

Educational gaps among ethnic minorities

The case of Afro-Peruvian girls

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Acknowledgments

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Brookings gratefully acknowledges the program support provided to the Center for Universal Education by Echidna Giving.

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ABBREVIATIONS

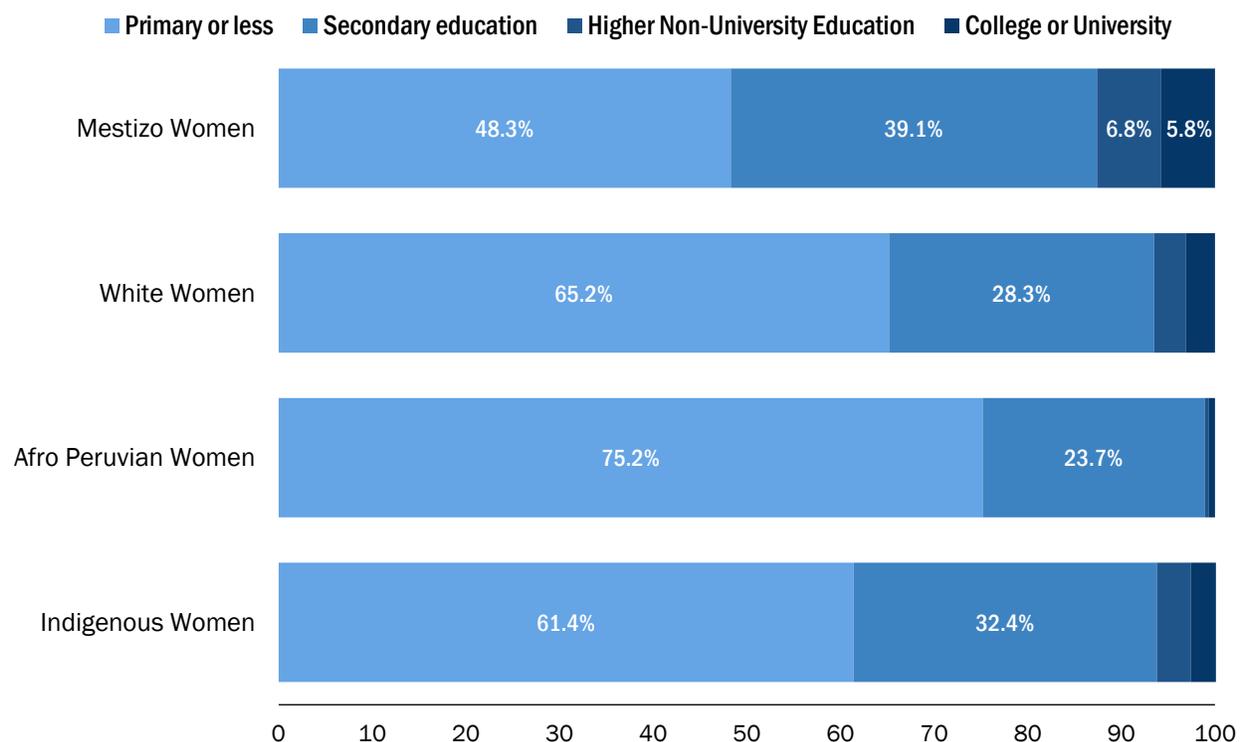
BID/IADB	Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo
CCT	Conditional Cash Transfer
CEDEMUNEP	Centro de Desarrollo de la Mujer Negra Peruana
CEDET	Centro de Desarrollo Étnico
CEPAL/ECLAC	Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
CEPLAN	Centro Nacional de Planeamiento Estratégico
COAR	Colegios de Alto Rendimiento
EEPA	Estudio Especializado en Población Afrodescendiente
ENAH0	Encuesta Nacional de Hogares
ENCO	Encuesta Nacional Continua
ENDES	Encuesta Demográfica y de Salud Familiar
ESCALE	Estadística de la calidad educativa
FORGE	Fortalecimiento de la Gestión de la Educación en el Perú
GRADE	Grupo de Análisis para el Desarrollo
IEP	Instituto de Estudios Peruanos
INEI	Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática
JUNTOS	Programa de Ayuda a los más Pobres
LUNDU	Asociación Cultural de Difusión Afroperuana
MESAGEN	Mesa de Donantes en Género
MIDIS	Ministerio de Desarrollo e Inclusión Social
MIMP	Ministerio de la Mujer y Poblaciones Vulnerables
MINCUL	Ministerio de Cultura
MINEDU	Ministerio de Educación
MINJUS	Ministerio de Justicia y Derechos Humanos
NEET	Young people who are not in education, employment, or training
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
PAHO	Pan American Health Organization
PENDES	Plan Estratégico Nacional para el Desarrollo Estadístico
PISA	International Program for Students Evaluation
PLANDEPA	Plan Nacional de Desarrollo para la Población Afroperuana
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
STD	Sexually transmitted diseases
UAEH	Universidad Autónoma del Estado de Hidalgo
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNFPA	United Nations Fund for Population Activities
UNICEF	United Nations' Children's Fund

INTRODUCTION

In a multicultural country like Peru, specific and disaggregated data on ethnic and racial minorities are a key resource to inform public policies about neglected populations. For decades, data on Afro-Peruvians has been both limited and inaccurate (Box 1). Although there are 106 Afro-Peruvian communities, the most recent national census in October 2017 revealed that the Afro-Peruvian population consists of only 828,841 inhabitants, or 3.57 percent of the country’s total. In comparison, there are 60.2 percent mestizo, 25.2 percent indigenous, and 5.9 white people. The 2014 EEPA (Special Study on Afro-Peruvians) (Benavides, Leon, Espezua, Wangeman, 2015) uncovered additional blind spots, such as life conditions, employment, health, education, discrimination, and violence against Afro-Peruvians.

For decades, indigenous populations were considered the poorest and most vulnerable minority ethnic group in Peru. That is not always the case. Afro-Peruvian girls are either equally or more disadvantaged than their indigenous counterparts (Figure 1). The EEPA showed that Afro-Peruvian girls, in particular, struggle to complete more than a basic education and accumulate enough human capital to get a decent job and escape poverty. For instance, along Peru’s northern Pacific coast—where the Afro-Peruvian population is most heavily concentrated—only 26.9 percent of those girls access education, compared with an average of 42.3 percent for all girls in the same geographic area (INEI [National Statistics Institute], ENAHO [National Survey of Households], 2013). Afro-Peruvian girls also lag in access to education when compared with Afro-Peruvian boys.¹

Figure 1. Maximum level of education reached by females (aged 15 and older, in rural areas, by ethnicity)



Source: ENAHO, 2015, with elaboration by the author.

¹ In the region of Tacna, only 34.64 percent of Afro-Peruvian girls completed fifth grade, less than half of the 65.36 percent for Afro-Peruvian boys; in the region of Lambayeque, the rates are 39.5 percent for girls and 60.5 percent for boys (INEI, Censos nacionales 2017, 2018).

Peru could benefit from its demographics, because 34.6 percent of its population is aged 0 to 19. However, competitiveness would require a dramatic improvement in the quality of the country's public education. Despite Peru's commitments to the Agenda 2030 and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) 4 and 5, the poorest Afro-Peruvian women still have fewer years of schooling than men, which makes them less competitive in the labor market and forces them to take unskilled jobs with lower salaries and few or no benefits. Under SDGs 4 and 5, the Peruvian government has committed to ensure inclusive and equitable quality education, to promote lifelong learning opportunities for all, to achieve gender equality, and to empower all women and girls.

This policy paper relies on a desk review and fieldwork conducted in May 2018 in the community of Yapatera, in the Piura region along the northern coast. Yapatera is a poor community with a high concentration of the Afro-descendant population, located 846 kilometers from the capital city of Lima. The fieldwork included individual interviews and small group conversations. Interview subjects were administrators, teachers, and students (girls and boys in the 4th and 5th grades) at the local public secondary school,² as well as community leaders, staff at the Health Center, the Women's Emergency Center, and the police station.

Box 1. Emerging from statistical invisibility

Although Peru has made international commitments to be accountable for the inclusion of all minorities and the enforcement of inclusion policies, the country's Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination has noted in several reports to the Peruvian government the urgency of presenting systematic information on the Afro-Peruvian population. For instance, the monitoring system of the 2030 agenda set up by INEI does not include goals or indicators specific to the Afro-Peruvian population toward meeting SDG 4 on education (INEI, Peru: Sistema de monitoreo y seguimiento de los Objetivos de Desarrollo Sostenible, n.d.). These oversights are likely rooted in the invisibility of the Afro-Peruvian people in the country's history, because of a lack of data on this population and the government's failure to enforce its own inter-cultural education policy that takes into account all minorities (Valdiviezo, 2012).

With the exception of some specific chapters in the National Households Survey (ENAHO) since 2000, Peru has for a long time used a restrictive definition of ethnicity that is based on language: either Spanish speakers or non-Spanish speakers. The latter would include Quechua or another indigenous language. Thus, Afro-Peruvians, as Spanish speakers, were lost among the white and mestizo population. This invisibility in data has led to invisibility in social programs and policies, which seldom explicitly target the Afro-Peruvians. The Peruvian government has taken recent steps to overcome these gaps. Ethnic self-identification was included in ENAHO 2000. Initially, only the head of the family (usually men) could participate in this survey, but since 2012, all household members older than 14 can participate. Also, Question 25 of the 2017 census introduced an ethnic self-identification question—a common method in other multicultural countries in Latin America—that asked whether people considered themselves Quechua, Aymara, native or indigenous Amazonian, black/mulato/zambo/Afro-Peruvian, white, mestizo, or other.

In 2013, the Ministry of Culture commissioned a survey specifically on the Afro-Peruvian population (EEPA) and created the Technical Committee on Ethnicity, under the leadership of INEI leadership, to create a System of Ethnic Statistics in Peru (MIMP, 2014). In July 2015, the Ministry of Culture launched the first EEPA, based on a representative sample in locations with a large percentage of Afro-Peruvians,³ to collect information on poverty, employment, health, education, discrimination, violence, culture, and identity.

² At this school, 4th and 5th grades are the last two grades of secondary education. Only 39.5 percent of students in 5th grade are girls.

³ All of the locations surveyed are in seven regions along the Peruvian coast. Most Afro-Peruvians live in two regions on the northern and southern coasts, respectively: Piura and Ica.

I. RACE, ETHNICITY, AND GENDER

Research on race in Latin American contexts (Gilroy, 1982; Goldberg, 1993 quoted by Wade, 2012, p. 13) confirms the slippery slope toward discrimination and exclusion when race becomes converted into ranked social categories. Discrimination based on race is quite common in Peru, according to Afro-Peruvians. For instance, the EEPA study found that for almost 50 percent of the group of Afro-Peruvian children aged 12 to 18, bullying based on their race and/or skin color (Valdivia, 2014) was the most common type of discrimination they encounter, followed by the race/skin color of their families. Therefore, when Peruvian teachers do not take into account that race is a social construct, they may be undermining Afro-Peruvian children's academic potential in the classroom, given the prevailing prejudice about the limited intellectual capacity of Afro-Peruvians (Benavides, Leon, Espezuza, & Wangeman, 2015).

A comprehensive ethnicity approach—for example, when interventions disaggregate data by ethnicity and gender—gives more visibility to the needs and priorities of ethnic minorities, and also increases the effectiveness of programs that target the most vulnerable. Missed education policy opportunities include public programs such as Peru's conditional cash transfer program Juntos,⁴ an intervention that pays poor families if their children attend school, among other conditions. The first quantitative impact evaluation of Juntos (Perova, 2009) shows its positive impact in achieving higher rates of both school registration and attendance, with the results stronger for girls than for boys. Other Peruvian education programs, such as Beca 18⁵ or High Performance Schools (COAR)⁶, do not explicitly reserve quotas for Afro-Peruvians, and there are no publicly available records on the ethnic composition of their beneficiaries. With access to more detailed data on ethnicity and gender, these three public programs could explicitly target education for Afro-Peruvian girls.

Similarly, gender as a social construct affects women's and girls' physical, political, and economic autonomy—in Peru and elsewhere. Furthermore, gender inequality is negative for all of society. All available indicators disaggregated by sex are evidence of how this inequality may be extremely harmful for economic growth and for the strengthening of democracy. Gender-based discrimination has several negative effects on women's educational experiences. School-age girls face the threats of sexual abuse and forced sexual initiation, particularly during the last years of secondary education, plus safety risks in their walks to and from school. A lack of separate restrooms for boys and girls is another factor that discourages them from attending school. Girls are also more burdened by domestic work which leaves them less time for leisure and study.

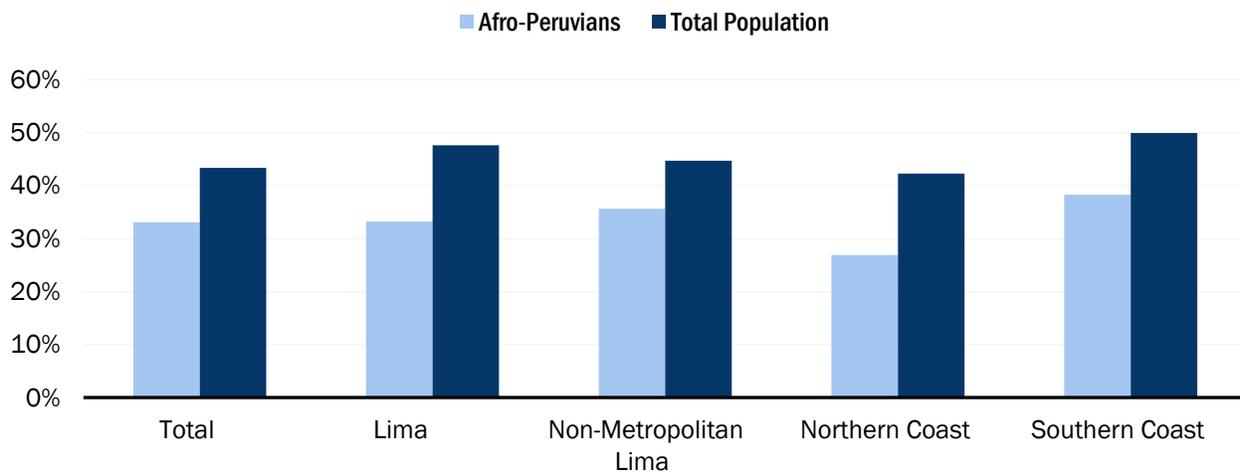
II. EDUCATION INEQUALITIES FACED BY AFRO-PERUVIAN GIRLS

Looking at inequalities by ethnicity in the education sector, only 46 percent of Afro-Peruvian children complete secondary education by the age of 17 or 18, the lowest attainment rate in Peru after indigenous children (57 percent) and mestizo children (61 percent), according to a 2012 study (Diaz & Madalengoitea, 2012, p. 39). Sources that are more recent (Figure 2) focused on coastal communities, where most of the Afro-Peruvian population lives, and they show the same trend of gaps in access to education.

⁴ Peru launched the Juntos program in 2005, inspired by several similar cash transfer programs in Latin America, particularly Mexico's Oportunidades and Brazil's Bolsa Escola.

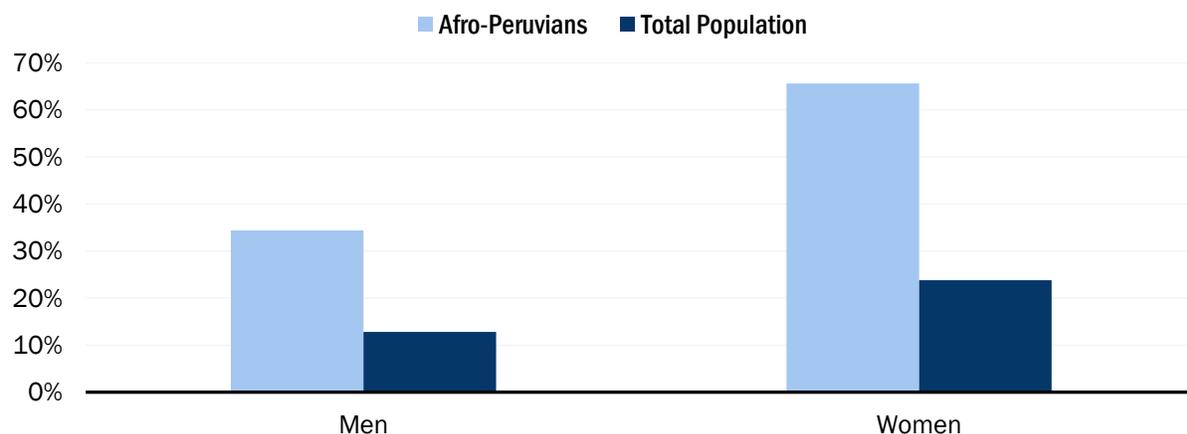
⁵ Beca 18 (Scholarship 18) is a public program that covers the cost of a private or public university or a technical institute for young poor people.

⁶ COAR, or High Performance Schools, are high-quality public boarding schools for students in the three last grades of secondary education, located in all of Peru's 25 regions.

Figure 2: Comparative access to education (in coastal areas by ethnicity)

Source: EEPA, 2014 and ENAHO, 2013, with elaboration by the author.

Furthermore, Afro-Peruvian girls fare worse than Afro-Peruvian boys. Of all the ethnic groups in Peru, Afro-Peruvians have the lowest percentage of females with secondary education in rural areas, and the illiteracy rate for Afro-Peruvian women is double that of Afro-Peruvian men. When Afro-Peruvian girls are not attending school, they are a large part of the country's group of young people who are not in education, employment, or training (Figure 3).

Figure 3. Young people who are not in education, employment, or training (in coastal areas, by gender)

Source: EEPA, 2014 and ENAHO, 2014, with elaboration by the author.

Afro-Peruvian girls' disadvantages in access to education are important because this obstacle is associated with most of the inequality of opportunities for children (Escobal, 2012), according to estimates from the Young Lives study, a longitudinal study on childhood poverty in Peru and three other countries.⁷ Although the

⁷ Young Lives is a longitudinal study on childhood poverty following the lives of 12,000 children in Ethiopia, India, Peru, and Vietnam over 15 years. It is a collaborative research project coordinated out of the Department of International Development at the University of Oxford in the United Kingdom.

Young Lives analysis is not specific to Afro-Peruvian girls, it takes into account gender and place of residence as factors that limit children's access to education.

Another study, the World Bank's Human Opportunity Index,⁸ also demonstrates how a child's circumstances can affect his or her access to education and other opportunities. An increase in the index is associated with both an increase in the percentage of people that have access to an opportunity, and a more equitable distribution of that opportunity (Molinas, 2018; The World Bank, n.d.). Human Opportunity Index estimates of Peruvian children⁹ found a high percentage with access to education, but inequitable access. The Young Lives study likewise found inequitable conditions for the older cohort of Young Lives children (aged 7.5 to 8.5): basic literacy and numeracy skills were disproportionately missing in those children living in disadvantaged circumstances. Along with inequality in access to sanitation, inequality in access to minimum education competences is the most serious handicap confronting the Young Lives older cohort of Peruvian children.

In Peru, ethnicity and birthplace are actually more significant in predicting lack of access to opportunity than in predicting future poverty level (Ferreira & Gignoux, 2008, p.2). In the research done on opportunity deprivation, four factors are key: ethnicity,¹⁰ parents' education levels, fathers' occupation, and birthplace. Gender is an important fifth factor to consider.

III. MAIN FACTORS INFLUENCING AFRO-PERUVIAN GIRLS' OPPORTUNITIES FOR EDUCATION

Evidence from fieldwork in the community of Yapatera and literature review suggest that three main factors play a role in determining a girl's opportunities for completing a basic education: family conditions, poverty level, and gender inequality.

Family conditions

Family background is strongly associated with opportunity deprivation. Ninety-nine percent of the opportunity-deprived children in Peru are daughters and sons of women who did not go to school (Ferreira & Gignoux, 2008). This section discusses the crucial role in a girl's opportunities for completing a basic education played by parents' education, the increasing percentage of families headed by women, and the use of violence against children as a disciplinary method and its effects on their development of cognitive and socio-emotional skills.

Parents' level of education. This is an important predictor of their children's level of education. Basic education, through grade 5 of secondary school, is mandatory in Peru, but not always attained: 11.7 percent of Afro-Peruvian women and 5.5 percent of Afro-Peruvian men are illiterate (INEI, Peru: condiciones de vida de la población según origen étnico, 2016a). The EEPA survey found that Afro-Peruvian children whose parents had no education had a 70 percent lower chance of accessing post-secondary education, and children whose parents completed only primary education had a 49 percent lower chance. Poverty is also a critical factor of exclusion from education, because the poorest percentage of the Peruvian population is 75 percent less likely to access post-secondary education than the wealthiest percentage (Benavides, Leon, Espezua, & Wangeman, 2015). Poverty usually implies precarious jobs with long hours outside the home, and poor adults usually have a low level of education and cannot support their children academically. However, they still may provide financial and emotional support.

Families headed by women. In most poor families with parents who have a low level of education, mothers usually play a key role during the child's primary education, while fathers play a greater role during secondary education (Benavides, Valdivia, Sarmiento, & Noreno, 2013). In the cases of families headed by women, who

⁸ The Human Opportunity Index measures how individual circumstances (e.g., place of residence, gender, and education of the head of household) can affect a child's access to basic opportunities such as water, education, electricity, and sanitation.

⁹ The estimate was done using the longitudinal data of the Young Lives study in Peru.

¹⁰ Ethnicity is defined only by linguistic capacity.

typically have a lower level of education than their husbands, it is difficult for the mothers to help with academic assignments, particularly during secondary education. The high prevalence of households headed by Afro-Peruvian women (52.3 percent) is associated with poverty and possibly with abandonment by the father (Benavides, Leon, Espezuza, & Wangeman, 2015). Recent studies in Peru (Ipsos, 2017) based on official data show the increasing number of families headed by women (28.9 percent) at a national level, and this tendency is greater in the poorest socioeconomic sectors of society, reaching 38.6 percent. Also, families headed by women have 16 percent less income than those headed by men (Ipsos, 2017).

Family violence. Peru has a high tolerance for violence, as evidenced by a high prevalence of gender-based violence and the normalization of physical punishment against children. According to the Crime Observatory of the Public Prosecutor, between 2009 and March 2017, 952 women were victims of femicide (INEI, 2017) and, in the year 2016 alone, 68 percent of women stated they were victims of some kind of violence from their husbands.

According to official data from Peru's government, 42.3 percent of parents believe that physical punishment¹¹ is positive when handled properly, 29.6 percent think that physical punishment is sometimes necessary as a disciplinary method, and 20 percent of Afro-Peruvians believe that they must punish children for them to be successful in life. A 2011 survey of Afro-Peruvians found that 28.2 percent of Afro-Peruvian children have suffered physical punishment, or 7 percentage points more than that suffered by children of other ethnicities (21.4 percent) (Benavides, Valdivia, Sarmiento, & Noreno, 2013). Parents justify physical punishment against children for several reasons (disobedience, bad behavior, lack of respect, etc.). However, fewer parents approve of using physical punishment when children do not complete their homework or do not perform well in school, which may indicate that parents with a low level of education often value obedience over education (Benavides, Valdivia, Sarmiento, & Noreno, 2013).

Experiencing violence inflicted by or between their parents will have a negative influence on children—not only on their cognitive and non-cognitive development, but also on their education outcomes. It is more difficult for children coming from poor households to develop socio-emotional skills when they experience violence and/or when parents have limited aspirations for their children (Molinas, 2018). Socio-emotional skills and aspirations play a key role because they predict, quite accurately, risky behaviors such as drug use and early pregnancy, as well as access to post-secondary education during youth (Vivo, 2012; Favara & Sanchez, 2016). Also, the development of non-cognitive skills, such as self-esteem and locus of control measured during adolescence, are as powerful as cognitive abilities to predict adult earnings (Favara & Sanchez, 2016).

Poverty level

Three topics explain the role played by poverty on Afro-Peruvian girls' education opportunities. First, links between poverty and the quality of public education, and second, the limited capacity of poor parents to hold public schools accountable for the quality of education that their daughters receive. Finally, this accountability must include providing students with relevant information on opportunities for high-quality education.

Links between poverty and the quality of public education. The socioeconomic status of students in Peru has more impact on their school performance than in other countries, according to a study by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) based on the 2012 Program for International Students Assessment (PISA)¹² test (OECD, 2014).

The PISA evaluation is aimed at 15-year-old students—the normative age of students in the 3rd year of secondary education, two years before completion. In the 2012 test, Peru recorded the worst performance of all 64 countries that participated, in all three competences: mathematics, reading comprehension, and science. Furthermore, almost 95 percent of the socioeconomically disadvantaged Peruvian schoolchildren

¹¹ Physical punishment against children by their parents was not forbidden until December 2015, when the Parliament passed law 30403.

¹² The PISA test is a worldwide study carried out by the OECD aimed to evaluating educational systems by measuring 15-year-old school students' performance on mathematics, science, and reading. Its purpose is to provide comparable data to improve education policies and outcomes (OECD, Programme for International Student Assessment, n.d.)

showed low performance in mathematics. The 2012 test results show that a 15-year-old schoolchild with limited resources is seven times more likely to perform poorly in school than his/her schoolmates in better circumstances. According to the OECD report, education results are not only related to a country's per-capita income. Results can also vary if a student has only one parent or attends a rural school. When Peru improved its education results after the 2012 test, it has been at the cost of increasing inequality in results between the poorest and the wealthiest quintiles of students.

Various poverty indicators directly or indirectly related to education show the disadvantages faced by low-income girls in Peru. The Young Lives study shows that education gaps can be predicted based on the family's level of poverty when children are as young as one and can be observed when children are only five (Molinas, 2018). Before the age of 12, there are no significant differences in school attendance by sex. At older ages, there is a slight tendency for boys from the lowest income quintile to have higher attendance rates than girls from the same income group (Guadalupe, Leon, Rodriguez, & Vargas, 2017). In addition, there are gaps among girls by level of poverty. For example, in 2016, the net rate of attendance in secondary education was 72.9 percent for quintile 1 (the poorest) and 89.4 percent for quintile 5 (the wealthiest), a difference of 16.5 percentage points (INEI, 2017). Furthermore, in an increasingly digitized world, only 21 percent of Afro-Peruvians have a computer at home, compared with 31.7 percent nationally (EEPA 2014; INEI, 2016a).

Holding public schools accountable. Public schools are typically the only choice for children from poor families. Private schools do not necessarily guarantee a good quality education; however, their accountability mechanisms and market competition may more effectively monitor the quality of education provided. Families of students enrolled in public schools may consider themselves less entitled to hold the public system (teachers and the principal, in particular) accountable for the quality of education provided, because it is mostly free of charge. In addition, those living in poverty may not always know their rights or may be less willing to enforce them, given that they have less free time and they generally have more difficult relationships with public institutions. Also, poverty may facilitate a more tolerant environment for discrimination, particularly in remote and rural areas, where it is more common to find a weak sense of citizenship and knowledge of individual rights. When parents feel less entitled and/or less prepared to monitor the quality of education provided by public schools, it necessarily affects their children's education.

Opportunities for high-quality education. The Peruvian government has developed some high-quality options for poor children in public schools: programs that reward high achievement, and programs that indirectly encourage school attendance. Teachers and principals play an important role in informing families about these opportunities, which can convey clear messages about the value of education for the accumulation of children's human capital. For instance, the High Performance Schools (COAR) program invests US\$7,500 in each student, or seven times the per-student investment in a regular public secondary school (Cuenca, 2017). There is limited public information about the students in COAR, including their ethnic composition. Another program, the Extended School Day Program, keeps students at school for longer hours and offers better services in public schools in urban areas. This simple measure has been successful in several countries at reducing the opportunities for risky behaviors. Peru launched its program in March 2015 with 1,000 public schools, and in 2018, is expanding it to 2,000 schools in all regions of the country. So far, it has been shown to improve academic achievements (Favara & Sanchez, 2016). Social programs play an important role in curbing the negative impact of poverty; therefore, more research is needed to determine the differential impact on children, broken down by sex and ethnicity, of these types of programs.

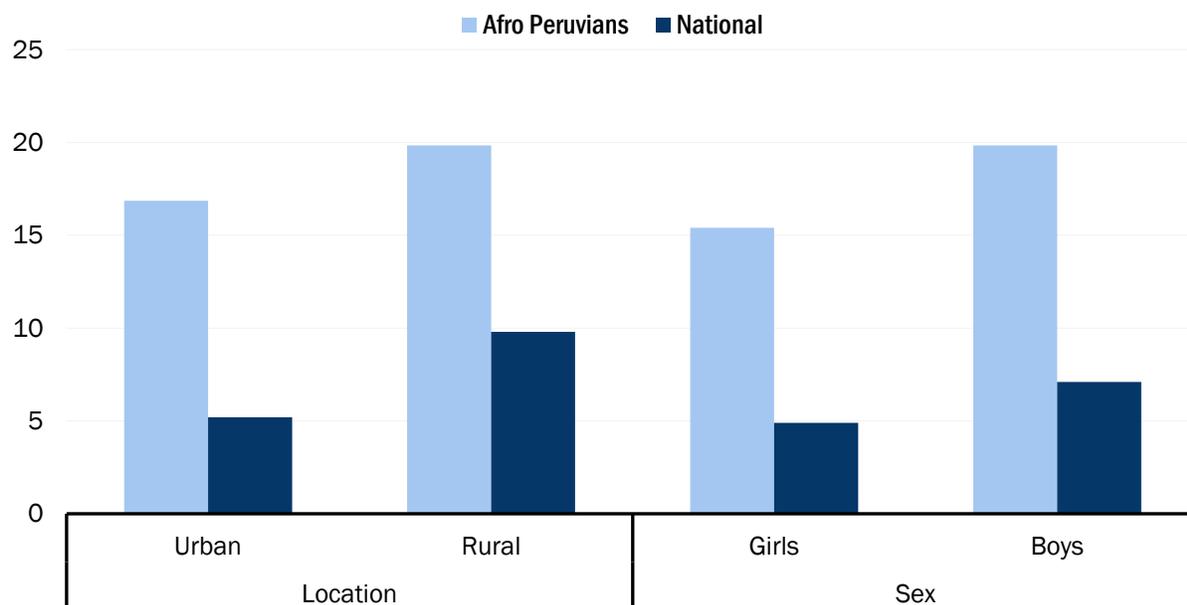
Despite efforts to promote these special programs, public schools in remote areas of Peru often lack information about them, because the country still has a highly centralized government.¹³

The demonstrated detrimental effects of poverty on education opportunities for Afro-Peruvian children has negative consequences: higher rates of repeating grades and dropping out of school.

¹³ A process of decentralization in Peru was supposed to include education. In reality, the country's regional and provincial governments do not have the institutional capacity and trained human resources to become more autonomous from the Ministry of Education in the central government. Therefore, the decentralization in education is mostly administrative.

Grade repetition. Afro-Peruvians' high level of grade repetition (Figure 4), may be an indicator of the poor quality of public education, particularly in rural areas. Given the relatively lower level of grade repetition by Afro-Peruvian girls when compared with boys, it is critical to explore why the dropout rate from secondary school is higher for girls than for boys. The reasons may be other factors influencing school attendance and retention—e.g., gender bias against girls and gender stereotypes about traditional roles for girls.

Figure 4. Afro-Peruvian children repeating school grade (aged 6-18, by sex and location)



Source: EEPA, 2014; MINEDU, n.d.; with elaboration by the author.

Dropping out of school. Poor quality of public education increases the opportunity cost of staying at school, which reinforces poor attainment. Approximately 12 percent of Afro-Peruvian students¹⁴ aged 11 to 17 report dropping out of school because they do not like it (Benavides, Leon, Espezua, & Wangeman, 2015).

Gender inequality

Three main aspects of gender are relevant for the goal of Afro-Peruvian girls completing secondary education: gender roles and stereotypes, lack of free time, and unwanted teen pregnancies.

Gender roles and stereotypes. Afro-Peruvian girls not only face gender stereotypes (e.g., motherhood and marriage as their only or main option in life), but also face lower expectations for their academic potential and achievements. Among economically inactive Afro-Peruvians, unemployment data clearly shows a gender gap: 51.3 percent of women and only 6.8 percent of men cannot look for a job because of household chores and child care. Afro-Peruvian girls are also vulnerable to ethnic stereotypes¹⁵ (CEDEMUNEP, 2011; Benavides, Valdivia, Sarmiento, & Noreno, 2013) that tend to value their physical skills over their intellectual capacity. These stereotypes reinforce beliefs about the so-called natural skills and talents attributed to Afro-Peruvian girls as potential dancers and perpetuate the hyper-sexualization of these girls. The stereotypes also hinder the portrayal of an Afro-Peruvian woman as a successful professional in the public or private sector (Kogan, 2012;

¹⁴ This percentage was estimated excluding those children who had already finished basic education at the time of the survey.

¹⁵ For instance, from a very early age, Afro-Peruvian girls learn how to dance. In some cases, these dances exhibit a level of sexuality that is inappropriate for children.

Galarza & Yamada, 2015). A further disadvantage for Afro-Peruvian girls is the lack of role models, such as female professionals and authority figures, in their communities.

Gender inequality also affects career choices and labor conditions. Women tend to enter the labor market later than men and find two types of segregation challenging them. Horizontal segregation pushes women to enter “female” careers (e.g., nursing) and vertical segregation makes them less likely to be promoted, therefore, sex segregation in careers and the labor market are factors that narrow girls’ choices. Finally, even if Afro-Peruvian girls pursue post-secondary education, it is unlikely that they will make as much money as men with the same level of education, because of ethnic and gender discrimination. Results from several studies in Peru and other Latin American countries show that employers openly prefer white and mestizo men for high-level positions and promotions (Ñopo, 2012; Kogan, 2012).

Lack of free time. From an early age, girls experience a heavier burden of domestic and child care work at home, leaving them with little time for studying. At the national level in Peru, there is a gender gap of 8 percentage points in domestic work between male and female adolescents aged 12 to 17, with a particularly high gap of 12 percentage points in rural areas (ENUT, 2010). Rural areas tend to have fewer available public services such as day care for babies. Nationally, unpaid domestic work done by Peruvian women contributes 20.4 percent of gross domestic product (GDP) (INEI, Cuenta satélite del trabajo domestico no remunerado, 2016c). Meanwhile, men spend more time exercising and playing sports than women, and men also use more information and communication technologies (ICT) than women, a reflection of men having more spare time to use these technologies than women (Ullmann & Milosavljevic, 2016). Unlike other countries in the region, Peru carried out only one survey on the use of time, in 2010. Up-to-date surveys disaggregated by ethnicity are needed to determine whether the use of time is an important factor in some minority groups or in some selected regions with a larger presence of Afro-Peruvians.

Unwanted teen pregnancies. Official data shows a clear correlation between education levels and fertility rates: as education levels increase, fertility rates decrease (INEI, Encuesta Demografica y de Salud Familiar ENDES, 2017). At the same time, low levels of education and poverty increase the likelihood of becoming pregnant very young. The Young Lives study found that teen pregnancy is more probable when school attainment is low, at least one of the parents does not live in the home, poverty is high, and female students have low education aspirations and poor self-efficacy during adolescence (Cueto, et al., 2018)

Unwanted¹⁶ teen pregnancy is a public health issue linked to school dropout rates, because girls either drop out of school because they are pregnant or get pregnant after dropping out of school.¹⁷ Several studies have questioned the apparent causality link between getting pregnant and dropping out of school (Naslund-Hadley & Binstock, 2011;¹⁸ Ortiz & Lazcano, 2014). Instead, potential triggers for dropping out appear to be economic problems in the family, poor academic achievement and the high opportunity cost for poor families to keep their daughters in school. Other causes may be an early marriage, a low quality of education and low expectations in life. As for getting pregnant, there is a higher probability among adolescents who face obstacles that discourage academic achievement and high aspirations in life (Favara, Sanchez, 2016). In some cases, girls who lack an alternative female role model tend to replicate their mothers’ life choices or even repeat their pregnancy pattern at a very early age, as a feasible way of giving their lives some direction.¹⁹ In the last 20 years, unwanted teen pregnancy rates have increased in Peru. The rate is now almost 13 percent at the national level, but this percentage is misleading, considering that the prevalence of teen pregnancy is 22.7 percent in rural areas, 23.3 percent in the jungle, and 23.9 percent in the poorest quintile of the population. In some locations in the jungle, teen pregnancy rates have reached 30.6 percent (INEI, 2016b).

In this context, Peru is facing a judicial battle started by conservative groups against the inclusion of sexual education in the school curriculum. In Peru and many other countries in Latin America, conservative groups are

¹⁶ The unwanted nature of teen pregnancy comes from data on unmet family planning, responses given by young mothers on the number of children they wanted to have and their desire to postpone their first child.

¹⁷ Peru has a law that encourages girls to come back to school after giving birth to a child.

¹⁸ This publication is based on 118 in-depth interviews with pregnant women and adolescents in Peru and Paraguay.

¹⁹ More information on intergenerational reproductive patterns of teenage pregnancy can be found in Gonzalez et al., 2013; Fuller, 2000; Azevedo et al., 2012.

arguing that parents have the right to educate their children about sexuality and are disputing the capacity of the government to define what should be included in the curriculum, which has the effect of creating fear and distrust in the public school system. The government's sexual education program is based on science, reproductive rights, and teaching with a gender equality approach. Reasons to include sexual education at schools for both boys and girls include issues such as forced sexual initiation and/or coercion to have sexual relations without protection, high levels of tolerance to gender-based violence, and sexual abuse (INEI, 2016a; INEI, 2017; Pinheiro, 2010).

IV. POLICY OPPORTUNITIES TO ADVOCATE FOR THE INCLUSION OF AFRO-PERUVIAN GIRLS

In the current context, when the Peruvian government is determined to comply with the SDGs and to join the OECD, it has prioritized policies and programs that improve access to and allow for completion of quality basic education for the most vulnerable minority populations. Studies such as the EEPA and others (CEDEMUNEP, 2011; Caparachin, 2015; INEI, 2016a) provide a baseline for these efforts. If the policies were adjusted through affirmative action to ensure that all minorities were being considered explicitly, that could open windows of opportunities to reduce the exclusion of Afro-Peruvian girls. This section outlines some possible entry points to increase the access of Afro-Peruvian girls to these programs and policies:

1. Mainstream systematic data gathering by the Peruvian government about Afro-Peruvians

The government should improve the quantity and quality of data gathering on Afro-Peruvians by introducing ethnicity in all surveys and censuses it carries out. INEI should continue to gather data disaggregated by ethnicity, and the Ethnic Statistics System would become part of the National Plan of Statistics Development (PENDES). The long-term commitments to the SDGs and to OECD membership may create the right environment to implement this policy strategy in the first half of 2019.

2. Build a consensus about making Afro-Peruvians' access to education more visible

It is critical to form a consensus on a joint work plan to ensure that the situation of Afro-Peruvians is visible and a priority for all parts of the Peruvian government. This requires cross-sectoral action between the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Development and Social Inclusion, to gather and process data on students enrolled in programs such as Juntos, Beca 18, and COAR, disaggregated by sex and ethnicity. The goal should be to disseminate information about social programs that not only support schooling, but also support poor students with good achievements, especially when they are minorities and live in remote areas.

Technical support from donors and multilateral organizations, in close collaboration with the Peruvian government, will be crucial, and the issue of Afro-Peruvians' access to education is already on the international agenda. For instance, the United Nations office in Peru has already made several efforts to support the policy agenda of Afro-Peruvian organizations: The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and UNICEF have commissioned studies on Afro-Peruvians (UNDP, 2010; Benavides, Valdivia, Sarmiento, & Noreno, 2013) and have worked jointly with the National Center of Strategic Planning CEPLAN and INEI to create a baseline to monitor Peru's progress toward meeting the SDGs. Other bilateral donors, such as the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and the Spanish Cooperation Agency for International Development (AECID), have demonstrated a long-term commitment to gender equality and education in Peru.

3. Leverage opportunities to increase knowledge about Afro-Peruvian girls' education

Afro-Peruvian organizations have worked hard to advocate for the inclusion of ethnic self-identification in the policy agenda, and well-regarded institutions/think tanks, such as Peru's Grupo de Analisis para el Desarrollo

(GRADE), have made significant contributions to research about Afro-Peruvians. However, these efforts might lose leverage and influence if they are fragmented or are insufficiently linked to social programs relevant for education. To continue the momentum, one strategy would be for Peru's government to institutionalize a monitoring system with an ethnicity approach to assess the impact of its education policies and programs on ethnic minorities. Experts could reconstruct the subsample of Afro-Peruvians in the Young Lives study to extract specific findings on education for this minority group.²⁰

²⁰ This idea was initially discussed with Jaime Saavedra, director of global education at the World Bank, in August 2018.

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