
- Norma Puicán, Ministry of Labour
- Daniel Sánchez, Chief of the Indigenous Peoples' Programme, Office of the Public Defender (*Defensoría del Pueblo*)

6. Other interviews and meetings

- Norma Correa, PUCP researcher
- Silvia Torres, UNICEF education consultant
- Luz Pérez, Commissioner of the Indigenous Peoples Programme, Office of the Public Defender
- Dulce Morán, Commissioner of the Indigenous Peoples Programme, Office of the Public Defender
- Walter Mendoza, Population and Development Officer, United Nations Population Fund, UNFPA Programme Peru

7. ILO project team

- Hernán Coronado, ILO consultant
- Alicia del Águila, researcher
- Liliana Loayza, project assistant
(regional events and meetings with public officials).

Annex 2. “The labour situation of indigenous women in Puno”

Dialogue day

Report

Puno, 4 May 2015

Within the framework of the research project “The labour situation of indigenous women in Peru”, a meeting was held with women leaders of indigenous organizations in Puno with a view to gathering their views on the labour situation of indigenous women in that department.

The meeting was held on Monday 4 May 2015 at the Hotel Qelqatani, in the city of Puno. It was attended by 13 leaders, mainly belonging to regional federations and associations affiliated with the National Organization of Andean and Amazonian Indigenous Women of Peru (ONAMIAP) and the Rural Confederation of Peru (CCP).

The main points of the discussion during each part of the meeting are reported below.

1. Introduction

The meeting began with words of welcome from Alicia del Águila, ILO consultant, and Hernán Coronado, external collaborator on indigenous peoples with the ILO Office for the Andean countries.

Alicia del Águila explained the objectives of the meeting, and the importance of the research that is being undertaken. She invited the participants to give their views and to indicate the problems existing in relation to the employment of indigenous women and how they could be resolved.

Hernán Coronado then emphasized the importance of the research undertaken in giving visibility to the employment situation of indigenous women in Peru. He conveyed the wish of Carmen Moreno, Director of the ILO Office for the Andean Countries, to work with south Andean indigenous women.

Hernán Coronado also recalled that June 2015 would mark the 20th anniversary of the ratification by Peru of ILO Convention No. 169 and indicated that much still remained to be done to implement the rights of indigenous peoples. He added that the participation of indigenous peoples through their organizations was indispensable for this process, particularly for the development, implementation and evaluation of public policies.

2. Presentation of the participants

During the introductory session, the women leaders presented themselves, shared their expectations concerning the meeting and indicated the indigenous people and organization to which they belonged, as set out in the following table:

No.	Name	Organization	People
1	Anita Condo Mayhua	No organization	Quechua
2	María Anahua Suca	Producers' Association of Antaymarca/ONAMIAP	Quechua
3	Ángela Chislla Palomino	Association of Indigenous Women of the Province of Melgar (AMUAME)/ONAMIAP	Quechua
4	Eugenia Mamani Hanco	Community leader, Federation of Indigenous Women of the Province of Callao (FEDEMUCO)/ONAMIAP	Aymara
5	Emiliana Jacinto Jacinto	Federation of Women's Organizations of Ilave (COMI)/ONAMIAP	Aymara
6	Paulina Quispe Palomina	Bella Durmiente Women Gold Seekers' Association (<i>Pallaqueras</i>), La Rinconada	Quechua
7	Inés Huayta Cari	Departmental Association of Rural Women (ADEMUC)/CCP	Quechua
8	Brígida Curo Bustincio	ADEMUC/CCP	Quechua
9	Edid Calisaya	Bartolina Sisa Organization of Aymara Women	Aymara
10	Yrma Mamani Chambi	Ascención Nicol Women's Organization	Quechua
11	Verónica Arapa	AMUAME/ONAMIAP	Quechua
12	Isabel Gómez	ADEMUC/CCP	Aymara
13	Elsa Cueva	FEDEMUCO/ONAMIAP	Aymara

3. Labour situation of indigenous women:

Principal activities, conditions and obstacles

During this part of the meeting, the women leaders described the economic activities in which they are engaged, the conditions in which they work and the obstacles encountered. Alicia del Águila and Hernán Coronado expressed their concerns and asked questions, which helped to cover the subjects researched in greater depth. The issues discussed and raised by the women leaders are summarized below.

As indicated by the participants, most indigenous women in Puno are engaged in agriculture, livestock, artisanal work and trading. To a lesser extent, some of the women are engaged in fishing in lake Titicaca, while a difficult case consists of the women working as gold seekers (*pallaqueras*) in the La Rinconada area.¹

¹ "Pallaqueras" are women who seek and collect gold in mine dumps.

Turning to their conditions and problems, one recurrent subject was that they are not paid a fair price for the produce that they sell, whether agricultural, artisanal or livestock. In this regard, Isabel Gómez said that they also fail to give added value to their products, and that they need to be provided with training and technical assistance to improve their quality.

The women leaders also repeatedly noted that they do not have the same opportunities as men, and that there is no gender equality. For example, they said that they earn less than men, even when they perform the same work. María Anahua observed that when they work in the fields, women are paid five soles, which is two soles fewer than men. She added that land distribution in the communities is not equitable, as women receive smaller parcels of land than men, or they are given less time to use ploughing equipment. Verónica Arapa said that this is aggravated by the fact that, in the meetings held in communities, women's views do not count and the men are the ones who take the decisions.

With reference to employment in public institutions, María Anahua said that, when women go and seek work with the municipal authorities, the officials tell them that it would be better for their husbands to come and that there is no work for them. Brígida Curo added that they suffer discrimination because they do not speak Spanish well and due to their indigenous clothes, which is a violation of their right to their cultural identity. Moreover, as noted by Elsa Cueva, when women manage to find employment, it is as secretaries or assistants, but not in managerial posts. She added that many women are victims of sexual blackmail to obtain employment.

Another issue discussed was that women are more vulnerable when they are single mothers, not only because they may suffer discrimination, but also because it is very difficult for them to take responsibility for the household, work and provide support for their families. For example, Emiliana Jacinto said that it is more difficult for single mothers to bring up children, as the plots of land that they have or the livestock that they farm are not sufficient to obtain the necessary money and they have to seek other sources of income. María Anahua added that, when the cold weather arrives, single mothers lose more crops and animals than couples, who can give each other support.

One of the issues affecting the life and work of indigenous women is also climate change. Ángela Chislla observed that the cold spells are becoming increasingly harsh in Puno and that, during this period, they lose many of their crops, such as quinoa, kiwicha and qañiwa, and that the youngest and oldest animals die. She said that they therefore have to find other work to increase their income. That is why many women become informal traders, although they do not issue bills because they are not able to set themselves up legally. They therefore call on the State for support to ensure that the SUNAT (tax collection entity) adopts a flexible approach to their situation.

Another problem is the situation of older women who live in high Andean areas in conditions of extreme poverty. Eugenia Mamani said that these women do not receive assistance from the State and do not go down to the city because they are used to living in high lands, despite their precarious conditions. She added that they are not beneficiaries of the Pension 65 social programme as they do not have the necessary papers, and do not have anyone to help them complete the administrative procedures. Verónica Arapa explained that in her community many older women do not have identity documents, and have no one to help them obtain such documents.

Finally, a very specific situation was described by Paulina Quispe, who raised the issue of women who work as gold seekers (“*pallaqueras*”) in the La Rinconada area, in San Antonio de Putina. She said that most gold seekers are single mothers who have decided to carry out this work because they do not have enough money to keep their families. There are currently around 800 *pallaqueras* who have set up nine associations. She said that they live in very difficult conditions, as there is a high level of family violence, trafficking in women and prostitution. On this subject, Brígida Curo emphasized that it is important for the regional government to guarantee responsible mining, which does not pollute the environment, as several rivers in Puno are contaminated.

4. Proposals to improve the working conditions and opportunities of indigenous women

During this part of the meeting, the participants made proposals to improve the conditions in which they work and put forward ideas to create better work opportunities. In the same way as in the previous section, Alicia del Águila and Hernán Coronado contributed through their comments and questions.

Brígida Curo said that it is necessary for the Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations to establish decentralized offices which can deal with the problems facing women in the provinces of Puno. She added that the regional government should establish a Women’s Unit to respond to the problems of women in the department.

Various speakers emphasized the need to be provided with skills and technical assistance to improve the quality and value added of agricultural produce and artisanal articles. They emphasized that it was urgent for them to contact more fairs in which they could sell their products.

In terms of proposals for women artisanal workers, they called on the State, through laws and programmes, to ensure that artisans can export their products themselves. As noted by Emiliana Jacinto, those who make the articles earn, for example, five soles, while those who export them earn 20 soles for the same product.

With reference to agriculture, Brígida Curo said that it is necessary to implement public policies with a bigger budget for the development of the sector. María Anahua proposed that, instead of taking out credit from the bank, which then cannot be repaid due to the high interest rates, what is required is access to an agrarian insurance scheme, or for the municipal authorities to provide subsidies for the necessary equipment.

Isabel Gómez also emphasized the importance of production initiatives, such as the genetic improvement of livestock, the establishment of cheese processing plants and the use of machinery to give added value to such products as quinoa. In response to this proposal, Ángela Chislla said that it is important to become industrialized, but in an ecological and sustainable manner, for which reason she also suggested the establishment of a seed bank and the provision of organic products.

They added that it is important to obtain land title for their communities to ensure the legal security of their lands, both in the Andes and in Amazonian Puno.

Other proposals included the establishment of a regional administration to deal with indigenous problems in Puno and to implement programmes and campaigns to authenticate the ancestral knowledge and practices of indigenous and original peoples.

Finally, Isabel Gómez said that it is important to provide training for women in the beneficiary families of the *Juntos* social programme so that they can administer and invest the money received soundly.

Annex 3. “The labour situation of indigenous women in Ucayali”

Dialogue Day

Report

Pucallpa, 12 May 2015

Within the framework of the research project, “The labour situation of indigenous women in Peru”, under the guidance of Alicia del Águila, a meeting was held with women leaders of indigenous organizations in Ucayali with a view to gathering their views on the labour situation of indigenous women in the department.

The meeting was held on Tuesday 12 May 2015 at the Hotel Manish, in the city of Pucallpa. It was attended by 14 women and three men leaders, who are mostly members of regional federations and associations affiliated with the Confederation of Amazonian Nationalities of Peru (CONAP), the Interethnic Association for the Development of the Forest (AIDSESEP) and the Coordinating Unit for the Development of Amazonian Indigenous Women (CODEMIA).

The main issues raised in each part of the meeting are presented below.

1. Introduction

The meeting began with words of welcome from Hernán Coronado, external collaborator on indigenous peoples’ issues with the ILO Office for the Andean Countries, and Alicia del Águila, ILO consultant.

Hernán Coronado explained that the ILO is currently undertaking research on the labour situation of indigenous women, as there is very little information on this subject, and the objective is the association of women leaders with the dialogue held with State actors and their participation in the public decisions affecting their rights.

Alicia del Águila also thanked the women and men leaders for participating in the meeting and indicated that the research carried out is motivated by the lack of sufficient information on the labour situation of indigenous women in Peru. She noted that the previous week a similar meeting had been held with women indigenous leaders from Puno, and that the objective of the present meeting was the same, namely to listen to them and gather their views and proposals.

2. Presentation of the participants

During the introductory session, the women leaders presented themselves, commented on their expectations regarding the meeting and indicated the indigenous people and organization to which they belonged, as set out in the following table.

No.	Name	Organization	People
1	Diana Ríos Rengifo	Alto Tamaya-Saweto Native Community	Ashaninka
2	Nora Reátegui Castro	Coordinating Unit for the Development of Amazonian Indigenous Women (CODEMIA)	Shipibo conibo
3	María Rojas Maynas	CODEMIA	Shipibo conibo
4	Janeth Franco Rojas	CODEMIA	Shipibo conibo
5	Judith Rodríguez Reátegui	CODEMIA	Shipibo conibo
6	Elvia Franco Muñoz	CODEMIA	Shipibo conibo
7	Margoth Sánchez Escobar	Confederation of Amazonian Nationalities of Peru (CONAP)	Shipibo conibo
8	Ema Díaz Sebastián	CONAP	Yine
9	Juana Tamani Ahuanari	CONAP	Cocama
10	Yolanda Nunta Acho	Aidsep Ucayali Regional Organization (ORAU)	Shipibo
11	Nely Pérez Ricardo	ORAU	Ashaninka
12	Beatriz Casanto Tovar	ORAU	Ashaninka
13	Virginia Quiñones	ORAU	Ashaninka
14	Noida Ahuarani	CONAP	Yine
15	José Tamani	CONAP	Cocama
16	Alex Ríos Pinedo	Alto Tamaya-Saweto Native Community	Ashaninka
17	Abner Syahu	Alto Tamaya-Saweto Native Community	Ashaninka

3. Labour situation of indigenous women:

Principal activities, conditions and obstacles

During this part of the meeting, the women leaders described the economic activities in which they are engaged, the conditions in which they work and the obstacles encountered. Alicia del Águila expressed her concerns and raised questions, which helped to examine in greater depth the subjects covered by the research. A summary of the points discussed and raised by the women leaders is provided below.

According to the women leaders, indigenous women in Ucayali are engaged in agriculture, artisanal work, poultry, weaving and the sale of these products.

With reference to agriculture, Margoth Sánchez said that various good lands above the flood plain had been granted to people from outside the area, and that the communities had therefore been left without land to sow their crops. She also observed that climate change was affecting agriculture, that hot and cold periods had intensified and that this was resulting in disease. Beatriz Casanto added that, as a result of climate change, the land had dried out and no longer produced as much as it used to. She also noted that when it rains heavily the level of the river rises and sweeps away all the beans planted near the water line.

Another difficulty is that there are no markets to sell artisanal and agricultural products. This is compounded by the fact that they do not receive a fair price for their products. In the case of artisanal articles, Yolanda Nunta said that many women, including her mother, have nowhere to sell their products and have to work as itinerant traders in conditions which affect their health in order to sell their artisanal products at very low prices. Margoth Sánchez added that exploitation exists between women intermediaries, who pay a low price for artisanal products and then sell them at a much higher price.

In the case of indigenous peoples living in frontier areas, such as Saweto and Yurúa, these problems are compounded by the weak presence of the State and the greater difficulty of links with the rest of the department. As observed by Diana Ríos, in her community of Alto Tamaya-Saweto, which is located six days by boat from Pucallpa, there is no nearby market and they only produce for their own consumption. She added that intermediaries take advantage of indigenous people and engage in unfair barter: for example, they exchange soap, which costs five soles, for a hen, which is worth 25 soles. Similarly, Virginia Quiñones, who lives in a community in Yurúa, said that there is no market and that everything is very expensive due to the high cost of air travel.

For all these reasons, Beatriz Casanto emphasized the urgency of addressing the problems of indigenous peoples living in frontier areas, such as Yurúa, Purús and Saweto. She also commented on the case of the Pichis Palcazú project, which promoted the growing of rice in frontier areas. But it had not been possible to sell the additional rice produced because rice from Brazil was better, and it was very expensive to transport it to Pucallpa. In the end, she said that the produce had had to be sold to local dealers at an unfair price.

With reference to work by women in public institutions, the dialogue focussed on the very low numbers of indigenous professionals. It was noted that most indigenous women only manage to complete their primary education, and that very few have access to higher or technical education. Yolanda Nunta added that the lack of indigenous professionals makes access to State services difficult, because there are no public officials who speak their language. She referred to the case in which

indigenous nurses and health technicians had reached agreement for a hospital to allow them to take responsibility for the insurance formalities of the indigenous population and to accompany them in their medical consultations as interpreters.

Beatriz Casanto also noted that there are no schools in most communities. Parents therefore have to send their children to study in the nearest community which has an education centre. However, this involves an economic cost that many families cannot afford, and there are even cases of parents who prefer to hand their daughters over to others, rather than sending them to school. Another participant added that, in frontier areas, when they have reached the age of 12, many parents hand their daughters over to men who can maintain them.

On this subject, Yolanda Nunta complained that there is a lot of machismo and that women do not know their rights. She added that there are men who do not let their wives take the pap test because they say that no one else should touch them, resulting in many women contracting diseases because their spouses prohibit them from going to health centres.

In relation to social programmes, the participants indicated that they do not have access to Pension 65, although they do to the *Juntos* programme and to *Beca 18*. It was noted that there is an education gap between indigenous and non-indigenous people. Beatriz Casanto said that many young indigenous persons cannot benefit from *Beca 18* and other similar programmes because they do not achieve a high level of educational success and end up dropping out of school. Yolanda Nunta added that *Beca 18* does not take into account the fact that indigenous people aged 14 or 15 are still in primary school, and that they finish secondary school at around the age of 21. In this regard, they said that it is important for social programmes to adopt an intercultural approach and take into account the context and reality of indigenous peoples.

Finally, another of the problems is that many communities do not have land title, for which reason their right to the land is affected and they cannot have access to productive and development projects. In this respect, Diana Ríos referred to the continuing struggle by her community to obtain title to its lands and against unlawful logging in which, sadly, her father and other members of the commune had lost their lives. Margoth Sánchez emphasized the need for land security and security for leaders who defend their lands. She added that, when they protest, they are called delinquents, but when there are elections, they are treated as citizens.

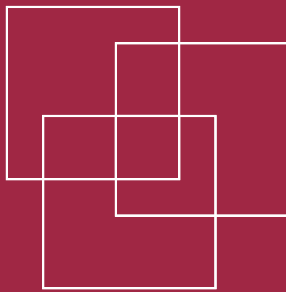
4. Proposals to improve the working conditions and opportunities of indigenous women

During this part of the meeting, the women leaders made proposals to improve the conditions in which they work and put forward ideas to generate better employment opportunities. In the same way as previously, Alicia del Águila contributed with her comments and questions. A summary of the proposals made is provided below.

In general, the various speakers referred to the need for skills development by the State to improve the quality of their products, for their sale and to establish enterprises and improve leadership. For example, Ema Díaz said that it is important to acquire skills to improve the quality of products, and Nely Perez referred to the need for women artisanal workers to be aware of the new strategies and means of selling their products to the world. Margoth Sánchez added that they should be promoted and taught to establish enterprises, and Yolanda Nunta emphasized that it is also necessary to hold workshops to improve their leadership.

With reference to artisanal work, after Ema Díaz had described the successful case of women artisanal workers in Echarate-Cusco, the participants concluded that it is necessary for women engaged in this activity to organize and become formal. José Tamani emphasized that it is essential for the State to support the sale of artisanal products by ensuring markets and clients. Juana Tamani also suggested the establishment of tourist venues in which only women could sell their artisanal products. Finally, the participants added that communication technologies would be of great assistance in placing women producers in direct contact with their clients, without the need for intermediaries.

Among other ideas and suggestions for the State, the women participants indicated that social programmes have to adopt an intercultural approach and take into account the context of indigenous peoples. In terms of specific suggestions, Yolanda Nunta noted that a social programme could be implemented along the lines of the Food and Nutrition Programme for High-risk Families (PANFAR) to teach people how to feed themselves adequately with the products available in the region. The women participants also urgently requested an improvement in access to education services for indigenous peoples. Finally, they said that it is important for the State to undertake awareness-raising activities on women's rights through the mass media, and for parents to allow their daughters to study and not hand them over to men.



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