

***NO AMOTINES EL GALLINERO: DOMESTIC WORKER AGENCY AND
IDENTITY IN LIMA, PERU AND THE DAILY STRUGGLE***

by

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ABSTRACT

For centuries, indigenous women have been forced to labor in slave-like conditions as domestic workers in Lima, Peru. With neoliberal practices on the rise, Peru's domestic labor informal economic sector struggles with sociopolitical representation. The downtrodden women of the household work economy exemplify the national perception of *desconfianza*, or distrust, as it trickles down from the wealthier individuals to those living in poverty. Although the nature of domestic work is a product of hegemonic colonial relations and, recently, violent social movements in the late 20th century, increasing attempts for government transparency and nongovernmental involvement, have created a slowly recovering broken social system. In this thesis, I ascertain that the identity of *trabajadoras*, or female workers, is primarily driven by their agency as they struggle to become upwardly mobile.

Para las niñas y mujeres que trabajan duro todos los días
para prosperar sus trayectorias

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INTRODUCTION: AMOTINANDO EL GALLINERO

The title of this thesis was chosen due to the idea that my fieldwork was causing a commotion. That is to say, during the two and a half months that I spent in Lima interviewing female domestic workers, I was accused of promoting rampant activism and civil disobedience. I visited a family friend and we began to discuss the current state of affairs concerning poverty and children in Lima as well as my fieldwork in the scheme of this conversation. We got to talking about the research and she cautioned me saying “*no amotines el gallinero*”; this meant literally “do not rile up the hen house”. Being raised as a Peruvian in the United States, I am not completely versed in idioms and sayings of my country; however, it was clear that in this idiom, the “hens” in the “hen house” were the domestic workers. The expression cautioned me against riling the chickens up because, ultimately, they would remain confined to the hen house. By referring to a subjugated group of people intersectionally marginalized as hens making unnecessary noise, my friend’s use of this expression reveals the state of crystalized racism in Lima, Peru. In this analogy the sheer personification of these women as poultry in a coop at the whim of someone more powerful, renders them insignificant. Despite the social changes in inclusion throughout Lima’s history, domestic workers receive the full brunt of downfalls in the governmental support and recognition of worker’s rights due to lingering racist ideas which shadow the potential of marginalized women.

Yet, it was not the first time that women, especially women who were ethnically indigenous with darker complexions, had been objectified in front of me without a second thought. Reducing a woman to her gender is disempowering and incorporating her ethnicity as

further proof of her inferiority is completely disenfranchising. I am writing this ethnography to defy the idea that there are limits maintaining the status quo, which must be encountered, analyzed and overcome.

Methods

In order to scope the situation of female domestic workers rights in Lima, I had conducted an ethnography in the Fall of 2011 viewing the impact of nongovernmental private and community organizations. The research yielded that each organization interviewed appeared to have very optimistic ideas about the advancement of their organizations in the betterment of the working women. The issue that was apparent by the tones in the informants' voices was the issue of government's apathy in the face of worker's rights, the laborers unfamiliarity of their own rights and worker's fear of employers.

This research study focused on primary data collected through in-depth unstructured interviews, where the participants were compensated for their time. The sample size was of twenty-five to thirty women that were eighteen years of age and older. Each participant participated in one or more interviews dealing with a range of questions focusing on demographic information and deeper issues of identification. In this way, I was able to build a rapport with the participants. I also conducted participant observation with a few women in the most common subcategories of domestic labor: caring, cleaning, and nursing. By conducting participant-observation, I was able to not only foster a better relationship with my informants but I was also able to view their daily experiences through the lens of the participant.

My sample population consisted of Peruvian adult women that have been working as urban domestic workers for at least six months in Lima, Peru. I recruited the women via purposive sampling; where the contacts that I presently have will retrieve participants they know fit the criteria. I also recruited more participants with the help of the NGOs *La Casa de Panchita*. Male domestic workers were not appropriate for this study in the domestic worker category because the majority of the industry is dominated by women; therefore making it difficult for me to find enough male domestic workers to create a large sample.

Focusing on Lima, Peru for research is mainly attributed to the growing migration of women from rural areas into urban areas to advance socioeconomically in Peru. The two largest centers of movement within Peru are from the anywhere in the Andes to Cuzco or Lima. Since I am a *Limeña* (woman born in Lima) I have a greater access to the participants since I not only display some form of solidarity because I understand the inequalities of the system. Peru does not have an IRB process, furthermore I spoke with American and Peruvian scholars that have done research in Peru and they were not required to ask Peruvian officials for consent of the project unless it involved medical practices. Research can be done in Peru without any particular permission.

The consent process took place before the interviews occurred in the form of an IRB-approved description of my research aims. Consent with the participants was verbal and I also provided the participants with a consent document that states the same information. Each interview was intended to last approximately one hour or until all of the questions are answered.

In reality, the interviews ranged from 15 minutes to 90 minutes depending on the level of comfort of the interview participants.

Participants taking surveys were given and read the consent document. Because the majority of participants do not speak English, the interview questions were asked in Spanish which is the language of the participants. The surveys were filled out in Spanish as well, because it is the language of those participants as well. The surveys took approximately fifteen minutes to complete. Dr. Beatriz Reyes-Foster verified that my translations of consent documents, interview questions, and survey questions (in English and Spanish) were legitimate in order for the project to be fair for participants in the study.

Being born in Peru, I am familiar with the infrastructure and current government of the area as well as the expansive history that powers the social injustices that are faced today. I am a native speaker of Spanish with a comparable level of grammar as that of a high school student in Peru. I also know some basic Central Highland Quechua and Puno Aymara that allowed me to create some commonality between the participants and me.

Purpose of Research

Race, class, and power relations have always been the source of inequalities in Lima, Peru for many different occupations¹. Migrations from rural areas are often due to peoples' inability to sustain a livelihood in mountain departments of the Andes, such as Puno, Ancash, and Ayacucho which surround Lima on its northern, eastern, and southern sides (Altamirando,

¹ Beyond attaining experience for certain tasks, employment in Peru is based heavily on the completion of education. Because the majority of Peru does not have a secondary education due to a lack of financial opportunities, obtaining employment that will support basic needs is difficult for women in the informal sector.

1987:263; Berranechea Lercari & Malengreau, 1996:68; Kellogg, 2008: 665; Malengreau, 2007:440; Vincent, 2010:74).



Figure 1: Map of Peru

Yet, there are times that migration is much more complicated than not being able to support the family or oneself in the countryside, often times young women are attempting to escape factors such as sexual abuse or terrorist violence. During the 1980s until the mid-1990s, a terrorist organization called the Shining Path (SL) attempted to create a reverse racist society, where people of indigenous origin were to be considered pure and those of lighter skin were to be considered less desirable, demonstrate the injustices placed on indigenous and mestizos/mixed race people from the beginning of the foreign domination with Spain until the consecutive

ethnocentric administrations controlling the Peruvian government (Anderson, 2010; Cadena, 2000: 46; Molinié, 2004: 238; Strong, 1992: 63).

SL was a construct that was meant to penetrate every aspect of the indigenous and mestizo ways of life in terms of racial pride, however, some people simply did not want to become part of this organization (Lázaro, 1990: 240). Those left in their rural areas after being subjected to violence for not becoming part of the guerrillas were only left to cooperate with the police and army whose ambitions of murdering a wide range of dark skinned people involved in the Shining Path (Falcon, 2009). Those women who became victims of rape by the Peruvian police, army, or Shining Path subsequently left their rural areas to travel to Lima, Peru, especially those of Ayacucho—the region that became the base for the terrorist organization (Falcon, 2009). Among those traveling to urban Lima in the 1980s and 1990s were also children that wanted to escape the stresses of poverty only to become more or similarly impoverished in the city (Altamirano, 1987: 263).

Class is a social construct that in many locations works to subconsciously control societies to believe that vast inequalities are necessary in for the purpose of maintaining order. In Peru there is a belief that ethnic and class biases, enforced through the marginalization of minority groups and the indigenous population, are a necessary part of creating a modernized society (Greene, 2007: 14). Peruvians of all social levels do not want to be associated with the term “Indian” (Zorn, 2004: 150). In this hegemony, or the unconscious institutional control exerted on persons from a very young age, Peruvians of almost nearly all social classes feel that being ‘Indian’ is synonymous with being poor (Gramsci, 1973). This habitus, the theory of

language dominating thought and imposing ideals because of the negative connotations of poverty that the term carries, does not simply classify the term *indian* as negative, it is also a relation between the language of the elite classes which dominate the Peruvian government and social structure and their language which is powerful (Isunza Vera, 1992:89).

Elites created a dichotomy between what is good and evil; because control most of the international functions of Peru as a nation; their speech is, intentionally or unintentionally, influential. It is the elite attempt to paternalize indigenous identity with the misguided belief that they are useless unless dominated that is most problematic in the case of Peru (Heilman, 2006:501; Valderrama, 1976:39). Centuries of racial judgment and criticism oppressed indigenous people since the capture of Tupac Amaru II in 1781, the indigenous leader who began rebelling against the Bourbon Reforms of the Viceroyalty of Peru which raised taxes and attempted to separate Peruvian boundary lines for mining (Starn, 2005:93). Tupac Amaru II was seen as a threat by Spanish officials, just as many other rebellions after it that would supposedly cause the indigenous people to rise against their elite oppressors. Here hegemonic understandings of the inferiority of the indigenous peoples is subconsciously taught and enforced through daily life activities, practices, and language. These activities, such as school, behaviors which appear intentional are in reality unconsciously racist. Social circumstances reinforce hegemony of the State and that in turn dominates the mind. In this case, the Spanish viceroyalty imposed its ideals on indigenous Peruvians under the watchful eye of the Catholic kings and then later the Vatican. Domination of the mind began earlier than the arrival of the Spaniards through the enforcement of loyalty to the Inca Empire; however, the Spanish left a lasting and extremely

polar understanding of the worth of different classes. This has only aided in daily segregation and discriminatory infrastructure programs (Gramsci, 1973: 235; Morton, 2007:129, Rivera, 1999:114).

The appearance of indigenous people, their dress, their language as well as stereotypes concerning their behavior according to their regions of origin are just a few topics of racist discourse which has been used to ascribe feelings of worthlessness to the connotations of indigenous or “Indian” (Apaza Apaza & Strobele-Gregor, 2001:316; Castro et al., 1989:297; Douglas, 1976: 122; Huayuha, 1999:532; Kent, 2008:28; Theidon, 2000: 549). Marginalization due to race is very evident in daily discourse especially directed to indigenous women who must attempt to appear more mestizo in order to survive in the urban setting by dressing in western clothing and learning the “proper” pronunciation of Spanish in order to be more respected by elites (Cadena, 2002:165; Gill, 1994:67; Maximo Torero et al., 2004).

Their respective *patronas* or female employers often do not share feelings of solidarity with the domestic workers as women; however, they are complexly involved in the lives of indigenous female domestic workers, as well as allow them to enter their intimate lives (Berranechea Lercari & Malengreau, 1996:68; Gill, 1994:71; Goldstein, 2003:64). Some of these *patronas* feel like it is their plight to “save” the indigenous women that work for them as though they were her children. Certain *patronas* feel that by providing job benefits to their employers that they are and should be treating them with the utmost respect and loyalty, therefore infantilizing them and subconsciously controlling them with discriminatory language (Graham Buchell et al., 1991:166; Foucault, 1977:171; Foucault, 1980:232; Passeron et al.,

1990). In the hustle and bustle of a dusty capital city, *Limeños* (Lima natives) are dismissive and simultaneously obsessive. Having recognized their deep cultural heritage, they also seek to stay in vogue with more globalized trends. With the advent of widespread internet, many individuals' rich and poor have more access to information faster.

The rise of neoliberalism weakens education and further narrows the middle class. It also produces more favoritism in Peru's government, a broken social system that does not have functioning social welfare programs. The enabling of privatization, then, only permits the wealthy with privilege to participate in globalization and control access to and the production of knowledge (Farmer, 2005:149; Foucault, 1980:232). The issues of neoliberal privatization and government corruption are deeply connected to Peruvians' tendency to distrust; not just out of fear of betrayal, but due to the terrorism of the 1980s and 1990s blanketing the nation with silence and superficial reparations. It is difficult to trust family, friends, coworkers, supervisors, religious authorities, and the government. The concept of distrust or *desconfianza* that was originally coined by Daniel Goldstein (2002) in the Andean region allows for the supplanting of human rights progress with a stalemate of neoliberal policy; which in turn yields a population of poverty-stricken individuals that cope with static economic situations. Goldstein's approach in Bolivia dealt with underlying sociopolitical tensions similar to those encountered in Peru. The work of Donna Goldstein (2005) in Rio de Janeiro highlights the occupation of domestic service as the foci where the middle class emerges due to the cultural stipulations of hiring household workers. For instance Iñigo Goñi, a recent immigrant to Peru explains his position towards the perpetuation of *desconfianza* with domestic workers in his home:

“I don’t trust her. Not in my house, not with my kids, not alone. I mean, she’s nice, like ‘haha’ but not with my kids. I don’t know...I just don’t. I rather have someone that cleans not so well and can’t cook that I can trust, than a person I cannot trust” (Personal Communication with “Iñigo Goñi”, 2012).

Mr. Goñi is married to a Peruvian woman and has become more and more *criollo* (displaying Peruvian customs) his experience is that of the Peruvian elite.

The women presented in this ethnography exhibit the unfair vicious cycle of domestic employment. Their past, present, and future are almost deterministically calculated by the lack of social opportunities that are accessible to them. As anthropologists we almost certainly maintain the American Anthropological Association’s (AAA) mandate to “do no harm” (AAA, 2012). In this thesis I will discuss the domestic worker informal economic sector as a stage for the changing sociopolitical place that the *trabajadoras* inhabit. By analyzing the foundation of trickle-down *desconfianza* as a hegemonic deterrent of female solidarity and its necessity for the upward mobility of these disenfranchised women. I will also discuss the complex employer-employee interactions that shape domestic worker perceptions of identity and society, as well as differing aspects of daily life that encourage the fomenting of agency.

CHAPTER ONE: TRICKLE-DOWN DESCONFIANZA

To comprehend the magnitude of Peru's problematic past in granting racial minorities' rights and promoting agency, it is necessary to briefly understand the conquest in relation to domestic workers and their condition as a driving force for the creation of social movements. In the 15th century colonial Lima, Spain's obligation to be the vanguard of the Catholic Church led to the diminishing of women's rights while Quechua populations began to accept the obligatory doctrine of Christianity and its male-centered sense of existence (Godenzzi, 1997:37; Starn & Kirk, 2005:36-39). The colonialist perception of the "conquered" people was part of the ideology at the time that dictated that anyone of color was decidedly inferior to Europeans. Therefore it is not surprising that the visiting Spanish official representing the crown, Jose Antonio de Areche demanded that "these Indians renounce the hatred that they have conceived against the Spaniards, and that they adhere to dress which the laws indicate, adopting our Spanish customs and speaking Castilian, we shall introduce more vigorously than we have done up to now the use of schools, imposing the most rigorous and fair penalties on those who do not attend once enough time has passed for them to have learned the language" (Starn & Kirk, 2005:172).

It is the construction of a powerful imposing force that not only wipes away the existence of a previous culture, but institutes a socialized habitus that creates divisions between future generations (Bourdieu, 1984:123). The distress of losing a culture results in a self-discriminating worldview caused by centuries of race and class struggles that are perpetuated by all socioeconomic classes today (Cobo, 1653; Spencer, 1864). Self-segregation of lower socio-

economic indigenous and mestizo people have been carried out visibly since the colonization; terrorist events and differing presidential administrations allow for racist, sexist and classist principles to endure. The intersectionality of race, class, and gender solidifies the structural and symbolic violence which entangles Limeñan society today (Bourdieu, 1997:165-166; Crenshaw, 1989; Farmer, 2005:149).

Domestic workers at their core inhabit a questionable position. While their labor industry requires them to cook, clean, watch over children or elderly adults, etc.; they must also incorporate themselves, at least superficially, to their employer's social network. Appearing omnipresent as a *trabajadora* arises from class issues dating back to colonization; however, domestic workers' job security is primarily based on *confianza* (or trust). In this chapter, I deconstruct the concept of *confianza* and *desconfianza* by arguing that the rebellion of Túpac Amaru, the terrorism years of the 1980s and 1990s, and the nearly static condition of women's rights in Peru has enabled and reinforced a generalized sentiment of *desconfianza* (or distrust) among both female domestic workers and their employers, creating a mutually distrusting relationship that is ostensibly based on trust. Most domestic employers are continuously finding reasons to distrust their employee, sometimes basing them on Spencierian 19th century social evolutionist stereotypes, which are corroborated by marginalizing neoliberal campaigns.

The Roots of Desconfianza

Spain's *Real Academia Española* (RAE) defines *desconfiar*, the act of distrusting, as "Not trusting; having little assurance or hope" (RAE, 2006:468). Not having trust in Peru, is not simply being aware of your surroundings, it is the notion that there is a sense of despair between

citizens. To explain the level of *desconfianza* that has persisted in Lima for some time, we will be exploring the history of distrust in Peru from rebellions during colonialism to the terrorism of the late 20th century.

There is a 1858 police regulation ordinance which explains that “[milk] nurses and nannies that live in their employer’s house are obligated stay inside unless a license and permission are given, if they have it, they must be accompanied by a person that they trust” (AHM,1858). That is to say, in the early history of post-slavery Peru, law for the industry of domestic service remained marginalizing and isolating to the *trabajadoras*. Historically, it is a position that exhibits similar conditions to the Peruvian period of slavery, making it even more difficult for women to capitalize on their *confianza* in order to become upwardly mobile.

Understanding the status of working women in 1858 will allow us to venture into the following data set, which indicates the percent of women in the labor force, opposite men:-

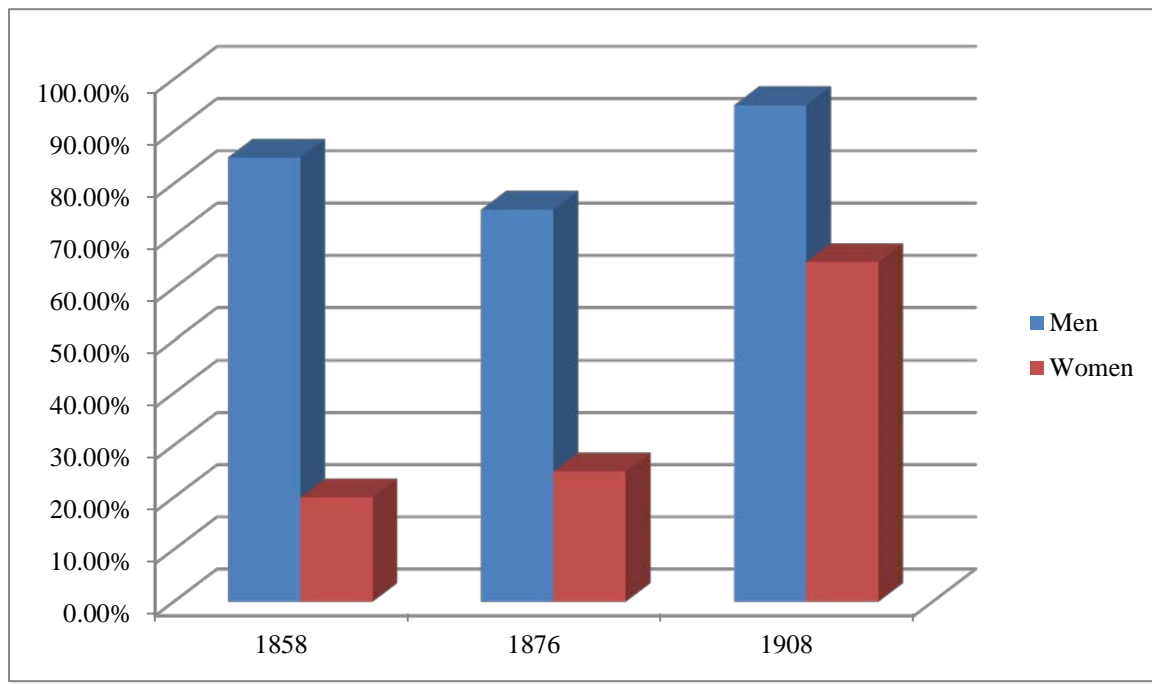


Figure 2: Percent of Working Men and Women over the Age of 15

In conjunction with Figure 2, Cosamalón approximates that in 1858, that at 62%, the top employment for women appears to be considered *Servicios Personales* (or personal services); whereas the majority of men at 31% worked as artisan crafters. The personal services include clothes washers, servants, cooks, nannies, key holders, doormen, and butlers. These jobs are what we now consider domestic work and not much has changed. Only 16.6% of men worked in personal services, making this sector the only category where women dominate over men.

Figure 3, expresses the available labor industries and the respective work force:

Table 1: Labor Industry in Lima by Sex

Industry	Men	Women	TOTAL	Percent women in industry
Personal Service	4531	7262	11793	62
Artisan	8530	2090	10620	20
Food Service	2792	1199	3991	30
Wage Employee	5166	240	5406	4
Commerce	3938	220	4158	5
Agriculture	1298	82	1380	6
Art	388	44	432	10
Hospitality	113	32	145	22
Other	442	1	443	0
Mining	34	0	34	0
Non-Personal Service	19	0	19	0
TOTAL	27251	11170	38421	29

In terms of male and female division of labor, Cosamalón has also summed up the labor categories within the domestic industry at that time. Figure 4 exhibits the various roles men and women play or do not play in 1858 according to Fuentes (1858):

Table 2: 1858 Domestic Work Division of Labor by Sex

Labor	Men	Women	TOTAL	Percent women in industry
Clothes Washer	0	3147	3147	100
Servant	2697	2321	5018	46
Cook	957	1248	2205	57
Nanny	0	440	440	100
<i>Ama de llaves</i>	0	87	87	100
Ayas	0	12	12	100
Doorman	211	7	218	3
Butler	666	0	666	0
TOTAL	4531	7262	11793	62

Even the men working within the domestic labor industry are not being hired for the traditionally female roles of washing clothes, taking care of children, and ayas. They appear to handle gender neutral tasks of serving and answering the door; however, it is remarkable that of all of the performed tasks in domestic work, 0% of women were hired to do the job of a butler. Truthfully, the role of a butler is the same as an *ama de llaves*; they take charge over the other workers to make sure that they are completing tasks and they also report to their employer about any daily issue. That makes the butler and *ama de llaves* the highest ranking position within the industry, and it is only with seniority that an individual can hold such an elevated position. The inequality arises that of the 11793 individuals that partook in the 1858 survey, 666 men were

butlers and only 87 women were *amas de llaves*. This is rather problematic and nuanced, because even in the singular employment industry where women dominated, men were still held at a higher esteem as butlers than women as *amas de llaves*.

Lastly, Figure 5 displays the division of labor for women in 1858, 1876, and 1908:

Table 3: Division of Labor for Women between 1858-1908

Labor	1858	1876	1908
Clothes Washer	3147	1464	5348
Servant	2321	2721	2387
Cook	1248	349	2781
Nanny, Milk Nurse, aya	452	37	73
<i>Ama de llaves</i>	87	0	295
Doorman	7	0	455
Other	65	51	35
TOTAL	7262	4571	11339

Table 3 presents the decrease in labor for all divisions except ‘servant’ between 1858 and 1876 due to the more accurate census performed during the Manuel Pardo Presidential administration. The increase between 1876 and 1908 in workers is most likely due to the War that was waged in 1888 with Chile over the control of border territories. The most likely reason for the increase in migration to Lima was due to this war; however, there was also an influx of

Chinese immigration to Peru in the second half of the 19th century (de Trazegnies 1994:26).

What is most striking about this data is not that it displays increases and decreases in women's labor involvement, it is that the women in the domestic labor industry nearly doubled from 1858 and 1908 and still do not have functioning benefits packages or adequate resources to assist them in becoming vertically socially mobile.



Figure 3: Sirvienta espulgando a su ama, Pancho Fierro (1858)

Desconfianza is not solely an issue that faces individuals at the bottom; it arises from the top by corrupt officials and trickles-down to the most underprivileged of individuals. In Peru, similar to many states, the corruption is more visible at the lower levels because:

“The difference is that whereas higher-level state officials raise large sums from the relatively few people who can afford to pay it to them, lower-level officials collect it in small figures and on a number of people. It is for this reason that corruption is so much more visible at the lower levels” (Gupta, 2009:221)

The trickle-down nature of *desconfianza* is due to the primacy of corruption in the higher levels of government, and nongovernment hierarchy. There is almost no need for individuals to feel that they will become reprimanded if someone above them is also perpetuating an illegal and unethical code of conduct.

Colonialism

In 1533, Francisco Pizarro and his brothers blackmailed and killed Atahualpa the last Inca in order to acquire gold from the Inca's storeroom. This led to complete control of the region that was once known as Tawantinsuyo, Quechua for the Inca Empire until 1821 when Peruvians became independent from Spain. Soon after the conquest, rent was charged to indigenous Peruvians set by Spanish colonists that were granted land by the Catholic Kings of Spain. Given that the original occupants of Peru were organized in *ayllus* established throughout generations, the indigenous people unfairly paid extremely high land taxes (Poma, 1615:485). The majority fell into a cycle of inherited debt, which led to poverty and starvation from generation to generation. If an indigenous laborer wanted to become free from the obvious financial injustices of the time, their goal was to birth mestizo children. In Peru, to this day, race is not determined by the unspoken one-drop U.S. standard of classification (388 U.S. 1,1967), it is instead judged by physical appearance and class markers. In this way, if an indigenous-identified person was attempting to apply for a job that was generally reserved for a more entitled individual, they would have to have all of the same necessary qualifications for employment and "good appearance" (Goldstein, 2005:60) or appear to have Western features for

hire. That is to say, race is not classified by one's regional hemology, it is judged by skin color and education status.

In the years following the conquest, the Viceroyalty of Peru (1542-1821) further reduced women's equality. Society was subject to a gendering patriarchal system instilled by the Roman Catholic Church through way of Spanish missionaries (Poma: 1615:685). In order for women of a lower class to obtain any assemblage of rights, they attempted to seduce Spanish or already mestizo men to become upwardly mobile. Some women attempted to seek out mestizo or *criollo* (Spanish immigrant) men, yet for some, rape and abuse led to the birthing of mestizo children which may have placed them at a higher socioeconomic class inadvertently (Socolow, 2000:153).

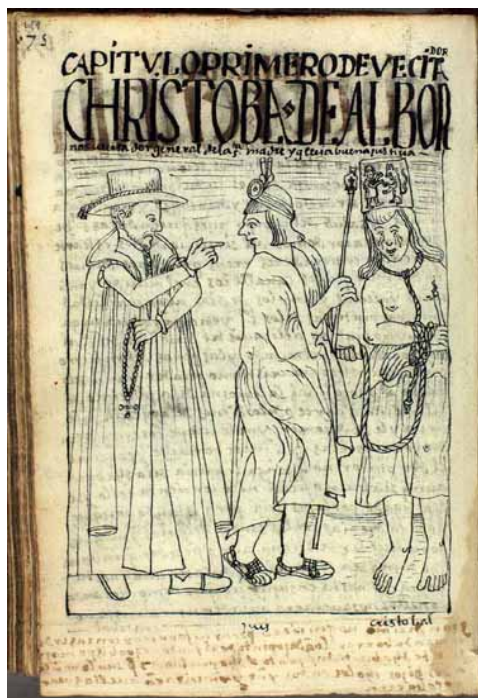


Figure 4: The church inspector administers punishment during an extirpation of idolatries campaign

The church inspector Cristóbal de Albornoz, with the help of his native assistant, administers punishment during an extirpation of idolatries campaign; (Poma 1615:675)

A figurehead by the name of José Gabriel Condorcanqui changed his name to Túpac Amaru II to identify him as a descendant of the Inca and led 6,000 indigenous people to revolt against the Spanish *corregidores* (city officials) on November 4th 1780. They marched toward Cuzco, looting Spanish households and killing their oppressors, signaling that mestizo and indigenous identity was not weak and merited recognition. His rebellion led to other groups that further demanded human rights from the Viceroyalty and the *corregidores*, as many individuals were subject to the will of the Spanish. For instance in the following image from Guaman Poma's "Buen Gobierno", a *corregidor* and a priest appear to be objectifying provincial women:

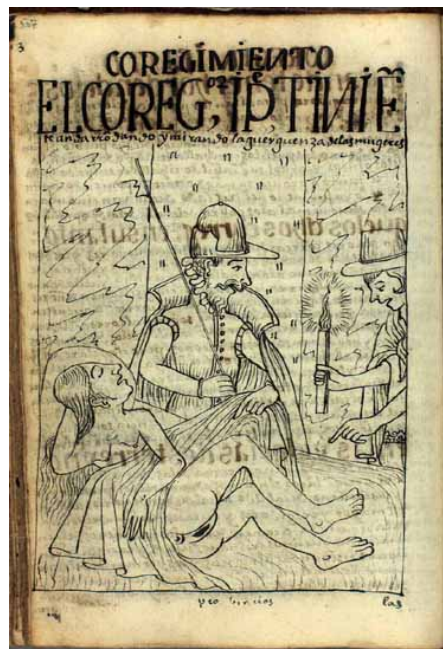


Figure 5: The royal administrator and his lieutenant make their nightly rounds

The royal administrator and his lieutenant make their nightly rounds (Poma: 1615:503)

The image of the Spanish treating indigenous women as objects to be subjugated exemplifies the difficult position that is ingrained in the history of Peru since colonialism. The difficulty being, their second class status among men, and ultimately among lighter skinned people. Guaman Poma's images did not halt the violence against women in Peru; however, reinforced the importance of the holy female stereotypes. To exasperate matters, at the time of emancipation from Spain, the revolts to obtain an independent Peru did not contribute to the attainment of revolutionary figureheads. That is to say, Peruvians who were freed under Simon Bolivar were only formally emancipated and did not face true freedom from the chains of structural violence. The status quo of the marginalized due to their ethnicity, gender, and skin color remained post-slavery and because no concessions were made to generate equal opportunities for these women, their living and working situations deteriorate quickly. Their reality after independence had simply been maintained as before, without the diminishing of nepotism and with segregating tactics of private and public institutions (Puertas, 2005:23-29). Although some conditions are slowly beginning to change in Lima, the majority of access to quality education, healthcare, retirement security, and credit are largely untouched or modified to benefit few wealthy groups.

Violent Social Movements of the 20th Century

History has taught us, to not ignore the past in order to analyze the present and future; in terms of Peruvian *desconfianza* (or distrust), it is quite apparent that the continual disregard for

underprivileged individuals only proliferates their unequal status. From colonialism to now, social movements in Peru begun as a means to level the socioeconomic playing field and diminish privilege. A recent time period that significantly stirred social consciousness in Peru was during the 1980s and 1990s. Government corruption of resistance from civilians in the years following the *Sendero Luminoso*, *MRTA*, Peruvian military and peasant watch reinforces distrust in a nation with an already shaky foundation (Martino, 2010; Rousseau, 2010; Strong, 1992; Theidon, 2010). Both teach lessons concerning the symbolic structure of place that underrepresented peoples have faced and the ability to make the State listen (Kent, 2008:27).

Coming from a strong background of rebellion with slogans involving equality and reform, it is not surprising that with the influence of Maoist China the Marxist communist social movement of the *Sendero Luminoso* (SL or Shining Path) tore through the Andes in the rural and urban areas. Their attempts at recruiting indigenous and mestizo people in order to fight against the capitalist government stronghold associated them with freedom from centuries of oppression. Simultaneously the *Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru* (MRTA or Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement) demanded agricultural reform where farm workers would receive humane work conditions and profits from the sacred coca crop (Allen, 2002:110-112). Suffice to say that by viewing these movements on paper they give the impression of being rational; yet because of their heavy use of firearms and disregard for the law, the Peruvian army decided to put a “scorched-earth” policy into effect, which decimated innocent populations in the countryside.

Throughout the Alberto Fujimori administration (1990-2000) the figureheads of the SL and the MRTA, were captured without the knowledge of the common people. Their fugitive status remained to create an atmosphere of fear and distrust for mainstream Peruvians in order to sustain Fujimori's authoritarian rule and justify the mass civilian displacements. Due to the undercover genocide during these years, between the *guerra popular* (popular war) in Ayacucho and the end of the Fujimori dictatorship, the *Coordinadora Nacional de Derechos Humanos* (or National Human Rights Coordinator) acknowledged the tragedy one-sidedly; blaming the 'terrorist' organizations and praising the army's conduct (CVR report). True recognition would not only consider the government partly accountable for the mass graves, but also recognize the foundation for the original struggle as tying back to land reform, class struggles and racism; instead of merely identifying human rights violations which occurred at the time of the terrorism (Rubio-Martin, Bailey & Guillerot, 2011:26). The major players in what became a twenty year guerrilla terrorist war were the SL and the Peruvian military troops, who destroyed the countryside by killing innocent Aymara and Quechua people, using rape as a weapon of war for anyone who did not cooperate with them.

Hegemony

For many women in Lima, the idea of government distrust or *desconfianza* and fear is unexceptional. There are plenty of daily examples involving corruption and inequality that occur for class and race motivations. The exceptional and very subversive control that filters through every individual is not solely at the hands of the government. Hegemony, or the philosophy of unconscious institutional control, strongly incorporates the historical particularities of race and

class by giving freedom to accepted organizations in their speech. Free speech is an accepted portion of the revised Constitution of 1993; yet, the already downtrodden majority living at or below the poverty line demonstrates how racially and sexually segregating diction can create systems of economic entitlement. Gender solidarity among women of different social classes is a difficult goal because of the overwhelming amount of domestic employment and the elite woman's need for power. As political philosopher Antonio Gramsci describes, "a dictatorship or some other coercive apparatus used to control the masses in conformity with a given type of production and economy-and not as an equilibrium between political society and civil society, by which I mean the hegemony of one social group over the whole nation exercised through so-called private organizations such as the church, trade unions, schools", controls the thought of individuals by repeating certain doctrines (Gramsci,1973:41-42). In this case, women in upper and middle class are hegemonically socialized in schools, with families and in churches to hold their class and race in their place, symbolically. Therefore individuals at the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder are socialized by their families to an extent to believe that their poverty cycle is normal and acceptable.

For domestic workers, the most common case of unconscious institution control is derived from societal constraints that maintain the status quo. That is to say, the history of the Peruvian government and media has assisted in reinforcing poverty with neoliberal politics of place. For women at all socioeconomic classes, this translates into the role of a woman in a patriarchal society and consequently intersects with race. There is no question that women in Peru's past were isolated from one another due to the massive difference in income that was

racially dictated by individuals in power. Even before independence from Spain, colonists employed the system of *corregimiento* or country subdivisions in order to collect the land rents that were due to the Spanish Crown. It just so happens that the individuals being charged the rent was the *Hatun Runa* or the common people of the Inca Empire. These people represent the ancestors of the impoverished indigenous and mestizo majority today. That is not to say that other ethnic groups that migrated after colonization did not become hegemonically inculcated; they as well have been unconsciously convinced that they are unable to become upwardly mobile and equally worthy for success and socioeconomic cushioning.

With these self-deprecating practices being employed generationally, the *patronas* and *trabajadoras del hogar* both become women who are considered inferior and are marginalized in society. Yet their relationship is very vertical and the domestic worker suffers from living a double standard of oppression (Berranechea Lercari & Malengreau, 1996). The spread of *marianismo*, a belief that the nature of women is based on passivity and sexual purity, extended from the poor farmer's daughter in Ayacucho to the elite wife of a Lima congressman. These ideals are still so entrenched in the everyday life of Peruvians, that politically involved or outspoken women are often called names to overshadow their policies or opinions (Boesten, 2010:37-38). The governmental rhetoric that has shaped the 'place' of women over the years can be summed up in ex-President Alberto Fujimori's Mother's Day address (1991), where he thanked mothers for their contributions to the "development of the Fatherland" (Boesten, 2010:38). These insinuations of aiding in the construction of the State make the women of Peru

second class citizens in one sentence, because protecting and raising boys to be men is the most important task; because it would appear that they are the most important individuals.

Although Peru is no different from massive oppression all over the world, there is a silent grassroots revolution lurking as mistreated women and girls find their survival through developing their networks. Whichever resource may be missing for the complete guarantee of socioeconomic survival in the provinces, women from all classes are demanding and organizing for justice. The fact that 100% of my sample migrated to Lima from the countryside betrays the lacking efficiency in public education programs and job opportunities in the provinces.

Capturing this example of rural educational instability is Soledad Mamani, a 33-year-old domestic worker from Puno. She told me her migration story one morning while she made a bed in her employer's three story home in Miraflores. I asked her "Why couldn't you study?" She responded "Because...lack of funds and, and people say women don't study much in the countryside, my father says" (Interview with "Soledad Mamani", 2012). The province of Yunguyo in the department of Puno where Soledad comes from is considered the "Educative Capital of the Aymara people", yet her sisters and her traveled to Bolivia as children to work as servants in order to receive an education and moved to Lima to finish their secondary studies in night school. The patriarchal discourse of heteronormative behaviors creates a suitable environment for the perpetuation of non-male oppression. Because Soledad and her sisters were born in the countryside, they do not face the expectations of their male counterparts; yet, due to their status as non-male, they are forced to work in the informal sector in order to subsist in Puno. Moving to Lima was not only a way for Soledad to become mildly self-sustaining, it is a

way that she could finish her education and make her classification as a woman equal to that of a man's socioeconomic status.

Similarly to Soledad, Zoila Ñiquen only realized that she could contribute to her family's livelihood after becoming entrepreneurial as a domestic worker; rather than rely on the private sector that had dismissed her husband. She explained one cool morning in the back of *La Casa de Panchita*, about how working has changed her and made her a more driven individual:

“He [my husband] worked for 21 years in a transport business and left and remained without a job. Then, that's when I began to work; because in the beginning it was everyone's idea that “women don't work; they stay at home with the kids.” Then, I didn't work. But, when he was left without a job, I began to work; and I see that I have done very well. I used to be a different woman, one who had no aspirations, nothing. My world was my home; the market and my home. Now I have learned a lot, I like to get to know new people...I like it. Yes. I want to learn more; despite not having a profession, right? Because I haven't had the opportunity, right? Uh, I've already worked; I'm giving to my daughters. My daughter already got her degree, my youngest. Then, already um...all you need is to work; learn any little more that you can, but enough. I feel good. I feel good.”

Although Zoila was not able to study in the post-secondary institutions due to the single income that she provided for her husband and daughters, she broke barriers by embracing the role of the breadwinner and providing a living income to her family. Coming from the department of Amazonas, where 43.8% of individuals are either unemployed or are working without any qualifications, Zoila was fortunate to have left the countryside in order to have a

financial advantage over the 87.2% with minor education in poverty (APEIM, 2012a:13; 2012b:26,33).

While there is a voluminous amount of poverty in rural areas covering the coast, mountains, and jungle in Peru; there is always knowledge of opportunity for the attainment of resources in Lima. According to the National Household Survey conducted by the Peruvian National Institute of Statistics and Informatics in 2011, approximately people in the rural jungle accrued approximately 367 soles a month; whereas, the average monthly income in Metropolitan Lima was 943 soles per month. If the conversion is made into dollars that would mean that even today Zoila would be making approximately \$143 a month, having to support two children and feed her husband and her. Her family's budget would have to be at least twice as large to ensure against bad harvests and emergencies, which would simply create a cycle of poverty if it were not met. The monthly average of \$367, is actually more befitting someone in Luya to make ends meet; however, this is in general an acceptable wage for individuals in Lima; understanding that the minimum wage is S./675. The wage migration and the need to become more educated, stems from the belief that knowledge is power. With information one who receives any certification at all, will be more qualified than the next individual for employment and stability.

Michel Foucault's theory of power/knowledge is befitting to the topic of domestic work adding to a hegemonic discourse of place, because "it is impossible for power to be exercised without knowledge, it is not possible for knowledge not to engender power" (Foucault, 1980:52). That is to say, individuals that have the most power have the most knowledge that has been engendered in their being by past experiences and customs. In the case of domestic workers,

they are not isolated to feeling superiority or inferiority; however, due to their collective experiences shaping identity, Foucault's theory applied here justifies their position socioeconomically. It is the experiences of individuals not working in the informal domestic sector that affects the access of the working poor in Lima. Since education grants tenable jobs and sustainable wages, it is the gateway to power. As Peru has become more and more privatized in the government, quality public education is virtually unattainable and therefore is not guaranteed to create job growth in rural areas. Yet, despite dropping out of primary or secondary schools; the women in this sample value education more than anything and those with children attempt or have attempted to provide a drive for them to become professionals; to escape the break free from the cycle that has them so pinned down.

The creation of this overall hegemony is reinforced by Bourdieu's theory of distinction, the notion that taste varies by "cultural pedigree." Similarly to Foucault, culture shapes identity, which more or less could be summed up as a set of beliefs and customs that are seen as socially acceptable. If the culture of the individual is to believe that women should not become educated or have the capability to work, then the distinction among men and women grows because the experiences of each group are not relatable. The same idea can be applied to different socioeconomic classes; where the education that has been granted to an individual allows for a broader understanding of the world and wider access to opportunities in upward social mobility. Although Zoila moved to Peru, she never studied formally beyond her secondary school education; however, her daughters have sustainable jobs that have the option for upward mobility. Soledad moved to Lima in order to finish her schooling because the quality of the

education was much more comprehensive and available than in Yunguyo, Puno at the time when she was a child. Her daughter is only a few months old and despite living in one of the most impoverished districts in Lima, San Juan de Miraflores where 10.4% of marginal individuals in Lima live, she is already planning on having her reinforce her schooling while she is working (APEIM 2012a:10; 2012b:33). Both Zoila and Soledad are at different stages in their life in terms of work; however, each knows that they have not received the full access that they deserve, and to an extent accept this inequality. Their experiences allow them to become more aware of their place in society and their abilities to create change.

Conclusion

Indigenous people in Peru are often heavily marginalized due to their social class, level of education and overall skin color. With racist ideals controlling public spending, it is no wonder why the majority of darker skinned peoples live on untenable land and within unincorporated portions of Lima. There are a vast number of people who are currently occupying dusty hills all around the capital of Peru in shantytowns, called *pueblos jóvenes*, which translates to young towns, to mask the severity of the conditions in these locations. Shantytowns develop as a result of mass migrations to the urban areas from more rural locations around the country. Regions like Puno, Ayacucho, and Áncash all along the Andes serve as the nation's agricultural economy. Areas that become overpopulated, like Lima and Cuzco, develop unique service economies that are considered informal and therefore not part of the government's responsibility.

Young women from these rural areas tend to migrate to the cities in order to make a better living and support their families back home. With migration though, come clashes with culture and a general fear of the unknown. Margarita Huayhua explains that “one of the responses of these young people, once finding themselves in the city, without proposing anything begin living daily discrimination and subordination in relations which they establish with others, as they are neither white nor mestizo in the attributed social hierarchies” (Huayhua, 1999:532). Similar to Lima is La Paz, Bolivia where Aymara domestic servants have to migrate from the Andes in order to work as well. To the Bolivian domestic worker from a similar ethnic group, “the tall buildings of La Paz make them feel claustrophobic. The crush of traffic and people in the city center overpower them...” which may be a common trend to Peruvian rural migrants (Gill, 1994:67). Many of the fears that are attributed to city life in Lima are actualities in the life of domestic workers that proudly identify with their background and become subject to discrimination for not being westernized as a result of their indigenous roots.

The Peruvian sentiment of *desconfianza* is not simply an emotion that everyone acquires a bit at a time through experiences and perceptions; it is also the string that ties together the past, present, and future action of its citizens. Throughout history there has been a deteriorating conception of *confianza*; whereby individuals rejected their brotherhood and sisterhood in order to fight against one another in rebellion and terrorist conflict. The addition of hegemonically conceived laws and an ever decreasing presence of patriarchy in Peru, has allowed for women especially to become upwardly mobile like never before. Changing perceptions of race and class have become uncalculated moves that have been bringing together women of different

socioeconomic classes and are further repositioning *confianza* back into the Peruvian public and private sphere. *Desconfianza* is still detrimental to the creation of solidarity between hierarchical race, class, and gender categories; however, it is not as prominent as it has been in Peru's past. The changes that have come out of the nation's problematic and complex history have further shaped all individuals today.

CHAPTER TWO: THE NATURE OF THE EMPLOYMENT

Although the public spaces in Peru are legitimate to all citizens; there is a multifaceted repression that lingers in the informal service sector that disables upward social mobility. Areas meant to display the grandeur of Peru in Lima are specifically reserved for middle and upper class individuals, leaving more impoverished people to live in *pueblos juvenes* (squatter settlements) or underdeveloped neighborhoods with little to no access for socioeconomic opportunity. There are two major areas that create the sphere of the domestic worker as an employee: the physical and symbolic home. The combination of the physical and symbolic home encapsulates the dynamic relationship of the hierarchical upper and lower classes. With even the smallest high rise apartments having service rooms and bathrooms in their blueprints, architecture throughout Lima is specifically segregating. These structures perpetuate the domestic worker employment industry growth. The service section of the home not only furthers the notion of the domestic worker as unclean, it also continues the expectations of the elite to hire or be berated among their peers. These are large gray areas of understanding that blur the lines of traditional employer-employee relationships and break from outdated expectations of the domestic worker as an individual with multiple identities and their own potential.

The physical home may be as small as a shack built in the *pueblo joven* (shantytown) in the district of Puente Piedra or two bedroom apartments with a galley kitchen in the district of Barranco, or it could be the relative size of a 2,000 square foot home in San Isidro. In any case, there is a varying nature of size and location that could be classified into five socioeconomic levels in Lima. Data gathered in the February publication of the Peruvian Business Association

of Market Research (APEIM) displays the ranging socioeconomic classes by horizontal and vertical mobility. This data is a combined effort of the National Home Survey (ENAH) or the National Households Survey developed by the National Statistics and Informatics Survey (INEI) or the Peruvian National Institute of Informatics and Statistics. Figure 1 and 2 identify the origin of the interviewed participants:



Figure 6: Interviewed FDW Origin Map

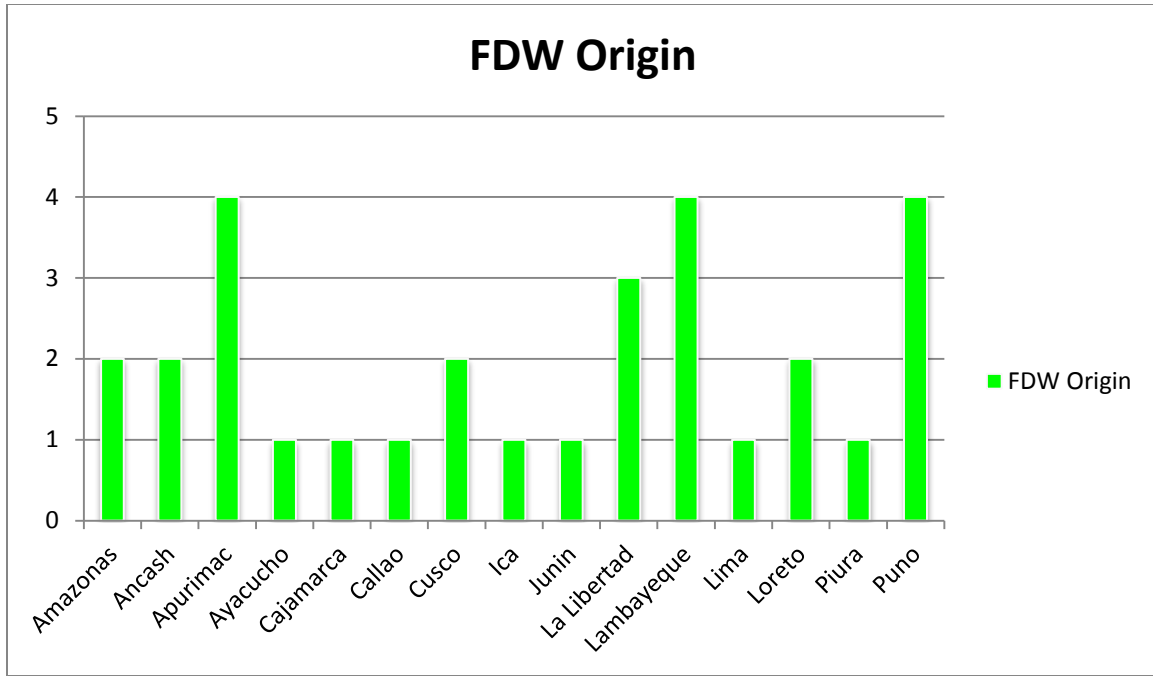


Figure 7: Interviewed FDW Origin Graph

Comparing my data to APEIM's National Home Survey, the majority of the interviewed participants originally come from the Andes mountain range region where there is a concentration of poverty stricken individuals. Apurimac, Lambayeque, and Puno, the regions that are the most represent in the interviews also represents 55%, 28.9%, and 45.2% of the lowest socio-economic status per person, respectively.

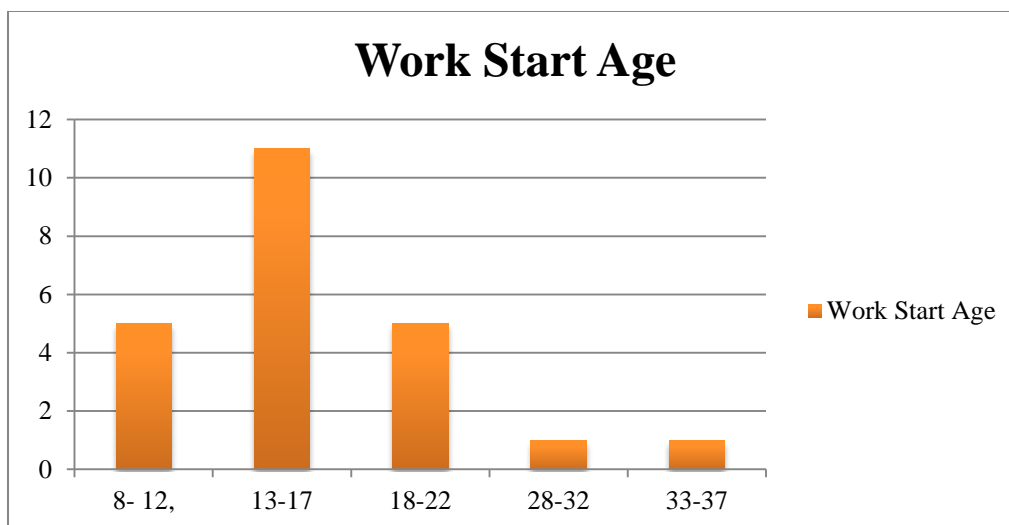


Figure 8: Interviewed FDW Work Start Age

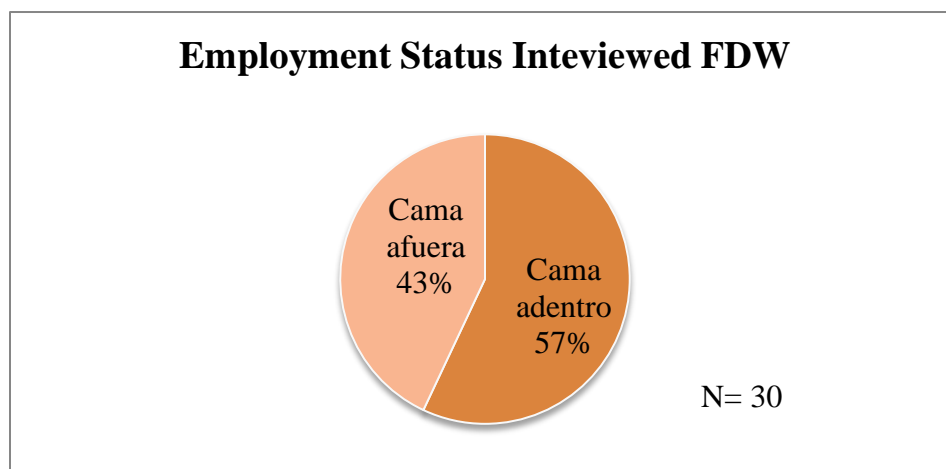


Figure 9: Interviewed FDW Employment Status

Origin

Yanina has been working in domestic work since 2001, when she had finished her nursing degree (clinical trials and thesis) in Trujillo in 2000. She went to an employment agency

and was hired as a childcare nanny with the Laurent-Eihel family. She quit after seven years with the family and began to work at a hospital in Santiago de Chuco in her native La Libertad. She mainly worked at *Hospital del Niño* where she vaccinated children and went on health campaigns to shantytowns and inner city Lima slums to vaccinate poor children door to door. She loved the hospital work because the work is divided in 8-hour shifts; whereas, domestic work hours range from 12-15 hours a day. She also said that in the hospital, she got days off more frequently than as a domestic worker. Beyond these reasons, she said that as a nurse she could ‘keep up to date’ with new vaccinations, methods, practice, and disease control. For Yanina, learning all you can is imperative to being a health professional and she remarked at various moments that she loves to learn new information. By the way of her emphasis on education, it appears that she lacks intellectual stimulation as a domestic worker and sighs frequently when asked about her role in the Goñi household where she currently works.

Daily Routine

Tasks

After my morning walk to the market, I passed by the park near Mrs. Goñi’s home. There Yanina and her charge were sitting on a bench while middle and older-aged men played badminton and all manner of dogs chased tennis balls and pigeons. I arrived there with my pack of ethnographic materials and began speaking with Yanina on the subject of Daniela, 2 ½ year-old, and her obvious reverse-psychology tactics in order to eat fruit instead of confections. Within a couple of minutes, two nannies with an 11-month and 18-month-old came over to play with Daniela and greet Yanina. She was waiting for Merced, Molly’s nanny, a playmate of

Daniela in preschool. Since Daniela and Molly's house are relatively close to one another, the park is a middle ground for them to play and run around; ideal for groups of women to gossip and become socially informed about their worker's rights.

Symbolic Home

The nature of employment in the domestic labor industry is encapsulated in a dual categorization of the physical space and the symbolic space within the home. The physical space is classified by the architecture in the eyes of the workers and employers as well as the location of the house, apartment, or ranch. The symbolic space represents the relationships that are created and destroyed. These interactions are often the origin of hegemonic class formation. In this chapter, I posit that the domestic worker physical space elicit the continuation of domestic worker employment and also widens the divide between low and high socioeconomic classes. I also argue the benefits and disadvantages involved in the employee-employer relationship and the nature of its complexity.

While eating breakfast one morning in the Goñi kitchen, Yanina explains how there is a range of knowledge and understanding among healthcare techs working in different settings. She as a hospital nurse believed that a nurse who works in a health post located in a less urbanized area of Lima has little to no knowledge on how to administer shots, vaccines, and has the most agency in terms of giving medications. She said this is problematic because they do not have updated knowledge of how and what to do when faced with questionable symptoms. A hospital nurse position pays around 1200 soles monthly, a wage that is almost double the minimum of domestic workers. Yanina's current employer is willing to up her pay in order to

keep her from pursuing hospital work. Due to her new offer at a hospital in her hometown in Trujillo near her hometown, the pay incentive may be worth the stay in Lima. Her current employer, the Goñi family, are related to her previous employers the Laurent-Eihel family. She is in charge of caring for Mrs. Goñi's daughter who is the niece once replaced of her last charge, Janine.

Speaking with Mrs. Goñi (Belen), a tall slender woman pregnant during the time of my fieldwork, explained that coming from the United States, she learned “the hard way” feeding her *cama adentro* staff the same meals as she ate. She found that allowing them to drink fresh milk was a “mistake” because they used up her family's resources. So in order to be “humane” and cost-effective she buys her domestic workers dry milk and second grade sugar. She often makes jokes at the expense of other domestic workers, saying that they are “uneducated and don't even do their jobs correctly” (Interview with “Angela Ayca”, 2012). This is problematic of course, it obviously instills classism and self-segregation in her workers; however, it is strange because Belen also is considerably affectionate towards her staff and treats them in many instances as family and friends more than staff. There is a certain level of comfort that women like Belen exhibit when they are lonely or sad, they seem to cling to their domestic workers as fare-weather friends, telling them their exact feelings and essentially overexpressing their emotional state at times. Conversely, when asking Mrs. Goñi about the lives of her workers outside of her household, she simply states “why should I care”. The level of entitlement that is present in elite classes when envisioning the struggles of domestics is clear and present in the expensive real estate of the department of Lima. Once again there is a juxtaposition between Belen's public

feelings about her feelings and her private emotions and then once again between the latter and her actual personal feelings.

Yanina and Belen's relationship mirrors that of a *confianza* in the workplace that can be readily transferrable to a private friendship. It would be shameful for Belen to publically admit that Yanina is her friend, because she does not consider her to have the same identity as herself or other individuals in her socio-economic class.

For other girls in the rural provinces outside of Lima, their arrival at domestic work is usually at an older relatives' urging or as a way to become less of a burden on their family. These girls generally want to finish their schooling when they leave for the provinces and seek retribution from their employers to study. The issue that arises is not that their employer will not pay them; however, that the pay is more comparable to an allowance than a wage. The employer may sometimes be referred to as a *madrina*, or godmother, and may represent an actual blood relative to the girl, or have the title in order to justify the employment of most often young stranger in their home.

The definition of a *madrina* according to the *Real Academia Española* has many different meanings. A *madrina* is not solely a "woman that has, presents, or assists in another person's...baptism", they may also be a "woman that presents or accompanies another person to receive an honor" she also "favors or protects another person in their claims or plans" (RAE, 2006:916). The reality of the domestic worker situation would be closely related to the perceived notion that an individual that is considered a *madrina* would do anything to "protect" and individual; yet, the complexity of the employer-employee relationship may also be associated

with sponsorship. Since sponsoring an individual generally involves financial security and insinuates that the person named *madrina* has the ability to guide the individual under their care, it is mostly deceiving to the worker when she receives emotionally mixed messages. We will be sympathizing with this definition of a *madrina*: a woman that is meant to protect another person and be the authority in the workplace; generally wealthier than that person.

Here *madrinas* shelter young girls that normally lack subsistence in the countryside. Their mothers, fathers, sisters, or brothers thought that the arrival of a financially stable woman to their life would be a more prominent opportunity to receive better opportunities and support as a family and an individual. There is also the notion that leaving any home yields one less mouth to feed and depending on the age of the person, less schooling and uniforms to purchase. The *madrina* could be from any socioeconomic background and may have any number of tasks for the domestic worker. One thing is certain, most women and girls that are taken by the *madrina* to Lima have such a high level of *confianza* that their face-value perception of danger is a complete surprise. Some women that are considered a *madrina* use their position of authority to act solely as an employer, yet, some women believe that they must act as the mother of a young *trabajadora*, while she is away in Lima. The lines between public and private relationship begin to blur with the employer and employee acting more like a mother and a daughter.

There is no way for the relationship between a domestic worker and her employer to be a simple work relationship. Not just because in Peru all relationships are more personal than in the United States; however, because of the specific nature of the employment the employers are

inviting women into their private spaces and essentially asking them to become a part of the home.

Employer Profile

The employment of household workers in Lima came out of a transition from slavery and indentured servitude in Peru's history. Words and actions exchanged by worker and employer generally mirror those of a colonial tradition lost in most developed nations. Language employed by the *trabajadora* in the household work environment involves using *señora*, *señorita*, and *señor*, which appears to be cordial to the average bystander; however, such seemingly innocent gestures of common courtesy represent the lingering shadow of colonial relations. As Peruvians never experienced a substantial civil rights movement, this unequal linguistic is simply a broadly accepted part of everyday life. These particularities in the history of Peru fortified the strongly held stereotypes of Quechua, Aymara, African, Chinese, and other populations, by keeping powerful stately positions in the hands of men of European descent.

An example of this is through the use of vivid adjectives that describe the workers. The most common of these in the study were “muchacha”, “chica”, “empleada” and “chola”. The word that is being pushed by the worker's union SINTRAHOGARP (National Domestic Worker's Union) and NGOs concerning domestic worker labor rights is “trabajadora”. The language used by the employers stems from a mutual history of female oppression; where noble Peruvian women were subdued by men and thus justified counter subjugation of poor women that they could control. Control is not necessarily what they want or need; the mere objectification of female workers acts as a marker for status in Lima. It does not matter what is

said about the family's nature unless they do not hire help. Having domestics implies your socioeconomic status. If an individual of any gender does not hire a household worker they are themselves ostracized by members of their same socioeconomic level. If said person has the available funding to hire a worker and simply will not, slurs and gossip will encircle them until they give in to society and act according to their place. These social processes are meant to maintain the status quo by equilibrating already rigid hierarchies and not simply exhibiting wealth.

On the surface, the more workers one hires, the more wealth your family displays (Boas, 1921:784). At first that's how these high society women functioned, by adding the dimension of race, it appears that female solidarity has been replaced by a deteriorating middle class, which propagates the rigid upper and lower classes. As mentioned before, employees result in a display of wealth which adds to an individual's social capital (Bourdieu, 1984:177); yet, with social evolutionist ideals from the 1800s still holding true, there is also a control of knowledge. Foucault's theory of "power/knowledge" reaches to the core of the contradiction that is the domestic worker- employer interaction:

"The notion of the 'love of the master' ... is a certain way of not posing the problem of power, or rather of posing it in such a way that it cannot be analyzed. This is due to the insubstantiality of the notion of the master, an empty form haunted only by the various phantoms of the master and his slave, the master and his disciple, the master and his workman, the master who pronounces law and speaks truth, the master who censors and forbids" (Foucault, 1980:139)

Hegel's master-slave dialectic, the idea that due to the master's load and responsibility, it is increasingly more accessible for the slave to assert agency, is readily transferrable to the condition of race and class in Peru (1807). Because the slave has her own work, she is able to think beyond this responsibility. Here we can place the female employer as the 'master' and the domestic employee as the 'slave'. Although the *trabajadora* is continually marginalized by her unfamiliarity with labor rights and the symbolic violence exhibited daily in public spaces, she is able to exert her energy in different fields in order to become upwardly mobile. The domestic service employer on the other hand, must manage her household and, perhaps perform her own labor as well. Foucault furthers Hegel's master-slave dichotomy, by incorporating the dimension of power which proceeds to be endorsed at every institutional level. This power is such that it will only ever be assigned a negative connotation of "refusal, limitation, obstruction and censorship" (Foucault, 1980:139). Foucault's analysis of Hegel's dialectic yields the notion that power is held constant in words such as law and the "discourse of prohibition". That is to say, that the "manifestation of power takes on the pure form of 'thou shalt not'", insinuating that power itself is an object of subjectivity (Foucault, 1980:139). In this view, the slave is much more liberated than the master; however, there is a lack of mobility opportunities associated with the role of the domestic worker due to race.

Considering Foucault's perception of power as a concealed form of control that stabilizes the masses by reinforcing its negative connotation in "refusal, limitation, obstruction, censorship", there is very little that marginalized women can do to escape oppression. The difference between the power of the female employer and female employee is multifaceted and

revolves around one main item: race. Race is not just skin color; it is a way for your class to be judged and your worth to be valued. The majority of the surveyed participants in Lima city identified themselves as having come from European descent. These were snowball samples that identified their district's needs and thoughts on labor rights. In Figure 1, 91% of the 54 surveyed individuals identified as "European", 2% responded "Indigenous", another 4% wrote in "Latino/Hispana" and only 1% answered Asian.

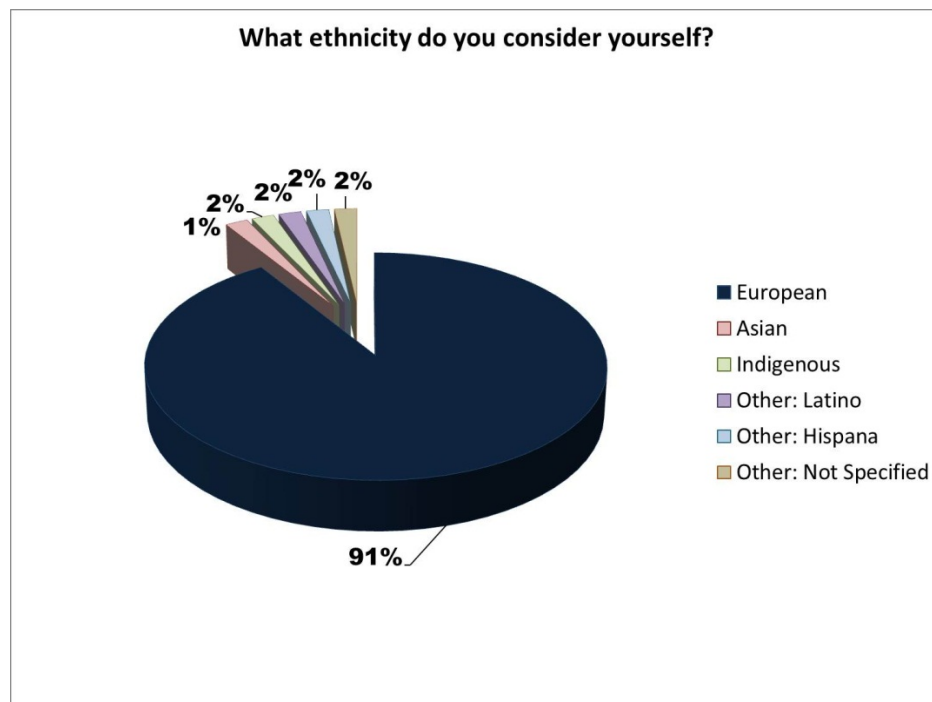


Figure 10: Ethnicity of Surveyed Employers of Domestic Workers

Viewing Figure 10 above, it is radically more visible that one ethnicity dominates random sample of employers. Their origins tend to come out of migrations from Europe since the conquest; whereby their family name becomes a symbol of influence in Limeña society. That

influence is enhanced by the places in which high-class women live and work. Figure 2 examines where the surveyed employers live in the city of Lima.

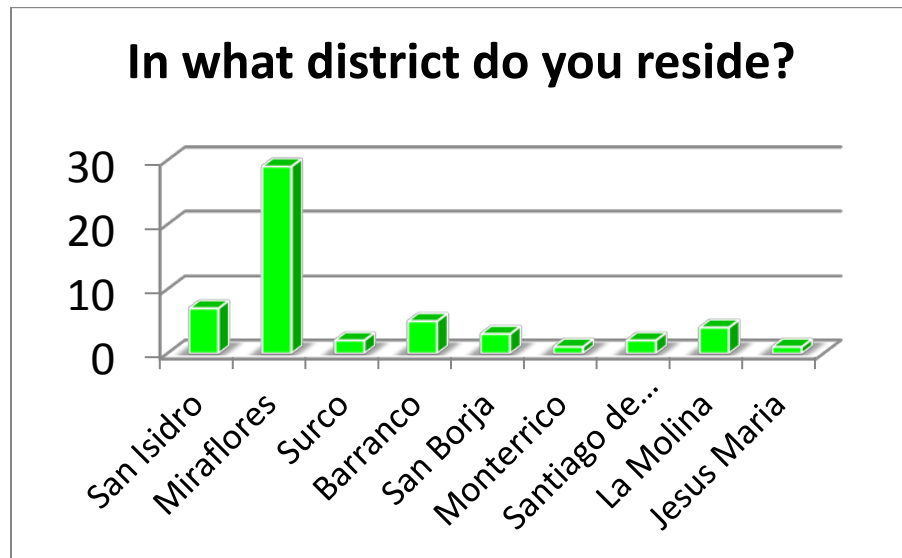


Figure 11: District of Residence of surveyed Employer of Domestic Workers

They mostly live in the capital and seldom move to other states, and even within Lima, employers tend to stay within the boundaries of the wealthiest districts. According to the Peruvian Business Association for Market Research's (APEIM) 2012 analysis of the National Home Survey (ENAH) from 2009, zone 6, 7, and 8 in Table 3 display the districts above. This district grouping was displayed by region and not specifically socioeconomic levels; however, income is demonstrated by Table 4.

Table 4: Vertical Distribution of Levels in Metropolitan Lima by APEIM Zone

(%) VERTICALES

Zona	Niveles Socioeconómicos (5 grupos)				
	NSE "A"	NSE "B"	NSE "C"	NSE "D"	NSE "E"
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Zona 1 (Puente Piedra, Comas, Carabaylo)	2.0	5.2	10.3	13.4	13.5
Zona 2 (Independencia, Los Olivos, San Martín de Porras)	9.8	17.4	15.0	13.9	8.2
Zona 3 (San Juan de Lurigancho)	3.0	5.9	9.1	12.3	17.3
Zona 4 (Cercado, Rímac, Breña, La Victoria)	4.3	8.9	12.6	8.0	5.6
Zona 5 (Ate, Chaclacayo, Lurigancho, Santa Anita, San Luis, El Agustino)	5.2	10.5	11.2	10.2	14.6
Zona 6 (Jesús María, Lince, Pueblo Libre, Magdalena, San Miguel)	14.8	12.4	5.5	2.3	1.1
Zona 7 (Miraflores, San Isidro, San Borja, Surco, La Molina)	56.6	18.0	6.8	2.4	0.6
Zona 8 (Surquillo, Barranco, Chorrillos, San Juan de Miraflores)	2.0	7.4	8.5	9.5	10.4
Zona 9 (Villa El Salvador, Villa María del Triunfo, Lurín, Pachacamac)	0.0	3.4	9.0	16.2	17.8
Zona 10 (Callao, Bellavista, La Perla, La Punta, Carmen de la Legua, Ventanilla)	1.6	10.7	11.0	11.1	10.2
Otros	0.7	0.2	1.0	0.7	0.7

APEIM 2012: Data ENAHO 2009 (iv) y 2010 (i,ii, iii)

Table 5: Distribution of Households according to Socio-Economic Level

	NSE	Estrato	Porcentaje
NSE A	A	A1	5.1
		A2	
NSE B	B	B1	16.1
		B2	
NSE C	C	C1	34.9
		C2	
NSE D	D	D	31.3
NSE E	E	E	12.6

APEIM 2012

Zone 7 is particularly telling because it encompasses roughly 56% of the surveyed employer residences in my study. Within zone 7, the districts of Miraflores (54%), San Isidro (13%), La Molina (7%), San Borja (5%), and Surco (4%) make up a combined 83% of the surveyed employers of domestic workers. If we compare this data to that of APEIM's analysis of the National Home Survey 56.6% of individuals living in Zone 7 belong in the NSE's "A" socioeconomic category, which is the wealthiest category with the most commodities. In comparison, the origins of their employees are usually from outside of Lima. Figure 5 lists their home state below.

What state is/are your domestic employee/s from?

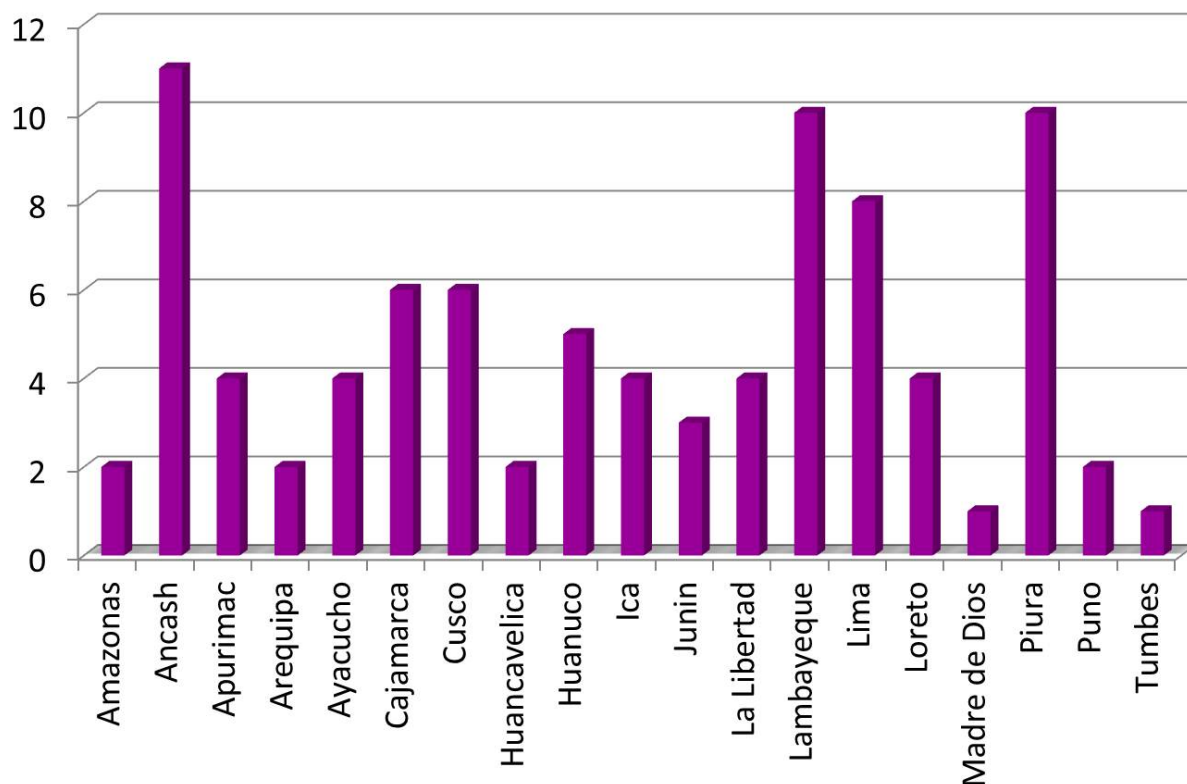


Figure 12: State of Origin for Domestic Workers of surveyed Employers

The survey gives insight into the large proportion of migration from certain Andean states. In particular the state of Ancash, Piura, and Lambayeque have the greatest number migration of domestic workers to Lima. Women coming from these states have among the highest unemployment rate and lowest level of education. Some employers are specifically attracted to the idea of hiring women from Piura for example, because they exhibit submissive labor qualities. As a *trabajadora* by the name of Marianela Yanque explained to me one morning at the NGO:

“There are people that have university [studies], um, all of that, right? And they know more. So, but we do [know] how to feel in sharing, in giving a meal...If you see me eating, [I will say] ‘try a bit’ and we share. There is that...a custom of provincial people” (Interview with “Marianela Yanque”, 2012).

Marianela’s “provincial” custom is that of the *ayllu* demeanor which employers often confuse for feelings of inferiority. These appearances may create the issue of class being set up as a caste of structural violence and may become additionally bolstered by: “dominant” and “inferior” race classifications. This categorization fosters a self-segregating and self-incriminating mindset for the marginalized. It is only when the women realize their weaknesses have the capacity to become empowered into strength that the majority of the self-incrimination ceases and the demand for accountability is heightened.

Cama adentro v. Cama afuera

Within the categorization of domestic workers, there are two main groups: *cama adentro* (live-in worker) and *cama afuera* (non live-in worker). Both positions are ambiguous in terms of freedoms and compensation. Although they are both positions with similar tasks, the advantages of conserving funds as a *cama adentro* worker are only juxtaposed by the inherent isolation that accompanies the position. That is to say, if a *cama adentro* worker is hired at S./675 monthly, they can take advantage of having their utilities and room annulled by their employer and subsequently accumulate enough money to become part of a more upwardly mobile industry. The contrasting life of a *cama afuera* worker is only apparent after doing some calculations concerning wage, living costs, and transportation. A worker in this category makes approximately S./200 to S./300 on average more than the *cama adentro* employees. On paper, someone making S./900 rather than the minimum wage of S./675 appears to have triumphed over other workers. The difference is in the cost of living that eliminates half of the wage anyway; leaving the worker making below minimum wage and consequently living below the poverty line.

Contracts and Laws

Under Chapter I of Law #27986, the government constitution states that domestic workers have half of the rights of formal economy workers. They have the right to payment in monthly, biweekly or weekly increments. They have the ability to end their work contract with fifteen days' notice or immediately if they are given ill treatment, have a family member pass away; the employer retires or if there is a mutual agreement. They also have the right to 24

hours of continuous rest a week, 15 days of continuous vacation a year, and overtime pay on holidays (SUNAT, 2003). This law which is considered the “Law of the Domestic Workers”, created during the presidency of Alejandro Toledo, supplicates the state and employers in order to reinforce more transparent administrations for the future. There has been, however, an insignificant change in the 10 years since the law has been instituted. No employer I surveyed (of the 54) knew that there was a law protecting domestic workers. Of the 30 *trabajadoras* I interviewed, only about 15% knew that a law existed that would hold themselves and their employers accountable for labor efficiency and limit the human rights violations that are seen daily in homes throughout Lima. To display the lack of accountability in Lima, three cases of women working in the Miraflores area are given below:

Me gustaría...

As with all of the interviews I performed, the women were asked, “What would you like to do instead of domestic work?” Although the lateral career to domestic work is *ambulante* (or kiosk owner), *trabajadoras* have very high expectations upon their graduation from night schools and technical colleges. They want middle class status and are not even mildly afraid of leaving behind their current socioeconomic state to pursue the inverse of their situation. In Donna Goldstein’s ethnography on shantytown life in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, she makes quite clear that if the women she observed had the opportunity to turn the table on their economic situation, there would be little to no hesitation. As, in Goldstein’s book “Middle-classness is nevertheless an ambiguous position...The middle class is defined by its ability to pay somebody else to do its

manual labor”, feelings of moving up in society are masked by how many people are able to work beneath an individual (Goldstein, 2005).

Still *trabajadoras del hogar* are faced with a catch-22 of holding onto a difficult economic situation as a *comerciante* (entrepreneur) or conserving funds as a domestic while becoming isolated and dependent on a manager; there is a comfort for marginalized women to use the position of domestic work in order to settle into their true desires. The women I interviewed during the Peruvian winter of 2012 were from all over the country and resided in mostly impoverished neighborhoods. Their mean income totals approximately S./838.56 or 316.44 USD (with a 2.65 conversion rate). Considering that the minimum wage in Peru is a subsistence wage and not a living wage of S./675, these women are making more than the average; however, with all of the payments that are not accounted for, the domestic living wage should be approximately S./1200. The income of *trabajadoras* disables them from pursuing their dreams of entrepreneurship, education, and health professions. In order for them to make their dream a reality, they must struggle against the adversity that is their origin and place in a city that is dominated by inaccurate stereotypes and deep-seated self-segregation instead of transparency and empowerment of minorities. Such is the case with any hierarchical society, to have marginalized groups that must resist and become empowered; yet, Lima is a special case of racism and self-loathing. Though women in Lima’s domestic service sector have been traditionally racially and ethnically discriminated against in all aspects of life; there is a growing thirst for change that can only be quenched by empowerment and *confianza* of domestic workers.

Conclusion

The nature of the employment in the informal economy that is domestic work has considerably changed since its creation post slavery. The employers, employees, and stimuli in close contact with them represent a system of relationships reinforcing *confianza* and simultaneously breaking down *desconfianza*. Depending on the type of domestic work the *trabajadora* performs, to some extent determines her proximity to the family and her ability to become upwardly mobile. For instance, *nanas* are paid much higher wages than *todo servicio*, despite the amount of labor the latter category performs is much more difficult and dangerous. In this way, because *nanas* take care of the employer's child, she must intervene in family affairs if her charge needs specific attention. That is to say, the employer may favor the *nana* rather than the *todo servicio* worker because they must speak at least on some occasions which creates a commonality.

Unfamiliarity with the law which concerns domestic workers is fairly common in Lima, understanding that not everyone has access to internet, television, radio, and print documents; many women work with an employer without knowing their rest and vacation rights. Involvement in worker's unions is slowly starting to change the accessibility of legal rights information. Though the workers enjoy their employment for the most part, most of them would prefer to be anything beside a domestic worker for the rest of their lives. These dreams are insights into the class awareness of domestic workers; comprehending that their labor is not considered favorable by most.

CHAPTER THREE: BROKEN SOCIAL SYSTEM

As with the composition of *desconfianza* that is perpetuated by shortcomings in the public sector and hegemonic influence, the informal industry of domestic labor is plagued by symbolic repression and desperation. In other words, *desconfianza* is reinforced by the continuation of segregating bureaucratic banter behind closed doors in the capital. Although there have been significant strides in President Ollanta Humala's (2011-present) administration in representing the underprivileged and socially excluded populations in Peru, the present state of corruption leads to a broken social system that is in need of further repair. In the "Plan of Government" presented to the 2011 Congress, Mr. Humala attempts to create a cohesive government structure that plans to essentially eliminate corruption and creates programs for the advancement of rural indigenous women in informal economies and educational programs to allow women to be readily accepted into male-dominated careers, as well as increases wages for women with children (GANA PERU, 2010:19,108). Although it has not even been two years since he took office on July 28th of 2011, there is greater representation for marginalized individuals seeking welfare programs to substantiate their income to obtain greater opportunities. However, due to the lack of transparency and the concentration of corruption at every hierarchical government level, the creation of agencies is not enough to deal with the overwhelming favoritism in everyday transactions.

Condiciones de Vida

With studies like the INEI's poverty profile, there will be a greater ability to represent and create functional social programs. When comparing the portion of the census which deals

primarily with the “conditions of life”, and the physical and social detriment of the poverty reality in Lima, it is biologically difficult for women and girls associated with domestic work to become reasonably healthy after such extreme nutritional limitations.

Due to developmental plasticity *in utero*, child mortality may be averted by attempting to cope with nutritional tradeoffs forecasted by the lack of nutrients coming through the placenta. In other words, the majority women in this study migrated from rural impoverished areas, where their mothers may not have had the proper nutrients to have them develop into healthy babies. These predictive adaptive responses are most likely due to environmental conditions outside of the womb that are perpetuated by malnutrition associated with poverty in Peru. The neurological concerns that are a result of malnutrition in Peruvian populations allow for the production of generations with poor hearing due to untreated middle ear infections and seizures from low protein foods.

Burdge and Lillycrop (2010) discuss the effects of nutrition on developmental plasticity. That is to say, the developmental plasticity is believed to be a significant factor in the low birth weight of newborns. Due to the rapid change in expression of the genome during the time that environmental cues may induce persistence changes in the phenotype. For instance, poor nutrition in a pregnant mother may signal to the fetus that nutrients are scarce in the postnatal environment and in turn may induce metabolic adaptations in the offspring to reduce energy demands. Essentially, the environmental conditions of the mother determine the “pattern of growth and the metabolic pathways of the child” (Bateson, 2001:933). Additionally, the fetus cannot “outgrow the supply of nutrients delivered across the placenta, and matching growth to

supply is therefore an important and inevitable aspect of the regulation” of fetal growth which may reduce the reproductive success of the infant (Gluckman et al., 2007:673, 675). Refer to Figure 2 to view the relationship between nutrition as an infant and adult life. Also according to the developmental systems theory, a tool based on an ecological theory that conceptualizes interactions across multiple levels, extending from basic biological processes to interactions at the individual, family, school, community, and cultural level (Engle & Black, 2008:245).

In effect, pregnant indigenous women living in Peru must compete with their fetus for nutrients in order to survive until the end of their term; where the infant must cope with the developmental disruptions that have occurred *in utero* in order to cope with reduced reproductive success and concentrate on adaptive responses that will allow the infant to avoid damages in excess. Likewise, the infant may reach reproductive age having to overcompensate in childhood for the lack of nutrients that were allotted to them and create offspring that are also malnourished (See Figure 1 for relationship between adult health and nutritional level in two extreme phenotypes). This vicious cycle is the cause of social, economic, and political instability within developing nations like Peru.

For the women in poverty to reach a reproductive age, they must have experienced low birth weight as an infant, rapid weight gain as a child, substantial food insecurity and a lack of educational access for awareness. These issues combined create a difficult pregnancy for a woman with this background, which leads to high maternal mortality and once again a cycle where their child experiences low birth weight as well. It is actually more expensive to live a cost-effective life as a low birth weight individual with a significant amount of risk involved in

disease susceptibility; where illness in a developing neoliberal nation privatizes healthcare, eliminating access for the poor.

Understanding that due to the already structurally unsound social, political, and economic foundation in Peru, it is not likely that indigenous women can escape their station in this broken social system. However, gaining the awareness necessary to organize social movements to obtain adequate nutrition permits for current and future offspring to become more phenotypically prepared for survival. With microcredit programs, food security and medications during illness become available which in turn creates further independence and empowers women. Welfare programs like the *Cuna Mas* and other soup kitchens allow for the provisioning of normally inaccessible foodstuffs to populations in extreme poverty.

The Dysfunctional Healthcare Sector

Although there are government agencies and ministries that deal with social responsibility, their standards of quality are very low and do not represent the poor majority. Healthcare in Lima is concentrated in the major downtown service sectors and is almost completely privatized. Government insurance policies must be alternatively provided by an employer; otherwise, private insurance exists for individuals. The price of healthcare on average is S./400 (150 USD) a month at a private firm; whereas, public insurance is more expensive at S./870 (328 USD). The government simply cannot afford to offer comparable health options for their employees or for individuals attempting to buy into the system due to ineffective. In this way “the social security health reforms have done little to address the vulnerability of domestic workers. Domestic work is almost entirely female in Peru, and in 2003 11.5 percent of all

economically active urban women worked in this sector (ECLAC, 2007; Ewig, 2010:175)

Although reform of the Peruvian healthcare sector was meant to create less bureaucratic loopholes, it has actually further subjugated the very populations it sought to aid.

More alarming is that the majority of the women I interviewed did not have healthcare benefits. This is mostly due to the ignorance or negligence of the employer; perhaps not knowing at which point to ascribe the *trabajadoras* insurance. It is also due to the workers' general illiteracy with their own rights as workers and of Law #27986. Many women with whom I spoke did not have health insurance, and many told me that they wouldn't dare ask their employer until the workers thought they were becoming permanent. Likewise, many employers will not go through the hassle of registering the worker under a laborers' insurance unless they thought the *trabajadora* would stay as well. The NGO *La Casa de Panchita* allow women who have job training to be hired with the condition of insurance and strict work benefits, in this way the employer feels that her employee is competent and approves the circumstances.

Yanina's Story

The Santa Maria Clinic is a small building in the municipality of Surquillo, hidden off of Aramburu. Around dawn we came in from the chilly dark morning into an even darker, unlit open-style reception area. Within seven minutes of looking for someone, a man came into the building from the open door leading to the outside and sat in the reception area. His first question as he reached his desk was "Are you Dr. Fry's patient?" After we agreed simultaneously, we sat in the row of chairs placed to the right of the reception desk. A few moments passed and Yanina began to fuss in her purse, "They'll probably call when I'm in there"

"Who?" I asked. "My friend, she said she'd come later; if she calls, you answer, no worries ... My stomach itches; like, not from hunger; from I don't know ... I didn't sleep well last night; and I slept late, I went to bed at two." A few more minutes passed and a tall man in turquoise scrubs came into the reception area, he guided us to a 5x6 room next to the front door of the main entrance. The room was small, with a hospital bed on one side, a privacy curtain, and a desk at the opposite corner. I assumed this was an examination room. Juan Gabriel, the resident, asked Yanina about her condition and laid out paperwork as a male nurse came into the room to take her blood. She had not done previous exams before this moment, therefore making it difficult to ask her doctor concerning any risks before surgery. Reading the agreement carefully for about 20 minutes, she asked, "It says here that they might use blood," when referring to an infusion "but I won't need that, right?" Juan Gabriel's bright young face smiled at her and said, "I mean, all surgeries have risks, but you shouldn't need it; have you asked your doctor these questions?" Yanina responded "No." As she continued to read, he asked her abruptly "Have you, ever lost a child? Have you ever been pregnant, and aborted?" "Yes...well, I went to the doctor and he said that my bleeding was making me lose it," she explained uncomfortably. "Have you ever gotten the cleaning?" he proceeded asking. "No, because after I went back, the ultrasound showed that it was clean; that's when I discovered the myoma". Yanina tells him it was three years back. He generalizes to make her feel better saying "All women get myomas, they are as common as prostate problems in men; no one escapes them." Yanina's small and compact frame stiffened. She is a short woman with dark brown skin, black straight hair and brown eyes. She has two dimples when she smiles; however, today panic filled her face with worry.

A woman wearing a white coat came in and asked if the patient was ready to be brought into her room; Yanina was still reading the document, when the woman left she said to the resident, “It's just, I've always been healthy and nothing has ever happened to me...”, he warmly explained to her in a response "There is always a first time for everything..." After Yanina added her signature and thumbprint to the agreement we were seated again in the entrance waiting hall. It was still early, probably 6:45AM at that point, and the same woman with the white coat came back to collect us. As we walked up two flights of cement stairs, an older gentleman asked Yanina if she was Dr. Fry's patient, she agreed and walked up the next flight. Once in her room named *Habitación 10* (Room 10), the woman handed her a surgical robe saying, “Madame, you must take everything off and put on this robe please.” She was a nurse, but she had not introduced herself as such; and then another woman came in wearing a different color outfit, who was the rounds nurse for that floor. She asked Yanina to let her insert the IV. At this point, Yanina was lying face up on the hospital bed in her robe and a hairnet. The paint on the room's walls was chipping off and the large windows at the backs of the patient's beds were covered by mustard colored stripped curtains made of a cheap cloth. A television blared in the background with the news talking about the rescued children from the *senderista* VRAE camp. Everyone seemed to pay attention to take their mind off of the operation.

The surgical nurse inserted the IV while a man wearing scrubs came in and grabbed Yanina's arms, slightly slapping the areas where her veins would be visible. That man was the anesthesiologist, I later found out after asking. He also did not introduce himself, but helped himself to handling the patient. Yanina didn't seem more than uneasy until another man wearing

scrubs and a white coat came in, stating "I'm going to perform an echocardiogram, ok." Yanina nodded and the man proceeded to remove the top of her robe exposing her breasts. In a 5x6 hospital room divided in two by a superficial wall of curtain, Yanina had four people probing her from four different angles. The man doing the echocardiograph was the cardiologist I found out later when I once again asked. He, like the others, did not introduce himself. After that whole ordeal, the anesthesiologist took the bag of surgical supplies that Yanina had purchased for her visit and the surgical nurse asked me to leave the room for a couple of moments. After a few more minutes, Yanina came out and was taking slow steps to the surgical unit; I gave her a kiss on the cheek and told her everything was going to work out. The surgery took all of an hour to remove the myoma as the anesthesiologist had walked in and out a couple of times during the operation. After about twenty more minutes, Dr. Fry came out and said that everything went well.

She went in and came out with a zip-lock bag with the myoma inside it, laughed and said "It's like she had an extra uterus above her uterus!" She went back inside, dropped it off and sat next to me in the waiting room and said in a voice that would indicate suffering, "So who's going to pay me?" "Yanina," I said, surprised that she didn't wait half a second to demand payment. "When ...?" she asked, her tone prolonged, as though she were crying. I gave her the S./3500 for the operation, and before I could demand a receipt she was gone. I walked down to reception on the first floor and asked the attendant to remind Dr. Fry that she needs to give me a receipt for the operation, she said "She's already left the clinic in a hurry to go to the hospital; she'll be back later though." Yanina came out thirty minutes later wrapped up in a fleece tiger blanket looking

slightly confused. No one had come to stay with her; I did so until her friend arrived on a lunch break from her job.



Figure 13: Hospital Waiting Room in Santa Maria Clinic

The journey to this surgery was a mix of bureaucratic setbacks and unnecessary amounts of paperwork. Shortly after having interviewed Yanina on May 16th, she approached her employer Belen Goñi about having pain in her abdomen that she believed was a cyst. Belen encouraged Yanina to make a doctor's appointment. Due to Yanina's DNI (national

identification card) stating that she is a resident of the state of La Libertad, she first needed to renew her residence in the state of Lima. The difficulty with Yanina's case as with many other *trabajadoras*, revolves around the constant incertitude of home. Not all domestic workers that live in a location *cama adentro* change their address to that of their employers because there is no guarantee that the worker will remain for very long. There are cases of women that stay with employers for years; yet, for the majority it is never certain whether they will be employed for two months or two decades. Belén's need for a functioning home, allowed her to overcome her distrust with Yanina, by attending to her employee's health. Albeit superficial, Mrs. Goñi expressed her worry about her daughter not having a nanny during her winter vacation and attempted to hasten the normally prolonged process of surgical appointments.

First, Belén, Yanina, and Hercilia, Belén's cook, had to travel to the National Registry of Identification and Civil State (RENIEC); where Yanina, Hercilia and Belén filled out registration together to claim residency. Once Belén realized that Yanina did not have residency in Lima, she asked Hercilia if she also wanted to change her status; where she agreed. Unlike Hercilia, Yanina urgently demanded her DNI in order to complete the other necessary processes to obtaining public surgery accommodation.



Figure 14: RENIEC Office in San Borja

After waiting one week for her DNI to come into the RENIEC office, Belen realized that she was not paying for the health insurance of her workers and casually, yet, bitinglly said, “You all are so dumb for not telling me that you wanted insurance!” Within the week, Belen registered Yanina and Hercilia as employees with the National Superintendent of Tributary Administration and Customs (SUNAT) and paid their full insurance for not having paid it in the last 6 months.



Figure 15: SUNAT Office in Surquillo

After about another week Yanina trekked to EsSalud, the government insurance, in San Isidro from Miraflores for her first general checkup. After this appointment, another appointment was made a week later for blood work and a sonogram. At this point, the doctor, who in Yanina's opinion appeared "frazzled and worried about her feverish daughter," explained that Yanina would "probably be fine without a surgery". Yanina, seeking a second opinion out of the scare she initially received in 2009, asked Belen if her gynecologist would allow her to make an appointment. Belen looked very awkward, later she explained that "It's very expensive, I didn't want to explain to her that she might not have enough money to pay for one consultation, because it's private." Yanina insisted and a week later had an appointment at the private

gynecologist. Belen and I accompanied her to an upper middle class neighborhood in El Polo 25 minutes away via car, the consultation was 400 USD which was a sliding rate compared to the usual 600 USD charged to women of higher socio-economic status. She was told by the doctor, “That has got to come out; either now or later, but soon you will be experiencing pain,” he proceeded to explain, “since the myoma is in the fallopian tube and is the size of your uterus, there will probably be complications if it is not removed.”

Yanina received a referral for surgery, and contacted Dr. Fry, who the private gynecologist recommended for quick and inexpensive surgeries. The next day, Yanina and Belen called the doctor multiple times and were invited to her house at 9PM in order to settle arrangements for surgery. Dr. Fry explained that she could perform the surgery at the Santa Maria Clinic as soon as tomorrow; but Yanina hesitated and indicated that Saturday morning would be easier, to avoid missing work days. That was Thursday July 5th; Dr. Fry had given Yanina a list of medical supplies that she needed in order to have the surgery on Saturday morning. The paper, barely decipherable, contained a few of the following, which I volunteered to purchase because Yanina could not miss one day of work before her surgery, to collect the supplies herself: 5% dextrose, 9% sodium solution, sutures, Abbocath catheter. On July 6th, I raced throughout San Borja and Surquillo searching for the most inexpensive of these medical supplies, previously having been warned by Belen that, “The rich are also charged more for their medical supplies, so it’s not like we have it any cheaper.” All of the supplies totaled about 60 USD, but speaking with Iñigo (Belen’s husband), he perceived, “These are simply things the state cannot afford to provide because of all the corruption.”

The very next morning, Yanina and I woke up at 4:30AM in order to get ready for the taxi at 5:30 to the clinic. We sat noiselessly in the taxi, and I directed the driver until we arrived in Surquillo. The month and a half of bureaucratic processes is not typical; these processes are more accurately stretched out to six or seven months depending on the willingness of the employer to commit to their end of the processing. Although Belen's actions are not as typical to that of other employers in her district of Miraflores, she is part of the growing number of young employers that attempt to get past race and class in order to assist their employees. Sometimes misguided by personal gain, Belen's hurried attempts to assist Yanina allowed for her to receive care before it was too late.

Conclusion

Peru's broken social system is embodied by dysfunctional government agencies with privatized services which negatively affect underprivileged women's daily conditions. Yanina's story is a special example of even the most accessible case of a bureaucratic broken system. The healthcare sector is such, that despite having attempted a more inexpensive alternative to her condition, the long waits, and her inaccurate experience at the state issued facility, morally force her to seek a safer, more reliable alternative: the private sector. Although the private sector has the most state-of-the art equipment with the most experienced staff, the issue remains that only a small minority can afford those services. Had Yanina not received financial help for this surgery from her present and past employer, she would not have been able to afford this surgery right away; thus increasing the risk of an emergency. Many women in domestic work do not seek immediate attention to their healthcare issues, mostly because Peru has a strong herbal

preventative medicine culture, relying on teas and herbs instead of mass produced pharmaceuticals that also cost more money. As not many women can afford a doctor's visit for preventative reasons without health insurance, many domestic workers remain marginalized by their dubious position.

The multitudes of steps that are necessary to diagnose and treat patients in the Peruvian social security system are flawed with dysfunctional measures in accountability and transparency. Women working in the domestic service industry are never guaranteed the processing of their employer's insurance payments, because unlike formal economies, their contract may be easily dissolved. Changes in law are required to create an efficient and effective healthcare process, giving access to *trabajadoras* , in order to encourage the continuation of a preventative role in medicine. In this way, workers will be able to maintain their health and become upwardly mobile without the obstacle of illness.

CHAPTER FOUR: AGENCY DRIVEN IDENTITY

Scholars in multiple social science literature have defined agency as a way to assert power; through which identity can be mobilized. Ahearn's definition of agency provides a flexible vehicle whereby "agency refers to the socioculturally mediated capacity to act" (Ahearn, 2011:278). By employing Glidden's definition of identity, which examines it as "a filter through which an individual views, and is viewed by, others. A person may be classified, categorized, be afforded, denied, or demand rights based on her identity. Identities are also political as they are the primary means through which someone enters the political sphere" (Glidden, 2011:3). Identity and agency are therefore tied to each other in terms of social change and action. Individuals will use any resources necessary to overcome these subjugating structures.

Trabajadoras are increasingly empowering themselves by converting their family, religion, employers, and interactions with nongovernmental organizations, into sources of upward mobility. That is to say, through networking and socioeconomical converging women in domestic work assert their agency and change the future of their position. Their agency is and will become the awareness and advocacy necessary to create social change for other women and girls in similar crushing circumstances.

Family Support

Women working in the domestic service sector derive agency from the absence of filial ties while alternately extracting the support of immediate family members. It is the notion that an individual that has lost close relatives can survive that pain and become independent despite the loss of the foundation of their emotional guidance.

The life of Nanci Cupita is quite remarkable, at only 24 she has managed to see different parts of Latin America while working as a domestic to finish her schooling. She does not want to remain a household worker for the majority of her life; seeing as how she made it clear that she would like to conserve money to attend law school. Unlike many women I interviewed in the field, Nanci was particularly outspoken, she did not mind explaining her feelings regarding work conditions. She has clarified, time after time, that the only reason she has the drive to work under hard circumstances for minimal pay, due to her family's support and affection. One morning, as she prepared an *aji de gallina* (yellow pepper chicken) dish at work, she expressed her family's loyalty:

“...the six of us focus on our jobs and during our vacation time, we travel together in June for Father's day. Because we have promised each other that no matter what job we have, we have to see each other in June, September and December” (Interview with “Nanci Cupita”, 2012)

Nanci's family ties are so strong that despite having five siblings in different industries, they each make sacrifices to be with each other during those three months. Getting time off as a domestic is difficult, as not many people can take vacation until they have worked for an employer for one whole year. In other industries, the terms of employment may be more lenient or strict; however, it is still difficult to request vacation or even sick time (personal communication). The coordination of family members three times out of the year is a feat that begs recognition as an intense bond between blood relatives that builds agency from need. Women working the domestic service sector derive agency from the absence of filial ties and

simultaneously from the support of immediate family members. It is the notion that an individual that can survive pain and become independent despite the loss of a foundation of their emotional guidance.

In other occasions, agency comes out of the lack of family support that is offered to an individual. Yanina Castillo's life portrays the difficulties of living in Lima while having barely any filial ties. Even though she has some inherited lands and a secured nursing job at the local hospital, she chose to be a domestic out of financial necessity, where current employer pays her S./1200, which is S./525 above the minimum wage. Having an income like this is important in a time when her parents have passed and the only relatives she has are siblings and cousins. She rents a room with her aunt and uncle in Lima in order to have a home for the 24 hours of continuous rest a week (MINTRA, 2003). Yanina loves her family and helps them out with chores around the house on her day off; yet, when I asked her if she was going to call someone to come see her through surgery, she simply responded "they wouldn't come; they work; they're busy". My response to this was "well, is someone in your family coming to take you home at least?" To this she explained "they don't have time for my surgery, I'll call a friend" (Participant-Observation with "Yanina Castillo", 2012). Her tone told me to drop the conversation, as she was already highly stressed about being put under anesthesia for an ovarian cyst.

Despite the hardship that some *trabajadoras* (female workers) have in finding the parental support for personal development, there is still a strong bond between blood relatives. There is a structure of distrust that is felt at a personal and intimate level.

Employer Interactions

The asymmetrical relationship between an employer and a domestic worker is usually one that involves two women of different socioeconomic classes. The *señora* (literally meaning Mrs.) and the *trabajadora* are often the only ones to communicate with each other concerning work related issues. Pay, time off, and benefits are conferred between meals and daily errands of the employer. Yet, their relationship is much more complex than simply hiring a worker. The interactions between the usually female employer and female worker have deep and particular histories of race and class that disenfranchise one other rather than create solidarity.

Due to their own gendered habitus, the *señoras* deal with the patriarchal double standard that disenfranchises them and all women in Peru and exploit the static mobility of the poor to gain power. This is not always a calculated move; however, the majority of employers just want a functioning house with a servant that they can trust. It is when the household worker themselves attempts to break the glass ceiling that solidarity is abandoned for issues of class and race. The matters that arise specifically for nannies in this industry are not necessarily that of feeding and job-sharing; however, it usually involves childrearing. For instance, if a *nana* feels that her charge is living in a precarious situation, where treatment to both her and the child is verbally abusive, she may choose to stay with that employer in order to accommodate the child. Marilu Vilka, 43, speaks one afternoon while at a play date about how her employer *señora* Rosina bullies her to discipline her child Thalia:

“Um, how do I phrase this? ... If [the child] doesn’t want something, then the *señora* sometimes says to me, ‘So she controls you then? She controls you? She controls you?’ I have

to force her to do things. So then, many things have changed in me. And ... I do things that do not ... um ... that I do not want to do, but that I have to do. Because if I don't, then, mmm, the other person [the employer] gets angry.” (Interview with “Marilu Vilka”, 2012)

The ill treatment that Marilu received from Rosina made her decide to leave Thalia, a child that gave her much joy, in order to seek out her original position in education. Marilu had the option to go to a different employer for the attainment of humane treatment and the honoring of her work benefits. She returned to work because Rosina begged her to be with Thalia and Marilu did so to comfort the child. It would be premature to say that domestic work is a comparable employment to any other; yet, knowing the proximity of individuals and their role as caregivers disintegrates the barrier between personal and private. Thalia's *nana* is not simply her employee; she is also her friend, mother figure, and role model. Having the strength to return to an employer that is verbally offensive to her employees and at times physically abusive to her children makes Marilu Thalia's guardian angel against any dangers that befall her. Despite remaining with the same employer, Marilu has a stronger voice concerning treatment this second time around, she does not allow Rosina to simply bully her into concerns that she perceives to be morally ambiguous; she negotiates her role as a worker with the information she receives from other workers.

In comparison with Marilu, Tania Moreno's treatment as a live-in *todo servicio* household worker is more typical. She is only 24 and has been working as a household worker since the age of ten. She only began working with her current employers after her sister Sheyla asked to be replaced by Tania. She has until now worked for a couple with adult children

overseas for approximately three years. With some exceptions of her previous employers, she mentions the novel *confianza* she has with her current employers:

“I used to say ‘dang, the *señora* here is paying me 400 soles plus the hours I am working...it’s not right’. So, ok then! And the other girl that worked there too, as a nanny, there was a double standard. There was...in other words...when I began working there I used to buy my bed [linens] and everything, right? Only 400 soles, I was getting paid and I studied. The other girl didn’t study and they used to give her the bed [linens] and everything...complete. So I said, ‘why are they giving to her and not me?’; because, I am also working here. It’s not fair, so, I did not buy anymore and I spoke with the *señora*, of the house ‘listen, I am leaving because I do not want to work here anymore; I will be transferred elsewhere’. But she trusted me because every December they travel and they come home with nothing missing. And I take care of the house as though it were my own, despite the fact that her children are truly a mess” (Interview with “Tania Moreno”, 2012)

Tania has since remained with her employers, who actually became her godparents as a way to fortify their trust in one another. Therein lies the complexity of the employer-employee interactions, it is not simply a place of employment. There are expectations of both parties involved in these exchanges. For one, domestic workers coming into a home do not necessarily see it as simply a workplace, it is a possibility to forge alliances and become socially mobile. It is a way for Tania to get an education while doing moderately difficult housework. It is also a way for her *señora* to display wealth while appearing noble and supplying Tania with room and

board. Both parties want to become family friends; it is just their race and class that is getting in the way of a healthy relationship.

Religious Affiliation

A reason for the way these women identify with each other is through their involvement in religious institutions. According to the census of 2007 in Peru, 81.3% of the nation identifies as Catholic, with 12.5% left to Evangelical Christians and in Lima in particular, 83.1% and 10.8% are Catholic and Evangelical, respectively (INEI, 2007:140). In this study, very few individuals brought their religion and beliefs into the interviews; however, some of the women do attend services on their day off with family or friends as part of tradition in their faith.

Iraly Romero has been with the same employer for nine years, and has a generally respectable relationship with *señora* Catalina, as she came into the work when her son was only ten years old. Since their nine years together, she has been assigned the role of the housekeeper and servant; whereby she experienced the family's intimate divorce and changes in every family member's attitude. She says that she feels like family with them, despite the apparent control that *señora* Catalina has over her in terms of pay, length of the workday and leave. On a windy autumn day, Iraly and I walk to the grocery store *Wong* in the San Antonio neighborhood. As we spoke, I asked her if the objective for *señora* Catalina to prohibit her leave for night school was due to issues of control and power:

“No, it is not because of power; it is from personal injuries, or it could also be that she is carrying weigh-...some pride or perhaps it could be from the past. Because we are also, human beings, whe-when the ancestors of grandparents, great-grandparents did something evil, those

that come [thereafter] have roots. And that, us, people now, from the third or fourth generation, which represents us; therefore, we come inherit that sin. It could be. So then...but if we ask God for direction from, from...to take away that pride, from, from, then God does it, because we can still change...So then, that is why I pray for her. Because I see, two... spirits in her.”

(Interview with “Iraly Romero”, 2012)

The explanation for *señora* Catalina’s fits of control, not allowing Iraly to leave once her shift is done to explore night study at her church even though Law #27986 supplicates that the workday “should not exceed eight hours a day or forty-eight hours a week” (Interview with “Iraly Romero”, 2012), displays the faith that keeps some domestic workers in their jobs. Instead of simply acting with condescension towards her employer, Iraly is guided by her folk-evangelical faith in order to reason for her marginalized position. She not only describes her God’s power that allows her to believe that her employer can overcome hardship; but, she also describes curses that are carried on by offspring of individuals. By doing so, Iraly does not feel so empowered to assert her rights because she is mentally evaluating the struggles of those that impede her progress and sacrificing her happiness in order to justify their pain.

Not all individuals use their faith to act with masochism toward their employers like Iraly. I interviewed Marianela Yanque one Sunday morning at *La Casa de Panchita*; as she sat there shivering from the draft coming into the living room, she explained how she felt about the mealtime situation at her past employer’s house. With great enthusiasm she spoke about how Christianity allows for the spread of equality:

“The wife, very very nice, because the *señora* is a good person, but the *señor* was not the type to eat [with us] all together. And not with the workers, no; they had the ‘boss’s table’ and the workers had another table in the kitchen. We had it separate, but when the *señor* wasn’t around, the *señora*, at least with me and my coworker, was equal. What I mean is, I liked it, because in truth all of us human beings are the same [treatment]...Black or white, whatever it is. That’s why a lot of us use the guidance of [our Lord] Jesus, because for God, there is not racist. No rich, no poor, it is the same for all. Therefore the *señora* would say when her husband wasn’t around ‘no, let’s eat at the table...everyone’. And we would all sit down and eat the food. However, if the *señor* caught us; she knew ‘at this time’, [we would be out of there] out the door fast” (Interview with “Marianela Yanque”, 2012)

Marianela’s relationship with God strengthens her faith in humanity as she observes her employer attempt to break down barriers of race and class. She mentions that she “liked it, because in truth all of us human beings are the same”, these sentiments concerning the state of trust in other human beings as good natured and willing to cooperate more than argue. Although her *señor* is not cruel to her as an employer, there are traits that exhibit a clear separation between him and his employees, such as sitting at separate tables during meals. Honestly, there is no reason for him to sit with his employees; yet, the adoption of clandestine participation in gathering around the dining table when he is not present gives an insight into the classist tensions between domestic workers and their employers. When her *señora* chose to invite them to the “boss’s table”, it was not simply a new location to eat, it also gave both parties more trust in each other while maintaining a healthy work relationship. Sitting at a table and sharing a meal is so

crucial to breaking stereotypes about gender, race, and class; that doing so renders the relationship egalitarian in status. That is not to say that their *señora* will not give them unfair treatment later on, or one of the employees will still remain distant; however, the fact that she did attempt to cross the aisle indicates that the line between an individual with high socioeconomic class is blurring between that of a person with a low socioeconomic class.

Nongovernmental Influence

Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) hold a powerful influence in Peru. The government institutions meant to fulfill their place are corrupt or underfunded, and do not allot resources to the needs of individuals who represent the most need. In their place, an NGO titled *La Casa de Panchita* (LCP) provide social programs that assist domestic workers, one of the most underrepresented employments in Peru. Women in this industry are mostly uninformed about their rights in terms of benefits and wage; yet, the growing number of domestics that participate and attend workshops at LCP assert themselves in order to become more upwardly mobile.

Investment by international NGOs like Cooperazione Internazionale (COOPI) and Anti-Slavery International grants LCP funding for job training programs and personal development workshops (Interview with “Sara Martí”, 2011). Workshops in job training are geared towards domestic workers with the most expensive four-week program costing 100 soles, or roughly \$37 USD. The workshops reinforce the necessary skills for obtaining employment; by having women train in different areas of domestic service, they are able to assert their agency in demanding higher wages. This grassroots organization creates a solidarity network that allows

women in the domestic service informal sector to seek support during financially and emotionally difficult times. Through the use of this organization, female domestic workers throughout Lima are able to receive the job-readiness and external skills to climb out of poverty and become upwardly mobile.

Of the different jobs that domestics can perform, there are three main categories that arise: *nana*, *enfermera*, and *todo servicio* or child caregiver, adult caregiver, and housekeeper respectively. There are variations of the employment, where, a child caregiver may be asked by the employer to cook dinner or clean the child's room. These extra tasks are generally not included in the employer-employee contract agreement and does not grant the worker additional pay. Most of the women interviewed allow for extra tasks to occur without compensation due to fear of termination. The expendability of the workers underpins the corruptive nature of the informal sector; since having a worker with agency is problematic and submissive employees are desired. The goal of *La Casa de Panchita* is to empower women that are afraid to speak out about injustices in the workplace, and have a labor sector that is functioning without nepotism.

In the case of child caregivers, or *nanas*, that makes up around one fifth of the thirty interviewed participants, workers are urged to complete a *curso de la mano* or a course on childcare efficiency. Those that attend the course, which is taught by volunteers at the entity to inform workers on the handling of small children and babies, receive a certificate of completion and a manual.

The domestic workers that categorize themselves as an *enfermera* do not readily consider themselves *trabajadoras del hogar*, due to educational differences and the class prestige

associated with being called a nurse. Although the *enfermera* category exists under the umbrella of domestic labor, it must be understood that a hospital nurse may become a domestic worker at any time; however, a domestic worker with the title of *enfermera* or caregiver may only become a hospital nurse with formal training. The adult caregivers that I spoke with made up about one tenth of the interviewed women. They are the fewest within the industry because not all elderly individuals have the ability to stay within a family member's home and be cared for by a caregiver. The majority of the women that take *La Casa de Panchita's* course on elderly care have opportunities to work in nursing homes around Lima. Caren Vivas, 24, speaks about her nearly unattainable goals as an adult caregiver one Sunday morning at *La Casa de Panchita*:

“I would like to study, but I cannot specifically because of the time. I'm around from eight [in the morning] until ten at night ... and additionally, because he's old, he wants this and that; therefore, I could be at it for hours. I'm [supposed] to be there [at work] at a certain time and until that time I have to oblige, and for those hours I get paid additionally. Because I want to study pharmacy...maybe if it was another job I could work and study ...” (Interview with “Caren Vivas”, 2012)

In Caren's case, she has a pretty solid employer that pays her on time, gives her benefits, and provides her with adequate food and shelter; however, due to her status as a *cama adentro*, or sleep-in maid, her workday is often fourteen hours, instead of the eight to ten as Law #27986 dictates (R. N° 191-2005-SUNAT, 2003). Due to the overly long work day, Caren cannot possibly find time to attend classes, let alone run her errands. Although she is happy with her employer, she will not speak up to lessen her workday because she feels that the law is not

embraced; therefore, instilling agency in the household would make her a candidate for dismissal. Caren utilizes the NGO as a place to socialize on her day off and to tell stories about similar situations and ask for advice about work related situations.

A woman I spent a good deal of time speaking with one Sunday afternoon in the loft area of *La Casa de Panchita*, Patricia Muelle who is originally from Iquitos in the department of Amazonas, was so liberated to discover the organization. She is part of the last category called *todo servicio*, or the role of the housekeeper, which represents the majority of the domestic employment in the sample. Citing that she had been treated poorly before using the NGO as a resource, Muelle speaks exasperatedly about a past employer:

“I, I had to get out of that house, escaping out of there, because they took away my birth [certificate], they took away my DNI, they did not want to give it back! I lied, I needed to get out of that house. [pause] I couldn’t handle It ... Because I said ‘give me back my DNI’, they divided the plates. Like an animal. It had dents, and it was all scratched up; the silverware and everything. Yuck! [makes a face of disgust] I went through all of these things.” (Interview with “Patricia Muelle”, 2012)

Like Caren Vivas and [nanny], Patricia did not have her work schedule honored and was treated as a second class citizen by her employers. Discovering *La Casa de Panchita*, has allowed for participants like Patricia to become informed and empowered by laws and mandates that protect their rights in the work place. In the 23rd Supreme Decree of April 30th 1957, the power to protect domestic workers exists at a local level; where “police will act as the authority and attend to the demands that form about domestic service workers concerning unpaid salaries,

excessive labor, abuse and other aspects” (RPS, 1971:22-23). It goes without saying that some of these individuals who become abused may continuously attempt to make their claims known to the proper authorities and in turn ignore requests for protection and processing due to the favoritism of their employers. With the continuous lobbying from *La Casa de Panchita* and organizations like SINTRAHOGARP, the domestic service workers union, and Flora Tristan; the need for representation within the local, state, and federal governments are beginning to develop.

In the *local*, or physical house, of *La Casa de Panchita*, women are not only invited to participate in workshops that would allow them to become job-ready, there are also classes which focus on the personal development of the individual. The workshops that involve training, or *capacitacion*, generally cost between five and ten soles, or \$1.89 to \$3.77 USD. With a minimum wage of 675 soles a month, the average domestic laborer can pay three soles, approximately \$1 USD and receive therapy or legal counsel. That is to say, if there is an issue as any of those mentioned above, the worker has the ability to go on their day off to the *local* and receive legal advice for a single dollar. With an organization run majorly by current and past domestic workers; women trust the environment and understand that there is solidarity in numbers.

Speaking with the coordinator of *La Casa de Panchita* in Lima, Sofia Mauricio, it is not only obvious that the assistance of international NGOs allows for the flourishing of small grassroots NGOs; yet, it is the State’s inability to create a functioning and lawful system that disables the leaps in thought from labor rights to women’s rights and girl’s education. Sofia explained to me one afternoon in an organizing meeting for a radio program, that “although adult

women are currently oppressed by the lack of regulation of the law, children are still the most important thing to focus on”. She meant that once a child begins to work as a housekeeper, nanny, or adult caregiver, there is a fine line between childhood chores and adult responsibility. She further reasoned “If something goes wrong, all the blame is cast on the young child; and that causes issues.” By generating an interest in education and empowering women and girls through night school tutoring, English language classes, and art lessons, LCP fosters a growing feminist community while halting child labor.

The stories of Caren Vivas, [nanny], and Patricia Muelle are not uncommon in the grand scheme that is domestic labor. These stories give insight into the hardship that the domestic labor industry faces due to its recognition as an informal economic sector. The influence of *La Casa de Panchita* as a grassroots NGO run by volunteers that are presently in domestic labor reinforces a strong foundation for growth in awareness. By training women in comprehending their rights as laborers and their role in the workplace, *La Casa de Panchita* breaks expectations about submissive household workers and liberates women attempting to become socially mobile.

Conclusion

To understand where female domestic workers draw their agency, it is deeply necessary to first perceive their identity as multifaceted and by no means simple. Women in Peru and in provinces outside of Lima are especially subject to objectification and abuse beyond structural marginalization. As explained previously, when they arrive in Lima, their new experiences become enmeshed with their previous perceptions of rural Andean life. Reaching Lima is a feat for provincial people and it is only with the need to earn more money and attain further studies

that the majority of the interviewed participants arrive. Yet, when they set foot in the overcast desert that is Lima, they immediately realize that it is not at all similar to their expectations of life beyond the countryside. The poverty-stricken individuals that moved to the city will remain poor due to the lack of representation for the marginalized in Lima (Altamirano, 1987:263).

They cannot apply for well-paying jobs because not only do they not have experience, they do not have adequate education. With education available for purchase, they are dissuaded by the privatized nature of the institution and the nontraditional access to class (Interview with “Sara Martí”, 2012). In order to acquire a job, they must have some contact with the agencies, which charge them their first paycheck if they are hired or they must have connections with their urban kinfolk that may have an available opportunity (Gill, 1994:67; Interview with “Sara Martí”, 2012). Once the women are hired on as staff in a household, there may be no adherence to Law N°27986 and the majority of *trabajadoras* will probably silently work without complaint.

There are, however, those few women that will not allow mistreatment and become agents of social change. These individuals may do so using their networking capabilities to reach out to their employers through direct contact, the very agencies that headhunted for them, their varying religious institutions, or their families. It is this group of individuals that are becoming the voice for the fearing majority. The power that their language holds is part of their identification as women, Andean, domestics, capable, mothers, sisters, daughters, and friends. They have the ability to resist or transform their surroundings (Ahearn, 2011:263) as domestic workers, in order to aid their fellow *trabajadoras* in the struggle for fair working conditions and access for their race, class, and gender.

CONCLUSION

Women working as domestics in Lima, Peru survive immeasurable odds in order to have their identities recognized and their financial situations resolved. Throughout the history of Peru, there has been an influx of social change in the way of women's rights and inclusion. The colonializing aspects of daily life in Lima are now such that, they are cloaked by self-segregation and *desconfianza*. This pervasive concept was magnified during the 1980s and 1990s; whereby the majority of the Andean rural indigenous population was decimated by the Peruvian army, *Sendero Luminoso*, *Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru*, and other smaller terrorist groups. In a country already divided by racial and socioeconomic negative constructs, any additional motivations for distrust only adds to segmented society. The corruption politics occurring in the late 20th century are examples of the idea of a "trickle-down" *desconfianza*. Having experienced high officials such as Fujimori steal from the government, it is also not surprising that these actions reinforced the acceptance of corruption as a precedent for all lower officials. As mentioned previously, corruption is most visible in lower officials because their intentions are to survive in their profession while employing their power. Previous government administrations have favored the disposal of functioning welfare programs in the defense of corruption, there have been significant strides in improving the public healthcare sector by slowly reaching political transparency.

This concept of distrust portrays the majority of the interviewed participants that only confide in deep social connections to family members and long-time friends with personal information. Yet with the work relationships discussed in this ethnography reveal a level of

confianza that truly appears close and personal between female employer and *trabajadora*. So strong are some relationships that some employers may attempt to entice their employees to assert their agency in circumstances of health. *Trabajadoras* themselves find paths to asserting their agency that allow for the diverging of their typically determined route. Relationships with family members are so strong that they are revered in times of great difficulty. Family support is so important to the women, that even when their kin have already passed away, they remain the driving force for their success. By reinforcing filial solidarity, women honor their ancestors while attempting to climb out of poverty. In terms of religious affiliation, most domestics work six days a week, giving them little to no time on their day off to practice their religions. Yet, faith in different Christian denominations is present in less than half of the women, as a way to escape the trials of their ambiguous position. Their involvement in certain nongovernmental organizations like *La Casa de Panchita* stresses the widespread unfamiliarity of labor rights that are required to create pervasive awareness of accountability.

APPENDIX A: IRB APPROVAL LETTERS

Explanation of Research

Title of Project: Female domestic employer-employee identity in Lima, Peru

Principal Investigator: Janice Stiglich

Faculty Supervisors: Dr. Beatriz Reyes-Foster

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Whether you take part is up to you.

- The purpose of the research is to develop an understanding about the relationship between the female domestic workers and their female employers.
- There will be two interviews with a series of questions regarding the participant's perceptions and experiences in their role. The principal investigator will contact the participant via telephone, then meet on the given date and time that is most suitable to the participant.
- The interview will take approximately one hour or the amount of time it takes to finish answering the questions.
- The interview will be audio-recorded with permission of the female domestic worker.
- The P.I. may ask for the participant to be involved in a participant observation after the interview.
- The P.I. will take photographs at the consent of the participant.
- Compensation will be \$4 for each interview

You must be 18 years of age or older to take part in this research study.

Study contact for questions about the study or to report a problem: If you have questions, concerns, or complaints: Janice Stiglich, Graduate Student, Department of Anthropology, College of Sciences, (954)648-5088 or Dr. Reyes-Foster, Faculty Supervisor, Department of Anthropology at (407) 823- 2206 or by email at Beatriz.reyes-foster@ucf.edu.

IRB contact about your rights in the study or to report a complaint: Research at the University of Central Florida involving human participants is carried out under the oversight of the Institutional Review Board (UCF IRB). This research has been reviewed and approved by the IRB. For information about the rights of people who take part in research, please contact: Institutional

Review Board, University of Central Florida, Office of Research & Commercialization, 12201 Research Parkway, Suite 501, Orlando, FL 32826-3246 or by telephone at (407) 823-2901.

Explicación de Investigación

Título del Proyecto: La identidad de trabajadoras del hogar y sus señoras en Lima, Perú.

Investigadora Principal: Janice Stiglich

Supervisoras docentes: Dra. Beatriz Reyes-Foster

Está siendo invitada a participar en un estudio de investigación. Es su opción participar.

- El propósito de esta investigación es para poder crear un entendimiento sobre la relación entre las trabajadoras del hogar y sus empleadoras.
- Va a ver una entrevista con una serie de preguntas que se relacionan a las experiencias y percepciones de la participante en su rol. La investigadora principal va estar en contacto con la participante por teléfono para poder encontrarse luego el día y la hora que la participante pueda conversar.
- La entrevista va durar aproximadamente una hora o el tiempo necesario para completar las preguntas.
- Si la participante le permite a la investigadora, la entrevista será grabada.
- La investigadora principal puede pedir a la participante para involucrarse en observación-participante después de la entrevista.
- La investigadora principal tomara fotos con el permiso del participante.
- Compensación para cada entrevista será 10 soles

Debe tener más de diecisiete años para poder participar en este estudio investigativo.

Contacte el estudio con preguntas o reporte algún problema: Si tiene preguntas, preocupaciones, o reclamos: Janice Stiglich, Estudiante Pos-grado, Departamento de Antropología, Facultad de Ciencias, (954) 648-5088 o Dra. Reyes-Foster, Supervisora Docente, Departamento de Antropología al (407) 823- 2206 o por correo electrónico a Beatriz.reyes-foster@ucf.edu.

Contacte el IRB por sus derechos en este estudio o reporte un reclamo: Investigaciones en la Universidad Central de la Florida que involucre participantes humanos es realizado y aprobado bajo el descuido del Panel Institucional de Revisiones (UCF IRB). Este estudio ha sido revisado y aprobado por el IRB. Para más información de los derechos de la gente que participa en las

investigaciones, por favor contáctenos por correo: Institutional Review Board, University of Central Florida, Office of Research & Commercialization, 12201 Research Parkway, Suite 501, Orlando, FL 32826-3246 USA o por teléfono al (407) 823-2901.

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Interview #1 Female Domestic Workers

1. How old are you?
2. Do you speak Quechua or Aymara?
 - a. If yes: Where did you learn the language?
 - b. If no: Go to question next question
3. Explain what your parents do/did for a living?
 - a. If not: Go to next question
 - b. If they say domestic work: Did you help you get into your current position?
4. Where are your parents from?
 - a. If Lima: Go to next question
 - b. If not Lima: Where you born there?
 - i. If no: Go to next question
 - ii. If yes: When did you move?
 1. Where do you live now?
 - a. Do you visit the place/places before you moved to Lima?
 - i. If no: What do you think the reason/reasons are for you not visiting?
 - ii. If yes: How many times do you visit?
5. Are you married?
 - a. If yes: How long have you been married?
 - b. If no: Go to next question
6. Do you have children?
 - a. If no: Go to next question
 - b. If yes: How old are they?
 - i. If they answered no to Question 2: Go to next question
 - ii. If they answered yes to Question 2: What language do you speak with them?
 1. Why?
7. How old were you when you starting working?
8. How much do you make a month?
9. Explain how you decided to start working in domestic service.
10. How long have you been working as a domestic worker?
 - a. Are you still working with the same employer?
 - i. If yes: Explain what the reasons are for you to stay with them.
 - ii. If no: Explain what reason you had for leaving them.

Interview #2 Female Domestic Workers

1. Do you feel that there are differences between your employer and you?
 - a. If no: Go to next question
 - b. If yes: Like what?
2. Do you feel comfortable with this employer?
 - a. If yes: Go to next question
 - b. If no: Why?
 - i. Have you ever felt comfortable with any employer?
 1. Can you give examples?
3. Are there differences in the way different members of the family treat you?
 - a. Like between you and the male employer, female employer or employer's children or their parents?
4. How do you view domestic work different from other jobs?
5. Are there times that you feel more appreciated by your employers?
 - a. For example: Do you consider them friends?
 - i. If no: Go to next question
 - ii. If yes: How do they show appreciation?
 - b. Do they listen to your worries, fears or dreams?
 - i. If yes: Do you feel that your employer cares about your feelings?
 - ii. If no: Why do you not tell them your opinions?
6. What are the tasks that you do as part of your work?
 - a. Do you find them difficult?
 - b. If there is an issue with your employer, what would you do?
 - c. Would you go to a workers union?
 - i. If yes: How would they help you?
 - ii. If no: Why?
7. What activities do you do outside of work?
 - a. Do you have friends where you live?
 - i. Do you go out with them?
 1. For example: Do you go to religious services, shopping, or to a café?
 - ii. What do they do for a living?
 - b. Do you go to school or university?
8. Do you feel like the government is on your side?
 - a. How?
 - i. When do you think you will retire or collect a pension?

- ii. Do you like your job?
 - 1. If no: What would you like to do instead of domestic work?
 - a. Why don't you pursue this?

Entrevista #1 Trabajadoras del Hogar

1. ¿Cuántos años tienes?
2. ¿Hablas en Quechua o Aymara?
 - a. Sí, no: Próxima pregunta
 - b. Si, si: ¿De dónde aprendiste el idioma?
3. ¿Cuéntame, Qué hacen o hacían tus padres?
 - a. Sí, no TDH: Próxima pregunta
 - b. Si, TDH: ¿Te ayudaron conseguir un trabajo de empleada?
4. ¿De dónde son tus padres?
 - a. Si, si en Lima: Próxima pregunta
 - b. Sí, no en Lima: ¿Ahí naciste?
 - i. Si, si: Próxima pregunta
 - ii. Sí, no: ¿Cuándo te mudaste?
 1. ¿Y ahora dónde vives?
 - a. ¿Visitas este lugar?
 - i. Si, si: ¿Cuántas veces vas a este lugar?
 - ii. Sí, no: ¿Hay algún motivo que no te deje visitar?
5. ¿Estas casada?
 - a. Sí, no: Próxima pregunta
 - b. Si, si: ¿Cuánto tiempo llevas de casada?
6. ¿Tienes hijos?
 - a. Sí, no: Próxima pregunta
 - b. Si, si: ¿Cuántos años tienen?
 - i. Si respondieron que no en la pregunta 2: Próxima pregunta
 - ii. Si respondieron que si en la pregunta 2: ¿En qué idioma les hablas?
 1. ¿Por qué?
7. ¿A qué edad comenzaste trabajar?
8. ¿Cuánto ganas al mes?
9. ¿Cuéntame, cómo decidiste trabajar en el servicio doméstico?
10. ¿Cuánto tiempo haz trabajado como empleada?
 - a. ¿Sigues con la misma familia?
 - i. Si, si: ¿Cuáles son las razones que quisiste quedarte con ellos?
 - ii. Sí, no: ¿Cuáles son las razones porque quisiste irte de ahí?

Entrevista #2 Trabajadora del Hogar

1. ¿Sientes que hay diferencias entre tu empleador y otras casas?
 - a. Sí, no: Próxima pregunta
 - b. Sí, si: ¿Cómo cuáles?
2. ¿Te sientes cómoda con esta familia?
 - a. Sí, si: Próxima pregunta
 - b. Sí, no: ¿Por qué?
 - i. ¿Alguna vez has encontrado una casa en que te hayas sentido cómoda?
 - ii. ¿Puedes dar algunos ejemplos?
3. ¿Hay diferencias en cómo te trata diferentes miembros de la familia?
 - a. ¿Cómo los hijos, la señora, el señor, sus padres?
4. ¿Cómo vez el trabajo de ser empleada del hogar diferente a otros trabajos?
5. ¿Hay veces que te sientes más apreciada por la familia en que trabajas?
 - a. Por ejemplo, ¿Te consideran una amiga más?
 - i. Sí, no: Próxima pregunta
 - ii. Si, si: ¿Cómo lo demuestran apreciación?
 - b. ¿Ellos escuchan tus preocupaciones, temores, o sueños?
 - i. Sí, si: ¿Sientes que a tu empleador le interesa tus sentimientos?
 - ii. Sí, no: ¿Por qué piensas que no les cuentas tus opiniones?
6. ¿Cuáles son las tareas que haces como parte de tu trabajo?
 - a. ¿Te parece difícil?
 - b. ¿Si hay algún problema con tu empleador, que haces?
 - c. ¿Irías a un sindicato?
 - i. Si, si: ¿Ellos cómo te ayudan?
 - ii. Sí, no: ¿Por qué?
7. ¿Qué actividades haces fuera del trabajo?
 - a. ¿Tienes amigos que son de pueblo?
 - i. ¿Sales con ellos?
 - i. Por ejemplo: ¿a observar religiones, de compras, a tomar un café?
 - ii. ¿Ellos en que trabajan?
 - b. ¿Estudias?
8. ¿Sientes que el gobierno está en tu parte?
 - a. Si, si o no: ¿Cómo?

- i. ¿Cuándo piensas retirarte o coleccionar una pensión?
- ii. ¿Te gusta tu trabajo?
 - i. Sí, no: ¿Qué te gustaría hacer en vez de ser trabajadora del hogar?
 - a. ¿Por qué no lo haces?

APPENDIX C: EMPLOYER SURVEYS

Employer Survey

1. Do you employ domestic workers?

☐ Yes ☐ No

2. How many domestic workers do you hire?

☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5+

3. How many do you have for different tasks?

☐ cleaning ☐ cooking ☐ childcare ☐ nurse

☐ other (Could you be more specific? _____)

4. How many of your employees are:

☐ male ☐ female

5. How many days a week do your domestic employees work?

☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7

6. How much money does your household make in one month?

☐ S/.0- 5,000 ☐ S/.5,001- 10,000 ☐ S/.10,001-15,000

☐ S/. 15,001-20,000 ☐ S/.20,001-25,000 ☐ S/.25,000 and up

7. In what type of household do you live?

☐ Apartment ☐ House ☐ other (Could you be more specific? _____)

8. In what district do you reside?

9. What ethnicity do you consider yourself?

☐ European origin ☐ Asian origin ☐ Indigenous origin ☐ African origin

10. How many people live in your home at what ages?

☐ 0-17 years old ☐ 18-25 years old ☐ 26-40 years old
☐ 41-60 years old ☐ 61 years old and up

11. How much do you pay your employee a month?

☐ cleaning ☐ cooking ☐ childcare ☐ nurse
☐ other (Could you be more specific? _____)

12. What state is/are your domestic employee/s from?

☐ Amazonas ☐ Áncash ☐ Apurímac ☐ Arequipa ☐ Ayacucho
☐ Cajamarca ☐ Callao ☐ Cusco ☐ Huancavelica ☐ Huánuco
☐ Ica ☐ Junín ☐ La Libertad ☐ Lambayeque ☐ Lima
☐ Loreto ☐ Madre de Dios ☐ Moquegua ☐ Pasco ☐ Piura

☐Puno ☐San Martin ☐Tacna ☐Tumbes ☐Ucayali

13. Where do they live while they work in your home?

☐ (a district of Lima) ☐ Outside of Lima ☐ In my home

14. Do you feel comfortable if your employee/s is part of a workers union?

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Indifferent

15. What level of education did your domestic employee/s reach?

☐ kindergarten- 5th grade ☐ 6th-11th grade ☐ college degree

☐ work certificate ☐ not sure ☐ other (Could you be more specific? _____)

16. What medical benefits do you offer your employee/s?

Formulario de Empleadores/as:

1. ¿Tienes empleados domésticos?

☐ Si ☐ No

2. ¿Cuántos empleados domésticos empleas?

☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5+

3. ¿Cuántos tiene para diferentes funciones?

☐ limpieza ☐ cocina ☐ niño/a ☐ enfermería

☐ otro (¿puede especificar? _____)

4. ¿Cuántos empleados tiene que son:

☐ masculino ☐ femenino

5. ¿Cuántos días a la semana trabaja el empleado/s?

☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7

6. ¿Cuánto gana su hogar al mes?

☐ S/.0- 5,000 ☐ S/.5,001- 10,000 ☐ S/.10,001-15,000

☐ S/. 15,001-20,000 ☐ S/.20,001-25,000 ☐ S/.25,000 Para arriba

7. ¿En que tipo de hogar vive?

☐ Departamento ☐ Casa ☐ otro (¿puede especificar? _____)

8. ¿En que distrito vive? (ej. Miraflores, San Borja, Barranco)

9. ¿Qué etnicidad se considera usted?

☐ Origen Europeo ☐ Origen Asiático ☐ Origen Indígena ☐ Origen Africano

10. ¿Cuántas personas de que edades viven en su hogar?

☐ 0-17 años ☐ 18-25 años ☐ 26-40 años

☐ 41-60 años ☐ 61 años para arriba

11. ¿Cuánto le paga al empleado/a al mes?

☐ limpieza ☐ cocina ☐ niño/a ☐ enfermería

☐ otro (¿puede especificar? _____)

12. ¿De que departamento es/son sus empleados domésticos?

☐ Amazonas ☐ Áncash ☐ Apurímac ☐ Arequipa ☐ Ayacucho

☐ Cajamarca ☐ Callao ☐ Cusco ☐ Huancavelica ☐ Huánuco

☐ Ica ☐ Junín ☐ La Libertad ☐ Lambayeque ☐ Lima

☐ Loreto ☐ Madre de Dios ☐ Moquegua ☐ Pasco ☐ Piura

☐ Puno ☐ San Martín ☐ Tacna ☐ Tumbes ☐ Ucayali

13. ¿Dónde viven mientras trabajan en su hogar?

☐ (un distrito de Lima) ☐ Fuera de Lima ☐ En mi hogar

14. ¿Se siente cómodo/a si su empleado/a es parte de un sindicato?

☐ Si ☐ No ☐ Soy indiferente

15. ¿A que nivel de estudio a llegado su empleado/s?

☐ kínder-5º grado ☐ 1º - 5º secundaria ☐ universitario/a

☐ certificado laboral ☐ no sé ☐ otro (¿puede especificar? _____)

16. ¿Qué beneficios médicos le ofrece a su empleado/s?

APPENDIX D: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION

Interview #	Origin Location	Current Residence	Participant	First Language	Age	Children's age and sex
1	Vilquechico, Banchané, Puno	Villa El Salvador	Angela Ayca	Aymara	43	1 son; 8 years old
2	Yunguyo, Puno	San Juan de Miraflores	Soledad Mamani	Aymara	33	N/A
3	Huamapata, Cusco	Jesus Maria	Gloria Morales	Quechua	27	1 daughter, 4 months
4	Mahumí, Lambayeque	Villa El Salvador	Nanci Cupita	Castellano	24	N/A
5	Chachapoyas, Amazonas	San Martín de Porres	Hercilia Garcia	Castellano	32	1 daughter, 7 yrs old
6	Chuco, La Libertad	Jesus Maria	Yanina Castillo	Castellano	33	N/A
7	Guadalupe, La Libertad	Villa Maria del Triunfo	Maximina Martinez	Castellano	54	3 children, 32, 28, 38
8	Catacaos, Piura	Miraflores	Irally Romero	Castellano	39	N/A
9	Abancay, Apurímac	Callao	Silvia Aparisio	Quechua	23	N/A
10	Pucallpa, Iquitos, Loreto	N/A	Caren Vivas	Castellano	24	N/A
11	Puno	N/A	Tania Moreno	Quechua	25	N/A
12	Ancash	San Martín de Porres	Carmen Alba	Quechua	39	1 son
13	Iquitos	Rimac	Patricia Muelle	Castellano	41	N/A
14	Azángaro, Puno	Lives with employer	Yurema Paucar	Quechua	60	N/A
15	Esjón de Conchucos, Sihuas, An	Ventanilla	Marianela Yanque	Quechua	38	N/A
16	Apurímac	Ventanilla	Luzni Guafina	Castellano	25	N/A
17	Callao	San Martín de Porres	Marily Vilka	Castellano	43	1 son, 11 yrs old
18	Cajamarca	Los Olivos	Merced Sulca	Castellano	19	1 daughter, 5 yrs old
19	Lambayeque	N/A	Laura Arroyo	Castellano	38	N/A
20	Chiclayo, Lambayeque	San Martín de Porres	Zoraida Mercado	Castellano	35	1 daughter, 5 yrs old
21	Chiclayo, Lambayeque		Nelida Armas	Castellano	38	N/A
22	Ayacucho	Los Olivos	Rocio Yactayo	Quechua/Castellano	45	1 son ~15yrs old
23	Pucara, Junin	Villa Maria del Triunfo	Graciela Llave	Quechua	25	N/A
24	Mala, Lima	San Martín de Porres	Yuliza Koochoi	Castellano	41	daughter son, 15 & 12
25	Apurímac	Carabayllo	Pamela Hirpanoca	Quechua	51	1 son, 26 yrs
26	Ica	Villa El Salvador	Xiomara Huaman	Quechua	37	N/A
27	Andahuaylas, Apurímac	San Juan del Lurigancho	Milta Quiroz	Quechua	27	2 daughters, 6
28	Huamachuco, La Libertad	La Union	Daniza Santillan	Castellano	22	N/A
29	Luya, Amazonas	Comas	Zoila Niquen	Quechua	52	2 daughters, 30-32
30	Cusco	Puente Piedra	Annett Mesteza	Quechua	43	1 daughter, 12

Interview #	Language employed?	Parent's Occupation	Monthly Wage	Relationship Status	Education
1	Aymara & Spanish	Farmers	650	Single	Finished Primary School
2	N/A	Peasant Farmers	800	Married, 2 years	Finished Primary School
3	Quechua & Spanish	Farmers	650	Single	Finished Secondary School
4	N/A	Domestic workers	1200	Single	Finished Secondary School
5	N/A	Domestic worker/Farmer	800	Single	Did not finish Secondary
6	N/A	Domestic worker & School librarian	1200	Single	Finished Nursing School
7	N/A	Shopkeeper/food vendor	950	Separated	Finished Secondary School
8	N/A	Farmer & Chicha vendors	661	Single	Tailor School
9	N/A	Farmers	300-400	Single	Finished Secondary School
10	N/A	Domestic Work/Carpenters	900	Single	Informal Nurse
11	N/A	Peasant farmer/miners	600	Single	Finished Secondary School
12	a little Quechua	Albañil	700	Boyfriend, 15 years	Finished Primary School
13	N/A	Peasant farmers	600	Single	Did not finish Secondary
14	N/A	Small business	1000	Single	Laboratorio Clínico
15	N/A	Peasant farmers	400	Single	Finished Secondary School
16	N/A	Peasant farmers	900	Single	Finished Secondary School
17	N/A	Domestic laborer & Domestic Worker	1400	Single	EC Education
18	N/A	Farmers	1200	Single	Finishing Secondary School
19	N/A	Domestic workers	900	Single	Some Tech School/EC Education
20	N/A	Farmers	NG	Married, 8 years	Finished Secondary School
21	N/A	Small business	850	Single	Finished Primary School
22	a little Quechua	Farmers	1200	Single	Finished some college
23	N/A	Farmers	900	Engaged	Finished Secretarial School
24	N/A	Farmers	600	Married, 16 yrs	Finished Nurse Tech
25	some	albañil/farmer	NG	Single	Finished Secondary School
26	N/A	politicians	1500	Single	Finished some college
27	a little Quechua	domestic workers	480	Engaged, 8 years	Finished Secondary School
28	N/A	Farmers	700	Single	Did not finish Secondary
29	a little Quechua	NG	NG	Married, 35 years	Finished Primary School
30	a little Quechua	Farmers	600	Single	Nurse tech

Interview #	Work Start Age	Employment Type	Cama afuera/adentro	Reason for Migration
1	8	Todo Servicio	cama afuera	To escape abuse
2	14	Todo Servicio	cama afuera	To find a better job
3	8	Todo Servicio	cama afuera	To find a better job
4	16	Todo Servicio	cama adentro	To earn money
5	16	Todo Servicio	cama adentro	To earn money for family
6	20	Nana	cama adentro	Intended to be temporary and now permanent
7	18	Todo Servicio	cama adentro	To earn money
8	8	Todo Servicio	cama adentro	Mother died
9	16	Todo Servicio	cama adentro	To work with the promise of study
10	21	Enfermera	cama adentro	To learn, for experience
11	10	Todo Servicio	cama adentro	Education/Escaping family abuse
12	17	Todo Servicio	cama afuera	Mother died
13	13	Todo Servicio	cama afuera	Father died
14	18	Nana	cama adentro	To find a better job
15	28	Todo Servicio	cama afuera	To work with the promise of study
16	5	Nana	cama afuera	To find a better job
17	12	Nana	cama adentro	To work with the promise of study
18	15	Todo Servicio	cama adentro	To earn money/experience
19	NG	Todo Servicio	cama adentro	To work with the promise of study
20	NG	Todo Servicio	cama afuera	To find a better job
21	NG	Todo Servicio	cama adentro	To find a better job
22	9	Todo Servicio	cama afuera	To escape terrorism
23	17	Todo Servicio	cama adentro	To finish schooling
24	21	Enfermera	cama afuera	To study
25	12	Todo Servicio	cama adentro	To help out family
26	16	Nana	cama adentro	To finish schooling/father died
27	15	Todo Servicio	cama afuera	To work with the promise of study
28	NG	Todo Servicio	cama adentro	To start anew
29	34	Todo Servicio	cama afuera	To start anew; help husband
30	16	Todo Servicio	cama afuera	To earn money

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