A Women's Co-operative in Lima: A Case Study of Community Development?

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by

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Abstract

The case study is a grass-roots women's co-operative in a shanty town of Lima. The relationship between this co-operative and the aid agency (Christian Concern) that funds it is the central focus of study.

Christian Concern's ideological contradictions are the main cause of problems encountered in the case study. Its conflicting ideology claims to promote self-help community development on the one hand and yet on the other its emphasis on child sponsorship encourages elitism, encourages the domestication of women and smothers community action with charitable patronage. The result of this ideological contradiction is that in the case study Christian Concern has ignored the role of places in creating communities and instead has defined a community in terms of the number of children present.

Christian Concern's hierarchical organisation ensures that unequal power relations exist between donors and receivers. As a result, the women in the case study have limited autonomy. They are encouraged to receive charity for their children rather than to become active agents in community development.

Résumé

Une coopérative populaire de femmes dans un bidonville de Lima constitue le cas à l'étude dans la présente thèse. La relation qu'entretient cette coopérative avec l'organisation Christian Concern, qui la finance, forme l'aspect central de l'étude.

Les contradictions idéologiques de Christian Concern sont la cause première des problèmes recontrés dans l'étude. L'idéologie de l'organisation prétend promouvoir le développement de l'autosuffisance dans la communauté, mais l'emphase sur le parrainge d'enfants encourage l'élitisme et la domestication des femmes, et étouffe l'action communautaire avec charité et patronage. Le résultat de cette contradiction est l'ignorance du rôle que jouent les lieux dans la création des communautés, que Christian Concern a plutôt définies en termes du nombre d'enfants qu'elles comptent.

L'organisation hiérarchique de Christian Concern assure l'existance de relations inégales entre donneurs et receveurs. En effet, les femmes de la coopérative ont une autonomie limitée. Elles ont encouragées à recevoir la charité pour leurs enfants plutôt que de devenir des agents actifs du développement communautaire.

For Francisca, Maria and my mother whose lives I admire

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Introduction

Today in Peru thousands of women's groups have bonded together to fight the inequalities they see in their society. These groups are varied in the issues they address, the way they are organized and their links with national and international aid agencies This thesis research focuses on one such group in a shanty town community in South Lima.

In an analysis of the group's potential as a catalyst for community development, research questions the nature of the group, its activities and its particular relationship with the donor agency that funds it. My interest in this topic first arose during field work for an undergraduate project conducted in Lima in 1985. This preliminary research indicated that the hierarchical organisation of aid has the potential to cramp grass-roots initiatives because decision-making power is not given to local people.

Chapter One outlines the recent growth of gender and development studies in social science. It introduces the trends in this literature and draws on current geographical theory concerning the role of ideology in society My focus on ideology in Chapter One provides a framework for analysing the aid agency/grass-roots relationship presented by the case study. In order for discrimination in the development process is to be avoided, Chapter One suggests that development relationships should be viewed critically and should be analysed in terms of the level of autonomy they promote.

Chapter Two explains the methodology adopted in the research and discusses the role of regional case studies in geography. Places have a key role in this thesis research because development ideologies are constituted in and by them and also development strategies have geographical implications. Chapter Two includes a detailed description of the field work conducted and explains how the practical field research investiaged the relationship between an aid agency and a grass-roots development project.

Women's co-operatives do not operate in a vacuum. Chapter Three places the case study in the general historical context of crisis in Peru, the process of urbanization within the country and national discrimination against women. Chapter Four describes the physical environment of the case study group. It illustrates that the area where the women live does not represent a single homogenous community because it is made up of three distinct places. The specific socioeconomic circumstances of the women in the club is discussed in relation to the three places and the ways in which the women have attempted to overcome marginalization.

Chapter Five deals with the donor agency in the case study (Christain Concern). It questions the hierarchical organisation of this aid agency and the effects of national and international decisions on its

relationship with the grass-roots group. The main section of the chapter identifies and elaborates upon the connection between the aid agency's espoused development ideology and the implications of the organisational structure it uses to fulfill these ideals.

The conclusion, Chapter Six, claims that the aid agency's ideological contradictions are the main cause of problems faced by the grass-roots group. Christian Concern's conflicting ideology claims to promotes self-help community development on the one hand and yet on the other its emphasis on child sponsorship encourages elitism and smothers community action with charitable patronage. The result of this ideological contradiction is that in the case study Christian Concern has ignored the role of places in creating communities and instead has defined a community in terms of the number of children present. A short post-script included after Chapter Six describes some of the changes that have taken place within the group since field work in 1987.

Chapter One
Ideology: the Key to Analysing the Link Between Feminism and Development

Introduction

The link between gender and development and local geographical analysis is the main theme of this thesis research The key mechanism in this relationship is the significance of ideology (in this case the ideology of development) in shaping localities and the role of places in creating ideology. This link is described in more depth in Chapter Two. Chapter One is concerned with describing the current trends in geographical, developmental and feminist literature that are concerned with ideology, and gender and development.

Two current critiques in development research and policy making are questions concerning the scale at which development policies are carried out and critiques of whom development programs benefit. Associated with these questions has been an orientation of funding and research towards grass-roots development and a focus on women as a previously ignored group in the development process These two critiques have been brought together here in an attempt to understand the lives of women activists in a specific community project in Lima, Peru

The following sections will describe briefly the growth in the Women in Development (WID) movement and the Basic Needs approach, before discussing the trends in research on women. The final section of chapter one focuses upon the theoretical issues that have influenced the research for this thesis and a discussions of the role of ideology in development planning for women.

Section One: Women in Development a Basic Need?

1) Feminist and development studies: The rise of the Women in Development movement

The role of women in the development process has become an issue of great importance in recent years. Following the United Nations (UN) Decade for Women (1975-1985) most government and non-governmental organisations have established women in development officers and study groups. Funds have been released by groups such as CIDA, the Ford Foundation, Oxfam and the UN with the express intention of promoting projects dedicated to women and their roles in development.

In practice and in research, Women in Development has become a common phrase, to the extent that the International Labour Organisation's statistics on women are now engraved in the memories of third world governments, aid agencies and all people who consider themselves to be 'enlightened'. These statistics indicate that women are one third of the official labour force, they produce 44% of the globe's food, receive

10% of the world's income and own 1% of its property (ILO 1980).

The interest shown by social scientists (including geographers) in Women in Development is a recent phenomenon. The first book on the topic was published in 1970, written by Esther Boserup and entitled Women's Role in Economic Development. Interest and research in the topic grew during the 1970s and 1980s. This growth largely resulted from two factors, the growth of feminism in the West and the increasing disenchantment with development as it had been practiced; field work continued to show that inequality in the world was increasing.

2) Recent trends in development studies and the movement towards a grass-roots approach

The movement away from traditional neoclassical economic modelling in development planning has been well documented (Armstrong and McGee 1985). The literature suggests that even the most convinced developmentalist now questions the absolute nature of the linear, stage models of growth presented by the modernization school in the 1950s. In these models 'undeveloped' countries are expected to follow development paths like those of Europe during the industrial revolution. With national strategies focused on modernizing certain sectors of the economy, in time, third world countries are expected to become like wealthier nations.

When these models failed to promote development they were criticised; some researchers adopted a world systems approach which focuses on dependency theory and replaces the language of 'growth poles', 'take-offs' and 'stages' with that of a 'global economy' and an 'international division of labour' (Frank 1980, Wallerstein 1979). The world systems approach has also been criticised because it lacks interest in individual development projects and fails to contribute to knowledge at the local level. Its theoretical and methodological concentration on global issues (Armstrong and McGee 1985) and its cynical philosophy give little scope for the role of human agency in changing systemic forces.

A third theme that has emerged in development studies is a grass-roots approach that emphasizes the role of people in the development process. This approach has often been associated with a focus on basic needs as issues that are identified and addressed by local, indigenous development projects. This focus on basic needs has been adopted by the United Nations and other major development agencies as a viable alternative to modernization and world systems theories. Sameter (1984) defines the basic needs approach in this way:

> The main official proponents of the basic needs approach agree that at its most fundamental level it should include satisfying minimum levels of material needs such as consumption of food, shelter, and clothing, and access to water, sanitation, public transport, health and education....If this realization appears to be Utopian, then what is required of us is to conceive of it as a political process, in other words, to identify thosepolitical forces that would be capable of bringing it about.
>
> (Sameter 1984, pp. 4-8)

These political forces are often interpreted as self-help enterprises or grass-roots organisations. Such groups are linked into communities and they rely on local leadership to promote the politicisation of needs that have been defined by group members.

The agenda of many aid organisations are currently changing as people are increasingly disillusioned with the failure of large scale, high profile projects. People see these projects as anachronisms and associate them with the rhetoric of the modernization school. Instead, many aid agencies are promoting projects designed to cater to community, basic needs. Many non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are pursuing this approach towards policy formulation They have small grant committees that select projects for review and possible funding. These committees seek increasingly to sponsor programs working at the local, community level. Even large government organisations such as CIDA give support to national groups that have programs linking into the complex networks of neighbourhood organisations.

Aid agencies have begun to recognize a need to operate through other groups that are using teams of national workers and are already working at the local level, in the belief that local aims will be met if existing structures are used and national people are involved in project implementation. The result of this association between interest groups is that a hierarchical division of labour occurs in order to encourage a flow of aid to grass-roots communities For example, in the case study, CIDA provides funds to an international Christian aid agency based in the USA which in turn passes on its resources (which are more than financial) to specific groups they sponsor. Many of the groups working in Peru and elsewhere operate in this way. Feminist organisations active in Lima receive support from Western women as well as from groups such as the Ford Foundation who provide grants to these sorts of intermediary organisations.

It is the intermediary groups that have direct contact with people working at the local level. The day of the foreign field officer seems to be coming to an end; ideally a grass-roots approach confines non-nationals to administrative positions. During field work for this project the case study aid agency did not have any foreign staff in their Lima office.

Aid agency involvement at the local level has contributed to the growing awareness of women's unrecorded role in development. Consequently the groups advocating a change towards a basic needs/grass-roots approach also recognize the need to investigate the position and role of women in the development process. Both the grass-roots and WID movements target their activities on projects at the community level.

3) Trends in research on women

Academics working on development issues have followed the aims of the feminist movement by illustrating that much of the work carried out by women is 'hidden' (Women and Geography Study Group of the IBG 1984) and does not appear in many official statistics such as census reports. Research has exposed women's contributions to the production and reproduction of the physical, social and economic worlds. Hence, much work in the early 1970s focused on gathering statistics and on producing descriptive gender role studies that depicted the life experience of women in the First and Third worlds (see for example, Morgan 1970). In the preface to a recently published atlas on women the authors have summarised this situation with regard to the lack of data on women:

> Throughout the research for this atlas we have been hampered by the inadequacy and inaccessibility of international data on women....The official invisibility of women perpetuates the myth that what women do, is less important, less noteworthy and less significant. Women are made invisible by the policies and priorities that discount the importance of collecting data about them.
>
> (Seager and Olson 1986, p. 3)

Seager and Olson (1986) make reference to the fact that development policies continue to make women invisible. This is one of the main themes in development studies on gender. Many researchers have focused on the detrimental effect that development and specific development policies can have on the lives of women. They claim that many women are marginalized by the development process (Charlton 1984, Leacock and Safa 1986, Nash and Safa 1986).

The failure of field projects has been explained by their insensitivity to gender roles. For example, the large body of literature concerned with third world agriculture documents many cases where new techniques are taught to men despite the fact that women may be the primary agriculturalists in the community. This is especially true for the work carried out on appropriate technology (Dudley & Edwards 1986). Is it surprising that schemes which are so insensitive to women and to local custom often fail? Of more concern, however, is

the fact that when these schemes succeed, quite often women are left with no form of employment. Their status in their communities is undermined and they are made vulnerable to the demand for cheap labour (Arizpe and Aranda 1986; Aguira 1980).

Studies have also illustrated that women's occupations are usually the first to be mechanized through industrialization programs (Women and geography Study Group of the IBG 1984). Mechanization has led to the demise of women's cottage industries such as textiles and subsequently to an increased exploitation of women in the informal sector in urban areas (Safa 1986; Mitter 1986).

Women are seen as carrying the burden of capitalist development in terms of what has been called the 'triple day', as they strive to juggle family commitments against the needs to work and to look after themselves (Bronstein 1982; Smith 1980). Most studies have concluded that traditionally in development programs women have been seen as the "objects rather than the agents of change" (Women and Geography Study Group of the IBG 1984).

It is important to question whether WID strategies represent a major re-orientation in development programming and to ask whether programs focusing on women in community organisations promote indigenous self-sustained development. It is not sufficient merely to add women to development planning or to create new 'women's projects'. Such an approach would serve only to objectify women, confining them to a passive role where, in the modernization view, development is something that is 'done' to them. In such approaches women are targeted in planning policies but this sometimes promotes a 'blame the victim' attitude where women are 'helped' because they have failed to benefit from increased prosperity as a result of national, broad based, development policies (Phillips 1988).

By investigating grass-roots groups working with women and dealing with basic needs issues this thesis research will focus on women as agents of change. These women's groups represent an example of a development strategy that is attempting to transform the role of women into one of dynamic participation.

Section Two: Moving from Victims to Agents of Change

In order to understand how women can be incorporated as agents of change it is necessary to discuss ideology and the role of individuals as people who create ideologies and who are also shaped by them. This discussion will include a review of work by feminist geographers on gender, the place of ideology in development studies and a discussion of the ways in which geographers, in particular, have viewed ideology.

The Women in Geography Study Group of the IBG have explained the importance of this agenda for researchers in the following way:

> While it may be necessary, it is not sufficient to examine men's and women's spatial behaviour patterns and perceptions of space, find that they differ, and document the differences. At its worst, this can simply lead to a proliferation of topics in (or branches of) the discipline in which the spotlight is simply turned onto women: as in for example 'women and development', 'women and transport geography', 'women and housing'....At its best, such work may document and demonstrate the social inequalities facing women, but it will not explain why they have arisen.
>
> (Women and Geography Study Group of the IBG 1984, p. 25)

Feminist geographers are beginning to move away from work that simply maps women and their roles and instead research is becoming focused on gender relations (Kobayashi, forthcoming). An analysis of gender relations also involves a consideration of the role of ideology. The effect of ideology on the formation of development policies influences discrimination against women.

Gender relations refer specifically to power relations embodied in the structures of society. Gender is socially defined, and gender relations are historically and geographically specific. They are not just benign differences between the sexes but represent power structures that can lead to subordination and discrimination. These relations are dynamic, they are produced by society and in turn they influence people who have the capacity to perpetuate and transform society (Foord & Gregson 1987, Women and Geography Study Group of the IBG 1984). Therefore, in looking at the impact of the Women in Development movement on grass-roots development it is important to investigate the influence of ideology on the creation and maintenance of gender relations.

1) The ideological legacy of co-operative action

Tendler (1984) has described the role of ideology in the formation of co-operatives. Various aspects of her research are helpful in formulating a theoretical framework for investigating case study material. Tendler's main concern is with understanding the paradoxical correlation between co-operative success and an associated increase in exclusive activity and selfish aims:

> [There are] persistent and perplexing differences between co-op rhetoric and reality: the rhetoric of participation vs. the reality of entrenched leadership, the rhetoric of a co-op working for the good of the whole community vs. the reality of the excluded 40%, the 'anti-capitalist' rhetoric vs. the reality of its success as a capitalist enterprise.
>
> (Tendler 1984, p. 43)

Tendler explains this contradiction between rhetoric and practice in terms of two ideological influences upon co-operatives in Latin America. On the one hand, there is the influence of the Christian vision of co-operation in which the group activity is aimed at generating a better community. In this model, work and profit are shared equally for the good of the whole. The Christian ideal, she claims, is the force that motivates many of the co-operative funding bodies. On the other hand, the organisational structure usually promoted along with these goals is that of the North American co-operative homesteading tradition. In the North American view co-operatives have a particular end in sight: improvement for the individual. When this aim has been achieved, the co-operative is disbanded.

In the North American vision the co-operative is a 'means to an end' whereas in the Christian view the 'means' (co-operation) is the 'end' and community co-operation is more important than individual gain:

> The organisational form, the concrete goals, and the technical assistance come from the North American experience, while the vision and rhetoric were fed by the Christian ideal. Therein lies one of the reasons for the disappointment with co-operatives that are successful as enterprises.
>
> (Tendler 1984, p. 44)

Tendler's methodological emphasis on exposing the difference between the ideology which inspires action and that which influences the form inspired co-operation takes is useful in formulating a framework with which ideology can be analysed. Lapido (1981) and Tendler (1984) have pointed out that welfare demands from the wider community often clash with a co-operative's need to adhere to certain policies designed to achieve long term aims. It is not surprising that confusion occurs at the project level, when co-operatives are formed with two very different long-term goals in mind.

2) Ideology and women's projects

There is a tendency for women's projects to gravitate towards welfare schemes even when the original intention was to create some form of income generating activity (Rogers 1981; Buvinic 1984; Yudelman 1986). In reference to the orientation of projects, Buvinic asks an important question:

> The priority low-income women give to income generation when voicing their needs in the context of projects...is evident, with little variation across countries and regions, when interviewing women beneficiaries as well as when analysing national economic indicators....While policy and project objectives and women's needs all call for increasing women's productivity and incomes, social welfare objectives prevail in projects for poor women throughout the Third World. Why is it that welfare strategies for Third World women persist in project implementation, even if they are not called for in policy and project guidelines?
>
> (Buvinic 1982, p. 3)

In order to answer Buvinic's question it is necessary to investigate the ideological context of the movement towards Women in Development and to develop Tendler's ideas as outlined above.

Rogers (1981) describes the rise of the WID approach towards development planning and claims that it has been dominated by the post World War II concept of 'maternal deprivation'. In the 1950s this was the predominant influence on women's roles in Western society. In simple terms, the concept of maternal deprivation was promoted as a reaction to the working roles of women during the war It implied that women had only worked because countries were in a state of emergency and that if this practice were to be continued during peace time the well being of the family (and especially the development of children) would suffer. Feminists and marxists have interpreted this ideology in more economic terms. They claim that it was a response to economic need for increased consumption by the Western population in order to keep pace with the increased productive capacity of the economy, resulting from technological advances during the war. Also, in Western feminist literature, the concept of maternal deprivation is linked closely to the expansion of suburbs and an accompanying, large scale, media campaign (Hayden 1981). In the West, this campaign suggested that 'domestic bliss' was comprised of a suburban home and numerous consumer commodities with a limited life span and anticipated obsolescence.

This image of the role of women has influenced development planning and consequently encouraged the growth of a welfare oriented approach towards women's projects. Rogers (1981) says the following:

> At the same time as women are largely excluded from wage employment and other avenues into the cash economy, the ideology of their domestic destiny is strongly advocated, through the teaching of Western-type domestic skills and moral teachings about their place being in the home, development agencies tend to see women's participation exclusively in terms of 'home economics', based on the post World War II ideology of 'maternal deprivation' and the forced return to the home of women working in industry and agriculture during the war.
>
> (Rogers 1981, p. 40)

In Tendler's view it is important to analyse the ideological motivation in relation to the organisational structure which is used to implement policies. Rogers (1981) claims that most of these organisational structures are male dominated and consequently this domination has influenced policies in the field. Peebles (1982) writing on the impact of NGOs on women says the following under the heading of staffing policies:

> While half of the project officers interviewed were women (18 out of 35), in all but three of the agencies the executive directors and most of the executive level staff were male. Support staff were almost entirely female. To quote one male project officer, "in this hive all the drones are women and all the queen bees are men". A number of project officers strongly questioned the dynamics involved in agencies which are essentially change agents promoting social justice overseas and which practice inequality at home.
>
> (Peebles 1982, p. 2)

Therefore although feminist ideology may have encouraged many NGO organisations to adopt a WID approach in development planning the organisational structure that implements this approach often contradicts it. In simple terms, the people who have the power to make policy decisions are not only predominantly Westerners they are almost exclusively men.

Others have written about male bias 'in the field'. Rogers provides a useful insight into the situation, showing that quite often it is ignorance of the implications of policies rather than premeditated discrimination that promotes gender biases. "The commonest reaction among male planners in the field when asked about the women is : 'I never thought about that'" (Rogers 1981, p. 54). It seems that the mechanisms

that instill an ideology do not represent deliberate action but rather, a series of what appear to the participants to be unquestioned, conditioned actions. To them, this behaviour seems to be 'normal' or 'natural' and undoubtedly it flows from that font of knowledge and respectability, usually labeled 'common sense' (Sayer 1984, p. 27).

Buvinic (1984) refers to the importance of recognizing the origins of NGOs She suggests that problems arise when their focus is shifted to issues other than those they were first designed to meet.

> These organisations had been developed and were organisationally fit to implement relief rather than production projects for women....Women volunteers were proficient at teaching skills (i.e., cooking, sewing, knitting) but had little experience in dealing with fund disbursements and balance sheets
>
> (Buvinic 1984, p. 12)

The types of problems Buvinic highlights relate to the ideological orientation of aid projects and to the ways in which that orientation is transferred to the project level. Research will investigate whether the same pattern exists in the group studied in this thesis project.

3) An analysis of ideology and practise

Figure One is a conceptual diagram that attempts to portray the relationship between ideology, organisational models and women's projects, as outlined above The Western view of linking women's roles to the home is translated into projects through a patriarchal structure that encourages welfare-based activities. The other arrow on the diagram refers to the influence of feminist ideology on development planning for women. The ideals represented in this philosophy are based on the goals of Western feminism, including the economic and legislative emancipation of women. A high profile is given to income generating schemes that promote women's economic independence as a means of eradicating global gender discrimination. The organisational structure that supports the feminist approach is dominated by intermediary, middle-class organisations existing in urban areas of Third World countries (a number of these groups operate in Lima) a result of these two different ideological influences, conflict and confusion often occur at the project level.

The ideological and organisational confusion has practical repercussions. Often, a group's long and short term aims contradict each other (Lapido 1981). The criteria by which projects are chosen can become clouded and contradictory and, also, the aims of national and international agents of the same organisations can become divergent. Consequently, although all parties may be intent on helping women they will have varying definitions of what form that help should take.

A CONCEPTUAL DIAGRAM OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN IDEOLOGY

AND GRASS-ROOTS DEVELOPMENT WITH WOMEN

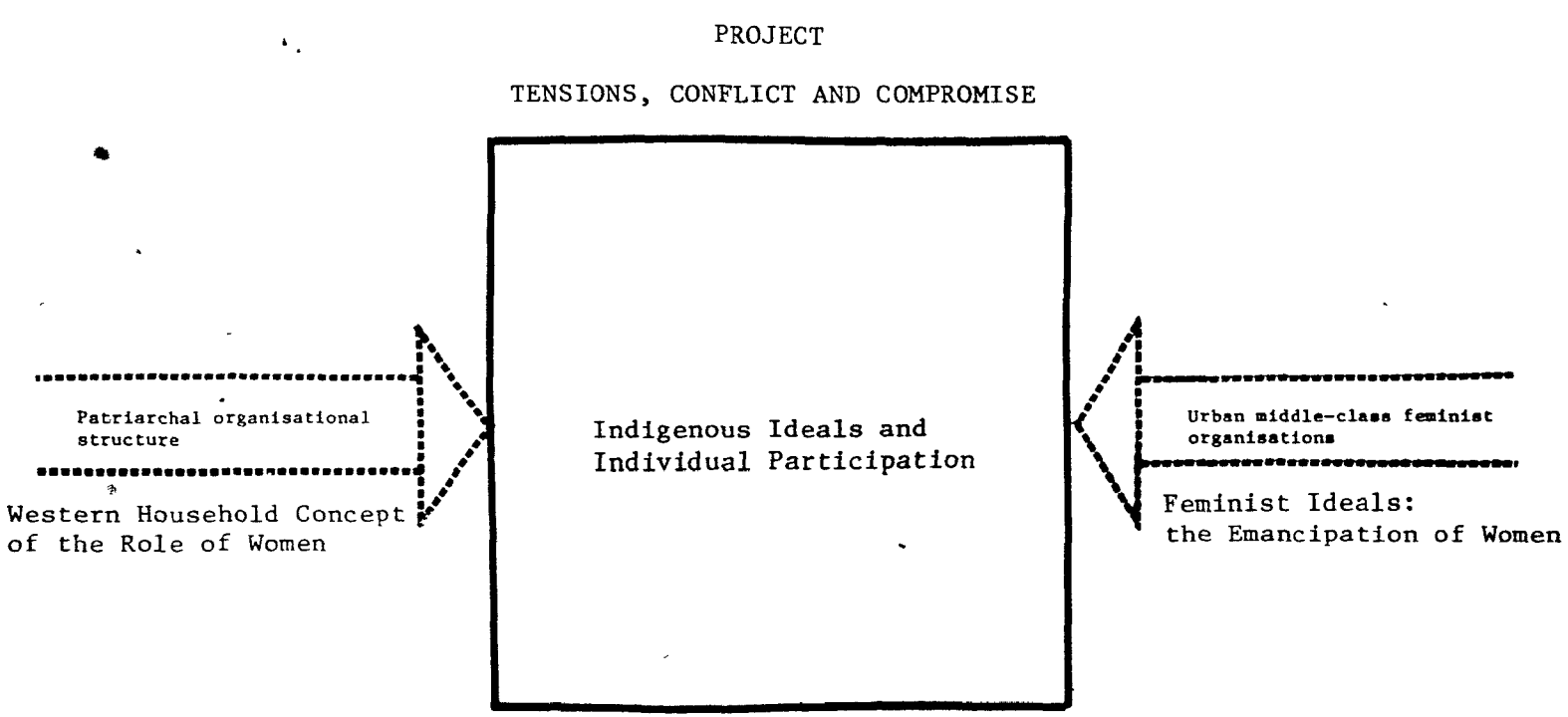


Figure One

In contrast to all other motives and ideologies are those which are held by the women who participate in co-operatives. This is not to suggest that their values are formed in a vacuum In the case of urban women an intermixing of ideas and values with a market economy and a Western lifestyle is inevitable. To unravel such a nest of socialization processes would be a mammoth task but it is necessary to recognize that the women in Peru are likely to have very individual ideas about what constitutes development The research program aims to discover what these ideas are

The biggest criticism that can be directed at Tendler's work is that in her analysis she completely omits the influence of indigenous values on the formation of co-operatives This is a grave omission considering the historical legacy of co-operation in the Andean region. Many women do not bother to define themselves as members of a co-operative because to them it is merely a way of life The ideological gulf that potentially exists between women activists in the marginal sectors of society and those middle-class (or Western) organisations seeking to identify with them are summed up in the words of Domilita de Chungara Speaking of the conference she attended in Mexico to mark the beginning of the UN decade for women in 1975 she says:

> Those weren't my interests And for me it was incomprehensible that so much money should be spent to discuss those things in the tribunal for me it was a really rude shock We spoke different languages
>
> (Barrios de Chungara 1978, pp 198-199)

Because the women in the case study are like Domitila, in the sense that they too are grass-root activists, it is important to see whether they speak her language. If they do, and if this 'language' differs substantially from that of the Western agencies trying to support grass-roots movements, then the ideological gulf that exists between the two parties may well have a detrimental effect on development policies and on the people who are supposed to benefit from them

4) The place of individual action and swimming against the tide

A theoretical emphasis on ideology needs to 'unpack' the concept in an attempt to capture the dialectical relationship between agents (women in this case) and the ideology by which they are shaped and which in turn they help maintain.

A philosophical approach towards ideology must mediate between the extremes of voluntarism and structuralism. The early work on third world urbanization and squatter settlements promoted a voluntarist view which saw self-help as an easy solution to overcrowding. Moser and Peake (1987) provide a good assessment

of the implications of these approaches. Too often, in criticising voluntarist interpretations marxist researchers have lapsed into the methodology of pure structuralism. Much of the world systems literature is in danger of reifying ideology by its emphasis on predatory structural forces and hegemonic ideologies. In many cases, marxist approaches have abstracted ideology to such a degree that they do not allow for the fact that it is people who create, maintain, and change them.

The work of Duncan (1985) conceptualizes ideology in a way that moves beyond both the naïvity of the view which claims that 'self-help' is a 'cure-all' and the pessimism of the opposing voice which says that all protest is futile in a world structured by oppressive systemic forces. Duncan claims:

> Ideology is best described as an outcome of a structuration process whereby individual consciousness both shapes and is shaped by ideology. Ideologies are either reproduced or transformed by the acceptance or non acceptance of individuals.
>
> (Duncan 1985, p. 179)

This statement discredits women's passive roles as objects subjected to the onslaught of Western ideology and places them in dynamic relation to the ideology they are helping to create. In broader terms, this philosophical assumption gives a theoretical underpinning to the often quoted phrases which say that 'development is both a learning and a two way process'

Lapido (1981) speaks of the dual approach that women in the Irewolu co-op adopted towards balancing government requirements with their own immediate needs:

> This dual approach was effective in getting things done. It also helped women to develop the skill of differentiating between personal and official transactions. However, at the same time, it may have undermined the concept that the societies belonged to the women themselves, rather than to the government. In effect the members learned how to bridge the gap between the old and new ways of interacting but the gap became more apparent in the process.
>
> (Lapido 1981, p. 130)

Lapido illustrates the complexity of the mechanisms through which an ideology is generated. The trade-off between old and new ideas is something Duncan (1985) also highlights in his work on different ideological traits in Sri Lanka. He speaks of the co-existence of ideologies in "mutually constitutive relations" (Duncan 1985, p. 184), claiming that there is a fine balance between traditional and new ideologies and, because they tolerate each other, it is this very fragile relationship of accommodation and adaptation that promotes change.

Warf (1986) provides an interesting perspective on the relationship between the immediate needs of daily life and impetus for change.

> It is quite plausible to argue that real social change occurs when immediate interests in daily life are directly threatened, i.e. when problems protrude into the taken-for-granted world which cannot be rationalized within existing ideologies....It suggests that those questions which sustain the most interest generally revolve around issues which tear apart the social fabric of daily life, especially those which make its reproduction the most problematic.
>
> (Warf 1986, p. 278)

Warf suggests that ideologies are formed around the provision of basic needs. The dynamic relationship between people and ideologies is most volatile when these issues are addressed.

The following chapters will reveal that Warf's point forms the crux of the interchange, accommodation and maintenance of ideologies in the lives women in a particular community in Lima. Their needs and demands are basic: a better life for themselves and their families. These requirements are mediated through a complex web of interaction with outside agencies and through the specific nature of the place and context in which they find themselves. It is necessary to obtain an understanding of this context in order to understand the position of women as agents of change in the Lima shanty towns.

Chapter Two
A Methodology of Places

Introduction

The theoretical focus in Chapter One concentrates upon the importance of analysing ideology as it is both preached and practised in relation to co-operative activities with women (Tendler 1984). Chapter Two places this discussion in the context of methodological debates regarding the role of local studies and the importance of regional geography. It focuses upon the study of places as areas where ideology is constituted. Places are the link between ideology, gender and development. A case study approach is outlined below in order to explain how research will determine the relationship between ideology and a development project in a particular place and within a specific socio-cultural context.

1)Regional geography and the value of places

(i) A lack of place: the crisis of geography

Geography has moved away from it roots in regional study. In so doing it has lost its focus on places. Johnston (1985) says:

> [curiosity about the world] has been replaced, especially among human geographers, by a focus on assumed general laws of human responses to the environment, space, place and people that ignores the diversity of contexts-physical and human-which is the overwhelming feature of the earth's surface. This shift among geographers is both myopic and dangerous. There is a desperate need for a rekindling of geographical curiosity about all parts of the earth's surface....Disengagement from the ends of the earth by geographers produces myopia. It may lead to the development of xenophobia....Geography is no longer fulfilling its traditional role...instead, it suggests that the world is a series of examples of a few simple geographical laws. Everyone is like us.
>
> (Johnston 1985, pp. 326-328)

Johnston (1985) claims that regional geography has become unfashionable as in recent years geographers have tried to distance themselves from the discipline's rather embarrassing origins in colonial exploration. During the quantitative revolution geographers attempted to prove their scientific worth and obtain legitimization for geographical analysis but in so doing they made obsolete the study of regions and places replacing it with economic models for general patterns.

The lack of place-centred studies is particularly prevalent in urban geography. Urban geography is in a crisis. It has reached a stalemate situation over the concept of place. Marxist definitions of cities based on the process of collective consumption no longer portray cities as physical places (Whitehand 1985). For example, Taylor (1985) suggests that marxist urban analysis has painted itself into a theoretical corner where it is unable to accommodate cities as unique places in the spatial manifestations of capitalism. Instead, marxist writers centre their studies on cities as the focus of capital exchange and as nodes of collective consumption.

The crisis of a placeless, marxist urban geography has not been overcome by humanistic approaches. Many humanists see cities only in terms of people's experiences of them. Humanistic urban geography has become too ideographic (Hufferd 1980) and humanists have been unable to expand their theoretical assumptions about uniqueness to incorporate the common and general nature of urban areas. Also, humanists have been unable to develop a research methodology that can disentangle causality in the analysis of urban processes.

(ii) Recent trends in geography and the concept of place

Debates over the significance of human agency and structure have been the main influence upon recent trends in human geography. Central to these debates is a reconceptualisation of space. In his text book The future of Geography Johnston (1985) has attempted to outline the current themes of debate within geography. Three theoretical approaches that have emerged are world systems analysis, structuration theory and realism. These themes all explicitly attempt to promote a new definition of space.

The world systems approach focuses on the global production of goods for exchange. It is both an historical and contemporary analysis. Philosophically, its focus on the global economy allows little scope for the role of human agency in changing social relations. Taylor (1981) claims that the world systems approach questions the divisions of space made by geographers. His work suggests that the traditional uncritical division of space into three scales - the international, national and local - has led to a mystification of the implications and global workings of capitalism.

Taylor's critique of geographers' lack of concern for the seemingly 'natural' division between their scales of study is valid. The world systems' focus on the global level, however, means that local studies are often obscured by the analysis required at a world scale. The value of the world systems approach is mainly confined to an understanding of global capitalism. It does not easily allow for an understanding of the complex web of events that occur in local places. Local studies conducted in this genre are most successful when they form part of historical research. When events have already occurred the influence of the global economy is more easily seen. When those events are current issues, however, the picture is more obscure.

Other marxist analyses in geography focus more explicitly on local studies. Jackson (1986) in his review of social geography describes the work of Doreen Massey:

> In Spatial Division of Labour (1984), Doreen Massey presents a sustained analysis of the 'impossible dichotomy' between society and space (p. 51). While geographical variation is 'profound and persistent', places are both unique and interdependent. She proceeds to demonstrate the effects on local areas of successive rounds of capital investment and disinvestment and then examines the reverse side of the coin: The multitude of ways in which geography is constitutive of social process. To date, however, social geographers have made more progress in documenting the former rather than the latter.
>
> (Jackson 1986, p. 119)

It seems that while philosophically marxist geographers accept that places and the people who live in them may influence social processes these relationships do not emerge through their work. Whether this problem is methodological, philosophical or the result of the subject matter is a moot point.

Structuration theory is a second trend that has developed in geographical work in recent years. The Dictionary of Human Geography defines it in this way:

> An approach to social theory concerned with the intersections between knowledgeable and human agents and the wider social systems and social structures in which they are necessarily implicated....All of these writers seek, in various ways, to transcend the dualism between 'agency' and 'structure' which is focal to both social theory and social life.
>
> (Johnston, Gregory and Smith [eds.] 1986. p. 464)

Giddens (1981) uses the concept of duality to overcome the theoretical division of agency and structure into dualisms. Gregson (1986) explains Giddens' use of duality:

> In this case it means that the interdependence between history, society and purposeful individual action is equal in weight; neither society, nor individuals are assumed to exert a greater influence on events than the other. The relationship between agency and structure in time and space is treated similarly: whilst temporal and spatial organisation limit individual action, they are, at the same time, the creations of society and individual action. Again, each exerts a determining influence on the other but this is again of equal weight.
>
> (Gregson 1986, p. 185)

Giddens' work places importance upon the role of locality and places in the mutual constitution of social relations. Social relations influence places and vice versa. He says "I have come to believe that contextuality of time-space and especially the connections between time-space location and physical milieu of action, are just not [sic] interesting boundaries of social life, but inherently involved in its constitution or reproduction." (Giddens 1984, p. 127).

Giddens' work has become associated with that of the time-geography school, as time-geographers have looked for a theoretical conceptualisation of agency and structure in keeping with their emphasis on a contextual study of people's activities through time in specific places. Pred emphasizes the value of time-geography to structuration theory:

> Giddens still fails to provide us with some fundamental answers regarding the details of everyday life. We remain uninformed as to the cement binding the everday functioning and reproduction of particular institutions in time and space with the actions, knowledge build-up and biographies of particular individuals....In each and every case the reader is left suspended, unenlightened, as to precisely the means by which the everyday shaping and reproduction of self and society, of individual and institution, come to be expressed as specific structure influenced and structure influencing practices occurring at determinate locations in time and space....Through the use of time-geography's core concept of path and project it is possible to dispel the deficiency common to the theories of social reproduction and structuration...to contribute to the stream of social theory of which they are a part.
>
> (Pred 1981, p. 9)

Giddens also makes a claim for the use of time-geography in structuration theory:

> I've found time-geography provides us with at least one way of approaching such issues in a preliminary way. I can envisage using some of the methodological ideas of time-geography, but I think they have to be conceptually elaborated within a more sophisticated theoretical framework than Hagerstrand uses.
>
> (Giddens 1984, p. 127)

Pred's (1981) criticisms of structuration theory's weakness in providing a framework for detailed empirical study are very important. The time-geography solution he suggests, however, is equally weak. Despite its emphasis on places and individuals time-geography is basically a descriptive technique, not a methodology capable of explaining the patterns it maps.

Basic conceptual problems in Giddens' work affect the link between structuration theory and time-geography. Storper (1985) claims that Giddens' use of duality is arbitrary and Gregson (1986) refutes the

claim that the concept of duality in structuration theory moves beyond dualisms. Gregson (1986) maintains that in empirical work Giddens' duality is not sustainable; research is not dialectical and instead it becomes focused on either structures or agency, while the other influence is 'bracketed out' through abstraction (Gregson 1986).

There is no unifying link between theoretical and empirical work that takes time-geography techniques beyond basic descriptions of unique places where either agency or structures are seen to dominate in a particular instance. In another article Gregson (1987) has expanded her critique of Giddens' work beyond its link with time-geography, highlighting its failure to address empirical research Her conclusions are as follows:

> If, as I think is currently the case with structuration theory, we find ourselves in a position where we cannot move backwards and forwards between the theoretical and empirical levels in a continual flowing dialogue, then, I think, we are in serious problems, not just because we are unable to say anything very meaningful about practice, but because the situation seems also to condemn us to a relativist position. Without a means of increasing historical specificity, of moving to the level of the local and the contingent, we are left with a spectre, or at least the possibility, of a mass of endless babbling voices in the theoretical sea, and little means of evaluating them. Such then are some of the problems and implications of structuration theory as currently formulated. Perhaps this is why we have heard so little about the deceptively simple question; how exactly do we use the insights of structuration theory?
>
> (Gregson 1987, p. 90)

Structuration theory is not able to incorporate local empirical work in its theoretical conceptualisation of structure and agency. The Dictionary of Human Geography (1986) states that the problems with spatiality in structuration theory must be overcome in order for it to be of use. The authors suggest three possible ways in which this may occur. One is a more detailed consideration of the delineation of scale within the theory. The second is "a more convincing series of concrete studies of structuration to feed back into its theoretical articulation" (p. 468) (although Gregson [1987] would maintain that this is not possible given the theory's present form) and the third is "a closer relationship between structuration theory and through critical scrutiny-the philosophy of theoretical realism" (Johnston, Gregory and Smith [eds.] 1986, p. 468).

Realism is "[a] philosophy of science based on the use of abstraction to identify the (necessary) causal powers and liabilities of specific structures which are realized under specific (contingent) conditions" (Johnston, Gregory and Smith [eds.] 1986, p. 387). Within realism empirical research and the study of unique places play a vital part in formulating methodology. The study of causality within places is central to its

practice. "[T]he task of the realist science is then to tease out causal chains which situate particular events within these 'deeper' mechanisms and structures...so that whereas empiricism collapses the world into singular plane pockmarked by space-time incidence of events, realism seeks to recover the connective tissue between different dimensional domains" (Johnston, Gregory and Smith [eds.] 1986, p. 388).

Generally the aims of realist researchers are the same as many others who are inspired at a basic level by historical materialism. Realism attempts to understand the coalescence of general processes in specific places, while acknowledging that those places in turn have influential properties and are not merely expressionless isotropic planes. (The realist research methodology is discussed further in section 2).

Despite the central position realism gives to regional study there are problems in distinguishing between contingent and necessary relations in empirical study. For this reason this classification currently has a limited value. The emphasis on conceptualisation, extensive and intensive methodologies promoted by Sayer (1984) is nonetheless of great significance to the theoretical development of a regional geography designed to enhance empirical research. These strengths have been incorporated into this thesis research. The field research emphasised extensive and intensive methodologies and focused on the need to conceptualise the problematique both before and during empirical research.

(iii) A women's group in Lima: an analysis of ideology in place

This thesis research is a local study which focuses on the relationship between a women's group in Lima and a North American aid agency. Research is centred on how the specific ideology of development expressed in the relationship between the aid agency and the local group is defined and constituted. The mutual constitution of place and ideology is central to the analysis and provides an important link between local and international scales of study. This analysis involves a critique of the power relations represented in the dialectical relationship between group members, the place they live in and the development agency they are working with. The mechanisms that create and maintain this development ideology are analysed in the context of the local place and community. Locality and community are seen as having potential roles as active participants rather than being merely objects that may be influenced by an outside ideology in certain circumstances.

Although this research is based on a case study it is not merely an ideographic exercise. It accepts certain theoretical generalizations about the nature of agency and structure relations and so can be used in comparative social study based on similar assumptions. The methodology employed in empirical research seeks to hold to its specific philosophical views about social relations and wherever possible to reveal the mechanisms through which these relations operate in the case study's particular situation and locale.

This research also seeks to understand more about the role of ideology in creating, maintaining and changing social relations. This type of analysis is essential to an understanding of cross-cultural relationships.

It helps to ensure that development strategies do not reinforce the unequal power relations they are claiming to attack. Johnston (1985) has appealed for geographers to return to a new form of regional geography based on cross-cultural research:

> We must appreciate what other people think and do. For this we need geography, not an arid, placeless geography in the positivist tradition, not a voyeuristic, structureless geography in the exceptionalist tradition...nor a mechanistic geography which precludes freedom of individual action. We need a regional geography which is contextually based, which locates decisionmakers in their historically produced cultural environments.
>
> (Johnston 1985, p. 337)

A case study of the workings of ideology in a particular local situation places decision makers in context. It also restores the study of places to an important position within geographical research. A regional geography involved in critically assessing how ideology acts in society is a vital part of a discipline claiming to promote social justice and the abolition of inequality in the world.

2) A research methodology

(i) Field work and case studies

The field work component of the research was conducted in Lima, Peru during a five-month period from August until December 1987. Three months were spent in regular contact with a women's group called the Los Incas Club. There was almost continual contact with the aid agency sponsoring this club, an intermediary NGO representing the national office of an international Christian organisation. This group will remain anonymous but, for the sake of ease, it is given the pseudonym Christian Concern. Christian Concern operates from the USA and also has a large support base in many European countries. Its sponsors are drawn mainly from evangelical churches. It has strong links with right-wing evangelical factions in the US, although, it would be incorrect to suggest that the majority of its supporters have the same political affiliations.

Once links had been made with the case study group research developed into a regular pattern for the duration of the fieldwork with the exception of a three-week break from work in October. On average visits directly with women activists at the grass-roots totalled three or four days a week. The other two days were occupied with typing up and reviewing field notes as well as visiting the aid agency Christian Concern and pursuing other secondary sources. Often meetings would take place at the weekends and in the evenings and so it is not possible to give an exact break down of the work schedule but in general two thirds of the time was spent in contact with primary sources.

(ii) Subject and object in theory

It would be naive and insulting to assume that a researcher can enter objectively into the private and sometimes intimate, realms of other people's lives. Sayer (1984) speaks of the futility of adopting a methodological framework that rigidly attempts to separate subject and object in social research. Instead, he suggests that it is important to be aware of the relationship between subject and object and to build upon that (Sayer 1984, pp. 24-46).

Sayer's work provides a useful way across the philosophical impasse between those who claim that all work can and should be objective and those who claim the opposite. Because all interpretations of social phenomena rely on communication between researchers and others, it involves intersubjective analysis:

> Even our most personal feelings or opinions can only be constructed and communicated (and hence have any chance of becoming constitutive or having any impression or influence on others) within intersubjectively-understood (though often non-verbal) terms. Although they do not realize it, those who would reduce the interpretation of meaning to an opinion (or belief) data-gathering exercise can only make sense of their data by already presupposing knowledge of the meanings and vocabulary in which they are constructed.
>
> (Sayer 1984, p. 34)

Sayer's points are most pertinent in the case of cross-cultural social research because it requires language, cultural and personal communication. Summarizing the strength of this approach he states: "Intersubjectivity is therefore an essential category for understanding not only how scientists and others gain knowledge of the social world (the epistomological relation) but also how societies themselves cohere and function" (Sayer 1984, p. 35).

Sayer's (1984) conceptual critique of dualisms (p. 25) creates a philosophical basis for understanding the relationship between subject and object. Sayer's methodological approach is in keeping with the philosophical emphasis in this research on the recursive nature of the human agency and structure relationship. At the same time he provides a practical guide to the appropriate use of qualitative and quantitative methods (Sayer 1984, pp. 108-136; 219-228). It is essential to develop a methodology which reflects the implicit theoretical assumptions made in this thesis about social relations. In Sayer's view it is possible for a social scientist to adopt a research program which strengthens the complementarity of qualitative and quantitative techniques without becoming philosophically relativist with an eclectic set of tools.

(iii) Subject and object in field research

The dynamic interrelationship identified by Sayer (1984) between those studying and those being studied can be seen in the two most significant developments during field work. Once the women expressed their need for a doctor to check their children and provide health seminars I was able to make contact with someone who could provide these services. In so doing, I personally entered into the 'object' realm of the study. From a research perspective this was extremely valuable. It led to a series of preventive medicine classes as well as clinical health checks for the children. Both of these activities produced data concerning the health of the community that otherwise would not have been generated.

As a result of the trust established by our interaction the women allowed me access to a questionnaire survey they had conducted. It contained socioeconomic data for nearly every member of the club. The existence of these data had been previously unknown to anyone outside the club. Appendix one provides an outline of the questionnaire.

These quantitative data complement the qualitative sources. Statistical information unaccompanied by an intimate knowledge of a particular situation can be misleading. In the case of cross cultural research the dangers of Western-centric interpretations of surveys has been well documented (Dixon and Leach 1981; Bulmer and Warwick 1983). It is significant that the survey data did not emerge until half way through the field work. It could then be reviewed in the context of results gained from qualitative sources. This order of events encouraged a critical review of the field data.

Sayer's (1984) research agenda for the social sciences places great emphasis on conceptualising the research task and ensuring that different types of questions are tackled by the appropriate techniques (Sayer 1984; 1985). He claims that the process of conceptualisation should be both continual and critical; at different time intervals in the research various approaches will be necessary:

> Social science which neglects the importance of conceptualisation is prone to insert the misconceptions of unexamined common sense into its ordering frameworks. It can even reinforce false consciousness by elevating contingent and historically specific associations to the status of natural laws and then feeding them back into common-sense thinking bearing the stamp of 'science'....A crucial role of social science must be to monitor and restructure the casual patterns of associations or sense-relations of unexamined knowledge, so that differences between necessary and contingent relations, and between warranted and unwarranted associations are understood.
>
> (Sayer 1984, p. 60)

During field work, it was important to conduct qualitative research first in order to allow the themes the women themselves felt were important to emerge as research issues. The emphasis of a Western

feminist interpreting data is obviously different to the priorities of women from a totally different cultural perspective. It is part of the challenge of research to make these differences explicit in order both to produce a richer understanding of a single event and to ensure that research does not continue to reproduce the discriminating social structure it is attempting to expose.

It is extremely difficult to work in Peru without personal contacts. The shanty town communities are known for their lack of trust even between neighbours so the task of the outsider, with fair skin and what appears to be plenty of money, to overcome distrust is difficult. The local Catholic priest in the case study community is an American. He spoke of his difficulty in being accepted and said that distrust of neighbours is the biggest hindrance to his work. From my conversations with the women it seems that he is accepted but is still seen as being very strange, despite the fact that he has now been in the community for five years. They related stories about him scandalizing the community in the mornings as he jogs through the streets in his shorts. This is both unpriestly and unPeruvian behaviour!

Other stories are told by the women themselves about their neighbours One widow who is extremely poor had scrimped and saved in order to raise chickens to sell, when just before Christmas someone stole everything. The woman relating the story was disgusted, saying that it could only have been a neighbour who had known about the chickens. Yet, she accepted the crime as a reality of life in the shanty towns.

As an outsider I was privileged to be accepted by the community. This acceptance was encouraged by my interaction with the women, my friendship with the doctor and other culturally acceptable factors including a visit from my mother, which was something the women and I could share. (For a more detailed look at the role of female researchers in the field see Gold, 1986). The culmination of the participant observation periods was a weekend away from Lima with the women and their children. Again, my involvement was direct, as I participated in organizing the event. The women's acceptance of me as a person was vital to my research. Aside from the very real personal need for support and friendship a researcher has in a foreign culture, my informal times with the women produced considerable data. Their friendship has also provided inspiration for continued academic research in this field.

(iv) Research techniques

The techniques adopted in this thesis research consisted primarily of participant observation and informal interviews. Friendships that developed during research were essential in gaining personal acceptance and access to data. I made frequent visits to people's houses, participated in group activities, and as much as possible became involved in the lives of the women with whom I was working. Figure Two classifies the different types of field visits and illustrates the way in which field research was divided. Although health research was not a direct objective it became an important theme in the field work and the health seminars and health

checks were a useful means of obtaining information. Appendix two shows the topics covered in the seminars organized for the health commission.

Figure Two

Research schedule

Type of visit	Number of visits	Description of visits
Health seminars Los Incas	8	Weekly meetings where the doctor taught the health commission preventive medicine
Health checks· Los Incas	4	Five health checks were conducted for the project children by the doctor
Informal visits· Los Incas	7	These were unstructured times with the women when I observed and participated in normal club activities
Survey visits: Los Incas	3	Three mapping tours were made of the areas where the women live. I was accompanied by one of the club leaders who explained the area to me. (see fig. seven)
Camp: Los Incas	1	A weekend camp was held outside Lima for the project children and various mothers
Christian Concern	10	Participant observation and formal and informal interviews were conducted with staff members. Nine interviews (three recorded) pursued themes that had arisen through participant observation
Visits to other	10	During August many visits were made to various sites projects in the search of a case study group. The information from these visits has provided useful background and comparative data
La Tablada women's group	14	It was originally intended to include this club as a specific case study. The club activities have been used as background material. The visits were diverse and not as well structured as those to the Los Incas Club

a) Questionnaire format

The questionnaire information provides vital data concerning the socioeconomic situation experienced by the Los Incas women. It is a historical record of the group's development and describes the socioeconomic circumstances of every member. In this way the questionnaire compliments other sources and provides an important descriptive profile of the group as a whole. The data is also valuable because it was quantified and compared to the census material in order to determine whether the Los Incas membership is typical of the shanty town populations.

A translation of the questionnaire format used by the women in the Los Incas Club is reproduced in Appendix One. The questionnaire was designed and distributed by the aid agency Christian Concern during the period July-August 1986. At this point the women had only just started to work with Christian Concern and were still in the early stages of organizing a work plan for their group. The women who were at that time the unofficial executive committee conducted the survey Each member was obliged to attend an interview and the forms were signed by a witness who was usually another member of the leadership.

There has been some attempt to keep the forms up-to-date and there was evidence of additions in pencil after the first interview. These additions covered the gaps which had been left previously and gave new information such as the birth of another child, a member's office in the group if she had been recently elected and changes in employment situations One person on the committee has responsibility for the forms and this is the same person whose task it is to visit the mothers in their homes on a regular basis (see Chapter Five). Other additions to these files reflect the evolution of the group in terms of new activities and policy decisions. For example, the promotor (Christian Concern staff member working closely with the club) suggested that the results of the health checks be added to the files to complement the information already available on illness in the group. Also, at one stage it appears that the group had investigated the level of immunization among young children as this information was included, although inconsistently, on several files. During the months of August and September 1987 there was a campaign by the promotor to photograph every child for the Christian Concern records in order to send a profile and photograph to the child's foreign sponsor. This information was added to some files along with data concerning children who have sponsors and those who do not. Unfortunately these records were also very inconsistent and I was unable to include them in any statistical analysis.

b) Problems with the questionnaire data

Some problems with the questionnaire are dealt with in the main body of the text (Chapters Three, Four and Five) as the questionaire format itself is a primary source. It was designed by Christian Concern and so reflects its values in the questions asked. The issues it focuses upon indicate the way in which the organisation conceptualises development. This process of abstraction is analysed in the text because it is one of the mechanisms through which ideology is created.

From the questionnaire it is not possible to gain a complete picture of the women's living conditions. For example, several visits to the areas where the women live revealed that often more than one family live in the same dwelling. This information is not apparent in the questionnaire results. These visits to women's homes showed that many physical conditions have changed since the time of the questionnaire. For example, the president of the group has a wooden house with electricity despite the fact that the questionnaire records her living in a bamboo home with no services. In the space of a year many physical changes can occur in a shanty town, especially in those areas that are recent invasions. Consequently the survey data must be viewed critically

c) Coding the questionnaire data and the health check data

The wage income figures were adjusted in some cases. Where people had indicated wages on a daily basis the information concerning a monthly wage was calculated assuming that they had worked a six-day week and that each month they would work four weeks. This is an approximation which may inflate wage estimates but the criteria were chosen in response to the information gained from speaking to the women.

All the questionnaire information was copied by hand and tabulated while in the field. This exercise was time consuming but necessary because it was impractical to photocopy all the material. Also, it was important to review the surveys while in Peru so that any queries could be answered by the women. The information from the health checks was added to these tables and then categorized by the most common types of illness. The classification was by the number of children per family with the following problems: underweight, growth deficiency, parasites, respiratory ailments, E.N.T. problems, serious illness, other problems and children who were not checked. Information about treatment and family histories could not be coded for the computer but have been used as background information. Type of employment was also categorized using the following headings: domestic, unemployed, services, productive services, petty vendors. The domestic classification refers to waged labour as this is how the questionnaire presented 'work' and how the women responded to that representation of it. Generally the women did not mention that they worked at home looking after the family or that they had forms of informal paid employment. This problem is discussed in Chapters Four, Five and Six.

Service provision and consumer goods in each household were coded numerically using the criteria of availability and cost to classify them. The classification was orgainized hierarchically so that the services and appliances of each person could be evaluated. This procedure was conducted so that the geographical areas where the members lived could be defined and pockets of poverty in the group identified. The household appliances section was included because often households with poor physical fabric and services own various costly consumer items. Therefore data on household goods were used to compliment the data on service provision and housing type in order to assess the living conditions of the women in the case study. The classifications were as follows:

VALUE	SERVICES
0	None
1	Bought water
2	Rented light*
3	Stand pipe water
4	Rented light, stand pipe water
5	Household Water
6	Stand pipe water, sewage
7	Household water, sewage
8	Household water, household light
9	Household water, household light, sewage
10	Household water, household light, street lighting, garbage collection
11	Household water, household light, street lighting, garbage collection, sewage.

*Rented light=electricity rented by one household with no facilities from another with a domestic supply

VALUE	HOUSEHOLD APPLIANCES
0	None
1	Kerosene stove
2	Blender, kerosene stove
3	Television, kerosene stove
4	Sewing machine, kerosene stove
5	Blender, Television, kerosene stove
6	Television, gas cooker
7	Television, gas cooker, blender
8	Blender, Sewing machine, kerosene stove
9	Television, gas cooker, kerosene stove
10	Refrigerator, kerosene stove, television
11	Refrigerator, kerosene stove, television, sewing machine.

In the analysis of numerical data a zero was used only if it corresponded to a numerical value, in both integer and category data blanks were used where no answer was given. The quantitative data were analysed using the Macintosh 512 StatsView package.

d) Other primary sources

The 1981 census figures for the municipality where the case study is located were obtained from the national statistics office. Calculations using these basic statistics were conducted to obtain population, employment and service provision estimates for the region. Statistical publications from the national Statistics office were also used to obtain national population figures. These appear in the bibliography.

Various teaching aids and policy documents issued by Christian Concern were also used as primary resources. These data yielded information concerning Christian Concern's activities within Peru as well as their development strategy.

e) Secondary sources obtained during fieldwork.

Various Peruvian publications have been particularly useful in research. One item, a feminist compilation of the Peruvian 1981 census, has been used extensively in Chapter Three. These secondary sources are listed in the bibliography along with their place of publication.

3) The empirical examination of ideology

(i) The context of ideology

In order to understand what ideology is and how it is constituted, field research was focused on several key themes including descriptions of the community, the club and the women themselves. The Los Incas questionnaire played an important part in forming a description of the community and a profile of the club membership. Specific questions focused on why the Los Incas Club exists and what it does The aims of its members, their life-experiences and view of their club were also a focus in research. The primary information gained about the community was compared with secondary material concerning the socioeconomic milieu of the community, the national situation of women in Peru, as well as with the literature on third world women in order to discover how representative the case study is in relation to general patterns. The main questions that arose during field work were what are the geographical, social and economic conditions influencing the growth of the women's club? And, how does their interaction with an outside aid agency affect the project's orientation and autonomy?

(ii) The mechanisms of ideology

In order to understand the mechanisms through which ideologies are transferred and translated into a local context the relationship between Christian Concern and the Los Incas Club must be analysed. The organisation of the club is pertinent to this relationship; the role of leaders, their job descriptions, the way in which leadership is elected, the aims identified by the club and the way concensus about these aims is gained, all reflect the women's autonomy and their self-image. The dynamism of ideology is the role people have in its creation and maintenance. The women's awareness of themselves and their group influences this dynamism and so field research examined these issues of awareness.

A description of individual participation, group action and the organisational structure of Christian Concern and the Los Incas Club must be made before any ideological meaning can be interpreted from them. So, for example, it is important not only to ascertain what is taught to the women by Christian Concern, but also, to describe how it is taught, as both factors can have ideological meaning.

If autonomy is identified as a club goal it represents a certain philosophical approach towards development. If all the teaching methods in a group reflect a 'patron-client' relationship between Christian Concern and the women, this structure could undermine and contradict the espoused aim of autonomy. If women always hear monologues and are never encouraged to assume responsibility in the teaching process, their knowledge concerning autonomy will be cerebral, impractical and confused. More generally, an interpretation of club problems is essential to an understanding of the aid agency/grass-roots link; group problems became a main focus of discussion during informal interviews with women.

(iii) The classification of ideology

Women and development literature classifies project by the implicit philosophical assumptions they make about women's roles in development. In the literature there are welfare projects and non-welfare projects. This thesis criticizes these two categories in response to the field research that focused on how the women in the club see and value what they are doing. For example, the division made in the literature between family work (welfare provision) and paid work does not seem a valid conceptual separation to most women in the Los Incas Club. This issue not only questions the role of indigenous women's values in project formation but it also has a broader application in attempting to critique the appropriateness of Western feminist conceptualisations in cross-cultural studies.

The organisational structure of Christian Concern, its rhetoric and its practices influence how this agency interacts with local women activists. The focus on ideology includes a review of the written propaganda of the organisation and in Chapters Five and Six the agency's espoused raison d' être and world

view are compared to the way it operates. Empirical research attempts to document the history of Christian Concern in order to assess the origins of its ideology and to understand why it functions in a particular way. It is assumed that Christian Concern's operational mode is reflected in its financial arrangements, hierarchy and teaching methods, as well as in the role allotted to key employees and the relationship between its national and international offices. An analysis of the division of labour within Christian Concern is critical to an understanding of both its function and the particular philosophy of development its operational structure represents.

The case study approach and 'a methodology of places' emphasizes that Christian Concern's philosophy of development is geographical. This methodology locates both sets of actors (Christian Concern and the Los Incas women) in the context of the ideology they create. It emphasizes that ideology has implications for local places and that local places and the people in them in turn influence the way in which ideology is constituted.

Chapter Three

Peruvian Women's Role in Urbanization: From the Amazon and the Altiplano to the Desert and an Urban Jungle

Introduction

Women's groups in Peru have become very active in changing their environments. In order to understand the current role of women in urbanization it is important to be aware of their history and their national social and economic situation. To appreciate the dynamism of women's groups in the shanty towns, it is also necessary to understand their actions in the light of national migration and urbanization processes. Section one provides a broad outline of Peruvian history and shows the historical link between a national identity crisis and social upheaval. Section two discusses the patterns and mechanisms of urbanization as the result of social change. The final section describes the situation of women in Peru and illustrates how discrimination has helped shape their role in urbanization and in society in general.

Section One: Peru, the Historical Creation of an Identity Crisis

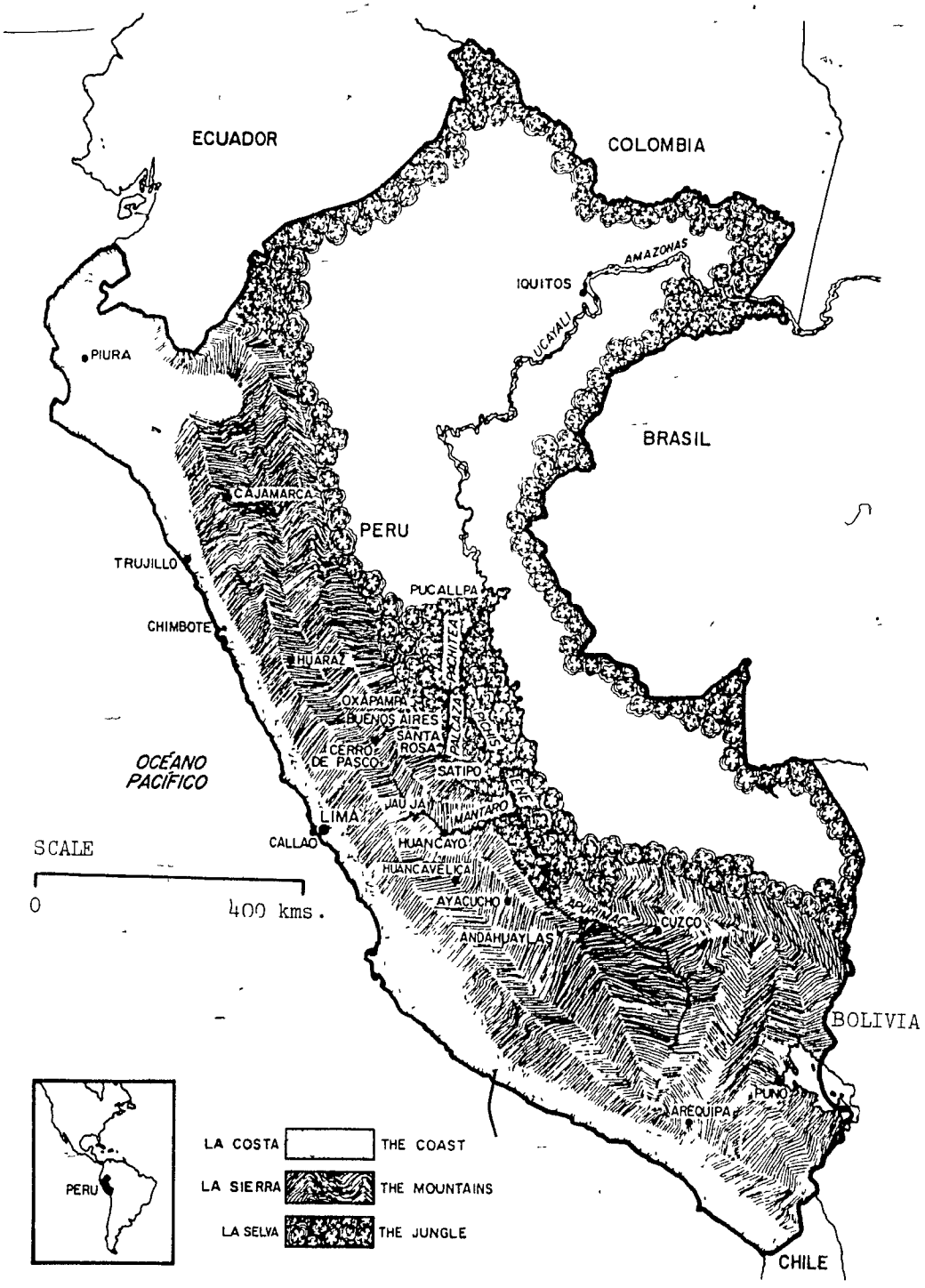
1) Imperialism: creating two worlds and a dual identity

In 1532 the Spanish began their conquest of South America in Cajamaca on the northern coast of Peru. After eliciting support from the local leader they launched an attack on the Inca Empire. With the fall of Cuzco, the Inca capitol, the Spanish began a colonial reign of subordination that continued for three hundred years. During this time millions of indigenous people died from abuse and disease while under the new regime their culture became despised and ignored.

Matos Mar (1987) claims that colonialism and the subordination of the Andean culture is the most significant event in Peruvian history. He claims that these factors have produced an identity crisis that still faces Peru today:

Figure Three

A PHYSICAL MAP OF PERU



Source: Andreas 1987

> Our history is the result of a long process that is marked by defined stages. The 16th century signifies the greatest structural change and represents a real landmark in this trajectory. The meeting between the Andean society and the Spanish conquistadores established a relationship of domination/subordination between two cultures, two peoples and two different economies. The colonization created the need to synthesise and shape the Andean space into a single nation [with] one Peruvian identity, [even though] at this time it was not exclusively 'indigenous'. In this way the birth of a Criolla homeland was started. It was essential for this [land] to integrate two legacies: the Andean and the Hispanic, in order to allow the growth of a single society and a unified culture. Because of the nature of the conquest itself the Andean heritage was marginalized. This is the crucial problem which, since the 16th November 1532, has been the fundamental cause of a continuing crisis that is still to be resolved.
>
> (Matos Mar 1987, p. 25)

Although under colonial rule the Andean culture and people were marginalized, their way of life remained intact. They maintained their own ways of dress, language and their agrarian economy. Even forced impositions by the Spanish, such as Catholicism, were only accepted at a superficial level (Andreas 1985). Matos Mar says "The conquistadores tolerated this cultural resistance as far as it didn't represent a threat to their system of government. It was something like a silent pact and a mute opposition" (Matos Mar 1987, p. 26). In Mar's opinion the main change was that taxes and tribute were paid to urban foreigners rather than to the Inca. Work that had originally been part of tithing was formalized under an economic system of latifundios and haciendas. Consequently a veneer of colonialism was imposed on the existing practices and culture, therefore promoting two economic systems and a dual image within the country.

2) The 19th Century: informal imperialism and the Criolla entrenchment of contradictions

After independence from Spain in 1821 the Criollas continued the subordination of the indigenous peoples and entrenched existing unequal economic patterns. Criollas represented the national bourgeois. They owned haciendas, maintained the existing division of labour and continued trading links with Europe. During this time, Peru became part of the British informal empire (Taylor 1985).

The British traded in Peruvian fertilizers, minerals and rubber and were also interested in cotton and meats. As a result of this trade the Criolla urban-capitalist class grew . They gained political power and institutionalized the national state apparatus. Also under informal imperialism, public loans and English investment led to development in the northern coastal areas of Peru and the inland enclaves of sugar and petroleum. These developments further emphasized geographical inequality and divisions within Peru.

3) The seeds of change in the early 20th Century

The period of informal imperialism by the British in Peru ended in the late 19th Century. Andreas (1985) explains the reason for their demise:

> The British economic domination of Peru terminated at the end of the nineteenth century after Peru's defeat in the war with Chile. Chile gained control of the southern coastal regions that had provided the richest area of exploitation of nitrate reserves for the British. Since then, North American business and financial interests have dominated Peru's economy.
>
> (Andreas 1985, p. 9)

North American interests sided with feudal landowners and encouraged investment in industry and an agricultural modernization program geared to increasing exports. Andreas summarizes the situation in this way:

> Direct investment by North American companies was maintained where possible, while financial control became paramount. Reliance on foreign credit put Peruvians at the mercy of multinational corporations and the banks and other institutions with which they were linked.
>
> (Andreas 1985, p. 9)

Associated with this industrial and export oriented development was the need for a reliable labour force. Consequently waged labour increased and many indigenous communities entered into a new social and cultural relationship with those in power. By the 1920s Matos Mar (1987) claims that the seeds of discontent were developing among the labouring classes in urban areas . Urban labourers campaigned for rights to an eight-hour day, better working conditions and fixed salaries. By the 1930s new political parties had emerged and the growth of popularism was underway. This consciousness, however, was confined to urban areas and excluded any party recognition of the value of the indigenous rural peoples (Matos Mar 1987, p. 29).

The lack of internal communications within Peru meant that rural areas were not exposed quickly to the the new ideas that were influencing the working class in industrial regions. Rural isolation, absentee landlords and Peru's economic commitment to exports resulted in entrenched paternalism on feudal estates. Despite the gains of the urban protagonists-political democracy pandered to the rich ruling classes and its benefits were restricted to the urban, mainly mestizo populations.

4) 1940-1975, the results of the historical dichotomy : urbanization, social upheaval and political change

Influenced by the expansion of both the railway and Peru's internal market in the 1940s, people began to migrate in large numbers to Lima (Matos Mar 1987, p. 31). Migration increased in the 1950s as Peru's economy experienced the international industrial boom. Lima and the barriadas (shanty towns) grew rapidly at this time. Again, new political parties developed and in 1955, at the height of this modest wave of optimism, women were awarded the right to vote indicating that Peru was undergoing social as well as economic changes during this period. This expansion produced contradictions:

> Enthusiastically the country began to expand the state's presence into new territories and [to encourage] regional provinces to play a larger role in national life. But up until the 1960s it had encouraged two levels of popular mobilization and therefore [this expansion] produced contradictions. While the state sought to consolidate the reforms that introduced mobilization during 1920-30, it advanced capitalist development without restructuring the system of landownership in the countryside. On top of the Andean economy and society, characterized by the strength of communal ownership, was placed the more advanced coastal society and economy. Within this double division of the people [the state] was bound to produce new contradictions resulting from the export [ethos] around which national economic development was organized.
>
> (Matos Mar 1987, p. 35)

The benefits of 'progress' in the form of improved communications (radios and roads) as well as the effects of migration and popular education programs informed the indigenous campesinos that they were not reaping the benefits of their own labours. Peasants began to demand land reform and for the first time the political parties competed for their votes. In the 1950s and 1960s their interests became part of the political agenda and the voice of the indigenous 80% of the population was acknowledged for the first time since the Spanish conquest.

In 1968 the failure of the Alliance for Progress party under Belaúnde to cope with the peasant demands for land reform led to its fall. It was replaced by the first left-wing military government in Latin America under the leadership of Velasco. Inspired by socialist goals but determined to steer a path between capitalism and communism this regime instituted land reform, massive literacy campaigns, the official recognition of the Quechua language and the nationalization of the mining and petroleum industries. The invasion of rural land was followed by massive invasions by squatters in urban areas. Lima and other cities became ringed with shanty towns. Under the military government these settlements were given legal recognition and squatters campaigned for the provision of services (see section two: the process of urbanization). During its leadership the Velasco regime attempted to decentralize the state apparatus.

5) Post-1975 Peru: A familiar problem

Despite the reformist nature of the military regime, Andreas (1985) claims that like its predecessors, the military government gave priority to exports rather than increased domestic consumption. As a result of these policies conflicts arose within the regime and in 1975 Velasco was deposed and replaced by right wing military factions under the leadership of Morales Bermúdez. During the period 1975-80 Bermúdez and his supporters dismantled many of Velasco's institutionalized reforms and accelerated a return to regressive conservatism (Matos Mar 1987, p. 38-39). The foreign debt grew, inflation rose, unemployment soared and Peru entered a period of severe economic crisis.

It was during this period, 1975-80, that women's organisations first became prominent. Their coping strategies included communal soup kitchens for those who were unable to feed themselves and organized civil disobedience as part of a campaign for the return to democratic rule (Andreas 1985). By 1977, 65% of the population was urban and the political strength of the urban working class had grown considerably (Matos Mar 1987).

In 1980 elections were held and Belaúnde was returned to power. Matos Mar summarizes the political situation inherited by Belaúnde:

> The problem of the two legacies and questions about the nation and its identity arose in 1980, more urgently than ever before....The reforms of Velasco were not followed by the beginning of integration, but they had created the conditions for a permanent liberation of the pent up energies in the Andean world and the popular urban sector.
>
> (Matos Mar 1987, p 40)

The Belaúnde regime was a compromise. Andreas (1985) claims that he came to power because the popular candidate from the opposition died just before the elections were held. The Alliance for Progress was unable to cope with the energies of the popular sectors and the crippling legacy of a national dual image and its associated economic crisis. In 1985 Alan Garcia of the left-wing Aprista party was elected in a landslide victory. Initially heralded as a popularist saviour he soon lost international and Peruvian credibility as the economic crisis worsened. Currently, his popular support has waned to such an extent that some women in the Los Incas case study even claimed that Peru needs another right-wing government to save it.

In 1988 Peru faces many problems, the roots of which lie in the nation's identity crisis. This crisis has led to large scale social upheaval, urbanization and the growth of informal settlements and a double circuit economy (Santos 1979). The next section describes this process of urbanization and the ways Peruvians have attempted to change the places they live in and the opportunities they encounter.

Section Two: The Process of Urbanization and the Growth of Shanty Towns

1) The process of urbanization

(i) Demographic trends in Peru

The total population of Peru during the last national census in 1981 was 17,000,000 (Franke 1983). Estimates now place this figure at 20,727,000 for 1987 and it is expected to rise to 28,000,000 by the year 2000 (Instituto Naciónal de Estadistica 1987a, p. 1). This increase is in keeping with past trends, as table 3.1 indicates the population has more than tripled during the last forty years.

Table 3.1

The Population of Peru in the Twentieth Century. (1981)

Year	Total	Men	Women
1940	6,207,967	3,067,868	3,140,099
1961	9,906,746	4,925,518	4,981,228
1972	13,538,208	6,784,530	6,753,678
1981	17,005,210	8,456,957	8,548,253
2000 (estimated)	27,957,132	14,082,474	13,869,658

(Franke 1983, section 1, p. 2)

The population distribution within Peru is uneven, and the major influence upon population distribution in Peru has been urbanization. The urban population as a percentage of the total population increased from 47% in 1961 to 65% to 1984 (Matos Mar 1987, p. 47). More than 30% of the national population now lives in Lima alone (Matos Mar 1987, p. 45). Other factors have also influenced population distribution. In recent years people have been displaced by the guerilla war that is being waged in many of the more remote provinces and refugees from these areas have been resettled through government and international relocation schemes (Ruiz 1987). People have also migrated in search of employment. Franke (1983) indicates that many of the primary industrial areas, such as jungle regions with mineral resources and coastal fishing towns, have experienced large in-migrations of men, unbalancing the male/female ratio in these areas. The greatest influx of people, however, has been to Lima.

(ii) The growth of Lima and shanty town development

Lima's primacy originated in the colonial era when it was established as a viceroy city under Spanish colonial rule that housed the colonial administration. It continued to grow disproportionately in relation to other cities and in 1981 it was ten times larger than the second largest city, Arequipa (Instituto Nacionál de Estadisticas 1987a, p. 10). In 1981, 4,738,266 people lived in the department of Lima (Franke 1983) and estimates for 1984 suggest that there were at least 6,000,000 inhabitants in the metropolitan region alone (Matos Mar 1987, p. 71).

The map in figure four shows the main concentrations of Pueblos Jovenes in Lima and illustrates their location in two major cones north and south of the city. Approximately 80% of the city's population lives in peripheral shanty towns, Pueblos Jovenes, and inner-city slums (Matos Mar 1987, p 71). These peripheral communities have expanded freely into the desert plains surrounding Lima, unhampered by the ravages of bad weather and safe, in relative terms, from violence and the constant threat of eviction that prevail for those people in the central parts of town. Natural growth as well as immigration boost the population of the Pueblos Jovenes and they are likely to continue to increase exponentially over the next few decades. Ennew (1986) claims that at least 45% of Peru's population is under the age of fifteen. This figure may well be higher in the shanty towns. Matos Mar has said "In less than 30 years the barriada, previously non-existent, has turned into the principle character of a transformed Lima" (Matos Mar 1987, p. 72)

Shanty towns develop through a complex set of conditions and although many people have attempted to document the process, it often takes a variety of forms in different locations. The general pattern begins when a piece of land is invaded in an organized fashion by a group of people who have already formed themselves into a group (asociación de viviendas, housing association) The members arrange the distribution of land, construct estera (bamboo-matting) houses and then, over a period of years, campaign for legal tenure to their land and for the provision of basic amenities such as water, electricity and sewage (see photos 1-5). In the typical self-help process community actions are matched by the individual's concern for his or her own house and bamboo-matted houses are converted to brick with an ever increasing optimism

The reality of this urban process is often more complicated. Not all Pueblos Jovenes are formed by invasions. There is a variety of housing types to be found in shanty towns. Some are official aid projects which may offer various degrees of service provision to occupiers who provide the other materials necessary to complete construction. In some communities plots are sold to individuals in the usual way or houses are built for rental purposes. A Pueblo Joven is comprised of many small communities of differing ages and service provision. The housing types within a single Pueblo Joven vary greatly, usually with the most marginal land being occupied last. Despite this fact, local government in Lima is organized through a system of municipalities that group together many diverse communities. The case study is located in the Southern Cone of Lima in the municipality of Villa Maria that encompasses many Pueblos Jovenes.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF PUEBLOS JOVENES IN LIMA

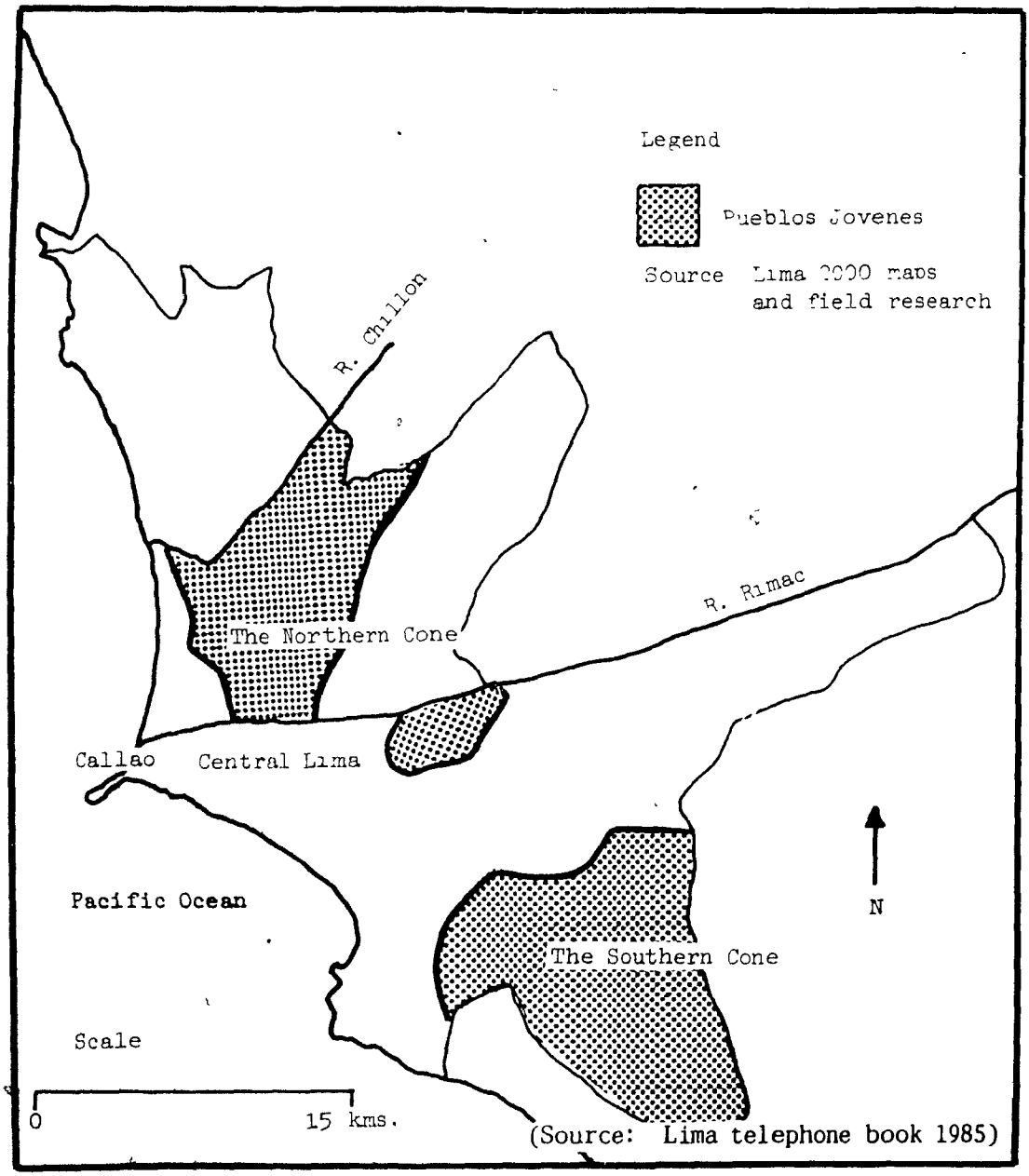


Figure Four

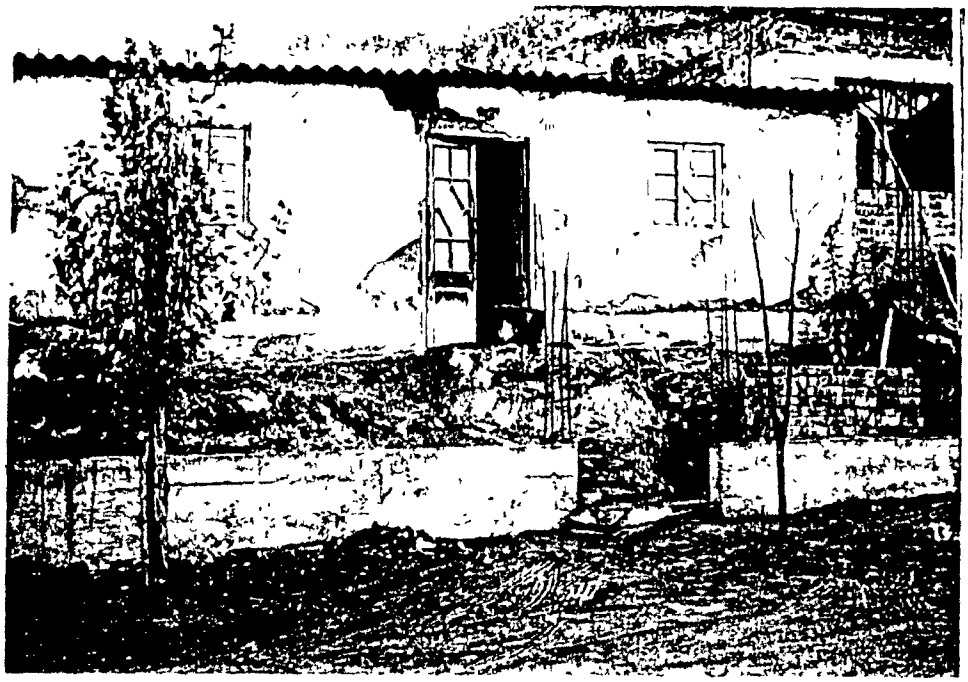
Photo. 1

A new invasion in Las Delicias

Photo. 2

Estera housing in Pamplona

Photo. 3

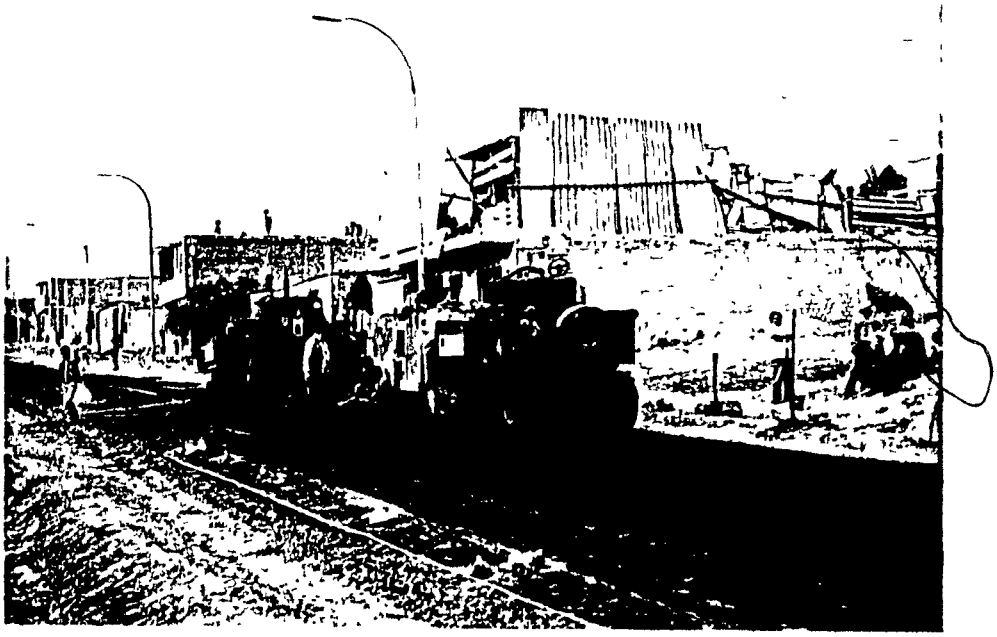


Adobe housing

Photo. 4

Brick housing

Photo. 5



A street building project in Villa El Salvador: the result of campaigning and public participation

Academics have battled fiercely over the significance of this housing movement. Turner (1976) was the first to draw attention to the self-help movement. Since the early 1970s arguments have raged about whether research in this field promotes voluntarist attitudes towards housing and allows governments to side-step responsibilities (Gilbert and Ward, 1985; Skinner and Rodell 1983). There is disagreement over the philosophical meaning of the movement. Some claim it is an expression of entrepreneurial capitalism while others believe it represents anarchistic forces engaged in anti-establishment activities. In these debates it is important to justify the terms they use for this housing phenomenon because each term reflects implicit philosophical assumptions about the nature of human agency. Gilbert and Gulgler have said:

> It is essential to remember that different definitions reflect different philosophical approaches to the housing issue and that spontaneous housing takes a myriad of forms. Generalization in such a situation is dangerous. This diversity also means that any of the pet terms used to describe such housing...are often misleading.
>
> (Gugler and Gilbert 1981 p.89)

The philosophical significance of definitions can be seen in the name Pueblos Jovenes which literally means 'new towns'. The phrase was first adopted by the military government under the leadership of Velasco in the late 1960s. It illustrates the optimism underlying governmental attitudes and policies towards squatter settlements. The term implicitly suggests that these settlements are a regular part of the housing stock and, as new towns, they will develop into planned, legitimate, working-class suburbs.

The Pueblos Jovenes are characterized by elected neighbourhood committees responsible for co-ordinating community activities. The government recognizes and encourages these organisations through an office called the Oficina nacional de desarrollo de los Pueblos Jovenes or ONDEPJOV. The model for this organisation was a Catholic N.G.O called Oficina de los Pueblos Jovenes del Peru instituted by Antonio Diaz Jimenez. He established the first official neighbourhood committee in Comas, North Lima and subsequently started six hundred other committees in various places throughout the city during the period 1965-1968. This organisation was sponsored by the church, Oxfam, the Canadian government, as well as local business (Michl 1973). Speaking of the military government's involvement Michl says:

> The new leaders feared the continued growth of independent settlement organisations, yet recognized that under government control that very system could serve as a tool for tightening central authority as well as for carrying out government construction programs.
>
> (Michl 1973, p. 164)

It appears that the governmental tactic of adopting the name Pueblos Jovenes was part of an attempt to bring the spontaneous forms of housing under official control.

The contradictions in this housing approach can be seen in the example of a new invasion that occurred during field work on a piece of empty ground outside the case study community (see photos 6 and 7). For a number of years a concrete sign had indicated that this land was zoned for industrial development but no such development had taken place. In early November the site was occupied overnight by at least two hundred families, with their bamboo-matting and red and white Peruvian flags. Within three weeks the settlement had swollen to approximately five hundred homes, organized into rows and blocks with painted numbers. A regular supply of water was delivered by tanker, and a communal cafe set up, (a large painted sign indicated that this eating place was named the 'Rosa Nautica', after the most expensive restaurant in Lima!). After a month the flags were less evident but government buses, as well as the independent collectivos or taxi buses, were stopping there regularly and in true Lima fashion two kiosks, selling confectionery, Coca Cola, and cigarettes, occupied the usual stopping place in the hope of catching passing custom.

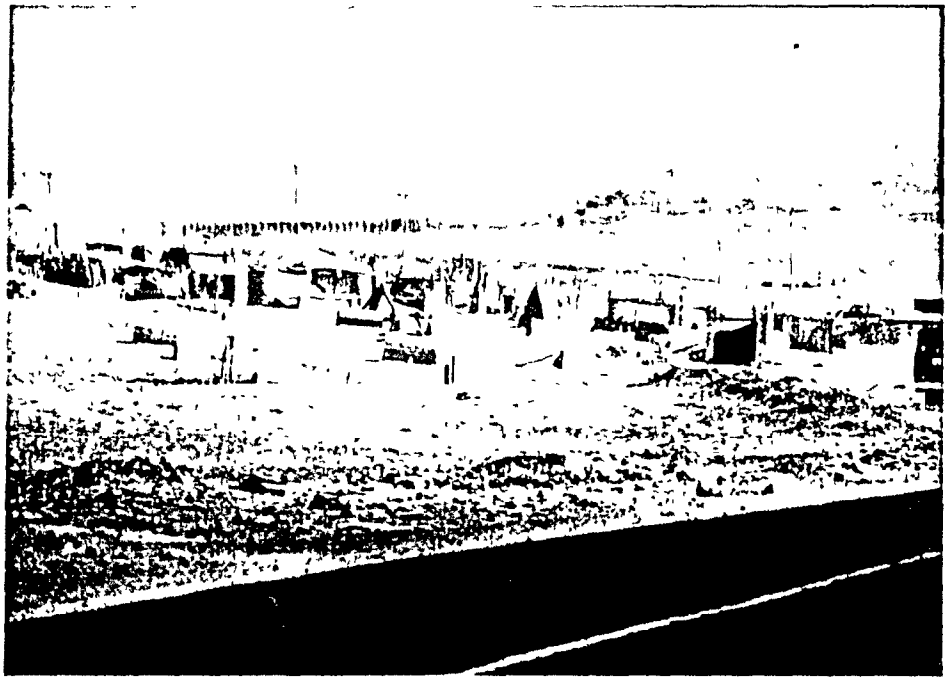
The irony of this sequence of events is that the invasion occurred directly opposite a huge government housing scheme with metalled roads, pavements and street lights which have illuminated the night sky for at least two years, despite the fact that this particular site has almost no houses built yet. The contrast is both remarkable and deplorable, and yet, it is the product of the government's attempt to control the shanty town environment in a time of severe national economic crisis.

There are successful government housing schemes in the Pueblos Jovenes. Further along the same road there is a completed new development, with brick housing and large signs proclaiming governmental achievements. It is indicative of the situation that another sign also reads 'Housing scheme for Electro Peru' and announces that the settlement was built by the government specifically for the workers of a nationalized company. Despite appearances, it is not a public housing project.

It is in this contradictory environment that local development schemes are undertaken. Franke (1983) suggests that women must work in these conditions and although she is speaking at a national level her points can be applied locally to shanty town development:

> The situation of women in Peru is distinguished by gender discrimination and oppression, the roots of which come from its secular past but in recent decades important structural changes in the area of our social and political status have taken place in society. A few of these changes are the slow, incomplete and yet real democratization of our political structures; the strong growth in educational tools at a national level; the internal migrations of peoples and general urban and industrial development. All these actions have opened new areas and new opportunities for our integration as women and as citizens into this society, a society which may be contradictory but which is also full of promise and is ours.
>
> (Franke 1983, p. 2)

Photo. 6



The new invasion in Santa Rosa, opposite the government housing project

Photo. 7

Estera housing being constructed

Many women's groups including the Los Incas Club have rallied around health issues in the shanty town environment. Many health problems are socially created. They are the result of marginalization and poverty. Women campaign on these issues because through popular education and preventive medicine they are able to see a qualitative change in the poor health conditions that exist in the Pueblos Jovenes.

2) Health problems in the Pueblos Jovenes environment: a socially created phenomenon

The shanty town environment in Lima is more healthy than in many other countries by virtue of its climate. As Lima is located in a desert region there are no problems with monsoon rains and associated water-born diseases that affect so many shanty town communities in other countries. The Pueblos Jovenes have their own peculiar problems nonetheless; the biggest killers of young children in these areas are pneumonia and dehydration resulting from chronic diarrhea. These problems are socially created Pneumonia occurs when malnourished children contract bronchial infections. Often diarrhea is caused by poor water quality and infectious gastro-intestinal viruses that are easily transmitted through poor sanitary conditions. In the case study, for example, only 26% of households have sewage facilities and less than 54% have access to household piped water. Respiratory illness is also a severe problem, especially among young children (see photo. 8). These problems frequently lead to ear, nose and throat (E.N.T.) infections. The results of health checks for the Los Incas Club indicate that 26% of households in the club had at least one child with E.N.T. infections.

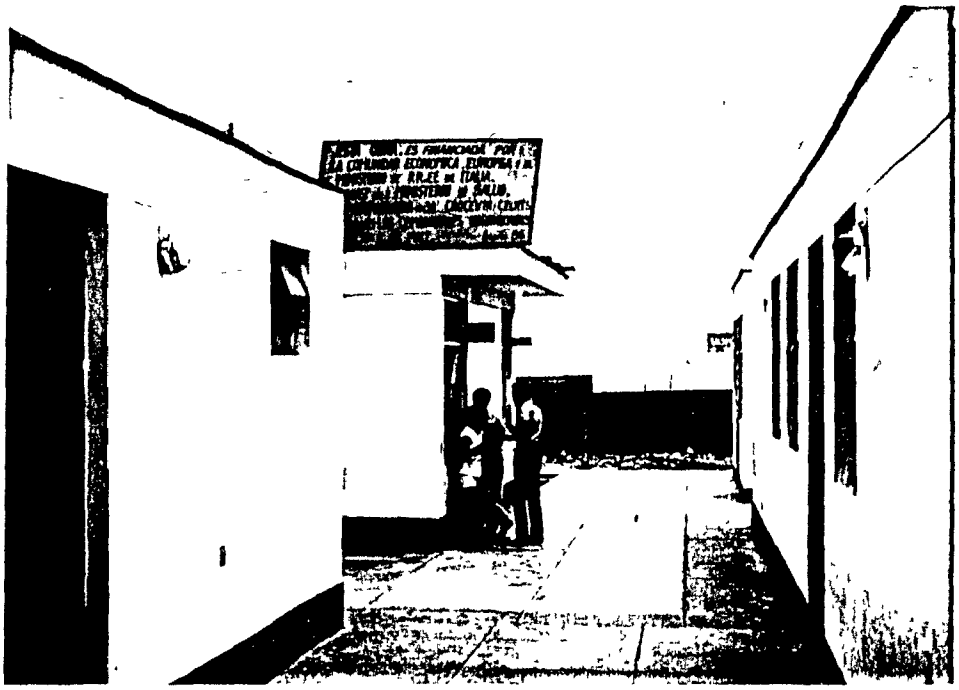
During the winter months estera housing and thin summer clothing provide little protection from the creeping damp and mist that envelop Lima, trapping smog and providing an ideal breeding ground for respiratory viruses that can develop into pneumonia. The Pueblos Jovenes are prone to heavy mists because of their location in the hills surrounding Lima and often these areas do not have clear skies for many weeks. Tuberculosis is rife in this environment and, although drugs are available, they are often in short supply and only obtainable on the black market. A doctor told how a large shipment of TB drugs donated by the Dutch Government for the national TB program never officially found its way out of the docks!

The government has a TB program in Lima operating through local health clinics. In this program drugs are provided free and checks and education programs are implemented in schools by teams of auxiliaries and promotors. When this scheme operates correctly, each person receives a sputum test and chest X-ray before any diagnosis is made. Those patients whose results are positive are enrolled in the program. A social worker also visits the home to explain the necessary precautions as isolation needed for TB sufferers in order to prevent the spread of the illness. The people living in the same abode are also checked for TB. The effectiveness of this government project can vary by place. A clinic in San Genaro (South Lima) visited during fieldwork has a very good system with local health committees, a series of smaller clinics and a

Photo. 8

Children playing in an open sewer

Photo. 9



The health clinic at San Genaro

permanent social services staff who co-ordinate the work (see photo. 9). The women in the Los Incas Club, however, said that in their community the program was not very successful and they had never heard of any home visits.

In Peru, TB appears to be a socially repugnant illness viewed as a shameful disgrace by both patients and their families. This shame inhibits many people from seeking treatment. One woman who came to a health check in in the Los Incas Club had a little boy who needed tests for TB; she promised to return with him the next time but they never appeared. Before she left she was asked the usual question about the incidences of respiratory problems in her family and she replied that there were no problems. After her departure the women on the health commission who were helping with the check immediately related that she only has two children now as 3 or 4 others had died of TB, one only the year before in his early twenties. This is a very sad tale but it indicates that the health problems in the Pueblos Jovenes are not merely medical but also social and educational.

Although Lima has the highest doctor patient ratio in Peru, 1:600 (Anderson 1981 p. 7) the majority of these doctors serve the middle and upper classes. Few doctors choose to work in the shanty towns and if they do they tend to prefer to have private clinics rather than work in the government Posta Medicas (health centres) where treatment is free except for the cost of drugs. Many of the Postas are under-staffed and often the doctors are interns, obliged to work for a year in a government assigned position before completing their training. At the main health clinic in San Genaro it is usual for women to queue from 5 a.m. in order to obtain an appointment for that day. For many women, especially those with paid employment, this time is a great sacrifice. On average the three doctors will see about 15 patients between them each morning. The scarce resources mean that often people receive inadequate care. One young boy was consistently given a strong antibiotic to cure an ear infection that really required an operation. This particular drug, Tetracycline is not given to young children in the West, but the boy received it regularly and, as a result, his teeth are now permanently damaged. Through lack of resources, drugs are often administered to keep problems at bay rather than permanent cures sought.

The health provision in the shanty towns was extremely sparse during field work because of a long-term strike that had closed all the local clinics and crippled hospital admissions for a number of months. There is one large hospital in the southern cone of Lima. It is a large complex but has very few facilities and operates with a skeleton staff of doctors and numerous, ill-qualified auxiliary nurses. As a result, many people are obliged to travel long distances in order to receive basic treatment. The president of the Los Incas Club travels approximately three hours by bus and taxi with her husband on a regular basis in order for him to receive specialized treatment for an amputated limb. She has said that if it were not for the financial help of the local priests they would be unable to attend the consultations.

In general, transport to hospital is not easy for poor people living in the periphery of the city. If an accident occurs taxies are solicited to transport patients. This mode of transport is not particularly cheap and neither is it readily available in the Pueblos Jovenes, as people are accustomed to using the bus. Once the journey has been made, gaining admittance for the patient is often difficult. One woman told me how the previous night she had travelled around central Lima in a taxi with her friend and her friend's son who had broken his leg; they tried three places before anyone would admit them. The shanty town people with their irregular, informal work seldom have medical coverage and so unless access is gained to government hospitals they are unable to obtain treatment.

Conditions in the government hospitals are poor. In the maternity hospital it is common practice to have two women sharing a bed and on occasions three have been admitted to the same bed in one day. Patients are obliged to provide their own drugs, bandages etc. but interviews with medics and patients showed that very often, these are stolen by the staff and the patient is obliged to buy from the hospital's black market After an operation, one individual was left for three days without being changed and as he was unable to move he was obliged to sleep in his own excreta. He was found in this situation by a friend who visited him and also saw mould growing in the used coffee mug by the side of his bed. These sorts of stories are common and it is hardly surprising that one woman in the Los Incas Club whose son is receiving specialist treatment for perforated eardrums is unwilling to allow him to be operated on in the government children's hospital. She claims her daughter was there for six months and she was eventually brought home in a worse condition than when she had entered. 81% of the women in the Los Incas Club use the posta medica, 7% have a private doctor and 12% rely on home remedies. Of those club members who chose the posta 72% gave the reason that it was the cheapest and 17% said it was the most convenient.

Antibiotics can be bought from pharmacies without prescriptions. As a result, many misuses occur and people with few resources spend large sums of money on drugs they do not need. This situation is exacerbated by many private doctors who write prescriptions for drugs without conducting the appropriate tests first. For example, one woman with bronchitis was given a list of ten drugs costing about $20 (almost a week's wage for the family). At least two of the drugs, the most costly ones, are only prescribed for TB and yet she had not received any of the TB tests. The doctor did not explain why she was being given the drugs; neither was there any information about dosage Another story was told to me by the Los Incas doctor who knew a woman with gastric problems (most probably ulcers) who had been instructed by her physician to buy an intra-venous drip. She and her family were attempting to apply it, with no experience, when the doctor relating the story happened to be passing their home. To compound matters the drip was unnecessary as it contained only water and mineral salts and the woman was able to eat ordinary food without much difficulty.

Table 3.2 shows the results of the children's health checks in the Los Incas group. 149 children were given general checks of their height, weight, E.N.T., heart, digestive and respiratory conditions. The data

are organized in terms of the percentage of households with at least one child with a particular condition, the total number of cases of the specific ailment and the percentage of the total children checked who are ill.

Table 3.2

Results of the children's health check in the Los Incas Club

Ailment	% of households with at least one child ill	Total no. of ill children	% of ill children by the total no. of children checked
Parasites*	56%	26	17%
Respiratory problems	46%	33	22%
E.N.T. problems	26%	17	11%
Under weight	18%	15	10%
Short	56%	53	36%
Other problems	55%	34	22%
Serious problems	26%	21	14%

Total in survey: 149

* The presence of parasites is difficult to assess and it is likely that the real figure for parasitic infection is higher. These assessments were made by symptoms, without laboratory analysis but it is likely that most children have some form of permanent worm or ameabic infection. These are occasionally treated with antihelminthics as they flare up.

(Source: Los Incas survey)

'Respiratory problems' refer to bronchitis, TB, and severe chest infections. During the examinations at least three families were advised to obtain TB tests at the health centre and several families were given antibiotics for chronic bronchitis. The categories 'under weight' and 'short' represent the results of an analysis of the height and weight measurements obtained through the checks using children's growth tables. If the readings for the child's age were less than the 50th porcentile they were categorized as having a

weight or height deficiency. None of the children was over the 75th porcentile and where the mark was particularly low a note was made and the child placed on the critical list in terms of treatment and recorded in the 'serious problems' category. This 'serious' category also includes cases of TB, kidney problems, thyroid imbalances and chronic ear infections in need of surgery. 'Other problems' are miscellaneous illnesses such as skin irritations, allergies, periodic headaches, non-serious vitamin deficiencies and general minor complaints. Of the children who were checked, 44% of households had no healthy children. In absolute terms this figure means that there were only 41 healthy children and these represent only 28% of the total children checked.

Many of the medical problems outlined are related to the physical environment and social/economic conditions that many people in the Pueblos Jovenes experience. For example, the fact that many children have the correct weight for their age but they have the ideal height of a child one and often two years their junior, is related to their high carbohydrate, low protein diet that provides bulk but little protein, mineral and vitamin substance. Diet is obviously partly related to lifestyle and more specifically, the food that people are able to afford. The lack of growth reflects the cycle of chronic malnutrition and chronic ill health which means that children are able to regain weight but not growth lost during illness.

While it is important to avoid making sweeping statements and adopting a 'point the finger' causal analysis of health issues, it is essential to describe the socioeconomic geography of the shanty towns. This background provides an understanding of the context of medical/social problems because, in response to their environments, women have become catalysts in their shanty town communities. The community issues such as health problems which directly threaten to harm them and their families are the areas they address through positive action. These activities have become the dynamic forces in the Pueblos Jovenes.

> "We have seen during the last few years here in Peru that groups of women are having a very important role in the Pueblos Jovenes [shanty towns] dynamic. It was different ten years ago, there was a different dynamic in the Pueblos Jovenes. Now most of the groups that are working a lot in health, in nutrition and the cleaning-up of the community and all that, are women".
>
> (Christian Concern field officer)

Consequently, although health did not originally play a major role in the proposed field research it came to figure highly in response to this trend and the activities of the case study group.

Cultural influences upon women in Peru have affected their roles in urbanization. The next section outlines the general themes of female socialization and discrimination in Peru. It emphasizes women's roles in both informal organisations and the informal economy.

Section Three: Women in Peru

1) History and the identity of Peruvian women

To speak of a single identity for Peruvian women is misleading in a country whose national boundaries encompass three distinct regions, whose heritage has bequeathed two main languages, Quechua and Spanish with their associated cultures, and whose rainforest regions are inhabited by tribal groups too numerous to mention individually. Peru's fragmented historical legacy has been influenced by colonialism, capitalism, national reform and a spirit of community participation that pre-dates Colombian times (Andreas 1985; Rostworowski 1986).

Women have been socialized through these periods and consequently their self images and position in society are influenced by many factors, some of which seem contradictory. For example, many women are revered as mothers following the tradition of Maryology in the Catholic church and yet they suffer abuse from the fathers of their children. When interviewed, a woman named Corina who has worked extensively with women's groups in the shanty towns spoke of the violence faced by many women:

> There is a lot of violence against women. Many of these groups [feminist organisations] denounce this violence against women. Also there are a lot of sexual violations. They have denounced this. There is a group of women that have a house...they have a house in the shanty town El Planteta, near Via Argentina...You can go to this house if your husband beats you...you can go there and sleep. It started just like that, women who were beaten had the opportunity to go to that house and find a place to be safe...There is a famous woman there, she is a pobladora [local woman]. She has lived there for many years and is trying to develop something with the women who have suffered violence with their families...with their husbands....They have discovered many things about the Machista sociedad [macho society]. For example, they [reported] the men at the police station and they discovered that the police say "but what have you done? Maybe your husband has a reason to beat you?"...What kind of society do we live in?

Feminist organisations have developed in Peru in recent years and are campaigning to improve the position of women in society. Corina summarizes their work:

> The feminist movement here in Peru is not very old I would say that most of the feminist groups appeared about ten years ago .some of them maybe fifteen or eighteen years ago but most of them are new groups. There are different kinds depending on their conceptualization of women's situation in society. For example, some groups try to look at women no matter what social class they belong to....They say that women are oppressed by men and they have to start a struggle in order to liberate themselves from that oppression. ..The other ones are more political, they say that it isn't just men who oppress the women in isolated situations but it is the society which is machista that makes women oppressed by the whole society ..and by men. .but it isn't an individual responsibility.

In a machista society many women have a dual role On the one hand they are committed activists involved in community politics and yet on the other they are oppressed by 'macho' ideas in the home and in the state system that discriminates against them subtly and legislatively A typical example of this dual image for women is told by one woman in the Los Incas Club (the case study group) She is a very active member of the group, a representative of the health commission and member of the executive committee She said to her friend.

> Remember that day when we were late? Oh, he moaned He said that I should have made his food and that my place was in the home This is the custom here, No? He said I couldn't go to the club because my children suffered Before we were married I had a job and nothing was said After we were married I had to stop as he said my children would suffer

In Peru the image of women as mothers greatly influences their employment status and promotes exclusively domestic roles Urbanization has a profound effect on women's employment. In the countryside many women are involved in agriculture where their labour is valued. When they migrate to urban areas in search of employment they discover that they are discriminated against and often this discrimination is reinforced through marriage.

2) Women and work

(i) The lure of employment in the big city

As Chapter One indicates much WID literature concentrates upon women's access to paid employment and discrimination in the wage market The main feminist organizations in Peru-- Flora Tristan, Peru Mujer, Manuela Ramos and Creativa y Cambio (a catholic organisation for feminist nuns)--all conduct research on this topic Peru Mujer is particularly concerned with the plight of the thousands of women who are employed as domestics in Lima and is currently campaigning to gain unionisation for these workers.

The graph (figure five) shows the peaks in ages of employment for rural and urban women. It indicates that women employed in urban areas peak early in their mid twenties. This pattern is consistent with the fact that many of the women in the EAP are employed as domestics. They are young, often single and usually recent migrants from the countryside who find employment in 'the big city' as domestics, often with 'live in' positions. On arrival in Lima, these women suffer from feelings of culture shock, alienation and often despair. They are accustomed to subsistence farming and so have little knowledge of how to sell themselves in an urban wage-labour situation. As a result, they are frequently abused and exploited. Having migrated alone they rely on the help of friends or distant relatives to seek work or to find a husband and so escape exploitation in the work place.

During research, two women related tales about the role their 'Padrinos' (adult godparents) played in bringing them from the jungle to start a new life in Lima. One woman said:

> I come from San Martín and I went back for the first time last year. My parents are dead but my brothers still live there. I came here because my godmother introduced me to my husband who is from here. I had to come all that way in an aeroplane and I have been living in Lima, in this place for twenty years

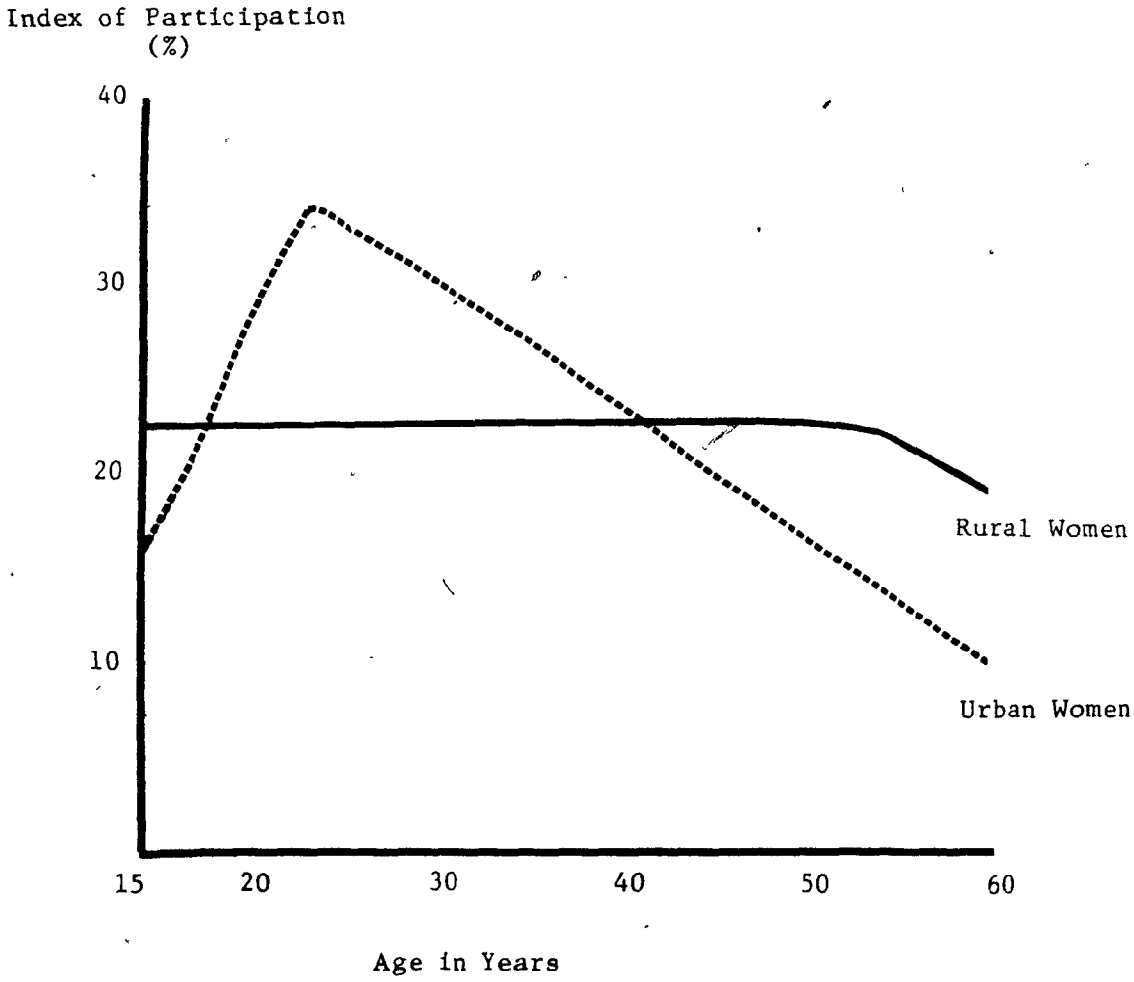
Blondet's (1986) study of San Martín de Porres in North Lima reveals the circumstances under which many women migrate to Lima. She speaks of both push and pull factors and the role of social pressure exerted by family members (Blondet 1986 pp. 17-21) One woman in Blondet's study spoke of the image perpetuated about Lima in her homeland:

> Well, in my land when I thought about Lima and what the capital was like I always imagined that it was better than my land, that there was something beautiful about the capital. Indeed, in my land we had light, but not like here, it was a dim light.
>
> (Blondet 1986, p. 22)

Another said:

> I didn't know anything. I came here but I wept, I wanted to return home. I had heard about the large cities, Ica and Lima, I decided: Where shall I go and live?. When I came here it seemed a sad place, I didn't like anything. I started to weep, I sang huaynos (Quechua songs) and that upset me so I cried again, I was unhappy and tearful until I started to become accustomed to the place little by little.
>
> (Blondet 1986, p. 23)

THE AGES OF RURAL AND URBAN FEMALE WORKERS



Index of Participation: EAP as % of women in that age group

(Source: Franke 1984, section 4, p.12)

Figure Five

The efforts of Peru-Mujer and other organisations is valient in attempting to gain some form of protection for these women. Corina, a Christian Concern worker, summarizes the efforts of different feminist groups working to improve women's employment rights:

> I consider [there] to be two different groups. Some of them are working in training activities linked to legal rights...women's rights and information for women...Some others try to develop different skills with women. For example, leadership...how to organize women's groups, how to improve their skills...their skills for labour development. Also [they focus on] how to improve their participation at different levels in the society, in their jobs, their groups, their unions, political parties and community based organisations. They want women to have a wider participation in all the levels of the society and in all activities of life

Improved participation in all aspects of life includes improved access to employment. The next section discusses discrimination against women in the labour market and analyses their employment patterns. It shows that in Peru women's work is invisible and is not recorded in official statistics. When they have paid employment it is usually informal and located in low-paying sectors

(ii) Women's activities and their relation to official employment figures

Women's poor employment opportunities are often disguised by statistical data. Frequently women are excluded from official data concerning employment because the use of categories such as Economically Active Population (EAP) are misleading. Low female estimates of EAP do not necessarily mean that many women do not work. EAP seldom includes women in the informal sector, part-time employment, income-generating co-operatives or those women who only seek formal paid work when their husbands are temporarily unemployed (Moser 1981). The importance of this omission can be seen in the fact that 62% of Lima's 75,000 street vendors (a low estimation) are women (Black and Backer 1980).

Even accepting the limited utility of EAP estimates it is possible to see that when women do have paid work in the formal sector they are usually confined to lower paid forms of employment Franke (1983) has produced a feminist compilation of the 1981 census. Table 3.3 portrays her estimates for the female EAP over 15 years of age. The table shows that 30% of women are classified as independent workers and another 30% are cleaners. Both these categories are very poorly paid. Independent workers would be mainly self-employed women working in the informal sector. Of all the economically active population women represent 85% of those who work from home and 33% of those who are cleaners. Elsewhere Franke (1983) claims that 56.2% of the female EAP are involved in the non-productive service sector of the economy where legislative protection is particularly poor (Franke 1983, section 4, pp. 13-15). This sector is becoming increasingly important for women and between 1972 and 1981 it demonstrated the largest increase in female employment (Franke 1983, section 4, p. 15).

Table 3.3

Occupation of the total EAP of Peru and the female EAP more than fifteen years old. (1981)

Category	total number per category	% of total EAP	Female EAP	% female EAP	Female EAP as a % of total EAP
Labourer	1,153,658	23.4	98,742	8.2	8.6%
Cleaner	1,153,658	21.4	355,486	29.7	33.7%
Independent worker	2,046,151	41.6	363,288	30.2	17.7%
Employer	55,520	1.1	8,272	0.7	14.9%
Unpaid family worker	262,150	5.3	142,746	11.9	54.4%
Works from home	180,624	3.7	154,260	12.9	85.4%
Not specified	173,407	3.5	77,266	6.4	44.6%
TOTAL	4,926,033	100.0	1,200,060	100.0	

(Franke 1983, section 4, p. 18)

The categories of unpaid family work refer particularly to family businesses, as the figures are too low to refer to housewives categorized as home laborers. Similarly, the 'works at home' group represents small business enterprises operating from the place of residence. A typical example of this type of enterprise is a home visited during field work where the main room in a small brick house contained a huge refrigerator that was being repaired by a man in the household while his children watched the family's old 26 inch black and white television There was little space for anything else in the room. The man's business is always irregular, he has been operating under these conditions for many years and he considers himself fortunate in comparison with many of his neighbours. Many women do not record their paid work that they do in the home. One explanation is that they are automatically associated with the home environment and so the fact that they are involved in very specific income generating activities is overlooked.

(iii) Employment and its link with education

Although the lack of employment opportunities for women cannot be attributed directly to their low levels of education, the prevalent societal attitudes concerning education for women and women's own lack of self-esteem in this area undoubtedly play a role in maintaining unequal opportunities. In 1960 48% of Peruvian women were literate, by 1985 this figure had risen to 78%, the largest increase in the continent (Leger Sivard 1985, p. 39). Despite this favorable situation, however, the male-female literacy rate is one of the worst in Latin America (Leger Sivard 1985, p. 39). This ratio seems to have changed little by 1981 as table 3.4 indicates that 63.7% of the 3,051,830 illiterates over the age of five in Peru were women.

Table 3.4

The illiterate population of Peru (five years and older) by sex and residence in 1981

Total no. illiterates	Men	women
3,051,830 (100.0%)	1,108,547 (36.3%)	1,943,283 (63.7%)
Urban		
1,062,724 (34.8%)	382,899 (36.0%)	679,825 (64.0%)
Rural		
1,989,106 (65.2%)	725,648 (36.5%)	1,263,458 (63.5%)

(Franke 1983, section 3, p. 3)

The ratio of male/female illiteracy is almost equal in urban and rural areas. The literacy levels in rural areas are far lower than in urban areas. 65% of Peru's illiterates are rural. These figures, however, do not necessarily represent the true pattern of urban literacy. Marginalized urban areas such as Pueblos Jovenes, with many poorly educated rural migrants, are likely to have far worse education levels than other urban areas. Consequently, although there has been a rapid increase in women's literacy rates from 1972-81 (13.1%) (Franke 1983, section 3, p. 3), this growth is likely to have been uneven. Marginalized areas, such as isolated rural communities and Pueblos Jovenes, have fewer educational facilities than other areas, a large proportion of adult illiterates and few instances of adult education facilities.

Table 3.5 shows the levels of education in Peru achieved by the sexes:

Table 3.5

Population of Peru (five years and older): Level of education by sex. (1981)

Level of education	total population	total number of men	% men per category	total number of women	% women per category
Without instruction	2,460,005	856,887	(34.8%)	1,603,118	(65.2%)
Primary	7,653,989	3,927,514	(51.3%)	3,726,475	(48.7%)
Secondary	3,362,355	1,826,196	(54.3%)	1,536,159	(45.7%)
Superior	333,644	163,828	(49.1%)	169,816	(50.9%)
University	650,650	405,835	(62.3%)	244,812	(37.7%)
Not specified	103,302	43,382	(42.0%)	59,901	(58.0%)
TOTAL	14,563,945	7,223,645	(49.6%)	7,340,300	(50.4%)

(Franke 1983, section 3, p. 5)

Nationally women make up 65% of those without formal education. 46% of those who gain secondary education are women and women make up 38% of those with university education. Franke (1983) explains the persistent poor showing for women in the following way:

> A large number of people in our country think that the only destination for women is to marry, to have children and to dedicate ourselves to the household chores, and they believe that it is not worth the effort of sending us to school For the same reason many families with few resources are obliged to keep some of their children away from school and so they choose to send the boys. Moreover, girls usually complete school later if they are from homes where they are required to help with domestic chores and child care.
>
> (Franke 1983, section 3, p. 5)

Because they are kept away from school many girls receive a poor education. The issue of scarce resources is very real in the shanty town environment, although education is free in Peru. It is a frequent practice to keep children away from school because families cannot afford the uniforms and equipment. It is likely that young girls in the shanty towns are kept away more frequently than young boys.

Education, however, does not only occur in formal settings Franke (1983) is advocating popular education as a means to inform women about themselves and encourage them to discover their unjust position in society. Women who participate in community activities and women's groups often have opportunities to learn through popular education programs.

The urban/rural difference in EAP figures for women from 1972-1981 shows some interesting increases relating to popular education. In 1972 women represented 25% of the EAP in urban areas and 13.8% in rural areas. These figures increased to 27.8% and 21.1% respectively, in 1981. Franke (1983) discusses the high increase in rural female EAP and suggests that it is more the result of consciousness raising during the agricultural reform of the 1960s than a direct growth in employment opportunities for women in rural areas It was during the land reform and formation of agricultural co-operatives that women first became aware of their status as workers. Subsequently, they redefined their traditional roles as 'work' bringing their language and values in line with those of the government and reform innovators. This change influences EAP estimates.

3) Women, fertility and birth control

Because many aid agencies and local groups, including the Los Incas Club, promote popular education focusing on family planning it is important to understand the situation of women and population control and to question whether Peruvian women want fertility programs. This section discusses the number of children Peruvian women have and their preferences regarding family size. Women's knowledge of contraception is also discussed in order to explain the context of fertility control programs for the women in Peru.

Birth control in the Third World is a controversial issue. Malthusian approaches towards fertility and population growth have been severely criticised. Germain Greer (1984) has brought these issues into popular literature and has attacked the philosophies underlying many large-scale fertility control programs by accusing them of representing a subtle form of global eugenetics Despite these cautions, however, birth control programs still feature highly in many development projects and are usually implemented through women's popular, health education projects. It is important to remember that as in the case study group, these projects are sometimes a response to the verbalized desires of indigenous women. When the women of the health commission in the case study (the Los Incas Club) wanted a doctor who would be willing to teach the health promotors certain subjects which the committee had outlined, high in their priorities was birth control.

Obviously, fertility patterns will vary throughout Peru. For example, the attitudes of rural and urban women concerning optimum fertility levels and number of children are likely to differ. Franke (1983) has attempted to highlight the main trends in fertility patterns in Peru Her work is intended to act as a catalyst for women's groups to encourage members to consider the issues involved in fertility control and to be critical of accepted modes of behaviour. This emphasis in fertility programs encourages women to take control of their own lives as they promote community devlopment through grass-roots participation.

Franke's (1985) work is influenced by Western feminism. She focuses on issues such as the lack of modern methods of birth control, the incidences of back-street abortions and legislation against abortion. Although her ideas could be criticised for their lack of concern for traditional methods, she does advocate a

critical approach towards birth control, and her main emphasis seems to be in encouraging women to question the prevalent attitudes in society and to consider changing them if they wish. The aim of Greer's polemic (1984) has been to encourage a similar emphasis on women's control over fertility and to provide them with more complete information on which to base their personal decisions concerning birth control. This approach is intended to prompt women to question both societal attitudes and the hidden assumptions and goals that may exist in large scale fertility programs sponsored by outside agencies.

The following table shows the actual and desired number of children by regions in Peru. Metropolitan Lima refers only to the central area and includes middle class sectors of the city. 'Other urban areas' includes the other Peruvian cities, as well as, the Pueblos Jovenes of Lima.

Table 3.6

Actual and desired number of children by women in Peru. (1981)

	Nation	Metropolitan Lima	Other urban areas	Rural Peru
Actual no. Children. (average)	5.2	3.5	5.5	8.1
Ideal no. Children (average)	2.9	2.6	2.8	3.3

(Franke 1983, section 2, p. 3)

In general all Peruvian women want fewer children than they have. Their ideal number is between two and four. Women in metropolitan areas have the least number of children and women in the Pueblos Jovenes have an average of 5.5, which is 2.7 more than their desired estimate. Other statistics in Franke's (1983) compilation refer to intentions of women who potentially could become pregnant, that is, women between the ages of 15-45, who are not pregnant, who live with a spouse and who are fertile. At the time of the 1981 census 1,745,000 women were in this category and 25% said that they would like to have more children. Of the remaining women, 75% claimed that they did not want more children, 44% gave the explanation that they were happy with the number they had, while 32% said they already had more than they desired (Franke 1983, p. 5, section 2).

The following two tables refer to women's awareness of contraception. The first table indicates awareness of the broad categories of contraceptives by regions in Peru. The second table shows the knowledge of specific methods.

Table 3.7

Level of knowledge of contraception by region amongst Peruvian women of reproductive age (15-49).(1981)

	National Metro.	Lima* Urban	Other*	Rural
Do not know any contraceptive methods.	19%	4%	16%	40%
Know at least one method:	81%	96%	84%	60%
-Modern	(76%)	(94%)	(78%)	(50%)
-Only traditional	(4%)	(1%)	(5%)	(8%)
-Only abortion	(1%)	(1%)	(1%)	(2%)
No. Cases studies	6,437	2,057	2,718	1,66
Total number of women in this age group	4,076,300	1,304,416	1,671,283	1,100,601

*Lima metro= The central areas of Lima and Callao
Other Urban= Other cities and the Peripheral Pueblos Jovenes

(Franke 1983, section 2, p. 7)

Table 3.8

Women in Peru from the ages of 15-49 and the types of contraceptives they know about. (1981)

Method	National	Lima* Metro.	Other* Urban	Rural
The pill	68%	90%	70%	41%
Injection	60	77	62	35
Sterilization	58	75	61	31
IUD	49	77	48	17
Condoms	36	57	35	12
Vaginal methods	32	52	32	10
Vasectomy	20	31	21	6
Rhythm	65	82	68	3
Abstinence	32	47	30	15
Traditional methods	12	16	12	8
Induced abortions	59	78	61	34
Sample size	6,437	2,557	2,718	1,662

*Lima metro= The central areas of Lima and Callao
Other Urban= Other cities and the Peripheral Pueblos Jovenes

(Franke 1983, section 2, p 8)

There is a great difference between the awareness and use of certain contraceptive methods Despite the fact that only 16% of women in the shanty towns and other urban areas are unaware of any form of contraceptive 41% of women in these regions do not use any methods of control. In rural areas 70% of women use no contraceptives (Franke 1983, section 2, p. 10). The figures for use of modern methods indicate that in metropolitan Lima, although 96% of women know of them, only 34% of women use them. In 'other urban' areas 25% use them while in rural areas this figure is even lower with only 7% of women adopting modern techniques of family planning (Franke 1983, section 2, p. 10). The use of traditional methods in metropolitan areas is surprisingly high: 36% of women rely on traditional contraceptives. 34% of women in 'other urban' areas and 23% in rural areas use traditional contraceptives.

The discussions of birth control in the Los Incas Club indicated the lack of understanding or knowledge of modern contraceptives among many women. Although all the women were familiar with birth control pills only one had heard of diaphrams and when Dr. Sykes spoke of vasectomies several women members thought that this operation was the same as castration!

It seems that while women in Peru want smaller families they are not familiar with modern contraceptives. Even in Lima many women are either unaware of modern contraceptives or are too suspicious to adopt them. The situation is summarised by Franke's claim that nationally 58% of women who could have children but do not want them are not using modern contraceptives (Franke 1983, section 2, pp. 7-10). In the light of this contradiction it is not surprising that women's grass-roots groups are keen to promote birth control programs, especially when aid projects provide free family planning services.

Conclusions

Women in Peru have been socialized by the values of a 'macho' society. Their view of the family, health care, reproduction and work patterns have all been influenced by discrimination. Yet, they are active participants in changing their environment including the values in their society. Franke 1983 summarised the role of women as agents of change:

> The advances are clear and undeniable. Between 1940 and 1961, and for each successive year after, more of us have the chance to educate ourselves as women, to seek paid employment, to obtain health services and general legislation and to join our own autonomous organisations.
>
> (Franke 1983, p 2)

The influence of popular education on women is very significant because it illustrates the Peruvian context of grass-roots development. By virtue of the country's history many Peruvians have already been socialized through methods of co-operation and consciousness raising before outsiders establish formal development projects. The work of Franke (1983) indicates that co-operative development in Peru does not occur in isolation as many outsiders often assume but rather, is part of an ongoing social process partly shaped by indigenous actions and responses. These factors have implications for the discussion of the Los Incas Club, in Chapters Four and Five. The next Chapter addresses the particular attempts of the members of this club to improve their circumstances and to overcome the marginality of their lives in the shanty towns.

Chapter Four
Women as Agents of Change: a Local Study of the Link Between Environment and Action

Introduction

While Chapter Three addressed the role of women in Peruvian society and urbanization in general, this chapter analyses the particular experiences of one group of women. It is important to describe the specific physical and social conditions experienced by women in the Los Incas Club in order to understand the actions they take in response to the marginal nature of their lives. Section one discusses the physical environment of the case study and indicates that the Los Incas women are drawn from three places and that these places rather than their club membership inspires their defintion of community and their vision of community needs

Section two focuses on the socioeconomic situation of the women themselves. It is the drudgery of marginalization rather than a spontaneous reaction to an isolated situation that inspires these women to unite in self-help action. They are trapped by physical, political, economic, social and socialized constraints in their lives. Yet, they not only survive in an alien desert environment (in more ways than one) but they are also actively trying to adapt the specific situation and environment in which they find themselves Section three focuses on the club and its aims and activities are discussed in relation to women's roles as agents of change.

Section One: The Physical Environment of the Case Study

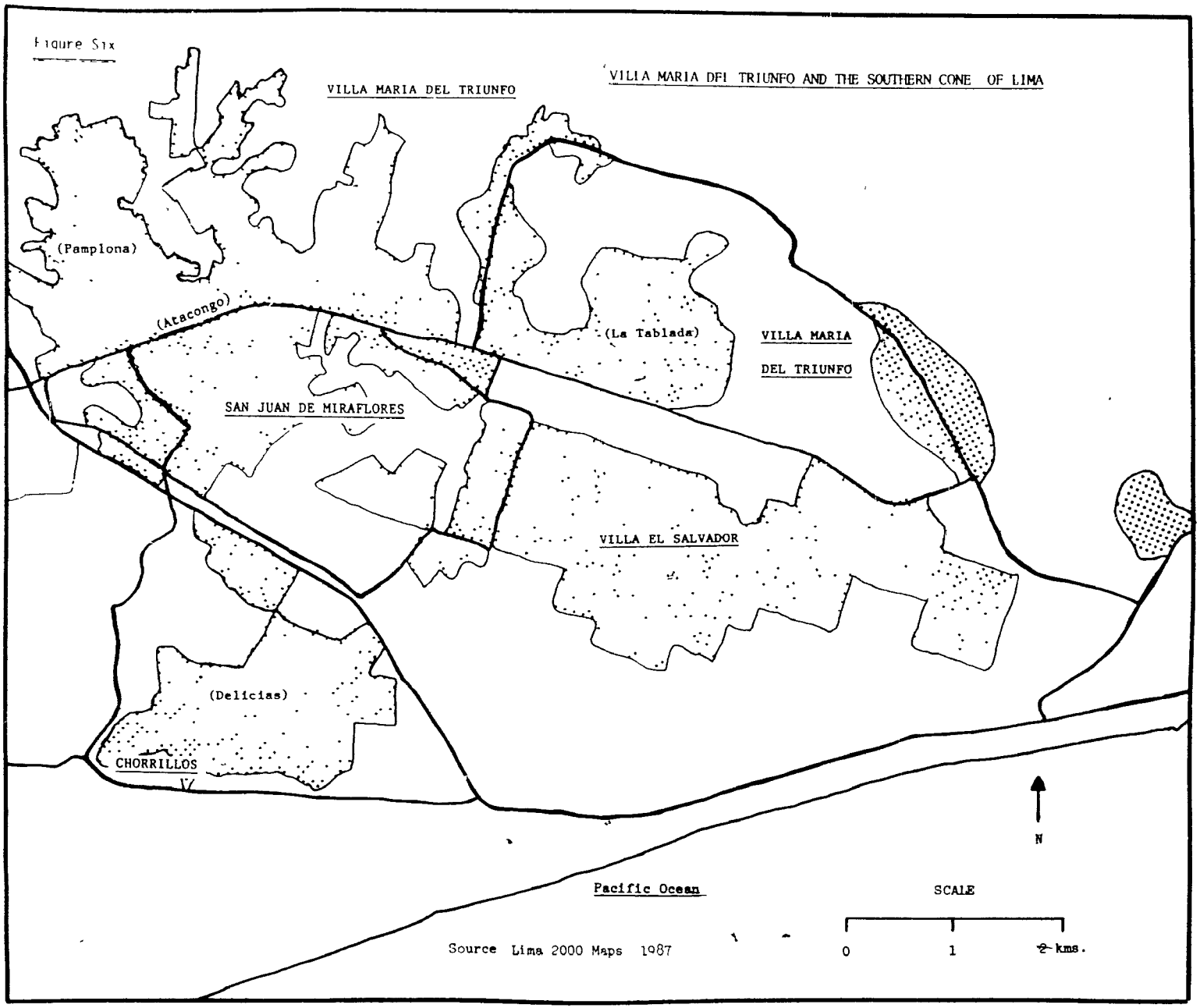
1) Location

The case study community has been given the pseudonym Santa Rosa. It is one of many Pueblos Jovenes that comprise the municipality of Villa Maria in the 'southern cone' of Lima (see fig. six). Santa Rosa is approximately two hours from the centre of Lima by the most rapid bus; and less than an hour by car. Few people, however, have access to cars.

Santa Rosa was a small farming community before Lima expanded. It is now included within the city boundaries and is among the most peripheral shanty town developments in the southern cone. It has a mixed housing stock that includes recent invasions and old, established small holdings. The micro-climate is more favourable than in many other parts of Lima because the town is low lying and does not suffer from the heavy mists that affect many higher areas. Also, Santa Rosa is located adjacent to the fertile Mala plain and so does not have the barren appearance of more central locations. The desert landscape is broken periodically by

Figure Six

VILLA MARIA DEL TRIUNFO AND THE SOUTHERN CONE OF LIMA



Source Lima 2000 Maps 1987

green vegetation watered by the many small streams that transect the area. This landscape is quite untypical of the other shanty town settlements, which are dry and barren. The community has the look of the Sierra during the dry season and at the middle of the day it could be mistaken for a sleepy village rather than a residential zone in a bustling, fast-growing metropolitan centre (see photos 10-11)

2) Population

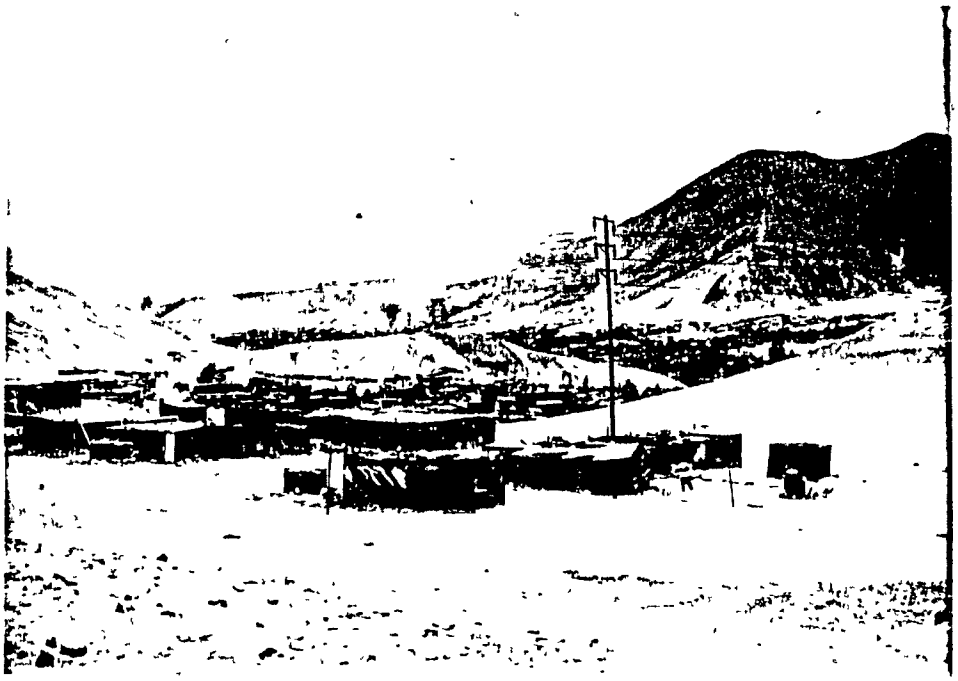
Santa Rosa is a small town with a population of 6,903 (1981 Census). The municipality of Villa Maria to which it belongs is much larger and has a total population of 312,935. 38.4% of Santa Rosa's population is under the age of 14 and so it is not surprising that the Los Incas Club addresses community needs through the needs of children.

The absolute population of Santa Rosa is likely to be higher in 1988 due to in migration and the exclusion of certain categories of people from the 1981 census At least four new invasions have occurred in Santa Rosa since the 1981 census. These invasions house at minimum another thousand people Other people may have been excluded from the 1981 census information because they do not have legal tenure of the land they occupy At least one third of the women in the club were squatters without legal privileges at the time of the 1981 census

3) Los Incas: The poor relation in Villa Maria

Service provision in shanty towns is notoriously poor Few facilities are provided and those that exist usually represent the results of community campaigns for amenities. Despite this fact, table 4 1 illustrates that the service provision for independent households in Villa Maria is quite good Approximately 80% of households have electricity and inside water and although the percentage of households with sewage facilities is poor (50%) , sewage is not a priority for many people as it is easier to live without than water or electricity.

Photo. 10



A view of Santa Rosa with the smoke from the cement works in the background

Photo. 11

Greenery surrounding brick housing in sector one

Table 4.1

Service provision for independent households in Villa Maria. (1981)

	Total Indep. households	Electricity	Kerosene	Candle	Other
Light	52703	44406 (85%)	5164 (10%)	2935 (5%)	198 -
	Total	Inside	Outside	Sewage pit	Nothing
Sewage	52354	26167 (50%)	5826 (11%)	10417 (20%)	9944 (19%)
	Total	Inside	Stand pipe	Well/River	Truck
Water		41851	917	4618	4283
	51669	(81%)	(2%)	(9%)	(8%)

(Source: 1981 Census)

In comparison with Villa Maria as a whole the women in the Los Incas Club have poor services. Table 4.2 indicates that the proportion of households in the club with no service provision is 23%. This figure is extremely high considering it represents the largest category of provision for club members. The reliance on stand-pipe water by Los Incas members is greater than in the municipality in general. Only 1.8% of the municipality has stand-pipe water whereas 80% has a domestic supply. In the Los Incas Club the situation is worse, only 54% has a domestic supply while 7% rely on standpipe water Sewage provision in the homes of Los Incas women is also very poor with 75% of households having no sewage facilities as compared to 19% in Villa Maria in general. Similarly, only 49% of Los Incas homes have electricity (seen in the figures for household light), whereas in Villa Maria as a whole 84.8% of independent households have this facility.

Table 4.2

Service provision for the women in the Los Incas Club

	Number of households	% of total club households
None	13	22.8%
Bought water only	2	3.5%
Rented light only*	1	1.8%
Standpipe water only	7	12.3%
Household water only	2	3.5%
Rented light, standpipe water	2	3.5%
Stand pipe water, sewage	1	1.8%
Household water, sewage	1	1.8%
Household water, household light	12	21.0%
Household water, household light sewage	10	17.5%
Household water, household light, street lighting, garbage collection	1	1.8%
Household water, household light, street lighting, garbage collection, sewage	5	8.7%
TOTAL	57	100%

*Rented light refers to electricity a family with no domestic service rents from another family with a domestic supply.

N.B. Unfortunately it is not possible to display the data for the club in the same format as table 4.1 because the two data sets were collected using different criteria.

(Source: Los Incas survey)

Although service provision in the municpality in general is of a reasonable standard the Los Incas Club obviously represents a disadvantaged area. This situation is emphasized by the quality of services

received. Research during field work indicated that although many homes in the Pueblos Jovenes have domestic water supplies, these supplies are only available for the winter months. During the dry summers the Pueblos Jovenes are the first places to experience water shortages with the result that many people are obliged to buy water from other sources. One person explained that during these months he usually queues from 5 a.m. until lunch time every day in order to buy water. A similar situation occurs with electricity. Although many homes have a domestic supply, it may be only strong enough to operate several light bulbs at a low wattage. Also, there are frequent blackouts resulting from system overload and terrorist activity.

Service provision affects women's lives directly. For example, the presence of a domestic water supply will influence women's work in the home and the amount of time they spend in certain tasks. If water has to be bought in small quantities from a truck, the ways in which it is used will be different from in those households with a domestic supply. Washing clothes and keeping a home clean and hygienic are not an annoying chore for many women but rather an all consuming daily activity.

The quality of service provision is also influenced by household size as the larger a household, the more pressure is exerted on scarce resources. Table 4.3 Indicates that the household size of Los Incas members is larger than that of Villa Maria in general.

Table 4.3

Household size in the Los Incas Club and the wider municipality of Villa Maria.

	Number of persons per household							
	1	2	3	4	5	6/7	>8	Total
Villa Maria								
Count	3,365	4,723	7,099	9,081	9,202	14,562	10,932	58,964
Percentage of total	(6%)	(8%)	(12%)	(15%)	(15%)	(25%)	(19%)	(100%)
Los Incas								
Count	0	0	2	3	8	24	18	57
Percentage of total	(0%)	(0%)	(4%)	(5%)	(15%)	(44%)	(33%)	(100%)

(Source: Los Incas survey and 1981 Census)

The most common household size in Villa Maria is between 4 and 7 people. 25% of households have 6-7 people and 30% have 4-5. In Los Incas the households are larger. 44% of households have 6-7 people and 33% have more than 8. The differences between the two surveys can be explained by the fact that the club is made up of young mothers with children. Consequently these women are at a stage in the life cycle when their households are probably the largest they will ever be and when access to good water and sewage supplies are most essential.

Even given the disadvantaged situation of the Los Incas Club outlined above the real quality of service provision and its affects on the women's daily lives is masked by the confused defintion of household adopted in the national census and the Los Incas survey. By virtue of the varied usage of the term it has become what Sayer (1984) has called a "chaotic conception" (p 126) that obscures the realities of household organisation, structure and dynamics at the local level. 'Household' has been used generally to mean a single family. It is common practice for people to live in extended families, however, to have dependent relatives in the same unit and to share a single dwelling with another autonomous 'household'.

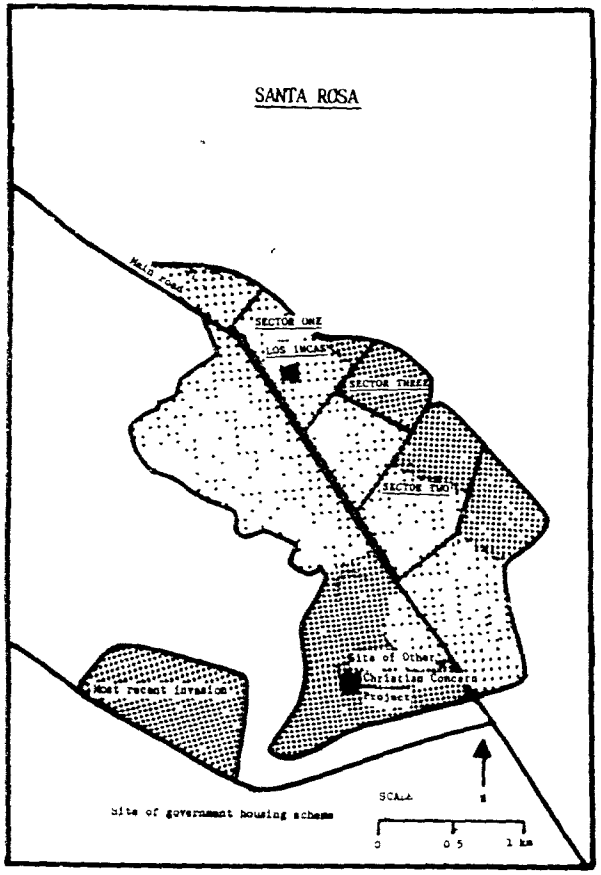
Several organized mapping visits to the areas where the women in the Los Incas co-operative live showed that at least three dwellings are shared by two 'households'. Consequently, although the service provision for a household may appear to be good the reality of social organisation within a single dwelling often produces overcrowding and so places great pressure on few resources

4) Los Incas: Three places produce a divided community

The Los Incas Club draws women from three separate places. This division influences the way in which these women see their community and in turn affects their involvemnt in the club The club's executive committee has divided the membership into three sectors that correspond with three separate geographical areas (see fig. seven). As well as being defined in locational terms these three sectors also have almost homogeneous respective housing stocks and services (see photos 12-14) The women in the club define overall community needs as being those of the sector where they live. As the service provision and housing stock within the three sectors is unequal there are many tensions among the women concerning which needs should be given proirity by the club.

Figure Seven

SANTA ROSA. THE LOS INCAS PROJECT AND SECTOR LOCATION



LEGEND

- Mapped residential areas
- New invasions
- Sector divisions
- Members homes

Sources Lima 2000 Maps(198?) and Field Survey

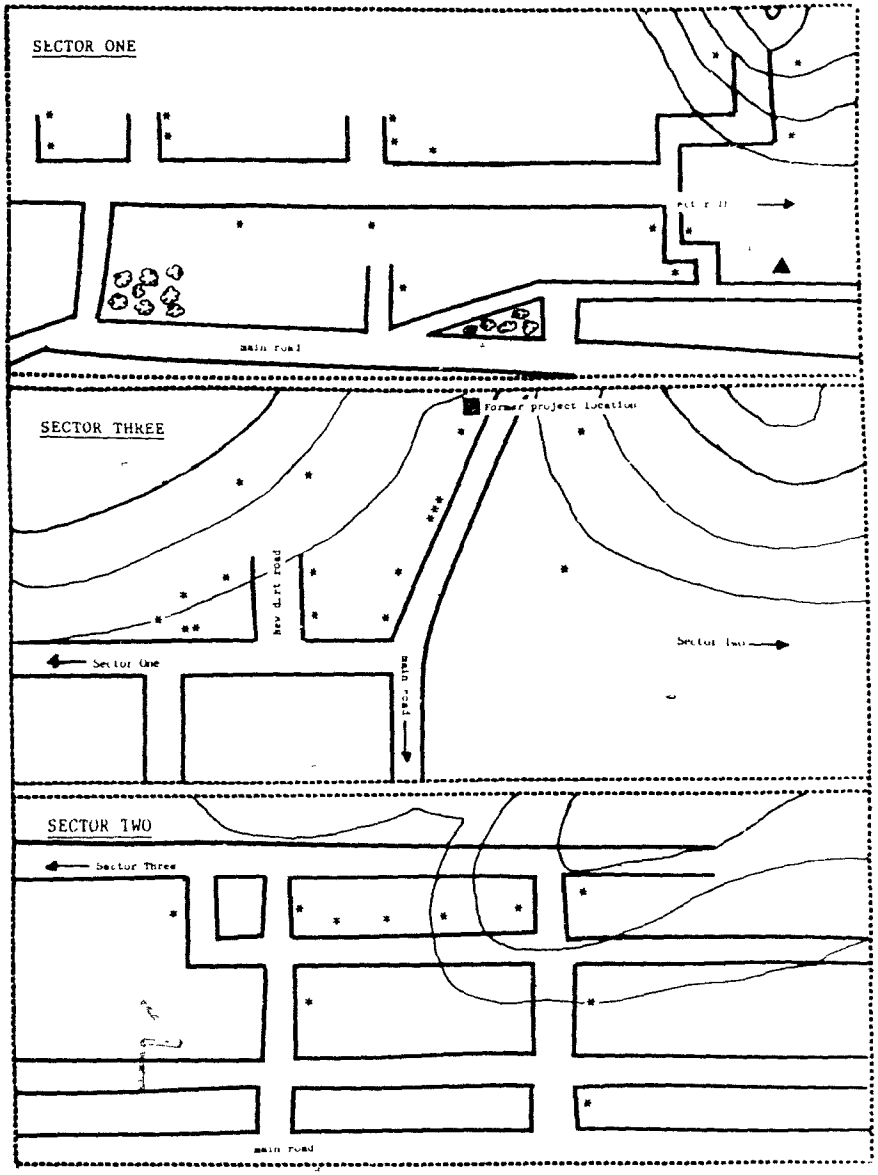
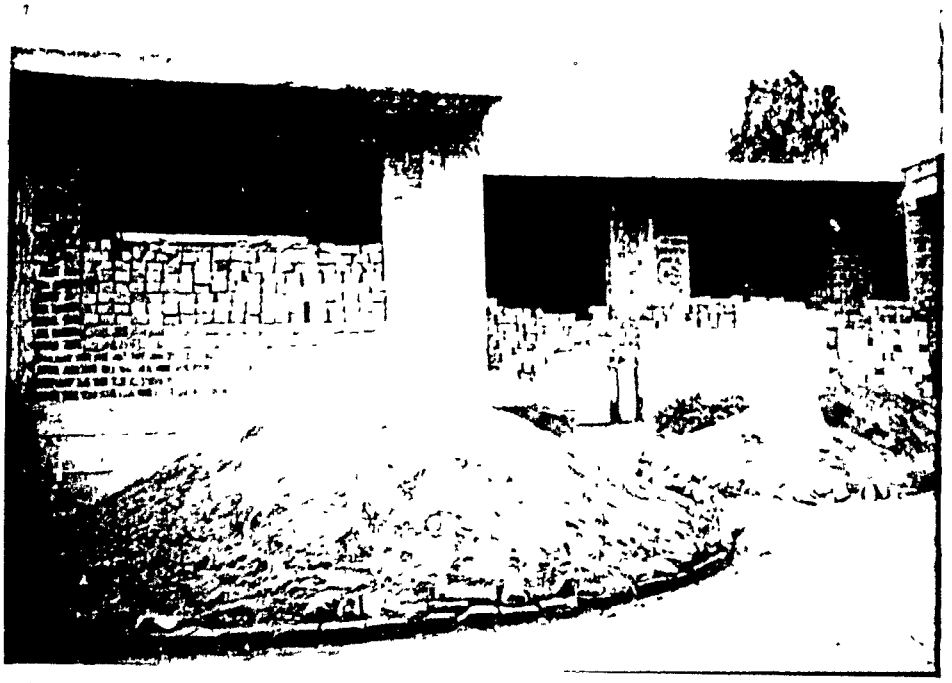


Photo. 12

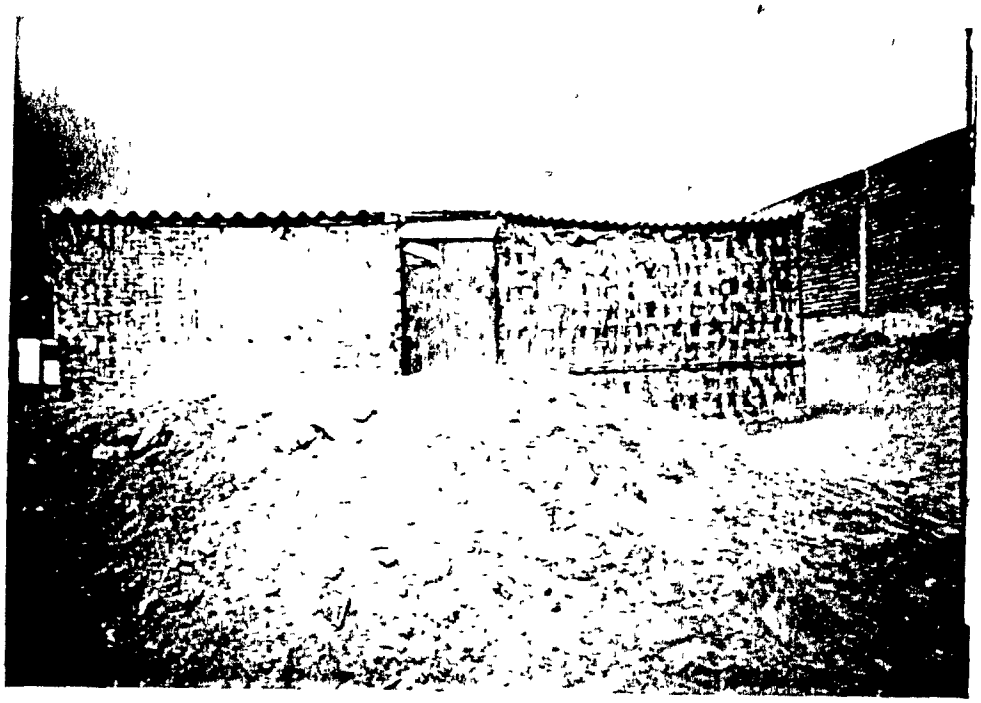


Brick housing under construction in sector one

Photo. 13

A woman washing clothes outside her estera home in sector two

Photo. 14



A shop selling beer, soft drinks and snacks in sector three

Table 4.4 indicates that the overall pattern in the Los Incas Club is for the women to identify something as a community needs only if they do not have the provision themselves.

Table 4.4

The relationship between Los Incas household services and identified community needs

	Need water	Need sewage	Need light	Need other	total
Number of times identified as community need by households with the service	2	3	2	0	7
(As % of all community needs)	(2%)	(3%)	(2%)	(0%)	(7%)
Number of times identified as community need by households without the service	25	19	21	21	86
(As % of all community needs)	(27%)	(20%)	(23%)	(23%)	(93%)
					(100%)

Total number of community needs identified: 93
Total households in survey: 55

(Source: Los Incas Survey)

93% of all the community needs highlighted in the Los Incas survey were identified by women who did not already have those services.

A similar situation can be seen in the housing stock. Although the total housing stock occupied by group members is 47% estera (bamboo-matting) 8% adobe, 38% brick and 5% a mix of all three, table 4.5 shows inciates that these materials are distributed unevenly between the sectors.

Table 4.5

Housing stock occupied by the Los Incas membership by sector of residence

	Housing type				
	Estera	**Brick**	**Adobe**	**Mix**	total houses in the sector
Sector One	**1**	**8**	**4**	**1**	14
% total*	(4%)	(36%)	(100%)	(33%)	
Sector Two	**10**	**12**	**0**	**1**	23
% total*	(37%)	(55%)	-	(33%)	
Sector three	**16**	**2**	**0**	**1**	19
% total*	(59%)	(9%)	-	(33%)	
Total houses in that material:	27	22	4	3	
Total cases: 56					

* % total: Homes in the sector as a percentage of the total homes built in that material

(Source: Los Incas Survey)

Most estera homes are located in sector three, and most brick houses are in sector one whereas sector two is a mix of both estera and brick housing. Although 91% of Los Incas club households own their properties, their origins are varied; some have been inherited, others purchased, and the most recent invasion is currently fighting for legal tenure through a tenants' association. These differeneces in tenure indicate social inequality within the club. Sector three especially, is seen as a separate community by many members and during field work its social inferiority was often alluded to particularly by women from sector one.

The following description of the living conditions experienced by a woman living in sector three indicates how little this woman has in common with a geographical neighbour in sector one who has a brick home, full service provision, a husband in regular employment and who sees the main community need as clearing up the local park!

The house has ten people living in two rooms. There is a large room partitioned by a curtain to make a bedroom and a sitting area, and a small 'lean-to' kitchen at the back of the house. The ten people sleep in four three-quarter sized bunk beds. The father of the family is an invalid and spends much time convalescing. Until early 1987 their house was made of estera. The woman in the house, however, built new walls from plywood with the help of the congregation of the local church. Gradually she is improving her living conditions, but for her, it is not sufficient to change only the physical appearance of her home and she has recently installed electricity which has eased her life considerably. She still does not have a domestic water supply and instead is obliged to buy water and carry it up a steep, sandy slope to her wooden home.

Table 4.6 shows that there is a significant split between the sectors concerning the services that women have and the areas they identified as *community* needs in the Los Incas survey. Because there is a clear relationship between community needs and sector needs it appears that the women have defined their 'community' as the particular place and sector where they live, rather than as the Los Incas Club in general.

Table 4.6

The difference between service provision and service need in Los Incas by sector

	Water*	Sewage	Light	None*	Other*
Sector One					
Households with the service	13	11	10	0	-
(as % of households in sector)	(87%)	(73%)	(67%)	(0%)	-
Households claiming it is a community need.	1	2	4	-	15
(as % of households in sector)	(7%)	(13%)	(27%)	-	(100%)
Sector Two					
Households with the service	16	4	16	6	-
(as % of households in sector)	(76%)	(19%)	(84%)	(29%)	-
Households claiming it is a community need.	8	18	7	-	3
(as % of households in sector)	(38%)	(86%)	(33%)	-	(14%)

	Water*	Sewage	Light	None*	Other*
Sector Three					
Households with the service	4	2	5	13	-
(as % of households in sector)	(21%)	(11%)	(26%)	(68%)	-
Households claiming it is a community need.	14	6	10	-	5
(as % of households in sector)	(74%)	(31%)	(53%)	-	(26%)

Total households in sectors: One=15; Two=21; Three=19

* Water= Household water supply
None= Households with no facilities
Other= Other need was identified

N.B. The % by sector do not add up to 100% because in many cases households have identified more than one service or need.

(Source: Los Incas Survey)

In sector two the overall service provision is good with over three-quarters of households having domestic water and light. Therefore these facilities have not been highlighted as community needs. In contrast, only 19% of homes have sewage facilities and so 86% of the women in the sector identified sewage as a community need. In sector one where sewage facilites are good only 13% of households have claimed is a community need and in sector three where there is extremely poor servicing in general the women are more interested in obtaining water and electricity supplies before sewage services

The place specific nature of the community needs highlighted by the Los Incas women is seen most clearly in the example of sector one This sector has good service provision overall and so consequently all sector one women highlighted 'other needs' as community concerns. These 'other needs' include the desire for a market, a school, and a hospital . While it is important to accept that these facilities may very well be real needs for these women, the divergent interests of the three sectors suggests that they represent three different places. If the women see community needs only in terms of the place where they live and not in terms of the wider Los Incas Club membership then the club does not represent a united community force fighting to provide for their needs

Conclusion

The physical organisation of communities is often complex, as the examples of Villa Maria, Santa Rosa and the Los Incas Club indicate. Within these three areas there is geographical inequality and marginalization of certain groups that is not apparent in general patterns. The Los Incas Club seems to represent one such disadvantaged group of people who live in three distinct places.

Section Two: A Socioeconomic Description of the Los Incas Membership

1) Origins of club members

As people arrive in Lima from the provinces their initial feelings are culture shock and alienation. Being from rural backgrounds they are unfamiliar with city life. Their earliest experiences are moulded by seeing, for the first time, the juxtaposition of wealth and poverty. If they are indian they experience racism and realize that their culture and appearance are often despised in the city. They and their provincial compatriots make up the urban poor existing on the fringes of both society and the city.

Their rural roots and early experiences of Lima shape their future lives Survival tactics learned over the years influence the way they act. It is not possible to speak about grass-roots activity without first recognizing that most people have a wealth of practical experience to draw upon. It is necessary to understand their roots, their social and economic situations in order to appreciate fully the fact that their grass-roots activism is not an isolated event but is born of constant survival in marginalized circumstances.

The fact that shanty towns are often inhabited by first generation migrants has been the focus of much study (Lloyd 1979). This trend is also true in the case of the families belonging to the Los Incas Club. The map in figure eight shows the origins of all the female members and their husbands. A large proportion come from Lima and the second most common place of origin is the department of Apurimac and more specifically, Andahuaylas, a large town in Apurimac.

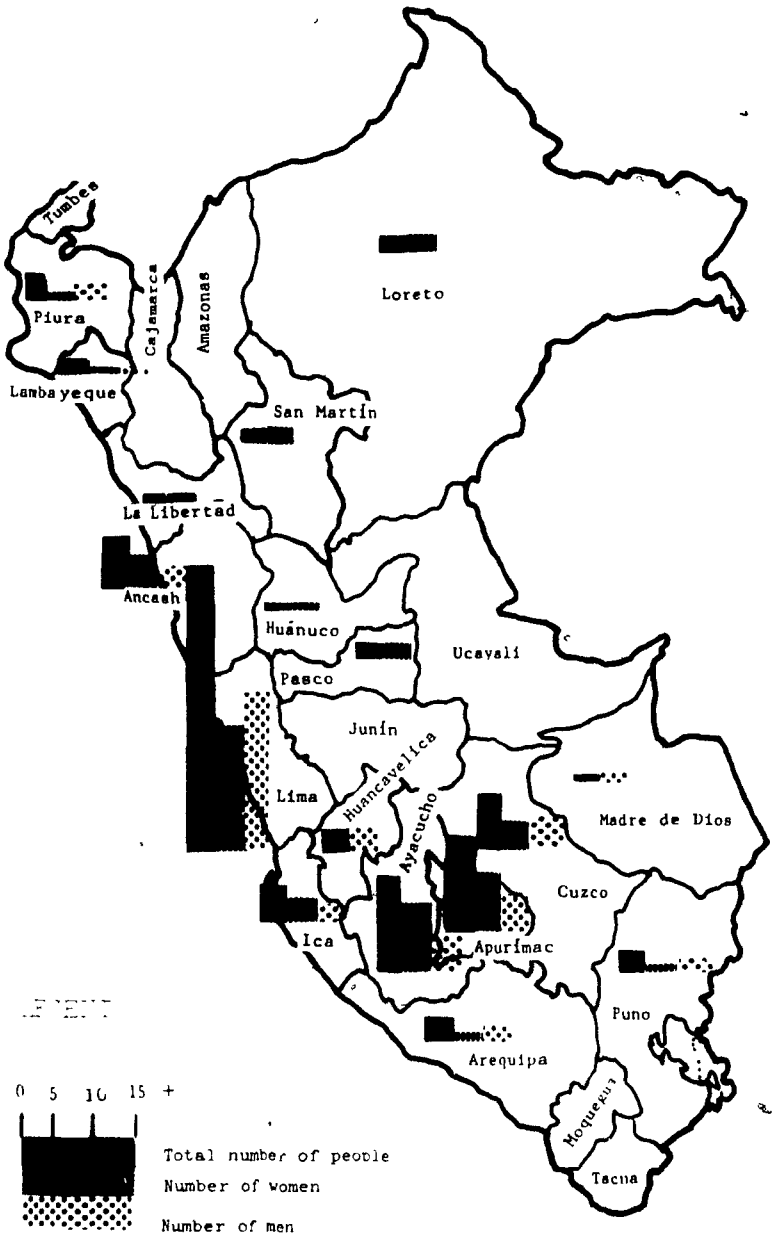
Three women from the club explained how they had arrived in Santa Rosa

> My father lives a long way in Pulcalpa, I don't have a mother, I haven't had a mother since I was 13 I have been here since then

> My parents are from Chincero [near Cuzco] and now they are in Comas [North Lima] I am here in Lima but *Santa Rosa* is a long way.

> My name is Maria.. .We came from the provinces in 1975. I was two years in Lima with my parents. Then we came here to Santa Rosa I have been here for 12 years. Then four years ago I moved up the back there to Los Jamines [sector three].

THE ORIGINS OF THE LOS INCAS WOMEN AND THEIR SPOUSES



Maria's story is typical of a migration pattern described by Lloyd (1980) whose research shows that new migrants do not move to the peripheral Pueblos Jovenes on arrival. Many live in central Lima for a number of years, often in appalling condition in single room tenements tugurios before they are able to make contacts that enable them to move. In Maria's case her parents moved to Santa Rosa and she lived in the community with them before she and her children invaded a site in sector three. These processes use complex networks of organisation. This level of organisation dispels the idea that shanty towns are chaotic, sporadic settlements occupied by people newly arrived from the provinces. Maria's experiences gained through invading a site for her home and her membership of a tenants' association influence her participation in the Los Incas Club.

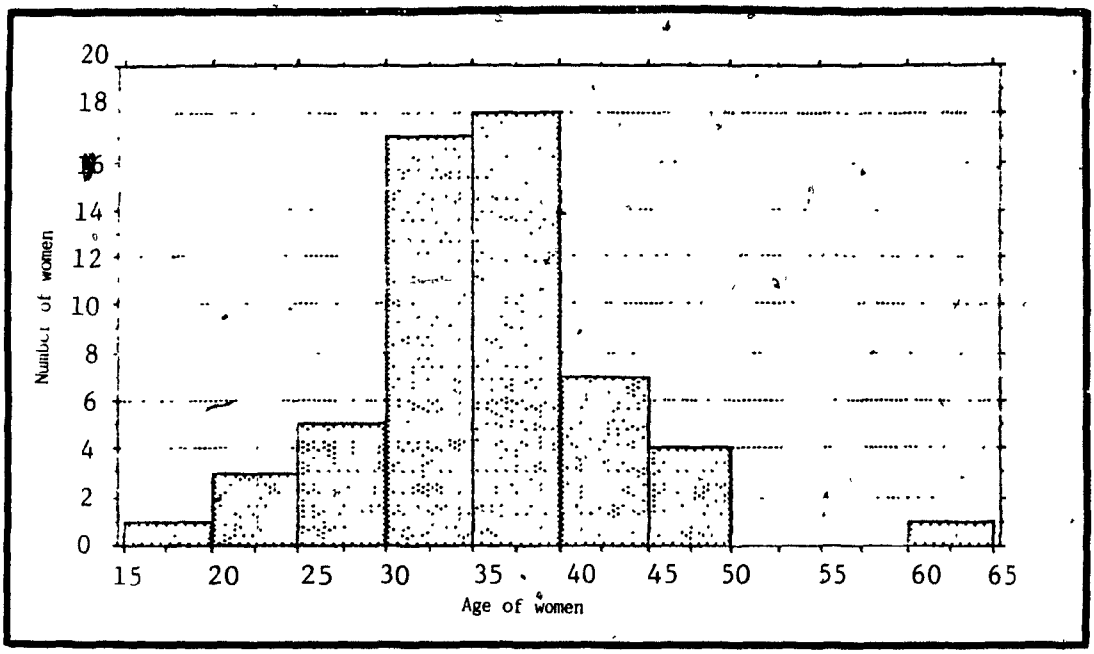
2) Population structure

The graphs in figure 9 show the age distributions of the women and their husbands. The majority of the women are between the ages of thirty and forty. The age range of their husbands is broader, with most being between the ages of thirty and fifty. Most members are married (49%,) although a large proportion cohabit (38%). The high incidence of cohabitation can be partly explained by the split between church and civil marriages. As nearly 90% of women and their husbands are Catholic the incidence of church marriage is high. For a union to be recognized by law and for a woman to have legal status as spouse, however, a civil marriage is necessary. As many people migrate from the countryside, where the niceties of the legal system are not easily available, many women never become legally married. Therefore, although they consider themselves to be married, they are legally cohabiting. This situation leaves many women open to abuse and desertion. 4% of the women in the group are divorced or separated and 8% are single mothers (these figures may well be higher as many women who are divorced and at one stage were single mothers may not have been recorded because they are cohabiting). There are at least two examples of male spouses supporting other families and so in some cases women's economic situation are also influenced by the presence of other dependents.

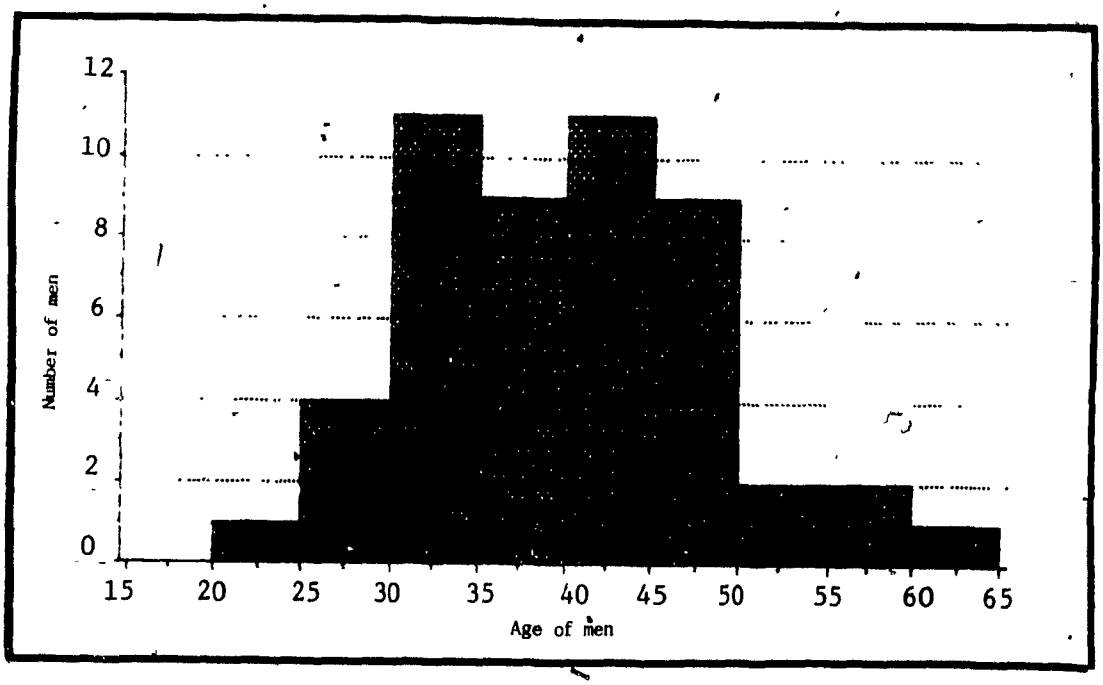
The average number of children per household is 4.6, lower than the national average of 5.2 and also lower than the national average for non-metropolitan urban areas which is 5.5 (Franke 1983, section 2, p. 5). 66% of the membership have between three and five children, although a significant percentage (20%) have seven or more children. As many women are of childbearing age, and given the low use of modern contraceptive methods discussed earlier, it seems likely that the average number of children per household will increase. The average number of children per household in the project is three. Most children in the project range are under 14 years old and the mean average age for children in the group is eight years.

Figure Nine

Frequency Distribution of Ages of Los Incas Women



Frequency Distribution of Spouse's Age



3) Education

Education affects men's and women's opportunities in the city. It also influences women's involvement in the club. One woman who works as a kitchen supervisor in the club is illiterate. She always takes her son with her so that he can keep records of expenditures and register those who come for their lunches. Another woman who is well educated refused to participate in the club because she had personal conflicts with other women. The Christian Concern agent working with the club explained that the problems arose because she felt superior to the other women and was very difficult to work with.

The Los Incas Club focuses on encouraging children's education. The desire for children to have better education opportunities than themselves prompts many sacrifices from mothers. Many women in the group cannot read and write.

The following table indicates the education level for the women and their spouses.

Table 4.7

Education levels of the women and their spouses in the Los Incas Club

	Men educ.	Male educ. (%)	Women educ.	Female educ. (%)
None	2	4%	6	11%
Primary incomplete	5	9%	11	19%
Primary completed	30	57%	25	44%
Secondary incomplete	7	13%	11	19%
Secondary complete	8	15%	4	7%
Superior	1	2%	0	0%
Total	(51)		(57)	

(Source: Los Incas survey)

In comparison with national figures outlined in Chapter Three the education levels of the people in this survey are poor. Nationally 21% of the female population and 11.9% of the male population are without any form of instruction. The percentage of women in the club with either no education or incomplete primary education is 30%, 10% higher than the national average. The estimate for spouses of women in the club with this level of education is 13%, only 1% higher than the national average. Therefore women in the Los Incas Club have lower levels of education than men both within their own club and nationally. Also, the level of secondary education in the Los Incas Club is lower than the national average. Nationally 25% of men and 20% of women attain secondary education. In the Los Incas Club only 15% of men and 7% of women completed secondary level. The ratio of female: male education in the club is worse than the national ratio. Education obviously influences employment opportunities and the next section discusses these with reference to both the case study and the wider municipality.

4) Employment

(i) Employment patterns

Informal, service sector employment is the predominant source of income for marginalized shanty town dwellers. Authors such as Santos (1979) have written about a 'second circuit' economy operating in urban metropoli in the Third world. Santos (1979) claims this black market economy provides the cheap labour and services necessary for the global expansion of capitalism. In this view marginalized people are confined to low-paid, low skill sectors of employment. The employment tables 4.8 and 4.9 for Villa Maria and the Los Incas Club support these claims.

Table 4.8

Employment sectors for the inhabitants of Villa Maria (1981)

	*tot. in sector of employ.	sect. employ. as % of tot. employ.	male employ. by sect.	sect. m. employ. as % of tot. m. employ.	fem. employ. by sect.	sect.f.employ. as % of tot. employ.
Primary						
Fishing/ agriculture	1,416	(2%)	1,365	(2%)	51	-
mining	241	-	232	-	9	-
Secondary						
Industrial manufacturing	15,353	(18%)	12,948	(20%)	2,405	(12%)
Electrical activities	403	-	392	-	11	-
Construction	9,733	(11%)	9,678	(15%)	55	-
Tertiary						
Commercial services	18,148	(21%)	12,246	(19%)	5,902	(28%)
Transport	5,702	(7%)	5,605	(8%)	97	(1%)
Financial services	2,241	(3%)	1,964	(3%)	277	(1%)
Communal /personal services	27,001	(31%)	17,178	(26%)	9,823	(47%)
Not specified	6,297	(7%)	4,081	(9%)	2,216	(11%)
Total	86,535	(100%)	65,689	(100%)	20,846	(100%)

*employ.=employment
f. or fem=female
sect.=sector
tot.=total
m.=male

(Source: Census 1981)

The informal nature of work is indicated by the large number of independent workers in Villa Maria, that represent 28% of those employed, as well as the high percentage (19%) of domestic workers (table 4.9). The main area of employment for people living in Villa Maria is services. 31% are employed in communual and personal services while 21% work in commercial services (table 4.8).

A significant proportion (20%) are employed in industrial manufacturing. These jobs are likely to be menial as table 4.9 indicates that 39% of the population of Villa Maria are labourers. This figure is 15% higher than the national average and indicates the poor employment opportunities for this area.

Table 4.9

EAP and the specific type of activity for the inhabitants of Villa Maria. (1981)

Category	Total	% by category	Men	% total men	Women	% total Women
Labourer	33,312	(40%)	30,878	(47%)	2,434	(14%)
Domestic	16,182	(20%)	12,371	(19%)	3,811	(22%)
Independent Worker	23,820	(28%)	17,963	(27%)	5,853	(33%)
Employer	737	(1%)	572	(1%)	165	(1%)
Unpaid family worker	584	(1%)	260	(1%)	324	(2%)
Work from the home	3,739	(5%)	483	(1%)	3,256	(18%)
not specified	4,422	(5%)	2,679	(4%)	1,743	(10%)
TOTAL	85,605	(100%)	66,744	(100%)	17, 586	(100%)

(Source: Census 1981)

In the case of the Los Incas Club, table 4.10 shows that 65% of members' spouses work in productive services. These services include labouring and low skill industrial manufacturing. Interviews showed that many spouses are employed as labourers on construction sites. With the constant building taking place in shanty towns the demand for this type of labour is common although not always regular. Also, there is a large cement factory on the outskirts of Santa Rosa where many men from the community are employed

on a contract basis. Others are employed in the service sector. 22% of all employed spouses and 41% of employed women from the Los Inca Club have service jobs.

Table 4.10

Categories of employment for men and women in the Los Incas survey

Category	Number women	%women	Number men	%men
Domestic	0	(0%)	0	(0%)
Services	7	(41%)	11	(23%)
Productive services	6	(35%)	31	(66%)
Petty Vendors	4	(24%)	5	(11%)
Total	(17)	(100%)	(47)	(100%)

(Source: Los Incas survey)

Petty vending is another form of informal employment which authors traditionally attribute to marginalized urban people (Armstrong and McGee 1985). Table 4.10 differentiates between services and petty vendors. 10% of club members spouses are employed as petty vendors. According to the table only 4 women in the club are vendors and only 17 women of a total membership of 57 have paid work. These figures are in contrast to information gained from qualitative research.

(ii) The myths of unemployment and housewives

Employment statistics can be misleading because they adopt a very narrow rigid definition of work, a definition many people leading marginal existences do not fulfill. General statistics do not describe the processes that create employment patterns. Frequently wrong assumptions are made concerning the meaning of statistical patterns. For example, the real employment situations of both men and women in the Los Incas Club are concealed. The role of housewives is undefined and even mythical in many cases.

Table 4.11

The Economically active Population in Villa Maria (1981) and Los Incas (1987)

	Total	Total men	% men*	Total women	% women*
Villa Maria employed	80,168	63,387	(79%)	16,781	(21%)
Los Incas employed	66	49	(74%)	17	(26%)
Villa Maria unemployed	2,628	1,819	(69%)	809	(31%)
Los Incas unemployed	2	2	(4%)	-	(0%)

Total in sample: Villa Maria = 82,796; Los Incas = 68

* % men and % women refers to the proportion of male to female employment or unemployment.

(Source: Census 1981 and Los Incas survey)

According to table 4.11 unemployment is very low among men and women in Los Incas and Villa Maria (approximately 0.3% in both). Low unemployment figures, however, do not mean that everyone has regular employment. One woman in the case study group explained that "most of the husbands of the women in the project have insecure work". If men are working on a daily or contract basis consistently, they are less likely to label themselves as unemployed during slack periods as they do not have either a formalized pattern or view of work. Consequently unemployment figures for men in Villa Maria and Los Incas do not reflect their working experiences

Women do not recognize themselves as members of the EAP. Consequently when they are without work they do not consider themselves unemployed. Statistics from the questionnaire survey say there are no unemployed women in the Los Incas Club. Only 31% of the unemployed in Villa Maria are women. Unemployed women as a percentage of those employed in the municipality in general is only 1%. It is remarkable that even though the Los Incas questionnaire was conducted by local women their real employment patterns did not emerge. Informal conversations with women have indicated that most of the women in the club have paid employment. Paid jobs take them away from their families during the day, that is why they need the club. Yet, when they do not have paid employment they are not called unemployed.

> I am Estel. I am 36 I am here to work in the project in *Los Incas*, for the children, but I have problems because I work in Lima. I have to go to work but I have to come here [to cook in the project], I have two children in the project. We have a list [rota] when there is a a gap you have to take it.
>
> My name is Maria Fernadez...I come here to help the children, I prepare the lunch. I have 7 children. I have 4 in the project. The project is a great help to me as I work too.

In the questionnaire neither Estel nor Maria said she was employed.

In 1985 Alan Garcia's government introduced a work program for women called Programa de Apoyo al Ingresso Temporal (PAIT). Currently many women in the club are employed by this program. The women work on community projects such as garbage clearance, construction and manual labour tasks. This trend in employment does not appear in the Los Incas questionnaire but several club members explained what the work entails:

> It [the club] is a great help for us mothers. Many women work in PAIT, in reality they need it because the children come for lunch and the woman can't come because she works. For the mothers it gives freedom, for them it is a help. There are many women in the project who work in PAIT.
>
> PAIT works from 8 until 4. Then they have to eat, they have to come and prepare for their husbands I think.
>
> There are those who work a long way who don't get in until 5. If the child is in the house it is alone and can't be fed. We have many women who need to earn, mainly women from Los Jamines [sector 3] and for this reason the project has many mothers who work in PAIT.

In PAIT women are paid a basic wage of 1700 Intis (35$) a month. The program operates through the municipal organisation and has been severely criticised for the hazardous conditions under which women are obliged to work. One woman spoke of the arduous nature of the work and of the fact that often payment is not received in full because supervisors say they have not worked hard enough. She claims also, that PAIT is incompatible with women's family roles. They are often required to work at a distance form their homes and so are unable to return to prepare lunch. Because of the nature of the work they are usually unable to bring very young children with them.

PAIT employment is not shown in tables 4.8 and 4.9 because they draw on census data from 1981, before PAIT was introduced. In 1981 0.3% of women in Villa Maria were employed in construction (Census 1981). If the program is still operating at the time of the next national census it will be interesting to see whether women recognize PAIT as formal construction employment.

When asked what women did before PAIT was instituted two women replied:

> Before they were ambulantes, sweet sellers.
> Not all are in PAIT some still work in Lima and here in *Santa Rosa*, they wash clothes.

At one of the health checks a woman sought treatment for sore hands that caused her pain each day after she had been washing clothes in the street. Such arduous informal work for women is very common.

Women who work in the home, participate in the club and have paid employment still call themselves housewives. Their lives have become a 'triple day' (Smith 1980) as they attempt to balance the constraints and demands on their time and their lives. One woman who is on the club directiva says:

> My name is Olga Marcos. I live here in Los Jamines [sector 3]. I've been here for twelve years. I live with my husband. He has a small holding. I have been with him for twelve years and we have been there. I have two children, he has two older children with their mother in Callao. My husbands works irregular work, I am a housewife.

Despite Olga's claims, she operates the large small holding alone. She has fruit trees, and raises many ducks, chickens and pigeons in a businesslike way. She sells her produce locally and also supplies several Chinese restaurants in central Lima. She is a shrewd business woman, a mother, a wife and an active participant in the club as both a directiva member and a representative of the health commission. At times her income is the only financial support for the family.

The president of the club explained how in times of personal hardship she, like many women, had to turn to informal employment.

> Like many other women I did not know how to work. It was not my custom. There were days when I used to pray because I had no food for the children and God really helped me as often they went out to play and so didn't want any food...I had to learn to work, to knit and I had to learn to take in washing for two years.

She knits sweaters to sell and during the two months leading up to Christmas 1987 she and her two daughters knitted 70 sweaters. Yet she still considers herself to be 'just a housewife'. She certainly would not bother to record her activities in the census as she did not even identify them in the club questionnaire conducted by her fellow neighbours.

Women in times of hardship often have no choice but to turn to informal employment to support their families. Many networks exist to promote informal employment. For example, informal activities are often organized by a third party. One woman who was interviewed knits sweaters for another woman in the

community who provides the wool and sells the finished items on a stall in a middle-class area of Lima. The woman who was interviewed manages to knit on average one sweater a week and receives approximately $1 (U.S.) for her labours. The sweaters retail at $10.

The reasons for women's unwillingness to identify paid work as 'work' are partly related to their self image. They do not consider themselves to be part of the EAP. In the case of the Los Incas Club it appears that it is considered socially superior to be a housewife. In a community where so many people live marginal existences it is certainly a luxury to be able to support a family on one wage.

The image of the 'happy housewife' as a sign of prosperity is very strong. Although it is difficult to identify its sources, it is fueled by Western imagery projected by the media. In 1972 18% of the population of the department of Lima owned a television. By 1981 this figure had increased to 62% and estimates for 1987 suggest that now nearly 90% of Lima's population have them (Matos Mar 1987, p. 51).

Table 4.12

Frequency distribution of household appliances among the Los Incas households

Appliances	number of household with the appliance	% of households with the appliance
None	0	0
Kerosene stove	26	46.0%
Blender, kerosene stove	1	1.5%
Kerosene stove, T. V.	15	26.5%
Kerosene stove, sewing machine	2	4.0%
Blender, kerosene stove, T.V.	2	4.0%
Gas cooker, television	0	0
Blender, gas cooker, T.V.	2	4.0%
Blender, kerosene stove, sewing machine	1	1.5%
Gas cooker, kerosene stove, T.V.	2	4.0%
kerosene stove, refrigerator, T.V.	4	7.0%
kerosene stove, refrigerator, sewing machine, T.V.	1	1.5%
TOTAL	56	(100%)

(Source: Los Incas surey)

Televisions are owned by 47.5% of women in the Los Incas club and table 4.12 shows that in terms of household goods it ranks above gas cookers, sewing machines, blenders and refrigerators in popularity.

Many people without domestic electricity run televisions from car batteries. Thousands in the shanty towns are addicted to tele novelas, tv. soap operas. Daily they see the houses of rich Western people. These programs and the ideologies they reflect shape both their ideas of life outside Peru and in some ways their personal aspirations. During a visit to the house of a woman in the Los Incas Club the woman apologized for her home, which was brick and had better facilities than many of her neighbours'. She said " You must think that houses in Peru are very humble compared with your homes?" and as I stroked her cat she added " and I expect your cat is very different, very elegant?". (See Hong 1984, for a more detailed review of the influence of Western imagery on Third World women).

In general the media push a domestic view of women. The advertisements are always Western in style. Well dressed housewives stare out from bill boards advertising a lifestyle as well as a product. The irony is that the white faced, blue eyed heros and heroines of the media are selling images and aspirations to a race of people who with all the money in the world could never resemble the models. News readers are striking for their lack of dark complexion as they read the latest promises given by palefaced politicians to Indian or mestizo people in poor barrios. A testimony of an Indian woman explains how the indigenous culture of the Indians has been down graded in favour of foreign imports:

> I came to Lima to work as a maid; that's what most of my townswomen did. I found myself in a totally different world. Here I learned that there are Chinese, Blacks and other races in Peru.
>
> One time I was lucky. I found a good boss. In his house I listened to classical music and I liked it. I realized that here the radios don't play Huaynos (a typical style of mountain music). When I sang my little huaynos I did it in a corner of the kitchen, so no one could hear me. But I soon began to meet my compatriots and watch the folklore shows that came through town. There I found my real self that had been buried.
>
> Many things have happened to me ever since I decided to sing and reclaim the huayno. I felt rebellious at being marginalized, for having to eat hard bread, for having to sing the huayno in a little corner.
>
> Now I feel like I am part of the people, I feel authentic. I consider myself "Indian"; although I have a good (i.e., not Indian) surname-Alvarez. I believe that there are social differences, that there is racism. In this country they say that there is democracy, that there is respect for human rights, but it doesn't exist. The media, which should be promoting our own culture, is in the service of the foreigner.
>
> (Connexions 1987, p. 7)

It is a tragic contradiction that adverts attempt to sell expensive lenses that give blue eyes and creams that bleach hair and skin to a people who have such a cultural wealth amidst so much economic poverty (see photo 16)

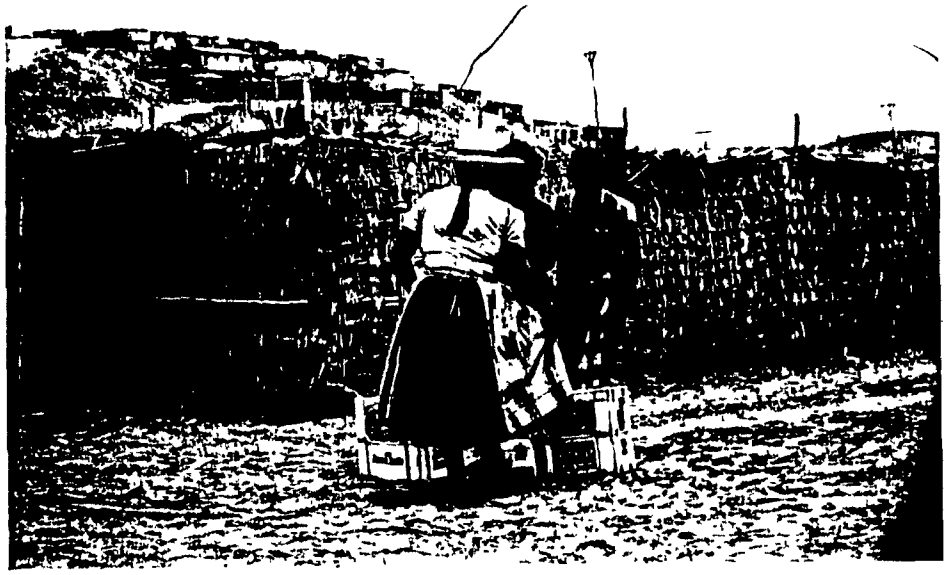
Women in Peru have been socialized by a Catholic vision of Femininity that emphasizes motherhood personified in the example of a docile, self-sacrificing Mary image This image has undoubtedly influenced women's ideas of womanhood and motherhood Nearly all the women in the Los Incas Club emphasize that they belong to the club for their children's sakes

Women's family-centred self image motivates their community actions as well as their search for paid employment. In their view, all work, whether renumerated or not, is for the development of the family group and research indicates that conceptually many women do not separate paid work from the work they do for their families. Moser's (1981) work on squatter settlements in Guayaquil, Ecuador supports this claim She notes that women's paid working patterns are frequently related to those of their spouses They drift in and out of the informal job market in response to their spouse's employment situation In times of family hardship they search for paid work, but once that period is over they return to the previous situation Their search for paid work is part of the work they do for their families. As so many women in the Los Incas Club have spouses with irregular work it is likely that they view their own paid work in a similar way This informal attitude towards women's paid work partly explains women's failure to record their forms of employment.

Often, Western feminists make culturally bound assumptions about women's needs, desires and motivation. Many indigenous women have challenged these (Barrios de Chungara 1978; Burgos-Debray 1983). They claim Western ideas concerning liberation and campaign issues are not necessarily appropriate in their situations. Similarly, Western definitions of work may not be fitting and indeed are not the same as that of the women in the Los Incas Club.

Currently some Western feminists are attempting to move away from a rigid conceptualisation of work. They realize that by making a theoretical separation between paid work and unpaid family work they are accepting the traditional way in which society has divided work into two spheres. In so doing, feminists conform to the societal values they are attempting to challenge concerning the accepted value of some tasks over others (Kobayashi, forthcoming). With the rise in alternative activity organisations and volunteer networks in Western countries many women are physically rejecting traditional definitions of work. In many ways Western feminist researchers need to take their cue from women with other values. We must recognize that our conceptualisations of terms such as 'work', ' paid work' and 'household' may be ethnocentric anachronisms. Our definitions may hinder an understanding of the values of individuals and groups of women. Worse, they may even reinforce the very stereotypes and societal structures we are attempting to change.

Photo.15



A woman selling drinks and food in the shanty towns

Photo. 16

An advertisement selling contact lenses to change the colour of a person's eyes

(iii) The social implications of irregular, informal employment

The graphs in figures ten, eleven and twelve show the distributions of wages, work experience and the hours of paid employment for the women from the Los Incas Club and their spouses. It is difficult to make accurate comparisons by sex because relatively few women have recorded their activities. Employment statistics must be viewed in the context of women's informal activities, their family work and club activities.

Most men (42%) work a ten- to twelve-hour day, 6% work night shifts and 13% split shifts or irregular hours. Their days are long and one woman in the group said that even though her husband works day shifts frequently he does not come home before midnight as he works late and has to travel across Lima. Taxi driving is a common source of employment for marginalized men. They seldom own their own cars and so are forced to drive for approximately half their time to raise money to pay the owner for the use of the vehicle. Many men are forced to work throughout the night because it is cheaper to rent a car at this time although they also risk not making enough money as there is less custom during this shift Many men on night shifts also have part-time employment during the day.

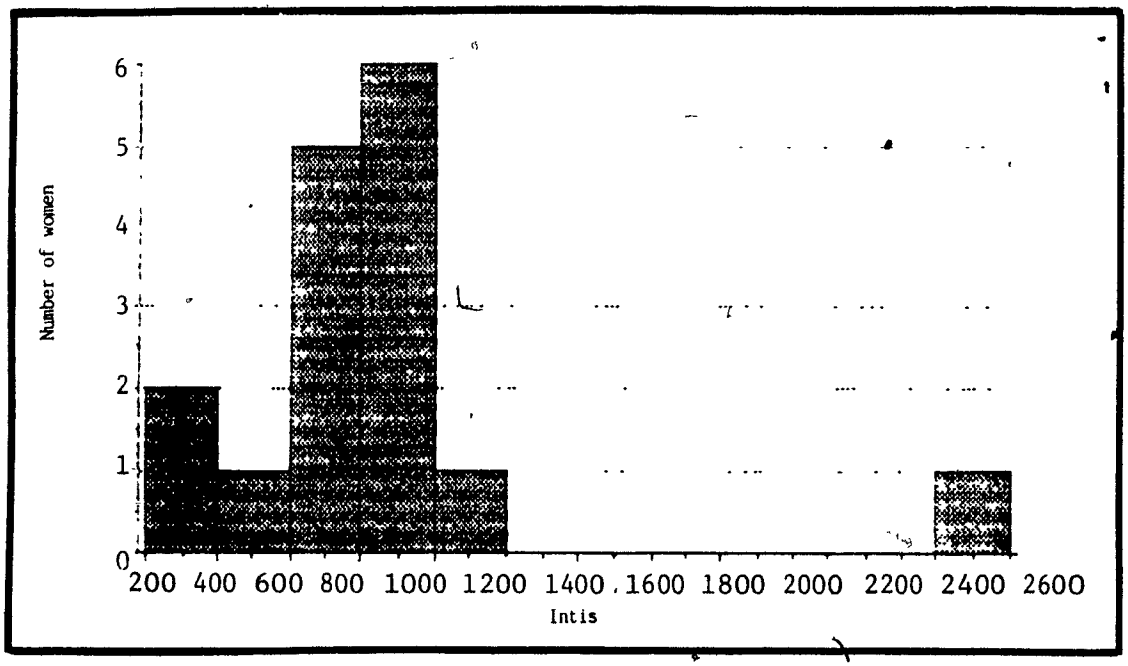
Over half the men in the survey (56%) earn between 800-1200 Intis a month. At the time of the survey, the minimum wage was approximately 1000 Intis a month (approximately $40 Canadian). This means that half the male population earned less or little more than the minimum wage. With these sorts of wages it is not surprising that their wives often look for informal activities and families need to rely on soup kitchens to feed their children adequately. A woman who was president of the club at one stage explained the despair she sometimes feels as a single mother working hard to support her family:

> That is what is different here, no matter how many hours you work you still don't earn more...a lot of Peruvians hardly earn anything....I haven't been involved [in the club] for a while because I have my own problems.
> [Will you still be involved in the club?]
> Of course, we really need the club.

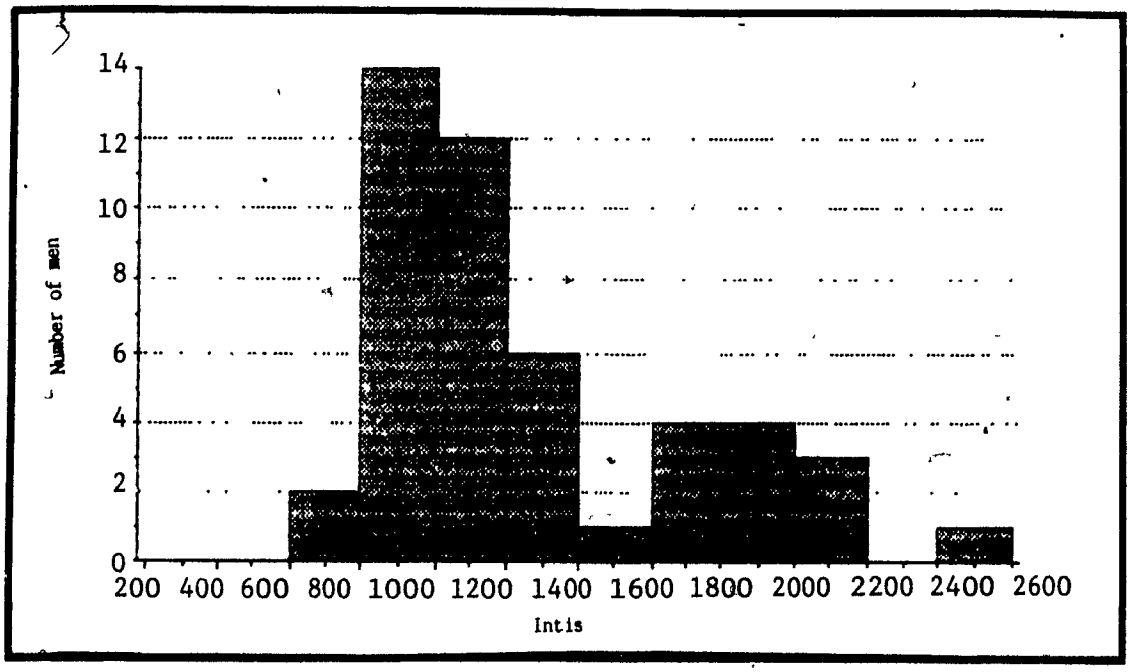
The economic situation of marginalized people was exacerbated during the national economic crisis of 1987. This crisis was produced by a series of events. Government restrictions were lifted from foreign currencies and inflation rose by 400% during some months. Inflation was tackled by official devaluation of the Inti in December 1987 that resulted in an overnight doubling of prices. Peru's poor international reputation, resulting from defaulting on national debts in early 1987, has become even more marred over the last year. Recent governmental sanctions on foreign banks, followed by the nationalization of the Peruvian banking system, has met with hostility both within and outside of the country. The West has condemned Peru's actions and some have interpreted it in terms of a new wave of leftist dogma sweeping the country (La Republica 1987). Few in the West have considered the crippling effect of the monetary crisis on the lives of poor Peruvians.

Figure Ten

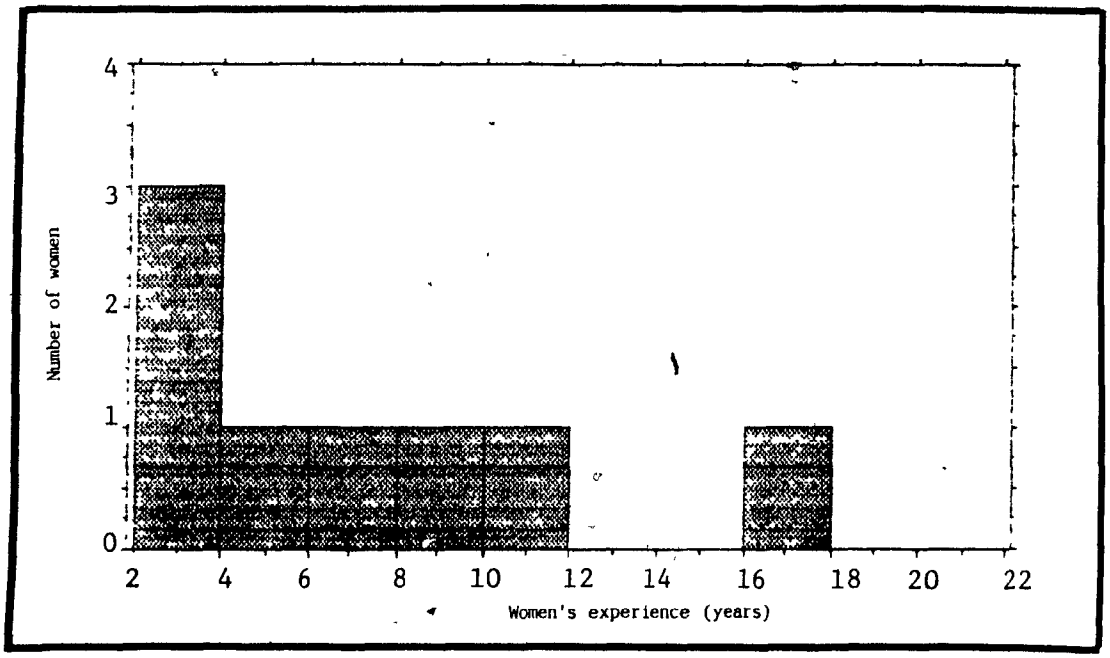
Frequency Distribution of Women's Wages



Frequency Distribution of Spouse's Wages



Frequency Distribution of Women's Experience



Frequency Distribution of Spouse's Experience

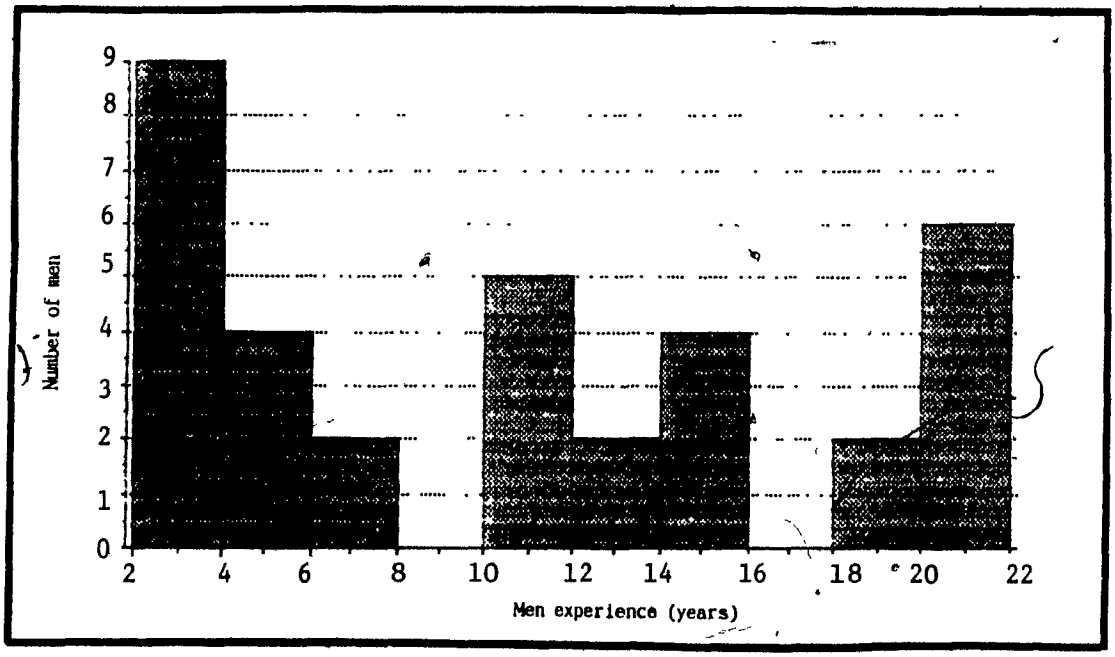
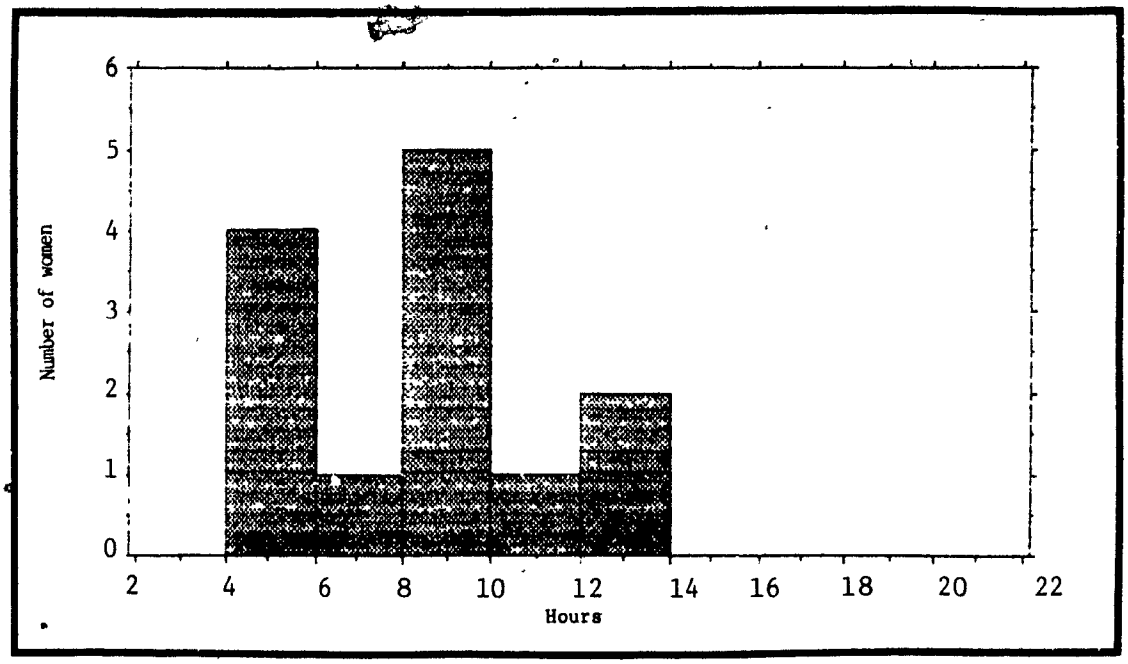


Figure Eleven

Frequency Distribution of Women's Paid Work



Frequency Distribution of Spouse's Hours of Work

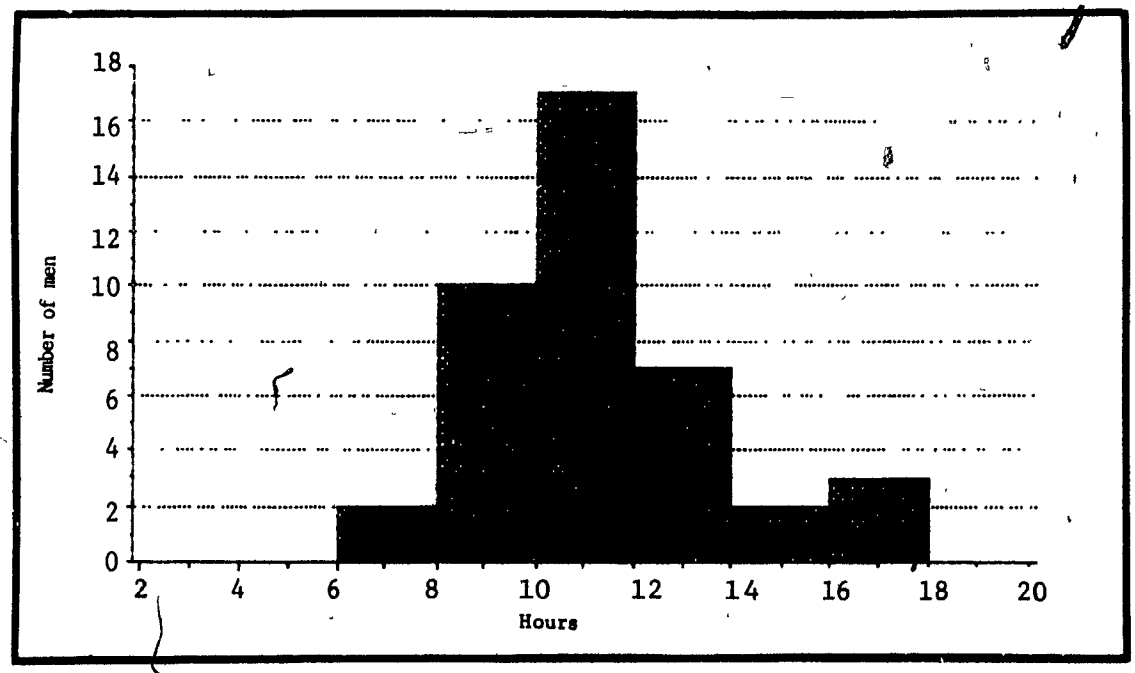


Figure Twelve

Crises affect classes and genders differently. Shanty town dwellers are trapped in an exploitative system. They have no farming self-sufficiency to fall back on in times of urban crisis and instead they and their informal activities become squeezed in order to compensate for national shortages. Because of their marginal existence this process acutely affects women in the shanty towns who have only their own labour to exploit to make ends meet for their families. The women in the Pueblos Jovenes do not need the jargon of dependency theory to explain the fact that they, as the marginalized urban poor, bear the burden of economic crisis. They realize that inflation leads to shortages as retailers hoard goods. Petty vendors are unable to compete with larger organisations during these periods. They cannot afford to collect stocks or to pay the higher prices demanded by retailers for goods that they want sell in the shanty towns. Milk is often in short supply. One woman walked for three hours around Santa Rosa in search of tinned milk for her family, unable to find it. On several occasions the Los Incas soup kitchen was unable to operate because there was no milk to make the children's accustomed porridge. During this time milk was available in the middle class supermarkets at prices slightly higher than usual but few shanty town dwellers would consider going to such places. Consequently, when the rest of Lima knows nothing about a shortage the women in Santa Rosa may have been without goods for weeks.

Molyneux (1986) has suggested that women's groups often develop during times of social and/or economic crises. The women in the Los Incas Club live in a harsh physical, economic and social environment. Some women live in worse conditions than others but for them all the emergence of their group is a coping strategy designed to sustain them through fluctuating times of hardship. It also provides them with long term opportunities to improve their personal living conditions through community action. Speaking of the growth in women's groups in Latin America, Harris (1982) has said "Women's organisations are being formed at all levels of society and developing often highly creative ways of trying to improve their situation" (Harris 1982 p. 3). In response to such statements Young (1978) has identified the need for more "comparative analysis of spontaneous, alternative forms of [women's] organisations" (Young 1978 p. 12). The next section focuses upon the particular attempt of a group of women from Santa Rosa, South Lima, to form an organisation that will help them transform their part of the Lima desert into a fertile plain rather than an urban jungle.

Section Three: Los Incas

1) History of the project

Los Incas was started by one woman named Alicia in early 1986. Alicia is an evangelical Christian. She had heard of Christian Concern funding a project a Christian friend of hers was involved in. Through this link she contacted one of the Christian Concern staff members who worked as a promotor or agent in her area. In May, 1986 the group applied to Christian Concern for funding. It is Christian Concern's policy to accept groups that already have some form of organisation, have defined their aims and have undertaken fund raising activities. In the early months of formation the group held a raffle and a picarone (doughnut) sale in order to raise money. Alicia contacted her neighbours and most women joined the group because a friend had told them about it. With the money they raised the women bought tuna and flour to distribute among themselves. They also raffled rice and sugar.

From the way in which the women organized their application for funding it is obvious that they knew something about the interests of Christian Concern and so, they appealed successfully for support. Their first application was in the form of an open letter. It was short (two pages) and signed by the directiva or the executive committee. The presence of a committee indicated to Christian Concern that they were a serious group who had already organized themselves to some degree. The concluding statement of the document said "We are in the last days when hunger is exacerbated by poverty and sickness, we have fixed our eyes on the name of Christian Concern, knowing of their spirit of help, solidarity and identification with the indigenous communities". A short time later, this application was followed by a questionnaire addressed to the leaders and used to help identify their needs and aims. Finally, a formal application and a shorter application in English were made. The English application was compiled by the Christian Concern Peru staff and sent to the co-ordinating office in charge of assessing applications and awarding project grants in the U.S.A.. The award was finally made in September 1986.

Shortly after receiving funding a property was obtained for the group and fitted with a large kerosene stove in order to implement a feeding program for children. The food for this program was paid for from the Christian Concern grant. An evening snack, usually a milk-based pudding and rolls, was provided for children who would otherwise have received only one meal a day. Concurrently the leadership under the guidance of the Christian Concern promotor, conducted a questionnaire survey among its membership (see Chapter Two). This survey was designed by Christian Concern as part of their development strategy and conducted by the women themselves. The questionnaire addressed the socioeconomic conditions of each member. As far as possible, this information was kept up to date and the files were intended as a record of membersl.ip as well as a tool for highlighting needs and creating group identity. The files also play a role in

project evaluation.

In December, 1986, the project encountered leadership problems. There were tensions due to a lack of communication, factions developed and there were also accusations of fraud because the general membership was unaware of how the grant was being administered. Alicia, the founder of the group, lost interest once the group had started to function and, although it is difficult to unravel the events, it appears her leadership was overbearing and incompatible with the group as a whole. It was at this point that the Christian Concern agent who liaises with the club (the promotor) become very prominent in decision making. Factions threatened to break up the group and there were problems with the project's location. The site for the preparation of food was in the poorest area and consequently it had no light or water supply. Also, geographically it was a long way from many of the people it served (see figure seven).

With the help of the promotor a new leadership was elected, and a new site selected for the project. The promotor also began a long period of what he has called 'consciousness raising' with the women to help them identify their needs and to establish a more formalized framework for the group. This focus involved formulating a work plan with long and short term goals, creating a constitution and selecting commissions to take over the responsibility of specific spheres of work. The group was under this leadership and focusing on these issues when field work began in August 1987.

2) Group aims and spheres of work

The interests of the group are three fold:

1) To provide an adequate diet, health and education for the children in the project;
2) To encourage women to participate in community activities and to provide them with opportunities to learn through popular education programs;
3) To provide some form of self-help employment for the women.

These are the objectives that appear on the project outline submitted by the women to Christian Concern and they are also the three areas that the women mention when asked about the aims of their group. Nearly all the women emphasize they are involved for the sakes of their children. In the words of two women: "Its all for our children, not for us...we all have children, we all have an obligation to learn". The three aims influence all the project's spheres of work outlined below.

(i) The soup kitchen

The soup kitchen claims to feed approximately 200 children a day. It is currently located in a central area of Santa Rosa and is part of a single-storey building shared with a family who rent one room. It has three rooms, a bathroom with an old toilet and shower that do not function, a room for cooking and a dark back room where the food is stored and where seminars take place. There is a large concrete patio behind the building, with a bamboo covering where the general assemblies are held. The building has no piped water and the women go to a neighbouring house to collect water in buckets from a pipe that is stopped with a rag. There is an electricity supply that lights two dim bulbs but even this is unreliable as the people sharing the building have failed on occasion to pay the bill and so the supply has been cut off several times.

The smell of kerosene from the kitchen stove clings to the air and is a familiar odor in the Pueblos Jovenes where few can afford gas or electricity. The stove is large and knowing how to use it is a practised art; during ignition the flames can jump as high as the ceiling. The kitchen area has several rough wooden benches, a large table and storage cupboard. All the goods are cheap looking, bought from a local market and made from plywood. The exception is a new, smart medicine cabinet bought by the health commission. Christian Concern provides money for food purchases and for all the resources the project needs. There is a finance committee that administers funds in collaboration with the promotor.

The small back room is piled high with benches used during general assemblies. The non-perishable foods such as oil, oats and powdered milk are stored here and even they are subject to the damp that is in the air from cooking and is especially bad during the winter months. Other foodstuffs are bought on a daily basis by those whose turn it is to cook. There is also a small blackboard and a locked cabinet where the group materials such as stationery and the project files are kept. The women are careful to keep group items separate from their own. The medicine cabinet is also in this room and is kept under lock and key.

The women cook and serve the food on a rota basis. Each session lasts from approximately 3 p.m. until 8 p.m. although the time varies with the menu. The children collect their food between about 5.30 p.m. and 7 p.m.. Each person is supposed to take a turn approximately once a month, although some women work more frequently than others. There is a fine for women who do not appear when it is their turn to work, and their children are banned from the program for a week. This is a severe punishment if a woman has more than one child in the program or if she relies on the project to feed them because she works away from the community. If women persist in their lack of attendance they are brought before the general assembly and, if they cannot explain themselves adequately, they are expelled from the group. At one general assembly a woman was asked to explain her lack of participation. She was a single mother who works in central Lima. She explained her situation and said she would come when she could. In her case this explanation satisfied the other members.

Photo. 17

The entrance to the Los Incas Club

Photo. 18

A teacher explaining basic arithmatic to the Los Incas women

In a private conversation, another woman explained her personal decision to participate in the group kitchen at the expense of paid work. She said:

> My stall is by the national stadium, just along from the flower stalls, I sell snacks and Inca Cola...I get in about 6 o'clock [who feeds your family?] I do, although my kids come here. [Why are you here today then?] Well, I stopped work today because I had to come here and work. [That must have been a big sacrifice for you?] Yes, it was but I am part of the group.

The system of participation causes much unrest amongst the women because certain women are unable to participate frequently in activities. The club is designed to help the poorest people in the community. Often single mothers who are obliged to work are the poorest group. Unfortunately, they are usually the ones who cannot participate very much. Many women who are unable to attend themselves send their daughters to work in their place. This situation is not always an ideal solution as a statement made by one woman at the general assembly indicates:

> We always miss one or two women in the kitchen....One day last week only one girl came to cook, she was only 15 years old, so there was no dinner that day. Some women can't come because they work. The young girls who come prefer to talk, they don't want to work, they don't want to get the water or to wash up.

In many cases the young girls who come are not in the program themselves but they come at their mothers' request so that their brothers and sisters will be able to receive their dinners. It is not certain, however, that the children in the project receive the food as there are no facilities for the children to eat on the premises. Instead, they collect their food and take it home. One woman said "many homes have two or more children and they share it as they can't all be in the program".

Although Christian Concern pays for food for the project the group recently instituted a one Inti charge per meal per child (at the time this was equivalent to 5 cents). The charge is obviously nominal. The directiva wanted to raise some project funds that would be theirs rather than Christian Concern's. It met with some resistance from certain mothers who had not been at the general assembly when the decision was made. The first day this idea was introduced there was much confusion about whether the cost was per family or per child and whether it could be paid weekly. Eventually a system was established but the confusion and unrest it provoked is typical of the sorts of problems that are encountered with community activities.

One of the biggest problems with this form of project is lack of responsible and reliable participation. Speaking at the general assemblies about attendance at group activities in general, members of the directiva and women who participate regularly have said:

> We are here to talk and to participate....They don't want to come, you have to lead them by the hand....If they don't come it is too bad, they can't be bothered, they never participate so we all have to decide instead....The ones who are here are nearly always the ones who are here....If they don't come it means that they don't value the bread and milk. There are others with real needs who want to join.
>
> [In response, other women said]
>
> Everyone works, some can come, some can't, you can't get everyone here at the same time....I leave early, I work in Lima and I get back late...its not my fault.

A woman who is not a group member operates a soup kitchen in La Tablada, a neighbouring community. This project is partially supported by another North American Christian group. The woman prefers to employ someone on a regular basis to cook for the children in the program. She explains her reasons in this way:

> The mothers don't cook in this program. We have seen the problems the other local groups, the Comedores Popular [state soup kitchens] have. There are many problems with the women, they give more food to their own children, they take food home, they don't turn up or they turn up late and so the food is late and the kids wait and then they miss school. No, that is stupid, we prefer to pay someone who will turn up and cook and serve the food at the hour we say.

Despite these problems, an emphasis on self-help and community participation is the main thrust of the Christian Concern development strategy. These sorts of hindrances are accepted as an inevitable part of the practice of this philosophy of development. If anyone really disagrees with Christian Concern's approach they have the right to raise the issue at the general assembly or, if they prefer, to leave the group for another soup kitchen.

Some of the problems encountered by the group are beyond their control. For example, after the frequent electricity black outs there is no bread available to be bought for the lunches as the loaves are cooked in electric ovens. Similarly, when there are shortages of goods the peripheral shanty towns are the first to suffer. The project has not been able to provide lunch on several occasions because of shortages of milk. Although menus are made in advance women are frequently unable to obtain all that they want. One day the menu changed because as one woman explained, "we weren't able to buy any apples." Shopping for items is time consuming and can also be dangerous. Several women complained that they were afraid to go to the

nearest large market at Atacongo to buy goods. This market is notorious for thefts but is the best location for cheap goods. The market is a bus ride from Santa Rosa. The buses are always very crowded and so it is difficult for the women, with large heavy loads, to shop alone.

The nutrition committee in charge of operating the kitchen attempts to overcome all these external and internal problems associated with the soup kitchen. It organizes rotas, co-ordinates shopping parties and trains the kitchen bosses, a small team of women who cook the meals and supervise kitchen volunteers on different days. The commission ensures that good records of expenditures are kept and that there is weekly communication between the fiscal and the kitchen bosses. Its main task is designing menus for the group

The point of the kitchen is to provide undernourished children with an adequate diet. Yet, many of the lunches served by the group reflect the poor diet the children receive at home. This problem is a major contradiction for the group. The average meal is a milk based pudding and buttered roll. Sometimes there are slight variations as things are added such as apples in the milk or olives in the rolls, but generally, the meals are high in carbohydrates and low in proteins.

One of the roles of the nutrition committee is to co-ordinate their activities with the health program (outlined below). The nutrition committee is supposed to work in association with the doctor and women of the health commission to ensure that healthy meals are provided. At the time of field work this level of organisation had not been achieved. The health checks reiterated the need for a higher protein diet for the children but the results had not yet been acted upon by the nutrition committee.

(ii) The health program

The main emphasis of the health program is summed up in the words of the leader of the health commission "all we want is some talks and someone to check our children." The health commission has four members, In August they searched for a doctor to participate in their program. They had funds from Christian Concern to pay for these services but were unsuccessful in obtaining anyone. They were even prepared to accept a student who was in the final year of a medical program. They finally contacted a doctor who was prepared to provide her services free. She is an expatriate supported by a missionary society to work with women's groups in the shanty towns in South Lima. The doctor, Dr. Sykes, explained that although she could make diagnoses and suggest the appropriate medicines to buy, she was unable to order test analyses because her medical qualifications had not been revalidated by the Peruvian authorities. This problem did not concern the women as they were pleased to have whatever help they could obtain and were surprised to find that her services would be free. They all agreed that in serious cases very sick children could be referred by Dr. Sykes to the local clinic or hospital.

The women's previous investigations indicated that most professionals do not want to become involved in the shanty towns and various conversations with Peruvian medical staff emphasized this point. In

general, the women were not surprised to find a foreigner more interested in their needs as they have a very low opinion of their fellow Peruvians:

> We know there are countries more advanced than Peru...there is a lot we don't have. The trouble with Peru is the people. When you buy bread you always have to check your change to see if it is correct. No one gives anything to the poor freely, no one cares about the poor.

There is an almost resigned feeling among the women that whatever they do they have to do for themselves with the help of external rather than national aid.

After meeting the women, the doctor explained the sort of program she had been operating in other locations and they jointly established a schedule that would suit their group's needs. The program focuses on preventive medicine as the main way to combat many of the health problems that exist for people in the shanty town environment. Dr. Sykes also met with the promotor and communicated with Christian Concern before participating in the project. A weekly seminar was held with the health commission to teach certain areas of preventive medicine in order to enable them to teach the wider group. The training of local promoters is an important emphasis of Dr. Sykes' work and it fits in well with the women's desires and with Christian Concern's philosophy of development. It was important to all parties to promote capacitación or self-help education to train local people to teach others. The teaching was scheduled for the period from September until December 1987. It was hoped that the women would then begin to teach the wider group from January 1988, with Dr. Sykes evaluating and helping with their efforts. Speaking of the role of local women as popular educators in the community, the leader of the commission said "we know our women, we know the words they know, and we can push the message and they will listen to us, their neighbours."

As part of the seminar program the women learned first aid and the treatment of basic illnesses With the poor level of service in the posta medicas, the freedom to buy antibiotics from the chemist and the frequent occurrence of many easily treated ailments this knowledge was important to the group. As a result of these seminars the women decided to establish a supply of medicines in the project to administer and sell at cheaper prices to those women who could not afford to buy them from the pharmacy.

The final area of concern for the health commission was health checks for each child. The aim of these was to identify children with problems, treat them, chart the development of each child and evaluate the project's effectiveness in improving the nutrition and general health of the children. The procedure for these checks is outlined in Chapter Two and the results appear in table 3.2. The members of the health committee were regular in their attendance at the checks and seminars and seemed very enthusiastic about their work. At one of the general assemblies the women shared their activities with the wider membership. It appeared that they had benefitted from the things they had learned as well as from gaining a sense of accomplishment.

Photo. 19

Dr. Sykes with a young patient at a Los Incas health check

Photo. 20

A member of the health commission recording medical histories and checking children's weights

(iii) Education program

Christian Concern provides for the schooling costs for all the children in the program. They supply a yearly grant per child to pay for uniforms, stationery and text books. Without this help many children would not be able to attend school regularly because many parents cannot afford these obligatory items.

There was a short series of classes open to the women in the group and given by the Catholic priest on the sacraments of the church. These classes were soon abandoned, however, when the priest made it clear that attendance was not obligatory. The classes were the idea of several members of the directiva and were particularly supported by one strongly Catholic woman who is an active member of the local church. Interviews indicated that the classes were not Christian Concern's idea although the staff did not object to the series or the fact that it was given by a Catholic priest. There has been no formal religious education for the children.

(iv) Employment projects

The women consistently referred to their desire for some form of income generating scheme. On different occasions they spoke of their desire for a knitting and sewing industry as well as the possibilities of a shoemaking or leather workshop:

> We all know how to knit...all we need is to buy the wool and we can sell them, all the women really want is this. We can buy the really fine wool in Arequipa and then bring it here. We also need a knitting machine. I talked to a woman who exports and she said that with a machine it is easier...the women know how to use them.
>
> We also need to work, to collaborate but those knitting machines cost a lot of money. There are many women who know how to do it, they just lack the materials. The women must work but it will be a long way ahead. The mothers must do more and collaborate more or work to pay for this...but those who work at the knitting and those who don't work are equal.
>
> We would have to train the women. Others know how to make shoes. But it is lack of materials, lack of leather, lack of a teacher.
>
> Yes, but the mothers already know; someone else taught them....They learn little by little.
>
> Yes, we want a machine to knit, for the women to knit and to sew. The women know it is the materials no more.

The field evidence confirms that the women are not being misleading when they claim every woman knits. A striking thing about large meetings is the presence of knitting in the hands of almost every woman and young girl. Knitting was even brought to the health checks and into the kitchen!

The various project proposals accepted by Christian Concern emphasize that one of the main aims of the club is to provide an income generating scheme for the women. Explicit reference in the proposals is made to the creation of family orchards and a knitting industry for the women. These activities come under the Christian Concern category of community development projects. The successful project application submitted to Christian Concern International for funding said that orchards would be planted by 1987. Other paid employment opportunities were highlighted in the Christian Concern Peru evaluation questionnaire directed at the club leadership. The results of the questionnaire indicate that many women are skilled in jewelry and shoemaking.

Despite this interest in paid work and the presence of employment schemes in the group plan, there has been little activity in this area. At the general assemblies the work commission was one of the few with nothing to report. In the words of one person "what is the point of a commission that does nothing." There is some land somewhere worked by the women. All attempts to extract information about it, however, failed. When asked "what about the orchards? Where are they?" The woman who was president of the group at the time replied "They are not producing yet, we have some land we work but it is a long way away."

When the topic of employment was first raised with one group of women, it seemed to be a controversial issue. Other conversations indicated that many women were unhappy with the project's inability to provide the activities they wanted. One member of the directiva answered a question I asked about the future and seemed to give a rehearsed speech stressing that the project was for children.

> [What do you want for this group in the future?] For example, we want an income generating group to knit. In the future that is...now, the project is a help for the children. [So, do you want a working co-operative?] But it is a project for nutrition for our children.

These statements are made despite the fact that the project is community based, with aspects of economic development, income generating schemes, stated as explicit aims in its project outline, work plan and application for funding. The tensions between the member's desire for employment and the 'official line' about it being a welfare project are obvious.

During the questionnaire survey nearly all the women said they did not belong to any other organisations. In fact this is not the case. During one of the mapping surveys of the community the guide introduced many group members who were meeting in someone's house to knit. They were embarrassed to be found there as they were there as part of another project operated by OFASA. This organisation is funded by the Adventist church and is usually a food-in-return-for-work project, but in this instance the women were paid cash for knitted articles. The presence of other groups causes tension within the project as women's loyalties and time are divided. If the Los Incas project were meeting their needs then they would not go elsewhere.

(v) Independent schemes

The women expressed the desire to take the children away on holiday. Many of the children had never been outside Lima. The same is true for many of the women, some have not been away since they moved there and some have not even been outside Santa Rosa. One woman spoke about her 'once in a lifetime trip' back to her native jungle province to see her family after twenty years. Another more wealthy woman, who has a market stall and whose parents are comparatively well off, returns home to the jungle each year: "My father has a boat, we go up the river...ah, it is very beautiful."

When the opportunity for a holiday arose, two women were very enthusiastic:

> I go from my house to the project and that is all. Then once a week I get out to my mothers at paradero (bus stop) one, just at the entrance to *Santa Rosa*....[And] I go from home to the market and home again, I would really like to get out for a bit.

The first woman who spoke lives in a bamboo house with her husband and three little girls. It is hardly surprising that she was enthusiastic about the opportunity to get away. Unfortunately her husband forbade her going away with the group. A free weekend camp was organized for the children through personal links with an organisation that owns and operates a children's camp in Mala an hour south of Lima, on the coast. Private donations from overseas, separate from Christian Concern's organisation, financed the camp.

Other than the usual difficulties of arranging transport and communicating with all the women there were several interesting problems that complicated the organisation of the camp. Many women who were initially enthusiastic became suspicious of the idea and unwilling to allow their children to attend. Many acquiesced, however, after constant nagging by their children! One group member attributed the changes in attitude to interference by husbands. As husbands do not attend the group, they were unfamiliar with the leadership and the ways in which it operates. Rather than become acquainted with the group and its aims, many fathers refused to allow their children to attend the camp. Many women openly said their husbands opposed the idea and decided not to allow their children to go. It seems the women have little decision-making power in these situations.

The experience of seeing opposition to a group aim illustrated the important role the directiva plays in successfully communicating ideas. Their work is often very difficult as it encroaches upon family relationships and gender relations. Through consciousness raising it challenges many existing norms of family structure and society in a way that has direct implications for individual women in their homes.

A second interesting point concerning camp organisation was the directiva's decision that only one child per family was permitted to attend. This decision caused problems because many mothers wanted all or none of their children to go. The age range imposed by the camp authorities was also a problem for many

women whose children were too young. The most important point, however, was the fact that the directiva and the mothers assumed the camp was only open to children registered in the club. This assumption was made even though the financing was independent of Christian Concern and many club children were under the age limit. Until it was explained that the camp was intended for those who wanted to go whether or not they were in the club, the women were prepared to allow places to be left unoccupied rather than fill them with non-club children. The division between club and non-club children can cause resentment and divide families. This subtle form of elitism can mean also that many needy family members are excluded from activities because they are not registered in the club.

Another group activity that discriminated among club children and their brothers and sisters was the provision of Christmas presents. The women held a ceviche (Peruvian fish dish) sale in early December to raise money. They also used the funds from the 1 inti meal toll, as well as remaining raffle funds to buy each child a T- shirt for Christmas. This activity was on their own initiative and it resulted in various members of the directiva emphasizing that the club should hold more independent events. At the general assembly where their own fund-raising efforts were discussed, the president claimed that the women should strive to be more independent of Christian Concern. She said, "we must remember that we are blessed with this money from Christian Concern and are better off than most others." She urged them to work harder to show that they deserved the money and also she encouraged the women to work together on independent projects to raise support for the club and make them more independent . She even suggested that if the women did not do this Christian Concern would leave: "If they go they will take everything including the cooker and then what will we do as the children have become accustomed to their glass of milk and their bread?"

The atmosphere at this general assembly was noticeably different from others where the Christian Concern promotor had been present. The women spoke more freely about their fears and the problems of being dependent upon aid. From Christian Concern's perspective these are healthy attitudes. It is Christian Concern's philosophy and desire that groups retain their independence and that leaders work towards autonomy and self-sufficiency. The project is only funded for a period of five years, after which time Christian Concern hopes it will continue unaided.

Despite this principle, a key question is whether or not the practical, structural organisation established by Christian Concern genuinely encourages their espoused self-help development policy. Does it provide the framework for women to become autonomous? Do the Los Incas activities match Christian Concern's rhetoric? Are they promoting the independent growth of the women and their community? In order to answer these questions the next chapter outlines the history aims and philosophy of Christian Concern. It discusses the functional structure of the organisation and the ways in which it interacts with grass-roots groups in general, and more specifically, with the Los Incas project.

Chapter Five
Christian Concern: An International Geographic Organisation

Introduction

The origins of an aid agency influence its ideology and philosophy of development. This chapter outlines the history of Christian Concern and analyses the influences upon the organisation's aims and the administrative structure it has developed to fulfill those goals. Section one focuses upon the history and philosophy of Christian Concern and indicates that it sees itself as an aid agency. Section two describes and analyses Christian Concern's organisational framework and concludes that its administration is hierarchical and can severely limit its work in Peru.

Section One: Christian Concern: The Making of a Development Agency?

1) Origins and history of Christian Concern

Like many other NGOs Christian Concern developed during the post-war period. Its aims and philosophies were shaped by the prosperity of the era, a desire to rebuild devastated areas of the world and a conviction to help the poor and oppressed. Rogers (1981) claims the prevailing domestic view of women during this period also influenced aid agencies at this time and affected the way in which aid was given.

Christian Concern was founded in 1950 by one man who had travelled to China and was moved by the plight of the children there. A story is told of how he met a little girl in an orphanage and was disturbed to discover that the people who were caring for her were unable to feed her. When he realized the cost of providing for her was only $25 a year he gave the money he had at that time and pledged to pay the rest at a later date. This initial act of sponsorship has subsequently shaped Christian Concern's approach to development and fundraising. The organisation is funded mainly by child sponsorship and regular gifts are pledged by individuals from developed countries to a particular child.

After a trip to Korea two years later as an evangelist, the same man was moved by the thousands of displaced people who were unable to provide for themselves. During his tour he appealed for money to help those in need and as the gifts increased a formal organisation was established to administer these funds. Over the next few years famous Christian leaders such as Billie Graham gave their support and the organisation spread throughout North America.

After the Korean War, Christian Concern held a conference for Christian leaders and shared their vision for social action. As a result, various Christian organisations (mainly evangelical groups) became

affiliated and new administrative offices were established. By 1966 Christian Concern had expanded into Latin America, Asia and Africa. National offices were established in many third world countries and Christian Concern became an international organisation with donor offices in Europe, North America and Australia. The Peru national office in Lima was established in 1982. By 1985 there were 35 national offices and 8 donor offices supporting 3472 projects internationally and 1278 in Latin America alone.

During the 1960s a new president was appointed and the organisation began to use television media to attract new sponsors from among the public. Christian Concern also campaigned for government grants for general funds and specific projects. CIDA and other international aid agencies award annual donations and in specific countries many local schemes benefit from small government grants. The Finnish government, for example, awarded a small grant to the Los Incas Club in 1987. Christian Concern's links in the aid world are very strong. This fact was highlighted in 1985 when it was received into membership by the economic and social council of the United Nations.

2) Christian Concern's self-image

Christian Concern sees itself as a development agency. Its literature states clearly that it is a Christian organisation with a social ministry among the poor. The following quote is taken from a working paper produced by Christian Concern Peru, introducing their work in detail and defining its aims and raison d' être:

> Definition: What is *Christian Concern* ?
> It is an evangelical Christian aid and development agency that attempts to serve the most poor people in the world in the name of and with the love of Jesus Christ.
>
> * *Christian Concern* is not an ecclesiatic organisation, nor missionary in the traditional sense of the word, neither is it denominational. It is more a fraternal association of autonomous organisations that co-operate freely together, with a common agreement to carry out a ministry among the most needy.
>
> Our ministry is within the evangelical tradition, we try to work, whenever possible, through or with local Christian groups in whom we identify a combination of evangelical zeal and a spirit of service for all men in the name of Christ.
>
> (Document 1, page 5)

By its own definition Christian Concern is an aid agency whose Christian conscience inspires those who are members of the organisation to care for the poor. In the case of Peru, Christian Concern works with several Christian groups including approximately five church denominations as well as para-church organisations such as seminaries, missionary societies and other national groups.

Christian Concern is also involved with secular organisations. Various personnel have links with

other aid agencies and social action groups working in their field. Of the Christian Concern staff who were interviewed one woman, who has worked extensively with women in the shanty towns, has many links with the feminist and religious/feminist organisations working with women in Peru. Her own work has emphasized the need for different groups to work together:

> I like to be with the people. I don't know if it is right to call it training activities because really we didn't train a person but we do group work to reflect, to discuss and to learn the interests of women....So, it was important for us to start working with them and helping them to do better work and trying to develop their skills in leadership and in organizing and communications in order to take their groups and make them develop and make them work in connection with other groups in the community...not in an isolated way.
>
> This was one of the characteristic that we saw, that there were many many groups of women but they were isolated from the others and not only that but they had conflicts and problems between them and it didn't help them to develop and to achieve their goals.I think it was the insecurity of the women, competition and also the way some of the institutions, the external institutions arrive into their group. The way they work...they work with them which makes them [the women] work in that isolated way. But also the instability of the groups and...well...they were afraid that if they made contact with other groups that they were going to lose what they had. They didn't see the benefit of getting together and sharing experience thoughts, ideas and work so they started to work alone.

Christian Concern emphasizes the need for groups to work together. Another staff member, the leader of the operations unit, has many contacts with academics, umbrella organisations such as Unicef, Care, and Save the Children, as well as links with foreign and Peruvian government agencies.

There are also formal connections between Christian Concern and other aid organisations working in Peru. For example, Christian Concern's health program was established through consultations with Unicef concerning project design. Two people who have worked on Christian Concern projects over the last two years are members of a missionary organisation. They have given their services freely because they are supported by a British Christian group. The agreement between the two organisations is informal and the people involved are not under contract. It appears that despite its autonomy in terms of raising its own support, Christian Concern does not work in isolation from other organisations. Instead, in order to fulfill its ministry to the poor, it combines a role in grass-roots activism with that of a liasion office for aid organisations.

3) Development ideals and definitions

Christian Concern's definition of development is linked with their world view concerning the existence of God and the need for Christians to respond to God's love for them by caring for others. This assumption is the basic premise of their work and the underlying inspiration for their actions. The formal definition they provide is the following:

> Our Concept of Development
>
> Christian Concern views development as a process of transformation that centres on people who discover their God given potential and act upon it with critical consciousnesses in order to establish just and brotherly social, political and economic relations.
>
> Development implies not only economic growth but also personal, community and structural change. At the same time it means a dignified quality of life that is focused on the active participation of people as protagonists in their own history.
>
> This process of change involves the whole human existence and is based upon the action of God in Jesus Christ, that requires committed and motivated Christians to act in response to the love of God and love for their fellow creatures.
>
> (Christian Concern, document 3)

Christian Concern's definition of development is broad. It emphasizes the role of people as agents of change and the importance of group participation in changing structural, social and spiritual constraints that prevent people from reaching their God given, full potential. Christian Concern's intention is to promote integral or 'holistic' development. In this view of development, the organisation refutes the separation made frequently by Christian and secular groups between physical and spiritual dimensions of life. Consequently they are unlike many other Christian organisations that are only involved in evangelism and do not have social ministries, Christian Concern's priorities are the opposite of these groups.

The Peru staff claim their work focuses on the most needy."[Our main aim] is to identify the most needy people in our country, to help incorporate the most willing donators and to administrate efficiently the resources available to satisfy the greatest quantity of needs at the minimum cost" (Christian Concern, document 1, p. 14). They define the 'most needy' in three ways: the material poor, the moral and spiritually poor and the socially poor. This aim is obviously political, and the political implications of Christian Concern's ministry are discussed in section two of this chapter. Their projects are targeted using these criteria. The holistic approach of Christian Concern is also seen in their philosophy of work.

Philosophy of work:

> The philosophy of *Christian Concern* is to to help those people who themselves are helping to improve their living conditions in all possible forms: in mind, in body and in spirit. This "holistic" focus is explained in a political formulation given in 1978:
>
> We move and emphasize the unsatisfied needs of innumerable millions of people who are victims of the ravages of poverty, illness, hunger, loneliness and desperation. They are also God's creatures, made in his image and because of their circumstances they are unable to develop the potential God has given them. Our focus concerning the needy fellow creature is holistic: We reject the unbiblical principle that spiritual and physical dimensions are opposed and that personal things are contrary to those that are social. We want to see whole people in all their relations turn to the only saviour Jesus Christ.
>
> (Christian Concern, document 1, p. 6)

The emphasis on self-help is clear in the Christian Concern literature. It is the reason they choose to work with projects like the Los Incas Club that are proposed by the community and are already organized to some degree. In keeping with the notion of people aspiring to their own potential is Christian Concern's emphasis on consciousness raising.

Christian Concern believes that people potentially have the power to shape their own history and they have the right to change structural, social and spiritual forces that oppress them. Speaking more specifically of the approach taken in development, Christian Concern Peru has defined three different projects that they promote to reflect different aspects of development. They particularly emphasize community development and stress further their emphasis on self-help that is inspired by the equality of all people in God's eyes. Christian Concern's development strategy is overtly geographical as they orgainise projects around the concept of communities. Their criteria for defininig community is not explained in their literature and they do not distingush between local unique places and geographical areas that they assume are homogenous.

Community development

In as much as emergency aid provides resources that save lives, community development helps to improve self-sufficiency. The development projects which usually operate for periods of two-five years (optional) provide new forms of resolving problems through the provision of skills, equipment, training or direction to combat malnutrition, illiteracy, unemployment and the problems of public health.

The efforts of *Christian Concern* in the area of development concentrate upon strengthening foundations and always attempting to help those in most need so that they are able to help themselves.

In the majority of cases, the local people suggest and supervise the projects. Also, a high priority is given to training local leaders.

Development

These projects promote the self development of communities, they try to attain the free decision of local inhabitants and to orientate them towards the use of their own abilities to satisfy their needs.

These projects are holistic (with programs for agriculture, income generation, health education etc.) they last for more than two years. The efforts of *Christian Concern* concentrate upon the strengthening of communual organisation and training local leaders.

"Semilla"

These projects generally concentrate upon one activity, they have a low budget and are able to orientate themselves towards development projects. They last for a maximum of one year. They address experimental projects.

(Christian Concern, document 1, p. 11-16)

The emphasis on self help is very important in the Christian Concern conceptualisation of development. This point is illustrated by an account of Christian Concern International's history that appears in the Peru office work strategy (1987). It says "The year 1974 was very important for the organisation, for the first time the theme of development was incorporated into the ministry of Christian Concern when it financed a construction program for wells of drinking water in India" (Christian Concern, document 1, p. 4). The early sponsorship gesture made by the founder of Christian Concern and this first development project in 1974 have influenced profoundly Christian Concern's self-image, conceptualisation of development and its strategies to overcome the injustices that exist in the world.

Section Two: Christian Concern's Structural Organisation

This section discusses the way in which Christian Concern attempts to practise its development philosophy. The themes of its work in Peru are described in relation to the aims of Christian Concern International. Using Tendler's (1984) approach as outlined in Chapter One, the organisational structure of Christian Concern is described and analysed with respect to its ideology and philosophical conceptualisation of development. The promotion of autonomy and self-help is evaluated in the Los Incas Club through its community development, child development and education programs.

A) Christian Concern's areas of work with reference to Peru and the Los Incas Club

In 1986 Christian Concern was working in more than 80 countries, in 4,500 projects that ministered to 400,000 children (Christian Concern, document 5a). The budget for these projects is very large. In 1987 a total of $97.4 million was given to Christian Concern projects throughout the world (Christian Concern, documents 8, May 1987). In Canada alone $36 million was raised in 1986.

The main themes of Christian Concern's work are reflected in how the organisation allocates its financial resources. The projected estimates for 1987 were as follows:

1) Child care: $57.5 million (2,965 projects)
2) Community development: $19 million (1,065 projects)
3) Relief and rehabilitation: $14.6 million
4) Evangelism and leadership: $6.3 million (253 projects)

(Christian Concern, documents 8, February 1987)

Christian Concern focuses upon child care and community development with over 59% and 20% of their budget being allocated to these categories respectively in 1987. The Peru office has expanded these general themes to include education and communication as distinct from other programs. An introductory leaflet produced by Christian Concern Peru describes their work. As a sponsored soup kitchen and health project focused on children, the Los Incas Club embraces three of Christain Concern's concentrations.

These three themes have been translated below:

Family and child development

The future of the world is in the children of today. Moreover, 500 million children are in danger because they do not have sufficient nutrition, shelter or health services. Their future is also limited because of lack of education. In response to this great need, *Christian Concern's* family and child development program, the largest of its kind, helps the most needy local communities in their efforts to obtain development for their children until they fulfill their maximum potential.

Community development

The cause of underdevelopment is largely the result of the bad distribution of resources and opportunities. The development programs with the community provide new ways of resolving problems that help to improve standards of living and at the same time to promote self-sufficiency and self-management. The efforts of *Christian Concern* in this area are concentrated upon the provision of technical skills, equipment, providing direction or enabling people to combat malnutrition, illiteracy, low incomes, unemployment and health problems. These development projects last for periods of 2 to 5 years and where possible the local people propose and supervise their projects.

Education and communication

Christian Concern tries to obtain education for people with respect to their human needs for existence in the world. We believe that people who belong to the developed countries, like those in the development process, must recognize and give resources in terms of money, for the urgent needs of those who have less.

(Christian Concern, document 3)

The Los Incas Club is a community development project that focuses on children. It also benefits from the Christian Concern sponsorship program and so fulfills the organisation's aim to promote development education in donor countries. The spiritual aims of Christian Concern are not emphasized in the Los Incas Club project. No formal Christian education is provided for either the children or the mothers and in keeping with Christian Concern policy the group is open to people of all creeds, races and ideological inclinations (Christian Concern document 2). This policy reflects the fact that Christian Concern Peru's main emphasis is upon Christian witness through social action rather than active evangelism.

B) National and international organisation/interaction

1) National organisation

(i) The Peru headquarters

As well as the Lima headquarters there are also two regional offices in Peru, one for the jungle areas and another for the mountain provinces. The Lima office occupies a large area in the central, commercial sector of town. As the main administrative centre it co-ordinates Christian Concern's work in the provinces but is also the base for their work in Lima.

(ii) Project distribution by area and themes

Christian Concern Peru has 71 projects in total divided equally between rural and urban areas, although many of the Sierra projects are located in shanty developments on the outskirts of large rural towns such as Ayacucho and Trujillo. There are several emergency projects in Peru. These are in the southern areas, around the shores of Lake Titicaca badly damaged by flooding two years ago, in Cuzco where there have been earthquakes recently and also in Ayacucho and Apurimac where terrorism has prompted relocation projects for refugees. There are also several short term Semilla projects in operation in different locations.

The distribution of projects changes annually. The map in figure thirteen shows the distribution of projects during 1986. The leaflet containing the original map proudly announces:

> The profound global economic crisis that has faced Peru for many years is reflected in the alarming situation of impoverishment, of those who are members of thousands of Peruvian families in the marginal-urban zones and rural communities. It is here that *Christian Concern* has developed its work for five years in the form of development projects and child sponsorship, that promote nutrition, health, education and production programs. In reality, we have 71 sponsorship and development projects in the marginal-urban areas of our cities in Lima and Trujillo as well as in the departments of Ayacucho, Apurimac, Cuzco, Junin, Ancash and Puno; they try especially to attend to the needy communities in the deprived departments.
>
> (Christian Concern document 3)

Despite the claims of Christian Concern, non-Patrocinio (non-child sponsorship) development projects have deceased rapidly over the past few years. Of the total number of projects in Peru 46 are patrocinio schemes. As directly funded development projects are decreasing, child sponsorship in Peru is expanding. By 1988 patrocinio schemes are expected to include 10000 children and by 1989 this figure will be 15000.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF CHRISTIAN CONCERN PROJECTS IN PERU (1985)

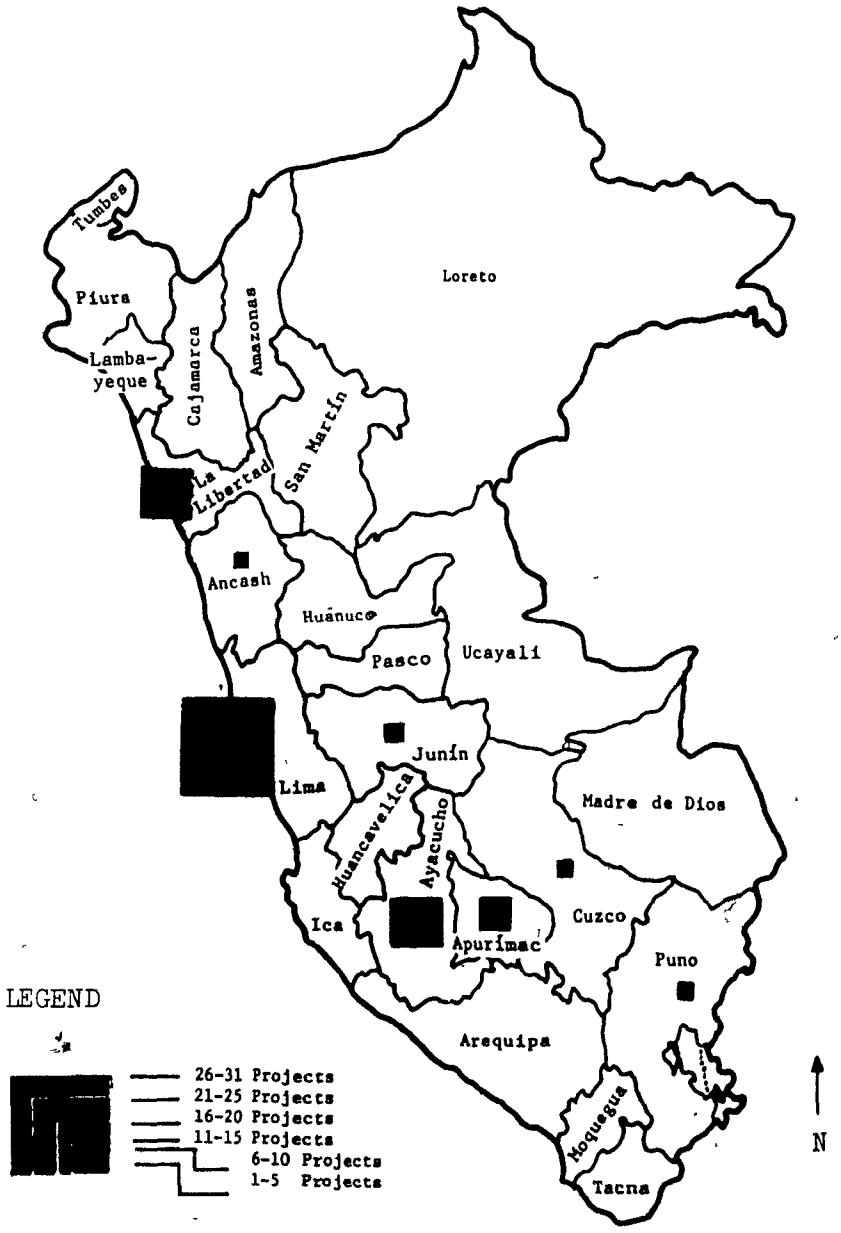


Figure Thirteen

This expansion is at the expense of other development initiatives. Many of the directly funded development projects are near the end of their grants and new projects are not planned to replace them. Several direct sources of funding have been withdrawn from Peru. In 1987 Peru did not receive its traditional grant from CIDA although in 1986 CIDA gave a grant of $3.5 million to Christian Concern International and in 1985 they gave $8.3 million (Christian Concern, documents 8, February 1987). The decision concerning a change in emphasis towards child sponsorship in Peru was taken by the International office in the U.S.A.. All national offices are tied into a hierarchical administration that affects all major policy making-decisions.

(iii) Hierarchical organisation

Interviews with Christian concern staff members indicated that each country establishes an annual priority work plan that suits their particular needs and the interests of national staff. All yearly work plans, however, must be reviewed and accepted by the international office in the U.S.A.. In the same way, all support funds are channelled through donor offices and finally reach their national destination via the main office in California. 33% of all funds are used in administration charges. The international office decides which individual projects are to be funded. The national office's decision-making power is confined to an initial level when they screen projects before submitting them to the U.S.A. for final evaluation. The Peru office attempts to put forward projects that have church links, promote holistic development and are already far ahead in their organisation. Although Christian Concern Peru encourages grass-roots groups to submit projects for review they cannot guarantee that they will receive funding. One Christian Concern worker in charge of promotors in local projects explained that the Peru office is aware of Christian Concern's internal politics and so they attempt to choose projects that will appeal to the international office, that is, those that involve children as the main beneficiaries. Promotors work in close association with project leaders to ensure that good applications are made. This point explains why the women in the Los Incas Club knew how to organize their first application to Christian Concern. Funding decisions are taken by the international office twice a year in March and December.

The U.S.A. office forms international policy and their decisions apply to all the countries where Christian Concern works. The changing emphasis towards child sponsorship in recent years represents one such international decision that has wide-reaching implications. The international office does not make funds readily available for other forms of development projects, although money is still given in the case of emergency projects.

One staff member in Peru is very unhappy with the hierarchical nature of decision making and with Christian Concern's move away from independent development projects. He said "this was decided above, it wasn't our decision...it is international politics, we can't change it." He is concerned about the link between politics and funding, "the money passes through there and that is where the politics are made."

He explained that even other donor countries are under the direction of the central office. He is appalled that all finances have to travel via the U.S.A. and is suspicious of how the money is used. He claims the international office fixes the wages of the field director who earns between $15-20,000 (U.S.) a year, while other national staff members earn only about $3000 (U.S.), an amount fixed internally. "If that is what they give a Peruvian who is living in Peru and who doesn't need it, what are they giving the bosses there?" The international office has a staff of about 150 people. There are no Peruvians on the international team and Peruvian staff members do not travel to the U.S.A., rather representatives from California visit Peru.

Other aspects of staffing policies also are imposed by non-national decisions. Until this year the Peru office had no ex-patriate staff members. An Australian woman will be joining the staff sometime in 1988. She will be working with women's projects and is experienced in similar work in Australia. She will be sponsored by the Australian office (so will not be earning the same as other field workers). Several people involved with field operations are not very enthusiastic about her work. Her placement at this time is ironic because an experienced Peruvian Christian Concern worker left the organisation two years previously because she wanted to undertake similar work with women's groups and could not find opportunities within the Christian Concern framework.

> I worked for *Christian Concern* from 1982-85 as an area supervisor [promotor] of the *Christian Concern* projects. I worked in that for about two and a half years, then I was in training and evaluation. After that I got out from here and started to work with two other girlfriends in training activities with women's groups. We did training activities in family planning, related to sexual feelings in women and also organisation of their group. We always worked with organized groups...we developed some materials for training activities. For example, games, puzzles for organs of the body and also we worked with trying to develop the communication and group organisation. After that I worked for CONEP (council for evangelical churches in Peru) helping them in trying to work with churches in their responsibilities towards social problems. Now I am back here at *Christian Concern*...I am going to stay until November or December.

After returning to Christian Concern she only worked on a short contract because in December 1987 she left the country to start a course at a Canadian university. She wanted to specialize in development education programs for women and left for Canada because she was unable to find opportunities to increase her experience in Peru and yet an expatriate is now going to do the very thing she wanted.

2) National orientation and operations

Despite the limitations placed upon the autonomy of Christian Concern's national offices each country has its own work program and is able to develop a national organisational structure that is distinct from other areas. Once annual work plans have been accepted and individual projects funded or rejected by the international headquarters, how the Peru office decides to organize its staff and work in individual projects is its own concern. Within limits, the national office is able to decide how the funds to individual patrocinio projects are administered.

(i) The Peru office and political orientation

The orientation of the Peru staff is expressed in the small library in the operations unit. It is used by all staff members and is stocked with current journals in Spanish and some in English. There are academic as well as popular publications and teaching materials. Some are secular and others Christian. All deal with the theory and practice of grass-roots development. Sojourners, a left wing Christian publication that attempts to challenge evangelicals on social issues, appears in their resources even though this magazine has been known for its criticism of Christian Concern in the past. The editor of the magazine was speaking at a Christian conference and he relates the following story:

> I arrived during the evening session the night before I was scheduled to speak. As I entered the room I heard the speaker say, "I want to report to you all that my good friend Loi Nol is recovering from his illness and will soon be out of the hospital, again leading his people in their heroic fight against communism."
>
> The speaker was...the president of *Christian Concern* , the powerful evangelical relief agency. The good friend he referred to was the corrupt military dictator whom the United States installed in Cambodia after the CIA helped arrange a coup to overthrow the legitimate government.
>
> (Wallis 1983, p. 84)

When asked about the library's collection of books the operations leader said "we buy books I'm interested in, not a lot of right wing stuff."

Bamat (1986) has accused Christian Concern of being imperialist and having links with the CIA in Ecuador. His criticisms are very generalized and not supported well by case study examples. Despite this fact, when asked to comment on Bamat's work a Christian Concern worker in the Peru office replied:

> Each country has its own distinct pattern. In Peru, we are very different from other countries in Latin America like Chile, Argentina and Ecuador...[but] we presented our plan in December and they [the head office] accepted it. They [the international office and other countries] are very right wing and we are left.

It is difficult to substantiate the claims of Christian Concern involvement with the CIA and as the international operations of Christian Concern were not the main theme of research for this thesis the allegations remain uninvestigated on an international scale. In Peru, however, there was no immediate evidence of CIA input and in fact the Peru staff who were interviewed seemed to have left wing, anti-American sentiments. Despite this, the international political public image of Christian Concern is not very good. One incident that is not widely known and which occurred during field work suggests that this image may have serious implications. In November 1987 two evangelicals were murdered in the Ayacucho area. Both were Christian Concern workers and although there is no proof of this being related to their deaths, the Sendero opposition to evangelicals and their dislike of North American Christian social work is well known.

(ii) Integral development and the Peru approach to child sponsorship

Christian Concern Peru has developed its own national strategy. It has attempted to work around the limitations of international decisions by expanding child sponsorship to include community development schemes.

> Sponsorship projects
>
> In this type of project children are made the focus as representatives of the community. The development programs for these projects must respond to the needs and interests of the community.
>
> The funds for the sponsorship projects are provided by sponsors who know the children by their name and photograph and they communicate through correspondences that are maintained through our office in Lima; it is for this reason that it is necessary to take photographs of the children and to use the system of relationship with the sponsors.
>
> (Christian Concern document 1, p. 15)

The Peru office have emphasized integral development and attempt to ensure that the whole community rather than individual children benefit from child sponsorship schemes. One worker said " there are many problems with patrocinio but we have tried to change it to the specific situation [the needs of a particular community] and to do our best." When asked whether the approach of integral development conflicted with the reality of projects only catering to children's health and education needs the operations co-ordinator said "we are supposed to use the money for the children but it is used for the family and for the

community as well." Many patrocinio projects have more children than there are sponsors. Extra money is given from general finances, national sources and any other funds the national office can gather to support more children. The Christian Concern Peru staff have applied to various funding organisations independently of Christian Concern International. It is common practise in many child sponsorship programs operated by other organisations to have non-sponsored children also in the program. A soup kitchen in La Tablada funded by another North American Christian group has 56 children enrolled in the sponsorship program and yet feeds 86 daily and also operates a small hostel for about 15 very poor children who cannot be looked after at home. The Los Incas Club has approximately 170 children with sponsors and 20 without. On average each Christian Concern patrocinio project requires $10,000 annually and has 100 children enrolled. In the case of Los Incas there are nearly 200 children in the project on the same budget.

In a document entitled The ministry of *Christian Concern* Peru in attending to children: politics and declaration of position, Christian Concern Peru outlines its attempts to extend child sponsorship to serve the whole community. Its principle objective is as follows:

> The principle objective of Christian Concern is to contribute, from a Christian perspective, in the holistic transformation of the conditions of the poor, to help the promotion and creation of a more just society with a dignified and humane quality of life. To be most effective in its policies we have designated the greatest part of our resources to develop a better ministry towards children and families in the community....Since its first days *Christian Concern* as an organisation has given special consideration to those things which affect children who are victims of disasters, poverty and injustice....This policy was destined to confirm our [present] path of ministry to children and families in their community, to put into action our understanding of the things that make a better ministry to children and to establish it as the continued strategic direction of Christian Concern in the community.
>
> (Christian Concern document 2, p. 1)

The paper also claims that if children suffer from poor health and a lack of opportunities the whole community will be disadvantaged in the long term when they reach adulthood. It makes specific reference to the link between development and a ministry to children and says that in all the children's schemes it will try to incorporate the Christian Concern principles of development (i.e., holistic self-help and autonomous development).

> The efforts of children's projects as a part of Christian Concern are inseparable from human promotion in general....Christian Concern recognizes that children do not exist separate from their families, community and country, that the responsibility for these children falls finally with their own communities. Because of this, Christian Concern deliberately designs their ministry to children in the from of family and community help in order to satisfy the urgent and immediate needs of their children and at the same time to enable families and communities to increase their potential and so finally fulfill their responsibilities without dependence.
>
> (Christian Concern document 2, p. 2)

Using this approach to child sponsorship Christian Concern Peru hopes to overcome the problems of elitism caused by many child sponsorship schemes. Child sponsorship schemes in general have been criticised for introducing discrimination within a community and causing resentment as some children are helped and others not. This approach is problematic, especially where families have only some children in the project. The Peru office is aware of the problems with child sponsorship:

> *Christian Concern* shares the concern over the tendency for child sponsorship schemes to become a source of economic discrimination and social differentiation within the community and within the child's family. For this reason *Christian Concern* attempts to attend to children through the development of the community as a whole; extending the benefits received by sponsored children to other children, to the family and to as many children as possible in the community.
>
> (Christian Concern document 2, p. 2)

The guide lines intended to ensure that the above aims are met are reproduced below

> 1) The patrocinio projects in *Christian Concern* are directed towards the most needy in the community.
>
> 2) The decisions regarding which children will be sponsored will not discriminate in terms of religion, race, ideology, class or tribe.
>
> 3) The majority of sponsored children will be under 13 years of age. It will be possible to include older children by mutual agreement with the donor offices and the sponsors. For children older than 16 years education or work programs will be established with common agreement between the donor office and the sponsor.
>
> 4) The Christian Concern aid projects for children are directed towards the financial, social, psychological and spiritual needs of poor children and will attend especially to those things that create these needs and will incorporate the principles of the development ministry.

5) The *Christian Concern* patrocinio aid projects will promote community development in terms of actions which improve
   a) the levels of health
   b) education and Christian growth
   c) encourage income generating schemes

6) Where possible sponsorship programs will work with and through the local church or Christian agencies.

7) Preferably the projects will be directed and supervised by members and personnel who profess that Christ is Lord and whose lives testify to his lordship.

8) The members of the community will participate as much as possible in the investigation, planning, execution and evaluation of the projects.

(Christain Concern, document 2, p. 3-4)

The next section focuses on how these criteria for Patrocinio schemes are applied to the Los Incas Club. The organisation of the club will be examined to see how it practises integral development, serves the community and promotes autonomy. The methods of interaction between Christian Concern and the club are very important in evaluating these factors. The role of the promotor and the specific club organisation of leadership and responsibility will reflect the level of autonomy and the opportunities for encouraging participation in popular education among the women.

C) Interaction between Christian Concern and the Los Incas Club

Christian Concern Peru's development philosophy promotes popular participation as the main tool of development:

> Philosophy and method of participation
>
> Christian Concern promotes participation because we believe that all men were created in the image and likeness of God and as a result of this everyone has an intrinsic dignity. This fact gives them the right to intervene actively and consciously in forming their own history, it gives them the right to self-determination in aspects of organisation, quality of life and the search for the solution to their problems of existence.
>
> We believe that conscious and organized participation of communities is one of the most feasible and appropriate ways of human promotion. This is carried out in projects, through the involvement of the community, in the identification of their needs, in the study of their reality, in the planning of activities, in the operation of those same activities and in the evaluation of the results.
>
> Participation must be a voluntary process that involves "encarnation" and identification with the reality that they want to change as well as collective responsibility which involves the church, for decision making in areas that affect their destiny.
>
> In this perspective the projects are seen as instruments of change, instruments of human promotion over and above their physical form.
>
> (Christian Concern, document 1, p. 18)

Christian Concern's manner of operating projects reflects their attempts to encourage participation, self-help and autonomy. Christian Concern promoters play a key role in liasion with projects. Their relationship with the groups they operate with are associated directly with the promotion of autonomy and self-help. The promotor is the link person who works alongside project members as they seek to fulfill the ideals of participation outlined above. He or she is the person who works with them through the stages of identification and study of needs and the planning, execution and evaluation of activities. These stages have been established as part of Christian Concern's methodology of development. By involving the groups in these different areas Christian Concern hopes that they will learn to be autonomous and to develop through the experience of participation. The work of the Los Incas promotor will be discussed before each stage in the development methodology is analysed in the club.

1) The Los Incas promotor, an agent, activist and associate

(i) Agent

The Los Incas promotor (Manuel as he shall be called) is one of four who works for Christian Concern in Lima. At the time of field work Manuel and another man worked in south Lima while two other promotors worked in the north. They are all under the guidance of the operations unit which co-ordinates all the promotors in Peru.

Christian Concern only employs experienced people. In general most of the promoters are evangelical Christians. Manuel is a Christian whose parents are Peruvian missionaries in Pulcalpa, in the jungle. He first became active in social work while at university. He and other members of a bible study group became involved in promoting social action in their own churches. Through this work he came into contact with Christian Concern and, although his qualifications are in engineering, his volunteer experience with grass-roots development made him a suitable candidate. He now says that at some stage he would like to go back to school and study social sciences in a more formal way. He is 28 years old and has a family. His wife is a biology teacher but recently gave up work to look after their new baby. He enjoys working for Christian Concern and is very fulfilled in his job despite the long hours and the emotional strain involved.

Each promotor undertakes an orientation course before starting work for Christian Concern. Formal training is continuous and there are frequent training courses which deal with specific themes. All promoters meet on a monthly basis to discuss current problems and to share each other's work. Manuel says that this is a great help as many problems are common to all projects. There are many resources available in the library and all staff are encouraged to keep up-to-date with development literature. Although promotors are the main link with their projects, each promotor works closely with the director of the operations unit. They are expected to record field notes and to keep the operations unit informed of changes in their projects. Any major decisions relating to the overall aims of projects need to be referred to the operations director. For example, it was necessary for Dr. Sykes to meet formally with both the promotor and the operations unit director before beginning work in the Los Incas project.

The Lima promotors share a pick-up van between them as travel in the shanty towns is time consuming. Access to this vehicle and its tendency to break down are frequent constraints upon their work. With no communications in the shanty towns it is usually impossible to cancel meetings and alter arrangements. On one occasion when the van was unavailable and it was important to make an appointment, Manuel and I took four buses and a taxi to Santa Rosa. By the time he arrived he was too late for the meeting and instead went on to another meeting in Villa El Salvador, also in the southern cone of Lima. He did not return home that evening until after midnight.

Each promotor works with several projects. They are usually arranged geographically and vary in

size and type. At the time of field work Manuel was the promotor for five projects. Three were sponsorship programs in different Pueblos Jovenes in the southern cone. These projects were operated by various community groups. The Los Incas Club is a mothers club, another works through a local Baptist church and the third is organized by the legally recognized tenants' association in charge of the community. Manuel's other projects are not community programs. One is an literacy institute in Huancayo (several hours from Lima) and the other is a pastoral project organized by a national evangelical group where Manuel is a part-time lecturer. These two projects do not occupy as much of his time as the other three.

In December 1987 many staff changes took place in Christian Concern. Early in the year a new field director was appointed. In November, the operations director moved to assume control of a new national health project that Christian Concern was starting under the new director. Manuel remained a promotor although his groups were altered. It was planned that he would work in north Lima nearer his home and specialize in community projects operating through churches. The women at Los Incas were unhappy with this change. Manuel, however, seemed content with the decision and explained that it was part of a strategy to sort out some of the problems with the Los Incas Club. The women were not participating as much as Christian Concern would like. It was felt that the work should be centralized. Another promotor who had been working in the southern cone and with the another project in Santa Rosa (see figure seven) replaced Manuel in early 1988.

(ii) Activist

The promotor has a catalyst role within the group. Manuel encourages the women to organize themselves and he motivates them to participate. This is especially the case when the club encounters problems. For example, when poor leadership threatened to break up the club in December 1986, Manuel spent many hours with individual women, speaking to potential leaders and encouraging them to maintain rather than abandon the club. He promoted the idea of organized elections to select a new democratic directiva and worked with the women to produce a constitution. His enthusiasm was a great support to the group at this time and was crucial to its survival.

His attitude towards his position and his teaching methods reflect his role as an activist. He continually promotes seminar discussion even though decisions could be reached much sooner if he encouraged the directiva to take a dictatorial approach. He has many small group meetings with key personnel such as the directiva, and the health and nutrition commissions. Manuel attended the first meeting between the health commission and Dr. Sykes. He promoted discussion about what the women wanted to learn and why. He also made them question the long term benefits of the health program, its relation to their work plan and its use as a tool in club development. He encouraged the women to tell Dr. Sykes of the resources they already had. When the topic of the questionnaire survey was raised, Manuel emphasized the importance of this

information. As a result of this conversation, the information from the health checks was added to the surveys and all the material was placed in smart, plastic folders. These actions may seem trivial but they are the very tools which Manuel uses to promote an identity and self-confidence in the club. The health commission became formalized and the folders were more than statistical information. They became working tools which symbolized that the work was important, something to take seriously and to be proud of.

Manuel took every opportunity to promote a good club self-image. He was concerned that the women were aware of their history. "The group has a history, it is very important," he said. At several meetings he encouraged individual women to explain the group history and display it on large sheets of paper for everyone to read. This exercise reflects Christian Concern's belief that people's awareness of their history plays a vital role in their desire to participate and it is an important tool in development.

In general, whenever any decisions were made at meeting Manuel asked several women to summarize them for the whole group. This allowed individual women to become accustomed to speaking publicly and also ensured that group decisions were known and accepted by everyone. Often, at the beginning of meetings he would ask women to summarize what had occurred previously, before asking them to explain the purpose of the gathering that day.

Manuel's attitude in the general assemblies reflected the same concern. On one occasion new elections were held for the directiva. It was common knowledge that a large number of women did not want to change the leadership. To begin the meeting each commission reported their activities. Many were not well organized and had not been very active. Manuel asked what the problems were and the women expressed the usual complaints about lack of participation and poor communication between the commissions, the directiva and the general membership. He asked the women to explain the role of the directiva. They said that its function was to co-ordinate the commissions and ensure good communications. He was encouraging the women to see that there was a need for improvement in certain aspects of the directiva's leadership.

The women did not verbalize their desires for the existing directiva to continue until Manuel asked individual women why they were there and what they thought of the elections. One woman explained that she wanted the existing president to stay "We want Marta, she is really good, well prepared, clever and responsible." At this point, Manuel asked the women to take a vote on whether they wanted a change. The process was very democratic. He and the directiva suggested secret ballots. Manuel said "we won't put up hands because you think, 'well, I won't put up my hand because she hasn't or my compañera has her's up so I'll vote like her'." The women laughed at his astute comment. The result of the ballot was that more women wanted the directiva to stay as it was.

At this point Manuel reminded the women that they had decided the leadership should rotate each year and they had even written this into their work plan. He asked the existing directiva to say why this regulation was instituted and whether they wanted to remain in the position. They all claimed that they did not

want to stay because the idea was for all women to have an opportunity of learning skills. The president said that by taking on responsibility other women would experience the difficulties and be less ready to criticise and more willing to participate. The existing directiva said they were prepared to supervise the new candidates during a probation period. As they had refused to accept reenstatement the elections were held.

Officially the promotor could have insisted on elections without going through this long debate. The approach he adopted, however, was typical of his overall attitude. He allowed the women to exercise their right to object, provided an opportunity for another suggestion to be made and ensured that the original reason for instituting a change was explained. The women realized that the elections were not just petty regulations but were established by the club members as a means of ensuring that their development goals of participation were achieved. As the existing directiva refused to accept the positions for another year the democratic process, rather than a decision by the promotor, demanded that elections take place.

(iii) Associate

Although Manuel is the Christian Concern agent and has a certain amount of power within the group he also has a very good relationship with the women in the Los Incas Club. The group dynamics at the meetings he attends are interesting. The women listen to what he says but at the same time, because of his openness, they are able to say what they feel. This easy relationship is especially true with the leadership of the club with whom he has much contact. The former president of the club said "I Know Manuel like the lines on my hands, I know how he thinks and what he is going to say." The women seem to like him and when they knew that he was going to leave they organized a party for him. They collected money and one member donated ducks at a very low cost in order to prepare a farewell meal. The Los Incas women formed a very close relationship with Manuel. They referred to him as 'joven' or young man, as a term of endearment and in this way treated him as an equal Many of the women joked with him and teased him and consequently he was never seen as an authoritarian figure among them. It was particularly amusing to see him discussing the shopping practises of the club. The women made it quite clear they thought it very amusing that he, a young man, should be telling them how to shop!

Manuel's relationship with the women was in general very good. He was open and friendly. At one general assembly when the women were all becoming restless and argumentative he broke up the formal proceedings with a version of the 'Simon Says' game. This action was typical of his skill in combining group direction and informality. His personality was greatly appreciated by the women who complained that they would much rather work with him than with the other promotor. The other man they claimed was "seco" which literally translated means dry and indicates that he is more formal and less easygoing than Manuel.

2) A methodology that promotes participation

(i) Initial feasibility study

Christian Concern has a four-stage methodology that attempts to promote participation. Once projects have been accepted the first major action encouraged by Christian Concern is an investigación-diagnóstico (a feasibility study). These surveys are conducted by the project members. In the case of the Los Incas Club the survey was conducted by the directiva and used to identify the main needs of the community. Each member of the group was interviewed and the importance of the survey is outlined below:

> For the most part, the investigation constitutes a primary phase and an instrument of action for a project that is viewed as a process...the study which we promote is not only intended to describe and explain the situation but also is carried out with a view to seeking ways for a transformation...it is carried out by the action and conciousness of the community following these principles: "for the community to know the reality from its historical and physical context in order [for us] to be effective with it [the community] in gaining its aspirations of change and a better quality of life".
>
> (Christian Concern document 2, p 4)

The purpose of these studies is for the members of the project to learn about the needs of their community. In the case of the Los Incas Club the survey seems to have been successful in promoting group activity and interest in the community. A community worker has been appointed by the club to keep these data up-to-date. She visits all the women in turn and asks whether they have any problems with their families or complaints about the club. She also plays an important role in communications and attempts to ensure that news about activities is shared with all the women. She visits approximately five families each week and usually tries to visit one family a day to maintain contact with the women. If any children have particular problems she refers them to the directiva. In this way the survey has become a tool for promoting participation as well as providing a useful set of records.

(ii) Creating a work plan

Once the club's needs have been identified through the survey the promotor and the directiva work together to create a work plan which they feel will help meet the needs of their club.

This plan includes both long and short term goals. "The project plans include objectives, methods and activities which work towards a holistic transformation" (Christian Concern, documents 7). It is at this stage that the women have to decide upon their priorities and form activities that will fulfill their stated aims.

(iii) The execution of the project plans

The formal operational organisation of the project is intended to be democratic. The project proposals state this fact very clearly.

> The execution of this project will be under the supervision of the general assembly of residents and of a committee of fiscals...working commissions will be formed to cover the health, education and feeding areas as well as for the orchard program....The community will be the top instance of government...the community organisation will not be legally recognized yet.
>
> (Christian Concern documents 7)

The Los Incas club operates through a system of commissions which have been established in order to fulfill the goals outlined in the project work plan. These commissions are co-ordinated by the directiva that represents the highest level of community organisation. The commissions and directiva are answerable to the general assembly that elects them. The organisational structure encouraged by Christian Concern is democratic but relies upon group participation and activism in common, community issues.

(iv) Evaluation

Once projects are under way, Christian Concern emphasizes the need for a continual evaluation of the project. "The evaluation will be carried out with the help of the community as a an active participant" (Christian Concern document 2, p. 5). The projects are evaluated in terms of their ability to meet the original needs that were stated by the group.

The Los Incas Club is still very involved in activities and the women have not had many opportunities to carry out evaluations of their work. The exception to this is the health committee. The results of the health checks have been evaluated and have indicated that many children have chronic growth deficiencies due to poor diet and chronic infection. This information has not been acted upon by the nutrition commission although the health commission will be attempting to improve dietary habits of families through sharing their knowledge of preventive medicine with the wider membership.

In the Christian Concern methodology evaluation is not an isolated occurrence but rather a constant theme in club activities. By teaching the other women in the club the health commission will be made aware of the inadequacies of their own knowledge and will be able to direct their learning more fruitfully. Dr. Sykes hopes to encourage them to develop their own teaching aids and materials. The emphasis of popular education is that local women can present information in a way that will communicate ideas better than an outsider could. At the same time those women who are teaching are constantly evaluating their own efforts in response to the needs of their neighbours and their club.

Evaluation is also a part of Christian Concern's national development strategy. At the time of the field work the national office was involved in a wide scale evaluation project intended to help with the formation of a new strategy for Christian Concern's work nationally. One staff member explained the use of evaluation:

> We are evaluating some of the projects. We've been to Puno and soon we are going to Ayacucho And Trujillo to try and evaluate some of the projects. We are going to make an evaluation of all the work that *Christian Concern* is doing in Peru. We are going to take these three projects at a specific level and we are going to look at the whole work at a more general level. I am telling them that it is going to be necessary to make a strategy for the work that they are planning to do with the projects.

The strategy adopted by Christian Concern nationally and in its individual projects attempts to establish an organisational structure that encourages popular participation and autonomy. Despite its emphasis on community development Christian Concern does not define what it means by a community. It seems to assume that a community is created by using the word with reference to any specific area. It does not mention the significance of places in promoting co-operative action among shanty town dwellers and so consequently Christian Concern's view of community ignores the role people play in transforming spaces into places. Christian Concern Peru's project evaluations assess whether original goals are achieved and it uses these evaluations as a base for planning future strategies. The final chapter follows this pattern as it evaluates the success of the Christian Concern development strategy and the Los Incas Club in relation to their original aims and the personal desires and goals of the members.

Chapter Six
Conclusions: Community Development?

Introduction

Christian Concern's espoused interest in autonomous development is contradicted by the organisational structure it has established to implement its projects. The idea of child sponsorship works against autonomous community development because it ignores the role of places in creating communities and defines a passive and domestic role for women in the development process.

The 'community' defined by Christain Concern is arbitrary and has only the presence of children as a common feature. Therefore, because there are strong geographical and social divisions within Los Incas, and because the women are not provided with an opportunity to participate in non-domestic activities, original goals are not fulfilled and the leadership has difficulty motivating the women to participate. As a result of the problems in Los Incas its trickle-down effects within Santa Rosa are limited and community development does not occur.

Although there has been an increased tendency towards a welfare orientation, the Los Incas Club has had a major impact on the lives of its members as has allievated the immediate consequences of poverty. The potential to extend that impact and to encourage or thwart community activities lies in Christian Concern's future international policy decisions.

Section One: Christian Concern's Conflicting Ideology and Organisational Structure

1) The origins of Christian Concern's ideology and view of women

Christian Concern's ideology has been greatly influenced by its origins. Buvinic (1984) has indicated that many NGOs with relief agency origins have severe problems changing to a development orientation. This trend is true in the case of Christian Concern which claims to be a development agency but whose origin as a post-war relief fund for children perpetuates charity actions.

Like other agencies of the post-war period Christian Concern has a narrow view of women. Even though their rhetoric suggests they are attempting to promote autonomy and overcome discrimination against women in development, many agencies perpetuate existing power relations and gender biases. Christian Concern claims to promote women as agents of change and yet is bound by a domestic conceptualisation of women's roles that in turn promotes welfare oriented projects.

Christian Concern's historical view of women has been reinforced by its conservative evangelical theology. Within this theology there is little scope for feminist interpretations of women's roles in society. Such views are dismissed as liberal and unbiblical. The traditional evangelical view of women has been challenged by liberal theologians as well as evangelicals such as Storkey (1985) and evangelical journals such as Sojouners, Third Way and Grass-Roots Christianity. Despite changes in many evangelical circles, however, Christian Concern persists in its conservative conceptualisation of female roles.

Christian Concern's attitudes epitomize the problems with a basic needs approach that objectifies women and considers basic needs as 'things to be provided' rather than as social processes as suggested in Chapter One (Sameter 1984). For example, it should be a basic need to include women as agents of change. If women are allowed dynamic roles in development then the provision of material, basic needs will be long lasting and have spin-off effects rather than act only as traps that confine women in welfare domains.

Peebles (1982) suggests that the lack of concern for women in development in most NGOs is maintained, sometimes unwittingly, by those who have decision-making power. Aid agency hierarchies are dominated by Western men who fail to see the need for a special focus on gender. This is the case in the Peruvian staff of Christian Concern which has no representation on international committees and where all major decisions are taken by Westerners. When asked whether they had a women's officer in Peru the answer given by the operations director was that there was no need for one.

Christian Concern claims to promote autonomous development but its hierarchical organisation ensures that all major policy decisions are taken in the U.S.A.. The specific values held by members of the central office shape policy decisions. As a result of their view of women and their interest in children the international office has decreed that the main emphasis of Christian Concern must be child sponsorship programs. This decision has been taken even though many national offices such as Peru, are unhappy with its welfare emphasis and implications.

2) The implications of Christian Concern's child sponsorship program: the contradiction of autonomy and hierarchy

(i) Conflicting aims and confusing project criteria

The emphasis on child sponsorship in Christian Concern's policy formation creates confused development aims. Although it claims to be a development agency its organisational structure and focus on children means that often it represents little more than a children's charity. It provides immediate relief for children in need but does not enable communities to address other issues that potentially could promote autonomous development. Most Christian Concern propaganda and media coverage emphasizes children. Of nine magazines produced by Christian Concern Canada in 1987, eight had heart rending pictures of needy children on the front covers.

Undoubtedly, the image of suffering children is very potent. People respond to pictures of wide-eyed innocent children in need. The emphasis on personal contact in sponsorship programs encourages people to make long term funding commitments. The strength of child sponsorship is that it appeals to people's emotions and directly channels their desire to help.

In contrast, development projects focusing on other subjects are less emotive and less appealing to sponsors. For example, it is easier for Christian Concern to raise support for a project designed to improve the health of children than for community development projects enabling adult women to establish knitting co-operatives.

Confusion exists within the Los Incas Club because the Peru office has attempted to overcome the limitations imposed by the international emphasis on patrocinio projects. They have tried to tackle the problems of elitism created by child sponsorship by expanding its benefits to the whole community. These efforts have been largely unsuccessful in Los Incas and have caused many tensions.

(ii) Who does the Los Incas Club benefit?

Despite Christian Concern Peru's attempt to overcome elitism in child sponsorship the Los Incas project discriminates in favour of young children. The mean average age of members' children is 11 years while the mean average age of the children in the project is 8 years. Only 66% of the members children are enrolled in the club and this 66% represents members' youngest children. The work of the health commission indicates the club's speific orientation towards young children. The women on the health commission went with Dr. Sykes to buy medicines for the club. She asked whether they wanted adult medicines and they said "no, only medicines for young children." During the health checks one woman brought her son to the doctor because he was ill, he was not a club member and the woman in charge of the medicines said that he was too old to have them cheaply from club supplies. Los Incas has not been operating for long enough to discover what happens to children when they are too old to qualify for club benefits.

Family tensions can result when individual children are given support while other family members are excluded. The image of individually sponsored children is very strong and despite the rhetoric, often the benefits of sponsorship do not spread to other family members. The women themselves differentiate between children who are enrolled in the club and those who are not. for example, the mothers believed that only club children were allowed to attend the camp in December and it did not occur to them that it could be any other way. When the children's health checks were first discussed by the health commission, the promotor and the doctor, the president of the club said:

> Yes, but what about the mothers? Many families have TB and that is related to the whole family. If we take their details and find they are sick, can we say to them, "sorry we can only help your children"?

In response to her question the promotor reminded everyone that it was a children's project and after some discussion they agreed that if women were ill they would be allowed to come with their children.

Despite the concensus about the health checks including mothers they have continued to serve only children rather than women members and the wider community. During the five checks only two women with minor problems asked the doctor for help. One woman who brought her children was very frail. Dr. Sykes asked if she had any problems, she said no. After she left the other women explained that she was very ill. Dr. Sykes was puzzled and asked why she had not told her and sought treatment. The women replied that everyone said the checks were only for children.

Most children who had health checks were project members. When other children were brought to the clinics it was usually because they were new babies or because they had a specific problem at that time. No spouses came and neither did any non-project families and so the benefits of free medical care did not spread to the wider community.

(iii) The failure of an ideological definition of community and place: one myth three realities

Many of the practical problems in the Los Incas Club result from Christian Concern's inaccurate definition of community. Christian Concern's poor definition has been influenced by its ideology and the international mandate to focus on child sponsorship schemes. In the case of the Los Incas Club Christian Concern has defined community in terms of a group of mothers who all have needy children. This definition is inappropriate because it contradicts the geography of the area that indicates that the Los Incas women are not one community but are drawn from three distinct places. An appropriate definition of community is vital to the success of a grass-roots project that attempts to tackle issues of community development.

Christian Concern calls the club a community project, yet the three places and factions represented within it divide the membership, prevent united participation and hinder the attainment of club goals. Most Los Incas women do not know each other and only interact socially during club activities. Many homes surrounding the club building seem unaware that it is there, indicating that the club members are not locals.

The problems of project location show that club members are not drawn from a single geographical community. In 1986 the club building was located on the periphery of sector three and many women said that it was too far for them to go. The club is currently located in sector one, even though only 27% of the women live there. Now similar problems exist with the new location as many sector three and sector two women say it is too far from their homes.

The Los Incas women define their community in terms of those people who have the same provisions or lacks as themselves. Members of their community are more than geographical neighbours, they are those with a common interest. In their view a community is not only established by geographical location but also by the homogeneity of a place. Section 1 in Chapter Three indicates that sectors one two and three

are locationally separate, they also have different housing stocks and various levels of service provision. Table 4.6 illustrates that these provisions affect the way in which the women define community needs. They define community needs as being the same as the needs of the sector or place where they live. While some women's main concern is to obtain basic shelter beyond flimsy bamboo matting, other women who already have brick homes are interested in petitioning for schools or hospitals. These differences cause many of the club's problems.

Divisions and conflicts of interests among the three sectors affect the way the club functions. The women support their particular faction on all major decisions even if they are unrelated to partisan issues. Disunity is particularly apparent in sector three, which is comprised primarily of an invasion that occurred five years ago. It has no water supply and people are obliged to rent water from a stand-pipe several streets away or buy it from water trucks. The community is divided over what action should be taken in order to obtain a regular water supply. Some members want to wait for the municipality to provide the service while others feel that it would be better if everyone pooled their resources, hired a private contractor and worked manually themselves to keep down the costs of installation.

The president of the Los Incas Club lives in sector three. She is spearheading the campaign to contribute money and labour in a communal effort to install a water supply. Another group opposes the program. Although this is not a club issue women from both factions are members of Los Incas. Some women from sector three have challenged the president's leadership and have caused problems for her within the club because they disagree over the provision of water in their area. The women who do not live in this sector are fed up with these problems and feel that the debates do not concern the club. The women from sector three, however, believe that these are the very issues the club should be addressing.

In their analysis of ideology and the legitimization of capitalism Eyles and Evans (1987) introduce the concept of moral ideology. The role they attribute to moral ideology is pertinent to Christian Concern because it provides a useful interpretation of the link between ideology and places. They define the role of moral ideology in the following way:

> [Our] analysis of power and ideology is taken further with an examination of the significance of moral ideology in character and structure and the transformation of human subjects. This transformation translates 'needs' into 'wants' and subtly shapes the existential nature of consciousness. We aver that the material basis of consciousness is found in the context of living which itself helps shape common sense.
>
> (Eyles and Evans 1987, p. 40)

They describe the way in which moral ideology satisfies human needs by providing security through the constitution of identity in places.

> Thus in moral ideology...we can see the determinants that reproduce it (character and structure) in which we see the development of human needs....What needs are informed and in what ways? We suggest that three needs are implicated, namely those of identity, security and stimulation....This derivation provides an important link to locality, neighbourhood, and community.
>
> (Eyles and Evans 1987, p. 47)

Christian Concern's ideology has failed to create security in the Los Incas Club. The acceptance or rejection of an ideology depends partly on its ability to promote familiar environments and places. Christian Concern attempts to define communities in a way that is not familair. Their definition does not reflect the Los Incas members' view of community nor the geography of the place where the project operates. The resulting lack of security has led to what Eyles and Evans (1987) call 'consciousness' (p. 50) or in simple terms, the realization by the women that their club is not meeting their needs. This realization is encouraging the growth of factions and a breakdown in communications between the sectors. These factors represent the rejection of Christian Concern's ideological definition of community and place by the Los Incas women.

(iii) Women's projects or projects for women?

In accordance with their community needs the women in the Los Incas Club have persistently expected their club to provide some form of income generating activity. This has not occurred because of the confusion between Christian Concern's national and international aims. The Los Incas Club was selected by the national office because of its potential as a community development project. Vital to this ideal of community development was the role of income generating activities in creating self-sufficiency in a specific local place. The project was approved by the international office because it focused on children and so was in keeping with its ideological emphasis on child sponsorship. As a compromise between national and international ideology the income generating aspect of the club has been reduced to a long term goal. These goals seem more and more out of reach to the members as they experience frustration at not having their needs for employment met by the club.

While the project remains focused so narrowly on sponsored children it will not promote autonomous development. Instead it will provide only short term child relief. The women are not participating in the club because their needs are not being met by it. Poor participation has led to a lack of club fundraising activities for the soup kitchen. Currently, the kitchen relies almost totally on Christian Concern's donations. Both presidents of the club have expressed anxiety over its long term prospects. One president tried to challenge the women to participate more in fundraising by saying "If they [Christian Concern] go they will take everything including the cooker and then what will we do as the children have become accustomed to

their glass of milk and their bread." When asked what will happen when the grant finishes the other president replied, "Well, I don't really know, the cooker and all the things are part of the project so without Christian Concern we can't really work, I suppose that some people will carry on but we really need the help...I don't know." The long term prospects of the soup kitchen depend on the women being able to support it themselves.

One woman who thought I was a Christian Concern worker summarised her view of the situation in this way:

> One little question please....In the end what is the aim of *Christian Concern*, to help the children only or to do other things too? Only I was thinking we need an industry. I have children, I'm not able to go a long way to work. The other women are the same. We all know how to make shoes....I know how to make shoes..This is the only way we can lift women up...This is the only way we can lift ourselves up.

Her question is not little; it captures the essence of Christian's Concern's main problem. Its aims are confused and contradictory. It claims to be working with women as dynamic agents of change in the community but instead it focuses completely on children. It sees women only as mothers of those children. In Christian Concern's Western, post-war view of motherhood the women are only 'bread makers' rather than 'bread winners'. The continued welfare orientation of the Los Incas project ignores the fact that most women in the club consider the need to provide financially for their family as a vital part of their role in society.

The hierarchical organisation of Christian Concern and the international decision regarding child sponsorship means that the Los Incas club is not controlled ultimately by its members. Despite its rhetoric about autonomous development Christian Concern has created a project *for* women rather than allowing women to develop and control the club themselves. It has defined a domestic role for women and designed a project for them that reflects those values. The club's activities represent charity for children rather than community development.

Section Two: The Persistence of Women's Grass-Roots Activities

1) The value of the Los Incas Club

The Los Incas Club must not be considered a complete failure because it has not met Christian Concern's criteria for community development projects. The responsibility for this lack of achievement lies with the organisation not with the Los Incas women. The project criteria chosen by Christian Concern for community development are in direct conflict with its emphasis on child sponsorship. The work of Eyles and Evans (1987) suggests that in many ways it is a sign of the women's strength that Christian Concern was unsuccessful in forcing them to accept the redefinition of their community.

Although the Los Incas Club has not achieved some of its original goals it has had a positive impact on the lives of many women. It provides essential services that enable its members to exist in marginal circumstances. Without the club many children would not have an evening meal, they would have insufficient medical treatment and many would be kept away from school because they lack uniforms and writing materials.

Grass-roots activities do not operate in a vacuum. The value of a grass-roots project cannot only be assessed in terms of its ability to meet original aims. The experience the Los Incas women have gained of group organization is very valuable. The testimony of a Peruvian woman from the Lima barrios emphasizes this fact:

> Of course we know that aid comes from the yanky gringos, in order to take even more advantage of other American countries but we also know that we're hungry, people are dying of hunger and we need food. In order to organize a comite de damas, we need food so we have to use aid to increase the consciousness of the people so they'll understand little by little that this food isn't everything, that oatmeal and milk aren't the only thing that's important, that what's really important is the organisation of women.
>
> (CIED 1981, p. 64)

The experience of self-organisation will help the Los Incas women in other circumstances. Many have learnt new skills associated with leadership and group responsibility. Others have learnt specific skills such as book keeping, administration and aspects of preventive medicine. All have benefitted from learning to express themselves in group situations and some have learned how to promote positive group dynamics. Various women have received training that will better equip them in the waged job market. Members' experience of this grass-roots activity will add to the working knowledge they need to survive in marginal circumstances.

2) Women as agents and their slow swim against the tide

Chapter One indicated that people can play a major role as agents who change ideologies and the structures through which they operate. The women in the Los Incas Club have little power in the hierarchical organisation of Christian Concern. Despite this limitation the Los Incas Club is addressing the very issues which Warf (1986) claims provoke change. "Real social change occurs when immediate interests in daily life are directly threatened" (Warf 1986, p. 277). The Los Incas women organized themselves because their existence was threatened when they could not provide food for their families. Campfens' (1988) work in Lima has indicated that women's involvement in these issues is changing gender relations.

> Women are drawn out of the isolation of their homes and link up with other women. They talk about the way their husbands treat them and they support each other in standing up for themselves. They realize the importance of their ability to stretch the family's budget a bit further. The men, while skeptical of their wives' involvement in these communal kitchens, are hard put to resist when they themselves are unable to feed their family and the women, in their turn, are beginning to understand that everything does not depend on men. Acting together to meet their family's needs is a confidence builder for women; it is a process of liberation that deeply affects traditional family relations.
>
> (Campfens 1988, p. 6)

These social changes are slow but they are a direct consequence of women organizing themselves.

Many structural changes are needed within Christian Concern in order to allow women to have a greater role as agents in the development process and although their power is limited, the Los Incas women form a part of Christian Concern's organisational structure. The women have made their desires for the club known to the promotor and other members of the national office and because Christian Concern Peru has ensured that continual evaluation has a major role in their work strategy local people sometimes have their opinions heard. Corina, who has worked extensively with Christian Concern and with independent women's projects is a member of the national evaluation team. She explains the importance of evaluation in promoting change:

> [What do you think about project evaluation?]
> It is interesting because I've always worked in the project. It is different when you see it from outside...you can understand so many things that you haven't seen before when you were there with the work and the people...I think it was a very good experience I learned a lot. I had the opportunity to approach people from a different position because going into these groups as a member of *Christian Concern* means that I represent the money that comes to help and so people look at you differently, they behave differently. I mean, they don't trust you enough and they try always to do good work so that you won't take away the money.
>
> And so now I know now that when the person of *Christian Concern* goes to the Pueblos Jovenes and to the group which they are helping they have that constraint [sic]. People are always going to look at them as people who come with money and so we have to be conscious of that to see how the approach is going to be [sic].

Through discerning evaluation Christian Concern Peru is attempting to incorporate the responses of project members into future strategies. The women in the Los Incas Club have voiced their opinions about the club and so have influenced this evaluation process.

Even though the Los Incas Club benefits the members in many ways, currently it does not fulfill Christian Concern's criteria for community development projects nor does it meet the needs of disadvantaged women, especially those who want paid employment. The Los Incas Club is unlikely to fulfill these criteria as long as its emphasis is on child sponsorship rather than on promoting women as autonomous agents of change with the power to decide policy orientation. It is the international office's responsibility to recognize the power associated with controlling funds and in the light of that to consider its approach for the future. This analysis will require a critical assessment of Christian Concern's confused ideology that seems to ignore the significance of both places and women in the development process.

Post-Script

In June 1988 I made a short return visit to the Los Incas Club. Unfortunately many of my fears had been realized. The group was experiencing severe problems. The directiva had changed for a third time in only six months and the new leadership was not universally accepted. The project location had been moved once again This move was problematic because although there is a regular water supply the new site is still in sector one and so inconvenient for many women. The leadership had been accused by some of embezzlement and instead of spending project money on food they had allegedly bought beer instead! Who knows the truth of such rumours! Even the health commission that had looked so promising in December were at odds with everyone else. The new directiva wanted to change the commission representatives even though the idea was to train a few women over a long period so that they could in turn teach the wider membership.

What there had been of a spirit of unity and communual effort was now lost. The women I had developed close relationships with were all depressed and greeted me with the news that Christian Concern had decided to close the project by August. The question still stands to be asked of the next group "Women's co-operatives in Lima: a case study of community development?"

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Appendix One

Socioeconomic questionnaire

Project: Los Incas

Date of the interview: _____

I. SOCIAL DATA

1)_____

Paternal name Maternal name First names

2) Date of birth: _____ Age _____

3) Place of birth: _____

Department Province District

4) Level of education:

Primary completed	( )
Primary incomplete	( )
Secondary completed	( )
Secondary incomplete	( )
Superior	( )
None	( )

5) Civil status: Married ( ), Single ( ), Divorced ( ), Living together ( ), Single mother ( )

Other_____

6) Religion: _____

II. DATA CONCERNING SPOUSE

1)_____

Paternal name Maternal name First names

2) Date of birth: _____ Age _____

3) Place of birth: _____
Department Province District

4) Level of education:

Primary completed	( )
Primary incomplete	( )
Secondary completed	( )
Secondary incomplete	( )
Superior	( )
None	( )

5) Civil Status: Married ( ), Single ( ), Divorced ( ), Living together ( ), Other _____

6) Religion: _____

III. THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

1) Of the mother:

a) Occupation _____

b) Employer _____

c) Hours of work _____ Years of service _____

d) Income: Monthly _____ Daily _____ Other _____

2) Of the father:

a) Occupation _____

b) Employer _____

c) Hours of work _____ Years of service _____

d) Income: Monthly _____ Daily _____ Other _____

3) Other people who help the household economically _____

4) In the case that the mother works, where and with whom, are the children left:

In the house ( ), With neighbours ( ), With family ( ), Other ( ).

Comments: _____

IV. LIVING CONDITIONS AND OTHER FACTORS

1) The house is: Owned ( ), Rented ( ), Other ( ); Explain _____

2) Construction materials: Brick ( ), Adobe ( ), Wood ( ), Estera ( ), Other ( )

3) Services: Water ( ), Sewage ( ), Light ( ), Street cleaning and lighting ( ),

Postal service ( ), Other ( )

4) Number of people in dwelling: _____

5) Electrical goods etc.: Washing machine ( ), Refrigerator ( ), Television ( ),

Sewing machine ( ), Gas cooker ( ), Kerosene cooker ( ), Other ( ).

V. THE CHILDREN

Name	kinship	Age	Occupation	Participants in Project

VI. HEALTH SITUATION

1) Are there people in the house with health problems?_____

2) When there is an illness in you family which health services do you use: Clinic ( ),

Hospital ( ), Private doctor ( ), Household remedy ( ), Other ( );

Why _____

VII. COMMUNITY LIFE

1) Which clubs, associations or organisations are you a member of: _____

2) Are you a member of the executive committee: _____

3) Which activities have you participated in: _____

4) In your opinion what is the most urgent need in the community: _____

_____

5) What suggestions do you have for the possible solution of these needs: _____

_____

Appendix Two

Preventive Medicine Program: Los Incas Club, September-December 1987 Class Descriptions

1) Basic Medicine Chest
   - Contents
   - Use of medicines
   - Methods of administration

2) How to take a temperature
   - Fever
   - Symptoms
   - Treatment

3) Treatment of wounds burns and other injuries

4) Diarrhea and Dehydration
   - Prevention
   - Cure

5) Nutrition
   - Classes of food
   - Balanced diet

6) Hygiene
   - Disposal of rubbish and sewage
   - Preparation and storage of food
   - Personal

7) Bugs and infection
   - Some common problems

8) Vaccinations

9) Human reproduction

10) Pregnancy
   - Symptoms
   - Basic antenatal care

11) Family planning

12) Cervical cancer

13) Venereal disease

14) Respiratory problems and Tuberculosis

Appendix Three

Description of Christian Concern Written Sources

Document 1

Christian Concern Peru work outline. El presente follete contuene: información sobre el ministerio de *"Christian Concern"* en el Perú. Lima, October 1985.

Document 2

Christian Concern Peru working strategy for children's projects. El minisserio de *Christian Concern* Perú de atención a niños políticas y declaración de posición. Lima.

Document 3

Pamphlet describing national and international work. Presentando nuestro trabajo en el pais. Lima.

Document 4

Booklet describing the work in Latin America and the Caribbean. *Christian Concern.* América Latina y el Caribe. San José, 1985.

Documents 5

Two Christian Concern Peru news letters. Boletin 6 and 7 1986. and 1987. Lima.

Document 6

Christian Concern directory of national addresses and international statistics. Datos Internaciónal de *Christian Concern*. San José. 1986.

Documents 7

The Christian Concern Los Incas file. This contains all the documented exchanges between Christian Concern and the Los Incas group. There are several project applications and various reports from the promotor.

Documents 8

Christian Concern Canada magazine. 10 issues during 1987.