EXPLORING BARRIERS TO PERUVIAN MOTHERS’ LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION: A MULTI-DISCIPLINARY MULTI-METHOD APPROACH

A Thesis in

Human Development and Family Studies and Demography

by

Paola Tami Aritomi

© 2005 Paola Tami Aritomi

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

August 2005
The thesis of Paola Tami Aritomi was reviewed and approved* by the following:

Rukmalie Jayakody  
Associate Professor of Human Development and Family Studies and Demography  
Thesis Adviser  
Chair of Committee

Ann Crouter  
Professor of Human Development and Family Studies

Clancy Blair  
Associate Professor of Human Development and Family Studies and Demography

David Abler  
Professor of Agricultural, Environmental and Regional Economics and Demography

David Post  
Professor of Comparative and International Education and Demography

Steven H. Zarit  
Professor of Human Development and Family Studies  
HDFS Department Head

* Signatures are on file in the Graduate School
ABSTRACT

Utilizing quantitative information from the Young Lives Project – Peru survey and qualitative data from focus groups and semi-structure interviews, this investigation presents a comprehensive model analyzing maternal labor force participation processes. This study integrates sociological and developmental psychological perspectives into the traditional economic framework, both at the theoretical and methodological levels. Results indicate that domestic violence and depression/anxiety problems affect low-income Peruvian mothers’ employment dynamics/attachment, particularly in self-employed activities. Qualitative findings indicate alarming mediating effects associated with low self-esteem and self-confidence and domestic violence experience, high marital dissolution risks and greater employment stability, and sexual violence problems reducing the reliance of co-resident relatives as potential caregivers. Also, active, but not passive, participation in community activities significantly improve poor Peruvian mothers’ work entrance. High crime rates and illegal substance abuse prevent even further their access to social capital. Social capital availability is particularly important among self-employed mothers in the form of contacts and access to informal credit markets. Indeed, findings indicate that low-income Peruvian mothers prefer and are more engaged in self-employed occupations, suggesting potential positive effects if policies aimed at supporting these activities are implemented. Unfortunately, despite self-employed activities’ greater flexibility, Peruvian poor mothers still face greater responsibilities, compared to their husbands, completing household chores. Interviewed mothers reported child care responsibilities as the most demanding family-related problem. In addition, union dissolution risks and weak mothers-child attachment bond formation were also perceived as family-based issues. Regarding work-related issues, interviewed mothers indicated instability, informality, weak formal labor market conditions, and poor access to credit markets. Mothers perceive older children and co-resident grandparents as their main external support sources for housework chore assistance, neighbors and former co-workers for work support. Also, interviewed mothers indicated as highly beneficial community organizations for crime fight and food aid government programs for basic needs supplement help. Although these mothers’ main coping strategy was their own ability to organize their schedules, they also used all these other external support sources. These sources were, however, perceived as highly unreliable and temporal, with the exception of some family-based support.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES vi
LIST OF FIGURES vii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS viii

INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER 1 “MOMMY, ARE YOU GOING TO WORK TODAY?” A QUANTITATIVE, QUALITATIVE, MULTIDISCIPLINARY ANALYSIS OF PERUVIAN MOTHERS’ EMPLOYMENT DECISIONS 9
1.1 INTRODUCTION 9
1.2 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK 13
1.3 RESEARCH DESIGN 20
1.3.1 Quantitative Component 22
1.3.2 Qualitative Component 26
1.4 RESULTS 30
1.5 DISCUSSION 43
1.6 CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS 49

CHAPTER 2 WILL SELF-EMPLOYMENT SAVE US?: EVALUATING PERUVIAN MOTHERS’ EMPLOYMENT OPTIONS AND PREFERENCES 53
2.1 INTRODUCTION 53
2.2 BACKGROUND 57
2.3 RESEARCH DESIGN 63
2.3.1 Quantitative Component 65
2.3.2 Qualitative Component 69
2.4 RESULTS 73
2.4.1 Quantitative Component 74
2.4.2 Qualitative Component 86
2.5 DISCUSSION 95
2.6 CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS 99

CHAPTER 3 “A 26 HOUR DAY PLEASE... SURE, FOR FAMILY OR TO WORK?” ON PERUVIAN LOW-INCOME MOTHERS’ PERCEIVED PROBLEMS, COPING STRATEGIES, AND EXTERNAL SUPPORT 103
3.1 INTRODUCTION 103
3.2 BACKGROUND 105
3.2.1 Microsystems and Mesosystem: Family-Level and Labor Market-Level. 106
3.2.2. Exosystems: Community-Level and Government-Level. 112
3.3 RESEARCH DESIGN 114
3.4 DATA COLLECTION 118
3.5 RESULTS 121
3.5.1 Problems 123
3.5.1.1 Family-Based 123
3.5.1.2. Work-Based  129  
3.5.2. Solutions  132  
3.5.2.1. Family-Based  132  
3.5.2.2. Community-Based  135  
3.5.2.3. Government-Based  137  

3.6 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS  140  

REFERENCES  149  
APPENDIX A  FOCUS GROUP CONSENT FORMS (ENGLISH AND SPANISH VERSION)  157  
APPENDIX B  FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW GUIDE  163  
APPENDIX C  DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS: TOTAL SAMPLE  164  
APPENDIX D  DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS: LIMA SAMPLE  166  
APPENDIX E  MATERNAL DEPRESSION/ANXIETY: PROBIT MODEL  168  
APPENDIX F  MATERNAL EMPLOYMENT: PROBIT MODEL  169  
APPENDIX G  MATERNAL EMPLOYMENT: STEPWISE MULTINOMIAL LOGIT MODELS  171  
APPENDIX H  MATERNAL EMPLOYMENT: TOBIT MODELS  176  
APPENDIX I  CHAPTER 1 SPANISH QUOTES  178  
APPENDIX J  SAMPLE DESCRIPTION: DISTRICT CHARACTERISTICS  179  
APPENDIX K  CHAPTER 2 SPANISH QUOTES  181  
APPENDIX L  SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW CONSENT FORMS (SPANISH AND ENGLISH VERSION)  183  
APPENDIX M  SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE (SPANISH AND ENGLISH VERSION)  191  
APPENDIX N  CHAPTER 3 SPANISH QUOTES  192
# LIST OF TABLES

**CHAPTER 1**
Table 1.1  Focus Group Sample: Mothers Currently Living in Lima (By District) 27  
Table 1.2  Probit Model: Maternal Depression 35  

**CHAPTER 2**
Table 2.1  Focus Group Sample: Mothers Currently Living in Lima (By District) 70  
Table 2.2  2004 Focus Group Meetings’ Schedule (By District) 71  
Table 2.3  Probit model: Maternal Depression/Anxiety 79  
Table 2.4  Descriptive Statistics: Focus Group Sample: Random Sub-Sample of One Year-Old YL-P Mothers 86  

**CHAPTER 3**
Table 3.1  2005 Semi-Structured Interview Schedule 119  

**APPENDIX C**
Table 1.C  Descriptive Statistics: Total Sample 164  

**APPENDIX D**
Table 1.D  Descriptive Statistics: Lima Sample 166  

**APPENDIX E**
Table 1.E  Maternal Despression/Anxiety: Probit Model 168  

**APPENDIX F**
Table 1.F  Maternal Employment: Probit Model 169  

**APPENDIX G**
Table 1.G  Maternal Employment: Multinomial Logit Model 1 and Model 2 171  
Table 2.G  Maternal Employment: Multinomial Logit Model 3 and Model 4 173  

**APPENDIX H**
Table 1.H  Maternal Employment: Tobit Model 176
# LIST OF FIGURES

## CHAPTER 1

| Figure 1.1 | Path Models | 25 |
| Figure 1.2 | Mothers’ Psychological Characteristics | 31 |
| Figure 1.3 | Physical Disability Problems | 32 |
| Figure 1.4 | Household Transfers | 33 |
| Figure 1.5 | Community Interaction | 34 |
| Figure 1.6 | Marginal Effects: Physical Health | 38 |
| Figure 1.7 | Marginal Effects: Mental Health | 39 |
| Figure 1.8 | Marginal Effects: Maternal Depression and Interactions | 41 |
| Figure 1.9 | Marginal Effects: Social Capital and Income Transfers | 43 |
| Figure 1.10 | Marginal Effects: Social Capital and Community Interaction | 44 |

## CHAPTER 2

| Figure 2.1 | Path Model | 68 |
| Figure 2.2 | Mothers’ Work Occupation | 75 |
| Figure 2.3 | Mothers’ Educational and Health Characteristics | 76 |
| Figure 2.4 | Poverty and Income Transfer Characteristics | 77 |
| Figure 2.5 | Community Interaction Characteristics | 78 |
| Figure 2.6 | Marginal Effects: Physical Health Status (By Labor Market Sector) | 81 |
| Figure 2.7 | Marginal Effects: Mother’s Psychological Variables (By Labor Market Sector) | 82 |
| Figure 2.8 | Marginal Effects: Community Interaction and Social Capital | 83 |
| Figure 2.9 | Marginal Effects: Non-Labor Income Transfers and Migration | 84 |
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Partial support for this research was provided by a grant to the Penn State Population Research Institute from the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, and core support to PRI from the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (Grant No. 1 R24 HD41025). Additional financial assistance was granted by the Population Reference Bureau and the Department of Human Development and Family Studies at Penn State University. Technical and logistical support was also provided by the Young Lives-Peru Project collaborating institutions (Save the Children UK, Instituto de Investigación Nutricional and Grupo de Análisis para el Desarrollo). Excellent comments on an earlier draft were obtained from Rukmalie Jayakody, Nan Crouter, Clancy Blair, David Abler, and David Post.
INTRODUCTION

Increasing maternal employment has been largely recognized and utilized as a major strategy for poverty alleviation programs. As mothers’ labor force participation increased, social scientists began to explore maternal employment’s roles not only reducing poverty, but also affecting the overall social well-being and children’s developmental outcomes. Understanding these issues is critical for designing effective anti-poverty and social policy implementations, particularly among developing countries such as Peru. Over the past years, Peru has implemented several policies aimed at enhancing Peruvian mothers’ workforce entrance with an ultimate goal of poverty alleviation. Despite these implementations, poverty levels remain alarmingly high.

Working mothers, and particularly low-income workers living in less-developed countries, are a highly vulnerable population. They face economic hardship, great disadvantages regarding education attainment, low-quality labor market access constraints, and large dependency rations. In addition to these obstacles, low-income Peruvian mothers experience several barely explored sociological and psychological barriers. Issues such as reduced social capital availability, marital conflict issues, and traditional gender role ideologies are sociological factors significantly determining maternal employment entrance, attachment, and advancement. Also, developmental psychological conditions such as maternal depression and anxiety, domestic and sexual violence experiences, low self-esteem and motivation problems, and children’s high risk of poor developmental outcomes largely affect mothers’ work dynamic processes, decisions, and preferences.

Although economists, sociologists, and developmental psychologists have largely investigated both causes and consequences of maternal employment, there continues to be some
debate about the main determinants and outcomes associated with maternal work. A crucial issue behind this lack of consensus is the disconnection between these groups. This is, rather than integrating their information and perspectives, they work in isolation from each other, limiting the development of more comprehensive models and effective policy implementations. Indeed, Peru’s social policy designs and implementations have traditionally been guided by economic studies, typically ignoring valuable information from sociological and developmental psychological investigations.

In addition, Peru’s investments in social programs have been historically unstable, despite its current medium-income country status and its stable macroeconomic condition (Du Bois, 2004). As a consequence, Peruvian low-income mothers’ public safety-nets have been limited to weak and poorly-targeted social support programs. Also, social support investment has largely depended on external financial support from international organizations (Graham, 1994). Unfortunately, these external economic transfers affected several community-based organizations that moved from being mainly autonomous to highly dependent on external support (Graham, 1994). Unfortunately, during the 80’s Peru experienced not only significant reductions of international organizations’ social support transfers, but also major macroeconomic problems of hyperinflation, raising poverty levels, and terrorism. All these problems evidenced the low priority that social development had for the Peruvian governmental administration.

During the 90’s great efforts were directed towards reducing extreme poverty, however they were mostly temporal without actual long-term plans for sustainable poverty reductions. A similar picture has been observed during the first years of the 2000’s. Although several programs aimed at improving the low-income population’s labor force participation have been implemented, it is clear that more needs to be done for achieving sustainable economic
development and long-term poverty alleviation. Particularly, studies indicate poor targeting and highly unconnected social programs with overlapping target populations and goals as major problems leading to the doubling of public expenditures (Du Bois, 2004; Schady, 2000; Stifel & Alderman, 2003). This situation not only shows large public resource waste, but also it leads to highly unstable and ineffective policy implementations.

Consequently, it is not surprising to observe that compared to other less developed and poorer countries, Peru’s poverty reduction achievements have been less successful. For example, Vietnam, a formerly centrally planned economy country, was able to reduce its total poverty levels from 57 percent in 1992/1993 to 37 percent in 1997/1998 utilizing an aggressive poverty reduction policy plan (Tuan et al., 2003). This outcome confirms that the value of designing and implementing well targeted and effective anti-poverty policies goes further than the sole access to public resources.

Despite all these barriers, many poor Peruvian mothers find ways to cope with these problems and successfully enter, stay, and advance in the labor market, jointly fulfilling housework tasks. This study attempts to explain and to shed light on several previously unexplored factors affecting poor Peruvian mothers’ employment performances, and hence their success leaving poverty. This study utilizes quantitative information from the Young Lives Project – Peru (YLP-P) survey and qualitative data from focus groups and semi-structure interviews conducted to a sub-sample of the YLP-P sample living in Lima.

Chapter 1 “Mommy, Are You Going To Work Today? A Quantitative, Qualitative, Multidisciplinary Analysis of Peruvian Mothers’ Employment Decisions” presents a comprehensive investigation that integrates economic, sociological, and developmental psychological perspectives at the theoretical and methodological levels. Two main hypotheses
are tested: (i) psychological and social capital variables significantly affect mothers’ work
decisions and behaviors, and (ii) economic, sociological, and developmental psychological
variables affect overall maternal employment decisions, labor market sector entry choices, and
work dynamics differently.

Results confirm not only the importance and benefit of integrating these disciplines, but
also reveal additional unexplored factors affecting low-income Peruvian mothers’ dynamic work
decisions, preferences, and perceived alternatives. Findings indicate that domestic violence and
depression/anxiety have significant effects on work participation, particularly self-employment.
Qualitative outcomes support these findings showing moderating effects associated with crime
rates and sexual violence. Mother and children’s physical health negatively affect participation,
mainly in paid activities, but have non-significant effects on work stability. Active (although not
passive) interactions with community organizations increase work participation (mostly self-
employed) and stability.

Moreover, findings indicate that mothers prefer and are more engaged in self-employed
occupations. This result suggests that programs aimed at improving maternal work participation
in self-employed activities are likely to have positive outcomes. Indeed, recent poverty theories
argue that self-employment is a viable, but highly unstable, outlet for leaving poverty. Their
flexibility, fewer labor market and institutional conditions make these occupations more
attractive to poor mothers who want to remain in the labor force and to care for their children.
Unfortunately, self-employed activities are also more vulnerable to non-economic factors.

Chapter 2 of this study “Will Self-Employment Save Us?: Evaluating Peruvian Mothers’
Employment Options and Preferences” explores and raises awareness about the understudied but
critical effect that psychological and sociological conditions have on maternal self-employment
decisions. Two research questions are analyzed in this study: (i) different mothers’ characteristics affect differently their decision to participate in self-employed activities, waged, unpaid family, or no work economic activities, and (ii) psychological characteristics and social capital factors explain maternal self-employment decisions.

Results indicate a strong association between paid work and depression/anxiety symptoms, largely associated with child care issues linked to neglect and sexual abuse from potential caregivers. Domestic violence experiences have significant and negative effects on self-employed work participation. Focus group participant mothers expanded this finding revealing large associations with lowering self-esteem, partner’s domination, and psychological abuse. Also, despite mothers’ reported problems to access credit markets for own businesses’ creation and remittances’ potential value as collaterals for credits, results show that non-labor income transfers create disincentives for maternal work. In addition, active (but not passive) participation in the community increases self-employment, potentially associated with having contacts in the retail and credit markets. Mothers participating in focus groups indicated lack of contacts as one of the main problems when entering self-employed activities.

In addition, findings indicate that regardless of their employment status, mothers normally allocate more time and energy to household chores than their husbands. In particular, mothers with young children spend a significant proportion of their days fulfilling child care responsibilities. Consequently, it is not surprising that poor mothers would experience not only large disadvantages entering, staying, and advancing in the labor market, and also organizing housework loads. These perceived work and family responsibility conflicts have significant effects on maternal emotional well-being and employment performance.
Despite these issues, several poor Peruvian mothers manage to successfully remain employed and complete housework responsibilities. Regrettably, few studies have attempted to go beyond exploring the traditional economic factors or any additional processes behind Peruvian low-income mothers’ work and family responsibility conflicts and solving strategies. Clearly, understanding these mothers’ daily problems, their coping strategies, and their external support sources is fundamental for designing better research instruments, such as survey questionnaires, and more effective policy implementations.

Using information from in-depth interviews, Chapter 3 “A 26 Hour Day Please... Sure, For Family or To Work? On Peruvian Low-Income Mothers’ Perceived Problems, Coping Strategies, and External Support” provides several findings that shed light on how poor Peruvian mothers sense their problems, their coping strategies, and their perceived main sources of external support. Two main research questions guide this study: (i) what factors do poor Peruvian mothers perceive as jeopardizing the execution of household/family responsibilities and their employment performance, and (ii) which are low-income mothers’ main support sources (both financial and non-financial) and their most frequent coping strategies to deal with work and family responsibility conflicts (at the family, community, and government levels).

In addition to their harsh financial situations, mothers report facing child care problems, marital conflict and dissolution risks, and little mother-child interaction time as their major family-based problems. Regarding work-related issues, interviewed mothers described instability, informality, weak formal labor market conditions, and poor access to credit markets. Findings indicate that despite their willingness to enter the workforce, interviewed low-income mothers experience major employment instability.
Mothers’ main perceived external support sources were older children and co-resident grandparents for housework chore assistance, and neighbors and former co-workers for work access aid. Also, interviewed mothers indicated as highly beneficial community organizations for crime fight and food aid government programs for basic needs supplement help. Although these mothers’ main coping strategy was their own ability to organize their schedules, they also used all these other external support sources. These sources were, however, perceived as highly unreliable and temporal, with the exception of some family-based support.

This study advances previous investigations presenting evidence essential to underscore the importance of multidisciplinary studies both at the theoretical and methodological levels, to redesign existing survey questionnaires, and to reevaluate public social policy designs and implementations. Despite these potential benefits, several issues could be improved. Although this investigation largely benefits from utilizing the cross-sectional first wave of the YLP-Peru survey information and the additional qualitative information, this is only the first stage of an ongoing research project. This study will be improved once the next YLP-P survey waves are collected.

Also, additional qualitative interviews should be conducted not only to the remaining Peruvian sample, but also extended to the other YLP participant countries. Similarly, comparative studies should be developed exploring similarities and differences between Peruvian, Vietnamese, Ethiopian, and Indian populations. Potentially, these comparative studies would provide critical information for understanding not only common factors, but also country-specific issues affecting low-income mothers and their families. Given their different geographical, socio-political, economic, and cultural characteristics, utilizing additional
qualitative data seems fundamental for moving beyond the formal mathematical models and statistical relationships.

For example, it could be interesting to analyze how low-income mothers would perceive and respond to work-enhancing policies in societies with extremely hierarchical social structures such as those in India or Ethiopia, compared to Peru or Vietnam. Also, given Peru’s mostly urban population, it is possible to expect different outcomes compared to India, Vietnam, and Ethiopia, which have more rural populations. Additionally, as Vietnam and India continue to experience large economic and technological development and growth, income inequality issues would rapidly arise. Clearly, more needs to be investigated and understood. Fortunately, this study, and the multinational and longitudinal project behind it, would provide highly crucial information for understanding some of these issues.
CHAPTER 1

“MOMMY, ARE YOU GOING TO WORK TODAY?” A QUANTITATIVE, QUALITATIVE, MULTIDISCIPLINARY ANALYSIS OF PERUVIAN MOTHERS’ EMPLOYMENT DECISIONS

1.1. INTRODUCTION

Traditionally, studies on Peruvian female labor force have mainly relied on economic models. Despite their substantial explanatory value, parsimony, and functionality, economic models fail to fully capture maternal employment processes. Frequently, unexplained or unobserved factors affecting mothers’ work decisions, commonly captured by the estimated error term, are overlooked in economic studies. Indeed, economists and policy makers have failed to recognize the critical role of the unobserved characteristics behind the error term. Ironically, poorly used sociological (e.g. social capital and ideological changes) and developmental psychological (e.g. mental health) theories can help identify and describe some of these unobserved error term components.

This issue becomes more critical as we observe the rapid increase in female, and particularly maternal, labor force participation that has transformed Peruvian individuals, families, and communities’ behaviors and perceptions. International Labor Organization (ILO) statistics show that the female work activity rate increased in Peru from 25 percent in 1972 to 59 percent in 2002.\(^1\) Evidently, this important rise motivated investigators from all social sciences to expand the maternal labor force participation literature.

Unfortunately, rather than combining their knowledge, economists, sociologists and developmental psychologists have been working unconnected. Potentially, their dissimilar focuses, populations of interest, and even their study designs and estimation procedures have
lead to seemingly inconsistent results across these disciplines, reducing even further their willingness to collaborate with each other. Additionally, these disciplines are particularly interested in understanding specific aspects and processes behind maternal work behaviors. As a consequence, economists, sociologists, and developmental psychologists utilize different dependent and exploratory variables, as well as various methodological approaches.

For example, economists, more interested in measuring the particular effect of explanatory-policy related variables, use dichotomous work-no work dependent variables. Sociologists are more concerned about employment variables that capture work occupations and payment conditions, hence, they utilize variables describing labor market sectors such as unpaid family, self-employment, and waged sector. Also, more focused on understanding dynamic processes, developmental psychologists analyze effects on maternal work variables such as number of hours or months worked. These alternative dependent variables might lead to different analyses and hence seemingly contradictory inferences.

This issue appears to be more evident once quantitative and qualitative studies are compared. Different theoretical designs, investigation focuses, data collection techniques, and ultimate goals, partially explain this lack of consensus. Indeed, qualitative investigations look for depth rather than extensiveness; allow for a greater range of analysis from micro to macro level behaviors, believes, and rationalities; and aim at discovering, more than verifying, processes and relationships (Ambert, Adler, Adler, & Detzner, 1995). Failing to understand

1 These percentages indicate the proportion of individuals 15 years and older economically active. Source ILO Laborsta: http://laborsta.ilo.org/.
2 For example, even though economic, sociological, and developmental psychological studies analyze effects of non-parental child care arrangements on maternal employment, their results lead somehow to different conclusions. Economists state that greater child care supply reduces mothers’ work entrance costs, and hence increases their labor participation. On the contrary, sociologists and developmental psychologists argue for more inconsistent and negative effects. Sociologists find that non-parental child care has different effects depending on the type of arrangement as well as parents’ social and cultural preferences. Developmental psychologists, more concerned about quality, observe
these characteristics and objectives could lead to misinterpretations, further undervaluing qualitative studies, pushing researchers to purposely move away from combining these information sources (Ambert et al., 1995; Punch, 1998).

Recent investigations, primarily US-based, show that psychological and sociological factors have significant effects on maternal employment, particularly affecting more vulnerable low-income welfare mothers (Danziger, Kalil, & Anderson, 2000; Jayakody, Danziger, & Pollack, 2000). Among the Peruvian population, evidence shows that 30 percent of poor Peruvian mothers experience depression/anxiety symptoms (Escobal et al., 2003). Also, poor access to social capital largely affects these low-income mothers. Qualitative research in Peru explores issues associated with migrant conditions, high crime rates, illegal businesses, and high incidence of sexual violence. Findings show important associations that prevent mothers from establishing strong social capital connections (Flora Tristán, 2005).

It is clear that developing a more integrated model of Peruvian mothers’ labor force participation is critical for this field’s advancement. This study presents a comprehensive investigation of maternal employment decisions that combines sociological and developmental psychological perspectives with the traditional economic model. This integration incorporates not only theoretical but also methodological innovations from these disciplines. For this purpose, a quantitative/qualitative mixed method technique is used to analyze causal relationships and to explore factors and processes previously understudied. In order to capture different aspects of maternal work, this study uses three distinct dependent variables, (i) a dichotomous work-no work, (ii) a categorical no work, unpaid family, self-employed, and wage work, and (iii) a continuous but truncated number of months worked during the past 12 months.
In addition to integrating different theoretical perspectives, this study combines quantitative models with qualitative information. This integration clearly improves the understanding and further exploration of Peruvian mothers’ employment processes, which tend to be different from those of men’s. Evidence indicates that female employment, and specially poor mothers’, is highly unstable and restricted to certain economic activities (Chacaltana, 2001; ILO, 2001; Jurado Najera, 2001; J. B. Smith & Stelcner, 1990). Particularly, previous studies show that women are more likely to be engaged in self-employed occupations, which tend to be informal and highly unstable (ILO, 2001). Indeed, studies reveal that 21 percent of women are likely to move from being employed to unemployed during a period of 12 months (Chacaltana, 2001).

This investigation uses two unique information sources, the first wave of the 2002 Young Lives Project - Peru (YLP-P) and focus groups conducted in Lima to a sub-sample of the YLP-P participants. The 2002 YLP survey, known in Peru as Niños del Milenio (Children of the Millennium), is a multinational longitudinal study aimed at understanding causes and consequences of child poverty. These two data sources are combined in order to analyze Peruvian poor mothers’ behaviors and preferences. This study’s development is therefore critical for improving the maternal labor force participation literature. In addition, this investigation’s findings provide excellent information for enhancing the design and evaluation of more effective Peruvian policies.
1.2. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Despite their common interest, economic, sociological, and developmental psychological maternal employment investigations frequently present seemingly inconsistent and even contradictory conclusions. Overall, all disciplines agree that mothers’ work improves their families’ financial situation, however they clearly disagree on mediating and moderating factors and processes explaining maternal employment’s outcomes. Their dissimilar interests and focuses regarding individuals’ processes, populations, and even methodologies, partially explain these ambiguous outcomes. This lack of consensus largely affects not only the overall maternal labor force participation literature, but also the design and implementation of effective work enhancing policies.

Undoubtedly, the maternal work literature and policy designs would largely benefit from integrating economic, sociological, and developmental psychological theoretical and methodological advances. This section presents a general review of economic, sociological, and developmental psychological main research focuses and methodologies. Particularly, some discussion is presented regarding different maternal employment dependent variables used by economists, sociologists, and developmental psychologists, how they might lead to different conclusions, and the importance of integrating, rather than isolating, these models’ findings. Although the categorization used to link the models with particular disciplines might seem oversimplistic, it illustrates a concrete case for this discussion. Indeed, it provides a clear example for showing and understanding how these disciplines differ and mainly, how complementary and close to each other they are for interpreting and developing a broader maternal labor force participation model.
Economic studies emphasize the development and quantification of cost-benefit analyses of maternal employment. Incorporating, in addition to labor market characteristics, human capital variables (Becker, 1993; Mincer, 1962; Schultz, 1995), and work entrance costs (Becker, 1965; Blau, 2001), economists present simple, functional, and parsimonious models. These maternal labor force participation models generally estimate changes in mothers’ economic returns (i.e. earnings) due to, for example, an expanding service sector, increases in education, or child care costs’ reductions. These models are indeed, highly functional for evaluating and quantifying effects of policies aimed at enhancing maternal work, using work-no work dependent variables, or increasing income/reducing poverty, utilizing dependent variables such as wages or earnings. Peruvian policy designs and evaluations largely use economic models for those purposes (Cortez, 2000; Stifel & Alderman, 2003; Vásquez, 2004).

Nevertheless, despite these economic models’ functionality and mathematical elegance, they fail to capture several important processes. As a consequence, economists have developed more sophisticated estimation techniques to control for potential biases and error terms (Amemiya & MaCurdy, 1986; Heckman, 1993). Particularly concerned about sample selection biases, these models control for potential unobserved characteristics determining mothers’ work decisions. This technological innovation represented an important advancement not only at the methodological, but also at the theoretical level. As a consequence, economic models increased their awareness regarding work decision differences by gender (Mincer, 1962; Schultz, 1995), marital status (Mincer, 1962), fertility levels (Becker, 1965, 1991; Blau & Mocan, 2002), and even government program participations (Blank, 1997).

---

3 An individual’s human capital is a function of education, health, culture, social norms and values, and work specialization skills investments.
4 Work entrance costs such as transportation, child care, and housework time’s opportunity costs.
Unfortunately, even though the existence of sample selection issues is openly stated and partially controlled, unobserved factors and processes behind this selection bias remain understudied. Economists generally attribute these unobserved differences to sociological (e.g. culture and ideologies) and psychological (e.g. personality and preferences) factors, however few studies have actually included psychological and sociological perspectives into the economic model.\textsuperscript{6} Ironically, these factors remain unobserved to most economic investigations mainly because they largely rely on secondary quantitative surveys. These pre-collected data usually lack many of these sociological and developmental psychological variables. In addition, they are constrained to the information already collected, limiting their possibilities to discover additional and previously unexplored explanatory variables and processes.

Sociological and developmental psychological studies are excellent sources for presenting additional and alternative explanations to understand maternal labor force participation behaviors. Interestingly, sociological models initially assumed that women did not have a particular or significant socioeconomic role within the family. Nevertheless, the large and rapid female labor force participation growth proved that this assumption was weak. As a consequence, sociologists have increasingly developed female and particularly maternal employment studies and theories (Oppenheimer, 1982). Sociologists are particularly interested in understanding individuals’ work conditions, such as non-standard work schedules (Presser, 2003), waged vs. self-employed occupations (Cavalcanti, 2002; Donahoe, 1999), and paid vs. unpaid jobs (Donahoe, 1999; Nelson, 1999). Consequently, sociological studies utilize

\textsuperscript{5} Not controlling for these unobserved differences certainly affects economic return estimations, very likely endangering policy evaluations and implications.

\textsuperscript{6} Particularly, US-based studies have included factors such as mental health, substance abuse, domestic violence, social capital, racial-ethnic characteristics, and preferences (Danziger & Seefeldt, 2002; Jayakody et al., 2000; Kalil, Schweingruber, & Seefeldt, 2001; Lawrence, Chau, & Lennon, 2004; Lennon, Blome, & English, 2001; Parcel & Menaghan, 1994).
dependent variables such as maternal work participation in unpaid family, self-employed, and waged economic activities.

In addition, sociological maternal employment studies investigate people’s behaviors and perceptions regarding maternal work participation and their relationship with socio-cultural changes. Particularly, maternal employment has been related to ideological changes such as gender equality, family formation, dissolution and cohabitation promptness, and perceptions regarding maternal economic self-sufficiency needs and social capital formation⁷ (Amato & Booth, 1997; Cherlin, 1992; Yoon & Waite, 1994).

particularly interesting for the Peruvian population is the social capital availability issue. Mainly among poor Peruvian mothers, access to social capital is fundamental for coping with general poverty alleviation problems (Graham, 1994; Schady, 2000; Vásquez & Riesco, 2000). Traditionally, Peruvian mothers’ main sources of social capital were community-based food transfer programs (e.g. vaso de leche and comedores populares). However, recent studies argue that potential changes in people’s perceptions about the role of food transfer support programs affected their social capital role. Maternal participation in these programs changed from active⁸ to more passive,⁹ possibly affecting their credibility and original social capital benefits (Graham, 1991, 1994). Also, evidence shows that Peruvian women are more likely to engage in self-employed informal occupations,¹⁰ where access to contacts and connections is fundamental.

---

⁷ Although there is no consensus regarding the social capital definition, three main elements can be identified. First, it is a type of productive capital that facilitates the accomplishment of particular goals. Second, social capital is embedded in a social structure, existing as a result of interactions with other individuals within a social group. Third, the social capital ownership entails certain level of reciprocity (i.e. providing and receiving benefits) with other members of the social network (Bourdieu, 1985; Coleman, 1988).

⁸ I.e. self-sufficient, self-sustainable, organized under community oriented traditions

⁹ I.e. individual oriented, highly dependent on external funding

In addition, this evidence suggests the importance of differentiating between work conditions and economic sectors. Sociological investigations clearly illustrate distinctions between several maternal work conditions and occupation decisions, moving beyond the dichotomous work-no work dependent variable. Decisions regarding engaging in jobs with non-standard hours, unpaid family vs. paid occupations, and even between self-employed and waged activities are analyzed both as causes and responses to individuals’ perceptions and behaviors. Typically, these investigations utilize qualitative and particularly ethnographic methods as critical tools for developing exploratory and descriptive analyses (Ambert et al., 1995; Bryman, 1984; Maxwell, 1996; Punch, 1998).

Unfortunately, despite their remarkable explanatory and exploratory power, qualitative studies have traditionally been seen as lower-quality research (Ambert et al., 1995; Bryman, 1984; Greenhalgh, 1997). Particularly, economists have been reluctant to utilize them as important information sources, undermining their actual value. For example, economists criticize developmental psychological investigations arguing lack of generalizability, methodological rigorousness, and aggregated macro implications. This is a clear and common problem observed among quantitative-oriented disciplines, when they try to measure qualitative investigations using quantitative research rationales. Different theoretical designs, investigation focuses, data collection techniques, and ultimate goals, partially explain this lack of consensus. Failing to understand these different characteristics and objectives could lead to misinterpretations when reviewing and interpreting this research, and thus to further undervaluing of qualitative studies (Ambert et al., 1995; Bryman, 1984; Greenhalgh, 1997).

Similar issues are observed concerning developmental psychological investigations. Generally, psychological studies use smaller and less diverse samples. They also utilize
interviews and observational qualitative data collection and analysis. As it is with sociological research, economics models also fail to recognize and to utilize several important findings from developmental psychological investigations (Foster, 2002). Particularly, developmental psychologists largely investigate maternal work stability and employment preferences over time (Olson & Banyard, 1993; Perry-Jenkins, 2004; Wille, 1992; Yoshikawa, 1999). Consequently, these studies use dynamic maternal labor force participation dependent variable such as number of months worked and spells out of the labor force. These investigations identify maternal employment relationships with mother-infant attachment bond formation, maternal and children’s mental health problems, timing of mother’s work re-entrance and their children’s life span developmental stages, and children’s general developmental outcomes. Also, they emphasize the mother-child interaction quality and its effect on maternal anxiety, depression, and general well-being, and hence on mothers’ labor market performance and attachment (Clark, Hyde, Essex, & Klein, 1997; Olson & Banyard, 1993).

Moreover, developmental psychological investigations emphasize the active role that children’s characteristics and behaviors have on maternal employment decisions, contradicting economic household models’ assumptions. Issues such as the child’s developmental stage (Averett, Gennetian, & Peters, 2000; Belsky & Rovine, 1988; Brooks-Gunn, Han, & Waldfogel, 2002), behavioral problems (Olson & Banyard, 1993), and non-parental child care arrangement usage (Adams & Rohacek, 2002; Belsky, 1990) are found to be associated with mothers’ work participation and attachment. It is clear that understanding these relationships is critical, given their potential to create harmful vicious cycles. For instance, mothers with high depression are more likely to experience unstable and low-quality work participation, which might lead to

---

11 This is, assumptions arguing that only the quantity of children, but not their characteristics, is what affects parents’ decisions.
higher depression and poorer developmental outcomes for their children, and thus, greater work instability.

Indeed, recent studies have found that mental health, substance abuse, and domestic violence problems have significant effects on maternal work stability and advancement (Danziger et al., 2000; Jayakody et al., 2000; Kalil, Schweingruber et al., 2001; Lawrence et al., 2004). These issues are particularly important given the greater prevalence among poor women (Escobal et al., 2003; WHO, 2001). Certainly, evidence shows that 30 percent of Peruvian poor mothers experience depression/anxiety symptoms (Escobal et al., 2003). In addition, qualitative investigations show that domestic violence and substance abuse are two main concerns among poor Peruvian mothers residing in Lima (Flora Tristán, 2005).

Economists are evidently mistaken undermining and overlooking psychological and sociological advances. However, sociologists and developmental psychologists similarly criticize many economic hypotheses and implications. Assumptions such as exogenous preferences,12 the existence of a single family utility function,13 and the oversimplification of individuals’ behaviors and decisions are seen with great reservation. Nevertheless, they also neglect several factors that would have been useful and important to consider when developing their investigations (Foster, 2002). Particularly, factors such as co-occurring macro economic events, the functionality and predictability of the household production and time allocation models, and their generalizability power have been regrettably disregarded.

12 Economists typically assume that all individuals determine their preferences and behaviors based on rational expectations (Lucas, 1986).
13 The utility function is an abstract mathematical representation of consumer preferences, denoting the family’s well-being associated with the amount of goods consumed. It is assumed that the utility function is determined by a benevolent dictator, but indirectly includes all members’ preferences and it is maximized subject to full income constraints. More recently, alternative household behavior models based on Nash-bargaining game theory arise (McElroy, 1990). These models assume that household decisions are the result of household members’ negotiations and depend on each individual’s bargaining power.
It is clear that economic, developmental psychological, and sociological investigations could benefit from integrations and mutual collaborations. Disappointingly, very few investigators, and mostly US-based, have attempted to integrate or to even raise awareness regarding the benefits of connecting these different perspectives (Foster, 2002). Similarly, efforts attempting to combine and to compare quantitative and qualitative analyses are fewer (Ambert et al., 1995; Greenhalgh, 1997; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). These disciplines’ different theoretical assumptions, populations and levels of study, and even data collection methods, make comparisons and research collaborations more complicated and extremely challenging. Paradoxically, these differences rather than limiting their integration should be the main motivation for multidisciplinary collaborations.

1.3. RESEARCH DESIGN

This investigation’s main goal is to introduce a more integrated analysis of maternal labor force participation. The study uses quantitative and qualitative data, combining economic, sociological, and developmental psychological perspectives. The quantitative causal analysis compares three different models, (i) a probit model, using a dichotomous work-no work dependent variable, (ii) a multinomial logit model, estimating a categorical no-work, unpaid family, self-employment, and waged labor dependent variable, and (iii) a tobit model, utilizing a truncated but continuous number of months worked over the past 12 months variable. The quantitative component uses data from the 2002 Young Lives Project – Peru (YLP-P) survey, and the qualitative section uses a sub-sample of these participant mothers. Particularly, this study tests the following hypotheses:
i) *Psychological and sociological variables affect maternal employment decisions.*

Maternal depression/anxiety and domestic violence, as well as financial support and active community interaction significantly affect mothers’ work decisions and behaviors.

ii) *Different implications arise from using alternative maternal employment dependent variables.* Economic, sociological, and developmental psychological variables affect overall maternal employment decisions, labor market sector options, and work dynamics differently. These different implications, rather than being contradictory, are complementary.

This study presents several innovations and improvements compared to previous investigations. The inclusion of psychological and sociological variables into the economic model represents a significant advance compared to previous studies. Comparing and connecting alternative maternal labor force participation variables provides a broader comprehension not only of dichotomous and multinomial work decisions, but also of the dynamic processes behind mothers’ employment patterns.

Also, combining quantitative and qualitative data, this investigation not only develops more comprehensive Peruvian poor mothers’ labor force participation causal models, but also explains and detects previously unobserved moderating and mediating factors shaping Peruvian poor mothers’ employment decisions. Additionally, qualitative data identify mothers’ revealed preferences as well as community/household characteristics and previously unexplored processes behind maternal work choices and options.
1.3.1. Quantitative Component

The quantitative information comes from the first wave of the 2002 Young Lives Project - Peru (YLP-P) survey.14 The YLP involves a main cohort of poor children aged 6 to 17.9 months (labeled “one-year olds”) from four participant countries, Ethiopia, India, Peru, and Vietnam. The YLP is a 15 years longitudinal study with data collections occurring every three years, aimed at understanding causes and consequences of child poverty. The Peruvian first round was collected between August and November of 2002. The total YLP-P sample includes 2,052 one-year old children randomly selected to produce a national sample of children living in poor Peruvian areas.

The 1996 Fondo Nacional de Compensación y Desarrollo Social (National Fund for Compensation and Social Development – FONCODES) poverty map was used for the sampling process.15 The sampling procedure selected 1,818 districts, based on their population size and poverty condition, all below the poverty line. Among these districts, the top five percent with higher overall income was excluded from the sample. The final sample selection utilized a district level general multi-stage sampling technique. The first stage randomly chose twenty districts, and then one community sector per district was selected using census information. Randomly selected blocks were picked from each community sector from which randomly selected households were chosen. Interviews were conducted face to face at the index child’s house.

---

14 This project is know in Peru as Niños del Milenio (Children of the Millennium).
15 FONCODES uses a district-based poverty index that considers several social and unsatisfied basic needs conditions. These include: illiteracy rate, percentage of households with children not attending school, percentage of inadequate residences, percentage of overcrowded houses, percentages of houses without public utilities (i.e. running water, drain systems, and electric power), chronic malnutrition rates, and percentage of houses with high economic dependence.
In addition to collecting typical demographic, health status, socioeconomic, income and employment, and infrastructure variables, the YLP-P survey gathers psychological and sociological information. Indeed, this is the first study to gather detailed and comprehensive Peruvian data at the national level regarding psychological (e.g. depression and anxiety symptoms, child’s temperament, domestic violence), and sociological (e.g. social capital) characteristics. Additionally, although this feature does not directly affect this particular study, it is worth noting that the YLP-P project is the first attempt to collect longitudinal data for a nationally representative Peruvian sample. The YLP-P survey’s unique feature provides the necessary information for estimating comprehensive labor force participation models using a multidisciplinary approach.16

Quantitative analyses rely on two-stage estimation models. The first stage estimates and predicts a maternal depression/anxiety instrumental variable. Potential endogeneity problems (i.e. it can be both a cause and a consequence of maternal employment decisions) make the use of a predicted maternal depression/anxiety variable an appropriate alternative.17 Using the observed depression/anxiety variable could bias the maternal work estimation. The second component of the two stage model (i.e. maternal employment regressions) incorporates the predicted depression/anxiety variable. Three different dependent variables are used for estimating the second stage regressions, a dichotomous, a categorical, and a truncated continuous employment variable.

16 Potentially, lack of psychological and sociological data, as well as the disproportionate emphasis given to economic factors when estimating Peruvian mothers’ employment limited earlier developments of this comprehensive model.
17 The endogeneity problem occurs when the classic theory assumption of correlation equal zero between the independent variables and the error term, does not hold. The instrumental variable is highly correlated with the problematic observed variable (i.e. the variable that has correlation different from zero with the error term), but has correlation equal zero with the error term (Amemiya & MaCurdy, 1986; Heckman, 1993).
Regarding the first stage dependent variable, the maternal depression/anxiety index is constructed using a 20 item depression and anxiety symptom self-reported questionnaire, experienced over the past 30 days. The instrument is based on the World Health Organization (WHO) recommended ‘Self-reported questionnaire –20 items’ (SRQ20) (Harpham et al., 2003). Although this instrument has been used before in Peru, it has not been validated for the Peruvian population. It has been validated, however, in other countries of the region using more detailed psychiatric interviews (Escobal et al., 2003). Mothers who have 8 or more positive symptoms are classified as depressed/anxious. An alpha test shows that the depression/anxiety index presents a good reliability (alpha=0.84). No individual item presented an item-test correlation drastically different that could suggest a need for exclusion.

Maternal employment estimations use three different dependent variables. The first is a dichotomous variable defined as 1 if the mother reported having worked (in paid and unpaid activities) during the past 12 months prior the interview and 0 otherwise. The second variable, a categorical labor market sector variable, is defined as 0 not working, 1 unpaid family worker, 2 self-employed, and 3 waged workers. The third dependent variable is a continuous but truncated variable reporting the number of months the mother worked during the past 12 months.

All employment information is reported for the three main economic activities the individual had during the past 12 months prior the interview. All dependent variables use information from these three sources, starting with the most important occupation. If no information was available for the first occupation, information from the second and later third occupation was imputed. Not working mothers are those who did not report any economic activity over the past 12 months.

---

18 Main economic activities defined as those that gave the person the greatest income during the past 12 months.
Figure 1.1
Path Models

Instrumental variables:
- past physical abuse experience
- index child was wanted
- family experienced negative event (unrelated to work)

Maternal Depression
- Depressed
- Not Depressed

Mother’s characteristics:
- age
- head of household
- marital status
- education
- migrant status
- disability
- domestic violence
- work status

Child’s characteristics:
- chronic illnesses

Family characteristics:
- children 5 years or younger
- children 5 years or younger with disabilities
- number of adults 18 to 80
- poverty level
- family has major debt
- receives remittances
- has property right of house
- own land
- own livestock

Community characteristics:
- participate in social programs
- trust people in community
- feel part of the community
- join others to solve problems
- receive support from family
- receive support from friends

Labor market characteristics:
- gender wage differential in area
- proportion of adequate labor in area

Maternal Employment
- work
- no work

- not employed
- unpaid family
- self-employed
- waged

- number of months worked during the past 12 months

$\epsilon_1,$ $\epsilon_2a,$ $\epsilon_2b,$ $\epsilon_2c,$ $\epsilon_5,$ $\epsilon_3,
Figure 1.1 shows the path model used for all causal analyses. The first stage estimates the maternal depression/anxiety probit model. The regression controls for maternal labor force participation testing the proposition that employed mothers are more likely to experience depression and anxiety symptoms. Past physical abuse experience and having an unwanted child are used as identifying variables. The second component uses a probit model for the dichotomous variable, a multinomial logit technique for the categorical variable, and a tobit estimation for the truncated continuous employment variable. All regressions include the predicted value of the anxiety/depression index estimated in stage one, in addition to demographic, family, index child, community, and labor market characteristics.

1.3.2. Qualitative Component

The qualitative information comes from focus groups conducted in Lima. Focus group participants were randomly selected from the YLP-P sample population residing in Lima at round 1. Specifically, three districts of Lima are used: Ate, Villa María del Triunfo, and San Juan de Lurigancho. Lima, the capital of Peru, is, as it is the majority of the Peruvian population (72 percent by 2002), primary urban (INEI, 2004). However, interestingly, most urban inhabitants are first or second generation rural migrants. These selected Lima districts contain high proportions of migrants experiencing high poverty levels. As a consequence, their migrant and lower socioeconomic conditions force them to develop strategies for coping with economic problems, their reduced social networks, and significant cultural changes. These factors directly affect individuals’ financial and non-financial well-being and hence, increase mothers’ employment barriers, potentially limiting their possibilities of participating or later staying in the labor market.
Focus groups were completed between July and August 2004. The sampling process first selected thirty two potential participant mothers, randomly chosen from a total sample of 100 mothers per district (see Table 1.1). The sample selection considered mothers who were working and those who were not working at round 1. Potential participants were contacted at their homes in person and were asked to participate in these sessions. All participants signed informed consent forms (see Appendix A) at the time they were contacted. Three field workers with previous experience working for the YLP-P project were hired to contact and to recruit participants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>San Juan de Lurigancho</th>
<th>Villa María del Triunfo</th>
<th>Ate</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>YLP-P sample size</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potential participants</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of sessions</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final sample size</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Session 1</td>
<td>6*</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Session 2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* No audio record available.

San Juan de Lurigancho and Ate’s focus group sessions were held at the Institute for Nutritional Research’s health centers. Villa María del Triunfo’s focus group meetings were conducted in two of the YLP-P participant mothers’ houses, one who participated in the focus groups and one who did not participate. Two focus group sessions were held per district with six to nine mothers per session (see Table 1.1). All focus group meetings were audio-taped and later

---

19 The proportion of potential participants who did not accept to participate was low. The main reason for not participating was not being at home at the time of the recruitment. Potential participants were contacted by field workers at different times during the day.
transcribed, lasting between one and a half to two hours. Participant mothers did not receive monetary compensation for their participation, however they received a small gift worth 8 soles (about 2.50 dollars) and transportation costs were covered.

The principal investigator (PI) guided all focus group sessions using a focus group interview guide (FGIG) (see Appendix B). This FGIG covered barriers affecting maternal labor force participation stability at different levels: individual, family, community/social and labor market. In addition, the FGIG included components on mothers’ employment preferences, as well as problems and coping strategies related to dealing with both work and family responsibilities.

Previously unexplored information on mothers’ perceptions regarding factors affecting their work decisions and possibilities is also captured. In addition, focus group sessions gathered information about self-esteem and self-confidence issues, family and social support, and community characteristics. Detailed information about mothers’ perceptions concerning these variables’ beneficial or harmful effects on their employment opportunities and preferences were collected as well. Also, data regarding work and family responsibility conflicts and potential solutions to mothers’ employment problems were also reported.

Manual coding and a computer workbench program for qualitative analysis (ATLAS.ti) were used to code all transcribed interviews. The initial coding structure followed the FGIG’s individual, family, community/social and labor market level organization. Although their emphasis varied by district, similar issues affecting mothers’ employment emerged across all focus group sessions. These broad categories were re-organized and sub-coded following the

---

20 Technical problems during the first focus group session prevented the recording of this meeting. However, notes taken during the session provide a good summary of issues discussed during that focus group session.

21 Computer-assisted approaches to content analysis facilitate and reduce costs of the analysis (Punch, 1998; Stewart & Shamdasani, 1990).
three different perspectives. The sub-divided structure included economic (i.e. labor market occupation preferences, child care availability, credit access, and inadequate employment), psychological (i.e. anxiety/depression, mother-child interaction, self-esteem, motivation, and domestic violence), and sociological (i.e. community-support social capital, financial-based social capital) code families. Unexpected topics were later added to the coding scheme (i.e. community crime, workplace and family sexual abuse).

In addition, information obtained from field workers was used for comparative and complementary purposes. These field workers previously participated in the first YLP-P data collection and first follow up before the second data collection. They provided detailed information about focus group participant mothers’ household and community characteristics, as well as comparisons between these mothers and other YLP-P participants. Combining these two information sources improved the validity of the information collected from focus group sessions.

Focus groups are a powerful exploratory and informative, as well as inexpensive and flexible information source (Ambert et al., 1995; Punch, 1998; Stewart & Shamdasani, 1990). Despite their understandable disadvantages compared to other qualitative techniques (e.g. smaller sample size, biases due to socially desirable answers, and over-participation of few people), focus group sessions provide important information about contextual and cultural characteristics, as well as test instruments and hypotheses to be later used (Ambert et al., 1995; LaRossa & Wolf, 1985). Early engagement with these populations improves the understanding of their unique culture and provides greater ability for recognizing particular characteristics of these groups.
1.4. RESULTS

Peru is considered a medium-income country, with apparently low unemployment levels (5 percent by 2000), even across both male and female populations (MINTRA, 2004). These numbers, however, mask large levels of inadequate employment,23 particularly among women (MINTRA, 2004). Indeed, 60 percent of the Peruvian female population reports facing problems of being underpaid, working fewer hours than desired, or not finding jobs at all. Additionally, research shows that, particularly among rural poor women, female economic activities are restricted to family-controlled and frequently unpaid occupations (J. B. Smith & Stelcner, 1990).

In addition to greater disadvantages finding adequate jobs, Peruvian women are also more likely to experience greater instability. Numbers show that 67 percent of the Peruvian employed female population worked during 2000 in risky and unstable informal economic activities, mostly self-employed (ILO, 2001). Also, studies indicate that 21 percent of women moved from employed to unemployed over a period of 12 months (Chacaltana, 2001). These findings clearly indicate the great variance behind women’s labor force participation, not only regarding their engagement in particular employment sectors, but also their attachment patterns.

This section presents evidence analyzing this statement. Descriptive statistics, causal models, complemented with qualitative results are used to illustrate and to test effects of psychological and sociological variables on Peruvian poor mothers’ work decisions. In addition to psychological and sociological variables, causal models include mothers’ demographic characteristics; family structure, poverty, and assets characteristics; children’s health and

footnote22 All YLP-P participant mothers and children were contacted one year after the first large data collection. This follow up was aimed at locating participants who migrated during this period. A picture and a diploma were given to all participant mothers.
temperament variables; and labor market conditions. Additionally, these analyses illustrate how results from alternative dependent variables used in various models lead to different but complementary implications.

Descriptive results from the YLP-P survey data show differences not only between mothers working and those not working, but also between mothers working in particular labor market sectors (i.e. unpaid family, self-employed, and waged). Figures 1.2 to Figure 1.5 illustrate mothers, children, household, and community characteristics by mothers’ work condition and employment sector (see Appendix C for a complete list of characteristics).

**Figure 1.2**

**Mothers’ Psychological Characteristics**

![Bar chart showing mothers' psychological characteristics](chart)

Source: YLP-P 2002: One year old sample

Figure 1.2 illustrates how the aggregate work-no work category, overlooks unpaid family, self-employed, and waged differences regarding depression/anxiety and domestic violence experiences. Overall, not working mothers experience fewer psychological problems than

---

23 Inadequate employed percentages include individuals who are underemployed (i.e. people who want to work more hours or want jobs with higher wages), overemployed (i.e. those who want to work fewer hours), and unemployed.
working mothers (see first four columns from left to right). These numbers by themselves, however, do not illustrate the variance between unpaid family, self-employed, and waged workers. Numbers show that self-employed mothers are more likely to experience both depression/anxiety symptoms and domestic violence. Domestic violence experiences among waged working mothers and depression/anxiety among the unpaid family are the lowest. Clearly, self-employed mothers seem more disadvantaged, regarding psychological problems.

Figure 1.3
Physical Disability Problems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Index child</th>
<th>Mother</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Working</td>
<td>18.9%</td>
<td>23.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Working</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unpaid</td>
<td>22.6%</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>17.4%</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waged</td>
<td>17.2%</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: YLP-P 2002: One year old sample

Figure 1.3 presents children and maternal physical health. Self-employed mothers and children whose mothers are waged workers are the least likely to have disabilities. Mothers working in waged occupations are the most likely to face a disability and those in unpaid family activities to have a disabled child. These results suggest that mothers working in waged and unpaid family activities have more stable jobs, and hence can remain employed despite their
disabilities. On the contrary, given the higher risk and instability of self-employed occupations, only mothers with no disabilities and those with healthy children are likely to stay employed.

Figure 1.4
Household Transfers

Source: YLP-P 2002: One year old sample

Figure 1.4 illustrates households’ transfer patterns. Results indicate that waged working mothers are the most likely to receive remittances but also the least likely to receive donated food among those working. Interestingly, the waged group’s results seem closer to the not working group than to any other of the employed groups. Among the other working groups, unpaid family mothers are the most likely to receive donated food and the least likely to receive remittances. These results support prior studies finding that mothers whose families have fewer economic resources (i.e. unpaid family workers) are less likely to receive financial support (Jayakody, 1998). Indeed, mothers in unpaid family labor activities have the lowest household income level and they are more likely to be extreme poor (see Appendix C).
Additionally, Figure 1.5 presents community involvement characteristics. Numbers indicate that unpaid family mothers are the most likely to get along with people, and waged workers, the least likely to feel part of their communities. Self-employed mothers are the least likely both to trust people and to join people to solve problems, and unpaid family the most likely. These findings illustrate social capital availability differences across mothers engaged in different employment sectors.

Overall, these findings indicate the importance of moving beyond the dichotomous work-no work model. Causal models are presented next comparing not only results from the dichotomous work-no work model with the more extensive categorical no work, unpaid family, self-employed, and waged work. In addition, these models are contrasted with the dynamic model and qualitative information. These information sources are combined introducing more detailed and comprehensive analyses. All regression tables report marginal effects and standard
errors. Bold numbers are 5 percent statistically significant results. Marginal effects should be interpreted as the change that the dependent variable experiences if there is a small change in a particular explanatory variable, controlling for the effects of all other variables included in the model.

Table 1.2
Probit Model: Maternal Depression/Anxiety

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mother’s characteristics</th>
<th>Marginal Effect</th>
<th>Std. Error</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Disabled</td>
<td>0.209</td>
<td>(0.051)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experienced past physical abuse</td>
<td>0.101</td>
<td>(0.023)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current domestic violence</td>
<td>0.180</td>
<td>(0.050)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Looking for job</td>
<td>0.118</td>
<td>(0.028)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worked 3 or more days per week in past 12 months</td>
<td>-0.030</td>
<td>(0.030)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unpaid family worker</td>
<td>0.005</td>
<td>(0.037)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed family worker</td>
<td>0.064</td>
<td>(0.030)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage worker</td>
<td>0.057</td>
<td>(0.040)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index child’s characteristics</th>
<th>Marginal Effect</th>
<th>Std. Error</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Child was wanted</td>
<td>-0.066</td>
<td>(0.022)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long term illness</td>
<td>0.069</td>
<td>(0.028)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community and family social capital characteristics</th>
<th>Marginal Effect</th>
<th>Std. Error</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family experienced negative event (unrelated to job/income)</td>
<td>0.058</td>
<td>(0.026)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Source: YLP-P 2002, one year old sample. |
| Notes: Bold numbers are 5% statistically significant. |

The first component of the two stage models, the maternal depression/anxiety probit, was initially estimated. Table 1.2 presents an abridged version of the probit model (see Appendix E for the completed model). Results support the proposed statement arguing different effects of unpaid family, self-employed, and waged labor on maternal depression/anxiety. Outcomes
indicate that mothers currently working on paid occupations \((i.e.\ self-employed\ and\ waged)\) experience greater depression and anxiety, compared to not-employed mothers.

Also, mothers looking for jobs are significantly more likely to experience depression/anxiety symptoms. Both, the number of days per week worked over the past 12 months and being an unpaid family worker do not affect maternal depression/anxiety problems. These results support the proposed causal relationship of maternal employment conditions on depression/anxiety prevalence.

Both current and past physical abuse experiences significantly increase maternal depression/anxiety. In addition, the mother’s psychological problems are greater if the index child has physical health problems and if he/she was not a wanted birth. This supports psychological theories and studies arguing that children are actually active agents influencing their environments. Additionally, mothers living in households that experienced a negative shock (unrelated to work/income generating activities) have greater probability of facing depression/anxiety symptoms.

These findings clearly illustrate the significant effects of not only financial and work conditions, but also past psychological conditions and childbearing preferences on Peruvian poor mothers’ mental health. Typically, economic models associate depression and anxiety problems with not being employed or looking for jobs, and hence with experiencing financial stress. These outcomes demonstrate that even those working, particularly those in paid jobs are more likely to experience more psychological problems. Qualitative results further explain this outcome.\(^{24}\) Findings indicate that working mothers experience large levels of anxiety and depression associated with leaving their children under non-parental care. A participant mother

\(^{24}\) See Appendix I for quotes in Spanish
presents her negative psychological experiences when having to work, despite her recognition of
the economic benefits:

[1] “(…) but the disadvantage is that when I leave, I am not going to be relaxed
because I know he [her child] will be vulnerable to anything, I don’t know,
vulnerable to any person, danger, or maybe his food and so many things that one
can imagine.”

This anxiety largely affects not only their emotional stability, but also their productivity
in the labor market and hence, their work stability in the long term. Unfortunately, they are
aware that their deprived economic situations force them to enter the labor market. One of the
participant mothers clearly stated:

[2] “(…) [when you work outside the house] you are stressed, you know, there is
no serenity. (…) [but you have to work] Because at work they are going to pay
you for what you do but at home nobody pays you.”

Despite several employment related problems, mothers accept their work as positively
affecting their families’ well-being. Particularly, participant mothers clearly state their
preferences for self-employed occupations. This finding evidences differences not only
regarding access, but also greater preferences for more flexible economic activities such as self-
employed jobs.

Figures 1.6 through 1.10 present results from the probit, multinomial logit and tobit
regressions from the second component of the two-stage model, using alternative dependent
maternal employment variables. For simplicity, these figures show only the variables of interest
for the purposes of this investigation (see Appendix F, G and H for tables with the complete list
of included variables). All regressions include the maternal depression/anxiety predicted
variable from the first stage regression. In addition, mothers and children variables, family
structure and financial characteristics, as well as community and labor market factors are also included in all models.

Figure 1.6 presents physical health variables’ marginal effects from all regressions. The first group of columns (from left to right) shows results from the Probit model, the following four groups present marginal effects from the Multinomial Logit model, and the last group from the Tobit model. Results indicate that mothers, and the index child’s poor physical health reduce overall maternal work participation and paid work, in particular. Nevertheless, no significant effects are observed on mothers’ work attachment. Potentially, over time, mothers are either able to successfully cope with these health problems or give up working, reducing the dynamic effect of this problem on mothers’ employment patterns.
These results support and further explain several psychological and economic studies. Human capital economic models assume that individuals experiencing chronic health problems, experience lower human capital levels, and hence, reduce their possibilities of participating and staying in the labor market. In addition, having children with persistent health problems affect mothers’ time allocation and stress level. This finding also supports psychological theories stating that children’s characteristics directly affect parents’ behaviors.

![Figure 1.7 Marginal Effects: Mental Health](image)

**Source:** Table 1.F (Probit: work-no work), Table 2.G (MLogit: no work, unpaid family, self-employed, waged), Table 1.H (Tobit: number of months worked over the past 12 months)

**Note:** Multinomial logit categories nw: not working, upf: unpaid family, se: self-employed, and we: waged employed.

Figure 1.7 shows that domestic violence experiences reduce mothers’ participation in the labor market, particularly in self-employed and waged occupations. Qualitative findings support these outcomes. Participant mothers expressed that physical abuse experiences were common,

---

25 This structure is the same for the following figures as well.
and particularly among poor women. Unfortunately, these problems are frequently correlated with partners’ psychological abuse and low self-esteem issues. A participant mother, who owns an atelier, shared her experience regarding husband’s opposition affecting potential employees’ attachment to the labor market:

[3] “(…) I think that they are people who want to work, who want to move forward but there is something that stops them (…) they go with their husband, and he sits there (…) and so suddenly there is a man in the middle of everything, the lady herself gets nervous, she does not want to do it, she feels uncomfortable and she does not come back anymore and they are good people who know (…)”

This qualitative information suggests that barriers associated with domestic violence and partners’ domination affect not only maternal work entrance, but also long term stability and attachment in the labor market. The dynamic model (Tobit model) presents however, some interesting and surprising results regarding domestic violence issues. Contrary to static models, Figure 1.7 shows that domestic violence experiences have no significant effects on mothers’ attachment in the labor market.

This finding suggests that two forces are likely to be affecting mothers’ work dynamics. One, mothers experiencing domestic violences are also experiencing lower self-esteem and self-motivation levels. These problems prevent mothers from remaining attached to the labor market. Two, it is possible that despite their expected partners’ domination and larger difficulty entering the labor market, mothers who manage to enter the work force make greater efforts to stay in the labor market. This result supports sociological studies stating that women facing greater divorce or separation risks are more likely to engage in economic activities (Amato & Booth, 1997; Cherlin, 1992).

Surprisingly, maternal depression/anxiety has positive effects on overall employment and paid occupations (self-employed and waged), in particular (see Figure 1.7). These results clearly
contradict initial expectations and economic assumptions regarding the relationship between this psychological problem and mothers’ work participation. They, however, unmistakably illustrate the need for further investigation, preferably incorporating more dynamic aspects of maternal employment decisions and patterns.

**Figure 1.8**

Margin Effects: Maternal Depression and Interactions

![Figure 1.8](image)

Source: Table 1.H (Tobit: number of months worked over the past 12 months)

Note: Multinomial logit categories nw: not working, upf: unpaid family, se: self-employed, and we: waged employed.

Indeed, findings from the tobit regression support this assertion and partially explain this unexpected outcome. Figure 1.8 shows the interaction effect between maternal depression/anxiety and paid work occupations. Marginal effects indicate that depressed/anxious mothers working in self-employed and waged activities26 are significantly more likely to work fewer months. This outcome leads to the conclusion that despite Peruvian poor mothers large

---

26 Compared to not working or working as unpaid family.
efforts to engage in paid occupations, they experience great instability in the labor market. Unfortunately, it is this poor attachment in the labor market that negatively affects mothers’ poverty alleviations efforts and their general well-being. Consequently, although work-enhancing programs could help depressed/anxious women to successfully enter the labor force, they will not be able to keep their jobs because of their psychological conditions. This outcome partially explains the ineffectiveness of Peruvian employment enhancing and antipoverty policy implementations and clearly demonstrates the need for further investigation.

Qualitative results complement and further explain these findings. As stated before, participant mothers expressed that great anxiety associated with using non-parental child care arrangements reduced their productivity and work participation. Also, mothers revealed additional factors, not considered in the quantitative sample, related to high crime and sexual violence issues. Consequently, even after controlling for paid employment, associated with financial stress, mothers working as self-employed and waged workers face greater challenges associated with being robbed and experiencing sexual abuse. Mothers disclosed experiencing these problems not only at their work places and on the streets, but also inside their own houses. A mother shared her experience and views particularly regarding sexual violence problems among non-parental caregivers:

[4] “Sometimes blood calls blood you know, and sometimes during a moment [of weakness], what can you do? nothing you can do then, and so present charges against your own cousin, your family, […] you have to see, desperate, we live in a desperate situation.”

Evidently, these experiences also affect mothers’ possibilities and willingness to establish greater social connections and hence to increase their social capital availability. Regression models support these findings and argue for social capital’s positive effects on maternal
employment. Results indicate that migrant mothers, whose social capital is lower because of geographic distances from other relatives, are less likely both to participate and to remain in the labor market, particularly in self-employed occupations (see Figure 1.9). Nevertheless, active participation in food-transfer social programs significantly increases both entrance and stability in the labor force, but has no significant effect on any particular labor market sector (see Figure 1.9).

**Figure 1.9**

Marginal Effects: Social Capital and Transfers

In addition, Figure 1.9 presents marginal effects of remittances on maternal employment decisions. Findings show that mothers receiving remittances are less likely to participate in the workforce. This result supports economic theories arguing that non-labor income typically reduces labor force participation. Unfortunately, this result also suggests that although remittances are an important source of income for the Peruvian household, they have not been
recognized as a valuable policy resource. Remittances could potentially be used as collaterals in credit markets. Results show that remittances have a non-significant effect on maternal self-employment (see Table 1.9), despite mothers’ evident problems accessing credits. Indeed, focus group participant mothers reported having significant problems getting credits because of their lack of collaterals.

Figure 1.10
Marginal Effects: Social Capital and Community Interaction

Source: Table 1.F (Probit: work-no work), Table 2.G (MLogit: no work, unpaid family, self-employed, waged), Table 1.H (Tobit: number of months worked over the past 12 months)

Note: Multinomial logit categories nw: not working, upf: unpaid family, se: self-employed, and we: waged employed.

Regarding mothers’ interactions in their communities, findings show that active interaction with community people is important for labor market entrance (particularly self-employed activities), but non significant or negative for maternal work attachment. This is, feeling part and joining other people to solve problems of the community increase mothers’ overall employment and paid work in particular (see Figure 1.10). More passive connections
with the community (i.e. trusting people) present non-significant or negative effects on employment decisions.

Overall, these results illustrate the significant effects that psychological and sociological variables have on maternal employment decisions. Additionally, they evidence the different effects that these variables have on maternal labor force participation general decisions, employment sector options, and dynamic processes. Clearly, restricting maternal work analyses to traditional economic models or dichotomous work-no work choices biases conclusions and implications regarding Peruvian poor mothers’ labor force participation decisions, patterns, and explanatory factors. In addition, by combining qualitative with quantitative data, this study was able to describe with greater precision and to discover additional processes behind causal relationships and mothers’ behaviors and preferences.

1.5. DISCUSSION

Findings from this investigation evidence the benefit obtained by integrating different theoretical and methodological perspectives. Although this integration was only possible because it was only recently that the two unique quantitative and qualitative information sources were available, it is critical for improving and further expanding the maternal employment literature in Peru to discuss this study’s outcomes. Analyses show that these results are robust to different model variations. This study uses econometric techniques to correct for potential endogeneity problems, additional qualitative information to present more in depth analyses, and benefits from the integration of different disciplines.

It is, however, important to recognize that even though these features are included, several consideration should be taken when interpreting these findings and considering policy
implications. First, given the cross sectional nature of this study, all relationships that involve contemporary information could be questioned as causal. Potentially, future studies using the longitudinal component of the YLP-P project are likely to present more conclusive results regarding causal relationships. Second, the qualitative component’s sample used is smaller and constrained to Lima residents. Although these data provide more detailed and unexplored information, it is possible that qualitative information from other urban and rural regions would be different. Third, despite this study’s great effort to advance and to present a more comprehensive Peruvian mothers’ labor force participation model, it is possible that not included variables could be playing an important role on maternal work decisions.

Nevertheless, despite these issues it is clear that these results indicate important effects of sociological and developmental psychological variables on maternal employment. In addition, these findings call for policy re-evaluations, and particularly policies targeting mental health problems, domestic violence issues, and social capital access. Although only few variables included in these models are direct proxies of implemented social programs, most variables can be used as proxies for testing potential policy implementations. Results clearly suggest that it is fundamental to link all these policy implementations with each other, following this study’s main initial integrating objective. This integration needs to be developed not only at one point in time, but also, and more importantly, over time.

Regarding psychological factors, results show that domestic violence experiences negatively affect mothers’ overall work participation, and particularly paid work. This finding is particularly disturbing given the high prevalence of physical and psychological violence among poor Peruvian women. However, outcomes also show that this experience has no significant effect on maternal employment’s attachment over time. These findings potentially suggest that
although several battled mothers would experience large instability in the labor market, other mothers facing violent partners but whose entrance into the workforce was reached, are potentially staying in the labor market.

It is reasonable to argue that mothers who are able to enter the labor market, despite their domestic violence experiences, are potentially more likely to recognize their risks of divorce or separation, and hence their needs to be financially independent. Consequently, these mothers will make greater efforts to remain employed in order to achieve this economic self-sufficiency. This result, although unfortunate, could suggest that social programs aimed at both supporting women experiencing domestic violence and inserting them in the labor market, are likely to be effective in the long term. Further analyses are clearly needed to test this idea.

Similarly, maternal depression/anxiety problems reveal seemingly inconsistent relationships with the maternal work dependent variables. Qualitative findings, however, present more in-depth information helpful for explaining and expanding these seemingly contradictory outcomes. These particular findings are highly disturbing. In addition to showing that weak employment attachment is significantly associated with depressed mothers working in paid occupations, findings indicate that maternal depression/anxiety is also linked to sexual violence episodes between co-resident household members, and mainly against children. Evidently, these factors are seriously affecting not only Peruvian low-income mothers’ ability to remain employed, but also their mental health, and potentially their children’s. This creates greater obstacles for achieving any poverty alleviation goals.

Moreover, results support sociological studies illustrating that greater social capital availability, through interaction with community people and program participation, increases Peruvian poor mothers’ work chances. Nevertheless, findings also show that community level
social capital has no significant influence on maternal employment attachment over time.

Sociological theories might explain this result suggesting that as Peruvian poor mothers advance in the labor market they gain additional sources of social capital (e.g. work related social capital). Consequently, mothers’ community-base social capital becomes less essential for maternal employment dynamics.

Concerning private financial aid (i.e. remittances), results support economic models stating that non-labor income reduces labor force participation. Unfortunately, these findings also confirm that individuals working on self-employed occupations are not using remittances as collaterals in credit markets. Evidence shows that these non-labor income transfers are considerable among Peruvian households. However, although these transfers are the only regular income source for several households, they tend to be small. Potentially, this issue limits mothers’ possibilities of accessing formal credits. Ironically, government programs that have started using remittances as collaterals are primary doing it focusing on housing credits. Similar programs targeting small businesses or other productive activities are likely to largely benefit poor Peruvian mothers, particularly those self-employed.

Interestingly, overall most economic factors (e.g. age, education, marital status, cluster level unemployment rates and adequate employment) present similar effects on all alternative maternal work dependent variables. This result partially explains economists’ smaller interest regarding the use of alternative maternal employment variables. As a consequence, it is reasonable to expect that most economic models would limit their analyses to dichotomous dependent variables, potentially giving greater value to functionality and parsimony aspects of these models.
Clearly, these results illustrate that Peruvian poor mothers face even greater problems for participating in the labor market than those typically analyzed (e.g. education, low wages, and high unemployment levels). This study advances previous studies not only stressing and identifying the significant effects of particular sociological and psychological factors, but also demonstrating the need for integrating various methodological and theoretical perspectives with more detailed qualitative information. Limiting maternal work participation studies to isolated economic, sociological, or developmental psychological perspectives, or to particular models and data collection techniques, constrains not only theoretical and methodological advances, but also leads to ineffective policy designs and applications.

1.6. CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

This study aims at presenting a comprehensive analysis of maternal labor force participation decisions, integrating sociological and developmental psychological perspectives into the traditional economic model. This investigation tests two main hypotheses, utilizing a combination of quantitative and qualitative analyses. First, that overlooked psychological and sociological factors affect maternal employment. Second, that these explanatory factors have different effects on overall maternal employment decisions, labor market sector selection, and work dynamics. Results support these initial hypotheses and present additional evidence regarding unexpected factors affecting maternal employment.

One, outcomes show that psychological variables such as maternal depression/anxiety and domestic violence as well as sociological social capital variables such as social and financial support and community interactions, significantly affect maternal employment. Ironically, although economic models recognize the effects of psychological and sociological variables on
maternal employment decisions, their significance is undervalued and treated only as unobserved error terms. Consequently, few studies analyzing Peruvian mothers’ labor force participation models and hence, policy designs directly include these variables.

Two, findings indicate that the alternative dependent variables used (i.e. overall maternal work participation, employment by labor market sector, and dynamic labor force attachment) provide different aspects of the Peruvian poor mothers’ employment process. Evidently, restricting analyses to one dependent variable limits the scope of maternal labor force participation investigations. Additionally, complementing this analysis with qualitative information not only deepens these relationships’ interpretations, but also introduces additional mediating and moderating previously unexplored factors. More specifically:

• Domestic violence experiences significantly affect Peruvian poor mothers’ employment participation and attachment, particularly on paid occupations. These events, highly correlated with partners’ dominance issues, largely affect maternal self-esteem and self-motivation problems.

• Maternal and children’s chronic health problems significantly affect maternal employment participation, particularly in paid economic activities. Physical health, however, does not have a significant effect on maternal work attachment.

• Depression/anxiety problems prevent mothers’ paid work attachment over time, jeopardizing their poverty exit success. Depression and anxiety problems are correlated with having to rely on irresponsible non-parental caregivers, crime rates, and sexual violence issues.

• Remittances have negative effects on maternal employment participation and attachment (non-significant), however they do not have significant impacts on any particular paid
employment sector. On the contrary, food program participation increases both overall maternal participation and attachment in the labor market.

- Active community interaction has significantly positive effects on maternal employment participation, particularly on self-employed activities. No significant effects are observed on labor force attachment patterns among poor Peruvian mothers. Passive community involvement does not have significant effects on maternal work.

These results clearly lead to policy implications that need to be considered. Following this study’s main integration proposal (i.e. theoretical and methodological), policy designs and implementations are likely to benefit from integrating isolated programs aiming at improving maternal employment and their overall well-being. This integration not only would improve programs’ effectiveness, but also would reduce doubling public expenditures, as many programs, although working in isolation from each other, have similar objectives and targeted populations.

In addition, granted that not only work participation, but mainly labor force attachment leads to poverty alleviation achievements, the following proposed actions should be considered:

- Unify efforts aimed at improving maternal work participation and overall well-being, connecting existing programs from the Ministry of Women and Social Development (i.e. domestic and sexual violence, community integration programs), Ministry of the Presidency (i.e. non-labor income transfer program), and Ministry of Labor (i.e. micro-credit for small business programs).

- Re-orient Ministry of Women’s programs aimed at reducing and preventing domestic and sexual violence toward integrating employment enhancing goals into their main objectives. Emphasize self-esteem and self-confidence issues through national campaigns and existing health centers.
Promote and support community-based initiatives directed at improving active and sustainable participation of poor mothers. Particularly, encourage initiatives that bring both financial and emotional support services.

It is fundamental for these policy implementations to be effective to recognize the importance of long term consequences and dynamic effects. In addition, policy makers must consider the program implementation’s sustainability, particularly when dealing with mental health problems, which are more unstable and they are likely to need longer term and more regular support over time. Also, it is evident that further research is needed, especially to broaden the understanding of maternal employment preferences, believes, and perception regarding problems, coping strategies, and external support available. As this knowledge expands, policy makers are more likely to develop and to implement more effective and feasible programs aimed at improving poor Peruvian mothers’ work conditions and general well-being, and hence, to reduce overall poverty levels.
CHAPTER 2
WILL SELF-EMPLOYMENT SAVE US?: EVALUATING PERUVIAN MOTHERS’ EMPLOYMENT OPTIONS AND PREFERENCES

2.1. INTRODUCTION

International organizations, governments, and the general population have all realized the enormous burden that high poverty levels have on both societal and individual well-being. Responding to this concern, individual and joint nations’ initiatives have lead to several anti-poverty strategies and policy implementations. In Peru, the government has pursued a poverty alleviation strategy focused on improving women, and particularly low-income mothers’ overall well-being and work participation levels (Du Bois, 2004). These efforts include policies such as girls’ schooling campaigns, public child care projects, and food transfer programs, all directly or indirectly reducing mothers’ labor force participation costs.

Alejandro Toledo’s current presidential administration continues to place maternal well-being and work participation improvements at the top of the country’s anti-poverty agenda. As a consequence, greater public resources and responsibilities were allocated to the Ministry of Women and Human Development (Du Bois, 2004). Among the main government efforts, the public child care program known as Wawa Wasi, has substantially been expanded.27 Policy evaluations indicate positive effects of this social program on maternal employment and later poverty reductions in Peru (Ayala, 2003; Cortez, 2000; Evans, 2000). Specifically, Cortez (2000) finds that the Wawa Wasi program has the greatest poverty reduction effect, compared to other Peruvian social programs such as family planning or food transfer programs.

---

Peruvian female unemployment levels diminished from 7 percent in 1998 to 5 percent in 2000 (MINTRA, 2004). Even international comparative studies placed Peru in the middle of the unemployment distribution during the 90’s compared to other Latin American countries.28 Nevertheless, despite this improvement, overall poverty levels not only remained high, but also increased from 42 to 48 percent between 1998 and 2000 (INEI, 2004). Several factors are likely to explain this seemingly inconsistent outcome.

First, unemployment calculations and analyses do not differentiate between waged, self-employed, and unpaid family workers. Therefore, although Peruvian unemployment rates do not seem exceptionally high, major underemployment and non-formal labor market jobs issues significantly explicate this misrepresented figure (Chacaltana, 2001). Indeed, an International Labor Organization report indicates that in 2000, 67 percent of employed women worked in the informal sector, mostly self-employed (ILO, 2001).29 Additionally, this informal, self employed work force appears to actually be a response to formal waged labor market imperfections (Chacaltana, 2001; De Soto, 2002). That is, those individuals who are not able to find formal waged jobs30 are forced to be creative and find alternative ways to generate earnings. Consequently, it is not surprising to see that self-employed activities are more likely to be unstable, riskier, and low paid, and hence to perform as a weaker anti-poverty instrument.

Nevertheless, recent poverty theories argue that self-employment is a viable outlet for leaving poverty, particularly for individuals living in less developed countries (De Soto, 2002; J. B. Smith & Stelcner, 1990). Self-employed occupations are less likely to depend on specific

28 Numbers present Peru with an average 1990-1997 unemployment rate of 8 percent, compared to Bolivia with a 5 percent (lowest) and Argentina with 13 percent (highest) rates (Chacaltana, 2001). Source: CEPAL.
29 This is, compared to 59 percent of men engaging in informal activities.
30 This is, because of lacking the required qualifications, experience, or contacts, or simply because the labor market is not able to generate enough jobs.
employers’ labor force demands, they tend to be more flexible, require fewer formal educational certifications, and they are likely to develop even in contexts with weak institutions and poor formal labor markets (De Soto, 2002; Ilahi, 2001; Presser, 2003; J. B. Smith & Stelcner, 1990). These characteristics make these occupations particularly attractive to poor mothers who want to remain in the labor force and to care for their children. Indeed, given that Peruvian poor mothers prefer more flexible jobs with fewer school qualifications’ demands, it is not surprising that they would dominate the informal self-employed labor force (Ilahi, 2001; Jurado Najera, 2001; J. B. Smith & Stelcner, 1990).

Self-employed occupations are therefore a potential, but highly unstable, outlet for poverty improvements. The role of self-employment in the informal labor market, the predominance of women in this labor market segment, and the uncertainty of its effectiveness as an anti-poverty strategy calls for further investigation on women, and particularly mothers’ employment decisions. In addition, given that labor markets in less developed economies are less structured, they are also more vulnerable to non-economic factors.

Ironically, these non-economic factors, associated with psychological and sociological issues, have been poorly addressed. This is, indeed, a second factor explaining why maternal work improvement efforts in Peru are not as effective as expected. Although existing social programs deal with some of these problems, studies show that they are poorly targeted and designed, and hence highly ineffective (e.g. Ministry of Women’s domestic and sexual violence and community organization support projects). In addition, these social programs are highly unconnected with each other, leading to a duplication of resources and poor links with work-enhancing goals (Du Bois, 2004; Vásquez, 2004).
Clearly, sociological and psychological factors have received inadequate attention in the
design and implementation of Peruvian employment-enhancing policies, despite their potential
importance explaining non-waged labor market entrance decisions. For example, sociological
variables such as social capital access or psychological factor such as self-esteem are more likely
to contribute to explain unpaid labor than economic factors such as wage differentials and
education. These issues clearly highlight the need for re-evaluating current Peruvian
employment and anti-poverty policies.

This study illustrates the critical but understudied effect that these psychological and
sociological variables have on poor Peruvian mothers’ work decisions, entrance to different labor
market sectors (i.e. not employed, unpaid family, self-employed, and waged work), and
preferences. Presenting a more comprehensive model, this investigation explores the potential
positive effects that combining different theoretical and methodological perspectives have on
better understanding the benefits of integrating work enhancing goals to different social
programs. This integration contributes not only to the design of more effective policies, but also
to reduce double public expenditures, given these programs’ similar goals and targeted
populations.

A mixed method design combining quantitative and qualitative methodological
techniques is used for the analysis. The quantitative data come from the first wave of the 2002
Young Lives Project-Peru (YLP-P) survey, a 15 years longitudinal comparative multinational
project aimed at analyzing child poverty causes. The qualitative information comes from focus
groups conducted in Lima, using a random sub-sample of the YLP-P Lima sample. Being able
to utilize a more comprehensive model not only combining quantitative and qualitative
information, but also different theoretical perspectives largely improves the design, implementation, and evaluation of more effective social and anti-poverty policies.

2.2. BACKGROUND

Theory and policy implementations are increasingly focusing on female, and mainly maternal, employment as a current and long-term (through their children) poverty reduction strategy. Peruvian policy designs and implementations are primarily lead by economic theories such as human capital (Becker, 1993; Mincer, 1958; Schultz, 2003) and labor force participation opportunity costs (Becker, 1991; Blau, 2001). As a result, specific studies and policies aimed at analyzing and improving girls’ educational attainment,32 public child care availability (Wawa-Wasi),33 and community-based programs (food transfer programs vaso de leche and comedores populares)35 were developed and implemented.

However, evidence indicates that these efforts have not been as effective as initially expected. Clearly, issues such as weak homogeneous labor market assumptions and economic model over-reliance are biasing policy evaluations and implications. These issues are particularly relevant among poor Peruvian mothers, whose distribution across different employment sectors/conditions is highly heterogeneous (Jurado Najera, 2001; J. B. Smith & Stelcner, 1990) and whose likelihood of experiencing psychological (i.e. mental health problems)

31 The countries include in this project are Peru, Vietnam, Ethiopia, and India. See http://www.ninosdelmilenio.org/index_en.html for more information regarding the project.
33 See (Ayala, 2003; Cortez, 2000; Evans, 2000; Garavito, 2001). Also, (Deutsch, 1998) and (Hallman, Quisumbing, Ruel, & de la a Briere, 2002) present studies showing similar results in Brazil and Guatemala respectively.
35 Glass of milk and community kitchen programs.
and sociological (i.e. social isolation) barriers to employment is significantly large (Escobal et al., 2003; Graham, 1994; Schady, 2000).

This section specifically explores two main problems. First, Peruvian policy implementations and evaluations have failed to differentiate between various employment sectors/conditions such as unpaid family, self-employed, and waged sectors. Although fairly debatable, recent studies show that despite its greater instability and risk, the self-employed informal sector is likely to be the leading force driving Peruvians out of poverty. Consequently, understanding all Peruvians, and particularly mothers’ work selection processes, decisions, and preferences is fundamental for developing more effective policies aimed at enhancing employment entrance, stability, and advancement. Second, sociological and developmental psychological factors have been poorly considered when examining Peruvian mothers’ work participation behaviors and processes. Although there is great awareness about the positive effects that mental health and community support programs have on maternal overall well-being, policy designs and implementations have failed to link these problems with work performance issues. Evidently, these understudied factors play an important role in mothers’ employment selection processes. Clearly, this lack of attention directly affects the effectiveness of maternal employment as an effective anti-poverty strategy. Incorporating these sociological and psychological factors into the maternal labor force participation model certainly improves our understanding of Peruvian mothers’ work barriers, decisions, and preferences.

Existing studies generally assume that, regardless of the employment sector/condition (i.e. unpaid family, self-employed, or waged), labor force participation increases all individuals and households’ income levels. Consequently, research has ignored variations between employment sectors/conditions assuming perfect demand across all economic sectors/conditions,
hence limiting the analysis to a dichotomous work-no work dependent variable. Clearly, this dichotomous categorization does not differentiate between unpaid family work, self-employment, and wage labor occupations, despite women’s large disparity in terms of access and preferences for specific economic activities.

Indeed, studies indicate, particularly in rural settings and less developed countries, that self-employed women are more likely to be unpaid and confined to work only in their houses (Donahoe, 1999; Nelson, 1999). Issues associated with male domination, socio-cultural beliefs, and socio-geographic isolation, are likely to explain these behaviors. Limiting women’s entrance into paid economic activities negatively affects not only their probability of achieving economic self-sufficiency and later poverty exit, but mainly their self-esteem, self-confidence, depression, and socio-emotional development (Donahoe, 1999; Flora Tristán, 2005; Nelson, 1999).

In addition, particularly in less developed countries where the formal waged labor market is imperfect, individuals, and poor women predominantly, are forced to enter the self-employed informal sector (Chacaltana, 2001; J. B. Smith & Stelcner, 1990). This situation is likely to further increase women’s disadvantages in the labor market and poverty reduction goals. Self-employed informal activities are certainly highly unstable, riskier, have lower returns to education, and require greater access to financial and social capital than formal waged jobs. In particular, recent studies have analyzed the role of credit markets as an obstacle for establishing small businesses. Economists, lead by Hernando De Soto and his dead capital theory, state that poor people face enormous barriers when dealing with credit markets. Indeed, their lack of formal property rights for their houses and lands, turn these assets into dead capital that cannot be used as collaterals. These hard to overcome issues force poor individuals, and particularly mothers, to enter informal credit markets where interests are significantly higher.
Nevertheless, over the past years, the self-employed informal sector has been the most dynamic and growing of the Peruvian economy, embracing a large proportion of the Peruvian poor (De Soto, 2002). This issue is particularly relevant when analyzing maternal employment given that mothers are more likely to be, and also to prefer self-employment. Mothers who work in self-employed informal occupations have more adaptable work schedules, leaving more time for child care activities without forgoing their labor force participation. This more flexible time allocation distribution reduces work and family responsibility conflicts, potentially reducing maternal anxiety and increasing mothers’ well-being (J. Henly & Lyons, 2000; Olson & Banyard, 1993; Presser, 2003).

These characteristics and benefits have lead several researchers to argue that this growing labor market is more likely than any other sector to pull individuals out of poverty (De Soto, 2002; J. B. Smith & Stelcner, 1990). Weak institutions and poor formal labor markets undoubtedly contribute to the expansion of parallel informal labor markets, where entrance costs are lower and demands for formal educational certifications are fewer (De Soto, 2002; Ilahi, 2001; J. B. Smith & Stelcner, 1990). Although earnings are lower and more unstable, self-employed informal workers are likely to engage in paid economic activities without actually depending on formal labor market levels of absorption.

Despite these optimistic views about alternative labor market growth roles, psychological and sociological factors, not commonly incorporated in maternal labor force participation models, are likely to moderate these positive effects. Most anti-poverty and work-enhancing policies have used traditional economic models focusing on labor market conditions, human capital, and work entrance costs. Although these models are highly functional and parsimonious, policy designs, implementations, and evaluations will largely benefit from including
psychological and sociological factors. Unfortunately, factors such as mothers’ mental health, domestic violence, male partner’s domination, social capital, and maternal employment preferences have been largely understudied.

Recent US-based investigations following welfare reform reauthorization, which also stressed maternal employment as an anti-poverty strategy, show that sociological and psychological factors have significant effects on maternal work patterns (Danziger et al., 2000; Jayakody et al., 2000; Kalil, Schweingruber et al., 2001; Lawrence et al., 2004). Clearly, these variables moderate long-term maternal employment success and poverty alleviation sustainability. Mainly because of data availability issues, these factors have not been regularly included in labor force participation analyses potentially biasing policy evaluations’ conclusions and recommendations. Consequently, it is fundamental that researchers and particularly policy makers raise their awareness concerning these largely unexplored factors.

Psychological problems such as depression, substance abuse, and domestic violence prevent mothers’ work participation, as well as their stability and advancement in the labor market (Danziger & Seefeldt, 2002; Lennon et al., 2001). These issues are particularly prevalent among poor women who are likely to face poor access to mental health assistance, to have fewer emotional and social resources, and to face greater financial stress. 36 Indeed, evidence shows that 30 percent of Peruvian poor mothers experience depression/anxiety symptoms (Escobal et al., 2003). Additionally, domestic violence (7 percent) 37 and partner’s substance abuse (21 percent) experiences are significantly high among poor mothers (Escobal et al., 2003). Despite

36 This is mainly because it is very likely that their relatives will be facing similar economic, emotional, and social constraints (Jayakody, 1998).
37 Although this number does not seem significantly high, it is reasonable to expect a large underreport regarding domestic violence incidence, particularly psychological abuse. This domestic violence variable is specifically associated with partner’s alcohol abuse episodes.
these high prevalence rates, financial investments and research aimed at treating and understanding causes and consequences of these psychological problems are rare.

These problems certainly reduce women’s ability to enter and to stay in the labor market, and potentially further increase their depression and self-esteem problems. This creates a vicious cycle problem affecting poor mothers, and particularly those working in self-employed activities. These occupations are per se more unstable, riskier, and greater access to financial and social capital. Consequently, self-employed poor mothers experiencing mental health problems are likely to face even greater employment challenges. Unfortunately, these mothers not only have poor internal resources (e.g. low self-esteem, self-confidence), but also fewer external resources (e.g. family and community support) to help them cope with these problems. As a consequence, rather than alleviating mothers’ psychological, financial, and employment problems, certain family and community characteristics are likely to worsen them.

Surprisingly, these family and community characteristics have been underestimated as major maternal employment barriers. Typically, crime and illegal activity rates have been used only as poverty measures, affecting maternal labor force participation through inadequate labor markets with insufficient job creation characteristics. Certainly, although the causal relationship is not totally clear, studies show a significant correlation between neighborhood violence and poverty levels (Blank, 1997; Flora Tristán, 2005). However, high crime and illegal activity rates affect mothers through their ability not only to find adequate jobs. These problems also influence mothers’ capacity to move safely between their houses and working places, as well as their willingness to leave their children with other co-resident adults, as they may be involved in illegal activities. These issues especially affect self-employed mothers who are very likely to
work as street vendors (J. B. Smith & Stelcner, 1990). These street vendor mothers are potentially at a higher risk of being robbed, or even engaged in illegal activities or substance abuse.

Clearly, these poorly explored factors plead for greater consideration. Understanding these, and other ignored factors will enhance the maternal labor market participation literature, and mainly future policy designs, implementations, and evaluations. More effective and integrated policies are fundamental for achieving poverty alleviation goals and long term sustainable development.

2.3. RESEARCH DESIGN

The goal of this study is to illustrate the need to analyze the differences behind Peruvian mothers’ employment entrance decisions into various labor market sectors (i.e. unpaid family, self-employment, waged labor, and no work participation). In addition, it shows the importance of integrating employment goals to social programs targeting mental health, domestic violence, and community support program implementations. This investigations uses a model that incorporates psychological and sociological variables into the traditional economic model, combining quantitative with qualitative information in order to develop a more thorough and advanced examination. The quantitative information comes from the 2002 Young Lives Project – Peru (YLP-P) survey. Qualitative data are from focus groups conducted in Lima to a sub-sample of the YLP-P participants. Specifically, this investigation tests the following hypotheses:

38 Studies show that self-employed Peruvian women tend to work in the retail sector, particularly in urban regions (Ilahi, 2001). Indicators from the 1998 Peruvian national household survey show that 80 percent of urban people working in retail activities are informal and only 20 percent are waged workers (Jurado Najera, 2001).
i) Mothers participating in waged, self-employed, unpaid family, or no work economic activities decide their employment engagement differently. Although both non working and unpaid family mothers do not receive earnings, individual, family, and community characteristics affect these groups differently. Similar processes occur among those in self-employed and waged occupations.

ii) Psychological characteristics and social capital factors explain maternal employment decisions. They determine no work, unpaid family, self-employed, and waged employment participation differently. Depression and domestic violence experiences reduce mothers’ self-employed and waged work. Social capital in the form of family and community general support and social program participation increase self-employed and waged work participation. Income-based social capital support through remittances creates incentives for no work participation.

The quantitative/qualitative mixed method design employed facilitates the achievement of this study’s aims (Bryman, 1984; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). The quantitative component develops and tests more comprehensive Peruvian mothers’ labor force participation causal models. However, the complex nature of this topic requires complementary qualitative sources for explaining processes behind employment barriers and maternal work participation decisions. The additional information collected from focus groups provides not only additional factors previously unexplored, but also information regarding processes behind maternal work decisions and revealed preferences for certain types of occupations. These issues are fundamental for developing effective employment and poverty reduction policies targeted to poor mothers.
2.3.1. Quantitative Component

Quantitative data come from the first wave of the 2002 Young Lives Project (YLP) survey, known in Peru as Niños del Milenio (Children of the Millennium). The YLP is a multinational comparative study aimed at understanding causes and consequences of child poverty. This project’s participant countries include Ethiopia, India, Peru and Vietnam. The study design involves a main cohort of poor children aged 6 to 17.9 months (labeled “one-year olds”) who will be followed for 15 years with data collections occurring every three years. The Peruvian first round was collected between August and November of 2002 and includes a sample of 2,052 one-year old children randomly selected to produce a nationally representative sample.

The YLP-P sampling process used the 1996 poverty map defined by the Fondo Nacional de Compensación y Desarrollo Social (National Fund for Compensation and Social Development – FONCODES). Based on their poverty level and population size, 1,818 districts were selected as potential participants, all of them below the poverty line. Among these districts, the top five percent with higher overall income was excluded from the sample. The final sample selection utilized a district level general multi-stage sampling technique. The first stage randomly chose twenty districts, and then one community sector per district was selected using census information. Randomly selected blocks were picked from each community sector from which randomly selected households were chosen. Interviews were conducted face to face at the index child’s house.

This survey includes individual and household demographic, socio economic status, livelihood, social capital, and program participation characteristics. Additionally, it incorporates

39 FONCODES uses a district-based poverty index that considers several social and unsatisfied basic needs conditions. These include: illiteracy rate, percentage of households with children not attending school, percentage of inadequate residences, percentage of overcrowded houses,
geographic location information and community level characteristics such as natural environment, social and institutional characteristics, infrastructure, services, economic, as well as average health and education characteristics. This is the first study to gather detailed and comprehensive information in Peru at the national level regarding psychological (e.g., mental health, child’s temperament, domestic violence, mother-child interaction), and sociological (e.g., social capital) characteristics. In addition, even though this attribute does not directly affect this particular study, it is worth noting that the YLP-P project is the first attempt to collect longitudinal data for a nationally representative Peruvian sample.

The YLP-P survey’s unique feature provides the necessary information for estimating a comprehensive labor force participation model using a multidisciplinary approach. The lack of data on psychological and sociological characteristics, as well as the disproportionate emphasis given to economic factors when estimating Peruvian mothers’ employment limited earlier developments of this comprehensive model. This model includes previously unexplored factors such as mothers’ depression, domestic violence, children’s temperament and health status, as well as social capital characteristics.

Quantitative analyses rely on a two-stage estimation model. Given that maternal depression/anxiety is endogenous (i.e., it can be both a cause and a consequence of maternal employment decisions), using the observed depression/anxiety variable affects the maternal work estimation. The two-stage estimation model corrects for this endogeneity problem, first predicting an instrumented depression/anxiety variable, which is then included in the second

---

40 The endogeneity problem occurs when the classic theory assumption of correlation equal zero between the independent variables and the error term, does not hold. The instrumental variable is highly correlated with the problematic observed variable (i.e., the variable that has correlation different from zero with the error term), but has correlation equal zero with the error term (Amemiya & MaCurdy, 1986; Heckman, 1993).
component of the estimation \textit{i.e.} the maternal employment regression). The dependent variable used for the first estimating stage is a dichotomous maternal depression/anxiety variable. A categorical employment sector dependent variable is utilized for the second component.

The maternal depression/anxiety dependent variable is constructed using a 20 item depression and anxiety symptoms self-reported questionnaire, experienced over the past 30 days. The instrument is based on the World Health Organization (WHO) recommended ‘Self-reported questionnaire –20 item items’ (SRQ20) (Harpham et al., 2003). Although this instrument has been used before in Peru, it has not been validated for the Peruvian population. It has been validated, however, in other countries in the region using more detailed psychiatric interviews (Escobal et al., 2003). Mothers who have 8 or more positive symptoms are classified as depressed/anxious. This index presents a high reliability level with an alpha of 0.84, and no particular item presented a significantly different item-test correlation that would advise exclusion.

The categorical labor market sector variable is defined as 0 not working, 1 unpaid family worker, 2 self-employed, and 3 waged workers. Employment information is reported for the three main economic activities the individual had during the past 12 months prior the interview.\textsuperscript{41} This categorical variable uses information from these three sources. Not working mothers are those who did not report any economic activity over the past 12 months. Unpaid family, self-employed, and waged workers are defined as so if they reported their first most important occupation belonging to these sectors. If no information was available for the first occupation, information from the second and then third occupations was imputed.

\textsuperscript{41}Main economic activities defined as those that gave the person the greatest income during the past 12 months.
Figure 2.1
Path Model

Mother's characteristics
- age
- child head
- marital status
- education
- migrant status
- disability
- domestic violence
- work status

Child's characteristics
- chronic illness

Family characteristics
- children 5 years or younger
- number of adults 18 to 80
- poverty level
- receives remittances
- family has major debt
- has property right of house
- own land
- own livestock

Instrumental variables
- past physical abuse experience
- index child was wanted
- family experienced negative event

Labor market characteristics
- gender wage differential in area
- proportion of adequate labor in area

Maternal depression
- Depressed
- Not Depressed

Maternal work participation
- not employed
- unpaid family
- self-employed
- waged

Community/social capital characteristics
- participate in social programs
- trust people in community
- feel part of the community
- join others to solve problems
- receive support from family
- receive support from friends

ε₁

ε₂
Figure 2.1 shows the path model use for the causal analysis. The first stage estimates a probit model, using the maternal depression/anxiety variable as the dependent variable. The regression controls for maternal labor force participation testing the proposition that employed mothers are more likely to experience depression and anxiety symptoms. Past physical abuse experience and having a wanted or unwanted child are used as the identifying variables. The second component uses a multinomial logit technique. This regression includes the predicted value of the anxiety/depression index estimated in stage one, in addition to demographic, family, community, and labor market characteristics.

2.3.2. Qualitative Component

The qualitative analyses utilize information from focus group interviews. This qualitative information captures determinants previously unobserved in quantitative studies on mothers’ perceptions regarding factors affecting their work decisions and possibilities. Focus group sessions gathered information about self-esteem and self-confidence issues, family and social support, and community characteristics. Detailed information regarding mothers’ perceptions concerning these variables’ beneficial or damaging effects on their employment opportunities and preferences were collected as well. In addition, data regarding work and family responsibility conflicts and potential solutions to mothers’ employment problems were also reported.

The qualitative sample was randomly selected from the YLP-P sample of participants residing in Lima at round 1. The qualitative sample includes individuals from the three districts of Lima used in the YLP-P: Ate, Villa María del Triunfo, and San Juan de Lurigancho. Given
the nature of this investigation, Lima is a particularly interesting case of study. Lima is primarily urban, as it is the majority of the Peruvian population (72 percent by 2002) (INEI, 2004). However, even though the Peruvian population is mostly urban, the majority of urban residents is first or second generation rural migrants. These selected Lima districts contain high proportions of migrants who experience high poverty levels. Consequently, their migrant and lower socioeconomic conditions force them to develop strategies for coping with economic problems, their reduced social networks, and significant cultural changes. These factors directly affect individuals’ financial and non-financial well-being and hence, increase mothers’ employment barriers, potentially limiting their possibilities of entering to particular types of occupations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2.1</th>
<th>Focus Group Sample: Mothers Currently Living in Lima (By District)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>San Juan de Lurigancho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Lima residents YLP-P sample size</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of potential participants randomly selected</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of focus group sessions</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample size</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Session 1</td>
<td>6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Session 2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* No audio record available.

Focus groups were completed during July 2004. The sampling process first selected thirty two potential participant mothers, randomly chosen from a total sample of 100 mothers per district (see Table 2.1). The sample selection considered mothers who were working and those who were not working at round 1. Potential participants were contacted at their homes in person.
and were asked to participate in these sessions. All participants signed informed consent forms (see Appendix A) at the time they were contacted. Three field workers who previously worked for the YLP-P project were hired to contact and to recruit participants.

Table 2.2
2004 Focus Group Meetings’ Schedule (By District)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>San Juan de Lurigancho</th>
<th>Villa María del Triunfo</th>
<th>Ate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Date</strong></td>
<td><strong>Starting Time</strong></td>
<td><strong>Date</strong></td>
<td><strong>Starting Time</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Session 1</strong></td>
<td>Thursday, July 22</td>
<td>Friday, July 23</td>
<td>Saturday, July 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4:30 pm.</td>
<td>2:20 pm.</td>
<td>2:00 pm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Session 2</strong></td>
<td>Sunday, July 25</td>
<td>Friday, July 23</td>
<td>Saturday, July 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2:00 pm.</td>
<td>6:00 pm.</td>
<td>6:00 pm.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

San Juan de Lurigancho and Ate’s focus group sessions were held at the Institute for Nutritional Research’s health centers. Villa María del Triunfo’s focus group meetings were conducted in two of the YLP-P participant mothers’ houses, one who participated in the focus groups and one who did not participate. Two focus group sessions were held per district with six to nine mothers per session (see Table 2.1). All focus group meetings were audio-taped and later transcribed, lasting between one and a half to two hours. Table 2.2 shows the schedule for focus group meetings. Participant mothers did not receive monetary compensation for their participation, however transportation costs were covered and participant mothers received a small gift worth 8 soles (about 2.50 dollars).

42 The proportion of potential participants who did not accept to participate was low. The main reason for not participating was not being at home at the time of the recruitment. Potential participants were contacted by field workers at different times during the day.

43 Technical problems during the first focus group session prevented the recording of this meeting. However, notes taken during the session provide a good summary of issues discussed during that focus group session.
The principal investigator (PI) guided all focus group sessions using a focus group interview guide (FGIG) (see Appendix B). This FGIG covered barriers affecting maternal labor force participation stability at different levels: individual, family, community/social and labor market. In addition, the FGIG included components on mothers’ employment preferences, as well as problems and coping strategies related to dealing with both work and family responsibilities.

Using both manual coding and a computer workbench program for qualitative analysis (ATLAS.ti), the PI coded all transcribed interviews. The initial coding structure followed the FGIG individual, family, community/social and labor market level organization. Similar issues affecting mothers’ employment emerged across all focus group sessions, however their importance varied by district.

These broad categories were later re-organized and sub-divided into more specific codes. Following these three different perspectives, codes and sub-codes were structure into economic (labor market occupation preferences, child care availability, credit access, and inadequate employment), psychological (anxiety/depression, mother-child interaction, self-esteem, motivation, and domestic violence), and sociological (community-support social capital, financial-based social capital) families. Unexpected topics were later added to the coding scheme (community crime, workplace and family sexual abuse).

In addition, information obtained from field workers was used for comparative and complementary purposes. These field workers previously participated in the first YLP-P data collection and first follow up before the second data collection. They provided detailed

44 Computer-assisted approaches to content analysis facilitate and reduce costs of the analysis (Punch, 1998; Stewart & Shamdasani, 1990).
45 All YLP-P participant mothers and children were contacted one year after the first large data collection. This follow up was aimed at locating participants who migrated during this period. A picture and a diploma were given to all participant mothers.
information about focus group participant mothers’ household and community characteristics, as well as comparisons between these mothers and other YLP-P participants. Combining these two information sources improved the validity of the information collected from focus group sessions.

Despite their understandable disadvantages compared to other qualitative techniques (e.g. smaller sample size, biases due to socially desirable answers, and over-participation of few people), focus groups’ exploratory and informative power, as well as their inexpensiveness and flexibility, make them advantageous for this particular study (Ambert et al., 1995; Punch, 1998; Stewart & Shamdasani, 1990). Also, focus group sessions provide important information about these populations’ contextual and cultural characteristics, as well as test instruments that will later be used for future qualitative studies (Ambert et al., 1995; LaRossa & Wolf, 1985). Additionally, this first collection helps improve this qualitative data’s trustworthiness (Maxwell, 1996; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). Indeed, early engagement with these populations improves the understanding of their unique culture and provides greater ability for recognizing particular characteristics of these groups.

2.4. RESULTS

Peru is a highly centralized country experiencing high poverty and unemployment levels. These poverty and employment problems largely affect the whole population, and particularly mothers and young children, the most vulnerable populations. As a consequence, many social programs, currently aimed at improving mothers’ work and their general well-being, have been

46 Lincoln and Guba (1985) introduced the concept of trustworthiness in qualitative data analysis. This concept is analogue to the idea of measurement quality in quantitative analyses (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). Credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability criteria determine the level of trustworthiness of a qualitative study.
implemented. These programs, unfortunately, function in isolation from each other, despite the potential benefits that integrating mental health and community support programs with work enhancing goals might have on overall maternal employment, public expenditure duplication, and poverty reductions. The following section presents results, corroborating this previous statement, from both quantitative and qualitative components using descriptive and causal analyses.

Overall, descriptive quantitative findings show differences by employment sector, particularly regarding human capital, poverty level, land and livestock ownership, and credit variables. In addition, causal models estimated to test the two main hypotheses indicate that domestic violence experiences reduce mothers’ participation in remunerated activities. However, depression/anxiety symptoms are positively related to self-employment and waged work, seemingly contradicting the first hypothesis. Social capital variables reveal that active participation in the community increases self-employment. Nevertheless, receiving remittances discourages work participation, and particularly in self-employed activities.

Qualitative results support and explain some of these seemingly contradictory findings. In addition, results reveal unexplored issues associated with family support reliance, sexual and illegal substance abuse, and community crime rates. These results clearly show the need to re-evaluate existing models and hence policy designs, implementations, and implications.

2.4.1. Quantitative Component

This section presents descriptive statistics and causal models analyzing differences between mothers engaged in various work sectors (i.e. no work, unpaid family, self-employed, and waged work). The original total YLP-P sample includes 2,052 one-year old participant
children however, individuals with missing observations in any of the variables used in this study were excluded from the final sample. This study’s final sample includes 1,969 observations. No significant differences were found between the original and the final samples.

Figure 2.2
Mothers’ Work Occupation Distribution

![Bar chart showing work occupations]

Source: YLP-P 2002: One year old sample

Figures 2.2 through 2.5 present descriptive statistics by mothers’ work occupational sector. For simplicity, only some descriptive statistics are presented (see Appendix C for greater detail). Figure 2.2 shows that more than half YLP-P participant mothers (58%) participated in the labor market during the past 12 months prior their interviews. However, only 42% received monetary returns to their work, primary in self-employed occupations (30%). Contrary to male, the female labor force shows greater variability regarding work participation, occupation, or even whether or not they are intentionally not employed or not monetarily remunerated. Also,
women, and particularly mothers face greater difficulties to enter, to stay, and to advance in the labor market.

**Figure 2.3**

**Mothers’ Educational and Health Characteristics**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not working</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unpaid family</td>
<td>25.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>29.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waged</td>
<td>35.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: YLP-P 2002: One year old sample

Numbers clearly show noticeable differences between mothers in self-employed and waged occupations and not-paid non work and unpaid family activities, and within each group. This finding supports the idea of moving from the dichotomous work-no work model to a multinomial analysis differentiating between no work, unpaid family, self-employed, and waged groups. Results indicate that although both not working and unpaid family mothers do not generate income, the former group is significantly better off, regarding education, health, poverty levels, and income transfers, than the later group (see Figure 2.3 and Figure 2.4). Also, unpaid family workers are more likely to live in rural areas, adding geographic isolation issues.47

47 See land and livestock ownership as indicators of rural residency in Appendix C.
Similarly, self-employed and waged working mothers show different characteristics. Overall, self-employed mothers seem more disadvantaged regarding education, income transfers, and poverty levels. Nevertheless, mothers working in self-employed occupations are more likely to experience domestic violence episodes than waged workers, but no significantly large differences are observed when analyzing depression/anxiety symptoms.

In addition, some differences are also observed regarding community interaction. Comparing those not working and unpaid family worker mothers, Figure 2.5 shows greater community involvement among unpaid family workers. Indeed, low-income mothers working in unpaid family activities have the greatest involvement compared to all other groups. No significant differences are observed when contrasting poor mothers in paid occupations. These characteristics indicate important differences between mothers working in these employment
sectors, and suggest distinct causal paths determining maternal engagement in these labor market sectors.

Table 2.3 presents the maternal depression/anxiety probit model. The dichotomous dependent variable is defined as 0 if the mother is not depressed and 1 if the mother is depressed. For simplicity, only the most relevant variables are included in this table (see Appendix E for the full table). In addition to maternal work characteristics, the model includes demographic, human capital, family and community characteristics. Also, variables used as identifiers (i.e. the mother’s past physical abuse experience and if the index child was a wanted birth) are included in the estimation. The model assumes that mother's past physical abuse experiences (i.e. whether her parents physically abused her when she was a child) and having a wanted or unwanted child,
affect mothers’ current employment situation only through their effect on psychological/mental health status. Both variables are statistically significant and their signs are the expected.

Table 2.3
Probit Model: Maternal Depression/Anxiety

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mother’s characteristics</th>
<th>Marginal Effect</th>
<th>Std. Error</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Disabled</td>
<td>0.209</td>
<td>(0.051)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experienced past physical abuse</td>
<td>0.101</td>
<td>(0.023)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current domestic violence</td>
<td>0.180</td>
<td>(0.050)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Looking for job</td>
<td>0.118</td>
<td>(0.028)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worked 3 or more days per week in past 12 months</td>
<td>-0.030</td>
<td>(0.030)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unpaid family worker</td>
<td>0.005</td>
<td>(0.037)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed family worker</td>
<td>0.064</td>
<td>(0.030)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage worker</td>
<td>0.057</td>
<td>(0.040)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Index child’s characteristics</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child was wanted</td>
<td>-0.066</td>
<td>(0.022)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long term illness</td>
<td>0.069</td>
<td>(0.028)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Community and family social capital characteristics</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family experienced negative event</td>
<td>0.058</td>
<td>(0.026)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(unrelated to job/income changes)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of observations</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Log Likelihood</td>
<td>-1083.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: YLP-P 2002, one year old sample.
Notes: Bold numbers are 5% statistically significant.

Results indicate that paid occupations (i.e. self-employed and waged work) and whether or not the mother is currently looking for a job increase mother’s depression/anxiety. This finding supports previous studies analyzing US populations showing that poor working mothers, and particularly those with young children, experience larger levels of stress, anxiety, and depression (Olson & Banyard, 1993; Roy, Tubbs, & Burton, 2004). These investigations
conclude that depression symptoms are highly associated with not being able to cope with work and family (and mainly child care) responsibilities.

Results from the maternal employment regression estimations are presented in Figure 2.6 to Figure 2.9. Reported in Table 2.3 and these figures are marginal effects with bold and blocked numbers representing 5 percent statistical significance. Marginal effects should be interpreted as the change that the dependent variable experiences if there is a small change in a particular explanatory variable, controlling for the effects of all other variables included in the model.

A stepwise method was used to analyze the likelihood of being engaged in a particular work occupation. The dependent variable is the categorical 0 not-working, 1 unpaid family worker, 2 self-employed, and 3 waged work. For simplicity, figures only show results from the more comprehensive model tested (see Appendix G for all models). Findings show similar coefficients for all regressions, suggesting robust effects for the included variables.

In addition to traditional economic variables,49 these models also include psychological and sociological variables. Both, the mothers’ predicted depression/anxiety index50 and current domestic violence experience control for psychological characteristics. Sociological variables are food assistance program participation, family support, and community interaction/social capital variables. All human capital and demographic variables have the expected signs. Also, family composition and income variables, as well as labor market characteristics present the anticipated effects. However, some unexpected and interesting results are observed for some of the psychological and sociological variables included in these models. Figure 2.6 presents

48 Appendix C shows that a greater proportion of mothers looking for job are currently working in self-employed and waged occupations, rather than only being not employed. This result illustrates the significant problem of inadequate employment (i.e. underemployment or overemployment), mainly linked to insufficient earnings and more (or fewer) number of working hours.
49 This is, age, education, physical health, marital status, migrant status, employment characteristics, poverty/income level, family structure, family asset/wealth characteristics, and labor market characteristics.
maternal and children’s physical health marginal effects. They clearly show that both mother and offspring’s physical disability problems reduce mothers’ work participation in paid occupations.

**Figure 2.6**
Marginal Effects: Physical Health Status

![Figure 2.6](image)

Source: Table 2.G (Model 4)

Figure 2.7 illustrates domestic violence and depression/anxiety variables’ marginal effects on maternal employment. Results show that mothers experiencing domestic violence are significantly more likely to be unpaid family workers and less likely to work in paid occupations (both self-employed and waged). The depression/anxiety variable has, however, opposite effects to those initially expected. Seemingly surprising, and even after controlling for work conditions, the predicted value of the maternal depression variable’s coefficients indicate that despite their potentially severe psychological condition, these mothers are forced into entering the labor

---

50 This is the predicted depression/anxiety variable from the depression/anxiety probit model reported in Table 2.3.
market. This finding is particularly interesting from a policy perspective, because it contradicts traditional employment and antipoverty policy designs’ assumptions.

![Figure 2.7](image)

**Figure 2.7**
Marginal Effects: Mother’s Psychological Variables

Generally, labor and poverty reduction designs and implementations argue that individuals with higher human capital levels (including psychologically healthier people) are more likely not only to participate in the labor market, but also to receive greater returns. These outcomes clearly contradict these assumptions and suggest the need for further research. A potential explanation is associated with the cross-sectional nature of the dataset used, hence dynamic exploratory processes are not being captured in this model. This is, even though depressed mothers engage in self-employed and wage labor economic activities, their participation is highly unstable. Consequently, although these mothers are forced, very likely because of financial pressures, to participate in the labor market, their probability of keeping these jobs is lower, and hence their likelihood of leaving poverty (Buvinic, Valenzuela, Molina,
Certainly, this explains the ineffectiveness of Peruvian antipoverty policy implementations and clearly demonstrates the need for further investigation.

Figure 2.8 presents marginal effects of maternal feelings of community trust, being part of the community, and the join others to solve problems variables. Results indicate mixed effects of community interaction on maternal labor market sector selection. Although feeling part of the community has a positive and significant effect on both paid occupations, the trust people variable has a negative effect on self-employed mothers and a positive on waged workers. The join others to solve problems variable has a positive and significant effect on waged work, but a non-significant effect on self-employment.

---

51 Additional estimations show that indeed, depressed mothers working in self-employed and wage labor occupations are less likely to have a stable participation in the labor market (Aritomi, 2005a). Also, research by Buvinic et al. (1992) on Chilean poor adolescent mothers finds that although these mothers’ lack of economic and emotional support from their children’ fathers increases their participation in the labor market, they continue to be highly disadvantaged. These mothers’ forced labor market entrances and their lower social support significantly affect their stability and advancement in the work force (Buvinic et al., 1992).
These outcomes suggest that mothers’ paid work participation might depend on active participation (i.e. feel part and join other to solve problems). Active involvement in the community is particularly important among self-employed workers. Given that most self-employed workers are informal, and hence they do not have legal and formal institutional protection, active participation and informal community institution generation create greater incentives for starting small enterprises. Potentially, other sources of social capital (i.e. non-community-based) are likely to play a more important role when entering self-employed activities.

Figure 2.9
Marginal Effects: Non-Labor Income Transfer and Migration

Figure 2.9 presents marginal effects for migrant status, remittance transfers, and food transfers. Surprisingly, although results indicate that a migrant status reduces mothers’ overall work participation, these mothers’ status significantly affects only self-employment
participation. Potentially, low-income migrant mothers have fewer work connectionst that might help them start their own businesses, but not necessarily to enter the waged labor market.

Interestingly, receiving non-labor financial support from family in the form of remittances significantly reduces the probability of working in general and particularly in unpaid family and self-employed (although not significantly) activities. Remittances are a very important source of income for the Peruvian family, unfortunately, they have not been recognized as a valuable resource. This issue affects particularly self-employed mothers, who could use this income as collateral for credits.

In addition, no significant effects are observed for participation in food transfer programs on any labor market sector selection. Potentially, changes in people’s perceptions about the role of food transfer support programs explain this result. Maternal participation in these programs changed from active\textsuperscript{52} to more passive\textsuperscript{53} (Graham, 1994, 1998). These changes primarily affected these programs’ credibility, and hence mothers’ active role and thus their benefits and effectiveness. Despite these results, it is important to be aware of potential different results when analyzing more dynamic employment processes.\textsuperscript{54} These considerations are fundamental when re-evaluating policy effects and drawing policy implications.

These quantitative results undoubtedly illustrate the significant effect that sociological and psychological variables have on mothers’ work decisions. Although some results seem contradictory and several highly surprising, the complementary qualitative data explain several of these findings in greater depth. Additionally, qualitative outcomes present issues not being

\textsuperscript{52} I.e. self-sufficient, self-sustainable, organized under community oriented traditions
\textsuperscript{53} I.e. individual oriented, highly dependent on external funding
\textsuperscript{54} Certainly, additional analyses show significantly positive effects of food transfer social programs on maternal work stability (Aritomi, 2005a).
captured by the quantitative survey. These findings indisputably indicate a critical need for further examinations.

2.4.2. Qualitative Component

This component presents results from the qualitative analysis. Findings support the results from the quantitative component and explain some of their unpredicted outcomes. In addition, unexplored issues are presented in this section, shading light of additional moderating elements significantly affecting poor mothers’ employment in particular sectors. A total of 47 mothers shared their experiences in 6 focus group sessions. All participants were current residents of 3 poor districts in Lima, San Juan de Lurigancho, Villa María del Triunfo, and Ate.

### Table 2.4
Descriptive Statistics

Focus Group Sample: Random Sub-Sample of One Year-Old YL-P Mothers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>San Juan de Lurigancho</th>
<th>Villa María del Triunfo</th>
<th>Ate</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sample Size</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children per mother</td>
<td>2.33</td>
<td>2.13</td>
<td>2.63</td>
<td>2.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrant</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>75.0%</td>
<td>40.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years of education</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household size</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has ever worked</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>87.5%</td>
<td>95.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Currently working</td>
<td>40.0%</td>
<td>31.3%</td>
<td>31.3%</td>
<td>34.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Currently looking for job</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
<td>62.5%</td>
<td>31.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 2004 Focus Group Sessions

Table 2.4 presents descriptive statistics from the focus group sample. Although the sample used was randomly selected, some differences are observed compared to the total YLP-P

---

55 All quotes presented in this section are translations of the original Spanish citations. See Appendix K for the Spanish version.
Lima sample (see Appendix D). These issues are likely to reduce the generalizability of the results. However, given the exploratory nature of this study this problem is unlikely to significantly affect the main purpose of the investigation. Appropriate considerations are however taken when presenting outcomes and policy recommendations.

Qualitative results show that Lima resident mothers believe that mothers should work, particularly if their families’ financial situation is inadequate. In particular, they reveal large preferences for self-employed occupations, mainly because of their greater flexibility. Despite several problems, they argued that their gratifications and motivation for working in self-employed activities were greater. These mothers stated that being able to work at home (or closer from home) and take care of their children is the main benefit of having their own businesses. For example, a participant mother, running a business in her house, explains the advantages of it:

[1] “(…) because I have more time to cook, feed her [her daughter] when she needs it, take care of her, bath her, change her clothes, do laundry, I take my time, the ladies [her employees] come, I work with them, then at certain hour I go home, I live on the second floor, (…) I wake up early and cook early, I warm up lunch at 12 and I feel good, in my house, working because I would not be able do it working outside”

Evidently, working in self-employed occupations at home significantly reduces mothers’ anxiety and concerns about not finding a job and being away from their children for long hours. Mothers are conscious about the difficulties of balancing work and family issues, consequently they lean over working as self-employed. A working mother of 6 children, who has struggled to keep her own business, stated:

---

56 Appendix D presents a general description of the districts’ population, social support/program availability, and infrastructure characteristics.
“In my case for example you know, if there is and if I find a job and they want [a person] without children, not with children, it is better to work on your own, in your own business or something to be closer to your house with your children”

This maternal anxiety clearly affects not only maternal mental health and labor market productivity, but also mothers’ relationship with their children and thus children’s adequate developmental outcomes. One of the participants presented her experience, shared by several other mothers, describing how her family-work conflicts were affecting her child’s mental and physical/nutritional health:

“You are always stressed, the fear, that your child, what he would be doing, if he ate, if he has something in his stomach, in my case my children do not eat when I am not there, because when I see it, the food is as I left it, I cook but still they do not touch it, but my boy why haven’t you eaten? but mom, I am not hungry when you are not here, it is such a sad pain inside (...)

In addition to physical health, mothers report problems associated with psychological conditions. These results support developmental psychological studies finding that high quality mother-child interactions, that lead to stronger attachment bonds, are fundamental mainly during the child’s first months of life (Belsky, 1990; Belsky & Rovine, 1988; Clark et al., 1997). Children with weaker attachment bonds are more likely to have inadequate social, emotional, and cognitive development. One of the participant mothers clearly illustrated her experience with her two children. She stated that despite her higher income and successful professional career development, she realized how important her relationship with her children was:

“(…) I believe that the first year (…) the mothers has to be with the child because I suffered it personally (…) when my older daughter was a year and a half, two years, I started working (…) I began work at 7, 8 in the morning and left sometimes 8, 9, or 10 at night I did not have a specific time (…) professionally I was great, I made a good income and I had my family very well (…) [but] like mother and daughter I could not do it, I felt the rejection of my daughter (…) [with] my second child (…) I will try to be with her (…) until she is 3 or 4 years
and then I will see what to do, but I haven’t stopped working, of course self-employed, not as a dependent, so my schedule is more flexible (…)"

These results suggest that these poor mothers actually see self-employment as a viable mechanism for poverty leave that could complement their maternal roles. Self-employed occupations alleviate their income needs, satisfy their expectations of being employed, and allow them to be closer to their children. However, not all mothers are engaged in self-employed economic activities. Some participants stated their preferences toward more stable waged jobs. Particularly, mothers with post high-school education reveal greater preferences for waged work. This finding supports the quantitative results (see Appendix G).

Although these mothers agree on the great benefits of self-employment, they state that their goal (at that time or after finishing studying) was to find a more stable waged job. Overall, these mothers were also more likely to have previously worked in waged occupations, to have greater family support, to prefer better-paid jobs, and recognize the importance of education. A participant mother, who was currently studying computer programming, clearly described this situation:

[5] “As I mentioned, give education, (…) I will make more money for what I know I am doing, not for what they tell me to do like clean and do a lot of things, they take advantage of you, for example if I know computer programming then I know what I am doing, this is a job that I have studied and then they will pay me for that, you have the training, you know something (…)”

Unfortunately, these more educated mothers are the minority among these poor mothers. Consequently, these poor mothers are less likely to have high-quality jobs in the formal waged labor market, less motivated to participate in this sector, and hence more eager to consider self-employed activities as their work solution. Nevertheless, despite their greater preferences and potential benefits regarding self-employment, participant mothers also recognized many factors
that prevented their engagement in self-employed activities. These issues were associated with lacking self-confidence for engaging in highly unstable and risky projects or not having specific skills such as embroiling, sewing, cooking, or computer skills. Also, they mentioned large credit access problems and not having the right contacts to place their products in the market.

These qualitative results corroborate those from the quantitative model, showing that psychological factors affect maternal work. As stated earlier, anxiety and depression issues associated with having to work and to leave their children with non-parental caregivers largely affects mothers’ work productivity, mental health, and their children’s physical/nutritional and mental health. In addition, these outcomes confirm the proposed explanation regarding the depression/anxiety variable’s positive relationship with self-employed and waged work participation. This is, although mothers who experience depression/anxiety problems try, and in most cases, urgently need to participate in remunerated activities (i.e. self-employed and waged work), they are less likely to stay or to advance in the labor market. This issue is particularly important when creating and maintaining independent businesses.

In addition to this, depression and anxiety symptoms are very likely to coincide with poor self-confidence and self-esteem feelings. These additional psychological problems could inhibit even further mothers’ labor participation. A participant mother, who was studying cosmetology and receives her husband’s economic and emotional support said:

[6] “Well, I don’t know what would it depend on because in my case I sometimes, for selling I am very shy, I am scared, it might not get sold, that I would lose my capital, my husband, how many times he hasn’t told me, and if we open some business?. And I am the one who discourages him [from doing it] because I am scared of loosing everything”

57 Having post-secondary education increases the likelihood of engaging in waged occupations.
Another experience came from a participant, who worked as a leader of a “comedor popular”. She said that these common kitchens not only try to enroll people for working and benefiting from them distributing food, but also they give talks about nutrition and self-esteem. She sadly regretted mothers’ lack of motivation and self-confidence arguing that:

[7] “(…) it is our own laziness, because this person does not want to participate, we invite them, for example we invite them, the comedor works here next door, we say that there is a workshop for self-esteem, we show it there, we say the day, the time, but nobody goes (…) they give self-esteem training, handcraft, there are workshops, the municipality also gives some, but it is the laziness of the person who does not want to go (…)”

Unfortunately, these issues are also frequently related to husband’s domination. Indeed, qualitative results clearly complement quantitative models’ outcomes regarding domestic violence negatively affecting employment participation. Participant mothers agreed that a significant factor affecting mothers’ work participation is the partners’ psychological abuse that mainly erodes mothers’ self-esteem and self-confidence. A participant, who runs a small business and works with other mothers, shared her experience and concerns about this problem:

[8] “(…) others for fear of their husbands, who do not want their wives to work, they do not want them to leave the house (…) many of them have many problems, for example they say, madam I don’t know how to do it, lets see madam what do you do, very nice !, madam this is pretty, you know how to do it, why don’t you do it?, oh madam you are flattering me, why? because my husband said to me that I am useless (…)”

These psychological issues largely affected mothers’ work engagement, and mainly in self-employed occupations. In addition, mothers also agreed that credit access problems stopped them from starting their own businesses. Some problems they faced when attempting to find a credit were poor access to formal credit markets, bank requirements such as previous experience in self-employed activities, having savings in the bank or other collaterals, and large interests.
Recent studies show that issues related to not having collaterals, and in particular not having their houses or lands’ formal property right documents, significantly affect poor people’s access to credit markets and hence to small business creations and poverty exits.

Specifically, De Soto states that the informality that surrounds the property right institution limits individuals from using their houses, land or even other businesses as collaterals (De Soto, 2002). These individuals, therefore, are forced to use informal credit markets (if there are any available) and to pay high interest rates, placing them in an even more disadvantaged position. Some participant mothers shared problems they faced when they thought about getting a credit to start a small business:

[9] “Yes, there were several people who benefited with that [community credit institution] because they initially gave them a minimum credit, (…) but the problem is that when they asked me to participate (…) [with] a group of 10 mothers if one of them fails [to pay] the rest of the mothers (…) need to give the money to pay (…) and because the majority does not pay this is why I did not agree to go ahead with that”

In addition to financial capital, social capital availability was fundamental for successfully entering and staying in the self-employed sector. Qualitative findings support sociological theories arguing that social capital access has positive effects on employment. Particularly important among self-employed mothers, having contacts or connection, that significantly helps mothers market their products, is critical for their work advancement. One of the participant mothers exposed a clear example of this type of situations:

[10] “(…) sometimes I make these bracelets that I see you know (…) and this girl also (…) [made] a lot of bracelets, she sent them to other countries then she was in charge, she does not make them anymore but ask other people to make them, I also think and say if I could have a person who could help me, you know (…)”
These results support and explain in more detail the findings from the multinomial models. They indicate that self-employed mothers are more likely to succeed if their integration and connections with other individuals in their community are active. Consequently, not only financial, but also social resources are critical for maternal work participation.

In addition to supporting and explaining some seemingly inconsistent results from the quantitative analysis, qualitative findings show additional unanticipated outcomes. Understudied factors associated with crime, illegal activities, and sexual harassment-abuse show to play an important role in Peruvian poor mothers’ employment participation decisions. Although some of these variables have been considered in previous studies, they have been used mainly as poverty indicators. Studies find significant correlations between crime and poverty rates. Nevertheless, few investigations have been able to understand how high crime, illegal businesses, and sexual abuse directly affect poverty levels through maternal work (Flora Tristán, 2005).58

Although it is not surprising, participant mothers clearly said that one of the main issues affecting maternal work is high crime rates. This problem disturbs not only mothers’ ability to safely move between their houses and work, but also their children’s security and general well-being. Indeed, the majority of mothers suggested that increasing police security is one of the main issues to be considered to improve mothers’ and their communities’ well-being. One of the participant mothers living in one of the riskiest districts in Lima, clearly stated:

[11] “I think that there should be more protection, more security because now you cannot, at least in that part of the avenue that has become very, it is very dangerous, I mean a person cannot get from work late, from 10 or 11 they are robbing people, there must be more security, more police security (…)”

58 This recent qualitative study developed by the Centro de la Mujer Peruana Flora Tristán finds similar results regarding high crime rates, sexual violence, and illegal substance abuse issues affecting maternal employment and general well-being. This investigation’s sample includes one of
Furthermore, in addition to high crime, these communities are also more likely to face greater rates of illegal activities and sexual violence. Findings show that these problems are observed, not only on the streets, but also in work places and even within families. Particularly affecting waged workers, sexual harassment from employers seem to be more frequent than imagined. Mothers, who revealed having gone through this experience, not only saw themselves having to leave their jobs, but also largely discouraged to look for other jobs. A very young participant mother presented her experience, which was also corroborated by many other mothers as regularly occurring:

[12] “(…) I have experienced (…) [the] harassment, because in several places I have worked, as a secretary, cashier, and always in those jobs (…) I have been harassed by my boss and that is why I had to quit, I did not last long, I worked a year, half a year and I had to leave because of that reason.”

More surprisingly, results indicate that these sexual violence events were also common in several houses. Several mothers declared feeling exposed to illegal activities and sexual abuse attacks. This clearly affected their willingness to leave their houses and their children under the care of other co-resident adult. This finding contradicts the economic model’s assumption that additional co-resident adults are likely to act as more reliable non-parental caregivers. These results, however, support psychological and sociological models stating that negative role models are likely to largely affect children’s developmental outcomes. Mothers, aware of this potential problem, prefer not to leave their children under any other person’s care, and in many cases not even their fathers. A mother talked about her experience:

[13] “(…) here (…) there is a lot of that, there are a lot of cases of rape that haven’t been reported and boys and girls, there is that fear also. Because now I
mean even within your family, relatives like the uncle, the nephew did something.”

These findings, both from the quantitative and qualitative components, illustrate a clear need for further investigation. This study indicates the importance of combining quantitative with qualitative information, not only for confirming and explaining several unexpected results, but also for discovering unanticipated explanatory factors and processes, as well as revealed preferences. Both quantitative and qualitative results indicate that psychological and sociological factors clearly play an important role in maternal employment decisions, stability, and advancement.

Particularly, depression, anxiety, and domestic violence problems clearly influence mothers’ employment decisions. Also, active social capital availability positively affects maternal self-employment. In addition, high crime rates, sexual violence, and illegal activities are found to be important factors preventing mothers from engaging in economic activities. These results illustrate the importance of integrating multiple theoretical perspectives and methodologies for advancing the maternal labor force participation literature. This advancement is fundamental for designing more effective policy implementations.

2.5. DISCUSSION

Existing social programs aimed at reducing domestic and sexual violence, improving community integration, and creating micro-businesses are fundamental for enhancing low-income mothers’ overall well-being. These programs are particularly important given these problems’ great occurrence among poor women, whose financial and social coping resources are smaller. Although the Peruvian governmental administration is conscious about these issues
several problems regarding the poor implementation and targeting, few resources, and the multiple but unconnected programs, significantly reduce the effectiveness of any implemented social program. In addition, despite the Peruvian government’s recognition of maternal employment as an important poverty alleviation strategy, most social programs lack work-enhancing goals. This study’s findings reveal the critical need for integrating work enhancing goals to these social programs’ main objectives. Results evidence significant effects that depression, domestic violence, and active community participation have on Peruvian poor mothers’ employment decisions.

More interestingly, results reveal that poor Peruvian mothers both prefer and are more engaged in self-employed activities. This suggests that employment programs aimed at supporting self-employment enhancement could have a more positive response and acceptance among poor mothers. Nevertheless, even though results suggest that self-employed occupations could be a major mechanism for poverty alleviation goals, it is crucial to recognize all factors preventing mothers from adapting self-employed activities into their greater and more stable income source, and hence their main anti-poverty strategy. Results clearly show that work enhancing policies must integrate psychological and sociological factors constraining mothers’ work in self-employed occupations.

Particularly, depression/anxiety, domestic and sexual violence, and low motivation and self-esteem problems emerge as psychological factors jeopardizing maternal self-employment participation and mostly its stability and advancement. It is obvious that poor mothers, regardless of their psychological conditions, ought to and are willing to participate in paid self-employed economic activities. However, forcing mothers to enter the labor market, potentially fulfilling breadwinner roles, engaging in poor quality activities, and leaving their children under
other people’s supervision, exacerbates their psychological and employment problems even further. As a consequence, mothers’ work stability and advancement, which actually determine their long term and sustainable poverty exit, are certainly not achievable. This conclusion is particularly alarming given the high prevalence of mental health and domestic violence problems among this population.

Sadly, these psychological problems commonly coincide with additional problems such as partners’ domination and lack of economic and social capital, increasing even further mothers’ disadvantages. Qualitative results indicate that cultural ideologies supporting male domination and traditional gender roles, limit maternal employment not only restricting mothers from actively working, but also lowering women’s self-esteem. These issues are likely to be considerably more frequent in more isolated regions of the country, increasing mothers’ social capital limitation problems even more.

Regarding financial and social capital effects, outcomes reveal that non-labor income reduces mothers’ overall work participation, and that active community involvement increases paid work. These results clearly lead to controversial inferences pertaining particular policy implementations. Concerning financial capital, evidence from qualitative findings shows that one of low-income Peruvian mothers’ greater problems for engaging in self-employed occupations is capital and credit market access. Simultaneously, quantitative results show that although remittances are an important source of income for the Peruvian household and could be used as collaterals in credit markets, their effects are non-significant on maternal self-employment. It is only recently that programs have been implemented in Peru to use remittances as collaterals particularly for housing credits. Unfortunately, similar programs have not been
applied targeting more productive activities, such as small businesses. Clearly, these programs are likely to largely benefit self-employed individuals.

Concerning social capital, actively participating in community projects increases poor mothers’ social capital, and hence their work participation, particularly in paid occupations. This partially explains the non-significant effects of the social program participation variable on maternal employment. Community-based social programs moved from being self-sustainable and organized under active community participation traditions to more individualistic and highly dependent on external donations. These changes not only endangered these programs’ long term sustainability, but also their credibility, reducing even further mothers’ active involvement.

In addition, qualitative findings expand the discussion revealing additional unexpected factors affecting maternal employment. Although it is clear that crime, sexual violence, and illegal activity issues are growing problems in Peru, few researchers and policy makers are aware of the direct and dramatic effects on maternal employment. These issues particularly affect self-employed mothers, who are mostly informal street vendors, and hence more exposed to being assaulted. Also, co-resident adults’ illegal activities and sexual violence, traditionally considered a major source of non-parental child care provision, not only reduce child care availability, but also eliminates the possibility of having in-home caregivers. Ignoring or undermining these effects not only biases maternal employment models’ estimations, but essentially leads to ineffective employment and policy alleviation policy designs and implementations.

Despite all these significant barriers affecting self-employed activity engagement, it is evident that the self-employed informal sector is the more active and growing Peruvian labor market sector. Consequently, it should not be surprising to argue that if some of the issues revealed in this study are considered and the appropriate policies and social programs are
implemented, Peruvian poor mothers’ poverty alleviation goals are likely to be achieved. It is, consequently, fundamental to integrate social programs targeting these psychological and sociological problems with work-enhancing goals. Initiatives such as the Ministry of Women and Social Development’s domestic and sexual violence programs as well as the Wawa Wasi child care project, the Ministry of Labor’s public employment enhancement and micro-credit programs, and the Ministry of Internal Matters’ police force improvement programs address some of these issues. Connecting these currently isolated efforts will eliminate duplicating target populations and objectives, and thus wasting the already scarce public resources.

2.6. CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Maternal employment, and more recently self-employment, has been recognized as an important mechanism for poverty reduction. Not only economic, but also psychological and sociological factors largely affect mothers’ work decisions, and hence its final goal of poverty alleviation. This study supports this statement, showing clear differences between no work, unpaid family, self-employed, and waged labor participation, regarding preferences and actual engagement in any specific labor market sector.

Results indicate not only greater engagement but also preferences for self-employed occupations. These results support previous investigations arguing that self-employed economic activities are likely to be the preferred mechanism for mothers’ poverty alleviation strategies. Findings indicate that these occupations present large benefits for mothers, largely associated with greater time and geographic flexibility. Nevertheless, several problems are likely to inhibit

59 See http://www.mimdes.gob.pe/ for more specific information about these programs.
60 See http://www.mintra.gob.pe/ for more information regarding specific programs.
them from effectively help mothers stay and advance into the self-employed labor market, and hence leave poverty. Quantitative and qualitative outcomes indicate particular psychological and sociological problems significantly affecting maternal employment:

- Depression/anxiety problems are significantly associated with mothers’ employment, both as a consequence and cause of poor quality and forced maternal labor participation. These problems clearly lead to greater work instability, particularly affecting already riskier and more unstable self-employed occupations.

- Physical domestic violence experiences significantly prevent maternal paid work participation (i.e. self-employed and waged). More in-depth qualitative outcomes evidence that concurrent psychological violence, low self-esteem and self-confidence problems exacerbate these experiences’ negative effects.

- Active participation and involvement in community projects increase mothers’ social capital access, and hence significantly increases maternal employment, particularly in self-employed activities. Lack of credibility and large dependency on external funding are the main problems affecting maternal active involvement in community projects.

- Remittances do not have significant effects on maternal small business creation. This suggests that families are not using this valuable income source as collaterals, despite self-employed mothers’ evident problems to access credit markets.

- High crime rates, sexual violence, and illegal activities appear to have direct and greater negative effects on maternal labor force participation, and self-employment in particular, than ever expected.

61 Go to http://www.mininter.gob.pe/ for more information.
These conclusions undoubtedly illustrate the need for immediate policy re-evaluation. Several actions need to be taken, particularly for improving maternal mental health, financial and social capital acquisition, as well as criminal, illegal, and sexual violence activities:

- Integrate existing efforts from the Ministry of Women and Social Development aimed at preventing and treating domestic violence and creating self-sufficient community programs, with the Ministry of Internal Matters’ police force upgrading programs, and Ministry of Labor’s micro-business enhancing programs, in order to more effectively enhance mothers’ work, and hence, achieve poverty alleviation and social development common goals.

- Support and implement additional campaigns and programs aimed at improving women’s self-esteem and self-confidence, particularly raising awareness of depression and anxiety problems.

- Develop and execute more community based projects that promote the integration and active participation of mothers. Particularly, greater efforts need to be focused on improving community projects’ credibility and self-sufficiency. These programs not only are more sustainable in the long term, but also they are a very important source of social capital.

- Design and implement programs aimed at improving micro-credit availability considering remittances as a permanent source of income, and thus as collaterals. These programs should target small entrepreneurs and particularly women. Similar ideas such as Hernando de Soto’s dead capital theory, propose improving the informality that surrounds the property right institution that limits individuals from using their houses, land or even other businesses as collaterals (De Soto, 2002).
• Allocate greater resources in security and crime reduction programs. Also, improve women’s access and information to supporting resources for sexual violence cases through the mass media and community centers’ campaigns
CHAPTER 3
A 26 HOUR DAY PLEASE... SURE, FOR FAMILY OR TO WORK? ON PERUVIAN LOW-INCOME MOTHERS’ PERCEIVED PROBLEMS, COPING STRATEGIES, AND EXTERNAL SUPPORT

3.1. INTRODUCTION

Researchers and policy makers consider poor mothers as a highly vulnerable, and hence, a strategic population for targeting policies aimed at alleviating poverty problems. Consequently, investigations and policy implementations have typically focused on analyzing and improving maternal employment as a major poverty alleviation mechanism. Ironically, many studies and policy implementations fail to notice the significant effects that work vs. family responsibility conflicts have on mothers’ employment decisions and their overall well-being. Consequently, although great efforts and public resources aimed at understanding and reducing poor mothers’ work barriers are invested, it is clear that more should be done for exploring mothers’ perceived problems, solving strategies, and major support sources.

Evidence indicates that low-income mothers experience large disadvantages entering, staying, and advancing in the labor market. Also, poor mothers face greater housework responsibilities, and although their access to private safety nets seems extensive, it potentially has limited economic resources. These issues are even greater among poor mothers residing in developing countries such as Peru. These mothers not only face weaker formal labor markets, but also have fewer public resources available to assist them with work-family balancing tasks.

Despite these work and family problems, several low-income Peruvian mothers manage to successfully remain employed and complete housework chores. Identifying not solely what prevents mothers from completing work and family responsibilities, but also what facilitate their completion and how mothers perceive and utilize their external support is critical for developing
more comprehensive studies. Understanding how low-income mother perceive and deal with these problems provides valuable information that might help design and implement more effective programs.

Using qualitative information from individual semi-structured interviews conducted to a sample of low-income Peruvian mothers, this study investigates these mothers’ every-day problems, coping strategies, and external support for managing and solving employment and housework responsibilities. A unique feature of this qualitative dataset is its direct link with a multinational longitudinal quantitative survey, the Young Lives Project (YLP). Mothers who participated in these semi-structured interviews are a sub-sample of the YLP-Peru’s original sample. Also, these interviewed mothers previously participated in focus groups sessions conducted during July-August 2004.

These in-depth interviews provide information regarding mothers’ perceptions about work and family conflicts, problems, and solving dynamics. Interviewed mothers were asked about their typical daily activities, how they organize their housework and labor market activities, and how they cope with unexpected conflicts. Based on Bronfenbrenner’s ecological model, work and family conflicts and solving strategies are analyzed using different systems of influence. This study uses three main different systems: (i) family, including solutions associated with family members, (ii) community, associated with strategies linked to community residents or services available, and (iii) government, involving public social program support.

This study advances previous investigations by presenting evidence essential to re-evaluate existing survey questionnaires, and to re-examine public social policy designs. It is fundamental for improving these data collection instruments, and in particular for longitudinal and multinational such as the Young Lives Project, to continue exploring and utilizing this type
of information sources. Indeed, their significant power for detecting unexpected factors and processes behind maternal and family decisions, make in-depth qualitative interviews essential for understanding these issues not only across different countries and cultures, but also over time. The international YLP team recognizes the importance of qualitative techniques and has called for additional qualitative investigations linked to the YLP, not only to the YLP-Peru sample outside Lima, but also to the Indian, Ethiopian, and Vietnamese YLP samples.

3.2. BACKGROUND

Labor market and housework time allocation decisions are highly complex particularly for low-income families with young children. Although work responsibility’s decisions largely affect family chores’ and vice versa, economists have commonly considered them as determined in totally independent spheres. On the contrary, developmental psychologists, based on ecological models, assume that these decisions and processes are the result of interactions between different systems and individuals (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998).

Bronfenbrenner (1998) describes a four level ecological system model influencing individuals: Microsystem (i.e. individual’s immediate setting that directly affects and is affected by the individual), Mesosystem (i.e. system in which several microsystems interact and affect the individual), Exosystem (i.e. higher level settings where individuals do not have direct influence on, but are affected by them), and Macrosystem (i.e. include social, cultural and ideological contexts). These systems affect and are affected by individuals differently depending on the individual’s developmental stage, their significant relationship with the individual, and the system’s interaction with other systems. Consequently, it is important to identify the specific effects that these different systems have on mothers’ decisions, how these mothers perceive their
systems, and their systems’ interactions with each other. Poor income mothers’ major ecological systems can be categorized as family-based, community-based, and government-based. Low-income mothers’ work and family time allocation decisions clearly are shaped by these mothers’ interactions with these different system levels and these systems’ interactions with one another.


Traditional economic household models propose a specialized gendered division of labor, based on economic returns and opportunity costs. They state that greater productivity is achieved if men specialize in labor market economic activities and women in housework (Becker, 1965, 1993). However, evidence shows that families are rapidly moving away from this model, observing greater numbers of dual-earner households with women, and particularly married mothers entering the labor market.

More recent household behavior models based on Nash-bargaining game theory, explain this seemingly inconsistent evidence (McElroy, 1990). These models assume that household decisions are the results of negotiation processes and depend on each member’s bargaining power within the household. Labor force participation increases individuals’ bargaining power, and hence their control over household’s time and resource allocation decisions. Consequently, working women would be more likely to gain power within the household, and hence to reduce their share of housework load.

62 Household behavior models state that women’s employment decisions are based on cost-benefit analyses. This is, women decide to enter the labor force if their benefits overweight their costs. Traditionally, economic studies have focused on wage differentials as the main proxy for benefits (or returns) to labor market participation. Female, and particularly maternal work participation costs include child care, transportation (monetary and time), gender discrimination, and government social support eligibility loss. Also, additional factors frequently considered as unobserved in economic models but largely included in sociological and developmental psychological models are found to significantly affect
Nevertheless, despite employed women’s (and particularly mothers’) potentially greater negotiating power, they continue to allocate longer hours doing unpaid housework activities than husbands (Bianchi, 2000; Blair & Johnson, 1992; Hallberg & Klevmarken, 2003; Ilahi, 2001). These differences are even larger among families living in less developed countries where traditional gender role attitudes largely dominate (Cavalcanti, 2002; Ilahi, 2001; Nelson, 1999). These working mothers face greater challenges simultaneously achieving labor market activities and most (if not all) regular housework chores (such as cooking, grocery shopping, cleaning the house, and doing laundry) and those associated with children responsibilities (such as child care, children’s homework assistance, and school meetings’ participation) (Blau, 2001; Hallberg & Klevmarken, 2003). These problems are even greater among low-income mothers, whose financial and external social support constraints are greater (Blair & Johnson, 1992; Greenberger & O’Neil, 1990).

As a consequence, it is not rare to observe greater employment instability among low-income mothers. For example, an International Labor Organization report indicates that in 2000, 67 percent of employed Peruvian women worked in the highly unstable and risky informal sector (ILO, 2001). Despite this evidence, most investigators define labor force participation as a full-time and year-round activity, assuming constant workforce attachment levels. Clearly, this assumption does not hold for all individuals, in particular low-income mothers with young children whose employment status is evidently unstable (Hynes & Clarkberg, 2005; K. Smith & Bachu, 1999). Using information from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth, Hynes and Clarkberg (2005) show that only 22 percent of women remain continuously employed.

maternal labor costs. For example, social constraints about maternal work participation, domestic violence, and concerns and high stress created by using low quality non-parental child care arrangements.
throughout a span of about 36 months before and after giving birth their first and second children.

Although this work intermittency is for some mothers a strategy for alleviating temporal economic shortages without abandoning household responsibilities, for others it is their only way to participate in the labor market (Chacaltana, 2001; Hynes & Clarkberg, 2005; Presser, 2003). Certainly, this maternal erratic employment dynamic is largely a consequence of low-income mothers’ constrained access to low-quality low-skilled occupations (Chacaltana, 2001; De Soto, 2002). Unfortunately, this work instability not only affects mothers’ prospective employment dynamics and later poverty exit goals (Hotchkiss & Pitts, 2003), but also their children’ already disadvantaged developmental outcomes (Brooks-Gunn et al., 2002; Greenberger & O'Neil, 1990; Kalil, Dunifon, & Danziger, 2001; Lichter & Eggebeen, 1994).

Research, mainly based on US samples, shows that greater maternal employment instability debilitates the formation of more solid mother-child attachment bonds (Yoshikawa et al., 2003).63 This finding is particularly alarming given that children with fragile attachment bonds are more likely to experience less optimal emotional, social, and cognitive developmental outcomes (Belsky & Rovine, 1988). In addition, greater maternal work instability produces more insecure household’s environmental conditions, increasing economic and emotional stress (Clampet-Lundquist, Edin, London, Scott, & Hunter, 2004; Hotchkiss & Pitts, 2003; Olson & Banyard, 1993; Repetti & Wood, 1997).

Although most investigations analyzing effects of maternal employment on children focus on early childhood impacts, research indicates significant consequences on school-aged

---

63 Research shows inconsistent effects regarding maternal work and attachment bond formation. Although some argue that maternal employment has per se negative effects on mother-child interaction time, and hence their attachment bond establishment (Belsky & Rovine,
children’ educational outcomes. Clearly, children, whose poor mothers are employed, largely benefit from greater economic resources. Nevertheless, they are also more likely to be unsupervised and to have greater responsibilities with household chores, particularly care giving tasks. Among low-income Peruvian families, findings indicate that mothers report older children as their main source of child care assistance (Escobal et al., 2003). These responsibilities might reduce children’s school homework, play, and even resting time.

Although some studies have investigated children’s paid work effects (Basu, 1999; Ray, 1999), few studies have focused on unpaid family child labor’s effects on children’s school attainment. Studies indicate that, despite their neutral effects on school enrollment, Peruvian children’s work participation has negative consequences on school outcomes (Ray, 1999). These results suggest alarming implications indicating even worse consequences on children’s educational outcomes if unpaid working children were also considered.

Mothers, whose children experience these situations, are potentially more willing to look for more flexible work schedules or part-time jobs. Evidently, this increases even further their already challenging and complex employment decisions (Presser, 2003; J. B. Smith & Stelcner, 1990). Low-income mothers’ jobs are usually low-quality and highly unstable. In addition, poor mothers’ deprived economic conditions make their workforce entrance not an option and they work longer hours than wealthier women (Buvinic et al., 1992; Ilahi, 2001). Clearly, dealing with these problems largely affects mothers’ daily and long term emotional stability, and hence their children’s. Consequently, it is not rare to observe low-income mothers experiencing greater physical and psychological health problems (Danziger et al., 2000; Escobal et al., 2003; Lawrence et al., 2004; WHO, 2001).

1988; Brooks-Gunn et al., 2002), other findings show non-significant or even positive effects (Booth, Clarke-Stewart, Lowe Vandell, McCartney,
However, despite the overloading burden that the extra labor market responsibilities might have on poor mothers’ already hectic schedules, some mothers facing challenging household responsibilities might emotionally benefit from working. At work, these mothers find a refuge where they can get detached from chaotic family and child care responsibilities. This temporal disconnection could even help them cope with overwhelming family related issues more effectively (Clark et al., 1997; Hochschild, 1997; Olson & Banyard, 1993).

Additionally, studies report that mothers working in better paid, positive environments, more flexible, and more stable jobs, not only benefit from greater economic resources, but also psychological benefits (Hochschild, 1997; Moore & Driscoll, 1997; Zaslow & Emig, 1997). Indeed, developmental psychological studies indicate that mothers who chose to be employed or work in high-quality activities64 report feeling more satisfied than mothers holding in inferior jobs. Low-income mothers’ improved mental health reinforces positive mother-child interactions reducing potential negative consequences on mother-infant attachment bond development, due to the reduction in mother-child interaction or quality time (Booth et al., 2002; Clark et al., 1997; Moore & Driscoll, 1997; Repetti & Wood, 1997; Wille, 1992).

Clearly, child-related issues, and in particularly child care troubles are major household concerns (Boushey, 2003; Peyton, Jacobs, O’Brien, & Roy, 2001; Yeung & Stafford, 2003). A basic but critical decision entails selecting the child care arrangement to be used, largely choosing between parental and non-parental caregivers. Although there is some debate regarding the positive (Adams & Rohacek, 2002; Ayala, 2003; Booth et al., 2002) or negative (Belsky, 1990; Belsky & Rovine, 1988; Brooks-Gunn et al., 2002) effects of non-parental child

---

64 Generally, high quality jobs can be understood as those with more positive environments, higher wages, workplaces closer to their houses, more non-income benefits, etc.
care on children’s developmental outcomes, there is consensus about the positive impact of good
and stable care provision on children’s development (Clark et al., 1997; Clarke-Stewart, 1992)
and maternal employment (Anderson & Levine, 1999; Blau & Mocan, 2002; Deutsch, 1998;
Hallman et al., 2002).

Unfortunately, poor mothers experience larger difficulties to find high-quality and stable
care arrangements than non-poor mothers. Low-income mothers’ child care problems are
related to high costs (Blau, 2001; Kimmel, 1998; Mason & Kuhltau, 1992; Meyers, Heintze, &
Wolf, 2002) and the lack of good child care centers (Berger & Black, 1992; Blau & Hagy, 1998;
Blau & Mocan, 2002; Peyton et al., 2001). Also, non-reliable relatives as caregivers (Blau,
2001; Brewster & Padavic, 2002; Uttal, 1999), no child care available during non-standard hours
(J. R. Henly, 2003; Perry-Jenkins, 2004; Presser, 2003; Tekin, 2004), and cultural preferences
(Aritomi, 2003; Early & Burchinal, 2001; Peyton et al., 2001; Ronsaville & Hakin, 2000) are
poor mothers’ frequent child care problems.

These child care issues are more complex to solve if the number of children is greater
(Blau, 2001), they are younger (Averett et al., 2000; Belsky & Rovine, 1988), or have disability
problems (Brandon & Hogan, 2004; Corman, Reichman, & Noonan, 2004). In addition, child
care issues become especially challenging for low-income mothers living in families with highly
traditional gender roles. These mothers have greater constraints for utilizing non-maternal child
care arrangements, and would face larger obstacles for entering the workforce and to achieve
economic self-sufficiency.

Particularly in countries with strong social ideologies regarding male domination, even
though poor mothers are able to enter the labor market, their entrances are highly restricted to
particular activities, mostly unpaid and family-based (Cavalcanti, 2002; Donahoe, 1999; Ilahi,
This limited access to financial resources reduces even further their poor bargaining power within the household and their possibilities of leaving poor marriages (Amato & Booth, 1997; Cherlin, 1992). However, evidence reveals that despite women’s work participation and even higher earnings, they might continue to face physical and psychological abuse from their partners. Authors explain these findings presenting ideological and gender-related arguments and indicating that domestic violence is a response to the male partner loosing his power and his breadwinner role (Macmillan & Gartner, 1999; McCloskey, 1996).

3.2.2. Exosystems: Community-Level and Government-Level.

Low-income mothers’ problems are even greater among those experiencing greater geographic and social isolation problems. Indeed, sociological studies reveal that poor working mothers largely benefit from social capital availability as a coping and protecting strategy (Buvinic et al., 1992; Coleman, 1988; J. R. Henly, Danziger, & Offer, 2005; Parcel & Menaghan, 1994). Sadly, low-income mothers’ access to social support is frequently limited and it is mainly aimed at temporarily alleviating but not solving long-term poverty issues. These mothers’ major sources of potential support (i.e. relatives, neighbors, and friends) frequently face similar economic and social capital constraints (J. R. Henly et al., 2005; Jayakody, 1998). Nevertheless, mothers largely perceive relatives and friends as critical support resources providing non-financial assistance. This perceived support has significant effects on improving maternal emotional well-being (J. R. Henly et al., 2005).

On the contrary, although government social programs are a very important income source for many low-income mothers, these programs are likely to have a smaller effect on these mothers’ well-being. This scenario is likely to occur among poor countries such as Peru with
highly deteriorated non-credible social programs, hence reducing their potential economic and
social benefits (Du Bois, 2004; Graham, 1994; Vásquez, 2004). Also, these government
transfers are frequently small, highly dependent on international funding, highly unstable, and
largely disconnected from local social institutions (Du Bois, 2004; Graham, 1994; Henschel,
2003; Vásquez, 2004). In addition, mothers using these public programs are frequently
stigmatized, reducing even further their involvement and their potential gains from them.

Moreover, evidence indicates that poor mothers live in more insecure neighborhoods,
facing high crime rates, illegal substance abuse, and sexual violence issues (Flora Tristán, 2005)
and alarmingly poor access to health and social support services (J. R. Henly et al., 2005). These
problems increase even further low-income mothers’ vulnerability and ability to handle
unexpected situations. Consequently, it is easy to understand how low-income families’ daily
activities are highly chaotic and full of unexpected events (Daly, 2001, 2003; Olson & Banyard,
1993; Roy et al., 2004).

Clearly, poor mothers are more vulnerable to labor market performance constraints,
financial family problems, child related difficulties, physical and mental health problems, and
community and social support characteristics. Often due to information unavailable, several of
these issues have been overlooked by social research and policy designs. Consequently, it is
fundamental to further explore factors and processes affecting mothers’ employment decisions
and options. Given the unexplored nature of these processes and factors, qualitative studies
largely contribute to expanding our knowledge regarding mothers’ barriers, coping strategies,
and external support for improving their participation, attachment, and advancement in the labor
market.
3.3. RESEARCH DESIGN

The primary goal of this investigation is to explore mothers’ perceptions about major problems affecting their work and housework activities, coping strategies for solving these problems, and their perceived most important sources of external support. Given these mothers’ economic conditions, it is reasonable to expect that the external support received is not going to be constrained to financial, but mainly non-financial resources (e.g. emotional/psychological and social capital assistance). The research questions guiding this study are:

i) What factors do poor Peruvian mothers perceive as jeopardizing the execution of household/family responsibilities and their employment performance?

ii) Which are low-income mothers’ main support sources (both financial and non-financial) and their most frequent coping strategies to deal with work and family responsibility conflicts? At the family level? At the community level? At the government level?

Overall, all these interviews provide great information about mothers’ perceptions, preferences, expectations, and responses to typical or unexpected events. It is important to remember that these data are highly subjective to each mother’s experiences and background. Consequently, problems, solutions, and support sources reported as more challenging or valuable represent perceptions rather than objective or casual factors. This information is critical for understanding how mothers internally process and experience all these events. Despite this individuality and subjectivity, some common problems and coping strategies emerged across all mothers.

All semi-structured interviews were transcribed, and later coded relying on manual coding and a computer workbench program for qualitative analysis (ATLAS.ti). Two main
thematic dimensions, problems and solutions, were used to guide the coding process. Problems were coded as family or work related, this is, as problems affecting the family’s typical activities (e.g. no child care available, marital conflicts, economic problems, overcrowded houses) or work conditions, entrance, attachment, or advancement (e.g. non-flexible schedules, non-regular jobs, low or no economic compensation). Solutions were coded as family, community, or government associated. These codes refer to mothers’ coping or solving strategies that involve family (e.g. pulling economic resources with co-resident relatives, child care support from partner or any other relative, older children helping with housework), community (e.g. neighbors helping with child care, getting credit for food, having friend who can contact with work sources), and government (e.g. health insurance access, social program participation, public child care center access) resources and strategies.

Additional codes include mothers’ future plans about work and activities they would do if two imaginary extra hours could be given to them. Although it was clear that all mothers had hectic days organizing work and family tasks, there was some variation across interviewed mothers. Particularly interesting were differences between mothers who had a clear vision about their future plans (e.g. start a new business, place children in child care center, go back to school) and those who lived and solved issues one day at the time. Also, previous information from focus group meetings suggested that poor mothers experience great instability and several spells in and out of the labor market during short to medium periods of time. Mothers’ references about their background employment instability are also categorized.

Although largely underutilized, qualitative studies are an extraordinary information source. However, not only among more quantitative-oriented disciplines, but also among those using qualitative-oriented methodologies, some discussion is observed regarding qualitative
studies’ results, interpretations, and implications (Greenhalgh, 1997). Different theoretical designs, investigation focuses, data collection techniques, and ultimate goals, partially explain this lack of consensus. This creates significant problems when reviewing and interpreting qualitative research (Ambert et al., 1995). Despite these potential diversity regarding data collection methods, sample selection, and analysis, it is clear that qualitative investigations have specific characteristics, purposes, and goals. Failing to understand these characteristics and objectives could lead to misinterpretations and further undervaluing of these studies (Ambert et al., 1995; Punch, 1998).

Ambert et al. (1995) propose certain considerations that need to be addressed when analyzing qualitative findings. First, qualitative investigations look for depth rather than extensiveness. Consequently, it is more likely to see information from smaller samples but in greater detail. Second, these studies do not focus on understanding macro-scale average believes or behaviors, but more on individual behavioral processes and rationalities. Third, qualitative information is able to capture processes ranging from micro to macro level contexts. Fourth, discovery rather than verification is the main goal of these investigations (Ambert et al., 1995).

An important factor about qualitative research is the strong link between the data collection method used and the investigation’s main objectives (Pawson, 1996; Punch, 1998). Semi-structured interviews are, for example, an excellent instrument if the main objective of the investigation is to expand, refine, specific ideas or pre-established hypotheses. Compared to more radical structured or unstructured qualitative interviews, semi-structured interviews are more capable of capturing in-depth information, following a more organized and precise theory-driven data collection strategy (Ambert et al., 1995; Pawson, 1996).
Semi-structured interviews clearly reduce issues related to the impersonal nature of structured interviews or the overwhelming information flow associated with unstructured interviews (Pawson, 1996; Punch, 1998; Rosenblum, 1987). Although these interviews provide a more balanced instrument, several factors should be considered. First, it is fundamental to obtain equilibrium between sociability and science (Ambert et al., 1995; Rosenblum, 1987). This is, even though close interaction with interviewees and knowledge of cultural and idiosyncratic characteristics are important, it is also critical to hold an objective appreciation during the interviewing process. Second, in order to avoid biases, interviewers should be aware of how brief exclamations or voice tone could affect the respondent’s willingness to share information about sensitive issues (Rosenblum, 1987).

Consequently, semi-structured interviews are more advantageous and better used when prior information about the study theme and population is available. Additionally, these in-depth interviews largely require and benefit from having a clear theoretical base supporting the study design and analysis. Using this theoretical base, semi-structure interview data could be used for testing the inclusion or evaluation of particular survey questions/instruments. Also, they are helpful to further explore for example how individuals might react to certain policy implementations, their preferences regarding existing social programs, or higher level contextual factors affecting individuals’ decisions, among others.

Despite the outstanding information source that qualitative information from semi-structure represents, it is important to be cautious when drawing conclusions and implications from it. It is important to keep in mind that qualitative data method designs differ from those used with quantitative data. Consequently, issues to be considered when analyzing and presenting results from quantitative and qualitative data are not identical. For example,
investigator, more familiar with quantitative data, might observe potential generalizability problems, causal effect issues, and uncontrolled mediating and moderating factors affecting the final outcome when evaluating qualitative data analyses. Qualitative information is certainly more useful for exploratory analysis, hypothesis and theory evaluation and testing, and to capture unobserved processes that might explain particular causal effects.

3.4. DATA COLLECTION

This study’s data come from a group of 12 semi-structured interviews (SSI) conducted in Lima during February 2005. Potential participants were randomly selected from the sub-group of YLP-P participant mothers living in Lima who previously participated in focus group meetings during July 2004. SSI participant mothers were selected based on their work status at the time of the focus group meetings. This sampling strategy provides more information for analyzing mothers facing different work circumstances. The final sample includes mothers working, both as self-employed and waged workers, and mothers not working regularly, with at least one child 3 years or younger.

The Young Lives Project, known in Peru as Niños del Milenio (Children of the Millennium), is a multinational comparative study aimed at understanding causes and consequences of child poverty. This project’s participant countries are Ethiopia, India, Peru and Vietnam. The study design includes a main cohort of poor children aged 6 months to 17.9

---

65 The YLP-P sampling process used the 1996 Fondo Nacional de Compensación y Desarrollo Social (National Fund for Compensation and Social Development – FONCODES) poverty map to determine individuals’ poverty conditions. Based on their poverty level and population size, 1,818 districts were selected as potential participants, all of them below the poverty line. Among these districts, the top five percent with higher overall income was excluded from the sample. The final sample selection utilized a district level general multi-stage sampling technique. The first stage randomly chose twenty districts, and then one community sector per district was selected using census information. Randomly selected blocks were picked from each community sector from which randomly selected households were chosen. Interviews were conducted face to face at the index child’s house.
months old (labeled “one-year olds”) who will be followed for 15 years with data collections occurring every three to four years. The Peruvian first round was collected between August and November of 2002 and includes a sample of 2,052 one-year old children randomly selected to produce a nationally representative sample.

Field workers with previous experience working for the YLP-P project, contacted potential participant mothers in person, at their houses, and asked them to participate in these sessions. Participants were selected from the 3 districts included in the YLP-P (i.e. Ate, Villa María del Triunfo, and San Juan de Lurigancho). A total of 4 mothers per district were recruited. Only 2, out of the 12 potential participants, declined to participate because of unexpected work related reasons. Additional mothers were contacted in order to fulfill these spaces.

Table 3.1 presents the interview schedule per date and district. All participants signed informed consent forms (see Appendix L) prior to their interviews. All interviews were face-to-face sessions, conducted at the mother’s house, audio-taped, and later transcribed. All sessions lasted between sixty to ninety minutes. Although participant mothers did not obtain monetary compensation for their involvement, they received a small gift worth 17 soles (about US$5.25).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3.1</th>
<th>2005 Semi-Structured Interview Schedule</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>San Juan de Lurigancho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date 1: 2 participants per site</td>
<td>February 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date 2: 2 participants per site</td>
<td>February 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Sample: 12 mothers</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The principal investigator (PI) guided all interviews using a semi-structured interview guide (see Appendix M). Data gathered from previously conducted focus groups and informal conversations with field workers provided sufficient information and guidelines for developing a
more precise SII guide. Interviewed mothers were asked to talk about their activities during a typical day, how they organize their housework and labor market activities, and how they deal with unexpected problems. Also, mothers reported information about who helps them, if this help is regular and reliable or rather sporadic, and what could help them with dealing with these problems.

This study does not intend to generalize to all Peruvian poor mothers’ work and family conflict experiences, problems, and coping strategies. These data are intended to provide an interesting case study of Peruvian mothers living in poor urban settings. Earlier interactions established a meaningful connection between the PI and SSI participant mothers (i.e. focus group sessions), reducing data collection problems associated with personal and intimate information disclosure, cultural interpretation, and hidden behaviors and opinions. Additionally, information gathered from these in-depth interviews was contrasted with data previously collected from focus group interviews and field workers’ reports, in order to reduce issues of data validity and reliability.

Additional data about these mothers’ living conditions were collected for contextual purposes, through direct observation of their houses and neighborhoods. Some variation was detected across houses and neighborhoods regarding access to services (e.g. running water, electricity, and sewage), residence conditions (e.g. doors, ceiling, walls, number of rooms, and floor), and public infrastructure (e.g. sidewalks, public electricity, and roads). In addition, previous to the SSI recruitment, field workers had initial contact with all former focus group

---

66 These field workers previously participated in the first YLP-P data collection and first follow up before the second data collection. In addition, field workers contacted all focus group participant mothers and were given a picture taken during the focus group meeting.

67 Only one mother reported some inconsistent information at the time of the SSI, compared to that provided during the focus group session.
participants. Additional information about these mothers’ changed conditions was obtained after comparing these mothers’ more recent information with that gathered previously.

3.5. RESULTS

This section presents findings from the semi-structured interviews individually conducted with a total of 12 mothers. In addition to being YLP-P survey participants living in Lima, all participant mothers previously participated in focus groups discussions. These focus groups, conducted between June and July 2004, collected information about perceived barriers to maternal employment. The information gathered from these focus group sessions was strategic for designing and guiding these semi-structured interviews.

Although focus group participant mothers reported having enough time for fulfilling family responsibilities, several issues emerged. Family responsibility problems associated with child care, marital conflicts, children’s behavioral problems, financial stress due to husbands’ unemployment status, and risk of sexual abuse among co-resident adults, frequently appeared across all sessions. Regarding work responsibility issues the most frequent problems were overall lack of high-quality jobs, low productivity associated with anxiety and low self-esteem problems, poor access to credit markets, lack of contacts and connections, long work hours, and non-flexible schedules.

Semi-structure interviews advanced this exploration, gathering additional and more in-depth information about mothers’ perceived coping strategies and main sources of support. Results indicate that, in general, mothers deal with work and family problems as they come, day by day. Few interviewed mothers reported having clear future plans about improving their family situations and employment conditions, regardless of their current work status. Mainly
mothers with previous and successful work experiences were able to sketch more concrete ideas regarding their next steps for reducing financial, and for several of them, also marital, insecurity.

In general, participant mothers described their days as hectic, particularly those with more than one young child. Although most mothers were married or cohabitating, only few reported feeling that their husbands regularly contributed with household tasks, including child care, and some even confessed not having dependable financial support from them. Indeed, one of the main reasons that these mothers reported as causing their entrance into the labor market was their husbands’ work instability or unemployment. This result is consistent with findings from the YLP quantitative survey. Findings report unexpected job loss as the most common shock (29 percent of families) and work more/start working as the main coping strategy (31 percent of families) (Source: 2002 Young Lives Project – Peru).

Most interviewed mothers were either first or second-generation rural migrants. Younger mothers were more likely to be second-generation migrants, live with their parents, have fewer children, and receive greater economic assistance. Co-residency in the parental house is a frequently observed family arrangement among most Lima resident families, because of financial constraints and poor housing availability. Consequently, it was not surprising to find multifamily houses, commonly overcrowded in few rooms, and frequently witnessing parents and children sharing the same bed. These results support quantitative findings reporting 51 percent of index children sleeping with both their parents and 34 percent with his/her mother only (Source: 2002 Young Lives Project – Peru).

In general, participant mothers live in high-crime neighborhoods, with significant problems of substance abuse, almost non-existing police protection, and witnessing repeated cases of sexual abuse. These problems were more likely to be perceived as significantly
disturbing family dynamics among mothers with adolescent children. Evidently, these issues exacerbate family and work problems and limit their access to additional outside assistance. Despite these problems, Peruvian poor mothers are able to overcome family and work conflicts, unfortunately only temporarily. The following section presents a report of this group of interviewed poor Peruvian mothers’ problems associated with family and work responsibilities, and solutions (both external support and solving strategies) related to family, community, and government level sources. All reported quotes are originally in Spanish and they were translated to English (see Appendix N for the original Spanish quotes).

3.5.1. Problems

3.5.1.1. Family-based

Family problems are mothers’ perceptions about events related to or disrupting the normal or smooth functioning of family/household activities. Mothers perceive these problems as temporal (e.g. husband’s recent job lost), chronic (e.g. poverty), or seasonal (e.g. fewer child care assistant from older children during school time). Findings identify child care issues as the most common and major family-related problem affecting mothers. Child care problems include not having support from husbands for child care responsibilities, lacking reliable adult non-parental caregivers, using older children as caregivers, and facing greater challenges caring for children with behavioral problems.

Although most mothers report good relationships between co-resident fathers and their children, they also indicated poor or rare assistance from their husbands with child care, and household responsibilities in general. This situation illustrates traditional ideologies regarding household division of labor, persisting regardless of the husband’s work status. Indeed, several
mothers report that even during periods when the husband is unemployed, and the mother is employed or fulfilling other family responsibilities, he still has minimum participation in housework tasks. An interviewed mother of two children, clearly described a situation were the husband was incapable of dealing with child care responsibilities:

[1] “if I go to a meeting and I leave my children, my husband would leave them with the same clothes (...) some times I come back from the meeting late and I have to change them, they are sleeping but I will do it anyway, [he] will not change them, that is why I say that men, for housework are useless, they have no patience”

This lack of paternal child care support is exacerbated if no additional adequate adult caregivers are available. Although mothers who have access to dependable co-resident caregivers largely rely on them (mainly grandmothers), most participant mothers were not willing to leave their children with other potential adult caregivers. Neglect and sexual abuse issues prevented mothers from depending on these co-resident relatives as regular caregivers, mainly if they are male. This participant mother of four daughters shared her feelings and limitations:

[2] “No, I do not trust anyone no even my own family, it is not because I have seen anything wrong, but because all the things that happen, they make you even be doubtful of your husband, the father himself, I do not trust him”

Although mothers largely rely on older children for child care support, several report not trusting them if they would stay alone with younger siblings. This situation was more commonly observed among families with older male and younger female siblings. For example, an interviewed mother reported being more willing to leave her youngest daughter with her 12 years old daughter or unattended than with her 20 years old son, currently not co-residing with them:
“I cannot even leave them with their brother, I am scared, so many things you see between siblings, I will rather not leave the day he comes here to rest, I will rather stay, because so many things can happen.”

Despite this potential sexual abuse risk, most mothers depend on older children for child care assistance. Unfortunately, when relying on school aged children as the main source of child care support, it was common to observe these children having significant school performance problems. In many cases, these responsibilities not only included child care, but also other housework such as cooking, cleaning, walking younger siblings to and from school, and grocery shopping. A participant mother showed an unfortunately frequent circumstance among these poor families:

“my boy was doing his homework because he failed school, he is going to summer school (...) [so] my son is doing homework and he has to take care of the baby and he cannot do it, and where should I leave her?, she cannot walk yet, so he had to look for her until midnight, until I finish selling and then he will go to bed, and then wake up early, he was not having enough sleep, he was sleepy but he will get up and go to school (...) he was not having enough sleep because he had to take care of her until late”

Although the causal relationship between more stable adult caregivers and work stability is unclear, it is evident that there is a positive and strong correlation between access to stable caregivers and work attachment. Findings indicate that older children are mainly used as temporal and short-term child care arrangements, particularly among mothers with highly irregular jobs. Mothers with regular non-parental adult child care arrangements were more likely to have more stable jobs. However, regardless of their potential access to reliable caregivers, mothers, whose children experience psychological and behavioral problems, faced greater child care challenges. Some participant mothers, nevertheless, reported perceiving some behavioral
improvements once their children entered highly quality child care centers. Unfortunately, access to these settings is rare among low-income mothers.

In addition to child care issues, some mothers expressed that having some opposition from their husbands when attempting to work was a major family-related problem. This opposition was frequently related to jealousy and concerns about meeting all housework responsibilities, and particularly child care. Evidently, these problems directly affect maternal work entrance and attachment, and create significant marital problems and overall family tension. A participant mother, who recently started working, in spite of her husband’s discontent, shared her views and feelings about this issue and described how she even has had to leave work earlier to complete housework as her husband’s request:

[5] “right then they [the children] will all start moving, and complain, there are times when we fight with my husband (...) [the father] punished them, he yelled at them, I am not coming back from playing, I come from work, and so they would start working quietly. I cry out of anger”

These marital and family problems clearly lead to greater union dissolution risks. Findings indicate that mothers perceiving greater chances of marital separation increase their need for economic self-sufficiency, supporting sociological theories. One of the interviewed mothers, facing significant marital dissolution fears, even had enough savings to buy a house, when an unplanned opportunity came up. This mother, her husband, and their child were living with her parents and siblings at the time of the interview:

[6] “I told my father yes I have some [money] saved, but with my husband we keep fighting and I am scared sometimes, I am [not] sure that he will stay with me my whole life, and that is why I constantly live with that fear that anytime he will get angry or we will fight and he will leave (...) so what would I do, work and work, and I would get for example daily I will make 100 and I will take 50 and 50 I will put it in my purse, and saved, saved, and saved (...)”
This marital instability problem significantly increases as husbands’ work and income provision’s instability become greater issues affecting the family. Mothers report experiencing significant marital tension that even leads to physical and mental health problems. An interviewed mother shared her experience, having to economically support her family after her husband and daughter lost their jobs. At that time, she still had four of her six children in school:

[7] “(…) at some point father and daughter did not work. [I] complained, complained I had two proms from my children, even worse, and I prayed begged God, then I gave up and I kicked my husband out, I told him I do not want you to be here, I am not going to be the only one providing so then we all got unemployed”

Most mothers facing these circumstances are compelled to enter the labor market, due to financial problems. Although this situation largely affects mothers’ anxiety and mental health in general, many mothers also use their jobs as a temporal refuge from family conflicts and negative household environments. Most participant mothers reported that the additional hours worked helped them get relaxed and gave them additional cash for their week needs. However, even though working could act as a shelter against family conflicts, it could also operate as an isolator from potential sources of economic and emotional support. This participant mother described her family situation. She stated that when she moved out of her parents’ house and their financial support, she began to have financial and emotional problems. These problems translated into greater tension between the interviewed mother and her parents (whose economic situation is significantly better). She disclosed feeling less comfortable now receiving her parents’ economic support because they cannot understand her economic sacrifices and they constantly criticize her family and work decisions:

[8] “(…) I have to make sacrifices to give them [the children], and they [her sister’s family] do not make any sacrifices, (…) we are not the same, and until I assimilated that, I focused more on my house, I mean the stitching is what distracts
me and it makes me not think about so many things, maybe this has been like a therapy to distract me more”

In addition to affecting their relationship with their extended family, some mothers perceived that her work decisions also had negative consequences on their children. Particularly those mothers who went back to work soon after their children were born, confessed having problems with their children. This finding corroborates developmental psychological theories stating the importance of developing strong mother-child attachment bonds. Weak attachment bonds clearly affect mothers and their children’s emotional development and their relationship. Ironically, even though these mothers seem to be economically better off than other mothers, they question themselves about the benefits of their past decision to work. A participant mother, who enjoyed a successful professional career, stated regretful about her decision to work at a high cost of neglecting her relationship with her older daughter:

[9] “there was always that resentment, when we were at home, and something bothered her [the older daughter] and she did not like anything about me, and then she will shout me, but if you did not raise me, you have not seen me, you have not taken care of me, and sometimes she made me cry, I would tell myself this is the price I am paying for having enjoyed my career all this time (…)”

These family problems clearly affect mothers’ overall well-being. These issues affect, directly and indirectly, their decisions and opportunities to enter the labor market. Regardless of the magnitude of their family problems, mothers reported significant willingness to enter the workforce. However, most mothers, even those facing fewer family obstacles perceived their labor market entrances as highly challenging. Evidently, problems outside the household also have significant influences on maternal employment decisions.
3.5.1.2. Work-based

Despite their current and past employment status, all mothers were asked about their perceptions about problems associated with work entrance, attachment, and advancement. Consequently, work problems are factors linked to mothers’ work decisions and preferences that they perceive as affecting their overall well-being. In general, mothers were more likely to work in the retail and service (i.e. domestic work) sectors. Participant mothers reported as their main employment related problems the job instability and seasonality, long work hours of more stable jobs, low or no pay, poor access to credit markets, and inadequate education or work training.

Although mothers clearly indicated their preferences for more regular and stable jobs, they also stated their inclination for part-time or hourly jobs. In general, all mothers reported having worked over the past months, even if it was once or twice a month for a few hours. However, as their younger children were entering pre-school, it was common to observe mothers wanting to enter more regular jobs. Indeed, when mothers were asked about what they would do if two extra hours per day would be granted to them (magically), most responded to work. These mothers more commonly indicated that a small business was a good work alternative, however, those with higher education were more likely to lean towards waged jobs.

Both employed mothers and those currently looking for jobs, complained about long working hours (i.e. 10 to 12 hours work schedules) that most stable jobs require. Few part-time jobs available limit these mothers’ entrance and attachment in the workforce. However, mothers undergoing deeper financial difficulties declared greater willingness to even take jobs with long work hours, if they were to be more stable. Overall, problems working in more-than-10-hours jobs were linked to not being able to spend time with their children, experiencing health problems (no enough time to eat or rest), and tolerating several interruptions when working at
home. For example, a participant mother currently unemployed, shared her future plans, highly conscious about her work limitations:

[10] “I think that when his [the son] classes start I need to start working also, I have to look for a job, but only part time because most jobs are from morning to night, right? But because he will be going to pre-school I need to help him with his homework.”

Ironically, despite their greater preferences for working fewer hours, most mothers reported having to take more than one job. The decision of entering multiple jobs is related to the large instability, seasonality, and small, and in some cases no pay of their current work activities. Although this decision partially compensates not being paid from one income source, mothers also face overwork periods. One of the interviewed mothers, currently holding two jobs and working at home, described her employment instability arguing periods of inactivity and periods of work overload:

[11] “During October, there has been no work for me, until December, I work in two places, this is for two ladies, and then it [the work] was low with one of them and with the other one I had a little bit more (…) [but] sometimes when both places have a lot [of work], I think I am close to lose control, (…) there are moments at which (…) I have to let it [the anger] go because otherwise I will yell all day (…)”

Some mothers also report taking only seasonal jobs, mainly during their children’s school time. During school hours, mothers are released from some child care responsibility time, and consequently they are more able and willing to look for jobs. Other mothers, on the contrary, only work during school vacation time, as they can utilize older school-aged children as caregivers. Mothers working seasonally found this employment arrangement relatively effective. However, some mothers also reported being conscious about their growing financial needs, mainly as their children were getting older. A participant mother clearly illustrated this situation:
“(...) but during school time I have rarely looked for jobs it is more during vacations, but yes I would like [to work] now because they are older and I see that the necessity is bigger, so I would like to go, to work anywhere”

An additional factor that working mothers largely reported facing is abuse from employers. Mothers frequently indicated lacking health insurance, working long hours without breaks, and being threatened of being fired. Even worse, many mothers revealed as common being left unpaid after having worked for some days and even months in some cases. A participant mother, who has had several experiences working and not being paid, reported feeling highly discouraged to look for other jobs. Over the past year this mother worked for no pay as a housekeeper, making decorations for sweaters, at a school cleaning classrooms, and doing laundry for other people. She shared her experience and frustration about this unfair situation:

“Yes, I have to insist, they would tell me come back the 20th (...) [but] there is never any (...) money, they would tell me, give me more time come back on Friday, but nothing. Depressing, I wanted to cry but they did not pay me”

Unfortunately, these poor mothers have restricted access only to these low-quality jobs. Although several mothers recognized the value and the advantage of having additional work skills, only few have access to additional training. As a consequence, many mothers decide and prefer to work as self-employed on their own small businesses. However, these mothers’ main obstacle is their poor access to capital to establish their small businesses. These mothers reported having great difficulties obtaining credits. A participant mother shared her experience:

“Sure I have tried, but they lend you with interests, with a guaranty and with that, just like that they do not lend you, they ask you for a property title, a guarantor, because they do not lend you the money just like that”
Sadly, even mothers who overcome capital availability problems face additional problems. Particularly among mothers working as street vendors, they frequently reported problems associated with street crime and violence. These unsafe conditions discouraged mothers to continue working.

Evidently, both family and work problems challenge even more the already vulnerable situation of Peruvian poor mothers. Despite these difficulties, these mothers look for ways to cope with unexpected adverse situations and everyday struggles. Although most solving plans are mainly temporal arrangements, it is possible that some of these coping strategies would lead to long-term solutions. Overall, these solving strategies can be linked to family, community, and government external support for coping with family and work problems.

3.5.2. Solutions
3.5.2.1. Family-based

Family solutions describe coping strategies and external support coming from family/household arrangements. Mothers report both financial (e.g. pulling household members’ incomes, monetary transfers) and non-financial (e.g. child care, housing) support from relatives. Although interviewed mothers perceive family support as highly reliable, not all mothers have access to family-based assistance. These mothers reported being more reluctant to use sporadic or unreliable assistance. Despite the potential benefits, in particular regarding using multiple caregivers, mothers indicated not using numerous child care arrangements regularly.

Also, even though most mothers have access to some type of support, their main coping strategy was their own ability to organize their schedules and activities. As a consequence, participant mothers indicated that reducing their sleeping hours was their main strategy for
completing all work and family responsibilities. They reported that during the early hours of the day, when their children were still sleeping, mothers were able to use their time more efficiently for finishing some housework. An interviewed mother of six children, who only works during school time, clearly shared her views:

[15] “during school time at 5:30, because I have to work, you know, I have to give me more time (...) I get up, my children are sleeping I start, you know (...) I use this time while they are sleeping, when they get up I want it [the house] to be more or less clean, so they will not be interrupting because with the children you cannot do the cleaning because one is running here and there”

An additional strategy that interviewed mothers reported using was taking their children to work. Findings indicate that mothers perceive child care issues as their major problem affecting their daily activities. Consequently, it is not surprising to observe mothers utilizing different strategies for dealing with child care problems. Unfortunately, this child care alternative places children at risk of health problems, as most of these mothers are street vendors working at night. A participant mother revealed taking her two youngest children with her, whenever her older children (and main caregivers) were at school:

[16] “(...) but I cannot do it because there is no one to leave them [the children] with and sometimes [I have to take them] in the selling car (...) so what should I do, I entertain them, or they will fall asleep inside the selling car, they both sleep inside the selling car”

Nevertheless, mothers stated that this type of child care arrangement was not frequently used, and obviously not the preferred option. Mothers perceive older children and co-resident grandparents as their main and ideal source of child care support. However, even though participant mothers consider older children’s housework assistance fundamental for solving household and work responsibility conflicts, they recognize that this responsibility has significantly negative effects on children’ school performance. It is also not uncommon that
older children’s support could extend to labor market activities. This interviewed mother indicated that she relies on her older children for housework, but also for paid work activities, although they were under the legal work age. She worked cleaning a school:

[17] “Yes, they help me. On Sundays I would go with the three oldest (...). To clean for Monday, on Monday morning I would only go to clean a little”

Older children are clearly an important supply of housework and paid work assistance, particularly those older enough to formally enter the workforce. Working children contribute as an additional family income source. Household income pulling is a typical strategy utilized across not only family members, but also different members from different families living in the same household. Multi-family households are common in Peru’s low-income urban areas, frequently observing families sharing some household expenses and even economically supporting each other during unemployment periods. Evidently, despite their few economic resources, families act as safety nets providing financial and non-financial-housing aids.

Mothers living with their parents clearly receive greater monetary transfers vertically from parents to children. Those sharing a household with siblings have more horizontal support exchanging monetary support with non-monetary assistance (e.g. child care). For example, this participant mother shares her late mother’s house with her three siblings’ families. She indicated receiving economic support from her sister (who works at their mother’s market stand), and in exchange she takes care of her sister’s son:

[18] “she [the sister] leaves him here, she asks me I look for him, he is watching tv in his room, I will look for him if I cook (...) I help her sometimes (...) but because her little boy is bigger now, he is 6 years old, she will come and take him at 2 to the market and she will stay selling until 7 or 8 at night”
Although the assistance received from other relatives clearly depends on their economic situation, it is evident that participant mothers perceived this support as critical for coping with their overwhelming responsibilities. These results support YLP-P survey’s findings indicating that the most common source of support comes from co-resident relatives (48 percent) and other relatives (47 percent). Particularly older children and parents were considered the most regular and reliable external support sources that allowed them to solve work and family task conflicts. In addition to family-based assistance, mothers were asked about support from community friends/institutions. Although mothers recognized community support’s great benefits, they perceive it as unstable.

3.5.2.2. Community-based

Community solutions are external resources associated with neighbors, other friends, community organizations, and social institutions that mothers perceive as providing any assistance that might lead to an improvement in their or their families’ overall well-being and work situation. Particularly, mothers reported receiving community support for job contacts, crime and sexual violence combat, informal credit market access, and emotional support when family support is scarce.

Mothers perceive neighbors and former co-workers as their main community support sources for job entry. This finding corroborates the YLP-P survey’s results showing that mothers reported receiving support from neighbors (18 percent) and other friends (17 percent) as their main aid supplies, just after relatives. Interviewed mothers indicated relying on or being offered one-time or short-term positions from friends and former co-workers. Unfortunately, this assistance is highly unstable and provides only short-term solutions.
However, many currently unemployed mothers with previous work experience, felt more positive about counting on friends to get stable and regular jobs. One of the interviewed mothers illustrated her case. Although she has not had a stable job since her daughter was born, she still has had the chance to work on some temporal jobs. She is thinking about re-entering the workforce soon, as her daughter is getting older and she might be able to get regular child care assistance:

[19] “To work yes, I have friends, even now my friends remember me at least, they have even recommended me several times, but because of my daughter I haven’t worked (…) [but] because my father has his partner, she wants to see the baby, she takes her because the baby goes [to pre-school] from 8 to 1 in the afternoon, she has someone to pick her up (…) who would feed her, before looking for a job I have to see all those things.”

An additional community support that mothers perceived as helping them solve work and economic constraints, is access to informal credit markets. Mothers report different credit and saving systems used to deal with medium-term business investments or short-term basic-needs problems. Most mothers indicated having access to and having used small informal credits when unexpected shocks, such as health problems, death of family members, basic food needs shortages, late utility bills, school assignments, or school tuition payments, emerged. These small loans are typically paid daily and their interests are significantly higher than formal credits’. Despite their high costs, interviewed mothers reported frequently using them as a major short-term coping arrangement for households’ unexpected and temporal economic shortages.

In addition to work related and financial shortage shocks, some mothers indicated perceiving large benefits from neighborhood organizations to fight crime and sexual violence. Crime and sexual violence rates have increased significantly over the past years. Unfortunately, the public expenditure directed to alleviate these problems is not at all sufficient. As a
consequence, it has not been surprising to observe lately many neighborhoods organizing themselves to reduce these problems. For example, a participant mother described how families from her block, in collaboration with families from other blocks, decided to coordinate and to create support systems against crime:

[20] “(…) my dad is the president of this block, so my dad will talk to the other president and they have gotten together, they have organized a committee and they have placed billboards in some houses, and they have written that they are going to be burned and killed, because many people have been robbed during the day, with a gun”

This coercive system has been implemented in many urban cities as well as rural areas. Several criminals have been captured and many even punished by local residents. It was also common to hear from interviewed mothers about sexual violence, mainly against school children. This problem represents a significant issue particularly for employed mothers who are not able to get children from school, because of work schedules. Many interviewed mothers reported relying on neighbors, whose children also attended the same schools, to bring their children back home. An additional reported source of community collaboration is religious organizations. Mothers perceive these organizations as essentially providing emotional support. This result confirms outcomes found using the YLP-P survey. Numbers indicate that mothers reported receiving financial or emotional support from religious institutions (8 percent) in third place, only behind relatives and friends.

3.5.2.3. Government-based

The government solution category includes reported support sources from any governmental program or government-subsidized organization. Mothers specified three main sources of governmental assistance, food aid organizations, children’s health insurance, and
public education (school and pre-schools). Although education and health insurance represent significantly greater public expenditures targeting a greater proportion of the population, mothers report food aid assistance (i.e. glass of milk - vaso de leche - and community kitchen - comedor popular - programs) as more critical for solving short-term problems, buffering unexpected household shortages.

However, even though interviewed mothers believed that these programs gave them important benefits, they also admitted that the received meals’ nutritional quality was significantly low. Studies support this perception. They find that despite the glass of milk program’s great emphasis on nutrition, its effect reducing malnutrition levels in Peru has been non-significant (Stifel & Alderman, 2003; Vásquez, 2004). An interviewed mother clearly described the unfortunate benefit-low quality combination of these programs:

[21] “Yes, because sometimes it of course helps a little, maybe it is not so nutritious as we can say, but it is something. Sometimes, let say that I would not have that and at home there is not milk or cereal, I am not going to give them water only, but at least there is that help (..) at least as they say it fills their stomachs.”

In addition, most mothers justified their participation in the glass of milk and community kitchen programs arguing recent financial shortages or unemployment events, and hence suggesting a temporal nature of their use. Consequently, it was not surprising to observe differences, particularly on the level of involvement, between mothers perceiving these programs as a short-term relief plan and those considering them as a longer-term support strategy. Indeed, interviewed mothers who perceived these food aid programs as a temporary assistance were less likely to be actively involved. In addition to food transfer availability, greater involvement in these programs is also linked to additional work opportunity access. For example, this interviewed mother was thinking about leaving one of her current jobs to spend more time with
her four youngest children. Unfortunately, her household economic situation got worse in the
past months, with her older daughter and husband loosing their jobs. She described her situation
and decision to increase her participation in these programs:

[22] “Not so long ago I was like that again, one month after Christmas I was not
working (…) now what should I do, what should I do (…) [Community] kitchen.
The lady told me around Christmas, don’t you want to cook, you can get menus,
(…) yes madam I will cook, (…), so I started and they called me (…)”

Although these programs are aimed at giving access to subsidized food and part-time
jobs, their effects on reducing mothers’ time spent on housework to be used on other economic
and productive activities seems to be minimal. Indeed, several mothers reported having to invest
extra-time preparing additional meals to supplement the low-nutritional meal they get from these
programs. Although there are some variations regarding food distribution systems by association
(some distributed cook meals and others distributed raw ingredients –milk and cereal), mothers
perceive that overall the rations’ quality and quantity received were not sufficient. This
participant mother, for example, explained how she had to prepare an additional meal for her
children:

[23] “Yes it helps, but the meal is not nutritious, I have to prepare something here
even if it is a salad or boil a potato, prepare corn that will nourish them, so,
because sometimes from the [community] kitchen [the meal] does not nourish”

The two other major sources of governmental support are health insurance and education.
Health insurance benefits are perceived as significant, particularly among mothers whose
children experience health problems. These interviewed mothers reported using some health
services, and some even indicated using psychological services for children with behavioral
problems. Many of these health services are provided, however, through pre-schools and
schools. Evidently, this group of Lima resident mothers has greater access to public schools and
health services, compared to poor Peruvian mothers from any other regions. Despite this greater access to public services, interviewed mothers argued receiving inadequate governmental assistance.

They proposed governmental services that they perceived as potentially benefiting them and poor Peruvian mothers. Overall, mothers requested greater access to work training and high-quality child care centers. Mothers argued that poor mothers would largely benefit from bakery classes, sewing and embroiling lessons, cosmetology classes, training to learn how to make shoes, among other ideas, that would help them enter the workforce. Unfortunately, poor Peruvian mothers face significant problems that might difficult their labor market entrance. They, however, are constantly looking for solving strategies to deal with household and work problems. Sadly, these coping strategies are mostly short-term or temporary solutions, that although they temporarily alleviate child care, financial shortages, family unemployment, long working hours, and multiple jobs, they do not fully eliminate them.

3.6. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Poor mothers are typically overloaded with family and work responsibilities, frequently creating disincentives for fulfilling both housework and labor market participation. Nevertheless, results indicate that interviewed poor Peruvian mothers were, in their great majority, honestly willing to enter the labor market as a way to improve their families’ economic constraints and overall well-being. Unfortunately, they clearly face great family and work-related challenges that prevent this employment realization to fully occur. Consequently, the imaginary situation where mothers are purchasing 26-hours days, and as a consequence, maternal labor force participation rates are increasing, mothers are fully organizing and completing
household tasks, and thus low-income mothers and their children are climbing above the poverty line, might seem exceedingly optimistic. In addition, even though mothers report receiving some external support for coping with housework and labor market responsibilities, this support only seems to temporarily alleviate their troubles. This investigation provides several findings that shed light on how poor Peruvian mothers sense their problems, their coping strategies, and their perceived main sources of external support. This study focuses on two main problem clusters that mothers face, family and work related. Although both groups are highly inter-related, they clearly affect maternal well-being and are solved differently.

Several mothers considered themselves as unemployed, however most interviewed mothers had worked at least one or two days during the past weeks. They, however, experience significant underemployment, as they indicate they would want to work more. In addition to their difficult financial situations, mothers report facing child care problems, marital conflict and even dissolution risks, and weak mother-child attachment bonds, as their major family-based problems. Regarding work-related issues, interviewed mothers described instability, informality, poor formal labor market conditions, and poor access to credit markets.

In addition, mothers’ perceived main external support sources were older children and co-resident grandparents for housework chore assistance, neighbors and former co-workers for work access aid. Also, interviewed mothers indicated as highly beneficial community organizations for crime fight and food aid government programs for basic needs supplement help. Although these mothers’ main coping strategy was their own ability to organize their schedules, they also used all these other external support sources. These sources were, however, perceived as highly unreliable and temporal, with the exception of family-based support. This
study’s findings evidently show unexpected problems, how mothers perceive them, and coping strategies they utilize.

Certainly, the major family-related problem that these interviewed mothers reported experiencing is child care complications. Although, in general this obstacle affects all mothers regardless of their economic situation, some specific issues seem to be unique to low-income Peruvian mothers. Poor mothers have less access to formal and local child care centers, they largely rely on older children as primary caregivers (affecting their already vulnerable school performance), and depend on fewer co-resident adults as caregivers, largely concerned about sexual abuse and neglect risks.

A government solution for this noticeable child care problem was the implementation of a public center-based child care program, named Wawa Wasi (Ayala, 2003). Although many mothers received this program as positive (as the number of participant children has been increasing over the past years), many others seemed reluctant to place their children in those settings, arguing low-quality issues. Unfortunately, large variability has been observed across different Wawa Wasi centers. Consequently, it is possible that improving these child care centers’ quality would enhance poor mothers’ usage. Indeed, mothers who have access to the high-quality child care center named Taller de los Niños (Children’s Atelier),68 reported trusting and using this arrangement. Mothers using this arrangement indicate that, in addition to caregiving assistance, they also benefit from early education services, perceiving improvements on their children’s developmental outcomes (particularly behavioral problems).

Evidently, implementing higher-quality center-based arrangements demands greater public economic resources. However, the benefits that high-quality settings provide not only

---

68 This child care center is a project funded through a NGO and located in the district of San Juan de Lurigancho.
would induce greater maternal work participation, but also would reduce maternal anxiety regarding neglect and sexual abuse risks, improve children’s developmental outcomes, and ease older school-aged children’s housework responsibilities. Clearly, not only availability issues need to be considered when analyzing child care issues, as findings show that mothers are more willing to even leave their children unattended that at child care centers or with co-resident adults (including the father). Maternal preferences, child care quality, and other risk factors, such as neglect and sexual violence, must be included in the child care discussion because of their impact on maternal work, children’s developmental outcomes, and their overall well-being.

A second family-related problem is marital tension associated with partner’s resistance against maternal work and union dissolution risk issues. Although traditional ideologies and cultural values are more challenging to regulate, it is important to recognize and to evaluate the significant and negative effects that male domination and union dissolution promptness have on mothers’ overall well-being. Clearly, mothers face not only employment entrance restrictions, as they are constantly controlled by their husbands, but also mental health problems, experiencing low self-esteem, poor self-confidence, and depression/anxiety symptoms. Both, work restrictions and mental health problems prevent mothers from being economically self-sufficient and gaining greater self-confidence and motivation.

This lack of economic self-sufficiency might create significant problems among mothers whose marital separation or divorce risks are greater. Whether a union dissolution realization has positive or negative effects on maternal and family’s general welfare, depends on several factors and it is a matter of large controversy (Amato & Booth, 1997). However, there is greater consensus supporting that greater economic self-sufficiency might increase mothers’ bargaining power inside the house. Potentially, mothers experiencing greater negotiating capacity have
more financial and emotional resources and fewer constraints for improving their own and their children’s well-being.

Nevertheless, even though interviewed mothers reported experiencing initial partner’s work opposition, husbands were forced to let their wives enter the workforce, given their escalating household financial problems. Indeed, findings indicate that financial constraints due to husband’s work instability or unemployment were the main reason for maternal workforce entrance. This suggests that cultural values and traditional household work distributions have some room for change. As a consequence, program implementations aimed at empowering mothers would potentially have beneficial effects on maternal employment.

In addition to family-related problems, mothers reported several labor market barriers. A critical issue is the great work instability and informality that Peruvian low-income mothers experience. Potentially, this explains why several implemented poverty alleviation policies have failed, as work stability is a major determinant of poverty reductions. Ironically, only few studies have attempted to understand the shorter-term dynamics of maternal work decisions. One explanation to this unfortunate fact is the absence of longitudinal surveys. Most studies rely on cross-sectional data utilizing average indicators, mainly designed for other purposes, for example to capture average income levels and overall work participation. It is evident that longitudinal studies require great amounts of resources, limiting this type of data collection. A good, frequently used, and less expensive alternative are surveys that gather more detailed historic information (e.g. collecting days worked during each specific month, rather than average number of days worked over the past year).

Improved work dynamic measures are seriously needed for describing maternal work situations where mothers are employed non-regularly only 2 or 3 days a week, as this study’s
results indicate. Although this might seem an overstatement, this study’s results show that poor Peruvian mothers are entering temporal jobs, not only as an important household income source and a common strategy for coping with unexpected family economic shortages, but also as a refuge from family problems. It is therefore, fundamental for surveys, and particularly longitudinal projects, to emphasize and to re-evaluate their employment components’ objectives.

The second most reported work-related barrier, associated with the informality of the labor market, is employer’s abuse, and in particular not receiving compensation for completed jobs. This finding partially explains why mothers prefer self-employed occupations, despite their greater risk and instability. Unfortunately, mothers face poor access to formal credit markets as a major limitation for self-employment. However, it is clear that access to formal credit markets is not the answer to all maternal work troubles. Factors such as low motivation and self-confidence, few contacts, and unfavorable market conditions create large disincentives. In addition, findings show that lacking work training and poor previous work experience directly limit mothers’ entrance into self-employed economic activities.

Nevertheless, it is evident that mothers are actively searching for solutions and obtaining some external assistance from different sources. Although family support is the most reliable and regular source, it is limited by the family’s available resources. Unfortunately, these resources, both financial and non-financial, tend to be scarce. Indeed, it is highly possible that these low-income mothers’ extended families are facing similar economic problems. Also, as the majority of low-income Lima residents, these mothers are very likely to be first or second generation migrants, reducing their access to any family support. Consequently, community and governmental organizations might operate as alternatives to complement or supplement their family aid deficiencies.
Community and governmental external support are evidently, important assistance sources for buffering temporal household monetary shortages. Regrettably, they are more unstable, more difficult to access, and lack credibility. These concerns restrict mothers’ willingness to totally rely on these resources, creating significant instability and limited active community involvement. This issue seems particularly alarming when considering public food aid programs. Interviewed mothers presented several complaints about the nutritional quality of the meals received and corrupted managements. Recent studies support this finding, indicating that increases in public expenditure directed to food aid programs have not been effectively targeted, leading to non-significant effects on nutritional improvements (Stifel & Alderman, 2003; Vásquez, 2004).

These findings clearly call for research and policy re-evaluations. Typically, studies analyzing household division of labor and female, and in particular maternal, workforce participation utilize multivariate causal models. These models describe direct and causal relationships, even controlling for other variables’ potential effects. This provides excellent information for determining the role and effects that particular factors have on household distribution of work and family responsibilities. Despite these benefits, these models fail to capture all processes behind these relationships and how mothers perceive these factors’ effects on their well-being.

Analyzing maternal views about problems that poor mothers face, their perceived support sources, and coping strategies is critical for understanding how mothers perceive and manage these processes. Clearly, mothers’ subjective perceptions provide information about unexpected factors supporting or hindering maternal work and family arrangements’ dynamics. These data potentially explain inconsistent policy implementations’ poor results and might help improve the
design of more effective programs that could emphasize and adapt to mothers’ priorities and
dynamic systems, rather than to impose conflicting and ineffective implementations.

This study was designed and conducted with the main purpose of presenting a more in-
depth case study, and by no means was intended to establish generalizable implications or causal
effects. Its principal objective was exploratory, presenting evidence from a highly interesting
group of low-income mothers currently residing in Lima. Despite their potentially greater access
to public services, interviewed mothers revealed significant barrier affecting work and family
activities. These findings corroborate an even greater and critical need for investigating and
supporting poor Peruvian mothers living in more disadvantaged regions of the country.

Indeed, replicating this type of studies is fundamental not only through other regions of
Peru, but also over time and across the other YLP participant countries. This will provide
additional information about comparative differences regarding cultural values and ideologies
concerning household distribution of labor, children’s participation in housework, household
structures, among other factors. In addition, it might expose mothers’ perceptions about social
constraints to paid employment, access and importance of family support systems, and sensed
benefits obtained from community and government social programs.

Peruvian low-income mothers face significant barriers for dealing with work and family
responsibility problems, some of them not even previously explored. Despite these obstacles,
these mothers are constantly looking for coping strategies and receiving external support.
Regrettably, these sources of support and solving arrangements only lead to temporal alleviation
of these problems. Greater efforts need to be targeted to improving government expenditure
effectiveness, promoting more self-sustainable community support systems, and encouraging
greater maternal empowerment. These efforts would have positive consequence on long-term poverty alleviation outcomes and overall maternal and children’s well-being.
REFERENCES


MINTRA. (2004). Estadísticas Laborales
http://www.mintra.gob.pe/peel/estadisticas/index.htm


1. **What is this study about?**
   We want to learn about the work and family situations of women with young children. I’m interested in learning how you balance the responsibilities of work and family, and what things help you balance these two areas and what things make this balance more challenging.

2. **What would I be doing if I agree to participate?**
   You, and a group of 6 to 10 other mothers, will meet to talk about these issues of work and family. You will be asked questions how women go about findings jobs and how they keep jobs while trying to raise a young child. This discussion will take about an hour and will meet at [name of community center], on [day of the meeting] at [hour of the meeting]. What is said during this discussion will be kept confidential and your name will never be associated with the discussion session. The discussion will be audio taped. The tapes will be stored in a safe and locked place, with access only to the main researcher for this project. After being transcribed, all tapes will be destroyed no later than December 2005 in order to protect your identity.
3. **Would I experience any discomforts or risks if I participate?**
   No, there are no risks for participating in this study other than those experienced in everyday life. However, there might be some personal questions that could make you feel uncomfortable.

4. **What are the benefits for participating in this study?**
   a. You could learn more about yourself participating in this study. You will be able to share your experiences with other mothers who have had experiences similar to yours.
   b. Your participation in this study will provide valuable information for identifying major problems experienced by mothers with children 3 years and younger, and with this, contribute to improve social programs that will benefit working mothers.

5. **What is the duration of the meeting?**
   The meeting will last approximately one hour.

6. **Who will know my identity?**
   Only people in charge of the Niños del Milenium project will know your identity. Any published result that will come from this study will not have information that could identify you. Also I will ask you and all the other participants that if you speak about the content of this meeting with people outside the group, you will not reveal any individual comments of the other participants.

7. **Where can I get more information?**
   You can contact us at any time if you have any questions regarding this study. If you would like to talk to someone, please contact Tami Aritomi, the principal investigator of the project at the Instituto de Investigación Nutricional (IIN), Av. La Molina 685, La Molina, Lima 12, or calling (01) 349-6023. You can also contact the President of the IIN Ethics Committee, committee that has already approved this project, at the same address and phone number, if you have any questions or concerns. Also, you can call the Pennsylvania State University Office for Research Protections at 011 01 814 865 1775 if you have any questions about the rights of research participants. You will keep a copy of this form for your records.

8. **Am I going to receive any payment for participating in this project?**
   All participants will receive a small gift, and all transportation costs will be covered by the project.

9. **What happens if I decide that I do not want to participate now or later in this project?**
   You have the right to reject your participation or to stop participating in this study at any time that you want. You are also free to answer or not any questions that you want. You are free to change your mind at any time during this project, without affecting you participation in any other health, education, development or poverty combat program or project.
Informed Consent of Voluntary Declaration

You have to be 18 or older to participate in this study. If you accept to participate in this investigation and all terms described above, please write your name, signature and date where it is indicated.

I, _________________________________, after being informed about all aspects of this project described in this format, having received a copy of this format, and having all my questions and concerns about this project answered, I voluntarily accept to participate in this project, committing myself to complete with the procedures described above. I have had enough opportunities to make any questions about this project and I understand the procedures that will be used y how the information will be treated confidentially, without revealing my identity in any result reported or published. I am aware that I can withdraw from the project at any time I want, without any consequence. I give my authorization to give access to this format to all members of the project and the IIN, knowing that this information will be used confidentially.

Mother’s signature ______________________
Mother’s name ________________________ Date: ______
Investigator's name ______________________
Investigator’s signature ______________________ Date: ______

Special case for illiterate mothers

As the investigator who signs this Informed Consent Form, I declare that I have explained all aspects of this project, including objectives, duration and procedures that will be used, risks and benefits, as well as confidentiality issues of this information and all other aspects described in this format, and that she has accepted voluntarily to participate in this project. As a sign of agreement, the mother has stamped her fingerprint in this format. My signature and a witness’ have also been placed.

Mother's finger print: ______________________ Date: ______
Mother’s name: ______________________ Date: ______
Witness’ signature: ______________________
Witness’ name: ______________________ Date: ______
Investigator's signature: ______________________
Investigator's name: ______________________ Date: ______
1. ¿De qué se trata el estudio?
Queremos saber sobre la situación de trabajo y familiar de mujeres con niños pequeños. Estamos interesados en entender cómo distribuye el tiempo en responsabilidades de trabajo y familia, qué cosas te ayudan a distribuir el tiempo en estas dos actividades, y qué cosas hacen que estas actividades sean más difíciles de realizar.

2. ¿Qué se hará si acepto participar?
Tú, y un grupo de entre 6 y 10 madres, se reunirán para hablar sobre estos problemas de trabajo y familia. Se les preguntará sobre cómo las madres hacen para encontrar trabajo y qué hacen para mantener sus empleos mientras crian a un niño pequeño. Esta reunión durará una hora y se hará en el local [lugar de reunión por definir] el día [día por definir] a las [hora por definir]. Lo que sea hablado en esta reunión es confidencial y sus nombres nunca serán asociados con esta sesión de discusión. La reunión será grabada en cintas de audio. Las cintas serán guardadas en un lugar seguro y con llave, con acceso sólo para los investigadores responsables del proyecto. Después de ser transcritas, las cintas serán destruidas a más tardar en Diciembre del 2005 para poteger tu identidad.

3. ¿Existen molestias o riesgos por participar?
No hay riesgos en participar en este estudio, más que aquellos normalmente experimentados en el día a día. Algunas de las preguntas son personales, y quizás puedan hacerte sentir un poco incómoda.

4. ¿Qué beneficios hay por participar?
a. Podrás aprender más sobre ti misma participando en este estudio. Podrás entender mejor tus experiencias y compartir con otras madres que han tenido experiencias parecidas a las tuyas.
b. Tu participación ayudará a identificar los mayores problemas que tiene las madres con niños menores de 3 años, y con esto contribuir al mejoramiento de programas que ayuden a madres trabajadoras.

5. **¿Cuánto tiempo durará la reunión?**
La reunión tendrá una duración de aproximadamente una hora.

6. **¿Quién sabrá mi identidad?**
Sólo las personas encargadas de este proyecto y las del proyecto de Niños del Milenio sabrán tu identidad. Ningún resultado de este estudio que sea publicado tendrá información que pueda identificarte. También se te pedirá a ti y a todas las otras participantes que si hablan sobre lo tratado en esta reunión con otras personas, que no revelen los comentarios particulares de las otras participantes.

7. **¿Dónde puedo conseguir más información?**
Puedes hacer consultas sobre este estudio en el momento que desees. Si así lo quieres, te rogamos contactarte con Tami Aritomi, investigador responsable del proyecto, a las oficinas del Instituto de Investigación Nutricional, Av. La Molina 685, La Molina, Lima 12, o llamando a los teléfonos (01) 349-6023. También puedes contactar al Presidente del Comité de Ética del Instituto de Investigación Nutricional, comité que ha aprobado este proyecto, a la misma dirección y teléfonos, si quisiera hacer cualquier pregunta o comentario. Igualmente pueden comunicarse con la Oficina para la Protección de Investigaciones de la Universidad Estatal de Pensilvania al 011 01 814 865 1775 si tienen preguntas sobre los derechos que tienen los participantes de investigaciones. Tu te quedarás con una copia de este documento para tus archivos.

8. **¿Voy a recibir algún pago por el proyecto?**
Los participantes recibirán un pequeño presente, y los costos de transporte para llegar al lugar de la reunión serán cubiertos por el proyecto.

9. **¿Qué pasa si decide no participar ahora o más tarde en el proyecto?**
Tienes todo el derecho de no aceptar participar o de dejar de participar en esta investigación en cualquier momento que lo decidas. También eres libre de dejar de contestar las preguntas que desees. Eres libre de cambiar de opinión en cualquier momento sin que esto afecte tu participación en cualquier otro programa o proyecto de salud, educación, desarrollo o de lucha contra la pobreza.
Declaración Voluntaria de Consentimiento Informado

Usted debe ser mayor de 18 años para participar en este estudio. Si usted aceptar participar en esta investigación y los términos descritos arriba, por favor ponga su nombre, firma y fecha donde se le indica. Yo, _________________________________, después de haber sido informada de todos los aspectos del proyecto que se ha descrito en este formato, habiendo recibido copia de este formato, y habiendo recibido respuestas satisfactorias a todas mis preguntas y dudas sobre el proyecto, acepto en forma completamente libre y voluntaria participar en este proyecto, comprometiéndome a cumplir con los todos procedimientos descritos. Yo he tenido suficientes oportunidades para hacer cualquier pregunta sobre el proyecto y entiendo los procedimientos que serán realizados y que la información será tratada en forma confidencial, sin que se revele mi identidad en los informes y publicación de resultados. Sé que puedo retirarme del proyecto en cualquier momento que lo desee, sin sufrir ninguna consecuencia. Doy autorización para permitir el acceso a los formatos a los miembros del proyecto y de la entidad patrocinadora y sus representantes, sabiendo que la información será tratada en forma estrictamente confidencial.

Firma de la madre ____________________________
Nombre de la madre ____________________________  Fecha:  ______
Nombre del Investigador ________________________
Firma del Investigador ____________ __________  Fecha: ______________

En caso de Madres Analfabetas
Como investigador que firma este Formato de Consentimiento Informado, declaro que he explicado en forma detallada todos los aspectos de este proyecto, incluyendo sus objetivos, la duración y los procedimientos que serán realizados, los riesgos y beneficios, así como la confidencialidad de la información y todos los aspectos descritos en este formato, y que ella ha aceptado en forma completamente voluntaria su participación en el proyecto. En señal de conformidad, la madre ha colocado su huella digital en este formato. Mi firma y la de un testigo se han colocado arriba.

Huella Digital ____________________________  Fecha:  ______
Nombre de la madre ____________________________  Fecha:  ______
Firma de Testigo ____________________________
Nombre de Testigo ____________________________  Fecha:  ______
Firma del Investigador ________________________  Fecha:  ______
Nombre del Investigador ________________________
APPENDIX B
FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW GUIDE

- Welcome participant mothers and thank them for their participation in the focus group session.
- Explain what the study is about: investigate what problems mothers like them observe when trying to work and how difficult it is to work and take care of the house, both at the same time.
- State the confidentiality of the meeting reconfirming their consent for having the meeting audio taped.
- Start meeting asking all participant mother to tell their names (first names only) and how many children they have.

Core interview guide

- How many mothers have ever worked and how many mothers are currently working?
- Ask mothers whether they think that mothers should work or not. State that there is some people who think that mothers should not work, and that it is better for them to stay at home and take care of their children.
- Ask participant mothers (particularly those who are not working) if mothers they know want to work and why is it that they are not working. Guide mothers into talking about
  - personal/individual problems
  - family related issues
  - community problems
- Ask about what type of jobs do mothers in their community have. Ask about preferences between and problems related to
  - Dependent jobs
  - Self-employment
- Talk about advantages when mothers work.
- Talk about disadvantages when mothers work.
- Ask about how do mothers feel when they have to work and also take care of their house and family.
- What do mothers do for solving work and family responsibility conflicts.

Final questions and closing session

- Regardless of their employment status, what type of things (anything they could think of) would make mothers in their community feel better. Guide mothers into talking about
  - personal/individual issues
  - family related issues
  - community issues
- Ask mothers if they were given the option of having someone to help them do some house work or help them find a job that could pay them a little more, what would they choose?
## Table 1.C

### Descriptive Statistics: Total Sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample Size</th>
<th>Working</th>
<th>Not working</th>
<th>Unpaid family</th>
<th>Self-employed</th>
<th>Waged</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1136</td>
<td>809</td>
<td>341</td>
<td>574</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>1945</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(58%)</td>
<td>(42%)</td>
<td>(18%)</td>
<td>(30%)</td>
<td>(11%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Mother’s characteristics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Working</th>
<th>Not working</th>
<th>Unpaid family</th>
<th>Self-employed</th>
<th>Waged</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>28.3</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>26.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household head</td>
<td>10.2%</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
<td>12.2%</td>
<td>17.7%</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrant</td>
<td>35.7%</td>
<td>55.3%</td>
<td>19.7%</td>
<td>38.2%</td>
<td>53.9%</td>
<td>43.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chronic health problem</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depression index</td>
<td>33.8%</td>
<td>25.8%</td>
<td>29.9%</td>
<td>36.2%</td>
<td>33.5%</td>
<td>30.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experience domestic violence</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>6.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index Child wanted</td>
<td>52.7%</td>
<td>55.9%</td>
<td>55.7%</td>
<td>50.5%</td>
<td>53.9%</td>
<td>54.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Marital status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Working</th>
<th>Not working</th>
<th>Unpaid family</th>
<th>Self-employed</th>
<th>Waged</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Permanent Partner</td>
<td>82.3%</td>
<td>91.6%</td>
<td>85.6%</td>
<td>83.3%</td>
<td>74.7%</td>
<td>86.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced/Separated</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>7.0%</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
<td>16.3%</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td>8.6%</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Level of education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Working</th>
<th>Not working</th>
<th>Unpaid family</th>
<th>Self-employed</th>
<th>Waged</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than Primary</td>
<td>68.6%</td>
<td>31.4%</td>
<td>29.3%</td>
<td>33.6%</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>48.6%</td>
<td>51.4%</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
<td>28.1%</td>
<td>11.3%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-graduated Technical Higher</td>
<td>47.9%</td>
<td>52.1%</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
<td>27.7%</td>
<td>13.8%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduated Technical Higher</td>
<td>57.9%</td>
<td>42.1%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>16.4%</td>
<td>40.3%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-graduated University Higher</td>
<td>40.7%</td>
<td>59.3%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>18.5%</td>
<td>22.2%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Currently looking for job

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Working</th>
<th>Not working</th>
<th>Unpaid family</th>
<th>Self-employed</th>
<th>Waged</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22.3%</td>
<td>20.8%</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
<td>24.9%</td>
<td>26.2%</td>
<td>21.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Months worked (past 12 months)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Working</th>
<th>Not working</th>
<th>Unpaid family</th>
<th>Self-employed</th>
<th>Waged</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>10.41</td>
<td>9.62</td>
<td>7.02</td>
<td>5.46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Days worked per week

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Working</th>
<th>Not working</th>
<th>Unpaid family</th>
<th>Self-employed</th>
<th>Waged</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>4.34</td>
<td>5.19</td>
<td>4.94</td>
<td>2.90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Child’s Characteristics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Working</th>
<th>Not working</th>
<th>Unpaid family</th>
<th>Self-employed</th>
<th>Waged</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Experienced chronic illness</td>
<td>18.9%</td>
<td>23.0%</td>
<td>22.6%</td>
<td>17.4%</td>
<td>17.2%</td>
<td>20.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health level (maternal report)</td>
<td>84.3%</td>
<td>86.7%</td>
<td>81.8%</td>
<td>85.0%</td>
<td>86.4%</td>
<td>85.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Child’s behavior

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Working</th>
<th>Not working</th>
<th>Unpaid family</th>
<th>Self-employed</th>
<th>Waged</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cries more than other children</td>
<td>18.0%</td>
<td>16.2%</td>
<td>18.8%</td>
<td>17.2%</td>
<td>19.0%</td>
<td>17.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cries as other children</td>
<td>39.6%</td>
<td>43.4%</td>
<td>37.2%</td>
<td>39.2%</td>
<td>44.3%</td>
<td>41.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cries less than other children</td>
<td>42.3%</td>
<td>40.4%</td>
<td>44.0%</td>
<td>43.6%</td>
<td>36.7%</td>
<td>41.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Continues
### Family Characteristics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Working</th>
<th>Not working</th>
<th>Unpaid family</th>
<th>Self-employed</th>
<th>Waged</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Household size</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>6.27</td>
<td>5.59</td>
<td>5.54</td>
<td>5.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average number of children 5 yrs and less (excluding index child)</td>
<td>0.64</td>
<td>0.49</td>
<td>0.82</td>
<td>0.58</td>
<td>0.51</td>
<td>0.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poverty level</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extreme poor</td>
<td>63.3%</td>
<td>36.7%</td>
<td>25.8%</td>
<td>29.8%</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>51.1%</td>
<td>48.9%</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
<td>29.6%</td>
<td>14.2%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not poor</td>
<td>55.8%</td>
<td>44.2%</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>29.4%</td>
<td>18.2%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total household income</td>
<td>10439</td>
<td>14133</td>
<td>6980</td>
<td>10801</td>
<td>14836</td>
<td>11967</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Households receiving remittances</td>
<td>12.9%</td>
<td>19.0%</td>
<td>8.8%</td>
<td>13.4%</td>
<td>17.7%</td>
<td>15.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family receives donated food</td>
<td>74.5%</td>
<td>56.4%</td>
<td>86.2%</td>
<td>72.5%</td>
<td>61.5%</td>
<td>66.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family has significant debt</td>
<td>36.7%</td>
<td>43.1%</td>
<td>26.4%</td>
<td>39.6%</td>
<td>45.3%</td>
<td>39.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family has house/land's property right</td>
<td>29.7%</td>
<td>30.2%</td>
<td>25.2%</td>
<td>28.8%</td>
<td>38.9%</td>
<td>29.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family owns land</td>
<td>64.5%</td>
<td>36.6%</td>
<td>92.4%</td>
<td>59.6%</td>
<td>34.4%</td>
<td>52.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family has livestock</td>
<td>76.8%</td>
<td>62.8%</td>
<td>92.7%</td>
<td>73.5%</td>
<td>60.6%</td>
<td>71.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family experienced good event (not related to job)</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family experienced negative event (not related to job)</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
<td>29.1%</td>
<td>18.8%</td>
<td>25.6%</td>
<td>33.0%</td>
<td>26.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Community characteristics

<p>| | | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trust people in your community</td>
<td>37.8%</td>
<td>34.2%</td>
<td>47.8%</td>
<td>33.1%</td>
<td>34.4%</td>
<td>36.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get along with people in your community</td>
<td>71.6%</td>
<td>67.8%</td>
<td>78.2%</td>
<td>69.6%</td>
<td>66.4%</td>
<td>70.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feel part of the community</td>
<td>85.2%</td>
<td>83.6%</td>
<td>86.5%</td>
<td>86.2%</td>
<td>80.5%</td>
<td>84.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Join others to solve problems</td>
<td>17.9%</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>19.4%</td>
<td>16.6%</td>
<td>19.0%</td>
<td>15.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Received support from family</td>
<td>41.9%</td>
<td>51.7%</td>
<td>27.3%</td>
<td>45.0%</td>
<td>56.6%</td>
<td>46.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Received support from friends</td>
<td>17.3%</td>
<td>17.4%</td>
<td>9.7%</td>
<td>18.6%</td>
<td>25.8%</td>
<td>17.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Labor market characteristics

<p>| | | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Log of gender wage gap(^1)</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>0.33</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>0.37</td>
<td>0.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment rate(^2)</td>
<td>10.41</td>
<td>10.02</td>
<td>9.68</td>
<td>10.82</td>
<td>10.49</td>
<td>10.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adequate employment rate(^2,3)</td>
<td>45.10</td>
<td>44.58</td>
<td>44.26</td>
<td>45.42</td>
<td>45.54</td>
<td>44.88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: YLP-P 2002: One year old sample

\(^1\) 2000 Peruvian Living Standard Measurement Survey

\(^2\) Peruvian Department of Labor (Programa de Estadísticas y Estudios Laborales-PEEL)

Note: \(^3\) Individuals who are neither unemployed nor underemployed.
# Appendix D

## Descriptive Statistics: Lima Sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample Size</th>
<th>San Juan de Miraflores (34%)</th>
<th>Ate (35%)</th>
<th>Villa María del Triunfo (31%)</th>
<th>Total (100%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Mother’s characteristics</strong></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>26.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Household head</strong></td>
<td>9.6%</td>
<td>11.5%</td>
<td>7.0%</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Migrant</strong></td>
<td>85.1%</td>
<td>87.5%</td>
<td>91.9%</td>
<td>88.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chronic health problem</strong></td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Depression index</strong></td>
<td>20.2%</td>
<td>34.4%</td>
<td>31.4%</td>
<td>28.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Experience domestic violence</strong></td>
<td>7.5%</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Index Child wanted</strong></td>
<td>52.1%</td>
<td>52.1%</td>
<td>51.2%</td>
<td>51.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Marital status</strong></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Permanent Partner</strong></td>
<td>85.1%</td>
<td>77.1%</td>
<td>89.5%</td>
<td>83.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Divorced/Separated</strong></td>
<td>6.4%</td>
<td>19.8%</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
<td>10.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Single</strong></td>
<td>8.5%</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Level of education</strong></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Less than Primary</strong></td>
<td>10.6%</td>
<td>15.6%</td>
<td>15.1%</td>
<td>13.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Secondary</strong></td>
<td>72.3%</td>
<td>65.6%</td>
<td>57.0%</td>
<td>65.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-graduated Technical Higher</strong></td>
<td>8.5%</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
<td>7.0%</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Graduated Technical Higher</strong></td>
<td>8.5%</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
<td>20.9%</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-graduated University Higher</strong></td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Currently looking for job</strong></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Not working</strong></td>
<td>51.1%</td>
<td>54.2%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>51.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unpaid family</strong></td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Self-employed</strong></td>
<td>25.5%</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
<td>30.2%</td>
<td>26.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Waged</strong></td>
<td>18.1%</td>
<td>17.7%</td>
<td>17.4%</td>
<td>17.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Average number of months working in past 12 months</strong></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Family Characteristics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>San Juan de Miraflores</th>
<th>Ate</th>
<th>Villa María del Triunfo</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Household size</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average number of children 5 yrs and less (excluding index child)</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td>0.34</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>0.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poverty level</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extreme poor</td>
<td>18.1%</td>
<td>35.9%</td>
<td>25.9%</td>
<td>26.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>47.9%</td>
<td>41.3%</td>
<td>36.5%</td>
<td>42.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not poor</td>
<td>34.0%</td>
<td>22.8%</td>
<td>37.6%</td>
<td>31.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total household income</td>
<td>26638</td>
<td>14490</td>
<td>15963</td>
<td>19178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Households receiving remittances</td>
<td>36.2%</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
<td>8.1%</td>
<td>17.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family receives donated food</td>
<td>46.8%</td>
<td>44.8%</td>
<td>53.5%</td>
<td>48.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family has significant debt</td>
<td>64.9%</td>
<td>45.8%</td>
<td>57.0%</td>
<td>55.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family has house/land's property right</td>
<td>38.3%</td>
<td>53.1%</td>
<td>43.0%</td>
<td>44.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family owns land</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
<td>13.5%</td>
<td>7.0%</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family has livestock</td>
<td>34.0%</td>
<td>28.1%</td>
<td>27.9%</td>
<td>30.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family experienced good event (not related to job)</td>
<td>11.7%</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
<td>24.4%</td>
<td>14.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family experienced negative event (not related to job)</td>
<td>24.5%</td>
<td>26.0%</td>
<td>33.7%</td>
<td>27.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Child’s Characteristics

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Experienced chronic illness</td>
<td>18.1%</td>
<td>11.5%</td>
<td>17.4%</td>
<td>15.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health is same or better (maternal report)</td>
<td>88.3%</td>
<td>90.6%</td>
<td>91.9%</td>
<td>90.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Community characteristics

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trust people in your community</td>
<td>10.6%</td>
<td>14.6%</td>
<td>24.4%</td>
<td>16.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get along with people in your community</td>
<td>54.0%</td>
<td>45.5%</td>
<td>64.3%</td>
<td>54.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feel part of the community</td>
<td>71.3%</td>
<td>70.8%</td>
<td>77.9%</td>
<td>73.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Join others to solve problems</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
<td>12.8%</td>
<td>8.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Received support from family</td>
<td>56.4%</td>
<td>60.4%</td>
<td>74.4%</td>
<td>63.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Received support from friends</td>
<td>22.3%</td>
<td>17.7%</td>
<td>31.4%</td>
<td>23.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: YLP-P 2002: One year old sample
## APPENDIX E
MATERNAL DEPRESSION/ANXIETY: PROBIT MODEL

Table 1.E
Maternal Depression/Anxiety: Probit Model

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mother’s characteristics</th>
<th>Marginal Effect</th>
<th>Std. Error</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>0.008</td>
<td>(0.002)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household head</td>
<td>0.051</td>
<td>(0.046)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>-0.087</td>
<td>(0.040)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary education</td>
<td>-0.008</td>
<td>(0.024)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-secondary education</td>
<td>-0.091</td>
<td>(0.031)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrant</td>
<td>0.041</td>
<td>(0.024)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disabled</td>
<td>0.209</td>
<td>(0.051)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experienced past physical abuse</td>
<td>0.101</td>
<td>(0.023)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current domestic violence</td>
<td>0.180</td>
<td>(0.050)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Looking for job</td>
<td>0.118</td>
<td>(0.028)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worked 3 or more days per week in past 12 months</td>
<td>-0.030</td>
<td>(0.030)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unpaid family worker</td>
<td>0.005</td>
<td>(0.037)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed family worker</td>
<td>0.064</td>
<td>(0.030)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage worker</td>
<td>0.057</td>
<td>(0.040)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index child’s characteristics</th>
<th>Marginal Effect</th>
<th>Std. Error</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Child was wanted</td>
<td>-0.066</td>
<td>(0.022)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long term illness</td>
<td>0.069</td>
<td>(0.028)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family structure and characteristics</th>
<th>Marginal Effect</th>
<th>Std. Error</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of children 5 or younger</td>
<td>-0.002</td>
<td>(0.016)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of adults 18 to 80</td>
<td>-0.009</td>
<td>(0.009)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family has significant debt</td>
<td>0.073</td>
<td>(0.023)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extreme poor</td>
<td>0.115</td>
<td>(0.031)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>0.102</td>
<td>(0.035)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family receives remittances</td>
<td>-0.040</td>
<td>(0.029)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community and family social capital characteristics</th>
<th>Marginal Effect</th>
<th>Std. Error</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trust people in your community</td>
<td>0.012</td>
<td>(0.023)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feel part of the community</td>
<td>-0.078</td>
<td>(0.032)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Join others to solve problems</td>
<td>-0.048</td>
<td>(0.028)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receive support from family</td>
<td>-0.009</td>
<td>(0.024)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receive support from friends</td>
<td>-0.014</td>
<td>(0.029)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family experienced negative event (not related to job/income changes)</td>
<td>0.058</td>
<td>(0.026)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lima dummy</td>
<td>-0.058</td>
<td>(0.032)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Number of observations: 1969
Log Likelihood: -1083.0

Source: YLP-P 2002, one year old sample.
Notes: Bold numbers are 5% statistically significant.
Table 1.F
Maternal Employment: Probit Model

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mother’s characteristics</th>
<th>Marginal Effect</th>
<th>Std error</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-0.005</td>
<td>(0.002)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household head</td>
<td>0.079</td>
<td>(0.053)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>0.105</td>
<td>(0.053)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never married</td>
<td>0.011</td>
<td>(0.059)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary education</td>
<td>0.003</td>
<td>(0.029)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-secondary education</td>
<td>0.227</td>
<td>(0.031)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrant</td>
<td>-0.227</td>
<td>(0.028)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disabled</td>
<td>-0.525</td>
<td>(0.037)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experience domestic violence</td>
<td>-0.270</td>
<td>(0.066)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depressed</td>
<td>2.208</td>
<td>(0.165)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Index child’s characteristics             |                 |           |
| Chronic illness                           | -0.215          | (0.035)   |
| Cry more than other children              | -0.027          | (0.036)   |

| Family structure and characteristics      |                 |           |
| Number of children 5 yrs or less          | 0.030           | (0.018)   |
| Number of adults 18 to 80                 | -0.014          | (0.010)   |
| Family has significant debt               | -0.198          | (0.030)   |
| Receive income from remittances           | -0.054          | (0.035)   |
| Participate in food transfer program      | 0.060           | (0.024)   |
| Family has house/land's property right    | 0.000           | (0.029)   |
| Own land                                  | 0.211           | (0.030)   |
| Own livestock                             | 0.058           | (0.032)   |
| Extreme poor                              | -0.303          | (0.036)   |
| Poor                                      | -0.267          | (0.039)   |

| Community level social capital characteristics |                 |           |
| Trust people in your community              | -0.011          | (0.027)   |
| Part of your community                      | 0.143           | (0.039)   |
| Join others to solve problems               | 0.111           | (0.032)   |
| Receives support from family                | -0.069          | (0.027)   |
| Receives support from friends               | 0.007           | (0.034)   |

Continues
### Labor market characteristics (Cluster level)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Marginal Effect</th>
<th>Std error</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wage gender gap(^1)</td>
<td>-0.204</td>
<td>(0.040)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adequate employment (^2,3)</td>
<td>0.002</td>
<td>(0.003)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lima dummy</td>
<td>0.156</td>
<td>(0.037)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Number of observations: 1969

Log Likelihood: -1057.7

Source: YLP-P 2002: One year old sample

\(^1\) 2000 Peruvian Living Standard Measurement Survey

\(^2\) Peruvian Department of Labor (Programa de Estadísticas y Estudios Laborales-PEEL)

Notes: Reported values are marginal effects and standard errors (in parentheses). Bold numbers are 5% statistically significant.

\(^3\) Individuals who are neither unemployed nor underemployed.
### Table 1.G
Maternal Employment: Multinomial Logit Model 1 and Model 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Model 1</th>
<th>Model 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not working</td>
<td>Unpaid family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mother's characteristics</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-0.010</td>
<td>0.008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.00)</td>
<td>(0.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household head</td>
<td>-0.071</td>
<td>-0.210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>-0.114</td>
<td>0.048</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.07)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never married</td>
<td>-0.047</td>
<td>0.097</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.06)</td>
<td>(0.07)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary education</td>
<td>0.009</td>
<td>0.161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.03)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-secondary education</td>
<td>-0.176</td>
<td>-0.279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.06)</td>
<td>(0.07)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrant</td>
<td>0.181</td>
<td>-0.200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.03)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disabled</td>
<td>0.356</td>
<td>-0.019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.13)</td>
<td>(0.09)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experience domestic violence</td>
<td>-0.039</td>
<td>0.268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.08)</td>
<td>(0.08)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depressed</td>
<td>-0.466</td>
<td>-0.603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.16)</td>
<td>(0.16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work without contract</td>
<td>-0.877</td>
<td>0.193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.01)</td>
<td>(0.02)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Index child's characteristics</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chronic illness</td>
<td>0.071</td>
<td>0.086</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.05)</td>
<td>(0.05)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cry more than other children</td>
<td>0.001</td>
<td>-0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Family structure and characteristics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Not working</th>
<th>Unpaid family</th>
<th>Self-employed</th>
<th>Wage employed</th>
<th>Not working</th>
<th>Unpaid family</th>
<th>Self-employed</th>
<th>Wage employed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of children 5 or younger</td>
<td>-0.007</td>
<td>0.025</td>
<td>-0.037</td>
<td>0.018</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.02)</td>
<td>(0.02)</td>
<td>(0.02)</td>
<td>(0.02)</td>
<td>(0.01)</td>
<td>(0.01)</td>
<td>(0.01)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of adults 18 to 80</td>
<td>0.031</td>
<td>-0.027</td>
<td>-0.012</td>
<td>0.008</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.01)</td>
<td>(0.01)</td>
<td>(0.01)</td>
<td>(0.01)</td>
<td>(0.01)</td>
<td>(0.01)</td>
<td>(0.01)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family has significant debt</td>
<td>0.090</td>
<td>0.022</td>
<td>-0.058</td>
<td>-0.054</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.03)</td>
<td>(0.03)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receive income from remittances</td>
<td>0.171</td>
<td>-0.119</td>
<td>-0.073</td>
<td>0.020</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.07)</td>
<td>(0.03)</td>
<td>(0.03)</td>
<td>(0.05)</td>
<td>(0.05)</td>
<td>(0.05)</td>
<td>(0.05)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participate in food transfer program</td>
<td>-0.041</td>
<td>-0.018</td>
<td>0.020</td>
<td>0.040</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.03)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.03)</td>
<td>(0.03)</td>
<td>(0.03)</td>
<td>(0.03)</td>
<td>(0.03)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family has house/land's property right</td>
<td>-0.036</td>
<td>-0.007</td>
<td>-0.017</td>
<td>0.060</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.03)</td>
<td>(0.03)</td>
<td>(0.03)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own land</td>
<td>-0.202</td>
<td>0.316</td>
<td>0.040</td>
<td>-0.154</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.05)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own livestock</td>
<td>0.019</td>
<td>0.029</td>
<td>-0.036</td>
<td>-0.012</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.05)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extreme poor</td>
<td>0.214</td>
<td>0.129</td>
<td>-0.181</td>
<td>-0.162</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.05)</td>
<td>(0.05)</td>
<td>(0.05)</td>
<td>(0.05)</td>
<td>(0.05)</td>
<td>(0.05)</td>
<td>(0.05)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>0.253</td>
<td>-0.034</td>
<td>-0.133</td>
<td>-0.086</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.07)</td>
<td>(0.05)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.07)</td>
<td>(0.05)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Number of observations: 1969
Log Likelihood: -1332.7

Source: YLP-P 2002: One year old sample
1 2000 Peruvian Living Standard Measurement Survey
2 Peruvian Department of Labor (Programa de Estadisticas y Estudios Laborales-PEEL)

Notes: Reported values are coefficients and t-statistics (in parentheses).
Base category: Not working.
Bold numbers are 5% statistically significant.
3 Individuals who are neither unemployed nor underemployed.
Table 2.G
Maternal Employment: Multinomial Logit Model 3 and Model 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mother’s characteristics</th>
<th>Not working</th>
<th>Unpaid family</th>
<th>Self-employed</th>
<th>Wage employed</th>
<th>Not working</th>
<th>Unpaid family</th>
<th>Self-employed</th>
<th>Wage employed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-0.002</td>
<td>0.008</td>
<td>-0.001</td>
<td>-0.005</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.006</td>
<td>-0.001</td>
<td>-0.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household head</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>-0.119</td>
<td>0.185</td>
<td>-0.094</td>
<td>0.028</td>
<td>-0.109</td>
<td>0.221</td>
<td>-0.112</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never married</td>
<td>-0.027</td>
<td>0.197</td>
<td>-0.134</td>
<td>-0.036</td>
<td>-0.021</td>
<td>0.234</td>
<td>-0.155</td>
<td>-0.057</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary education</td>
<td>0.053</td>
<td>0.043</td>
<td>0.006</td>
<td>-0.102</td>
<td>0.057</td>
<td>0.031</td>
<td>0.009</td>
<td>-0.096</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-secondary education</td>
<td>0.213</td>
<td>-0.203</td>
<td>0.089</td>
<td>0.327</td>
<td>-0.220</td>
<td>-0.181</td>
<td>0.082</td>
<td>0.320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrant</td>
<td>0.152</td>
<td>-0.047</td>
<td>-0.106</td>
<td>0.001</td>
<td>0.178</td>
<td>-0.036</td>
<td>-0.116</td>
<td>-0.026</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disabled</td>
<td>0.510</td>
<td>0.002</td>
<td>-0.287</td>
<td>-0.225</td>
<td>0.595</td>
<td>-0.033</td>
<td>-0.306</td>
<td>-0.256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experience domestic</td>
<td>0.116</td>
<td>0.303</td>
<td>-0.169</td>
<td>-0.250</td>
<td>0.164</td>
<td>0.281</td>
<td>-0.183</td>
<td>-0.262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depressed</td>
<td>-1.186</td>
<td>-0.944</td>
<td>1.174</td>
<td>0.956</td>
<td>-1.368</td>
<td>-0.873</td>
<td>1.230</td>
<td>1.011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work without contract</td>
<td>-0.891</td>
<td>0.150</td>
<td>0.663</td>
<td>0.078</td>
<td>-0.896</td>
<td>0.149</td>
<td>0.670</td>
<td>0.076</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index child’s characteristics</th>
<th>Not working</th>
<th>Unpaid family</th>
<th>Self-employed</th>
<th>Wage employed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chronic illness</td>
<td>0.114</td>
<td>0.114</td>
<td>-0.119</td>
<td>-0.109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cry more than other children</td>
<td>0.023</td>
<td>0.016</td>
<td>-0.059</td>
<td>0.052</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Continues
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family structure and characteristics</th>
<th>Not working</th>
<th>Unpaid family</th>
<th>Self-employed</th>
<th>Wage employed</th>
<th>Not working</th>
<th>Unpaid family</th>
<th>Self-employed</th>
<th>Wage employed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of children 5 or younger</td>
<td>-0.008</td>
<td>0.025</td>
<td>-0.033</td>
<td>0.016</td>
<td>-0.005</td>
<td>0.018</td>
<td>-0.033</td>
<td>0.020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.02)</td>
<td>(0.02)</td>
<td>(0.02)</td>
<td>(0.02)</td>
<td>(0.02)</td>
<td>(0.02)</td>
<td>(0.02)</td>
<td>(0.03)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of adults 18 to 80</td>
<td>0.032</td>
<td>-0.031</td>
<td>-0.012</td>
<td>0.011</td>
<td>0.031</td>
<td>-0.038</td>
<td>-0.007</td>
<td>0.014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.01)</td>
<td>(0.01)</td>
<td>(0.01)</td>
<td>(0.01)</td>
<td>(0.01)</td>
<td>(0.01)</td>
<td>(0.01)</td>
<td>(0.01)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family has significant debt</td>
<td>0.095</td>
<td>0.056</td>
<td>-0.073</td>
<td>-0.077</td>
<td>0.102</td>
<td>0.057</td>
<td>-0.070</td>
<td>-0.089</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receive income from remittances</td>
<td>0.169</td>
<td>-0.130</td>
<td>-0.065</td>
<td>0.026</td>
<td>0.0159</td>
<td>-0.126</td>
<td>-0.059</td>
<td>0.026</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.07)</td>
<td>(0.03)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.07)</td>
<td>(0.03)</td>
<td>(0.05)</td>
<td>(0.05)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participate in food transfer program</td>
<td>-0.041</td>
<td>-0.028</td>
<td>0.027</td>
<td>0.041</td>
<td>-0.036</td>
<td>-0.029</td>
<td>0.023</td>
<td>0.043</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.03)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.03)</td>
<td>(0.03)</td>
<td>(0.03)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.03)</td>
<td>(0.03)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family has house/land's property right</td>
<td>-0.040</td>
<td>-0.014</td>
<td>-0.013</td>
<td>0.066</td>
<td>-0.042</td>
<td>-0.006</td>
<td>-0.015</td>
<td>0.063</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.03)</td>
<td>(0.03)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.03)</td>
<td>(0.03)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own land</td>
<td>-0.200</td>
<td>0.324</td>
<td>0.040</td>
<td>-0.164</td>
<td>-0.181</td>
<td>0.311</td>
<td>0.035</td>
<td>-0.165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.05)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.05)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own livestock</td>
<td>0.028</td>
<td>0.035</td>
<td>-0.037</td>
<td>-0.026</td>
<td>0.028</td>
<td>0.024</td>
<td>-0.042</td>
<td>-0.010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.05)</td>
<td>(0.05)</td>
<td>(0.05)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extreme poor</td>
<td>0.221</td>
<td>0.159</td>
<td>-0.200</td>
<td>-0.180</td>
<td>0.243</td>
<td>0.147</td>
<td>-0.209</td>
<td>-0.181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.05)</td>
<td>(0.05)</td>
<td>(0.05)</td>
<td>(0.06)</td>
<td>(0.05)</td>
<td>(0.05)</td>
<td>(0.05)</td>
<td>(0.05)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>0.256</td>
<td>-0.014</td>
<td>-0.142</td>
<td>-0.100</td>
<td>0.289</td>
<td>-0.024</td>
<td>-0.152</td>
<td>-0.112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.07)</td>
<td>(0.05)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.07)</td>
<td>(0.05)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community level social capital characteristics</td>
<td>Not working</td>
<td>Unpaid family</td>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>Wage employed</td>
<td>Not working</td>
<td>Unpaid family</td>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>Wage employed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust people in your community</td>
<td>-0.007</td>
<td>0.066</td>
<td>-0.095</td>
<td>0.036</td>
<td>-0.006</td>
<td>0.064</td>
<td>-0.093</td>
<td>0.035</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part of your community</td>
<td>-0.032</td>
<td>-0.189</td>
<td>0.135</td>
<td>0.085</td>
<td>-0.041</td>
<td>-0.175</td>
<td>0.131</td>
<td>0.085</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Join others to solve problems</td>
<td>-0.034</td>
<td>-0.078</td>
<td>-0.005</td>
<td>0.118</td>
<td>-0.048</td>
<td>-0.059</td>
<td>-0.005</td>
<td>0.111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receives support from family</td>
<td>0.079</td>
<td>-0.054</td>
<td>-0.038</td>
<td>0.012</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receives support from friends</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>(0.03)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor market characteristics (Cluster level)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage gender gap</td>
<td>0.189</td>
<td>-0.176</td>
<td>-0.063</td>
<td>0.050</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adequate employment</td>
<td>-0.002</td>
<td>-0.015</td>
<td>0.007</td>
<td>0.010</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lima dummy</td>
<td>-0.104</td>
<td>0.099</td>
<td>-0.014</td>
<td>0.020</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Number of observations 1969
Log Likelihood -1202.0

Source: YLP-P 2002: One year old sample
1 2000 Peruvian Living Standard Measurement Survey
2 Peruvian Department of Labor (Programa de Estadísticas y Estudios Laborales-PEEL)
Notes: Reported values are coefficients and t-statistics (in parentheses).
Base category: Not working.
Bold numbers are 5% statistically significant.
3 Individuals who are neither unemployed nor underemployed.
### APPENDIX H

#### MATERNAL EMPLOYMENT: TOBIT MODELS

Table 1.H  
Maternal Employment: Tobit Model

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Marginal Effect</th>
<th>t-stat</th>
<th>Marginal Effect</th>
<th>t-stat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mother’s characteristics</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>0.079</td>
<td>(3.03)</td>
<td>0.086</td>
<td>(3.32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household head</td>
<td>-0.114</td>
<td>-(0.21)</td>
<td>-0.214</td>
<td>-(0.40)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>1.005</td>
<td>(1.70)</td>
<td>0.932</td>
<td>(1.58)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never married</td>
<td>0.329</td>
<td>(0.52)</td>
<td>0.296</td>
<td>(0.47)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary education</td>
<td>0.563</td>
<td>(1.74)</td>
<td>0.540</td>
<td>(1.66)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-secondary education</td>
<td>0.606</td>
<td>(1.24)</td>
<td>0.639</td>
<td>(1.32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrant</td>
<td>-1.087</td>
<td>-(3.34)</td>
<td>-1.062</td>
<td>-(3.27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disabled</td>
<td>-1.064</td>
<td>-(1.59)</td>
<td>-0.973</td>
<td>-(1.45)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experience domestic violence</td>
<td>0.926</td>
<td>(1.34)</td>
<td>1.151</td>
<td>(1.65)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depressed</td>
<td>2.661</td>
<td>(1.23)</td>
<td>-0.763</td>
<td>-0.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>4.261</td>
<td>(5.64)</td>
<td>3.169</td>
<td>(7.64)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed*Depressed</td>
<td>-3.821</td>
<td>-(1.94)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waged labor</td>
<td>4.751</td>
<td>(5.52)</td>
<td>2.796</td>
<td>(5.86)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waged labor*Depressed</td>
<td>-6.657</td>
<td>-(2.93)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stable contract</td>
<td>6.616</td>
<td>(8.78)</td>
<td>6.733</td>
<td>(9.22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No contract</td>
<td>7.595</td>
<td>(19.09)</td>
<td>7.625</td>
<td>(19.13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Index child’s characteristics</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chronic illness</td>
<td>0.161</td>
<td>(0.43)</td>
<td>0.230</td>
<td>(0.61)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cry more than other children</td>
<td>-0.113</td>
<td>-(0.31)</td>
<td>-0.149</td>
<td>-(0.41)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Family structure and characteristics</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of children 5 yrs or less</td>
<td>0.378</td>
<td>(1.88)</td>
<td>0.351</td>
<td>(1.74)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of adults 18 to 80</td>
<td>-0.225</td>
<td>-(1.96)</td>
<td>-0.215</td>
<td>-(1.89)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family has significant debt</td>
<td>-0.183</td>
<td>-(0.54)</td>
<td>-0.151</td>
<td>-(0.44)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receive income from remittances</td>
<td>-0.635</td>
<td>-(1.60)</td>
<td>-0.648</td>
<td>-(1.63)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participate in food transfer program</td>
<td>0.583</td>
<td>(2.03)</td>
<td>0.569</td>
<td>(1.98)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family has house/land's property right</td>
<td>0.772</td>
<td>(2.36)</td>
<td>0.835</td>
<td>(2.55)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own land</td>
<td>2.297</td>
<td>(6.25)</td>
<td>2.343</td>
<td>(6.37)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own livestock</td>
<td>-0.224</td>
<td>-(0.60)</td>
<td>-0.213</td>
<td>-(0.57)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extreme poor</td>
<td>-1.250</td>
<td>-(2.73)</td>
<td>-1.198</td>
<td>-(2.62)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>-1.545</td>
<td>-(3.51)</td>
<td>-1.502</td>
<td>-(3.43)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Continues
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Community level social capital characteristics</strong></th>
<th>Marginal Effect</th>
<th>t-stat</th>
<th>Marginal Effect</th>
<th>t-stat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trust people in your community</td>
<td>0.402</td>
<td>(1.36)</td>
<td>0.401</td>
<td>(1.36)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part of your community</td>
<td>-0.094</td>
<td>-(0.23)</td>
<td>-0.129</td>
<td>-(0.31)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Join others to solve problems</td>
<td>-0.745</td>
<td>-(2.01)</td>
<td>-0.756</td>
<td>-(2.04)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receives support from family</td>
<td>-0.568</td>
<td>-(1.83)</td>
<td>-0.564</td>
<td>-(1.82)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receives support from friends</td>
<td>0.040</td>
<td>(0.11)</td>
<td>0.055</td>
<td>(0.14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Labor market characteristics (Cluster level)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage gender gap</td>
<td>-2.180</td>
<td>-(4.41)</td>
<td>-2.169</td>
<td>-(4.39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adequate employment</td>
<td>-0.037</td>
<td>-(1.08)</td>
<td>-0.039</td>
<td>-(1.13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lima dummy</td>
<td>-0.023</td>
<td>-(0.05)</td>
<td>-0.055</td>
<td>-(0.11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>-5.020</td>
<td>-(2.82)</td>
<td>-4.302</td>
<td>-(2.45)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Number of observations: 1969
Log Likelihood: 1873.33

Source: YLP-P 2002: One year old sample
1 Peruvian Department of Labor (Programa de Estadísticas y Estudios Laborales-PEEL)
Notes: Reported values are marginal effects and standard errors (in parentheses).
Bold numbers are 5% statistically significant.
1 Individuals who are neither unemployed nor underemployed.
APPENDIX I
CHAPTER 1 SPANISH QUOTES

[1] “(…) pero las desventaja es que cuando yo me voy no voy a estar tranquila porque al saber que él va a estar propenso a cualquier de no se propensa a cualquier persona, peligro o de repente de su alimentación de tantas cosas que uno se puede imaginar.”

[2] “(…) [cuando trabajas fuera de la casa] Estas tensa pues, no hay otra tranquilidad. (…) [pero tienes que trabajar] Porque en el trabajo te van a pagar por lo que estas haciendo pero en la casa no te pagan.”

[3] “(…) pienso que son personas que quieren trabajar, quieren salir adelante pero hay algo que las detiene (…) o van con el esposo, y él se sienta ahí (…) y de pronto un hombre en medio de todo, la señora misma se pone nerviosa, no quiere hacer, se incomoda y ya no regresa y son buenas personas que saben (…)”

[4] “A veces como dice la carne llama a la carne no, a veces en un momento de [debilidad] que voy hacer, nada puedes hacer ya, y ahora demandarle a tu mismo primo a tu mismo familia, tienes que ver desesperante, en una situación desesperante vivimos.”
APPENDIX J
SAMPLE DESCRIPTION: DISTRICT CHARACTERISTICS

The sample used for developing this study’s qualitative component includes mothers from three areas in Lima. These clusters are the same districts used by the YLP study: Villa María del Triunfo, San Juan de Lurigancho and Ate. Two focus group meetings were held per site.69 Although these three districts are in Lima and present similar poverty levels, they also show some differences that are worth being mentioned. These differences are likely to explain some variation regarding mothers’ labor force participation barriers and employment occupation opportunities.

Villa María del Triunfo

Compared to the other two clusters Villa María del Triunfo (VMT) is the oldest, most developed, and organized district. The district is mostly organized in “urbanizaciones”, rather than “asentamientos humanos”. This categorization provides the residents not only with a higher real state value, but also increases the possibility of obtaining formal and legal property rights for their lands. This factor is highly important when analyzing credit markets, as these populations are more likely to work as self-employed and small entrepreneurs.

The population residing in VMT is less likely to be first generation migrant (most likely to be second or third generation of rural migrants). Also, VMT’s residents are more likely to have higher educational levels, potentially due to greater access to technical and higher education centers, and higher motivation. In addition, the presence of Catholic and Christian churches is significantly important.

69 Although we had two focus group meetings in San Juan de Lurigancho, only one (the second meeting) was audio taped. Problems with the tape recorder prevented us from taping the first meeting.
San Juan de Lurigancho

San Juan de Lurigancho (SJL), compared to Ate and VMT presents greater variability within the district. Although some areas are highly developed and urbanized, there is large variance within SJL. Particularly, the Huáscar area (the one analyzed) is less developed and presents higher poverty levels. The majority of SJL/Huáscar families reside in “asentamientos humanos”, which give them fewer property rights and less negotiation power.

Although SJL has a large number of school-level and higher education centers, its population’s educational level is not high. Large problems of substance abuse, high crime, and violence prevent this district from further development. In addition, people are less likely to trust their neighbors and to feel a part of their communities. Religion is not as important across the SJL population and the proportion of migrants is greater than in VMT, but not as high as in Ate.

Ate

This cluster presents the largest poverty level, compared to the VMT and SJL. This area is clearly less developed regarding infrastructure, and utilities such as electricity and running water. In addition, this cluster is mainly organized in “asentamientos humanos” and “unidades comunales vecinales” (UCV). This reduces Ate residents’ access to legal property rights, and hence to credits, and their possibility of developing small businesses.

The proportion of schools (particularly Fe y Alegria schools) and public higher education centers is smaller. The Ate, and particularly the Huaycán population presents a greater proportion of migrants and less educated people. In addition, high crime rates and some terrorist activities (such as recruitment and protest activities) significantly affect Huaycán.
APPENDIX K
CHAPTER 2 SPANISH QUOTES

[1] “(…) porque tengo más tiempo para cocinar, darle sus alimentos a sus horas, atenderla, bañarla, cambiarle la ropa, lavar, me tomo mi tiempo, las señoras van me buscan, trabajo con ellas, de ahí a cierta hora me voy a mi casa, yo vivo en la segunda planta, (…) me levanto temprano cocino, le caliento su almuerzo a las 12 y me siento bien, en mi casa trabajando porque afuera no podría”

[2] “En mi caso por ejemplo no, si hay y por decir encuentro trabajo y quieren sin niños con niños no, mejor sería trabajar por uno mismo por su cuenta un negocio o algo así para estar en la casa para estar al lado de los hijos.”

[3] “Siempre, estas tensa, la preocupación, que el hijo que estará haciendo si habrá comido más que nada en la barriguita en mi caso de mis hijos cuando yo no estoy no comen, porque a veces veo igualito la comida, dejó cocinado igualito la comida ni lo han tocado, pero hijo porque no has comido, es que mami no hay hambre cuando no estás, es una pena dentro (…)”

[4] “(…) yo creo que los primeros años (…) la madre debe estar siempre con el niño porque yo en carne propia he sufrido, (…) cuando mi hija mayor tenía año y medio, dos años, yo entré a trabajar (…) entraba a trabajar a las 7, 8 de la mañana y salía a veces 8, 9 ó 10 de la noche no tenía un horario de salida, (…) yo profesionalmente yo estaba muy bien, ganaba muy bien tenia a mi familia muy bien, (…) (pero) como madre e hija no podía, yo sentía el rechazo de mi hija (…) (con) mi segunda hija (…) voy a tratar de estar con ella (…) hasta los 3 ó 4 años y después veré que es lo que hago pero sin embargo no he dejado de trabajar, siempre trabajo, claro que muy independientemente ya no dependiente entonces mi horario es más libre (…)”

[5] Así como le digo dar educación, (…) voy a ganar plata por lo que yo se que estoy haciendo, en cambio no por lo que le mandan a limpiar le mandan a hacer un montón de cosas, le explotan, por ejemplo si yo se de computación entonces yo se lo que estoy haciendo es un trabajo que yo he estudiado entonces me van a pagar por ello, tienes conocimiento, sabes algo (…)

[6] “Bueno, no sé de qué dependerá porque en el caso mío yo a veces para vender algo soy muy timida, tengo miedo, no vaya a vender, lo vaya a perder el capital, mi esposo cuántas veces no me ha dicho y si ponemos un negocito. Y yo soy la que le desanimo porque yo tengo miedo perderlo.”

[7] “(…) es dejadez de uno mismo, porque uno no quiere participar, se les invita, por ejemplo se les invita, el comedor funciona acá a lado se pone que hay un taller de autoestima, se pone allí, se pone el día, la hora, pero no van, (…) si hay, yo he visto, por ejemplo en la iglesia he visto ahí dan charlas, dan capacitación de autoestima, de manualidades, talleres hay, la municipalidad también está dando pero como le digo es dejadez de la persona que no quiere ir (…)”

[8] “otras por temor a sus esposos, no quieren que ellas trabajan, no quieren que salgan de la casa, (…) muchas que tienen muchos problemas, que por ejemplo dicen, señora yo no se hacer, haber señora qué sabe hacer, muy bien hace, señora qué bonito usted sabe hacer, porque no hace,
ay señora usted me está halagando, por qué, porque mi esposo me ha dicho que yo soy una
inútil.”

[9] “Si hay muchas personas que se benefician con eso porque le empiezan dando crédito de así
mínimo, (...) pero el problema es que cuando, a mí me dijeron para participar (...) (con) un
grupo de 10 mamás y si una falla el resto de las mamás (...) sale la plata para que paguen (...) como la mayoría de las personas no cumplen por eso es que no me atreví a meterme en eso”

[10] “(...) yo a veces hago estas pulseritas que yo veo no, (...) y la chica también (...) [hacía]
montón de pulseras, ella lo manda a otros países entonces ella se encarga, ella ya no hace si no
manda a tener a otras personas, yo también pienso y digo si yo también tuviera una persona que
pudiera también ayudarme no (…)”

[11] “Yo pienso que debe de haber más seguridad, más seguridad porque ahora no puedes al
menos esa parte de la avenida se ha vuelto bien, se ha maleado bastante, o sea uno no puede ni
llegar del trabajo a altas, a partir de las 10 u 11 ya están cuadrando, robándole a la gente debe de
haber más seguridad, más seguridad policial, serenazgo.”

[12] “(...) Yo si he tenido experiencia (...) de acoso porque en varios sitios que he trabajado,
(...) como secretaria, como cajera y siempre en los trabajos (...) he sentido ese acoso de parte de
los jefes y por eso es que he tenido que retirarme, no duraba mucho tiempo, trabajaba medio año,
un año y me tenía que salir por ese motivo.”

[13] “(...) acá en Huaycán hay bastante de eso, hay bastante casos de violaciones que no se han
denunciado y a niños y a niñas, también ese temor también. Porque ahora o sea hasta en la
familia, las familias que el tío, que el sobrino le hizo esta cosa.”
APPENDIX L
SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW CONSENT FORMS (SPANISH AND ENGLISH VERSION)

Título del Proyecto: Explorando Barreras al Trabajo Materno en Peru:
Una Perspectiva Multi-disciplinaria y Multi-metodológica

Investigadores:       Paola Tami Aritomi,  
IIN y Universidad Estatal de Pensilvania, EEUU

Dra Mary Penny
Dr Claudio Lanata
IIN
Av. La Molina 1885, La Molina, Lima 12, Peru
Teléfonos 349-6023

Javier Escobal
GRADE
Av Ejercito 1870 , Lima 27
Teléfonos 264 1780

Investigadores Colaboradores:
Rukmalie Jayakody
Universidad Estatal de Pensilvania, EEUU
601 Oswald Tower
Teléfono: 011 01 814 865-2659
jayakody@pop.psu.edu

1 ¿De qué se trata el estudio?
Queremos saber sobre la situación de trabajo y familiar de mujeres con niños pequeños. Estamos interesados en entender como distribuye el tiempo en responsabilidades de trabajo y familia, qué cosas ayudan a repartir el tiempo en estas dos actividades, y qué cosas hacen que estas actividades sean más difíciles de realizar.

2 ¿Qué se hará si acepto participar?
Tú y yo nos reuniremos para hablar sobre estos problemas de trabajo y familia. Se te preguntará sobre cómo haces tu y otras madres para encontrar y mantener sus trabajos mientras crian a un niño pequeño. Esta reunión durará una hora y se hará el día [dia por definir] a las [hora por definir]. Lo que se hable en esta reunión es confidencial y tu nombre nunca será asociado con la información que de en la discusión. La reunión será
grabada en cintas de audio. Las cintas serán guardadas en un lugar seguro bajo llave, con acceso sólo para los investigadores responsables del proyecto. Después de ser transcritas, las cintas serán destruidas a más tardar en Diciembre del 2005 para proteger tu identidad.

3 ¿Existen molestias o riesgos por participar?
No hay riesgos en participar en este estudio, más que aquellos normalmente experimentados en el día a día. Sin embargo, pueden haber preguntas personales, y quizás puedan hacerte sentir un poco incómoda. Alguna de estas preguntas puede ser sobre actividades ilegales. Nosotros estamos obligados a reportar esta información al Comité de Ética del Proyecto de Niños del Millennium. Ellos están dispuestos a ayudarte sólo si tú voluntariamente lo pides.

4 ¿Qué beneficios hay por participar?
Tu participación ayudará a identificar los mayores problemas que tiene las madres con niños menores de 3 años y con esto contribuir al mejoramiento de programas que ayuden a madres trabajadoras.

5 ¿Cuánto tiempo durará la reunión?
La reunión tendrá una duración de aproximadamente una hora.

6 ¿Quién sabrá mi identidad?
Sólo las personas encargadas de este proyecto y las del proyecto de Niños del Milenio sabrán tu identidad. Ningún resultado de este estudio que sea publicado tendrá información que pueda identificarte.

7 ¿Dónde puedo conseguir más información?
Puedes hacer consultas sobre este estudio en el momento que desees. Si así lo quieres, te rogamos contactarte con Tami Aritomi, investigador responsable del proyecto, a las oficinas del Instituto de Investigación Nutricional, Av. La Molina 685, La Molina, Lima 12, o llamando a los teléfonos (01) 349-6023. También puedes contactar al Presidente del Comité de Ética del Instituto de Investigación Nutricional, comité que ha aprobado este proyecto, a la misma dirección y teléfonos, si quisiera hacer cualquier pregunta o comentario. Igualmente pueden comunicarse con la Oficina para la Protección de Investigaciones de la Universidad Estatal de Pensilvania al 011 01 814 865 1775 si tienen preguntas sobre los derechos que tienen los participantes de investigaciones. Tu te quedarás con una copia de este documento para tus archivos.

8 ¿Voy a recibir algún pago por el proyecto?
Los participantes recibirán un pequeño presente.

9 ¿Qué pasa si debo hacer participado aquí o más tarde en el proyecto?
Tienes todo el derecho de no aceptar participar o de dejar de participar en esta investigación en cualquier momento que lo decidas. También eres libre de dejar de contestar las preguntas que desees. Eres libre de cambiar de opinión en cualquier momento sin que esto afecte tu participación en cualquier otro programa o proyecto de salud, educación, desarrollo o de lucha contra la pobreza.
Declaración Voluntaria de Consentimiento Informado

Usted debe ser mayor de 18 años para participar en este estudio. Si usted aceptar participar en esta investigación y los términos descritos arriba, por favor ponga su nombre, firma y fecha donde se le indica.

Yo, ___________________________________, después de haber sido informada de todos los aspectos del proyecto que se ha descrito en este formato, habiendo recibido copia de este formato, y habiendo recibido respuestas satisfactorias a todas mis preguntas y dudas sobre el proyecto, acepto en forma completamente libre y voluntaria participar en este proyecto, compromitiéndome a cumplir con los todos procedimientos descritos. Yo he tenido suficientes oportunidades para hacer cualquier pregunta sobre el proyecto y entiendo los procedimientos que serán realizados y que la información será tratada en forma confidencial, sin que se revele mi identidad en los informes y publicación de resultados. Sé que puedo retirarme del proyecto en cualquier momento que lo desee, sin sufrir ninguna consecuencia. Doy autorización para permitir el acceso a los formatos a los miembros del proyecto y de la entidad patrocinadora y sus representantes, sabiendo que la información será tratada en forma estrictamente confidencial.

Firma de la madre ____________________________

Nombre de la madre ___________________________  Fecha:  ______

Nombre del Investigador_________________________

Firma del Investigador ______________ ____________Fecha: ______________
En caso de Madres Analfabetas

Como investigador que firma este Formato de Consentimiento Informado, declaro que he explicado en forma detallada todos los aspectos de este proyecto, incluyendo sus objetivos, la duración y los procedimientos que serán realizados, los riesgos y beneficios, así como la confidencialidad de la información y todos los aspectos descritos en este formato, y que ella ha aceptado en forma completamente voluntaria su participación en el proyecto. En señal de conformidad, la madre ha colocado su huella digital en este formato. Mi firma y la de un testigo se han colocado arriba.

Huellas Digital __________________________ Fecha: ______

Nombre de la madre __________________________ Fecha: ______

Firma de Testigo ______________________________

Nombre de Testigo _____________________________ Fecha: ______

Firma del Investigador __________________________ Fecha: ______

Nombre del Investigador_________________________
1. **What is this study about?**
We want to learn about the work and family situations of women with young children. I’m interested in learning how you balance the responsibilities of work and family, and what things help you balance these two areas and what things make this balance more challenging.

2. **What would I be doing if I agree to participate?**
I will meet with you to talk about issues of work and family responsibilities. You will be asked questions about how women go about findings and keep jobs while trying to raise young children and a family. This discussion will take about an hour on [day of the meeting] at [hour of the meeting]. What is said during this discussion will be kept confidential and your name will never be directly associated with the discussion session. The discussion will be audio taped. The tapes will be stored in a safe and locked place,
with access only to the main researcher for this project. After being transcribed, all tapes will be destroyed no later than December 2005 in order to protect your identity.

3. **Would I experience any discomforts or risks if I participate?**
   No, there are no risks for participating in this study other than those experienced in everyday life. However, there might be some personal questions that could make you feel uncomfortable. Some of these questions might request information about illegal activities. We are obligated to report this information to the Niños del Millennium Project’s Ethics Committee. They will be more than willing to help you only if you voluntarily ask for it.

4. **What are the benefits for participating in this study?**
   Your participation in this study will provide valuable information for identifying major problems experienced by mothers with children 3 years and younger, and with this, contribute to improve social programs that will benefit working mothers.

5. **What is the duration of the meeting?**
   The meeting will last approximately one hour.

6. **Who will know my identity?**
   Only people in charge of the Niños del Milenium project will know your identity. Any published result that will come from this study will not have information that could directly identify you.

7. **Where can I get more information?**
   You can contact us at any time if you have any questions regarding this study. If you would like to talk to someone, please contact me, Tami Aritomi, the principal investigator of the project at the Instituto de Investigación Nutricional (IIN), Av. La Molina 685, La Molina, Lima 12, or calling (01) 349-6023. You can also contact the President of the IIN Ethics Committee, committee that has already approved this project, at the same address and phone number, if you have any questions or concerns. Also, you can call the Pennsylvania State University Office for Research Protections at 011 01 814 865 1775 if you have any questions about the rights of research participants. You will keep a copy of this form for your records.

8. **Am I going to receive any payment for participating in this project?**
   All participants will receive a small gift.

9. **What happens if I decide that I do not want to participate now or later in this project?**
   You have the right to reject your participation or to stop participating in this study at any time that you want. You are also free to answer or not any questions that you want. You are free to change your mind at any time during this project, without affecting you participation in any other health, education, development or poverty fight program or project.
Informed Consent of Voluntary Declaration

You have to be 18 or older to participate in this study. If you accept to participate in this investigation and all terms described above, please write your name, signature and date where it is indicated.

I, _________________________________, after being informed about all aspects of this project described in this format, having received a copy of this format, and having all my questions and concerns about this project answered, I voluntarily accept to participate in this project, committing myself to complete with the procedures described above. I have had enough opportunities to make any questions about this project and I understand the procedures that will be used y how the information will be treated confidentially, without revealing my identity in any result reported or published. I am aware that I can withdraw from the project at any time I want, without any consequence. I give my authorization to give access to this format to all members of the project and the IIN, knowing that this information will be used confidentially.

Mother’s signature ______________________

Mother’s name ________________________  Date:  ______________

Investigator’s name ______________________

Investigator’s signature______________________  Date: ______________
**Special case for illiterate mothers**

As the investigator who signs this Informed Consent Form, I declare that I have explained all aspects of this project, including objectives, duration and procedures that will be used, risks and benefits, as well as confidentiality issues of this information and all other aspects described in this format, and that she has accepted voluntarily to participate in this project. As a sign of agreement, the mother has stamped her fingerprint in this format. My signature and a witness’ have also been placed.

Mother’s fingerprint: ____________________ Date: ______

Mother’s name: ____________________ Date: ______

Witness’ signature: ____________________

Witness’ name: ____________________ Date: ______

Investigator’s signature: ____________________ Date: ______

Investigator’s name: ____________________ Date: ______
APPENDIX M
SEMISTRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE (SPANISH AND ENGLISH VERSION)

1. Cuénteme sobre un típico día (preguntar si todos los días son típicos, o si ayer fue un día típico), desde la mañana hasta la noche. Hable sobre sus actividades, interacción con gente, trabajo de la casa, y trabajo formal.

2. Actividades diarias:
   a. Actividades que toma más de tu tiempo (más o menos cuanto tiempo le ocupa)
   b. Actividades más importantes para ti (cuánto tiempo le da)
   c. Actividades para las que te gustaría tener más tiempo (cuánto tiempo más)

3. Dígame sobre problemas típicos y cómo afectan tu bienestar
   a. En el trabajo
   b. En la casa

4. Cuénteme cómo soluciona estos problemas

5. Si no puede solucionarlos o si es difícil solucionarlos, que se puede hacer
   a. Tu misma
   b. Tu familia
   c. Tu comunidad / gobierno

1. Describe a typical day for you, from morning to night. Please, talk about activities, interaction with people, housework, and market work.

2. Daily activities:
   a. Activities that take more of your time
   b. Most important activities for you
   c. Activities that you would like to spend more time in

3. Describe typical work and family responsibility conflict situation (ask about work condition and if she is not working ask about the time she worked)
   a. Causes
   b. How do they affect your well-being

4. Describe coping strategies for solving these situations

5. Solutions: (what do these individuals should do to ease conflicts)
   a. From you
   b. From family
   c. From community/government
APPENDIX N
CHAPTER 3 SPANISH QUOTES

[1] “Y si yo me voy a una reunión y los dejo a mis hijos, mi esposo los deja con la misma ropa (…) a veces de la reunión vengo tarde tengo que estar cambiándolos, ellos están dormidos igualito, no los cambia, por eso le digo los hombres para las cosas de la casa son cero a la izquierda, no tienen paciencia (…) .”

[2] “No, no tengo confianza para decirle que yo no confio ni en mi propia familia, no es porque yo haya visto algo malo, sino porque, por lo mismo con todo lo que pasa, hace que uno desconfíe hasta del esposo, del papá mismo, yo al menos no tengo esa confianza.”

[3] “Yo ni con su hermano le puedo dejar yo, tengo mucho miedo, tantas cosas que se ve entre hermanos, prefiero no salir ese día que él viene a descansar acá, mejor estoy en la casa, porque tantas cosas que pasan.”

[4] “mi hijito estaba haciendo su tarea, porque salió jalado y está estudiando vacacional, (…) mi hijo está haciendo su tarea, y tiene que cuidar a la bebe, y no puede, y dónde dejarla no ve que todavía no caminaba la bebita, entonces lo cuidaba hasta las doce, hasta que salga a vender y él hasta que se acueste, levantarse temprano, no dormía completo, estaba con sueño se levantaba y se al colegio así (…) él no dormía bien por cuidarla a ella hasta tarde”

[5] “En ese ratito se ponían en movimiento todos, y así renegábamos, llegaban momentos en que discutíamos con mi esposo, (…) [el papa] Los reñía, los gritaba, no estoy viniendo de jugar yo vengo de trabajar, y así calladitos se ponían a hacer. Yo lloro de cólera.”

[6] “le digo papá sí tengo juntado, pero con mi esposo paramos peleando y tengo miedo a veces, yo [no] estoy segura que va a estar conmigo toda la vida, y por eso yo vivo con un temor que cualquier rato se puede enojar o discutir de algo y se va, (…) entonces que hacía yo, trabajar y trabajar, yo agarraba lo que hacía por ejemplo, diario me hago 100 yo agarraba 50 y 50 me metía a la carterita, juntaba juntaba y juntaba”

[7] “en algún momento el papá e hija no trabajaban (…) renegaba, renegaba, tenía dos promociones de mis hijos, peor todavía, y así rezaba rogaba a Dios, después ya me cansé y lo boté a mi esposo, le dije no quiero que estés acá, yo no nomás no voy a estar manteniendo ya así nos quedamos sin trabajo”

[8] “yo me tengo que sacrificar para darles, y ellos no se sacrifican, (…) no todos somos iguales, y hasta para asimilar eso, más me dediqué a mi casa, o sea el tejido es lo que me distrae y ya no me hace pensar en tantas cosas, quizás eso ha sido como una terapia para distraerme más”

[9] “siempre había ese resentimiento, cuando estábamos aquí en la casa, algo le molestaba y algo no le gustaba de mí, y ahí sí me lanzaba otra vez, pero si tú no me has criado, tu no me has visto, tu no me has atendido, y a veces hasta me hacía llorar, yo decía ese es el precio que estoy pagando, por haber gozado de mi carrera ese tiempo”
“yo pienso que cuando empiecen sus clases ya tengo que empezar a trabajar también tengo
que buscar un trabajo, que no me ocupe todo el día porque mayormente los trabajos son de la
mañanita hasta la noche, no? Como va a estar en el jardín tengo que ayudarlo a hacer sus tareas.”

“En octubre, no ha habido trabajo para mi, hasta diciembre, yo trabajo en dos sitios, o sea
para dos señoritas y entonces en una bajó y en una un poquito más (...) A veces cuando se juntan
de los dos lados, un poco más y creo que exploto, (...) que llega un momento que (...) tengo que
desfogar si no todo el día grito (...)”

“pero en tiempo de colegio rara vez lo que he salido a buscar trabajo más es en vacaciones,
pero sí me gustaría ahorita por lo que están grandes y veo que la necesidad es mayor, entonces
me gustaría entrar, trabajar en algún sitio”

“Sí, tengo que reclamar, (...) me dicen vente el 20 (...) total nunca hay (...) plata, me dicen,
dame más tiempo, vente el viernes, pero nada. Triste, quería llorar pero no me pagaron.”

“Claro yo ya he intentado, pero te prestan con intereses, con una garantía y aparte de eso, así
nomás no te prestan, te piden título de propiedad, un señor garante, porque no te prestan así el
dinero.”

“cuando es temporada de colegio a las 5.30, como tengo trabajo no, tengo para darme más
tiempo, (...) me levanto, mis hijos están durmiendo empiezo, ¿no?, (...) aprovecho que ellos
están durmiendo, cuando ellos se van a levantar quiero que esté ya más o menos limpiecito,
para que no estén interrumpiendo porque con los niños ya no se puede hacer limpieza porque
ya el otro corre para acá para allá”

“pero no puedo porque no hay con quien dejar a veces ahí en la carreta (...) ya pues que le
hago, yo ya lo entretengo, sino ya se queda dormido en la carreta, los dos duermen en la carreta”

“Sí me apoyaban. Los domingos me iba con los tres mayores (...). A limpiar para el día
lunes, el lunes la mañana me iba yo solamente a pasar trapeo.”

“Lo deja acá, me encarga yo lo miro, están viendo televisión en su cuarto, yo lo miro si yo
cocino (...) yo la apoyo a veces (...) como su hijito es grande ya, tiene 6 años, ya viene y se lo
lleva a las 2 al mercado y ahí se queda a vender hasta las 7 u 8 de la noche”

“Trabajo sí, sí tengo amigas, sí hasta ahorita me recuerdan mis amigas siquiera, si varias
veces me han recomendado, pero yo por mi hija no he trabajado (...) pero como mi papá tiene
su compromiso, la quiere ver a la bebe, se la lleva como la bebe esta de 8 a 1 de la tarde, tiene
alguien quien la recoja, (...) quien le da la comida, antes de buscar trabajo tengo que ver todo
eso.”

“mi papá es presidente, de acá de la manzana, cuando mi papá va le dice al otro presidente
se han juntado, han hecho como un comité y han puesto un cartelito, en las casas algunos, y han
puesto que se les va a quemar se les va a linchar, porque a muchos les han robado de día, les
apuntado con un revólver (...)”
“Sí, porque a veces claro ayuda un poco, quizá no es tan nutritivo que digamos, pero ahí va. A veces que, supongamos que no hubiera eso y en la casa no hay que darle leche o quaquer, no les voy a dar agua nada más, pero ya al menos siquiera al menos eso nos ayuda (...) al menos siquiera como dicen le llena el estómago.”

“Hace poquito también estaba así, un mes así pasando Navidad ya no trabajaba (...) ahora qué hago, qué hago (...) Comedor, la señora me dijo para navidad, no quieres cocinar, sacar tus menús, (...) ya señora yo voy a cocinar (...) ya entré, ya me llamaron (...)

“Si me ayuda, pero el alimento no es nutritivo, tengo que hacer algo acá aunque sea ensalada o sancocharle papa, hacerle su canchita que le alimenta, pues, porque a veces del comedor no alimenta.”
CURRICULUM VITAE
PAOLA TAMI ARITOMI

Education
Ph.D. Human Development and Family Studies and Demography, with Agricultural Economics minor. The Pennsylvania State University, August 2005.

Grants and Awards.
2004: Hewlett Program Dissertation Improvement Grant.
2000: First Year Hintz Scholarship, College of Health and Human Development.

Professional Experience
2000-present: Research Assistant, Department of Human Development and Family Studies (HDFS) and Population Research Institute (PRI), The Pennsylvania State University.
2004-present: Associate Researcher, Young Lives Project – Peru, Save the Children.
June 2001-August 2001: Research Assistant (Summer Internship), Department of Research, Inter American Development Bank (IADB).
1997-1999: Research Assistant, Grupo de Análisis para el Desarrollo (GRADE).

Selected Investigations