

small enterprise development

WORKING PAPER NO. 3

Homeworkers in Peru

Francisco Verdera

Series on Homeworkers in the Global Economy



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InFocus Programme on Boosting Employment through Small Enterprise Development Job Creation and Enterprise Department

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE GENEVA

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FOREWORD

This report is part of a series of studies carried out by the International Labour Organization (ILO) in connection with the Latin American component of the ILO inter-regional project "Homeworkers in the Global Economy", financed by the Government of Denmark.

The purpose of these studies is to ascertain/explore whether home work in Latin America is a residual form of work that is "becoming extinct", as was considered for many years to be the case, or whether it is in fact a mode of employment that is re-emerging in a context characterized by the fragmentation and relocation of production processes, an increasingly flexible labour market and the individualization of labour relations.

With that end in view, an attempt has here been made to provide an overview of the number and profile of workers engaged in this form of employment, and to analyse the relevance and effectiveness of the legal framework governing home work. Likewise, the perceptions and attitudes of governments and employers' and workers' organizations towards this modality of work are examined.

The countries reviewed reveal major differences in terms of the relative preponderance of the rural and urban populations, the structure of work (incidence of modern work and composition of the informal sector), levels of employment and unemployment, level of industrialization and openness of the economy, among other aspects. Nonetheless, the studies are unanimous in indicating that the number of homeworkers is significant and may be increasing, although evidence to that effect tends to be of an anecdotal nature. Similarly, although home work is the subject of extensive legal regulation in many countries, it is not registered or protected in practice.

The scant attention that has traditionally been devoted to this subject by public policies, particularly those relating to the labour market, and by public institutions and social stakeholders is to be attributed to the fact that no clear and common criteria exist regarding the nature of home work and exactly what the concept covers.

These and other aspects were highlighted during the Technical Tripartite Consultation organised in Santiago, 26-28 May 1999, by the former Department of Development Policies (POLDEV), in collaboration with the Santiago Multidisciplinary Technical Team (MDT) and the Regional Office for the Americas.

One of the main objectives of this consultation and of the project was to identify possible areas of study and action in order to better understand home work, its characteristics and future trends, and to outline possible support policies. Follow-up activities are underway within the framework of the recently-established InFocus Programme on Boosting Employment through Small Enterprise Development of the Employment Sector. We would like to express our thanks to the Bureau for Gender Equality which kindly financed the translation of these studies into English.

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ACRONYMS

AFP Private Pensions System

BCRP Central Bank of Perú

CGTP General Confederation of Peruvian Workers

EAP Economically Active Population

ENNIV National Standards of Living Survey

ETM/MDT Multidisciplinary Technical Team

ILO International Labour Organisation

IPSS Peruvian Social Security Institute

INEI National Population Housing Census

MTPS Ministry of Labour and Social Protection

NGO Non-governmental organisation

ONP Office of Provisional Standardisation

POLDEV Policies of Development Department

TUPA Single Text of Administrative Procedures

1. Introduction

While extensive literature exists in Peru, and indeed the rest of Latin America, on employment in the urban informal sector and in small and micro-enterprises, the subject of home work is barely mentioned. Population censuses and employment surveys make no reference to this form of work. The same is true of current labour legislation in Peru. Chapter IV of Legislative Decree No 728 - Employment Promotion Act of November 1991 - is devoted to home work, but a totally unfounded consensus exists to the effect that there is nobody to apply this mechanism to. Consequently, it becomes more arduous to record home work, which is in itself difficult to identify, and effectively regulate it, thus hampering efforts to protect this category of workers.

The study carried out by Sara-Lafosse (1983 and 1985a) on garment makers in 1979 highlights this important subject, together with the proportionately high number of women workers in the textile and garment sub-branches.² Despite the fact that home work is recognized in legislation, as is the obligation to regulate it, and that numerous indicators demonstrate its significance, no further investigation has been carried out on this topic since the above report was published.³

The existence of home work in Peru appears to us to be clearly borne out by a number of factors:

- i) the raise in the number of family workshops in workers' homes, which is one element of the expansion of a broad spectrum of economic undertakings studied under the category of the informal urban or micro-enterprise sector;
- ii) the marked increase in the number of women independent workers who state their home to be their place of work, particularly in the sub-branches of textiles and garment manufacture;
- iii) the growth in subcontracting practices engaging family workshops and homeworkers; and, lastly
- iv) continued urban and rural craft production in the form of work for a third party.

The purposes of this report are to summarize and assess existing studies on home work, or which refer to it, and to process relevant databases of censuses and surveys, with a view to documenting the nature and extent of this form of employment. The studies reviewed are devoted mainly to investigating small and micro-enterprises. In addition, as far as possible, and bearing in mind that the identification of home work was not a goal when the data were gathered, the databases of the 1993 National Population Housing Census and of the 1994 National Standards of Living Survey (ENNIV) have been processed.⁴ For Metropolitan Lima, the 1986 and 1996 households surveys of the Ministry

 $^{^{1}}$ Alonso (1988, p.518) puts forward a series of reasons why "home maquiladora" in Mexico is omitted or seriously underestimated.

² In this case, the typically low profile of the majority of women workers is exacerbated by the fact that such work is carried out at home.

³ Benería y Roldán (1987, p.57) state that home work has been rediscovered by researchers as a result of increased decentralisation of production and the growth of the informal economy and on account of the predominance of women workers in home work, further fuelled by interest in gender-related studies.

⁴ Neither the surveys nor the census feature a home work occupational category or any reference to such work.

of Labour and Social Protection have been processed, thereby providing a first estimate of the extent and evolution of home work, and throwing light on some of its characteristics.

Our obligatory point of departure is the analysis of the national legal framework pertaining to home work, together with the discussion and practical definition of this modality provided by ILO Convention No. 177 on this topic. This report offers guidelines, based on the above, for drawing up a programme of study, highlighting priorities for further research, sources of information and the most effective ways of identifying home work.

2. Legal framework

2.1 Background

The Peruvian labour legislation contains a number of long-standing and recent legal provisions protecting home work. Sara-Lafosse (1985) offers a brief summary of the evolution of legislation in this sphere up to the early 1980s. The subject was first embodied in legislation in reference to the establishment of minimum remuneration for piece work to homworkers in State enterprises. Article 27 of Act No. 2851 of November 1918 states that the average pay for piece work carried out in a workshop or at home for State enterprises should not be less than that received by an in-factory worker.⁵

In March 1937, again according to Sara-Lafosse (1985), Act No. 8514 was enacted, specifically on the subject of home work. The Act gives a list of potential employers of homeworkers as being retailers, entrepreneurs, contractors and subcontractors. The law requires that an official record be kept, workers be issued with an official log recording delivery date, date of completion and price paid. Enabling legislation was passed in September of the same year, which further establishes that a list must be included of all the persons helping the homeworker, and that the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection (MTPS) must establish pay scales in their regard.

Supreme Decree No. 017 of October 1961 recognizes the homeworker's entitlement to paid holiday, while DL No. 22126 grants employment stability after three years of service for the same employer.

Article 50 of the 1979 Constitution refers specifically to home work: "Homeworkers are recognized to have *an analogous legal status* to that of other workers, in keeping with the particular nature of their work" (author's italics). This article gives homeworkers all the rights enjoyed by ordinary workers. Sara-Lafosse (1985) states that the above constitutional provision likewise entitles homeworkers to social security, as made effective through the 1980 Health Benefits Regime and the 1986 Peruvian Social Security Institute Pensions Regime.

⁵ The State continued to hire homeworkers until 1992, when public enterprises were privatized. The most notable case was that of Industrias Militares (INDUMIL) which used homeworkers to manufacture military uniforms (Sara-Lafosse 1983, p.118).

Although the Constitution of 1993 did not incorporate the text of article 50 of the earlier Constitution, the new article 23 included a paragraph stating that: "no labour relationship may restrict the exercise of constitutional rights or ignore or detract from the worker's dignity". Thus, homeworkers' labour rights were restricted to those specified in the new Constitution. The elimination of the provisions of the earlier article 50 represents a deterioration in the position of homeworkers since they were thereby deprived of constitutional recognition of their labour condition.

Two points should be drawn from this brief overview of the relevant legal background⁶:

- i) a tradition of home work legislation exists in the country. This would explain the continued presence either due to inertia or hesitation regarding the course to take of a section on the subject in current legislation, and the fact that various procedures are even laid down for recording home work;
- ii) this legislative tradition is in contrast as we will see with the limited extent to which standards governing home work are currently implemented. This is a clear example of a law which has little or no effect.

2.2 Homework in Legislative Decree No. 728

While the fact that home work ceased to be recognised in the Constitution represents a step backwards, nonetheless, Legislative Decree No 728 of November 1991 - the law which lays down labour relations at the individual level in the framework of labour reform in Peru - contains a whole chapter (Chapter IV) devoted to home work.⁷ The situation in Peru differs from that in other countries such as Chile, where the standards applying to home work were revoked, and Panamá which, under its labour reform of 1986, excluded home work from the scope of application of Labour Law (Urmeneta, 1997).

Articles 87 to 96 of Chapter IV of Legislative Decree 728 set down the legal framework for home work. The first three articles are devoted to describing and defining what is understood by home work. Article 87 provides the following definition: "work which is habitually or temporarily carried out in a continuous or non-continuous manner for one or more employers in the worker's home or in a place of his choice, without direct or immediate supervision by the employer. The employer may impose requirements regarding the method or technique of the work to be carried out". 8

 $^{^6}$ See Vega (1990, pp.10-13) for a review of labour tribunal rulings, decisions by the Labour Directorate and references to benefits to homeworkers contained in other legal instruments.

⁷ See MTPS, 1997, pp.54-55.

⁸ This description is more comprehensive than that contained in Act 8514 of 1937; Article 2 defines home work as "any manual labour which is carried out by the day, by task or by piece, for an employer in the worker's home or in the family workshop" (Vega, 1990, p.10).

Article 91 provides that the home work contract should be in writing and in triplicate, one copy of which be submitted to the Administrative Labour Authority for its records. Article 92 states that the employer must also maintain the Home Workers Register, a copy of which must be given to the worker. This Register includes, among other items of information, the serial number of the worker's enrolment document at the Peruvian Social Security Institute.

Article 94 lists the homeworker's social rights; namely, May 1 bonus, holiday pay and compensation for length of service. Article 96 states that the homeworker is included in the National Pensions System, under Decree Law No 1990, and in the National Health Service, under Act No 22482. Lastly, it is expressly stated that homeworkers are not covered by the industrial accident and occupational illness regime regulated by Decree Law No 18846.

2.3 ILO Convention No. 177

In 1996, the International Labour Conference adopted Convention No. 177 and Recommendation No. 184 on home work. The three elements characterizing home work as per Article 1 of the Convention are that work is carried out at the worker's home or at a place of his/her choice other than the employer's place of work, for a remuneration, and that the employer lays down the specifications of the product or service, even if he/she does not provide the necessary equipment or inputs. It should be noted that it is the worker who selects the place where he/she will carry out the work (ILO, 1994). This definition is immediately qualified by the statement: "unless the person has the necessary degree of autonomy or economic independence to be considered as an independent worker...". After establishing the relationship of subordination or dependence through the payment of remuneration and the fact that any decision regarding the work process is taken by the employer, the definition of a homeworker is made conditional upon the degree of the workers autonomy or independence. The difficulty lies in establishing this degree of autonomy or economic independence.

An ILO report issued prior to the International Labour Conference of 1996 (ILO, 1994) categorically states that the most important criterion in distinguishing home work is the existence of a relationship of remunerated employment between the homeworker and the employer, subcontractor, agent or intermediary. However, it is added that it is difficult to make a clear distinction between homeworkers and independent or self-employed workers: "many of those who work at home may be classified as self-employed, and may consider themselves as such, but they are basically disguised employees. The right of homeworkers to the protection provided for in labour legislation frequently depends on whether it is clearly established that they are carrying out a remunerated job, that is, whether or not they are employees". This is often difficult to establish since they are paid on a piecework basis. It is frequently not clear whether payment is for the work which has gone into the production of a good or a service, or for the product itself.

Table 2-1 presents the main aspects of Convention No. 177 and accompanying Recommendation No. 184, which are then compared to the provisions contained in Chapter IV of the Peruvian Legislative Decree 728. The most salient points are:

- As mentioned previously, the Convention states that the homeworker should be distinguished from the self-employed worker, on the basis of "the degree of autonomy and economic independence he/she enjoys". It is not clear who should make this distinction. In contrast, the Legislative Decree merely states that autonomous or family work is not included. It suffices for the employer to make the necessary declaration regarding the desire to enrol for the homeworker to be recognised. The fact of enrolment is therefore essential.
- Both the Legislative Decree and the Recommendation although not the Convention specify that the employer must keep a register.
- The main difference between the two texts is perhaps that the Legislative Decree requires a written work contract specifying remuneration, "one copy of which must be submitted to the Labour Administration Authority for its records". The Convention makes no mention of this, while the Recommendation states that "the worker must be informed by the employer, in writing or by some other means, of the level of remuneration and the type of work".
- In regard to workers' protection, both instruments, e.g. the Legislative Decree and the Convention, coincide as to the requirement that homeworkers should be covered by the social security and health service regimes, including maternity legislation.

Table 2-1 Comparison between Legislative Decree 728 and ILO Convention No. 177 and Recommendation No. 184 on home work

Topics	Legislative Decree 728, Chap. IV Art.		Convention No.177 and Recommendation No.184		Comment	
			Art.			
Employer and control	87 Executed by one or more workers who organize the work to be carried out, without direct supervision.		Con. 1, a, iii	Make a product in accordance with employer's specifications ⁹ .	In both cases, the employer regulates, but does not supervise, and makes specifications.	
Employment relationship	88	Generates employment relationship, that is, the employer and producer, subcontractor or agent, when they are registered.	Con. 1, c.	The employer gives out work for his/her company.	Both the Legislative Decree and the Recommendation require the register of employers	

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⁹ Convention No. 177, Art. 1 c) states: "the term "employer" means a person, natural or legal, who, either directly or through an intermediary, whether or not intermediaries are provided for in national legislation, gives out home work in pursuance of his or her business activity".

Delimitation	89	Does not include independent work, that carried out in family workshop or family work.	Con. 1, a Con. 1, b.	Does not include those who have degree of autonomy or independence necessary to be considered as an independent worker, or those who occasionally undertake salaried work at home.	The Convention introduces the figure of the degree of autonomy and economic independence, and the occasional nature of work.
Fixing remuneration	90	Should appear in the work contract or collective agreement, based on production remuneration criteria: hourly rate or piece rate.	Rec. VI, 13 y 14	Minimum wage rates should be fixed. Rates of remuneration should be decided through collective bargaining or by the authorities after prior consultation.	The Legislative Decree requires a work contract. The Convention does not, but advocates the fixing of minimum wage rates through collective bargaining after prior consultation.
Contract	91	Written contract in triplicate, "one of the copies to be submitted to the Labour Administration authority for its record".	Rec. 5	The worker should be informed in writing or in some other way by his/her employer of his/her remuneration and the type of work.	The Legislative Decree requires a written work contract which must be registered at the Ministry of Labour.
Register	92 y 93	The employer should keep a Home Work Register, with a copy for the worker, recording remuneration and IPSS (Social Security) enrollment number. ¹⁰	Rec 7.2 Con 6 Rec 6	The employer should keep a register of homeworkers by sex, indicating remuneration. This should be included in employment statistics where possible. Employers using homeworkers must register them.	Both require a register of workers. The Recommendation advocates a register of employers, as does the Legislative Decree (Art. 88).
Worker's social rights	94 y 95	Paid holidays and compensation for length of service (8.33% of annual remuneration in either case).			Not covered in either the Convention or the Recommendation.

¹⁰ In 1995 the IPSS National Pensions System was replaced by the (AFP) Private Pensions System and the public system under the Office of Provisional Standardisation (ONP). Successive amendments of Legislative Decree 728 have failed to update this information in Chapter IV on Home Work, arts. 93 and 96.

Social	96	Included in the National	Con	Equal treatment for	The Legislative Decree
Protection		System for Pensions (LD	4	homeworkers and	conforms with the
		19990) and Health (Act		wage-earners should be	Convention, except in
		22482).		promoted. National	regard to occupational
		Includes Maternity and		occupational safety and	health.
		breast-feeding subsidies. Not	Con	health legislation	
		included in the occupational	7	should be applied with	
		accident and illnesses regime.		due regard for the	
		(LD 18846).		workers'	
		,		circumstances. Social	
				security regimes should	
				be adapted.	
			Rec	ar mark or an	
			25	Maternity protection	
			~~	legislation should be	
				enforced.	
			Rec2		
			6		

This comparison - which is not exhaustive - highlights the importance of two aspects which should be emphasized. On the one hand, a disparity exists in the manner in which homeworkers register. Unlike the Legislative Decree, ILO standards do not provide for a written contract, although an employers' register is required. On the other hand, the two instruments coincide as to the need to provide social protection for homeworkers. These two aspects are linked in that it would be difficult to extend social security coverage to homeworkers if no such record existed.

2.4 Ineffectual legislation

Instances are encountered all over the world of failure to comply with legal standards regarding home work (Vega, 1995). In the case of Peru, such shortcomings have been documented in works by Sara-Lafosse (1985a) and Vega (1990). These references, which will be summarized hereafter, may be supplemented by the manner in which home work has been dealt with in recent legislation and in the administrative procedures of the Ministry of labour, which continue to be breached.

In the case of Peru, the conclusion reached by Vega's study (1995) is fully applicable: "...home work appears in different national legislations as a 'regulated' activity which may consist of a broad-ranging body of legislation. Indeed, where this type of activity is concerned, the main problem does not lie in the absence of standards recognizing its existence, but in the fact that existing standards are rarely complied with. In practice, home work exists as a fragmented, isolated and uncontrolled phenomenon..."

In the same manner as the earlier law governing home work, e.g. Act 8514 of 1937. Chapter IV of Legislative Decree 728 is not implemented. Sara-Lafosse (1985a), on the subject of compliance with legislation prior to Legislative Decree 728, states that: "... the Ministry of Labour has no specialized office to deal with such workers and neither has it drawn up the pay scale required by law. ()...companies that use homeworkers are aware of such legislation but fail to observe it. They keep

concealed lists of such workers and employ them in a clandestine manner, with the exception of State enterprises connected with the Armed Forces".

According to Vega (1990), non-compliance is not to be attributed to any absence of protective legislation but to the absence of infrastructure and of personnel responsible for supervising this modality of work. In virtually all cases, home work is clandestine or concelaed, and the obligation on employers to keep a register of homeworkers is ignored.

In regard to labour inspection, Vega (1990) outlines the obstacles which would be encountered if any attempt where made to monitor homework: "the inspection function is left with the task of supervising an activity for which no reliable records exist, nor any other information providing documentary evidence of its existence. The work relationship is 'indeterminate', which means that Labour Tribunals would have to recognise its existence on a case by case basis, which would obviously be impracticable. Even if such an approach were possible or data existed whereby such workers could be identified, the principle of the inviolability of the home that is guaranteed by the Constitution would prevent administrative officials from entering homes, unless they had a judicial warrant".

Sara-Lafosse (1985a), however, offers information that demonstrates a degree - albeit limited - of protection in some regards. Nonetheless, figures relating to garment-makers in 1979 show that maternity and social security coverage was minimal and that, in regard to maternity leave, 13 per cent of garment-makers had leave of over one month, 25 per cent between two weeks and one month and 37 per cent had fifteen days leave or less. In addition, only 3 per cent were insured by the employer, 7 per cent payed their own insurance, while the remaining 90 per cent had no insurance whatsoever.

2.5 Recent Activities

It is surprising that legislation governing home work develops in a "normal" manner when its effect is non-existent. The detailed nature of the relevant legislation, the requirement that a register should be kept and certain procedures observed exist in parallel with the low visibility of home work and the consequent disregard of standards. Nobody considers it surprising that Legislative Decree 728 on home work is totally unenforced.¹¹

In this connection, a series of activities are being pursued or initiated on the legal front in regard to home work in Peru, of which mention may be made of the following:

• Regulations pertaining to Legislative Decree 728 (D.S. No. 001-TR) were enacted in January 1996. In the single article (106) of Chapter III on home work, it is stated that "the employer will submit to the homeworker the relevant part of the copy of the Register referred to in article 160 (Article 92 of the new text) of the Act.¹²

¹¹ This is apparent from interviews with different sectors involved in this subject area.

¹² See *Análisis Laboral* Vol. XX, No 224, February 1996, p. 28. The numbering of the articles of Legislative Decree 728 corresponds to the version before the Legislative Decree was divided into two parts, as a result in which the numbering changed. Article 150 corresponds to Article 92 of the new text of Legislative Decree 728, which is referred to in section

- On 4 June 1996, Peru ratified the vote of its national representation in Geneva regarding accession to Convention No. 177 and Recommendation No. 184, under Supreme Resolution 005-97-RE of 10/1/97.
- Both the "Basic Labour Inspection Guide" of May 1995 (R.M. No. 036-95-TR) and the "Summary of Labour Legislation" of July 1997 (R.M. No. 058-97-TR), drafted and widely disseminated in the written press by the Ministry of Labour, include the aforementioned home work register among the General Obligations. The Summary of Legislation also contains a paragraph on the rights and benefits to which homeworkers are entitled.
- In 1995 with the TUPA, the MTPS took steps to ensure registration of home work contracts by drawing up a model individual home work contract (*Análisis Laboral*, 1995:18). In 1997, the MTPS drew up a "individual home work contracts register" document to obtain information on both the company and the worker, and regarding the contract, including its duration and gross monthly pay (See Annex A). The information provided by the MTPS in 1997 demonstrated that only one home work contract, of six months duration, had been submitted and registered.¹³ It should be noted that the corresponding employer's register, required under Article 88 of Legislative Decree 728, had not been drawn up.
- The MTPS Single Text of Administrative Procedures (TUPA) (D.S. No. 005-97-TR) lays down the procedure (free of charge) for the Special Register of Home Workers and for the Home Work Contract Register. The former register is automatic and requires the submission of an application annexing the Register Booklet. An application appending a copy of the contract must be submitted when registering the contract. Both procedures are carried out in the Document Processing Office; the Sub-Directorate of General Registers and Expertise is the authority competent to carry out the procedure.
- The text of Legislative Decree 728 reveals a lacuna regarding social security coverage for homeworkers. The Decree was passed in November 1991 and amended successively in 1995 and 1996. In July 1995, the Government derogated Decree Law No.19990, eliminating the Peruvian Social Security Institute's (IPSS) responsibility in connection with pensions and establishing the Office of Provisional Standardisation (ONP) responsible for matters relating to the pensions of workers who wished to remain in the original National Pensions Systems. Workers could alternatively opt for the private pension regime administered by the AFP from June 1993 onwards. Nonetheless, the latest official publication of Legislative Decree 728 of 1997 still states that homeworkers are covered by the IPSS pension regime, which no longer exists.

^{2.}b and in comparative Table 2-1.

¹³ This information was provided in an interview with the Deputy Minister of Labour.

¹⁴ MTPS, 1997, pp.60-63.

The registration and regulation of home work and the protection of homeworkers continue to represent a major challenge. Legislation could be made more flexible, for instance, by requiring a registration rather than an individual contract; it should also, more particularly, ensure that a MTPS office takes effective responsibility for this form of work, entering into contact with the employers and workers involved with a view, principally, to guaranteeing some measure of social and labour protection for workers.

3. Definition and functions of home work

3.1 Defining characteristics

From the analysis of the regulatory framework concerning home work, we can infer some features of what home work connotates that can be used to identify it for purposes of registration and regulation. This manner of defining this form of employment does not, however, allow to capture either the context in which home work is carried out, or the reasons why it continues to exist. The defining characteristics of home work are that:

- it is carried out in the worker's home or in a place of his/her choice other than the employer's work premises. Both the ILO Convention and the Peruvian legislation provide that the worker selects the place in which the work is to be carried out. Indeed, if the employer were to specify the place of work, it would acquire the nature of a workplace and the employer would be responsible for equipping and installing the premises;
- , may be carried out for one or more employers;
- work is paid, it entails the existence of an employment relationship, that is, a situation of subordination of the worker. However, since payment is on a piece-work basis, it may be confused with the price that is paid in a commercial transaction. In the absence of any contract or register, it is difficult to prove that the payment constitutes remuneration;
- the employer establishes the specifications of the product or service or the methodology or technique to be employed in carrying out the work even if he/she does not provide the equipment or inputs for it. The latter point should however be reviewed, in that the provision of a certain volume of raw material or inputs to an independent worker who works alone in his/her home with some measure of regularity clearly reveals that that person is a homeworker. In this regard Sara-Lafosse (1985a) cites Clapham's (1926) definition of "outside" work; "...it truly exists only when the inputs belong to the employer and return to him after the process for which the outside worker's skill was required has been completed";
- , home work may be carried out on a regular or temporary basis and in a continuous or noncontinuous manner; and

, it is carried out without the direct or immediate supervision of the employer, for example, as regards working hours.

In ascertaining that the worker is indeed in a subordinate position, given the difficulty of verifying the presence of remuneration, Convention No. 177 specifies that a worker is not a homeworker when he/she has a sufficient degree of autonomy or economic independence to be considered as an independent worker.

The real situation is more complex. Home work, which is in itself irregular and seasonal in nature, and the conditions of which are not entirely controlled by the employer, since it is carried out in the workers' homes, frequently occurs in combination with independent work. Grompone (1985), in his study on workshop owners, differentiates between home work and independent work, depending on the degree of subordination or autonomy of the worker vis-a-vis the contractor or client, as follows: "...those who own their machinery and market the garments that they themselves manufacture, on their own initiative, subsequently distributing them to private clients, will be considered independent workers. In contrast, those workshop owners, who carry out in their small establishments part or all of the manufacture of garments, using raw materials provided by a factory or other workshop, which will also be responsible for the subsequent marketing of the garments, will be considered subject to a relationship of subordination. Nonetheless,...it will become apparent that the majority (of workshop owners) have alternatively or simultaneously produced garments for the industry or for small workshops, or in an independent manner".

Meanwhile, Recio (1988) defines home work as a way of organizing production through outside agents, who are partially controlled through different contractual mechanisms. Two types of relationship may thus be established; either a labour contract exists between the contractor and the worker, or a commercial transaction occurs between the contractor and an independent worker. The former case constitutes home work, which Recio classifies as one of the border situations of external subcontracting, because it is an in and out employment relationship.

3.2 Functions

Why is it that home work, which is associated with the early days of capitalism, still exists today? Thought should be given to the functions - or advantages - inherent in this form of work, both for employers and for workers.

On the subject of the functions of home work, Vega (1990) states: "...it soon became apparent that part of the work could continue to be undertaken under more advantageous conditions outside the factory (in that costs were lower and occasional demand peaks could be met), with the result that home work came to constitute a necessary extension of the plant in the evolutionary process of industrial work. This industrial practice, which evolved in response to changes in the economy and in production processes, has remained virtually unchanged to the present day".

Home work also appeals to some workers, although the situation of the latter is undermined by the hidden nature of the employment relationship and consequent lack of protection: "...the capitalist enterprise...promoted the clandestine use of home work, with those who undertook such work gradually ceasing to enjoy the benefits of social protection. This general situation was exacerbated by the fact that home work was used in the garment industry, for tasks for which women were considered to be naturally suited. Meanwhile, on account of the classical division of labour between sexes, women tended to prefer work modalities that are compatible with the activities in the home, particularly when they are caring for other family members. Home work has therefore gradually become a 'parallel subwork' which is socially tolerated and, in any case, unprotected..." (Vega, 1990).

In regard to Latin America, Villavicencia (1979) defines and situates the functional nature of home work in two ways. Firstly, homeworkers are not excluded from the system despite the fact that their work has not yet been "freed" from their means of production. The outdated nature of the homeworker-employer relationship lies in the homeworkers' link with his/her - certainly very limited - means of production: "these are direct producers who find themselves subject to conditions which make accumulation impossible". Secondly, they cannot be considered to be excluded because they are not isolated from the economic system, corresponding rather to the informal sector which is related to the formal sector in terms of destination of its production and the inputs it requires. Therefore, the informal sector includes, among others, home work, repair services and domestic service (Villavicencia, 1979).

4. Review of case studies

Many studies exist on the urban informal sector and, more particularly, on small and microenterprise. These include independent workers who work in their homes in manufacturing, "who sell their products" to a few "large clients". The above-mentioned study by Sara-Lafosse has clearly demonstrated that concealed home work is carried out in the garment manufacturing industry. These studies seek to identify the existence and characteristics of home work. It is to be noted, as previously stated, that employment specialists fail to perceive that part of these "individual micro-entrepreneurs" are in fact homeworkers. The study will give us an overview of the principal spheres in which home work is concentrated and of its modalities and features. These are micro-enterprises, family enterprises and workshops, craft activity, and large enterprises which subcontract. Furthermore, a significant presence of home work was found in the garment manufacture and footwear sectors, and in specific geographical areas.

For Peru, and indeed in general, it is stated that the absence of studies on this subject is due to "...the difficulty of clearly identifying the existence of a home work relationship (particularly difficult is to differentiate it from other types of legal status such as, for example, craft activity or subcontracting), because the various social interlocutors fail to consider it as a priority sphere (Vega, 1990).

4.1 Home work and workshops

4.1.1 The case of home-based garment manufacture

The Sara-Lafosse study (1983 and 1985a) presents and analyses the results of a research on garment manufacturers or seamstresses working at home in six cities. ¹⁵ The information provided by the census suggested that garment-making was the main occupation of women in manufacturing, and that it was undertaken in the home in 80 per cent of cases. She grouped the origins of this phenomenon in three areas (1985a):

- the sewing machine did not replace workers' labour but, rather, allowed the simplest tasks to be executed more rapidly, while the manual skill of the operator was essential in producing garments; training in garment cutting and manufacture hence served to raise significantly the number of women workers;¹⁶
- small entrepreneurs organize production in such a way as to avoid immobilizing their capital and to keep their fixed costs to a minimum. The garment-makers provide the machinery, the premises and pay power and maintenance costs;
- part of the women labour force *prefers* home work or considers this modality to be more practical because it allows them to make some money and simultaneously fulfil their domestic function. Sara-Lafosse attributes this attitude to acceptance of the conviction inherent in the patriarchal system that women have almost exclusive responsibility for the care of children and for carrying out domestic tasks.¹⁷

The Sara-Lafosse study highlights the problem of the semi-clandestine nature of home work (1983). The definition of garment-maker or seamstress only applied to those who sew by the dozen, that is, by the piece and for a third party, who in turn fixes the price. The study adds that some garment-makers supplemented their income by taking work from individual clients. In order to identify the garment-makers to be interviewed, an estimate was initially made, on the basis of the 1972 Census, that there were 23,130 garment-makers in Lima, and a further 9,690 in five other cities. The sample size calculated was 1.7 per cent in Lima and 4 per cent in the cities. This gave a total of 400 for Lima and a further 400 for the five cities, that is 80 per city. The procedure used to identify the garment-makers was to "comb": "...all the lower middle class neighbourhoods and popular districts of the six cities. The interviewers enquired after such workers among numerous key informants" (Sara-Lafosse, 1983).

 $^{^{15}}$ The term seamstress or dressmaker dates from the 1950's and 60's while the term garment manufacturer emerged during the 1980's.

¹⁶ In this Census of 1972, Sara-Lafosse notes a ratio of 9:1 among the 46.5 thousand women trained as shirt-makers, the 5.6 thousand trained as cosmetologists and the 4.8 thousand trained as cooks.

¹⁷ She adds that "the same ideology explains the absence of such services as crèches and kindergartens in sufficient number and convenient location to cater for the large infant population" (1985a, p.176).

The final number of cases was 772. Of these, 408 were found in Lima (52.8 per cent). The outcome of the field work was relatively satisfactory, revealing a lower rate of response in Huancayo, Arequipa and Cuzco, and an over-representation in Lima.

Table 4-1: Distribution of cases of garment-makers studied by Sara-Lafosse by cities in 1979

Cities	N° of cases anticipated (a)	Nº of cases studied (b)	Horizontal percentage (b/a)	Vertical percentage (b/772)
Arequipa	80	70	87.5	9.1
Chiclayo	80	78	97.5	10.1
Cuzco	80	70	87.5	9.1
Huancayo	80	67	83.8	8.6
Iquitos	80	79	98.8	10.2
Lima	400	408	102	52.8
Total	800	772	96.5	100

In regard to the demographic features of garment-makers, Sara-Lafosse (1983)¹⁸ notes that:

- by region of birth, the proportionately higher concentration of garment-makers in Lima according to the Census reflects migration from the mountains to the coast: 44 per cent were born on the coast, 42 per cent in the mountains and 14 per cent in the jungle;
- 42 per cent of garment-makers were born in the city where they worked, while 51 per cent had resided there for over 5 years. Only 7 per cent had resided in the city for less than 5 years;
- the largest age group is between 35 and 39 years of age, although 15 per cent of the group between 20 and 44 years of age are garment-makers;
- a high proportion (18 per cent) of separated women and single mothers was noted;
- 5 per cent of garment-makers had 3 or more children, of which 15 per cent had 6 or more children. Meanwhile, 16 per cent had no children. The fact that women had a large number of children was decisive in obliging them to remain and work at home. Over 50 per cent of women under the age of 40 had to take care of children under the age of 6;
- the situation of garment-makers is influenced by education. As might be expected, an inverse relationship is apparent between level of schooling and number of children. The group with the lowest level of education illiterate and incomplete primary education accounts for 23 per cent of women workers, 57 per cent of women have completed primary education, but not secondary education, and 18 per cent had completed secondary school. This situation is somewhat above the average level of schooling for the urban population as a whole; and

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¹⁸ Based on Chapter 8 of Sara-Lafosse (1983).

• 76 per cent have been trained as seamstresses, of which 38 per cent had received formal training in an institution with specialized staff.

The machinery used denotes the economic situation of the garment-maker; 69 per cent use only one machine, 23 per cent use two, while only 8 per cent use three or more machines. About 43 per cent have a treadle machine (without engine), involving considerable physical effort, 31 per cent have a semi-industrial machine and only 14 per cent have an industrial machine. About 89 per cent of garment-makers own the machines they use.

Approximately 78 per cent of garment-makers are provided with all the necessary inputs. About 18 per cent use their own thread and only 7 cases use their own woollen fabric. In 23 per cent of cases material is transported by the company, and by the garment-makers themselves in 73 per cent of the cases.

In regard to the *relationship with an employer*, the study found that 44 per cent of garment makers worked for several employers, 16 per cent for four or more employers, and 28 per cent for two or three employers, due to the limited number of orders. These figures permitted to conclude that 56 per cent of the garment-makers studied worked for a single employer. Among employers, only 19 per cent completed any formalities such as giving a receipt or paying *planilla* and 10 per cent of garment-makers had no insurance whatsoever (Sara-Lafosse, 1985a).

The principal employers were retailers (29 per cent) and workshops (20 per cent). These were followed by factories (12 per cent), intermediaries - it was not specified for whom they acted as intermediaries - (9 per cent) and large stores (7 per cent) (Sara-Lafosse, 1983).

A little over half of garment-makers had always worked for the same establishment or individual. Only 10 per cent had worked for less than one year, while 44 per cent had worked for five years or more for the same employer. The reasons stated by those who worked for a number of employers were scarcity of work and lack of stability, bankrupcy of the employer and dissatisfaction with the pay or work requirements.

The most widespread *form of payment* was by piece or on delivery. About 19 per cent of the total of garment-makers had an employer who complied with some type of formality such as giving a receipt or paying *planilla*. The differences between the price paid per piece and the price of sale to the public ranged from double to forty times the sum paid to the garment-maker.

At the time of writing, the minimum legal wage per hour is approximately 30 (old) *soles*, which was very low. About 35 per cent of garment-makers received an equivalent hourly income of 30 *soles* and 21 per cent received over 100 *soles* per hour, provided of course that they had worked. The majority, some 58 per cent, received under 50 *soles* per hour. Sara-Lafosse (1983) adds that, when considering the income of garment-makers, account needed to be taken of the expenses they incurred including payment of electricity, depreciation and maintenance of machinery, use of premises, the

inputs paid for by the garment-maker. Helpers also had to be paid, in the 27 per cent of cases in which they were used. Among those with the highest earnings, 43 per cent employed helpers.

The disparities in the sums paid to garment-makers lie in the type of garment produced, the type of employer and the training received. The highest price was paid for sweaters and dresses and the lowest for brassieres and shirts. The highest rates were paid by factories and boutiques and the lowest by retailers, workshops and intermediaries.

4.1.2 The case of the workshop owners of Jirón Gamarra

Grompone (1985) carried out in-depth studies of a limited number of workshop owners in what is today known as the Gamarra Complex, built around the Jirón Gamarra. The interviewees were principally workshop owners who employed homeworkers.

Unlike the specialized literature on micro and small enterprises, Grompone (Grompone, 1985), makes reference to the existence of home work with regard to the garment-making workshops. He states that "...the outlet for their production includes their own clients, or work outsourced by industries, wholesalers and sometimes even retailers, or through the establishment of sub-contracting relationships with other workshops. While some are confined to only one of these forms of work (with which we will provisionally group independents and *subordinates*) other establishments combine several forms simultaneously,..." (Grompone, 1985) (author's italics).

The transition from traditional craft activity to home work is defined in the traditional way: "...home industry...tends to be subordinate to entrepreneurs. These entrepreneurs have access to broader markets than those to which the small producers can gain access and are in a position to provide them with the necessary inputs for their work. (...) subcontracting is becoming more widespread, with payment per unit delivered, which practices are characteristic of work for a third party and home work" (Grompone, 1985).

Grompone associates home work with subcontracts between a large workshop and single-person workshops which "service" the larger workshops. The advantages for the latter that the risks involved in purchasing on credit from the large textile companies are reduced and their production capacity is increased without having to invest in machinery and workers. Consequently, subcontracting relationships are established in order to obtain cheaper inputs (cloth). Large workshops seek workers who have machines, but lack capital to buy the raw material.

The study describes the situation of another workshop owner in Gamarra who uses home work, specifically seamstresses: "we give the people who work with us dresses that are already cut out. But when the seamstresses specialize in something, they cannot change line, it is very difficult, they would have to spend a long time mastering the secrets of the new item" (Grompone, 1985).

4.2 Micro and small enterprises

4.2.1. The case of the *El Porvenir* district in the city of Trujillo¹⁹

Távara (Távara, 1994) bases the choice of this area of study on the fact that in August 1991, the NGO Hábitat-Trujillo carried out a survey of 10,836 families in the city of Trujillo - accounting for 9.1 per cent of the total propulation - in which 5,057 family enterprises were identified working in homeworkshops. A particularly high concentration was identified of footwear manufacturing workshops in the *El Porvenir* district, both in proportion to the other districts and to other activities. It should be added that *El Porvenir* has a total population of 63,000, with approximately 11,000 families, some 10 per cent, engaged in the manufacture of leather footwear.

Table 4-2: Number of family businesses in Trujillo by district and activity in 1991

Activity District	Total	Leather footwear	Carpentry in wood	Garment manufacture	Other Activities
El Porvenir	1971	1153	228	121	469
Florencia Mora	555	294	104	42	115
La Esperanza	729	168	158	102	301
Trujillo	1406	286	561	171	388
Huanchaco	103	20	9	18	56
V. Larco	177	27	36	18	96
Laredo	65	20	40		5
Moche	51		17	18	16
Total Trujillo	5057	1968	1153	490	1446

Source: Távara (1994).

These home-based workshops were established in response to the subcontracting practices by the "Flor de Oro" footwear factory which was in operation between the late 1960s and 1991. It closed down in part on account of the intense competition by small informal producers who began to produce higher quality footwear at lower prices. Disputes with the trade union also played a part. This factory constituted a genuine shoemakers' school. Workers' experience in this factory contributed to the development of technical and organizational skills within the networks of producers that were gradually established in these settlements. The majority of workers lived in the urban slums of Trujillo, including *El Porvenir*. The same situation developed with regard to the workers of the "Murguia" family footwear factory, which closed down in 1989 for the same reasons as the "Flor de Oro" factory. Most of the workers in these two factories were paid on a piece-work basis, which is directly related to their skills and productivity. Many piece workers had their own footwear manufacturing workshops in *El Porvenir*, thereby boosting the unions' bargaining position.

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 $^{^{\}rm 19}$ This section is based on the Távara study (1994, pp.87-104).

Távara states that two further reasons contributed to the establishment of this specialization in footwear manufacture in the *El Porvenir* district. Firstly, a training programme was set up for the inmates of the local prison during the 1950s and 1960s and, secondly, a state agency supported by the German Government, between 1980 and 1987, provided the district with specialized services.

Several studies revealed that 40 per cent of the labour force in these companies is composed of members of the nuclear family. The majority of family members participate in the enterprise. Távara (Távara, 1994) even states that "children between the ages of 7 and 11 years assist with light tasks such as sticking labels, polishing, cleaning and packaging, etc.". It is our view that "sticking labels" indicates that the items are produced for someone who sells them with a brand name or label, that is, that subcontracting or home work exists, involving a producer working only with his/her family. Moreover, Távara continues, "it is often more profitable for the family enterprise to subcontract specialised workshops or independent workers, which can carry out... operations charging established rates" (Távara, 1994).

In all events, as Távara states "...the dividing line between a specialized worker and a producer is fairly tenuous, particularly since the former frequently owns tools and equipment to produce footwear in his own workshop" (Távara, 1994). Nonetheless, the producers themselves use very unsophisticated technology and do not have the necessary equipment to produce a broader range of quality shoes. These family workshops imply that social protection does not exist, as regards retirement pension, health or accident insurance. This vacuum is partially covered through family relationships and solidarity networks.

4.2.2 The *Jirón Gamarra* complex in Lima

The studies by Ponce (Ponce, 1994)²⁰ and Távara and Visser (Távara and Visser, 1995) on Gamarra suggest that its size is indicative of its success. Unlike Grampone, Távara and Visser do not refer to home work but emphasize instead the importance of micro and small enterprises and sub-contracting. For this reason our task has been to analyse their information and observations with a view to identifying those elements which allude to the existence and importance of home work.

Ponce introduces his work by describing the area under study: "Gamarra is the name of an avenue in the district of La Victoria, very close to the city centre, adjacent to Wholesale Market No.1. However, for a number of years, the name has come to refer to something larger and more extensive than a few blocks of an avenue..." today everybody unthinkingly associates the name Gamarra with an immense concentration of companies devoted to textile and garment manufacture and trade...". Currently, Gamarra constitutes a geographical area with an assortment of medium, small and very small enterprises which have achieved a considerable degree of integration. The area includes over 6,800 production and commercial establishments which employ 40,000 people. Gamarra "...is the obligatory

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²⁰ Ponce (1994, p.43) makes several references to the important role played by home work in the development of textile factories at the beginning of the century, several of which were in La Victoria, in which "a relationship existed between industry and the inhabitants, revolving around home work".

point of reference when speaking of national garment manufacture for mass consumption; Gamarra leads the way in prices, consumption trends, supply of inputs and products" (Ponce, 1994).

Ponce argues that recognition should be granted to the importance of home work in the past, prior to the 1950s, when shops "generated subcontracting networks", which operated through the traditional home industry. He goes on to state that workshops were either set up within shops or the services of third party workshops were contracted, boosting the garment manufacture industry. Among the factors contributing to the establishment of Gamarra was the need identified by large enterprises to cut back the scale of their operations and to begin "...intensively to develop home industry and subcontracting (maintaining their in-house capacity only for cutting, production management and finishing). In this way, "...home industry and subcontracting allowed small entrepreneurs to produce without having to invest in labour, and served to increase production flexibility, reduce entrepreneurial risk and keep costs down" (Ponce, 1994). On the basis of such observations, Ponce formulated an interpretation of the evolving importance of home work: "during critical periods, the large garment industry subcontracted work to artisans, and to micro- and small enterprises; during other periods, it grew vertically. In the case under consideration, a radical change occurred which enabled small enterprises to develop" (Ponce, 1994).

Ponce describes the features of the "immense demand for qualified labour in Gamarra. A first feature is the: "...extensive subcontracting of services, given that considerable work is outsourced not only to individuals, but also to people who own the required equipment. Such companies normally have a central nucleus, and subcontract different production parts or processes, which allows them to save in machinery, premises and fixed costs" (Ponce, 1994). Secondly, it is stated that "...the temporary nature of work commitments is notable. It can never be expected that such work will last longer than the season for which the applicant is engaged" (Ponce, 1994). Lastly, it is said that "... this is piece work first and foremost, this being one of the characteristics of this sector and of Gamarra in endeavours to eliminate fixed labour costs. Companies constantly seek the labour they need to extend their businesses and they do so not only within the complex, but also outside it; many family enterprises in the districts of greater Lima endeavour to be subcontracted in Gamarra" (Ponce, 1994).

Conversely, Távara and Visser (Távara and Visser, 1995) state that Gamarra "...displays the basic features of the outsourcing of production, in particular in terms of vertical and horizontal specialization, the relative importance of subcontracting relationships, as well as the specific modalities of inter-firm cooperation". These authors consider that the enterprises in Gamarra are for the most part extended workshops, that is, workshops outside the home with one or more sales outlets. The information gathered regards a small sample (103 companies, of which 24 were in Gamarra) and "...throw into serious doubt the "massive use of subcontracting" which supposedly characterizes the companies located in this area" (Távara and Visser, 1995), except in the case of finishings. They conclude that "...the matter of the external savings generated through subcontracting remains inconclusive in the case of Gamarra" (Távara and Visser, 1995). Savings through outsourcing seem to

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²¹ On the basis of the Sara-Lafosse study of 1979 and of the author's own experience, it may be stated that home work has continued to exist in Lima during the decades following the 1950s, in parallel with the garment manufacture industry.

have some importance in the development of informal microenterprises. The latter are not included in the sample under consideration, which was selected from the Ministry of Industry's Unified Register.

4.2.3 The case of *Villa El Salvador* in Lima

Two studies exist on small-scale production in the district of *Villa El Salvador* (García et al., 1989, and Távara, 1994).

The first study deals with production circuits in the district and omits any discussion of home work, containing a single reference to work in the home and what it may imply. In discussing the new small entrepreneurs, García et al. states that: "workshops are established in the neighbourhoods around greater Lima, with homes being turned into workshops, family members serving as workers and people from their places of origin as apprentices" (García et al. 1989). It is added that, therefore: "a growing tension obviously exists between the house/home and the house/workshop". It is mentioned, in regard to subcontracting, that: "frequently, the micro-entrepreneur acts within the formal mechanisms and not through subcontracting or manufacture of elements, parts or sets" (García et al., 1989). The phenomenon of subcontracting emerges in reference to the clients of production for different subbranches. In the case of garment-makers, production is intended, among others, for: "distributors and salesmen who collect the merchandise, generally for mobile or stationery street vending in the centre of Lima, or shopping malls in Jr. Gamarra, distributors in the provinces, provincial fairs, usually Arequipa, Iquitos, Chimbote" (García et al., 1989). Where footwear manufacture is concerned, producers state that the main input providers include: "...some sizeable enterprises belonging to large industry which now subcontract production work", with clients including: "wholesale distributors" and that: "credit comes from distributors who pay the producer for the work in advance" (García et al., 1989). Mention is also made of subcontracting in artisan production and in the production of wood products, in the latter case by established manufacturers (García et al., 1989).

According to Távara, among the basic features of micro-enterprises are the fact that "they are very small entities, which are fully equipped and operate principally with family labour in home-workshops. These producers must deal with clients who demand a minimum level of production of homogeneous products that are well finished and on a regular basis, and who must strictly adhere to technical specifications and delivery deadlines" (Távara, 1994).

A revealing reference is made by Távara in connection with conditions underlying the emergence of cooperation groups or informal networks of producers. It may be noted that, unconsciously, Távara is referring to regular subcontracting of small producers: "...producers met while they were waiting in the queue to buy materials or to receive payment *by regular clients*". A footwear producer commented ...: "we had a client who owned a chain of shops and had to queue to collect..." (Távara, 1994).

4.2.4 Vega-Centeno and Remenyi study of the garment industry in Peru (1995)

This report, which deals with the garment manufacture sector as a whole, holds that home work was a traditional practice which had been displaced and re-emerged subsequently, as a form of subcontracting of individual workers. The displacement of home work was due to the growth of

aggregate demand and to social changes occurring from the 1950s onwards whereby "...the traditional production of clothing, fundamentally by artisans and upon demand, proved inadequate and was unable to adapt to changing demand in a timely manner... for most consumers, the standard off-the-pay garment would eventually take priority over the exclusive or made-to-measure garment" (Vega-Centeno and Remenyi, 1995). 22

But, on the other hand, "...subcontracting (of other companies) is a very common practice in the garment manufacture sector, as is, perhaps more so, that of ordering particular work from individuals" (Vega-Centeno and Remenyi, 1995). Home work continued on account of the low cost of investment per job. In addition, garment manufacture calls for "...skill, dexterity or specific competence on the part of labour. This feature has been carried over from earlier days when garment making was primarily a domestic activity and, subsequently, a craft activity undertaken for a third party" (Vega-Centeno and Remenyi, 1995).

Sewing operations account for two thirds of production cost and over half of production time. Therefore, all the earlier stages (design, selection of materials, drawing, cutting) should be brought into line with sewing, which includes activities ranging from labelling and organization of pieces to sewing or assembly of pieces, which is the most important part of the process, prior to finishing, quality control and packaging. Sewing would depend on the possibilities offered by equipment, organization or supervision, or the use of subcontracting or home work. "Once designs have been finalized and the drawing and cutting operations carried out, the actual sewing can be carried out by third parties. In this case, the need to have suitable equipment is transferred to them. However, a distinction should be made between subcontracting of an enterprise and giving out home work. Account should be taken of the volume of labour and quality of machinery owned by subcontracted enterprises or by individual workers, since they maybe overburdened if equipment is inadequate; moreover, the nature of contracts should also be taken into account since they may likewise introduce or disguise distortions" (Vega-Centeno and Remenyi, 1995)..

Home work in garment making is closely linked to the traditional role assigned to women. The latter are, indeed, frequently offered job possibilities in garment cutting and making. In addition, the sewing machine is one of the most common domestic appliances, with the result that a huge supply of women workers exists, who are ready and equipped to receive work or carry out particular operations.

Other cases that might be examined are those of the trouser-makers in the suburbs of Huacho, who sew to order for wholesales from the Central Market of Lima and from Jirón Gamarra and for the Association of Garment-Makers of *Villa El Salvador*.

4.3 Artisan production

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²² "In earlier days, for instance, the 'tailor' was the cutter-designer who subcontracted or worked with "jacket makers" "trouser makers", etc. Today, production tends to be by machine, on a large scale and in some cases computer-assisted, which gives rise to new requirements which sometimes even take precedence over the labour that participates". (Vega-Centeno and Remenyi 1995, p.129).

4.3.1 Artisan work in *Valle del Mantaro*

The compilation of studies on artisan work in the Valle del Mantaro (Province of Huancayo) (Luna et al., 1983) includes numerous references to piece-work undertaken by artisans from different districts of the valley in various lines of production for "businessmen from Lima" or "people from the capital". None of these references employ the term home work although the term piece-work is used. There follows a brief overview of some of these cases:

- In regard to silver-working in the district of San Jirónimo, it is stated that: "Piece- work is carried out by artisans who do not have capital: the person requesting the product provides the raw material and the artisan charges for his work".
- , In ceramics production in the district of Aco, businessmen also place *wholesale orders*: *ulpus* ²³ are bought by the dozen and tableware and toys by the hundred (author's italics).
- Chair production in the Comunidad San Pedro de Saño requires artisans to deliver upright chairs and armchairs by the dozen to the city of Lima to order for retailers in the Wholesale Market and in Market No. 2 in Surquillo. The price paid for piece-work is higher, since the finish is better and better quality raw materials are used.
- The textile artisans of the Comunidad de Hualhuas use three marketing modalities: direct sale, piece-work for a third party and barter. Piece-work for a third party is carried out by artisans who have no capital, since the person handing out the work provides the materials and, in most cases, the model and measurements of the item required.
- , In the production of embroideries in the Huayucachi district, the artisan is provided with the cloth when the work is given out, either by private individuals or by retailers. Very few artisans sell their own products.

4.3.2 Marketing and export of craft products

The study by Albareda and Albareda (Albareda and Albareda, 1987) on the marketing and export of craft products reveals that craft production and home work have certain features in common, including the supply of raw materials and inputs to the producer, the fact that the work is carried out in family workshops, payment is made for work only, the producer receives the designs and instructions for the items to be produced and, lastly, work is carried out for wholesalers or exporters. The information provided by these authors on the subject is summarized hereafter:

some exporters "...with a view to guaranteeing the supply of products and their quality, become
involved in some stages of the production process. Consequently, they supply the producer with

 $^{^{23}}$ Receptacle made of clay and sand with a medium (15 cm) mouth to contain *chicha*. (Vega-Centeno and Remenyi, 1995).

raw material and inputs, provide designs and supervise production in order to achieve some measure of standardization";²⁴

- "craft work is carried out by craft production units, consisting most often of one individual (57.8 per cent) or of a family (28.9 per cent),...";
- "the craft producer has no financial capacity, given his level of income and the fact that only the work incorporated in the item which he produces is remunerated...";
- "(and) the craft producers maintain trade relationships primarily with marketing agents located in their own region...(have) little contact with the final consumer. Many artisans are given work with particular characteristics, which they carry out, but without understanding why...the purchaser establishes the price levels of the product and, by implication, the producer's level of remuneration":
- "the regional wholesalers...are supplied by *acopiadores* or collection agents and directly by artisans. They directly purchase approximately 23.6 per cent of the gross value of production of 15.6 per cent of the artisan production units...the wholesalers carry out the functions of finishing, selection, packaging and distribution"; and lastly,
- "the exporter must ensure that he has a supply of those products for which he believes a market exists abroad; for this purpose, he seeks a group of suppliers both in Lima, where the greatest number of artisan producers are concentrated, and in the main production areas".

4.4 Tele-work

A recent, modern form of home work is the so-called tele-work. Growing reliance on information technology, as shown by the growing use of personal computers and tele-communications, means that information processing can be carried out and administered remotely.

The workers involved in this form of work are highly trained professionals and technical specialists - or trained in the use of computers - who work at home and who communicate by modem or other means with those hiring them. This constitutes a form of home work in that subordination or an employment relationship exists. However, in developed countries, electronic home work is most often distinguished from conventional home work because "...it is based on a completely different set of professional qualifications, modes of organization and nature of the link with the headquarters of the employer" (Di Martino and Wirth, 1990).

This type of work occurs in high technology sectors and prevails precisely in enterprises devoted to the manufacture and sale of communications technology and which use remote work to increase

²⁴ Vélez (1987, p.347), in line with the above-mentioned authors, on the subject of the structure of small industry, states that: "...it would appear that the characteristic feature of the micro-workshop (basically single-person) is that the client generally provides the raw materials and inputs, or the capital required to purchase them".

their flexibility and yield. To the best of our knowledge, no studies exist on the subject in Peru, which does not however mean that this practice does not exist in the electronics, computing, finance and communications sectors.

5. Analysis of secondary data²⁵

Although home work has such a long history and continues to exist, information on the economically active population (EAP), that is gathered through censuses and household surveys, does not include home work. No specific questions are asked on this type of employment, albeit it is recognised and regulated in legislation. However, the absence of any record of this type of work does not justify the failure to gather information on the subject. On the contrary, as in the case of child labour or non-registered individuals, household surveys provide a means of gathering such information.

Companies and employers, for their part, often deny that they hire homeworkers.²⁶ In some cases, they avoid paying social contributions by establishing a legal connection in the form of microenterprises, which are in fact not genuine micro-enterprises. In other cases, they classify such workers as temporary employees, that is, they put them on the company's payroll but, of course, at a lower pay and without the workers knowing it. Or, finally, they are contracted in an informal manner, that is, they are not registered, particularly by the smaller companies in which such practices are more difficult to detect.

Analyses of the data contained in the Population Census and in household surveys are beginning to take account of workers who carry out their activity in their homes. After ascertaining that these workers are placed in the occupational category of independents or self-employed and that they are not classified as wage earning employees, this study concentrates on the activities of the manufacturing industry. Although home work is not directly identified, three variables make it possible to infer that it exists. These are:

- the place where the work is carried out (in the home or in a premise for economic activity);
- the occupational category of independent; and
- the economic activity in industry.

In the case of Lima, it may be ascertained, by cross-referencing the occupational category with the size of the enterprise, that the independent worker does effectively work alone.

Although some disparity exists in the estimate by the various sources of the extent of the phenomenon, they nonetheless coincide in identifying a major concentration of home work among women in the garment and textile industries.

5.1 Sources and databases

 25 The survey databases were processed by William Sánchez and the 1993 Population Housing Census by the INEI. We thank that institution for its support.

²⁶ On the basis of interviews with two entrepreneurs who hire homeworkers.

Several, albeit dispersed, sources of primary information exist, which may be used in studying the home work phenomenon. The following are the main existing sources:

C At the national level:

- IX National Population Census and IV Housing Census of 1993 by the INEI;.
- National Survey on Standards of Living (ENNIV) of 1994 by Cuánto and World Bank.

C Metropolitan Lima:

- Ministry of Labour's annual Household Surveys, 1986 to 1995, except 1998, when the survey was not carried out.
- Survey on small production units in Lima, 1989, Banco Central de Reserva del Perú (BCRP).

The questionnaires used by all these sources, together with databases, were examined with a view to identifying relevant questions and variables for studying home work, and the possible cross-referencing of variables that permit to capture home work, its extent, modalities and characteristics.

The 1993 Population Housing Census enquired into the economic use of accommodation and whether a sewing machine was owned. Crossing this information with the occupational and sex categories also allows an estimate to be made of home work.

The ENNIV survey at the national level included a question on the economic use of any room in the home: "do you use any room for business purposes?" Crossing this variable with the occupational category of the head of the household (self-employed or independent) and economic activity (manufacturing industry, garment-making) offers an approximation of the extent of home work.

A question was asked in the annual MTPS household surveys for Lima regarding "the place in which the worker carries out his/her work". On the basis of this filter-question, the information was processed from the surveys from 1896 and 1995 for those who answered that they worked in their homes, by occupational category, economic activity and sex. In this way, it was possible to identify those workers who worked in their homes, in the (apparent) category of independents, in the manufacturing industry and by sex. The information was also crossed regarding the form of payment or remuneration (piece work, commission) or by size of establishment (in order to eliminate those in a position to hire a worker). This approach failed to produce significant results only in crossing the form of payment in an endeavour to identify payment on a piece work basis; the remaining results appearing in Tables 5-8 to 5-11 are considered to be satisfactory.

In October 1989, the Central Reserve Bank of Peru (BCRP) carried out a survey of small-scale production units in Metropolitan Lima. About 492 small-scale production units were interviewed, of which 143 corresponded to employers and 349 to independent workers.

5.2 Volume and profile of homeworkers

5.2.1 Approximate extent of home work

The results of the cross-referencing of variables outlined in the previous section are presented in the following tables. At the national level, on the basis of the results of the 1993 Population Census, the independent working EAP was measured on the basis of whether use was made of a room in the home to carry out any economic activity in industry (Table 5-1); it was found that *82,300 workers were in that position*. This constitutes 39 per cent of the independent working EAP in industry, accounting for 210,700 workers. For 36 per cent of such workers, the results of the Census failed to establish whether space in the home was used, while the remaining 25 per cent did not use a space in their home. It is difficult to understand why such a large number of workers (76,000) should have stated "unspecified", since the question in the Census is clear. The ambiguity may lie in the possible interpretation that a room in the home may be used only temporarily or non-exclusively, that is, it was not being used for that purpose at the time of the Census. In all events, it may be assumed that the same proportion of those who used a room and those who did not use one may be applied to "not specified", giving a figure of 128,600 workers.²⁷

It may be noted moreover that these are independent industrial workers, that is, workers who normally work with some type of machine or equipment in a premises. If the equipment is not in their own home, then it must be a premises belonging to a third party, that is rented or borrowed.

The classification of these independent workers by sub-branches of industrial activity and sex reveals a higher concentration in the textiles and garment manufacture, particularly of women. These branches capture, in fact, 86.8 per cent of independent industrial women workers (65,000). If the same reasoning is applied to all workers, the estimated number of independent women in manufacturing who use a space in their own home to carry out their activity would stand at 45,000. This figure might be contested by reason of the fact that it is likely to reflect the usual under-estimation of the female EAP in Censuses. Finally, the number of women working as independent labourers at home, e.g. using a space in their home, in the textile and garment manufacture sub-branches is estimated at the fairly modest figure of 39,143.

Men are also concentrated in textiles and garment manufacture (40.6 per cent) at the national level, in part due to textile craft work (fabrics) carried out in a number of cities and communities. Table 5-2 presents the independent occupied EAP by use of a space in their home for an economic activity, by industrial sub-branch, by sex and by natural regions in 1993. In each region, the highest concentration of men and women exists in the textiles and garment industries - that are broadly similar with the exception of men in Lima and Callao - which may be due to the extent of traditional craft activity, and to garment-making activity specifically in the case of Lima and Callao for women.

Table 5-3 shows the independent working EAP in the industrial sub-branch of textiles and garment-making by use of space in the home, distributed by departments. A comparison of such work between departments reveals a higher concentration of workers using a room in their homes in Lima

²⁷ By adding 82,300 and 46,.00, which is the share of "non-specified" produced by applying the proportion who use a room to the sum of those who use a room and those who do not use a room to the "non-specified" (61 per cent * 75,900).

²⁸ Extensive international literature exists on the subject. For the case of Peru, see Verdera (1983).

²⁹ In this regard, see Luna Ballón et al. 1983.

and Callao (18.3 per cent), Puno (14.9 per cent), Cajamarea (8.6 per cent), La Libertad (6.8 per cent), Cusco (6.2 per cent) and Junín (6 per cent). In terms of distribution by sex, the lead is taken by Lima and Callao (20.3 per cent), Puno (16.7 per cent) Cajmarca (9.7 per cent) and Lambayeque (6.9 per cent).

In short, census information provides us with a figure of some 128,600 independent workers in the manufacturing industry who work in their homes, 45,000 are women. Of the total of independent women in manufacturing, 39,100 of these (86.8 per cent) work in the textile and clothing sub-branches. These results should now be compared with those generated by the ENNIV.

Table 5-1

PERU: Independent employed EAP according to whether space is used at home for economic activity by industrial sub-branches and sex, 1993 (Percentage distribution)

Industrial sub-branches and regions	Men Total	Space used Women		Men	No space us Women	sed Total	Men Total	Not specified Women		Men Total	Total Women	
Food, beverages and tobacco	8.0	5.0	6.9	8.8	5.4	7.6	9.0	5.2	7.6	8.5	5.2	7.3
Textiles and garments	41.1	87.4	56.8	40.2	87.0	56.9	40.3	86.0	57.4	40.6	86.8	57.0
Wood and furniture	6.4	0.5	4.4	6.1	0.6	4.1	5.7	0.5	3.7	6.1	0.5	4.1
Paper and press	2.5	0.7	1.9	3.5	0.8	2.5	3.6	0.9	2.6	3.1	0.8	2.3
Oil and derivatives	1.0	0.5	0.9	1.2	0.7	1.0	1.2	0.8	1.1	1.1	0.7	1.0
Non-metal minerals	4.4	1.6	3.4	3.7	1.4	2.9	3.9	1.6	3.0	4.1	1.6	3.2
Basic metals	0.3	0.0	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.2
Metal and machinery	10.5	0.3	7.0	11.5	0.4	7.5	10.5	0.4	6.7	10.7	0.4	7.0
Other industrial activities	25.8	4.0	18.4	24.8	3.7	17.2	25.5	4.5	17.6	25.5	4.1	17.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Independent EAP (thousands) per cent by line	54.3 66.0	28.0 34.0	82.3 100.0	33.7 64.3	18.7 35.7	52.5 100.0	47.5 62.6	28.4 37.4	75.9 100.0	135.6 64.4	75.1 35.6	210.7 100.0

Source: INEI, National Censuses 1993. IX population and IV housing.

Table 5-2
PERU: Independent employed EAP according to whether space is used at home for economic activity by industrial sub-branches, sex and natural regions, 1993 (Percentage distribution)

Industrial sub-branches and		Space used			No space u			Not specific			Total	
regions	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Northern region												
Food, beverages and tobacco	10.6	5.6	8.9	12.4	6.1	10.0	11.5	4.8	8.9	11.4	5.4	9.2
Textiles and garments	42.4	89.4	59.0	43.4	89.3	60.7	44.2	90.6	62.5	43.3	89.8	60.7
Wood and furniture	6.7	1.0	4.7	5.8	0.9	4.0	5.7	0.6	3.7	6.1	0.8	4.1
Paper and press	1.1	0.2	0.8	1.6	0.3	1.1	1.7	0.3	1.2	1.4	0.3	1.0
Oil and derivatives	0.7	0.2	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.6	0.3	0.5
Non-metal minerals	3.0	0.7	2.2	2.3	0.7	1.7	2.9	0.6	2.0	2.8	0.7	2.0
Basic metals	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1
Metal and machinery	7.1	0.2	4.6	7.6	0.1	4.8	7.0	0.2	4.3	7.2	0.2	4.6
Other industrial activities	28.3	2.7	19.3	26.3	2.2	17.2	26.3	2.5	16.9	27.1	2.5	17.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Independent EAP (thousands)	18.9	10.3	29.2	13.4	8.1	21.5	17.4	11.3	28.7	49.7	29.7	79.4
per cent by line	64.7	35.3	100.0	62.3	37.7	100.0	60.6	39.4	100.0	62.6	37.4	100.0
Southern region												
Food, beverages and tobacco	8.2	5.5	7.2	9.2	8.7	9.0	8.9	7.9	8.6	8.6	6.9	8.0
Textiles and garments	49.3	87.1	63.1	47.6	83.5	59.7	44.5	82.4	57.9	47.3	84.8	60.6
Wood and furniture	4.8	0.2	3.1	4.0	0.4	2.8	4.5	0.2	3.0	4.5	0.2	3.0
Paper and press	0.8	0.3	0.6	1.3	0.5	1.0	1.5	0.5	1.1	1.2	0.4	0.9
Oil and derivatives	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.4
Non-metal minerals	5.9	2.3	4.6	4.3	2.1	3.6	5.1	2.4	4.1	5.3	2.3	4.2
Basic metals	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.1
Metal and machinery	6.0	0.2	3.9	7.5	0.1	5.0	7.5	0.2	4.9	6.8	0.2	4.5
Other industrial activities	24.4	4.2	17.1	25.4	4.4	18.4	27.3	6.0	19.8	25.6	4.9	18.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Independent EAP (thousands)	14.3	8.2	22.6	6.0	3.1	9.1	11.5	6.3	17.8	31.9	23.5	49.4
per cent by line	63.5	36.5	100.0	66.3	33.7	100.0	64.6	35.4	100.0	64.4	47.6	100.0

Table 5-2 (continued)

Industrial sub-branches and		Space used			No space u	sed		Not specifie	d		Total	
regions	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Central region												
Food, beverages and tobacco	8.0	4.9	7.0	7.5	5.5	6.9	9.8	5.8	8.4	8.5	5.4	7.5
Textiles and garments	46.9	86.5	59.4	47.6	87.4	60.5	44.5	84.1	57.8	46.2	85.8	59.0
Wood and furniture	5.3	0.4	3.7	5.6	0.3	3.9	5.2	0.5	3.6	5.3	0.4	3.7
Paper and press	1.2	0.4	1.0	1.3	0.3	1.0	1.5	0.1	1.0	1.3	0.3	1.0
Oil and derivatives	0.8	0.2	0.6	0.9	0.4	0.7	0.8	0.4	0.6	0.8	0.3	0.6
Non-metal minerals	2.7	1.8	2.4	2.9	1.0	2.3	2.5	2.0	2.4	2.7	1.7	2.3
Basic metals	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1
Metal and machinery	7.5	0.4	5.3	7.4	0.2	5.0	8.0	0.3	5.4	7.7	0.3	5.3
Other industrial activities	27.6	5.1	20.5	26.7	5.1	19.7	27.7	6.9	20.7	27.4	5.8	20.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Independent EAP (thousands)	7.8	3.6	11.4	5.0	2.4	7.4	7.5	3.8	11.3	20.2	9.8	30.0
per cent by line	68.5	31.5	100.0	67.6	32.4	100.0	66.4	33.6	100.0	67.5	32.5	100.0
Dept. of Lima and Prov. Const. Del Callao												
Food, beverages and tobacco	3.9	3.0	3.6	4.1	2.6	3.6	4.7	3.2	4.1	4.2	2.9	3.8
Textiles and garments	26.9	84.9	44.7	26.8	85.2	47.6	27.0	82.8	47.6	26.9	84.2	46.8
Wood and furniture	8.5	0.2	5.9	8.1	0.3	5.3	7.1	0.4	4.5	7.9	0.3	5.3
Paper and press	7.0	2.1	5.5	8.8	1.8	6.3	10.1	2.8	7.3	8.5	2.3	6.3
Oil and derivatives	2.5	1.8	2.3	2.7	1.7	2.3	3.5	2.3	6.3	2.8	1.9	2.5
Non-metal minerals	5.8	1.9	4.6	5.8	2.4	4.6	5.1	2.4	4.1	5.6	2.2	4.4
Basic metals	0.8	0.1	0.6	0.6	0.1	0.4	0.9	0.3	0.6	0.8	0.2	0.6
Metal and machinery	21.9	0.7	15.4	21.9	0.9	14.4	20.7	1.0	13.1	21.5	0.9	14.3
Other industrial activities	22.8	5.3	17.5	21.2	4.9	15.4	21.1	4.9	14.8	21.8	5.0	16.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Independent EAP (thousands)	13.3	5.9	19.2	9.4	5.2	14.6	11.1	7.0	18.2	33.8	18.1	51.9
per cent by line	69.4	30.6	100.0	64.3	35.7	100.0	61.4	38.6	100.0	65.2	34.8	100.0

Source: INEI, National Censuses 1993. IX Population and IV Housing.

Table 5.3
Peru: Independent employed EAP in the industrial sub-branch of textiles and garment according to whether space is used at home for economic activity by sex and department, 1993 (percentage distribution)

Departments		Space use	ed	No	space u	sed	N	lot specifi	ed		Total	
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men Total	Women		Men	Women	Total
Total Republic (thousands)	22.3	24.5	46.8	13.5	16.3	29.9	19.1	24.4	43.5	55.0	65.2	120.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Northern	36.0	37.7	36.9	42.9	44.4	43.7	40.2	42.0	41.2	39.1	41.0	40.1
region	7.3	9.7	8.6	4.3	4.4	4.3	9.2	12.2	10.9	7.2	9.3	8.4
Cajamarca	8.0	5.7	6.8	11.7	8.1	9.7	8.6	6.4	7.4	9.1	6.6	7.8
La Libertad	3.4	6.9	5.3	6.1	11.9	9.3	4.2	7.4	6.0	4.3	8.4	6.5
Lambayeque	4.2	5.8	5.0	6.9	8.0	7.5	4.2	4.3	4.3	4.8	5.8	5.4
Piura	6.5	3.2	4.8	6.7	3.8	5.1	5.4	3.2	4.1	6.1	3.4	4.6
Ancash	2.5	2.5	2.5	3.1	3.5	5.1	3.9	4.0	4.0	3.1	3.3	3.2
Loreto	2.6	2.1	2.4	3.0	2.7	2.8	3.3	2.7	3.0	3.0	2.5	2.7
San Martin	1.3	1.3	1.3	0.9	1.0	0.9	1.3	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.1	1.2
Amazonas	0.2	0.5	0.3	0.2	0.9	0.6	0.2	0.6	0.4	0.2	0.6	0.4
Tumbes												
	31.7	29.3	30.4	21.2	15.7	18.2	26.7	21.2	23.6	27.4	22.9	24.9
Southern region	12.9	16.7	14.9	6.7	6.3	6.4	6.9	7.8	7.4	9.3	10.8	10.1
Puno	8.1	4.5	6.2	4.9	2.4	3.6	6.9	4.4	5.5	6.9	3.9	5.3
Cusco	5.3	4.0	4.7	5.5	4.2	4.8	6.7	4.3	5.3	5.8	4.2	4.9
Arequipa	2.9	1.8	2.3	1.9	1.1	1.5	3.0	1.5	2.2	2.7	1.5	2.1
Ayacucho	1.1	1.1	1.1	0.6	0.4	0.5	1.2	1.7	1.5	1.0	1.2	1.1
Apurimac	0.8	0.6	0.7	1.0	0.8	0.9	1.4	0.8	1.1	1.0	0.7	0.9
Tacna	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.5
Moquegua	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Madre de Dios												
	16.3	12.7	14.4	17.5	12.8	14.9	17.4	13.0	15.0	17.0	12.8	14.7
Central region	7.7	4.5	6.0	8.7	4.8	6.6	7.4	4.2	5.6	7.8	4.5	6.0
Junin	3.2	4.1	3.6	2.4	2.4	2.4	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.0	3.4	3.2
Huánuco	2.3	0.8	1.5	1.5	0.6	1.0	1.1	0.6	0.9	1.7	0.7	1.2
Huancavelica	1.4	1.5	1.5	3.0	2.8	2.9	3.1	2.5	2.8	2.4	2.2	2.3
Ica	0.6	1.2	0.9	0.9	1.8	1.4	1.1	1.9	1.6	0.9	1.6	1.3
Ucayali	1.2	0.6	0.9	1.0	0.4	0.6	1.3	0.5	0.9	1.2	0.5	0.8
Pasco												
Dept. of Lima and Prov. Const. Callao	16.0	20.3	18.3	18.5	27.2	23.2	15.7	23.8	20.2	16.5	23.3	20.2

Source: INEI. National Censuses 1993. IX population and IV housing.

The 1994 ENNIV also allows us to estimate the magnitud of home work at the national level. By cross-referencing the relevant variables, Table 5-4 demonstrates that the independent working EAP in the manufacturing industry stands at 483,600 workers, over double the 210,700 emerging from the Census. About 188,500 of these workers have a room in their homes for economic activities This figure exceeds the number obtained from the 1993 Census by some 60,000 workers. Of this population, 54,000 are women, which coincides with the Census figure. Finally, in the textiles and clothing sub-branches, we find 41,400 women, which is sufficiently close to the figure of 39,300 obtained from the 1993 Census.³⁰

Table 5-4
Peru: Independent employed EAP according to whether a room is used at home for economic activity by industrial sub-branches and sex, 1994 (percentage distribution)

Industrial sub-branches	with a room in the home Men Women Total			withou Men	he home Total	Men	Total Men Women Total			
Food, beverages and tobacco	11.4	10.3	11.1	6.8	9.8	8.3	9.0	10.0	9.4	
Textiles and garments	42.7	76.6	52.4	39.2	73.9	56.5	40.9	74.6	54.9	
Wood and furniture	4.5	4.6	4.5	8.6	4.8	6.7	6.6	4.7	5.8	
Paper and press	4.8	2.9	4.2	6.7	0.0	3.4	5.8	0.8	3.7	
Oil and derivatives	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.5	1.1	1.3	0.8	0.8	0.8	
Non-metal minerals	2.8	2.8	2.8	4.0	2.6	3.3	3.4	2.6	3.1	
Basic metals	2.1	0.0	1.5	2.2	0.0	1.1	2.2	0.0	1.3	
Metal and machinery	12.6	2.8	9.8	15.8	3.0	9.4	14.3	3.0	9.6	
Miscellaneous Manufacturing	19.0	0.0	13.6	15.2	4.8	10.1	17.0	3.5	11.4	
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
National number of cases	93	38	131	108	114	222	201	152	353	
Independent EAP in thousands	134.4	54.1	188.5	148.3	146.7	295.0	282.8	200.8	483.6	
per cent by line	71.3	28.7	100.0	50.3	49.7	100.0	58.5	41.5	100.0	

Source: ENNIV 1994.

The comparison of the results of the 1993 Census with those of the 1994 ENNIV, in Table 5-5, confirms the acknowledged underestimation of the EAP, particularly among women, emerging from a Census and the likely under-estimation emerging from household surveys, particularly in the case of the ENNIV which gives an extremely high EAP figure. In the specific comparison of the independent working EAP in the manufacturing industry, the ENNIV figures are 2.3 times higher than those in the Census. On the other hand, it is striking that, when confined to women, a comparison between the share of the EAP using a space or room in the home for carrying out an economic activity, particularly in the textile and clothing sub-branches, gives very similar figures. If the Census underestimates the female EAP, and the ENNIV gives similar results, it may be that the latter is under-estimating the female EAP with a room in the home, while the number over 108 thousand women workers who do not may be inflated. The question remains whether there are independent women workers in the textile and clothing sub-branches who own or who pay for work premises. If the same ratio of 2.67, which was obtained in comparing the independent female

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³⁰ It should be noted that the number of cases in the ENNIV for the female EAP with a room in the home stands at 38. When those working in the textile and clothing sub-branches are subtracted, the number of cases ,for both men and women is reduced to 29.

EAP figures in manufacturing with the female EAP in textiles and clothing, is applied, as reflected in the Census, then the respective EAP in the ENNIV might be as high as 105,000 women workers.

Table 5-5
Peru: Industrial independent employed EAP by whether it has a room/space at home for economic activity, by sex. Comparison of results of the 1993 Census and the 1994 ENNIV (in thousands)

Independent. Employed EAP	1993 Census (a)	1994 ENNIV (b)	Ratio (b/a)	Difference (b-a)
Manufacturing Industry - Men - Women	210.7	483.6	2.29	272.9
	135.6	282.8	2.08	147.2
	75.1	200.8	2.67	125.7
With space/room	128.6	188.5	1.46	59.9
- Men	83.6	134.4	1.61	50.8
- Women	45.0	54.1	1.20	9.1
Textiles and Garments - Men - Women	73.6	98.8	1.34	25.2
	34.3	57.4	1.67	23.1
	39.3	41.4	1.05	2.1

Based on Tables 5-1 and 5-4.

Table 5-6 combines the ENNIV figures for the independent working EAP according to whether or not a room is used in the home for carrying out an economic activity by industrial subbranch and sex, by natural regions. The fact that information cannot be disaggregated by departments or regions means that it can only be stated that the total EAP with a room stands for Lima at 57,900 workers, that is, three times higher than the figure emerging from the 1993 Census (19,200 workers). It may also be noted that 16 per cent of those who have a room in the home are located in the rural area (25 cases) and it is in this area that the highest concentration of workers in the textile and clothing industry is located (64.9 per cent).

Finally, Table 5-7 reflects a higher concentration of the EAP with a room at home in the textile and clothing sub-branches in the remaining urban area, in comparison to Lima and the rural area. This may be due to the fact that homes in cities outside Lima have more space or more rooms or, alternatively, workers are not able to have a separate premises for work purposes. In contrast, in Lima, houses are smaller and doubtless fewer people are home-owners.

The information for Metropolitan Lima emerges from the MTPS household surveys in Lima for workers who carry out their activities in their homes; this variable has been used as a proxy in estimating home work for independents in the manufacturing industry. However, before the corresponding share of EAP is established, consideration should be given to the evolution of the female working EAP by category of occupation for the textiles and clothing sub-branches and for the remainder of the industry in the 1986-1996 period, as reflected in Table 5-8. Basically, the female working EAP for industry as a whole declined between 1991 and 1992 as a result of the structural adjustment process, from 140,000 to 110,000 women workers, with a concomitant fall in the proportion of independent women workers in the textile and clothing sub-branches from 89.2 per cent

Table 5-6
Peru: Independent employed EAP according to whether a room is used at home for economic activity by industrial sub-branches, sex and natural region, 1994 (percentage distribution)

Industrial sub-branches	with	a room at l	nome	witho	ut room at l	nome	Total		
	Men	Men Women Total		Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total

	1			Г			ſ		1
Food, beverages and tobacco	11.1	10.0	10.8	0.0	14.8	6.6	4.9	13.5	
Textiles and garments	37.0	80.0	48.6	52.9	70.4	60.7	8.2		
Wood and furniture	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	45.9	73.0	
Paper and press	7.4	10.0	8.1	5.9	0.0	3.3	56.1		
Oil and derivatives	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.9	3.7	3.3	0.0	0.0	
Non-metal minerals	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0		
Basic metals	3.7	0.0	2.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.6	2.7	
Metal and machinery	11.1	0.0	8.1	14.7	7.4	11.5	5.1		
Miscellaneous Manufacturing	29.6	0.0	21.6	23.5	3.7	14.8	1.6	2.7	
Wiscendificous Waitardacturing	20.0	0.0	21.0	20.0	0.1	11.0	2.0	~.1	
Total (Metropolitan Lima)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	
Independent EAP in thousands	42.2	15.6	57.9	53.2	42.2	95.4	0.0	0.0	
Number of cases	27	10.0	37	34	27	61	1.6	0.0	
rumber of cases	۵۱	10	37	34	21	01	1.0	0.0	
Food, beverages and tobacco	13.6	12.5	13.3	10.4	8.6	9.6	13.1	5.4	
Textiles and garments	41.1	72.4	51.0	29.5	69.0	47.2	10.2	0.1	
Wood and furniture	5.1	5.5	5.2	14.9	6.1	11.0	26.2	2.7	
Paper and press	4.7	0.0	3.2	9.6	0.1	5.3	17.3	۵.1	
Oil and derivatives	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	17.5		
Non-metal minerals	5.5	4.8	5.3	6.5	6.6	6.6	100.0	100.0	
Basic metals	0.0						100.0	100.0	
		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0		F7 0	
Metal and machinery	17.8	4.8	13.7	18.4	0.0	10.2	95.4	57.9	
Miscellaneous Manufacturing	12.3	0.0	8.4	10.6	9.7	10.2	153.2	0.77	00
Total (sushar:th	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	61	37	98
Total (urban national)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100	100	
Independent EAP in thousands	69.1	31.9	101.0	70.7	57.1	127.8	12.0	10.0	
Number of cases	47	22	69	51	43	94	11.2		
							35.2	70.3	
Food, beverages and tobacco	5.5	0.0	4.3	11.4	6.9	8.4	48.9		
Textiles and garments	58.1	88.9	64.9	37.1	83.0	67.3	10.0	5.9	
Wood and furniture	11.0	11.1	11.0	8.9	7.4	7.9	8.4		
Paper and press	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.2	0.0	
Oil and derivatives	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.0	0.0	1.0	4.4		
Non-metal minerals	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.2	0.0	1.8	0.0	0.0	
Basic metals	5.5	0.0	4.3	13.6	0.0	4.6	0.0		
Metal and machinery	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.4	2.7	5.3	6.0	6.0	
Miscellaneous Manufacturing	19.9	0.0	15.5	10.4	0.0	3.5	6.0		
							0.0	0.0	
Total (national rural)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	0.0		
Independent EAP in thousands	23.1	6.5	29.7	24.5	47.3	71.8	18.1	1.7	
Number of cases	19	6	25	23	44	67	11.7		
							11.4	6.2	
Food, beverages and tobacco	11.4	10.3	11.1	6.8	9.8	8.3	9.4		
Textiles and garments	42.7	76.6	52.4	39.2	73.9	56.5			
Wood and furniture	4.5	4.6	4.5	8.6	4.8	6.7	100.0	100.0	
Paper and press	4.8	2.9	4.2	6.7	0.0	3.4	100.0		
Oil and derivatives	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.5	1.1	1.3	139.8	89.1	
Non-metal minerals	2.8	2.8	2.8	4.0	2.6	3.3	228.8		
Basic metals	2.1	0.0	1.5	2.2	0.0	1.1	98	65	163
Metal and machinery	12.6	2.8	9.8	15.8	3.0	9.4			
Miscellaneous Manufacturing	19.0	0.0	13.6	15.2	4.8	10.1	8.5	6.1	
8		-	-				7.2	•	
Total (national)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	47.3	83.7	
Independent EAP in thousands	134.4	54.1	188.5	148.3	146.7	295.0	66.6		
Number of cases	93	38	131	108	114	222	9.9	7.9	
	1						8.8		
							0.0	0.0	
							0.0	3.0	
							1.5	0.0	
							0.7	0.0	
							2.7	0.0	
							1.3	0.0	
							9.7	0.0	
							4.5	0.0	
							5.3	2.4	
							ა.ა	۵.4	

Source: ENNIV 1994.

to 67.5 per cent.³¹ Consequently, the proportion of independent women workers in clothing and textiles dropped, from between 78 per cent and 89 per cent, respectively, in 1986 to 1991, to levels between 63 per cent and 75 per cent from 1992 to 1995. In effect, the independent female EAP in the textiles and clothing sub-branches was affected by the opening up of imports and higher costs of operating as an independent.³² Figures for 1996 reveal a recovery in the percentage of independent women in clothing and textiles, although absolute figures for the women working EAP in industry in Lima were lower than in 1995.

Table 5-7
PERU: Independent employed EAP in the textiles and garments sub-branch according to whether a room is used at home for economic activity by sex and natural region, 1994 (percentage distribution)

Natural Regions	Men	Space use Women	ed Total	Men	No space us Women	sed Total	Men	Total Women	
Metropolitan Lima	27.2	30.2	28.5	48.4	27.4	34.7	37.9	28.2	32.4
Remaining urban Coast Plains Forest National rural Coast	49.4 24.3 21.4 3.7 23.4 0.0	55.8 21.1 29.6 5.1 14.0 0.0	52.1 23.0 24.8 4.3 19.5 0.0	35.9 15.0 18.5 2.4 15.6 0.0	36.4 12.9 17.0 6.5 36.2 0.0	36.2 13.6 17.5 5.1 29.0 0.0	42.6 19.6 19.9 3.1 19.5 0.0	41.7 15.1 20.5 6.1 30.1 0.0	42.1 17.1 20.2 4.8 25.5 0.0
Plains Forest Total Independent EAP in thousands Number of cases	22.1 1.3 100.0 57.4 40	12.3 1.8 100.0 41.4 29	18.0 1.5 100.0 98.9 69	13.1 2.5 100.0 58.1 40	28.1 8.1 100.0 108.4 85	22.9 6.1 100.0 166.5	17.6 1.9 100.0 115.6 80	23.8 6.3 100.0 149.9	21.1 4.4 100.0 265.4 194

Source: ENNIV 1994.

Table 5-9 shows the EAP engaged in industrial activities who work at home by occupational category and sex for the period 1986-1996 in Metropolitan Lima. It appears that the so-called independent workers, who work at home in the manufacturing industry, are, in fact, homeworkers. There is reason, therefore, not to believe that employees and workers (see table 5-9) make up the bulk of homeworkers.³³ Indeed, particularly for women, the category of independent workers is the sole occupational category of note.

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³¹ The reduction in absolute figures is from 34 thousand to 19 thousand women workers, although the second figure represents less than 30 cases.

³² One of the main aspects of the 1990 adjustment was a rise in public utility charges (electricity, water and telephone) and fuel prices, which had previously been subsidised, that came to "drive" inflation during the early post-adjustment years. Not only was purchasing power curtailed, but the increase in costs as a result of higher charges led to the closure of workshops and micro-enterprises.

³³ As may be construed from Table 5-9, the number of cases - emerging from surveys - of employees and workers in industry who work at home is not statistically significant.

Cuadro 5-8
Lima: Female employed EAP by occupational category by sub-branches of industrial activities, 1986-1996 (Percentage distribution)

Manufacturing			1986			1987			1	989				1990			1	991
Industry	Indep. Total	Ū	e- Remaining	Inde Tota	ĺ	Remaining g non-wage		Indep. Total		Remaining	-	Indep.	_	Remaining non-wa	_	Indep. Total	Ü	Remaining non-wage
Garments and extiles	87.0 61.8	48.2	2 43.1	78.4 53.6	40.7	58.8		86.8 61.0	50.4	39.1		78.8	51.7	71.1	61.9	89.2 60.9	50.4	48.1
Remaining industry	13.0 38.2	51.8	56.9	21.6 46.4	59.3	41.2		13.2 39.0	49.6	60.9		21.2	48.3 100.0	28.9 100.0	38.1 100.0	10.8 39.1	49.6	51.9
Employed EAP	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	46.4	95.7	20.1	162.2	100.0	100.0	100.0
thousands) 6 distribution	100.0	100.0	100.0	40.6		14.1	100.0	45.0	78.8	15.2		28.6	59.0	12.4	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
6 variation	55.7 152.3	77.2	19.4	138.5		10.1		139.0	56.7	11.0		3.1	21.5	31.9	16.7	38.4 140.4	91.6	10.5
	36.6 100.0	50.7	12.7	100.0 - 27.2		- 27.5	_	100.0 5.5	- 3.0	4.2						27.3 100.0	65.2	7.5
				9.1				0.2								- 17.3 13.4	- 4.3	- 47.9
Manufacturing			1992			1993			1	994				1995			1	996
Industry	Indep. Total	. Wage	e- Remaining	Inde Tota		Remaining		Indep. Total	Wage-	Remaining	g	Indep.	_	Remainin g non-wa	•	Indep. Total	Wage-	Remaining
		Earni	ng non-wage			g non-wage			Earning	non-wage	e				-		Earning	g non-wage

Garments and textiles	67.5 50.9	44.0	57.5		63.3	46.8	48.2	51.4	74.9	53.0	48.3	58.6	66.8 50.4	44.9	42.3		81.6	53.5	58.4	63.8
Remaining industry	50.9				36.7	53.2	51.8	48.6	25.1	47.0	51.7	41.4	30.4				18.4	46.5	41.6	36.2
m . 1	32.5	56.0	42.5		400.0	400.0	100.0	400.0	400.0	100.0	400.0	400.0	33.2	55.1	57.7	49.6	400.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total	49.1				100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Employed EAP	100.0	100.0	100.0		38.8	89.3	13.9		37.0	78.4	15.5	130.9					48.8	79.5	8.2	136.5
(thousands)	100.0				141.9								47.6	111.9	21.1					
% distribution									28.3	59.9	11.8	100.0	180.6				35.7	58.3	6.0	100.0
% variation	28.1 110.4	74.8	7.6		27.3 100.0 38.1	62.9 19.5	9.8 82.5		- 4.6	- 12.2	11.8	- 7.8	26.4 100.0	61.9	11.7		2.4 24.4	- 28.9	- 61.1	-
	25.4 110.0	67.7	6.9		28.6								28.8 38.0	42.6	36.4					
	- 26.8 21.4	- 18.4	- 27.5	-																

Source: MTPS. DNEFP. Households Surveys.

The proportion of independent women workers labouring at home ranges from 74.2 per cent of women employed in industry in 1986, to 71.4 per cent in 1993, with an average for the 1986-1996 period of 78.2 per cent. For men, the maximum and minimum levels were 78.4 per cent in 1986 and 45 per cent in 1991, with an average for the period of 60.6 per cent. The years 1987 and 1993 simultaneously revealed the lowest proportions both for women (69 per cent and 71.4 per cent) and for men (51.1 per cent and 53.4 per cent). In contrast, when the proportion of women was high, standing at 80 per cent or more, as in 1994-95, the proportion of men was below the average for the period. In absolute figures, a period of expansion of female industrial work at home occurred in 1986 to 1990, totaling 60,000 individuals, followed by a downward trend until 1994; the lowest point was recorded in 1992 with 36,000 women workers. In 1995 and 1996, female industrial work at home returned to its 1987 level, accounting for over 54,000 women workers.

Table 5-9a - based on Table 5-8 and 5-9 - provides a summary of this evolution of independent female home work in industry and in the clothing and textile sub-branches, in terms of number of workers. This evolution ranges from 48,500 women workers in these two sub-branches in 1986, to the lowest level of 19,000 in 1992. Numbers subsequently increased to reach some 40,000 women workers in 1996.

Table 5-9a Lima: Independent female EAP working at home in industrial activities and garment and textiles subbranches (in thousands)

Year	Independent (1)	Textiles and Garment (2)	Percentage (2/1)
1986	55.7	48.5	87
1987	40.6	31.8	78.4
1989	45	39.1	86.8
1990	46.4	36.6	78.8
1991	38.4	34.2	89.2
1992	28.1	19	67.5
1993	38.8	24.6	63.3
1994	37	27.7	74.9
1995	47.6	31.8	66.8
1996	48.8	39.8	81.6

The proportion of EAP engaged in home-based industrial activities, according to the size of the enterprise (in enterprises of less than 5 workers) and sex for 1986-1996, in Lima (Table 5-10) confirms that the majority of home-based industrial workers work alone, particularly women. For both men and women, the proportions follow the evolution outlined in Table 5-9, confirming that independents work, for the most part, alone in their homes.

In short, the following conclusions may be drawn for Metropolitan Lima:

i) independent workers who work at home are concentrated in the textile and clothing subbranches;

Table 5-9
Lima: Employed EAP in industrial activities working at home by occupational category, by sex, 1986-1996 (Percentage distribution)

Industrial activities and		1986			1987		·	1989			1990			1991	
occupational category	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total									
Employers	21.5	5.8	11.2	26.6	1.1	10.6	8.9	2.6	4.9	13.4	4.9	7.	21.5	4.2	12.8
Employees and workers	0.0	0.0	0.0	11.2	16.1	14.3	6.7	6.4	6.5	9			23.2	6.2	14.7
Independent worker	78.5	94.2	88.8	51.1	69.0	62.3	64.4	78.2	73.2	11.1	7.3		45.0	83.4	64.2
T.F.N.R.	0.0	0.0	0.0	11.1	13.8	12.8	20.0	12.8	15.4	8.7			10.2	6.2	8.2
										66.7	75.3				
Total	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	72.2			100.0	100.0	100.0
	100.0									8.9	12.5				
Expanded figures				32.6	54.6	87.2	29.8	51.6	81.5	11.2			40.0	40.0	80.0
(thousands)	29.9	57.4		37.4	62.6	100.0	36.6	63.4	100.0				50.0	50.0	100.0
% distribution	87.3			9.1	- 4.9	-	- 4.2	- 2.8	- 3.3	100.0	100.0		17.6	- 34.0	- 15.5
Average annual % variation	34.2	65.8		0.1			45	78	123	100.0			47	52	99
Number of cases	100.0			53	93	146									
										34.0	60.6				
	51	103	154							94.6					
										35.9	64.1				
										100.0					
										13.9	17.4				
										16.1					
										45	82	127			

Industrial activities and		1992			1993			1994			1995			1996	
occupational category	Men	Women	Total												

Employers 2	22.1	5.6		26.2	1.7	11.3	20.4	1.9	11.7	19.4
Employees and workers 1.	5.3			9.6	13.8	12.2	12.1	5.6	9.1	11.7
Independent worker	3.9	11.0		53.4	71.4	64.4	59.3	81.5	69.7	17.1
T.F.N.R. 6	.8			10.8	13.0	12.1	8.2	11.0	9.5	9.5
6	53.1	72.4								58.3
Total 6	6.9			100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		70.0
1	10.9	11.0					100.0			5.2
Expanded figures 1	0.9			31.1	48.4	79.5				8.8
(thousands)				39.1	60.9	100.0	59.2	44.4		
% distribution	0.00	100.0		- 40.2	34.1	- 9.7	94.6			100.0
Average annual % variation	0.00			39	61	100	62.6	46.9		100.0
Number of cases							100.0			
	52.0	36.1					90.5	- 8.3		44.7
8	8.1						19.0			96.5
	59.0	41.0					61	55	116	46.3
1	0.00									100.0
	30.1	- 9.8								- 24.6
10	0.1									2.0
	67	49	116							58

Source: MTPS. DNEFP. Households Surveys.

- ii) the large majority are workers who classify or declare themselves to be independent and who work alone;
- iii) a clear prevalence exists of women workers who, moreover, are largely concentrated in the textile and clothing sub-branches. Their number was estimated at 40,000 in 1996;
- iv) following the 1990 adjustment process, involving freer importation and an increase in public service charges, a substantial fall-off occurred in this type of work, particularly in 1992, with some measure of recovery from 1993, which became more marked in 1996.

5.2.2 Profile of homeworkers

Table 5-11 presents the evolution of the profile of the home-based industrial independent EAP, during the 1986-1996 period. The demographic characteristics of such homeworkers include the following:

- i) clear prevalence of women until 1990. From 1991, the percentage of women declined markedly, with the exception of recoveries in 1993 and 1996;
- ii) the average age ranges between 36 and 40 years. In 1996, this average rose to approximately 43 years;
- iii) in most cases, workers have started but not completed secondary education, with the trend from 1989 towards an increase in the average level of schooling;
- iv) majority of migrants, the proportion declining between 1989 and 1993, with a subsequent sustained recovery from 1994 to 1996 to reach 64.3 per cent of the industrial independent EAP working at home.

Occupational characteristics reveal that:

- i) such workers are concentrated in the clothing and textiles sub-branches, although following a downward trend, particularly in 1992 and 1995, with a marked reversal in 1996, when the 1995 level of 52.5 per cent rose to 68.5 per cent;
- ii) average monthly earnings in dollars also declined substantially as did average pay between 1987 and 1990, as a result of hyperinflation, to recover in 1993 (US \$182) to 1987 levels (US \$170). From that year onwards, monthly earnings in dollars declined to US \$150 per month;

- iii) the average number of hours worked per week ranged between a minimum 33 hours in 1987 and a maximum of 41 hours in 1989 and 39 hours in 1994;
- iv) total duration of home work was between 5 and 9 years; and
- v) the percentage of workers enrolled in social security (pensions) reached 21 per cent in 1989 and 1991, when it began to decline to fall to a level of only 6.8 per cent in 1995. In 1996, in contrast, the percentage eligible for a pension increased. The findings of the Sara-Lafosse study, for Lima, are confirmed.

The BCRP survey of October 1989 was confined to small scale production units (with less than 50 workers), concentrating in particular on the owners. "Units" with a single worker are in fact independent workers and employers who work in their homes in Lima. The results taken directly from the publication - since it was not possible to gain access to the database - appear in Tables 5-12 and 5-15 and confirm the results obtained by the MTPS households surveys, even in the case of surveys applied to different units of study.

Table 5-10
Lima: EAP engaged in industrial activities working at home by enterprise size, in enterprises with under 5 workers, and sex, 1986-1996 (Percentage distribution)

Size of enterprise (in no. of workers)	Men	1986 Women	Total	Men	1987 Women	Total	Men	1989 Women	Total	Men	1990 Women	Total	Men	1991 Women	Total
1 2 more than 2	47.0 27.5 25.5	84.3 10.8 4.9	71.6 16.5 11.9	34.1 31.9 34.0	59.2 15.1 25.7	49.8 21.5 28.7	37.8 22.2 40.0	59.0 15.4 25.6	51.2 17.9 30.9	35.5 40.0 24.5	66.2 12.9 20.9	55.2 22.6 22.2	27.9 36.1 36.0	66.9 12.5 20.6	47.4 24.3 28.3
Total Engaged EAP (thousands) Number of cases	100.0 100.0 29.9 51	100.0 57.4 103	87.3 154	100.0 32.6 53	100.0 54.6 93	100.0 87.2 146	100.0 29.8 45	100.0 51.6 78	100.0 81.5 123	100.0 34.0 45	100.0 60.6 82	100.0 94.6 127	100.0 40.0 47	100.0 40.0 52	100.0 80.0 99
% Average annual variation 1 2 more than 2				- 20.8 26.6 45.5	- 33.2 33.0 399.0	- 30.5 30.2 141.0	0.7 - 18.2 3.8	- 2.9 - 1.8 - 2.9	- 2.0 - 11.1 0.3	7.0 105.2 - 30.2	31.7 - 1.7 - 4.2	25.2 46.6 - 16.6	- 7.6 6.1 72.8	- 33.3 - 36.0 - 34.9	- 27.4 - 9.1 7.8

Size of enterprise (in no. of workers)	Men	1992 Women	Total	Men	1993 Women	Total	Men	1994 Women	Total	Men	1995 Women	Total	Men	1996 Women	Total
1	43.4	61.4	50.8	34.2	62.8	51.6	25.2	75.9	49.0	35.5	61.4	49.4	52.7	64.4	59.5
2	35.4	17.6	28.0	19.1	15.4	16.9	37.3	16.8	27.6	21.1	16.2	18.4	12.7	15.2	14.2
more than 2	21.2	21.0	21.2	46.7	21.8	31.5	37.5	7.3	23.4	43.4	22.4	32.2	34.6	20.4	26.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Engaged EAP (thousands)	52.0	36.1	88.1	31.1	48.4	79.5	50.2	44.4	94.6	44.7	51.9	96.5	38.5	54.3	92.8
Number of cases	67	49	116	39	61	100	61	55	116	58	73	131	55	79	134
% Average annual variation 1 2 more than 2	102.4 18.0 27.6 26.9 - 23.4 17.5	- 17.2 27.0 - 8.0	-	- 52.9 - 67.7 31.7	37.2 17.4 39.2	- 8.3 - 45.5 34.1	19.0 215.4 29.7	10.9 0.1 - 69.3	13.0 94.4 - 11.6	25.3 - 49.7 2.9	- 5.5 12.7 258.5	2.9 - 32.0 40.4	28.2 - 48.3 - 31.2	9.8 - 1.5 - 4.6	15.9 - 26.0 - 21.5

Source: MTPS. DNEFP. Households Surveys.

Table 5-11 Lima: Profile of independent EAP in industrial activities working at home, 1986-1996

Years	Proportion of women	Age in completed years	Scho (aver	oling rage)	Migrants	Average income in US\$	Weekly hours worked	Years of experience	Members of pension plan	Workers in garments and textiles
	(%)	(average)	Level	Years	(%)		(average)	(average)	(%)	(%)
2e+39	65.8	40.4	Secund.	2do	63.2	122.40	36.3	9.1	16.9	73.9
	62.6	37.3	Secund	2do	61.3	170.08	32.8	8.8	13.8	57.6
	63.4	35.9	Secund	4to	56.1	81.34	40.8	7.0	21.1	67.4
	64.1	37.2	Secund	3ro	55.3	46.88	33.5	7.3	16.5	69.8
	50.0	37.9	Secund	4to	58.0	144.96	34.1	9.5	21.0	64.9
	41.0	39.0	Secund	4to	58.1	163.31	35.1	8.4	16.4	56.0
	60.9	36.5	Secund	4to	55.2	182.18	34.5	5.5	11.6	61.4
	46.9	39.9	Secund	3ro	61.8	164.99	39.4	7.7	7.7	58.1
	53.7	37.6	Secund	4to	62.9	150.14	37.7	7.1	6.8	52.5
	58.5	42.8	Secund	4to	64.3	149.26	35.8	9.1	14.9	68.5

Source: MTPS. DNEFP. Households Survey 1986-1996.

Table 5-12 shows the distribution of small-scale industrial production units by location of the premises according to size and industrial sector. About 78.6 per cent of the total of independent industrial workers (single-worker production units) - some 32,600 workers - work at home. A total of 47,200 workers is obtained by adding those working in home-based units with up to four workers. Of these, 55.4 per cent are in the clothing sub-branch; if we include the footwear sub-branch, the proportion rises at 61.3 per cent of workers (some 29,000).

Table 5-13, which reflects the distribution of units by sex of the person responsible, a concentration is again apparent in the clothing and footwear sub-branches, with 58.1 per cent working alone. A higher percentage of women is also apparent in clothing: 78 per cent of the total of garment makers work alone. In footwear manufacture - with a substantially smaller number of workers - men predominate. Women are to be found only in the clothing and "remaining industries" sub-branches.

The occupational category of the person responsible for such production units confirms that all are independent, and suggests that 76 per cent of garment makers and 51.4 per cent of those responsible for units with 2 to 4 workers are also independent (Table 5-14). As might be expected, in units with 5 or more workers, all persons responsible are employers.

Table 5-15, reflecting the distribution of production units by level of education of the person responsible, shows a lower educational level for independent worker units. The lowest educational level is to be found among garment workers, with 21.4 per cent of the total of those working alone having only primary education. This coincides with the proportionately larger number of women in the garment industry. In contrast, it may be noted that 40 per cent of those working in establishments with between 10 and 50 workers in *metal mecánica* are all men and have completed secondary education. Nonetheless, 6.1 per cent of independent workers in the garment industry have higher education. It is also noteworthy that none of those managing units with between 2 and 4 workers in the garment industry have only primary education.

The 1989 BCRP survey confirms that independent workers who pursue their activity at home are concentrated in the clothing branch, that these are primarily women, and that the educational level is lower among persons owning small units in the industrial sector.

Table 5-12

Lima: distribution of small-scale production units by industrial sub-branches by size of enterprise and location of premises, 1989 a)

]	per cent distribut	ion of units by s	ize (no. of worker	rs)
Industrial activity	1 b)	From 2 to 4	From 5 to 9	From 10 to 50	Total
Garments Street Home Independent premises	55.1	33.5	15.2	15.5	43.8
	3.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.7
	52.0	18.4	10.2	5.5	36.4
	0.0	15.1	5.0	10.0	5.7
Footwear	3.1	11.1	8.1	10.0	6.3
Street	0.0	5.1	0.0	0.0	1.7
Home	3.1	6.0	8.1	10.0	3.8
Independent premises	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8
Wood industry Home Independent premises Other	23.5	20.5	30.9	10.0	22.7
	8.2	11.4	30.9	0.0	10.7
	3.1	9.1	0.0	10.0	5.1
	12.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.9
Printing Home Independent premises Other	0.0	13.0	8.1	3.7	5.1
	0.0	10.2	0.0	0.0	3.5
	0.0	2.8	8.1	3.7	1.6
	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Metal/mechanical	6.2	6.3	14.8	47.2	7.8
Home	3.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.7
Independent premises	0.0	6.3	14.8	6.9	3.4
Other	3.1	0.0	0.0	40.3	2.7
Other industries Home Independent premises Other	12.2	15.6	22.9	13.7	14.2
	12.2	12.5	14.8	0.0	12.2
	0.0	3.1	8.1	13.7	2.0
	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total Street Home Independent premises Other	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.1	99.9
	3.1	5.1	0.0	0.0	3.4
	78.6	58.5	64.0	15.5	68.3
	3.1	36.4	36.0	44.3	18.6
	15.3	0.0	0.0	40.3	9.6
Total	56.3	33.9	7.2	2.6	100.0
Total units a)	41.449	24.930	5.272	1.802	73.423

Source: BCRP; 1992:134, Table 2.35

a) Percentages and units correspond to individuals heading small production units;

b) "one-person enterprises", that is, independent workers.

Table 5-13

Lima: Distribution of small-scale production units by industrial sub-branches by size of enterprise and sex of head, 1989 a)

	per cent distribution of units by size (no. of workers)										
Industrial activity	1 b)	from 2 to 4	from 5 to 9	from 10 to 50	Total						
Garments	55.0	33.6	15.3	16.6	43.9						
Men	12.2	28.5	10.8	0.0	17.3						
Women	42.8	5.1	4.5	16.6	26.6						
Footwear	3.1	11.1	8.1	10.7	6.3						
Men	3.1	6.0	8.1	10.7	4.6						
Women	0.0	5.1	0.0	0.0	1.7						
Wood industry Men	23.5	20.5	30.9	10.7	22.7						
Printing Men	0	13	8.1	3.9	5.1						
Metal/Mechanical	6.1	6.2	14.8	50.7	7.9						
Men	6.1	3.1	14.8	50.7	6.8						
Women	0.0	3.1	0.0	0.0	1.1						
Other industries	12.3	15.6	22.9	7.4	14.0						
Men	3.1	12.5	8.1	7.4	6.7						
Women	9.2	3.1	14.8	0.0	7.3						
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9						
Men	48.0	83.6	80.7	83.4	63.2						
Women	52.0	16.4	19.3	16.6	36.7						
Total	56.3	33.9	7.2	2.6	100.0						
Total Units a)	41.449	2.493	5.272	1.802	73.423						

Source: BCRP: 1992:92, Table 2.1

a) Percentages and units correspond to individuals heading small production units;

b) "one-person enterprises", that is, independent workers.

Table 5-14

Lima: Distribution of small-scale production units by industrial sub-branches by occupational category of head, 1989 a)

		per cent distrib	oution of units by	size (No. of worke	rs)
Industrial activity	1 b)	From 2 to 4	From 5 to 9	From 10 to 50	Total
Garments Employer Independent worker	55.1	33.5	15.3	15.8	43.9
	0.0	8.1	15.3	15.8	4.2
	55.1	25.4	0.0	0.0	39.7
Footwear	3.1	11.0	8.1	9.9	6.3
Employer	0.0	3.1	8.1	9.9	1.9
Independent worker	3.1	7.9	0.0	0.0	4.4
Wood industry	23.5	20.4	30.9	9.9	22.6
Employer	0.0	12.5	30.9	9.9	6.7
Independent worker	23.5	7.9	0.0	0.0	15.9
Printing Employer Independent worker	0.0	13.0	8.1	3.9	5.1
	0.0	2.8	8.1	3.9	1.6
	0.0	10.2	0.0	0.0	3.5
Metal/mechanical Employer Independent worker	6.1	6.3	14.8	46.8	7.8
	0.0	6.3	14.8	46.8	4.3
	6.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.5
Other industries Employer Independent worker	12.2	15.7	22.9	13.6	14.2
	0.0	15.7	22.9	13.6	7.3
	12.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.9
Total Employer Independent worker	100.0	99.9	100.1	99.9	99.9
	0.0	48.5	100.1	99.9	26.0
	12.2	51.4	0.0	0.0	73.9
Total	56.3	33.9	7.2	2.6	100.0
Total Units a)	41.449	2.493	5.272	1.802	73.423

Source: BCRP: 1992:92, Table 2.4

a) Percentages and units correspond to individuals heading small production units;

b) "one-person enterprises", that is, independent workers.

Table 5-15

Lima: Distribution of small-scale production units by industrial sub-branches by size of enterprise and schooling level of head, 1989 a)

	per cent distribution of units by size (No. of workers)									
Activity	1	From 2 to 4	From 5 to 9	From 10 to 50	Total					
Garments Primary Secondary Higher	55.0	33.5	15.3	15.8	43.9					
	21.4	0.0	0.0	5.9	12.1					
	27.5	25.3	15.3	9.9	25.5					
	6.1	8.2	0.0	0.0	6.2					
Footwear Primary Secondary Higher	3.1	11.0	8.1	9.9	6.3					
	0.0	3.1	0.0	0.0	1.1					
	0.0	7.9	8.1	9.9	3.5					
	3.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.7					
Wood industry Primary Secondary Higher	23.6	20.5	30.9	9.9	22.6					
	3.1	11.1	0.0	9.9	5.7					
	17.4	9.4	16.1	0.0	14.1					
	3.1	0.0	14.8	0.0	2.8					
Printing Primary Secondary Higher	0.0	13.0	8.1	3.9	5.1					
	0.0	5.1	0.0	0.0	1.7					
	0.0	5.1	8.1	0.0	2.3					
	0.0	2.8	0.0	3.9	1.1					
Metal/mechanical Primary Secondary Higher	6.2	6.3	14.8	46.8	7.8					
	3.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.7					
	3.1	6.3	14.8	40.0	5.9					
	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.8	0.2					
Other industries Primary Secondary Higher	12.3	15.6	22.9	13.6	14.2					
	3.1	3.1	14.8	0.0	3.9					
	9.2	9.4	8.1	6.8	9.1					
	0.0	3.1	0.0	6.8	1.2					
Total Primary Secondary Higher	100.2	99.9	100.1	99.9	99.9					
	30.7	22.4	14.8	15.8	26.3					
	57.2	63.4	70.5	66.6	60.4					
	12.3	14.1	14.8	17.5	13.2					
Total	56.3	33.9	7.2	2.6	100.0					
Total of units b)	41.449	2.493	5.272	1.802	73.423					

Source: BCRP: 1992:94, Table 2.3

a) No head without schooling was identified

b) Production units correspond to number of heads.

5.3 Conditions of work

The general conditions prevailing at home as a workplace are considerably more unsatisfactory in Peru than in many other countries. This is due to the impoverishment of the population, as a result of the hyperinflation experienced between 1988-1990, which led to a drastic drop in the standard of living of the population, including deterioration of homes. Simultaneously, a higher risk factor is introduced by the fact that many homes obtain electricity by means of a clandestine connection to the public lighting system.

In Lima, explosions and fires, with serious consequences, are frequently recorded in connection with the manufacture of fireworks which is carried out, for the most part, in private homes, as stated by Casanueva (1991) for Asia. Indeed, a review of the risks in terms of safety and health in particular industries featuring home work reveals a marked disregard in Peru for protecting the health of these workers.

With regard to Peru, the only references to evidence provided by homeworkers feature in one study by Sara-Lafosse (1982). The study emphasizes the abnormal - either exceptionally long or exceptionally short - duration of the working week. In only 30 per cent of cases does it coincide with the normal 40 hour working week. About 39 per cent work between 50 and 119 hours per week, 29 per cent work between 40 and 49 hours and 32 per cent between 20 and 39 hours. About 16 per cent of the group with the longest hours worked for over 12 hours per day, that is, between 70 and 119 hours per week (Sara-Lafosse, 1985a). Moreover, in only 16 per cent of cases is there a room that is specifically devoted to work where the machine is located. The large majority combine their garment-making work with activities of the household and of the remainder of the family.

Results with regard to rest are ambiguous in view of the seasonal nature and instability of the work. Over half of women work throughout the year; only 5 per cent devote less than 5 months per year to such work. Given that 78 per cent of women work six days or seven days per week (20 per cent), they have no weekend break. Some women have a break during pregnancy: 37 per cent stop work for over a month, 25 per cent stop for between 16 days and one month and 37 per cent stop for between 3 and 15 days or do not stop work.

Only 3 per cent are insured by their employer, 7 per cent pay their own (optional) insurance and the remaining 90 per cent have no insurance.³⁴ Although this situation may have changed when social security health coverage was extended to cover insured workers' families, the fact remains that the dependent woman worker should have insurance coverage.

Statistics regarding conditions of work are confined to those regarding hours of work per week and do not coincide with the results obtained by Sara-Lafosse for garment-makers. According to the MTPS Households Surveys, the average hours worked per week range between a minimum of 33 hours in 1987 and a maximum of 41 hours in 1989, and 39 hours in 1994.

³⁴ Vega (1995, pp.6-7) refers to the specific case of the INDUMIL (Industrias Militares) public enterprise where the State employed homeworkers. This was a company which manufactured uniforms for the armed forces. In view of the fact that the Government was the employer, a controlled record of home work was kept and workers enjoyed social security benefits. This company was recently closed as a result of competition by the imported clothing and of the privatization of national enterprises.

5.4 Tele-work

It is difficult to obtain information which would provide an indication of the extent of tele-work since it is limited to professionals and technicians who are almost totally independent, particularly if they have space in their homes for economic activities or if they work at home. Lawyers and doctors frequently carry out part of their work in their homes, installing one or more rooms as surgeries or offices. One way of gaining access to possible remote workers *who work in their homes* would be to enquire into those who possess or use a computer to carry out their work and who have a modem or fax.³⁵

In the 1993 Population Census, heads of households were asked whether a space in their homes is used to carry out an economic activity. This does not necessarily mean that it is the professional or specialist who carries out such an activity since it might be another family member who makes use of the space. Despite this limitation, Table 5-16 measures the proportion of the working EAP composed of independent professionals and specialists - with the exception of doctors and lawyers - who use a space at home for an economic activity, by sex and natural regions in 1993. The result obtained at the national level was that 16,3 million independent professionals and specialists are in this position. Of these, 88.4 per cent are men and 52.1 per cent are women, in the departments of Lima and Callao. A larger number of independent professionals and specialists, 25,500 in all, did not specify whether or not they used a space at home. If the latter figure were proportionately divided, it would give a total of 30,000 professionals and specialists at the national level using a space in their homes for economic activities. An approximate estimate has also been made of the professionals and specialists who might engage in tele-work using information provided by the MTPS Households Surveys for Lima (Table 5-17). Medical doctors and lawyers who use their homes as surgeries and offices have been discounted. When those who failed to specify whether or not they used their homes as surgeries or offices are considered, the number of professionals and specialists from Lima (Department) and Callao, obtained through the Census (15,000) coincide with the result of the survey. Thus, for Lima and Callao, some 14,300 professionals and specialists may be engaged in this modality of remote work. It should be noted that these figures are not statistically significant in view of the limited number of cases (20) in column (a) Table 5-17.

It remains to analyse the relevant production and services sectors, in advanced technology companies and in occupational groups in which tele-work might exist. As has been ascertained for developed countries, research into this area should be undertaken on the basis of case studies of specific sectors or occupational groups.

³⁵ The cases of examples identified in Lima tended to involve less qualified tasks in publishing, such as word processing, composition for the publication of books, correction of proofs, and journalists who send in their articles via modem.

Table 5-16

PERU: Independent professional and technical * employed EAP by whether they use a space at home for an economic activity, by sex natural regions, 1993 (percentage distribution)

Natural Regions	Use space				Do not use space			Not specified			Total	
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
North South	20.8 16.3	19.0 15.1	20.6 16.2	21.9 12.2	18.0 12.5	21.3 12.2	20.1 14.3	16.0 11.9	19.4 13.8	20.8 14.4	17.1 12.7	20.2 14.1
Centre Dept. of Lima and Prov.	11.4 51.5	9.1 56.8	11.1 52.1	10.7 55.2	7.6 62.0	10.2 56.2	10.6 55.0	8.0 64.1	10.1 56.7	10.8 54.0	8.1 62.0	10.4 55.5
Const. Callao Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
National total (in thousands)	14.4 88.4	1.9	16.3 100.0	11.9 84.9	2.1	14.0 100.0	20.9 81.7	4.7 18.3	25.5 100.0	100.0	8.7	55.9
% by line	00.4	11.6	100.0	04.9	15.1	100.0	01./	10.3	100.0	84.4	15.6	100.0

Source: INEI. National Censuses 1993, IX Population and IV housing.

^{*} Basically excludes professionals, specialists, assistants and practitioners in medecine and law.

Table 5-17
Metropolitan Lima: Employed EAP consisting of independent professionals and specialists working at home,1993

	Profesionals and specialists	Doctors, health and lawyers	Total	Percentage
	(a)		(b)	(a/b)
Men	9315	94538	193845	9
Women	4954	161787	166741	3
Total	14270	256316	270586	5.3

Source: MTPS. Households Survey.

6. Views of the sectors involved

A first reaction encountered in the interviews carried out was surprise that the subject was even raised (see annex B). Some stated that it was neither an important nor a relevant subject. Others, while acknowledging that a social problem existed, said they knew nothing about it. Lastly, the workers and employers directly involved declared that it was important that the issue was discussed. In all cases, an interest was sparked in the subject and the possibilities of receiving suggestions as to what might be done to combat the indifference surrounding the question of home work.

At the risk of oversimplifying things, interviewees could be considered to represent larger groupings and could be categorized as follows:

- i) entrepreneur groups: the existence of home work is acknowledged, but it is not a particularly important or relevant subject;
- ii) labour authorities and officials, trade union leaders and NGO representatives: familiar with the subject, interested in it and seeking further information or guidance; and
- iii) home work employers and homeworkers: this is a subject of fundamental importance requiring effective action.

A brief summary follows of the points of view that might be useful in formulating proposals.

Employers are concerned with the question of social security coverage. When a long-standing homeworker falls ill, employers must offer some support. Basically, they would like the procedure for social security enrolment to be simplified - both for health and pensions - and, more particularly, that contributions or payments could take the form of fixed monthly sums, which they would be paying. Currently, in view of the fluctuation in the sums paid to the homeworkers contracted, contributions vary from month to month and the calculation of payments entails administrative work which is costly when 50 or more workers are involved. In these situations, employers tend

to form "micro-enterprises" with groups of their workers, in order to disguise the existence of home work.³⁶

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³⁶ The woman entrepreneur interviewed has a formalized handmade quality sweater or machine knit jersey export company with 35 permanent workers (on the payroll) located in a middle-class residential district, which has been in operation since 1972. She had 50 homeworkers until IPSS (Social Security) inspectors discovered that she had failed to make both the discounts and the deposits required by law. After paying the fines, she looked into the alternatives of registering her workers or adopting a different work modality. In the light of the complexity of calculating contributions that varied month by month and of the IPSS formalities, she preferred to have her workers establish 10

The main problem for workers today is lack of demand. On the one hand, the opening up of trade and removal of tariffs in 1991-92 has exposed them to strong competition from imported clothing, particularly from South East Asia. Moreover, the *El Niño* phenomenon of 1997 has destroyed the demand for sweaters in the winter season. Obviously, homeworkers are eager to obtain social security coverage. They do not have any links with other homeworkers and do not have time to devote to organizing. When they do not have orders from their regular buyer, they engage in street vending or in dressmaking.³⁷

The Ministry of Labour, which is aware of the ineffectual nature of legislation, is extremely interested in the subject. In the immediate term, the labour inspection aspect may be improved by training inspectors in this sphere, and carrying out visits to clothing and footwear companies, and to stores which are likely to hire homeworkers. The Ministry would be interested to receive suggestions on how to improve legislation, including amendment of the section dealing with pension regime coverage, which currently exists in an outdated form in Legislative Decree 728.³⁸

In the eyes of the General Confederation of Peruvian Workers (CGTP), home work is an important subject requiring effective action. Specifically, CGTP leaders would like to have access to more information on the subject as they are interested in the organization of homeworkers at the local level. It would appear that, in Trujillo, homeworkers have achieved some degree of organization. The current draft bill amending Legislative Decree 728 makes no mention of home work, but a willingness exists to amend legislation in order to provide some measure of social coverage for this type of employment.

Finally, two NGO representatives acknowledged that, when working with micro and small enterprises, the "homogenous sector" focus under which they are addressed means that the presence of home work is frequently not detected. Certain assistance and credit programmes for women microentrepreneurs, who are supposedly independent workers requiring credit or orders, tend to fail because they are in fact homeworkers who have not had the time or who have not been in a position to broaden their economic activities. In general, a model is proposed whereby women should cease to be homeworkers and become independent micro-entrepreneurs, regardless of the fact that, at least in the immediate term, some of them are neither in a position nor interested in doing so. For such women, programmes should be based on their situation as homeworkers.

micro-enterprises of 5 workers each. The company buys the raw material on behalf of these micro-enterprises, billing and paying 80 per cent IGV. This documentation is then used to obtain the tax refund payable on products for export. The workers engaged under this modality are long-standing, they live in the outskirts of the city, and are from families of artisans from Ayacucho and Puno, who have great skill in handling colour but most of whom are illiterate. New workers – who are attracted through the newspapers – deposit their Electors Card as guarantee when taking raw material away. The work consists mainly of hand weaving, crochet, embroidery and finishing of sweaters. Workers are paid weekly, and the micro-enterprise is in reality no more than a façade.

³⁷ Mrs V. has a sewing machine (straight sewing) and rents a *remalladora* when she has large orders executed by the dozen. She specializes in sewing company secretary uniforms, through a "large client" who provides the fabric, the models and sizes. She earns very little per piece and her profits lie in the large number of pieces per order. She states that the uniforms are now imported ready-made from Taiwan and Korea and she no longer receives large orders from her "client". Mr A. who knitted jumpers, was obliged to sell his *remalladora* as a result of the drop in sales following the crisis caused by the *El Niño* phenomenon. During the good old days, he used to go with his "client" to the shops to be shown the patterns and the client bought the thread and the wool. The cash advance given to him by the "client" was to support himself and his assistant. They paid him 50 per cent upon delivery of the goods, discounting the advance. The remainder was paid to him as the client sold the goods.

³⁸ Doctor Armida Murguía, Deputy Minister of Labour, stated her interest in receiving the results of this study, particularly regarding compatibility between Convention No. 177 and Legislative Decree 728, and the extent of home work.

7. Conclusions and recommendations

7.1 Conclusions

- It has been ascertained that marked shortcomings exist in the recognition and analysis of home work in many studies on micro and small enterprises. On the subject of subcontracting, these studies fail to distinguish between family micro-workshops headed by independent workers and homeworkers. When reference is made to clients, their characteristics are not identified, with the result that employers of homeworkers are confused with tradesmen or clients who are not employers. Studies on micro and small enterprises disguise home work and, in general, neglect employment aspects and working conditions in these enterprises.
- In contrast to the above, labour legislation embodies detailed legal provisions pertaining to home work which are not complied with or evaluated. Indifference towards the subject manifests in that no complaint or obvious interest is voiced by the sectors directly involved, namely employers and homeworkers.
- The approximate estimates of home work obtained through this study demonstrate that home work is significant.

According to the 1993 Census, the number of homeworkers may be as high as 128,600 industrial independent workers who work at home, of which 45,000 (35 per cent) are women. Of the total number of independent women engaged in home-based manufacturing, 39,100 (86.8 per cent) work in the textiles and clothing sub-branch.

On the basis of the 1994 ENNIV, it is estimated that 188,500 of the independent EAP occupied in the manufacturing industry carry out economic activities in a room in their homes; this figure exceeds that obtained from the 1993 Census by some 60,000 workers. Of this population, 54,000 are women, a result which coincides with the figure of the Census. Finally, the clothing sub-branch accounts for 41,400 women, which is sufficiently similar to the number of 39,100 reflected in the 1993 Census.

- In Metropolitan Lima, the profile of the independent EAP engaged in industrial activities who work at home reveals that: women predominate, their average age ranges between 36 and 40 years, most have begun but not finished secondary education, and the majority are migrants.
- Moreover, they are concentrated in the clothing and textiles sub-branch with an average income, in 1995, of US \$150. Average hours worked per week ranged between 33 hours in 1997 and 41 hours in 1989 or 39 hours in 1994. They have been engaged in such work between 5 and 9 years. Lastly, the percentage of workers enrolled in social security (pensions) stood at 21 per cent in 1989 and 1991, dropping to only 6.8 per cent by 1995.
- Homework is fairly heavily concentrated in certain sub-branches of industry (clothing and textiles, leather footwear, woodworking) with a predominance of women in the garment sector. Home work is also concentrated in specific areas, such as the districts of *El Porvenir* in Trujillo and *Villa El Salvador*, the area around Jirón Gamarra, and exists also in small-scale production.

7.2 Recommendations

- " An information campaign should be conducted to draw attention to the extent and characteristics of home work and to the lack of protection of such workers.
- The possibility of amending Legislative Decree 728 regarding the obligation to present a work contract should be considered. As embodied in Convention No. 177 and Recommendation No.

184, the submission of a register of homeworkers would suffice. The register of contracting employers and of homeworkers is essential if progress is to be made in insuring that such workers have social and employment protection.

- An incentive should be given to entrepreneurs and workers to encourage them to comply with the home work register in order to ensure compliance with minimum standards of social and employment protection.
- During the course of their training, labour inspectors should be given instruction on enquiring into the existence of home work for enterprises in sub-branches where it is widely practised. To this end, new approaches should be sought to detect home work in the branches in which it is clustered, for example in examining the concentration of regular, low-price billing by certain producers.
- Social security enrolment could be promoted and formalities for enrolling homeworkers simplified, as should the payment of contributions which should take the form of fixed monthly sums, to be paid by the employer.

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Annexes

Annex A

Model individual home work contract, 1995. Source: Análisis Laboral, 1995.

For for registration of home work contracts, 1997. Source: MTPS.

Annex B

Interviews:

- C Ministry of Labour and Social Advancement (MTPS): Dra. Armida Murguía, Vice-Ministra de Trabajo.
- Ministry of Labour and Social Advancement (MTPS).
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 Sra. Víctoria Bedoya Wallace, Responsable.
 Srta. Lucía Tamayo.
- C Entrepreneur in the garment sector engaging 50 homeworkers.
- C Homeworkers in the garment sector: Sra. Julia. Sr. Alberto
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 Sr Javier García Melgar, Manager of the Garment Industry Committee
 Ing. Martín Reaño Vera, Manager of the Textile Committee.
- General Confederation of Workers of Peru (CGTP).
 Sr. Juan José Gorriti, Secretary General.
 Sr. Manuel Cortéz, Human Rights Secretary
- Consorcio de la Pequeña y Microempresa (COPEME). Sr. Jesús Aguilar, President.
- C Alternativa, NGO.Sr. Helbert Gutierrez Lozano, Coordinador del Programa de Microempresa.

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