

## DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 470 261

RC 023 744

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TITLE Changing Girls' Education in Peru.

PUB DATE 2002-03-00

NOTE 48p.; Written in collaboration with Angela Leal, Najat Yamouri Saher, Ana Maria Robles, and Johanna Mendoza. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) (46th, Orlando, FL, March 6-9, 2002). For a related paper, see RC 023 743.

PUB TYPE Reports - Descriptive (141) -- Speeches/Meeting Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE EDRS Price MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.

DESCRIPTORS \*Access to Education; \*Advocacy; American Indian Education; Bilingual Education; Educational Attitudes; \*Educational Change; Elementary Education; Foreign Countries; Indigenous Populations; Mass Media; \*Networks; \*Rural Education; Social Attitudes; \*Womens Education

IDENTIFIERS International Aid; \*Peru; Public Information Campaigns

## ABSTRACT

Access to quality education is a problem for all rural children in Peru, but especially for rural girls, who complete primary school at far lower rates than other Peruvian children. In 1998, USAID launched the Girls' Education Activity (GEA) in Peru, also known as New Horizons for Girls' Education, which aims to increase girls' completion of primary school, particularly among rural and indigenous populations. During 1998-2001, the project had a substantial impact on the general discourse about girls' education. Its activities improved general knowledge about the importance of girls' education, inspired national legislation on rural girls' education, and inspired girls' education projects at the regional and local levels. This report gives an overview of the project, describing the creation of a national network for girls' education (Florecer), national conferences, publications, a mass media campaign aimed at affluent citizens with political influence, advocacy efforts with policy makers, and interactions among national and regional networks and local committees. Several project studies are summarized, including a situational analysis and rapid rural appraisal of barriers to rural girls' education; a baseline study in pilot communities; evaluations of demonstration activities involving bilingual education, girls' self-esteem, community-based monitoring committees, and adult literacy; and the accomplishments of regional networks in Ayacucho and San Martin. An analysis of systemic changes in girls' education looks at GEA's progress in legitimizing its policy goals, building an active constituency, mobilizing resources, designing and modifying organizational structures, mobilizing action, and monitoring systemic change. (SV)

# CHANGING GIRLS' EDUCATION IN PERU

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Presentation prepared for the 46<sup>th</sup> Annual meeting of the  
Comparative and International Education Society,  
Orlando, FL, 6-9 March 2002.

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## The Peruvian Educational Environment Prior to GEA

Peru, the second largest country in South America, has become increasingly urbanized in the past decade. At present, more than eight million people inhabit the capital city of Lima alone—more than one-third of the entire population. Nevertheless, the rural population in Peru continues to outnumber the urban population, and in rural villages and towns, social services such as quality education still lag far behind urban centers. These communities have been especially hard hit economically after four years of recession and, a few years prior to that, a decade of vigilante violence. Access to quality education is a problem for all rural children in Peru but especially for rural girls, who complete primary school at far lower rates than all other children in the country.

Peru was the last of the three GEA countries to initiate a national project, but momentum for advocacy on behalf of girls' education had been growing for years. A national focus on girls' education in Peru began in the 1960s and 1970s and led to substantial increases in female school enrollments and completion rates in urban areas. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, urban women entered the professional workforce in large numbers and became a more active political constituency. This activism culminated in the creation of multiple research- and action-based non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the 1980s as well as a national network for the promotion of women in 1990. Further pressure from national groups and the international spotlight on women's issues in the

Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 compelled then-President Fujimori to create a federal Ministry for the Promotion of Women and Human Development in 1996.

## **Overview of the Peruvian Girls' Education Project**

The USAID Office of Women in Development (G/WID) launched GEA in Peru in April 1998 when the CARE-Peru office in Lima created the New Horizons for Girls' Education project. The goal of the project is to increase girls' completion of primary school, particularly in rural areas and among indigenous populations. Between April 1998 and August 2001, the project had a substantial impact on the general discourse about girls' education. It enjoys the active support of the national government as well as international and domestic civil society organizations. Its activities have (a) improved the general knowledge about the importance of girls' education, (b) inspired national legislation on rural girls' education, and (c) inspired girls' education projects at the regional and local levels.

New Horizons is sponsored by G/WID, which is supported by DevTech Systems, and is part of the overall GEA, which is administered by the American Institutes for Research. CARE-USA is the contractor that serves as the liaison to the main New Horizons project office, which is housed in the Lima office of CARE-Peru. At the national level, New Horizons focuses on three activities: support for the national girls' education network, project activities in the Department of Ayacucho, and other regional girls' education networks around the country. The national girls' education network is involved in three main activities: investigation and communications, advocacy, and interaction with regional girls' education networks. At the regional level, New Horizons is also involved in a pilot project in small Ayacucho communities. The chronology of these activities is described in detail later in this section of the study.

Important issues such as civil rights, political rights, domestic violence, and public health dominated the agenda of the Peruvian women's movement through the early 1990s. Awareness about the problems associated with girls' education began to grow again after the USAID commissioned several education studies in Peru in 1995. In 1997, when girls' education became incorporated into the USAID strategic framework, a USAID team from Washington, D.C., traveled to Peru to investigate the possibility of including Peru in GEA. The team found that gender differences in rural educational enrollment and completion rates were more striking than they had previously imagined but that Peru had a supportive public sector and civil society infrastructure that was amenable to working on girls' education.

Although Peru has attained a high level of primary school enrollment for all school-age children, 94 percent in 1997,<sup>1</sup> other statistics suggest that girls fare worse than boys in a number of ways.<sup>2</sup> In the overall population, a lower percentage of females attend school, complete school, and can read and write than males. Women also have relatively fewer years of schooling than men. Gender differences in school access continue to exist, particularly for girls in rural communities and indigenous girls in rural and urban communities. Even after girls begin to attend school, they face much stronger social and cultural obstacles than boys in completing their education. The statistical unit of the Ministry of Education disputes some of the interpretations of these educational statistics, but the belief about gender differences in school access, persistence, and experiences was strong enough to convince USAID to include Peru in GEA with the overall support of the Ministry of Education.

### **Creating a National Network for Girls' Education in Peru**

One of the first tasks of the New Horizons project was to organize a delegation to attend an international USAID conference on girls' education in Washington, D.C., in May 1998—a month after the project began in Peru. Twenty-seven leaders from Peru participated in this event—the largest contingent from any country in the world. The delegation included the First Lady of Peru (ex-President Fujimori's daughter), members of Congress; ministry officials, the representative of UNICEF-Peru, and leaders of eminent women's organizations.

This event was instrumental in the future success of New Horizons for two reasons. First, it focused national leaders' attention on girls' education as a national and an international issue. Participants were already aware of different challenges that girls face in the classroom, but they were not aware of the specific problems of school access and persistence that plague indigenous girls throughout Peru as well as non-indigenous girls in rural communities. Second, the conference created an esprit among the participants, who agreed at least implicitly that the New Horizons project would be a legitimate mechanism for championing the issue of girls' access and persistence in primary education, a niche that was previously unfilled in the women's movement in Peru. The conference precipitated immediate personal and organizational commitments; it was there that the group decided to create a national network to work on behalf of girls' education.

The original network comprised 18 leaders and representatives of the public and private sectors, academic institutions, NGOs, and international cooperation agencies. The list included the Office of the First Lady, the Ministry of Education (three members), the Ministry for the Promotion of Women and Human Development, Congress (three members), Peru 2021, USAID/Peru, UNICEF-Peru, La Inmaculada College (secondary school for boys), the Catholic University Faculty of

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<sup>1</sup> World Bank (2000). "World Development Indicators 2000 on CD-ROM." Washington, DC: World Bank.

<sup>2</sup> See Carmen Montero and Teresa Tovar (October, 1999). *Agenda Abierta para la Educación de las Niñas Rurales*. Lima, Peru: Red Nacional de Educación de la Niña.

Education, the National Network for the Promotion of Women, representatives of the press, the Education Forum, the Institute of Peruvian Studies, and CARE-Peru. Between October 1998 and September 1999, the network expanded to include other institutions, namely, the Ministry of Health, the National Confederation of Private Business Institutions (CONFIEP), Radio Programs of Peru, Save the Children (United Kingdom and Canada), and Action Aid/Spain.

Soon after the May conference, participants in the national network began to organize themselves and their activities. Group members decided that their primary mode of interaction would be monthly breakfast meetings, with a small technical committee organizing all the proposals from member organizations to create the monthly agenda. This committee includes CARE-Peru, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry for the Promotion of Women and Human Development, UNICEF-Peru, USAID/Peru, and the Institute for Peruvian Studies. During the breakfasts, the larger group discusses and debates the issues until it reaches general agreement on a position or plan of action. *Ad hoc* committees were also created when necessary to work on specific activities. The Country Coordinator of New Horizons, Ana María Robles, chairs the meetings. Although the project takes responsibility for the administrative tasks of the network, hosting responsibilities for monthly meetings rotate among network members.

Despite the good will and solidarity that conference participants brought back to Peru from the International Girls' Education Conference in Washington, it was not easy for people to become active advocates who were willing to invest personal and organizational resources to support the project. Initially, the network had to overcome some reluctance and mistrust. For example, it was difficult to acquire active support for a national collaboration that expected to bring together stakeholders with different backgrounds, perspectives, and interests who were not used to working with one another. Add some possible consternation about a project that was initiated in another country and dealt with a relatively new topic, but offered no additional money to support the partners in the network, and the ability of the network to develop a consensus agenda through breakfast meetings in less than one year is impressive!

According to Ana María Robles, the network was able to gain people's trust because it created its own identity separate from that of the project. All members were involved in the development of the network's strategic plan, from the initial visioning exercise to the final approval of the plan. Second, partners became heavily invested in the diagnosis of girls' education that was prepared for the First National Conference on Education for Rural Girls. Technical staff from member organizations participated in collecting data, writing, and reviewing the diagnostic report, *Open Agenda for the Education of Rural Girls*, and all partners shared leadership responsibilities and

credit for the document and the conference. Third, New Horizons staff have been careful to acknowledge and incorporate the organizational interests of network partners when developing network activities. This effort includes proposing activities in which partners have expressed interest, delegating responsibilities that match those interests, and giving credit for collaborative efforts.

Fourth, New Horizons staff members say that it was important for them to keep in mind the distinction between organizational and individual support for network activities. On the one hand, it is important to involve energized leaders and technical people in a network and to encourage such people to work on behalf of network goals. On the other hand, it is perhaps more important to develop strong relationships with institutions first. Institutional relationships, which transcend the personal involvement of individual representatives at any given time, are more stable in the long run than individual relationships because individuals tend to move into different job positions and become unavailable to continue their network participation. This is particularly true in countries that have frequent turnover of governmental officials. At the beginning of the New Horizons project, project staff made a concerted effort to encourage the highest-ranking government officials to become active participants in network activities. This strategy became difficult to sustain, however, given the speed with which people change government jobs in Peru. In some instances, people have continued their participation in the national network even after moving into another job, but these relationships are still more difficult to maintain.

Attendance at monthly network meetings has been exceptionally high over the past three years; one participant estimates that more than 90 percent of members are at every meeting. Two constituencies, however, have been difficult to persuade to attend these meetings: business and media representatives. These partners seem to have less flexible work schedules, less patience for ongoing deliberation about issues, more responsiveness to short discussions that require quick decisions and action, and less substantive knowledge about girls' education to contribute to the monthly dialogue. For most participants, education or gender issues are part of their core work activities. This is not the case for business and media partners, for whom these issues may be important but are mostly peripheral to their core work.

For these reasons, the network is thinking about redefining its membership criteria. To become a core member of the network, organizations would have to make certain commitments, such as a commitment to participate in monthly meetings. The goal would still be a multi-sector partnership with a balance among members who represent different perspectives. All others would become "friends" of the network, who would be apprised of network activities and invited to participate in activities on an *ad hoc* basis but who would not be expected to commit themselves to

regular meetings or committee work. Current network participants, including business and media representatives, would be able to choose their network status.

Despite the fact that the New Horizons project is scheduled to end in March 2002, the national network for girls' education has developed a comprehensive operating plan for 2001–2002 and an extensive action plan for 2001–2006. The network has identified three overall objectives for the next five years:

1. A law on educational equality for rural girls will be ratified by the national Congress.
2. Decision makers from the public sector, businesses, and civil society will be better informed about the education of rural girls.
3. Members in the national network will incorporate actions and strategies to improve girls' education in their own organizational structures.

Members of the network have also outlined 12 comprehensive activities that the network plans to take to achieve these results.

In February 2002, members decided that the National Network for the Promotion of Women would assume the technical coordination of Florecer for the next year. As a part of this transition, a new executive secretariat will be created to carry out the activities established by the technical committee. Realizing that the new secretariat will need resources to accomplish Florecer's goals, there has been an agreement among members to establish a minimum donation for future affiliation with the network, as well as an attempt to solicit additional funds from cooperating international agencies. Save the Children has offered to donate \$5,000 to fund the executive secretariat.

### **Facilitating National Activities**

The New Horizons project has identified three sets of activities to improve girls' education in Peru:

1. Identifying the problems associated with girls' education in Peru
2. Increasing awareness about those problems
3. Identifying and implementing appropriate solutions

The national network has been key in helping achieve each goal. This section discusses how the network has identified problems and increased awareness through studies, publications, conferences, and a media campaign; how it has identified and is seeking to implement appropriate solutions vis-à-vis a law on rural girls' education; and how it is working with regional networks and local committees to implement activities to improve girls' access to and persistence in primary school.

## **Investigation and Communication**

Over the past three years, the national network has investigated and communicated the problems associated with girls' education in a variety of ways and to a variety of audiences. Members have drawn on national-level statistics as well as interviews and testimonials to understand the barriers associated with girls' education. Members then communicated that information through conferences, print materials, television, and radio.

### **National Conferences**

National-level conferences and meetings have been important events for gathering and disseminating information about the importance of girls' education and the barriers to access and persistence. The national network has sponsored three major national events over the past three years:

1. First National Conference on the Education of Rural Girls, June 22–23, 1999
2. Second National Conference on the Education of Rural Girls, September 28–29, 2000
3. National Meeting on the Education of Rural Girls, May 3–4, 2001

Conferences and meetings are major undertakings. More than 350 people attended the first and second conferences, including the Minister of Education, the Minister of the Promotion of Women and Human Development, members of Congress, other national and local political leaders, business executives, journalists, civic leaders, university faculty, teachers, parents, and girls from 15 departments in Peru.

Attendees were sponsored in different ways. Those from Lima (more than 100 each year) attended at their own cost. Participants traveling from other parts of the country (approximately 230 each year) were sponsored by their own organizations (primarily NGOs, technical institutes, and universities), which paid for transportation and lodging. If a person's host organization had no budget for conference participation or travel, the participant received a stipend from the New Horizons project or from funds donated by Procter and Gamble, the Canadian Embassy, Save the Children—United Kingdom, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), Action Aid/Spain, the United Nations Population Funds (UNFPA), the German Cooperation (GTZ), and Intervida (a Spanish foundation).

The First and Second National Conferences provided opportunities for participants to hear from leaders, share their own views about problems and solutions, and develop community-level action plans in support of girls' education. Conferences were also opportunities to focus national

attention on the issue of girls' education and to develop strategic alliances between the national network and local advocates. As a result of the First National Conference, for example, local NGOs and public sector entities decided to create regional girls' education networks in the departments of Amazonas, Junín and Huancavelica, and San Martín. At the Second National Conference, the participants proposed that the years 2000–2005 be designated the Quinquennium of Girls' Education in Rural Areas. This proposal reflected recommendations from the same conference and stimulated the national network to begin to pursue the enactment of a law on rural girls' education.

The third event, the National Meeting, was substantially different in form, content, and purpose from the First and Second National Conferences. It was precipitated by the work of a National Board of Educational Inquiry that investigated public opinions about the future of education in Peru. The goal of the Board was to collect information for six months and then draft a report that the National Commission on Education will use to develop a long-term educational plan for the country. The Commission created the Board to give citizens an opportunity to shape long-term national educational policy, an experimental process intended to increase the legitimacy of national policy and the national educational system. To support this effort, the national network collaborated with the Board and volunteered to host the National Meeting as an opportunity to add its voice and advocate on behalf of girls' education. The national network brought together 57 girls from 10 departments for the two-day event. The girls shared their thoughts with the Board about their vision for the future of education in Peru.

The Commission published summary results on September 22, 2001, and expects the comprehensive document to be available in December. Results indicate that a substantial number of people identified girls' education as a priority in four departments across the country: Ayacucho, Piura, Puno, and Iquitos. More Peruvians overall identified equalizing educational opportunities in rural areas as a broader issue of concern, since it is a priority of the new government. This result is fortuitous as well: If rural education becomes a focus of national educational policy, the impact on rural girls' schooling will likely be positive.

Recently, the girls had an opportunity to meet with Gloria Helfer and Paulina Arpasi, Congressional leaders who were just re-elected and are participating in the new government. Congresswoman Arpasi, a leader of the indigenous group Aymara, is recognized for her work with a confederation of rural women and mothers' clubs in the Department of Puno.

## **Publications**

One of the first products produced by the network was a study by two member organizations, the Institute for Peruvian Studies and the Educational Forum, which used national statistics to describe the national educational problems of rural girls and indigenous girls in urban areas. This information was presented to participants at the First National Conference, who then used the information to develop their own recommendations for improving rural girls' education in Peru. The analysis and recommendations were combined into an attractive, glossy, color publication, *Open Agenda for the Education of Rural Girls*, which the network published in October 1999. In August 2000, 2,000 copies of the *Open Agenda* were reprinted for wide distribution.

In September 1999, one network partner, the Educational Forum, organized a national Education for All workshop in which participants presented studies related to girls' education in Peru. At this event, the Titikaka Network from the Department of Puno presented a study titled "Girls in Rural Schools: Formally Educated, Questionably Learned." The authors collected testimonies that demonstrate the exclusion of girls from school. One such testimony came from 12-year-old Juana, who lives in Zona Quechua:

*My two brothers are studying in Puno, one in secondary and the other in a technical institute. Even after my parents sold many of their belongings, there was not enough money for my sister to study. They said that it is dangerous for girls and that she (my sister) must get married and have someone to take care of her. Why is it that men have more time for everything? They can study more, but we, the girls, cannot. Boys learn faster, but girls have better grades.*

At the same event, the Lupuna Association of Iquitos presented a study titled "Education of the Rural, Indigenous Girl in the Amazon Region." This study highlights the fact that the Amazon region has the highest level of exclusion of girls from school. In 1993, national statistics showed that 25 percent of the 6- to 11-year-old population from indigenous communities did not attend school. However, teachers in this area report that on average, half of the girls do not attend school.

The national network produced two other documents, first in draft in preparation for and later based on the subsequent national conferences. The first, *I Want to Take the Floor: Communication and Integration of Girls in the Family, School, and Community* (June 2001), was based on the proceedings of the Second National Conference and was sponsored by CARE-Peru, the Ministry of Education, and Technical Cooperation from the Federal Republic of Germany. It describes problems that rural girls face in communicating with their families, schools, and communities. It then recommends ways to improve communication and ensure a voice for rural girls in national development.

The second document, *Contributions of Floreecer—the National Network for Girls' Education—to the National Board of Educational Inquiry*, is based on the third national conference, the National Meeting on the Education of Rural Girls, with the National Board of Educational Inquiry. The document describes the meeting as well as the thoughts of network members and rural girls from around the country about six long-term educational issues in Peru. Two thousand copies of both of these documents were produced in a glossy, color format for wide distribution. The latter document was sponsored by the New Horizons project and the Office of the First Lady.

The national network has used other kinds of publications as well to share information about girls' education in Peru. For instance, Save the Children/United Kingdom and Action Aid/Spain financed a short video, *Justina*, about the lives of rural girls in Peru. Copies were sent to the project's girls' education liaisons in every department in the country. By the end of September 2001, the network published five color bulletins on girls' education in a series titled "Girls' Voices." These four-page bulletins provide updates about the activities of the national network, regional networks, and local committees as well as the latest developments in advocacy for girls' education in Peru (1,000 copies per issue). The network has also published a color notice on card stock (front and back) about the draft law on the education of rural girls; color posters of the logo from the Second National Conference (1,120 copies); and various color brochures about the project and the purpose of the national network.

### **Media Campaign**

Although conference planning can be a considerable logistical challenge, it is much easier to communicate about the importance of girls' education to a group of 300 conference participants than it is to share the same information with a national populace. Nevertheless, the national network undertook that mass communications challenge with the assistance of an international media-consulting firm, McCann Erickson, which subsequently became a partner in the national network. The initial contact between the New Horizons project and McCann Erickson took place because the international chairman of McCann Erickson is a member of CARE-USA's board of directors. McCann Erickson's intensive involvement in the network's media campaign, however, is also due to the personal interest that McCann Erickson's creative director took in the project, both as a citizen and the father of two girls.

McCann Erickson's contribution to the media campaign was substantial. In total, six staff members worked on the project: the creative director, two graphics specialists, two production staff, and one account services person. They worked closely with a small sub-group from the national

network to develop and implement the network's media approach. The first question was how to make people aware of the national network and its work in support of girls' education. The challenge was that girls' education is one of many important social issues affecting Peru at present. It is difficult for people to focus on individual problems when they are concerned about their own well-being. In addition, the creation of the national network had received some media attention initially, but most newspaper articles were relegated to the social pages rather than the front page. In advertising-speak, the network lacked "brand" recognition. Its name, National Network for Girls' Education, was too long for people to remember, and the word "national" implied that the organization had a direct government affiliation.

In brainstorming sessions, the working group first came up with the name Renacer, meaning "rebirth." This was a play on the Spanish words for "national network" (REd NACional). Unfortunately, another group was already using the name. McCann Erickson conducted focus groups to test people's reaction to various names and logos. The final resolution was to name the network Florecer, meaning "to bloom," and to use as its logo a drawing of a girl reading.

Even with the new name and logo, a risk of limited project visibility and a fear that awareness of the initiative would be limited to intellectuals remained. The network would have to develop a strategy to send a targeted message about girls' education to various audiences over and over again. The advice was to not dilute the message with multiple images. Thus, in March 2000, the national network and McCann Erickson decided to develop radio and television publicity spots.

The media working group again convened to make strategic decisions about audience and message for the television advertising campaign. Participants decided that the message (a) should be about responsibility and the importance of the entire country's taking responsibility for girls' education and (b) should not compare boys with girls. The goal of New Horizons and Florecer was to improve girls' education but not diminish boys' education in the name of equality. The media message would compare girls' education with the education of Peruvians overall to avoid unnecessary backlash. In terms of audience, the working group made a conscientious decision to target more affluent, literate television viewers instead of a more general television audience. The television spots would not be targeted to parents who were dilatory in sending their daughters to school.

These decisions illustrate an important dichotomy in people's interpretation of the problems associated with girls' education in Peru. One perspective is that gender inequities in school enrollments are related to parents' lack of understanding about the benefits of schooling for girls. The solution is therefore to educate parents and communities about the importance of girls' education.

This view underlies many of the activities undertaken by New Horizons and Florecer, including the radio media campaign and some local initiatives in the Ayacucho pilot project.

The television advertising campaign, however, is based on a different set of beliefs. It assumes that the problem of rural girls' under-representation in schools lies not with parents but more broadly with the physical school infrastructure and climate. It assumes that rural parents understand the importance of education for girls, but some choose not to send their daughters to school because problems related to quality and safety outweigh the educational benefits. From this perspective, the goal of a girls' education campaign should be to convince politicians to invest more money in education. When schools improve—by adding separate bathrooms for boys and girls, for example—and when better strategies are in place for ensuring that teachers will not molest girls, rural parents will begin to send their daughters in larger numbers.

The goal of the television campaign was therefore to create a broader, more informed constituency of affluent citizens who would increase the pressure on politicians to invest in girls' schooling. The working group envisioned that the campaign would have different kinds of consequences: the appearance of change in support of girls' education followed by actual change. First, a television campaign would create the impression of a groundswell of national interest in girls' education. After seeing the spots, Ministry officials and members of Congress would have the impression that the issue of girls' education was becoming an important national priority. Second, the campaign would truly make girls' education a priority. People would begin to discuss the issue in homes and public places and demand that the government take action on behalf of rural girls.

McCann Erickson created and financed the production of five television spots. To determine the usefulness of the public service announcements, the national network pretested the spots, using focus groups and a survey. The pretest concluded that three of the five spots would work well, one should be rejected outright, and one might need to be rejected because it was deemed politically controversial. In the end, the network used only the first three spots.

McCann Erickson then used its professional contacts to encourage television stations to air the spots for free or at discounted rates. The company also helped convert the television spots into radio spots, a project that was sponsored by a businesswoman in the radio industry who was a member of Florecer. The first of the three spots—"Do you know how to read?"—was distributed to radio stations in Lima and in the interior of Peru. Major radio stations broadcast it four to six times daily for three weeks. The second and third television spots were also converted to a radio format, distributed to 40 stations, and aired by 11 of them.

Radio Programs of Peru and other local broadcasting stations in the rural areas also provided free air time to run these radio and television spots. The first spot was broadcast 69 times in March 2000 under the National Network's new "brand" name, Florecer. With the support of the manager of Radio Programs of Peru in particular, one spot was sent to 11 radio stations. An Ayacucho-based NGO and member of the national network, the Center for Agricultural Development, translated the radio spot into Quechua, the most widely spoken indigenous language in Peru, and an agreement was signed to disseminate announcements in that language. Ultimately, the announcements were broadcast daily at 6:00 A.M. in rural communities—a time of day when community members often meet to discuss community affairs. As part of the campaign, network participants were interviewed for radio programs and newspaper articles.

In April 2000, the second television spot was recorded, and the national network made an agreement with two channels to broadcast it for free. In May, Austral Televisión and Andina de Radiofusión broadcast the spot. The first channel rebroadcast it 168 times in May, and the other ran the first and second spots 44 times. As of May 19, Cable Channel N also began broadcasting the spots six times a day. In June, Austral Televisión broadcast the third spot five times daily.

Between July and September 2000, the spots gained even more visibility:

- Austral Televisión aired the third television spot five times daily.
- The three spots were aired at the Film Festival for Children and Youth in Lima during the week of July 22–30.
- Radio Stereo Villa broadcast 560 spots from June 27 to July 30, and Radio Marañón in Jaen broadcast 145 from July 3 to July 31—both free of charge.
- Other radio stations that broadcast free spots were Radio Juliaca in Puno, Radio Oriente in Iquitos, Radio Madre de Dios, Radio Sicuani in Cusco, and Radio La Voz de la Selva.
- Major radio stations across the country also discounted the radio spots during the week of Teachers' Day, July 5–7.

One public television station made an hour-long program about girls' education in May 2001. It based the program on the participation of rural girls in the First National Meeting on Girls' Education. The initial airing of the program was such a success that the station broadcast it a second time.

Meanwhile, radio spots were produced in coordination with the National Radio Coordinator (CNR), a Catholic NGO that supports educational programming for rural radio stations. New Horizons paid for the production of the spots, and CNR distributed and aired the spots wherever

possible in Quechua and Spanish. New Horizons sent the spots to radio stations in Ayacucho as well, but the spots were not aired as often as the project had hoped.

Interviews conducted with public and private sector leaders and project participants at the local and national levels indicate that the television and radio campaigns have had mixed success. On the one hand, interviews suggest that some people know about the campaign and think that the media spots are well produced. For example, informal conversations with Lima cab drivers showed that some were familiar with Florecer because they had seen the television spots. According to Congresswoman Gloria Helfer, the spots have also helped her secure support from her colleagues when she introduced the draft Law on Education for Rural Girls in Congress.

However, project staff and the producers of the television spots say that the limited airing of the television and radio spots has made it difficult to create a lasting effect. According to the New Horizons coordinator, Ana María Robles, herself a mass communications specialist, people need to hear the same message at least eight or nine times for it to make a lasting impression. Anecdotal evidence about the radio campaign suggests that it primarily reached informed urban residents and not many other listeners. The limited exposure of the television and radio spots, combined with the political problems in Peru that dominated the news at the time that the spots aired, diminished the likelihood that people would remember the important issue of girls' education or change their behavior to improve educational access, persistence, and quality for rural girls. To be successful, she believes, a mass media campaign requires a more substantial investment than was possible for this project.

## **Advocacy**

Identifying problems associated with girls' education and communicating information about those problems to key constituencies are the first two goals of the New Horizons project. Descriptions of the publications, conferences, and media campaign indicate how important Florecer has been as an organizing and implementing structure to help the project achieve these goals. This national network has been equally important in taking lessons learned as well as the growing support for girls' education throughout Peru and moving the campaign to the next stage: advocating on behalf of national-level solutions.

One recommendation that emerged from the Second National Conference (September 2000) was that Florecer draft a law to support girls' education in rural areas. Florecer conducted a consultation in October to draft the legislation, lobby members of Congress, and disseminate information about the proposed legislation to the media. Florecer's Technical Committee presented a

preliminary version of the proposal to the coordinators of the Second Conference and to the departmental delegations that participated in the event.

The proposed legislation sought to promote and implement educational policies designed to ensure universal enrollment for girls under the age of 18 in quality basic education in conditions of equity within five years. It also resolved to declare 2000–2005 the Quinquennium of Girls' Education in Rural Areas and to prioritize resources to support associated initiatives. It proposed to implement the following measures:

- Develop a program of stimuli and incentives for school teachers in rural areas to encourage them to promote universal enrollment and access for girls to quality education
- Establish school and municipal monitoring committees to guard against sexual harassment and abuse against girls
- Prioritize education spending on rural schools and to increase current expenditures to raise the standard of education in those schools
- Establish a publishing fund for girls in rural areas, with a view to producing specialized literature on such issues as family, sexuality, and gender equity

The proposed legislation intended to achieve these goals through three managerial strategies:

1. By creating a National Council of Girls' Education in Rural Areas composed of senior officials and representatives of the State and civil society, which will promote the adoption of agreements and of medium and long-term policies, as well as quality assessment criteria to evaluate girls' education in rural areas
2. By ensuring the availability of state, private, and international cooperation resources for girls' education in rural areas
3. By organizing, producing, and disseminating information in a timely, systematic, and public manner on enrollment, attendance, continuation, and learning achievements among girls in rural areas

In early December 2000, New Horizons and Florecer held a press conference on the proposed Law for the Promotion of Girls' Education in Rural Areas. Forty-five leading political figures attended the event, as well as parliamentary advisers, experts on the subject, journalists, and representatives of Florecer. Also in attendance were Congresswoman Gloria Helfer; Graciela Fernandez Baca, the adviser and representative of Dr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, the President of the Ministerial Cabinet; Idel Vexler, the Vice Minister for Education Management of the Ministry of Education; and Doris Portocarrero, Head of the Department for the Advancement of Children and Adolescents of the Ministry for the Promotion of Women and Human Development. Project staff produced 500 copies of a letter-sized color page summarizing the proposed Law on the Promotion of

Girls' Education in Rural Areas and distributed the copies during the public presentation to members of Congress and the media.

The event received extensive coverage by the local media—the press, radio, public television networks, and cable channels. The official gazette, *El Peruano*, published a special two-page report on the day of the public announcement of the draft legislation. Journalists from six major radio stations reported live from the Hotel Alcalá; three of them interviewed Congresswoman Gloria Helfer, the prime sponsor of the legislation. Journalists from Channels 5 and 9, national television networks, also reported on the proposed law. The cable network, Channel N, mentioned the draft law in news bulletins on December 15 and 16, and cable channel CCN interviewed Teresa Tovar, co-author of the *Open Agenda*, on December 18. The dailies *Expreso* and *El Comercio* published articles on Saturday, December 16. Further, *El Comercio*'s Sunday supplement, *El Dominical*, contained a lead article about the draft law on December 24.

On December 21, with the ratifying signatures of 13 members of Congress, representing all main political parties, the proposed law on the Promotion of Girls' Education in Rural Areas was introduced in Congress for debate as Bill 1124 under the coordination of Congresswoman Gloria Helfer. Unfortunately, the normal deliberation process and political changes in Peru—the flight of ex-President Fujimori to Japan and the installation of a transition government—made setting a vote on the law impossible before Congress adjourned in June 2001. It was also difficult to achieve the necessary review by the Congressional committees that deal with education and women's issues before Congress completed its business.

It was therefore important to educate new members of Congress about the importance of the legislation when the body reconvened in fall 2001. Congresswoman Helfer expected the process of ratifying the law would take six months after the new Congress convened. It would have to be re-introduced and passed in committee before the bill could be presented for a vote before the entire Congress.

To the surprise and delight of everyone involved in New Horizons and Florecer, however, the bill was passed unanimously by the full body of the Peruvian Congress on October 31, 2001, months earlier than expected. The bill was re-introduced on August 23 under the sponsorship of 37 Members of Congress from multiple parties. It was referred to the Congressional Committee on Education, Science and Technology, which had heard testimony from members of Florecer and viewed videos from rural girls who described the importance of girls' education on October 2. The Committee then debated the merit of proposals that espoused "positive discrimination." Over the next three weeks, New Horizons staff and members of Florecer engaged in an extensive media and educational

campaign to convince the committee members of the importance of the bill, efforts that paid off when the Education Committee approved the bill unanimously on October 23. More lobbying and media focus then ensued before the bill was ratified by the full body one week later. Girls' education advocates were ecstatic about the national support for the legislation, but cautioned that passing the law was just the first step in achieving equity in education for rural girls. Organizations such as New Horizons and networks such as Florecer must also establish rigorous monitoring processes to ensure that the new law is implemented fully.

### **Interaction with Local Networks**

The last area of work for the national network is coordinating with regional networks for girls' education, all of which were created after the First National Conference. Some public and private sector leaders who participated in the event were so stimulated by the discussion about rural girls' education and so inspired by the model of the national network that they decided to create their own regional affiliates. These include networks in the departments of Amazonas, Junín and Huancavelica, and San Martín. Some of the departmental networks include local affiliates of their own, groups of leaders, practitioners, and families that have created networks at the provincial and district levels.<sup>3</sup> Departments that did not decide to create networks still have informal girls' education coordinators who serve as liaisons to New Horizons and Florecer.

New Horizons and Florecer never planned to create local girls' education networks and therefore had not developed a model for interaction among networks. Given limited resources, it was not possible to develop a hierarchical structure in which regional networks could rely on Florecer for guidance and resources. Instead, Florecer decided to link networks through bulletins titled "Girls' Voices," which enabled people to share information about ideas and activities in support of girls' education. The national network has also created its own working group to think more strategically about ways to work better with regional networks and local committees. Finally, the network provides support for members of regional networks to participate in national conferences, as it does for participants from other departments, and has recently hired consultants to help networks design systems to monitor assistance to and quality of girls' education.

Relations among the national network, regional networks, and local committees are fluid. The most intensive interactions take place at national conferences. Local network partners interviewed for this study all appreciated the opportunity to participate in these events, as did rural girls. It is clear that national conferences motivated and inspired people to return and continue to work on behalf of

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<sup>3</sup> Communities constitute the smallest political unit in Peru. Groups of communities form districts, groups of districts form provinces, and groups of provinces form departments.

girls' education. These groups also make an extensive effort to share publications and other kinds of information so that the national network is aware of regional and local activities and insights, and vice versa. An example is the series of provincial meetings that the Ayacucho network held to solicit community recommendations about girls' education for the Second National Conference.

At least one regional network, in the Department of San Martín, has some concern about interaction between the national and regional networks. Despite the fact that the regional network appreciates the national-level support to attend meetings as well as the positive information about network activities in San Martín that the national network includes in its bulletins. Members are somewhat apprehensive about instances in which the national network has tried to set priorities for regional and local activities without much input from the regional networks themselves. The result is that well-intentioned activities are not always consonant with local realities. According to members of the San Martín network, it is difficult for a national body in Lima to monitor girls' education activities around the country.

The San Martín network has worked with its members and local affiliates to design concrete action plans to support girls' education. Members are still very excited about the work and the opportunities to improve girls' education and are working directly with communities through their jobs and personal time. However, a sense of frustration is growing that many of the activities listed in action plans require at least a modicum of resources that are currently out of reach. Participants are somewhat puzzled why New Horizons and Florecer would take a special interest and make a special investment in Andean girls through the Ayacucho network and pilot project and not make a similar commitment to rural girls living in jungle communities.

## **Working at the Regional and Local Levels**

Although New Horizons and Florecer have undertaken an ambitious set of initiatives at the national level in Peru, the project's success will ultimately be measured by the project's ability to improve girls' access and persistence in school at the local level. Data on enrollment and completion rates, are needed to make these kinds of judgments, will be available in Part I of the GEA final report, which is being produced by Juarez and Associates. Instead, this study describes activities that are taking place at the regional and local levels to raise awareness about and ameliorate the structural barriers to girls' education—activities that are as impressive as those taking place at the national level in helping achieve overall project goals. This section describes the activities of the New Horizons pilot project in Ayacucho as well as the regional girls' education networks in the Departments of Ayacucho and San Martín. Descriptions are based on interviews conducted in June and July 2001.

Descriptions of the other three regional networks are absent not because of any deficiency in activities but because of limitations in data collection.

### **Ayacucho Pilot Project: “Warmi Warmakunapa Yachaynin”(The Knowledge of Girls)**

From the very beginning of the New Horizons project, staff realized that to succeed in improving girls’ schooling, the project would have to develop a multilevel strategy. This approach was consistent with the GEA framework, which required countries to strengthen organizations (G/WID IR 2.1), mobilize leaders (G/WID IR 2.3), and broaden community participation (G/WID IR 2.4) in support of girls’ education. The Department of Ayacucho was chosen almost immediately as the project’s regional area of emphasis for a few reasons. First, Ayacucho has a large indigenous population of non-Spanish speakers, a relatively high level of poverty, and substantial disparities between the educational attainment of men and women. According to one recent report:

Fifty percent of women between 15 and 50 are illiterate (compared to 18 percent nationally). In Huanta, the district in which 11 of the project’s pilot schools are located, 86 percent of the population of 63,547 lives in extreme poverty. Chronic malnutrition is a serious problem with children under five at more than double the national average of 13 percent. For more than ten years, the Shining Path was systematically destroying the lives and homes of people. While the environment has been relatively stable for the past eight years, the indigenous population has been left with emotional and physical scars.<sup>4</sup>

The other important factor in deciding to focus on Ayacucho was that CARE-Peru already had a network of offices and project staff throughout the department that could support project activities. New Horizons therefore established a field project office and housed it within the Ayacucho office of CARE-Peru.

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<sup>4</sup> Donahue, Meghan (July 2001). “Trip Report to Peru.” Washington, DC: DevTech.

## *Studies*

Following is a summary of studies conducted under the auspices of Florecer and the New Horizons Project.

### **Situational Analysis**

New Horizons immediately planned for a situational analysis of girls' education in Ayacucho in May 1998, a month after the project began in Lima. The study itself was conducted between October 1998 and January 1999. The results would be used as the basis for a pilot project to improve girls' schooling. The analysis team was led by an anthropologist from the United States and included a regional Ministry of Education official as well as graduate students in anthropology and social work.<sup>5</sup> The group examined the barriers that limit the schooling of girls in rural areas, identified the underlying causes of these barriers, and suggested possible interventions to address these causes.

The study concluded that the problem of girls' education in Ayacucho is related more to retention than to enrollment. Girls enter school later than their male counterparts, and because their responsibilities at home increase with age, fulfilling these responsibilities is at odds with completing primary school. Girls face a particular problem when they start menstruating. They often do not understand their bodies, come to school unprepared, and are teased to the point that they become uncomfortable, thereby increasing the likelihood of dropping out of school. In addition, people believe that it costs more to educate girls than boys: Girls are unable to complete their domestic duties because of their school schedules, and, according to parents, expenses incurred in educating a girl cannot be recuperated. That investment does not produce the same rate of return as does an investment in a boy's education.

Problems in school and the poor quality of education in Ayacucho further temper parents' interest in their daughters' education. Problems include

- institutionalized sexism that distorts teacher-student and student-student relationships;
- the use of corporal punishment that contributes to an "education of silence" among girls; and
- teachers who are not trained in either bilingual and intercultural education or gender issues.

The situational analysis also explored available resources that could be tapped to improve girls' education, including the following:

- Teachers, who are interested in receiving professional development

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<sup>5</sup> Theidon, Kimberly et al. (March 1999). "Situational Analysis of Girls' Education in Ayacucho." Lima, Peru: CARE-Peru.

- Parents, who are willing to donate their time for school projects and to attend meetings
- Other potential change agents (e.g., religious leaders, NGOs and state entities, representatives of mass communication, personnel in health posts, and small merchants), who have expressed a willingness to help improve girls' education
- Girls and young women who have continued their education and are willing to work with younger girls

Approximately 200 people attended the public presentation of findings from the situational analysis on March 3, 1999, including teachers from rural schools, faculty from universities and the pedagogical institute, professionals from NGOs, and members of village mothers' clubs.

### **Rapid Rural Appraisal**

In addition to the situational analysis, the project sponsored a rapid rural appraisal (RRA) to involve communities in an analysis of barriers to girls' education, solutions to barriers, and community roles in planning and implementing actions.<sup>6</sup> The RRA team visited two communities for three days each. Their findings were largely consistent with those in the situational analysis:

- Third-grade girls whose first language was Quechua had difficulty learning in Spanish
- Grade repetition rates among girls were high
- Girls' numeracy skills were somewhat better than their literacy skills
- Excessive teasing and harassment by boys were among the girls' primary concerns
- Classroom instruction was rote and tended to favor boys

### **Baseline Study of Girls' Education in Pilot Communities**

During the spring and summer of 1999, project staff used the results of these studies and worked with a small number of rural communities to begin designing the Ayacucho pilot project, which they named Warmi Warmakunapa Yachaynin (the Knowledge of the Girls). Staff and community members began working on activities such as diversifying the school curriculum.

The project then sponsored a baseline study of girls' education in pilot communities, which was conducted in fall 1999.<sup>7</sup> The results of the study would be used to plan long-term interventions for communities in the districts of Huanta and Tambo. The study included 267 girls who were attending school, 37 girls who were not attending school, 16 teachers, and 280 parents to learn about such issues as school infrastructure,

<sup>6</sup> Miske, Shirley J. (November 1998). "Rapid Rural Appraisal in Peru's GWE Situational Analysis." Arlington, VA: Institute for International Research.

<sup>7</sup> Ramos, Rubén, and Cabrera, Zaila. (January 2000). "Baseline Study of the New Horizons Project for Girls' Education." Lima: CARE-Peru.

school calendars, teaching and learning, discipline, grade repetition, performance, attrition, absence, enrollments, and skills. According to the analysis, the greatest barriers to girls' education include the high incidence of grade repetition, low self-esteem, and discrimination and poor treatment in the classroom.

### ***Pilot Project***

Project staff decided that the demonstration activities in Huanta would emphasize the development of oral and written communication skills in Quechua, the students' mother tongue, as well as in Spanish. In Tambo, the aim would be to help girls improve their self-esteem. On the basis of recommendations from a formative, internal evaluation of the pilot project, conducted in December 2000, the bilingual and intercultural activity (EBI) and the self-esteem activity have now been introduced in all pilot communities. These communities have also developed other educational initiatives: adult literacy programs; parent schools, to teach parents about the importance of girls' education and what they can do at home to improve their girls' education; community education promoters; and girls' education committees, to monitor student and teacher attendance.

### **Bilingual and Intercultural Education (EBI) Demonstration Activity**

In the spring of 2000, a bilingual education expert worked with 11 pilot communities in Huanta to identify the Spanish and Quechua language skills of boys and girls in school. The core activities are professional development workshops for teachers and ongoing technical assistance from project staff. In April, the project sponsored a six-day training course for 15 first- and second-grade teachers from Huanta on the bilingual and intercultural activity (EBI) with a gender focus. All but three teachers could speak Quechua relatively well, but all had difficulties writing in Quechua. In the course, teachers learned how to teach using Quechua as a first language and how to slowly introduce Spanish into the curriculum. In kindergarten, children would receive three hours of instruction in Quechua and one in Spanish. In first and second grades, children would receive three hours in Quechua and two in Spanish.

Teachers also learned that EBI is not meant as a strategy for replacing Spanish words with Quechua words. It is important to teach students to value indigenous culture as well as other cultures. Intercultural competence can best be achieved by helping children evoke their own knowledge when solving new problems and by involving the community as an educational resource (e.g., asking parents to tell legends in class). Activities include working with children to write interactive texts using stories about the communities themselves, as well as teaching about traditional music, dress, and festivals.

The December 2000 evaluation of the EBI activity demonstrated that parents and students have a strong interest in bilingual and intercultural learning. Children are improving their

communication skills in their mother tongue and, to a more gradual extent, in Spanish. Teachers have also improved both their oral and written communication skills in Quechua. Although girls are not the only beneficiaries of the EBI activity, preliminary evaluation results and interviews with parents and community leaders indicate that EBI is having an impact on girls' education: a 10 percent increase in girls' attendance in school. Although progress is being made, teachers know that they have a lot more to learn to ensure the level of quality bilingual and intercultural education that the project is seeking.

There are at least two explanations for the increase in girls' enrollments. First, improving EBI has a profound effect on how parents view the relevance of school for girls. Parents are proud of the fact that their children are becoming literate in Quechua and Spanish and are convinced that their young children are developing better communication skills than would have otherwise been possible.

Second, improving EBI has had an effect on how girls perceive their own education. Given the division of labor in rural communities, boys tend to have more exposure to Spanish than girls do. Boys tend to travel to towns with their fathers to sell their produce, which requires a knowledge of Spanish, whereas girls stay at home and communicate with their mothers, friends, and siblings in their native languages. When classes are taught only in Spanish or the quality of the bilingual curriculum is poor, girls tend to feel more insecure and bored than boys. A high-quality bilingual and intercultural approach to early primary education, therefore, changes this dynamic and motivates girls to continue their schooling.

In terms of next steps, the evaluation concluded that teachers would need more training to develop methods and systematize their efforts to include in their curriculum texts that are designed by pupils and parents. On the basis of these recommendations, the pilot project hired an EBI specialist to begin working more closely with pilot communities. Unfortunately, this technical assistance was not sufficient to assist teachers with more fundamental issues, such as increasing basic competencies and planning better lessons. Project staff therefore decided to make the technical assistance process more efficient. They designated 1 of the 11 schools as a "model" school, 5 as "priority" schools, and 5 as regular schools.

The EBI specialist is now based at the model school. She lives in the community, works with the regular teachers in the school, and provides Quechua courses to teachers. She is also responsible for developing a model of EBI education instruction and for sharing this model with two other project staff members who accompany her to the other schools. These staff members share the lessons learned in the model school with other teachers in the priority and regular schools through four-hour "learning exchange" meetings that take place once a month in each of three school

networks, one in Huanta and two in Tambo. The agendas for these meetings are established by participants and often include demonstrations. Project staff then provide feedback from the learning exchanges to the EBI specialist at the model school. These two staff members also visit priority schools weekly and regular schools monthly.

According to staff, the EBI demonstration activity is different from the Ministry of Education's general approach to bilingual education in a variety of ways. It includes more extensive professional development and classroom follow-up; it includes more participation by community leaders; the method focuses on reading prose from the very beginning instead of starting with syllables and words; and the transition from Quechua to Spanish is more gradual. In the general bilingual curriculum, students first learn subject content in Quechua, and then they learn the same material again, but in Spanish. In the demonstration activity, no such "translation" takes place. Different themes are addressed in the different languages according to student and community needs. The goal is to make the curriculum more relevant and language more fluid.

### **Self-Esteem Demonstration Activity**

The many Ayacucho analyses consistently identified low self-esteem as an important factor leading to high dropout and low retention rates among rural girls. Girls feel timid, insecure, and less important than boys. This trend has several explanations.

A first factor is the violence and fear that the terrorist group, the Shining Path, wrought on communities during the 1980s and early 1990s. These experiences had a tremendous impact on community life. It made people fear the unknown and mistrust others. It also stifled people's desire to express themselves in public forums. Parents have passed these values to their children, a trend that some people believe has affected girls more adversely than boys.

In addition, gender discrimination has an adverse impact on girls' self-esteem. Rural girls often enter school at an older age and are often teased by the younger boys in their class. That insecurity can increase if girls are more limited than boys in their bilingual abilities and the class is being conducted in Spanish. This discrimination is rooted in a more general "machismo" that often belittles the importance of girls and women in homes, schools, and communities. In many schools, girls are used to hearing from teachers that they cannot learn as easily as boys can—as if learning were inherently a gender-biased activity.

These are some of the reasons that the regional girls' education project office launched the self-esteem activity in Tambo, a district where girls' self-esteem was particularly low. In step with the timing of the EBI activity, a psychologist with experience in gender issues worked with nine pilot

communities in spring 2000 to plan specific interventions. Like EBI, the self-esteem activity has professional development workshops for teachers and ongoing technical assistance from project staff as its core activities. Between April and November 2000, 34 primary school teachers participated in three 3-day workshops and received on-site technical assistance about building self-esteem. The workshops were based on a manual that included various self-esteem modules for children of different ages: 5–8, 9–11, and 12 years and older. Follow-up included weekly visits to pilot communities by project staff, as well as regular interaction with regional New Horizons staff in the regional Ayacucho project office.

After returning to their communities, teachers volunteered to teach the self-esteem modules to boys and girls after school. Workshops were divided by age and not by grade because girls tend to start school later and may be older than the boys in their class. Boys were encouraged to participate in the workshops as well, because they play an important role in helping improve girls' self-esteem. Teachers led a workshop each week for children in one age group so that everyone could participate once a month.

Results from the December 2000 evaluation indicate that the self-esteem activity has also demonstrated progress. Early accomplishments include changes in boys' and girls' attitudes about themselves from timid and submissive to expressive and dynamic. Workshops have also increased the community's awareness about equal gender rights as well as teachers' awareness about the importance of girls' education and their ability to deal with gender diversity.

Teachers contend that participation in the self-esteem activity has also helped them change their instructional practices as well as relations within their own families. The process has been slow, however, because it has been difficult to change such habits as corporal punishment. Teachers also say that the self-esteem workshops have made it easier for girls to express themselves in class and to communicate directly with the teacher. This increased level of communication has in turn motivated teachers to pay more attention to girls in class and to work with girls on personal and social issues, such as the human body, about which they were previously uncomfortable. Teachers, however, were wary of the additional time commitment to the self-esteem activity. They are not compensated for participating in professional development workshops or after-school instruction.

Another issue is the way the two-hour monthly workshops interfere with the household chores that children normally carry out after school. Convincing parents about the value of the self-esteem workshops has been difficult because the concepts are so foreign to them. Parents like the fact that children now quarrel less and play better together and that they enjoy better relationships with their children, but project staff must work hard to continue the momentum of activities. In recent

interviews, parents and community leaders still think of self-esteem as being related to “non-violence” and “respect for others.” There appears to be no clear Quechua translation of self-worth or the value of the individual, though value to the family and community is a clear concept. Nevertheless, the evidence discussed above indicates that community awareness about equal gender rights has increased.

### ***Other Community Efforts to Support Girls’ Education***

The intensive work between pilot communities and project staff has led to additional collaborative efforts that directly or indirectly support girls’ education: local girls’ education committees (CALENs), adult literacy workshops, community education promoters, and parent schools. Although CALENs were created early in the history of the pilot project, in October 1999, the other three activities were started more recently—January 2001 for the adult literacy workshops, June 2001 for the promoters, and August 2001 for the parent schools.

### **Girls’ Education Committees (CALENs)**

Early in the development of the pilot project, the New Horizons project and the girls’ education network of Ayacucho conceived the idea of forming girls’ education committees as a community-based mechanism for monitoring girls’ school attendance, monitoring teacher attendance, and educating parents and communities about the importance of girls’ education. These committees are elected by their communities and are responsible for going to the community’s primary school each day to record student and teacher attendance.

The girls’ education project has provided technical assistance workshops to train committees in their responsibilities. If a student is absent for more than a few days, the committee members visit the family to ask why. If the reason for a student’s absence is the parents’ reluctance to send the child to school, the committee members try to convince the parents about the value of schooling.

The committee plays a similar role in monitoring teacher absences. If members notice a pattern of teacher absences, they are obliged to inform provincial officials, who then are responsible for taking punitive action. In some communities, committees also report on school attendance at regular community meetings, many of which take place daily before people venture out to the fields. Community leaders contend that this system of public reporting and accountability has had a substantial effect on girls’ enrollment rates. Some communities even say that all their school-age children now attend primary school.

This accountability system has also had a remarkable effect on community-level empowerment. Previously, teachers were held in the highest esteem. As people with relatively high

education from the larger towns, they are often considered mothers or fathers of the community. Communities would never think to question a teacher's decisions or expert opinions. The CALEN system, however, gives communities an easy oversight mechanism to ensure that teachers are arriving for work. Last year, provincial officials in Huanta removed from a pilot community school one teacher who did not attend regularly.

There is one caution, however, about the need to keep a balance in such a monitoring system. Anecdotally, one story is told about a community that had perhaps gone too far in its oversight responsibilities by intimidating the community's teacher if he gave students bad grades. This is obviously not the intent of the CALEN activity.

### **Adult Literacy**

One finding from the December 2000 evaluation was that communities were eager to begin the adult literacy workshops that were discussed in the initial community conversations about the pilot project. From the perspective of parents and community members, literacy workshops were a way to learn how to read, write, and perform mathematics calculations. They perceived these skills as being very important to their abilities to vote in elections, which now requires a signature; defend themselves or others in court; sign contracts; and read signs when they travel.

From the perspective of the girls' education project staff, these workshops are an important strategy for sensitizing parents about the importance of girls' education. First, workshops may counteract the negative sentiments of parents who have spent their entire lives working in the fields and who sometimes do not understand why it is important for children, particularly girls, to attend school. As the parents themselves attend school, they begin to understand why sending children to school is such an important investment.

Second, exposure to school reduces parents' fears and discomfort about education. Interviews indicate that parents who did not attend school themselves often feel uncomfortable when their children begin to learn more than the parents know; parents also feel frustrated and insecure when they are not able to help their children with homework assignments. The opportunity to attend school can ameliorate some of those concerns and make education a shared experience—which can even lead to improving parents' own self-esteem.

Third, evidence suggests that women tend to enroll in adult literacy courses more often than men. Interviews with a small number of community leaders indicate that this is also the pattern in the Ayacucho adult literacy activity. In one community, 17 of the 25 students were women; in another, 28 of the 35 students were women. Thus, adult literacy courses have the added benefit of increasing

overall female literacy in communities—another counterargument to the earlier described belief that women are not capable of studying.

The adult literacy model used in pilot communities is based on a successful model used in Honduras. Project staff train instructors in the curriculum and supply basic materials, such as chalkboards, and the instructors meet with groups of adult students one or two times a week. Although it is too early to quantify the results of this activity, communities seem to be very pleased to have the opportunity to hold literacy workshops.

The last two community demonstration activities are even more difficult to evaluate because they are so new. The first is the creation of “community education promoters,” an activity that began in June 2001. The idea was inspired by the system of community health promoters in rural communities, which has existed for some time. Education promoters, who are elected by their communities, are responsible for advising people about local educational issues. They also serve as ombudspople to mediate if a problem arises between families and schools or between schools and provincial education officials. Although community education promoters have no formal jurisdiction over girls’ education, they can serve as advisors to CALENs or to adult literacy instructors. In reality, community education promoters are often the same people who run the CALENs in a community.

The last piece of the pilot-project puzzle is the “parent school,” a forum for parents to learn strategies for improving educational opportunities for their children. Save the Children/Canada, an active organizational member of the Ayacucho Girls’ Education Network, is facilitating the activity, which began in August 2001. Parent schools have existed in urban areas for years, but Save the Children and the Ayacucho Girls’ Education Network are working hard to modify the model to ensure that it is culturally relevant for parents in Andean communities.

### **Network for the Education of Rural Girls in Ayacucho**

The Network for the Education of Rural Girls in Ayacucho (hereafter referred to as the Ayacucho network) began in September 1999, at about the same time as the other regional girls’ education networks in Peru. The goal of the network is similar to that of its counterparts: to mobilize communities to improve girls’ access to and persistence in primary school. This network is different, however, in that its administration is financed by the New Horizons project. And similar to the national network, the Ayacucho network had the advantage of access to the offices, resources, and technical expertise of CARE-Peru to facilitate its work.

The original Ayacucho network comprised 25 NGOs and public sector organizations: Puericultorio Andrés Vivanco Amorin; Manuela Ramos Movement; Federation of Mothers’ Clubs of

the Department of Ayacucho; School for the Professional Development of Social Services of the UNSCH; Civic Associations of WAWACUNAMANTAQ, CEPRODEP, CHIRAPAQ, TAREA, and IPAZ; Institute for the Study of Andean Development; Group of Work PASMI; Save the Children/Canada; UNICEF; Regional Board of Work for Displaced People in Ayacucho; Teaching Institute of Our Lady of Lourdes; Regional Office of Health in Ayacucho; People's Defense, Ayacucho; Provincial Government of Huamanga; Association of Peruvian Reconciliation; National Institute of Statistics and Information, Ayacucho; Radio Huanta 2000; Transitional Committee of Regional Administration of Ayacucho; Ministry for the Promotion of Women and Development, Ayacucho; Coordinator of Work for the Women of Ayacucho; CARE-Peru; and the Regional Office of Education of Ayacucho.

Over time, the network has grown to be 35 organizations strong. Newer members are the Center for Agricultural Development; Regional Academy of the Quechua Language; Planning Committee for Action for Infants and Adolescents; CEP María Auxiliadora; Committee for Development and Communities; Network of Adolescent Leaders; Coordinator of Work for the Rights of Children in Ayacucho; Dominican Mother Missionaries of Rosario; TADEPA; and ODEC. Some of these organizations mirror counterparts that participate in Florecer, the national network, but most do not.¶

Many of these organizations began working together prior to the creation of the Ayacucho network. Beginning in the mid 1990s, various NGOs in Ayacucho had organized a consortium to develop a strategic plan for children and adolescents in the Department, but no action was taken on the group's recommendations. In 1999, CARE-Peru introduced NGOs and public sector organizations to the New Horizons project. At subsequent meetings, discussions became more concrete, and the members of the former children and adolescent consortium agreed to join with CARE to focus their group's agenda on rural girls' education.

In September 1999, the Network for the Education of Rural Girls in Ayacucho formed with the support of New Horizons. The group began to meet monthly and, with the assistance of a chairperson (represented by Save the Children/Canada) and a steering committee, developed an annual operating plan. The steering committee also cataloged all the work that individual members were contributing to rural girls' education in the department to find opportunities for collaboration and mutual support. Similar to Florecer, the Ayacucho network has maintained a strong, active group of participants who are committed to girls' education and the process of inter-organizational collaboration. Approximately 18 to 20 organizations regularly attend monthly network meetings.

Selected interviews with network participants provided some clues to the network's success. First, organizations are motivated by the theme of girls' education. No one disputes the widespread problems in the department that are associated with girls' access to quality education, and organizations have made commitments to improve the situation. Second, the network has been run efficiently. Monthly meetings are short and to the point, and members can see the consequences of their work in concrete actions taken on behalf of girls' education. Third, CARE-Peru brings substantial organizational credibility to the initiative. It has been working in Peru and Ayacucho for many years and has a solid reputation for good work and long-term commitments.

To date, the network has coordinated a variety of department-level activities. Examples include the following:

- Undertaking a publicity campaign to inform rural parents about the importance of timely enrollment as well as a general sensitizing campaign about the importance of rural girls' education
- Developing a comprehensive model for improving rural girls' education that includes working with parents, teachers, and bilingual and intercultural educators
- Encouraging the activities of community-level networks for girls' education
- Organizing provincial meetings to learn about the problems associated with rural girls' education—information that was used to inform the discussion at the Second National Conference and the subsequent draft Law for the Promotion of Rural Girls' Education
- Developing a five-year strategic plan for girls' education in the department in collaboration with regional Ministry of Education officials

One of the most complex network activities was orchestrating provincial and departmental dialogues on rural girls' education. In spring 2000, the network convened five provincial meetings to discuss problems associated with girls' education and recommend solutions to ameliorate the greatest barriers. The dialogues were organized around the five national objectives for girls' education that were outlined in the *Open Agenda for the Education of Rural Girls*:

- Ensuring that boys and girls have access to school
- Ensuring that girls have the time and proper conditions to study
- Focusing attention on the problems associated with puberty and girls' education
- Creating effective learning opportunities
- Making schools more friendly for girls

The network mobilized more than 500 leaders from parents' associations and mothers' clubs, public sector officials, NGO professionals, school teachers, and boys and girls from rural communities to share their ideas about ways to improve girls' education. The activity culminated in a large departmental meeting, the First Dialogue on Rural Girls' Education in Ayacucho, which was held on July 12 and 13, 2000.

In August and September 2000, project staff and network participants summarized the ideas and recommendations that emerged from the provincial and departmental meetings in a document titled *First Discussion and Exchange of Experiences on Girls' Education in Rural Areas of Ayacucho*. They distributed the information to the overall network as well as to teachers, girls and boys, and parents in rural communities that host girls' education pilot projects. In September, the network also sent the document with delegates to the Second National Conference on Girls' Education, where it was distributed and used in discussions about national proposals for rural girls' education. Many of the recommendations were then incorporated into the draft Law for the Promotion of Rural Girls' Education.

Another substantial network undertaking was its work with regional Ministry of Education officials to develop a five-year strategic plan for girls' education in Ayacucho. In collaboration with New Horizons staff, the network convened a series of planning meetings in the winter of 2000–2001 (summer in Peru). Seventeen partners attended the first meeting in November, at which the network discussed the action steps which had developed two months earlier at the Second National Conference on Girls' Education in Rural Areas. Each participant was given specific responsibilities for developing individual parts of the plan. Later, the group invited three new organizations to join the committee that was supervising the design of the strategic plan and to raise funds for financing this activity. The group also proposed that strategic workshops for designing the plan continue during the last week in January and the first week in February 2001. The final plan includes the implementation of the Equity in the Classroom (EIC) project and a pilot project on Education and Work, Girls' Education, Democracy, and Citizenship and Competitiveness in 10 peri-urban primary and secondary schools as well as in 10 rural schools in the provinces of Huanta and Huamanga.

Finally, it is important to describe the role that the Ayacucho network has played in supporting community-level networks to improve girls' education. Many of the organizations that participate in the Ayacucho network have developed relationships with local communities that are based on their own work that is not affiliated with network efforts. These independent relationships continue and in many cases are strengthened by the coordinated services and activities provided

through the network. The network has also served as a liaison as its members seek to develop new relationships with local communities and vice versa.

The following are some of the ways that community-level networks have supported girls' education:

- The support committee for girls' education in the community of Qarhuapampa promoted a registration campaign that encouraged dropouts to return to school. Registration at the multi-community educational center rose from 309 to 350 students in 2000.
- Educational networks in the communities of Carhuahurán and Cercán built schools to improve educational access for both girls and boys.
- Girls' education support committees throughout the district of Tambo coordinated an advertising campaign for the self-esteem workshops.

### **San Martín Network**

The Network for the Education of Rural Girls of San Martín (hereafter referred to as the San Martín network) is one of the three regional girls' education networks in Peru that were created after the First National Conference in June 1999. It is self-initiated and, except for some funding provided by New Horizons to send network participants to national conferences, self-funded. Like its counterparts in the Departments of Amazonas, Ayacucho, Junín, and Huancavelica, the San Martín network envisions itself as a regional body to coordinate activities and support local communities in their efforts to improve girls' education.

The San Martín network consists of representatives from the public health and education sectors, municipal governments, NGOs, community women's clubs, and teachers. The network is administered by the Association of Municipal Governments of the Department of San Martín (AMRESAM) and is chaired by AMRESAM's executive secretary. Much of the work of the network is undertaken by a steering committee. The network meets monthly in AMRESAM's office, bringing together representatives from villages as far as two hours away by car. CARE-Peru has paid for the costs to send local delegates to national conferences, but AMRESAM pays for the local transport to monthly network meetings.

Among the network's initial activities was performing an analysis of the education situation of rural girls in selected communities with the support of local governments and municipal personnel. It conducted a study similar to the baseline analysis of girls' education in Ayacucho, surveying parents, teachers, and girls to determine the educational condition of girls in the communities of La Unión and Bello Horizonte in the district of Banda de Shilcayo. Fifteen municipal civil servants

received special training to administer the survey; their primary finding was that girls were often absent from school because they were taking care of their younger siblings.

The San Martín network also undertook a project to ensure that new or remodeled schools included separate and well-maintained bathrooms for boys and girls. In addition, the network has sponsored sensitizing campaigns to educate communities about the importance of girls' education. Dissemination of information has been relatively easy and effective given AMRESAM's strong relationships with municipal governments throughout the department; many communities have agreed to include rural girls' education as priorities in their annual plans. In June 2001, the network also worked with the New Horizons project to organize a workshop on how to monitor girls' school attendance.

The San Martín network has worked closely with province-, district-, and community-level networks to develop local action plans to support girls' education. Local networks have been established in the province of Picota, the district of La Banda de Shilcayo (province of San Martín), the community of Buenos Aires (province of Picota), the community of San Antonio (province of San Martín), and the communities of Bello Horizonte and La Unión (district of La Banda de Shilcayo, province of San Martín). Each local committee has a teacher coordinator who works with parents to design local action plans. The local action plans together then form the departmental plan.

The network is also planning a series of events over the next few months in support of girls' education and education generally. Examples include the following:

- Workshops to help teachers use class time more effectively
- Community-level "Cultural Saturdays," in which children will have opportunities to learn about and celebrate rural culture
- Technical assistance to help girls become more active and expressive in the classroom

Network participants are very proud of their accomplishments over the past two years. Everyone interviewed was clearly interested in improving girls' education as well as educational opportunities for all rural children. As in the Ayacucho network, the great strengths of the San Martín network are its participants and the organizations they represent. Together, people from the public sector and NGO communities have been able to pool and focus their collective resources on troubling educational inequities. Representatives, however, are quick to note how much more they could accomplish if additional resources were made available to support their local and departmental action plans.

## **Analysis of Systemic Changes in Girls' Education in Peru**

The purpose of the Girls and Women's Education Activity is to support countries in their efforts to improve educational opportunities for girls at the primary school level. This often requires changes in policies at the national, regional, and local levels as well as in the infrastructure to implement those policies and change practices. In the case of the New Horizons project, the specific goals of the policy change process are *to improve girls' access to and completion of primary school as well as the school environment for girls, particularly for indigenous girls and girls in rural areas*. This section of the study uses MSI's CFAC to analyze GEA's accomplishments in stimulating organizational and socio-political change in Peru. These have been organized according to the six tasks in CFAC.

### **The Legitimization of Policies and Practices in Support of Girls' Education (Task 1)**

The first task in the CFAC, legitimization, is the process by which people and organizations that are in positions to commit economic and political capital in support of a policy idea declare publicly that the policy objective is important to pursue. It is the first step in the systemic change process and an absolute prerequisite for building larger constituencies and accumulating resources in support of change. There are two criteria for measuring legitimization. The first is the mobilization of key stakeholders who are willing to champion the project and grant the policy idea a basic level of credibility in the political arena. The second is the absence, or at least the near absence, of key stakeholders who actively oppose the policy idea.

In the case of New Horizons, two objectives needed to be legitimized for the project to be successful. First, the project needed to legitimize the overall policy change goals. Second, New Horizons needed to legitimize itself as a facilitator in the policy change process. This is not to suggest that New Horizons sought to be the central agent of change for girls' education in Peru. The basic assumption of the GEA project is that country offices play more of a catalyzing than controlling role in the change process.

To succeed in improving girls' education in Peru, New Horizons needed to legitimize its two objectives to educational stakeholders at the national, regional, and local levels. It would not be enough to change national-level policies if there was no interest in improving girls' education at the departmental or community level. According to recent interviews, it is much easier to pass a new law than to implement an existing law in Peru. Given the limitations of the national government to fund

and monitor social programs, the successful *implementation* of national policies is based on the interest of regional officials and local communities.

The reverse is also true. New Horizons would not be successful in improving girls' education in Peru if it had focused its activities on local communities to the exclusion of national constituencies. Peru has thousands of small towns and villages. Working with a small number of communities might improve educational opportunities for a few hundred girls, but improvements could not be sustainable or replicable without the active support of regional- or national-level stakeholders.

The key stakeholders on the issue of girls' education vary at different levels in Peru:

- National level
  - National government
    - ◆ Ministry of Education
    - ◆ Ministry for the Promotion of Women and Development
    - ◆ Members of Congress
  - Bilateral and multilateral agencies
    - ◆ USAID
    - ◆ UNICEF
  - Educational advocates and women's advocates in the NGO community
- Regional level
  - Departmental and provincial governments
    - ◆ Ministry of Education
    - ◆ Ministry for the Promotion of Women and Development
    - ◆ Political leaders (e.g., mayors)
  - Educational advocates and women's advocates in the NGO community
- Local level: Community government representatives

Without at least tacit acceptance of the girls' education policy objectives and the emergence of at least some policy champions from these groups, mounting a successful girls' education campaign in Peru would have been difficult.

Recent interviews suggest that New Horizons has been successful in legitimizing its policy objectives among these educational stakeholders in Peru. From almost the beginning of the project, staff were able to acquire the support of national-level stakeholders. The endorsement of regional and local leaders followed as the project began to work directly in the Department of Ayacucho and indirectly with regional networks and girls' education coordinators across the country. Representatives from all of these organizations not only have given their implicit approval in support

of girls' education policies and the New Horizons project, but also have actively participated in other dimensions of the change process.

Girls' education and the New Horizons project have acquired such active support among key educational stakeholders in Peru for a number of reasons. First is the idea of girls' education itself. The topic resonates with people, it is easy to understand, and it is difficult to oppose. The limited criticism about girls' education is that a special focus on girls could be divisive and detract from the importance of boys' education. The project and girls' education networks have learned from this criticism and always talk about girls' education in the context of education for all and never as a replacement for boys' education. They argue that an emphasis on girls' education is consistent with the Education for All agenda. For example, the purpose of Education for All is to target the most vulnerable populations, and girls certainly meet that criterion in many countries, including Peru. In addition, as the New Horizons project has demonstrated, activities that focus on girls' education generally improve education for boys as well.

Second, rural girls' education is a subject that had never been fully explored in the educational or women's movements in Peru. New Horizons, Florecer, and local girls' education networks therefore had no competition in their work. The Ministry for the Promotion of Women and Development, NGOs that study women's issues, and the National Network for the Promotion of Women were pleased to work with a project that had such a direct focus. In addition, the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 and the USAID conference on girls' education in Washington, D.C., in 1998 focused the attention of public and private sector leaders in Peru on the issue of girls' education and their collaborative work at the USAID conference generated enough momentum to sustain the start-up phase of the national network.

Third is the credibility of CARE, the contractor that supports the New Horizons project in Peru. CARE has been working in Peru for 30 years and has established an excellent reputation for its work in development. The combination of funds from USAID and administrative support from CARE gave the New Horizons project an automatic credibility. In addition to contributing its reputation, CARE was able to facilitate the legitimization of New Horizons and girls' education at their early stages of development with the support of its local offices and staff. Regional project staff in Ayacucho, for example, were immediately able to establish contact with departmental and provincial Ministry of Education staff to collaborate on the situational analysis and strategic education plans. In addition, local CARE staff in the districts of Huanta and Tambo were able to make initial contact with community representatives to establish support for the pilot project in those villages. It was relatively easy to convince a person to take the time to learn more about an issue such

as girls' education when the project liaison was someone who was already familiar to the community. Reputation and personal connections are particularly important when trying to legitimize a project at the national, regional, and local levels in a short period of time.

### **Building a Lasting Girls' Education Constituency (Task 2)**

Legitimization does not occur at a single point in time. It is relatively easy for individuals and organizations to express solidarity for a cause but more difficult for them to become active advocates who are willing to invest personal and organizational resources in support of a project or a policy. New Horizons and the girls' education networks developed a variety of strategies to build active constituencies in favor of girls' education in Peru.

The first step was to create networks and to secure the support of organizations and people involved in those networks. This goal was accomplished through regular, ongoing, monthly meetings in which participants had, and continue to have, an opportunity to interact, share ideas, and assume responsibility for specific actions. The second step was to broaden the constituency base by disseminating publications and organizing national and regional meetings on girls' education. The final step was to extend the message about the importance of girls' education to more general and disparate constituencies through a media campaign and the Ayacucho pilot project.

### *Girls' Education Networks*

The creation of issue-based networks has become an international phenomenon in recent years and is quite popular in Peru. Networks facilitate the flow of information about an issue among stakeholders and create louder voices when advocating on behalf of that issue than individual organizations can—particularly when confronted with repressive governments. They can be a good mechanism for pooling resources and presenting a unified message when soliciting funds from the government or national or international donors. It is difficult, however, to sustain the momentum of network activities over time, and most networks in Peru have short lives. The fact that Florecer and regional girls' education networks have built loyal, active constituencies on behalf of girls' education that plan to continue their collaboration after the end of the New Horizons project is a noteworthy accomplishment.

According to New Horizons staff and network participants, the process of developing consensus agendas through monthly meetings has been an energizing and validating process. It has been an important way for network members to take ownership for moving the agenda of girls' education forward in Peru. The challenge for all the networks has been how to be responsive to different organizational interests and sector-specific approaches to collaboration.

The public sector, for example, is one of the most important partners in national networks, regional networks, and local committees. In many instances, government laws, policies, and practices are the focus of the systemic change process. However, the public sector often speaks with multiple voices. At the national level, for example, a variety of public sector representatives participate in network activities, including representatives from the Ministry of Education, the Ministry for the Promotion of Women and Development, the Ministry of the Presidency, the Ministry of Health, and the Office of the First Lady. The network even includes multiple representatives from the Ministry of Education. Given that each agency and sub-agency office has its own priorities for improving girls' education, acquiring a single government position on the issue can often be a challenge.

Public sector partners can also be slow to react to network recommendations or to support network actions. Even though many of the public sector participants in the national and regional networks are high-ranking officials, they still have limited power to speak on behalf of their agencies. They must often take proposals back to their offices for review, a process that can take time and negotiation with network facilitators.

Network participants also note that two types of public sector representatives participate in network activities: political representatives and technical representatives. Each brings a different set

of resources. Political representatives, for example, bring the authority of their agencies. These people are often able to speak on behalf of their agencies and provide important political analyses about the feasibility of network recommendations or the best approaches to network actions. However, even political representatives who are highly invested in the subject of girls' education have limited time to spend in monthly meetings and committee work. In contrast, technical representatives often do not bring the political clout of their agencies, but they tend to have more time and expertise to engage in the substance of network activities. The best scenario is for public sector agencies to have both technical and political representatives involved in girls' education networks to complement each other and maximize agency involvement in network activities.

Bilateral and multilateral organizations such as USAID and UNICEF also play an important role in Florecer and the regional girls' education networks in Peru. These organizations provide not only financial resources to support girls' education initiatives but also numerous other resources. Examples include broad perspectives about the role of issues such as girls' education in the context of other development activities in Peru, technical expertise in development issues, access to potential advocates for girls' education who might not otherwise be involved in network activities, and credibility about the importance of girls' education. USAID is the sponsor of the New Horizons project, UNICEF administers most of the activities in the Ayacucho pilot project, and both organizations participate in Florecer's technical steering committee and have been instrumental to the success of network efforts.

NGOs and research organizations constitute the other important constituents in national and regional network activities. Examples at the national level include CARE/Peru, Save the Children/United Kingdom, the National Network for the Promotion of Women, and the Institute for Peruvian Studies. These organizations bring experience, research skills, and substantive expertise to the discussions about girls' education. NGOs and research organizations have been particularly important in the development of network publications and action agendas.

National and regional networks also include representatives from businesses and the media, but, as described previously, it is more difficult to engage these participants in ongoing network meetings. The current plan is to develop more specialized ways for these types of representatives to become involved in network activities. This strategy would shift the focus away from activities for which these participants have little time or substantive contributions and into targeted activities that can make the most of people's expertise and interests. Interested businesses and media participants would still be welcome to continue participating in regular meetings, but they would be able to make the choice.

One set of stakeholders that has perhaps been underused at the national and regional levels is the religious sector. The Catholic Church in Peru as well as evangelical groups could make numerous contributions to network activities. Religious organizations, for example, have long histories of work in social services. Networks could use this insight in developing their own activities. Networks could also use the vast local infrastructure of religious officials, social workers, and missionaries throughout Peru to disseminate information about the importance of girls' education. Religious leaders could also serve as liaisons for local projects to support girls' education. Work sponsored by or facilitated through religious organizations could add credibility to efforts to convince people to support girls' education. Florecer does have some linkages to the religious community. One of its members is a Catholic priest who is the headmaster at a boy's preparatory school, and it has involved religious advocacy organizations such as Fe y Alegría in national conferences. Given an extensive agenda and limited resources, however, Florecer has not made outreach to the religious community a central priority.

Local girls' education committees are structured somewhat differently than are the national or regional networks. Teachers, school administrators, local government officials, and parents tend to be the primary participants in local activities. These interactions are particularly important because these are the people who can have the greatest impact on improving girls' education.

### *Expanding the Base of Girls' Education Advocates*

National networks, regional networks, and local committees have been excellent mechanisms for building core constituencies in support of girls' education in Peru, but they also have limitations. At some point, a large, active network becomes unwieldy and difficult to manage. A network may also lose some of its clout and the interest of educational stakeholders who are in the best positions to effect systemic changes on behalf of girls' education. Time and geographical constraints also make it impractical for all potential advocates to become involved in network activities.

To institutionalize improvements for girls' education, however, networks need to consider other ways to involve broader groups of advocates for girls' education in the change process. Florecer and the regional girls' education networks have achieved this goal by disseminating publications, organizing national and regional conferences, and encouraging personal communications among network participants and project staff.

Florecer and regional networks used publications such as *Open Agenda for the Education of Rural Girls*, *I Want to Take the Floor*, *Contributions of Florecer to the Board of Educational Inquiry*, and *First Discussion and Exchange of Experiences on Girls' Education in Rural Areas of Ayacucho*

as resources to educate people about the problems associated with girls' education in Peru. Reports were disseminated strategically to members of Congress, government officials, and participants at national and regional conferences.

Conferences then became an opportunity to bring together girls' education advocates and potential advocates to reflect on the problems associated with girls' education, develop a large-scale group consensus on recommendations to ameliorate those problems, and assign people responsibilities to act on behalf of girls' education in their own communities. Conferences became an essential tool for expanding ownership for the girls' education agenda and solidifying commitments through action steps. That numerous participants in the First National Conference returned to their departments to start regional girls' education networks indicates that the conference was effective in expanding the girls' education constituency. In addition, the fact that participants in the Second National Conference witnessed their recommendations be incorporated into the draft law for rural girls' education adds credibility to the notion that the national network values the input from its expanded constituencies, that personal involvement in girls' education can make a difference, and that the national movement on behalf of girls' education is action-oriented.

Conferences also became a vehicle to focus media attention on girls' education and to disseminate information about network activities to a wide audience in Peru. The large number of participants and the credentials of leaders who participated in the events raised the general credibility of rural girls' education as a topic that was worthy of national attention. These events brought together important government officials and business leaders as well as teachers, parents, and girls—people who were truly representative of the constituencies that could affect or be affected by policy changes in girls' education. The high quality of the conferences and the continuation of conferences over three years have helped create an identity for Florecer and maintain the momentum of the girls' education movement.

The other strategy that has been employed to expand girls' education constituencies is the tireless outreach of New Horizons staff at the national and regional levels. Interviews indicate that many people have been drawn into the girls' education movement through phone calls, proposals, and meetings with project staff. This is particularly true of business and media partners, who have made financial contributions and committed their time to work on special projects after ongoing conversations. Many community leaders in mountain villages also said that they became convinced about the importance of girls' education after extensive conversations with project staff, many of which continued into the night and weekends.

### ***Building General Constituencies in Support of Girls' Education***

Ultimately, the success of New Horizons, Florecer, regional networks, and local committees in improving girls' education in Peru depends on the expansion of constituencies even further to include teachers, parents, and the general public. Increasing support for girls' education among the general public, for example, would increase pressure on Ministry officials to implement laws and regulations and monitor improvements in girls' education. Teachers play an important role in supporting increasing equity in the classroom, and parents play an important role in enabling their daughters to attend school and pressuring schools to improve the school environment and teaching practices to be more supportive of girls' education.

Project efforts are now being directed at this level of constituency building. The television and radio advertising campaigns introduced many people in the general population to the problems of girls' education, and the pilot project in Ayacucho communities and local girls' education committees around the country have begun to work with teachers and parents to improve girls' schooling. Local initiatives have been important constituency-building activities for two reasons. First, advocates have actually been getting teachers, families, and community members in a small number of places involved in activities to increase support for girls' schooling. Second, these advocates are developing and testing models that will be useful in the future for expanding constituency-building efforts to other rural communities.

### **Realigning and Mobilizing Resources in Favor of Girls' Education (Task 3)**

Financial and human resources are the two types of resources that have been mobilized to improve girls' education in Peru. New Horizons, Florecer, and regional networks have been successful in acquiring both kinds of resources in support of the project, at least in the short run. In addition to underlying financial support provided by USAID, project staff have successfully solicited contributions from such private firms as Proctor and Gamble, Credit Bank, BellSouth, Repsol, and Faber Castell to fund national conferences. Juarez and Associates is conducting an analysis to determine the amount of money and in-kind resources that private sector organizations have contributed to girls' education in Peru over the past three and a half years.

It is unclear, however, whether public sector, private sector, or NGO partners will make financial resources available in the long run to sustain the administrative infrastructure of the girls' education movement in Peru. USAID has granted New Horizons a six-month no-cost extension to pursue the draft law on rural girls' education, and the UNICEF Open Doors project—which is also

sponsored by USAID—is funding the Ayacucho pilot project for the same period of time. No other large-scale financial commitments, though, have been made to girls’ education projects. Girls’ education advocates hope that the new law on rural girls’ education will bring some administrative resources to the girls’ education movement through the creation of a National Council of Girls’ Education in Rural Areas.

Equally important for the girls’ education movement in Peru has been the cultivation of human resources, which have been accumulated through the constituency-building activities that were discussed in regard to Task 2:

- Dissemination of publications
- Sponsorship and administration of ongoing network meetings
- Organization of regional and national conferences
- Development of television and radio publicity campaigns
- Use of personal outreach

By facilitating people’s participation in regular network meetings and conferences and engaging people in research and publicity campaigns, the girls’ education movement has cultivated a cadre of inspired and informed advocates in Lima and around Peru to work on behalf of girls’ education. These activities have enabled constituencies to take ownership of the *process* of improving girls’ education in addition to the concept, thereby accumulating human resource potential that can be mobilized in a specific way on behalf of girls’ education—for example, advocacy for Congress to ratify the law for rural girls’ education.

It is extremely difficult, however, to measure an increase in people’s willingness to work on an issue, either in the short run or the long run. Perhaps the best indicator of human resource accumulation is concrete action, which is the subject of the next section.

## **Designing and Modifying Organizational Structures in Favor of Girls’ Education (Task 4)**

Within the CFAC tasks, one way to determine the success of a policy change effort is to examine the extent to which structures are created or modified as a result of the mobilization of resources. There are two concrete ways to examine changes in organizational design. First, change can be an internal or an external phenomenon: It may include changes in the structures of organizations that have been mobilized to support girls’ education as well as the creation of new

structures to support girls' education. Second, change can be at different levels, from changes in individual organizations to changes in homes, classrooms, schools, and communities, to changes in local, regional, and national policy regimes.

It is unclear whether girls' education activities over the past few years in Peru have had a major impact on the structures of participating organizations. Organizations that participate actively in national and regional network activities were previously sympathetic to issues related to basic or girls' education and have not transformed their underlying missions or basic policies as a result of activities related to girls' education.

In contrast, the number of organizations that have been created to support and advocate on behalf of girls' education has substantially increased. One excellent example is Florecer. This national network for girls' education was established as a direct result of the New Horizons project, and the organizations and people that make up this network have taken the leadership role in the national girls' education movement in Peru over the past three and a half years. Now that the decision has been made for the National Network for the Promotion of Women to take administrative responsibility for Florecer over the next year, the immediate future of Florecer is taking shape. It will be important for the National Network for the Promotion of Women to receive substantial support from other partners, however, for the national effort to continue.

Community-wide girls' education committees, local committees, regional networks, and a national network have all been established as a direct or an indirect result of the New Horizons project. Many of these organizations have strong constituent backing and clear action plans that extend well beyond the life of the project. These organizations have then had an effect on changing other organizational structures, namely, public sector practices at the local, provincial, and regional levels. Examples include the following:

- The NGO in San Martín that hosts the department's network that represents municipal governments (and hosts the regional girls' education network) is working with its mayors to make girls' education a priority in their communities throughout the department.
- Ayacucho communities with the girls' education pilot project are working with local Ministry of Education officials to improve the general quality of bilingual and intercultural education in the provinces of Huanta (which contains the district of Huanta) and La Mar (which contains the district of Tambo).
- New Horizons staff and the Ayacucho network have worked with regional Ministry of Education officials to develop a five-year strategic plan to improve girls' education in the department.

As a result of recommendations from the Second National Conference and the subsequent work of New Horizons and Florecer, girls' education advocates in Peru also have an opportunity to

effect change in national-level policy structures. Congresswoman Gloria Helfer, the primary sponsor of the new law on rural girls' education, believes that the legislation has a strong chance for enactment in the next six months. Ratification of the law is the first step in national-level educational reform.

Girls' education activities have also changed family, school, and community structures. Anecdotal information from Ayacucho pilot communities, for example, indicates that most parents are now sending all their school-aged children to school. The combination of girls' education committees, enhanced bilingual and intercultural education programs, self-esteem programs, girls' education promoters, adult literacy workshops, and parent schools have made parents more knowledgeable about the value of school and more supportive of their daughters' completing primary education. Professional development activities for teachers in bilingual and intercultural education and self-esteem activities have also made teachers more aware of ways to support girls in their classrooms and have helped change the dynamic of student-teacher interaction. Finally, the creation of girls' education committees and their reports of student and teacher attendance at community meetings have made school attendance an ongoing topic of discussion and a priority in rural pilot areas.

### **Mobilizing Action in Favor of Girls' Education (Task 5)**

A basic assumption of the Girls and Women's Education Activity is that project offices in each country facilitate change on behalf of girls' education instead of being the direct change agents. Projects are supposed to assist other organizations, produce tools, and mobilize leaders and communities to improve girls' education rather than provide extensive funding or be extensively involved in program implementation. This model clearly places the responsibility on country coordinators and project staff to creatively leverage resources.

The New Horizons project has been quite successful in achieving that goal. It has worked to build active constituencies, assist those constituencies in developing their agendas, and support those constituencies in their realization of short-term and long-term goals. Specifically, New Horizons has facilitated the creation of Florecer and the Ayacucho network and currently provides much of the administrative infrastructure for those networks. Staff have also been responsible for facilitating communication among the national network, regional networks, and girls' education advocates throughout the country. Under the auspices of these groups it has been possible to host conferences; produce reports; develop national, regional, and local action plans; create a television and radio advertising campaign; and draft and advocate for a proposed national law on rural girls' education.

In Ayacucho, New Horizons was heavily involved in sponsoring data collection efforts such as the situational analysis, rapid rural appraisal, and baseline study of girls' education, and project staff established contacts with community leaders early in the development of the pilot project. However, most of the actual work in pilot communities is being conducted through UNICEF's Open Doors project. The one pilot project that is formally sponsored by New Horizons, Girls' Education Support Committees, is designed to mobilize community volunteers to monitor school attendance and to work with parents and provincial Ministry of Education officials to ensure that children and teachers are attending school. This project, which completely depends on community mobilization for its success, is one of the main reasons that community leaders say that girls are now staying in school. Preliminary statistics from 1998–2000 do not indicate overall gains in girls' enrollment and completion rates in pilot communities; however, these statistics do not reflect the period in which the bilingual and self-esteem activities were in full operation.

### **Monitoring the Progress of Systemic Change (Task 6)**

The last dimension of the analytical framework is to document policy changes and their effects on systemic reform. This dimension is important for two reasons. First, effective monitoring systems provide formative information to guide future actions (i.e., mobilize resources and design and modify organizational structures) in support of a policy goal. Second, if an initiative has been successful in achieving its policy objectives, an effective monitoring system provides information to increase legitimacy, build constituencies, and accumulate resources. Effective monitoring provides an important feedback mechanism for all the other dimensions of the change process.

Over the course of the project, New Horizons and its partners invested in a variety of monitoring activities at the national and local levels. In November 2000, for example, New Horizons commissioned Juan Pablo Silva to collect and analyze data related to GEA targets for intermediate results. Silva's report indicates that New Horizons has exceeded most targets to date. At the local level, New Horizons also sponsored the baseline study of girls' education in the Ayacucho pilot communities. This study was used primarily as the basis for developing the pilot project rather than as actual baseline data in a longitudinal study. The one evaluation that was conducted of the Ayacucho pilot project, in December 2000, was also used for formative purposes.

Some data-monitoring opportunities have been lost over the past three and a half years. For example, following up on the baseline study of girls' education in the Ayacucho pilot communities would have supplied information on the impact of pilot activities, particularly the separate benefits of the individual activities: the bilingual and intercultural education activity, the self-esteem activity,

girls' education committees, community education promoters, adult literacy, and parent schools. It would have also been informative to conduct an evaluation of the television and radio advertisement campaigns to determine to what extent these efforts improved the public's understanding of the problems associated with girls' education in Peru.

Of course, decisions about how monitoring and evaluation take place have to be made in the context of overall project efforts. These activities can be quite expensive and time-consuming and are often perceived as lower priorities compared with direct services. To achieve project goals, trade-offs are always necessary when resources are limited. USAID officials who were eager to see the results of the Ayacucho pilot project, for example, understood the difficulty of developing appropriate activities to monitor the treatment of girls in school in such remote villages. In addition, Ana María Robles did not think that it was appropriate to evaluate the television and radio campaigns, given the limited expected impact of what she perceived as a small initiative.

Nevertheless, more attention should be given to monitoring future girls' education initiatives in Peru. This is particularly important now that the Peruvian Congress has ratified the draft law on rural girls' education. Congresswoman Helfer and members of Florecer are cautious about the ability of the law to improve rural girls' education in and of itself. They argue that it will be very important for groups such as Florecer to monitor its implementation to ensure that appropriate changes are taking place at the ministerial, department, community, and school levels.

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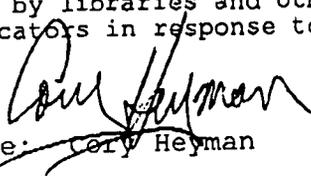
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