

**"Do Not Give Me a Fish, Teach Me How to Fish"
Good Municipal Government and Community Participation**

by

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B.A., Economics
Universidad de Puerto Rico
1988

Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies and Planning
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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at the
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ABSTRACT

Field research was conducted to identify the successes and limitations of a local government relief project and its implementation by a federation of women organizations in Lima, Peru. The study has found that government and other institutions have played an important role in the creation of popular organizations. The philanthropic programs implemented by these institutions created spaces that introduced the beneficiaries to practices of participation and demand. They created the bases for women to take conscience of possible roles outside the house. The Metropolitan *Vaso de Leche* Program allowed a local government with limited resources and no support from central government to implement a large-scale program that reached populations usually only served by central government. It also gave lower levels of government, the district level, with even less resources than the provincial, participation in the administration of a needed resource that strengthened its position within the community. The program also gave women organizations resources for them to manage and defend themselves in the eyes of their bases. Women took the resources government gave them but also learned to maintain their autonomy. They learned to demand and to deal strategically with government, political parties and other institutions.

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CHRONOLOGY

- 1968 - 75 Military Coup and government led by General Juan Velasco Alvarado.
- 1975 - 80 Second period of the military government, led by General Morales Bermúdez.
- 1980 - 85 Return to democracy. Fernando Belaunde elected, for the second time, as president.
- 1983 - 86 Izquierda Unida wins the Metropolitan Government of Lima. Alfonso Barrantes elected mayor.
- 1983 Villa El Salvador becomes a district. Michel Azcueta is elected its first mayor.
- Creation of the Federación Popular de Mujeres de Villa El Salvador (FEPOMUVES).
- 1984 Creation by the Metropolitan Government of Lima of the "Vaso de Leche" Program.
- 1985 APRA wins the presidential elections, Alan García president.
- The Vaso de Leche Program becomes law (ley 24059).
- 1986 Popular march protesting the reduction and manipulation of the Vaso de Leche Program by the ruling party.
- Fist Convention of the Metropolitan Vaso de Leche Committees. Election of the First Metropolitan Coordinator Council.
- Michel Azcueta is re-elected as mayor of Villa El Salvador.
- 1987 FEPOMUVES is officially given control of the Vaso de Leche program for the District of Villa El Salvador.
- 1990 Alberto Fujimori is elected president of the Republic.
- Second Convention of the Metropolitan Vaso de Leche Committees.

"Siempre nos han dicho que los comedores o los Comités del Vaso de Leche adormecen al pueblo o sirven de colchón al sistema. Nosotras decimos que no es así, porque lo que hacemos es apostar por el autogobierno del pueblo. [...] Y nosotras apostamos porque el propio pueblo aprenda, desde lo pequeñito, a autogobernarse para que algún día sea capaz de gobernar a nivel nacional".

Maria Elena Moyano in Diana Miloslavich 1993, pp. 31-32.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Peru is today one of the poorest countries in Latin America, the 1980's economic crisis impoverished even more sectors of the population. Under military rule from 1968 until 1980, its government institutions are weak and without real commitment to develop from the elected governments. The development literature that likes to label whole countries as "good" or "bad" performers will have to define Peru as a "bad" performer.

Nevertheless, the "national model" literature misses the good and bad experiences within that same country and the lessons to be learned from it. Promising developments within countries that perform poorly on average or good government by some government agencies as distinct from others in the same country. The cases of Ceara's good state government performance within the northeast region of Brazil bad reputation; or Italy's example of good regional performance within the national bad experience are examples of this problem (Tendler 1997, Locke 1995).

The election of a leftist provincial government to the Metropolitan Government of Lima, Peru that successfully implemented a food relief program and helped develop civil society and local governments also questions this mainstream characterization. The national model analysis overlooks the different performance of the various agencies and levels of government that make the State apparatus. The public sector's good performance is easily disregarded but, as the case considered in this thesis that successfully distributed one million glasses of milk to poor people demonstrates, we need to change this narrow perspective.

The contribution of local government to the creation of a civil society, through the support and development of community based organizations, is also contrary to the mainstream literature, where NGOs are supposed to have this role. However, in the case of Peru, different governments have supported the creation of popular organizations. This support served particular aims in each government, still the poor population took advantage of these possibilities and built their own autonomous organizations

Community organizations have also commonly been misunderstood, however in a different way as government has. First, we will see how popular organizations are influenced by government and its policies, at the same time government is also affected by them. Philanthropic and religious agencies, non-governmental organizations also affect community organizations. Politics and policies shape and reshape popular organizations, but politics and policies are also transformed by the mobilization capacity of these organizations.

Second, popular organizations are supposed to have certain characteristics with respect to their internal organization and functioning. They are homogenous organizations with unified goals that focus on practical achievements without any idealistic or broader objectives. Their internal organization is also presumed to be democratic and decentralized, allowing for ample participation by its members in the functioning and decision-making of the group.

This research has found that this characterization is only partially accurate. Community organizations do share some of these attributes, but they can also be authoritarian and have conflicting goals. In general, popular organizations are more complex than frequently accepted, their goals and structure change over time and are shaped by the sociopolitical context in which they are embedded.

The Cases and the Organization of the Study

This thesis tells two stories, first, the "Programa Municipal del Vaso de Leche" (PMVL), Glass of Milk Municipal Program, initiated by the Mayor's Office of Metropolitan Lima in 1984, under the administration of the "Izquierda Unida" (United Left) Party, a coalition of left wing parties. The general objective of that policy was to participate and support the efforts of poor community dwellers to establish new popular organizations that aimed at improving levels of nutrition. Specifically the operational objectives were to secure the provision of a glass of milk for children and pregnant and breast-feeding women.

Second, it also tells the story of the "Federación Popular de Mujeres de Villa El Salvador" (FEPOMUVES), Federation of Popular Women of VES, and its relationship with this program. The Federation successfully carried out the implementation of the Lima Metropolitan *Vaso de Leche*

program in the new district. Through this process, the organization strengthened its position in the community creating new spaces for women to participate in the political and social life of the municipality.

This chapter outlines some of the characteristics of the Peruvian State to provide background on its social policies. These have been policies of one administration instead than State policies; they have been discontinuous, partial, and inefficient. The first chapter ends with a discussion on the origins of the popular social movement in Peru. The analysis will help explain how poor people began to organize along sectoral and functional interest lines, linked to the daily life concerns of specific sectors of the population.

The second chapter examines the economic crisis that began during the seventies and the assistencialism programs¹ that created the first women's organizations. Later on the preparation and collective consumption of comestibles was supported by governments and became the most visible social program of the time.

The third chapter looks at the local governments and their limitations to plan and execute projects. Nevertheless, the *Vaso de Leche* Program created, in the poor districts, the possibility to mobilize and strengthen their organization. The program assumed that the community participation guaranteed the success of the project's goals and would strengthen the popular organizations.

Chapter four traces the history of Villa El Salvador and the role government had in its origins and organizations. One of the local organizations involved, the Women Federation of Villa El Salvador, has played an important role in the lives of its members and in securing food relief for the poor population. Through the successful implementation of these programs, the organization strengthened its position in the community creating new spaces for women to participate in the political and social life of the municipality. In the end the *Vaso de Leche* Program helped create a new group of women leaders that have been able to maintain the organization despite its vulnerability and dependency on the government for resources.

¹Relief programs that also served to build a social base of support for the government or institution in a clientelistic fashion.

The Peruvian State and Social Policies

The *Vaso de Leche* Program of the Metropolitan Government of Lima can not be separated from the specific character of the Peruvian State or from its social policies. Until the 1930s the control of the political power by the Peruvian oligarchy neutralized the middle classes and systematically excluded the popular sector. The development of a political society was limited, as were the governmental concessions to the majority of the population. Burga and Flores Galindo (1979) explain that the heterogeneous composition of the popular sectors, the enclave economy, the geographic dispersion and the regional and ethnic differences were factors that have contributed to the control of the aristocracy over the Peruvian State.

Since colonial times the dominant class in Peru was not able to unionize itself politically and organize the rest of society. The State did not centralize or give cohesion to the population. For this reason it never had the legitimacy to represent collective interests (Cotler 1978).

The "colonial heritage" continued during the 30's and beyond, even as the popular sectors began to have a greater presence in the political arena. Mobilizations were contained by open and covert dictatorships and civil society was weak and non-articulated. The dominant model began to crumble in the 60's and ended with the military government of Juan Velasco Alvarado (1968-1975). The oligarchy lost its economic base during this period and virtually disappeared from the political scene.

The first period of the military government was preceded by massive peasant mobilizations, the rise of insurgence groups and the beginning of the migration pressures. The Velasco regime pushed for the creation and strengthening of social organizations with an authoritarian hand as part of its aim of modernizing the State apparatus. Labor unions and squatter organizations were quickly recognized by the State. Squatter organizations were given incentives to use self-help and to legalize their settlements. Using the government, the armed forces built social support for their reforms. They were assisted by the economic stability of the period that began to crumble towards 1975.

The relative economic stability of the period allowed the State to enter the unlikely role for Peru of the benefactor State, expanding social rights that were of extreme importance for the

migrant population in the cities. The response of the population to the clientelistic use of these policies showed a pragmatism and a calculated appropriation of all possible resources. As with all the populism experiences, the search for and consolidation of political loyalty from the State, superseded the creation of universal benefits and the continuity of public policies.

Public policies concerning social services seem to constitute the only constant concern in the consecutive governments in the last four decades. This focus undermined the State compromise with any distributive policies, its direct intervention in the guaranty of full employment or the creation of an extended system of social security.

However, even with the policies about social services every government created new institutions and changed the legal provisions that were developed by the previous administration. There was never an effort to evaluate or learn from the experience, nor was there an effort to continue the successes of the previous experiences. For this reason the majority of these policies were policies of specific governments instead of State policies.

In short, the Peruvian State is clientelistic in part due to the precarious economic condition of the country and the environment of political exclusion. However, this relationship has been, for various sectors of the population, an alternative strategy to reach certain goals closed to them through institutional channels. This feature also determines the discontinuity of the Peruvian State's social policies, which uses a double standard in service provision depending on each group's political pressure and public visibility.

Another characteristic of these governments has been their continuous insulation from the changes in the composition of the Peruvian society, the growing heterogeneity of civil society and the multiple resources it has created to resist and demand. Civil society's organizations have built an institutional presence, but they have not been understood by government. The simultaneous roles of these social organizations as functional and antagonist, adaptive and challenger provided the origin of the women's organizations for food.

The Popular Social Movement

The popular social movement grew out of a burst of activity in the spontaneous formation of local committees and community organizations across the Lima region during the fifties. The desperate situation of shantytown dwellers was linked to problems arising from processes of industrial growth, urbanization, diversification within the labor force, and Andean rural migration to the cities (Tovar 1985).

It was not until the reform and economic crisis decade of the seventies that a truly unified social movement began to emerge, acquiring its own organic and centralized structure. Distinct categories of people converge, ranging from industrial workers, artisans, street salesmen, the under employed and unemployed, etc., forming a heterogeneous collective in social composition, mostly coming together through land invasions and forming the so-called *pueblos jóvenes*.

Where in the fifties and sixties local shanty-town organizations were approached and treated by the APRA party and other parties from the political right as "clients", the dynamic changed drastically during the seventies when the military regime of Velasco Alvarado attempted to achieve direct control over neighborhood organizations in a search for a popular base (Stepan 1978; Collier 1976). The State under this regime between 1968-74 created its own neighborhood organizations that substituted for the autonomous associations, attracting a good number of local persons through the new block committees. The more experienced leaders of the original associations applied their skills in assuming direction of the State-imposed local structures, and in many cases reaffirmed their autonomy from the State.

In defending their independence these neighborhood organizations relied much more on those local residents who had gained their experience in the labor movement. This also strongly influenced the direction taken in the popular movement. Thus, between 1973 and 1980 this movement as an independent force not only claimed urban services and facilities for their communities by right of being citizens, but also began to align itself with labor and other popular movements in protests against the increasing cost of living. New types of community organizations arose in the form of *barrio* committees, community kitchens, defense fronts, and others. In the

process participants become increasingly politicized and radicalized, involving themselves more and more in the general dynamic of country-wide strikes (Ballon 1986).

The limitations of this highly centralized manipulation of the neighborhood movement began to be felt with the deepening of the economic crisis from 1980 onwards. As Tovar points out, a *barrio* movement that was born essentially out of local struggle around land issues and urban services and later joins in with the national strikes of 1977 and 1978 focusing on the cost of living issues, had become largely characterized by its "reactive" and "defensive" posture, confronting an especially complex national crisis situation. Consequently, leaders of the popular movement who had assumed that orientation in their struggle with the State were not able to respond to all the other various dimensions of the local reality that required their attention (Tovar 1986).

After the transition to democracy the poor community inhabitants began to branch out in their social activities, going beyond the concerns of the seventies that focused on the cost of living and the capitalistic ordering of the city of Lima. Their activities came to include the practice of social democracy in terms of voting patterns, the nature of community participation and organizing. In orientation and practice the social movement began increasingly to develop and identity based on the perception of shantytown dwellers being inhabitants of the poorest and most neglected zones of the city. This emerging identity, as *poblador*, became the new factor in creating a solidarity and basic personality within an otherwise heterogeneous and very complex community.

Thus, poor people began to extend their organizing efforts from the neighborhood level, taking into account this new identity as *poblador* and citizen, to include the municipal level. And furthermore they began to organize along sectoral and functional interest lines, linked to the daily life concerns of specific sectors of the poor population.

Methodology

Field research for this study was conducted in Lima, Peru for two months, from July to August 1997. One government service delivery project and a community organization were selected for the study, both located in Lima.

- The *Vaso de Leche* Program by the Metropolitan Government of Lima: a project by a local government that successfully distributed one million glasses of milk to poor people and helped develop civil society and local governments.
- The *Federación de Mujeres de Villa El Salvador*, FEPOMUVES: a community organization that successfully carried out the implementation of the Lima Metropolitan *Vaso de Leche* Program in the new district of Villa El Salvador. Through this process, the organization strengthened its position in the community creating new spaces for women to participate in the political and social life of the municipality.

The cases were identified for study through consultation with various researchers, activists and politicians that were or still are connected with Villa El Salvador and the *Izquierda Unida* Metropolitan Government of 1983.

Information was collected primarily through intensive interviews with members and leaders of FEPOMUVES and with government staff at various levels. This was supplemented with the organizations' reports, evaluations and other printed material they were willing to provide. Supplemental information on the *Vaso de Leche* Program and the women organization was collected from various non-profit organizations, research centers and government officials and consultants who had worked with the women organization and the *Izquierda Unida* government.

The research that underlines this thesis has some important limitations. First, although I have looked at FEPOMUVES as example of the organizational form taken by implementing organizations of the *Vaso de Leche*, it is not necessarily representative of other women organizations in Lima. As my discussion of these organization will show, organizations that run relief programs take on a wide variety of forms, and my case study is in no way an exhaustive sample. Further, since I sought successful projects and organizations my choice of projects was inherently and deliberately biased.

Second, the time I spent with the organization reviewed in this paper was limited: two months in total with three weeks in Villa El Salvador. Although my visits were filled with intensive interviews and I left with substantial documentation, any data based on

short visits should be subject to question. I attempted to compensate for this weakness by reviewing my impressions with consultants and researchers who had worked with this organization for many years. I also supplemented my research with project evaluations that had been conducted by other researchers and with some survey data that have been collected by NGOs and research institutions on the *Vaso de Leche* Program.

CHAPTER 2

"Do Not Give Me a Fish, Teach Me How to Fish" POVERTY AND ASSISTENCIALISM²

Peru, together with Bolivia, are the major recipients of international food donations in the region. Peru has received for a long time aid in the form of food donations, but the striking characteristic of the Peruvian case is the amount of this assistance and the existence of various forms of organized collective consumption, made up by hundreds of women groups around the country.

This situation was the result of the combination in the last twenty years of the presence of philanthropic private and religious organizations, international agencies, the emphasis in programs of "promotional" assistance for women, a tradition in community organization and, the catalytic effect of the economic crisis.

Since 1968 the public expenditures in the social sectors has suffered a constant decrease. During this year, the sectors of health, education and housing represented 33% of the government's budget, ten years later they decreased to only 17%. In 1978, the state's expenditure on education was 11%, health 4% and housing only reached 1% of the budget (Barrig 1990).

The Latin American economic crisis, the difference between expenditures and resources has been commonly represented as a consequence of growing expenses in the social services. In this case, the crisis had more to do with the increase in subsidies and growing expenditures in other sectors (Portantiero 1989). In Peru, the decrease in social investment was accompanied by a sustained increment in the areas of Defense and the Interior and in paying the external debt. In 1985 these three sectors took more that 50% of the expenses of the national budget.

Dimensions of Urban Poverty

During the period we are studying, the 1980's, Lima had an estimated population of six million people, almost a third of the nation's population (20.2 million). Furthermore, 44.7% of the total marginal population of Peru is concentrated in Lima, residing mainly in "*pueblos jóvenes*"³ (Campfens 1987).

Lima is a city of great contradictions, close to 80% of its population live in popular settlements and the rest in middle class and residential neighborhoods. Of the first group, 37% resides in *pueblos jóvenes*; 23% in popular neighborhoods and 20% in inner-city slums. Also important to mention is the higher rates of growth that the poorest sectors⁴ have compared to the other districts, an average 6.2 annual percent compare to an almost zero growth in the middle class areas (Matos Mar 1985). In short, the poorest areas with the least services and lowest living conditions have the highest population growth.

The economic crisis, the inverse relationship in income and prices of consumer goods, has impacted strongly on living conditions of the poor sector, pauperizing larger and larger sectors of the population. Taking as an indicator those fortunate enough to have adequate employment⁵, and 1979 as the base year, real income had fallen 34% by 1984. Real incomes had already dropped 36% in the preceding 5 years. On the other hand, 1985 costs to the consumer in relation to the "basic family basket" increased at a dizzying ten times the 1980 price.

²*Asistencialismo* is used in this thesis, as is in much of the Peruvian literature about these programs, to describe government social programs to combat the hardships of poverty, but also as a relationship of clientelism that each administration hopes to create with the programs' target population.

³Literally "young town", this expression is unique to Peru and originated in the 1960's. On the surface *pueblo joven* is simply an euphemism for "squatter settlement", but it deserves preference over that term for two reasons. First, while such neighborhoods invariably start as a collection of jerry-built shanties clustered along bumpy dirt roads, they often gain in size and permanence until they become full-fledged urban communities; thus, the image of a "young" or maturing settlement is in many cases accurate. Secondly, most of the settlers have now been granted official land titles making them fully recognized legal landowners. The word "shantytown" would also misrepresent these neighborhoods because many of the original shanties in them have been replaced by conventional homes indistinguishable from those in other parts of Lima. In short, the only trait shared by all *pueblos jóvenes* is that they are, as the expression says, "young".

⁴ I am using the table done by Tuesta (1989) on districts and relative poverty, based on the categorization by José M. Garcia in "Pobreza, población y vivienda en distritos de Lima Metropolitana, 1981" that uses eight indicators to create a "poverty map" of Metropolitan Lima. See Annex 1 for the table and the indicators.

⁵Unemployment in the non-farming sector passed from 8.1% in 1975 to 16.4% ten years later in 1984; while in the same period underemployment had increased from 25% to 53%, see Annex for table (Panfichi 1985).

Prices of the approximately 38% of the "basic family basket" devoted to food and drinks, increased 136% in 1983. Similar increases occurred in clothing, medical and health services, transportation, education, etc.⁶

In the area of health and mortality the figures are much more illustrative of the severe conditions of the poor during this period. The incidence of tuberculosis, typhoid and malaria was on the increase again in Peru during this period, where ten years previously such cases were rarely found. The 1984 Census on Villa El Salvador (CUAVES 1984) found that 3 in 24 families had a T.B. patient. Gastrointestinal infections at 21% and respiratory diseases at 23% were found to be the most common causes of child mortality. The formers are directly related to the water situation, inadequate sanitation and health practices; and the latter to desert conditions, high humidity levels combined with high levels of air pollution. •

Population data for 1983 show that child mortality for Peru, at 95 per 1000 live births, is among the highest in the continent (see Table 1). Most of the deaths among children occur below the age of one, registering 32% of all deaths in 1983 and 45% for the age group from birth up to and including age four (see Table 2). Maternal deaths account for 31% of live births according to 1976 data, against 20.4% for neighboring Ecuador and 6.8% for Venezuela.

Table 1. Estimated Child Mortality Rates for Peru and Selected Countries, 1983

Country	Rate per 1000 live births
Peru	95
Bolivia	130
Chile	33
Costa Rica	23
Cuba	19
Latin America	65

Source: Population Reference Bureau Inc.
1983 World Population Data Sheet

⁶These facts and figures are derived from Tovar, 1986.

Table 2. Proportional Mortality by Age Grouping, Peru, 1983

Age Group	Deaths	%
Less than 1 yr.	65,455	33.02
1 – 4	23,700	11.96
5	4,200	2.2
6 –14	8,290	4.18
15 – 64	60,880	30.72
65 and over	35,675	18
Total	198,200*	100

Source: Boletín de Análisis de Demografía, No. 25, INE, Lima, 1983

Approximate 1983 population of Peru: 19 million

Many of the child deaths caused by infectious diseases, according to a 1980 World Bank report⁷, could have been prevented through an effective policy in public health, water service and sanitation. However, expenditures for public health in real terms stagnated throughout the 1970's and declined on a per-capita basis and as a share of government recurrent expenditures.

Child births continue to be high with 37/1000 of the population for 1983, although much lower than the 1960 rate of 48.5/1000. In comparison with other Latin American countries, Peru is surpassed only by Bolivia (43/1000) and Ecuador (41/1000), the average for the region is 31 births per 1000 population. Peru's life expectancy of 59 years old also falls behind the Latin American average of 64 (1983 World Population Data Sheet)

The strong upward trend in infant morbidity and mortality has been interpreted as an indirect measure of malnutrition, since malnourished children are too weak to fight off disease effectively. Therefore, findings of studies on malnourishment were a great cause for alarm, particularly in the *Izquierda Unida* government of Lima.

Forty-three percent of children under 6 years old were found to be malnourished (see Table 3). Most of these were of first degree, which means that they suffered a nutritional deficiency of 11 to 25%. Close to nine percent of the Peruvian child population, though, registered an extreme malnutrition of 26% or more (Instituto de Nutrición 1975-76). These figures conform with the 1984

⁷World Bank. Peru: Mayor Development Policy Issues and Recommendations, Latin America and the Caribbean Regional Office, Washington, 1980.

census of Villa El Salvador (CUAVES 1984) which also showed 43% of all children to be malnourished. However, the disturbing finding of that census was that no less than 13% were extremely deficient in nutritive diet, with most the third degree malnutrition. Certainly, malnutrition of these proportions is one of the strongest indicators of the marginality experienced by the poor.

Table 3. Percentage of Malnutrition in Children Less than 6 years, Peru

Total	First Degree	Second	Third
43.3	34.6	7.7	1.0

Source: Instituto de Nutrición, 1975-76

First degree	11-25% malnourished in diet
Second degree	26-40%
Third degree	41% and more

Based on its analysis of the deteriorating situation, the newly elected municipal government of Metropolitan Lima (November 1983) decided to align itself with the struggle of the popular sector for survival. That government took as its point of departure the right of children to health, growth and normal development, and their need for protection against malnutrition and death. Concretely, this translated into the introduction of a highly successful *Vaso de Leche* (glass of milk) program and support for the *Comedores Populares* as part of a general emergency program. An integral part of these so-called "Survival Programs" was the pursuit of a strategy for local participation in their organization and execution.

Assistencialism and Social Policies

Some years before, at the end of the 70's, the donation of food by private, national and international agencies was channeled through a system of promotional assistance. Food was exchanged to poor women for community improvement work, together with training in handicrafts. During this period the participation of the State was limited and without capacity to articulate the diverse food relief programs. It was through the initiative of the Catholic Church that the *comedores comunales* (community kitchens) emerged, grouping together the women beneficiaries of the food programs to collectively prepare their meals.

The rapid growth of this kind of organization cannot be solely explained by the accelerated decrease in real income of the popular sector, despite the importance that food has for the poor

population. During the 1980's the ten percent of the population in the lowest income group in Lima spent 70% of their income on food (Barrig 1990). The confluence of the crisis, the food donated by the Catholic Church and NGOs, and an organizational and solidarity history between neighbors created the conditions, in the poorest areas of Lima, for women to get together.

Women struggled to survive in an environment of continuing economic crisis, deteriorating living conditions, and with successive governments that have shown little concern for their basic needs. The first community kitchens began to appear at the end of the seventies; there were an estimated 900 of them by 1986 in Lima alone⁸.

The interesting feature of what might well be referred to as a new social movement, is that the community kitchen is much more than a simple place where poor families can obtain a relatively inexpensive meal and thus reduce their food budget. Values, such as solidarity and equality, were implicit in the collective activities undertaken in the acquisition, preparation and distribution of food in those instances where poor women took the initiative to convert these community kitchens into an alternative form of popular organization. The exercise of democracy and autonomy practiced daily by these women, allowed for an independent and effective form of management related to one of life's most basic needs.

The importance of this new form of community organization was that poor women began to function as social and political subjects, instead of being targeted as objects of government or private sector programs. The fact that their roles as mother and citizen converge in these operations helped them draw on their household experience and develop the capacity to plan, negotiate and present proposals to State and private sector aid agencies (Campfens 1987). In this process, women received support and technical advice from various specially established committees of the Catholic Church, the municipal, and non-governmental institutions.

These organizations have also two global antecedents: the much used word "participation" and the focus on women by the assistance programs. First, it is usually the case than when public or private organizations use the term *participation* by the poor in the solution of their everyday

⁸See: "Memorial del encuentro nacional de comedores convocado por la Comisión Episcopal de Acción Social (CEAS), julio, 1986", La República, August 17, 1986.

problems, this ends up being reduced to taking part in the implementation of a social program that has already been designed and planned and that is usually overseen by agents external to the community. This is in the end a transfer of resources among the segment of the population that has the least resources.

Second, the majority of these programs incorporate the voluntary work of women, they become an instrument of the implementation of the program. Even in the cases where women figure as the "target population", it is only a channel to maximize the family income. In short, the income or goods that poor women receive as part of their participation in emergency employment, productive workshops or community services have as final recipient the family, since these become food, health or education for the children. It is already known that women spend 95% of their income to satisfy the needs of the family; in contrast, when men receive income from emergency employment programs they spend only 50% on family needs (Maguiña 1990).

The community kitchens, their origins, functioning, expansion and centralization as well as the impact on their women members have been extensively studied (Barrig 1983, Blondet and Montero 1995, Cordova and Gorriti 1989, Galer and Nuñez 1989). It is without doubt the most significant effort with poor women to reduce, initially with the support of private agencies, the effects of everyday alimentary crisis. Nevertheless, in the first years of the second administration of Fernando Belaúnde (1980-85)⁹ the State designed a food relief program, that taking these organizations as a model, built "government" kitchens in the popular neighborhoods. People called these *Comedor de Violeta* (Violeta's kitchen) in reference to Belaúnde's wife, Violeta Correa. They were organized and designed by the president's palace and provided with ample resources. The beneficiaries of these "official" kitchens and the women that worked in them, who were paid, were chosen from the members of the government party and their neighbors.

Food assistencialism became during this period, the most visible social program for private agencies and of all governments. The Peruvian State used these programs to compensate for the reduction in the expenditures for health or education and for the social costs of their economic policies. This was a return to old style charity rather than equity, subsistence instead of development.

⁹Belaúnde's first term was deposed by a military coup in 1968 led by General Juan Velasco, he was elected again after the military retired from power in 1980.

Furthermore, these programs were not integrated into any alimentary policy; they were not part of broader incentives to agriculture or to the substitution of imported food, they were not even part of efforts to change people's food consumption.

The program ended at the same time that the Belaunde government finished its term. Its beneficiaries suddenly stopped receiving all financial aid and the donation of food was reduced. It was at this time that in various *Pueblos jóvenes* and with the support of the neighborhood organizations, the women took control of the *Comedores de Violeta* and formed self-managed popular kitchens.

As if the previous program never existed, the new government (1985-90) created by law the *Programa de Asistencia Directa*¹⁰ (PAD) headed again by the wife of the current president¹¹. They took the autonomous popular kitchens as their model, being promoted by the State as part of its overall social policy.

In 1985 there were already 800 popular self-managed kitchens with an autonomous organization (Barrig 1990). These organizations were marginalized by the official program, motivating multiple protests. An open brief directed to the country's president by representatives of the autonomous, self-managed popular kitchens from across the country¹², criticized the new policy for provoking divisions and confrontations in the *pueblos jóvenes* through lack of knowledge of existing community organizations and practices in the operation and needs of their kitchens.

The severest criticism was aimed at a new government decree which required that, in order to receive support from the special project of PAD, the soliciting local popular organization must constitute itself as a Civil Association under the name of "Mother's Club" registered properly with the Public Registry and open to government examination. This was viewed as a direct attack on the principle of local autonomy, forcing on communities an exclusive form of organization easily manipulated by government for political ends and favoritism, and ignoring the diversity in models of popular kitchens that have developed over the years (see Annex 2).

¹⁰Direct Assistance Program

¹¹García from the APRA party

¹²"Memorial dirigido al Señor Presidente de la República", La República, Lima, August 17, 1986. See Annex 2.

In summary, these two administrations show the continuing clientelistic practice that attempted to organize the population from the top-down, without recognizing their own local organizations. The State essentially ignored the growing social groups, in this case the women organizations for collective consumption.

CHAPTER 3

METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENT AND NEW INITIATIVES
THE STORY OF THE MILLION GLASSES OF MILK

The political context and official practices in dealing with the survival and development needs of the marginal urban sector changed radically with the municipal elections of November 1983. A leftist political alliance was voted into power in several municipal districts across the country, including Metropolitan Lima, for the first time in Peru's history. The *Izquierda Unida* (IU) or United Left gained control of local governments in no less than 19 of the 37 municipal districts in the capital region (Table 4), in contrast to 5 in 1980. These gains included all those districts with higher relative poverty as defined in the previous chapter (see Annex 1). The other political party that made considerable gains was the conservative Christian Popular Party (PPC), elected in 11 districts of Lima, which included all the middle and upper class communities. The big loser was the liberal democratic Accion Popular Party of president Belaunde, the party lost all of the 20 Lima districts it controlled from 1980-1983.

Table 4. Electoral results in the 12 poorest districts of Lima (%)

Party	1980*	1980	1983	1985*	1986
APRA	20.9	16.1	26.5	53.6	41.8
AP	50.2	33.3	8.7	4.3	--
PPC	8.0	11.6	11.5	8.8	13.3
IU	18.2	38.9	49.9	31.3	43.9
Total votes**	381,391	413,121	469,339	950,344	922,340

*Presidential elections. **Total votes in the 12 districts

Source: Tuesta 1989.

APRA, a social democratic party that won the presidential elections in 1985, gained 5 Lima districts in the 1983 municipal elections. The mayor of Villa El Salvador (VES), representing the IU, gained the largest plurality of votes of any municipality across the country with 60% of the popular

vote. At the time VES had approximately 350,000 inhabitants and was the largest of all Lima districts and the sixth largest urban municipality in the country¹³.

As we have seen in the previous chapter the struggle against hunger and survival had assumed such proportions in the capital region that the newly elected government of Metropolitan Lima called for emergency action. It introduced a series of policies and programs, with those on food and nutrition receiving highest priority.

This action was reflected in the creation of a special Directorship on Food and Nutrition within the Social Services Secretariat, with one division established to administer the *Vaso de Leche* Program and another to administer the program dealing with the popular kitchens (Chart 1). The general purpose of this second program was to assist the marginal urban communities in existing popular kitchens and to form new ones by offering technical advice and educational programs.

Poor women were to be encouraged to become involved in the organization and execution of the two programs at the community level, the objective being for the women to acquire new organizational and administrative skills as well as greater awareness of nutritional value in the purchase and preparation of food¹⁴.

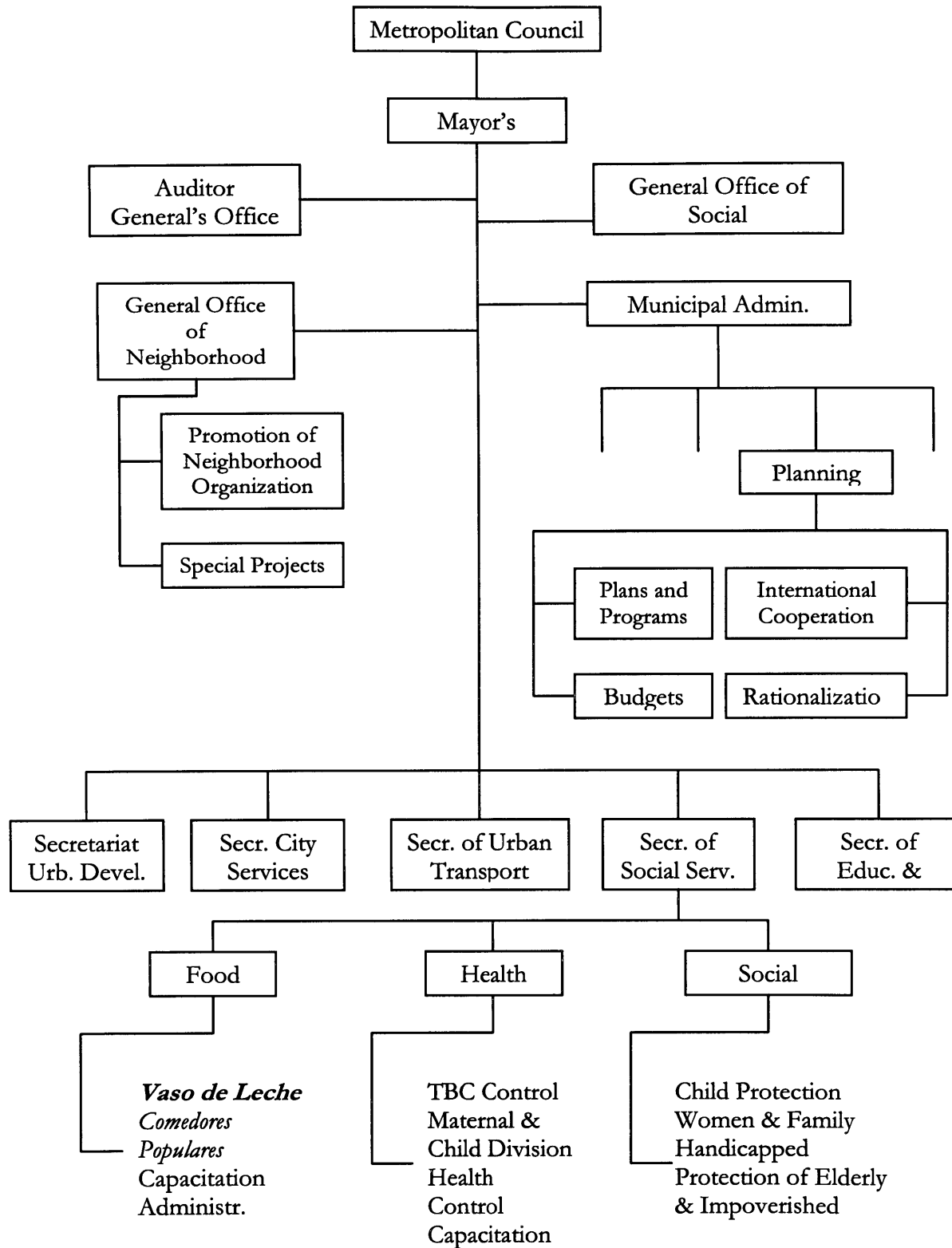
The other program initiatives not reported in this study relate to health and social welfare. Each had its management structure within the Social Services Secretariat. The Health program responded to the concern with the general deterioration in the economy, employment, nutrition and hygiene in the capital region that had resulted in high rates of child mortality and a sharp increase in infectious and contagious diseases (see Chapter 2). The Social Welfare program responded to those groups with limited economic resources who required effective legally established social services¹⁵.

¹³Quehacer, No. 26, Dec. 1983, p. 19.

¹⁴Municipalidad de Lima Metropolitana, Plan de acción municipal 1986, Secretaria Municipal de Servicios Sociales, Lima, Jan. 1986.

¹⁵Plan de acción municipal 1986, op. cit.

Chart 1. Organizational Chart of the Municipality of Metropolitan Lima



An additional program of significance to the general interest of this study, was the General Office of Neighborhood Participation, directly accountable to the Mayor of Metropolitan Lima. This office was created to carry out promotional activities in the formation of neighborhood organizations and special projects. The IU government analysis indicated the need to give popular sectors increased access to participation in the political life of the city and the nation (Campfens 1987). In fostering such a participative democracy, new organizational structures were created in the form of: local committees for the emergency food programs such as the *Vaso de Leche* and for health and education; mixed municipal --neighborhood committees on water and sewage installation; inter-district urban planning councils; and cultural participation committees.

The Metropolitan *Vaso de Leche* Program

The Metropolitan *Vaso de Leche* Program introduced in April 1984 was the central and most popular feature of the new municipal government's plan to fight against hunger and for survival. Observers perceived it also as one of the principal reasons why the *Izquierda Unida* alliance was voted into power in Metropolitan Lima.

The Municipality met all its objectives for the program, including legislation which extends it to all other municipalities of the nation, a point we will return when we examine the role of popular organizations played in this outcome. From a community and organizational perspective the success of the program in Lima is astounding when one considers that by March 1985 100,000 women were participating actively in assuming responsibility for the program, organized into 7,500 local *Vaso de Leche* committees, involving 1,300 neighborhood organizations from 33 out of the 41 municipal districts making up the capital region; attending to one million children and breast-feeding women in their daily consumption of milk¹⁶.

All of these developments in social mobilization occurred in less than one year, making this program successful by any standards. Not only had it responded directly to the serious concern about growing malnutrition among children and begun to attend to maternal needs, but it also

¹⁶Newspaper La República, August 28, 1986. Amauta, Sept. 4, 1986. It is impossible to verify these numbers due to the lack of good records, nevertheless the tremendous reach of the program is well accepted.

brought about a growing awareness among mothers of the importance of proper nutrition and their role in the organization and distribution of one of life's most vital food products.

Furthermore, through popular organization and self-management, it was able to counter the commercialization of milk and exploitation of the poor, at least in this area of food consumption. Finally, although a sizable fund is being allocated from the national budget for the purchase of milk powder, the little to no bureaucracy involved in the program signified considerable savings in public administration and service delivery.

Policy and Plan

In response to the general problem of high levels of malnutrition, the Municipality of Lima decided to join the struggle of the marginal population against hunger as the basis of its social policy. The general objective of that policy was to participate and support the efforts of poor community dwellers to establish new popular organizations that aimed at improving levels of nutrition. In this sense the policy pursued a bottom-up development model instead of a top-down bureaucratically administered system of delivery. Specifically the operational objectives were to secure the provision of a glass of milk for children, pregnant women and those in the breast-feeding stage.

The *Vaso de Leche* Program¹⁷ involved the following actions:

- Formulation of norms and procedures for an adequate functioning of the organizational framework to be set up across the metropolitan region.
- Setting up a central registry and computerization of data obtained on the beneficiaries of the program.
- Promotion of preventive health activities through immunization, rehydration and TB control.
- Carrying out campaigns on the rights of children, defense of life, and encouraging families to register for the program.
- Developing educational programs directed at new supervisors, district and neighborhood coordinators, and beneficiaries on such matters as organization and administrative management at all levels, short courses on nutrition, breast-feeding and early stimulation.

- Coordinating efforts with the municipal health administration in the assessment of nutritional advancement; with district and provisional councils.

In terms of major policy achievements the original plan obtained some important results besides improving diet quality among the marginal population. First, the State eventually, not without resistance, came to accept the right of the child, the pregnant and breast-feeding mother to receive protection through proper legislation and adequate resource allocation. Popular pressure on the central government was organized around the women organizations in charge of the implementation of the program and the poor local governments. Second, the program's decentralized funding and administration contributes to the democratization of the State apparatus, it also helped strengthen local governments. Third, the program is controlled and managed by the community for the community's benefit with optimum participation of poor women.

Evolution of the Program

The program started with 50,000 beneficiaries in April 1984, growing week by week until it attained its objective of reaching the one million children of the marginal population of Lima. Initially, it used milk supplied by the European Economic Community. The Municipality, however, together with local committees of the *Vaso de Leche* program decided to take action in December 1984 as part of the original strategy plan to pressure national government to institutionalize the program in law, and thereby include all provincial municipalities of the country¹⁸.

While the law was passed, no provision was made for the program in the budget of the Ministry of Economy and Finance. A huge march on Congress obtained a positive response; a special Article on financing was incorporated into the original law to assure that funding would start in January 1986, not only for Lima, but all municipalities wishing to participate, thus potentially affecting 3 million beneficiaries. Funds would be transferred by the Ministry directly to the municipalities, which in turn purchased the milk from ENCI, the semi-autonomous national corporation that had the State monopoly over the commercial trade in agricultural food products.

¹⁷Plan de acción municipal 1986, op. cit. and Campfens, 1987.

¹⁸Each of the regions that make up the country is divided into a number of provincial municipalities, at the same time several districts are included in each province; thus the region of Lima also contains the Municipality of Metropolitan Lima, which contains 37 district municipalities.

Maneuvers by ENCI (influenced by the ruling APRA party) were perceived by various observers to be aimed at undercutting this community program and thereby embarrassing the *Izquierda Unida* controlled municipal government of Lima, which was responsible for this popular program. ENCI at the beginning of 1986 decided unilaterally to reduce the production of milk required for the program from 40,000 cartons to 9,200. This action was taken while at the same time keeping up full milk supplies for the emergency program of direct assistance (PAD) administered by the President's own office.

Once this news leaked out and the *Vaso de Leche* program ran short of milk by the end of July 1986, there was a general reaction of anger by poor women who insisted on their rights and strongly protested against this form of manipulation by a State agency for political ends. They mobilized themselves, again marching to Congress on August 27 with 20,000 women and children led by municipal politicians and community leaders. They were confronted by a large, intimidating, fully militarized police force, which reportedly used repressive means in some instances. The President that same night ordered ENCI to make arrangements for the immediate delivery of the 40,000 cartons required to meet the program's monthly needs. It was a major victory for the more than 7,500 organized local committees functioning in the poor communities of greater Lima¹⁹.

Municipal Administration and Community Organization

The 1986 budget, the last year of the IU metropolitan government, for the purchase of milk for the Lima program was \$43.5 million (US.). This included the cost of the milk for all poor children up to 6 years old plus pregnant and breast-feeding women, and many school age children from 7-13 legally entitled to receive milk from the Ministry of Health but carried out by the municipality (Campfens 1987).

The program continued to grow with new applications coming in from *pueblos jóvenes* and new legalized settlements across the city. To qualify for the milk provisions women were required to form a local *Vaso de Leche* committee with technical assistance from the Municipality, thereby

¹⁹Newspaper La República, August 28, 1986, op. cit.

assuring local popular mobilization and participation of women who usually do not involve themselves in male dominated neighborhood organizations.

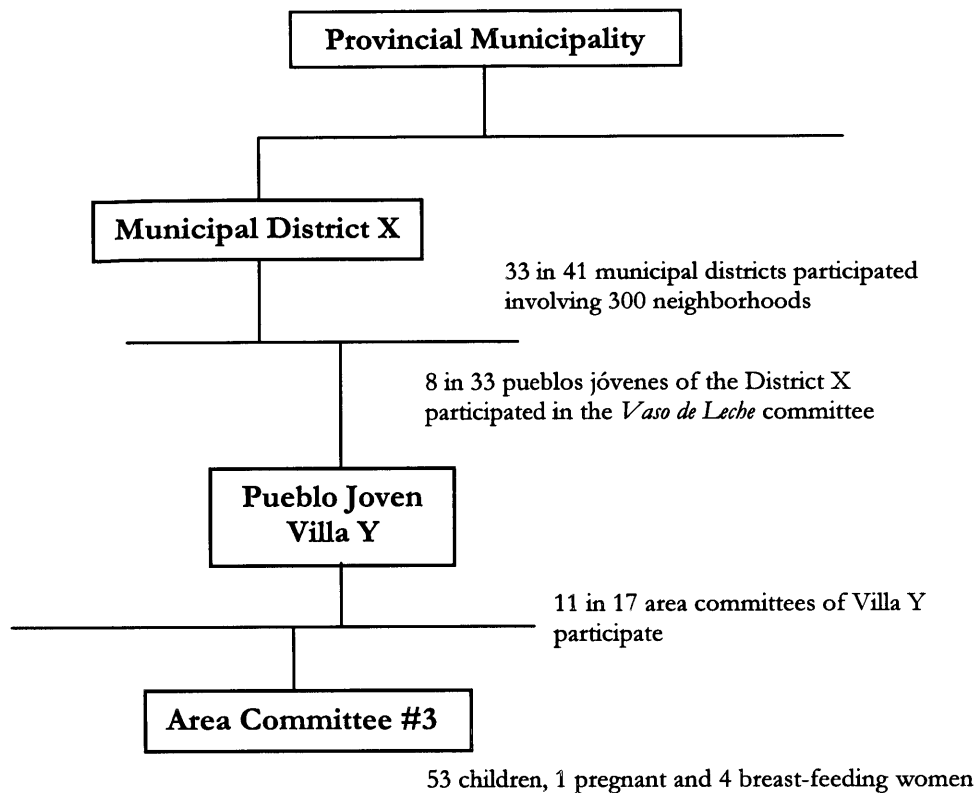
By August 1986, 33 out of 41 districts of Lima were organized with local committees responsible for the preparation and distribution of milk. In achieving a certain standardization in the program, the Municipality of Lima encouraged each of the participating district municipalities to appoint a local *consejal* (this is a municipal elected position) with responsibility for the program in their respective area.

To illustrate the administration and organization of the program at the district and community level as well as to highlight some of its problems and conflicts, I will present the example of Municipal District X (see Chart 2). This is a district with 33 *pueblos jóvenes* that set up a provisional committee with 8 *pueblos jóvenes* participating. The committee has a president, vice-president, general secretary and treasurer, and special secretaries for organization, economic affairs, health, public relations and information. Meetings were held with the local *consejal* to plan and develop organizational statutes and eventual incorporation of the committee as a civil association.

At the community level in Villa Y the local *Vaso de Leche* committee is comprised of a general coordinator and secretaries of health, finance and control. The function of the secretary of control is to assure that children rather than their older brothers, sisters or father consume the milk. Distribution and consumption is primarily controlled by having mothers encourage their eligible children to drink the milk where it is prepared.

Preparation and distribution is the responsibility of the local committee. For instance, area committee # 3 in Villa Y is in charge of 53 children, 1 pregnant and 4 breast-feeding women, for whom it receives 10 bags of milk from the neighborhood committee or president of the *Vaso de Leche* neighborhood committee. In addition, it receives oatmeal for nutritional enrichment through donations from national and international voluntary aid agencies such as ONAA (a national organization of food assistance), OFASA (a philanthropic organization of the Adventists) and CARITAS (the R.C. charity)

Chart 2. Organizational Structure and Participants in the Vaso de Leche Program



The secretary of finance of the *Vaso de Leche* coordinating committee for Villa Y has to ensure that responsibility in the preparation of the milk rotates among the participant families. Some are not able to do this due to poor health. The program does require that women who prepare the milk are in good healthy condition and also have a clean kitchen.

There are some area committees, in our example 6 out of 17, that do not participate in the *Vaso de Leche* program. Reasons given are lack of kitchen equipment, no available time, or other reasons. One of those reasons, expressed by some interviewed women, is the reluctance by some husbands to allow their wives to participate for fear of losing control over them, demanding full attention to family needs by their spouse.

Conflicts have arisen between administrators of the program and communities over the question of who among community women should be appointed as coordinator. There was also criticism about the milk powder having produced diarrhea, but evaluations showed that is no higher

incidence of this disease than there was prior to the introduction of the program. The problem is believed to be more related to the general conditions of water and hygiene in the poor communities, requiring better care in the preparation of the milk for consumption through training and supervision and general improvement of water and sewage services. To address some of these and other difficulties experienced in the *Vaso de Leche* program, local committees across Lima held their first general assembly in September of 1986 (see Annex 3).

In spite of these problems and conflicts, the *Vaso de Leche* program has resulted in many achievements and benefits. Its significance has been in restoring the value and rights of children; in promoting the participation of poor women in organized community activity where men have tended to be the dominant force; and in achieving a measure of much needed self-worth, respect and liberation that has have long-range repercussions in the movement towards social transformation at the family, community and societal level.

CHAPTER 4

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT VILLA EL SALVADOR

Villa El Salvador (VES) is a district belonging to the province of Lima, Peru. It became a municipality in 1983, twelve years after its origin as a land invasion during the military government of General Velasco Alvarado. At this time VES was already a well-known community, at the national and international level, because of its achievements in living conditions through mobilization and strong community participation in its organizations.

Furthermore, VES is also a particular case because of its relationship with the State. The settlement that was to become this district was originally planned by the military government. This plan was closely followed and became the base for the social organization of its inhabitants.

One social organization, a women's federation, plays an important role in the lives of its members and in securing food relief for the more fragile segment of the population. The *Federación de Mujeres de Villa El Salvador*, FEPOMUVES (Women Federation of VES), successfully carried out the implementation of the Lima Metropolitan *Vaso de Leche* program in the new district. Through this process, the organization strengthened its position in the community creating new spaces for women to participate in the political and social life of the municipality.

The interaction with the district and provincial governments tested their autonomy. But the group was also able to change their relationship with these institutions and influence the development of their own organization. As we have already seen, the women's organizations were helped in their development by private organizations, like the Church, and the different relief programs that each government has implemented when in power. Nevertheless, the organization has been able to learn from these various interventions and then move on, maintaining its autonomy and pressuring the government for its rights.

The Antecedents: Urban Growth and the State

Lima is a city of migrants, people who come from the Andean highlands, other coastal cities and the remote jungle towns of the Amazon. However this migration has not always been the same; it has changed over time in its intensity and people's origin. The year 1945 marks an important change. In 1961, almost half of Lima's 1.8 million inhabitants were born outside the capital city and sixty five percent of them arrived in Lima after 1945 (Roy and Martinez 1972).

After the Second World War, Lima was invaded by migrants of peasant origin, rather than by rural middle class (Aramburú 1981). This demographic transformation runs parallel to the collapse of the old landowner system. The rural population was forced to migrate by the productive crisis that precluded feeding of an increasing population. The migrants were also motivated by the promises of employment and better living conditions of the cities.

Since the 1950s, this peasant migration has been identified in Peru with the expansion of the urban squatter settlements. In spite of that, in 1961 only 22% of migrants lived in these settlements, but the former rural constituted 80% of the population. Studies of the social and geographic origin of the migrants have found that those who populated these areas were of peasant origin (Dietz 1977).

Since this period the squatters have also been located in the desert extremes around Lima. From then on, a clear geographic and social border was established between the conventional urbanizations and the peripheral squatters.

These settlements were established in arid lands that did not have any services, nor were they the property of any individual. Instead, they were lands that belonged to the state and they were progressively transferred to people who lacked the means to buy land. These circumstances were the base of the particular relationship established between the state and the new urban poor. In the same way as with the social policies discussed in chapter two, the government lacked a long-term policy to resolve the housing problem. Instead, each government used the transfer of state land to create a social base of support for its administration. As we will see later, the military government of

General Velasco used this same approach in the case of Villa El Salvador, thus producing the showpiece project of the government urban policy.

Once in Lima, the new migrants faced serious difficulties in finding jobs, especially during this time of big migrations. Table 5 shows the distribution of the Economically Active Population (EAP) and the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of Peru between 1940 and 1980. The decrease of the agricultural sector during this period can be observed. We can also see that the agricultural sector's participation in the GIP diminishes more rapidly than its contribution to the EAP. At the end of this process the agricultural sector had a diminishing productive population.

Table 5. Peru, 1940-1980: Economically Active Population (EAP) and Gross Domestic Product (GDP) by productive sector (%)

	1940		1961		1970		1980	
	EAP	GIP	EAP	GIP	EAP	GIP	EAP	GIP
Agriculture	62	24	50	18	48	17	40	12
Mining	2	8	2	8	2	7	2	8
Industry	15	19	13	23	13	25	12	25
Construction	2	6	3	4	4	3	4	4
Commerce	--	5	--	9	--	11	--	13
Services	13	34	19	47	23	48	30	52

Source: Delma del Valle (ADEC-ATC 1985).

The decrease in the agricultural sector was supposed to be accompanied by an increase in employment of the modern sector. Nevertheless, as we see in Table 1 this has not been the case. For example, a modern sector like mining has historically been stagnant during all this period. But the main problem of employment generation in Peru has always been the relative stagnation of the industrial sector.

As Table 5 shows, the industrial sector has slowly increased its participation in the economy, reaching a quarter of the total GIP. This performance is below that of other countries in the region. In addition, the industrial sector's employment generation has decreased from 15% of total employment in 1940 to 12% in 1980.

In 1980, a study by Joel Jurado found that the Peruvian labor force was composed by approximately seven million people. Two million were peasants living at the subsistence level. Two

more were self-employed in the city and constituted what was later called the "urban informal" sector. There were a million unemployed people and the modern sector only employed two million people. This means that five of every seven workers had very low productivity and belonged to the category of subemployment or unemployment (Jurado 1990).

The employment problems of the Peruvian economy have usually been identified with the failure of the model of industrial development implemented. Peru executed the import substitution model much later than its neighbors. It had continued some more years than the countries around it with growth policies based on exports of raw materials. Industrialization in Peru implied a high capital/ labor relation that increased its participation in the GDP but did not generate enough employment. Structural unemployment is characteristic of dependent economies. In the case of Peru this was worsened by the late economic modernization of the country (Chávez 1990).

During this period, the debate about housing expressed the increasing urban problems of the city's growth. The squatters, and especially their land invasions, became the symbolic of all these problems and needs and were present in the political struggles of the time.

Beginning in the late 1940s, land invasions were a kind of established tradition in Lima. Between 1940 and 1972, the population of the Lima metropolitan area increased from half a million to over 3 million people. A good deal of this additional population was accommodated by the founding of various squatter settlements around the established city. Lima is located on a coastal desert and while living on the sand is not an attractive prospect, the flat terrain, the moderate climate and the absence of agricultural use impose relatively few barriers to squatting. By 1972 there were in Lima over 300 settlements housing over 800,000 people, a quarter of Lima's population (Peattie 1990).

Throughout this period, the invasion of land has been both a problem and an opportunity for Peruvian politicians and political parties. No political party would ever officially sanction land invasions; the defense of private property and public order has always been considered the responsibility of government. At the same time, no Peruvian government has been able to resolve the increasing deficit of adequate standard housing or provide sufficient officially sponsored urban developments for the poor. Given this situation, squatter settlements provided a *de facto* strategy

which governments and politicians in various ways agreed to, supported, or even sponsored, in return for the political benefits, and the assumed dependence and gratitude of settlement residents.

In 1968, a military coup brought General Juan Velasco Alvarado to power. Velasco's self-proclaimed "revolutionary regime" moved rapidly to intervene directly in squatter settlements. An organization was formed to represent these "marginal" communities and was named the *Oficina Nacional de Pueblos Jóvenes* (National Office for Young Towns). The fact that the government referred to the illegal settlements as *pueblos jóvenes* (young towns) was important in that the term was no longer pejorative and implied official recognition for their inhabitants' right to live there.

One of the prominent members of the organization's executive committee, Bishop Bambaren, had for some time been sponsoring non-governmental support for self-help and community organizations in these settlements. Thus, before the government entered the picture, the Church had been actively involved in such work, especially through the food relief programs discussed on previous chapters.

Villa El Salvador: Sponsored Settlement.

This story began as an invasion organized in 1971 and the compromise negotiated between the invaders and the government, which eventually led to the formation of a new settlement, Villa El Salvador.

On May 1st, 1971, a hundred and eighty families invaded a hillside 13 kilometers from the center of Lima near Pamplona, in the district of San Juan de Miraflores. As the news of the invasion expanded, hundreds of additional families came to join it. By the fifth day, when a large contingent of police troops came to displace the invaders, 9,000 families were reported to be occupying the hillside. The confrontation that followed the arrival of the police resulted in several wounded and one "invader" dead.

At the funeral, which followed, Bishop Bambaren, long a supporter of squatters, preached a fiery sermon in support of the invasion. The Minister of the Interior, Armando Artola, who was

taking a "hard line" against the invaders, had the Bishop arrested. These events were bound to create quite a stir at the meeting of the Interamerican Development Bank, taking place at the time in Lima. A showdown between the Ministries of Housing and the Interior and General Velasco led to the forced resignation of the Minister of the Interior. On the seventh day of the invasion, the government offered the invaders a large tract of land--at that time about five kilometers from the outskirts of Lima-- on which they might take up lots with the government's formal permission.

In the area now established for settlement, the government surveyors proceeded to lay out lots of 140 square meters, with broad streets and generous open spaces and an industrial park. The *Plan Regulador* of Villa El Salvador projected a possible future population of half a million. In the meantime, the area was used not only as a relocation site for some 7,000 families from the invasion, but for other needy families from the slums and shantytowns of Lima.

The National Office for Young Towns (ONDEPJOV) began to organize the community on a block level, with a delegate elected from each block. Sixteen blocks constituted a sectoral grouping. In 1972, the ONDEPJOV was absorbed by the newly created *Sistema Nacional de Movilización Social*, SINAMOS (National System to Support Social Mobilization). The future evolution of the community organization within Villa El Salvador is closely tied to the history of SINAMOS, an institution directly dependent on the president. The goal of SINAMOS was to bring about a "revolutionary" transformation of Peruvian institutions into ones characterized by participatory decision-making and at the same time create popular support for the regime's reforms.

SINAMOS became the agency in charge of the organization and development of Villa El Salvador. VES, in turn, became the showpiece project to demonstrate what the Velasco government's participatory mobilization could do in the sphere of the urban community. With such high-level support and SINAMOS to develop new forms of organization, Villa El Salvador was perceived as a creative new experiment.

As people settled the lots in VES, SINAMOS organized them by block and sector. There were group activities in setting-up provisional schools, and there were negotiations for services, which led to the installation of street lighting and public water taps.

In 1973, the "First Convention of Villa El Salvador" was held within the community. Participants included leaders from the community and a group of radicalized intellectuals from SINAMOS who were all committed to building a new and better kind of community within the settlement. The community organization of VES was restructured as an "integrated, communal self-managing co-operative", and then soon revised to the *Comunidad Urbana Auto-gestionaria Villa El Salvador* (the Self-Managing Urban Community of Villa El Salvador) or CUAVES.

The new organization of CUAVES was a complex community organization system. Each block had its specialized secretaries of education, commercialization and production, health and welfare, and vigilance. The 950 blocks were grouped into 64 directive groups (*juntas directivas*) which were, in turn, grouped together by a central *directiva* (directive council) with its own specialized secretariat. The general secretaries together made up the general assembly of the community. This structure became the basis for further organization efforts by various groups, included the women.

During these years, the level of activity was very high. CUAVES completed the building of a community center, with financing coming at first from raffles within the community. Three other buildings for a community newspaper, cinema, and community theater were eventually put up with finance from the Peruvian government and the government of the Netherlands.

In late 1975 and 1976, Villa El Salvador residents focused on the lack of schools. Residents supported the formation of a teachers' union, which organized a strike. Although their protest march into Lima in April 1976 was repressed by the police, it did lead the government to appoint secondary school teachers to the *pueblos jóvenes*. In 1978, CUAVES negotiated with the water and sewers agency the installation of these services in the community. The price was negotiated at a subsidized fare to each family, amortized over one to ten years depending on the family's particular circumstances.

During the period when Villa El Salvador was most highly mobilized as a community, its demands were unusual in centering not simply on services, but also on the development of community enterprises. These were a group of locally controlled industries that were created under the Law of Social Property, part of the "socialist" project of the military government of General Velasco. Nevertheless, the community efforts in this sphere were much less successful. During the

1980's these enterprises went bankrupt, in part because of adverse political conditions but also due to the lack of administrative capacity of CUAVES to run them in a competitive manner.

The economic crisis during the 1980s, as we have explained in Chapter 2, impacted strongly on living conditions of the poor population. In 1980, when Lisa Peattie visited Villa El Salvador she found that the major problem in the community was the "high unemployment,(...) with its resulting economic deprivation"(p. 28). Although community organization was not particularly successful in the area of job creation, several programs in the community were directed at alleviating hunger. These programs were part of the food relief programs implemented by various organizations and the different governments that we have previously discussed. They were received with mixed feelings by the people related to the community organization, CUAVES. They recognized, Peattie writes, that hunger exists within the community but they see the programs as weakening community organization and leading to "de-politicization" of the settlers (p. 29).

This is the context and background in which the women organizations, discussed on Chapter 2, began organizing in Villa El Salvador. The previous experience on participation and organizing that these women had, because of VES origins and governing structure, would be essential in their struggle for their own organization. The programs that Lisa Peattie observed during her visit to VES, and dismissed or criticized by the *men* of CUAVES, were the beginning of a new type of community organization. As we discussed in previous chapters, in these organizations poor women function as social and political subject, instead of being targeted as objects of government or private sector programs.

Villa El Salvador's Women Organizations: the Struggle for Autonomy

In Villa El Salvador the process through which women began to participate in the relief programs of various institutions, private and public, was already defined by the experience in self-government through their participation in block, school or other committees. In this way, these women initiated a slow process of incorporation into the public life in their community.

The economic crisis that began at the end of the 1970s showed the limits of the military government's reformist project²⁰. The deteriorating living conditions of much of the population, as we have showed in Chapter 2, were mainly dealt with relief programs of international agencies of cooperation, NGOs and religious institutions. The individual and family right to food was manifested as a collective service and, the necessity for these services created organizational spaces for poor women. This was the origin of the first women organizations, groups of women trying to resolve the basic problem of survival.

In 1979, several food relief programs began to work in Villa El Salvador. The Catholic organization CARITAS and the Adventist OFASA began distributing goods to individual women in exchange for their "voluntary" work in different tasks in the community. In VES, these tasks included the cleaning of streets, tree planting, school building and alphabetization.

The Catholic Church also introduced a new food program through CARITAS in 1981. This was the distribution of food to organized groups of women to collectively prepare it. This was the origin of the firsts popular kitchens in VES. These units were the model that the government of Fernando Belaunde used to create its own program, the "comedores de Violeta".

Nevertheless, these programs soon showed their limits and internal contradictions. They gave women a specific status and a space for action, but at the same time the formation of these associations outside the existing community organizations insulated their participation as "pobladoras"²¹. At the same time, women were driven toward the food assistance programs that limited their possibilities to contribute to the family income by accessing the labor market. Moreover, the program's identification as part of the women's natural scope, helped reinforce the traditional sexual division of labor.

However, the main problem for the women of VES was the vertical organization of all the programs. The selection of the directive committee that administered the food distribution and

²⁰In 1975 General Velasco Alvarado was replaced by a coup led by Morales Bermúdez, representing the more conservative segments of the military. The new government implemented strict economic and social policies to combat the economic crisis and popular mobilization.

²¹Neighbor, the concept that represented an identity based on the perception of shanty-town dwellers being inhabitants of the poorest and least cared zones of the city.

selected the beneficiaries was imposed by the donor agencies. These relations and the administrative culture imposed on the women conflicted with their experience at the community organization level, where elected representation and participation were the rule.

The accelerated decrease in real income during this period and the limited alternatives that women had, made these programs highly popular. Moreover, the massive participation and success of these organizations attracted new sectors of the population: feminists, political parties and NGOs. These organizations were interested in expanding the possibilities of the women groups, developing a gender, civic or political conscience. The influence of the courses, workshops and personal relationships that they offered to the poor women had a strong influence in the future search for autonomy of the movement.

The first programs to be challenged were the religious institutions. The increase of the supply of food donations and the administrative control that "churches" demanded motivated various popular kitchens to replace them by other groups, like AFEDEPROM²². This was an organization that consolidated various popular kitchens, originally created by the Church, and established more independent relations with the donors. In Villa El Salvador this was the beginning of the effort toward consolidation and autonomy of the women organizations.

FEPOMUVES and Institution Building

In this context, in December of 1983, the First Convention of the Federation of Women of VES (FEPOMUVES) took place. This was the effort of Erlinda Muños, an elected representative of the community at the district level²³ and member of "Patria Roja", the left wing party that at the time had a strong influence in CUAVES. The original base of the Federation were the cleaning and tree planting committees, organized at the residential group level. These served to create "women clubs" at the block level, which formed the base of the Federation.

²²Agrupación Femenina en Defensa y Promoción de la Mujer, created in 1979, in the district of Comas with the support of the Church and CARITAS.

²³She was elected in 1983 to VES Municipal Agency in the district of Villa María del Triunfo, an interim office created to defend VES residents' interests in the transition process by which Villa El Salvador became an independent municipality.

Nevertheless, Erlinda Muños' plan did not take into consideration the other women's organizations over which she had no control, creating a conflict from the start on within the women. The structure of the Federation was, at this time, highly centralized on Erlinda, who had been selected as the first president of the organization at the Convention. Under these circumstances, an organization without solid bases and dependent on the leader relations, FEPOMUVES quickly confronted serious difficulties.

The first problem the Federation faced was the resistance by the women to the designation by Erlinda of the leaders for the women clubs. This decision directly affected the women at the base who, because of their previous experience in the neighborhood committees, rejected this imposition. Previous experience had taught them that good leaders have legitimacy through general election and they must be politically independent. The subordination of the social organization to the political party made women distrust the leadership.

Still, the organization's leadership was not challenged until problems with the programs and resources offered began to appear. The support of the new district government²⁴ for the creation of new employment positions for women did not take place. The first mayor, Michel Azcueta, promised the Federation that in 1984 the District Council would provide these positions. However, the complete lack of resources did not allow the local government to employ any personnel, to the point that even the first municipal workers were volunteers.

The real problems for the Federation began to appear when the donations stopped arriving to the women at the bases. The Federation was not able to institutionally control the donations of the philanthropic agencies or the government. Because the support of the bases to the Federation depended on the distribution of food, the failure to deliver showed the precarious condition of the group.

In April 1984, the newly elected Metropolitan Government of Lima introduced the *Vaso de Leche* Program (VLP). The general objective of the program was to participate and support the efforts of poor women to establish new popular organizations that aimed at improving levels of

²⁴Villa El Salvador became a municipality in 1983.

nutrition (see Chapter 3). It opened new opportunities for many women in the Federation to find different mechanisms of participation and leadership.

The new program opened new channels to establish relations with an institution that offered food, in this case the local government. These channels displaced the president as the unique negotiator for donations to the women of VES. It also represented the opportunity to deal with new institutions that did not follow the assistencialist culture of the philanthropic organizations they were accustomed to.

The *Vaso de Leche* Program was conceived as a nutritional supplement for children, pregnant and breast-feeding women. Its structure was originally based on the neighborhood organizations in each *pueblo joven*, the Committees of the *Vaso de Leche*. Each committee consisted of 20 to 30 women, one for each participating family, and would be in charge of the preparation and distribution of the milk, they would also evaluate the program. The beneficiaries elected the directive committee in a general assembly. It would be composed by three delegates, who would represent the members at the District Committees and at the Metropolitan Coordinator Committee.

In Villa El Salvador, the application of this design had to be changed in some respects; contrary to other districts, the VLP was first offered by Barrantes²⁵ to FEPOMUVES. Nevertheless, when the program was implemented, a commission formed by representatives of the Federation, the VES municipality and CUAVES was given the control over the program. Various elements influenced this decision.

First, the municipality of Villa El Salvador was a recently created institution at the local level that did not have a massive presence among the population. The local government had few funds at its disposal to implement large programs that could give it this presence. The low income levels of VES population provided a weak base for generating taxes essential to finance any large program. The *Vaso de Leche* program would also strengthen the relationship with the Municipality of Lima.

Second, as we have seen, the first year of the Federation was characterized by problems and conflicts. FEPOMUVES did not have the representation at the block level needed to implement the

Vaso de Leche program. The design of the program in VES wanted to create a balance between the different tendencies within the Federation and gave incentives to create integration.

The women clubs became the organized unit in charge of distributing the milk, which in other districts were the *Vaso de Leche* Committees. As already mentioned, these clubs were planned as the base of the Federation, the control over this needed resource helped develop these base organizations, that until then were few and lacked presence in the community. In addition, the tripartite coordinating body decided the structure of the committees, reinstating the democratic procedures and eliminating the control the Federation leaders had.

In December 1984, the Second Convention of FEPOMUVES took place and a new group of leaders were elected to the direction. This new group of women had an average age between 25 and 35 years old. They represented a new generation of women that had previous experience in the community youth organizations. These women were already leaders in other women organizations, like AFEDEPROM, the independent popular kitchens and the Mother's Clubs. At the time, the organized women population reached the 4,000 women in the district.

The main challenge for the new directive was to reorganize the Federation. In practice, the organizations that composed it did not work as intermediary institutions but as independent organizations with no representative procedures. The only organization with some representativity was AFEDEPROM, the Federation of popular kitchens, which did have an internal structure and an elected leadership.

The formal link between the bases and the Federation took place through the Women Clubs. These were to consolidate all the women organizations in the area and elect representatives to FEPOMUVES' directive committee. However, in practice, this structure was never achieved. In reality, the Women Clubs were the *Vaso de Leche* Committees and their relationship with the Federation took place through personal links.

The coexistence of democratic practices and old clientelistic styles were a constant in the organization. Still, the formation of a new group of intermediary leaders and the creation of formal

²⁵Alfonso Barrantes, the elected mayor of the Metropolitan Government of Lima.

channels between the leadership and the bases helped develop mechanisms for accountability and control of the authority, supporting the democratization of the Federation.

The Federation also began redefining its relationship with external institutions, creating new leverage ground with the international donors, the national social assistance agencies, NGOs and with political parties. The definition of channels and procedures for the request of resources, the distribution of benefits and the adoption of agreements would begin to overcome the usual clientelistic practices. This was a process in which both FEPOMUVES and the external institutions modified their positions and redefined the spaces for negotiation.

In the end, this chapter tells the complex and conflictive process by which women have become social and political actors in Peru. Unknown and unprepared at the beginning, they were learning little by little to define themselves, to find common problems and to express them in the public arena. The peculiar characteristics of Villa El Salvador, its neighborhood organization, was a remarkable stage to create links with the community, with institutions and the State.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The Metropolitan *Vaso de Leche* Program, initiated by the Mayor's Office of Lima in 1984, had as a general objective to support the ongoing efforts of poor community dwellers to establish new, independent, popular organizations that aimed at improving levels of nutrition. Specifically the operational objectives were to secure the provision of a glass of milk for children, pregnant and breast-feeding women. The Federation of Popular Women of Villa El Salvador (FEPOMUVES) successfully carried out the implementation of the program in the new district of Villa El Salvador. Through this process, the organization strengthened its position in the community creating new spaces for women to participate in the political and social life of the municipality.

The economic crisis that began during the late seventies created the need for food relief programs. Various donor agencies and every government administration since 1980 have implemented different projects in this area. These programs were the bases for the women popular movement. The women organizations were transformed, during this time, from mere recipients of government or donor help to more autonomous groups demanding from these agencies the provision of food and to self-administer it. This is the basis that the Municipal Government of Lima used to implement the *Vaso de Leche* Program.

The *Vaso de Leche* Program created, in the popular districts, the possibility to mobilize and strengthen the women organizations at the same time that it provided them with much-needed good, milk. The program assumed that the community participation guaranteed the success of the project's goals and would strengthen the popular organizations. In the end the *Vaso de Leche* Program helped create a new group of women leaders that have been able to maintain the organization despite its vulnerability and dependency of the government resource.

Why did they succeed?

The *Vaso de Leche* Program.

Several factors explain why the Metropolitan Government of Lima was successful in implementing this program.

- The accelerated decrease in real income of the population due to the economic crisis that affected Peru beginning in the late 70s created severe nutritional problems within the poor

segments of the population. The popular sector struggle for survival created a need that the *Vaso de Leche* Program directly confronted. The distribution of a needed resource secured the interest of the population in the program.

- The targeting of the program to an area normally conceived as belonging to the realm of women limited the interest by other groups to join the program.
- Women's ample experience on food relief programs reduced the resources the local government had to expend to build the capacity needed for the implementation of the *Vaso de Leche* Program.
- The design and selection of the service to be delivered also helped the underfunded government of Lima to successfully implement a large-scale project without the support of the Central Government. During the 80s, Peru was the target of various food donation efforts by the international community. The donation by the European Community of powdered milk provided the local government with the resources needed for the program. The transfer of the program implementation to the women organizations and of the intermediate administrative coordination to the district government reduced the burden on the limited administrative capacity of the Metropolitan Government.
- The use of women organizations responded to a recognition of the efforts and achievements these groups had already reached at the time. The existence of an incipient network of popular organizations and the previous links the *Izquierda Unida* had established during the military period opened the way for the implementation of the Metropolitan program.
- The political reward that the successful development of a far reaching program, like the *Vaso de Leche*, within the popular sector could have also served to unify the government coalition support of the program.

FEPOMUVES: Institution Building and Project Implementation

The Federation of Women of Villa El Salvador successfully implemented the *Vaso de Leche* Program strengthening their position in the community and creating new spaces for women to participate in the political and social life of the municipality. Various elements helped the organization to overcome the initial obstacles it confronted in the distribution of the milk and in organizing a representative and autonomous organization.

- The distribution and control over of a needed good, milk, gave FEPOMUVES the institutional standing it lacked in the community. The support of the bases to the Federation depended on the distribution of resources; the *Vaso de Leche* provided the organization the opportunity to overcome this limitation.

- FEPOMUVES represents a learning process by the poor women of Lima that began with the first Church mothers' groups and continued with the government kitchen programs and ended in autonomous organizations like the Federation. Through this process women learned to administrate the distribution of food donations, to deal with government and donor agencies and negotiate their relationship with them. Capacity was built in each one of these stages and "accumulated", developing the capacity to plan, negotiate and present proposals to government and private agencies.
- This process was also represented in the changing structure of the organization. Women participation in various programs with different organizational structures and channels for participation gave them the experience to later demand and build representative and participatory organizations.
- The consolidation of various organizations within a Federation proved to help achieve and maintain their autonomy from the donor institutions and to better secure resources in the long run. The common front that Federation represents gave them a better leverage to negotiate with government and private agencies. A Federation is also a pool of "accumulated" experiences and capacities for the administration and delivery of the service. Finally, the consolidation of various organizations representing a larger segment of the population provides the Federation with a bigger mobilization capacity. This capacity is present in the negotiations they take part of and it is used to defend their interests.

This thesis has found that government and other institutions have played an important role in the creation of popular organizations. The philanthropic and assistencialist programs implemented by these institutions created spaces that introduced the beneficiaries to practices of participation and demand. They created the bases for women to take conscience of possible roles outside the house.

The Metropolitan *Vaso de Leche* Program allowed a local government with limited resources and no support from central government to implement a large-scale program that reached populations usually only served by central government. It also gave lower levels of government, the district level, with even less resources than the provincial, participation in the administration of a needed resource that strengthened its position within the community.

It also gave women organization resources for them to manage and defend themselves in the eyes of their bases. Women took the resources government gave them but also learned to maintain their autonomy. They learned to demand and to deal strategically with government, political parties and other institutions.

Problems and Limitations.

This study has also found obstacles that can undermine the effectiveness of such organizations as a single base for a community movement. Three are particularly important. First, there are difficulties in coordinating these organizations at the intermediate level while ideological infighting occurs between popular leaders affiliated with different political parties, in addition to the traditional "caudillo" phenomenon where leaders impose their views and direction instead of consulting and responding. This latter problem can be reduced by proper Program design, incorporating representative participation in the running of the program and by decentralizing the implementation stage to the basic units of the organization. Discrepancies in the ideological line that the organization should follow is a more complex problem. Nevertheless, organizations with clear functional, practical tasks to resolve can better deal with ideological infights. Women in Lima tended to marginalize leaders whose political party affiliation overcame the organization's functional needs.

Second, the opening of local levels of elected political participation have captured the more dynamic among the community leaders into running for electoral positions (mayor or "consejal"). However, this same process has helped democratize local levels of government and gave popular organizations representation in them. Community organization's usual leverage is their mobilization capability but the move of their members into government opens new possibilities.

Third, the increasing struggle for family survival in the face of economic crisis limited the actual leadership (also functioning as heads of families) in their commitment and dedication to their organizational tasks.

Local Government vs. Community Organization.

The municipal level, in contrast to the community, has taken on greater importance for residents of popular communities as a target of their organizing efforts since that political space has opened up significantly in the last years, with growing opportunities for citizen participation. Such participation can still do little to improve economic conditions of community dwellers, as long as municipal governments have few funds at their disposal. This is particularly true for those districts with a high concentration of *pueblos jóvenes* that provide a weak base for generating taxes essential to finance economic development and income producing programs. In these instances, organized popular communities have on occasion joined their Mayor in marches to Congress, demanding a larger share of the national government's budget.

National government and its various administrative branches have for long been regarded by elements of the popular movement as the only worthwhile target for their organizing activities and for attempts to recover their rights as citizens. Nevertheless, popular leaders have begun to redefine their strategies, viewing the municipal arena as a more accessible and manageable political space. The municipality, also an organ of the State apparatus, has the advantage of being closer to them with municipal elected authorities being better known (UNDP 1997). Furthermore, most municipal functions and current program priorities relate more directly to the immediate concerns, particularly of the poorest inhabitants, whether in urban development, health, social services, education and culture, or urban transportation. Under these changed conditions, municipal government is viewed as potentially more sensitive and likely to respond, without repression, to the pressures and demands of popular organizations. In some instances the municipality has joined forces with popular organizations to pressure national government, as occurred in the case of the *Vaso de Leche* program.

National government chooses to enter the municipal arena through its distinct policies and programs emanating directly from the Presidential Office, such as the Accion Popular, PAIT and PAD programs or from its Ministries or decentralized operations. It thus becomes a major actor at that level either in cooperation or in competition with the municipality. Since the election of the *Izquierda Unida* to the government of Metropolitan Lima, and many of its municipal districts in 1983, there has been increasing competition between the two levels. This competition seems to benefit the inhabitants of the *pueblos jóvenes*, as in the case of the implementation of the *Vaso de Leche* Program adding one more service, and a new actor/donor, into the list of relief projects.

In short, several major actors have entered the municipal space of Lima and have turned it into a dynamic arena of interacting forces in the span of a few years. Earlier, the major axis of operation was between national government and popular social movements, in which central government carried all the trump cards, using repressive measures if it did not get its way. The list of new major actors now include, besides the popular movement and the national government, the NGOs, and the Municipality of Metropolitan Lima and its various municipal districts.

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ANNEX 1

Relative poverty by district, Metropolitan Lima
(In decreasing order)

Group I	
Villa El Salvador	9.55
Carabaylo	9.45
El Agustino	9.38
San Juan de Lurigancho	7.57
Independencia	7.54
Villa María del Triunfo	7.28
Chorrillos	5.38
Comas	5.05
San Juan de Miraflores	4.88
Lurigancho	4.65
Ate	3.34
San Martín de Porres	1.95
Group II	
San Luis	-0.69
Rimac	-0.77
Cercado	-1.95
La Victoria	-2.93
San Miguel	-3.82
Surquillo	-3.83
Breña	-4.56
Surco	-4.82
Barranco	-5.20
Pueblo Libre	-5.95
Magnalena	-5.96
Lince	-5.99
Jesús María	-8.29
Group III	
San Isidro	-10.50
Miraflores	-10.77
San Borja	-10.95

Source: José M. García, *Deseborde popular y crisis del Estado*, IEP, Lima, 1985 cited in Tuesta 1989.

The indicators are: average household per house; average persons per house; percentage of the population that lives in pueblos jóvenes; percentage of houses without electricity; percentage houses without individual connection to water; percentage of the population between the ages of 6 and 19 years old that is economically active; percentage of the population that is illiterate; percentage of the economically active male population older than 15 years old that are industrial ("obreros") or self employed workers.

ANNEX 2

MEMORIAL DIRIGIDO AL SEÑOR PRESIDENTE
DE LA REPUBLICA DR. ALAN GARCIA PEREZ

Las representantes de los comedores infantiles, familiares y autogestionarios comúnmente llamados "comedores populares", de diversas zonas del país, reunidas en el *Encuentro Nacional de Comedores* convocado por la comisión Episcopal de Acción Social (CEAS), el pasado mes de julio, expresamos a Ud. Señor Presidente lo siguiente:

La lucha por la sobrevivencia tiene en nuestro país una larga historia, siendo las mujeres actoras principales. Son ellas las que han ido redefiniendo sus formas organizativas: los clubes de madres, comités de salud, comités de vaso de leche, comedores populares y la propia organización vecinal.

Los comedores populares surgen a fines de la década del 70. En la actualidad existen en Lima Metropolitana 625 añadiéndose a ellos los de Piura, Chiclayo, Trujillo, Cajamarca, Chimbote, Huacho, Arequipa, Ayacucho, Cusco, Puno, Tacna y otros lugares del país cuyo número aún no se ha registrado. Su rápida expansión está asociada a la crisis económica, al deterioro de las condiciones de vida de los más pobres y a la acción colectiva y sostenida por mujeres de los sectores populares.

El comedor ha ido generando algo más que un simple espacio donde obtener la comida; valores como la solidaridad e igualdad los convierten en una alternativa de organización popular. El ejercicio de la democracia y la autonomía practicadas cotidianamente en su interior, permite una gestión independiente y eficaz.

La importancia de las mujeres como sujetos sociales y políticos, donde sus roles como madre y ciudadana confluyen, les permite estar en la capacidad de plantear, negociar y exigir propuestas frente al Estado.

En este proceso los comedores hemos venido recibiendo apoyo y asesoría por parte

de algunas comisiones de la Iglesia Católica, la Municipalidad e Instituciones civiles no gubernamentales.

Las denominadas Cocinas Familiares y Comedores del Pueblo, de reciente creación, han tomado como modelo las organizaciones de comedores autónomos, siendo promovidos desde el Estado como parte de sus políticas sociales. Esta situación ha significado, por parte del gobierno, un desconocimiento de las organizaciones existentes, legítimos interlocutores, provocando en muchos casos divisionismos y enfrentamientos.

El respeto a la autonomía de nuestras organizaciones nos lleva a plantear nuestra discrepancia con el criterio establecido en el Decreto Supremo N° 0032-86-PCM y en su reglamento aprobado mediante Resolución Suprema No. 0133-86-PCM. En efecto, en ambos dispositivos se adopta como requisito indispensable para acceder al apoyo del Proyecto Especial "Programa de Asistencia Directa" (PAD), que las organizaciones solicitantes deben constituirse como Asociaciones Civiles bajo la denominación de "Clubes de Madres", estableciéndose un registro en el que únicamente se empadronarán las asociaciones que acrediten su previa inscripción en los Registros Públicos.

Al haberse establecido tan selectivo y discriminatorio criterio, se contraría el sentido mismo de la iniciativa oficial, toda vez que se pretende encasillar en una exclusiva forma

de organización, una diversidad de modelos en base a los cuales se han constituido numerosos comedores. Es decir, se privilegia la forma a la realidad que se pretende apoyar y promover, lo que definitivamente no sólo atenta contra la autonomía de nuestras organizaciones sino que ofrece, en la práctica, un conjunto de problemas operativos que podrían echar por tierra las buenas intenciones anunciadas.

En este mismo aspecto, debemos puntualizar que no se justifica que los distintos modelos de organización adoptados por los comedores deban necesariamente hallarse constituidos como Personas Jurídicas con arreglo al Código Civil. Tal exigencia desconoce de un lado, la realidad organizativa que ellos representan y de otro lado, no presta atención a toda la riqueza y complejidad de cada una de éstas expresiones, creando por el contrario condicionamientos peligrosos por su artificialidad y burocratismo al diseñarse, por ejemplo en el reglamento, una forma de organización tan puntual como ajena al común de nuestros comedores.

Finalmente, debe considerarse en este mismo sentido el costo que podría significar para cada comedor el sujetarse a lo previsto en los dispositivos ahora vigentes. Estamos convencidas que una eficiente manera de prestar el apoyo necesario a los comedores requiere un tratamiento justo para todos, respetando la voluntad e iniciativa de la población.

MEDIANTE EL PRESENTE MEMORIAL SOLICITAMOS A UD. SEÑOR PRESIDENTE, LAS SIGUIENTES MEDIDAS EN BENEFICIO DE NUESTROS COMEDORES:

I. EN DEFENSA DE LOS COMEDORES POPULARES

a) En la situación actual pueden ser de utilidad programas como el PAD, sin embargo, deben ser entendidos como un servicio a los sectores populares sin desconocimiento de lo que ya existe como iniciativa popular, evitando todo tipo de favoritismo político. El Decreto Supremo N° 0032-86-PCM y su reglamentación, establecen criterios verticales obligando al cumplimiento de normas establecidas y controladas desde el Estado, otorgándole legalidad a un solo tipo de organización: club de madres. DEMANDAMOS EL RESPETO A LA AUTONOMIA DE NUESTRAS ORGANIZACIONES Y EL ESTABLECIMIENTO DE MECANISMOS SIMPLES DE ACCESO AL PROYECTO ESPECIAL "PROGRAMA DE ASISTENCIA DIRECTA" QUE DESTIERRE TODO TIPO DE BUROCRATISMO Y ARTIFICIALIDAD.

b) Que en la implementación del Fondo de Reactivación Agropecuaria y Seguridad Alimentaria administrado por ENCI, priorice como beneficiarios a los comedores, de tal forma que el Estado los subsidie de manera directa.

c) Exigimos el establecimiento de pilones de agua allí donde no existen; de igual forma, la instalación de grifos comunales de venta de kerosene con precios subsidiados para los comedores.

d) Demandamos una política de control de las empresas transnacionales que monopolizan la producción de alimentos de primera necesidad como harinas, aceite, leche, cuyos precios les permiten altos márgenes de ganancia y son inalcanzables para el pueblo.

e) Que el Estado haga efectivo el apoyo a los pequeños productores agropecuarios para incentivar la producción de alimentos. Por ello demandamos la revisión de la actual política de importación de alimentos.

f) Exigimos un mayor control del sistema de comercialización, especialmente a los grandes intermediarios, para evitar el encarecimiento de los alimentos.

g) Que los Programas de Apoyo al Ingreso Temporal (PAIT) respeten la dignidad del trabajo humano, y no se utilice a sus participantes en el respaldo para determinadas acciones y políticas del gobierno. A corto plazo se deben implementar programas estables de verdadera generación de empleo e ingresos que den solución real y definitiva al problema.

II. EN DEFENSA DE LA VIDA

Las representantes de los comedores populares participantes en este Encuentro Nacional, hacemos eco del comunicado del Consejo Permanente del Episcopado Peruano:

"La violencia que sufre nuestro pueblo debe terminar. La amenaza de muerte es el instrumento del que no tiene argumentos para convencer con sus razones. Por eso no podemos admitir el método del terror como un medio para conseguir el cambio de lo que se considera que está mal en el país. Pero tampoco podemos aceptar que el modo de hacer cambiar a los que han emprendido ese errado camino sea responderles con sus mismos medios".

(Consejo Permanente del Episcopado Peruano, en la Jornada de Oración y Ayuno por la Paz, 24 de junio de 1986).

Viviendo en un clima de violencia como el actual, nuestros comedores han sido

en algunos casos interpellados como subversivos por el solo hecho de querer salvaguardar la autonomía. Por eso reafirmamos nuestras con-

vicciones en defensa de la vida y la paz, uno de cuyos pilares es el derecho a la alimentación siendo los comedores sus principales gestores.

Lima, agosto de 1986

Adriana de la Cruz Ramos Pamplona Alta San J. Miraf. Lucila Martínez B. Canto Grande Bayóvar Adela Yauri Pérez Canto Grande-Bayóvar Alejandrina Escobedo Yerbateros, El Agustino Nora Casapia, Tahuantinsuyo Clotilde Rivas García Asent. Humano José C.M. Blaudina Cáceres A. Pamplona Alta, S.J. Miraf. Zoila Alvarado B. Pamplona Alta S.J. Miraf. María T. More Villa El Salvador, VI Sector Emérita Castro C. Villa El Salvador Modesta Centeno, El Agustino Edelmira Aclari, El Agustino Elvira Torres, El Agustino Aurelina Eustaquio El Ermitaño Estela Cisneros, El Ermitaño Iris Medianero Laynes Chiclayo Rosa Villanueva, Chiclayo Nora Rivas Vásquez, Chiclayo Doris Gómez Rivera Tahuantinsuyo Flora Soto, San M. de Porres Nila Bueno Urdaniga Puente Piedra Juan Bartolomé Ramírez Huaura Fredesvinda Muñoz Ch. Independencia Mariluz Q. de Ramos Independencia Juana Lino Baroza, Pte. Piedra Juan Rivera, Pte. Piedra María Chillón P. Lima - Comas, AMDECO Beatriz Balvin O. Lima-U.M.T. Com. No. 18 Wilma Maldonado Velarde Lima-U.M.T. Com. Comun. 1 Gloria Vásquez Cruz Callao-Márquez Olga Cerruqín Retto Callao-Acapulco P. Roberto Moncada P. Callao Eduardo G. Mamn] P., Puno Gladys Leigh, Arequipa Susana Salvatierra, Callao Victoria Chauca, Callao Fortunata Gadenas, Paramonga	Flor de María Gotelli, Lima Dora Rivera Zenobio Comas-Año Nuevo Cruz Fachin Saldaña Comas-Año Nuevo Elena Olascoaga Qu. Comas-Año Nuevo Leonor Rodríguez B. Carretera Cent. Huaycán Eleodora Carrasco El Rescate (Cercaco) María Crisostomo Ricache Cajamarca Alejandrina Pajares, Cajamarca Guillermina Larico, Arequipa Jaquelin Guizado, Arequipa Socorro Paiva, Arequipa Norma Huarca, Arequipa Juan Sandoval G., Chiclayo Ramiro Menor D., Chiclayo Jullán Crisol, Huaura Silveria Palomino, Cusco María Del Carmen P., Puno Carmen Facho E., Chiclayo Juan Rodríguez, Chiclayo Hilda Rahul Puchuri Lima U.M.T.F.I. Isabel Quintana River Lima, U.M.T. Sta. Catalina Adella Armas Villanueva Paramonga Juana Fernández Obillas Lima-Comas ARCPAS María Puse de Mayanga Lima-Comas ARCPAS Elizabeth Muñante Lima-U.M.T. Bertha León Guzmán Comas-AFEDEPROM Luisa Sulca, Agustino Margarita Castillo, Agustino Haydée Cerrón de Oré Pachacamac - Lima Carmen Donayre Vásquez Pachacamac Delfina Vizarrés T. Lima - AMDECO Isabel Bautista F. Comas - AMDECO María Bernedo I. Carretera Central-Huaycán Elizabeth Vásquez Comas-AFEDEPROM Nancy Girón Inga, Piura Juana Huayapa de Calla Arequipa Viviana Salas Rodríguez Arequipa Elena Ticona Santos Arequipa Patricia Alejandro C. Tahuantinsuyo Victoria Ramírez Lugo Tahuantinsuyo	Erlinda Muñoz, V. El Salvador Esperanza Vicente San Martín de Porres Isabel Araujo, Comas Demetria Maguina, Chimbote Otilia Carrascal, Chimbote Julia Hiasca, Juliaca Paulina Quispe, Juliaca Elena Gutiérrez de G. Ayacucho María Alcántara de C. Ayacucho Rafael Ayasta, Chiclayo Teodosia Miranda Hinojroza Yerbateros-El Agustino Ignacia Rafael Godoy Yerbateros-El Agustino Honorata Vilca P. Cto. Grande Lilia Cordero de Neyra Comas Susana Moscoso de V. Villa María del Triunfo Julia Olivares García Villa El Salvador Benicda Seviano, El Agustino Alicira Zárate de V. El Agustino Alejandrina Dueñas Villa El Salvador Irma Martínez Cárdenas Villa El Salvador Consuelo Sotelo Aquilje Villa El Salvador Cristina Ramírez El Agustino Luisa Salvador, Huacho Fabina Aquellón, Cuado Rosa Munez del Prado Hualmay Nancy Alor de Romero Huacho Magdalena Castro, Ermitaño Inmaculada Valmaría Ermitaño María Graciela R., Huacho Indalecia Marchena, Comas Marina Chuchón N. Ayacucho Marta Villa Núñez Ayacucho Olimpia Palomino, Ayacucho Jacinta Hahuica Ramos Tacna Ferlandina Mendoza Gonzales Villa El Salvador Cristina Pérez Romaní Cerc. Manzanilla Rosimer Jaime B. Canto Grande Dolores Alejandro M. Canto Grande Bernabita Marquina Canto Grande Angélica Ibáñez R. Carmen de la Legua
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ANNEX 3

CONVOCATORIA A LA PRIMERA CONVENCION DE ORGANIZACIONES POPULARES EN DEFENSA DE LA VIDA



En Lima, el 14 de Junio de 1986 las delegaciones distritales de 29 distritos que representamos a los 7,500 Comités de VASO DE LECHE y 1,243 Asentamientos Humanos callejones o tugurios hemos realizado la Jornada Preparatoria de la Primera Convención de Organizadores Populares en Defensa de la Vida para evaluar la marcha del Programa del Vaso de Leche y la necesidad de avanzar en la Centralización Metropolitana de nuestras organizaciones. Se acordó la siguiente Convocatoria:

CONVOCATORIA

Compañeras y compañeros:

En 2 años y medio de participación en el Programa "Vaso de Leche" de la Municipalidad de Lima, a nombre de los niños y las madres beneficiarias, las coordinadoras de los Comités, los dirigentes vecinales, Clubes de Madres, y nosotras mismas, las Coordinadoras de la Comisión Organizadora Metropolitana, nos sentimos con el deber de ofrecer el testimonio de la experiencia extraordinaria que hemos vivido y que vivimos en el Programa Vaso de Leche, experiencia que no hace sino obligarnos a reconocer y difundir su enorme trascendencia para nuestro pueblo y la necesidad de renovar la voluntad de mantenerlo y profundizarlo.

En 2 años y medio de cotidiana labor en el Programa Vaso de Leche hemos sabido poner toda nuestra voluntad, energía y una enorme cuota de solidaridad en la esperanza de un mañana mejor para nuestros niños. Así, ha sido posible el concurso de miles de madres de familia que nos hemos organizado en comités de manzana o de pueblo para realizar la tarea cotidiana del traslado de la lecha, de conseguir las ollas y cocinas, de la conducción de las asambleas o de la relación con los municipios. Todo ello con avances y retrocesos, con tropiezos y sacrificios, con enormes limitaciones, pero ahí está, ya no es solamente el Programa Municipal, sino nuestro propio programa, nuestra organización, nuestro destino común. El Programa nos planteó la exigencia y nosotras con nuestra participación hemos puesto en marcha una gigantesca movilización popular en Defensa de la Vida.

Pero también hemos aprendido. Hemos aprendido a organizarnos, a reconocer el valor de la organización, hemos aprendido el valor del trabajo colectivo y solidario, a enfrentar colectivamente las tareas comunales especialmente las necesidades de alimentación y salud de nuestros hijos. Hemos aprendido definitivamente que, como mujeres del pueblo tenemos un rol importante que realizar, que constituimos junto con los varones, con la organización vecinal y con las otras organizaciones populares, un solo frente social en lucha por la supervivencia. En suma hemos aprendido lo más esencial, hemos aprendido a aprender. A identificar nuestras propias necesidades y plantearnos alternativas.

CONSIDERANDO QUE:

1. En los últimos años nuestro pueblo ha venido sufriendo las dramáticas consecuencias de una crisis económica y social generada por políticas insensibles a las necesidades populares con graves repercusiones para la salud y alimentación de la población y muy especialmente en el caso de nuestros niños. Las secuelas de hambre, desnutrición, desempleo, insalubridad y vivienda precarias, son los rasgos más visibles de una profunda y larga crisis, que ha colocado al país en la triste situación de tener uno de los más altos índices de mortalidad infantil en el continente.

De esta manera, nuestras reivindicaciones han venido recogiendo la problemática de la vida, salud y alimentación populares como los problemas más urgentes y prioritarios. En respuesta a esta situación las mujeres de los sectores populares hemos ido creando nuevas formas de organización en la lucha por la supervivencia popular. Este es el caso de innumerables Comedores Populares, Ollas comunes, Comités de Salud, Clubes de Madres y otros, que fundamentalmente organizaron a la mujer incorporándola activamente en la lucha por la supervivencia; y que a partir de esto, nuestras organizaciones vecinales han venido asumiendo estas nuevas formas de organización y reivindicación.

2. Esta realidad es la que recogió el Dr. Alfonso Barrantes, Alcalde de Lima, para formular e implementar el Programa de Emergencia en Alimentación y Salud de la Municipalidad de Lima. Nació pues convocando a la Organización Vecinal y a otras formas de organización popular para darle cabida a la enorme iniciativa que ya nuestro pueblo había puesto en marcha espontáneamente. Por eso, recogimos con mucho entusiasmo y simpatía las tareas que demandaron la organización e implementación del Programa Vaso de Leche. Progresivamente hemos organizado los Comités de Vaso de Leche hasta los 7,500 que tenemos hoy en día presente en 1,243 AA.HH., Pueblos Jóvenes, Urbanizaciones Populares, callejones o tugurios y en 33 distritos de Lima Metropolitana. Además desarrollando una movilización multitudinaria de recursos humanos y materiales que se requieren para la gestión diaria de un millón de raciones para nuestros niños, madres gestantes, y en período de lactancia.

Para ello ha sido indispensable el apoyo de los municipios Provincial y distritales, pero fundamentalmente nuestro propio esfuerzo, el de las madres beneficiarias y las coordinadoras que, constituye el sustento real que ha tenido el Programa Vaso de Leche para garantizar la distribución y preparación de la leche, el control, la democracia en las decisiones y el trabajo solidario para conseguir las ollas y cocinas.

3. Es la existencia de esta realidad organizativa de los Comités de Vaso de Leche y los principios democráticos, pluralistas y de respeto a la autonomía popular que nos ha regido hasta la fecha, por la que necesitamos ubicar las tareas actuales de la supervivencia popular en el marco de un nuevo contexto político. Ya hemos conquistado con nuestra movilización la Ley No. 24059 del Vaso de Leche, así como la partida presupuestal para 1986 pero todo el país. Necesitamos ahora elevar la voz de los Comités de Vaso de Leche, los comedores populares, los comités de salud y los clubes de madres en un solo frente, para que se nos reconozca como el legítimo interlocutor popular de las políticas de bienestar social del Gobierno.

Para que se nos consulte la prioridad y orientación de los programas de salud y alimentación y apoyo comunal que vienen implementándose actualmente.

Para que esos programas respeten la autonomía y democracia de las organizaciones populares que participan en su ejecución.

Para que se recoja la opinión y posición que tenemos con respecto al problema del empleo (PAIT), PAD, Defensa del Consumidor, abaratamiento de precios, educación, etc.

4. Se viene desarrollando un proceso de Centralización y Evaluación de la experiencia populares como el Programa Vaso de Leche y otros en los diferentes Distritos de Lima. Así se han realizado Encuentros o Eventos de Centralización en Comas, Villa María del Triunfo, Chorrillos, Ate-Vitarte, El Agustino, Carabayllo, Independencia, San Martín de Porres, Cercado, Puente Piedra, etc. En todos ellos de una u otra forma se ha tratado de evaluar la experiencia de participación en los programas de Emergencia Municipal y también en dotarse de organismos de dirección Distrital que responden a las características y diferentes necesidades de las organizaciones que luchan por la supervivencia popular. Han sido pues eventos de reafirmación de la Autonomía y Democracia como principios fundamentales en que nos basamos las mujeres del pueblo y los sectores populares para participar en los programas de Ayuda Gubernamental y no Gubernamental. Creemos que estas iniciativas distritales necesitan de un espacio de Encuentro Metropolitano que posibilite su discusión y la búsqueda de acuerdos a nivel Metropolitano que la situación exige.

Es en consideración a este punto y a los puntos precedentes, que la 1ra. Jornada de Representantes Distritales de los Comités de Vaso de Leche,

ACUERDAN:

1. Convocar a los Comités de Vaso de Leche, los Comedores Populares, los Comités y Organizaciones de Salud y otras vinculadas a la supervivencia a la PRIMERA CONVEN-

CIÓN DE ORGANIZACIONES POPULARES EN DEFENSA DE LA VIDA a realizarse en la Ciudad de Lima en el mes de Agosto.

2. La Comisión Organizadora invita a las demás organizaciones descritas a integrarse a

la Comisión Organizadora: efectos de llevar adelante la preparación organización y realización de la PRIMERA CONVENCION DE ORGANIZACIONES POPULARES EN DEFENSA DE LA VIDA.

Lima, 14 de Junio de 1986

RELACION DE DELEGADAS DISTRITALES Comisión coordinadora Evento Metropolitano

CERCADO:	Cristina Pérez
ANCON:	Julia Falcón
CARABAYLLO:	Victoria Minaya
COMAS:	Rosa Florindez
INDEPENDENCIA:	Rosario Cárdenas
SAN MARTIN DE PORRES:	Teresa Aparcana
PUENTE PIEDRA:	Victoria Frúgoni
LINCE:	Luz García Hidalgo
SAN MIGUEL:	Zoila Esterripa
RIMAC:	Edelmira Alvarez
PUEBLO LIBRE:	Margarita Sara Pozú
ATE-VITARTE:	Irene Alvarez
SAN JUAN DE LURIGANCHO:	Esther Rojas
EL AGUSTINO:	Victoriana Calquixto
LURIGANCHO CHOSICA:	Eliana Asín
CHACLACAYO:	María Liduvina
MAGDALENA DEL MAR:	Jesús María
SAN LUIS:	Teresa Casana
LA VICTORIA:	Socorro Rojas
BARRANCO:	Julla Sánchez
CHORRILLOS:	Felicitá Aldahua
SAN JUAN DE MIRAFLORES:	Maruja Pacco
VILLA MARIA DEL TRIUNFO:	Regina Pancho
VILLA SALVADOR:	Noemi Romero-Mala E. Moyano
SURQUILLO:	Lidia Erqulaga
MIRAFLORES:	Mérida Carrasco
SAN BORJA:	Lastenia Loayza
SURCO:	Gregoria Yuca
SAN BARTOLO:	Guillermina Torres