

How the political violence period of 1980-2000 has changed Peru? : Emergent demographic patterns and readjustment of the Peruvian regional rural societies

Demographic processes of high importance as fertility and mortality transitions have always been differentiated for the experiences of countries of North American/Western Europe and the experiences of the developing countries in general. Many scholars interested in the demographic transitions of Latin America have made clear on the basis of their research the specificities of the patterns of demographic change for the region (Palloni 1981, Frenk and Bobadilla for the case of the epidemiological transitions; Bongaarts and Watkins 1996; Potter, Schmertmann, and Cavenaghi 2002 for the case of the fertility transitions). In general terms, socioeconomic development on both fertility and epidemiological transitions in Latin America presents a different way of affecting reproductive behavior and health practices than in the North American/Western European case. Thus, the particularity that characterizes the Latin American transitions with regard to socio-economic factors has been identified and investigated. However, among the factors that characterize a society and its development there are also political factors, and political conflict and disturbances are part of them. Regardless of the importance and severity that periods of political violence have had in the region (El Salvador, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Colombia and Peru), especially since the 1980s, they have been not considered in the explanations about the demographic transitions in the region in general, neither in the transitions of the individual countries that in the majority of the cases have not yet ended.

For sure, political conflict greatly affects the life of individuals and households and generates in aggregate level, societal responses that can be translated into demographic changes. Thus, in addition to the responses generated to confront the challenges of socio-economic changes (which are traditionally considered in the theory about demographic transitions), there are also responses to confront the challenges of political conflict. Therefore, there are also interesting interactions between both types of challenges and variability would depend on the severity of the prejudice caused by political violence. This variability on the other hand, is correspondent to the position that individuals and households occupy in the socio-economic structure and in the territory. What is the independent effect that political conflict has had in demographic changes? How the phenomena of forced migration (displacement); subsequent return to the abandoned places of origin; and high mortality have shaped new behaviors affecting reproductive behavior, family size and structure, health practices and patterns of migration and settlement? How the understanding of demographic responses to political conflict can contribute to a better theorization of the demographic transitions in societies almost endemically affected by violence?

This paper wants to make a contribution to the answer of these questions by the means of examining the case of Peru, a country deeply affected by a period of political

violence from 1980-1992 (2000¹), especially in the most poor and abandoned rural areas, like the departamentos of Ayacucho, Huancavelica, Apurímac and Junín located in the central southern Andes. This examination would not only contribute to the necessary understanding that is precondition for current and future social policy issues, but a contribution to the theoretical understanding of the demographic processes in Latin America and (using the adequate criteria of comparison) could serve as prototype upon which would be possible to contrast the demographic experiences of other developing countries in Africa and Asia that are suffering political conflict.

Political Changes in Peru 1980- 2000:

The Peruvian political landscape has changed immensely in the two decades considered in this paper. In this period, the actions of four governments (including unlawful Alberto Fujimori's second government 1995-2000) guided by three different political frameworks and economic policy, have recreated the situation of Peru in many ways. Most importantly the heterogeneous Peruvian society has also reacted in many different ways to the traditionally discontinuous governmental plans in all the areas of its execution. Peruvians distinctively situated in the socioeconomic structure and in different geographic regions, managed to face and solve individually and within their households the limitations in education, health and employment that a period marked first by fifteen years of political violence, then economic adjustment and finally political authoritarianism (Cotler and Grompone 2000) could create.

Along these processes and somewhat contradictorily, the period was also characterized by significant gains in the extension of attention in health and education (by the action of targeted health programs created with the technical and financial help of multilateral organisms that started in the early 1990s), by the more modern constitution of the state apparatus (Durand and Thorp 1998), and by the partial emergence of a network of civil society actors.

Among the three processes mentioned, i.e. the political violence period, structural adjustment and authoritarianism, the first one, the period of civil war caused by the uprising of the Maoist Movement PC-Shining Path and the response from the state, had the most severe impacts on fertility behavior, migration and mortality patterns on the regional societies of Peru, especially in their rural side.

Demographic changes in Peru 1980-2000)

Regarding migration, a great mobilization has taken place in Peru during the time period of analysis. First, there was a phase of massive out-migration caused by political violence, from the interior provinces and departamentos to the urban sites in each

¹ The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Peru which recently presented its Final report on the period of political violence sets the end of the period of conflict in 2000, and I will follow its periodification.

departament and especially to Lima the capital city. This displacement was initiated in 1981 and it reached its most severe level between 1983 and 1984. According to the ECPR of 1997 (Characterization of the Returning Population Survey-1997), the level of displacement reached 45% between 1981 and 1985, while it reached a level of 39.5% between 1986 and 1990. After 1992, when the period of pacification started, an important part of the displaced population returned to their places of origin especially to Ayacucho, the most affected departament. The returning population to Ayacucho was of 59%, followed by the departments of Junin and Apurimac, where the returning population was of 14.9% and 12.9% respectively.

International migration was also an important trend; many Peruvians particularly from the cities have emigrated to bordering countries as Argentina and Chile and also to United States, Europe and less importantly to Venezuela. This trend of emigration is in the order of 300,000 persons although other persons calculate an emigration of 500,000 Peruvians (Torales et al 2003). Data is scarce on this subject but the certain figure of US\$ 1,295 millions that the Inter American Bank reported for the 2003 remittances from Peruvians abroad shows indirectly the vast importance of emigration during the last years but also during the 1990s.

Regarding fertility, the Peruvian transition is still underway since it did not reach yet a TFR of 2.1. Its onset, according to Bongaarts who for the work cited here used the measure of 10% decline after reaching the highest pre-transitional level is 1971 (Bongaarts and Watkins 1996), at that year it was 6.0 (ENDES1986 Report). According to the available ENDES/DHS surveys for Peru, fertility has declined since 1986 from a TFR of 4.6 to a TFR of 4.0 in 1991-92, 3.5 in 1996 and 2.9 for the period 1997-2000 (INEI/Measure Report of 2000 ENDES/DHS, 2000), showing a 21% decrease with respect to the 1996 one. The decreases in the precedent years (7.5% from the 1986 TFR to the 1991-92 one; and 14% from the 1991-92 TFR to the 1997 one) seem to be showing a tendency of faster decline for the later years since 1996. The same tendency can be seen when urban and rural TFRs are examined; and even when the rural TFR is high (4.3) for the period 1997-2000, its has decreased slightly more than the urban one for the same period of time (it was 5.6 in 1996 and decreased in 30%, while the urban one was 2.8 in 1996 and 2.2 in 2000 decreasing by 27%).

But what elements have been driving this decline? In a previous paper I calculated TFRs to the level of departamentos for 1992 and for 1996 according to different variables (Vasquez 2003) and the resulting TFRs for the departments most affected by the violence, whic were among the ones with most important declines, and for Lima the capital city (and other large cities) seem to be suggesting the impact of the period of violence. In the region that Ayacucho and Huancavelica formed, the TFR of 1991-92 decreased 16% (from 5.52 to 4.75 in 1996). The TFR for the "countryside" taken as a whole decreased 12% in 1996 (from 6.37 to 5.69), while the TFR for "capital, large city" increased in 25% (from 2.22 in 1992 to 2.81 in 1996) for all the intervals of age of women in fertile years (15-49). In 2000,

the TFRs for the mentioned departamentos decreased even more, in 29%, 13%, and 40% respectively. An explanation to these declines for sure should involve the consideration of the effect of the family planning programs applied during the 1990s, which were *per se* part of the reaction of the Peruvian state for reaching the abandoned rural areas where political conflict arose; but a complete explanation needs to consider also, the forced migration caused by violence of many young women with certain type of reproductive behavior (parity of 3 or more) from the rural areas of Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Apurimac to Lima and the urban sites.

Regarding mortality, according to the 2002 report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Informe Final de la Comision de la Verdad y la Reconciliacion 2003) the period of political violence left an estimated of 69,280 dead and disappeared², especially in the rural Andean departamentos. But the period of political violence has been a process that has developed disruptively upon the already in course process of decline of the mortality levels and significant gains on life expectancy. Thus, a continuous reduction of the infant mortality rate has been occurring. The infant mortality rates estimated for the periods 1980-1985, 1985-1990, and 1990-1995 were respectively 76, 64 and 52 per 1,000. The current estimated rate of 33 for 1,000 live births (Population Reference Bureau 2003) represents a reduction of 37% with respect to the rate in the later period (1990-1995). This reduction was greater than the observed in the two previous periods of five years which were of less than 20% (2000 ENDES/DHS Report: 110). Regarding adult mortality, gains in life expectancy have occurred, from 64 years in 1985 to 67 in the period 1990-1995 and an estimated of 70 for 2000-2005.

Data and Methods

This paper focuses in the case of the departments most affect by the period of political conflict: Ayacucho, Huancavelica, Apurimac and Junin and compares three time periods: Before and starting the period of conflict (before 1980), during the conflict (1980-1992); and after the period of conflict. The data used are the available DHS surveys for 1986, 1991-92, 1996 and 2000; the ECPR of 1997 (Characterization of the Returning Population Survey-1997) applied by the Institute of Statistics and Informatics of Peru (INEI) and the Program of Support for the Resettlement (PAR) and for the previous years to 1980 data from the national census of 1981. The comparison considers two sub-populations from the most affected by political conflict: a). the population that did not migrate and stayed adapting to the violent years in their places of origin and b). the population that was displaced and returned to its places of origin. The DHS surveys serve for both sub-populations and the specific ECPR only for the latter.

² 26,969 were the deaths reported to the Commission, but given problems of underreport, a special team of the Commission using a Multiple Systems Estimation, calculated that in fact, 2.9 more times the reported number actually occurred (at national level during the period 1980-2000, the period used by the Commission).

Analytically, the comparison involves changes in 1. reproductive behavior, 2. family size and household structure, 3. health practices and 4. patterns of migration and settlement. The latter is mainly examined from the ECPR survey.

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