

Gendered Trajectories Through Education, Work and Parenthood in Peru

Vanessa Rojas, Gabriela Guerrero and Jimena Vargas



Gendered Trajectories Through Education, Work and Parenthood in Peru

Vanessa Rojas, Gabriela Guerrero and Jimena Vargas

© Young Lives 2016
ISBN 978-1-909403-73-4

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.
All rights reserved. Reproduction, copy, transmission, or translation of any part of this publication may be made only under the following conditions:

- with the prior permission of the publisher; or
- with a licence from the Copyright Licensing Agency Ltd.,
90 Tottenham Court Road, London W1P 9HE, UK, or from another national
licensing agency; or
- under the terms set out below.

This publication is copyright, but may be reproduced by any method without fee for teaching or non-profit purposes, but not for resale. Formal permission is required for all such uses, but normally will be granted immediately. For copying in any other circumstances, or for re-use in other publications, or for translation or adaptation, prior written permission must be obtained from the publisher and a fee may be payable.

Funded by



Young Lives, Oxford Department of International Development (ODID), University of Oxford,
Queen Elizabeth House, 3 Mansfield Road, Oxford OX1 3TB, UK

Tel: +44 (0)1865 281751 • E-mail: younglives@younglives.org.uk

Contents

Summary	4
The Authors	5
Acknowledgements	5
1. Introduction	6
2. Youth policy in Peru	7
3. Research about young people in Peru	8
3.1. Tertiary education	8
3.2. Youth employment	9
3.3. Early parenthood	10
4. About Young Lives: study sample and methodology	12
5. Overview of outcomes of the Older Cohort aged 19	13
6. Tracing individual trajectories from adolescence into early adulthood: school, work and marriage	17
6.1. Education trajectories	17
6.2. Work trajectories	24
6.3. Marriage, cohabitation and parenthood/motherhood trajectories	26
7. Discussion of main findings	30
7.1. Gender shapes young people's trajectories into adulthood more in low-income contexts	30
7.2. Family support plays an important role in explaining young people's trajectories	31
7.3. Young people's education and work trajectories do not necessarily contribute to their personal and professional development	33
8. Conclusion and policy implications	34
References	35
Appendix: Site descriptions	38

Summary

This paper explores young people's inter-related transitions and pathways through schooling, work and parenthood, with a special focus on the way gender affects trajectories into adulthood among a sample of young people growing up in poverty. We report on the outcomes and trajectories of those members of the Older Cohort who participated in Young Lives longitudinal qualitative research between 2007 and 2014, when they were aged between 13 and 20, and we combine this analysis with descriptive survey statistics from the wider Young Lives sample of Older Cohort children.

- According to Round 4 of the Young Lives survey, at the age of 19, 70 per cent of the young people in the Older Cohort had completed secondary education and 39 per cent of the cohort had started tertiary education. Young people from poorer families or rural areas were less likely to have completed school than their peers, but we find no evidence of gender or ethnic differences in school completion rates.
- The results from the qualitative analysis show that gender mattered in young people's trajectories when families had limited economic resources, in both rural and urban scenarios. In addition, the study shows that role of the family seems to be very important in decisions about young people's futures.
- With regard to education trajectories, although gender differences were not observed during primary and secondary school, this study found that low-income families tended to prioritise boys' education at post-secondary level. Moreover, results show that in rural areas young people who wished to pursue post-secondary education might also decide to work; however, these temporary jobs exposed them to risky situations and maltreatment, especially girls.
- In rural areas, social norms regarding gender are important to an understanding of why work is the most common trajectory among young men in early adulthood. Working is a positive thing for young men because it positions them as providers. In urban areas young men's involvement in work and families' expectations of males are different; parents try to postpone their offspring's access to money, in order to keep them away from drugs, alcohol and gangs that might lead them astray.
- The results about the transition into parenthood show that there was a clear difference between the experiences of boys who became parents at a young age or were waiting to have a child and those of girls. The situation was worse for girls. Boys were more protected by their parents, who supported them emotionally and financially in the experience of becoming a parent and starting a new family.

Peruvian young people experience major disparities in their paths to adulthood, and for that reason it is necessary to strengthen policies promoting disadvantaged young people's access to tertiary education by incorporating a gender perspective and to provide young people with information and advice on jobs and careers, so that they can access jobs with better working conditions. Jobs currently available in the labour market offer young people few or no opportunities to learn and develop. Rural girls and adolescent mothers can be considered vulnerable groups, and specific scholarships should be designed to help them transition to tertiary education.

The Authors

Vanessa Rojas is Assistant Researcher at the Group for the Analysis of Development (GRADE) in Lima and Lead Qualitative Researcher for Young Lives in Peru. **Gabriela Guerrero** is Associate Researcher at GRADE and Research Advisor for the Young Lives Qualitative Component in Peru. **Jimena Vargas** is Research Assistant at GRADE and supports the Young Lives Qualitative component in Peru.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank the young people and caregivers who participated in the qualitative component of this study and the Young Lives teams in Oxford and Peru. Special thanks are due to Gina Crivello, who provided insightful comments on previous versions of this paper, and to Sayuri Leandro, who provided research assistance. We would also like to thank the fieldworkers who participated in the gathering of information in the qualitative survey rounds.

About Young Lives

Young Lives is an international study of childhood poverty, following the lives of 12,000 children in 4 countries (Ethiopia, India, Peru and Vietnam) over 15 years. www.younglives.org.uk

Young Lives is funded by UK aid from the Department for International Development (DFID) and co-funded by Irish Aid from 2014 to 2016. This report is part of a stream of research on '*Changing women's lives in social context: economic growth, cultural norms and the dynamics of gender inequality in Ethiopia, India, Peru and Vietnam*', funded by the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation.

The views expressed are those of the author(s). They are not necessarily those of, or endorsed by, Young Lives, the University of Oxford, DFID or other funders.

1. Introduction

Young people in Peru (that is, people aged between 15 and 29 years old) constitute almost a quarter of the total population of the country (24.7 per cent); and within this group, most (41.1 per cent) are between 15 and 19 years old (Espinoza-Lecca and Choque-Larrauri 2015). That means that the majority of young people in the country are at an age where should have concluded secondary education and made the transition to tertiary education or the labour market.

According to the National Household Survey,¹ the percentage of young people aged between 17 and 24 who access tertiary education increased from 14.6 per cent in 1985 to around 30 per cent in 2014. These averages, however, tend to hide important disparities between different groups of the population. An analysis disaggregated by income quintile shows clearly that enrolment rates have increased mainly in the richer quintiles of per capita expenditure (Díaz 2008). Likewise, young people who are indigenous and/or poor, those who live in rural areas and those with less educated parents are less likely to access higher education (León and Sugimaru 2013; Castro and Yamada 2011). As Cueto et al. (2011) point out, 'life is much more difficult in Peru for a child who is poor, lives in a rural area, has a mother with little education or belongs to an indigenous group; gender difference is also relevant in some circumstances' (p. 12).

Although rates of access to higher education have increased in Peru in recent years, they are considerably behind average access rates in both the Latin American and Caribbean region as a whole (which are 45 per cent; CEPAL 2013), and the OECD countries (60 per cent; OECD 2014). Only a minority of Peruvian young people (30 per cent) made the transition to a tertiary education institution; most of them entered the labour market. According to the Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática (INEI, the country's national statistics office), 60 per cent of 15–29-year-olds in Peru belong to the country's economically active population (EAP). In relation to this, there is a gender gap in terms of participation in the labour market, in favour of males. This could be related to girls and women's greater participation in unpaid work and greater likelihood of teenage parenthood. Regarding the first aspect, participation in unpaid work for the household (understood as the unpaid help provided to a family business or company) is significantly higher for girls and young women (17.7 per cent versus 6.4 per cent of young men). Furthermore, the rate of pregnancy for females between 15 and 19 years old in the country is 15 per cent, according to the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA 2015), and even higher for females in rural contexts, where the rate is 20 per cent.

Within this dynamic scenario, this paper explores young people's inter-related transitions and pathways through schooling, work and parenthood, with a special focus on the way gender affects trajectories into adulthood among a sample of young people growing up in poverty who are part of the Young Lives study in Peru (www.ninosdelmilenio.org). We report on the outcomes and trajectories of those members of the Older Cohort who participated in Young Lives longitudinal qualitative research between 2007 and 2014, when they were aged 12 to 19, combining this qualitative analysis with descriptive survey statistics from the wider Young Lives sample of Older Cohort children.

1 <https://www.inei.gob.pe/estadisticas/indice-tematico/education>

The paper has eight sections including this introduction. Section 2 provides an overview of public policies targeted at young people in the country while Section 3 reviews previous research about young people in Peru. The Young Lives sample and methodology are explained in Section 4 while Section 5 presents an overview of the outcomes of the whole Older Cohort at the age of 19, focusing on outcomes related to education, work and marriage/parenthood, and describing differences by gender, location, ethnicity and socio-economic status. The results for the qualitative sub-sample regarding each of the three trajectories are presented in Section 6 and discussed in Section 7. Finally, Section 8 provides a general conclusion as well as the policy implications of the paper.

2. Youth policy in Peru

The Peruvian Government has different lines of action for protecting its large youth population. There are two main national initiatives: The National Plan of Action for Children and Adolescents (PNAIA) and the Gender Equality Plan (PLANIG). The first one aims to coordinate public policies for children and young people and to raise awareness of them among civil society, using an inclusive, equity-driven approach. The second plan promotes gender equality within all public policies and for all ages (related to education, health, employment, political participation, etc).

Moreover, the National Secretariat of Youth (SENAJU) was formed in 2011 to focus on youth issues within the Government. Under the auspices of the Ministry of Education, it is responsible for formulating and implementing national policy regarding the country's youth. Its strategic objectives are to increase the participation of young people in the Government's decision-making process, and to guarantee their access to secondary and tertiary education, integrated health services and decent employment, etc. The plan was intended to be gender-sensitive in its design, seeking to identify the social, cultural and economic inequalities between males and females that could be damaging this latter group.

The Government's policy is therefore translated into two types of social programmes: those focusing on the entry of young people to the labour market, and those emphasising access to secondary and tertiary education (university or technical). The first category includes programmes from the Ministry of Work like Jóvenes Productivos ('Productive Youth'), Trabaja Perú ('Peru Works') and Impulsa Perú ('Driving Peru'). These programmes support young people living in poverty, by giving them financial support and building their 'human capital' through technical and business workshops, with the aim of facilitating their entry to the labour market.

In the second category of programmes, we found interventions aiming to narrow the gaps between richer and poorer young people in the education sector, such as: Beca 18 and Beca doble oportunidad. The first of these provides grants to access higher education to young people who live in poverty or who are in a vulnerable position because of their background (e.g. indigenous), location (e.g. rural) or physical condition (e.g. disabled), yet who performed well in school. The second programme is directed at young people between the ages of 17 and 25 who dropped out of high school, giving them the opportunity to return to and finish it, while providing them simultaneously with technical training in their own regions.

3. Research about young people in Peru

The research regarding the youth population in Peru has been focused on a range of topics, including young people's political participation, their risky behaviour, their entry into the labour market and their access to higher education. Here, we highlight some of the key research relating to higher education, the labour market and parenthood, since these relate most centrally to the aspects of youth transitions of interest in the present study.

3.1. Tertiary education²

Most research on tertiary education in Peru is related to the subject of access; for example, the 2013 study by León and Sugimaru examining the pathways followed by young people after secondary school. Using data from the National Household Survey (ENAHU) 2004–2011, they found that in Peru only 22 per cent of young people pursued tertiary education, while 38 per cent worked and 41 per cent didn't study or work. The authors contend that the costs associated with further and higher education limited young people's ability to continue their education. A longitudinal study of students from government and private secondary schools in Lima by Guerrero (2013) examined the effects of individual and school characteristics on students' decisions about whether to continue with their education; it found that young people who had one parent who had received tertiary education were twice as likely to continue studying as those whose parents had only had secondary education. Also, young people who received support from their schools (through career guidance talks, preparation for admissions exams, etc.) were more likely to continue their education than those who did not.

Some studies have addressed the subject of access to tertiary education from a gender perspective, mainly using quantitative data. Garavito and Carrillo (2004) found that since the 1980s female participation in higher education had risen substantially. Despite the fact that there were still more males than females at university, there was a slight predominance of women in technical studies. They noted that the graduation rate was higher for women in both types of tertiary education. In the same vein, a study carried out by Castro and Yamada (2011) on ethnic and gender gaps in access to basic and tertiary education found that gender gaps had almost closed in the last 50 years, to the point that there was, at the time of their study, no difference between the percentages of men and women who managed to successfully complete tertiary education. More recently, Salazar and Manco (2015) analysed the INEI database, the National University Census, the Peruvian Statistical Compendium 2013 and the Youth National Survey 2011 and also found that multiple gaps in access to higher education had declined in recent years, especially in the case of gender, but that there were still persistent gaps between students of different ethnic origins. In relation to the gender gap, they identified a significant reduction in gender-based disparities in access to

2 In Peru, there are two types of tertiary education: university education and non-university tertiary education. In the latter case, a student can choose between a pedagogical institute (ISP), a technical institute (IST) and an artistic institute (EFA). There is a significant difference between these two types of tertiary education in terms of the duration of the studies. While a university degree can be obtained after five or more years of study (depending on the course), a technical degree (at either an ISP, an IST or an EFA) can be obtained after three years of study (see Guerrero et al. 2016: 8).

tertiary education in the last 50 years (the difference at the time of their study was minimal, at 2.2 per cent). Although the number of female students was a little lower than the number of men who accessed tertiary education, the graduation rates indicated a percentage in favour of women.

There are fewer studies carried out from a qualitative perspective, and most of these are centred on primary and secondary schools (Muñoz et al. 2006). Nonetheless, Ames (2014) used qualitative data from the Young Lives study in Peru and showed how rural girls had higher educational aspirations than their mothers; the girls valued higher education because they associated it with social mobility and saw it as a potential means to overcome oppressive gender relationships. The girls believed that education would make them economically independent and therefore they wouldn't be controlled by their partners in the future.

There are also research studies about the type of tertiary education offered in Peru. Benavides et al. (2015) highlight the fact that the Peruvian young people who come from families of lower socio-economic status are more likely to study at institutes or universities that are not necessarily regulated by the Ministry of Education; therefore, the quality of the education they receive might not be the most adequate. Gustavo Yamada wrote in 2007 that university studies offered more social and individual returns on financial investment than studies at technical institutes.

3.2. Youth employment

Regarding young people's paths into the labour market, Chacaltana and Ruiz (2012) analysed the Youth National Survey in 2011 and found that only 23 per cent of young people were working in jobs related to their studies, while 35 per cent were working in jobs unrelated to them. Furthermore, younger and less experienced young people found it more difficult to get decent employment,³ and most young people failed to translate their business ideas into reality. In addition, nearly half of young people expected to emigrate. Using ENAHO data from 2011, the authors found that only 20 per cent of the young people working had social protection and that their average wage was very close to the minimum (between 600 and 700 soles a month). Only 34.2 per cent of the salaried young people had a contract and out of those, only 5 per cent had a permanent contract. The study concludes that the first jobs that Peruvian young people access are generally 'precarious' – in a small business or a family business – which could compromise their future employment path.

On the other hand, Boyd (2014a) compares the entry into the labour market of young people in rural and urban contexts of the country. Looking at the data from the Youth National Survey in 2011, the author observes that there are differences in the types of jobs that young people from both locations have: 64 per cent of the young people in urban contexts worked for an employer, 24 per cent worked for themselves, and 12 per cent worked for their families without receiving an income. In contrast, 39 per cent of young people from rural sites worked for an employer, 22 per cent for themselves, and 39 per cent worked for their families without

3 Specifically, they found that 42 per cent of young people were 'only working' (not attending any school or tertiary education institution) and of those, the employment they had did not necessarily comply with the characteristics considered 'decent' by the International Labour Organization. The concept of decent work proposed by the International Labour Office (ILO) refers to 'productive work with fair pay, safety in the workplace and social protection for workers and their families, better prospects for personal and social development, freedom to express their concerns, organise and participate in decision-making that affect their lives and equality of opportunity and treatment for women and men' (OIT 2010: 21; translated by the authors).

receiving an income. The author mentions that the elevated rate of young people who worked for their families without remuneration in rural contexts (39 per cent) could be saying something about the nature of decision-making within rural households and the limited degree of power of the young people within them; in other words, the household decides what the young people should be doing, according to the benefits for the whole household. This situation is more complicated for rural young women, because a higher proportion of them (than of young rural men) were family workers without remuneration (42 per cent), they had more children than their male counterparts, and they married younger than them; the decision about whether they should participate in the labour market (or study) would be taken at the household level. In addition, the high proportion of unpaid family workers in rural areas suggests that the value of unpaid family work is higher than the market wage that a rural youngster could get. A different study by Boyd (2014b) uses the national censuses from 1961 to 2007 with the purpose of analysing if young women from rural areas today shared the same characteristics as their mothers and grandmothers when they were the same age. Regarding work, the author notes that many rural women practised activities related to the economy of care or work in unpaid activities at home; therefore, when they were surveyed they reported themselves as unemployed, which would explain why the rate of economic activity hadn't changed much in the last years. She believes the little variation could also be explained by the fact that more rural women were investing their time in studying at tertiary education level.

Other studies, like Jaramillo et al. (2007), reflect on work and vulnerable groups in Peru, taking gender into consideration. The authors state there has been consistent growth in the participation of women in the labour market; however, there is still a high occupation segregation by gender, which denotes some occupations as typical for women (education, nursing, secretarial work, etc.) and others as typical for men (engineering, law, construction, etc.). This ends up having an effect on the gender wage gaps: the occupations done by men are economically more valuable than the ones done by women.

Although few qualitative studies have looked at gender differences in the youth labour market, a 2001 study by Fuller in three Peruvian cities provides important insights into the linkages between masculinity and work. The author suggests that work is a very important aspect of the male identity in Peru; however it takes on different meanings depending on the age of men. When they are young, work is perceived as a way to gain independence from their parents. It is the key to the masculine world because it allows men to acquire the main attributes of manhood: being the provider to one's family and being on equal terms with other men. When men get older, work takes on a deeper meaning: they become '*real men*' who can support their families and therefore they are the authority at home. It is frowned upon if a man doesn't work or isn't responsible for paying the bills. Women can work too, but their economic input is considered to be a small contribution to the family budget. Fuller contends that young men who come from poverty contexts are more likely to go through this phase earlier in their lives but that this produces a contradiction: work gives them the means to support a family, which is something that makes them feel proud and satisfied, but it can also mean that they have to leave aside their desire to continue their education or save money, two important requirements for social and economic mobility.

3.3. Early parenthood

Most of the studies about adolescent pregnancy in Peru come from medical research. As mentioned before, adolescent pregnancy is an important issue in the country, especially when 59 per cent of mothers between 15 and 29 years old reported in 2014 that they wished

they could have postponed maternity (UNFPA 2015). Binstock and Näslund-Hadley's study in 2010 in Asunción and Lima tried to understand the causes that explained the rate of teenage pregnancy in both cities. According to the authors, a key characteristic of adolescent mothers is their lack of knowledge about and their limited use of contraception. The majority of them didn't use any contraceptive method or did but in an intermittent way, which explains why many of them became pregnant shortly after the first time they had sexual intercourse. The sample in the Lima study consisted of 40 girls and women in Lima and most of the respondents reported that they received information about sex from their peers. At school they only had sporadic talks, given to the whole class, and they felt too uncomfortable and embarrassed to ask questions. At home the information they received was even more restricted: parents usually tried to exercise control over them by not letting them go out with boys or have romantic relationships because they feared their daughters would get pregnant. The lack of use of contraception is also a subject approached by Huaita (2011), who suggests that in rural areas of Peru girls tend to start having sexual intercourse at a younger age (16–17) than the average age in the country (18). These sexual encounters are often casual and sometimes unexpected; therefore, the use of contraceptives among this group of girls tends to be low.

Complementing the debate, Nóbrega (2009) studied the perceptions of 25 teenage mothers and other young people from the same neighborhood in Lima (who were not parents) about teenage pregnancy. The author concluded that pregnancy had different impacts on the girls' lives. She found that motherhood could mean an opportunity for change. Many of the girls of the study mentioned that they felt more responsible and driven to achieve their goals since they had had a child that depended on them. Nevertheless, though maternity could be an opportunity for change, Nóbrega found that one of the strongest impacts of early motherhood from the point of view of the adolescents was the discrimination suffered by young mothers. Moreover, she mentioned that these negative perceptions placed the mothers in a situation of vulnerability in relation to others; becoming with their children, an object of discrimination.

There are also other studies that have addressed the effects that motherhood has on adolescents' lives. Mendoza and Subiría (2013) undertook quantitative research about teenage pregnancy by using the database from INEI (from 1991 to 2012) and analysing how the situation in Peru had changed in those years and which teenagers were in a more vulnerable position. According to the authors, teenage pregnancy is a problem that affected women from poor and rural contexts in particular. In this scenario women were not able to take full advantage of the educational and job opportunities on offer (which in their context were already limited). This contributed to an intergenerational transmission of poverty, because young mothers often had difficulties finding a job and when they did find one they didn't work under the right employment conditions. Furthermore, Chacaltana and Ruiz (2012) state that 65 per cent of young people in Peru were parents at the age of 29. The percentage increased in the case of women: 80 per cent were mothers by that age. They believe that parenthood limited the work experience of young people, which could have an effect on their futures. Using the data from the National Survey of Peruvian Youth (ENAJUV) in 2011 they commented that 22 per cent of girls and young women didn't pursue higher education because of household chores and pregnancy. Engaging in household chores was also the main reason why women didn't look for a job (29 per cent). Related to the subject are the ideas of Anderson (2007) about the economy of care. The author suggests that the household activities and family responsibilities in many societies have been delegated to women. The woman assumes the role of 'home manager'. This division of work disadvantages women because it doesn't allow them to participate in the labour market. That

explains why sometimes women have a rather unequal relationship with their partners: they are not able to accumulate resources that would allow them to be more independent.

There are not many studies that take into account what parenthood means for young men's lives (most studies reflect on motherhood). However Fuller (2001) found that parenthood was one of the central axes of masculinity. Once a man becomes a father he becomes an adult and gains social recognition. Also, the relationship he has with his partner is redefined by parenthood. It becomes central and therefore more important than the relations he has with his family or friends. The author suggests that many young fathers felt that they had given up their individual interests once they became parents. They had to work and couldn't achieve their personal and professional goals. The fact that they had sacrificed their individual interests for their family gave them the right to claim respect and obedience at home.

This review of the literature indicates that most of the research on Peruvian youth has so far been conducted from a quantitative perspective, showing the important gaps between men and women in the country in the areas of education, employment and young parenthood. There are fewer studies from a qualitative perspective and almost no evidence of a life-course analysis of the role of gender in shaping youth transitions to adulthood.

4. About Young Lives: study sample and methodology

Young Lives is an international study of childhood poverty, involving 12,000 children in four countries over 15 years. It is led by a team in the Department of International Development at the University of Oxford and much of the research takes place in the four study countries: Ethiopia, India (Andhra Pradesh), Peru and Vietnam. There are two cohorts of children in each country: a Younger Cohort, consisting of around 2,000 children born in 2001–mid-2002, and an Older Cohort, comprising around 1,000 children born in 1994–mid-1995. Household and child surveys are complemented by a parallel stream of child-focused qualitative research. The data analysed in this paper come mainly from the qualitative component, carried out over a seven-year period beginning in 2007 with a nested sample of Young Lives Older Cohort children.

In Peru, the qualitative research was conducted in four locations, which differ according to the area of residence (rural/urban), geographical location, level of poverty, and degree of impact of political violence (post-conflict area or not) (see Appendix). Rioja and Andahuaylas⁴ are rural sites located in the northern jungle area and in the southern highlands of Peru, respectively. San Román and Villa Maria del Triunfo are urban areas located in the south Andean highlands and in Lima, the capital of Peru. We have examined data from a sub-sample of the Young Lives Older Cohort in each of these locations, comprising a total of 26 young people who were between the ages of 11 and 13 years in 2007 and between 18 and 20 years in 2014 (see Table 1).

⁴ These pseudonyms are the names of the province where the site is located or, if the population is over 40,000, the name of the district.

Table 1. *Young Lives Older Cohort qualitative sample, by gender and area of residence*

	Boys	Girls	Total
Rural	8	6	14
Urban	6	6	12
Total	14	12	26

From the beginning, the qualitative component of Young Lives sought to collect information on children and their families in relation to three themes: transitions, well-being and access to services during childhood. To address these themes, we developed a qualitative methodology that made use of multiple techniques of data collection (see Ames et al. 2010; Crivello et al. 2013), inspired by current trends in childhood studies (see Darbyshire et al. 2005; Clark and Moss 2001; Docket and Perry 2005). Qualitative data collection relied on in-depth individual interviews, brief ethnographic observations, and a selection of participatory methods.

The individual in-depth interviews addressed young people's perceptions of different aspects of their lives in relation to how they lived and how they perceived changes across time, including their time use, schooling and work experiences, aspirations (educational, marital, etc.), family relationships and status and identity (motherhood, fatherhood, etc.). Brief ethnographic observations captured differing aspects of their lives and everyday environments (school, home and daily activities) to gain a better understanding of what the participants described in their narratives.

The information for this paper was collected in four rounds of qualitative data gathering: in 2007, 2008, 2011 and 2014. This provides a longitudinal perspective, which enables us to document the changes and continuities experienced by these young people, from a life-course perspective of their educational, working and parenthood trajectories.

5. Overview of outcomes of the Older Cohort aged 19

The Young Lives study in Peru has been following the lives of the Older Cohort since 2002, when they were aged between 7 and 8. At the time of the Round 4 survey in 2013, there were 631 young people in the sample and they were aged 18 to 19 years old. They had reached a stage in life when they were facing critical choices and challenges. Most of them had finished secondary education and were making a transition to the labour market, to higher education and, in some cases, to both at the same time. Also, some of them had become parents. This section presents an overview of the outcomes of the Older Cohort at the age of 19, focusing on those related to education, work and marriage/parenthood, and describing differences by gender, location, ethnicity and socio-economic status.

In relation to education, at the age of 19, 69.8 per cent of the young people in the Older Cohort had completed secondary education and 12 per cent were still in secondary school (mainly those who born later within the cohort). However, 18 per cent had dropped out of school before finishing it (see Table 2). Young people from poorer families or rural areas were less likely to have completed school than their peers, but we find no evidence of gender or ethnic differences in school completion rates.

By 2013, 39 per cent of the Older Cohort had started tertiary education, either in university (17 per cent) or a technical institute (22 per cent). Of those pursuing tertiary education, 50 per cent studied and worked at the same time, probably in order to cover the expenses of their studies. Qualitative data analysed later in this paper may shed some light on how young people managed to do these activities at the same time and the reasons behind this.

Also in relation to young people's access to tertiary education, it is interesting to note that although 90 per cent of the young people in the sample declared in 2009 (Round 3) that they had aspirations towards higher education, four years later only a much smaller percentage of young people were actually realising that aspiration. In this regard, qualitative data provide valuable insights regarding the main barriers or challenges faced by young people in their transition to tertiary education. From the survey data, it is clear that young people from better-off households are much more likely to go on to university (35 per cent) than those from the poorest families (only 3 per cent). Moreover, there are also differences when the data are disaggregated by gender (in favour of boys), area of residence (in favour of young people from urban areas) and ethnicity (in favour of young people whose mother's native language is Spanish). However, none of these inequalities appears relevant to access to technical institutes. According to Sanchez and Melendez (2015), this may be due to the fact that technical institutes are geographically more dispersed (and therefore more accessible) throughout the country.

Table 2. *Education of young people aged 19 in 2013 (%)*

	(%)	Education				
		School enrolment			Tertiary education	
		Secondary school completed	Still in school	Left school before completion	Technical institute	University
Average (n = 631)	100.0	69.8	12.0	18.1	22.2	17.2
Gender						
Boys	51.8	69.9	12.2	17.9	21.5	20.9
Girls	48.2	69.6	11.9	18.4	23.0	13.2
Gap		0.3	0.4	-0.6	-1.5	7.6**
Mother's first language						
Spanish	53.9	72.7	9.3	17.9	26.3	19.3
Indigenous	43.2	66.6	15.2	18.2	16.9	14.7
Gap		6.1	-5.9**	-0.3	9.5	4.6**
Baseline area of residence						
Urban	55.5	73.4	10.6	16.0	26.9	21.7
Rural	44.5	65.3	13.9	20.8	16.3	11.6
Gap		8.0**	-3.3	-4.8	10.7	10.2**
Baseline poverty						
Top quintile	15.3	83.6	7.1	9.3	19.6	35.0
Bottom quintile	28.4	52.3	23.0	24.6	20.7	3.0
Gap		31.3***	-16.0***	-15.4***	-1.1	32.0**

Differences are significant at ***1 per cent, **5 per cent and *10 per cent. Gaps are expressed in percentage points and calculated using Indigenous, Rural and Bottom Quintile as baseline.

Source: Young Lives Round 4 survey data (Sanchez and Melendez 2015).

Regarding young people's experiences of work, data from Round 4 of the Young Lives survey show that by the age of 19, almost 40 per cent of the young people reported having worked in the last 12 months and no longer being enrolled in formal education (see Table 3). Therefore, in terms of their time use, they devoted a considerable proportion of their everyday life to paid work. A second group (26 per cent) combined work and education and a third group (22 per cent) were enrolled in formal education and not working.

According to Sanchez and Melendez (2015), most young people working were involved in non-agricultural activities (74 per cent) and 21 per cent work in a family business; however, only 14 per cent reported having a written contract with their employer, and very few received formal labour benefits (e.g. social security). The case studies based on qualitative data that are analysed later in this document shed light on the working conditions of young people in the sample as well as their motivation to work.

Table 3 disaggregates these data by gender, area of residence and wealth quintile. In terms of group differences, young people who were only working were more likely to come from rural areas and poorer households. Those who combined work and study at the age of 19 tended to be males and have a mother with an indigenous mother tongue. It should be noted that in the table, study refers to both basic and tertiary education since 12 per cent of the cohort sample was still in secondary education by 2013.

Table 3. *Work and study of young people aged 19 in 2013 (%)*

	%	Work and study			
		Only working	Only studying	Working and studying	Neither working nor studying
Average (n =631)	100.0	39.3	21.8	25.6	13.4
Gender					
Boys	51.8	41.4	19.7	31.3	7.7
Girls	48.2	37.0	24.0	19.6	19.4
Gap		4.3	-4.3	11.7***	-11.7***
Mother's first language					
Spanish	53.9	36.7	29.0	22.4	11.9
Indigenous	43.2	43.2	12.3	29.8	14.7
Gap		-6.5	16.8***	-7.5**	-2.8
Baseline area of residence					
Urban	55.5	34.5	31.3	23.0	11.1
Rural	44.5	45.1	9.9	28.7	16.2
Gap		-10.6***	21.4***	-5.7	-5.1*
Baseline Poverty					
Top quintile	15.3	23.6	28.2	29.1	19.1
Bottom quintile	28.4	46.8	14.0	28.0	11.2
Gap		-23.2***	14.2***	1.1	7.9*

Differences are significant at ***1 per cent, **5 per cent and *10 per cent. Gaps are expressed in percentage points and calculated using Indigenous, Rural and Bottom Quintile as baseline.

Source: Young Lives Round 4 survey data (Sanchez and Melendez 2015).

Finally, only 13 per cent of the cohort sample were neither working nor studying (see Table 3). Some of these were young women with children. As can be seen in Table 4, almost 25 per cent of the girls in the Older Cohort had at least one child, i.e. 1 out of 4 girls became a mother

by the age of 19; while only 6 per cent of boys in the sample had a child by that same age. Later in this section we analyse five case studies of maternity/paternity during adolescence and early adulthood, including their educational and work aspirations for the future.

Table 4. *Marriage/cohabitation and parenthood of young people aged 19 in 2013 (%)*

	%	Marriage, cohabitation and parenthood	
		Lives with partner	Has at least one child
Average	100.00	13.03	14.51
Gender			
Boys	51.84	6.72	5.78
Girls	48.16	19.74	23.91
Gap		-13.02***	-18.12***
Mother's first language			
Spanish	53.86	13.07	13.75
Indigenous	43.17	12.65	15.22
Gap		0.41	-1.47
Baseline area of residence			
Urban	55.53	12.78	12.03
Rural	44.47	13.35	17.61
Gap		-0.57	-5.59**
Baseline Poverty			
Top quintile	15.28	14.22	13.99
Bottom quintile	28.39	12.51	15.42
Gap		1.71	-1.43

Differences are significant at ***1 per cent, **5 per cent and *10 per cent. Gaps are expressed in percentage points and calculated using Indigenous, Rural and Bottom Quintile as baseline.

Source: Young Lives Round 4 survey data (Sanchez and Melendez 2015).

In light of these survey trends, the aim of this working paper is to understand whether and how gendered norms, values and practices affect young people's trajectories through school, work and marriage/partnership. The analysis is based on qualitative data, to gain a deeper understanding of how different factors – e.g. gender, family background, social values and norms – interplay in shaping young people's trajectories over time.

6. Tracing individual trajectories from adolescence into early adulthood: school, work and marriage

This section reports on the trajectories of young people from the qualitative sub-sample, particularly with respect to education, work and marriage/partnership, contextualised within trends appearing in the main household survey (as described in the previous section). The qualitative sub-sample consists of 26 young people, who were followed from the age of 12 until they were 19 years old. As indicated in Section 2, the sample comprises 14 boys (eight rural and six urban) and 12 girls (six rural and six urban).

When we first met the children, in 2007, most of them were beginning their secondary education and a few were in the final year of primary school. By 2014, most of them had finished high school and made the transition to higher education, the labour market or both at the same time. Five of the respondents had had a child or were expecting one. These different trajectories are described and analysed in this section, with an attempt to explain how gender, family support, socio-economic background and agency affect the differing pathways young people took towards adulthood. Table 5 (overleaf) shows the education/employment status of all the young people in the qualitative sample, and also indicates whether they were living with a partner and what level of education their parents had received.

6.1. Education trajectories

In this sub-section we explain what happened to the young people who were able to continue on an educational pathway at the age of 19: What were their educational aspirations during secondary school? Did they experience difficulties completing secondary school and continuing on to higher education? What are now their expectations for their future?

The entire Older Cohort qualitative sub-sample finished primary school and 23 out of the 26 also completed secondary education: 18 at an 'average' age and five 'over age'.⁵ According to the qualitative data, girls tend to report having had a better school experience in both rural and urban areas, than boys do. They don't report having had many difficulties or exhibiting poor performance while enrolled in school; none of them repeated a school year. Something different happens with the boys; half of them repeated at least one school year (four of those were from urban areas and three from rural areas). Moreover, most of the boys mentioned that they had had poor relationships with their teachers, and some boys reported being victims of physical violence at school when they misbehaved or didn't do their homework.⁶ The girls complained that the boys at their schools misbehaved and said that they had witnessed their teachers hitting the boys when they were thought to be causing problems.

5 When children are one or more grades below the norm for their age, as a result of entering school late (after the age of 6) or repeating a grade.

6 See also Rojas (2011) and Guerrero and Rojas (forthcoming).

Since boys took longer to finish school, mainly because of grade repetition, this generated a delay in their access to higher education in comparison with girls. While the girls in the qualitative sub-sample who made the transition to higher education accessed it at around 17 years old, boys made it at around 18–19 years old.

Table 5. *Older Cohort qualitative sub-sample: education, employment and relationship status and parental education (2014)*

Gender	Name	Area	Site	Status 2014				Parental education	
				Higher education	Working	Cohabiting	Children	Father	Mother
Female	Maria	Rural	Rioja	YES	YES	NO	NO	Grade 3 primary	Grade 1 secondary
	Diana	Rural	Rioja	NO	YES	NO	YES	Grade 1 primary	Grade 2 primary
	Natalia	Rural	Rioja	YES	NO	NO	NO	Grade 6 primary	Grade 6 primary
	Marta	Rural	Andahuaylas	NO	YES	NO	NO	Grade 2 primary	none
	Eva	Rural	Andahuaylas	YES	YES	NO	NO	Grade 5 secondary	Grade 2 secondary
	Esmeralda	Rural	Andahuaylas	YES	NO	NO	NO	Grade 3 primary	none
	Carmen	Urban	San Román	YES	YES	NO	NO	university complete	university complete
	Aurora	Urban	San Román	YES	YES	NO	NO	Grade 6 primary	Grade 1 primary
	Luz	Urban	San Román	YES	YES	NO	NO	technical education complete	Grade 5 secondary
	Susan	Urban	Lima	NO	YES	NO	NO	Grade 3 secondary	technical education incomplete
	Ana	Urban	Lima	YES	NO	NO	NO	Grade 6 primary	Grade 6 primary
	Isaura	Urban	Lima	NO	NO	YES	YES	Grade 4 secondary	Grade 1 primary
	Male	Rodrigo	Rural	Rioja	NO	YES	NO	NO	Grade 3 secondary
Elmer		Rural	Rioja	YES	YES	NO	NO	Grade 6 primary	Grade 1 primary
Esteban		Rural	Rioja	NO	YES	YES	NO	Grade 3 primary	none
Luis		Rural	Rioja	NO	YES	NO	NO	none	Grade 1 secondary
Alvaro		Rural	Andahuaylas	YES	YES	NO	NO	Grade 6 primary	none
Manuel		Rural	Andahuaylas	NO	YES	YES	YES	Grade 3 primary	none
Sandro		Rural	Andahuaylas	NO	YES	NO	NO	none	none
Atilio		Rural	Andahuaylas	NO	YES	YES	YES	Grade 6 primary	none
Peter		Urban	San Román	NO	YES	NO	NO	Grade 5 secondary	none
Sergio		Urban	San Román	NO	YES	YES	YES	technical education complete	Grade 3 secondary
Hank		Urban	San Román	YES	NO	NO	NO	university incomplete	Grade 5 secondary
Fabián		Urban	Lima	YES	NO	NO	NO	Grade 1 secondary	Grade 5 secondary
Alejandro		Urban	Lima	NO	YES	NO	NO	Grade 5 secondary	Grade 5 secondary
John	Urban	Lima	YES	YES	NO	NO	Grade 5 secondary	Grade 5 primary	

Source: Young Lives qualitative data from (2014).

Note: All the names of respondents are pseudonyms, in order to protect their anonymity.

Only three rural adolescents dropped out of school: two boys from Andahuaylas and one girl from Rioja. In general, the circumstances that made the boys leave school are very different from those that caused the girl to leave; while the boys left school to work, the girl dropped out because she was expecting a child. The three vignettes that follow provide further information on these three cases.

- Diana, from Rioja, dropped out of school after her second year of secondary education because she was pregnant (she was 14 years old at the time). She decided to run away from home and move to a city with the father of her child. She was the second person in her family to attend secondary school; her elder sister was the first, but she also dropped out of school; she left at 15 to live with her boyfriend. Diana's mother and teachers had anticipated Diana's drop-out; the mother said that Diana had got angry and shouted at her that she wanted to go to Lima to work. Besides, her teachers reported in 2007 and 2008 that Diana might be at risk of not finishing secondary school because she seemed to be the kind of girl who would have a boyfriend soon, which would distract her from her studies (she could end up pregnant). Diana became a mother at 14 years old. Since then, she has been working in the fields and as a factory worker. She never returned to school.
- One boy from Andahuaylas, called Manuel, dropped out of school when he was going to be in Grade 5 of primary school, at the age of 12. The normative age for Grade 5 is 10 years old but Manuel was older because he was enrolled late for Grade 1 (at 7) and he repeated a school year. His father, who worked in the jungle, took him out of school and made Manuel work with him. After a year of working, Manuel enrolled in a non-formal school, where he stayed until Grade 2 of secondary school but in the end, he left the school. By then, Manuel was no longer living with his father because the father had left him on his own. Manuel decided to join the army at 17 years old because he thought they would support him to complete secondary school, but he later ran away because he never attended classes and it was a strict and violent institution that he did not like.
- Atilio, the other boy from Andahuaylas, dropped out of school at 15 years old. He left because he was going to fail a school year and decided he wanted to work. By then, Atilio was living in the capital of the district with only his father, who was never at home, owing to work. Atilio's mother remained in Andahuaylas and he used to visit her at weekends and help her by working in the fields. Atilio decided to abandon school and run away to Lima without telling his parents. In 2011 his mother reported he was living in Lima but she didn't know where he was or what he was doing.

When we spoke to the children from the two rural areas and their parents about whether leaving school early was common in their communities, they said that it was not a very common thing but noted that the ones who dropped out of school did so mainly because of pregnancy in the case of girls or work in case of boys, as happened with the three young people from the sub-sample.

While children in the qualitative sub-sample were undergoing secondary education, almost all of them had the aspiration to progress to tertiary education: four of them stated in the 2009 quantitative survey (when they were 15) that they wanted to finish technical higher education and 19 of them said that they wished to complete university education (one urban girl even said she wanted to do postgraduate studies). The aspirations were high throughout the sample, with no observable differences by gender or area of residence.

It is important to mention that the only girl who said that her maximum educational aspiration was to complete secondary school was the girl from Rioja who dropped out of secondary school. On the other hand, the girl who aspired to pursue postgraduate studies is from San Román (an urban site) and her father has a masters degree in law.

In most cases young people's aspirations matched what their parents aspired to for them. Families have a high appreciation for education because it has the promise of a better future: with a steady job, a salary, independence, etc. Moreover, particularly in the case of girls, there is the expectation that having higher education will enable them to earn their own money and this eventually may allow them to be less dependent on their partners or husbands (see also Cussianovich and Rojas 2014; Crivello 2010; Guerrero et al. 2016; Guerrero 2014; and Boyden 2013).

Despite having had high aspirations, most young people in the qualitative sub-sample were not able to achieve them: only 13 out of the 23 young people who finished secondary school made the transition to tertiary education, as Table 6 shows.⁷

Table 6. *Post-secondary education by gender, area and type of tertiary education*

	Female		Male	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
University	Carmen (Social work) Cecilia (Accounting) Aurora (Psychology)	Esmeralda (Administration)	Hank (Computer engineering) John (Administration)	
Technical H.E.	Ana (Computer technology) Isaura ⁸ (Navy)	María (Nursing) Natalia (Nursing) Eva (Nursing)		Elmer (Motor vehicle maintenance) Alvaro (Motor vehicle maintenance)

As can be seen, most of those in the qualitative sub-sample who made the transition to higher education are female. Among the young people in urban areas, it was more common to pursue university studies than technical education; however, both the socio-economic status of the families and the availability of university education in their areas might explain this situation. On the other hand, in the case of rural young people, technical studies were more popular. Besides financial constraints, the length of studies may be influencing young people's post-secondary paths in rural areas. While university education takes on average five years, technical education takes only three years. Moreover, it is interesting to note that the rural girls from Rioja and Andahuaylas are studying nursing while the rural boys from both sites are training to be car mechanics. This pattern might be related to gender (as social norms encourage young people to choose these careers, which reinforces traditional gender

7 Besides those 13 cases, one urban boy (Fabian) was enrolled in an academia pre-universitaria (a private centre where young people go after completing secondary school, in order to be trained to pass the admissions exams of universities or technical institutes) and one urban girl (Susan) was studying English in a language academy.

8 By 2014, Isaura who was pursuing technical studies at the Naval Academy, had to drop out because of pregnancy.

roles and stereotypes) but could also be the result of the availability of technical education available near their rural communities. For instance, there are only five courses available in the public technical institute in Rioja: agricultural production, nursing, car maintenance, secretarial skills and food industry work. Arguably, such limited career choices are instrumental in reproducing traditional gender roles and gendered work.

In the case of the six young people pursuing university education, the transition from secondary school to higher education was very challenging. In order to enter university in Peru, students need to pass an admissions exam established by each higher education institution.⁹ Young people, and their parents, often felt that what they had learned at secondary school was not enough or not useful for the exam, which is why some families invest in an *academia pre-universitaria*¹⁰ (university prep college) to get their children ready for the entrance exam. Sometimes more than one attempt was necessary before they passed the exam. The process of applying to university takes time and costs money, and not all families have the financial resources to support multiple attempts.

The process of choosing a career is also very challenging for most young people in the sub-sample making the transition to tertiary education because they lack adequate information. They made their choice on the basis of advice from relatives or very general ideas about each field, without considering either their personal motivation, interests and skills or information about the career, job opportunities within the field and expected rates of return for that particular career. For instance, Natalia was doing nursing because her older sister trained for it and so it was expected that she would do the same. Ana chose to study computing because she believed computer skills were necessary for any job; only now that she is studying at the institute does she really understand what the career is all about. Something similar happened to Elmer; before he started training as a mechanic, he studied accounting but during the course of his studies he decided to drop out because he discovered accounting was all about numbers and he didn't like maths.

Qualitative analysis of the cases in the sub-sample suggests that family support and socio-economic background are important, as well as gender, to an understanding of the educational pathways of young people both in urban and rural areas.

The cases of Carmen and Hank from San Román are particularly relevant when trying to understand the role of family support and socio-economic background in young people's tertiary education. Carmen and Hank's parents expect their children to focus solely on their university studies. They pay their tuition fees and living expenses, and in both cases, they do not allow them to work. As a matter of fact, many urban parents try to postpone their children's access to work, and therefore money, thinking this measure will keep them away from vices such as drugs and alcohol, and from contact with gangs that would lead them astray.

In the case of Carmen, the educational trajectories of her parents have had a big impact on her transition to university. Both of her parents have a university degree and they expect their children to also obtain one. Because Carmen did well at school, university seems to be a natural path for her to follow. Nevertheless, her good performance in school was not enough for her to get into university at the first or second attempt for popular courses. She had to

9 All universities have admissions exams. Only a few technical education institutes have them.

10 A private centre where young people go after completing secondary education, in order to be trained to pass the admissions exams of universities or institutes.

change her career choice after failing the admissions exam twice, and she ended up studying social work, a career that required a lower score in the entrance exam, as Carmen told us. Despite this, Carmen said she liked social work but she still wanted to study law. For that reason, her parents supported her to take a new admissions exam but this time in a private university. She passed the exam and she is now studying two different subjects in two different universities (one is public and the other is private).

On the other hand, despite the fact that Hank's parents did not complete their university studies, they encouraged their children to reach for a university degree. Both parents believe education is the best way to get ahead in life, and that is why they invested in their children's education by enrolling them in private schools. Hank's father believed that it would be easier for him to get into university if he had attended private school.

Carmen's and Hank's situations are similar to those of other young people in urban areas: they have relatively well-educated parents, who value education because of its role in social mobility and who are able to provide their children with not only emotional but also economic support in order to help them to pursue their post-secondary studies. There could be other motivations, as well, as in the case of Carmen's parents, who see education as a tool for empowering their daughter so that she can earn her own money, achieve financial independence from her (future) husband, and enjoy economic freedom.

Although this is not a common scenario in rural settings, there are some cases where parental support of educational trajectories is also observed. For instance, Natalia, a rural girl from Rioja, did not experience any difficulty in her transition to higher education because her family was in a good situation economically and had no concerns about the costs related to her studies. Moreover, Natalia's parents are the most educated of the parents of the Young Lives young people in Rioja's qualitative sub-sample and her elder siblings have technical higher education.

Most rural young people are not in Natalia's situation. Their nuclear family support is frequently not sufficient and they have to seek out their extended family for support or look for temporary jobs in order to make the transition to higher education. Moreover, access to post-secondary studies by rural young people has the added challenge of requiring them to move out of their communities since higher education facilities not available locally. The six young people from the rural sites who were studying in 2014 moved out of their communities, meaning that in addition to the costs related directly to their higher education, they also had to pay for housing (renting a room when there is no other family in the city) and living expenses.

Regarding extended family support, the case of Maria from Rioja shows that her aunt was very important to her because she offered Maria food and a place to stay in the city while she trained to be a nurse. Maria thinks that without her support, it would have been impossible to persuade her father to pay the tuition fees.

Besides drawing on family support, results show that in rural areas young people who wish to continue with their education may also decide to work during holidays or weekends in order to pay their expenses. However, these temporary jobs could expose them to risky situations, especially girls. Eva told us that she and her peers from the institute usually got jobs related to domestic activities, as maids or nannies, in order to have extra money for their studies. Eva said that in this type of work it was common to be exposed to poor working conditions (such as working for long hours for little pay, being discriminated against for being an indigenous poor girl, etc).

Many young people believed it was difficult to pursue post-secondary education in the absence of family support. For instance, John, an urban boy from Lima, told us in 2014 that he was concerned he might have to drop out of university because of his parents' recent divorce; he was not sure if his father would continue paying for his studies the following semester. The case of Esmeralda also shows the potential difficulties due to the loss of parental support. This rural girl from Andahuaylas was studying at the university thanks to her mother's emotional and financial support (her father abandoned the family several years ago). However, in 2014 Esmeralda told us that her mother had passed away in 2013 and she was thinking about dropping out of university because she needed to work to have an income. Another alternative she was considering was transferring to a technical institute so her studies would be shorter and she could start working sooner though in a job that paid less than the one she would get if she had university higher education.

In addition to family background and support, and in the context of scarce financial resources, gender plays an important role in whether young people continue with their education after secondary school. In this regard, the case of Eva from Andahuaylas illustrates how gender norms may mitigate against girls' educational trajectories. Although Eva had always performed well in school, her parents preferred to invest in their son's education because he was the eldest child and a boy. Eva truly believed that she, rather than her brother, deserved her parents' support to pursue post-secondary education. Although she sympathised with her parents and their inability to invest simultaneously in both of their children (owing in part to her father's illness), Eva never understood why she was not her parents' first choice. Her parents spent the family's scarce financial resources on her brother's multiple applications to the police academy (he failed the admissions exam three times before being accepted), and therefore they were no longer able to pay for Eva's admissions exam to the university. Because of that, she had to temporarily put to one side her aspiration to attend university, and started working in the family fields and in a *wawa wasi*¹¹ for a year in order to contribute to the family income.

Eva's agency seems to be very important to an understanding of this case. The very first time we met Eva, in 2007, she mentioned she did not want the same life as her parents and she knew that education was a key factor if she wanted to have a different life. She never stopped asking her father for support. She found out that the admissions exam to a private technical institute was free of charge and she decided to study on her own in order to prepare for the exam. Once she was admitted, her parents agreed to pay part of the cost of her studies, but she had to find paid work to cover the remaining costs, including her daily living expenses.

Eva's situation might be a common one in rural areas, where girls must be persistent in order to pursue tertiary education. However, we have also observed this in the case of one urban girl from Lima. Susan, from Villa Maria del Triunfo, always reported good school performance but, because of her family's views, she did not access higher education. Her mother was the main caregiver but as she could not cover all her family expenses, her sisters and brother (Susan's aunts and uncle) had always helped her to pay for Susan's education. In exchange for her family's economic support, Susan helped her aunt to take care of her little cousins (she cooked for them, looked after them and helped them with their homework). Although Susan had wanted to go to university since she was little, her family told her that, because of

11 *Wawa Wasi* was an early childhood programme (ECD) in Peru for children under four years of age. Each *Wawa Wasi* was attended by a Mother-Carer (*Madre Cuidadora*) who was a member of the community interested in providing the service. In 2012 the programme was replaced by a new ECD programme *Cuna Más*.

the limited family income, she must follow short courses (such as a language course) that would help her to find a paid job quickly. Moreover, Susan's family also believed that it would be too difficult for her to pass the university admissions exam and therefore saw applying as 'a waste of money'. By the time of our last visit, in 2014, Susan was very close to finishing an English course but she seemed a little frustrated because her mother was paying for her younger brother's university studies. She did not understand why her mother could afford to pay for his university studies and not hers. Susan's mother said she did it because her brother had applied to a new 'cheap' private university. Susan was keen to get a job as soon as possible as an English teacher, in order to save money and finally reach the university degree she wants.

6.2. Work trajectories

This section focuses on the work trajectories of the 19-year-olds in our sample since they were little children. We use a broad definition of work, based on children/young people's perceptions about their activities and time use, without taking into consideration whether they were being paid or not.

By 2014, 13 out of the 26 young people from the qualitative sub-sample reported work as their main activity: seven were engaged in paid work for others, four worked for their families (without pay) and two were independent workers (one was a street-seller and the other was a farmer in his own fields). Of those 13, ten were young men, showing that a trajectory focused mainly on work was more common among males in the qualitative sub-sample. Most young people following a work trajectory had finished secondary education. However, there are young people who had dropped out of high school for different reasons, as explained in the previous section: Diana, Atilio and Manuel.

Table 7. *Young people's jobs (2014), by gender, area and type of work*

	Female		Male	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Work for others		Diana (Factory worker)	Peter (Postman)	Luis (Barman) Rodrigo (Painting cars) Manuel (Construction worker) Atilio (Tuk-tuk driver) Elmer ^a (Petrol station attendant)
Independent workers			Sergio (Street-seller)	Esteban (His own field)
Work for their families	Susan ^a (Nanny to her aunt's children)	Marta (Family fields)	Alejandro (Assistant mechanic in the family business)	Sandro (Family fields)

^a Elmer works full time and also studies car maintenance in a technical institute. Susan works for her family and is enrolled in an English course in a language academy.

Those who left school early continued working after leaving school. Manuel, from Andahuaylas, worked first in the jungle as a labourer with his father and then on his own; Atilio moved to Lima and had different jobs: as a cooking assistant, in a laundry service, stamping cloth and as a tuk-tuk driver; and Diana, worked first as an agricultural labourer,

and then, after separating from her partner, as a factory employee (towel and plastic factory in Lima). Two of the cases (Atilio and Diana) reported working under unfavourable conditions: they both worked more than eight hours a day and were paid less than the minimum wage. However, these young people felt they had to accept any job offered to them because they would not be able to obtain better jobs since they had not finished secondary school. Nevertheless, it is important to note that even the young people who had completed secondary education did not have optimal working conditions. All of them said they were paid around the minimum wage but had to work extra hours, and only two had signed a contract and had health insurance (Luis and Elmer).

As Table 7 shows, it is mainly rural boys were following a work trajectory by the age of 19. The qualitative analysis suggests that rural young men are expected to work and be productive, generating income for the household. In their own communities, these rural young men only have the opportunity to work in agriculture, cultivating their own fields or working for others as labourers. If they want a non-agricultural job, they have to migrate to the city. But even young men who migrate are expected to work in the family fields at least for a while before moving out of their communities.

The cases of Luis and Esteban from Rioja show how gender norms affect work trajectories. Their parents asked them to help them in the family's fields. They decided to stay and work for a while not only because their parents had asked them but also because they considered this reciprocity: their parents had invested in their education during the previous years. Young men's ability to work in the fields is highly valued within a rural context, both because they are stronger than young women and because they have more experience of working in the fields. Both rural boys and girls are introduced to work activities progressively, but while girls participate more in domestic chores, boys participate more in agricultural activities. They help their parents to cultivate the fields from the age of 7 or 8 years old and start working as labourers for others at around 13 years old. By the time they are 15 years old, their labour is highly valued.

Working after they have finished high school makes young men feel good because they are being productive and contributing to the family livelihood, fulfilling in this way their expected role as males. For instance, Esteban said he felt responsible for his parents' economic situation (they asked for a loan due to a coffee plague that had affected all their crops) since he is the only son in the family (he has three older sisters who live away from Rioja). Although Esteban's parents and sisters had always told him they wanted him to continue his education after school, he decided to take a different path. He wanted to provide not only for his parents but also for his girlfriend, with whom he wanted to live. This case demonstrates the interplay between family expectations, material conditions and gender norms, and in the case of Esteban, the latter weighed more heavily on his decision to become a full-time worker.

Although both Esteban and Luis worked full time in the fields after finishing high school, they ended up with different work trajectories. While Esteban stayed in his community, working in his own fields, Luis decided to migrate to Lima in order to have a non-agricultural job. However, this was only possible thanks to his family's support. Luis' father wanted him to stay in the community and work in the family fields with him; however his mother did not want her son to remain under the bad influence of the father, who was an alcoholic, and strongly encouraged Luis to leave the community. According to the mother's perception, young rural men who remained working in the fields are in serious risk of developing alcohol problems.

This is why she fought against what is expected of young men in her community and sent Luis to Lima, where, with the help of his elder brother, he found a steady job as a barman.

The case of Manuel, a rural young man from Andahuaylas, also illustrates how gender norms interact with poverty and lack of family support in young people's work trajectories. However, unlike the previous cases, in Manuel's story his family required him to participate in agricultural activities even before he had finished school. This situation is explained by both the socio-economic situation of the family and the low value placed on education by his father. Manuel's family lives in poverty; his mother has not had a formal education and his father only completed the second grade of primary school. Manuel and his elder sibling were enrolled in school late, which may explain why he found it so difficult to adjust to primary school and his poor academic performance. On the other hand, he felt comfortable doing agricultural work in the family fields and on other people's farms; he was motivated by his desire to help his family with their economic situation.

Unlike most of the families from the qualitative sub-sample, in this particular case, parents – especially the father – did not place a high value on education as a means for social mobility. As a matter of fact, it was his father who decided to take Manuel and his elder brother out of the school in order to travel to find well-paid agricultural jobs in the jungle. His father knew that as boys of around 15 years old they could get better-paid jobs in the jungle than they could in Andahuaylas and they could help the family face their economic problems. At first he started to work with his father, but after a few months his father left him working in the jungle and never returned. It is certain that moving away from familiar surroundings and being abandoned by his father in the jungle exposed Manuel to risky situations and it was very difficult for him to stop working because he had to pay his living expenses. By 2014, when Manuel was 20 years old, he had abandoned agricultural work because it was poorly paid and unstable. Thanks to his girlfriend's family, he got a job as a construction supervisor in a rural community, which was very important for him since his girlfriend was pregnant. He said that without the support of his girlfriend's family it would have been very difficult for him to find a non-agricultural job since he had dropped out of school.

In our sample, the combination of gender and work meant that for young rural men, working was a way of gaining independence from their parents and positioning themselves as providers. Working was a positive activity for them because with the money they earned, they paid their living expenses, contributed to their parents' livelihood (even when they were no longer living with them), and had the economic means to start a family. However, most of them acknowledged that the type of jobs they could get as high school graduates (and in some cases, as drop-outs), were hardly ever well paid, nor did they provide good working conditions. Because of this, they said they would like to have the resources (time and money) to take short courses that would prepare them for more qualified jobs.

6.3. Marriage, cohabitation and parenthood/motherhood trajectories

In Peru, cohabitation is much more common among young people than is formal marriage. In this section we explore what happens when young people form intimate relationships, marry or become pregnant: How did pregnancy/marriage affect their daily life and agency? What was the role of the family in their experience?

By the time the young people in the qualitative sample were around 20 years of age (by 2014), five of the 26 were living with a partner: one urban female, who is a mother (Isaura), and four males (three rural – Atilio, Manuel and Esteban – and one urban – Sergio).

Additionally, one female used to live with the father of her son but later separated from him (Diana).

Table 8. *Cohabitation and parenthood by gender and area of residence*

	Female		Male	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Single parent		Diana (1 son, 4 years old)		
Cohabitation with a child/expecting a child	Isaura (1 son, 8 months)		Sergio (Girlfriend is 3 months pregnant)	Manuel (Girlfriend is 6 months pregnant) Atillio (Girlfriend is 8 months pregnant)
Cohabitation without children				Esteban

The two girls from the qualitative sub-sample who had had children both decided to move in with their partners when they realised they were pregnant. Although motherhood had an impact on their lives, their trajectories towards motherhood were very different.

The case of Diana is very important for understanding how becoming an adolescent mother may affect a girl's networks and expose her to risky situations in her domestic and work life. Diana's pregnancy made her move to her partner's family, but she received physical and psychological abuse from them. Diana said that because of the maltreatment, she missed her family; she remembered feeling very lonely during pregnancy and for the first year of her baby's life. Losing her family's support was difficult for her because she needed support to raise her son. According to Diana, motherhood has forced her to mature, which means working to cover all of her expenses. Moreover, she recognises that motherhood made her protective of her son. She moved to Lima on her own to protect her son from her partner (once he kidnapped his son and maltreated him by not giving him enough food and hitting him). Leaving school is something that Diana regrets because she realises that it is very difficult to find a job in the capital city. Her work in Lima exposed her to night shifts and even unhealthy environments (there was a break-out of tuberculosis). The job conditions she encountered were certainly detrimental to motherhood; her job limited her presence in the home.

On the other hand, the case study of Isaura is important in order to help us understand how being pregnant may have a negative impact on a woman's agency. Isaura felt her pregnancy gave the family a reason for being involved in decisions that would normally be taken by herself and her partner. After being upset for some time, both families gave them money to buy a house so that they could start living together. However, Isaura did not seem too sure about marriage, though she ended up accepting it because it was the best thing to do given that she was pregnant. Since then, Isaura began to assume the domestic responsibilities at home. She believed that even if she felt tired she needed to help her partner because it was her role as a wife. Isaura felt that it was difficult to fulfill her responsibilities and said that there were times when fatigue did not enable her to take 'good care' of her husband. Isaura seemed to be forced to support her husband in all ways, to the point of choosing a career she did not want, because in that way she could support her husband's idea of running a family business.

Although their experience of motherhood was different, both Diana and Isaura had to discontinue their education, and start to work during their pregnancies. Being mothers changed their educational expectations: earlier, Diana had wanted to finish high school but later, as a single mother without economic support, she found it very difficult. Isaura wanted to reach post-secondary education, and she still has the possibility but only if she studies for a career chosen by her husband. As her husband is the one who will pay for her studies he wants her to study accounting, so that she can help him with the bookkeeping for his business. Isaura's mother told her daughter, once she was pregnant, that she would need to support her husband despite her own wishes.

Both young women said how demanding being a mother was; not only were they responsible for child care, but they were also responsible for the household chores. Diana worked ten or twelve hours a day, and had to do the laundry, cook with her cousin, play with her child, etc. Isaura breastfed her child, carried out domestic chores, cooked her husband lunch and helped him with paperwork at night. If they did not fulfill their responsibilities, they felt as if they were 'bad' wives or mothers.

Both young women recognised the difficulties that came with young motherhood, but they were not taking precautions to prevent another pregnancy. Neither of them used contraception. Diana believed that contraception should be the man's responsibility and not hers; she knew there was a risk of getting pregnant again, but she wasn't doing anything to actively protect herself against it. In contrast, Isaura tried to find contraception in the local health centre, but she felt uncomfortable with the idea of the birth control injection; she was worried that the blood she would naturally expel through menstruation would get retained in her body. By the time we visited her in 2014 she had decided to leave the responsibility for choosing a contraceptive method to her partner.

As regards the young men in our sub-sample, four boys cohabit: Atilio, Manuel, Esteban and Sergio. Two boys from the rural site of Andahuaylas (Atilio and Manuel) dropped out of school when they were around 14 years old and got their girlfriends pregnant when they were 18 years old. The third rural boy, from Rioja, (Esteban) dropped out of secondary school and decided not to try and pursue tertiary education but to work before moved in with his partner. Finally, one urban boy (Sergio) also decided not to continue with his education after school and moved in with his girlfriend. In these four cases, cohabitation does not appear to change their lives in the same way it does for girls. This may be due to the fact that they had not yet become fathers and they received their families' economic support to get jobs and save money for the (awaited) baby.

- Atilio was living in Lima when his girlfriend got pregnant. He decided to return to Andahuaylas to his family and abandon his girlfriend but his parents told him that he shouldn't leave her and they paid for her ticket, in order to try and persuade the young couple to live together with them. In 2014, Atilio was working as a tuk-tuk driver (thanks to his father, who paid for its rental) but he said he wasn't making much money so his parents helped him and his girlfriend with most of their living expenses; they also bought items for the baby.

- Manuel moved in with his girlfriend when he dropped out of the army. They received support from his girlfriend's family: an uncle offered Manuel a job in construction, which he accepted. Since he had not completed secondary school, his job options were limited, and he was living apart from his pregnant girlfriend while working in another community.
- Sergio's girlfriend got pregnant in 2014. When her family learned about the pregnancy, they wanted to force Sergio to get married but his mother did not agree; she preferred that they move in together instead because she was not sure how long they would remain together as a couple. Sergio's mother offered them the opportunity to live with her in her house in San Román and Sergio accepted. His mother gave Sergio some money to start his own business with his girlfriend (selling clothes at the market).
- Esteban was the only one who started living with his girlfriend (in 2013) without getting her pregnant first. They decided to move in together because they wanted to. The boy's parents (especially the mother) didn't agree that their son should start living with his girlfriend but as he ran away with her, his mother persuaded him to return and offered him his own parcel of land to do agricultural work, as well as a section of her house so that the couple could live in a private area. Esteban worked in his own field but also as a labourer for others. Esteban's mother was concerned because she did not want her son to become a father at his age; she even paid for his girlfriend's birth control injection in 2013. She believed that parenthood would have negative consequences for Esteban because supporting a family would increase his workload.

As can be observed, the boys had, in one way or another, the support of their families (or, in Manuel's case, his girlfriend's family), who provided different types of help, from advice to housing, land and job connections. There is a sharp contrast between this situation and the situations of two girls, described above, where we can observe the weakening of family ties (Diana ran away from her family and Isaura was expelled from her house at first, although her family later supported her).

For young people receiving support from their family, the disadvantage can be that they feel obliged to follow the wishes of their parents rather than pursuing their own desires. Atilio felt he had little choice in his life since his family had funded his small business venture (as a tuk-tuk driver) and although he had many arguments with his girlfriend he felt under pressure to remain with her because of his family's preference and their efforts to make him into a male 'breadwinner'. In the case of Isaura, both sides of the family (hers and her partner's) provided resources so that she could move in with her partner, but she experienced this as pressure to marry even though she was not sure it was what she wanted.

7. Discussion of main findings

This paper analyses the trajectories into adulthood of a group of young people (aged 19–20 years old) from urban and rural areas of Peru from a qualitative perspective. By this age, young people's trajectories have started to diverge along the lines mainly education, mainly work and mainly marriage. Rather than being separate trajectories, education, work and marriage were shown to be interdependent, such that, for example, marriage outcomes can only be understood with reference to experiences related to education and work, and vice versa. The in-depth biographical examination of young people's trajectories leaves us with the following three main findings to discuss in this section: gender shapes young people's trajectories into adulthood; family support has a significant influence on young people's trajectories; and these young people's education and work trajectories do not necessarily contribute to their personal and professional development.

7.1. Gender shapes young people's trajectories into adulthood more in low-income contexts

The results from the qualitative analysis show that gender matters more for explaining young people's trajectories in contexts where families had limited economic resources (i.e. in poverty), across both rural and urban scenarios.

With regard to education trajectories, although gender differences are not observed during basic education (primary and secondary school); in the case of post-secondary education, we find that low-income families tend to prioritise boys' education (see Eva and Susan's cases). In those cases, girls' agency and persistence is key to achieving higher levels of education. Eva's case is illustrative, in that she is a rural girl, with an indigenous background, living in poverty; she has all the odds against her in her pursuit of tertiary education. Nevertheless, her determination to study meant that she took the initiative to investigate alternatives in order to persuade her parents to back her in pursuing technical studies.

On the other hand, families with fewer economic constraints are keen to support their children's post-secondary education, whether they are boys or girls. Particularly in relation to girls' access to higher education, the opinions of girls and their caregivers suggest that studying for a degree postpones starting a family or becoming a wife and a mother. At the same time, when they eventually start a family, it is expected that having had tertiary education may empower girls and give them more bargaining power, so that they have a more equal relationship with their husbands. This is related to Ames' (2014) ideas about the value of higher education as a resource for social mobility, especially in the case of women, where it can become a tool to overcome oppressive gender relationships in the future.

In relation to work trajectories, gender matters when looking at rural young people. In rural places like Rioja or Andahuaylas, social norms relating to gender are important in understanding why work (and not study) is the most common trajectory among young men in early adulthood. Based on the cases we have presented it seems that following this path is understood as a way of gaining independence from parents and positioning oneself as a provider. Working is a positive activity for young men because with the money they earn they pay their living expenses, contribute to their parents' livelihood (even when they are no longer living with them) and have the economic means to start a family, fulfilling in this way the role for which they have been progressively prepared since they were little. Thus, as

Fuller (2001) claimed, work is one of the central axes of masculinity; it shapes males' identities and it is related to social recognition. However, at the same time, work may also limit young men's social mobility because the type of work they can get without any type of post-secondary education will not allow them to get ahead in life.

By contrast, it seems that among urban young men in the sample gender norms do not have a prevalent role in shaping their work trajectories. These young men are not expected to become providers as soon as they finish high school because their families face fewer economic constraints than the families of their rural peers. As a matter of fact, urban parents try to postpone their offspring's access to money, thinking this measure will keep them away from vices such as drugs and alcohol, and from joining gangs that would lead them astray. The fear of gangs is a concern that we have observed predominantly among urban parents.

Finally, regarding young people's transition into parenthood, the results show that there is a clear difference between boys and girls who have children when they are young. Girls fare worse in this regard. Boys are more protected by their parents, who support them emotionally and financially in the experience of becoming a parent and starting a new family. This could be explained by the negative social status and stigma associated with young maternity according to Nóbrega (2009). The case studies indicate that the reactions to the news of young women's pregnancies were different in the cases of boys and girls. Especially at first, the girls' families had a negative reaction; while their partners' families were more supportive.

Moreover, it seems to be a common understanding that girls should mainly dedicate themselves to domestic chores while boys have to work in order to sustain the family. And that is probably why parents feel more responsible for supporting the boys, giving them tools to cope with their emerging male roles. It seems that in rural contexts, when a young couple expect a baby, the main responsibility for supporting them falls to the boy's family, and it is common for the expectant mother to relocate to live her partner and in-laws. This has an impact on girls' capacity to make decisions about their lives and future. In many cases, the decisions are taken by their partners' parents, who are not necessarily thinking about their best interests but those of their sons. In the case of urban girls, the story of Isaura shows that in urban contexts girls do not necessarily have to move to their partner's parents' house when they get pregnant; however according to existing social norms it is expected that girls should do what their partners consider appropriate.

7.2. Family support plays an important role in explaining young people's trajectories

The results of the qualitative analysis show that family support always plays an important role in explaining young people's trajectories into education, work and parenthood, in rural and urban scenarios.

Regarding education trajectories, according to the Young Lives Round 4 survey results outlined in Section 5, a large number of young people from the Older Cohort had completed secondary education. Moreover, qualitative data show that parents from both rural and urban areas valued education highly and as a consequence, tried to support their children in completing their schooling. Even amongst impoverished families, parents were committed to investing in their children's basic education, assuming the opportunity cost of sending them to primary and secondary school. Many families from the rural areas experienced economic difficulties as a result of plagues or crop loss and asked their children (mostly boys) to work on the family farm, although they didn't want their children to drop out of school as a result.

The transition from secondary school into higher education is very challenging for most young people, who have to confront some barriers in the process, turning to their families to overcome them. Their family's financial and emotional support is perceived as a valuable resource in this transition. Given their recognition of the value of education, most parents want their children to have tertiary education. However, not all of them have the financial resources to support that particular trajectory. The qualitative case studies analysed in this paper suggest that the extent of parents' financial support shapes students' post-secondary education trajectories: the higher the investment, the more likely it is that young people will be able to concentrate on their studies. In the face of financial constraints, young people divide their time between study and work though in some cases, they have to abandon their studies.

In addition to financial support, a family's advice is also very important in helping to shape young people's trajectories. Many young people leave secondary school without a clear idea of their potential post-secondary paths. In the case of those wanting to pursue tertiary education, qualitative case studies show that young people do not have adequate information about the career they want to pursue and the job market for that career, nor have they considered how this career matches their motivation, skills and interests. In the absence of information, young people seek their relatives' advice regarding what and where to study. Most of the ones in our sub-sample chose their career after talking to their uncles, aunts, older siblings, cousins and parents. In this sense, families end up shaping young people's post-secondary trajectories since their advice is based on their preconceptions about what is good for a girl or a boy in their specific socio-economic context and not on sound information about careers (and the job market for those careers) and on young people's skills. This could also put women at a disadvantage regarding wages because, as was noted by Jaramillo et al. (2007), they end up working in occupations that are economically less valuable than men's occupations.

In relation to work trajectories, mostly rural men in early adulthood follow a work trajectory, as previously mentioned, and in that sense, it seems that mainly gender norms are configuring working trajectories. However, in the case of the rural young men in our sample, the existence of family support provided them with a wider range of options for their transition into the labour market. Without their support from their families, these young men would probably have continued working in the fields; however, having the support of at least one parent or relative outside their rural communities, gave these young men the opportunity of pursuing non-agricultural jobs that would potentially be better paid, in nearby cities or even in Lima.

Finally, regarding young people's transition into parenthood, parents' support during this experience makes this transition 'smoother' for young people. A young mother without the support of her family deals with how to provide (housing and food) for herself and her offspring and also with the challenges of raising a child. By contrast, when parents are there for their children during this experience giving them advice, paying some expenses, providing a home and helping them to get a job thanks to family networks, young people are in a better position to deal with the challenges of their new role.

7.3. Young people's education and work trajectories do not necessarily contribute to their personal and professional development

Throughout their lives, both caregivers and young people in the sample have aspired to get ahead in life and they believe that education is the best way to achieve that. Because of this, parents have invested in their children's formal education since they were little, but also have provided them at the same time with skills and knowledge related to the family's main activities (informal education) in order to fully prepare their offspring for the future.

Paradoxically, when we look at young people's trajectories into adulthood, it is not certain that this process of continuing learning initially fostered by parents is still going on. Considering, for instance, young people's post-secondary education trajectories, the qualitative analysis reveals that tertiary education may not be as life-changing as young people and their parents had expected. Young Lives evidence shows that young people follow a very precarious decision-making process when selecting their tertiary education studies and at the same time makes clear that, at least in terms of their perception, they are not prepared to cope with the academic challenges of higher education.

This scenario already limits the expected benefits of higher education, even without bringing into question the quality of the higher education institutions these young people access, which is beyond the scope of this paper. Poor decision-making may lead to young people changing courses several times or even dropping out of higher education, while inadequate academic readiness may lead to a poor performance, which may eventually compromise young people's chances of getting good jobs. According to Guerrero (2013), young people who receive vocational guidance and training for admissions exams while at school tend to be more likely to continue with higher education. Thus, it seems that having more support at school during the decision-making process could help young people find a better career path. This is especially important in a country where, as we have seen in section 3.2, only 23 per cent of young people are working in something related to what they studied (Chacaltana and Ruiz 2012).

Not everybody, however, is destined for or needs to pursue higher education. Making the transition into the labour market straight after secondary school is also a legitimate trajectory that should allow young people to develop and reach their potential. Nevertheless, the qualitative analysis of the cases presented in this paper shows that most young people making this transition got jobs that offered limited to no opportunities to learn and develop. Besides the fact that none of the young people in the sample had long-term jobs with full social security benefits, none of them worked in a place that invested in the skill formation of their staff, who – on the contrary – were expected to learn by themselves or from co-workers how to do the job. This observation is corroborated by other research that finds that most young people work without a contract and get paid close to the minimum wage (Chacaltana and Ruiz 2012). Therefore, they have little economic stability. Because of this, young people's opportunities of getting ahead in life without further or higher education seem rather limited.

8. Conclusion and policy implications

There are several factors that shape youth trajectories, including socio-economic status, gender and area of residence. Besides these individual and family factors, the characteristics of the education system, the labour market and local community also affect transitions into adulthood, often mitigating against young people's personal and professional development.

The policy implications of the results discussed in this paper are as follows. In the first place, results regarding the transition to higher education made clear that students' decision-making process is rather poor, owing to a certain extent to a lack of information about what to study and where, as well as to the characteristics of the labour market. Given this, initiatives like *Ponte en Carrera* – a website recently launched by the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Labour, where the general public can access helpful information about careers, higher education institutions and the labour market – should be strengthened and more broadly disseminated. This website also provides vocational guidelines to potential higher education students. However, website searches need to be supplemented with in-school orientation sessions where children can work with professional careers advisors and counsellors to identify their motivations, interests and skills and work out how these match certain careers and the labour market.

It is also necessary to strengthen policies promoting young people's access to higher education. The national scholarship programme, Beca 18, gives young people with limited economic resources but excellent academic performance the opportunity of studying at the best universities and technical institutes in the country. However, this programme would benefit from a more explicit gender policy. At the moment, 55 per cent of beneficiaries are male and 45 per cent are female. Additionally, although women's access to higher education has notably increased in the last years, there are certain groups of women that are currently excluded. Rural girls and adolescent mothers should be classified as vulnerable groups and specific scholarships should be designed for them in order to enable them to transition into higher education.

References

- Ames, P. (2014) '¿Construyendo Nuevas Identidades?' in R. Asensio and C. Trivelli (eds) *La revolución silenciosa*, Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos (IEP) and Fondo Internacional de Desarrollo Agrícola (FIDA).
- Ames, P. (2013) *¿Construyendo nuevas identidades? Género y educación en los proyectos de vida de las jóvenes rurales del Perú*, Working Paper 08, Lima: IEP.
- Ames, P., V. Rojas and T. Portugal (2010) *Métodos para la investigación con niños: Lecciones aprendidas, desafíos y propuestas desde la experiencia de Niños del Milenio en Perú*, Lima: Grupo de Análisis para el Desarrollo (GRADE).
- Anderson, J. (2007) 'Género de cuidados' in M. Barrig (ed.) *Fronteras Interiores*, Lima: IEP.
- Binstock, G. and E. Näslund-Hadley (2010) 'Iniciación sexual, asistencia escolar y embarazo adolescente en sectores populares de Asunción y Lima: una aproximación cualitativa', *Debates en Sociología* 35: 45–67.
- Benavides, M., J. León, F. Haag and S. Cueva (2015) *Expansión y diversificación de la educación superior universitaria y su relación con la desigualdad y la segregación*, Lima: GRADE.
- Boyd, C. (2014a) 'Decisiones de inserción laboral: el caso de los jóvenes rurales peruanos', *Economía* 37.74: 9–40.
- Boyd, C. (2014b) 'Hijas, madres y abuelas' in R. Asensio and C. Trivelli (eds) *La revolución silenciosa*, Lima: IEP and FIDA.
- Boyden, J. (2013) 'We're not going to suffer like this in the mud: Educational Aspirations, Social Mobility and Independent Child Migration Among Populations Living in Poverty', *Compare* 43.5: 580–600.
- Castro, J.F. and G. Yamada (2011) 'Brechas étnicas y de sexo en el acceso a la educación básica y superior en el Perú' in Cynthia Sanborn (ed.) *La discriminación en el Perú: balance y desafíos*, Lima: Universidad del Pacífico.
- CEPAL (2013) *Anuario Estadístico de América Latina y el Caribe*, <http://www.cepal.org/publicaciones/xml/5/51945/AnuarioEstadistico2013.pdf> (accessed 5 August 2016).
- Chacaltana, J. and C. Ruiz (2012) 'El empleo juvenil en el Perú: diagnóstico y políticas' in C. Garavito and I. Muñoz, *Empleo y Protección Social*, Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú (PUCP).
- Clark, A. and P. Moss (2001) *Listening to Young Children: The Mosaic Approach*, London: National Children's Bureau.
- Crivello, G. (2010) 'Becoming Somebody: Youth Transitions Through Education and Migration in Peru', *Journal of Youth Studies* 14.4: 395–411.
- Crivello, G., V. Morrow and E. Wilson (2013) *Young Lives Longitudinal Qualitative Research Guide: A Guide for Researchers*, Technical Note 26, Oxford: Young Lives.
- Cueto, S., J. Escobal, M. Penny and P. Ames (2011) *Tracking Disparities: Who Gets Left Behind? Initial Findings from Peru*, Round 3 Survey Report. Oxford: Young Lives.

- Cussianovich, A. and V. Rojas (2014) 'The Role of Formal Education in the Subjective Well-being of Teenagers in Rural and Urban Peru' in Michael Bourdillion and Jo Boyden (eds), *Growing Up in Poverty: Findings from Young Lives*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Darbyshire, P., W. Schiller and C. MacDougall (2005) 'Extending New Paradigm Childhood Research: Meeting the Challenges of Including Younger Children', *Early Child Development and Care* 175.6: 467–72.
- Díaz, J. (2008) 'Educación Superior en el Perú: Tendencias de la demanda y la oferta' in Martín Benavides (ed.) *Análisis de programas, procesos y resultados educativos en el Perú: Contribuciones empíricas para el debate*, Lima: GRADE.
- Docket, S. and B. Perry (2005) 'Researching with Children: Insights from the Starting School Research Project', *Early Childhood Development and Care* 175.6: 507–21.
- Espinoza-Lecca, E. and R. Choque-Larrauri (2015) 'El Estado de la Juventud en el Perú: Situación actual e iniciativa para un cambio' in Hans Contreras Pulache (ed.) *Evidencia para políticas públicas en educación superior*, vol. 1, Lima: Programa Nacional de Becas y Crédito Educativo, Ministerio de Educación.
- Fuller, N. (2001) *Masculinidades: Cambios y permanencias*, Lima: Fondo Editorial PUCP.
- Garavito, C. and M. Carrillo (2004) *Feminización de la Matrícula de Educación Superior y Mercado de Trabajo en el Perú: 1978-2003*, Report compiled for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the Instituto Internacional para la Educación Superior en América Latina y El Caribe (IESALC).
- Guerrero, Gabriela (2014) 'Yo sé que va a ir más allá, va a continuar estudiando' *Expectativas educativas de estudiantes, padres y docentes en zonas urbanas y rurales del Perú*, Niños del Milenio Working Paper 64, Lima: GRADE.
- Guerrero, G. (2013) *¿Cómo afectan los factores individuales y escolares la decisión de los jóvenes de postular a educación superior?*, Lima: GRADE.
- Guerrero, G. and V. Rojas (forthcoming) *Understanding Children's Experiences of Violence at Home in Urban and Rural Peru: A Qualitative Longitudinal Study*, Working Paper, Oxford and Florence: Young Lives and UNICEF Office of Research.
- Guerrero, G., C. Sugimaru, A. Cussianovich, B. De Fraine and S. Cueto (2016) *Education Aspirations Among Young People in Peru and their Perceptions of Barriers to Higher Education*, Working Paper 148, Young Lives: Oxford.
- Huaita, M. (2011) 'Adolescencia: Por el respeto de los derechos sexuales y reproductivos' in *Sexualidad, reproducción y desigualdades de género*, Lima: PROMSEX and Manuela Ramos.
- Jaramillo, M., H. Ñopo and J.J. Díaz (2007) *La investigación sobre el mercado laboral peruano: instituciones, capacitación y grupos desfavorecido*, Lima: GRADE.
- León, J. and C. Sugimaru (2013) *Entre el estudio y el trabajo: Las decisiones de los jóvenes peruanos después de concluir la educación básica regular*, Lima: GRADE.
- Mendoza, W. and G. Subiría (2013) 'El Embarazo Adolescente en el Perú: Situación actual e Implicancias para las Políticas Públicas', *Revista Peruana de Medicina Experimental y Salud Pública* 30.3: 471–9.

Muñoz, F., P. Ruiz-Bravo and J. Rosales (2006) *El género y las políticas educativas en el Perú* in P. Ames (ed.), *Las Brechas Invisibles del Perú*, Lima: IEP.

Nóblega, M. (2009) 'La Maternidad en la vida de las adolescentes implicancias para la acción', *Revista de Psicología* 27.1: 29–54.

OECD (2014) *Education at a Glance 2014: OECD Indicators*, Paris: OECD Publishing, <https://www.oecd.org/edu/Education-at-a-Glance-2014.pdf> (accessed 5 August 2016).

OIT (2010) *Trabajo decente y juventud en América Latina 2010*, Lima: Oficina Internacional del Trabajo / Proyecto Promoción del Empleo Juvenil en América Latina (Prejal).

Rojas, V. (2011) 'I'd rather be hit with a stick... Grades are sacred': *Students' Perceptions of Discipline and Authority in a Public High School in Peru*, Working Paper 70, Oxford: Young Lives.

Salazar, D. and K. Manco (2015) '¿Quién accede a la educación superior en el Perú?: Juventud y Pobreza en estudiantes de educación universitaria y tecnológica superior' in Ernesto Rodríguez and Julio Corcuera (eds) *Subjetividades diversas. Análisis de la situación política, económica y social de las juventudes peruanas*, Lima: UNESCO, Centro Latinoamericano sobre Juventud (CELAJU) and Secretaria Nacional de la Juventud (SENAJU).

Sanchez, A. and G. Melendez (2015) *Youth and Development: Preliminary Findings from the 2013 Young Lives Survey in Peru*, Round 4 Fact sheet, Lima: Young Lives.

UNFPA (2015) *Embarazo Adolescente en el Perú. Fondo de Población de las Naciones Unidas*, <http://www.unfpa.org.pe/publicaciones/publicacionesperu/UNFPA-Embarazo-Adolescente-Peru-2015.pdf> (accessed 5 August 2016).

Yamada, G. (2007) *Retornos a la Educación Superior en el Mercado Laboral: ¿Vale la Pena el Esfuerzo?*, Lima: Centro de Investigación de la Universidad del Pacífico (CIUP), Consorcio de Investigación Económica y Social (CIES).

Appendix: Site descriptions

In order to preserve respondents' anonymity, the names of these research sites are the names of the province where the site is located or, if the population is over 40,000, the name of the district.

Rioja

This rural community, located in the upper Amazon in northern Peru, is populated by Andean immigrants from a neighbouring region who speak Spanish. Basic services in the village include piped water but there is no sewage system. Since 2008, the majority of the population have had electricity in their homes. In 2014, internet access became available in the school and town hall. A pre-school, a primary school and a secondary school are available in the village, as well as a health post.

People in Rioja work predominantly in agriculture and raise cattle. The main agricultural product in the village and in the region is coffee, a cash crop on which most families rely. In our observations, the men in the community were found to be primarily responsible for the agricultural work, but women also worked in the fields and cared for and milked the cows. From a very young age, children are also involved in minor agricultural activities such as feeding the animals and weeding.

Andahuaylas

This rural Andean site is located in the southern highlands of Peru and represents one of the poorest regions of the country, with a mainly Quechua-speaking community. This region can be considered a post-conflict area as it has suffered seriously from the political violence in the country between 1980 and 1992. Basic services available are piped water, electricity and latrines. In 2009, a limited electricity supply was available to some families. By 2013, public phones and a public internet booth had been installed. The village has a pre-school, a primary school and a secondary school, as well as a public community day-care programme centre (formerly *Wawa Wasí*, now *Cuna Más*), one PRONOEI (non-formal programme of initial education, i.e. an early childhood education programme), and a public health post.

Men and women work primarily in agriculture (planting and harvesting), with children spending more time in the fields than in Rioja. It is very common for children to be responsible for caring for the cattle from the age of 8 (Ames 2013). The difficult financial situation among some families leads parents to work as labourers for other people, in addition to cultivating their own fields.

San Román

This urban community is located in the southern Andes of Peru, in the region of Puno. San Román is an economic and commercial centre. The city is inhabited by Spanish-speakers as well as members of the two main indigenous groups in the Andes: the Quechua and the Aymara. San Román has access to electricity, piped water and sewage, as well as telephone and internet services. There is a public pre-school and a public primary school in San Román, as well as some private schools, a regional hospital, and a recreational park. Secondary schools are also available. In 2011, a few main streets were paved in order to reduce flooding during the rainy season. Common occupations include informal trade, commerce and the jobs in the textile industry.

Villa María del Triunfo

This urban community is located in the southern part of Lima, Peru's capital. The neighbourhood is inhabited mainly by migrants from all over Peru, as well as new generations born in Lima. There is electricity, piped water and sewage, as well as telephone and internet services. Most streets are paved. There are several schools, including public and private pre-schools, primary schools and secondary schools, as well as a health centre.

Villa María del Triunfo is a working-class district, whose inhabitants undertake diverse economic activities, such as informal trading, domestic service in middle-class households, factory work and construction work. In contrast to the situation in rural areas, children are not involved in the economic activities of their parents. Here, children usually go to school and then stay at home while their parents are out working.

Gendered Trajectories Through Education, Work and Parenthood in Peru

This paper explores young people's inter-related transitions and pathways through schooling, work and parenthood, with a special focus on the way gender affects trajectories into adulthood among a sample of young people growing up in poverty. We report on the outcomes and trajectories of the Young Lives Older Cohort children who participated in longitudinal qualitative research between 2007 and 2014, when they were aged between 13 and 20, and we combine this analysis with descriptive survey statistics from the wider sample of Older Cohort children in Peru.

Our findings show that Peruvian young people experience major disparities in their paths to adulthood, and it is necessary to strengthen policies that support disadvantaged young people's access to tertiary education by incorporating a gender perspective and to provide young people with information and advice on jobs and careers, so that they can access jobs with better working conditions. Jobs currently available to young people offer few or no opportunities to learn and develop. Rural girls and adolescent mothers in particular can be considered vulnerable groups, and scholarships should be designed to help them access tertiary education.



An International Study of Childhood Poverty

About Young Lives

Young Lives is an international study of childhood poverty, involving 12,000 children in 4 countries over 15 years. It is led by a team in the Department of International Development at the University of Oxford in association with research and policy partners in the 4 study countries: Ethiopia, India, Peru and Vietnam.

Through researching different aspects of children's lives, we seek to improve policies and programmes for children.

Young Lives Partners

Young Lives is coordinated by a small team based at the University of Oxford, led by Professor Jo Boyden.

- *Ethiopian Development Research Institute, Ethiopia*
- *Pankhurst Development Research and Consulting plc, Ethiopia*
- *Centre for Economic and Social Studies, Hyderabad, India*
- *Save the Children India*
- *Sri Padmavathi Mahila Visvavidyalayam (Women's University), Andhra Pradesh, India*
- *Grupo de Análisis para el Desarrollo (GRADE), Peru*
- *Instituto de Investigación Nutricional, Peru*
- *Centre for Analysis and Forecasting, Vietnamese Academy of Social Sciences, Vietnam*
- *General Statistics Office, Vietnam*
- *Oxford Department of International Development, University of Oxford, UK*

Contact:

Young Lives

Oxford Department of
International Development,
University of Oxford,
3 Mansfield Road,
Oxford OX1 3TB, UK

Tel: +44 (0)1865 281751

Email: younglives@younglives.org.uk

Website: www.younglives.org.uk