



LUND UNIVERSITY
Faculty of Social Sciences

SIMT13 Master's Thesis (two years) in
Gender Studies
Spring term 2010
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Being an Adolescent Mother in Lima, Peru

An Intersectional Analysis of Adolescent Mothers' Narratives

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Major: Development Studies

Abstract

This paper explores the situation for adolescent mothers in Lima, Peru: a group dominantly described in relation to health and/or social problems. In this paper, interviews with adolescent mothers are explored from an intersectional point of departure to see how relations of gender, class and 'race'/ethnicity are articulated. The analysis aims at contributing to an understanding of the social and material situation for the interviewees. For the theoretical part; Nancy Fraser's reasoning on socio-economic and cultural-symbolic injustices is applied along with intersectional conceptions.

The research question is: *how are relations of gender, class, and 'race'/ethnicity manifested in the narratives of adolescent mothers living in Lima, Peru?*

The analysis of the narratives shows how gendered and racialized features along with class relations condition the interviewees' situations. The neighbourhoods in which they live, as well as their physical bodies, are sites where relations of gender, class and 'race'/ethnicity merge and are manifested. Weak gender positions, class stratifications based upon economic position and location and a racialized hierarchy based upon physical features as well as life-style attributes contribute to negative representations of teenage mothers but also to their socio-economic marginalisation. The social and material situations for the interviewees are hence marked by a bivalent exposure created in the intersection between socio-economic injustices and valuational injustices of misrecognition.

Key words: Peru, intersectionality, gender, class, 'race', adolescence, motherhood.

I would like to thank the following persons and institutions that made the carrying out of this thesis much easier and more enjoyable:

I would first of all like to thank the brave girls at the 'Centro para Madres Adolescentes' who shared their experiences with me during the interviews. I am also grateful to the staff of the Centre who offered great support and gave me access to the premises. For more information please visit: www.cedetep.org

Access to the Centre would however never have been gained if it was not for the non-governmental organization 'Grupo Vida', also this dedicated to social work in relation to adolescent mothers. The staff invited me to collaborate with them and took me along to visit the Centre where the interviews were carried out. Their homepage is: <http://www.onggrupovida.com>

I would also like to thank the staff at 'PROMSEX' (Centro de Promoción y Defensa de los Derechos Sexuales y Reproductivos) for my making my internship a memorable and fun one, for giving me ideas for this thesis, and supplying me with literature: www.promsex.org

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1 Introduction

In Peru, teenage pregnancies are presented with an alarming concern in media and policy circles. In fact, they are according to anthropologist Jacobijn Olthoff “usually presented as one of the main public health problems among urban youth” (Olthoff 2006:191). Depicting adolescent¹ pregnancies as a problem is not uncommon. Within science, these pregnancies are dominantly treated in relation to population growth, health problems, and/or poverty as adolescent pregnancies are seen as contributors to intergenerational poverty transmission (Stern, Garcia 2001). Yet, with these problematizing frameworks there is a risk of portraying also the teenager and her pregnancy as something pathologic as these negative images are reinforced in society. As a consequence, the individual, i.e. the adolescent mother, risks being normatively as well as materially punished by her surrounding society. A concrete example in Peru is that despite the fact that the Peruvian Child and Adolescent Code establishes that pregnant adolescents and mothers not shall be prevented from commencing or continuing their education; pregnant girls are often strongly advised to stay away from school as teachers and parents believe that the pregnant girl shows a bad example and fear that others will follow (Quintana, Vásquez 1999; Olthoff 2006).

The idea that adolescent motherhood is commonly described as negative, and that adolescent mothers may suffer social consequences, is articulated by sociologists Carmen Carro and Tatiana Treguear. They argue that “the acceptance of motherhood as a natural state, a destiny, and many times as a concretion of completeness, a configuration for a woman as a person or a citizen; is more or less general. Yet, this exaltation of maternity is contrasted to the social acceptance of a maternity lived in solitude, isolation, silence and resignation” (Carro, Treguear 1992:3²) where the latter reference represents adolescent motherhood. Carro and Treguear see a society where the phenomenon of teenage pregnancies displays contradictions between ideal concepts of adolescence and maternity, and the lack of provision of needed socio-affective and material resources to assume such ideals. At the same time that society denies the teenager her right to information, self-control, decision making autonomy, appropriation and control of her sexuality: “society liberates itself from the social responsibility behind every unplanned pregnancy and renders invisible the causal elements that are concealed

¹ In this context, ‘adolescent’ represents the age spectra 15 to 19 years old (Porras 2003).

² Throughout the text, material originally written in Spanish and Swedish is quoted and referred to. All translations are my own.

within it” (ibid.). The social consequences are that the pregnant teenager becomes rejected, pathologized and stigmatized by her own society (ibid.).

1.1 Mapping the problem

National statistics for Peru show that for the year 2005 the number of adolescent pregnancies was estimated to reach 10.2% of the total number of pregnancies (Porras 2003). Statistics also indicate that it is the poorest and poorly informed adolescents, with low educational levels and primarily from rural areas, who have the earliest sexual initiation (Gutiérrez 2006; Nagel, Chávez 2007). Motherhood and the raising of children is commonly considered to limit women’s participation in the labour market and their economic emancipation (Blondet 2002), and in a developing country like Peru where social security is scarce the consequences may be economic dependency of parents or partners. Olthoff, who did fieldwork among teenage girls in the low-income district San Juan de Miraflores in Lima, found that “the issue of teenage pregnancy /.../ worked its way into the research on its own. First of all, it appeared to be one of the most important things the girls feared when talking about their future. It was also something that parents viewed as the ultimate failure for their daughters” (Olthoff 2006:27). The topic also made its “central position in the girls’ lives abundantly evident” as six of the 19 girls Olthoff worked with got pregnant during the time of the research (ibid). It is hence apparent that ‘adolescent pregnancies’ are a serious matter of concern in certain sectors of the Peruvian society.

The analysis focuses on the social and material situation for teenage mothers. Employing an intersectional³ approach comprehending relations of gender, class and ‘race’/ethnicity; the topic is contextualized and tendencies of ‘individualizing’ teenage pregnancies are contrasted and contested. The aim of the thesis is to see how adolescent mothers narrate their situations and how relations of gender, class, and ‘race’/ethnicity are articulated in the narratives. The analysis could contribute to an understanding of how these relations are manifested in the Peruvian society, but also to if they contribute to a marginalisation of adolescent mothers and to their exclusion from social and economic progress. The research question is: *how are relations of gender, class, and ‘race’/ethnicity manifested in the narratives of adolescent mothers living in Lima, Peru?*

³ ‘Intersectionality’ is a theoretical perspective that aims at capturing the *intersections* between different social relations such as gender, class, ethnicity, ‘race’, sexuality, age, religion.

1.2 Disposition

Chapter two contains discussions on the author's positioning, and detailed descriptions of the interview settings, interview techniques (narrative research), and delimitations. The third chapter is the theoretical framework; an introduction to intersectional conceptions and to Nancy Fraser's notions of socio-economic and cultural injustices. Chapter four is the background chapter; a brief presentation of the Peruvian society, its colonial and post-colonial relationships and economic history. The fifth chapter is where the empiric material is presented. This chapter is divided into five sections centred upon the pregnancy, social conditions, school, female and male roles, and 'racial'/ethnic relations. Chapter six comprehends concluding remarks.

2 Methodological considerations

Donna Haraway is one of the prominent figures in feminist epistemology. She argues that in order to achieve inclusive and critical science, the researcher ought to embrace a contextualized or *situated* knowledge production (Haraway 1988). This means that the researcher must combine contextualized knowledge with an identification of the individual “semiotic technologies” (ibid.). Kum-Kum Bhavnani draws upon Haraway’s work to develop three key elements for achieving situated knowledge; accountability, positioning, and partiality. Accountability implies that “any study whose main agent is a woman/women and which claims a feminist framework should not reproduce the researched in ways in which they are represented within dominant society—that is, the analyses can not be complicit with dominant representations which reinscribe inequality” (Bhavnani 2004:68). Regarding issues of positioning, Bhavnani argues that the research must make reference to the micro-political processes that are present throughout the research conduct (ibid.). The notion of partiality is centred upon affirmations on difference and the importance of accounting for shared but also non-shared experiences among the researched (ibid.). These premises will guide the text and be reflected upon in the conclusions.

2.1 The author’s positioning

Reflecting upon the “asymmetrical power relations” (Kvale, Brinkmann 2009) that are inherent in all kinds of research, it is my desire to reflect upon my own social positioning. In order to avoid what Aldridge (1993) calls the construction of “a particular type of disembodied, omnipresent, and properly ‘scientific’ author” (Aldridge in Elliott 2004:167), I choose to mark my presence throughout the text by employing personal pronouns. Placing myself, the author, within the text, it becomes clear that knowledge is not created by itself but that active choices have been made throughout the research process and that these choices are not the only possible ways to undertake the research question.

My personal interest in the subject is to shed light on those who normally are not seen, alternatively seen in a bad light. Reason to why I have chosen to interview adolescent mothers is to have them to speak for themselves and not anyone else speaking for them. I am critical of how teenage mothers are seen as irresponsible and ‘themselves to blame’, ideas I would discard a denial of social structures that place girls in vulnerable and exposed positions. Albeit being utterly

concerned with the high number of adolescent pregnancies in Peru, I see society's incapacity of providing a sustainable social and economic environment for young women as a far more concerning topic. During the autumn semester of 2009 an internship with a Peruvian non-governmental organization served as an introduction to the Peruvian society. At the course of the internship, a visit to the maternity ward of a public hospital in Lima, filled with young economically underprivileged mothers, came to be an important inspiration and eye-opener.

Thinking about what implications my person might have for the carrying out of the research, most obviously the interviews, is important. I am an 'ethnic' Swede and my skin colour makes me 'white' in the eyes of others. 'Whiteness' in a country like Peru implies a privileged position as it is commonly associated with high status and material wealth, which hence means that just by looking at me, people would automatically place not only me, but also themselves along a status hierarchy were my positioning would place me among the highest ranks. Not only does my skin colour but also my nationality, class background and economic position place me in a privileged position as compared to the interviewees. Being a woman might facilitate the access to other women's stories, I do however not have any children, something that makes me differ from the interviewees. It ought to be remembered that these power biases between me and the interviewees may have affected the outcomes of the empiric material.

2.2 Methodological choices

Interviews with adolescent mothers are taken as individual testimonies from which I will be able to explore how intersections of gender, class, and 'race'/ethnicity are articulated. As concerns the research question, Stephanie Shields stresses the benefits of choosing a research question that explores constructs that are linked in language or in practice as such a question may reveal the processes behind a certain order. This approach does further mesh with the premises behind the intersectional approach (Shields 2008). Inquiring how relations of gender, class, and 'race'/ethnicity are manifested in adolescent mothers' narratives could thus reveal if and how these social relations affect the lives of teenage mothers but also provide an understanding of the social order their situations correspond to.

Steinar Kvale and Svend Brinkmann address ethical issues of *consequences* and the possible harm and potential benefits that the participant may confront due to participation in a research project (Kvale, Brinkmann 2009). For the authors, beneficence is a key concept related to the extent to which the study can enhance the situation of the participating subjects or the group that they represent. The general guideline is that the sum of the participant's potential benefits and the importance of the knowledge gained should outweigh the risk of harm. I argue that this thesis could help obtaining redress for adolescent mothers. As a group,

teenage mothers should gain from a study that does not treat them as a social problem but rather sees them as being able to provide unique embodied insights.

2.3 Interview settings

The interviews were carried out at the ‘Centro para Madres Adolescentes’⁴ located in the Lima suburb Villa María del Triunfo. The Centre receives national and international funding to offer shelter and schooling, kindergarten, and to teach the young mothers skills such as simple pastry production, garment production and cosmetology. The Centre receives both girls who stay there permanently until they are 18 years old and other young mothers who attend it a couple of hours a day. The girls staying at the Centre had most of them been placed there by state attorneys or social workers because of their status as under age mothers.

The suburb in which the Centre is located is what Olthoff calls a “migrant popular neighbourhood”. These are “low income settlements in which people first live, then construct and then install services” (Olthoff 2006:16). The Peruvians call them ‘pueblos jóvenes’, literally ‘young villages’ where joven (young), refers to the age of the neighbourhood, and pueblo (village) denotes that the inhabitants originally came from the countryside. According to Olthoff, authors agree that pregnancy figures for ‘pueblos jóvenes’ are significantly higher than the average figures for Metropolitan Lima (ibid.).

The girls’ narratives and experiences are many of them anything but glorious and some of the interviewees had been sexually abused. It is important to stress that the interview sample not shall be seen as representative for all adolescent mothers in Lima, but is there to give individual testimonies. The girls interviewed were selected by the psychologist working at the centre, who based her selection on how emotionally ready the girls were for an interview, and their talkativeness. All interviewees were asked if they wanted to participate and informed about the topic of the study. As the interviews were carried out during the local summer vacations, the girls who attend the Centre a couple of hours a day were absent, and the only girls available for interviews were the ones who live at the Centre. The selection of informants can hence be seen as biased as I only reached the ‘most extreme cases’.

With three visits to the Centre, eleven interviews with young mothers between 15 and 17 years of age were obtained. All of these were carried out individually in Spanish and recorded. In order to fulfil Kvale and Brinkmann’s ethical principle of *confidentiality* (Kvale, Brinkmann 2009), data that may identify the participants is not disclosed and all personal names figuring in the text are invented.

⁴ In the case of this center, ‘adolescent’ refers to a girl who is under 18 years old.

2.4 Interview techniques

I tried to remain conscious of my positioning during the carrying out of the interviews and introduced myself by giving away my background, my relation to Peru, and my interest in the girls' situation. A semi-structured outlook was applied for the interviews; an approach characterized by free interaction between the interviewee and the researcher that also includes opportunities for clarifications and discussion (Reinharz 1992). As the aim was to capture the individual's view on social relations, the use of open-end questions provided information that allowed a full use of "differences among people" (ibid p.18). The interviewees' responses determined the order of the subjects, the order spent on each subject, and the introduction of additional issues (Harrington, Aisenberg (1988) in Reinharz 1992). Sue Yeandle (1984) initiated her interviews by asking questions about themes familiar to the respondents. These served as an "ice-breaker" and created an atmosphere in which the women interviewed felt "knowledgeable" (Yeandle in Reinharz 1992:25). The interviews were therefore initiated by asking the girls about their pregnancies, a theme followed by simple questions on domestic chores and spare-time activities among them, siblings and friends.

The interview scheme was developed with a desire of reaching relations of gender, class and 'race'. Apart from asking about the pregnancies, testimonies that naturally are very personal ones, I asked about social relations among people they know, people in the neighbourhood, and in Lima. This was done due to a desire of not individualizing and imposing 'negative' factors onto the interviewees but to rather see what patterns they identify as present in the surrounding social settings. Comparisons between boys and girls, their chores and roles, aimed at capturing gender roles. Queries regarding school and education related to if the participants were encouraged to study, what their schooling was like and also to matters of sexual education, themes that aimed at providing data on both gender and class relations. Questions about the home neighbourhood of the interviewee represent economic opportunities and class as well as ethnic relations. Finally, inquiries about the meaning of the word 'cholo'⁵ and of relations between people born in Lima and those born elsewhere represent ethnic and 'racial' relations. A translated interview guide can be found in the appendix.

⁵ For an elaborate description of the term *cholo* please see section 4.2 of the thesis. In short it is slang for a Lima immigrant coming from the Andean area of Peru, an area dominated by indigenous groups.

2.5 Narrative research

The interpretation of the interviews is guided by approaches that can be found within *narrative research*. Researchers working within this field commonly focus either on events, or on experiences. What both strands share is an assumption that individual and internal representations of phenomena, such as events, thoughts and feelings, are given external expression through narratives. When focusing on experience, the significance of language and linguistic constructions is commonly reduced (Squire et al. 2008). As regards representation of identities, Jane Elliott argues that the narrative approach opens up for a fluid view of identity that is time as well as context dependent (Elliott 2005). Elliott further sees that an interest in narratives may be seen as coherent with a desire of developing methodologies that make marginalized groups heard as it allows participants to express personal insights of their situation (ibid.). Yet, as narratives take place within social settings characterized by power relations and inequality, it shall be acknowledged that they also may be reflections of these hegemonic structures (Ewick and Silbey (1995) in Elliott 2005).

2.5.1 How narrative research will be applied

For sociologist Joan Acker, social structures such as those of gender, class and 'race', are "emergent in practices, produced and reproduced in ongoing human activities" (Acker 2006:8). Departing from this premise implies seeing each individual as enmeshed in gender, class and 'race' relations. Assuming that "the social" is embodied in human beings, in their relations and actions (ibid), narrative research could capture these interactions.

What I look for in the analysis is two-fold: how discourses, norms, and power relations are manifested, but also how the interviewees describe their material and social situation. Such analysis would provide a broad basis for the understanding of the situation adolescent mothers in Lima might face. Yet, the complex cultural, economic and ethnical relations in the Peruvian society make this topic suitable also for reaching a wider understanding of the specific society. As regards multi-linguistic research projects Elsa González y González and Yvonna Lincoln remind us that all stories are narrated within a culturally coloured context. Literal meanings are rarely parallel across languages and cultures; they may have a history and carry emotional connotations that are difficult to translate (Temple (1997) in González y González, Lincoln 2006). Focusing on experiences and content rather than linguistic constructions would therefore suit the empiric material but also my academic skills better. Whenever uncertainty of meanings emerged during transcription and interpretation of the interviews, native speakers have been consulted.

2.6 Delimitations

The terms 'youth' and 'adolescence' are according to Olthoff used in different ways by different authors (Olthoff 2006). In English, the terms 'adolescent' and 'teenager' seem to be used interchangeably and teenager clearly denotes a specific age group. However, in Spanish, the term 'adolescente' is less clear, and it can therefore not be guaranteed that all sources share the same definition. The national statistics referred to in Porras (2003), defines adolescent mothers as 15 to 19 years old. When a pregnant girl is under that age, the pregnancy is according to both Porras and Olthoff often due to incest or rape (Porras 2003, Olthoff 2006).

Age (especially thinking about negative connotations in the word 'adolescent') and sexuality (moral values regarding abstinence and a 'correct' sexuality) were initially meant to be included among the social divisions analysed. Due to the length of the paper, these have been excluded from the principal categories of analysis and are only touched upon. Empirical data related to sexual relations was also difficult to obtain due to my reluctance to ask about this topic, especially as I was not prepared to interview victims of sexual abuse.

The focus of the paper is adolescent mothers and adolescent motherhood, and the role of the male figure is only included when the interviewees themselves comment upon it. The choice of excluding men implies a risk of reinforcing the notion of parenthood being equated with motherhood. However, as the point of departure is to bring justice to a stigmatized group, it should be recognized that adolescent fathers do not suffer from the same stigma nor are they attributed the same responsibility for the child. As concerns an interview study with Peruvian men, my positioning as a young, 'white' woman could imply serious methodological challenges in access and confidence as well as severely biased results.

3 Theoretical framework

This section begins with an introduction to the concept intersectionality and definitions of gender, class and ‘race’/ethnicity. This is followed by an introduction to Nancy Fraser’s reasoning on socio-economic and cultural/symbolic injustices.

3.1 Intersectionality

The concept ‘intersectionality’ was born when feminists of colour began to show “the complex racial, ethnic, national, colonial, and neo-colonial processes that interact with gendering to produce specific ways of being a woman under particular sociohistorical conditions” (Hawkesworth 2006:209). They were critical of how ‘white’ feminists centred their research on gender relations and forgot about other structuring powers such as class and ethnicity, a flaw that produced a ‘white middle-class’ perspective on feminist research. In contrast, intersectionality has become an analytical tool that enables researchers to analyze how different social relations are enmeshed and interrelated and also how they relate to identity construction (Yuval-Davis 2006). It is a theoretical approach that rapidly has gained academic appraisal, according to Gudrun-Axeli Knapp (2005), this is due to “the political and moral need for feminism to be *inclusive* in order to be able to keep up its own foundational premises” (Knapp in Shields 2008:303 *my italics*). The intersectional perspective has also been embraced in development oriented research. Within this field, Gwendolyn Beetham and Justina Demetriades speak of two dominant paradigms that describe the relationships between women and development. The most recent paradigm ‘Gender and Development’ comprehends an analysis of power relations, multiple identities and intersections of ‘race’, class, sex, and religion (Beetham, Demetriades 2007).

The key to the intersectional approach is according to gender and ethnicity scholar Nira Yuval-Davis, to analyze how specific identities and political values are constructed, interrelate and affect each other in particular locations and contexts (Yuval-Davis 2006). The socio-historical context is important as social identities and their associated systems of representation are considered historically and contextually situated. This means that “identities, and the beliefs, myths and affect /.../ attached to them, function differently at different times in national as well as personal history, and in different geographic, institutional, and social organizational settings” (Mattis et al. 2008:419). Biology is also important as the

human body is a site that experiences the intersections of different identities coming together as well as the outcomes related to the merging (Valdivia 2009). Biological traits also play an important role when categories and descriptions attached to the individual become “naturalized” and homogenized, that is, everyone who is considered belonging to a specific social group is seen as sharing the particular attributes that are seen as specific to it (Yuval-Davis 2006).

According to economic history scholar Paulina de los Reyes and gender scholar Diana Mulinari, power relations and social structures are included and implicitly present in an intersectional analysis. As the subject is located in her/his historical and spatial context; her/his space and opportunities for action and manoeuvre are also they placed in a contextual web of economic relations, ideologies and social organizing (de los Reyes, Mulinari 2005). Within these conditions, relations marked by marginalisation, oppression, or privilege may be socially reified and reproduced (Mattis et al. 2008). Social inequalities are thus constructed and emerge in the *intersection* between different social levels where individual actions, institutional practices, and norms create a subordinating consensus that is articulated in language, everyday actions and material conditions (de los Reyes, Mulinari 2005).

3.2 Definitions of gender, class and ‘race’/ethnicity

Keeping the above developed intersectional approach in mind, Yuval-Davis affirms that whilst it is crucial to examine how social divisions are interrelated, it is also important to recognize that the ontological basis of each of these divisions is autonomous (Yuval-Davis 2006). Thus, in order to be able to conceptualize an understanding of the specific situation studied in this thesis, definitions of gender, class and ‘race’/ethnicity are needed as points of departure.

Throughout the text, gender, class and ‘race’/ethnicity are mainly referred to as social relations. It should be clear that each of these social relations is attributed equal importance within their interrelationship.

3.2.1 Gender

Gender should be understood “as a mode of discourse that relates to groups of subjects whose social roles are defined by their sexual/biological difference” (Yuval-Davis 2006:201). Representations of biology and “natural” differences are used to provoke exclusionary practices and structural disadvantages that favour one dominant gender. Hence, albeit being discursive and representational, no-one can escape the social and material conditions attached to each gender. Rather, gender relations put forward social effects ranging from ideas about the appropriateness of women undertaking certain forms of labour to essentializing ideas

about motherhood (Anthias, Yuval-Davis 1992). The physical body is thus very much a part of gendered organizations and becomes “a site upon which culture is written” (Earle, Letherby 2003:19). That is to say that the contextual culture attributes certain features to each type of biological body.

3.2.2 ‘Race’⁶ and ethnicity

Ethnic and ‘racial’ divisions relate to collectivity constructions based upon exclusionary or inclusionary boundaries (Yuval-Davis 2006). The boundaries are often dichotomous and constructed in relation to myths of collectivities and/or of a common origin or destiny. Ethnicity is argued to be mainly about *community*, of “belonging to a particular group and sharing its conditions of existence” (Anthias, Yuval-Davis 1992:8). ‘Race’ on the other hand is dominantly linked to biology to indicate that ‘race’ is something fixed and embedded in nature (Weber 2004). This ‘biological difference’ “may /.../ be seen as to be expressed mainly in culture or life-style but is always grounded on the separation of human populations by some notion of stock or collective heredity of traits” (Anthias, Yuval-Davis 1992:2). These specific traits, whether historical, geographical, cultural or physical, can be internally identified, externally imposed or both (ibid).

3.2.3 Class

Class is about the *location* of the individual, but also of groups, in relation to structures of production, the market, and occupation (Acker 2006). However, class relations shall not be reduced to the economy; as Pierre Bourdieu argues also cultural access is conditioned by class positionings (Bourdieu 1986). Beverly Skeggs draws on Bourdieu’s work to argue that class conceptualizations are dual, and that “positioning by categorizations and representation influence access to economic and cultural resources” (Skeggs 1997:5). Class is also a discursive construction that includes elements of fantasy and projection of the “Other” (ibid.). It shall finally be acknowledged that class is gendered and racialized; when the ‘naturalized’ differences dictated in gendered and racialized relations enter the sphere of economic relations, gender and ‘race’ serve as “legitimizers of inequalities” for class related positions (Anthias, Yuval-Davis 1992:113).

⁶ As found in *Gender, Race, and Class – An Overview* by Lynn S. Chancer and Beverly Xaviera Watkins (2006), I use the single quotations mark to emphasize that the controversial concept of ‘race’ is a constructed one. ‘Race’ is included as an analytical category as I wish to scrutinize if and how racialized notions are drawn upon in the establishing of identities.

3.3 Socio-economic and cultural/symbolic injustices

Mulinari and de los Reyes present Nancy Fraser's intervention on injustices along with other "theoretical interventions that expand and deepen an intersectional perspective that emphasizes how class, gender and 'race'/ethnicity is done within a framework of unequal global structures" (de los Reyes, Mulinari 2005:47). What feminist philosopher Fraser does is to develop a critical theoretical framework based on the premise that social justice requires both economic redistribution and cultural/symbolic recognition. In this paper, focus lies on Fraser's conceptualizations of different injustices and the ways in which they are intertwined and interact.

Fraser distinguishes between two broadly described understandings of injustice; socio-economic injustice and cultural or symbolic injustice, where the first is seen as rooted in the political-economic structure of society and expresses itself in injustices like exploitation, economic marginalisation and deprivation (Fraser 1995). These injustices are commonly related to the working-class. The second type of injustice is described as cultural or symbolic, and is related to social value-laden patterns, such as those of representation, interpretation, and communication. Examples of this type of injustices are cultural domination, nonrecognition, and disrespect, in other words patterns that are related to culturally coloured and stereotypical perceptions of other social subjects in representational and everyday interactions. Fraser makes no distinction between the two broad fields of injustices as regards the degree of harm they may present; she acknowledges that injustices of misrecognition may have just as material consequences as injustices caused by maldistribution (*ibid.*).

Most importantly, Fraser recognizes that socio-economic and cultural injustice many times work together as oppressive forces. As a matter of facts, she argues that the vast majority of people suffer from both socio-economic and cultural injustices. Fraser denominates these exposed groups "bivalent collectivities":

They are differentiated as collectivities by virtue of *both* the political-economic structure *and* the cultural-valuational structure of society. When disadvantaged, therefore, they may suffer injustices that are traceable to both political economy and culture simultaneously. Bivalent collectivities, in sum, may suffer both socio-economic maldistribution and cultural misrecognition in forms where neither of these injustices is an indirect effect of the other, but where both are primary and co-original (*ibid* p. 78, *italics original*).

For Fraser, gender and 'race' are examples of "bivalent collectivities" as they represent social relations that encompass both economic dimensions and cultural-valuational dimensions. Gender is seen as a primordial category for the structuring of the political economy. An example of how this is gender-structured are typical low-paid female dominated occupations, for instance within the domestic-service sector. Gender is however seen as not only a political-economic differentiation but

also as a cultural-valuational one where “sexual assault, sexual exploitation, /.../ objectifying, /.../ harassment and disparagement in all spheres of everyday life” are injustices caused by cultural and valuational misrecognition (ibid p. 78-79). As regards ‘race’, Fraser argues that just like class, it constitutes a structural principle of the political economy; low-status jobs are held disproportionately by ‘people of colour’ whereas high-status jobs are held disproportionately by ‘whites’. She also sees that ‘race’ conditions the access to the labour market as large parts of the non-white population do not have access to this and becomes “superfluous” or underclass. Regarding the cultural and valuational side of the spectrum, Fraser argues that Eurocentric norms privileging “whiteness” and devaluing what is coded as “brown” or “black”, harassment, and marginalisation in every-day life; are issues of cultural misrecognition (ibid).

4 Introduction to the Peruvian society

In order to find out under what conditions teenage pregnancies are stigmatized it is according to anthropologist Ariel Adaszko necessary to examine the economic, socio-cultural and political-ideological conditions under which these pregnancies emerge as a social problem (Adaszko 2005).

Aníbal Quijano argues that as Latin America was colonized, the new model of power came to rest upon two fundamental axes. The first one is the establishment of *differences* between conquerors and conquered on the basis of ‘race’ – a structure that placed persons as well as cultural traits in a “natural” inferiority to others. The second system established is that of a labour structure that works in symbioses with a notion of capital and the world market (Quijano 2000). The “racialization” produced new sets of social relations and social identities in America: Indians, Blacks, and Mestizos⁷, and it redefined others (Nugent 1992).

When Peru reached independence in 1821, only a small part of the population had access to education as this was destined mainly for elite white men. More than 90% of the population did not have citizenship, civil, social or cultural rights and were considered inferior, dependent, lacking willpower, incapable of creating, thinking, and producing knowledge (Ortiz 2009). Violence was a central element of the Conquest and violations of indigenous women served the purpose of subjugation and oppression. Indigenous women were obliged to work as domestic servants for the Spaniards, a service that included sexual obligations that brought about thousands of illegitimate children (Sara-Lafosse 1996).

4.1 Colonial and postcolonial gender relations

The 17th century was according to sociologist Norma Fuller when the colonial society was established. The period was characterized by weak institutions and plenty of room for individual actions. The liberty gave the male population privileges such as strict control over the women of their strata and an almost unlimited capacity of socializing with socially subordinated women (Fuller 2004).

Ever since the colonial era Peruvian women have been present at all levels of economic activities but their experiences vary considerably depending on their social status. Whilst urban elite women administrated commercial properties,

⁷ The Mestizo population is a result of relationships between Spaniards and indigenous women.

women of urban popular classes would generally work as merchants (Babb 2008). From the 1870's and onward, women and girls from the middle and upper classes entered schools and universities whereas the vast majority of popular class women had to work and did not have access to formal education. This deepened the breach between the elite and the popular sectors where the latter came to be identified with backwardness (Fuller 2004). During this century the Peruvian society witnessed a shift from a hierarchical rationality to a modern one, worth noticing is that critical voices began to question traditional gender, class and 'race' classifications. Yet, the frailty of the State and family institutions during the 19th century did not allow for these changes to consolidate nor reach all social sectors (ibid.).

4.2 The 'Cholo/a' invasion of Lima

Beginning in the 1950's and culminating in the late 1970's - early 1980's, Lima witnessed an intense and extensive immigration that changed the national configuration. Massive migration, spurred by industrialization, moved people from the Andean regions of Peru to the cities and brought about urbanization and an expansion of what used to be Lima's districts and borders. Statistically, this can be illustrated by the fact that in the 1940's 60% of the Peruvian population lived in the rural areas of the Andes. In the 21st century the figures reflect a dramatic change: 73% of the total population live in cities or urbanities, the majority along the coast and a third of the total population live in metropolitan Lima (Zolezzi 2003). The metropolitan areas that saw the greatest expansions of their limits were the "migrant popular neighbourhoods" (Portocarrero 2007).

The Andean region is the poorest part of Peru and it is mainly populated by indigenous populations. The migrants that reached the cities were by large people coming from peasant communities and from families marked by histories of serfdom or of day labouring in the poorest provinces (Franco 1991). As a consequence, the redefinition of the urban space was marked by poverty (Nugent 1992) and the demographic changes were seen as a migrant "plebeianisation" of Lima (Castillo 2009). The migrants became popularly known as "cholos", and were treated as "urban Indians". The establishing of a 'cholo' status was according to Walter Twanama dependent on four elements: physical features, socio-economic level, educational-linguistic elements, and the status as a migrant (Twanama 1992). For a long time, the main connotation surrounding the 'cholo/a' was that s/he was out of place and the 'cholo' was defined as the migrant who must learn to adopt the values of the modern society (Nugent 1992). 'Cholo' became the preferred expression and term for social hierarchization and as the 'cholo' was not included in the original classificatory system of Indians, Blacks and Mestizos; Guillermo Nugent argues that with the 'cholo' citizen the colonial fantasy came to an end. At the same time that the new citizen took form in un-official day-to-day

relationships, the State and its institutions responded to the new situation with what is described as sustained persistence (ibid.).

4.3 Urban stratifications

As massive industrialization and massive migration took place at the same time the emerging industries had an abundant labour force to choose from and endless opportunities of reducing salaries. According to Carlos Franco, this reinforced a cultural pattern of social differentiation between employers and workers (Franco 1991).

From the 1950's and onward Lima is a large and complex city where behaviours as well as mentalities are different, the urban space is fragmented as different social sectors move within limited coordinates. The 1980's were marked by an economic crisis that caused hyper-inflation, poverty and delinquency rose and the terrorist group Sendero Luminoso (the Shining Path) kept people living under threat. A feeling of insecurity invaded the Lima middle-class and a rumour that the poorer neighbourhoods would invade Lima won ground (Portocarrero 2007). At the same time the Andean migrants used their capital: their labour, social networks and cleverness, to adapt to the urban market economy and gain ground. However, a possible middle-class status remained distant as the traditional middle-class defended its social space due to a fear of status loss and of becoming mixed up with the masses and the popular crowds (Zolezzi 2003). To this day, the residents of the 'pueblos jóvenes' can commonly be identified by their names, accents, addresses and physical appearance (Olthoff 2006).

4.4 Neo-liberal measurements

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) has been the main loan agent in Peru since 1977. This year was declared "the Year of Austerity" and policies aiming at reducing public spending and cut the inflation were implemented (Babb 2008). Years of different structural adjustment initiatives followed but the efforts were fruitless and Peru in the late 1980's was a country suffering from a severe economic crisis. Presidential candidate Alberto Fujimori promised to combat both the economic situation and Sendero Luminoso terrorism and won the elections held in 1990. His government (1990-2000) implemented a new development rhetoric that sang praise to neo-liberalism and structural adjustment and it also launched programmes that promoted micro-enterprises and individual initiative, a model that at the same time rejected previous models based on social solidarity and collective action (Blondet 2002).

Fujimori's shock-therapy implied severe cutbacks in public expenditures on health care and education and had consequences for the popular classes (Hays-Mitchell 2002). The 1980's and 1990's were marked by a sharp reduction in formal employments. Competition in the formal labour market was harsh and especially the residents of the 'pueblos jóvenes' were in a difficult position due to their comparatively low educational level, but also due to stigmas and discriminations based upon their ethnic origin as well as the very fact that they live in infamous districts (Olthoff 2006). The institutional and structural changes that followed the transformation into a neo-liberal model had negative effects on labour unions, labour rights, labour stability, and how people were able to organize themselves (Zolezzi 2003).

4.5 Twenty-first century gender roles

Maureen Hays-Mitchell points at the inherent 'gender bias' in the planning and implementation of structural adjustment policies (Hays-Mitchell 2002). She finds that under the structural adjustment initiatives, economic sectors pre-dominated by women were neglected and that as regards negative consequences of economic austerity: "no segment of [the Peruvian] society has been as severely affected as that of low-income women" (ibid. p.71).

In contemporary Peru, women's work - both domestic and public - is generally valued lower than typical male occupations (Babb 2008). Fuller confirms that the labour market is very gender segmented and adds that women's salaries generally are lower than those of men. Further, she argues that the gender segmentation is more pronounced in popular sectors where men monopolize occupations such as construction work, industrial work, the fishing and mining industry, transportation etc. and thus have a major access to the labour market and comparatively better paid occupations (Fuller 2004). Meanwhile, women are usually overrepresented in the informal sector and in less dynamic and more survival oriented activities (Olthoff 2006).

Educational differences between popular and middle/upper classes are early established. The Peruvian school system is divided into private and public schools where the latter generally are of a lower quality than the private ones. In public schools, classes are large, the teachers' salaries low, and educational materials are inadequate and expensive. Youth from the popular classes thus find it difficult to compete with peers from higher socio-economic levels (ibid.).

4.6 Adolescent sexualities

According to Carlos Cáceres, adolescent sexual experimentation in Peru takes place in a cultural context that presents a moral ambiguity; it promotes sexual activity but does not provide confident and sensitive sexual education. Although sexual education formally is included in the recommended curriculum it is rarely fully or adequately covered, and seldom reaches its purposes (Cáceres 1996). The omnipresent Catholic Church calls for sexual abstinence, the refusal of modern contraceptive methods, sexual relations only within the marriage, and is directly involved in the educational curriculum where it imposes a morality that punish sexuality (Olea 2005).

4.6.1 Reproductive rights and choices

In 2004, only 41% of sexually active Peruvian adolescents used a reliable contraceptive method (Nagel, Chávez 2007). As concerns abortions, these are illegal in Peru except for when the procedure is considered therapeutic; in the Peruvian case that is when the pregnancy presents a threat to the woman's life or a serious and permanent threat to her health. However, under clandestine forms, abortions are widespread; estimates show that an average of 371.420 clandestine abortions is carried out annually (Ferrando 2006). In October 2009, a juridical commission revised the Penal Code and pushed through a law amendment that proposes to incorporate rape and sexual abuse among the legal circumstances that entitle a therapeutic abortion. The amendment is to be debated in the national parliament at some point during 2010.

Regarding emergency contraception, the Peruvian State has been legally obliged to distribute this for free at any public healthcare premise since the year of 2004. Yet, *pro-life* groups have taken juridical actions to impede the subsidized distribution and due to lengthy juridical processes, the distribution has been cut from time to time. Meanwhile, the commercial distribution has remained intact; a single dose of emergency contraception is sold for the equivalent of seven to eight US dollars at most pharmacies (Lindman 2009).

5 Results

The analysis begins with accounts of how the participants explained the circumstances and reactions surrounding their pregnancies. This section will be followed by one focusing on social conditions, in particular related to the neighbourhoods the girls used to live in before coming to the Centre. The third section is related to schooling and sexual education at school. The fourth section introduces gender related accounts, including masculine roles raised during the interviews. The final section relates to ‘racial’/ethnic accounts associated with the word ‘cholo’.

5.1 Childbearing as exposure

Magda was born in northern Peru and travelled to Lima on her own to find a job when she was 15 years old. By then, she was already pregnant:

Magda: I did not tell anyone about my pregnancy. Only I.

Me: So your parents...

Magda: No. They did not know.

Me: They still don't know?

Magda: I don't know if they know by now. But I did not tell them.

When we talked about what Magda's life used to look like before she came to the Centre, she explains the circumstances behind her pregnancy:

Me: Could you tell me a bit about what your life was like when you still lived with your family, what did you do in your spare-time for instance?

Magda: Nothing, work the land that's all. I don't know, at home with your family no? Well, I was like that, I didn't go out much. When there were parties, reunions, I went with my family, I didn't go alone because I was afraid, I don't know but since I was a child it has been like that.

Me: What were you afraid of?

Magda: I don't know; it just caught my attention... I don't know, I didn't like going to a party on my own, I had to go with someone. And well, my family watched over me pretty much as well, my uncles were a bit jealous, well, and therefore I went accompanied. And when I was 15 years old, well, uhm, I did not have a boyfriend nor did I know what it was like to fall in love, well then what happened to me was that an uncle, how can I put it, well he took advantage of me, right? And because of that I never told my family that I was pregnant.

Magda's experience is an example of an underlying valuational misrecognition (Fraser 1995) of women and a disrespect of their autonomy. Already before

becoming pregnant, Magda's space for manoeuvre (de los Reyes, Mulinari 2005) was limited due to gender related fear. Magda's story is thus an illustration of how gender structures and representations may have severe material consequences (Anthias, Yuval-Davis 1992). The fact that Magda found herself obliged to leave her family is a sign of how the woman faces the consequences of sexual activities, even in the case when this was involuntary. Such implication is an illustration of skewed gender relations regarding reproduction and social responsibility. Her case further illustrates how the Peruvian State offends women's physical integrity when it fails to provide an inclusive politics that allows women from *all* social classes to have access to emergency contraception and therapeutic abortions in the case of sexual abuse. The relatively elevated cost of emergency contraception (Lindman 2009) makes economically underprivileged sexually abused women forced to carry the child. Magda's class position is not an underlying cause to the abuse, but the fact that she had no other choice but to carry the child may therefore be seen as a result of her class position.

Clara introduces herself and her family life in a strikingly honest way. She was born in Lima and her mother has passed away. She was at the time of the interview still together with the father of the child:

Me: Please tell me about your pregnancy:

Clara: I began to work when I was 13 years old, I was working and there I met him, we met when I was 13 years old and I liked him but, and then we became a couple when I was 15, first then we were a couple, and well, I got pregnant when I was 15 and my dad did not want me to be with the guy and sometimes when I ran away with him, the woman I worked for told my dad "hit her so that she learns so that she doesn't run away again" and then she called my dad and told him to come to her home when I came back after running away, and my dad hit me with his belt and he hit me there in the woman's house, and my dad never accepted, he never accepted and I went back to my house, I went back home and I didn't look for the guy, I didn't look for him at all because my dad had told me not to look for him again because if I did, he would hit me again, and I did not go to look for him, but then he came, he came to look for me, my son's father came to look for me and my dad found me talking to him and he wanted to fight with him, he wanted to throw a big stone in his head, but he didn't let him, he jumped to the other side and the stone hit the stairs. And after that, my dad went to the police station to give a report and the police sent me to the district attorney in order to have me put in a youth centre, the district attorney told me that it was necessary because I was in risk of danger. Well, they placed me at the 'Youth Centre' in 'V District'. I was there for five months and after about 15 days I felt sick, weak, and thought that I might be pregnant, they took me to do my analysis and there they told me that I was pregnant. I couldn't believe it, so young, I mean just a kid, and I said shit, what am I going to do, I didn't want to accept it, I didn't accept my pregnancy, I cried, I didn't want to eat, and they talked to me, the police talked to me, they talked to me and after that I began to recover and to accept it. After five months they brought me here, and here, at first I was a rebel, and then I began to change, I have learnt a lot here at the Centre, I learnt to mature as well, to look after my daughter, to be a good mom because before I wasn't, I didn't know, but now I take good care of my daughter, I love her to death, and when I get out of here, I'll use what I've learnt to find a job. And well, I thank God because sometimes he knows

why he does things, and that I was placed here as well because if not, if I had been on the outside, what would it have become of me?

Alicia Quintana and Ernesto Vásquez did research upon adolescents living in the Lima suburb El Agustino, a suburb that fits within the framework of “migrant popular neighbourhoods”. They found that the social control of young women is strong and that it comprehends limited possibilities of obtaining information related to sexuality, restrictions upon possibilities of moving in public space, postponement of love and romance, to the annulment of their sexuality (Quintana, Vásquez 1999). There are traces of many of Quintana and Vásquez’s findings in Clara’s narrative. Her case shows how it is believed that through punishment and suppression of women’s sexuality and freedom, potential pregnancies are avoided. The fact that Clara left school at an early age in order to work is likely to be a result of the family’s weak socio-economic position, where her job as a maid represents Fraser’s idea of a low-paid female occupation (Fraser 1995). Due to her weak economic position and lack of decision making autonomy (Carro, Tregear 1992) Clara’s case may be seen as representing the collectivity Fraser refers to when she argues that certain collectivities face a bivalent exposure related both cultural values and the political economy (Fraser 1995).

Rafaela, born in Lima, recalls when she found out that she and her boyfriend were expecting a child. Rafaela’s mother has passed away and her father is in prison, and Rafaela was therefore living together with an aunt:

Me: How did people react to your pregnancy, your friends for example?

Rafaela: Well my friends told me... to have an abortion right, that... that I was very young, like, how am I going to have a child that young, I won’t be able to study, I won’t be able to work, I won’t be able to do anything they told me. They wanted to help me to find a way to have an abortion. After that, my aunt found out, she found out through a friend I think, she found out and well, no, she said no. She called my dad in prison and said “let’s do what you say, if you want your daughter to get rid of it or to have it”, and my dad said to have it. Well, and therefore I had it.

Rafaela’s testimony is another example of vulnerable gendered positions and of a limited, or rather annulled self-determination, embedded in a social organizing (de los Reyes, Mulinari 2005) where both gender and age constitute a hierarchical order; both the aunt and the father have more to decide than Rafaela about her pregnancy. The statement may also be seen as an account of an exposed position related to the mother’s permanent and the father’s temporal absence, placing Rafaela in an isolated position. The reactions from Rafaela’s friends accentuate an awareness of an exclusive society not designed for adolescent mothers, where a pregnancy may imply long-term consequences and socio-economic hardships.

5.1.1 Childbearing as a social act

Elisabeth was born in Lima and lived with her mother and siblings before coming to the Centre. Elisabeth's parents are divorced and the father of Elisabeth's child is her ex-boyfriend:

Me: What reactions did you encounter?

Elisabeth: Well, my parents told me that being a mother is a huge responsibility and that, well, I was only 14 years old, and they told me that it would be very hard for me. And well, my friends told me, so young, pregnant, without having thought things through. The neighbours only criticized me, said look at that girl, running around here and there and got herself pregnant, that's what people said.

Clara experienced similar reactions:

Me: What did people say when they found out that you were pregnant, your dad for instance?

Clara: My dad wanted to kill me [laughing] no, but at the Youth Centre, they didn't let him in and when he found out that I was pregnant, he looked at me with an evil expression on his face.

Me: How do people look at a pregnant teenager?

Clara: They look askance at you, they say so young and pregnant when there are so many ways to protect you, why? Why does she get pregnant so fast? That's what people say, like as if for being a beginner you make a mistake.

Jenifer left the central parts of Peru to move to Lima together with her sister. When the sister later on left, Jenifer was left alone and has since then not had any contact with her family members:

Me: How did people react to your pregnancy, your friends for example?

Jenifer: My friends told me that maybe I could get an abortion or something. I was afraid. I don't know, sometimes they looked down on me.

Me: Who did?

Jenifer: People, people sometimes looked down on me; they told me "what! I don't understand how", as I was a minor they asked me "how had I done it" things like that they told me.

Elisabeth's and Clara's narratives provide insights of gendered connotations on how childbearing may be attributed to an 'inappropriate' sexual conduct. The testimonies show how motherhood may be frowned upon, here in relation to an intersecting inappropriateness between age and sexuality. Rocío Gutiérrez finds that in Peru, maternity is destined for adult life and within the sexually legal framework of marriage (Gutiérrez 2006). In the cases of Elisabeth, Clara and Jenifer, there are hence two things that are 'wrong', both age and civil status. There are in all three testimonies indications of how the whole responsibility for becoming pregnant is attributed to the woman, and that the father's role and responsibility is denied. This distinction has clear gendered differentiations and

may be due to the visual power of the pregnant *body*, a sign of how biology and gendered discourses are connected (Earle, Letherby 2003). Also class related features may influence the acceptance of young mothers: Quintana and Vásquez found that in El Agustino, the existence of means to support the child conditions the acceptance of teenage mothers. The means are mainly attributed to the material position of the father of the child (Quintana, Vásquez 1999). This finding indicates that in the case that the father is absent; the social acceptance of the young mother might be severely affected.

Denise, from the eastern parts of Peru, came to Lima to look for a job. She became pregnant together with her boyfriend who left Denise during pregnancy. Both quotations are obtained from a long narration related to her pregnancy and the first one reflects what happened right after Denise had given birth:

Denise: From the hospital they called my daughter's father and it was like "cell-phone switched off", "cell-phone switched off", he didn't want to know anything.

Denise: When my daughter was almost one month old, he came to visit me at the hospital, and the police asked him if he was going to sign everything, and at first he said that he was going to, and I told him that from here we'll get the birth certificate so that I won't have to worry in the future because my daughter will grow up without a birth certificate, without her father's surname I told him, and what will I tell her? I told him.

Denise provides a testimony of how the lack of a birth certificate and a paternal surname; two types of possessions, one material and the other cultural, may have long-term social consequences. What the possessions have in common is that they are both codes that condition the status and acceptance of the child and connote its legitimacy. Denise's testimony illustrates a culture laden exclusion of women and children that fall outside of normative family ideals based upon the nuclear family. That is, Denise falls outside of the normative social role (Yuval-Davis 2006) that is assigned to her gender. The issue of the surname it is an example of how mothers like Denise may face long-term consequences of acceptance and shame related to having a child out of wedlock, something that also will be reproduced onto the child. It could be argued that this discrimination of single-parenting mothers is a gendered injustice and a sign of a culturally inherent value-laden injustice (Fraser 1995).

Susana from eastern Peru is still together with the father of her child. She narrates how motherhood also may have empowering social effects. Talking about differences between women and men, Susana comes to the conclusion that men are more capable of defending themselves in public space, for instance the street.

Me: Do you feel afraid when you are alone in the street?

Susana: Before I did, but not anymore, before I used to let everyone offend me but, well, not too much but yeah there were a couple of things and I was scared right. But I don't know, I think that now, as I have my son, he gives me more strength to move on and not let anyone dare to insult me.

Susana's testimony is an indication of the status motherhood, for good and bad, has in the Peruvian society. Susana's shows how biological traits, in this case women's reproductive capacity, becomes what defines women and conditions their social status, role and possibilities. In short, representations of biology and motherhood (Yuval-Davis 2006) are what define Susana's social position. Olthoff found that motherhood was seen as the most essential aspect of femininity in the "migrant popular neighbourhood" in which she did research (Olthoff 2006). Due to the elevated status of motherhood, it must be tempting for young girls to see childbearing as a way of gaining acceptance. Yet, as found in earlier statements, there are traces of a parallel discourse that holds *adolescent* mothers as promiscuous and immature and young women thus find themselves facing conflicting messages.

In sum, the narratives provide insights of a gendered exposure where intersecting relations between cultural disrespect and misrecognition of women along with socio-economic conditions place adolescent women in vulnerable positions. There are traces of how the Peruvian State offends economically underprivileged women's physical integrity when failing to provide access to emergency contraception and/or therapeutic abortions. As concerns the social acceptance of teenage mothers, this is conditioned and dependent of age and marital status, possibly also class belonging. It is further illustrated how the whole responsibility for becoming pregnant is attributed to the woman, and that the father's role and responsibility is denied. Yet, the lack of cultural and material possessions attached to a male figure influences the acceptance of the mother and her child. Finally, it is shown how motherhood may have empowering effects, something that is likely to reflect the elevated status of a normatively 'correct' motherhood.

5.2 Social conditions

Jenifer tells how her pregnancy was marked by solitude, fear and worries about the future. Upon talking about how she liked her old neighbourhood, Jenifer gives an account of fear in a more concrete way:

Me: Did you like living in 'X District'?

Jenifer: The thing is that I didn't go out much. At night, there were lots of guys hanging around in the streets and I didn't like to go outside because they were there.

Jenifer shows an example of a fear that severely limits her space and freedom. Her story is an illustration of differences between men and women where the former are attributed freedom on the latter's expense: an expression and result of gender hierarchies within the cultural-valuational order (Fraser 1995). The testimony is also a sign of the difficult and unsafe situation that might arise when a young girl

is forced by economic hardships to move in order to find a job and a way to make a living.

Me: What do girls in ‘X District’ normally do, like what are they dedicated to, do they work, study?

Jenifer: Normally they work as vendors. I don’t know, they sell what they can... Maybe at their age, almost no-one will give them a job right? They need to have an ID card.

In Peru, the standard national ID card is only issued to people who have reached lawful age. Not being able to show an ID card but being obliged to work in order to bring in an income places adolescents in a position of dependency. Hays-Mitchell (2002), Babb (2008) and Olthoff (2006) pointed at how the current economic regime is disadvantageous for women from the popular classes. With her testimony Jenifer confirms that survival oriented and informal (Olthoff 2006) occupations are common among her peers. Meanwhile, Fuller (2004) argued that men from the popular classes have a comparative advantage over women in access to better paid occupations. With her statement, Jenifer hence shows how class and gender are interrelated in the upholding of disadvantaged situations for young women, and she affirms that gender has come to serve as a legitimizer of inequalities also for class related positions (Anthias, Yuval-Davis 1992).

5.2.1 The neighbourhood

All interviewees except for Denise lived in what Olthoff denominated “migrant popular neighbourhoods” before coming to the Centre. Rafaela tells how people from other parts of Lima react to her coming from ‘Y District’:

Me: How do they speak of ‘Y District’ in other neighbourhoods?

Rafaela: They say ouch! ‘Y District’, everything there’s perdition right? Gangs, drugs, everything, there’s no progress.

That ‘Y District’; a typical ‘pueblo joven’, is identified with perdition and lack of progress indicates a connotation of backwardness, a notion Fuller (2004) claimed that popular classes have been identified with since the colonial era. Rafaela shows how an assumed lack of socio-economic progress, negative perceptions of the inhabitants, their habits and life-styles, are interrelated in the construction of a homogenized (Yuval-Davis 2006) negative identity all inhabitants of ‘Y District’ are assumed to share. The imposed identity is in other words an example of an externally defined collectivity construction based upon presumably shared and naturalized identities (ibid.). The identities are likely to be based upon ideas of poverty (Nugent 1992) and “plebeianisation” (Castillo 2009), ideas that merge in the neighbourhood. As a consequence, the inhabitants find themselves entangled in intersecting disadvantages of *location*.

This is Rafaela's answer upon the chances adolescents from her district have for moving forward in life:

Me: Do you see many opportunities to move forward for an adolescent coming from 'Y District'?

Rafaela: No, because of what... of what we see and... we are in this world, this is what we see, we get used to it right? We get used to it and we don't want to improve ourselves.

Rafaela's account is dual and paradoxical. She seems strikingly aware of the intersecting injustices she faces and she shows how she has embodied (Acker 2009) dominant social perceptions. Her testimony illustrates how the intersection between socio-economic and cultural injustices are so cemented that even the ones located in the middle of them see their space for manoeuvre (de los Reyes, Mulinari 2005) as limited. Yet, by saying "we don't want to get better", Rafaela also points at how the individual is attributed responsibility for her/his situation and how there would be potential space for individual initiative if such initiative exists.

Elisabeth compares her own district with the Miraflores district, one of Lima's wealthiest ones:

Me: How do they talk about 'Z District' in other neighbourhoods?

Elisabeth: Everything's the same, every place gets its share of talking, some good, others not so good. For example, Miraflores, that place well, very good, there you don't find gangs, none of that but it's only for people of another, almost of another level and 'Z District', well it's a place of another category because that's where people, yeah more people from the working-class end up there, and you'll find gangs and more movement, whereas in Miraflores everything's calm. In Miraflores there are no stores, no supermarkets but in 'Z District' there are markets, stores.

Elisabeth shows a curious awareness of social structures and divisions between people. Speaking of categories and levels, Elisabeth points at a class hierarchy where the inhabitants of Miraflores and those of 'Z District' do not play in the same social league. Her words also illustrate how hegemonic⁸ ideas about what is coded as positive and what is coded as negative. Through the observations about calmness and movement, supermarkets and stores, Elisabeth points at projections of the 'Other' (Skeggs 1997) that denote class laden features and shape people's understanding of who is who and who and what belongs where. Through her narrative, Elisabeth shows how she has adopted the dominant order of how differences are pronounced and she hereby shows how culturally laden factors and hegemonic ideals shape people's understandings and perceptions.

⁸ Stemming from the works of Antonio Gramsci; hegemony is considered the mechanism of social dominance the ruling class employs to control its positions (Johnson 2000).

Denise is the only interviewee who did not live in a ‘pueblo joven’ before coming to the Centre. She came to Lima when she was in her early teens and settled in a working-class district. However, Denise later on moved to work in a district here referred to as ‘A District’; one of Lima’s wealthiest ones. During the interview, Denise repeatedly makes reference to what it was like living there:

Denise: In my neighbourhood there in ‘A District’, everything was cool, it was calm not like in other neighbourhoods where there are petty thief gangs, everything was calm, and the guys were decent.

Denise: ‘A District’ is really very calm, because I think that’s where people with money live. San Isidro, La Molina⁹ are really calm, I know all of Lima.

Denise: In ‘A District’ it was calm, you could go out well dressed with your friends.

Me: And what do you think about Villa María del Triunfo? (the district in which the Centre is located)

Denise: In ‘A District’ they said that Villa María del Triunfo is gangs; it’s the ugliest district they said. A guy that lived in ‘A District’ always came to Villa María del Triunfo to visit his girlfriend and he says “she drinks, she smokes” [negative emphasis], says: “what would you think if you were a man and your girlfriend drinks, smokes, steals, what would you do” he says, and I tell him if I were you I’d leave her because well, it’s not my decision, but maybe she’s teaching me to drink instead of giving me other [emphasis] ideas on what to do, I tell my friend. He says “I don’t love her anymore because that girl drinks, smokes, with other guys she drinks, with her girlfriends she drinks, they fight and well, I don’t like that. And that’s why I don’t like Villa María del Triunfo” he says, “nor Lurigancho, nor Ventanilla¹⁰ because those are the suburbs with many petty thief gangs, I don’t like them” he said. “The only ones I like are La Molina, San Isidro y San Borja” he said “because those districts are really calm, there are no gangs, people drinking nor this nor that” he said. And that’s fine right because I also like those districts but the other districts that he mentioned no, I don’t like those because women drink in large groups, they throw bottles, I don’t know what they’re up to, they fight and I don’t like that.

Denise provides an illustration of how the dominant discourse has come to stand out in her view of social relations, identities and ‘the Other’ (Skeggs 1997). For Denise, there is an association between money, decency, tranquillity and fine clothing. Class related features are hence not only expressed in economic positions but also as cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986). Fuller (1998) employs Bourdieu’s reasoning to argue that in the Peruvian context, cultural capital, but also social and cultural *roles* are at stake when grappling for a social middle-class acceptance. It may be argued that Denise, based upon her different experiences, presents an awareness of the pre-dominating social codes she must adapt to in

⁹ Two of Lima’s wealthiest districts.

¹⁰ Two “migrant popular neighbourhoods”.

order to be accepted in her new social environment. Her testimony contains traces of dichotomous comparisons where different vices such as drinking, smoking and fighting have come to represent the negative 'Other'. These comparisons denote features that, especially when undertaken by women, relate to some kind of licentious and immoral behaviour, something that Denise seems to want to refrain herself from. It may therefore be argued that Denise confirms Skeggs' (1997) affirmation that representations are involved in the access to cultural resources. Finally, Denise shows how she has embodied the dominant discourse: Villa María del Triunfo and its likes are attributed features that work in a homogenizing way. Denise assumes that the inhabitants of the poorer neighbourhoods share the same identities and customs, here expressed as fighting and drinking.

In sum, the social conditions encountered in the interviews are marked by obstacles and of economic hardships. These may be seen as related to a failed politics that exclude rather than include. There are also traces of gender laden difficulties where women suffer consequences as their part of the public space is limited. This limitation could be argued to be due to a cultural-valuational order that establishes that men are attributed freedom on women's expense. It is shown how the labour market is harsh for youths from the popular classes when they are obliged to work instead of going to school. The neighbourhoods are the merging point where attributes related to both socio-economic conditions, ethnicity and class are united. The neighbourhoods are identified as lacking progress and with connotations of backwardness as both economic as well as cultural capitals are missing. The interviewees actively reflect upon and are aware of the social status of their own neighbourhood and have in some cases embraced the dominant views of positively and negatively coded attributes.

5.3 School and (sexual) education

Some interviewees had already left school when they became pregnant. Of those who were still in school; all decided to interrupt their studying before peers and teachers noticed that they were pregnant. The decision to leave school was in all cases stated to be due to their own initiative.

Elisabeth shows how and why she took this decision:

Elisabeth: I left school. I left when I was one month pregnant.

Me: Was it your choice to leave?

Elisabeth: Yes because I said I won't go to school pregnant.

Me: Why not?

Elisabeth: I was ashamed.

Me: Have you ever seen a pregnant girl at school?

Elisabeth: No [laughing].

When connecting this account to an earlier one where Elisabeth tells how in the eyes of others, her pregnancy was attributed to a dissolute sexuality; it is understandable why she felt ashamed. The stated absence of pregnant girls at college, along with Elisabeth's own feelings of shame, may be seen as indicators of a stigma attached to teenage pregnancies. The pregnant body, i.e. a biological site, is what is visible in the eyes of peers and teachers. To the body, Elisabeth attaches a negative value – shame – a sign of how the biological body may be the base for social attributes and identities. In this case the human body denotes an identity (Valdivia 2009) as 'adolescent mother'.

I asked Clara what her family's role was like in her studies:

Me: Did your dad support you when you were studying?

Clara: Sometimes he supported me, sometimes no, more than anything I was embarrassed to go to school because sometimes my dad did not buy me all of the things that I needed, and I went with what I had and the teacher asked for the whole set, she requested more, and I had to ask my dad for books and they were a little expensive and my dad did not have the money to buy them, and the teacher told me "you have to bring the books" and sometimes she gave me bad grades for that. And I felt ashamed also when, I don't know, my dad bought me second-hand shoes, like shoes worth ten soles¹¹, really ugly ones and I was ashamed to go like that. But yeah, my dad wanted me to finish secondary school; he wanted me to become a professional, what all parents want for their children right?

Clara's testimony shows how the public school system of Peru may work in exclusionary ways. Despite being the only part of the educational system that economically underprivileged citizens have access to, Clara gives an example of injustices also within this area. The economic position of Clara's father leads to unfair grades for Clara, an illustration of how education may be economically conditioned. The story further illustrates how economic marginalisation and unfair socio-economic structures (Fraser 1995) also may have intergenerational effects: the economic position of the father affects Clara's schooling.

Teresa was born in a small city a few hours south of Lima and came to the capital to work as a maid when her son was already born. She is the only girl who wanted a child at the time of getting pregnant:

Me: Could you tell me what it was like when you were in school; did girls and boys spend time together?

Teresa: Only women on their own in groups, they make conversation, and a group of men talk on their own as well, those are the rules. If for instance a man and a woman are talking together they say; "you cannot talk man and woman because that's the prevailing rule of this school, if you behave like that, you will be expelled" they say.

¹¹ The Peruvian currency is the Nuevo Sol, in popular speech *sol*, plural *soles*. Ten soles are about 3 US dollars.

Teresa's provides information on how biologically based differences (Yuval-Davis 2006) create a social environment where everyday relations between men and women are controlled. Violeta Sara-Lafosse argues that through this kind of gender segregation, the Peruvian school system upholds a *machista* subculture that makes an improved familiarity between young women and men impossible (Sara-Lafosse 1996). When mixed gender relationships based upon friendship and communication are prohibited; sexual relations risk becoming the only 'natural' way through which women and men can spend time together.

Veronica was born in one of Lima's "migrant popular neighbourhoods". Her pregnancy was a result of sexual abuse. When talking about school, and who she commonly spent time with, Veronica tells the following:

Me: What was it like in school; did boys and girls spend time together?

Veronica: At school, I spent time with my [girl]friends, and some peers from other classrooms, other boys and girls, hung about together but we didn't because we talked and agreed that maybe someday, or at some point, the guys would like... go too far with the girls and we didn't want that to happen, better stay distant and sedate.

Veronica's account shows how gendered relations cause severe limitations of young women's persons as well as personal space, and also how women and men cannot participate in social life on equal grounds. The narrative provides an illustration of how biological traits are used to provoke exclusionary practices that favour the dominant gender (Anthias, Yuval-Davis 1992) and their dominance in social space. The particular social organizing here mentioned allows for patterns of gendered oppression to be reproduced (Mattis et al. 2008). A sound relationship between women and men is thwarted, here related to masculine roles, masculine privileges and misrecognitions (Fraser 1995) of women's social rights.

Teresa affirms that she received sexual education in school:

Me: What did they tell you in the sexual education classes?

Teresa: That a woman has to protect herself until... she mustn't let a man touch her, don't let anyone touch her, not on the cheek, nor on her breasts nor... touch because for example if it would happen that you fall in love with the guy and you don't protect yourself, you'll get pregnant.

Teresa's story is characterized by signs of a sexual education with few purposes: warn, prevent and prohibit. There is no sign of a more embracing approach that recognizes that women do have a sexuality that can be filled with pleasure, nor are there recognitions of female initiative, but women's sexualities are suppressed. The female body is in other words inscribed with cultural values (Earle, Letherby 2003) regarding sexual behaviour. According to Olea (2005), these values may also have religious foundations, a sign of how different social levels, in this case norms and institutions (de los Reyes, Mulinari 2005); intersect in the construction of a reinforced gendered inequality.

In sum, there are traces of injustices related to economic positions that show how the Peruvian school system does not fill the purpose of providing educational opportunities for all. The school is not the site for preparation for adult life and positive changes it could be. Among other things, biologically based differences create a social environment where the relations between women and men are controlled, either by adults' decisions or by the students own initiative. In both cases the possibility for young men and women to spend time together on equal grounds has been made impossible and instead a gendered hierarchy where men are at the top is preserved. As concerns sexual education, this is shown to be limited in its coverage and as reifying rather than combating stereotypical gender perceptions and male cultural domination.

5.4 Femininities and masculinities

Below follows Elisabeth's account of the chores she and her siblings used to have. The first part concerns her and her sisters and the second part her only brother:

Me: Could you tell me what an average day looked like when you lived at home. What chores did you have for example? Or your friends?

Elisabeth: Every day we got up at eight, we had breakfast, we cleaned the house; the bedroom, the kitchen, the living room, after that we went to school, we came back at six and my little sisters were there, we spent time with them, we cooked dinner, they ate, went to bed and we sometimes went to an Internet cafe, otherwise we went out with our friends. I had a couple of friends who didn't go to school, they, the fathers of some of them are bus conductors or drivers, and they didn't go to school, in the mornings they went to the market, they themselves cooked and later their dads passed by with the bus and they went down there to give them the food and after that they went up again to do household chores the whole afternoon, they also listened to music, some of them went out with their boyfriends, mainly at night they went out with their boyfriends like at six, seven and then they came back and went to bed at ten.

Me: And for boys, what is it like?

Elisabeth: Well my brother, before he got engaged; he went to school, he slept until ten o'clock in the morning, he got up to have breakfast, did his homework listening to music, he got changed and then at 12.20 he went to school, he came back at six, got changed and went to a gaming centre or an Internet cafe or hung about in the streets with his friends. They were there playing, talking. Many guys in my neighbourhood don't go to school; they hang about there all day.

Before coming to the Centre, Elisabeth lived with her mother and siblings and the household is hence characterized by having a female breadwinner. Despite this characteristic, there are in Elisabeth's narrative many traces of how she and her sisters had much more domestic responsibilities than the brother who enjoyed more freedom. Elisabeth's case thus illustrates how gender based divisions on a

micro level may be the result of the dominant macro level social organizing (de los Reyes, Mulinari 2005) rather than a translation of the specific micro level composition. The characteristics of the particular micro level organizing may in turn be seen as a demonstration of how strongly established diverse patterns of the macro organizing are, in this case related to gender representations. Olthoff found in her study that due to gender related restrictions and financial reasons girls only leave the neighbourhood to do shopping for the household or to go to school. They were further expected to stay close to the house where they could be easily controlled (Olthoff 2006). With the accounts of her friends' situations Elisabeth shows that traces of Olthoff's findings are present also in other suburbs.

Clara gives a similar description of everyday life. I then ask her to reflect upon gender related freedom:

Me: Would you say that young women and young men have the same amount of freedom?

Clara: Well, it is said that men can have more freedom, on the other hand women can't, we must be more presentable, and men, even when they get a girl pregnant, even then they manage to fall on their feet, some mothers talk like that. That's why they let their sons have their freedom and that's not okay either, I think women and men should have the same... they have to share the same. Everyone should be treated equally, not one more and one less. That's my idea, they shouldn't be machistas, when they talk bad it's because they are machistas.

By showing how 'presentability' is argued to be a female virtue, Clara points at a gendered order where men and women have different roles (Yuval-Davis 2006). The narrated order establishes freedom as a male prerogative and any woman intruding on this male space would consequently reverse the gendered system. Thinking about dichotomous relations it is possible to contrast freedom (a male virtue) with control (the female virtue), something Elisabeth commented upon in the earlier listed testimony. Arguing that young men who get a girl pregnant "fall on their feet"; Clara confirms that the social and cultural responsibility attributed to fatherhood and reproduction is low. This may be an expression of how the socially dominant male gender benefits from a historically established social organizing. Historical in the sense that as Sara-Lafosse (1996) and Fuller (2004) argued; already during the colonial era, Peruvian men enjoyed social and sexual privileges over women.

Rafaela talks about whether she talked to friends and family members about matters related to sexuality. She reflects upon the difficulties women might face when trying to talk to partners about sex related topics:

Me: How do women talk to men about sex, birth control and all of that?

Rafaela: Well, here well, they are embarrassed, when talking to a man sometimes the girls are looked upon [by the man]. And the girls, the girls don't dare to talk in front of a man, they are ashamed.

Rafaela confirms that sexuality is considered a male privilege, a sign of how social roles are defined by biological differences (Yuval-Davis 2006). Rafaela's testimony is also a demonstration of the difficulties women may face when trying to negotiate the use of contraceptives. Her testimony is thus an illustration of how social misrecognition of women and their needs may lead to material consequences (Fraser 1995), in this case an undesired childbearing.

Elisabeth implicitly confirms social gender attributes when playing with the idea of being a man:

Me: If you would have been born a man, do you think your life would have been different?

Elisabeth: Yeah, maybe a bit, when you are a man, well I believe men sometimes think a bit more, or they take things more seriously, but when they are women, well, they are a bit more docile.

Elisabeth argues that women are meeker than men: an expression of a social organizing that upholds a male dominated order. It is illustrated that a gendered control does not only imply keeping women near the home, but how it may also involve issues of misrecognition (Fraser 1995) and stereotypical representations that are based upon biological traits (Yuval-Davis 2006). In this case, biological traits are shown to be the basis for naturalizing and homogenizing descriptions attached to a specific gender (ibid.).

Denise tells what her friends told her before and after becoming pregnant:

Me: What did your friends say when you got pregnant?

Denise: My friends told me "you can move on with your daughter - have her", and the father of my daughter also told me to have her, his family also wanted to, but there were other friends who told me to get rid of it, and I told them that no, that I was going to have her and move on, how can you think about not having it, that's bad right, I'm a woman, I can't get rid of my child because I can study, I can finish secondary school, I can start a dressmaker's business as I like sewing, I can study to have a dressmaker's workshop and support my daughter right? And when my daughter is older she can help me with my business right? My friends gave me advices: if a guy gets you pregnant and doesn't shoulder his responsibility, you'll move forward anyway, you can do it, you're a woman, you have everything, you've got hands, you've got feet to move you forward, don't do like other girls who've got money and get rid of their child, that's bad right? And my friends, well I have another friend who also was deceived but who now works as a secretary and she tells me "I could do it, you can also do it, I had my daughter when I was 16 years old but you can do it" she says. "You can have a big business or you can fall in love later on with a guy who won't make you fail as you failed, he can be better than the first one".

Employing the terms 'deceived' and 'failed', Denise points at notions related to sexual behaviour and appropriateness. Marit Melhuus argues that in the Mexican context, the failed woman, *la fracasada*, describes a woman who has fallen from grace; i.e. a woman who has had sexual intercourse before marriage or a child out of wedlock (Melhuus 1996). In her testimony, Denise affirms her assigned role as

irrevocably being considered fallen from grace, a notion possibly related to her earlier mentioned concerns about the daughter growing up without her father's surname. By arguing that for being a woman she could not "get rid of" the child, Denise points at a strong social relationship between womanhood and motherhood (Anthias, Yuval-Davis 1992). Her friends on the other hand make a connection between economic positions and abortions; economic assets are here considered a ground for immoral actions rather than something potentially facilitating. Further, it ought to be noted that Denise's friends anticipated that Denise could end up in a situation where the father does not shoulder his responsibility. This peculiar prediction is likely to point at the frequency by which this happens to a young woman.

In sum, it is shown how a gendered micro organizing may be the result of the social macro organizing, an organizing that establishes that (young) men can have more freedom than can (young) women. As regards young women, control is a key concept that is considered a female virtue. The interviewees confirm that men and women have different social roles and show how representations of biological features are used to provoke structural disadvantages that favour the dominant male gender. Pregnant women who fall outside of the married norm are identified as failed and deceived, an indication of gender based divisions related to sexual behaviour. The social and cultural responsibility attached to fatherhood is low, an illustration of how sexuality may be given different social attributes for women and for men.

5.5 The cholo/a as the 'Other'

This is Susana's explanation of what the word 'cholo' means:

Me: If you have heard the word 'cholo', could you tell me what it means?

Susana: 'Cholo' means, sometimes they say that when you're from the provinces, and you come to Lima, because you're a highlander, because you're of another class you cannot improve yourself. 'Cholo' is like [pause] as if they were, how can I say it, as if they were rejecting you for not being *limeño*¹² or not being of their race.

Me: Would you say that the meaning of the word is negative or positive?

Susana: Well, there are different meanings, for instance, there are times when they call you 'cholo' or 'chola' with affection, but there are others who do it with hate, with contempt, and well, 'cholo' in the meaning of contempt, that you're a highlander, you're from another place, another world.

Me: Are different people treated differently here in Lima?

Susana: Yes, there's a difference because for example here in Lima, they believe that because they are white, because they have money, they have the right to treat people bad, but I believe it shouldn't be like that.

¹² Limeño denotes a Lima inhabitant or a Lima "native".

Susana illustrates how notions of separated collectivities, based on notions of class, 'race' or location, are used to denote exclusionary boundaries (Yuval-Davis 2006). As regards dichotomous (ibid.) relations, there is an argued separation between those who are white and those who are non-white, and those who have money and those who do not. Apart from regional origin and 'racial' features, Susana hence argues that also economic possessions are involved in the separation of collectivities. Class and 'race' related features are in other words intersecting in the establishing of a 'cholo' identity. The rejection, hate, and contempt Susana has witnessed shows that the boundary making and identity formation is much related to external definitions and impositions (Anthias, Yuval-Davis 1992). Myths of a common origin (Yuval-Davis 2006) are salient in testimonies of how the 'cholos' come from another place or another world, i.e. a *different* location than that of the dominant ethnic group.

This is Elisabeth's explanation of the meaning of the word:

Me: Could you tell me what the word 'cholo' means?

Elisabeth: I've heard that it means for example, those people, for instance those who come from Cajamarca, they are very white like me, maybe like you they have blond hair, blue eyes, they are tall and so forth, and then there are other people who are from Ayacucho, from Junín, Puno and they have dark skin, others have red spots on their cheeks¹³ and normally those who have red spots are called highlanders, but not that they are black, they are maybe a bit like the girl who was here before, Veronica. I believe each and everyone should be proud of her/his race because in the end, we are all from the same country.

Me: How is the word used?

Elisabeth: Mainly to insult, like for instance, if two girls are fighting and one of them is white and the other is well, of her race, 'chola', I've seen many times how they grab each other and say "get out of here you stinky chola" and that's how they insult. And for white people being 'chola' is something ugly, it's used as an offense. In some places I've seen how some people are treated according to their race, for example, this one time I saw in a restaurant two employees; one of them was a bit dark, and the other was whiter and they told the white one to wait the tables and the other to work behind the cashier so that nobody would see her. In that sense there is always a bit of racism. And around here there are some people who are from there, from the provinces, and they are treated a bit less than those who are fair-skinned.

Elisabeth's account is highly related to the combination of physical features and regional origin in the construction of a 'cholo' identity. It is clear for Elisabeth who is 'cholo' and who is not and she is the only interviewee who explicitly uses the word racism to describe social relations in Peru. By the examples of how the 'cholos' among others things are seen as "stinky", negative physical features have been attached to the 'cholo' identity. Such imposition is a sign of how the dominant culture enforces stereotypical characteristics onto certain groups and is

¹³ Red spots caused by harsh climate and strong sun, commonly associated with high altitudes.

thus a sign of cultural marginalisation (Fraser 1995; Mattis et al. 2008). Elisabeth also shows how labour related activities may be affected by ideas attached to biological features. As Fraser (1995) argued, 'race' has in this stated case come to condition the access to labour markets where whiteness is appraised in opposition to darkness. The stated example shows how a racialized difference serves as a legitimizer of inequality (Anthias, Yuval-Davis 1992) for labour and class related positions.

Here follows Rafaela's explanation:

Me: What does the word 'cholo' mean?

Rafaela: 'Cholo', well that's, I think that when they are from the highlands, when they are like, when they look coarse. When they wear lots of clothes or look very tedious, highlanders, then I call them 'cholos'. When we say that among us who are of the same, I mean the same race, because I'm 'chola' I think [laughing], I think it's alright, but when someone else, for example a white person calls us 'chola', then it sounds offensive. Because when they call me tremendous 'chola', well then I say "you're 'chola' as well", and well that's normal but when someone else says that to us, someone who we know isn't a 'cholo' then it sounds like an insult.

Me: Is there a difference in how different people are treated here in Lima?

Rafaela: Yes.

Me: Why?

Rafaela: I don't know, I think there are people who, they are, in addition to us being bitter, people who believe that they are better than us. And sometimes they treat us, or treat other people, I don't know, with more authority right? They believe that they have more authority than us or they feel better right? I also think it's a matter of self-confidence right? I mean, if you love yourself you don't feel 'chola' right?

Rafaela illustrates how not only physical features but also specific attributes (clothing) are attached to a certain group. This is an example of how biological differences may be seen as expressed in life-style, but how they in reality are grounded on the separation of human populations by notions of biology (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992). Rafaela shows how she imposes socially created stereotypical traits (Fraser 1995) that are related both to culture, economy, and physique to those she considers 'cholos'. By referring to how she and her peers are bitter, Rafaela seems to argue that also the 'cholos' themselves are to be responsible for their situation, an idea she supports when arguing that it is possible to dis-identify from a 'cholo' identity by loving yourself. Her affirmation of how 'cholos' are treated with authority by 'non-cholos' is an example of how biology related identity creations may express cultural domination (Fraser 1995) and hierarchies. Finally, Rafaela's reasoning accentuates the importance of the physical body and how this may represent a site upon which different cultural perceptions and identities are based and merge (Valdivia 2009; Earle, Letherby 2003).

Alicia was brought up by her aunts in one of Lima's 'pueblo jóvenes'. Her pregnancy was the result of a rape and she was sent to the Centre as her aunts could not support both Alicia and her child. This is her reasoning on whether the inherent connotations of the word 'cholo' are positive or negative:

Alicia: I think it's something positive; it's something good, like I'm 'chola' and so what? We should feel proud; proud because 'cholo' is what they call people coming from Arequipa, from Cusco.

Me: Who is it that calls them 'cholos'?

Alicia: Guys from Lima. There are guys who feel that they are *limeños* that they don't have blood from there, and well it annoys them that they speak differently, dress differently, or well, they have a lot of rancour in them and every time they see a guy or a girl from the highlands and they don't know how to speak properly, they haven't studied, and they call them 'cholo', and maybe they feel bad, well some ought to feel bad but I think they should feel good because it's... it is pride right? Being 'cholo', being from Arequipa well it should be something beautiful.

Alicia points at intersections in the construction of an externally imposed 'cholo' identity. In this stated case, like Twanama (1992) argued; linguistic skills and educational background are combined with a migrant status and physical features to establish a 'cholo' identity. By talking about a pride of being 'cholo', Alicia's reasoning is also an illustration of how constructions of a common identity and a collectivity may be internally defined (Anthias, Yuval-Davis 1992). The notions of "blood from there" are a sign of how dominant groups use biological traces to indicate that a 'cholo' status is fixed and embedded in nature (Weber 2004).

The following testimony comes from Magda:

Me: Have you ever heard the word 'cholo'?

Magda: Yes.

Me: What does it mean?

Magda: [laughing] I don't know because they are from the peak [emphasis] of the mountain, I don't know where that is. They are highlanders and they call them 'cholo', 'chola' [negative tone].

Me: Why do you think they are called 'cholos' or 'cholas'?

Magda: Because people from the provinces are more humble, because they don't see it as they do here; when there is a problem they solve it with their fists but in the provinces it's different, it's more like... only talking, with communication you solve a problem. And well, in that sense it is different. And also that here you don't eat when you don't have money, whereas in the provinces you have your allotment, you eat things from there and you don't use that much money.

Me: What would be needed in order to have people from the provinces treated equally as to those born in Lima?

Magda: [pause] It's not okay the way things are because they are more humble than people here. It should be changed so that they know how to defend themselves like people from Lima, but not so much with their fists [laughing].

Humbleness is in this context argued to be problematic due to implications of a disadvantaged position of not being able to defend yourself. Relating the statement to Rafaela's above one on imposed authority, the two quotations seem to

engage and support each other to explain how 'cholos' are located in unequal social relations where they are obliged to 'defend themselves'. By arguing that in the provinces you do not use that much money, Magda points at how this fact could be used in dominant discourses to build assumptions about both economic deprivation (Fraser 1995) but also of notions of otherness (Skeggs 1997). The latter could be expressed as a separation between those who are backward (Fuller 2004) and non-capitalist and those belonging to a modern capitalist society.

In sum, it is shown how notions of separated collectivities, be them due to class, location, cultural or life-style attributes, are used in the creation of externally imposed exclusionary boundaries and identity constructions. Economic possessions and class related features are involved in the establishing of racialized relations through notions of the importance and use of money. It is illustrated how 'race' may condition the access to labour markets where whiteness is valued higher. There are further signs of how 'cholos' are discriminated when biology related identity creations and life-style/cultural features are used to create and enforce a cultural domination and a hierarchical ordering; an illustrations of how the physical body matters for identity construction. There are finally traces of internally created notions of pride related to the ethnic belonging and of assumed 'cholo' identities.

6 Concluding remarks

The focus of this paper has been adolescent mothers living in Lima, Peru, and their relations to the surrounding society. Interviews with teenage mothers were scrutinized from an intersectional point of view to see how relations of gender, class and 'race'/ethnicity were articulated in the narratives. The applied research question was: *how are relations of gender, class, and 'race'/ethnicity manifested in the narratives of adolescent mothers living in Lima, Peru?* The question allows for an understanding of how these social relations affect the lives of the interviewees but also of the social order their situations correspond to.

It is illustrated how injustices related to both a cultural-valuational order of social representations, as well as to socio-economic discriminations (Fraser 1995), condition the interviewees' lives. Their exposed position is hence of a bivalent (ibid.) nature and created in the intersections between socio-economic injustices (and representations related to socio-economic injustices) and cultural-symbolic injustices of misrecognition (related to low positions in gender, 'race' and class hierarchies). The position for the interviewed adolescent mothers is hence not dependent on one sole social relation but is a result of multi-faceted and inter-dependent discriminations. These inequalities have historical and cultural bases and can be argued to sustain a social order of suppression of popular class ethnic women (Ortiz 2009; Fuller 2004; Nugent 1992; Zolezzi 2003).

In the 'pueblos jóvenes', values attached to gender, class and 'race'/ethnicity merge. Marginalisation based upon real or assumed ethnic belonging and socio-economic hardships are the foundations for stereotypical representations of the inhabitants of these neighbourhoods. Women are extra sensitive as their social as well as economic positions are shown to be weak. It is not only in the 'pueblos jóvenes' that enforced identities merge; the body, especially the pregnant body is a site upon which identities of gender, class and 'race' are written and joint (Earle, Letherby 2003). As argued by Valdivia (2009), the body experiences the intersections of different identities coming together. As regards the outcomes of the merging (ibid.) gender, class and 'race' related conceptualizations are joint in the formation of an identity as 'adolescent mother'.

As concerns the argued intergenerational poverty transmission (Stern, Garcia 2001) that adolescent pregnancies may enforce I find it more accurate to refer to an intergenerational *exposure*. This term denotes a collective location in intersecting social relations that have cultural as well as historical grounds. Social and material injustices on a macro level are likely to reinforce individual difficulties that in turn are likely to have intergenerational consequences. Intergenerational exposure further engages with Carro and Treguear's (1992) recognition on how

society have a responsibility in providing needed socio-affective and material resources to assume normative ideals concerning related to motherhood.

The findings indicate that young women from the lower social strata of the Peruvian society face multiple discriminations. This is a sign of how the current political order is insufficient in providing inclusive social conditions that allow for *all* young women to emancipate and achieve progress. The lack of opportunities may be a result of the current political-economic order that, as argued by Blondet (2002), is based upon individual initiative as opposed to collective action. Space for individual actions is however as illustrated in this paper, restrained when social conditions are skewed and unfair. The result is likely to be continuous social differentiations as well as an upholding of the exclusion of certain groups from economic progress and development. However, the listed findings are drawn upon the applied theoretical framework. It should be recognized that especially Fraser and de los Reyes/Mulinari have very structural views upon social relations, a posture that offers little space for taking into account individual agency and opportunities. The suggestion of talking about an intergenerational exposure is also the fruit of the theoretical framework. It should be acknowledged that as I have interviewed teenage mothers living full time at a Centre designated for them, I have reached individuals with a very limited social network. Another sample, for instance adolescent mothers living with their partners or parents would probably have led to different results. However, an important inspiration for the choice of topic was to give voice to a marginalized group.

An utterly concerning amount of the statements relate to thwarted relations between women and men, be it related to sexual abuse, lack of responsibility for making a girl pregnant or 'mere' indications of gender hierarchies. If the Peruvian State were to actually combat the number of adolescent pregnancies, an analysis of hegemonic masculine¹⁴ ideals would seem at its place. The school would be a potential site for masculine and feminine roles to be addressed; this would however, on basis of the findings, require drastic changes of the curriculum and educational settings. Peruvian masculine roles in relation to reproduction would also be a highly relevant topic for future academic research.

I would finally like to address Haraway's (1988) and Bhavnani's (2004) recognition of a situated knowledge production and related issues of accountability, positioning and partiality. As regards accountability, this paper was an attempt to present adolescent mothers from a different point of view than what they normally are described like within dominant representations. This was most importantly done by having adolescent mothers to speak for themselves. As concerns issues of positioning, Bhavnani argued that micro-political processes ought to be reflected upon. As my questions mainly related to social relations, I have taken advantage of the interviewees' embodied experiences and knowledges

¹⁴ See for example RW Connell (2005) *Masculinities* for detailed descriptions of the term.

rather than exposed positions. I am aware that I represent almost everything the interviewees are not and do not have. My position as an 'extreme outsider' might however have facilitated the access in the sense that I do not represent the specific dominant culture the interviewees live in. I could also utilize my foreignness to employ very straightforward questions such as "what does the word 'cholo' mean", something that would have been difficult if I were a fair-skinned Peruvian. As regards Bhavnani's notion of partiality; a variety of quotations have been included to ensure that different experiences are accounted for.

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7 Abstract - Interview scheme

First name:

Age:

Age of child:

In what district did you live before coming to the centre?

With whom did you live?

Educational level completed:

Parents' occupation:

Origin (or parents' origin):

Relation to the father of the child:

Where is he from, what does he do?

Thematic interview

The pregnancy:

Desired/not desired?

Knowledge about birth control methods:

What reactions have you encountered? (among friends, schoolmates, parents, teachers etc.)

Gender:

What chores do girls commonly have in your neighbourhood/street? What do they do in their spare time?

Same as above but boys:

What is it like at school; do girls and boys hang out separately or together?

If you had been born a boy, in what ways would your life have been different?

Being a mother, what are the most important values you want to transmit to your child/education of the child?

Race:

If you have heard the word cholo, could you tell me what it means?

If the word cholo is applied in your neighbourhood, is this as positive or negative word?

Are people who come from the countryside treated different than people from Lima? In what ways?

Class:

Plans for the future, wishes:

Did your parents or other caregivers encourage you to study?

What happened with your job/studies when you got pregnant?

Did you like living in the neighbourhood in which you lived?

What is good, what is bad about your neighbourhood?

When you go to another Lima district, how do they talk about your district there?

Age:

Do you see many opportunities for progress for boys/girls from XX district?

Does it make a difference if you are a boy or a girl?

Would it be different if you came from a different district?

Sexuality:

Sexual education, in school and in the household: