

Ending the use of physical and emotional violence against children and adolescents in Peru

A case study on the advocacy efforts of INFANT and ONNAS

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1. Introduction

Towards the end of 2015, from dawn to dusk every day for three months, a group of children and adolescents patiently waited at the Peruvian Congress's hallway for press –known as the Hallway of Lost Steps¹ – for a chance to talk to politicians. Equipped with banners, posters, microphones and cameras, they competed against media broadcasters to catch the attention of politicians for an interview:

“Would you vote in favour of a law that prohibits the use of physical and psychological violence against children and adolescents?”

What are your thoughts on a law like this?

Did you know that a law to protect animals² was recently approved but that a law to further protect children has been under discussion for years with no real progress?”³

These were some of the questions that these children and adolescents asked, as agents of change, to influence decision-making and policy. For nearly ten years, they had worked hard towards protecting children and adolescents' rights; in the final months of 2015, they intensified their efforts.

1.1. Civil society groups lobbied the ‘Hallway of Lost Steps’ to change a law that endorsed moderate violence against children in Peru

Legislative improvements to protect children's rights began to take place in Peru in the early 90s. Peru ratified the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child in September 1990 and created the Code of Children and Adolescents in 1992.⁴ Since then, the government has recognised children as agents with rights. The Code was updated in 2000 and 2002⁵ to increase the government's legal provision for children's rights, establishing The Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations as the governing body responsible for overseeing the Code. In 2007, the Directorate of Children and Adolescents was created to oversee adherence to the Code. This was changed to a General Directorate in 2012, and a National Action Plan for Children and Adolescents that detailed policies to protect children's well-being from 2012 to 2021 was also established.⁶

¹ This is the informal name given to the hallway outside Congress where media and journalists can wait to approach politicians. The name in Spanish is ‘el pasillo de los pasos perdidos’.

² Sulma Vega O., & Raquel Watanabe W. 2016. ‘Analysis of the Law 30407 «Law on Animal Protection and Welfare» in Peru’. Revista de Investigaciones Veterinarias del Perú. 27 (2): pp.388-396. As of 12 January 2021: <http://dx.doi.org/10.15381/rivep.v27i2.11664>

³ Member of INFANT/ONNAS 2; Member of INFANT/ONNAS 4.

⁴ ‘Codigo de los niños y adolescentes.’ 1992. Congreso.gob.pe, 29 December. As of 12 January 2021: <http://www4.congreso.gob.pe/comisiones/1998/mujer/CNA.HTM>

⁵ Morlachetti, Alejandro. 2013. ‘Sistemas nacionales de protección integral de la infancia: fundamentos jurídicos y estado de aplicación en América Latina y el Caribe’. Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe (CEPAL) and UNICEF. As of 12 January 2021: https://repositorio.cepal.org/bitstream/handle/11362/4040/1/S2012958_es.pdf

⁶ Morlachetti, Alejandro. 2013. ‘Sistemas nacionales de protección integral de la infancia: fundamentos jurídicos y estado de aplicación en América Latina y el Caribe’. Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe (CEPAL) and UNICEF. As of 18 December 2020: https://repositorio.cepal.org/bitstream/handle/11362/4040/1/S2012958_es.pdf; Guerrero, G. and V. Rojas. 2016. ‘Understanding Children's Experiences of Violence in Peru: Evidence from Young Lives.’ *Innocenti Working Paper*. Florence: UNICEF Office of Research. As of 21 January 2021: https://www.unicef-irc.org/publications/pdf/IWP_2016_17.pdf

Despite this legislative progress, violence against children and adolescents remained a prominent challenge in Peruvian society.⁷ Results from the 2004 ENDES survey on family health and demographics revealed that of the women surveyed, 41 per cent had partners who physically punished their children and 40 per cent physically punished their children themselves.⁸ More than half of those surveyed (56 per cent) reported having been physically punished as children by their own parents, and 33 per cent believed that physical punishment was ‘sometimes’ necessary to educate children.

This was of significant concern, since experiences of violence during childhood and/or adolescence have detrimental consequences on children’s outcomes. As well as death or life-long impairment⁹, it can also lead to negative health¹⁰ and educational outcomes.¹¹ It is also associated with negative coping and health behaviours, as described by the World Health Organisation:

*“Children exposed to violence and other adversities are substantially more likely to smoke, misuse alcohol and drugs, and engage in high-risk sexual behaviour. They also have higher rates of anxiety, depression, other mental health problems and suicide”.*¹²

Having identified violence against children and adolescents in Peru as a prevalent and deeply-ingrained societal issue,¹³ civil society groups – the Training Institute for Adolescents and Children Workers (INFANT)¹⁴ and Organisations for Children and Adolescents (referred to under the umbrella term ONNAS¹⁵) – **resolved to change this**. They recognised that violence was normalised among certain sectors of Peruvian society, and existing legislation did not provide sufficient protection for children. The Code of Children and Adolescents stated that:

“Parents should be good role models to their children and should correct them moderately [...]” Article 74(d), Code of Children and Adolescents.

The meaning of ‘correct moderately’ was not defined, however. This was particularly problematic given it’s connotations in the Peruvian and Latin American lexicon, where the verb ‘correct’ followed by the modifier ‘moderately’ implies the use of moderate violence.¹⁶ As a result, the Code as it was

⁷ Ministerio de la Mujer y Desarrollo Social. 2007. *Maltrato y abuso sexual infantil en el Perú: ¿A cuántos afecta y como enfrentarlo?* / Programa Nacional Contra la Violencia Familiar y Sexual. Lima: Ministerio de la Mujer y Desarrollo Social. As of 12 January 2020: https://www.mimp.gob.pe/files/programas_nacionales/pncvfs/folleto_maltrato_abuso_sexual1.pdf

⁸ *Perú Encuesta Demográfica y de Salud Familiar: ENDES Continua 2004*. Lima: Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática. As of 12 January 2021: https://encuestas.inei.gob.pe/endes/recursos/endes2004_informe.pdf

⁹ Hillis, S., J. Mercy, A. Amobi, & H. Kress. 2016. ‘Global prevalence of past year violence against children: A systematic review and minimum estimates’. *Pediatrics* 146(6). As of 12 January 2020: <https://pediatrics.aappublications.org/content/137/3/e20154079>

¹⁰ Alvaro Morales & Prakarsh Singh. 2015. ‘The Effects of Child Physical Maltreatment on Nutritional Outcomes: Evidence from Peru’. *The Journal of Development Studies*, 51:7, 826-850, DOI: 10.1080/00220388.2015.1034110

¹¹ Fry, Deborah., Jeanine Anderson, Rainaldo J.T. Hidalgo, Aldo Elizalde, Tabitha Casey, Rosario Rodríguez, Amanda Martin, Carmen Oroz, Jhon Gamarra, Karina Padilla, & Xiangming Fang. 2016. ‘Prevalence of violence in childhood and adolescence and the impact on educational outcomes: evidence from the 2013 Peruvian national survey on social relations’. *International Health*, 8(1): 44–52. As of 12 January 2021: <https://doi.org/10.1093/inthealth/ihv075>

¹² World Health Organization. 2020. ‘Violence against Children. World Health Organization.’ WHO.int. As of 12 January 2021: <https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/violence-against-children>

¹³ Member of INFANT 1; Member of INFANT/ONNAS 2; Member of INFANT/ONNAS 4; Member of INFANT/ONNAS 5; Member of INFANT 7; Member of INFANT 3; Member of INFANT 6.

¹⁴ INFANT (homepage). 2021. As of 21 January 2021: <https://www.infant.org.pe/>

¹⁵ For an explanation of what ONNAS are, see Box 1.

¹⁶ BvLF country representative, Validation workshop, 28 September 2020.

Ending the use of physical and emotional violence against children and adolescents in Peru written did not penalise parents or caregivers for using ‘moderate violence’ as a tool to raise their children, inadvertently endorsing this behaviour.

Therefore, from 2007, INFANT and ONNAS aimed to remove article 74(d) from the Code and introduce a new law prohibiting the use of physical and psychological violence towards children. Between 2013 and 2015, they started the ‘Childhood without Punishment, Childhood without Violence’^{17,18} campaign to raise awareness on the issue. As part of this campaign, they ensured they would have a presence in the ‘Hallway of Lost Steps’.

1.2. At the end of 2015, Congress passed a new law prohibiting the use of physical and psychological violence against children and adolescents

On 16 December 2015, a legislative proposal to prohibit the use of physical and psychological violence towards children – put forward by several civil society organisations¹⁹, including INFANT and the ONNAS – was added to the Congress’ plenary agenda for discussion. Two weeks later, on 29 December 2015, Law No. 30403 was enacted by the then-president Ollanta Humala following a plenary vote with no objections and only one abstention.

This law **prohibits using any kind of violence against children and adolescents** in homes, schools, communities, or any other space where children and adolescents spend a substantial amount of development time.²⁰ The law **defines physical and humiliating (psychological) punishment**, adding a new article (Article 3-A) to the Code of Children and Adolescents **stipulating children’s right to receive good treatment** (i.e. the right to receive good care, affection, protection, socialisation and education without violence) and removing Article 74(d).

The passing of Law No. 30403 was celebrated by civil society organisations. For INFANT and ONNAS, it marked an important step towards tackling violence against children and adolescents in Peruvian society after nearly ten years of concentrated efforts supporting this legislative change.

Since then, INFANT and ONNAS have continued to work together in a follow-up campaign, known as ‘*El Poder de la Ternura*’ (‘The Power of Affection’), to continue raising awareness.

1.3. What can be learned from the Peruvian experience about intervening at scale?

The Bernard van Leer Foundation (BvLF) believes that one of the current challenges in early childhood development – in Peru and internationally – is achieving policy and practice change at scale.²¹ BvLF has provided support to INFANT in Peru since 2005. INFANT, in collaboration with ONNAS, was a

¹⁷ The name of the campaign in Spanish was ‘Infancia sin Castigo, Infancia sin Violencia’

¹⁸ Member of INFANT 3.

¹⁹ Many organisations have advocated for decades for legislative improvements to protect children’s rights and eliminate violence against them, including Save the Children, UNICEF, SOS Villages and Acción por los Niños, among others. INFANT and the ONNAS collaborated with them at different time points, e.g. working closely with Save the Children until 2012. Thereafter, INFANT and the ONNAS advocated more independently to introduce new laws (BvLF country representative, Validation workshop, 18 September 2020).

²⁰ ‘Ley No. 30403.’ 2015. El Peruano.pe. As of 12 January 2021: <https://busquedas.elperuano.pe/normaslegales/ley-que-prohibe-el-uso-del-castigo-fisico-y-humillante-contr-ley-n-30403-1328702-1/>

²¹ BvLF defines scale as: “An initiative working at scale is an initiative that either has a reach of more than 50,000 children or coverage of a full population within a well-defined administrative territory such as a city (or a district of a mega-city), state or province.”

stakeholder that worked towards the introduction of the new legislation. Following the 2015 law prohibiting violence against children and adolescents, BvLF was keen to determine if and how the organisations it supported had played a role. It aimed to identify any lessons that could inform its current and future policy-work in early-childhood development or offer broader relevance to governments, practitioners and other foundations. Unique to this case study is the close involvement of children and adolescents as key players, transforming legislation that directly affects them.

With this in mind, BvLF commissioned an independent research organisation, RAND Europe, to (i) produce a case study of the events and debates leading up to the adoption of Law No. 30403 between 2012 and 2015, (ii) investigate the role of particular stakeholders, partnerships and groups in this policy change, and (iii) identify the facilitators and possible barriers to the change and its implementation to date.

This case study is based on a careful collection and analysis of data from different sources, including an extensive review of documentary sources and interviews with a range of stakeholders representing multiple perspectives and voices (see Annex A for details of the methodology used). In examining the factors underlying the legislative change, this case study does not claim to identify direct or simple causal connections. INFANT and ONNAS were among many stakeholders advocating for the changes achieved, and their advocacy was just one factor at play. This case study recognises the complexity of legislative change and explores the confluence of events, actions, stakeholders and other elements that helped bring it about. It uses stakeholders' perceptions of the factors that contributed to legislative change (including the work of INFANT and ONNAS) as its basis.

2. The collaborative and strategic work of INFANT with ONNAS

Established in 1999, INFANT was created as a not-for-profit organisation by request of the National Movement of Working Children and Adolescents (MNNATSOP) to help achieve their goal of recognising the rights of all children and adolescents in Peru.²² It aimed to build the capacity of children and adolescents affiliated to MNNATSOP, one of the many ONNAS in Peru.

Box 1 provides details of what ONNAS are. One of INFANT's core values is to actively involve children in any activities that are of direct relevance to them.²³

Box 1. Children and Adolescent Organisations (ONNAS) in Peru

ONNAS is an umbrella term for Organisations for Children and Adolescents. Though supported by adults' guidance, these organisations are led by (and for) children and adolescents. Some are registered in the civil registration system, while others are smaller and not formally registered.¹

The first ONNAS in Peru was created in the 1960s following the economic and political crisis experienced in Peru during the military dictatorship.¹ Many Christian workers lost their jobs due to the crisis, forcing children and adolescents into economic labour to support their families. These working children formed the first ONNAS, called '*Movimiento de Adolescentes, Niños y Niñas, Hijos de Obreros Cristianos*' ('Movement of Children and Adolescents, Children of Christian Workers') or MANTHOC. They sought to improve their working conditions and life prospects through organised, collaborative action. In 1996, MANTHOC united 30 collectives of working children and adolescents to form MNNASTOP.¹ MNNASTOP members are mainly children and adolescents aged between 8 and 18.

MNNATSOP is the largest ONNAS in Peru, representing approximately 14,000 children and adolescents according to its website.¹ Other ONNAS with which INFANT currently works with include the following: Organización de Niños, Niñas de San Andrés (ONNSA); Organización de Niños y Niñas y Adolescentes Trabajadores de San Andrés (ONNATS); Organización 'Niños y Niñas organizados al cuidado de la Victoria Regia' (NNOUCUVIRE); Organización 'Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes Trabajadores del Río Itaya' (NNATORY).¹ At the time of legislative change, organisations affiliated with INFANT engaged approximately 3,500 children and adolescents.

Since the introduction of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child in Peru in 1989, changes were introduced to foster children and adolescent's participation in decision-making.¹ Two main participation mechanisms were introduced in the 1990s: the Consultative Councils of Children and Adolescents (CCONNAS) at the regional, province and district levels; and 'school municipalities' within secondary schools. These are organisations led by children, who play an active role in agenda-setting and receive support from staff in local governments and schools respectively. As of 2019, there were 529 CCONNAS and 8,403 school municipalities.¹ Both mechanisms are promoted by the Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations. These CCONNAS are also considered ONNAS. Examples of CCONNAS in Peru include the following organisations: Red Distrital de Municipios Escolares de Lima Sur; Red Nacional de Niñas, Niños y Adolescentes (REDNNA); Organización de Niños, and Niñas y Adolescentes de Huánuco (ONNAS Huánuco), among others.¹

Note: As of 2020, INFANT works with 14 ONNAS across Peru (4 in Lima, 6 in Iquitos, 1 in Tarma and 3 in Ayacucho). Due to funding restrictions for these organisations, membership declined compared to 2015. In 2020 these organisations engage a total of 2526 children and adolescents (BvLF country representative, post Validation workshop consultation, 26 October 2020). The number of children participating in ONNAS was not available.

While not an exhaustive list, **Box 2** provides examples of the various initiatives carried out by INFANT and ONNAS. The following sections build on this, providing details on the rationale behind these activities and how campaign decisions were made.

²² Blog del MNNATSOP Perú (homepage). As of 12 January 2021: <http://mnnatsop-natsperu.blogspot.com/>

²³ INFANT. 2020. 'Misión y Vision.' Infant.org.pe. As of 12 January 2021: <https://www.infant.org.pe/quienes-somos/mision-y-vision/>

Box 2. Examples of activities led by INFANT in collaboration with ONNAS

INFANT and ONNAS have organised a variety of activities. Campaigners commented that the involvement of children brought a “boom of creativity” to their endeavours.²⁴ Examples include:

Métele un Gol a la Violencia – ‘Score a Goal against Violence’ was a small political advocacy campaign, asking politicians in Congress whether they wanted to ‘score a goal’ against violence. The campaign was timed to coincide with the 2014 World Cup in Brazil, hence the football theme.²⁵

Museo Itinerante de la Ternura – The ‘Moving Museum of Affection’, originally called the “Museum of punishment”,²⁶ was an exhibition about the different types of punishment and torture used throughout history.²⁷ The Municipality of Lima donated a container to host the museum, the outside of which was decorated by the famous graffiti artist Eliot Tupac to make it stand out. The museum was situated in Lima’s main square for three months, where it was open to the public from Monday to Sunday. Roughly 200,000 people visited the exhibition, which included interactive activities to raise awareness of the negative consequences of physical punishment. In combination with activities in other provinces, this helped gather nearly 150,000 signatures brought to Congress to back the law’s introduction.²⁸



#PeruApruebaLaLey – ‘Peru approves the law’ was a hashtag trend started by INFANT and ONNAS to raise awareness about the legislative proposal to prohibit violence against children. They also brought this hashtag to Congress in 2015,²⁹ and it was used over 200 times on Twitter and Facebook. Through this initiative, they secured an agreement from Maria Luisa Cuculiza – the then-President of Congress’ Women and Children Commission – that the legislative proposal would be debated in the Congress plenary.³⁰

The picture on the left shows one of these tweets, featuring ten congressmen and congresswomen holding the hashtag banner to showcase their support.³¹



This was part of INFANT and ONNAS’s activities at the ‘The Hallway of Lost Steps’. The second picture shows children in the hallway in Congress waiting to talk to politicians.

#AbrazoPorLaInfancia – ‘A hug for childhood’ started in 2012, organised on Children’s Day in Lima and other cities across Peru.³² In 2012 and 2013 the activity’s goal was to break the Guinness World Record for the longest hug. INFANT and ONNAS attracted more than 15,000 members of the general public to form a hug that extended the whole of Arequipa Avenue, one of the longest in the capital. Although they didn’t beat the Guinness World Record, the activity attracted substantial participation and media attention, and they continued organising similar large-scale events in the years that followed. In 2015, the event focused on increasing awareness about the law and was held in the main square of Lima. Many children and adults attended, as shown in the pictures below. Between 2017-2020 they continued with the ‘#UnAbarazoporlaInfancia’ (‘#Ahugforchildhood’) campaign and secured further support from artists and journalists (TV presenters).³³ This campaign inspired similar campaigns in other countries in the region.³⁴



#Mivotoes – ‘My vote is’ was another small campaign conducted at around the municipal 2015 and general 2016 elections, targeted at the general public. Children (ONNAS members) would ask passers-by whether their vote would go for a candidate that protects childhood. They sought to raise awareness among the general public that children are affected by the decisions of politicians. They also aimed to raise awareness among municipal candidates.³⁵

2.1. INFANT formulated a clear goal that guided their activities

INFANT and ONNAS recognised the need to transform Peruvian attitudes about using physical punishment to educate children.³⁶ In response, they set themselves the goal working towards “*a true cultural change*”.³⁷ This objective guided their work between 2007 and 2015 and continues to be at the core of their efforts.

A core element of their approach was **raising awareness** that violence was a problem and that physical and humiliating punishment was a form of violence.³⁸ They aimed to increase awareness in social as well as political spheres. By changing public opinion, they hoped to exert more influence at the governmental level: “*the thinking was that if public opinion is favourable, government will act*”.³⁹ They aimed to achieve a wide-ranging impact by changing the Code of Children and Adolescents, believing that **legislative change** would clearly signal that violence against children was not acceptable while also signalling government-level transformation on perceptions of the use of violence.⁴⁰ Another approach was to **provide parents and caregivers with an alternative** to physical chastisement, equipping them with nurturing, non-violent approaches to childcare and discipline.⁴¹ An INFANT member explained:

“A law was needed to show that physical punishment is a form of violence. It was necessary to give this the necessary legal weight. Another motivation [for

²⁴ Member of INFANT/ONNAS 5; Member of INFANT 1; Member of INFANT 3.

²⁵ Member of INFANT/ONNAS 2.

²⁶ BvLF recommended changing the first name of the museum to focus on the positive angle the law also put forward, i.e. the provision of effective education and prevention tools (BvLF country representative, Validation workshop, 28 September 2020).

²⁷ Member of INFANT 3.

²⁸ Partner of INFANT 8; INFANT (2012). Cuadro Informativo de la campana nacional Infancia sin castigo [Summary report of the Childhood without violence campaign], *internal document*.

²⁹ Source of picture of children holding banners in Congress: ‘Niños exigen a congresistas aprobar ley contra el castigo físico y humillante.’ As of 12 January 2021: <http://www.spaciolibre.pe/ninos-exigen-a-congresistas-aprobar-ley-contra-el-castigo-fisico-y-humillante/?fbclid=IwAR2g-Lpl9bHUACKs8Jonl2eJlpfas5Ug4Aahi8zL08BiHOXW4CNuvmkwzKO>

³⁰ Member of INFANT/ONNAS 2; Partner of INFANT 8.

³¹ The politicians in the picture are: Fernando Andrade, Luisa Maria Cuculiza, Renzo Reggiardo, Carmen Omonte, Mauricio Mulder, Yehude Simon, Claudia Caori, Teófilo Gamarra, Luz Salgado, Sergio Tejada. Picture source: <https://twitter.com/InfanSinCastigo/status/611021287369089024/photo/1>

³² Member of INFANT/ONNAS 2. Image sources: Spacio Libre. 2015.; Static Flickr. 2021. As of 12 January 2021: <https://images.app.goo.gl/CiEs1Fw2iy5W8vG59>; Static Flickr. 2021. As of 12 January 2021: <https://images.app.goo.gl/hMcXz1ry4sUJSuieA>; Foco Social. 2015. ‘Perú: Con abrazo masivo por una infancia sin violencia celebraron Día del Niño/a.’ As of 12 January 2021: <https://images.app.goo.gl/JiAbv3vEU1exy4m2A>; Ortega, J. 2015. ‘Perú: Abrazo masivo por una infancia sin violencia.’ Medium to Medium – News Agency, 18 August. As of 12 January 2021: <https://images.app.goo.gl/GdvuNUVuTHn1szyQ7>; Andina. 2014. ‘Niños celebraron su día escuchando historias y recibiendo abrazos.’ As of 12 January 2021: <https://images.app.goo.gl/bJUXARjeY3qAYJDN6>

³³ For example, this video shows new artists and journalists (famous TV presenters) supporting the campaign, as of 12 January 2021: <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=1635950159813291>.

³⁴ Other countries such as Colombia, Venezuela and Ecuador have implemented similar campaigns. More recently UNICEF has also started a campaign that ‘A hug for each baby’. CEV tv. 2020. ‘Abrazo en Familia.’ YouTube.com, 21 September. As of 12 January 2021: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x2shnOVdJPO>; Rodríguez Jaramillo, L. F. n.d. Colombia, primero en Latinoamérica que aplicará ‘Un abrazo para cada bebé’. *Opinion&Salud.com*. As of 12 January 2021: <https://www.opinionysalud.com/2019/08/29/colombia-primero-en-latinoamerica-que-aplicara-un-abrazo-para-cada-bebe/>; Agencia EFE. 2018. ‘Ecuador y Unicef definen nuevo programa para promover infancia sin violencia.’ *El Comercio*, 25 March 13.30 ECT. As of 12 January 2021: <https://www.elcomercio.com/actualidad/sociedad-ecuador-unicef-infancia-violencia.html>.

³⁵ Member of INFANT/ONNAS 2.

³⁶ Member of INFANT 1; Member of INFANT/ONNAS 2; Member of INFANT 3; Member of INFANT/ONNAS 4; Member of INFANT/ONNAS 5; Member of INFANT 6.

³⁷ Member of INFANT 1; Member of INFANT/ONNAS 2.

³⁸ Member of INFANT/ONNAS 5; Member of INFANT 6.

³⁹ Member of INFANT/ONNAS 4.

⁴⁰ Member of INFANT 1; Member of INFANT 6.

⁴¹ Member of INFANT 6.

our work] was that – given that in Peru this was a very common practice – there was a general need to change certain cultural patterns and to give fathers and mothers other educational tools that would not involve the use of violence.”⁴²

Stakeholders other than INFANT and ONNAS shared a similar understanding of the motives for the legislative change. A local-level public servant from Lima noted that a motive for the law was “*to raise the profile of the problem, to evidence that it doesn’t only exist at home but also in schools*”.⁴³ Similarly, a former Metropolitan Councillor of Lima noted that the legislation creates:

“...a norm that seeks to tackle the root of the problem which is found in the way that children are educated and formed. Many thought that violence was the only way [to educate]. The law seeks to disincentivise this type of punishment towards children.”⁴⁴

Therefore, INFANT and ONNAS’s work was guided by a clear rationale as to why it was important to raise awareness of the issue and introduce legislative change.

2.2. INFANT and ONNAS undertook multiple activities to achieve their goal of banning violence against children and adolescents in Peru

Starting in 2007, INFANT and ONNAS rolled out large-scale information campaigns. Between 2010 and 2012, they allied with Save the Children on a campaign called ‘*Adiós al Castigo*’ (‘Goodbye to Punishment’).⁴⁵ With the support of BvLF, they launched a second campaign between 2012 and 2015 called ‘*Infancia Sin Castigo, Infancia Sin Violencia!*’ (‘Childhood without Punishment, Childhood without Violence’). Following the introduction of Law No. 3040, INFANT and ONNAS continued their awareness-raising activities with BvLF’s support through a campaign called ‘*El Poder de la Ternura*’ (‘The Power of Affection’) between 2016 and 2019.

INFANT and ONNAS’s campaign work encompassed three main spheres:

- **Political advocacy work** sought to build political support to ban physical and humiliating punishment against children and adolescents⁴⁶ and secure political allies to back the cause.⁴⁷ From 2011 onwards, INFANT and ONNAS pursued dialogues with members of Congress (and their assistants), ministers and local authorities in Lima and across the country,⁴⁸ presenting research statistics from respected sources such as the United Nations (UN)⁴⁹ to demonstrate the severity and consequences of violence against children.⁵⁰ In addition, they stressed that the legislative proposal they supported was a non-punitive law and that “*parents aren’t born being parents*”,

⁴² Member of INFANT 6.

⁴³ Local government representative 9.

⁴⁴ Local government representative 10.

⁴⁵ Member of INFANT/ONNAS 5.

⁴⁶ Member of INFANT/ONNAS 5.

⁴⁷ Partner of INFANT 8.

⁴⁸ Partner of INFANT 8

⁴⁹ United Nations Office of the High Commissioner on Human Rights. 2020. ‘The United Nations Study on Violence against Children.’ OHCHR.org. As of 12 January 2021: <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/CRC/Study/Pages/StudyViolenceChildren.aspx>

⁵⁰ Member of INFANT/ONNAS 5.

Ending the use of physical and emotional violence against children and adolescents in Peru meaning that positive parenthood methods and techniques can be learnt – arguments that ONNAS and INFANT considered important and effective.⁵¹

Throughout 2014 and 2015, ONNAS and INFANT intensified their political advocacy activities. In 2014 they started a sub-campaign, part of '*¡Infancia sin Violencia, Infancia sin Castigo!*', called 'Score a Goal against Violence' ('*Métele un Gol a la Violencia*') to coincide with the 2014 Football World Cup. The campaign asked politicians and other influential figures whether they wanted to 'score a goal' against violence towards children (i.e. eradicate it)⁵², highlighting that other countries (such as Brazil, Uruguay, Costa Rica and Venezuela) had already approved laws prohibiting the use of physical punishment and psychological mistreatment of children. They had the backing of Congressman Walter Acha Romani (Congressman from 2011 to 2015), with whom they organised an activity at the Plaza Bolívar – Congress' square – to increase the issue's visibility and voice their rejection of violent punishment.⁵³ In 2015, they secured access to the 'Hallway of Lost Steps', enabling them to talk to politicians entering and exiting Congress.

Such approaches helped secure backing from influential political figures, including from Juan Carlos Euguren Neuenschwander (Congressman from 2011 to 2015), Susana Baca (singer, and Minister of Culture in 2011), Luisa Maria Cuculiza Torre (Congresswoman from 2011 to 2016) and Tania Pariona (Congresswoman from 2016 to 2019). They also enabled INFANT to be appointed a place in the committee in charge of revising the Code of Children and Adolescents.

INFANT also secured support from some local authorities who saw value in the cause and wanted to facilitate it, e.g. by granting access to local parks where INFANT could undertake activities at no cost.⁵⁴

- **Media advocacy and public engagement work** were undertaken to disseminate information and publicly demonstrate the need for legislative change.⁵⁵ As part of this, INFANT and ONNAS secured collaboration from high-profile individuals, including the popular artists who joined the 'Artists Committed to Childhood' group and supported INFANT at their various events. Among the members were Monica Sanchez (actress), Laly Goyzueta (actress),⁵⁶ Sylvia Falcón (singer),⁵⁷ Jandy Feliz (singer/vocalist of the band Chichi Peralta),⁵⁸ Ruby Palomino (singer),⁵⁹ Amy Gutierrez (singer),⁶⁰ along with many other famous individuals and bands. The campaign's presence spanned

⁵¹ Member of INFANT/ONNAS 4, Partner of INFANT 8; Member of INFANT 3.

⁵² Acha Romani, Wlater. 2014. 'El Congreso de la Republica del Peru.' YouTube, 11 June. As of 12 January 2021: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=heCRJehdEk4&ab_channel=WALTERACHAROMANI

⁵³ "Métele un gol a la violencia" 2020. As of 12 January 2021: <http://www2.congreso.gob.pe/Sicr/Prensa/heraldo.nsf/CNnoticiasanteriores/7fa72b86f62d9bcf05257cf3005f46d3?OpenDocument>

⁵⁴ Partner of INFANT 8.

⁵⁵ Member of INFANT/ONNAS 4; Member of INFANT 6; Partner of INFANT 8; Member of INFANT 7.

⁵⁶ 'Perú: Con abrazo masivo por una infancia sin violencia celebraron Día del Niño/a' 2015. Foco Comunicaciones. As of 12 January 2021: https://www.focosocial.cl/ver_noticias.php?cod=385&cat=11

⁵⁷ Ortega, J. 2015. 'Perú: Abrazo masivo por una infancia sin violencia.' Medium to Medium – News Agency, 18 August. As of 12 January 2021: <https://www.agenciadenoticias.org/amp/con-abrazo-masivo-por-una-infancia-sin-violencia-miles-celebraron-dia-del-nino-en-el-peru/>

⁵⁸ Ortega, J. 2015. 'Perú: Abrazo masivo por una infancia sin violencia.' Medium to Medium – News Agency, 18 August. As of 12 January 2021: <https://www.agenciadenoticias.org/amp/con-abrazo-masivo-por-una-infancia-sin-violencia-miles-celebraron-dia-del-nino-en-el-peru/>

⁵⁹ Lima Joven and Lima Participa. 2016. 'Event: Un abrazo por la infancia y la juventud.' Facebook.com, 20 August. As of 21 January 2021: <https://www.facebook.com/events/1145340675523597/>

⁶⁰ Informativo Mayor. 2014. 'Un abrazo mayorino por la infancia.' E-blog. As of 12 January 2021: <https://informativomayor.wordpress.com/2014/08/20/un-abrazo-mayorino-por-la-infancia/>

radio, TV and social media platforms (the latter via hashtag threads), involving reputable high-profile journalists and other thought leaders. These included Augusto Álvarez Rodrich (economist and print, radio and television journalist), Monica Delta (TV presenter), Federico Salazar (TV presenter), Fiorella Rodriguez (radio presenter at the national radio channel RPP).⁶¹

INFANT also organised events such as artistic galas, themed parades and flash mobs. One activity that drew substantial media coverage was ‘A Hug for Childhood’: an attempt to beat the Guinness World Record for the longest hug.⁶² Although attempts in 2012 and 2013 weren’t successful, they continued organising similar events on Children’s Day every year. These events no longer focused on the Guinness World Record, but they effectively mobilised the general public and raised awareness about preventing violence and nurturing children more positively. They organised a virtual Zoom event on 16 August 2020 to continue the tradition,⁶³ and the event’s Facebook account has nearly 6,000 followers at the time of writing.⁶⁴

- **Empowering society through educational activities.** Alongside their political and media advocacy, INFANT and ONNAS recognised the need for information and guidelines to ensure that (i) discussions would be well-informed and constructive, and (ii) parents and caregivers felt supported and equipped with knowledge and skills on how best to foster children’s development.⁶⁵ To achieve this, they started workshops for parents to provide alternative ways to raise and educate children⁶⁶ and workshops for children to teach them about their rights.

While INFANT and ONNAS focused on all of the above objectives during their first two campaigns, their last campaign (2015-2019) focused primarily on media advocacy and educational activities.

2.3. INFANT and ONNAS made strategic decisions informed by past activities and close collaboration with parents

All 15 members of the INFANT team met weekly throughout the campaign and every three days during ‘crunch times’, bringing a clear agenda to each meeting.⁶⁷ Guided by their goal to combat violence against children and adolescents, the campaigners reported that they “*were constantly planning and evaluating*” progress and adaptive needs against their timeline.⁶⁸ Many of the interviewed INFANT members mentioned how crucial this flexible approach was, particularly where they depended on the availability and engagement of politicians and local authorities for political advocacy.⁶⁹

⁶¹ BvLF country representative, Validation workshop, 28 September 2020.

⁶² Andina. 2015. Celebran Día del Niño con masivo abrazo en Plaza de Armas. As of 12 January 2021: <https://andina.pe/agencia/noticia-celebran-dia-del-nino-masivo-abrazo-plaza-armas-570652.aspx>; INFANT Peru. 2017. Videoclip Un Abrazo por la Infancia 2017. YouTube.com, 22 August. As of 12 January 2021: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=chvVuZ3p7C4>; Inversion en la Infancia. 2017. ‘Un abrazo por la infancia: ¡Educa con ternura, corrige sin violencia!’ Inversionenlainfancia.net. As of 12 January 2021: <https://inversionenlainfancia.net/?blog/entrada/experiencia/255>;

⁶³ BvLF country representative, Validation workshop, 28 September 2020. See also: INFANT. 2020. ‘Un Abrazo por la Infancia 2020 Spot.’ Facebook.com, 10 August. As of 12 January 2021: <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=292884655374270>

⁶⁴ INFANT (2020). Internal document monitoring 2020 activities and online presence.

⁶⁵ Member of INFANT 1; Member of INFANT 3; Member of INFANT/ONNAS 5.

⁶⁶ Member of INFANT 3; Member of INFANT/ONNAS 5; Partner of INFANT 8.

⁶⁷ Member of INFANT 3.

⁶⁸ Member of INFANT 6.

⁶⁹ Member of INFANT/ONNAS 5.

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INFANT and ONNAS also adapted their strategy based on lessons from past campaigns. An example given by one of INFANT's co-founders was the need to involve parents, a gap they had identified in their previous activities. In the words of one of the co-founders:

*"We didn't expect that change would take so many years. Each year we set the goal to change the law, but it wouldn't happen. At some point we identified that we needed support from parents, because not having that was a risk. The resistance we received was from parents who claimed being left without tools to educate their children. To mitigate this, we sought strategies that would involve parents in an active role, such as in TV spots, parades, etc. This was very favourable to get positive public opinion. Now some parents have changed their parenting culture and there are cases when parents themselves denounce instances of violence against children."*⁷⁰

Another example of their reflective and adaptive approach was their success in getting high-profile artists on board to overcome their initial difficulties securing media attention. In the words of an INFANT member:

*"Initially we would contact media outlets asking them if they would give us a slot to talk about our cause, but this was unsuccessful. Then we came up with the idea of getting high-profile artists on board with us. This was very important to have a presence among the media. Once we had support from well-known artists the media started to recognise INFANT and to reproduce our messages."*⁷¹

To help raise their profile and visibility, they also timed their activities to coincide with symbolic dates. For example, 'A hug for childhood' was organised on Children's Day. The choice of a Sunday also minimised the risk of other issues detracting public attention.⁷² Following the first event in 2012, they organised children's rights events on Children's Day for the next six years.⁷³ Similarly, the 'Score a Goal against Violence' campaign coincided with the 2014 World Cup, as previously noted.

INFANT closely collaborated with ONNAS.⁷⁴ As an INFANT member explained, decisions about the campaign (e.g. logos and key messages) were made in collaboration with child members of ONNAS.⁷⁵ Children were also actively involved in generating ideas. An ex-ONNAS member who was an adolescent at the time of the first two campaigns explained that *"Decisions were always made together between adults and children. The chairs in the room were set up in a circle, alternating a child sitting next to an adult. Each contributing equally"*.⁷⁶ **Box 3** summarises their activities.

2.4. INFANT and ONNAS members identified enablers and barriers to their work

These included:

⁷⁰ Member of INFANT 3.

⁷¹ Member of INFANT 6.

⁷² Member of INFANT 3; Member of INFANT/ONNAS 2.

⁷³ Member of INFANT 6; Foco Social. 2017. 'Perú se prepara para un nuevo #AbrazoPorLaInfancia.' As of 12 January 2021: https://www.focosocial.cl/ver_noticias.php?cod=777&cat=11

⁷⁴ Member of INFANT/ONNAS 2.

⁷⁵ Member of INFANT 6.

⁷⁶ Member of INFANT/ONNAS 5.

- **The campaign’s young protagonists and intergenerational team.**⁷⁷ Children and adolescents brought a fresh perspective to the campaign, contributing creative ideas (see Box 3 for examples). They also acted as credible conveyors of their message, legitimising their struggle: Children, rather than adults, were asking for the legislative change and leading the engagement with artists, while INFANT contributed the adult experience, perspective and connections that helped operationalise these efforts.
- **A focus on positive parenting rather than punitive consequences,** empowering parents with the tools, knowledge and techniques to educate and nurture their children.⁷⁸ They aimed to collaborate with parents rather than leave them feeling judged.⁷⁹ Two non-INFANT collaborators – a local public servant from Lima and an artist – both agreed that this was a key tenet of INFANT and ONNAS’s proposal, whose core principle was “*building bridges*” with parents rather than sanctioning them.⁸⁰
- **Multiple collaborations and alliances with artists, journalists, politicians, government officials and other civil society organisations.**⁸¹ These were strategically decided. For example, the Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations was identified as an important group to forge alliances with, particularly as the Committee of Children and Adolescents fell under their remit. They also sought to gain support from individuals involved in the revision of the Children and Adolescents Code (e.g. the President of the Commission in charge: Juan Carlos Euguren) and worked with different ‘*Defensoría Municipal del Niño y del Adolescente*’, known as DEMUNAs (Municipal Ombudsman Centres for Children and Adolescents) across the country, as well as lawyers (including a former Deputy Ombudsman for Children in the Ombudsman’s office).⁸² In addition, INFANT collaborated with other civil society organisations that were working to reduce violence against children, including Save the Children, UNICEF, Acción por los Niños, Plan International, and Consultative Tables to Tackle Poverty (MCLCP - Colectivos de la Mesa de concertación para la Lucha contra la Pobreza).⁸³
- **Financial and logistical support for their activities.**⁸⁴ In addition to financial support in the form of grants, they also received other forms of support. For example, some municipalities in Lima and in other provinces across the country provided logistical support to organise events, covered costs for security personnel, or, for example, donated a podium for events and the container for setting up the ‘Moving museum of affection. They also received donations from artists.

⁷⁷ Member of INFANT/ONNAS 2; Member of INFANT 3; Member of INFANT/ONNAS 4; Member of INFANT 7; Partner of INFANT 8.

⁷⁸ Member of INFANT 3; Member of INFANT 7; Member of INFANT 1; Member of INFANT/ONNAS 5.

⁷⁹ Partner of INFANT 8; Member of INFANT/ONNAS 5.

⁸⁰ Local government representative 9; Artist 18.

⁸¹ Member of INFANT/ONNAS 4; Member of INFANT 1; Member of INFANT/ONNAS 2; Member of INFANT 3; Partner of INFANT 8.

⁸² Member of INFANT 1.

⁸³ Mesa de Concertación para la Lucha contra la Pobreza. 2021. ‘Presentación.’ As of 12 January 2021: <https://www.mesadeconcertacion.org.pe/presentacion>

⁸⁴ Member of INFANT 7; Member of INFANT 3.

Box 3. Examples of creative ideas generated by children during the campaign

A unique characteristic of INFANT and ONNAS's work was the active involvement of children and adolescents. Many considered that their input brought creative ideas that made their campaign activities stand out. They also offered innovative solutions to the barriers encountered. Two examples of the unique and creative input of children include:

- **Attending Congress in animal costumes:** When an animal rights law was scheduled to be discussed and approved in the Congress Plenary before the law banning physical and psychological violence against children, ONNAS saw an opportunity to take action. INFANT and ONNAS considered it was 'appalling' that a law to protect children remained unattended. While brainstorming possible responses in one of their meetings, they decided to 'show up' in Congress dressed in animal costumes to attract attention. As such, rabbits, cats and other animals questioned Members of Congress about the law to protect children – an example of a unique, child-led idea that was unlikely to have occurred to adults.⁸⁵
- **Joining famous people's fan clubs to facilitate contact with them:** After early attempts to secure media attention were unsuccessful, ONNAS and INFANT recognised an opportunity for gaining influence and salience by securing popular artists' support. One adolescent member suggested joining artists' fan clubs, and even created a Facebook fan club page for an artist. This page was used to coordinate activities between fans, such as for example, planning to wait for the artist outside recording studios. This proved a successful way to start dialogues with artists.⁸⁶

Despite the strengths of their campaign, external factors sometimes limited progress:

- **Political figures and governmental representatives frequently changed⁸⁷**, often sooner than the end of a presidential term. When an individual changed post, alliances were lost and new relationships had to be built with their replacement.
- **Media coverage was initially unhelpful,⁸⁸** only presenting children as victims of violence and focusing on each case's morbid elements rather than seeking constructive solutions. They addressed this by raising awareness and understanding of the root cause of the problem, exploring the reasons for violence and providing tools to tackle it.
- **Physical and humiliating punishment was normalised as a valid means to raise children in Peru.⁸⁹** While many of the interviewed stakeholders believe this is now changing, INFANT and ONNAS were often faced with arguments from politicians such as "*I was raised like that and became successful, a good man*", or common sayings such as "*la letra, con sangre entra*" (which literally translates as "*the letters of the alphabet enter with blood*"). Akin to the saying 'no pain, no gain', this reflects a belief that suffering is a core part of learning.⁹⁰ Among the general public, disagreement with the proposal was also voiced by conservative groups claiming that their "*only tool to educate their children*" was being taken away and that public policies should not meddle with private matters.⁹¹ The campaigners tackled this opposition via political advocacy and political allies. The only abstention from the vote to approve the new law came from a congressman from a religious political party, showing that there was still some resistance.

⁸⁵ BvLF country representative, post Validation workshop consultation, 26 October 2020.

⁸⁶ Member of Infant/ONNAS 4; Member of Infant/ONNAS 5; BvLF country representative, post Validation workshop consultation, 26 October 2020.

⁸⁷ Member of INFANT 7; Member of INFANT/ONNAS 4.

⁸⁸ Member of INFANT 1; Partner of INFANT 8.

⁸⁹ Partner of INFANT 8; Member of INFANT 7; Member of INFANT 6; Member of INFANT/ONNAS 5; Member of INFANT 3.

⁹⁰ Member of INFANT 3; Member of INFANT/ONNAS 2.

⁹¹ Member of INFANT 3; Member of INFANT 1; Member of INFANT/ONNAS 2.

3. The wider context of INFANT’s actions

3.1. A broad shift in how violence was viewed in Peruvian society

Public and political **awareness of violence as an unacceptable violation of human rights (including children’s) increased in Peru in the years leading up to legislative change**. Many noted wider debate and conversation about violence taking place in the period before legislative change⁹² – concerning not just children but also women and minority groups such as lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT). In the words of a former metropolitan councillor:

“From 2011-2012, and specially between 2013-2014, there has been a much wider and calm discussion about violence and the diverse forms it takes (women, LGBT, sexual harassment on the streets, children). There were demonstrations against homophobia and in favour of women [...]. There is still resistance by certain groups of the population, but the climate has changed both politically and in the media. It went from a niche topic to an ample one. It started being discussed in the media and then by society.”⁹³

Similarly, an actress reported substantial debate on the issue during the five years before the new law,⁹⁴ and a journalist noted the diminishing social acceptance of violence⁹⁵. One sign of change mentioned by the journalist is that it is no longer acceptable to air old TV shows that reinforce violent practices or stereotypes, since public groups now react with criticism. However, both interviewees stressed that while the subject is now on the agenda, change is gradual and violent practices have not been eradicated.

Changes were also observed at the political level. A former advisor to Congresswoman Luisa Maria Cuculiza (2006-2016) noted a growing awareness among politicians of the prevalence of violence in Peru as a national issue, a change which he believes led to the law’s adoption.⁹⁶ A former congressman (2011-2016) noted that the “*culture of violence*” in Peru was evidenced by statistics collected by the Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations,⁹⁷ which helped create consensus among politicians.⁹⁸ Comments by the Director-General of the General Committee of Children and Adolescents corroborates the idea that statistical evidence contributed to politicians’ increased awareness of violence towards children as a problem. She explained that the Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations collected data on children’s experience of violence and the general public’s views on violence. The results showed that action was needed to change societal perceptions and behaviour around violence. In her words:

“Surveys such as ENARES and ENDES showed that the perceptions that parents have about their children, that children are their property, needed to change. These surveys showed that parents had a lax view on violence and that they considered that without these actions they wouldn’t be able to correct [their

⁹² Member of INFANT 1; Local government representative 10; Artist 18; Journalist 13.

⁹³ Local government representative 10.

⁹⁴ Artist 18

⁹⁵ Journalist 13.

⁹⁶ Parliamentary assistant 17.

⁹⁷ Politician 14.

⁹⁸ Politician 14.

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kids]. [In the surveys], children themselves would point that they thought they deserved punishment. This showed the Ministry that it was important to denormalise physical and humiliating punishment [and] to direct actions also to teachers and educators more generally".⁹⁹

In the Director-General's opinion, the political sphere changed because violent behaviour became evident as a problem. Similarly, a former congresswoman (2016-2019),¹⁰⁰ noted that at the time of the legislative change the issue had more visibility and the debate about how best to educate and correct children had started. In her opinion, media coverage of the issue also increased around the time of the law's approval.

These reports resonate with the experience of INFANT members, one of whom noted that there was greater knowledge about the magnitude of the issue at the institutional level.¹⁰¹

3.2. While the topic itself wasn't contentious, persistent resistance to legislative change needed to be tackled

An important part of INFANT and ONNAS's work was securing political support. Calls to prohibit violence against children and adolescents were "likeable" and "not very contentious or controversial"; it would be difficult for a politician to openly challenge this idea.¹⁰²

Despite this, **resistance continued**. Political representatives, local authorities, and an artist and journalist noted the persistence of **old cultural norms and views about how to educate children**. An ex-congresswoman (2016-2019) explained that:

"There were some [in Congress] that from the beginning supported the idea, however there were also some that defended the idea that it shouldn't be possible to give children these rights because otherwise, children would grow without being 'corrected' – for example, there would be children that would not respect adults. They would give examples that they themselves had been corrected with violence".¹⁰³

According to the stakeholders interviewed, and in line with the barriers identified by INFANT and ONNAS (see Section 2.4), this posed a challenge to the law's approval and increased the need for political buy-in.¹⁰⁴

While the period between discussion of the law in Congress and its enactment took only a few weeks, **the proposal's review took several years**. This highlights that **the proposal was not initially prioritised**. In 2009, a commission started looking into modifying the Code of Children and Adolescents.¹⁰⁵ According to the Director-General of the Children and Adolescents Committee, "the proposal was made by children and it went to a Commission. However, the proposal was archived".¹⁰⁶ In 2012, the executive again presented the proposal to modify the code following its review by the

⁹⁹ Government actor 16.

¹⁰⁰ Politician 15.

¹⁰¹ Member of INFANT 7

¹⁰² Politician 14; Civil servant 12; Lawyer 11; Local government representative 10.

¹⁰³ Politician 15.

¹⁰⁴ Local government representative 9.

¹⁰⁵ Civil servant 12; Government actor 16.

¹⁰⁶ Government actor 16.

Commission of Justice and Human Rights and the Commission of Women and Family. However, the commission created to review it was dissolved the same year.

Nonetheless, **between 2013 and 2015, the law was prioritised by several Members of Congress** and *“five or six proposals to modify the code were made”*.¹⁰⁷ Congressman Eguren Neuenschwander, President of the Justice Commission at the time, asked seven times during this period for the proposal to be prioritised.¹⁰⁸ INFANT members noted that his support was key.¹⁰⁹ As evidenced by this process, political support and prioritisation of the law were slowly achieved. On 1 December 2015, Congresswoman Cuculiza Torre, President of the Commission on Women and Family (*‘Comisión de la Mujer y Familia’*) at the time,¹¹⁰ asked for the legislative proposal to be included in the Plenary’s agenda. The ex-advisor of this congresswoman and INFANT members noted that meeting with her was important to ensure her full support of the legislative proposal.¹¹¹

While there was always support from the Ministry of Justice, an ex-advisor of the Commission of Justice and Human Rights of congress (2015-2016) believes it took a long time to discuss the legislative proposal in Congress because it wasn’t initially considered a priority.

3.3. While INFANT and ONNAS actions took place alongside the work of other civil society groups, the involvement of children made them stand out

INFANT and ONNAS’s efforts took place in an active civil society environment in which other organisations supported a ban on physical and psychological violence towards children. The Children and Adolescents General Directorate worked closely with children and Civil Society organisations (including INFANT, ONNAS, Save the Children, World Vision, Plan International and UNICEF) to shape the legislative proposal. In the Director-General’s opinion, *“there was consensus between congress, the executive and civil society for the law to be approved”*.¹¹²

Many of the stakeholders interviewed remarked on the support of civil society organisations for the campaign.¹¹³ One stakeholder commented, *“clearly this law ... is an initiative from grassroot organisations”*.¹¹⁴ Another noted that civil society organisations acted as knowledge brokers.¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁷ The following political representatives asked for the law to be prioritised: congresswoman Salgado Rubianes (22 August 2013); Congressman Eguren Neuenschwander, who was President of the Justice Commission (9 June 2014, 18 August 2014, 22 August 2014, 29 August 2014, 26 September 2014, and 5 January 2015); Eduardo Vega, who was ombudsman at the time (26 February 2015 and 30 April 2015).

¹⁰⁸ National record of the process of approval of the law. ‘Ficha de Seguimiento, “Proyecto de Ley 00661/2011-CR” 2011. Congreso.gob.pe. As of 12 January 2021: <http://www2.congreso.gob.pe/Sicr/TraDocEstProc/CLProLey2011.nsf/Sicr/TraDocEstProc/CLProLey2011.nsf/debusqueda/E21D6618785161090525838500639AF2?opendocument>

¹⁰⁹ Member of INFANT 6; Member of INFANT 1; Member of INFANT 3.

¹¹⁰ <http://www4.congreso.gob.pe/congresista/2011/lcuculiza/cargos.asp>

¹¹¹ Member of INFANT/ONNAS 2; Parliamentary assistant 17; Member of INFANT/ONNAS 5.

¹¹² Government actor 16.

¹¹³ Parliamentary assistant 17; Local government representative 9; Local government representative 10; Journalist 13.

¹¹⁴ Local government representative 10.

¹¹⁵ Local government representative 9.

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However, INFANT's work particularly stood out for its focus on legislative change, active involvement of children, persistence, and successful media campaign. As an INFANT member that led the political advocacy work explained:

"... other organisations had already highlighted that there was a problem. In 2007-2008 these were ... World Vision, Plan International, Save the Children. The difference between INFANT and these organisations was that, these other organisations tried to put the subject forward but did not focus on the legislative change as much as INFANT did."¹¹⁶

This resonated with the views of others. Stakeholders outside of INFANT and ONNAS recognised that **the persistence and active involvement of children to mobilise society and permeate the political sphere made INFANT and ONNAS's work stand out from that of other NGOs.**¹¹⁷ One of them noted that *"INFANT was one of the organisations that didn't give up"*.¹¹⁸ Another commented:

"It was thanks to the intervention of children's organisations that they [members of Congress] became aware of the subject".¹¹⁹

Non-INFANT and ONNAS stakeholders also commented that INFANT and children's organisations successfully raised the issue's profile in the media and in society more widely.¹²⁰ An interviewed artist noted that:

"INFANT formed alliances with public figures, actors. The events [they organised] had a good, positive atmosphere and aimed to reaffirm children's rights. There was media coverage of these events, and there would be interviews [with participating artists] after these".¹²¹

As well as famous individuals, INFANT also secured support from local level governors – something that enabled them to spread their message locally, facilitating its reach to the general public. A local-level public servant noted that an enabler to INFANT's and ONNAS' work was that *"mayors were receptive to the subject of childhood"*.¹²²

3.4. Wider contextual factors likely facilitated the law's adoption

The factors contributing to a legislative change are always complex. Interviewed stakeholders identified other wider contextual factors that likely also played a role in the approval.

- **There was growing international pressure for Peru to update its Code of Children and Adolescents.** The year 2015 marked 25 years since Peru joined the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, calling for Peru to update its legislation.¹²³ In addition, research for the UN by Brazilian professor Paulo Sergio Pinheiro¹²⁴ on violence against children had repercussions across

¹¹⁶ Member of INFANT 6.

¹¹⁷ Lawyer 11; Politician 15; Member of INFANT/ONNAS 2; Government actor 16; Parliamentary assistant 17; Artist 18.

¹¹⁸ Government actor 16.

¹¹⁹ Civil servant 12.

¹²⁰ Journalist 13; Politician 15; Parliamentary assistant 17; Government actor 16.

¹²¹ Artist 18.

¹²² Local government representative 9.

¹²³ Lawyer 11; Politician 14.

¹²⁴ United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner. 2006. 'The United Nations Study on Violence against Children.' OHCHR.org. As of 12 January 2021: <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/CRC/Study/Pages/StudyViolenceChildren.aspx>

the continent.¹²⁵ INFANT used this study to corroborate arguments put forward to politicians. Furthermore, the UN special representative Marta Santos Pais “*promoted the prevention and elimination of all forms of violence against children in the justice setting, in the home, in institutional care, in schools, in the workplace and in the community*” in 2009.¹²⁶ The Director-General of the General Committee of Children and Adolescents noted that this had an influence.¹²⁷

- The **new legislation was approved shortly before the end of the presidential term**. Some interviewees believed this timing facilitated the law’s approval, since Congress representatives would have been keen to approve legislation that added to the repertoire of changes achieved during their term.¹²⁸
- Some interviewees also reported that the **government was more progressive and receptive to social welfare matters in the 2011-2016 period**.¹²⁹

4. The implementation of the new legislation

Following the law’s approval, work to ensure its effective implementation continued. Law No. 30403 had minimal regulatory details, requiring considerable work to provide operationalisation guidelines. Regulations for implementation were defined between 2015 and 2018 and took effect on 7 June 2008.¹³⁰ Following the law’s regulation, the Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations has been undertaking awareness-raising campaigns and implementing guidance to change practice within education and local government institutions.¹³¹

4.1. Strong opposition emerged after the passing of the law

INFANT and the ONNAS continued their advocacy work to inform the law’s implementation, increase social awareness on the subject and provide parents with alternative parenting techniques.¹³² Between 2015 and 2019 they launched a follow-up campaign called ‘The Power of Affection’.

However, following the approval of the law, stronger opposition emerged. An organised opposition group started a campaign called ‘*Con Mis Hijos No Te Metas*’ (‘Don’t Mess with my Children’) that gained prominence in 2016 through demonstrations.¹³³ Starting in Peru, this movement has spread

¹²⁵ Lawyer 11; Member of INFANT 1; Government actor 16.

¹²⁶ United Nations. 2021. ‘Marta Santos Pais - UN Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Violence Against Children’. As of 12 January 2021: <https://violenceagainstchildren.un.org/content/marta-santos-pais#:~:text=Marta%20Santos%20Pais%20has%20more,United%20Nations%20and%20intergovernmental%20processes.&text=Before%20her%20appointment%20as%20SRSG,position%20she%20held%20since%202001>.

¹²⁷ Government actor 16.

¹²⁸ Member of INFANT/ONNAS 4; Member of INFANT 6.

¹²⁹ Politician 15; Politician 14.

¹³⁰ ‘Las 7 claves que debes conocer sobre el reglamento contra el castigo físico y humillante de menores.’ La Ley, 11 June. As of 12 January 2021: <https://laley.pe/art/5518/las-7-claves-que-debes-conocer-sobre-el-reglamento-contra-el-castigo-fisico-y-humillante-de-menores>

¹³¹ Politician 14; Government actor 16.

¹³² Member of INFANT 3; Member of INFANT/ONNAS 2; Member of INFANT/ONNAS 5; Member of INFANT 6.

¹³³ Politician 15; Politician 14; Lawyer 11; Government actor 16; Member of INFANT 1; Member of INFANT 3.

Ending the use of physical and emotional violence against children and adolescents in Peru across Latin America, Spain and the United States.¹³⁴ Overall, there was a less favourable climate for efforts to ban physical and humiliating punishment. Arguments previously used to oppose INFANT's work re-flourished.¹³⁵ This also permeated the political sphere: the opposition group formed an ally in Congress, recruiting the congressman who had abstained from voting on the new law in 2015.¹³⁶ According to an ex-congresswoman in post between 2016 and 2019, "*there was a more conservative debate in Congress after the law was approved*".¹³⁷

Against this challenging backdrop to legislative progress, the importance of INFANT's work became even clearer. Opposition likely emerged with greater force after the law's approval in reaction to the magnitude of the change.¹³⁸ Interviewed stakeholders agreed that keeping the issue high on the political agenda was therefore paramount. In their opinion, a change in social attitudes is possible if there is "*political will*".¹³⁹

To promote the effective regulation and implementation of the law, and despite growing opposition after 2015, INFANT and ONNAS collaborated closely with Congress representatives and governmental institutions, including the Women and Family Commission of Congress, the Children and Adolescents General Directorate, and the Children's Ombudsman.¹⁴⁰

Their work was further facilitated when ex-ONNAS members began taking-up governmental roles¹⁴¹, becoming key allies. For example, Tania Pariona Tarqui was in Congress in the 2016-2019 legislative period and supported activities linked to the regulation and implementation of the law.¹⁴² Others became assessors of Congress Members, such as Nimia Morán (ex-assessor of ex-Congresswoman Tania Pariona) and Laila Villavicencio (assessor of Congresswoman Rocío Santisteban Manrique, 2016-2021). Similarly, two ex-ONNAS members fulfilled roles within the Ministry of Education. These include Carlos Silva Flores, who was appointed Director of the Technical Directorate of Teachers of the General Directorate of Teaching Development in 2019,¹⁴³ and Daniel Sangama Panduro, who worked as Specialist of Student Participation in the Secondary Education Directorate of the Ministry of Education in 2016 and 2017. These collaborators brought the lens of INFANT and ONNAS into government after the legislation was passed.¹⁴⁴

¹³⁴ Meneses, D. 2019. 'Con Mis Hijos No Te Metas: a study of discourse and power in a Peruvian Facebook group opposing «gender ideology».' *Anthropologica* 37(42). As of 12 January 2021: <http://dx.doi.org/10.18800/anthropologica.201901.006>; BvLF country representative, Validation workshop, 28 September 2020.

¹³⁵ Government actor 16.

¹³⁶ Politician 14; Member of INFANT/ONNAS 5.

¹³⁷ Politician 15.

¹³⁸ Local government representative 10.

¹³⁹ Lawyer 11; Local government representative 10; Local government representative 9.

¹⁴⁰ Politician 15; Partner of INFANT 8; Government actor 16.

¹⁴¹ Member of INFANT 3; BvLF country representative, Validation workshop, 28 September 2020.

¹⁴² Politician 15

¹⁴³ Ministra de Educación. 2019. 'Designan Director de la Dirección Técnico Normativa de Docentes de la Dirección General de Desarrollo Docente.' El Peruano.pe, 25 April. As of 12 January 2021: <https://busquedas.elperuano.pe/normaslegales/designan-director-de-la-direccion-tecnico-normativa-de-docen-resolucion-ministerial-n-187-2019-minedu-1763863-1/>

¹⁴⁴ BvLF country representative, Validation workshop, 28 September 2020.

4.2. The work of INFANT and ONNAS remains ever more important to continue driving transformation in societal views

As with INFANT and ONNAS members, other stakeholders considered that “*culture doesn’t change by a law*”, and that true change is achieved gradually over a long period of time.¹⁴⁵ They all agreed that further work is needed to embed a new mentality that rejects the use of violence.

Changes in societal attitudes are slowly taking place. This is reflected in the support received from political representatives and the general public and in surveys rolled out by the National Institute of Statistics and Information (INEI) and the Ministry of Women and Vulnerable populations. In the 2018 ENDES survey conducted by the INEI, only 20% of the respondents indicated that physical punishment was ‘sometimes’ necessary to educate children, compared to 32% in 2004.¹⁴⁶ Moreover, 80% of the 2018 respondents believed that physical punishment was unnecessary to educate children.¹⁴⁷

More recent statistics show a similar trend. The ENARES survey was rolled out by the Ministry of Women and Vulnerable populations in 2013, 2015 and 2019¹⁴⁸. It explored aspects such as the experience of psychological and/or physical violence at home and in school in the last 12 months of children aged 9-11 and adolescents aged 12-17.¹⁴⁹ For children aged 9-11, **the survey revealed a steady decline in reports of family or school-based violence** in the last 12 months. Nearly 50% of children reported family violence in 2013. This proportion dropped to 42% in 2015 and to 39% by 2019. A similar trend was observed in this age group for reported experiences of psychological and/or physical violence in a school setting, declining from 59% in 2013 to 50% in 2015 and 47% in 2019. While results for adolescents aged 12-17 also showed a decline, reductions were not as marked and steady as the younger age group. In 2013, 45% of adolescents reported experience of family violence in the last 12 months. This declined to 39% but increased to 41% by 2019. Experiences of psychological and/or physical violence in a school setting reduced from 56% in 2013 to 47% in 2015 and 45% in 2019.

As well as children’s and adolescents’ opinions, the survey also captured adult’s views and attitudes around violence. **Results showed that further work is needed to change parental views on the use of violence against children and adolescents.** This is in line with comments made by the Director of the Children and Adolescents General Directorate, who explained that while the data suggests a decrease in the incidence and acceptability of violence, “*there are changes but not to the extent we would like*”.¹⁵⁰ The ENARES surveys showed that 33% of parents agreed with the statement that

¹⁴⁵ Local government representative 9; Lawyer 11; Politician 14; Government actor 16; Parliamentary assistant 17; Local government representative 10; Journalist 13; Artist 18; Civil servant 12.

¹⁴⁶ Sanabria, Jose Alberto Garcia. 2019. *Empoderamiento de la mujer y violencia familiar ENDES 2018*. Lima: Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática. As of 12 January 2021: https://encuestas.inei.gob.pe/endes/2018/empoderamiento/pdf/EMPODERAMIENTO_ENDES_2018.pdf

¹⁴⁷ Sanabria, Jose Alberto Garcia. 2019. *Empoderamiento de la mujer y violencia familiar ENDES 2018*. Lima: Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática. As of 12 January 2021: https://encuestas.inei.gob.pe/endes/2018/empoderamiento/pdf/EMPODERAMIENTO_ENDES_2018.pdf

¹⁴⁸ The ENARES survey was rolled out for the first time in 2013. Therefore, the ENDES survey is used to show the changes in Peru from 2004 onwards. The ENARES survey provides additional information on the perspectives of children, whereas respondents for the ENDES survey were adults.

¹⁴⁹ Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática. 2019. ‘Encuesta nacional sobre relaciones sociales: ENARES 2019 - Principales resultados. Lima: Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática’. As of 12 January 2021: <http://www.grade.org.pe/creer/archivos/ENARES-2019.pdf>

¹⁵⁰ Government actor 16.

Ending the use of physical and emotional violence against children and adolescents in Peru “children and adolescents who aren’t punished become rude and lazy”¹⁵¹ in both 2013 and 2015, marginally increasing to 35% in 2019. Agreement with the statement “using physical punishment can be good if it doesn’t wound children” steadily declined across the years, from 49% in 2013 to 42% in 2015¹⁵² and 27% in 2019. Other views remained roughly the same. For example, a consistent 21% of parents agreed with the statement “parents who want to have successful children should resort to physical violence to achieve it” in 2013, 2015 and 2019.

The above data show that while there have been important improvements, a notable proportion of the population still considers violence as justifiable - highlighting the importance of INFANT and ONNAS’s continued work to raise awareness. After 2015, **INFANT continued raising awareness** via TV, radio, and large social events to reach out to parents and key professionals, and started a Network of Parents Who Promote Affectionate Education. They also identified the need to reach out to practitioners working in health and education to change their views on child discipline.¹⁵³ For example, INFANT developed guidelines for their own use to talk to psychologists, universities and health professionals.

4.3. Various approaches can help embed cultural changes, some of which are already being implemented

When asked about how ‘true cultural change’ can be embedded in the political sphere and the general public, interviewed stakeholders identified several key elements.

Two stakeholders noted the need to **drive change at the local level**.¹⁵⁴ Steps are already being taken to achieve this. The Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations has established divisions within municipal DEMUNAS to undertake prevention activities, monitor progress, address violent cases and conduct follow-ups.¹⁵⁵

Others identified the need to introduce **educational initiatives** targeting all education levels (infant, primary and secondary) to de-normalise violence among pupils.¹⁵⁶ Educational initiatives for adults (including public servants, education staff and parents) were also identified as a mechanism for changing attitudes. For example, training about the negative impact of violence on child and adolescent development, filing a complaint, or acting when complaints are made or cases identified can be made available to these groups.¹⁵⁷ A member of INFANT also noted that:

“The government needs to allocate a specific budget for educational programmes for the community, a form of social investment [...]. There can be

¹⁵¹ Sánchez Aguilar, Aníbal. 2016. *Encuesta Nacional sobre Relaciones Sociales: ENARES 2013 y 2015 – Principales Resultados*. Lima: Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática. As of 12 January 2021: https://www.inei.gob.pe/media/MenuRecursivo/publicaciones_digitales/Est/Lib1390/libro.pdf

¹⁵² Sánchez Aguilar, Aníbal. 2016. *Encuesta Nacional sobre Relaciones Sociales: ENARES 2013 y 2015 – Principales Resultados*. Lima: Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática. As of 4 January 2021: https://www.inei.gob.pe/media/MenuRecursivo/publicaciones_digitales/Est/Lib1390/libro.pdf

¹⁵³ Member of INFANT 6.

¹⁵⁴ Local government representative 9; Local government representative 10.

¹⁵⁵ Government actor 16.

¹⁵⁶ Lawyer 11; Politician 15; Member of INFANT 7.

¹⁵⁷ Local government representative 10.

*cultural programmes that promote affection towards children and that involve families”.*¹⁵⁸

An ex-congresswoman agreed that tackling educational initiatives at different levels will be important for preventing violence in schools, families and neighbourhoods.¹⁵⁹ As the Ministry is training local DEMUNA members to equip parents with positive-parenting skills and knowledge, some moves have already been made towards this.

To address the challenges presented by personnel changes, one public servant noted **the importance of defining clear, actionable goals** that last beyond the end of a politician or public servant’s term of service (at national or local government).¹⁶⁰ These can be incorporated into the local Childhood Plans.

Local government representatives also suggested **a need for clear guidelines on how to act and transform practice** at the local level¹⁶¹ and **allocating resources** to implement them. The latter can also serve as an incentive for prioritising this work over other demands. Others highlighted the need for local and national budgets to support the work still needed to fully implement the law.

Communication campaigns were also recognised as important. To better understand the drivers of violence against children and gather relevant evidence, the Ministry continues to conduct national surveys such as ENARES.¹⁶² They also undertook a joint study with UNICEF examining the factors leading parents or caregivers to use physical punishment. In October 2016, the Ministry started their own campaign called ‘*Sin pegar ni humillar, es hora de cambiar*’ (‘Without hitting or humiliating, it is time to change’), which aimed to educate adults on the consequences of violence as a corrective measure and promote positive parenting practices focused on the good treatment of children and adolescents.¹⁶³ To make the prohibition of violence and humiliating punishment socially explicit, the campaign used television adverts¹⁶⁴, posters and other public displays as part of its wider communication and information strategy.¹⁶⁵ The Ministry also started a campaign called ‘*Ponte en #ModoNiñez*’ (‘Get into #childhoodmode’), which aims to promote safe public spaces for children and adolescents.¹⁶⁶

Lastly, several interviewees identified the critical role of **collaborations within and between government and civil society institutions** going forward.¹⁶⁷

¹⁵⁸ Member of INFANT 6.

¹⁵⁹ Politician 15.

¹⁶⁰ Local government representative 9.

¹⁶¹ Local government representative 9; Local government representative 10.

¹⁶² Government actor 16.

¹⁶³ MIMP. 2016. ‘MIMP presenta campaña contra el maltrato infantil “sin pegar ni humillar, es hora de cambiar”.’ MIMP.gob.pe, 4 October. As of 12 January 2021: <https://www.mimp.gob.pe/salaprensa/nota-prensa.php?codigo=2184>

¹⁶⁴ MIMP TV. 2016. Sin pegar ni humillar. YouTube, 4 October. As of 12 October 2021: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZENL61yrW-g>

¹⁶⁵ Government actor 16.

¹⁶⁶ Ministerio de la Mujer y Poblaciones Vulnerables. 2019. ‘MIMP implementa en Paracas y Chincha servicios en beneficio de niños y mujeres.’ Gob.pe, 8 November 12.33 PET. As of 12 January 2021: <https://www.gob.pe/institucion/mimp/noticias/68414-mimp-implementa-en-paracas-y-chincha-servicios-en-beneficio-de-ninos-y-mujeres>

¹⁶⁷ Member of INFANT/ONNAS 5; Local government representative 10; Journalist 13; Member of INFANT 3; Member of INFANT/ONNAS 2.

5. Looking ahead: Lessons learned

Approval of the law banning physical and humiliating punishment in Peru was an important milestone for INFANT and ONNAS. These civil society organisations undertook various activities to increase awareness in Peruvian political and social spheres about the importance of moving away from a culture of violence towards one that treats children and their education with affection and respect. Unique to their work was the involvement of children and adolescents throughout the entire process: this became a movement led and implemented by children themselves, serving **as a prime example of children's leadership in changing matters that directly affect them**. As noted by various interviewed stakeholders, these child protagonists gave the campaign a unique appeal among politicians and the general public. Some ONNAS children also went on to pursue governmental or political careers as adults, enabling them to continue supporting the cause. These ex-ONNAS members acted as key allies to approve and implement the new legislation.

As well as the campaigner's intergenerational profile, several additional elements have been identified as important facilitators to their work:

- **INFANT and ONNAS identified a clear goal and defined a strategy to reach it.** Their activities were guided by the need to change cultural views on violence, identifying legislative change as one way to achieve it. However, aware that legislative change does not directly translate into cultural change, they also focused on awareness, education, and capacity-building. As a result, their strategy was multilateral, focusing on the political (top) and social level (bottom).
- **They focused on empowering parents and the general public with alternative ways to nurture children and adolescents.** Taking an educational rather than a punitive approach, they provided parents with tools and knowledge about positively educating their children, lending coherence to their cause. Instead of relying on punishment to stop punishment (a punitive law), they therefore demonstrated by example, modelling alternative methods of change and success. As a result, the law's regulations focus on raising awareness and disseminating information to educationalists and parents on how to change their practices positively.
- **They adapted their strategy based on learning on the ground.** Self-reflection and adaptivity to changing contexts were crucial, enabling them to adjust their strategy to emerging barriers. For example, their initial difficulties attracting media attention informed subsequent strategy changes. Unable to secure television time, they involved famous artists and public figures instead. Their responsiveness to changes in context (such as shifts in political roles and representatives) was also important in building support.
- **Fostering key allies was crucial,** and INFANT and ONNAS invested significant effort in securing allies. Beyond their own collaborative partnership, they also sought political allies to facilitate the approval, regulation and implementation of legislation. This was crucial in achieving prioritisation of the legislative proposal to prohibit violence against children on the political agenda. They also formed alliances with public figures (artists, musicians, journalists and local

authorities) and collaborated with other civil society organisations to ensure their message reached the general public.

- **Their innovative, child-led ideas shaped campaign strategies and reached diverse constituencies.** INFANT and ONNAS complemented each other: while INFANT provided experience, ONNAS provided creativity and legitimacy (i.e. children advocating for their own rights). Their campaigns *‘Métele un Gol a la Violencia’* or *‘Un Abrazo por la Infancia’* achieved wide outreach and awareness among the Peruvian general public and inspired similar campaigns in other Latin American countries.
- **They had both financial and non-financial support for their activities.** Financial resources to cover staff and activity costs were essential. By forming key alliances, they also secured additional non-monetary contributions, e.g. concessions for using public spaces.

Despite the legislative success, work is still needed to ensure the sustainability of the changes and continue shifting public views and attitudes. Growing resistance that emerged in 2016 may jeopardise the progress achieved so far. Therefore, continued efforts to raise awareness and collaborate with governmental actors are important for governmental agencies and other philanthropic organisations. Considerable work is still needed to achieve true societal transformation in treating and educating children with love and affection:

*“We still need to change society’s views, we need to create a climate of love. We have to change the context. The environment [in which children grow up] is a key element in the processes of socialisation and identity formation”.*¹⁶⁸

Continued perseverance in improving the conditions that lead to children and adolescents’ healthy development and well-being remains important in Peru.

¹⁶⁸ Member of INFANT 1.

Annex A. Scope and methodology

The findings in this case study should be read with appropriate recognition of the complex nature of policymaking and with the understanding INFANT and ONNAS's work in Peru was only one of a number of ways in which stakeholders worked towards the adoption of Law No. 30403. Additionally, this case study reports on *how stakeholders perceived* the events and debates that contributed to the introduction of the new legislation.

The research team can report the extent of consensus or disagreement about the perceived contribution of the different debates, events and organisations involved. However, this case study does not aim to establish a causal connection between the Foundation's support for INFANT and the introduction of Law No. 30403. This is beyond the scope of the current case study, requiring a more evaluative approach and study design.

The research team and BvLF selected five case studies to meet the research objective, which was to ensure that lessons on 'what works' at scale were systematically captured, assessed and made available for other governments, practitioners and foundations to use. During the inception phase, the research team and BvLF developed a shared understanding of the research objective, selected the case studies, and developed a plan.

For the current case study, the methodology plan consisted of a scoping phase followed by data collection (interviews), data analysis (documentary review and interview data), write-up, content validation, and finalisation phases.

The scoping phase aimed to determine the case study's time frame, establish the research team's understanding of INFANT and ONNAS's work, and identify key informants. It involved:

- An initial consultation with BvLF staff to introduce the research team to the project and determine the time frame to be covered.
- A review of 21 documents (provided by the Foundation) about INFANT, ONNAS and the law. Documents that focused on the alliance's work were selected by the research team as most informative. The review included documents outlining (i) INFANT's purpose, internal policies and principles, (ii) the different projects they organised and promoted, and (iii) the impact these projects had. The documents were systematically reviewed, and information was recorded using an analysis protocol based on the project aims. Interview protocols were informed by findings from the documentary review.
- A second consultation with BvLF staff to identify stakeholder-categories and select key informants for interviews.

Key informants were selected according to their relevance and ability to verify facts. As such, members of INFANT and ONNAS were considered best placed to describe the work involved in introducing the law, while politicians, civil servants and INFANT collaborators (but not members) were selected to provide perspective from other key players. The agreed external stakeholder categories are listed in Table A.

Table A. Overview of stakeholder categories and number of interviews by stakeholder type

Stakeholder type	Number of interviews
Training Institute for Adolescents and Children Workers (INFANT) and the Children and Adolescent Organisations (ONNAS)	7 members
Other actors supporting the work of INFANT and ONNAS	1 partner 1 artist 1 lawyer
Journalist	1 journalist
Politicians	2 politicians 1 parliamentary assistant
Public authorities	1 government actor 2 local government representatives 1 civil servant

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with key informants from all categories (as shown in Table A) between May and June 2020. All participants were provided with a Participant Information Sheet describing the project, a Privacy Notice, and an Interview Briefing Note explaining the topics to be covered in the interview, all available in Spanish. All interviews were conducted remotely using Microsoft Teams or Zoom. Interviews were considered the best method for eliciting an in-depth understanding of the local context and capturing perceptions of the alliance. Interviews were recorded after obtaining consent from participants, and notes were taken and elaborated on afterward using the recordings. Given the scope of the case study, the number of semi-structured interviews was limited to 18.

Given their involvement, it is important to acknowledge the potential biases of information provided by INFANT and ONNAS members. Although interviews with politicians and public authorities were undertaken to ameliorate this possibility, potential biases should still be considered when interpreting data obtained from partnership respondents.

To identify emerging themes, interviews were analysed using an adapted version of the documentary review protocol. A follow-up review of the original documents (and any new documents identified through follow-up searches) was then conducted after the interviews to corroborate interview data. All data were thematically analysed to identify common themes, used to organise and structure the current report.

A validation phase followed. A draft of the case study was shared with BvLF staff to corroborate facts about INFANT’s activities. Revisions and follow-up email-consultations with interviewees were agreed during a consultation workshop, and the case study was subsequently finalised.

Throughout this report, points made by more than one interviewee are recorded clearly through references in footnotes. Therefore, looking at the footnotes establishes whether the views were shared across different stakeholder groups, since it is evident in the footnotes if the same point was made by multiple interviewees. While some interviewees gave consent to be explicitly named in the case study, random codes are used for all informants for uniformity.

The 2019-2020 case studies and the Bernard van Leer Foundation's focus on early childhood education

The Bernard van Leer Foundation has long focused on enhancing opportunities for children growing up in socially and economically disadvantaged circumstances, with a view to developing their innate potential (Bernard van Leer Foundation, 1999). The Foundation has contributed to a substantial body of work that emphasises the importance of early childhood (Van Gendt, 1998). More recently, it has turned its attention to how best to deliver early childhood services and the best policies in this field. Current knowledge on this topic is explored in its regular journals (e.g. Bernard van Leer Foundation, 2018a). As part of its approach to enhance opportunities for children, the Foundation seeks to intervene at a greater scale, e.g. funding projects with national reach instead of smaller-scale interventions. In 2018 it published its 2016-2020 Transition to Scale strategy (Bernard van Leer Foundation, 2018b), and in 2019 commissioned Harvard University, Princeton University and RAND Europe to deliver a set of case studies to document learning about implementing early childhood development programmes at scale.

The objective of these case studies is to ensure that lessons on 'what works' in operating at scale were systematically captured, assessed and made available for other governments, practitioners and foundations to use. The Foundation was particularly interested in learning about the critical conditions for achieving sustainable impact at scale in early childhood development.

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