



DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND WORK
SCIENCE

CHALLENGES FOR WOMEN'S LABOR MARKET PARTICIPATION AND EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES IN PERU

A qualitative study of gender norms and class
conditions

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Abstract

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Keywords: Peru, gender inequality, labor market, education, class

- Aim:** The aim of the study is to gain an in-depth understanding of women's possibilities, obstacles and pathways to employment in Peru through educational opportunities.
- Theory:** Theories used for analysis of the collected empirical material are feminist theory, gender segregation, hidden work, class, and Bourdieu's theory of capital.
- Method:** The method used in the study is a qualitative method, where the data collection has taken place through semi-structured in-depth interviews. The sample consisted of four experts within their respective fields as well as four women of different ages and social backgrounds who described their experiences.
- Result:** The result showed that women's labor market participation were unquestionably affected by gender norms and class structure in the Peruvian society. The interviewed women had different experiences related to the labor market participation, either difficulties to enter it or to reach higher positions within it, due to gender norms. The study showed indications of a connection between the quality of education and labor market participation. The quality of the education varied depending on the area of residence, urban or rural. Due to lack of economic capital, individuals in the rural areas did not have the same opportunities on the labor market as individuals in the urban areas. Additionally, the Covid-19 pandemic has had a significant impact on women's work situation. The female dominated sectors have been the most affected ones, which is also confirmed by the interviewees.

Preface

First and foremost, we express a big thank you to all of the participants that partook in this study, also to Håkan Silfverlin and Ruth Anastacio for helping us get in contact with these individuals. The proficiency amongst the experts that had contributed to this study's groundwork is from our perspective impressive. Their participation should further be considered as a vital component signaling validity to our readers. Also, we are fortunate that the female individuals have taken their time and opened up about their life stories, for that we are truly grateful.

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1. Introduction

Globally, a gender gap exists between the genders in relation to the difference in work opportunities and wages (UN, 2022). Today 2,5 billion women are living in a country that has at least one law that is discriminating, affecting their decision-making regarding for example work, marriage, or childcare. Globally the gender gap on the labor market shows that 62% of women within working age, are working, while the corresponding number for men is 93%. Of these women, 58% work within the informal sector with uncertain wage and no social security. An educated, independent and working woman is to a lesser extent at risk of being exposed to domestic violence (UN, 2022). One in five women has experienced physical violence by an intimate partner. Peru is still in many areas driven by an old-fashioned vision of women being responsible for the household and childcare, while the men are the breadwinners (Vale, 2017). So how do the possibilities for women in Peru look regarding their own careers and independence? It is proven that women more often perform unpaid domestic work while men are the provider. Further, to which extent are the women affected by this social structure? What do women from an individual perspective say about this? This study covers subjective experiences regarding the educational system and the labor market through a class and gender perspective. This has been studied through interviews with experts within their fields and female individuals who express their experiences.

Theories regarding class and gender have been applied to analyze the empirical material. Class and gender inequalities are the reality both globally and in Peru. It is important to highlight that already at an early educational stage, the distribution of high school graduates indicates inequalities where only 53% of the girls, in comparison to 66% of the boys graduates (Vale, 2017). According to Rojas, Guerrero and Vargas (2016:10-11), children's educational trajectories are often related to their upbringing and resemble their parents' career paths and class belonging. The study also brings forward evidence that girls who drop out of school, often do so because they become pregnant, or become the one responsible for the household, while boys rather drop out of school to work. It is therefore to no surprise that boys already have an advantage in the labor market compared to girls (Rojas et al., 2016:6). Concerning gender, men generally have greater social value than women, and have possessed it globally throughout history (Hirdman, 1988:49-63). The male characteristics are interpreted as the norm, which in turn forms a hierarchy between the genders. Different expectations are set for the sexes that result in gender segregation and gender hierarchy. These are global problems that are appearing in larger parts of the world. According to The World Bank (2018) countries lose US\$160 trillion in wealth globally due to the difference in wages between men and women. By narrowing the scope to Peru, creating an equal labor market would not only result in a more equal society, but also reduce poverty. An additional factor to consider that has had a major impact on women in Peru is Covid-19, where the pandemic has created an economic crisis which has affecting the inhabitants to a significant extent and unemployment which has become a fact for numerous individuals (Gutiérrez, Martín & Ñopo, 2020:32). Women who lived in poverty before the pandemic have been hit the hardest due to the economic crisis and unemployment, with almost two-thirds unable to access paid work.

Agenda 2030 took form in 2015, with seventeen goals with the aim to contribute to a more sustainable development in the world (UNDP, 2022). In relation to the United Nations' Agenda 2030, this study aims to contribute with knowledge on this topic to highlight important subjects such as gender equality, social inequalities and poverty. The following study can be linked to the following sustainable development goals (SDG) of Agenda 2030: no poverty (SDG 1), quality education (SDG 4), gender equality (SDG 5), decent work and economic growth (SDG 8) and reduced inequalities (SDG 10). This study is based on the Minor Field Study (MFS) that we performed during the spring of 2022 in Peru, on scholarships sponsored by SIDA¹.

1.1. Aim and research questions

The aim of the study is to gain an in-depth understanding of women's possibilities, obstacles and pathways to employment in Peru through educational opportunities. The following research questions will therefore be answered:

1. How do Peruvian women experience that gender norms and class structures affect their possibilities and obstacles for labor market participation?
 - a. How does education affect women's labor market participation in relation to gender norms and class structures?
 - b. How does Covid-19 affect pre-existing gender and class structures in society?

1.2. Background

The following section consists of a description of Peru as a country as well as a summary of its educational system and labor market. This is to provide a better understanding in further reading of the study.

1.2.1. Brief summary of Peru

Peru is a country in Latin America that had approximately 33 million inhabitants in 2020 (Utrikespolitiska institutet, 2021a). In 2021, the capital of Lima alone had 10,8 million inhabitants. One quarter of the Peruvian inhabitants are identified as natives, Quechua people, which is the most common group of Indigenous people and who are also more likely at risk of being discriminated against in Peru (Utrikespolitiska institutet, 2021b). These indigenous individuals speak Quechua as a first language, while the rest speak Spanish as native language (Utrikespolitiska institutet, 2021a).

The government is at the time of writing run by a republican party (Utrikespolitiska institutet, 2021c). The president who was elected in July 2021 is the fifth president in three years and has limited support from the congress (Utrikespolitiska institutet (2021d). Political instability has long been present together with deep-rooted corruption, making it a problem for the society (Utrikespolitiska institutet. (2021b). Further, multiple political scandals over the years have weakened the inhabitants' trust for the government and for the political system overall.

¹ SIDA is a Swedish aid authority that aims to reduce poverty and oppression in the world by sponsoring different projects that help moving towards a better world (SIDA, 2022).

Peru's compulsory education system is constructed as follows: children attend primary school from age six to twelve, and continue to secondary school until the age of 17 (Utrikespolitiska institutet, 2021e). To acquire a bachelor's degree, the individual requires an additional four to six years at either a private or public university. Alternatively, a bachelor's degree is obtainable by completing a three-year education at a technical university or college, which also rewards the student with a certificate as a technical professional (Scholaro, 2022). It is important to highlight that the quality of public schools varies where there are particularly lower resources in the rural areas e.g., lack of course literature and educated, full-time teachers (Utrikespolitiska institutet, 2021e).

The labor market in Latin America is facing struggles regarding the informal sector, where 72% of the workforce works within the sector (Ñopo, 2022). Similar to other countries, the Peruvian labor market has female-dominated and male-dominated sectors (Morrison, 2021:6). Women work mainly in sectors such as service and retail, while men dominate construction and extraction industries. In 2020, the average monthly salary for women was US\$287, which is 20% less than the average salary for men at US\$357 according to statistics from INEI (n.d.), a national statistical system in Peru. Furthermore, 83% of men in Peru are employed, compared to only 66% of the women which further should be interpreted as a sign of inequality (Regeringskansliet, 2017:9).

2. Previous research

The following section contains previous research that has been identified as relevant to this study. The purpose is to gain a broader understanding of the situation through the previous research and finding a research gap for this thesis to examine. This previous research is presented to achieve the aim of the study, namely to: gain an in-depth understanding of women's possibilities, obstacles and pathways to employment in Peru through educational opportunities. The research presented under headings 2.1. and 2.2. will contribute to, and be compared with, our interviewees' responses to answer this study's research questions: 1 - How do Peruvian women experience that gender norms and class structures affect their possibilities and obstacles for labor market participation?, and 1a - How does education affect women's labor market participation in relation to gender norms and class structures?. The research on Covid-19 in section 2.3 intends to contribute to answering research question 1b - How does Covid-19 affect pre-existing gender and class structures in society?

2.1. Gendered factors that affect the pathways to adulthood

In general, young Peruvian's career paths have been shown to be partly dependent on their gender and area of residence. In a qualitative interview study, Rojas et al. (2016:4) examined young people's education and work trajectories in relation to poverty level, area of residence and parenthood in Peru. The study was conducted during the years 2007-2014 where six individuals were interviewed between the ages of 13-20. The main focus was on the factors that affect the genders in the trajectories into adulthood. The authors of this previous research are located in Peru which makes the study more reliable and acknowledged.

Rojas et al. (2016:17-29) found the difference between the young men and women who lived in the rural areas with economic constraints. Both for higher education and work trajectories, gender played a significant role for young people in rural areas. The study shows that social norms encourage young men to work and not study. It is seen as positive as they can, among other things, contribute to their parents' support and develop their financial situation required to create a family. In contrast, the norms for young women are to engage in household chores and be supported by the men. According to Rojas et al. (2016:17-29), the women without income are strictly limited in deciding about their own lives and future. Young people who instead have a financial opportunity to study at a higher level, choose their education to a large extent on the advice of relatives. The authors argue that this advice is based on preconceived notions about what is considered to be female and male, and not based on how it would benefit their future career. However, women are put at a disadvantage, normally ending up in occupations that are economically less valuable than men's occupations.

In summary, the study shows how young people's trajectories in Peru mostly relate to gender, class and support from home. In other words, segregation becomes a fact, and the women's career depends more on what life they have been born into and not on their own choices.

2.2. Domestic work as a gender and class issue

In a qualitative interview study with twenty women, Pérez and Llanos (2017) investigated the domestic work in Peru, with the focus on the rural areas. All the interviewed women in Pérez and Llanos study, had at some point during the years 2004 and 2015 worked with paid domestic work. This was analyzed together with theories of occupational segregation and mobility, as most people in domestic work are women so this became gender segregation. The sector's limited wage, in turn, limits women in their development and their lives. The authors also examined the sector in conjunction with women's reasons for migrating to the larger cities in the country. Pérez and Llanos are researchers at universities in Peru, which makes the study reliable and can contribute to this thesis.

In Pérez and Llanos (2017) study, a pattern is shown that young women in rural areas tend to have domestic work as their first job, which combined with lack of education, are making them limited in their mobility and career development. The majority of the women interviewed had plans for future studies or other work opportunities, and which did not materialize as a result of marriage and/or children. The gender norms in Peru implies that the woman's role is to take care of the family which limits the women's options. It is not until the children have grown up or if the partner abandoned the family, that it may become necessary for women to return to domestic work as a way of securing income. The authors found that the women in this studied sector who also lived in the rural areas, had a habit of trying to migrate to the urban areas. The primary drivers for migration for women to urban areas were greater opportunities for economic mobility, education and recovering from domestic violence.

In summary, the authors concluded that a low level of education in combination with strong gender norms in rural areas, result in that women tend to perform domestic work which further reduces their social mobility and social value.

2.3. The coronavirus pandemic and its challenges to women's work in Latin America

A study published in November 2020, written by Gutiérrez, Martin and Ñopo, examines the impact of Covid-19 on women's work in Latin America. The study was written in Peru with a focus on Latin America. The authors thus have a deep understanding of the situation for their co-citizens. Gutiérrez, Martin and Ñopo (2020) gathered data from various surveys that had been conducted in the Latin American countries and then compiled it into an investigation. In addition, other relevant previous research with similar methodology, will also be included in this section to gain an even deeper understanding of the impact of Covid-19 on women.

Before the pandemic, every second woman was employed in Latin America, while the corresponding proportion for men was three out of four (Gutiérrez et al., 2020:15). In Peru, the pandemic has hit hard, and it has affected a lot of people. Gutiérrez et al. state that the worst affected due to the pandemic on the labor market in Latin America are young, poor,

single-parent, households who live in rural areas. Gutiérrez et al. (2020:32) mentioned that women living in poverty in Peru have had a worse situation since the pandemic, and 57% of these women have become unable to access paid work.

The pandemic has also greatly affected young people's work opportunities in Latin America, between age 15 and 24 (Gutiérrez et al., 2020:34). In Peru, 63% of young women and 55% of young men have lost their employment or had no opportunity to work. Before the pandemic, young women had a higher percentage of neither study nor work, 28%, while the young men in the same situation were comparatively lower, 15,9% (Morrison, 2021:13). The previously high percentage of the young women who did not study nor work, can be explained by the norm of unpaid domestic work and taking care of household members. The young women's previous absence in the labor market and in their studies became reduced due to Covid-19.

Another consequence of the Covid-19 was an economic crisis and high unemployment in Peru (Fort, Espinoza & Espinoza, 2021:10). Many were dependent on the informal economy and labor market, which led to uncertainty in the health system and also in earning enough to make a living. The situation mainly affected low-income earners in poorer areas in the country. To be able to support themselves and manage the crisis, a significant number of households re-immigrated to rural areas where there would be better conditions. In their study, Fort et al. (2021:18) put forward arguments estimating that over 220 000 individuals migrated from urban areas to rural areas during the first eight months of the pandemic.

As previously mentioned, women mainly work in service and retail, and the male-dominated sectors are construction and extraction (Morrison, 2021:6). The sectors hardest hit in Peru due to the pandemic have been the female-dominated sectors as these professions require direct contact with the public. The male-dominated sectors such as construction and extraction have been affected to a lesser extent. One result of this is that labor market participation has decreased significantly for women (Morrison, 2021:6). Women's participation fell by 8% between January 2020 and January 2021, while the corresponding figure for men was 2,7%.

Due to social restrictions and to limit spread of infection, numerous companies and organizations have had to adapt to the new climate set by the covid-19 pandemic, and strategies to ensure continued work. Likewise, the schools have had to be converted to remote learning, which has led to both parents and children having to be at home (Morrison, 2021:7). The burden of housework and family care has increased in Latin America. Morrison (2021:7) presented a study, based on an online survey with a random sample of 230,540 individuals, where two out of three women answered that they were the only ones responsible for the housework in the home, while one in four men answered that they were responsible. In addition, 60% of women and 14% of men answered that they were solely responsible for their children's education at home. Gutiérrez et al. (2020:32) study shows that 57% of the Peruvian single mothers with young children had limited chances of having a job due to the pandemic, which is the highest percentages in Latin America by gender and country. An additional reason for this may be the difference between the genders' access to the internet (Morrison, 2021:6). It is generally a low percentage of the Peruvian people who have this asset. Only

45.9% of women have internet access, which is six percentage points lower than for men. This is something that makes the situation of distance work more critical for the women.

According to Gutiérrez et al., (2020:42), the government has great responsibility over the situation, and they present several suggestions for improvement. One of the proposals the authors suggest is to strengthen child and elderly care, which would both lead to less pressure on women to stay at home performing domestic work, and more jobs would thus be created. Furthermore, as many individuals lose their jobs due to the pandemic, Gutiérrez et al. (2020:42) also suggest that the government should, like in other neighboring countries, provide political support in the form of grants or loans to those who have been hit harder by the crisis to protect households.

2.4. Summative discussion

The situation of women in Peru in the labor market and in everyday life varies depending on multiple factors. All the way from women's upbringing and the gender norms that are placed on them at an early age, where they live, their class origin, to how they are affected in crises such as the Covid-19 pandemic, are all parameters that contribute to negative consequences related to their gender in specific. Previous studies show the situation of women in Peru based on these aspects, each one separately, but leave question marks based on the connection and further consequences the aspects have together. No studies written in English that investigated the situation of Peruvian women based on the aspects of education and the labor market where the covid-19 pandemic is also reflected had been identified, therefore this study aims to contribute to increased knowledge in this gap. There might have been research done within this field in Spanish, but due to our basic knowledge in Spanish, those have not been found.

3. Theory

In this section the following theories will be presented: feminist theory, forms of segregation, hidden work, class, and Bourdieu's theory of capital. Since the study examines how women experience gender norms and class structures and how it affects their chances of becoming labor market participants, these theories are useful to analyze in relation to the collected empirical data. The first three theories have been chosen since the study is connected to the gender perspective, and the other theories focus on the class perspective. The theories are taken from sources that concern the Western world, however, these theories are to a large extent general, meaning that they can be applied in the analysis of Peruvian society as well.

3.1. Feminist theory

Feminist theory focus on women's situation and experiences of society and its norms (Hirdman, 1988:51). The theoretical approach discusses the gender differences based on roles regulated within institutional environments (Hirdman, 1988:54). An essential factor for gender differences is the gender-based division of labor that connects women to the tasks as a wife, mother and domestic worker. The interactionist aspect argues that gender is created by people and reproduced through culture, stratification systems and social interactions, often called socialization. This means that the rooted norms and structures about gender perceptions cannot easily change. What Hirdman (1988:50) describes is the socially constructed gender, which is to be viewed as different from the biological innate gender. In most contexts, the male gender is associated with dominance, which is expressed in, among other things, trajectories, career opportunities and wage in the working life (Hirdman, 1988:51).

3.2. Forms of segregation

The following section outlines gender-segregated patterns that exist in the labor market. These structural patterns appear globally and express the different extent of women and men in different sectors, i.e., horizontal gender segregation, and the different positions of the genders within an organization hierarchy, i.e., vertical gender segregation (Peterson, 2017:353). Since segregation in different forms can be seen within the Peruvian society, the theories are important for a deeper understanding of the topic.

3.2.1. Horizontal gender segregation

Women and men tend to work in different areas of expertise, professions and sectors, and the phenomenon is called horizontal gender segregation (Peterson, 2017:353-355). The public sector, including education, health, and social work, is a women-dominated area. The male-dominated professions are often fields such as industry-worker and the craft profession. On the other hand, there are few professions that are gender integrated, i.e., do not have a strong dominance of one gender, for example chefs and store managers. Nevertheless, horizontal gender segregation can also take place within the workplace. Internal horizontal gender

segregation means that women and men are given different tasks within a profession or workplace, and although companies may be considered to be gender-integrated, internal horizontal gender segregation can exist.

Peterson (2017:355) describes that educational and career choices result from socialization processes learned from childhood. Women who have been taught to take on the caring role in the home tend to work in occupations with similar tasks. The learned masculine and feminine behaviors are reflected also when the choice of profession arises. In Latin America, women are underrepresented within STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics), and only 35% of higher education graduates within the STEM sector are women (UNESCO, 2022). The global norm implies that caring work has lower status and is more low-skilled than the STEM sector, which makes women's underrepresentation in this sector a problem (USAID, 2016:42).

3.2.2. Vertical gender segregation

Another form of segregation in society is the vertical gender segregation which refers to women and men being situated at different organizational levels, where men tend to reach higher organizational positions than women (Peterson, 2017:355). There are structural barriers for women in terms of career development, influence, and salary, possibly a consequence of this male norm.

The explanation to the vertical segregation may be due to homosocial reproduction, meaning that men are often selected for leading positions based on the image of social criteria that they seem to meet (Wahl, Holgersson, Höök & Linghag, 2018:182). This becomes a structural problem as women are excluded from higher positions. Women themselves have identified housework and gender norms as the two largest obstacles with regards to being excluded from managerial positions (Morrison, 2021:14-15). The areas where women are seen in managerial positions are mainly in the public sector, concentrated in social areas, on the other hand, Morrison (2021:14-15) mentions how women slowly are gaining greater access to the higher positions in the professional setting.

Similarly to the rest of the world, women in Peru are underrepresented in leading positions in private companies (Morrison, 2021:14). At the same time, the percentage of female professionals with managerial positions in medium-sized and large companies in Peru is above the world average, with 19,9% compared to 18,3%. Despite this, women can be seen to be hindered by a glass ceiling² in organizations to reach higher positions. Morrison (2021:12) further states that while the income gap between the sexes has decreased over the past 10 years, there is still a significant pay gap. In 2018, women had 25,9% lower earnings compared to their male counterparts. The author describes that 11,9 percentage points of the gap can be explained by individual characteristics, while the remaining 14 percentage points is unexplained and thus likely related to a measure of gender discrimination.

² Invisible but noticeable limit for women in the labor market not reaching the same positions as men (Flisbäck, 2017:506).

3.3. Hidden work

The concept of hidden work can be split into two groups; one being concealed work, including non-declared work e.g., informal, and the other as unrecognized work, e.g., domestic work (Noon, Blyton & Morrell, 2013:318). Hidden work may consist of charity work, childcare, drug dealing or a cash-in-hand employment, to name a few. In the following parts informal work will be described since it is a large part of the labor market in Peru. Domestic work will also be outlined, as the women in Peru are overrepresented within the sector, affecting their participation on the labor market.

3.3.1. Informal work

The informal sector is overrepresented in developing countries, this vulnerable type of work stands for approximately 80% of the workforce (UNDP, 2015:63). Individuals within informal work are often underpaid and often do include dangerous and unsafe work. In Latin America 51% of the workforce are categorized to belong to the informal market, excluding agricultural work. The informal work revolves around the fact that the income is not declared to tax authorities (Noon et al., 2013:317, 322, 324). One aspect affecting the informal market is the lack of employment opportunities, which stimulates an increase in self-employment which in greater extent contains concealed work which does not include payment of tax. It can be recognized as illegal in some aspects and may be considered concealed because it comes with a social stigma (Noon et al., 2013:324). The individuals involved in informal work often have a challenging time receiving formal employment, the ability to improve their level of wage, therefore are more likely to choose a cash-in-hand employment (Noon et. al., 2013:325-326).

Informal work can also include an individual working within the informal sector or some situations regarding individuals with self-employment, it is often characterized by bad working conditions, irregular and low salaries and little chance of collective actions regarding their work situation (UNDP, 2015:112-113). This usually means that informal employment does not include the same protection and safety arrangements as formal employment. In developing countries these occupations are usually overrepresented by women, with 86% of women having informal employment in comparison with 77% of men (UNDP, 2015:112-113).

The researcher Ñopo (2022) states two thirds of employment in developing countries are informal. In Peru, 72% of the labor market is informal. The individuals with informal employment do not receive social insurances or pension plans, but they are also not paying taxes on their income which creates other problems since the informal market in Peru is very large. In a podcast by the World Bank (2021, May 24) the following is stated: “What’s really interesting is that, in my opinion, emerging markets that have higher levels of informality also tend to have higher levels of gender inequality”. This quote thus perfectly matches this study since there is a high level of informality in the Peruvian labor market and also a high level of inequality between the genders.

3.3.2. Domestic work

The hidden domestic work can be either intentionally hidden or unintentionally hidden (Noon et al., 2013:317). Since unpaid work generally is not seen as the typical employment within a capitalist market, unpaid work is not often recognized as “real” work. Domestic work often revolves around work involving the household, which is something that affects the level of participation on the labor market (Noon et al., 2013:329). Women are mostly affected by this since they are overrepresented doing domestic and unpaid work, which takes time and energy from being able to participate in paid work.

According to Eurosocial (2021), there are approximately 420 000 domestic workers in Peru, of which 95% are women, and 89% had informal employment. The women within this category earn 52,5% less than they would in a formal employment, and they also do not have access to social security because of the informality of their work.

3.4. Class

The concept of class is an additional social structure of power relations and social inequality that exist in society (Berglund & Schedin, 2017:319). Class is, for example, expressed through different living conditions, attitudes and actions. In countries with expensive tuition fees, education becomes a class privilege which in turn gives people with higher cultural and economic capital greater opportunities.

Svensson (2017:104-105) describes how education has a significant part in recreating social classes. There are clear differences between the education levels of the people who come from either a white-collar family or a working-class family, where the former is seen to have a higher level of education. One explanation for it could be that children tend to acquire higher education if their parents have acquired it. This in turn is shown in the labor market through the norms that exist, the work that is higher valued is work that requires a higher level of education.

3.4.1. Bourdieu's theory of capital

According to Bourdieu (1993:33), an individual's class position is based on the amount of capital the individual holds. Bourdieu's theory of capital includes mainly four types of capital; economic, cultural, social and symbolic, which are combined and compensated by the others. Capital can be compared to resources that individuals or groups possess as assets to acquire benefits in society. The economic capital includes money and other material assets (Bourdieu, 1993:33-34). It also includes knowledge of financial conditions. The second, cultural capital, can be seen mainly inherited from family and upbringing (Bourdieu, 1993:9,34). It generates knowledge regarding the cultural codes, ways of perceiving things, thinking and talking. More concretely, education and title are also included in the cultural capital. Social capital, the third of Bourdieu's forms of capital, includes the value of the individual's contact network in private life and professional life (Bourdieu, 1993:32). It can be memberships in special groups or useful contacts that can provide recognition and a sense of community. The

social capital is something the individual needs to create to be able to provide benefits, materially or symbolically. Bourdieu (1993:32) discusses the social field where all these different capitals work together, both the total amount and their distribution. In these fields you can find the capitals become symbolic when its value is recognized by other agents in the same field, that the individual can benefit from within the fields they are in (Svensson, 2017:99). If the individual's capital is not recognized by the group, it means that authority is not increased, i.e., norms assess who should hold symbolic capital in that field.

4. Method

The chosen method for this study was qualitative, which is suitable when the aim in a thesis is to capture an individual's perspective and subjective experience of a specific matter, rather than to measure a specific topic (Bryman, 2018:61-62). The data collection in the study was based on an abductive approach, which means working in parallel with theory and data collection and analysis, i.e., not interpreting empirical data in advance based on theoretical hypotheses (deduction), or only choosing theory based on empiricism (induction) (Kvale & Brinkman, 2014:239). Conclusions are drawn based on the worldview of the studied subjects because people's situations are often not completely explicit. Thus, as researchers, theories have been used as inspiration for an increased understanding in the analysis of the empirical data. Some of the theories have been included from the very start, such as theories regarding class and gender, while others have been included during the study, for example gender segregation and theory of capital.

The chosen previous research has been adapted throughout the course of the study. These have been discovered through the interviewed researcher and by searching for suitable previous research. From a critical point of view, the searches mainly reach for English-written previous research due to language barriers for the Spanish language. Thus, there exist more research findings published in Spanish articles and reports which were not able to be used in this bachelor thesis. This resulted in a use of different previous research publications, for example Morrisson (2021), which might not be peer-reviewed and academically approved. However, all the previous research was written by individuals who are located in Peru or Latin America.

4.1. Sample strategy and description of interviewees

Support was given by our contact person in Peru, Operative Manager for the foundation Dispurse. The foundation, which is politically and religiously independent, works to fight poverty for women in Peru through adult education, by teaching them how to read and write (Dispurse, n.d.). Furthermore, contact has been established with the co-founder of Dispurse, who is well versed in the topic of this study and has many social contacts in the area, supported us in establishing contact with the majority of the interviewees. When applying for a MFS, contact with both the Operative Manager and the co-founder was made through connecting with the Swedish embassy in Peru, after asking for help reaching individuals involved in the examined topics: gender inequality, Peru's educational system and labor market participation in Peru. The reason for choosing Peru is that this was the only one out of four Swedish embassies in different countries that answered when reached out to. The specific subject to be examined connected to Peru was uneven education levels within the country. We wished to examine this and compare how the uneven levels affected the upcoming work life for women in Peru.

The empirical data was collected through eight interviews. These interviews have been divided into two groups of different perspectives: experts and women with experience from the labor market. The former group, the experts, contributed with their professional knowledge and experiences from their specific expert fields in which they are operating. The female individuals contributed with their personal life stories as women in Peru and the possibilities and obstacles for labor market participation. The group of experts were sampled based on a strategic goal-directed sample, which means a person of interest who may be typical and included in a subgroup connected to the study (Bryman, 2018:497). The group of female individuals were sampled through a convenience sample, which means that the researcher selects individuals who occur conveniently connected to the study (Bryman, 2018:496). This sample was an effect of the need to collect individual perspectives, referring to the aim of the study to gain an in-depth understanding of women's possibilities, obstacles, and pathways to employment in Peru through educational opportunities. The intent was to find two female participants with promising careers and preferably advantageous social backgrounds, while the other two remaining women would have less advantageous backgrounds and be either unemployed or struggling with employment. A comparison between these women's life stories could generate an indication of the class situations for women in Peru.

The variety of interviewees were chosen to both gain an individual perspective from women living in the social environment chosen to explore, and the knowledge from the experts who are well invested within the subject. This gives the study a high validity which is concluded at the end of this thesis. All interviewees are presented below, with a sampling of expert and female individual perspectives. In order to maintain anonymity of the interviewees, all names have been changed to fictitious nicknames, alternatively only referred to by their professional title.

Description of expert interviewees:

A female *communication specialist* working at the Ministry of Education in Peru. Specializing in developing the educational system by participating and educating authorities and individuals with pedagogical responsibilities all over Peru to help create better communities.

A male *senior economic researcher* and published author within the field of inequality. The main topics being gender and ethnic inequality. This person has 18 years of experience within the field and works in one of the leading think-tanks³ in Peru.

The interviewed *technical specialist* works at the national education consults since 2017. The organization was built to improve the educational system in Peru. It contains a board of directors and 25 consultants that meet twice a month to discuss different educational matters. The work includes coordinating a team and overseeing the research that the organization

³ A think-tank is an organization that conducts research, information dissemination and develops new long-term ideas in the public debate (Nationalencyklopedin, n.d.)

conducts. The interviewee oversees managing and analyzing data and is also leading the educational policies in Peru.

An *academic director* who manages a three-leveled private school in the outskirts of Lima with approximately 260 students. She has a bachelor in elementary education, extensive experience as a teacher and experience in educational administration and management of Individualized Education Programs (I.E.P.).

Description of interviewees from female individual perspectives

Female called *Carmen*, who is approximately 40 years old. Grew up in an urban suburb in the outline of Lima together with parents and six siblings. The parents who had limited educational backgrounds had a vision for the sons to have successful careers and for the daughters to marry rich and have children. Carmen broke the norm in the family by being the first female to educate herself to a successful career with a bachelor's degree in communication from a private school in Peru and a master's degree in marketing in Spain, both funded by scholarships. Current employment is as operative manager which is the top position for the organization in Peru.

Ana is a woman in her forties and grew up in an urban area with her two siblings and her parents. Her highest level of education is a master's degree in psychology from a university in the United States. Currently, Ana works as a technical manager in an organization who works with education on a national level in Peru.

One woman, who can be called *Maria*, has grown up in difficult circumstances due to economic issues. Without support from home, she does not have any further education than primary school and has been struggling with getting a job during her life. She is now 63 years old and is retired without any retirement funds due to her previously informal jobs.

Lucia, a woman in her mid-sixties never got the opportunity to attend school nor learned to read or write. Grew up with her nine older brothers and lost her parents at an early age. Therefore, she began working at the age of eight and had to live without her brothers until age fifteen. Later Lucia got married and had two kids but lost her partner in an accident. Now she works within paid domestic work.

4.2. Collection of empirical data

Data were collected through qualitative semi-structured in-depth-interviews. These were held based on one of two interview guides depending on the interviewee, the individuals and the experts (See appendix 3 & 4). This form of interview consists of planned questions, but where the order and follow-up questions are dependent on the answers given by the informant, which increases the flexibility of the interview (Bryman, 2018:260). It was therefore possible to ask the planned questions and at the same time include the interviewees' thoughts and inputs to gain a deeper understanding of the topics studied. Therefore, life story interviews have been used during the study. This means a more unstructured interview form to be able to catch the interviewees' full life story (Bryman, 2018:260). During the interview with the

female individuals, a more unstructured approach was used to be able to take on any interesting angle or subject from the interviewee regarding their lives.

All the interviewees consented to the interview being recorded and later transcribed. Bryman (2018:577-578) states that recording interviews can be helpful in the analysis of the data as it is possible to both get what the interviewee says about the topic but also how it is said. During the interviews we were both present, whereby one was always responsible for leading the interview in a desirable direction while the other took notes and came with follow up questions and also transcribed the interview afterwards. For every other interview, the roles were reversed.

Due to language barriers, an interpreter joined some of the interviews while the rest interviewees were conducted in English. The interviews held by the interpreter were with the Communication Specialist, Academic Director, Maria and Lucia.

4.3. Processing of empirical data

After the interviews, the material was transcribed, analyzed and coded. A qualitative content analysis was made to clarify what topics to focus on in terms of theories and previous research. Doing a content analysis means searching through the collected material for underlying themes (Bryman, 2018:677). Coding the material regarding visible themes makes it easier to visualize the data in a more compact way (Bryman, 2018:698). The themes that resulted from this analysis were the following: gender inequality, both on the labor market and regarding educational opportunities for women in Peru. Class, how quality in education differs depending on habitation in a rural or urban area. Lastly Covid-19, and the extensive effects of the pandemic in a developing country like Peru. From the beginning, class and gender were themes that were considered relevant to use. Through the abductive approach, the study was adjusted and worked in parallel with more theories and previous research based on the coding. By using this approach, the interview guides were constructed to catch a certain angle of the topic that was chosen, to examine to what extent women in Peru experience their opportunities on the labor market and in what way their educational paths have played a part in it.

4.4. Critical method reflections

In the study, limitations have been made for ethical and accessibility reasons. As the time for data collection in Peru was limited, the plan needed to be adapted to which interviewees were given by our contacts and when they were able to be interviewed. Unfortunately, due to lack of time some further interview opportunities with experts in similar fields were declined.

As the study was conducted in a different country and in a different language than our native language, some information may have been lost in translation. Thus, the interviews that were held in Spanish with the help of an interpreter, we rely on the translations being correct. Since the interpreter was an additional person in the interviews, it is not known how the interviews would have turned out if that person was not involved. On the other hand, the interpreter

provided the opportunity to interview some of the interviewees that otherwise would not have been possible to interview. Furthermore, as the interpreter was of the same native inheritance as the interviewees, that person became socially accepted more easily which can have made them share even more to discuss topics that they otherwise maybe should not have done in a similar matter.

Another critical method reflection regarding the language barrier is that no one connected to this study has English as native language. Therefore, we have through this study kept this in mind and made sure not to lose valuable information in translation or misconception, in both previous research and answers of the interviewees.

Through writing the research result not every interviewee was mentioned the equal amount, this was because not every interview and not all material gave an equal amount of usable material for the study and will therefore be mentioned but not equally used.

4.5. Validity and reliability

Since the intention of the study was to gain an indication into what the situation looks like for the women in Peru from expert and individual perspectives, qualitative in-depth interviews were a relevant collection method. To be able to generalize and access the subjectively experienced reality of individuals, the reliability and validity of the material needs to be analyzed (Patel & Davidson, 2003:102–103). Reliability can be measured by seeing if the result would be reproduced at a different time and interviewer (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2014:295). It can be about the trust the interviewee has in the interviewer and/or if the interviewer asks questions that can influence the answers. Additional aspects that can negatively affect the reliability of the study can be implicit assumptions that are based on cultural boundaries or differences (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2014:185). The stay in Peru was prepared with a thorough exploration of the country's cultural norms and language usage, both before the journey to Peru and in Peru before the interviews were conducted. Use of an interpreter due to language barriers was necessary during some interviews. Kvale and Brinkmann (2014:295) state that the interpreter must be culturally accepted to increase the reliability of the study. This is something that was considered as the interpreter who joined the interviews was a Peruvian woman. She helped with both formulating the questions in a way that was socially acceptable and making the interviewed women feel comfortable in the interview situations.

The study's validity refers to the study result's representation of reality (Patel & Davidsson, 2003:103). The sample of interviewees can have a major impact on the study's validity. The authors describe how the size of the sample is of less importance where the interviewees' value instead is in focus. In this study, a wide sample of interviewees contributed with different perspectives which strengthens the validity of the study. By interviewing professions in different fields as well as the perspectives of private individuals with different social backgrounds, a broad view has been created where multiple qualities of the topic can be reached.

4.6. Ethical reflections

In this study where individuals share their life experiences and experts critically discuss topics concerning social inequality patterns in Peru, it is of great importance to think ethically and oversee the research material carefully. Research ethics based on the publication Vetenskapsrådet (2002) *'Forskningsetiska principer'* has therefore been taken into account. The older publication was chosen instead of the updated version from 2017, since it was considered more helpful and usable connected to this study. Vetenskapsrådet (2002:6–13) presents four main requirements that must be considered when collecting empirical material: information, consent, anonymity and use.

The information requirement means that the interviewees must be informed about the purpose of the study, that participation was voluntary and the conditions that apply (Vetenskapsrådet, 2002:7). To meet this requirement, the interviewees were informed in advance about us as researchers and the purpose of the study. All interviewees were asked to sign a consent form where they were informed about their participation and information about the study. The consent form was translated into English (see appendix 1), as well as the country's official language, Spanish (see appendix 2), to ensure that the interviewees understood the content. The consent form also contributed to the second requirement, the assent requirement. Vetenskapsrådet (2002:9) explains how the interviewer must obtain the informant's consent to participate in the study. In addition to the consent form that the interviewees signed, we as researchers also announced that all questions are voluntary to answer, and that the interviewee has the option to cancel the interview without giving a reason. They also had to sign a box on the consent form guaranteed they agreed to being sound recorded.

The confidentiality requirement, which deals with the requirement of anonymity, means that the interviewees' personal information must be inaccessible to unauthorized individuals (Vetenskapsrådet, 2002:12). All information about the interviewees in the study has been saved on password-protected computers to guarantee anonymity. All interviewees have fictitious names or are referred to based on the profession in the study, in this way they are anonymous. The last requirement, the utilization requirement, was how the collected material may only be used for purposes other than scientific (Vetenskapsrådet, 2002:14). This requirement has been followed carefully as well.

All interviewees have been asked where they want the interview to be conducted for them to feel comfortable and safe in participating in the interview situation. Some interviews were held at neutral places, such as a café the interviewees themselves choose, while others were held at the interviewees' own homes. Cultural differences that may have arisen have been considered as well as the power dynamic between the interviewers and the interviewees. From beginning the connection with the interviewees, it was of highest importance to assure that the interviewees were not pressured, and it has been their decision from deciding that they will participate to what they share during the interviews, both personally and professionally.

5. Research results

The following section will present the research result in two different perspectives, both based on education from different perspectives and the labor market in a similar manner.

5.2. Education

The following section includes the research results regarding gender norms and class structures connected to educational opportunities in Peru. The collected empirical data was analyzed with the theories and previous research that are previously introduced.

5.2.1. The importance of educational degrees in Peru

Based on the insight from the interviews, today's youth is expected to get a degree from a higher education, a university degree for example. The senior economic researcher explained the situation:

In our society, to have a degree is very valuable socially. For many households it's fundamental to have their kids who have a university degree. Some of the less talented kids will have the social pressure to have a degree ... Not necessarily that they want it ... They just study, get a degree, then move on to be merchants, taxi drivers and other different occupations.
- Senior economic researcher.

One example of this, which is continuously described by the senior economic researcher, is that approximately 700 000 students graduate to become teachers annually, but there are only 500 000 jobs, therefore 200 000 individuals end up working within other areas than education.

One of the interviewees, Ana, described how her father was a professor at a university and that it never was an option for her to not pursue a higher education. Though, the options for her were limited, she described:

I remember my father said music is a hobby and something you do on the side, but it is not a career. A career is within education, psychology, or medicine. So, I decided to go to the university because of that, and that is something I think now maybe could be different. - Ana

Ana expressed no regret for her decision to enter the field of psychology, but it is an example of the importance of children pursuing higher education within some families. Another perspective is from Maria who expressed that she wanted to keep studying but that there was no support from her family or any academically connected person that could guide her.

I didn't have anybody from school, family or government that advised me on the next steps. Even though I was lucky to go to school, there was nothing planned for me to do next. - Maria [translation by interpreter].

Another female individual's perspective is from Lucia, who walked in her parents' footsteps and did not study for long but began working at an early age.

I never had the opportunity to study, I do not know how to read or to write. My parents never studied, in my town people did not go to school, they worked from a young age. - Lucia [translation by interpreter].

Comparing the previous research by Rojas et al. (2016:17.24) regarding who described the impact of parents' trajectory on individuals and their life choices, with the women's experiences, they both confirmed each other. The difference is that the parents insisted on the children pursuing education, even though the parents have not been educated past secondary school. This reflects on the importance of having a degree in the Peruvian society, even though the individual manages to struggle his/her way into college, through education and never using it. Connected to the capitals from Bourdieu's theory (1993:9, 34), meaning that different capitals may explain the pressure from parents to higher education. It may be a result of either wanting their children to keep these capitals at the same level as themselves, or for the children to increase them and the amount of capitals and maybe therefore the quality of life. Increased economic capital could mean more money, being able to afford a good home in a good neighborhood and afford good schooling for future children and being able to care for their elders. Increased social capital meaning increased network and other possible benefits to improve the life quality for the family. Lastly, an increase in the cultural capital could come from a degree from a university and which could increase the amount of capital for future generations to come within the family.

5.2.2. A segregated educational system

Throughout the interviews insights have been gained that the educational system in Peru is segregated, following the various educational programs selected by girls and boys, respectively. This is relatable to previous research regarding domestic work by Pérez and Llanos (2017) who described how women and men choose different pathways when it comes to work and therefore educational choices as well. The horizontal gender segregation describes how different sectors and professions are often connected to different genders, for example men educating towards industry-workers while women educate themselves towards education and healthcare (Peterson, 2017:353-355).

According to the senior economic researcher, men are more often prone to study to enter a STEM type of work, while women move towards a more caring and nurturing type of work, something that also is confirmed by UNESCO (2022) with statistics showing that only 35% of STEM graduates are women. This is nothing new, but instead has been the norm for a long time. Feminist theory describes how the concept and meaning of gender are written through culture and norms (Hirdman, 1988). Multiple of the interviewees underlined that the norm of female and male characteristics is changing and that more women are moving towards education within STEM. Ana, one of the interviewees, expressed how there are national policies that residents have to follow to see the problems and give more opportunities to women, but that it is not enough.

Women have more possibilities to be scientists now, that is something that was not a thing before. We have policies that we have to follow to see the problem and give more

opportunities to women, but it is not enough. There are more opportunities now, but the economic situation is worse. And I think that a lot of people in rural families still believe that the one who has to have the superior education is the boy, not the girl. - Ana.

The communication specialist explained that the Peruvian model for education needs to change since there still are separate schools for boys and girls. Ana confirmed this by saying that she changed school from a girls-only university to a mixed university following a realization that this change was necessary to reach her dream of becoming a psychologist in Peru. The change became an eyeopener to Ana who expressed how her whole vision about the world changed.

My school was very conservative, it was catholic and a girl only school. When I went to university it changed my life completely. I had a more open world, and I changed my idea of everything. Now I am a completely different person from who I was at school. - Ana.

5.2.3. Class structures in the educational system

It is described by multiple interviewees that there are clear differences within the educational system in Peru. The quality varies depending on the location of the school; if it is located in an urban or rural area. In rural areas, where the habitants often are poorer, the education is more often of poorer quality. One of the reasons for this is explained to be a shortage of teachers, the positions do not get filled despite there being more educated teachers in Peru than teacher positions. The positions are described to be less attractive location wise in rural areas and also pay less.

It is a matter of low-quality teachers that lead to low quality education, nobody wants to go to a poor and isolated area, so they cannot fill the positions. We have an excess supply of teachers that don't want to go to the rural areas. They want to be in the city, driving a taxi, or being a merchant. They already earn more than they would in a rural area. - Senior economic researcher.

A negative cycle is described as a poverty cycle which one of the interviewees explained, meaning the poor stay poor because of inferior education that leads to lower paying jobs and so on.

Peru's education system is very segregated. Poor people are studying with other poor people. Wealthy people are studying with other wealthy people. People with disabilities only study with people with disabilities. And this is really bad for the learning process as we tend to learn more in an environment filled with diversity. - Technical specialist [translation by interpreter]

A significant risk regarding education in rural areas is that there are not always roads for cars and buses with which the kids can easily go to school. The route to school may be long and boys are often more prioritized to be educated. The road to school can be dangerous for girls to go by themselves and therefore more often needs to stay home.

The schools are very far from the citizens in rural areas, they have to walk a lot because there is no bus or other transportations. So, when they decide who in the family is going to school it

is usually the boy, because if the girl goes by herself, she put herself in a dangerous position, because she can get raped or killed. When we are talking about rape, she can end up with a baby she doesn't want to have. Most of the time this is the reason in the rural areas that only young men go to school and the women stay at home. - Communication specialist [translation by interpreter]

This can be connected to Bourdieu's (cf. 1993:9,34-35) theory about an individual's capital in life. Individuals living in rural areas are described to not have the same number of options when it comes to work and educational opportunities as people living in urban areas. This can refer to the economic capital since families in a rural area, like the communication specialist explained in the quote above, may not have enough money to have their kids travel safely to school which can put the girls in a dangerous situation. The danger with that situation is not only regarding the girls staying home instead of going to school and missing important education, but also needing to stay home doing domestic work like their mothers did. This results in lack of education for girls in the rural areas as well as them repeating the cycle of girls and women not attending school, just like described in previous study by Rojas et al. (2016:17-24) meaning that kids often choose the same or similar pathways as their parents.

5.2.3.1. The effect of Covid-19 within the educational system

During the Covid-19 pandemic Peru's educational system has been forced to act and go digital like many other parts of the world. Difficulties have arisen within the process in many countries, including those that are further developed than Peru. In a country with big class gaps and poverty like Peru, even bigger effects have occurred. For children of all ages, needing to study digitally from home requires a computer or tablet and a functioning Wi-Fi connection, which according to Morrison (2021:6) can be deficient within the households.

The kids don't have the internet, computers or phones. So, during these times the president of that town offers the kids computers or phones, but they never arrived. They got lost in the way, the corruption is severe. - Communication specialist [translation by interpreter].

The individuals in poorer rural areas do not have access to needed digital devices nor a functioning Wi-Fi connection, and when they are promised equipment, they do not receive them due to the deeply rooted corruption, this being described by the communication specialist. As described earlier by Gutiérrez et al. (2020:34), the pandemic impacted the Peruvian people a lot, especially poorer single parent households containing a female parent, since many women lost their jobs due to the pandemic. The technical specialist confirmed that the individuals in the rural areas are the most affected within the context of digital education and lack of internet connection. The children's educational opportunities within those households have smaller chances to be educated properly due to the household's economic situation. This can also be connected to Bourdieu's capital theory since the economic capital was low and therefore the digital devices were not available, the children's education suffered. As described by the communication specialist there have been investments to deal with this specific situation, and computers were bought for these kids, but never arrived at the right hands. In other words, education during the pandemic has become a class issue, something that the senior economic researcher confirmed in his interview:

There was online teaching, but not everybody can afford a computer so there was this big supply of online schooling but not everybody was able to get it. It is a class issue. - Senior economic researcher.

While class inequality has been noticeable previously as well, it has become more visible during the Covid-19 pandemic. The more privileged children have had the possibilities to keep up their education through their digital tools while children in less fortunate areas have not had that option. Overall, the education for children in Peru has been tough during the pandemic, and the level of education and children's advancement has decreased. This is confirmed by the senior economic researcher who expressed that the learning gaps within the classrooms were an issue before Covid-19, which has since increased.

This was already a serious issue before covid, now after covid it's going to be even more serious. With 2 years of covid some students progressed during these years while some others didn't. Some progressed only one of the 2 years while some didn't progress at all. – Senior economic researcher.

The result of the setback amongst the students ends with many of them either not finishing their education or not applying for higher studies. There are various reasons for students to drop out, and one that multiple of the interviewees confirmed is the household not affording the tuition or transportation to and from school or that children need to help provide for the family.

The most disadvantaged people are more vulnerable now. A lot of people have dropped out of school, there are less people now in the system because of the dropouts. Higher education for example, people didn't feel that they are getting what they are paying for. Because of the online schooling and also for the affordability of it. If you are an art student, how are you going to do paintings through Zoom? – Technical specialist.

Interviewee Ana confirmed this as follows:

The pandemic now makes it a worse situation. Not only for women but also for men. People aged 15-16 have to work now. They have to leave school to help their families, and to have an economy so they could live. - Ana.

5.3. Labor market

The following section will present the research results regarding gender norms and class structures on the labor market. The collected empirical data is compared in relation to the theories and research that are previously explained.

5.3.1. A horizontally gendered labor market

From the interviewees it is evident that there is a high degree of horizontal gender segregation on the labor market in Peru. The senior economic researcher believed that women often work within humanities work while men work mainly in STEM. These different working fields differ in working conditions and in salary, where occupations in the STEM

field often pay more. For example, the senior economic researcher mentioned the mines, where many of the men work, and how people believe that women should not go into the mine because that would bring bad luck. This is an expression that the gender structures in Peru are grounded in traditional perceptions, which plays out in gendered occupations.

The senior economic researcher addressed the situation of the female-dominated profession teaching. It has become a societal problem to make young skilled people choose the teaching profession as it has moved to a deteriorating status. The people who have higher grades and status instead choose to become lawyers, engineers or economists, which results in the teaching profession being considered low-skilled. To increase the quality of education in the country, the interviewed technical specialists believed a number of things needs to change, such as higher salary which would attract teachers with higher degrees and therefore increase the profession's status.

Another sector that is considered female-dominated is domestic work, both paid and unpaid (Noon et al., 2013:329). The interviewed paid domestic worker, Lucia, who has no literacy skills and grew up in a rural area, has lived a similar life to what Pérez and Llanos (2017) describes in their study on domestic workers. The authors described how domestic workers are often women from rural areas with an education deficiency. Lucia stated that she never had the opportunity to study and that the norm in her place of upbringing was to start working at an early age and not go to school. This led to her starting to work with paid domestic work. It can be analyzed with regards to Bourdieu's theory, which gives Lucia low cultural capital in society because of her upbringing and lack of education. However, in her hometown the norm was to work from an early age and not study, therefore her cultural capital could be seen as high, since she followed the norm.

Peterson (2017:355) states that the educational and career choices are a result of socialization, and similarly both Ana and Maria described their experiences of family members that encourage them to choose more feminine professions. There is also an expectation for the women to have a family and to become young mothers. Maria also said that the school had preparation workshops for the children of what they could do next after high school. She also expressed that times are different now, but the mindset is still there.

For the girls you had baking, nursing, cooking and similar things. But for the guys it was engineering and stuff like that. So, you could see that it was different. - Maria [translation by interpreter]

As mentioned previously, the teaching profession is seen as being women's work and STEM work is considered men's work. Both affirm that there are a lot of sectors and norms that are gender-based in Peru. Ana mentioned how women's families are proposing that they take jobs in education or as secretaries, because it is easier, and that the women also have to create a family. The family work can be seen as unpaid domestic work that makes it tougher for women to advance in their paid work (Noon et al., 2013:329). The idea that there are male and female professions becomes a vicious circle which makes it more beneficial for men to go out and earn more money while women have to take more responsibility in the household,

said the senior economic researcher. It becomes an economic rationality that perpetuates inequality and a work-family conflict for the women.

5.3.2. Women's limitations to higher positions

The vertical gender segregation in Peru is high, which means that there are clear structural barriers for women to reach higher positions (cf. Peterson, 2017:355). One of the interviewees, Carmen, has experience of not getting a higher position because she had a child and the employer thought that she would not be able to travel for work. That, and similar incidents can be seen as a result of the vertical gender segregation. This can be compared with Morrison's (2021:14-15) description that housework and gender norms are two important obstacles for women not to get higher positions.

Both Carmen and the interviewed technical specialist shared the same experience of receiving less compensation than their male counterparts. There were instances where men in both corresponding and lower-level positions received higher compensation for less valued work. This relates to statistics showing that women earn 20% less in general than men. The technical specialist described that despite working in a female-dominated industry, men earn more:

Since I work in education it's a very gender environment. Most of my colleagues are women. But... the men are the ones who earn more. - Technical specialist

Analyzing this phenomenon with Bourdieu's theory of capital a person possesses, it is possible to see that the male gender becomes a capital itself in society. Being born male provides a mixture of cultural and social capital. The men are valued higher, which gives them symbolic power, and a capital that is used in the various fields. Several of the interviewed persons mentioned that women often have more difficulties in making their voices heard in a professional setting. Ana said that it is common for women in Peru meeting those obstacles, because of the masculine norm.

Morrison's (2021:14) description that the income difference between the genders have decreased in recent years, corresponds with what the interviewed senior economic researcher expressed. He believed that there have been discussions about equal pay for equal work during the latest period. The discussion has had an impact and larger companies have become more mindful to provide equal pay for equal work. However, there are still wage gaps between the genders in both larger and smaller businesses.

5.3.2.1 The effect of Covid-19 within the labor market

The pandemic has affected most of the people in Peru and around the world, generally people who already struggled have gotten into a worse situation. The communication specialist mentioned how many people in the urban areas had to move back to their parents' home and work with agriculture due to the economic crisis of Covid-19. Many people lost their jobs which became a major financial hardship for many families. The differences in prices between the urban and rural areas are high, which led to people not being able to afford to

pay rent in the urban areas. Similarities can be seen to Fort et al. (2020:6) who states that over 200 000 individuals re-immigrated to rural areas during the first part of the pandemic. The interviewee Maria experienced this, when she had to move from the city center to the outskirts of the city to be able to afford the rent. Additionally, Maria's daughter also needed to move in to contribute financially. This can be compared to Gutiérrez et al. (2020) who suggest improvements, such as the government strengthening the elderly care so that family members do not have to take on that responsibility.

All interviewees stated that their lives have changed in one way or another during the Covid-19 pandemic. Lucia, who was a domestic worker, lost her job because her boss was afraid of being infected by the virus. It was a stressful situation for her, and it can be compared to Morrison (2021:6) description of female-dominated sectors being more vulnerable due to the direct contacts these occupations require. Ana and Carmen, who had to work from home, both say that they got more time for other things but underline that they have been lucky to be able to work from home. Morrison (2021:6) states that the burden of housework and family care has increased with the Covid-19 pandemic which both Carmen and Ana spoke against. Instead, they both believed that they have had a more balanced lifestyle and are happy that they were able to be at home more and spend time with their children.

Both the communication specialist and Ana believed that the situation for mothers has worsened during the pandemic. The communication specialist talked about single mothers and their economic hardship. As previously mentioned, Gutiérrez et al. (2020:32) express how Peruvian single mothers had limited chances of having a job during the pandemic, which may be the explanation for what the Communication Specialist described:

There was a big problem for the single moms because of the economic problem and lack of opportunities for them during the pandemic with no internet, trying to send their kids to have some education. But you need internet, computers, which they cannot afford, in school you have the teachers and everything, so you don't have to spend money there. – Communication specialist [translation by interpreter]

Ana, on the other hand, talked about the mothers who work as teachers and are mainly responsible for the housework in the home.

That is a very interesting thing here during the pandemic, what happened with the teachers who are women and have children. They have three more jobs because of the pandemic. She has to prepare the class for the students, she also has to be aware of her own children because they are at home studying, but also, she has to prepare lunch and breakfast, and clean the house. That happened to a lot of teachers. – Ana

That these women's workload increases sharply due to the pandemic could be explained by the deeply rooted gender structures in society of women who must take care of the household and the family. The previously mentioned statistics from Morrison's (2021:6) showed that 60% of women who answered were responsible for the household and approximately the same percentage said that they were responsible for their children's education at home, and this is in line with Ana's statement about their situation.

5.3.3. A dominant informal sector

The majority of the interviewees mentioned Peru as a country with a considerable amount of informal work. The technical specialist claimed that 70% of employment is informal, which corresponds with statistics from Ñopo (2022) that shows 72% of the employment in Peru is in some form informal. Informal work can be seen as a way to gain access to the labor market, especially for women who are overrepresented in the formal sector in developing countries (UNDP, 2015:112–113). The senior economic researcher mentioned the fact that Peru is a country of informality as part of a problem:

I can start any kind of informal firm and I will have no punishment for it. So, it is too easy, and when things are easy, many people will try it.

The technical specialist mentioned a consequence of having an informal job is that the person does not have the opportunity to use their experiences on their resume when applying for other jobs, because on paper the employment has not existed. Furthermore, informal workers may not have working rights or safety nets connected to work. UNDP (2015:112-113) states how informal workers often have inferior working conditions. The technical specialist expressed that it can be explained by the fact that there is no government office that controls the working environment of informal organizations, which exists for formal organizations.

UNDP (2015:112-113) states that informal workers' salaries often are irregular and low, which the technical specialist disagreed with. Instead, she described how the minimum wage in Peru is so low that it is difficult to meet basic needs with it. If you instead work for a company that is informal and does not pay tax, the company can instead pay more in wages. The technical specialist also mentioned that there are policies that help small businesses by making them pay less taxes. That is something the interviewed woman Maria also mentioned:

Previous years there was nothing that helped people to become formal workers, the taxes were so high, and it was complicated, so everybody did it informal. Now it is actually very easy to become formal and do things right, but it is a culture that is hard to change. – Maria [translation by interpreter].

The interviewed woman Maria has had many informal jobs such as daycare, working in corner shops, sales person at a market, laundry business and cleaner. Many of these businesses are described by UNDP (2015:63) as self-employments. Due to Maria's informal work, she has no retirement fund and must be supported financially by her children. She said that formal enterprises make pension contributions for their employees, and if you work informally you must save money yourself. According to Maria, saving money yourself is as follows:

...informal people don't do this, maybe they save the money in the bank, maybe. There is a culture for the Peruvians not to save the money for when they are older. They live for the day.
- Maria [Translation by interpreter]

5.3.3.1. Entrepreneurship

A large part of informal work is when people are self-employed and start their own business according to UNDP (2015:63). The senior economic researcher stated that 40% of the workforce are entrepreneurs, however not all of them work in the informal sector. He further explained that all of the entrepreneurs are not necessarily profitable:

Many people dream about being an entrepreneur and being the new Mark Zuckerberg. There is only one Mark Zuckerberg on planet earth and that's a serious problem. They go by their heart and not the head. It would be good for Peru if some people realized that not everybody can be the new Mark Zuckerberg and that some people have to invest into being good employees at bigger corporations. – Senior economic researcher.

The senior economic researcher further described the prevalence of non-salary workers within the family, which means that most often women work within the family company without any pay. This is because the enterprises are often not profitable, leading to them not paying salaries to all employees and the women are the ones who are left without pay. This may be an explanation for why the proportion of women is overrepresented in this sector, as UNDP (2015:112-113) describes. It can also be seen as a part of the gender division of labor in Peru and the vertical gender segregation, similarly to what Peterson (2017:355) has expressed regarding that women are facing structural barriers including salary and power in the labor market.

5.4. The importance of education for labor market participation

According to Svensson (2017:85), the opportunity for individuals to participate in the labor market is highly correlated to education. All interviewees discuss in one way or another the labor market participation related to educational level and educational quality. Maria and Lucia, who both had a lack of education, described their limits within the labor market, where freedom of choice and security did not exist in a similar way as for Ana and Carmen, who have extensive university educations.

The senior economic researcher stated that the most vulnerable individuals in Peruvian society are women who cannot read or write. He believed that education is of great importance for women's independence and economic situation:

One of the key tools for the women to escape out of poverty and isolation is being able to read.
- Senior economic researcher.

The academic director also has seen that lower education generally results in lower salaries on the labor market. Families that have greater economic capital have the possibility send their children to good schools, which in turn gives them higher cultural capital (cf. Bourdieu, 1993:33–34). Both the senior economic researcher and the communication specialist believed that this could result in vicious circles where the rich stay rich, while the poor stay poor. Those mechanisms are called the cycle of poverty or poverty trap. Carmen expressed a similar example regarding the persons she studied with in high school:

Of 60 students finishing high school, maybe only five finished in a university career, because the poverty situation was very big. - Carmen.

Carmen described that despite her higher education, she is questioned for management roles she applies for and has had many obstacles on the labor market because of her gender. Carmen's example shows that higher education does not necessarily result in high positions, but instead gender is also a significant factor for reproduction of social inequality. Similarly to the discussion about vertical gender segregation, this can also be analyzed according to Bourdieu's theory of capital where the male gender can be seen as a valued capital on the labor market. Furthermore, the situation can be compared to the glass ceiling that prevents women from reaching higher positions in the labor market (Morrison, 2021:14).

6. Summary discussion and conclusions

In the following section, a summary of the study's results which includes us answering the study's research questions through the main results. In conclusion, suggestions for future research in this area are provided.

The purpose of this study was to gain an in-depth understanding of women's possibilities, obstacles and pathways to employment in Peru through educational opportunities. This was investigated by interviewing eight individuals with different backgrounds and experiences. Since the study had a small sample of interviewees, the results are not generalizable to the population of Peru. The results of the study thus showed the experiences of the interviewed women and the study merely shows indications for the research questions.

6.1. How do Peruvian women experience that gender norms and class structures affect their possibilities and obstacles for labor market participation?

The study's results indicate that gender norms and class structures affect women's opportunities to become labor market participants. The interviewed women with their individual perspectives expressed that their gender was a great influential factor. The women stated that it is due to the gender norms in Peru where women are expected to have main responsibility for domestic work, which affects their possibilities for labor market participation and advancement in various professions. Already at an early age, the women need to perform household chores, while the men to a higher degree must focus on education and gainful employment. These norms enable men to get a head start and the women therefore tend to fall behind. Furthermore, gender norms also affect the horizontal and vertical gender segregation in the labor market, where women tend to work in professions and positions that are considered to have lower status and pay less, such as education, care and services (cf. Peterson, 2017:355). All the interviewed women work in female dominated sectors, which they have chosen due to norms throughout their upbringing in the Peruvian society. Also, in these female-dominated professions, both studies and the women's stories show that the men earn more in these professions. As discussed earlier, the gender norms in society consider the male gender as a capital, with real value at the labor market, making it advantageous to be a man (cf. Bourdieu 1993:33).

The class structure in Peru is also something that indirectly affects women's participation in the labor market. As a result of a segregated education system, families with higher economic capital have greater access to education and families with less economic capital cannot afford to send their children to further education. Poorer families often prioritize boy's education, which in turn results in more advanced positions for men than women on the labor market. Likewise, the influence of class on women's labor market participation can be seen through the fact that women are overrepresented in the informal sector, which leads to a lack of working conditions and social safety net. For example, the interviewee Maria described how the Peruvian culture means that it is not common to save money for the future, the individuals

live for the day. As Marias has worked informally and does not receive a pension in combination with low savings in the past, this leads to financial difficulties and hardship.

In conclusion, the indications we gained of women's situation in Peru tells us that women have a harder time both entering and reaching higher positions on the labor market in Peru. Given the advanced weight of being a man in the country, which amplifies the already existing macho culture, makes it harder for the women to truly become independent without a qualitative education and support from the household. Increasing social help with care for kids and elders would allow more women to enter the labor market (as well as create more jobs), but this requires support from the husbands and leaders on the labor market, which to us remains a big uncertainty. This type of evolution and acceptance probably will not change overnight but seem to be a crucial part for women to truly become independent and free to become the individuals they want to become.

6.2. How does education affect women's labor market participation in relation to gender norms and class structures?

The study's results indicate that the impact of education on labor market participation can be of great importance. However, there are several aspects such as norms, gender and class that are equal parts for the opportunities in the labor market. Education can be seen as a cultural capital but as mentioned in the study, the male gender can occasionally be seen as its own capital which is higher valued (cf. Bourdieu 1993:33). This manifests itself in the vertical gender segregation where women have limited access to higher positions (cf. Peterson, 2017:355). All the interviewed women in the study, expressed how their gender has affected their possibilities and power on the labor market, regardless of their level of education.

Education in Peru has also proven to be a class issue. Underprivileged families cannot afford to provide their children with quality education. This results in these individuals getting low-status occupations in their professional careers and history repeating itself when they have children of their own, which becomes a poverty cycle. Some of these underprivileged families choose to invest their money in sending one of their children to higher education. In these situations, families often choose to prioritize the boys' education. Already at an early age, the men get a head start on the labor market with higher wages and socially higher positions, due to their education.

In the rural areas, the girls do not always get to have an education because of the danger of traveling to school and instead have to take part in domestic work from an early stage. Even when these women get older, they probably will not get an education since they more often start their own family from an early stage of life and get "trapped". Later they may not get the chance to get education due to lack of time and sometimes even support from the husband to educate.

All the interviewed women in the study, except for Carmen, followed their parents' trajectories in education, either studying or not studying in higher education. The norms that the women grew up with turned out to influence their choice of direction in education and

working life. Lucia grew up with the norm of not studying as her parents had no education, and Maria's school set the norms in the preparation workshops that the women's professional life should focus on domestic work and care. Ana, on the other hand, grew up with the norm that she should have higher education in a more feminine profession. These norms that the women grew up with can be seen as gender specific as they all describe that the men in the families did not have the same prediction (cf. Hirdman, 1988:51).

In conclusion, does the individual's education affect their possibilities on the labor market? Yes, it definitely does. As discussed previously the gender norms and class structures can be seen to amplify the situation for these women, often in a negative way. A quality education in Peru will not magically make it easy for women on the labor market, but it helps and creates opportunities that a non-educated individual will not receive. Lucia for example, who can neither write nor read did not have the same chance as Carmen, with a master's degree, who worked herself up to becoming an operative manager. Education matters, but when looking at the educational opportunities in the rural areas it shows not to keep the same educational standard as in many of the urban areas. This is a clear reflection of the lack of quality teachers in rural areas, but also maybe the lack of variety of work in the rural areas. So, education in the rural areas may not affect to the same extent for the women wanting to stay in the rural areas to work, but at least being able to read and write should be a given for every woman for a chance to have their own independence.

6.3. How does Covid-19 affect pre-existing gender and class structures in society?

Through the study, Covid-19 has been shown to have a significant impact on women's educational and employment opportunities. The pandemic has particularly affected Peru and its people in general. Due to the lockdowns, the schools had to quickly readjust to remote education which affected all students and teachers. Both the communication specialist and the senior economic researcher described how remote education has made class differences visible, as it places demands on the internet, electronic devices and support from home. This is similar to Gutiérrez et al. (2020:34) who describe the pandemic has affected poor single-parent families to the greatest extent. Furthermore, the results show how the economic crisis has forced families to move back to their places of upbringing in the countryside where it is cheaper and to help the family with work. The young people who have moved to big cities to study need to drop out of their studies in connection with the move back home. This situation affects both the young women and the men in their education.

The study's results also show how women are the ones who are most responsible for housework and childcare. This burden has increased, which affects both the women who are employed and the women who are studying, during the pandemic. The working women have less time to spend on their paid work, which affects both their salary and advancement. The female students instead have less time to spend on their education, or in the worst case must drop out of school due to helping with unpaid domestic work. The mothers needed to take more responsibility for their children's education and get, like what the interviewed women Ana told, double or even triple workload.

The female-dominated sectors have been most affected because of the pandemic. Jobs that require direct contact with people have been limited and redundancies have marked these sectors. Female labor market participation fell sharply between the years 2020 and 2021, which may be a result of the aforementioned. The interviewed woman Lucia is an example of this, who works in the female-dominated profession of domestic worker (cf. Peterson, 2017:353-355). As women often are the ones with the more insecure jobs, they are also the ones most vulnerable in situations like the Covid-19 pandemic.

In summary, it has been shown that Covid-19 has had a major impact on the pre-existing gender and class structures that exist in the Peruvian society. The women receive a double burden in forms of unpaid domestic work and more responsibility for the children's schooling. The already existing class differences between individuals are made more visible as many lost their jobs and ended up in a deeper economic crisis.

6.4. Suggestion for further research

Regarding the results of the study, further research on the same aspects would have been interesting. As this study was based on only eight interviewees, there are difficulties in generalizing the results to the population in Peru. For a generalizable result, a bigger sample of individuals would have had to be made, where more women talk about their experiences and more experts describe the situation based on their expertise. To do this would be much bigger research than the one we have done. To both be able to save money as well as conduct ethical research we suggest using focus groups. In this way the women could feel comfort in each other since the topic may be sensitive to some individuals. A quantitative approach we believe would not work, for example sending out question forms, this because of the trust issues existing in the country, possibly because of the political situation, the responses would be few. By doing a bigger research study, one could be able to analyze and be able to say something about the whole Peruvian population of women.

One other suggestion for further research is to focus on the informal labor market, and really deep dive into the topic of informal work connected to gender inequality. The quote by The World Bank (2021, May 24), which described a connection to a high informal labor market and gender inequality, inspired the thought of a study solely focused on that. We have obtained an indication that this connection exists, but not why and to what extent. This would be interesting, according to us, to do further research on.

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8. Appendix

Appendix 1 - Consent Form in English



**Department of Sociology and Work Science
University of Gothenburg**

***Women's participation in the labour market through educational opportunities in Peru
Bachelor thesis in work science***

Consent form

Consent to an interview is hereby given within the framework of the project (Women's participation in the labour market through educational opportunities in Peru). I confirm that I have received information about the purpose of the study, that participation is voluntary and that I can cancel the participation at any time without having to state reasons, and that the interview material will be anonymised and handled confidentially. I also confirm that I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have them answered.

I agree that the interview will be recorded.

_____	_____	_____
Participant's name	Signature	Date
_____	_____	_____
Student's name	Signature	Date
_____	_____	_____
Student's name	Signature	Date
_____	_____	_____
Interpreter's name	Signature	Date

Appendix 2 - Consent Form in Spanish



Departamento de Sociología y Ciencias del Trabajo de la Universidad de Gotemburgo

La participación de la mujer en el mercado laboral, a través de oportunidades educativas en el Perú.

Tesis de licenciatura en ciencias del trabajo

Formato de consentimiento:

Consentimiento para entrevista dentro del marco del proyecto (Participación de la mujer en el mercado laboral a través de oportunidades educativas en el Perú). Confirmando que he recibido información sobre el propósito del estudio, que mi participación es voluntaria, que puedo cancelarla en cualquier momento sin razón específica, y que el material resultado de la entrevista será de forma anónima y confidencial. También confirmo de que he tenido la oportunidad de hacer preguntas y obtener respuestas a las mismas.

En señal de conformidad a que la entrevista sea grabada, firmamos:

_____	_____	_____
Nombre del participante	Firma	Fecha
_____	_____	_____
Nombre del estudiante	Firma	Fecha
_____	_____	_____
Nombre del estudiante	Firma	Fecha
_____	_____	_____
Nombre del interprete	Firma	Fecha

Appendix 3 - Interviewee guide Individual

Interview guide "individual"

Inform that this material will be stored safely in password protected computers where no unauthorized person will have access to it. The material will be used in a scientific thesis at the University of Gothenburg in Sweden. Mention that no names will be used.

Introduction/Background:

1. How old are you? / What is your age?
2. Did you grow up in a city or countryside area? (urban/ rural)
3. How did your family constellation look like growing up?
4. What did your parents work with during your upbringing?
5. What does your family constellation look like today? (family/ kids)
 - Do you feel you have a balance in your life?

Education:

6. What is your highest level of education?
7. How has education been talked about during your upbringing?
 - Do your parents have any education?
8. Do you feel that your schooling has prepared you for your professional life?
 - Do you feel like something was missing (ex: books, teachers, quality)?
 - Do you feel like your education was given enough resources?
9. If she hasn't finished school → Do you see any problem with you not finishing school?
10. What has, according to you, been the biggest obstacle regarding your education?
11. What kind of support did you get to reach your educational level? (financial conditions, support from important people, the family)

Labor market participants:

12. When did you start to work?
13. What do you do now for a living?
 - What do you do in your work role?
 - How long have you been working with this?
14. Was it obvious for you to work with this?
15. If employed → What has enabled you to receive this job?
16. Do you feel that it has been more difficult for you to get a job because of your gender?
17. Do you feel that you have been treated differently in working life because of your gender?
 - Other positions? Tasks that are considered to be valued lower? Lower income?
18. If employed → Do you feel confident/safe in your employment today?
19. If employed → Do you feel you could change your job if you wanted to?

Other:

20. What difference do you see about your life situation before the pandemic vs now?
21. Do you feel like gender norms in your society have affected you and your upbringing?
 - If yes: How? In which way?
22. How do you feel that expectations of women can limit life chances in terms of career and independent financial status? (- That one is not dependent on the male breadwinner.)
23. What is the biggest success so far in your life?

Concluding question:

24. Is there anything you would like to add or you think we should know about?
25. Do you have anything you are wondering about our continued work with this study?

Appendix 4 - Interviewee guide Experts

Interview guide experts

Inform that this material will be stored safely in password protected computers where no unauthorized person will have access to it. The material will be used in a scientific thesis at the University of Gothenburg in Sweden. Ask if it is ok for us to mention their title in the thesis.

Introduction:

1. Can you tell us about yourself?
2. What kind of tasks does the organization work with?
3. What is your official work title?
4. What do you do in your work role?
 - How long have you been working with this?
5. What type of education do you have?
6. Are there any special requirements to receive a role like yours? / How did you get the job?

Education:

General questions:

7. Based on your position, what are the biggest challenges Peru's education system stands against?
8. Do you see any areas that are missing investments or efforts? (Behövs förtydning av "area"?)
9. What investments/ efforts do you consider most important right now to get more young people to: A.) Finish secondary school? B.) Apply for higher education?
10. What difference do you see about the educational situation before the pandemic vs now?
 - How have the restrictions affected education in Peru during this time?
11. From your point of view, what are the greatest problems with young people not finishing school?
 - Why do you think people do not finish school?
12. Is there support of any kind for those kids that are struggling in school?

Gender:

13. In general, do you see that there are differences for girl's vs boy's to finish their education?
 - If yes: What kinds of differences?
14. Do you see any general differences with boys and girls situations in school?
15. Are there any investments/efforts regarding gender inequality in school?

Area:

16. What difference do you see in people's education in rural vs urban areas?
17. What kind of difference do you see on the amount that graduate from school in different areas?
18. Are there any investments/efforts regarding inequality of education in rural vs urban areas?

Labour Market/Worklife:

19. How do you see that uneven education levels affect working life?
20. Do you see that differences between boys and girls and between more or less well-situated children affect young people's way into the labour market in Peru?
 - If yes: How?
21. Finally, If you could summarize the educational situation in Peru, how would it be?

Concluding question:

22. Is there anything you would like to add or you think we should know about?
23. Do you have anything you are wondering about our continued work with this study?