

**Women's empowerment in informal settlements of the Peruvian Amazon frontier. A Case**

Study of *9 de Octubre*, Pucallpa - Peru

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We accept this thesis as conforming  
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Elda Silva

(ABSTRACT)

Women's organizations in informal settlements located in peri-urban areas of Peruvian Amazon cities have been carrying out programs for solving nutrition, food, health, and income generation problems in their communities. This is a way of women's local action of self-help and self-reliance to transform their marginalized ways of living. This study focuses on two factors in the scope of women's organizations: (1) to examine what causes household participation in women's organizations. (2) To explore what type of women's empowerment leads to social development, assuming that women go through a process of empowerment as a result of their participation in women's organizations.

The study data consists of a case study in one informal settlement in Pucallpa, 9 de Octubre, and key-informant interviews of women participating in women's organizations, and life histories of four women leaders. The quantitative analysis focuses on three hypotheses: (1) Single women-headed households participate more frequently in women's organizations than men-headed households. (2) Households with children under six years old are more likely to participate in women's organizations than households without. (3) Households in remote locations of the informal settlement are more likely to participate in women's organizations. The qualitative analysis focuses in three areas: (1) women's roles as community managers, (2) women's organizations as agents to produce structural change and (3) the relationship between women's organizations and women's empowerment.

Findings cast doubt upon the first hypothesis by showing that single women-headed households were not economically vulnerable as it was expected and that their participation in women's organizations was not as frequent as the participation of men-headed households. Furthermore, men-headed households seem to benefit more from women's organizations than single women-headed households. The presence of children does not predict participation in women's organizations. Also, it is interesting that households in more remote and inaccessible locations seem to participate more in women's organizations.

The study develops the argument that women's organizations, which bring in knowledge and more than partial problem-solving solutions, contribute to women's empowerment and household change that lead to social development.

The study concludes that the types of empowerment that lead to social development are the cultural, and social because they are the ones that are more effective in bringing changes at the household and community levels. However, the economic empowerment should not be disregarded and should be considered in the formula because it provides one of the prime needs of urban poor women: income in their household.

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## **CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1. Problem statement**

Informal settlements are one of the most controversial features of Latin American urbanization because they provide free but usually illegal housing to the urban poor and represent the practice of social mobilization (Soto, 1989; Alsayyad, 1993). Since 1985 the process of shantytown expansion has spread to cities in the eastern part of the Peruvian Amazonia. For instance Pucallpa, located in one of the margins of the Ucayali River, contains 128 informal squatter settlements on the periphery of the city. The inability of the Peruvian structure (social, economic, political and cultural factors) to provide sufficient infrastructure and social justice, economic opportunity, and income equality among the urban poor, have caused that they rely on themselves to transform their marginalized ways of living through the local action of self-help organizations. It is common to find women's organizations operating in informal settlements carrying out programs for taking care and feeding children, or generating incomes through multiple household enterprises.

On the other hand *gender sensitive approaches* that promote development by focusing on women's perspectives are models that look at women's empowerment (the process through in this case women, transform their ways of living) as the means to achieve social development. However, the literature available on gender sensitive approaches does not address Amazonian poor urban women's perspectives. This research brings in the contributions of these Amazonian women's empowerment in the context of the Latin American literature on women's perspectives. For that purpose this study explores how women empower themselves to improve the conditions of health, nutrition and income generation in Pucallpa, a case study in *9 de Octubre*, a peri-urban informal settlement.

### **1.2. Significance of research problem**

The exploration of Amazonian poor urban women's empowerment is significant because scholars may find in their experience new approaches for the development in Third World communities. Indeed, the dialogue on different experiences of empowerment and gender among the marginalized poor urban people in the Third World may raise better solutions to enhance their quality of life. Also the solutions brought in by these women and reflections on the roles of the government may lead to important changes in policy making and planning of informal settlements in Amazonian cities that practitioners will need to exercise.

### **1.3. Main thesis argument**

The argument of this thesis is that poor urban women who were before marginalized moved into empowerment through their participation in women's organizations. Women's empowerment is an important component of the core for structural transformation of the urban poor in informal settlements. This transformation calls for equity, for economic efficiency, and for cultural change in the household and community levels. In other words, is the empowerment of these women leading to social development that would result in community development?

### **1.4. Organization of thesis**

This thesis is divided into eight chapters. The first chapter is the introduction, which provides the problem statement and the broader objectives of the thesis. The chapter on Amazonian expansion and urbanization provides the background of the Peruvian Amazon Basin and the economic history of the area in order to situate Pucallpa in its context. In this chapter, we also explain what informal settlements are as well as the contribution of the informal sector to the urban economy. The idea is to understand the structural role that Pucallpa plays within its geographical context and the ways informal settlements in Pucallpa benefit from that role.

The chapter on Women in Development focuses on the process of change that women have experienced as a result of the "economic growth". First, the issue of marginalization of women in Latin America is discussed since pre-colonial times to the present. Second, the period of women's social

mobilization in Latin America and its relationship with the world economy are addressed to clarify the reasons of change. Third, Peruvian women's community organizations are described in terms of their relationship with "ayni" or "mita", ways of communal participation during the Inca Empire, and in terms of their encounter with violent attacks of Sendero Luminoso. Finally, the section on gender issues in the planning agenda attempts to raise important variables that need to be considered in the planning process from the gender perspective.

The chapter on Design and Study Methods describes the fieldwork, methodology, and data analysis. The following chapter on the characterization of *9 de Octubre* and women's initiatives attempts to provide a profile of this informal settlement and situate it in the context of urban Pucallpa. The third section in this chapter presents a descriptive comparison between male-headed and single-women-headed households. The fourth section focuses on the women household heads of the participant households to attempt to explain the reasons of their participation. The fifth section on women's organizations and community participation attempts to integrate the socio-economic attributes with their spatial location. The idea is to find other factors that may influence the participation of households. The sixth section on the impact of women's organizations in women's lives

The chapter on women leaders of community organizations is in-depth life histories that will identify the social transformation in the portrait of four leader-women from different areas of Pucallpa. Key-informant interviews collect women's experiences as leaders and participants of women's organizations as a way to evaluate the importance of the organizations in their communities and the levels of empowerment that these women have. This chapter is followed by final conclusions that integrate ideas on reflections of women's empowerment for social development addressed in the literature review and the analysis. Other issues are popular conceptions of informal settlements revisited; and policy directions for community development of the informal settlements in Pucallpa.

### **1.5. Key conclusions**

The results of the case study in 9 de Octubre indicate that single women-headed households, who were expected to be more economically vulnerable and more involved in women's organizations, the analysis showed neither. Also, remote locations and lack of services are still main reasons for stronger involvement in women's organizations. Therefore, as one overall conclusion for absence of strong participation in women's organizations in 9 de Octubre is the lack of women's organizations that promote social development. Other important conclusions are that economic empowerment does not lead to social change by itself, on the other hand, cultural and social empowerment are the keys for the social development of a community.



Figure 1.1. Map of Peru



Figure 1.2. Map of the Peruvian Amazon Basin

## CHAPTER 2: AMAZONIAN EXPANSION AND URBANIZATION

The Peruvian Amazon region is experiencing an increasing population growth that affects the ways cities assimilate these new comers, who settle in the peripheral urban areas and usually, become parts of the informal labor force. Overall the informal sector and informal settlements represent for many citizens and the government poverty and the urban chaos of a city. However, they also represent solutions that the urban poor have brought in to rely on themselves. The purpose of this chapter is to describe the history of urban economic expansion in the Peruvian Amazon Basin and explore the contributions of informality to the internal patterns of these Amazon cities. Urbanization in the Amazon Basin constitutes a major problem characterized by poorly serviced boomtown settlements and by peri-urban informal settlements surrounding existing towns and cities.

The questions addressed in this chapter are the following: What are the factors that created urbanization in the Peruvian Amazon Basin? What is the role that the informal sector has played in shaping the economy of Pucallpa? And How does Pucallpa fit within the context of economic expansion in the region of the Amazon Basin?

By understanding the context of the growth of Pucallpa in the Amazon Basin we will be able to explain the factors that caused the location and physical consolidation of informal settlements.

### 2.1. The economic history of the Peruvian Amazon Basin

Legends speak about the myth of Paititi that tells the story about the Incas who settled in the region of Madre de Dios. Another legend tells the story about a group from Brazil that arrived in Chachapoyas in the years 1548 and 1550, crossing the rain forest in a ten-year period and fighting a rich and powerful settlement called Omaguas. This legend is known as the myth of the Omaguas. Other legends as El Dorado<sup>1</sup> speak about the possible existence of great and rich Amazon cities (Browder and Godfrey, 1997:1).

Europeans discovered the Amazon River first by Francisco de Orellana on February 12, 1542. The expedition was supervised by Gonzalo Pizarro<sup>2</sup> and started in Cusco all the way by the northern coast to Quito and then east to the Napo River. Through the waterways of the Napo they reached the Amazonas River and continued to the Atlantic Ocean (Aviles and Garcia, 1987: 80).

Expansion in the Peruvian Amazon Basin can be divided into the following periods: Colonial period (16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries); The Rubber boom period (1880 to 1915); The Timber boom period (1915-1940) and the Oil boom period (1940-1980) and The Coca boom period (1980 to 1990).

#### Colonial period

During the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries of Spanish and Portuguese colonialism, urbanization was linked to the establishment of centers for geographic exploration and evangelization of native populations. The Jesuits, Carmelites, Franciscans and other Roman Catholic orders established missionary settlements, either in preexisting Indian villages or next to military fortifications. Evangelization reached the areas of Santiago, Morona, Pastaza, Tigre, Huallaga, and Ucayali (Aviles and Garcia, 1987: 77). Iquitos was one of the first settlements created by the missionaries. The missionaries affected the native populations in four different ways: socially, economically, culturally, and militarily. The growing conflict of commercial interests between Jesuits and merchants in general led the crown to expel Jesuits out of their missions in the Amazon and to expropriate all their properties by 1768. By this time, the scientific and economic development in Europe promoted the interest to do research in the Amazon and take inventory of its resources. This is how many scientific expeditions were funded between 1736 and 1849. Some of the

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<sup>1</sup> El Dorado is a myth, which refers to a warrior of the Colombian highlands who used to cover his skin with gold and submerge in the Guatavita lake, close to Bogota (Brack, 1994:46).

<sup>2</sup> Gonzalo Pizarro was the brother of Francisco Pizarro, the Spanish conquistador of the Inca Empire.



The introduction of commerce in the Amazon region was promoted by the migration of Andean peasants who were forced to sell their land with the change of communal to private system ownership. Migration to the Amazon region was reinforced also by a new law that awarded land grants to colonists, whether citizens or foreigners in 1832. Those Colonists increasingly intermarried with native women, promoting race mixture in the region (Pennano, 1988:154).

Previous to the rubber boom period, great changes were brought to Loreto and the city of Iquitos with the development of waterways, steamships, and the development of trade with Brazil. However, Brazil soon became a major importer of Peruvian products transported by the Amazon River. In 1861, Loreto was created as the military and maritime department where new infrastructure was to be constructed for military purposes (Chuy et al., 1985:4). In 1863, the protocol Rio de Janeiro was signed by the Amazonian nations to delimit their borders. In December 9, 1897, Nicolas de Pierola declared Iquitos as the capital of Loreto. The extractive activities, their commercial trade, and the localization of a military force in Iquitos transformed this small town into the most important national port of the time. The population growth of Iquitos can be monitored in the following table:

Table 2.1. Population growth in Iquitos between 1851-1903.

Year	Population
1851	300
1861	400
1874	2000
1876	2859
1886	4000
1894	8000
1903	9145

Source: Census 1876, Boletin de la Sociedad Geografica de Lima y la Direccion General de Poblacion.

The process of apparent economic development in the Amazon was accelerated between 1879 and 1883 because of the mercantilist market promoted by the industrialized centers of Europe and USA to look for raw materials.

#### The rubber boom period

Rubber started to become an important resource for the manufacture of tires when Charles Goodyear (USA) patented the process of vulcanization in 1844 (Pennano, 1988:73). The invention of the pneumatic tire in 1845 by Dunlop (USA) encouraged the success of bicycles, its first important application, followed by the first time pneumatic tires were used to assemble an automobile. In 1892 the French automakers René Panhard and E. C. Levassor produced the first motorcar to be equipped with pneumatic tires.<sup>3</sup> This profoundly transformed the way rubber was used. The Republic government system in Peru, which promoted an economy based on primary products, developed the extraction of rubber as the alternative base of the economy, a second unsuccessful attempt after the guano<sup>4</sup> bust (Pennano, 1988:143).

The rubber boom sparked three decades (1880 to 1910) of economic growth in Peru characterized by an intensive extractive activity of rubber latex. Rubber was essential for the manufacture of tires in

<sup>3</sup> *The People's Chronology* is licensed from Henry Holt and Company, Inc. Copyright © 1994 by James Trager. All rights reserved.

<sup>4</sup> Guano, a substance composed chiefly of the dung of sea birds or bats, accumulated along certain coastal areas or in caves and used as fertilizer.

industrialized countries and valued so highly that a kilogram of rubber cost one gold pound sterling in 1901 (Pennano, 1988:176). The commercialization of this product and the economic system based on elite's control of the vast rural hinterland, originated the development of Iquitos as a mercantile center, from where foreign and national companies controlled the regional trade.

The rubber extraction in Loreto was characterized by boom and bust periods. The first crisis was in 1877-1880 followed by another in 1888-1890. The bust periods of Peruvian rubber were due to its combination with other products that caused quality questioning in the global market (Pennano, 1988:175). The third bust period was in 1901-1903, which almost faced Peruvian rubber from the international market. The years of production with best prices were 1907 and 1910. The record productions were in 1912, 1915, and 1917. The principal importers of the Peruvian rubber were the cities of Le Havre, Liverpool, Hamburg, and New York. It is interesting to observe the gradual massive production of rubber (Pennano, 1988:177; see table 2):

Table 2.2. Peruvian rubber exports to Great Britain.

Year	Tons
1892	0.05
1895	22.30
1900	283.50
1905	1,331.05
1910	1,676.65
1911	1,570.40
1912	1,605.15
1913	1,456.65
1914	776.15

Source: H. Bonilla, Informacion del Consulado Britanico.

On one hand the rubber activity supported part of the costs of the War of the Pacific (1879-1884). However, conflicts did not end with the victory of Chile; Ecuador, Brazil and Colombia threatened also the Peruvian borders because of the rubber boom.

Mostly unexplored, the department of Madre de Dios (see fig. 1.1) also experienced the impact of the rubber boom. The rubber extraction in this area was due to the bust production in Loreto and the war with Ecuador (Pennano, 1988:189). Interest to come to this area was mainly because of gold extraction but soon the rubber extraction increased. The commercialization route of the rubber from Madre de Dios was different than the one of Loreto.

Loreto exported the rubber to Brazil, and Brazil then exported it to Great Britain and to the United States (Pennano, 1988:67). Madre de Dios used to transport the rubber using the waterways of the Urubamba river to Cuzco, then the railways would take it to the port in the Pacific coast of Arequipa, Mollendo and then to the US (Pennano, 1988:156). This economy not only integrated the southern part of Peru but also Bolivia, whose rubber production was also transported through the same route. Migration flows were also targeted to Madre de Dios and at the beginning of the century the region had 25,000 inhabitants.

Puerto Maldonado was created as the new capital of Madre de Dios in July 10, 1902. Located in the intersection of the two principle rivers in the region (Madre de Dios and Las Piedras), this city and the department were recognized by law during the term of President Billinghurst in 1912. The rubber production in Madre de Dios started in 1902 until 1909, when alternative places to grow rubber trees were developed (Pennano, 1988:156).

The rubber latex extraction involved different levels of economic participants with political-economic powers, capital flows, and internal trade and labor migration patterns. This period left behind the establishments of infrastructure and villages, small commercial towns and the expansion of two major cities

(Iquitos and Puerto Maldonado). This Amazonian boom finished with the domestication and development of plantation technologies that succeeded in Malaysia, Southeast Asia and India. As a result, Brazil and his allies Peru and Bolivia lost their monopoly of rubber latex.

In sum, the extraction of rubber in the Amazon caused the following:

- The colonization of the Amazon Basin by Andean people;
- An economic activity dependent on the intense development of the automobile industry in Great Britain and United States;
- The process of resource extraction that denied local capitalist economies in Loreto and Madre de Dios;
- A large social injustice among the natives who were treated as slaves;
- Several adverse environmental impacts.

On the other hand, this activity built new spatial relationships and the integration of regions of the coast, highlands and rain forest that motivated the development of infrastructure for communications.

#### The Timber boom period (1915-1940) and the Oil boom period (1940-1980)

The economic crisis left by the First World War in 1918 also affected the bust of the rubber boom. However, the beginnings of 1920s marked a new period in the Amazon region. The economy focused in the production and exportation of cotton, coffee and diverse fruits and vegetables. Before the economic crisis of 1929, the US became one of the main importers that monopolized the extraction of mahogany in Loreto. Timber started to develop as the main economic activity for both international and national markets. They were transported between the port of Callao, located in the Pacific Coast, and Iquitos, via the Amazonas River (Aviles and Garcia, 1987:109). Other products like leather, fur, and ivory were traded.

In the international arena, governments from the Amazon nations developed geopolitical efforts to set the boundaries among them. This process was completed in 1940. In 1950, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru started to build roads and highways to connect strategic locations in their territories for defense purposes (Aviles and Garcia, 1987:110). For instance, the highways Belem-Brasilia, in Brazil; Lima-Pucallpa in Peru (Toledo, 1994:26).

The Peruvian government started to develop infrastructure in the Amazon to encourage development. Until the first third of this century, the Amazon development occurred along the rivers, which had fertile alluvial soils. The roads constructed afterwards were on the uplands on soils poor for agriculture. The new approach was to colonize and develop upland rain forests called *terra firme* (Toledo, 1994:2). The effort to occupy *terra firme* on forested areas was by semi-directed and spontaneous colonization, which occurred along roads in Pucallpa, Tingo Maria, and Huallaga (see fig. 2.7.).

In sum the continuation of extractive activity of Amazonian products, this time timber, maintained the pre-capitalist economy in the region. Later, by the end of the 1940's the exploration and exploitation of oil wells in Loreto (see fig. 2.4.) by PetroPeru (State oil company) and Occidental Petroleum Company (Transnational corporation) generated important incomes to the national level. Today, the oil and gas productions represent the 90% of the primary energy that is consumed by Peruvians. Moreover, the oil assets that are located in the Amazon Basin represent 70% of the total at the national level, from which Loreto contributes 60% (Navarro, 1994:40)<sup>5</sup>.

#### The Coca boom period (1980 to 1990)

The production of coca resulted as a cash crop in the Huallaga valley (Huanuco) because it brought income to this poor area (see fig. 1.2). By 1970, farmers used to grow citric, coffee, and other crops. Unfortunately the market system and credit services collapsed after 15 years of inefficient governmental policies. The costs of production increased tremendously and agricultural products prices

<sup>5</sup> Navarro, Emilio. 1994. El Petroleo y el Desarrollo Nacional. Colegio de Ingenieros del Peru. Consejo departamental de Lima.

dropped dramatically. Narcos<sup>6</sup> infiltrated and took advantage of this unfortunate situation to offer high prices over coca. The average income generated \$445.00 per month, which doubled what any other agricultural product would generate in the region (Montero in Gonzales de Olarte, 1995:69). As a result, poor rural people started to grow coca plantations for the narcos' market (Morales, 1996:7). This activity was developed in all the high tropical forest and attracted millions of highlander peasants. The total coca production was estimated in \$455 million and the production of cocaine in \$872 million by 1993. Its contribution to the GDP was 2.7% and represented 43% of the agricultural sector nationwide (Montero in Gonzales de Olarte, 1995:69).

The penalty of this activity caused farmers to move to other areas, and that is how people migrated to Ucayali and started plantations in Aguaytia (Ucayali), an area located close to Pucallpa (Broady, 1994:157). Today, the price-drop of cocaine has affected the rapid economic recession of this activity, as a result, peasants are poorer and economic solutions have not yet being found (Gonzales de Olarte, 1995:71). Many farmers moved to the city of Pucallpa, of whom majorities joined the informal sector and settled down at informal settlements, unlike others, which settled in the rural periphery of the city and continued with agricultural activities of alternative products. However, there are still areas in Ucayali (Calleria, Utiquinía, Abujao, Tamaya, and Amaquiría rivers) where narcotraffic<sup>7</sup> keeps taking advantage of the poor and their powerless conditions (Morales, 1996:7).

USAID/Peru has encouraged the introduction of alternative crops as a way to eliminate the cocaine industry and improve the living conditions of the people. This project included the investment of US\$ 1,800,000 per year between 1993-1996, which apparently have had success through the promotion of community organizations. For example, the Ucayali's Grassroots Women's Association (AMUCAU) that grows *uña de gato*<sup>8</sup>, corn seeds, and palm trees (Broady, 1994:161).

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<sup>6</sup> Narcos, leaders of the narcotraffic business.

<sup>7</sup> Narcotraffic is related to the illegal activities that have the purpose to monopolize the production and trade the raw materials to produce different narcotics (cocaine, ), which are drugs that cause habit-forming in people

<sup>8</sup> *Uña de gato*, is an endemic plant that grows in the Amazon used for medical purposes.

## 2.2. Urban expansion and informal settlements

The process of urbanization in the Amazon Basin mainly started with the rubber boom economy and was influenced by other extractive activities (timber, oil, and coca). Military concentrations also influenced migration flows, which is explained later in the chapter. The urban expansion of three main cities (Iquitos, Pucallpa, and Puerto Maldonado) is discussed in this section as well.

### 2.2.1. Urban expansion in Amazonia

The urban growth in Iquitos has been caused by several migration flows over time. It was the political and administrative center of the rubber extraction between 1890 and 1915. The free commercial trade, current between 1920 and 1930, caused the development of new commercial networks targeted to the city. Despite of the incipient manufacture and commercial trade in the city, Iquitos remained dependent on the rubber monopoly of Great Britain. In other words, this city did not set the conditions to develop its own capitalist economy that would transform the resource-base or diversify the economy. For instance, Great Britain used to control all ways of communication and transportation in the Amazon Basin of the 1890's.

The construction of the road Lima-Pucallpa influenced the commercial trade between Iquitos and Pucallpa. Pucallpa began to grow as a consequence of the exportation of agricultural products in the 1940's. Border conflicts with Ecuador, Colombia, and Brazil, prompted military occupation in Iquitos that caused the concentration of young male populations at the end of the 1940's. Finally the exploration and extraction of oil in the Tigre River, required the construction of a refinery in the city of Iquitos in 1948 and the construction of the Northern Peruvian oil duct in 1974. Both caused the location of new industries and businesses in Iquitos to feed the oil industry and therefore the location and growth of peri-urban settlements.

Afterwards, Iquitos continued to expand as we observe in the following census. In 1971, the population increased by 57% compared to 1965 due to the location of oil wells in the Marañon Basin. The other census of 1982 registered a population increase of 60% compared to the one in 1971, with total population of 181,472 inhabitants (Chuy et al., workpaper). According to the census in 1993, Iquitos had a population of 274,759 inhabitants (Censos Nacionales de 1993, INEI).

Urban expansion in Pucallpa results from other factors however. This city evolved on the basis of the economic dominance of the United States, after World War II. The North American economy located different centers for the exploitation of primary products. This is how Pucallpa emerges as the bridge between the areas of exploitation of coffee and timber, and the cities for the exportation of those products (Iquitos and Lima). In other words, with Iquitos, exports were oriented to markets through the Atlantic Ocean, and with Lima, exports were oriented to the markets through the Pacific Ocean (Aviles and Garcia, 1987:102).

Conversely to the other important cities, Iquitos (Rivers Amazonas and Itaya) and Puerto Maldonado (Rivers Madre de Dios and Las Piedras), which were founded in the intersection of two rivers, Pucallpa was founded in the intersection of an interregional road and the Ucayali River. The interregional road Lima-Pucallpa, finished in 1943, links Pucallpa to the central highlands and to the capital located in the Pacific Coast. Moreover, the construction of the river port and airport in 1945 intensified its role of inter-regional center.

Between 1960 and 1980, the free commercial trade laws on imports increased the process of integration between Pucallpa and Iquitos because local marketers in Pucallpa imported products from Brazil brought in by the port in Iquitos. This commercial activity was followed by the important development of the timber industry and exportation to national and international markets (Cortazar, 1988:25). In addition, new industries started to function like paper manufacturing plants, oil refineries, and beer and soda industrial plants (Inadur, 1996, see fig.

2.2). On the other hand the fact that it became the capital of the department of Ucayali in 1980 influenced its acceleration to urbanization. This is the period when Pucallpa consolidated as an interregional agent for the trade of primary products that caused the diversification of other economic activities like the exploitation of its agricultural, hydro-biological, energetic, and assets for tourism (Aviles and Garcia, 1987:102).

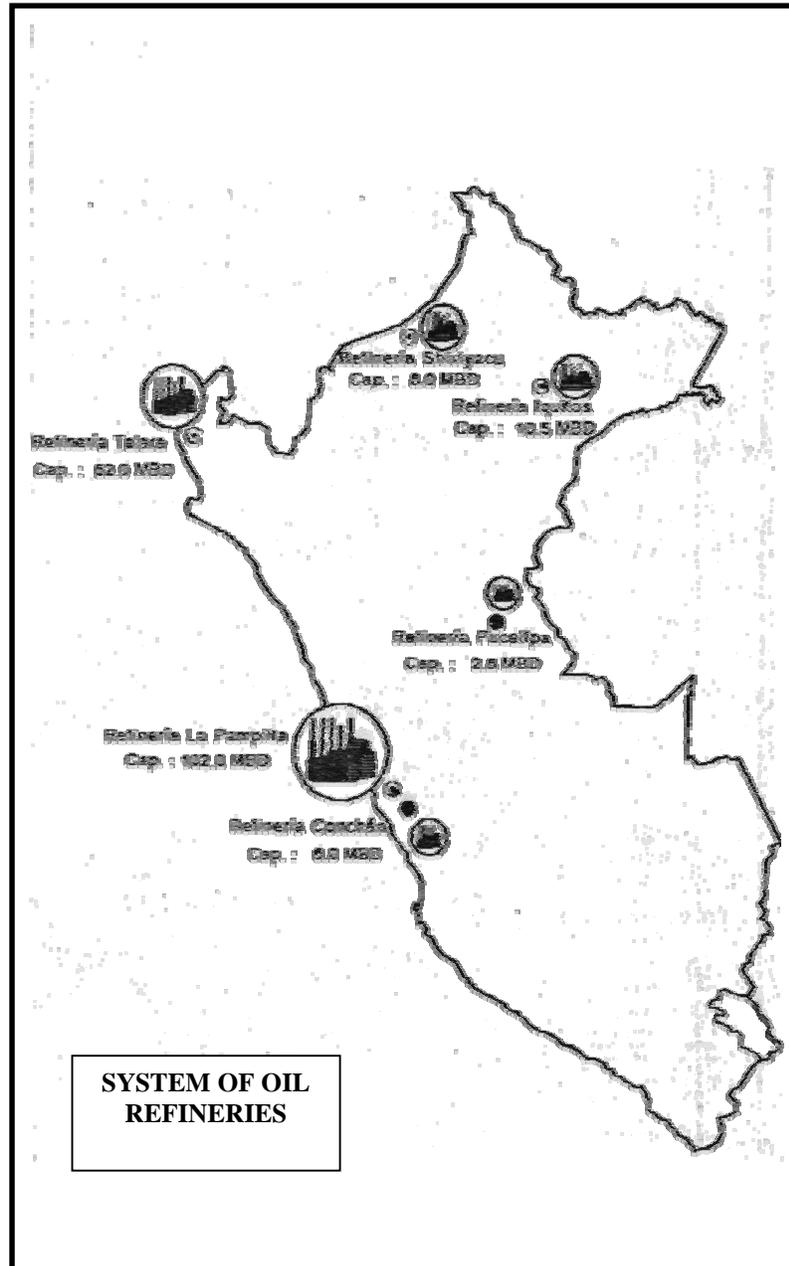


Figure 2.2. Location of the oil refineries of Iquitos and Pucallpa

Source: Zeballos Nuñez, 1994

On the other hand, narcotraffic was another important determinant of the population growth in Pucallpa. This city was directly affected by narcotraffic activities during the 1980s and beginnings of 1990, period which was identified of the worst socio-economic and cultural burden. This was not only the result of the violence released by the narcoterrorist groups but also the antinarcotraffic efforts of both state and international agencies that converted the streets of Pucallpa and rural surrounding areas in fields of war. The panic in people's lives was not the only burden, in addition there was an environmental impact, the alarming increase of coca plantations (from 2,000 ha. to 40,000 ha.) in the surroundings of the city between 1980 and 1990, which represented 11% of the national territory.

The gradual acquisition and consolidation of the roles and functions of Pucallpa generated a rapid population growth, which in the last fifty years (1940-1990) has increased by 7200 %. This is the result of a continuous migration flow (Aviles and Garcia, 1987:106).

Table 2.3. Population growth in Pucallpa between 1941-1993

Year	Population
1941	2,368
1961	26,391
1971	57,095
1981	89,604
1993	174,336

Source: Pucallpa. Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Información. INEI

Pucallpa's exorbitant number of migrant population did not find the sufficient physical infrastructure to meet their needs and settled in the peri-urban areas of the city. For instance, there is still a deficit of 55% in water supply and another 77% deficit in sewer plumbing, which endangers people's health conditions, especially in marginalized areas because of the fast decomposition of organic materials exposed to high tropical temperatures.

During the 1980's Pucallpa was considered to be the biggest squatter settlement in Peru. The increasing immigration levels, the decrease in timber production (extraction and manufacture), the limited oil exploitation and the economic pressure of the illegal trade of coca greatly increased unemployment and sub-employment resulting in a degradation of living conditions. The population growth was not preceded by efficient implementation of infrastructure and services (Ara, 1993:8). The third important Amazonian City is Puerto Maldonado, which has also suffered the consequences of urbanization. Urban expansion in Puerto Maldonado, whose population has increased (annual rate of 5%) since the construction of the road Cusco-Quincemil between 1941 and 1981 (Chion, 1987:39), today has an approximate population of 29,000 (Censos Nacionales de 1993, INEI). This migration flow was also caused by the local extractive activities of timber, Brazil nuts, latex and gold. This city has received a broad diversity of migrants over time: highlander peasants, Japanese, Spanish, Brazilian, and Bolivian.

Puerto Maldonado constitutes the center that articulates the rest of the Southern region of the Amazon Basin in terms of communications, infrastructure and commercialization because of its hierarchical function, population size, and location (see fig. 1.1). Although there is no high-tech industry, Puerto Maldonado may evolve as a strong center that links the economy at the macro-regional level (Arequipa, Apurimac, Cusco, Moquegua, Puno and Tacna). On the other hand, Puerto Maldonado has a potential role for the commercial integration with Brazil, Paraguay and Bolivia.

The project of the Inter-oceanic road (see fig. 2.3.) that would unite seven countries (Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Paraguay and Brazil) will intersect the Transamazon Highway at Puerto Maldonado, the same place where there is an intersection of the

waterways and interregional roads. This may prove advantageous for the development of this city in the future.



Figure 2.3. South American integration  
 Source: Revista Plaza Mayor Nº 17

### 2.2.2. Informal Settlements

Urbanization has been defined as the modern industrial society's dominant physical product, generator of consumption, user of resources, and producer of pollution (Euston, 1995:2). The worldwide tendency is toward urbanization. Estimates for the next thirty years support that urban population will double (Euston, 1995:1). In the case of Latin America, urbanization will continue to grow by the consolidation of informal settlements in peri-urban areas of metropolis (Browder, Bohland, and Scarpaci, 1995:311-323). Hernando de Soto (1989) defines informal settlements as:

“Peripheral shanty towns of self-help housing resulting from low-income people's invasions on public or private lands, with some degree of illegality”.

Gilbert (1996) gives more detail by describing that occupiers create makeshift housing arrangements where no initial services are provided. In general, informal settlements provide the following functions: free land, reception centers for immigrants, informal employment opportunities in family and cottage industries, a sense of community, and social support (Pearlman, 1971, in Browder, Bohland, and Scarpaci, 1995:313).

Informal settlements in the Amazon, usually unregulated, wedge on the precipices of streams and drainage ditches and other unserviceable spaces, which have rapidly spread in the urban landscape. These settlements share the same lack of adequate sanitation systems and potential health risk conditions as other slums that are found in Latin America (Browder and Godfrey, 1997:344).

Some similarities among informal settlements around the world (Bangkok, Jakarta, and Santiago) in a recent study show the following:

- The vast majority of residents in the metropolitan fringe were lower middle and middle-income, long-term urban dwellers, who mostly relocated from other fringe areas.
- Most household workers were formally employed and received regular salaries and wages under legal employment contracts. Also, women, more than men, worked largely in the informal sector. Most of the residents were well integrated into the larger urban economy rather than having rural sector linkages and agricultural activities.
- In general, informal settlements or fringe settlements are highly diverse in character, function and form (Browder, Bohland, and Scarpaci, 1995:323).

The social economy within each locality creates a network of relationships that allow locals to work together in identifying and acting on local problems or in taking local initiatives (Habitat, 1996:419).

#### Land Invasions and community participation

Informal settlements in Latin America have steadily advanced by a succession of unexpected actions, mass movements, political intrigues, and exchanges of favors with the political system, either through the official or opposition parties. Furthermore, recent studies have noted the formal-informal relationship as a coupling phenomenon (Alsayyad, 1993:140).

When occupiers plan an invasion by consensus, they make a thorough survey of their shared interests, assemble the critical mass needed to cover the area, and set up a system for incorporating people who later ask to join the settlement, giving preference to local residents (Soto, 1989:35). Invasions, thus have an operating logic which determines their capacity to coordinate efforts, design a settlement, distribute lots, organize self-defense, administer justice, negotiate with the authorities, and generally make progress through social mobilization and community organization.

### The informal sector

Originally, the term *informal sector* was used to mean self-employment and small-scale enterprise in providing work in Third World cities (Gilbert, 1996:255). Moreover, the critical point is that the formal and informal sectors are intimately linked in the Latin American urban economy. They are linked to each other not only through relations of production but also in a more general functional sense. Informal production tends to lower overall wage costs, offers flexibility to corporate management in weathering fluctuations of demand, and by absorbs large quantities of labor at subsistence and below subsistence levels. In other words, the informal sector serves as a kind of buffer for the formal economy (Friedmann and Salguero, 1988:16). During the 1970's the World Employment Programme regarded the informal sector as a source of opportunities for creating more adequately paid jobs (Gilbert, 1996:257).

Informal sector jobs are small-scale, labor-intensive, lacking formally acquired skills and reliant on domestic resources (Gilbert, 1996:255). Studies in Latin America revealed the diverse array of jobs contained within the informal sector. For instance some of them are: bootblacks, salesmen, artisans and craftsmen, that work at small workshops, repair shops, and develop manufacturing activities, as well as mining, fishing, and agricultural activities in fringe urban areas (Browder and Godfrey, 1997:343).

Workers in informal jobs, usually illegal or semi-legal and considered marginal to the main source of employment and production, and are constantly harassed by the police because they lack licenses (Gilbert, 1996:256). However, this type of job maintains the thousands of poor urban people by keeping them economically productive and far from marginal, and promotes pro-capitalist activities. Two examples are the following:

- micro-enterprises, that produce goods at both inside and outside the informal settlement to sell primarily outside the informal settlement,
- Other, such as domestic work, prostitution, and ambulant trading, carried out mostly outside the informal settlement (Friedmann and Salguero, 1988:17).

Clearly, the better jobs in the informal sector are those of small-scale production, which require experience and contacts, and that are often tied into larger production ensembles through subcontracting arrangements (Friedmann and Salguero, 1988:18).

### Social formation

The peri-urban informal settlements are organized on the basis of strong neighborhood movements. They are the places of social transformation created to provide shelter to those poor and powerless that do not have an option to afford housing in a formal way. However, sociologists are skeptical and point out that rather than transforming social movements, these neighborhood or community organizations get dissolved once a particular demand for public services have been met. They dissolve as a social force leaving material accomplishments as the only trace of their former existence (Friedmann and Salguero, 1988:4).

Conversely, it is important to view these movements as possibilities of social change. The economy of informal settlements constitutes an innovative model of self-reproduction of life (Friedmann and Salguero, 1988:28). This is because the household<sup>9</sup> is the fundamental unit in the economy of survival in informal settlements, which constitutes the space for the production and reproduction of its life. According to a model of household relations within and out of an informal settlement, we can find the following:

- households relate among themselves through social networks,

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<sup>9</sup> Household meaning any group of related and or unrelated individuals who live under the same roof and eat from the same pot.

- households relate with the market economy in both formal and informal arrangements,
- households relate with multiple household or cooperative enterprises located within the community,
- households relate with community self-help organizations (Friedmann and Salguero, 1988:11).

In order to allocate resources, these households depend on two different modes of production: (1) inside the informal settlement, whose expected returns are measured primarily in terms of the direct use value of goods and services, feelings of good will, and social recognition; and (2) the market economy, which returns are only counted in terms of money (Friedmann and Salguero, 1988:13).

The city of Pucallpa is the container where these informal interactions take place, especially due to the role that it plays in the region as supplier of services and commercial agent of regional products. It is a center of trade ad-hoc for the development of informal activities like transportation (waterways or terrestrial) and commerce at the regional and local level.

### 2.3. The city of Pucallpa

#### The origin of Pucallpa

Pucallpa (see Fig. 2.4) is a quechua<sup>10</sup> name that means *red soil* due to the color of the ground where it is located. Originally, inhabited by native ethnic groups (Cashibos and Shipibos), its economy was based on subsistent crops and activities like fishing, hunting, and rudimentary agriculture of very simple semi-sedentary techniques (Cortazar, 1988:21). Between 1700 and 1870 Dominican and Franciscans established missions in the Ucayali area. By the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, new settlers with commercial interests began a market economy.

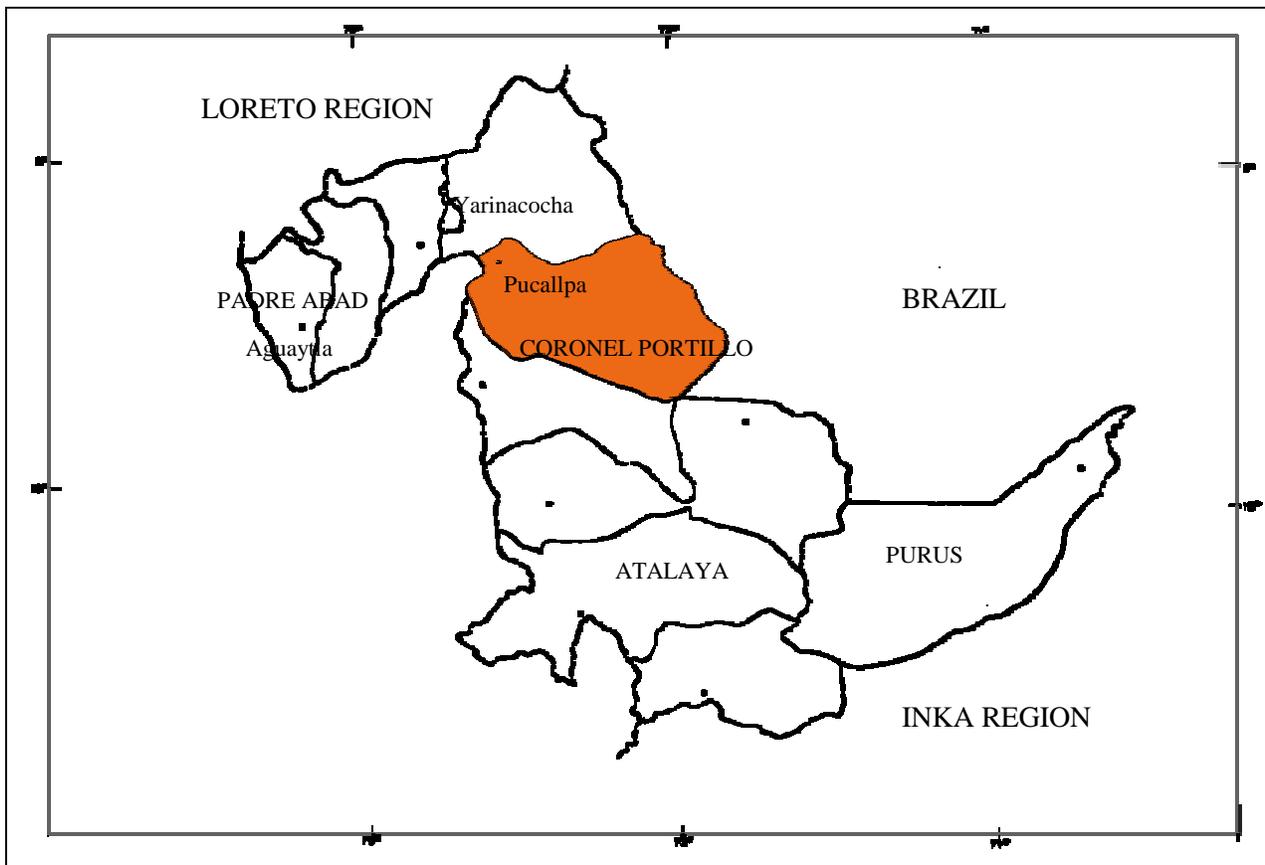


Figure 2.4. Location of Pucallpa in the region of Ucayali

<sup>10</sup> Quechua represents the language and culture of the millions of prevailing indigenous people that live in the highlands of Peru.

The development of markets was the result of the penetration of explorers through the Ucayali, Purus, Pachitea, Tambo, and Urubamba rivers (see fig. 2.6). Different explorers arrived during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries: Samanez Ocampo (1883), Geran Stiglich (1904), Coronel Pedro Portillo (1901-1904), Faustino Sarmiento (1910). Also Joaquin Capelo, Padre Sala and Carlos Fitzcarrald (Cortazar, 1988:22).

The official foundation of Pucallpa was in May 13, 1883 by Eduardo del Aguila Tello (Cortazar, 1988:21). The province of Coronel Portillo, where the city is located, and the department of Ucayali, were created by decree law 9815 in June 12, 1943 and by decree law 2309 in June 18, 1980, respectively (Cortazar, 1988:3).

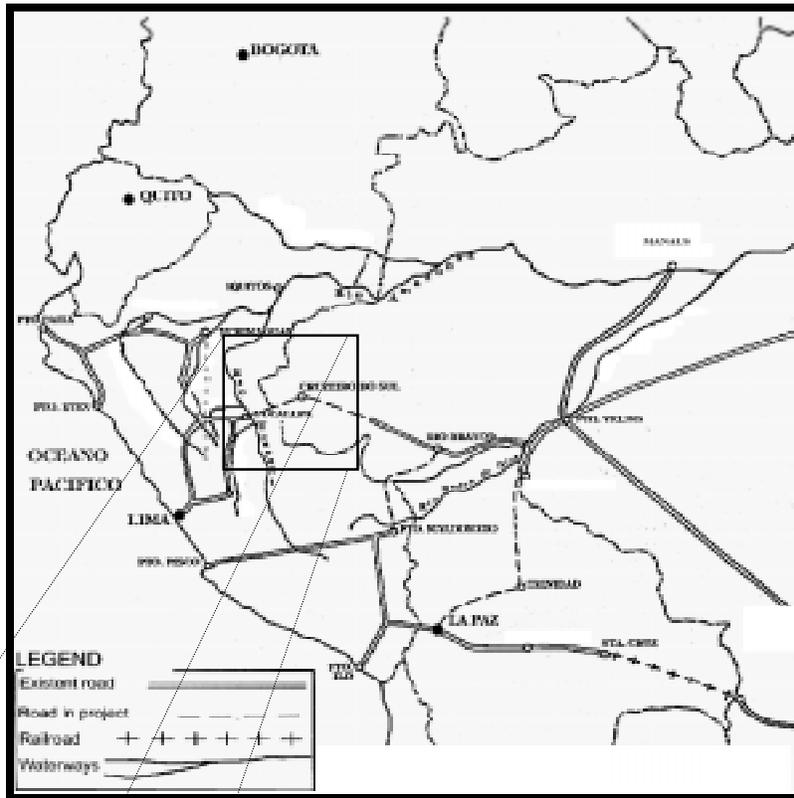


Figure 2.5. The Inter-oceanic Road and connection of the Amazon Basin



Figure 2.6. Detail of the location of Pucallpa

These aero-photographs (1963 and 1991) portray the physical growth that resulted in a thirty year period affected by the timber industry and the narcotraffic activity in Pucallpa.



Photo 2.1. Location of *9 de Octubre* in 1963  
Source: Instituto Geografico Militar, Lima.



Photo 2.2. Location of *9 de Octubre* in 1990  
Source: Instituto Geografico Militar, Lima.

Today, Pucallpa has the following characteristics:

- Energy is provided by a steam thermal center powered by gas, which makes energy very expensive. Studies for the construction of dams have not yet been developed despite of existing water resources. Also, oil and gas resources have not been used yet. The oil that is refined in Pucallpa comes from Aguas Calientes (Puerto-Honorio-Huanuco) and Maquia (Contamana-Loreto), whose production in 1995 was 152-473 barrels/day. The trans-national Maple Gas Corporation has been approved to start the gas exploitation in the department of Ucayali. Locals exploit gold in a low-tech way. Other resources like clay are used and processed for construction. There are six facilities for the manufacture of bricks which provide the construction demand in the city (Inadur, 1996).
- Service establishments allocate 63% of the independent labor force which means that the majority of establishments are part of the informal sector (Inadur, 1996). Forestry and timber products constitute the basic economic activity for the development of the region.
- Pucallpa plays the role of growth pole in the region. As observed in Figure 2.7, Pucallpa is the center of interchange of timber for commodities with the centers of Pto. Esperanza, Atalaya, and Aguaytia.

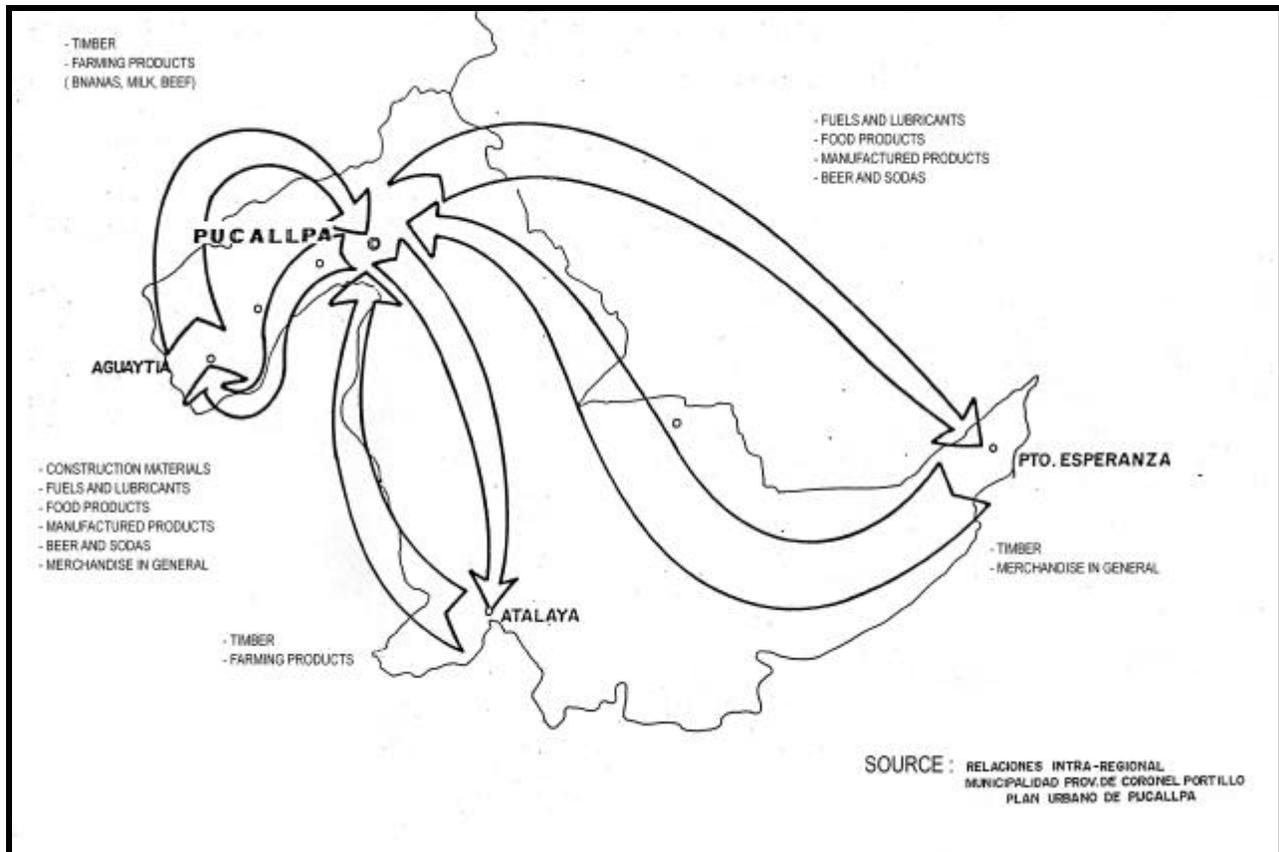


Figure 2.7. Regional relationships of Pucallpa.

- As observed in Figure 2.8, nationally, Pucallpa maintains commercial relations with Lima, through the Federico Basadre road, for the interchange of raw materials for manufactured products, machinery, technological development, and cultural influence. Its relationship with Iquitos, by the Ucayali River waterways, is of products manufactured in Pucallpa that are marketed in the region.

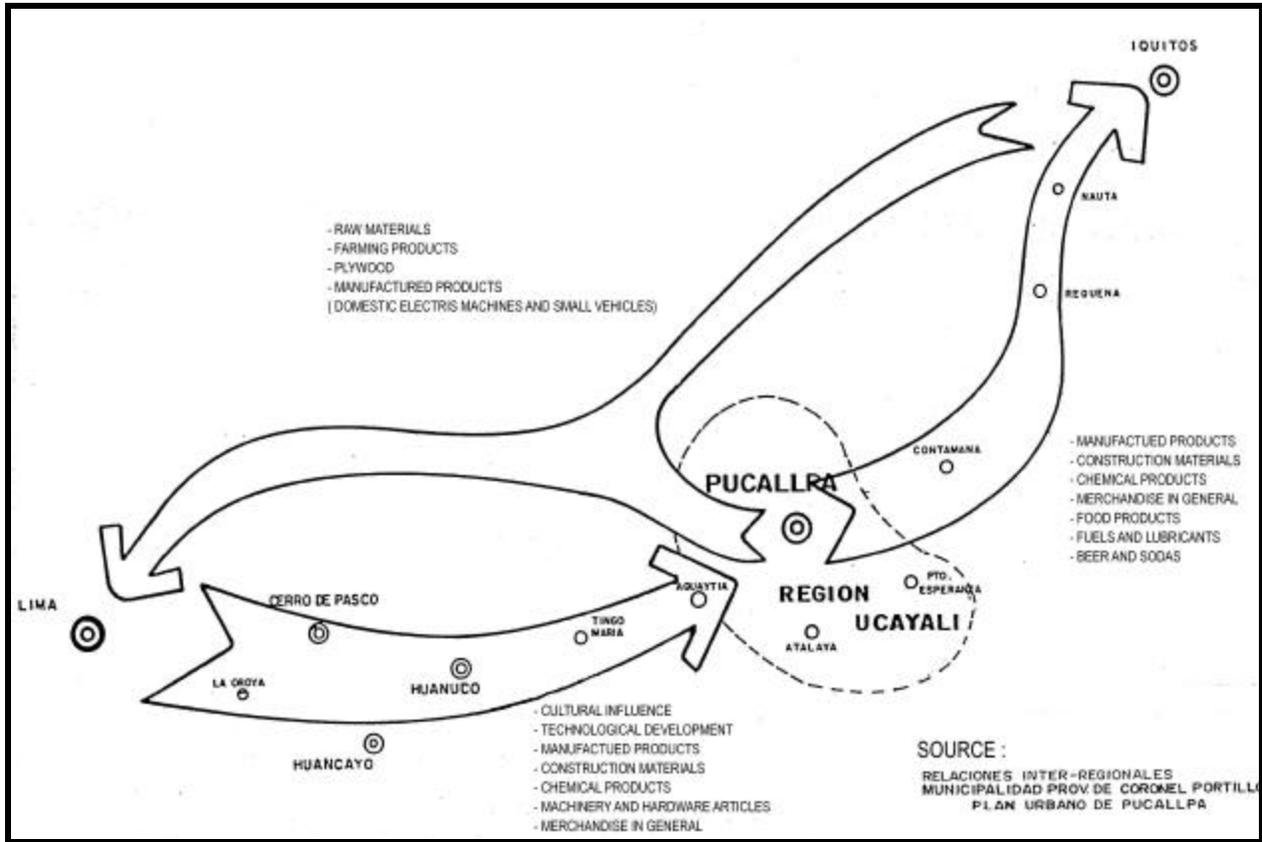


Figure 2.8. Inter-regional relationships between Pucallpa, Lima and Iquitos.

### Urban description of Pucallpa

The city is organized on the junction of two principal axes: The Federico Basadre road and the Ucayali River (fig. B.1.). There is a land use order along the Federico Basadre Road as we get into the city. It goes from country houses to industrial, housing, and finally commercial uses.

The urban growth was the result of the increase of economic activities and consequent urban migration flows of peasants who had Pucallpa as their final destination or as an intermediate city to migrate to other big cities like Iquitos, Trujillo, or Lima. Disorder and chaos in the city of Pucallpa are the result of continuous invasions on vacant land initially zoned for infrastructure, parks, or services.

In the last 15 years (1980 to 1995), the population in Pucallpa has increased 100% however density has remained constant at 83.2 habitants/ha. This means that the city has grown horizontally as a result of invasions and spontaneous human settlements (Nuñez, 1995).

Today (see fig. 2.9), Pucallpa is made up at four well-defined geographic sections including the center of Pucallpa (sectors A and B) and two peri-urban areas (sectors C and D). Sector A, the downtown area, has two land uses: residential and commercial. This is the site of original settlement and most traditional area with diverse commerce, and a strong change from residential to commercial use. Public and private institutions are also located here. There is a port area to interchange regional products. This area occupies 9.0% of the urban area with 88.2 habitants/ha. Its population is at 18,576 (1995) and occupies the full number of existent dwellings (Plan Director de la Ciudad de Pucallpa, 1995).

Sector B, located next to downtown, has land use that is more residential than commercial. This area occupies 15.4% of the urban area with density of 110.9 habitants/ha. The population is 40,224 (1995) and occupies 95% of the existent dwellings (Plan Director de la Ciudad de Pucallpa, 1995).

Sector C, is an area still in urban consolidation, meaning that not all of its neighborhoods have the required basic services of water, sewage and electric energy. Essentially residential, this sector occupies 27% of the urban area. Its density equals 106.3 habitants/ha supports 34.6% of the total population in Pucallpa (Plan Director de la Ciudad de Pucallpa, 1995).

Sector D, is in an initial urban consolidation stage. It is located to the west of the city, close to the airport, the University of Ucayali and the Swiss Technological Institute. This area has a low density with semi-rural land uses. Residential housing and industry are the predominant land uses. Some areas have more services than others. For example the ones close to the industrial area for timber have the privilege of dirt roads and street lighting that other areas do not (Plan Director de la Ciudad de Pucallpa, 1995).

Furthermore, this sector is planned to be the buffer zone for the urban growth of the city where most of the industry is located. The provision of services is still incomplete. Density equals 70 habitants/ha, amounting to 25.4% of total population who occupy 55% of the existent dwellings.

In total, informal settlements in Pucallpa represent 57.4% of urban area and account for 60% of total population, with an average density of 87.2 habitants/ha. This shows the rapid urban growth due to population growth that has resulted in 128 informal settlements. Eighty-seven from which have property rights, twenty-four, which are not regulated, and twenty-seven, which are subsidized by the government. These informal settlements develop specially along the Federico Basadre road, which allows easy access to transportation to work and services.

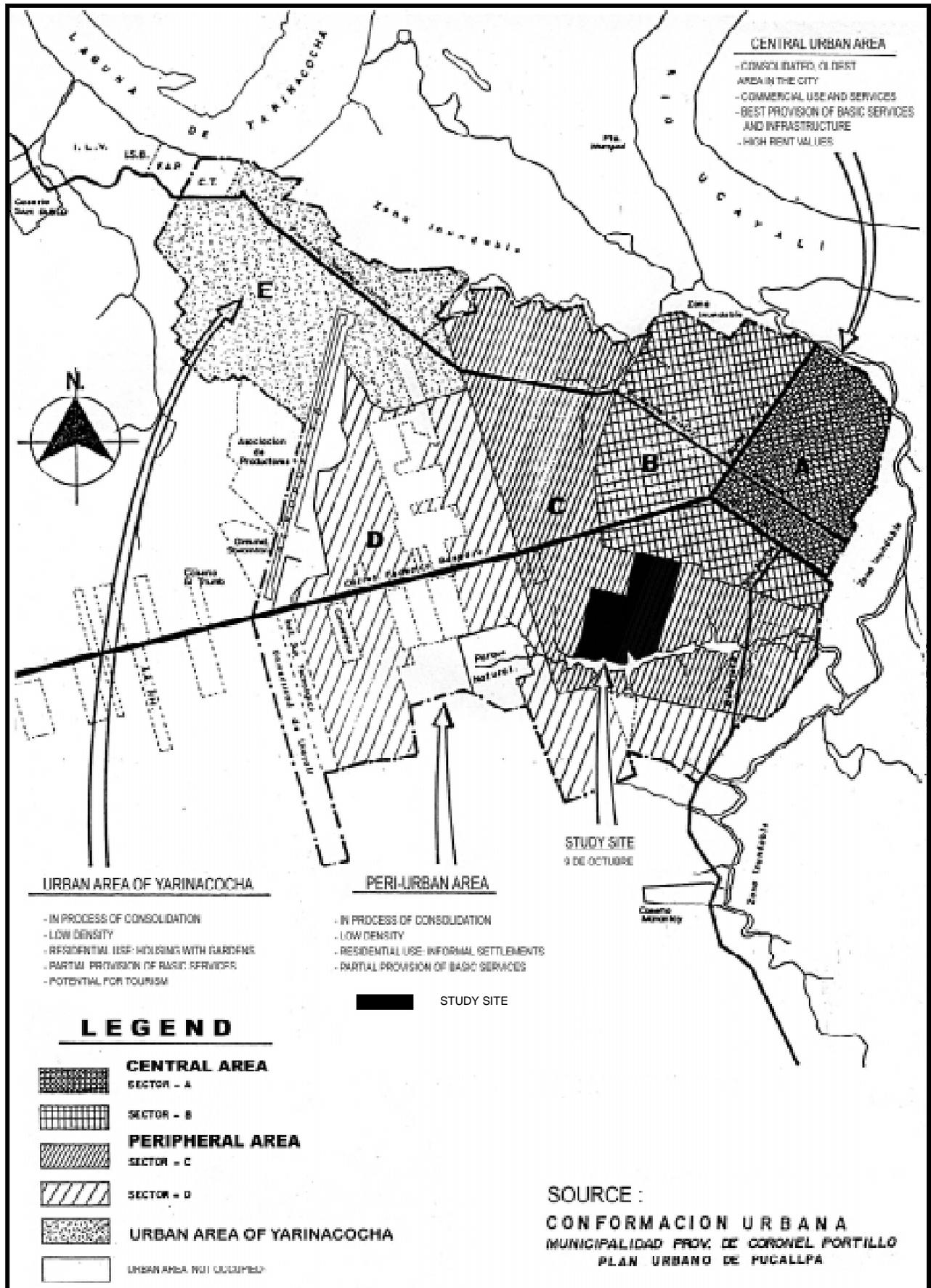


Figure 2.9. Urban Sectors in Pucallpa

### Timber production

Pucallpa's most important economic activity is the processing of timber, which generates more jobs and higher income in the city. For instance, its production in 1993 was 10,254,074.00 ft<sup>2</sup>, which represented 60% of total industrial production in Pucallpa (see Table 2.4).

Table 2.4. Industrial production 1991-1993.

TYPE OF INDUSTRY	UNIT	1991	1992	1993
Beer production	pack	3,497,776.00	6,541,350.00	4,010,552.00
Juice production	unit	2,879,001.00	223,810.00	-
Soda production	pack	1,609,241.00	3,034,655.00	2,040,128.00
Timber production	ft <sup>2</sup>	8,576,868.00	37,933,904.00	10,254,074.00
Assembling of motor parts	unit	189,678.00	120,897.00	117,928.00
Gas	kg.	156,034.00	123,422.00	32,239.00
Oxygen	bale	83.00	1,424.00	24,410.00
Painting production	gallons	1,968.00	1,091.00	1,249.00
Fabrication of plastic tubes	unit	47,263.00	27,845.00	-
Fabrication of bricks	thousand	-	757.00	2,171,991.00

Source: Direccion Regional de Industria, 1994.

Extraction is usually from trees that grow along rivers and valleys so that it is easier to transport them. Pucallpa is one of the four principal forest areas of extraction in the region of Ucayali, that is, the city relies on the forest resources it has in the surroundings plus resources from the other three areas. In 1989, 43% of the volume extracted came from surrounding areas of Pucallpa. The forest exploitation in the Ucayali region includes the areas of Iparía, Tournavista, Tamaya River and Pucallpa and part of the department of Huanuco (Barrantes, Trivelli, 1996:33). On the other hand, timber is also exploited in other areas of the Amazon Basin (Loreto, Madre de Dios and San Martin), however the road network is better in the Ucayali region than in the other three areas. This facilitates the access and development of timber extraction and commercialization in Pucallpa and the location of the majority of forestry industries in this city (Barrantes, Trivelli, and 1996:33).

The Federico Basadre and the Ucayali River are the most important channels of the economic activities in Pucallpa. The commercial trade of timber with Brazil has not been successful due to the lack of roads and waterways. However, the project of the road Pucallpa-Cruzeiro Do Sul (Brazil) may allow the interregional integration between the Pacific and Atlantic coasts (Toledo, 1994:26).

Another advantage of the production of timber in Pucallpa is the technological and skilled labor force. On the other hand, Pucallpa produces 60% of Amazonian tropical timber, 52% of Amazonian plywood and 70% of Amazonian parquet (Ministerio de Agricultura - Direccion General de Forestal y Fauna, 1993). The Ucayali region (see Figure 2.10) produces approximately 35% of Peruvian's forest products; therefore, is the most important region for national forest production followed by Junin and Pasco (located in the central tropical forest), and San Martin (Iturraran in Barrantes & Trivelli, 1996:58). The principal consumers of Peruvian timber are U.S., Mexico, Colombia, Costa Rica, and Japan (Table 2, Barrantes & Trivelli, 1996:59).

After 1981, due to the international economic policy that President Alan Garcia followed, the Peruvian economy became practically isolated. There were restrictions in international markets for Peruvian products, and some of the side effects included high oil costs and low forest products prices. As a result of the recession of 1983, timber industrial enterprises became tremendously affected (Toledo (1986) in Barrantes & Trivelli, 1996:62). Others have mentioned that during that time, the displacement of Pucallpa's products from the national market was due to more competitive offers from other productive areas like the Peruvian central tropical forest and Chile. Occasional problems were raised by

commercial monopolies from Lima, and by scarce connections between timber industries in Pucallpa and final consumers, both national and international.

Other important factors that affected the timber production in Pucallpa during mid-1980s were the reduced consumption of principal users (construction, mining, industry), the decrease on tropical woods because of the world market recession, restrictions on some countries imports, and the excess of supply in Lima. Therefore, the demand for productive areas decreased dramatically.

Consistent with its effort to reincorporate within the global economy, the Peruvian government is interested in developing a forestry plan for the long term. In 1994 Peru signed the International Tropical Timber Agreement to become member of ITTO (International Tropical Timber Organization) (Annual Review and Analysis of the World Tropical Timber Situation, 1996), which may improve the development of the timber sector in Pucallpa.

The most recent massive migration was due to the security factor during the narcotraffic war (1980-1990) that this city provided in the region, in comparison with other cities in the Amazon Basin that did not have military forces settled and ready to defend citizens. Today, Pucallpa has almost the same important role of center for collection and distribution of products as Iquitos, which still has an advantageous location because of its direct transportation for exports through the Amazon River and its modern industrial infrastructure.

The economic growth of Pucallpa relies on governmental economic policies to promote and encourage national and foreign investment within a free market economy. An increase is expected in the national timber industry, in terms of both logging and timbers processing prompted by a demand increase in the domestic and export markets. A general increase is expected in the building sector as a result of greater availability of capital during the next few years due to an expected decrease in mortgage/interest rates; therefore, the timber demand for construction will increase.

The hope on the timber production and its importance for Pucallpa's economy depends on Peru's efforts to pursue and accomplish international partnerships. Peru's position depends however, on the efforts of other Latin American countries to be able to expand their markets without endangering their resources.

On the other hand the construction of the Transamazon Highway would benefit the development of the region through the exploitation of hydrocarbons (oil and gas) for exportation to Brazil. The integration would be via terrestrial to Cruzeiro do Sul (Paredes Pando 1992:54). This may provide Pucallpa a good chance to develop a more diverse economy and a market network with Brazil, and other countries like Bolivia and Paraguay through the Interoceanic Road.

#### **2.4. The role of the government affecting women in Pucallpa**

The Peruvian government has modified the ways of supporting women since the World Conference on Women held in Beijing in September 1995, under the assumption that women are the architects of their own destiny. There is more awareness in governmental agencies about women's accomplishments in the last ten years. One of the organizations that the government has created is PRONA (Programa Nacional de Apoyo Alimentario – Food Support State Program) to promote and support women's workshops with the initial capital to start their own businesses so that poor urban mothers can have an income to provide in their households.

On the other hand, there is a good reception in women's' organizations to work with PRONA, because other than the investor that provides the capital to start a business, this confidence vote means a lot for these women. Poor urban women are overcoming marginalization by taking the chances that the State has had the initiative to support.

However, there are also other programs like PAIGRUMA (Programa de Ayuda y Promocion de la Mujer Amazonica - ) that with the good purpose to teach women basic activities (weaving and tailoring) they can do while being inside their household, they are also reinforcing women's reproductive roles without promoting women's empowerment. Wawawasis are other types of women's organizations

that are supported by the government. These day child-care-centers respond to community initiatives that have to find the location of new wawawasis, meanwhile the government formal recognizes and regulates them.

In an interview with a governmental agent who works for the *Red de Promocion de la Mujer*, (Promotion Network of Women), she said that the hardest part of dealing with governmental organizations is their inefficacy for implementing programs that worked in other areas in the country. Probably what happens is that every governmental agency is trying to work towards the well being of women without doing it on a dialogue basis.

This governmental agent said also that the problem with current women's organizations is that they do not have a common goal. Each community organization is focused on its own problems and when they all come together to make requests. There is the need that women's organizations build upon a consensus so governmental agencies can be more efficient in implementing their demands.

### SUMMARY

This chapter on Amazonian expansion and urbanization shows that Pucallpa as the other two most important cities in the Amazon (Iquitos and Puerto Maldonado) has always depended on the exploitation of its resource base. Pucallpa's origin and development has been determined by its strategic location. Over time, affected by boom-and -bust periods of economic activities (timber and coca), Pucallpa remained a center for collection and distribution of forest products and capital in the region. Today, the economy of Pucallpa depends on the timber extraction and its capacity to develop other parallel industries.

On the other hand, the role of commercial agent this city plays in the regional and interregional levels, has been another attribute that has attracted thousands of migrants to Pucallpa. This migration factor has caused serious urban problems for the provision of infrastructure in informal settlements, which have increased over time. Informal settlements in Pucallpa respond to the process of modernization that Peru as Latin American country went through since the 1940s. It is also important to remember the policies encouraged by the government on land invasions that had an especial impact for the consolidation of first informal settlements in Pucallpa, when during the period of the army commander Juan Velasco, land and property rights were given to peoples' associations.

Although the Peruvian government has programs that support poor urban women by providing initial resources or skill preparation (e.g. *glass of milk*, PAIGRUMA, PRONA, Wawawasis), governmental policies are not yet clear and consistent about the women's role that they need to promote in order to achieve social development.

## CHAPTER 3: WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

The literature dealing with questions of low-income urban women, social justice, and economic opportunity at the local level comes largely from three distinct fields: women's marginalization, social mobilization, and community development. Although these literatures have been integrated before, few times have them been together in the context of informal Amazon urban settlements (e.g., Moser 1991; Friedmann and Salguero, 1988; Young, 1993; Jaquette, 1990; Mujica, 1992; Schmink, 1982; Soto, 1989, Karl, 1995; Blondet, 1990; Browder, Bohland, and Scarpaci, 1995).

The purpose of this literature review is to discuss women's contributions to the local economy and life enhancement of their communities by observing their modes of social mobilization. Other issues involve Latin American women's marginalization and patterns of marginalization found among Peruvian women. Finally, we will discuss women's community empowerment and the advantages it can bring to the communities and households in informal settlements. The purpose is to provide the framework so at the end of the interpretation of the analysis in the last chapter we may attempt to discern patterns of community development of informal settlements and gender-sensitive policy strategies.

### 3.1. Marginalization of women in Latin American Development

The Latin America cultural tradition is well known for the way it defines the role of each gender. The subordination of women is anchored to the strongly cohesive family group that constitutes the base of the whole system of social relations (Jelin, 1990:2). The dominant gender ideology helps to perpetuate the sexual division of labor and often conditions women who work outside of the home to see themselves primarily as housewives and mothers regardless of their job positions (Mujica, 1992:38). Gender ideology suggests that men are breadwinners and women are mainly homemakers, and only in some cases secondary wage earners (Mujica 1992, Moser, 1989).

Shuttle (1993) points out that the Latin American family is a contradictory institution, it is as much a source of solidarity and support as of inequality and abuse. "An ideology of mutual cooperation, communal solidarity and affective identification is juxtaposed with internal inequality and highly authoritarian and at times violent interpersonal relations" (Scott, 1990).

The current course of development in Latin America has not been effective to solve women's poverty and subordination. Moreover, in many cases it has worsened their economic and social positions (Molyneux, 1992; Bhatt 1989; Prigoff 1992; Faulkner and Lawson, 1991).

Women in Latin America are marginalized by virtue of gender, class, and ethnicity. For instance, women in Peru are marginalized as women, as low-income individuals, as *pobladoras* or settlers of marginal neighborhoods, and as members of indigenous groups that have been subordinated for 500 years. Poor urban women are disregarded economically and socially because there are not efficient policies that promote women's well being through employment and provision of services (Figueroa and Anderson, 1990: 10). These women remain in the margins of the Latin American economy, at the periphery of gender power relations, and in the underclass of power structures (Hays-Mitchell, 1997:119).

Subordination is a constant burden that women in Latin America have experienced since colonial times. During the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the state bureaucracies in Mexico and Peru superimposed new hierarchical social and economic structures, which stressed the exploitation of women's labor and their position in society, and were very different to the socio-economic structure of the Inca Empire (Mujica 1992). While elite women benefited in some ways from the state expansion, less privileged women were adversely affected.

Through the beginning of this century, most Latin American countries supplied their internal markets with manufactured goods through imports which were exchanged for raw materials or semi-processed goods on the world market. In this first phase of development, industries in Latin American countries tended to be small, labor-intensive and nationally controlled. Workers were recruited from the ranks of migrants from rural to urban metropolitan areas. Women were disregarded within this process (Sen and Grown, 1988:21-31).

Beginning in the Post-war period and mainly in the 1950s, the role of Latin American economies in the world economic system entered a new phase. Most countries adopted the concept of modernization, which Einstadt (1970) defined as the change toward social, economic, and political systems that developed in Western Europe between the 17<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. This approach emphasized in the accumulation of capital, savings, and investment of the urban sector of the economy. Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was the most common indicator used by the World Bank to measure development disregarding other phenomena such as migration, urbanization, overpopulation, and urban poverty.

This second phase according to Einstadt (1970), marked the appearance of an important economic agent, the multi-national corporation. Primarily the resource base attracted foreign investors. The penetration of industrial investment in Latin America began to change the dominant form of enterprise in the region. New enterprises were more likely to be large-scale, using more productive technologies and often controlled by multinational corporations.

At the same time, the rural-urban migration stream was beginning to far surpass the capacity of the industrial sector to absorb new workers. With the increasing demand for skilled workers absorbed by the industrial sector, the majority of urban workers swelled the services and commerce sectors characterized as the *informal sector* (Schmink, 1982:4).

During the 70's and 80's, Latin America experienced what they called the economic crisis, which began with the oil price raise by OPEC in 1973 and continued with the debt crisis. By 1981, Latin American countries borrowed \$100.7 billion from the commercial banks and IMF to start programs of development (Isla, 1993:53). They paid back \$240 billion in net financial transfers between 1982 and 1991, however they still owe \$450 billion due to interest rates (Isla, 1993:35). As a result, most of Latin American countries followed the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP), condition of the IMF aid. The SAP included the following elements: a) reductions in government expenditures on social programs such as health and education; b) restrictive labour policies, involving wage reductions and layoffs; c) ending of subsidies/price controls for basic foodstuff; and d) reform of other tax structures to redistribute wealth from lower-income to higher income groups (Isla, 1993:54). In other words all social service provisions and needs of the people were subordinated to debt repayment. The economic crisis can best be described with an example. During the 1980's, Peru's inflation went up by 6 million percent, unemployment rose to 70 percent and according to a survey administered by United Nations, half of Peru's population lived on 10 cents per day (Isla, 1993:36).

Poor urban women were the hardest hit with erratic earnings and less stable employment patterns. Some women were forced to look for new alternatives abroad. This is the case of Colombian women, who went to work to Venezuela and were discriminated because of their ethnic group and by virtue of their vulnerable *illegal* condition. This example shows how the increasing industrialization highlights the ways in which ethnicity is constructed on the basis of nationality to become a major category of social stratification during periods of changing modes of production (Mujica 1992, Perez Itriago 1990, Hamilton, 1997).

Some of the effects of the industrial development on Latin American people, especially on women, are as follows:

#### Migration

The shift of both male and female labor out of the agricultural sector was accomplished by the migration from rural to urban areas and towns into metropolitan industrial centers. These movements are the result of both *pull* and *push* factors (Schmink, 1982:5). The *pull* factor is associated with the growth of urban-industrial employment opportunities while the *push* factor is associated with changes in the system of land ownership (from communal to private) that made people migrate. Rural-urban migration of women is attributed to women's employment opportunities in the urban informal sector.

#### Women's productive and reproductive roles

In order to understand the restriction of women's choices for employment in Latin America, it is important to first review at the women's roles of production and reproduction.

The reproduction role involves childbearing and child-rearing responsibilities. The productive role involves income-generating work and household management and provisioning. As a whole, both roles are referred to as activities that generate use values instead of exchange values (Mujica, 1992:36). In other words, women's labor is perceived in conventional economic literature and analysis as non-productive. Moreover, production and reproduction are two separate yet interconnected spheres that highlight the various layers of women's subordination and oppression which they diminish by applying creative strategies (Schmink, 1982:12).

#### Urban survival

Women provide day-to-day material needs that can substitute for money in poor households. Therefore, they cover a large proportion of domestic activities such as child care, home maintenance, clothing manufacture, cultivation of garden crops and care for small animals, even in cities (Schmink, 1982:13).

Extradomestic networks for exchange and cooperation among women help to substitute for purchased goods and services in poor populations. Non-monetary inputs provided by poor women are essential in underwriting low wages (Mujica 1992, Moser 1989). In their productive role women strive to reduce financial stress by limiting consumption of goods, substituting unpaid labor when possible, manipulating extra-domestic networks and patron-client relationships, and negotiating access to collective services for themselves, their families and their community. This, in turn, explains why women's mobilization and collective action tend to occur outside the realm of labor relationships and confrontation.

Lower-class urban women were the majority in women's movements during mid 1970's. They organized to demand relief from the state, supply the basic services that were no longer provided by the state, and feed their families collectively when it was no longer possible to do so individually. (Galer, Bravo & Guzman, 1990:21-25; Barrig 1989; Cordova and Gorriti, 1989; Safa, 1990)

Low wages, little social recognition and intensive work make it harder for women to take pride in the work they do and also influence their vulnerability in the home. As opposed to their participation in women's organizations that allow women to develop their capacities for self-reliance and internal strength (Mujica, 1992:36-50).

#### Informal employment and services

Working class women, who have small children, might be able to engage other female family members to substitute for them. Or they might have to take their children to their work. Moreover, this explains the high number of women who work in the informal sector, especially as marketers and street vendors because their children can stay below the counters in their stands (Mujica, 1992:38).

Recent location of day care centers by joint efforts of NGO's and mother's clubs in low-income urban neighborhoods permits their integration into multi-sector efforts of combined services (such as training, education, health and nutrition) which can have a far greater impact on the community's basic necessities. Furthermore, they permit a higher degree of local participation and involvement, essential elements for the continuing success of the endeavor. Community-oriented day care and other services can provide needed involvement of women at the community level in positions of authority, and furnish sources of training and direct employment close to home (Schmink, 1982:25).

The domestic sector concentrates the majority of poor urban women's labor. Domestic work is itself an occupation linked to skew income distribution patterns, which create both the supply of employment, which is demeaning and low paying, as well as the demand for personal servants from higher-income groups (Schmink, 1982:10).

Women dominate many occupations in the so-called informal sector, where they typically work as street vendors, seamstresses, beauty operators, laundresses and other similar self-employed workers or unpaid family workers (Schmink, 1982:8).

Latin American women's double burdens have soared because women assume additional responsibilities to their productive and reproductive roles within their households and communities leading to that of community managers (Feldman 1992; Nash 1995; Moser, 1989b, Mujica, 1992).

Latin American women started their role of community managers with individual efforts to secure for themselves and their families the access to urban services such as education, health facilities, child care, housing and infrastructure benefits. Poor women in Latin America are much more likely than women in higher-income households to be important income-generators over their lifetime because they in contrast to medium or high status women do not have that cultural prejudice of patriarchal society lying in their shoulders. Poor urban women work because if they do not do so their children may pass hunger. They also contribute significantly to household well being through their substantial non-monetary inputs (Schmink, 1982:16).

A gender analysis must precede policy interventions aimed at increasing women's access to urban resources (Schmink, 1982:19). Solutions will have to be able to transform gender roles and relations within the Latin American society and will have to provide spaces for women's voices to be heard. Economic empowerment of poor urban women, which implies a dynamic ongoing process in which women decide over income, would translate into their social and political empowerment, leading to gender equality and a more equitable and prosperous society (Hays-Mitchell, 1997:131).

### **3.2. Women's social mobilization in Latin America**

As a result of women's marginalization scholars and practitioners interested in solving women's burdens in developing countries brought in new development approaches. For the last fourteen years these gender sensitive approaches have attempted to raise women's self-esteem and importance in the socio-economic structure of their nations. However, there are some differences between these development approaches. On the other hand, women in the field, the ones who were marginalized, went through a process of awareness as a result of the campaigns of these development approaches and started mobilizing themselves to form grassroots organizations that seek social transformation.

#### Development Approaches

Women in Development, WID (Jagger, 1983), called liberal feminist theory, is based on the premise of the rational individual seeking her own self-interest. Liberal feminism attributes women's unequal status and social position to their exclusion from the public sphere, largely due to the sexual division of labor. They seek to ensure women greater access into the mainstream of economic, political, educational, and social life, laws and institutions must be reformed, and governmental attitudes changed. The approach accentuates the fact that women can do everything and at the same quality as men do (Young, 1993:129).

Gender and Development (GAD), which developed since the mid-1980s, shifts the focus from women to gender (Karl, 1995:102). In contrast to the WID approach, GAD constructs a model that integrates the roles of men and women by lessening the risk of marginalizing women. Focusing on women alone was inadequate to understand the opportunities women have for change (Young, 1979).

This perspective is more concerned with the structures and processes that gave rise to women's disadvantage (women's invisibility, women's lack of training, education, credit, and self-esteem). This approach attempts to be holistic. It tries to comprehend the main features of social organization, economic and political life, in order to understand the shaping of particular aspects of society. It seeks to analyze culturally specific forms of social inequity and divisions to see how gender is related to or interlocked with other forms of social hierarchy.

Men and women are viewed as active agents in and not passive recipients of development. However, they are differently located within the socio-economic structure, they tend to have different sets of interests and needs. These differences can give rise to sharp contradictions, which make the task of creating a movement that incorporates diversity but also shares a common vision a difficult one (Young, 1993:136).

GAD argues the importance of allowing women to "find their own feet", and of defining their own needs and interests, and the need to recognize the challenge of diversity. On the other hand, GAD like WID emphasizes the importance of women's involvement in decision-making and political power, it

would argue that women need to organize around a range of different and often conflicting issues before they can make a long-term and lasting impact (Young, 1993:143).

#### Grassroots social mobilization

Cooperative action takes place as a result of the sharing of problems and the necessity to have a voice. This leads women to activate patron-client relationships with individuals and institutions and to negotiate with government agencies and local financial institutions (Scott 1979, Schmink 1982:18). Urban women have a potential important social role not only at the level of household welfare, but in broader concerns of the urban community as well. Women's community manager roles potentially constitute a way of facilitating income generation that would improve household and community welfare and furthering the long-term urban integration of poor populations (Friedmann and Salguero, 1988:16).

For instance in Peru, women's movements in urban and rural areas amongst the poorest have developed since 1980. Originated as an attempt to ameliorate the recession, these organizations, have enabled women to analyze and respond to critical situations in a range of relatively constructive ways in spite of the different continuous and daily uncertainties (e.g. price rises, reduction in purchasing power, and terrorist violence of the *Sendero Luminoso* terrorist movement).

Women's organizations, as defined by Kusterer (1990), are women based organizations built on women specific cultures and experiences and are grassroots organizations built up from local bases of activity. They have three simultaneous functions:

1. They are mobilized to solve people's immediate problems and to meet immediate needs through either voluntarily self-help efforts or voluntary service-providing efforts.
2. They serve as mutual support groups to the members involved in these activities.
3. They make political demands and interventions, which tend to be relatively focused and specific because they result from direct first hand involvement with the problems to be addressed.

Successful women's organizations transform Latin American cultures in five different ways (Kusterer, 1990:187):

- They concretize and personalize previous ideologically abstract political discussions.
- They connect into civil society many women and men who have not previously been involved in such organizations.
- They delink politically active organizations from identification with and domination by a specific political party.
- They create competition among political parties for the support of independent politically active constituencies.
- They initiate autonomous community action to solve community problems creating tension (whether through competition or through nondependent cooperation) with government programs to increase the programs effectiveness.
- They broaden civil society by creating new organizations not affiliated with existing traditional institutions of party or church.

These are the main features, which make them distinct from other political organizations. Their demands on the state are for concrete reform and assistance rather than the only source of action and solution to a problem. In summary, women's organizations broaden, deepen and strengthen Latin America's network of community based organizations. (Kusterer, 1990:187). However, possible failures to implement women's movements as a mechanism to achieve development should not be disregarded. On the other hand, Jane Jaquette (1989) in the case of communal kitchens in Peru questions the following: If it is real that the only reason for women to stay in the communal kitchens is because they have no choice? Or, Is it the other way around, that the learning from these experiences are opening new lights for new kinds of partnerships (e.g. MHEs or multiple household enterprises) Will these new approaches improve the living conditions of the communities in informal settlements? Will these new approaches enforce democracy? Will these new approaches promote social development?

### 3.3. Portrait of Peruvian women

Peruvian society is characterized by a centralist tradition, by inequality of the income distribution, and by cultural contrasts (Blondet and Montero, 1995:13, Figueroa, 1990). The typical mechanisms of gender discrimination are affected by the diverse geography of the country that includes the Pacific coast, highland altitudes between 3,000 and 4,000 meters above sea level, and vast territories of the Amazon forest that coexist with different languages, cultures and races (Blondet and Montero, 1995:13).

Table 3.1. Comparisons between women in Latin America and Peru.

	Women in Latin America (%)	Women in Peru (%)
Total female population	50.2	50
Urban population	62	70
Rural population	38	30
Illiterate rate	19	21
Life expectancy (years)	77.7	67
Single women-headed Households	13	17
Women as % of labor force	28.5	39
Population in poverty	33	49

Sources: Winstat, 1985, 1987, 1990-95; HABITAT, 1996; Cuanto S.A., 1997; Birdsall, Nancy and Londoño, Juan Luis. 1990. The Evolution of Poverty in the 1990's, Inter-American Development Bank.

Table 3.1 shows that Peruvian and Latin American women generally share similar characteristics. The key differences are the percentages of household headed by women, women as % of labor force, population in poverty, which are higher in Peru. The first differences may be due to the fact that Peru is the Latin American country with the highest rates of informal sector, also because poor urban women in main cities tend to stay single after bad experience relationships with their partners. Poverty rates in Peru are greater than the rest of Latin America due to the extreme poor conditions of rural and urban people in contrast to other countries. However, the rates of single women-headed households and their status may be quite different in Amazon cities.

The majority in the female population are either under 15 years old, or between 25 and 55, the rest are youngsters between 15 and 24 years old, and a minority is over 65 years old. Most of the young and adult women (between 15-55 years old) who are looking for a job or better education opportunities, concentrate in urban areas (Blondet and Montero, 1995:13).

#### Historical context

Since the 1960s, Peru has experienced social and economic changes oriented towards modernization. The new scenario was characterized by the development of communication, roads, the accentuation of migratory flows from the highlands to the coast, from the rural to urban areas, as well as from all over the country to the capital (Blondet and Montero, 1995:14). The most positive result of this modernization approach has been women's access to education (Blondet and Montero, 1995:14). This fact reduced the high levels of female illiteracy, which promoted a higher standard for women's education and enhanced women's opportunities to get the jobs that before were exclusively male dominant.

The end of 1970s brought Peruvian women together by the problem of human reproduction, the alarming population growth rate, and the economic crisis. Women participated fully in street demonstrations against the military dictatorship. The capacities of women in peri-urban settlements were focused to create strategies of family survival (Jaquette, 1990:154). However, collective networks were not developed at this time yet.

#### Macro-economic context

Dependency has in most cases generated underdevelopment of Third World countries when trying to integrate them into the world system of production. As a matter of fact, this period (1980-1994) characterized by democratic convulsion, political violence, ill-managed public policies, minimum 10% increase in GNP, 50% population growth, and \$15.00/month per capita income (CUANTO S.A., 1989), featured the worst economic crisis known in the history of Peru (Anderson, 1994:1). As a result, approximately 13 out of 22 million Peruvians live in extremely poor conditions (Blondet and Montero, 1995:15).

Various studies, which focus on the transition to capitalism in Peru, have shown that capitalist penetration may open opportunities for some women. However, these studies have also found that the transition to capitalism usually increases the degree to which women are disadvantaged (Mujica 1992, Mallon 1987). For instance, in the period 1984-1986, the women's informal labor rate increased 50% more than men's labor. This shift was the result of the activation of the informal sector, which annual increase rate was three times the one of the formal sector. Women left their previous jobs as maids to become the majority of the urban informal sector and represent an important increase in the informal labor force, from 35% in 1984 to 50% in 1986 (Paredes and Tello, 1989:47, Young and Moser, 1981:3). On the other hand, low rank productive activities (small-scale businesses, artisan production) and formal sector jobs like: secretaries, nurses, and blue-collar women, are some of the effects of discrimination against women, who are also low remunerated at low scales (Paredes and Tello, 1989:94, Anderson, 1994:348). Gender discrimination in the labor force is part of the structural dimensions of society in which women have a established role. In other words, women's income is seen as *complementary* to the family budget (Paredes and Tello, 1989:95).

Peruvian women have split their roles as mothers with the one of workers by entering the informal sector as an alternative to the economic crisis. The weakness of the State has opened the doors to NGOs and the Church as well as international agencies to sponsor women's grassroots organizations (*communal kitchens, Glass of Milk programs, mother clubs*).

Women's organizations formed in this context, a dependent capitalism. In fact, communal kitchens attempt to compensate for declining income levels, rising unemployment, severe cuts in social services (health and education) as well as reduction in food subsidies (Figueroa, 1990). The development of capitalism in rural Peru has had adverse effects on less-well-to-do peasant families in general. Adverse effects of capitalism have specially targeted women within those families which caused rural-urban migration and the development of low-income settlements (Mujica 1992, Deere 1977).

### Social context

The violence unfastened between 1980-1993 by Sendero Luminoso and Tupac Amaru, terrorist movements, affected all the country. As a result, Peru endured 24,000 terrorist actions, 22 million dollars in material loss, and 25,000 deaths. By December 1992, 50% of the population lived in emergency areas, which caused the migration of 600,000 people from their homes (Blondet-Montero, 1995:16). On the other hand, some of the victims included leaders in women's communal organizations who were also target of these false equity seeking movements. In the last few years, Sendero Luminoso tried to undermine every neighborhood organization located in urban areas.

As a result, low-income women's struggle within communal kitchens was not only against malnutrition and poverty, but injustice and oppression as well. It was also a struggle against death and terror. Peruvian women have not easily and automatically relinquished their organizations when changes in the economic or political situation force them to do so. In this respect it is noteworthy that Peruvian communal kitchens increasingly faced intimidation from Sendero Luminoso during the 1980's and 1990's (Lenten 1993:187). Women's organizations of informal settlements are recovering their confidence on social mobilization, now that this terrorist movement has been defeated since the leader of *Sendero Luminoso*, Abimael Guzman, was captured and put in prison.

Women in the informal urban sector have gained experience in communal organization and family survival. In this sense, women are usually the family representative for bureaucratic affairs, paying taxes, soliciting permission to build a shelter, registering their children at school, and locating the

necessary forms to resolve the next problem in a never ending flow. Most women are active participants in informal networks of family, neighbors, and friends. Despite of this, subordination and discrimination against women still exist in society (Figueroa, 1990).

Low-income Peruvian women in informal settlements have had to face many adversities because it was not only poverty and the hunger of their children but also, the violence that was brought into their neighborhoods by *Sendero Luminoso*. It is necessary to learn from their courage and perseverance to accomplish their collective efforts to bring hope in their households and communities.

### 3.4. Women's organizations and community development

As mentioned in the previous chapter, women in informal settlements have gained enormous experience in organizing themselves to achieve communal objectives, whether they cook together, manufacture a good, raise money through social events or take care of other women's children. All those communal objectives are not addressed in the first place if there have not existed previous sociological changes that helped empower women.

Moser defines empowerment as "the process of awareness and capacity building in individuals and group of individuals that leads to greater participation, to greater decision-making power and control, and to transform action, therefore, it is not something that can be given to people". Women's empowerment "seeks to identify power in terms of the capacity of women to increase their own self-reliance and internal strength" (Moser, 1989).

Women's empowerment is built upon the following (Karl, 1995:14):

1. Awareness on women's situation, discrimination, and rights and opportunities as a step towards gender equality. Collective awareness building provides a sense of group identity and the power of working as a group.
2. Capability and skill development, especially the ability to plan, make decisions, organize, manage and carry out activities to deal with people and institutions in the world around them.
3. Participation and greater control and decision-making power in the home, community and society.
4. Action to bring about greater equality between men and women.

On the other hand, empowerment is viewed Jelin (1990) and Jaquette (1989):

- As a new perspective of social movements, in other words, as a new form of engaging in politics, characterized by the extent to which women from the popular sectors participate. The non-hierarchical political style and different content of women's organizations challenge the political system of Peru's societies. Through communal organizations women have discovered new political dimensions of engagement necessary for the sustainability of their families and communities.
- As participation in the policy making and planning processes, which defends that economic growth and social betterment are best achieved when the mass of the population is informed about and involved in development aims and plans. People see themselves as the direct beneficiaries of the expanded resources growth through widespread consultation at all levels of society about development goals, the processes by which those goals are to be reached and the resources needed to achieve them.

Women's power means being able to make a contribution at all levels of society and not only at home. Power also means having women's contribution recognized and valued (Karl, 1995:15). We have argued that low-income women develop as community managers in their informal settlements. But how they accomplish to take the first step results from their responsibility perceived as food producers.

According to Calman (1992), the process of self-empowerment involve all the following:

1. To take action and join a community organization
2. To persevere in the pursuing of the objectives of the organization
3. To increase self awareness of mutual needs
4. To develop problem-solving skills and resource management skills
5. To change the perception of themselves and of their communities.

In other words, self-empowerment is an important part of a transformative model that reproduces life in which the household, the smallest unit of production, gains greater access to several bases of social power through the social mobilization of women (Friedmann and Salguero, 1988:28).

Women's change in the perception of life happens by self-empowerment through ideas, meaning the education of consciousness as a source of awareness building and action (Freire, 1970). Here empowerment is a positive-sum game, enabling women to understand not only why they are poor or disenfranchised but also what they can do about poverty, malnutrition, ill health, and illiteracy, without waiting for concessions from authorities. In other words, the role of government, international agencies and NGO's is limited compared with that of the low-income people themselves (Wratten, 1994:83)

Participatory systems at the community level are the bonds of solidarity among the people. Some questions include the following: Who initiates? Who decides? Who participates? Who benefits? And who controls? (Sharp, 1992:42). Democratic processes and community participation are essential for change and equity, which embodies a belief that people should be able to alter and improve their lives in accordance with criteria that take account of the needs of others (Sharp, 1992:40).

The ideas of poor urban women may promote the "Three E's" (Campbell, 1996:298), economic efficiency, equity and environmental protection. Equity refers to the search that poor urban women do for an equal distribution by reaching the needs of all the members in the community. Moreover self-empowerment is an important part of this transformative model of socio-economic change. Women's role as community managers involves their responsibility for obtaining and distributing scarce resources. In other words, women's organizations and community empowerment are important conditions to achieve equity, however this also has to be consistent with the coevolution between the Amazon habitat and urban areas.

Sustainable livelihoods of informal settlements rely on the participation in social networks and mutual aid efforts; on participation in community-based organizations; on trade with the market economy in both formal and informal arrangements; and on multiple household or cooperative enterprises located within the informal settlement. Sustainable livelihoods are those which maintain an efficiency and reliability to provide the basic survival needs of their people over time (Friedmann and Salguero, 1988:11-13, Young in Karl, 1995:108). Women's organizations in Latin America represent more than an act of sheer desperation in the face of the economic crisis and massive unemployment. They claim for unity in self-help and equity, which demands a new relationship between the local state and self-help, organized informal settlements (Friedmann and Salguero, 1988:20).

#### The role of community managers

There is a clear gender division of labor in the distribution of tasks to be tackled by neighborhood organizations. Women deal with health, education, food programs, and young children, while men take care of getting potable water, installed pipelines, and wire in electricity. Women typically have had better results than the men have (Figueroa and Anderson, 1990). On the other hand, women's role as community managers involves their responsibility for obtaining and distributing scarce resources, as well as, for organizing their communities and envisioning their future.

The shift of migrants from servile status to that of urban citizen, synthesized as a relationship between personal and social aspirations, defines the type of social participation engaged in by women (Blondet, 1990:13). In the early years of the settlement, women's lives are organized around domestic affairs, which are crucial for building up the neighborhood. In order to be efficient in her productive, reproductive, and community manager roles, the individual woman needs the collective action of her neighbors in order to survive. Women's widespread participation in the community life of new settlements had two principal purposes: (1) to mobilize the inhabitants to join in building-up their own neighborhoods, and (2) to form their neighborhood organizations. The latter, are created to demand public services or to satisfy the immediate needs in the community.

For instance, Mujica (1992) overviews communal kitchens not only as the space where women practice their roles of community managers but also as a standpoint from where women get involved in the process of social mobilization that searches for a structural change. Maruja Barrig (1996) observed

that there are cultural, as well as religious and political implications in this type of organizations. Culturally, communal kitchens are example of the population's ancestral collectivist spirit originated in the Inca culture and Andean networks of solidarity that becomes a critical factor for the survival in poor neighborhoods. Politically, communal kitchens are examples of voluntary coordination amongst poor urban women to make decisions on the preparation and distribution of food (Lafosse 1984). In other words, they integrate cultural and political changes.

#### Multiple household enterprises (MHEs)

Other organized labor processes of collective efforts are multiple household enterprises (MHEs), which produce chiefly for sale in outside markets. According to Friedmann and Salguero, MHEs are “neither cooperatives in the traditional sense or micro-enterprises organized according to proto-capitalist principles. They represent a mode of production sui generis” (1988:16). The typical MHE:

- is based within the social and physical space of the informal settlement, displaying strong linkages into individual households and community self-help organizations;
- is small-scale, with fewer than 50 workers, but may be linked into larger, neighborhood-wide associations of similar enterprises;
- practices a form of collective decision-making in which hierarchical relations are minimized;
- abides by the principle of equal pay for equal work;
- is not primarily devoted to profit maximization but more to meeting the basic economic needs of its members;
- attracts a predominantly female labor force;
- practices aid among its members;
- Tends to be relatively short-lived, but easily regroups and reestablishes itself.

MHEs contrast sharply with the so-called micro-enterprises of the informal sector because they are more territorial than individual in organization and more close in solidarity than micro-enterprises (Friedmann and Salguero, 1988:16).

Women’s self-help organizations and MHEs in informal settlements have found their own way of *doing politics* and practice democracy (Jaquette, 1989). Women do not believe in political parties because they divide organizations for their own political advantages. Acting as mothers, women achieve new identities and roles emphasizing community values. Their perception of politics as an alien (men’s business) enable them to see the public sphere as a positive arena in which their experiences as women take on greater meaning.

In conclusion, women’s self-help organizations and MHEs are the result of grassroots movements developed in informal settlements to bring immediate solutions to malnutrition, ill-health, and lack of permanent incomes in the household.

#### Cultural background of communal kitchens

The most common forms of Andean network of solidarity are *minga* (also spelled *minca*, *minka* or *mink'a*) and *ayni* (Anderson, 1994). These forms are unique to the Andean region, which may have influenced the concept of collective networks of informal settlements, however this cannot be generalized for other areas with different cultural backgrounds like Amazon cities, or the rest of Latin America. *Minga*, the most commonly exchanged, refers to work in the fields performed most often by men while women prepare the food (Anderson, 1994). *Ayni*, is a communal activity that promotes a more defined role of women. While men's agricultural work includes their participation in other men's plots in return for the *ayni*, women's domestic responsibility includes their participation in *ayni* relationships with other women.

The fact that most of the women participants in Lima's communal kitchens are migrant women would suggest that their participation in communal kitchens might draw on *ayni* as their previous communal experience. Several studies show that the majorities in communal kitchens in Peru are migrants. For instance, Lafosse’s study (1984) showed that a total of 67.7% of the women participants

were migrants and that 63% of them came from the Andes. Mujica's study (1992) revealed that 73% of the women participating in the communal kitchens were migrant women. Cooperation, which is the basis of communal activity is continued by migrants, not necessarily because of tradition but because new conditions make it necessary for people to draw from this cultural heritage.

Communal work is a useful heritage for adapting and capturing resources in the context of Latin American low-income urban settlements. There are several studies about urban migrant life and continuation of cultural traditions after migration (Doughty 1970, Mangin 1970, Turner, 1970). The mobilization of urban low-income women in other parts of Peru (e.g. Amazon cities) and other countries of Latin America suggests that the pattern of pro-capitalist development may well create the conditions for people to work communally in order to survive the undermining economic conditions.

### **3.5. Gender issues in the Planning agenda**

In previous chapters different issues were discussed concerning informal settlements and the importance of their social movements in the urban economy, especially the contributions of women's organizations and MHEs. Other issues involved women's marginalization and how Peruvian women's reality is explained within the broader context of Latin America. Finally, women's community empowerment and its meaning in bringing change to their communities and households were reviewed.

In summary low-income urban women in Latin America, in Peru, and more specifically in informal settlements, have been responsive to their poverty. Moreover, their efforts are promoting equity and economic efficiency in their communities.

As a result, planners of fringe settlements in Latin American cities might take the important contributions of low-income urban women in consideration, especially in the context of cities that keep growing each day. Women's contributions may also be considered to enhance the way of living in informal settlements so they become sustainable communities relying on their own economic resource base and on their self-help organizations. Therefore, it is important to consider gender sensitive approaches, and conceptualize planning as a process that has to go hand in hand with the actions of community empowerment.

#### Women's interests and needs

Planning for women in Third World countries should be based on their interests, it is important to distinguish between women's interests, strategic gender interests and practical gender interests. This is a threefold conceptualization made by Maxine Molyneux (1985). Women's interests are determined by their social position on their ethnic identity as by the fact that they are women. Women's needs are determined by the specific socio-economic context, by the particular class, ethnic and religious position they have. Gender interests are those that women (or men for that matter) may develop by virtue of their social positioning through gender attributes. Gender interests can be either strategic or practical, each being derived in different way and each involving different implications for women's subjectivity (Molyneux, 1985:232). Strategic gender interests are derived from the analysis of women's subordination and from the identification and formulation of an alternative that is more equal and satisfactory in terms of the structure and nature of the relationships between men and women than those which exist at present (Moser, 1986:8).

Practical gender interests arise from the concrete conditions of women's positioning by virtue of their gender within the division of labor as oppose to strategic objectives considered feminist. Also, the very women themselves who are within the division of labor formulate them. This will respond to their immediate perceived need, which is identified within a specific context. In planning terms, strategic and practical gender needs will assist in establishing realistic parameters as to what can be accomplished in the planning process, as well as indicating the very real limitations of different policy interventions (Moser, 1986:8). The provision of training of skills that they can use in the self-help organizations or MHEs will assist them to become better providers within their communities and households (Moser, 1993:48). This will help them with their productive role, which will help them to achieve the strategic gender need of keeping control over the resources themselves.

In planning terms, strategic and practical gender needs will assist in establishing realistic parameters as to what can be accomplished in the planning process, as well as indicating the very real limitations of different policy interventions (Moser, 1986:7).

#### Gender needs in informal settlements

Consultation by municipal planners with women about the planning of informal settlements and housing will ensure that their spatial needs be met. Zoning legislation has to bring together residential and business activities to assume the close relationship between productive and reproductive roles of women (Moser, 1993:51). Solutions have to provide comfort for women to develop their economic activities around their homes. On the other hand, women's tenure rights are a strategic gender need which ensure protection for themselves and their children in unstable or violent domestic situations (Moser, 1993:52).

#### Gender needs and environmental planning

Women in their productive role depend on the resources of wood, water, and soil for daily survival, therefore, they are the primary users of the environment. Private and public sectors may consider women's needs in order to preserve natural assets. Women as community managers get involved in projects of resource conservation to improve sanitation, water, and waste control, therefore policy making has to consider women's perspectives in what is resource management (Moser, 1993:53).

#### Gender needs and basic services

The delivery of basic services to meet women's needs is very important. For example, the location of child-care facilities can fulfill different gender needs: (1) child-care facilities at the woman's workplace so she can be closer to her child; (2) child-care facilities at the community so other family members will share the responsibility to take care of the child; (3) child-care facilities at the father's place of work so it involves the father in taking some of the responsibility for child care (Moser, 1993:53). Transportation planning has to consider women's activities in order to be more efficient, for example school, shopping, and health-related trips, in addition to work trips (Moser, 1993:53).

In summary, community development should integrate the gender approaches addressed within each of the issues of gender needs and employment, gender needs in informal settlements, gender needs and environmental planning, and gender needs and basic services. This may be the direction that informal settlements in Pucallpa need to follow in order to have social justice, economic opportunity, and income equality among the members of their communities and to contribute efficiently to the urban economy in the context of the fragile ecosystem of the Amazon Basin.

The following chapter deals with a specific problem, a case study in Pucallpa. It is an informal settlement like any other in the city, that has some community organizations functioning, most of its population are of poor economic conditions, and most of the children go by themselves in groups to receive *the glass of milk* in the mornings.

### SUMMARY

- Poor urban Latin American women combat marginalization of themselves and their children by organizing grassroots social movements to ameliorate the lack of infrastructure and basic needs.
- Because women in Latin America societies suffer economic and social marginalization it is expected that single women headed households be more exposed to poverty than men-headed households do.
- Women's organizations are strongly founded in poor communities. Households are more willing to participate in community organizations when they do not have a secure source of income, it may include informal activities, or other formal activities that do not provide enough income in the household.
- Women's organizations, which respond to the lack of services (especially health, food, and income generation), are places where the process of empowerment takes place through the practice of community management leading to structural change.

- Women's productive roles lead to economic empowerment and improvements in the income at the household level.
- The process of women's empowerment leads to community development because it allows the development of problem-solving and resource management skills. Empowerment also allows women to change the ways they perceive themselves and their communities.

## CHAPTER 4: DESIGN AND STUDY METHODS

This chapter explains the research objectives, the fieldwork design and methods of analysis. The objectives have been built upon the literature review on Latin American women marginalization and gender approaches for community development. The major research question raised is how do poor urban women in informal settlements of the Peruvian Amazon frontier achieve social development marginalization in the process of economic growth.

### 4.1. Research design

The objectives of this research are the following:

1. To examine what causes household participation in women's organizations.
2. To explore what type of women's empowerment leads to social development.

These are the hypothesis that the analysis focuses on:

- Single women-headed households participate more frequently in women's organizations than men-headed households.
- Households with children under six years old are more likely to participate in women's organizations than households without.
- Households in remote locations of the informal settlement are more likely to participate in women's organizations.

The data were collected by administering a survey to 201 female-household heads in the *9 de Octubre* "informal" settlement of Pucallpa, Peru. Seventeen key-informants of women's organizations located in the informal settlements of *9 de Octubre*, *Santa Clara*, and *Aviacion*, were interviewed to collect information about the functioning of their organizations. The results from these interviews were combined with the information gathered from the survey to be able to build conclusions about the effectiveness of the women's organizations operating in *9 de Octubre*. The other interviews in *Santa Clara* and *Aviacion* were important to provide a context for community participation in women's organizations in Pucallpa. Interviews also included life histories of women leaders in order to portray human faces on the issue of women's empowerment.

### 4.2. Population and sample

1. Household survey. The unit of analysis is the household located in the informal settlement of *9 de Octubre* (see map 5, Appendix 3). The units of observation are female household heads and all income earners in the household. The purpose of the survey is to explore the causes for participation of individual households in women's organizations, which may include type of headed-households, informal jobs, payment methods, workplaces, job positions, and low-level education. The sample size of 201 represented 12.5% of the population of this informal settlement randomly selected.

In addition, *9 de Octubre* was selected based on information provided by key-informants as the case study for the following reasons:

- A settlement that presented diverse geographical conditions and demographic characteristics (irregular surface and creeks; variety of people's geographic origins, economic activities, and social characteristics).
- A settlement with at least ten years of physical consolidation, where housing and basic infrastructure were achieved by self-help community organizations.
- A settlement with strong women's participation in community management as ascertained by key-informants and by several days of initial observation.

The pre-test was administered in three other informal settlements to ensure that the survey design and questions were reliable. Local Peruvian interviewers, Rosmeri and Yrma, were trained in interview techniques prior to commencing fieldwork.

2. Key-informant interviews. The project entailed interviews of 12 members of women's organizations. The purpose was to interview as many leaders as possible, therefore 70% of the interviews were administered to women leaders and 30% were administered to women participants. These two distinct sources were important in understanding the nature of the organizations.

Most of the women interviewed were residents in *9 de Octubre*; however, five women in other grassroots organizations of other informal settlements were also interviewed.

3. In-depth life stories. Four women, who were selected because of their successful role in active organizations, described the most important facts in their lives that contributed to their growth as leaders.

### 4.3. Fieldwork design and Instrumentation

The survey (see Appendix 1) was divided into four sections. The first section gathered general information about household members (name, gender, age, place of birth, relationship with the head household, level of education, economic activity, place of work, position, and type of labor wage). The second section is about the living conditions in the household and general information about their incomes. Specific information on their income was not gathered considering the cultural and socio-economic status of Amazonian poor urban people. The third section is about the migratory history of the female-household head interviewed. It was very important to trace the geographic origin and migration patterns of these people. The fourth section was about the services available in the community and the types of women's organizations in which the female-household head participated or benefited from.

The questionnaire applied to key-informants (see Appendix 2) is a set of 19 questions that attempts to depict the concepts of women leaders for sustaining their communities. As well as to address their levels of involvement, their participation in decision-making, and their organizing strategies with other grassroots organizations, government organizations, and non-governmental organizations. This is a qualitative research instrument to determine women's empowerment.

### 4.4. The units of analysis and variables in the quantitative analysis

The characterization of the informal settlement *9 de Octubre* and its comparison with other urban areas in Peru are important factors that will allow us to better understand the community context. The socio-economic characterization will include different variables like type of economic activity, payment methods, work places, job positions, and educational levels.

In the first section, the units of observation are the income earners, 520 individuals in 201 households as reported by female household heads. The socio-economic classification of these individuals is grouped by the following variables:

Table 4.1. Socio-economic variables

Payment methods	1	monthly salary
	2	weekly salary
	3	per hour
	4	per piece of work
	5	per sales
	6	per commission
	7	casual
Work places	1	in the house
	2	in the community
	3	in the city center
	4	surroundings of Pucallpa
	5	out of Pucallpa
Job positions	1	own business
	2	employer

	3	permanent employee
	4	temporary employee
	5	familiar work
	6	domestic
Type of sector	1	Formal
	2	Informal
Second job	0	none
	1	yes
Gender	1	Male
	2	Female
Age	1	From 0 to 6 years old
	2	From 7 to 14 years old
	3	From 15 to 18 years old
	4	From 19 to 25 years old
	5	From 26 to 35 years old
	6	From 36 to 45 years old
	7	From 46 to 55 years old
	8	From 55 and older
Educational level	9	When null
	10	Low (primary or incomplete secondary school)
	11	Medium (complete secondary school)
	12	High (Higher education)

Other socio-economic factors that were collected per household include:

Table 4.2. Other socio-economic variables

Home ownership	1	Owner-occupied units
	2	Renter-occupied units
	3	Lend-occupied units
	4	Family-owner occupied units

The second section in the characterization of *9 de Octubre* focused on an infrastructure profile and context of the services in water, power, schools, and health centers. The purpose is to explore if the proximity of services can be related to the participation of households in communal organizations.

The third section in the characterization of *9 de Octubre* focused on community organizations. The purpose is to describe the participation of the survey respondents in these organizations, the participation according to types of organizations that exist, the frequency of participation in these organizations, and the ways in which people participate. The categories in each one of these variables are:

Table 4.3. Variables related to participation in women's organizations

Participation according to type or organization	1	Mother's club
	2	Glass of milk
	3	Communal kitchen
	4	multiple household enterprise (MHEs)
Frequency of participation	1	Mother's club and glass of milk
	2	Communal kitchen and glass of milk
	3	MHE and glass of milk
Ways of participation	5	Every day
	4	Two to three times per week
	3	Once per week
	2	Once per month
	1	Only when needed
Ways of participation	1	Making use
	2	Working there
	3	Making use and working there

The second part of the data analysis will focus on women and why they do or do not participate in communal organizations. The hypothesis is that households, which participate, do so because they have some type of burden (risky economic source of income, single women-household head, or high number of children under six years old). For this purpose, the analysis will be divided into two sections. In the first section, the unit of analysis will be all income earners by *type of headed household (male-headed households vs. single women-headed households)*. Male-headed households are mostly those nuclear or extended households that have both parents and where the father is the principal income earner. Conversely, single women-headed households are those where the principal earner is the mother, who may or may not have a solid relationship with a male partner.

By analyzing *economic risk* and *type of headed-households*, as well as, *presence of children under six* and *workplaces* in the subset of single women-headed households, it will be possible to determine the factors that have an impact on the participation or non-participation in communal organizations. In the second section, we will focus on the female-household heads (mothers in general) as the unit of analysis and the socio-economic conditions that better explain why they rely on communal organizations.

The third part of the analysis focuses on *children under six years old* and if their presence determines the participation of households in women's organizations. The variables used are *Participation* (nominal variable) and *Presence of children under six* (nominal variable).

The fourth part of the analysis focuses on the remote location of households in *9 de Octubre* and how this contributes to more involvement in women's organizations. This spatial analysis includes the overlap of the following variables:

- Location of households surveyed
- Location of households that participated in women's organizations
- Location of services (see map of Pucallpa)
- Location of *glass of milk* groups
- Types of women's organizations that each household participated in.

#### 4.5. Methods of analysis

The survey data was subjected to four types of analysis. The first one used descriptive statistics to make the characterization of *9 de Octubre* and to locate this informal settlement within the context of Pucallpa and the thirty most populated cities in Peru.

The second type of analysis involved a T-test run between participation and type of headed-households to analyze if their relationship was statistically significant. The third type of analysis, involved a scale of riskiness represented in the following table:

Table 4.4. Surrogated variables for levels of risk

	1 Risk-free	2 Mostly risk-free	3 Mostly risky	4 Riskiest
Payment methods	1,0	4,5	6,7	2,3
Job position	3	5	6,7	4,1
Workplace	3	2	1,5	4
Education level	3	2	1	0

Note: The numbers in the table represent the codes for each one of the variables explained at the beginning of this section.

These scales of risk were considered in the Gamma analysis that would support if *single women-headed households* predicts economic risk or educational risk. Gamma is a test that allows measuring the association between ordinal variables: *single-women-headed households vs. men-headed household* (independent variable) and risk-free/mostly risk-free/ mostly risky/riskiest (dependent variables). The

scale of riskiness (1 through 4) attempts to combine the factors (*Payment methods, Job position, Workplace, and Educational level*) and the characteristics that most likely determine economic vulnerability. In other words, Gamma is used to guess the values on the scale of riskiness by knowing the values of *type of headed-household* (e.g. testing if being single-women headed households predict the risky economic conditions for job positions).

The fourth type of analysis was a T-test to explore if there is any relationship between the *presence of children under six years old* and *workplace* in the subset of single women-headed households to determine if their presence was predicting mothers to stay at home. Another T-test was run to determine if the *presence of children under six years old* predicts *participation* overall.

Those analysis were followed by the spatial analysis *9 de Octubre* to identify any patterns of remote locations in the different sectors of the settlement. This allowed a coherent and explanatory analysis of household characteristics and women's participation.

In the qualitative analysis of interviews and in-depth life histories, four questions are raised:

- How are these women empowered by their roles as community managers in women's organizations?
- What are the conditions in the organizations that build upon community solidarity and structural change?
- In which ways are women's reproductive and productive roles modified by their role in community management?
- Which organizations are better for women's empowerment? What degree and kind of empowerment do they lead to?

To answer these questions the twelve interviews were represented in a matrix where they are divided according to the informal settlement they belong to, in other words, interviews in *9 de Octubre* vs. interviews in other informal settlements. This is important to determine the differences of participation and impact of women's organizations in different communities. Other table was developed to measure the degrees of empowerment and to define the process itself. This comparative method will allow exploring the main qualitative question: what type of women's empowerment leads to social development?

## CHAPTER 5: CHARACTERIZATION OF 9 DE OCTUBRE AND WOMEN'S INITIATIVES

*9 de Octubre* was settled on land occupied on October 9, 1970. In 1972, the municipality approved the location of this informal settlement as a marginal neighborhood. In 1974, the municipality approved its perimeter. In the next three years, *9 de Octubre* kept receiving new settlers whom by 1977 accounted for 1,600 households. The land use of this area was regulated as residential of low density. In 1979, the *Direccion Zonal De Vivienda y Construccion* (Zonal Direction of Housing and Construction) finally approved its perimeter.

This informal settlement, which is located in Sector C in the map of Pucallpa (see photo 2.2, pp.30), has been rapidly assimilated by the urban growth of the city. Known by the people as one of the most active informal settlements, *9 de Octubre* had strong neighborhood organizations that achieved the installation and operation of the basic infrastructure and services before other informal settlements did.

### 5.1.1. Socio-economic profile and context

Information on 1,181 individuals, who belong to the 201 households, was gathered through a sample survey. A majority (60.70%) of all households was nuclear (formed by parents and children). The population was greatest in the age groups under 25 making up 63% of the population. The age group 7-14 had almost 22 % of the population followed by 0-6 at 17 %, 19-25 at 13.8%. Comparatively the age group 26-55 had only 29% and the group 56 and older only 8%. Therefore, *9 de Octubre* is an informal settlement with a predominant young population.

Table 5.1. Age groups of the total sample population

Average Age	Total %
0-6	17.02
7-14	21.68
15-18	10.84
19-25	13.80
26-35	11.85
36-45	9.82
46-55	7.45
56 and older	7.54

Table 5.2. The Geographic origin of the people in the sample.

Geographic origins	Total %
Pucallpa	67.99
From cities located in the coast (including Lima)	2.20
From the surroundings of Pucallpa	9.48
From other areas in the Amazon Basin	17.44
From the highlands of the Andes	2.89

Other information gathered was their geographic origin, which did not present significant differences (Table 5.2). Most of female-household heads reported that family members are from Pucallpa (68%), another 17.44% from other areas of the Amazon Basin (Tingo Maria, Amazonas, Loreto, and Madre de Dios). Minorities are from the coast and the Andes. The 68% who are from Pucallpa constitute the majority who in 1970 settled in this area, they say they are from Pucallpa because it has been 27 years that they live in *9 de Octubre*. Others in this same group, moved from other informal settlements to *9 de Octubre* because they were living in more remote places far from the city center.

### 5.1.2. Economic Activity

Table 5.3. Economic sectors

Thirty most populated cities in Peru (%)		Pucallpa (%)	9 de Octubre (%)
Primary	4.4	13.6	6.0
Secondary	22.5	19.6	23.0
Tertiary	73.1	66.8	71.0

Source: Censos Nacionales de 1993, INEI; survey administered (July, 1997)

The percentage of people involved in the primary sector (agriculture, mining, and timber extraction) is 6.0% while in Pucallpa it is 13.6% and 4.4% at the national level. The percentage of people in the secondary sector (manufacturing) is 23.0%, compared to 66.8% in Pucallpa and 73.1% at the national level. The percentage of people in the tertiary sector (services and businesses) is 71.0% while it is 19.6% in Pucallpa and 22.5% at the national level. *9 de Octubre* has a majority of income earners in the tertiary sector rather than the secondary sector and a minimum of workers in the primary sector. Meanwhile in the rest of Pucallpa and in other cities of the country the majority of the labor force is occupied in the secondary sector.

The majority of the labor force (68.8%) is between 19 and 45 years old. The most important age group within it is between 26 and 35 years old. Another 31.2% are of people between 46 and 75 years old. The minority of income earners (4.1%) is between 14 and 18 years old, who work to support their families. In conclusion, young populations, who work in the tertiary sector, mostly form the labor force.

The labor force in *9 de Octubre* is divided into 74.3% men and 25.7% women. Women's labor force in Pucallpa is 29% and 34.4% in the rest of the country. Men's labor force is 75% in Pucallpa and 70.4% in the rest of the country. This suggests that women in *9 de Octubre* have slightly lower employment rate than elsewhere.

Table 5.10 shows the economic activities and the secondary activities that males and females in the sample do. The male labor force develops more formal (69%) than informal (31%) activities. Also the female labor force develops more formal (59.4%) than informal (40.6%) activities. However, it is important to emphasize that the percentage of informal female labor force (40%) is greater than the informal male labor force (30%). This suggests that the informal sector is still a greater source of income for women than for men.

Most of the male labor force is employed in industry (32.50%), a second group is employed in technical services (18.10%), informal transportation (16%), and a fourth group is involved in informal commerce (12%). The male labor force that develops secondary activities<sup>1</sup> is mostly involved in informal activities on management of resources (especially agriculture) and technical services (mostly construction).

Most of the female labor force is involved in informal commerce (29.3%), then in technical services (28.5%), and thirdly in the formal industry (12.4%). The female labor force that develops secondary activities is mostly engaged in the informal commerce.

Formal jobs take 50% of the labor force in *9 de Octubre*, meanwhile 33% are involved in informal jobs. The other 17% of the labor force are not involved in any type of activity at all. According to the type of employment, non-remunerated jobs were in very low percentages (4%), which may be similar to the 5.8% found in Pucallpa and 4.6% in the national level. These indicators suggest that the labor force in *9 de Octubre* is not at all marginalized, men and women work together to provide or attempt to provide the basic needs in their households. However, this does not mean that they are successfully achieving the well being of their families.

<sup>1</sup> Secondary activities are additional activities that income earners do besides their principal occupation in order to have a better income for the support of their families.

Table 5.4. Comparison between the male and female labor force

Principal activity	Male		Female		Secondary activity	Male		Female	
	F	I	F	I		F	I	F	I
Commerce	0.7	12.1	5.2	29.3	Commerce	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.0
Transportation	5.3	16.0	6.1	7.5	Transportation	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Technical services	18.1	2.5	28.5	3.8	Technical services	1.9	3.4	5.2	0.0
Industry	32.5	0.0	12.4	0.0	Industry	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Management of resources	9.8	0.4	1.5	0.0	Management of resources	3.0	1.9	0.0	0.0
Professional services	2.6	0.0	5.7	0.0	Professional services	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

Note: F= formal sector, I= Informal sector<sup>12</sup>

Most of the people in the sample were men employed (20.80%), followed by men who are students (18.30%) and females who are students (16.70%). The third group is of the women who do housework (12.50%) and the women who are employed (10.50%). The fourth group is of male and female children under 6 years old who stay at home with their mothers, family members or in day care centers.

This is important to understand the following:

- Most of the households have the father as the principal income earner
- Most of the young population go to primary and secondary school
- Half number of mothers develop a reproductive role
- The other half number of mothers develop a productive role

Table 5.5. Occupational conditions of the people in the sample by gender.

Condition of females	(%)	Conditions of males	(%)
Female employed	10.50	Male employed	20.83
Female unemployed	0.17	Male unemployed	0.76
Female looking for job	0.51	Male looking for job	1.44
House work	12.45	Male retired	0.25
Female student	16.68	Male student	18.29
Female sub-employed	0.17	Male sub-employed	0.17
Female less than 6 years old	7.96	Male less than 6 years old	8.13
Female disabled	0.93	Male disabled	0.76

Table 5.6 explains the composition of the labor force per household. Households with only one income earner are 40.30%, another 37.30% are households with two income earners, 11% of the households have three income earners, and the rest have four, five and six income earners. In the case of one income earner, it is usually the head of the household; either it is a man or a woman. Households with two income earners usually involve the male and the female heads of the household. Households with three income earners involve the two head of the household and one of their children, or the male head and two of the children.

<sup>12</sup> To the informal sector belong all those economic activities of self-employment that help to support poor urban people. Most of these activities involve informal services like street vendors and informal transportation.

Table 5.6. Number of income earners per household.

Income earners	Male-headed households	Female-headed households	Total %
1 person	52	13	40.3
2 people	91	53	37.3
3 people	33	24	11.0
4 people	42	18	7.5
5 people	23	12	2.5
6 people	7	5	1.4

The analysis suggests that there is a greater male labor force and that there is greater female labor force in households where there are two income earners.

### 5.1.2. Education profile and context

An examination of the highest level of education shows that both men and women have similar education levels suggesting that educational achievement is not a significant factor in female marginalization in this sample of the population of *9 de Octubre*.

Table 5.7. Gender comparison on the highest level of education.

Level of education by gender			
Female without formal education	0.51	Male without formal education	0.18
Female with primary	17.70	Male with primary	17.02
Female with incomplete secondary	12.53	Male with incomplete secondary	12.79
Female with complete secondary	5.67	Male with complete secondary	6.69
Female with technical education	1.86	Male with technical education	2.37
Female with undergraduate education	3.22	Male with undergraduate education	3.47
Female under 6 years old	7.96	Male under 6 years old	7.87
Female especial education	0.08	Male especial education	0.08

On the other hand, the analysis shows that income earners in *9 de Octubre* have lower education levels when compared to the rest of the city and the national level. Table 5.8 shows that 18.4% had higher education (university degree or preparation at a technical institution) in comparison to the 24.9% in Pucallpa and 36.6% nation wide. Another, 25% had secondary school while the percentage in Pucallpa is 44.8% and 41.7% in the national level. On the other hand, half of the sample (56.2%) had primary or incomplete secondary school in comparison to the 27.9% in Pucallpa and 18.9% the national level. In other words, the majority of the labor force in *9 de Octubre* is formed by people who did not finish school, this might suggest that there is a correlation between the income earners with low educational level and the income earners that belong to the tertiary sector.

Table 5.8. Levels of education of the income earners

Level of education	Percentage (%)
No formal education	0.4
Primary or incomplete secondary school	56.2
Complete secondary school	25.0
Higher education	18.4

## 5.2. Infrastructure profile and context

About the health conditions in *9 de Octubre*, the most common sicknesses are intestinal infections, tuberculosis, and skin infections. The proliferation of these sicknesses are due to the low levels of hygiene and sanitary infrastructure (water, sewers, garbage collection) in the informal settlement. The following descriptive statistics attempt to make a profile of the conditions of the available infrastructure in the informal settlement based on the sample of 201 households.

Most of the dwelling units in the sample (67%) reported that they are provided water by the public system. Another 30% had to collect water from wells and water mobile tanks supplied the remaining 3%. Water supply in Pucallpa reaches 40.72% of total dwelling units (INEI, 1993), which suggests that apparently *9 de Octubre* may be one of the informal settlements with almost complete water sanitary infrastructure. This may be the result of continuous request of community organizations.

Table 5.9. Types of sewer system reported in the sample

Sewer system	Percentage (%)
Black wells	57.0
Common areas in the fields	21.0
Public sewer	13.0
Streams or creeks	9.0

The inefficiency of the public sewer system in *9 de Octubre* (13%) is striking when compared to the percentage of dwelling units with public sewer system in Pucallpa (24.2%) or when compared to the national level (61.5%).

Important sources of infections in the population of *9 de Octubre* comes from garbage. One third of the households reported to throw garbage in the fields and creeks close to the dwelling units. The other 67% of households reported that the municipality picks it up.

Although most dwelling units in *9 de Octubre* have electricity (79%), which is almost the same percentage of dwelling units with electricity in the rest of Pucallpa (76.9%), both percentages are below the electric supply of the national level (84.5%).

The city of Pucallpa has 307 state schools (kindergarten, primary, special education, and secondary), of which 3 are located in *9 de Octubre* (kindergarten, primary, and special education). The high demand forces students to attend schools in other areas (San Fernando and Micaela Bastidas). In the sample, 13% of the households reported to not have children in school age, therefore they did not attend to any school. Other 77% reported to attend a school within a 15-minute distance by motokar<sup>12</sup>, meanwhile the other 10% were less than 30 minutes or less than an hour far from an educational center.

The urbanization process in Pucallpa has favored the location of *9 de Octubre*, which being close to downtown Pucallpa has available public transportation. For instance, 88% of the total number of households find public transportation within 15-minute-walk, 1.5% have available transportation within 30-minute-walk, 5.5% do not take any kind of transportation whatsoever, and 5% have their own means of transportation (motorcycle or motokar). Although the infrastructure location of health centers, schools, and public transportation remains in favorable conditions for most of the households in the sample, it is also necessary to indicate that they are situated closer to the northern and eastern part of *9 de Octubre*. There is still a minority of households that are far away from those services or who have to walk because there is no available transportation close to where they live. Therefore, it is expected greater social participation in women's organizations in the southwestern part of *9 de Octubre*.

<sup>12</sup> Motokar, is a motorcycle with two seats in the back, used as public transportation.

**5.3. Economic differences between two-headed-households and single-women-headed households**

This chapter attempts to distinguish the economic differences between male-headed households and single-women-headed households to explain if the economic burden that single women have by raising their families in their own may be a factor for participation in women’s organizations. For this purpose each variable is measured in a scale of riskiness (1= risk-free, 2= mostly risk-free, 3= mostly risky, 4= riskiest).

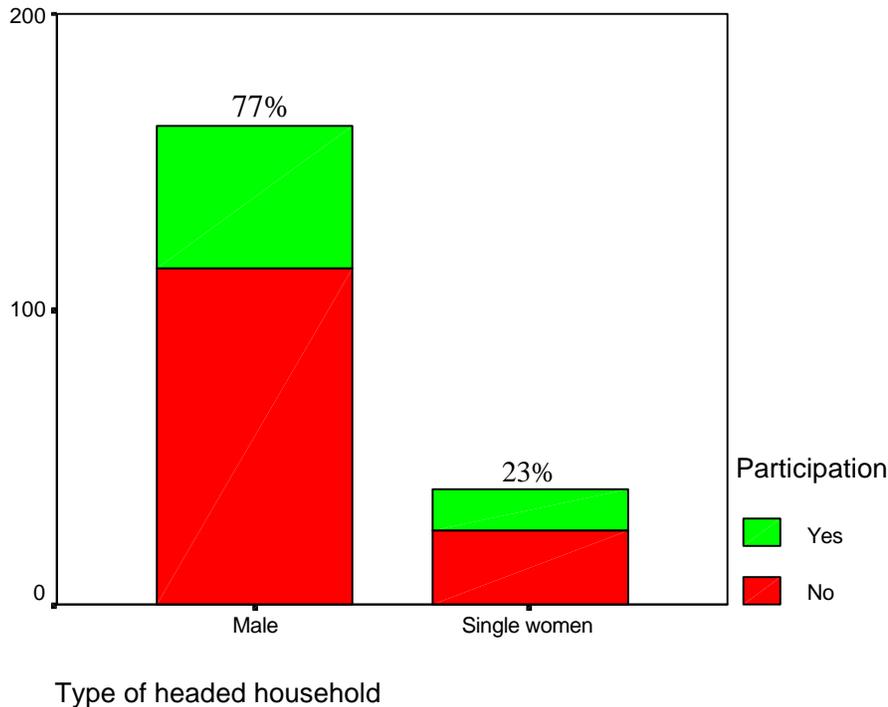


Figure 5.1. Type of headed household vs. Participation

Participant vs. single women-headed households

The result of the T-test shows that the relationship between single women-headed households and participation is not statistically significant ( $F = 1.848 < 3.84$ ). With 1 and 199 degrees of freedom, we needed an F greater than 3.84 at the .05 level. It may be that single women-headed households and participation are not really related in the larger population. Furthermore, the percentages of participation are greater in male-headed households (77%) than in single-women-headed households (23%). This may suggest that men headed-households are more eager to participate in women’s organizations.

Does the type of headed household predict riskiness in job positions?

The result of Gamma indicates that *single-women headed households* does not predict economic risk conditions in job positions. The result (Gamma = -.105) shows that the association is weak..

Does the type of headed household predict riskiness in payment methods?

The result of Gamma indicates that *single women-headed households* does not predict the economic risk conditions in payment methods. The result (Gamma = .004) shows that there is no relationship between the variables.

### Does the type of headed household predict riskiness in workplaces?

The result of Gamma indicates that *single women headed households* does not predict the economic risk conditions in workplaces. The result (Gamma = .111) shows that the association is weak.

### Does the type of headed household predict riskiness in educational levels?

The result of Gamma indicates that *single women headed households* does not predict the educational risk conditions. The result (Gamma = -.149) shows that the association is weak.

As a result, *women headed-households* does not predict risky economic conditions or risky educational conditions whatsoever. On the other hand, single women-headed households present less risky conditions in payment methods and in workplaces than in job positions and in educational levels. In other words, income earners of both types of headed households tend to have economically safe payment methods and workplaces located in the city. Conversely, job positions tend to be riskier due to their independent economic activities. Also, their educational level is riskier due to their low-level education (incomplete secondary school). Finally, there is no relationship between *single women-headed households* and *participation* (see fig. 5.1.).

The results from the previous analysis suggest that single women-headed households are not economic vulnerable. The following descriptive statistics attempt to explain the causality.

Table 5.10. Single women-headed households vs. informal secondary activities vs. participation

Secondary activities		Percentage
Households that participate	Female heads with	7.8
	Female heads without	28.2
Households that do not participate	Female heads with	15.4
	Female heads without	48.6

Table 5.10 shows that the number of female heads with informal secondary activities (15.4%) is greater in the group of households who do not participate in women's organizations than in the group of households that participate (7.8%). Also the number of female heads without informal secondary activities is greater in the group of non-participants.

Table 5.11. Single women-headed households vs. other income earners vs. participation

Other income earners		Percentage
Households that participate	Households with	18
	Households without	18
Households that do not participate	Households with	35.8
	Households without	28.2

Table 5.11 shows that the number of single women-headed households who have support of other income earners account for most of the percentage in the households that do not participate.

As a result single women headed households are not economically vulnerable because they have support of their income earners in the household. This may be associated with their lack of participation in women's organizations. On the other hand, female heads with secondary activities may be associated with the households without other income earners in the group of non-participants. This may suggest that the lack of participation in single women-headed households is due to the productive and reproductive roles of female heads.

#### 5.4. The female-household head of participant households

Female-household heads are all those mothers of the households that participate in women's organizations (62 households). The previous chapter 5.3 showed that men headed households participate more (77%) in women's organizations than single women-headed households (23%).

Statistics show that 47.85% of female heads work only as unremunerated household labor while the other 52.15% work for pay, mostly outside the home. However, when we concentrate in the 62 female heads that participate in women's organizations, we find that most women remain at home developing their reproductive role (63%) and do not work for pay. The rest 37% have full-time jobs as marketers (20%), schoolteachers (9%), seamstresses (5%), and secretaries (3%).

Table 5.12. Workplaces of the female heads of participant households

Workplace	Percentage (%)
Home or as independent workers	83.9
Places around Pucallpa	6.5
City center	4.8
Out of Pucallpa	3.2
Communities	1.6

Table 5.12 suggests that there are not many women who can interact outside of the household to participate in women's organizations.

Table 5.13. Job positions of the female heads of participant households

Job positions	Percentage (%)
Household work only	63.0
Own business	24.0
Permanent job position	8.0
Temporary job position	5.0

Table 5.13 suggests that most female heads (63%) are women developing their reproductive roles in the household while the rest (37%) are a minority who develop productive roles.

Table 5.14. Payment methods of the female heads of participant households

Payment methods	Percentage (%)
Work piece	35.0
Sales	38.0
Monthly salaries	22.0
Weekly salaries	5.0

Table 5.14 shows the payment methods of female heads that are part of the labor force (subset of 23) mostly depend upon sales and work-piece units. This suggests that these female heads are more independent by their type of job, which allows them to have time into their schedule to participate in women's organizations.

Table 5.15. Presence of children under six years old vs. household participation (201)

Children under six		Percentage
Households that do not participate	Households with	40.8
	Households without	28.4
Households that participate	Households with	20.4
	Households without	10.4

Table 5.15 shows that despite the presence of children under six years old, the number of households is greater in those who do not participate than those who do not participate. However, the majority of households that participate in women's organizations have children under six. This finding suggests that the *presence of children under six* does not predict household participation, which is reinforced by the absence of statistical significance (Sig. = 0.340 in T-test).

### 5.5 Women's organizations and community participation

Community participation in women's organizations is not a strong characteristic in the informal settlement of 9 de Octubre. Only 30% of the sample (62 households) participated in women's organizations. Most of households (73.5 %) participated every day. Another 12.3% participated once a week, 7.7% participated twice or three-times a week and 6.5% participated only once per month. This may suggest that although there is no strong participation in the total population there is a high frequency of participation found in the group of participant households.

Most of the households that participate do it just by getting the benefits from women's organizations, while a second group rather collaborate as well. A minimum number of female-household heads reported to collaborate in women's organizations without getting any benefit from their participation.

On the other hand, the most popular type of women's organizations is the *glass of milk* (63%), followed by multiple household enterprises – MHE (15.6%) and *communal kitchens* (1%). The other 20.4% participated in *communal kitchens* and *glass of milk*, 10.9%; *mother's clubs* and the *glass of milk*, 4.9%; *MHE* and *glass of milk*, 4.6%).

Table 5.16. Groups involved in women's organizations

Groups of households	Percentage of households participating	Women's organizations
I	9.6	MHE – glass of milk
II	11.3	Glass of milk – MHE – Mother's club
III	6.4	MHE – glass of milk
IV	8.0	Glass of milk
V	6.4	Communal kitchen – glass of milk
VI	8.0	Glass of milk
VII	5.0	MHE – glass of milk
VIII	11.3	Communal kitchen – glass of milk
IX	16.0	Glass of milk – communal kitchen – MHE
X	18.0	Glass of milk – MHE – Mother's club

Findings on the third hypothesis in the analysis about the physical conditions that influence household involvement in women's organizations, suggest (Fig. 5.2.) that groups VIII, IX, and X, which are located in the most remote sector in 9 de Octubre, have more community involvement in organizations. For instance, the two mother's clubs that exist in 9 de Octubre are located one in the area closer to the market place (less remote area), which is not currently active, and the other in this remote area (the borders of the Yumantay dip), which is currently active. Table 5.23 shows that 45.3% of participant households are located in groups VIII, IX, and X, and that more variety of women's organizations are found in these same locations. This table also shows that the *glass of milk*, *communal kitchens* and MHEs remain as the most common types of organizations through out 9 de Octubre.



Figure 5.2. Map of women's organizations groups

### SUMMARY

Findings showed that being a single women-headed household does not cause more participation in women's organizations and that these are not as economically vulnerable as they were portrayed in the literature. There is no strong association between being a single women-headed household and economic risk or educational risk conditions. This finding may be due to the support that female heads in single women-headed households receive from other income earners or due to the double jobs that some female heads develop (informal secondary activities). On the other hand, men-headed households seem to benefit more from women's organizations than single women-headed households do.

The presence of children under six years old does not predict participation in women's organizations overall. Finally, there is higher degree of participation in the most remote areas on *9 de Octubre* and involvement in multiple types of women's organizations.

## CHAPTER 6: PERSPECTIVES OF FEMALE PARTICIPANTS

The purpose of this chapter is to supplement the research objectives with a qualitative analysis, so as to better situate the context of women's empowerment and community participation in the Peruvian Amazon frontier. The chapter focuses on the analysis of 12 key-informants interviews, which were performing their role of community managers at the time of the interview. They were administered to women who participated in women's organizations in 9 de Octubre and surrounding settlements (Bellavista, 9 de Mayo, and Virgen de las Nieves) (see map B.3). Other interviews were administered in Santa Clara and Aviacion to collect information about other MHE's<sup>13</sup> that may have greater impacts for social mobilization in their communities.

This chapter also analyzes the lives of four women, who were selected because of their achievements as community leaders. *Rosa, Sonia, Brenda* and *Trotter* are very different in many ways because they have developed in different environments, come from different sectors of Pucallpa, and perform different activities in their communities.

The major questions in this qualitative analysis are:

1. How are these women empowered by their roles as community managers in women's organizations?
2. What are the conditions in the organizations that build upon community solidarity and structural change?
3. In which ways are women's reproductive and productive roles modified by their role in community management?
4. Which organizations are better for women's empowerment? What degree and kind of empowerment do they lead to?

These questions are related with one of the research purposes for exploring what type of women's empowerment leads to social development.

Table 6.1. How to measure empowerment

DESCRIPTION	DEGREE OF EMPOWERMENT
Recognition of a problem and incipient communal organization	1
Problem-solving achievements at the household and neighborhood levels	2
Community managers as instruments of awareness	3
Comprehensive knowledge applied for problem-solving at the community level	4
Ability to evaluate a communal situation and propose solutions for community development including changes at the household level	5

Table 6.1 is used in the qualification of the community managers of key-informants and leaders interviewed.

### 6.1. Key-informant interviews

The following are paraphrases of the interview responses. The name that each one has is a pseudonym. All interviews took place with the key-informants between July 10 and July 24, 1997.

#### Personal interview #1: Maria, 9 de Octubre

*Maria* is a 45-year old woman who teaches tailoring and shoe weaving to female-household heads interesting in learning. She works for PAIGRUMA (Programa de asistencia integral al grupo de madres), a program sponsored by the state for the occupational preparation of women.

<sup>13</sup> MHE stands for multiple-household enterprise

*Maria* participates in PAIGRUMA because she likes teaching other poor urban women and because she was hired to do such work. However, the acceptance of this organization is moderate in 9 de Octubre. They started with a small group of mothers in 1995 and trained 55 women since then. The importance of PAIGRUMA is based on the new opportunities that it brings to poor urban women, who by working in their houses tailoring or weaving can make clothes for their children, husbands or clients.

On the other hand, this organization requires women to spend some money and time. There is a \$20.00 tuition per year and classes meet five days a week all year long, which may be the main reason for low participation in *9 de Octubre*.

### **Personal interview # 2: Rosa, 9 de Octubre**

*Rosa* is a 51-year old woman, who has been a leader for 24 years. Today she is working as president of the Neighbors Board in *9 de Octubre*. She got involved in this organization because she wants to improve the physical development of her community.

A good administration of this organization is important to provide the infrastructure that *9 de Octubre* requires. There is a lack of water, sewer, and power lines. However, she has not found the acceptance and support of the people in the community, as she would have liked. "People are indifferent and are accustomed to others making everything for them", she says. The problem is that people do not sacrifice to participate in communal activities. But *Rosa* understands also that the situation is difficult for everyone and the main reason is marginal employment. On the other hand, female-household heads do not have enough support from their husbands to be able to participate in women's organizations and that is another problem that she identifies for the lack of participation.

*Rosa* states that house responsibilities of women in their households restrict them from participating in women's organizations that may be beneficial for them. For instance, there are two *Wawahuasis*<sup>14</sup> that most mothers do not know about that may take good care of their children while they are at work.

*Rosa* wants the best for her community, she wishes to achieve the final installation of the basic infrastructure needed in *9 de Octubre*, by the end of her term in 1998. She defends the idea that women can do things if they want to. Her 24 years of leadership have been influenced by the way of thinking. She has had the support first, of her father, when she enlisted in the APRA party and enthusiastically participated, and still has the support of her husband, who works for the municipality of the city of Pucallpa.

### **Personal interview # 3: Juana, 9 de Octubre**

*Juana* is a 39-year old woman who is the treasurer of the Neighbors Board of *9 de Octubre*. She has been working in this organization for one year, and is also the president of the *glass of milk* program in her sector. She got involved in both activities because she likes participating in organizations created to promote the improvement in the community.

As it was stated in *Rosa's* interview the Neighbors Board is important because it is supposed to take care of the necessities in the community. In addition, the *glass of milk* is important because it provides the breakfast for many children in need, and whom even times do not have the approval of their mothers to go to this program.

*Juana* the same as *Rosa*, mentions the lack of community participation in the activities encouraged by the Neighbors Board. For instance, the day of the interview they both were supposed to meet thirty other men and women, representatives of *9 de Octubre*, to discuss specific concerns related to the change of political status of the informal settlement to that of an official district. However, nobody appeared at the meeting and they had to postpone it for some other date. The *glass of milk*, on the other hand, was supposed to be working properly with the participation of other 25 female-household heads, statement that was reconfirmed to be false the morning after. I visited the *glass of milk* that she was supposed to administrate was actually taking place in the communal house located next to her dwelling by

<sup>14</sup> *Wawahuasi* is the quechua word for child care center.

people hired by the municipality who were serving milky puddings to the children in her sector. In other words, Juana was not delivering the glass of milk herself or with the participation of other mothers in her sector, the municipality was doing it for her. As a result, I doubt that *Juana* and *Rosa* developed community roles under the same conditions of lack of resources that other community managers had to deal with in *9 de Octubre*.

**Personal interview # 4:** Rita, *9 de Octubre*

*Rita* is a 38-year old woman, who has been supervisor of the *glass of milk* in her neighborhood for one year. She was motivated to participate because children were having stomach problems and the program was not working properly.

She says this organization is important in the neighborhood because it feeds the children before they go to school and is improving the milky pudding that 104 children receive every morning from 6:00am to 7:30am. However, they need more participation of the female-household heads.

**Personal interview # 5:** Rossana, *9 de Octubre*

*Rossana* is a 39-year old woman who is the president of the *glass of milk* in her sector. The program was only been in existence 15 days at the time of the interviews. She was motivated to take over the administration of this organization because of the urgent need in her neighborhood. " There are many children that are hungry", she says. Also, because there were no other mothers willing to sacrifice for this organization.

The *glass of milk* already serves 25 children, under 6 years old, and 20 elderly. This program is a big help especially to those families who do not have money even to buy a can of milk. Families in this sector have an average of four children.

*Rossana* wills to see those hungry children happy because they had a balanced and nutritious breakfast. She notices that women who work are the less interested in participating. Most of them leave the house very early at 5:00am to go to work.

**Personal interview # 6:** Julia, *9 de Octubre*

*Julia* is a 60-year old woman who administers one of the three *Wawahuasis* in *9 de Octubre*. This organization depends on the Ministry of Education of the Ucayali Region. This was created to take care of children under three years old, including health care.

Her motivation to start this *Wawahuasi*, was the many abandoned children at home or at their parents' workplace, where they stay under very constrained conditions. For instance, babies used to stay in board boxes under the counters. Julia talked to the parent of these children and gathered eight of them from the neighborhood and market. She and two assistants take care of these children from 8:00 to 12:00am.

So far, she is finding support in the parents who participate in the small social activities they organize. However, she wishes there would be more participation of mothers because it is a good help for those who go to work.

**Personal interview # 7:** Paola, *9 de Octubre*

*Paola* is a 41-year old woman, who has been secretary the *glass of milk* for two months. This program has been re-implemented because there are 130 children, pregnant women and elderly in need.

The *glass of milk* in her neighborhood is important because it solves the problem of many parents who do not have any ways to provide the breakfast of their children in the mornings. Not many female-household heads are willing to sacrifice in this activity. Therefore, they were going to have a recruit meeting. She wishes the efficient performance of the program.

**Personal interview # 8:** Lurdes, *Bellavista*

*Lurdes* is a 32-year old woman, who has been supervisor of the *glass of milk* in her sector since 1995, when she motivated other women to create this program in her neighborhood. There were 96 children, pregnant women, and elderly who needed this program.

So far, her administration has been successful in promoting community participation. Today, 45 mothers participate in the *glass of milk* in a circulate system. On the other hand, she would like to see women's organizations with more participation. *Lurdes* defends the idea that women's organizations are a good resource for poor urban women because they make them aware of new solutions to their everyday problems, which basically are related to their reproductive and productive roles. For instance, she has had the opportunity to counsel women to enter into family planning programs.

**Personal interview # 9:** Monica, *Virgen de la Nieves* (across the Yumantay Valley, see map 6)

*Monica* is a 23 year-old woman, who has been the secretary of the *glass of milk* for six months now. This organization has a lot of input from female-household heads. There are a total of 57 mothers who in a circulating system participate in the preparation of the milky pudding. This is the main reason that motivated her, the active participation of women in the neighborhood.

It is interesting to notice that children from *9 de Octubre* come to this *glass of milk*, located in *Virgen de las Nieves*. They assist 100 children, pregnant women, breast-feeder women, and elderly. Furthermore, she wishes there would be more diverse women's organizations in her community. There seems to be an increasing awareness in this community. For instance, there are local health community organizations that promote family planning through small-group seminars.

**Personal interview # 10:** Carla, *9 de Mayo*

*Carla* is a 45-year old woman, who has been working as secretary of the *glass of milk* for two years. This organization is important in her neighborhood because it feeds 110 children and elderly. However she identifies the lack of participation of mothers as the main problem in the good functioning of this program. Only ten out of forty-two mothers, who initially promised to participate, do it. Also, there is a lack of communication among the members of this community, which she wishes were more unified.

**Personal interview # 11:** Cecilia, *Aviacion*

*Cecilia* is a 42-year old woman, who has been working in the MHE bakery of *Aviacion* four months. She is a member of the mother's club in this community and has had previous experience in the communal kitchen. She was motivated because of the economic need in her family and the leadership performance of the president of the mother's club.

The bakery MHE is important because is an organization that serves the community, provides occupation especially for women and generates income in their households. It will soon, generate greater incomes in the community itself, when its market becomes broader by providing the bread, cakes and cookies to other *communal kitchens* and *glasses of milk* in informal settlements of Pucallpa. This MHE works with capital that was provided by PRONA (Programa Nacional de Apoyo Alimentario), a state program of food support. This capital is supposed to be repaid at the end of the first year. However, it is important to mention that this was an initiative of the mother's club. The bakery has been prosperous supplying the demand of the local market, plus two or three informal settlements in the surroundings. They produce 4,000 loaves of bread each day which are sold in two schedules, one at 12:30pm and the other at 3:00pm.

The communal kitchen is another important resource of employment for the poor urban women in *Aviacion*. The lunch costs twenty cents and there are sixty women working, who represent 40% of the female-household heads in *Aviacion*. *Cecilia* defends the idea that female-household heads need to work.

**Personal interview # 12:** Carmen, *Santa Clara*

*Carmen* is a 41-year old woman, who has been working as vice-president for two years in the sawmill called *Las Perlas* located in the informal settlement *Santa Clara*.

### The broom manufacturing workshop MHE

The broom-manufacturing workshop is important because it gives illiterate mothers the opportunity to earn money that they can save for their children's needs. In this broom-manufacturing workshop women manufacture and assemble the different parts of brooms. Women are paid four pennies for every broom that they make, usually women make 5 or 6 per day, so that they earn twenty-five cents per day. They come to work in the afternoons because that is the time their children go to school. This MHE was created with the capital from PRONA (Programa Nacional de Apoyo Alimentario). The idea, however, emerged from the locals who have wood as the closest available resource because Santa Clara is the area where most of the city's sawmills and carpenter workshops are located. There are three people who run this organization: the president, vice-president and the person who collects the raw material. And additional nine women work in the sawmill. On the other hand, the sawmill helps families by providing firewood.

The participation in the mother's club is open to everybody so everybody can work in the sawmill. The migrants are mostly from the rural areas around Pucallpa or from Loreto.

Other communal activities where women participate are the *communal kitchen*, the *kitchen for children*, the *glass of milk*, and the *mother's club*. In the communal kitchen for adults, forty people have the chance to eat for free, the other 120 pay a minimum amount of money. The children's kitchen provides 180 children with two meals per day: breakfast and lunch.

*Carmen* is comfortable with the community participation there is in Santa Clara, and is very confident about the things they are achieving as a women's organization. She trusts the good performance of the leader of the mother's club, who has proved to promote ideas that benefit this informal settlement.

## FINDINGS

Table 6.2 shows that women that participate in women's organizations in *9 de Octubre* do not reach important levels of empowerment. On the other hand, women's organizations seem to be only partially problem-solving oriented. In other informal settlements, women's organizations contribute to the growth of involvement and solidarity in their neighborhoods, and help women to enhance their reproductive roles (family planning).

It is also important to explain the differences between the MHEs. The bakery contributes to equal employment opportunities especially to women. The other, the broom-manufacturing workshop does not bring significant economic benefits to women. On the other hand, the role of community managers opens new ways women perceive themselves and their surrounding happenings. Most of the leaders in the *glass of milk* and MHEs have explained that they are perceived as instruments of awareness to in their communities. They have not told about the changes in their lives, however. This will be explained in the following chapter when we focus in four in-depth life histories.

Table 6.2. Findings in the key-informant interviews in *9 de Octubre* vs. other informal settlements

	Maria	Rosa	Juana	Rita	Rossana	Julia	Paola
Type of empowerment	None	Political	Political	Social	Social	Social	Social
Type of organization	PAI PRU MA	Junta de Vecinos	Junta de Vecinos	Glass of milk	Glass of milk	Wawahuasi	Glass of milk
How the organization builds upon structural change		None	None	None	Solves need	Helps mothers to practice productive roles	Solves need
Her community manager role		Linkages with political parties and municipality	Linkages with political parties and municipality	Participates in the organization	Participates in the organization	Participates in the organization	Participates in the organization
Degree of empowerment	0	2	2	2	1	1	2
Motivated by		Support of political affiliation	Support of political affiliation	Problem-solving	Lack of mother's participation	To support other women	Problem-solving

	Lurdes	Monica	Carla	Cecilia	Carmen
Informal settlement	Bellavista	Virgen de la Nieves	9 de Mayo	Aviacion	Santa Clara
Type of empowerment	Social	Social	Social	Economic	Social
Type of organization	Glass of milk	Glass of milk	Glass of milk	MHE bakery	MHE Broom workshop
How the organization builds upon structural change	Helps mothers to enhance their reproductive roles (family planning) Promotes solidarity and involvement	Promotes women's involvement	None	Equal employment opportunity especially for women	No economic benefit to women, however social benefit in communal kitchen
Her community manager role	Acts as a counselor in her community	Participates in the organization	Participates in the organization	Her productive role takes over her reproductive role	Supports the leader of the mother's club
Degree of empowerment	3	2	1	3	2
Motivated by	Problem-solving	Participation of other women	Lack of participation	Economic empowerment	Performance of her leader

## 6.2. In-depth life histories

*Rosa, Sonia, Brenda* and *Trotter* despite of being from different parts of Pucallpa have a common characteristic, they have gone through the process of empowerment despite of their low level education, and their reproductive and productive roles at their households.

### Life history #1:

#### “Rosa”

*Rosa*, 51 years old and born in Puerto Maldonado grew up in an environment where political affiliations were important. Her father was a member of the APRA (Partido Aprista Peruano) party and since young, *Rosa* followed her father’s interest in politics. With the death of Javier Heraud, an important figure member of the APRA party, she was encouraged to have more political participation. That is how she got involved in helping some of the APRA prisoners escape as political refugees in Bolivia.

*Rosa* moved to Pucallpa in the 1970’s and became an activist in 1974 during the military government. She was one of the first to organize the mother’s club in *9 de Octubre*, a group of 36 mothers, who in 1975 organized themselves to have tailoring and weaving workshops, and first aid services. This mother’s club had an important role in obtaining recognition for formal property rights of new settlement. She has participated in many ways as part of the local government. She was member and treasurer of the *Federacion Departamental de Pueblos Jovenes*, Regional federation of informal settlements. The 1970’s were crucial for the physical development of *9 de Octubre*, many other informal settlements were developed as consequence of the massive migration flows.

*Rosa* became leader once again because of the precarious situation in *9 de Octubre*, in 1995. People’s carelessness about the public physical conditions of the neighborhood (e.g. lack of green areas, lack of a central plaza, lack of sewer system, and lack of appropriate garbage collection) made her stand as candidate for president of the Neighbors Board. She got elected. Her objective is to enhance the physical conditions mentioned previously. She is working with the group of mothers who have already been organized. She is aware that they need to generate jobs in the neighborhood, and hopes that the future construction of the central plaza provided employment to the labor force in the community.

### Life history #2:

#### “Sonia”

*Sonia*, mestiza and 35 years old, has been working as president of the Ucayali’s Grassroots Women’s Association (AMUCAU) for four years. She was born in Rioja (San Martin), had nine siblings. Her father, a farmer, died when she was very little and her mother, who was blind could not manage to educate her 9 children.

*Sonia* left home when she was very little and started working as a peasant of coca plantations. She got married when she was 14 and had her first baby when she was 15 years old. She now has three children. For six years, continued working in coca plantations with her husband in Uchiza<sup>15</sup> until it was not longer a profitable activity in the region. She and her family moved to Pucallpa and started looking for the plantation of alternative crops. Despite of her low-level education, *Sonia* enrolled in *women’s associations* and *mother’s clubs*, which promoted women’s participation in agricultural decision-making and the introduction of alternative agricultural products. This is the way she got involved, and soon became a director of one of the projects sponsored by the United Nations to cultivate palm trees. Little by little the organization got recognition and support from several international as well as national agencies. The institution kept growing and acquiring properties to develop their agricultural projects. *Sonia* herself gained more self-esteem and recognition of her important role as woman and mother within her community.

<sup>15</sup> Uchiza is a place very well known because of the plantation of coca leaves.

*AMUCAU* (*Asociacion de Mujeres Campesinas de Ucayali*), the organization *Sonia* represents groups 23 different sectors of different areas in the region. This organization has a total of 645 families, from which 80% migrated from Uchiza, the other 20% are farmers who came from Huanuco, Huaraz, Huaral. They started as a committee of farming women with 170 members. Today they have 640 women. The objective of *AMUCAU* is to enhance the socio-economic conditions of the rural women. Each family has approximately 30-40 hectares of land, where they grow corn, cassava, and rice crops for their own consumption. They also work in communal lands where they plant *uña de gato*<sup>16</sup> and forest products. Last year, they had a production of 40,000 plants of *uña de gato*, which were sold for twenty cents each, raising a total of \$8,000 used for a trust. This trust subsidizes part of loans for projects and communal shops. Women who run communal shops earn 10% of the income that result from selling agricultural products they grew collectively in their sectors. Families and individual men who get involved in overall projects of the organization get paid for their work.

At the time of the interview, *AMUCAU* was planting corn in one hundred hectares of land to produce corn seeds already acclimatized for the region's ecological conditions. This is a project sponsored by the Fondo de Contravalor Peru-Canada (Peru-Canada Fund), United Nations, AID, and collaboration of the Ministry of Agriculture and INIA, Instituto Nacional de Investigacion Amazonica (Research National Institute of Amazonia). These seeds would be sold to farmers through the Ministry of Agriculture. The principal characteristic of these corn seeds are that they were growing in soils left by the Pucallpa River's retreat, under very special conditions that did not need irrigation or fumigation

*Sonia* states that women in *AMUCAU* were before marginalized by their reproductive roles, but things have changed now. They are working hand in hand with their husbands and children, egalitarian work conditions that make them feel useful. However, women's empowerment may not be a happening, in the sense that they are still marginalized by their reproductive and productive roles, what they earn they save it for their children's education and basic needs, conversely to men, who tend to waste the money in beer and friends. Therefore, according to this report there are no significant social changes in the household level.

*Sonia* was interviewed in the Pucallpa's airport when she was waiting a flight to Lima, where she had to coordinate the *Congreso Nacional de Mujeres Lideres Campesinas*, National Congress for Grassroots Women Leaders organized by the Fondo de Contravalor Peru-Canada. Fortunately, she did not fly that night and the morning after we went to see the 100 hectares of corn plantation. I was impressed because of the organization and the way this woman has achieved empowerment. *Sonia* identifies the necessity to develop partnerships with women's organizations in the city of Pucallpa, especially with marketers, with whom they can develop a market for their products.

### **Life history #3:**

#### **“Brenda”**

*Brenda* is 39 years old and has been leader of the Mother's club of *Santa Clara* for four years. She was born in a country house called San Andres in Iquitos. They were 12 children, six boys and six girls. Her father was a farmer and her mother stayed at home. She got married when she was 18 years old. Her husband works in the sawmill industry. She has four sons, the oldest is twenty years old and the youngest is 9 years old.

*Brenda* was always dedicated to the housework in her household until people in her community motivated her to become a leader. One of her first activities was in her son's school, where she got involved in the committee for the construction of one of the building's roof and for the lighting of a small playground. The Father of the Church has also supported her along her term. Her dedication and accomplishments made her the favorite candidate for the mother's club presidency.

Her current activities are: president of the mother's club of *Santa Clara*, president of the MHEs (sawmill Las Perlas and tailoring workshop), and secretary of the *mother's club* of *Ucayali*. The *mother's*

<sup>16</sup> Medicinal root, which has several applications, recently discovered to be very effective for cancer treatment.

*club* in *Aviacion* has been active for four years because along the way it has generated employment for women.

*Brenda* considers her leadership as a good experience. She has made many friends and has learned a lot about how to deal with the necessities of the community. She learned that it is only a matter of trying. “Cuando la intencion es buena y autentica solo es cuestion de luchar por ella” (When the intention is a fair one, the right thing is to fight for it), she says. However, she has had to overcome some obstacles with other members of the mother’s club, who were envious and tried to make her resign. The Father intervened to clarify the problem and she was back to her role as community manager.

“El rol de la mujer es muy importante por ser el eje del hogar. El esposos se encarga de proveer el dinero y la esposa de hacerlo alcanzar. Moralmente la mujer apoya al marido para que siga adelante ya que la situacion es dificil” (The role of women is essential because she is the spindle of the household. The husband provides the money in the household and the wife makes it last. The woman is the strength that the husband needs in the hard situations), she says. *Brenda* puts in practice the say of “La mujer bien organizada en el hogar puede organizar la gente de su comunidad” (the woman who is a good organizer in her household is also a good organizer in the community). Her daily routine is to wake up very early around 5:30 am, prepare breakfast and lunch and cleans her house. At 10:00 am starts her responsibility with the community, she first goes to the communal kitchens, then to the workshops. Goes and make payments in the sawmills, and other governmental organizations. Makes time at lunchtime to meet her children. Goes to supervise the community organizations again from 4:00 to 6:00 p.m. Sometimes she has communal meetings at night and goes home as soon as they are over.

*Brenda* tells about the activities that women in Santa Clara do. For example, many of them have small gardens, where they grow cassava, cucumber, beans and fruits like watermelon. They use the resources they have available in the community, the wood industry and the closeness to the river to satisfy the needs of their households. However, some of these activities are resulting hazardous for the health of everyone in the community. The current system to produce charcoal made of wood causes a lot of smoke and tiny particles of wood that get spread in the air and go to people’s lungs and eyes. *Brenda* is exploring new solutions to produce charcoal that are less polluting with university students. She is also interested in finding a market for this charcoal so they can be the direct vendors of this commercial activity.

*Brenda’s* vision of Santa Clara is to have a better infrastructure (paved roads and a plaza central, water and sewer systems) and fill-in areas that are sensitive for floods. Many of the things the community has, have been accomplished by their self-help effort. For instance the bridge that connects to the rest of the city. Also, the Church has contributed with the health center in *Santa Clara*.

#### **Life history #4:**

##### **“Trotter”**

*Trotter* is 34 years old. She is a health promoter, president of the Church community. She was born in a country house called Eda, located close to the Ucayali River. Her father, a farmer, died when she was little. Her mother, who used to work as a chiropractic and traditional physician in the country house, did not have the resources to educate her ten children. Many of her siblings were not able to finish their primary school and none of them are professionals. *Trotter* grew admiring her mother’s capacity to cure people.

*Trotter* left her mother’s house when was 12 years old. One of her aunts invited her to work in Iquitos in a family’s house. This is how she managed to go to secondary school, which she left two years before finishing. She got married and started to help her husband by working as a dressmaker and hair-dresser. Those are activities that she learned herself while she was a child. Her community involvement was caused by accident. Everything started with an assault in 1991. It was 4:00am and she and her husband heard some shots in the neighborhood and some people approaching their house. She went to see if they were her neighbors who were coming to warn them. When she opened the door, there were two men wearing masks, who told her that it was an assault and that she should stay quiet. Her first reaction was to cry and fell down. These two men threatened her with a pistol and brought her to her room, her

husband did not have any other option other than to give them the money they wanted. Her children were in danger also. She felt totally vulnerable.

Right after the assault, she got interested in the activities that the Church was promoting and asked one of her neighbors if they were going to receive any payment for working there. Her neighbor answered affirmatively. She joined her neighbor that afternoon. The first preparation session was about women who were maltreated and about human rights. She liked that session very much especially because she was just coming from a similar experience. She kept attending for one, two months and no money was involved in the process. Finally she asked again to another participant in the sessions, who explained that there was no payment involved. This is how she realized about the good will of her neighbor to help her.

*Trotter* started to participate in the readings during mass, and to learn how to become a health promoter. She liked it very much, and entered a contest to receive preparation in a seminar outside Pucallpa. Meanwhile at her household, her husband was not convinced of her participation in this community organization. She won the contest to participate in this seminar about nutrition in Huancayo, and had to arrange her first trip in three days. She did not have the chance to talk to her husband until the same day that she was leaving and he was coming back from working in the surrounding of Pucallpa.

The seminar was a wonderful experience because she learned a lot. *Trotter* came back and put in practice all acquired knowledge. She also learned about first aid and installed a kit in her house. Her husband became more supporting because of the good things that her preparation was bringing to their family. Her mother, who used to visit her eventually, saw her change and told her: “Hija has cambiado, el pelo te has cortado, estas hermosa hija, yo creo que has logrado algo bueno lo que yo ni tus hermanos han podido” (My daughter, you look beautiful. You have achieved something that none of your brothers and sisters have. You are not a marginalized woman anymore).

Her mother’s words gave her more motivation to continue learning. So far, *Trotter* has traveled three times to Iquitos and four times to Lima. Her last trip was to Leticia, in the south part of Iquitos, for a workshop of health promoters from all over Peru for training on the use and misuse of medicines. “ Ni yo puedo creer hasta ahora, he aprendido” (I can not believe, I have learned), *Trotter* says. “Lo que me gusta es que siento que ayudo a la gente en mi comunidad en problemas de salud y cuando me vienen a contar algo” (The best part is to feel that I can do something for the people in my community. I help them with health or every day life problems), she says. The most important thing, she believes, has been to gain people’s trust by letting them to be in contact with her.

Before her involvement, *Trotter* used to fight a lot with her husband and had a bad character. Now she talks with her husband and the relationship is based on communication. She believes that as she did, other people in her community are able to change their lives as individuals, as families and as a community. This is an example of the impact of empowerment in women’s lives that should be regarded as one of the goals of community development.

## FINDINGS

These four life histories show different types of empowerment:

- Rosa, has political empowerment gained through her participation in political affiliations however she does not have grassroots support of her community. Her empowerment degree is 2.
- Sonia, has economic and cultural empowerment that has allowed economic growth in her community. Her empowerment degree is 4.
- Brenda, has social empowerment that has allowed various improvements in infrastructure and social welfare programs in her community. She also keeps an enhanced household environment Her empowerment degree is 5.
- *Trotter*, has cultural and social empowerment that has positively transformed her life in her community and household environments. Her empowerment degree is 5.

### SUMMARY

Different degrees of empowerment have been observed in the key-informant interviews and life histories. Women who participate in women's organizations in *9 de Octubre* have reached the lower degrees in the process of empowerment. Their organizations promote the recognition and incipient communal organization for the solution of food problems. In some cases, leaders have reached the second degree of empowerment by achieving the implementation of problem-solving programs at the neighborhood level. However, there is no compilation of important changes in the household level that lead to social development.

In other settlements in the surroundings of *9 de Octubre*, two of the women interviewed seemed to have higher degrees of empowerment. Their participation in women's organizations has contributed to the growth of involvement in their neighborhoods, and has helped women to enhance their reproductive roles (e.g. family planning). Therefore, there are changes in the household level accomplished by their role as instruments of awareness.

More in depth, the life histories portray the process of empowerment and the goals achieved as each leader's history is described. The degrees of empowerment of these four women (Rosa, Sonia, Brenda, and Trotter) reflect three findings: (1) the importance of participation in community organizations as an ingredient for empowerment; (2) the importance of grassroots support that can only be achieved if the leader gains the trust of the people in her community; and (3) the importance of new knowledge acquired as a corner stone for social change in the community and household levels.

## CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS

The purposes of this thesis were to examine what factors might explain household participation in women's organizations and to explore what type of women's empowerment leads to social development.

### 7.1. Discussion about the findings in the quantitative analysis

The case study in *9 de Octubre* was conducted to analyze the following hypotheses: (1) being a single women-headed household is associated with more participation in women's organizations than men-headed households do. (2) The presence of children under six years old in the household causes participation in women's organizations. Finally, (3) the remote location of households in the informal settlement contributes to more involvement in women's organizations.

The findings showed that being a *single women-headed households* are not strongly associated with participation in women's organizations. Other findings showed that these female heads had the support of other income earners, this is why there were not strong associations between the levels of economic risk and single women-headed households. Another reason for their non-participation was that an important number of female heads developed informal secondary activities, which consumed the part of their time that could be used for their families. In other words, single women-headed households who were expected to be more economically vulnerable and more involved in women's organizations. Analysis showed neither.

On the other hand, *men-headed households* seem to benefit more from women's organizations than *single women-headed households* do. From the total of households that participated, 77% were men-headed households and 23% were single women-headed households.

The results of this case study bring in to question the causality for the lack of household participation in women's organizations. The most likely answer is that the lack of women's organizations promoting social development is the main reason for absence of household participation in women's organizations in *9 de Octubre*.

The presence of children under six years old does not predict participation in women's organizations overall. Another important finding showed that remote household locations had higher degree of participation in women's organizations, furthermore these had involvement in multiple types of women's organizations (mother's clubs, glass of milk, communal kitchen, and MHEs). As a result, remote locations and lack of services are still main reasons for stronger involvement in women's organizations.

### 7.2. Reflection on women's empowerment

To reflect on how the poor urban women in the informal settlements interviewed have managed to empower requires an understanding on what participation and empowerment mean. Participation in women's organizations has enabled women to be part of an action for the betterment of their communities by bringing in food, health, and income generation solutions. Women's empowerment is part of the outcome that started with their participation in women's organizations. The interaction with other women and the knowledge they acquire to solve everyday situations brings in the understanding for the causality of poverty. There is an implicit feeling of achievement of a sense of worth by being on the inside of these organizations. The higher degree of empowerment represents the ability to evaluate a communal situation and propose solutions for community development including changes at the household level.

#### Empowerment in the household level

Women's empowerment that leads to social development modifies the ways women relate with their children and husbands. It brings in spiritual good, egalitarian relationships and self-confidence. As a result, the positive changes they experience allow them to improve the everyday quality of life in their families. On the other hand, women's productive roles by themselves do not bring in empowerment that leads to social transformation. For example, Sonia works as a food producer and has improved the conditions of the community she is involved in through a system that promotes work egalitarian

conditions of peasant women. However, she herself reported that there are not main positive changes in the household level and women are not empowered. For instance, husbands still spend their money in beer and friends reflecting the lack of dialogue between them and their wives to raise their children with strong values for egalitarian relationships between men and women, for community participation and for structural transformation that will lead to equity. I suspect the major reason underlying this behavior is that women's economic empowerment does not lead to social change by itself.

#### Empowerment in the community level

Women get empowered when they go through processes of changes and innovations that lead to improvements in their communities. Women are empowered when they achieve big changes in their households. For instance, the sense of knowing what to do and how to react in cases of violation of their human rights, in case of disease of their children, and in case of income need in their households. Women are the great synthesizers of life, however I am not saying that men should avoid an equal responsibility for the social transformation that starts in the household and later expands to the community level. Some of the most important values that are raised during women's empowerment are solidarity and the will to serve.

#### Women's organizations as agents for equity

I have studied informal settlements where poor urban people live, who have managed to solve their problems by mutual-effort and self-reliance. This is a particular context in which women's empowerment spreads out rapidly. I do not know the ways in which other social class women in Latin America built empowerment. Although, empowerment results from situations of marginalization in which women need to change the conditions of vulnerability that they and their families are trapped in. The life histories of Brenda and Trotter show us the four main ways in which we can measure empowerment that leads to structural transformation:

- When there are positive changes in women's households as a result of new knowledge
- When there are improvements in their communities (infrastructure, welfare programs, communal involvement) that result from their community manager roles
- When their empowerment promotes the trust of people in their communities
- When their lives are examples that encourage other women to follow the process of empowerment.

On the other hand, women's organizations that generate cash incomes are very important and significant, especially for poor urban women, as a way to materialistically measure the positive effects of their participation in these organizations. However, the example of Trotter shows us that there are other ways to measure positive effects rather than cash. Trotter entered the Church seminars to learn about health, human rights and nutrition by advice of her neighbor, and her story has ended up in a very positive way. She has gone through new knowledge, new places, new people, and came back to give it all to her community and her family. She works as a health promoter in her community and as a leader in her Church helping other urban poor, who are vulnerable as she was before, to teach them about the available resources to solve their problems.

Not all-poor urban women would have reacted as the way Trotter did. Probably most of them would have preferred to enter into other more monetary beneficial activities in order to help their husbands to provide enough income. In this sense MHE's can be seen as means but not as ends to achieve empowerment that leads to social transformation.

I question the two examples of MHEs observed: (1) the broom-manufacturing workshop, and (2) the bakery. On one hand, the broom-manufacturing workshop has become a source of employment for poor urban women who despite earning low wages feel helpful because of the income they provide in their households. However, this low-wage employment may not be promoting gender equal conditions. The study has not been able to measure the impacts of these activities in the household level so further conclusions are not possible.

On the other hand, the bakery seemed to promote a better-paid female labor force. But, the high rates of production seemed to be the ultimate goal and not a learning process that this place can be used

for promoting social development. As some evidence collected in the key-informant interviews, it is in the hands of leaders to raise issues of family planning, health, nutrition and human rights that will lead to comprehensive knowledge and changes in women's lives, which little by little will evolve into community development.

In other words, it is in the hands of women community leaders to reconceptualize the goal of their organizations. The goal may be to increase the numbers of poor urban women household heads knowledgeable of ways to overcome marginalization.

#### The role of other institutions

The government's role should be that of support to this grassroots goal, from the bottom up. The dialogue between grassroots community leaders and state agencies is necessary. We need solid governmental policies that are in accordance with the objectives of women's empowerment that leads to social transformation, so that there were no contradictions between the purposes of organizations that support women. For example, PAIPRUMA and PRONA represent extremes in the context of women in development. On one hand, PAIPRUMA is reinforcing the reproductive roles of women and on the other hand, PRONA is reinforcing their productive roles. If one of the objectives is to make poor urban women instruments of structural transformation through empowerment, the implementation of programs for the education of women-household heads through women's organizations and MHE's would be an option.

In the future, women's organizations may need to rely more on NGO's or the Church, if their objectives comply with community development achieved through community empowerment.

The role of planners is to directly support communities by their practice in planning and policy making to build upon community goals. One of the tasks would be to include the planner in the evaluation, programming, monitoring, and impact assessment steps in the implementation process of plans and programs lead by women's organizations themselves. This way, these organizations would continue to feel free to take initiatives for their community development. Their input is essential along all the implementation process, but more specifically in the design (goal and objectives), programming, and implementation.

#### Expectations for future research

The policy implications that this thesis suggests have to integrate the concepts revisited on women's empowerment when they deal with community development. On the other hand, future research in this topic may need to broaden the study on urbanization in other areas of not only the Peruvian Amazon but also the Brazilian Amazon. This is important to compile migration patterns and urban impacts in the Amazon Basin region.

Also the roles of the government, the Church, and NGO's and their relationship with women's organizations would need to be studied more carefully. This study has focused on grassroots organizations looking to women as the center, a more comprehensive analysis on equity issues will need to involve the other subjects that need to participate in community development (husbands, children, priests, planners, and others like NGO representatives).

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## Glossary

1. **Marginalization.** Poor urban women in Latin America are marginalized because the relationship between their reproductive and productive roles make them become oppressed. Women primarily look at themselves as wives and mothers and when they are employed, their conditions usually involve low wages, little social recognition, and intensive work. Therefore it is hard for women to take pride in the work they do that negatively influences the relationship with their husbands and children (Mujica, 1992; Moser, 1989).
2. **Communal kitchen.** A direct translation of comedor is dining hall. The term communal kitchen conveys a more accurate sense of these grassroots organizations, which are about collective preparation of food more than about collective consumption.
3. **Sendero Luminoso (Shinning Path).** *Sendero Luminoso* is a guerilla movement that made its first public attack in 1980 and spread terror and violence killing millions of people in Peru for 15 years, when in 1995 its prime leader was captured during *Fujimori's* first term. *Sendero Luminoso* was savage, sectarian, and fanatical, and is compared to *Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge* rather than to the *Sandinistas* in El Salvador (McClintock, 1989).
4. **Glass of milk.** This is a state program that promotes the nutrition of children in poor urban areas (informal settlements and shantytowns). Neighborhood organizations have to sign up in the respective office in their municipality for this program, in order to receive bags of a milky powder product that they can prepare in a week period. Women in neighborhoods organize themselves by sharing responsibilities and schedules because they have to provide the *glass of milk* to an average number of 100 children every morning (most likely found number during interviews).
5. **Empowerment.** My definition of empowerment derives from the literature and the experience of the women I interviewed. Empowerment is understood as the power poor urban women gain in terms of their capacity to increase their self-reliance, to determine their choices in life, and to influence the direction of change at the household and community levels.
6. **NGO's.** They are private institutions that are sponsored by Private Funds and have the purpose of helping to enhance the living conditions of the urban poor and also rural poor. For example SUMBI (Servicios Urbanos y Mujeres de Bajos Ingresos), is an NGO that started the Wawawasis in Lima under its program "Accion Pro Cunas" (Pro-Children Action) at the beginning of the 1990's. The government thought of it as a good program and now the government sponsors Wawahuasis as part of the Ministry of Education.
7. **DREU (Direccion Regional de Educacion de Ucayali – Ucayali Regional Office of Education)**
8. **PAIGRUMA (Programa de Asistencia Integral al Grupo de Madres – Integral Assistance Program to Group of Mothers)** This is an integral program based on families promoted by the Ministry of Education with participation of organized communities for children in rural and peri-urban areas.
9. **PRONA (Programa Nacional de Apoyo Alimentario – State program of food support)**

LOCALIDAD \_\_\_\_\_

NUMERO PROVISIONAL \_\_\_\_\_

NUMERO DEFINITIVO \_\_\_\_\_

RETORNO 1 \_\_\_\_\_

RETORNO 2 \_\_\_\_\_

Fecha: / /97

Inició: \_\_\_\_\_

Terminó: \_\_\_\_\_

Duración: \_\_\_\_\_

Entrevistador: \_\_\_\_\_

Revisado por: \_\_\_\_\_

Aprovado por: \_\_\_\_\_

CODESU

MUJERES Y COMUNIDADES POPULARES AUTOGESTIONARIAS

JULIO-AGOSTO, 1997

CONFIDENCIAL

**DE LOS MIEMBROS DE LA FAMILIA**

Nombre	Relacion con el jefe de familia (a)	Etnia	Sexo	Edad	Lugar de nac.	Instruccion (b)	Cond. actividad (c) Activo/Inactivo
1							
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							
7							
8							
9							
10							
11							
12							

Andino  
 Shipibo  
 Mestizo  
 Costeño

- (a) Codigos de relacion con el jefe de familia:
- 0. Jefe
  - 1. CO conyuge
  - 2. HI hijo/a o hijastro
  - 3. HE hermano/a
  - 4. PA padre/madre
  - 5. ABUE abuelo/a
  - 6. TIO tio/a
  - 7. SO sobrino/a
  - 8. OP otro pariente
  - 9. INQUI inquilino

- (b) Codigos de instruccion:
- 0. Sin instruccion
  - 1. PRI Primaria
  - 2. SEC IN Secundaria incompleta
  - 3. SEC COM Secundaria completa
  - 4. TEC SUP Tecnico superior
  - 5. SUP Superior
  - 6. <6 Menor de 6 años

- (c) Codigos de condicion de actividad:
- Activos
  - 1. Ocupados
  - 2. Desocupados
  - 3. Busca trabajo
  - Inactivos
  - 4. Ama de casa
  - 5. Estudiante
  - 6. Trabajador
  - 7. Menor
  - 8. Otro inactivo

Ocupacion principal en los ultimos 12 meses				Ocupacion secundaria en los ultimos 12 meses			
actividad	lugar de trab (f)	posicion (d)	forma de pago (e)	actividad	lugar de trab (f)	posicion (d)	forma de pago (e)
1							
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							
7							
8							
9							
10							
11							
12							

- (d)Codigo de posicion:
- 1. negocio propio
  - 2. empleador
  - 3. empleado permanente
  - 4. empleado temporal
  - 5. trabajo familiar
  - 6. domestico
  - 7. Otro

- (e)Codigo de forma de pago
- 1. Salario mensual
  - 2. Salario semanal
  - 3. Por hora
  - 4. Por pieza de trabajo
  - 5. Por ventas
  - 6. Por comision
  - 7. Otro casual

- (f) Codigos de lugar de trabajo
- 1. dentro de casa
  - 2. en la comunidad
  - 3. en el centro
  - 4. alrededores de Pucallpa
  - 5. fuera de Pucallpa
  - 6. Otro

**DE LA VIVIENDA**

1. Agua

1.a. Fuente de abastecimiento

1.  Red publica
2.  Pozo
3.  Cisterna c/bomba
4.  Rio, acequia
5.  Otro

1.b. Uso

1.  Privado
2.  Comun

2. Eliminacion de excretas

2.a. Sistemas

1.  W.C.
2.  Botadero
3.  Letrina con aserrin
4.  Rio, acequia
5.  Otro

2.b. Uso

1.  Privado
2.  Comun

2.c. Conexion a la red publica

1.  Conectado
2.  No conectado

3. Basura

1.  Carro municipal
2.  Rio o acequia
3.  Campo
4.  Otro

4. Luz

1.  Electrica
2.  Gas
3.  Lampara a kerosene
4.  Otro

5. Tenencia de la vivienda

- |                                     |  |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Propia  | 3. <input type="checkbox"/> Alquilada    |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Alojado | 4. <input type="checkbox"/> De parientes |

**DE LOS INGRESOS EN EL HOGAR**

6. ¿Son los ingresos suficientes para cubrir las necesidades?

[alimentos, vivienda, servicios, transporte]

1.  Insuficientes
2.  Suficientes
3.  Mas que suficientes
4.  Rehuso

7. ¿En los ultimos 12 meses han pedido prestado dinero?

1.  Si
2.  No
3.  Rehuso
4.  No sabe

Se presto el dinero de \_\_\_\_\_

8. ¿Alguien en el hogar con cuenta de ahorros?

1.  Si
2.  No
3.  Rehuso
4.  No sabe

Ahorra en \_\_\_\_\_

9. ¿Los gastos que mas tiene en qué son?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_





Nº de ficha:

Fecha:

Nombre de la líder: \_\_\_\_\_ Edad: \_\_\_\_\_ Tiempo que es líder: \_\_\_\_\_

Organización: \_\_\_\_\_

Actividad principal de la organización: \_\_\_\_\_

Tiempo de funcionamiento: \_\_\_\_\_

**CUESTIONARIO:**

1. ¿Como era la situacion de la comunidad cuando aceptó el cargo de líder de la organización?
2. ¿Qué razones la motivaron a postularse?
3. ¿Qué razones la llevaron a aceptar?
4. ¿Cuáles son los objetivos que persique con su organizacion?
5. ¿Cuál es la visión que tiene sobre la comunidad?
6. ¿Qué obstáculos ha tenido que enfrentar cuando ha lidiado con:
  - otras organizaciones comunales?
  - agencias gubernamentales?
  - gente de la comunidad?
  - otros miembros de la organización?
7. ¿Cómo resolvió esos obstáculos, con:
  - Recursos humanos? Y ¿Por qué?
  - Recursos monetarios? Y ¿Por qué?
  - Estrategias políticas? Y ¿Por qué?
8. ¿Cómo entiende el rol de su organización en el desarrollo de su comunidad?
9. ¿Cómo entiende la importancia de su organización en el desarrollo de su comunidad?
10. ¿Cuál es su concepto sobre el rol que debería tener la mujer de su comunidad?
11. ¿Cuál cree son los motivos por los que la mayoría que conoce han migrado a la ciudad de Pucallpa?
12. ¿Que ventajas le significan a la mujer de esta comunidad vivir en 9 de Octubre, porque no en otro asentamiento?
13. Si existe producción alimenticia doméstica, explique ¿Por qué es importante para el mantenimiento de la población de la comunidad? Y, ¿Cuál es la participación de la mujer?
14. ¿Existe la produccion comunal de algún alimento?
15. ¿Qué tan seguido ocurren las enfermedades en la comunidad?, ¿Quienes son los más afectados?
16. ¿En que forma combaten las enfermedades? Y ¿En qué forma participa la mujer?
17. ¿En qué forma se ocupa la mujer de su comunidad por los niños y por los ancianos?
18. ¿En qué forma se incentiva el control de la natalidad en la comunidad? Y ¿Por qué cree que es importante el control de la natalidad?
19. Mencione actividades comunales que promuevan el cuidado de los arboles, plantas y animales que tienen alrededor de la población?

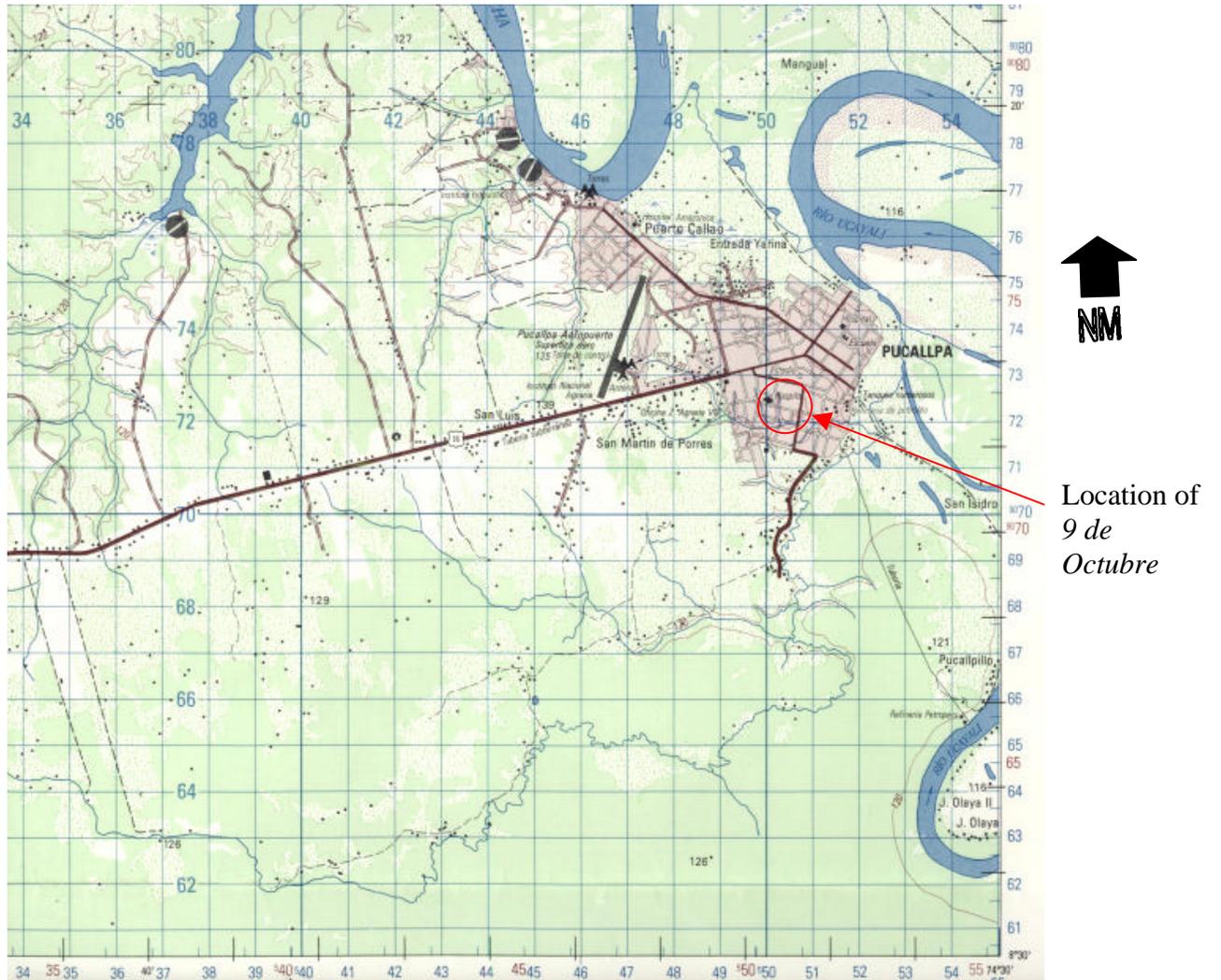


Figure B.1. The city of Pucallpa and surroundings.

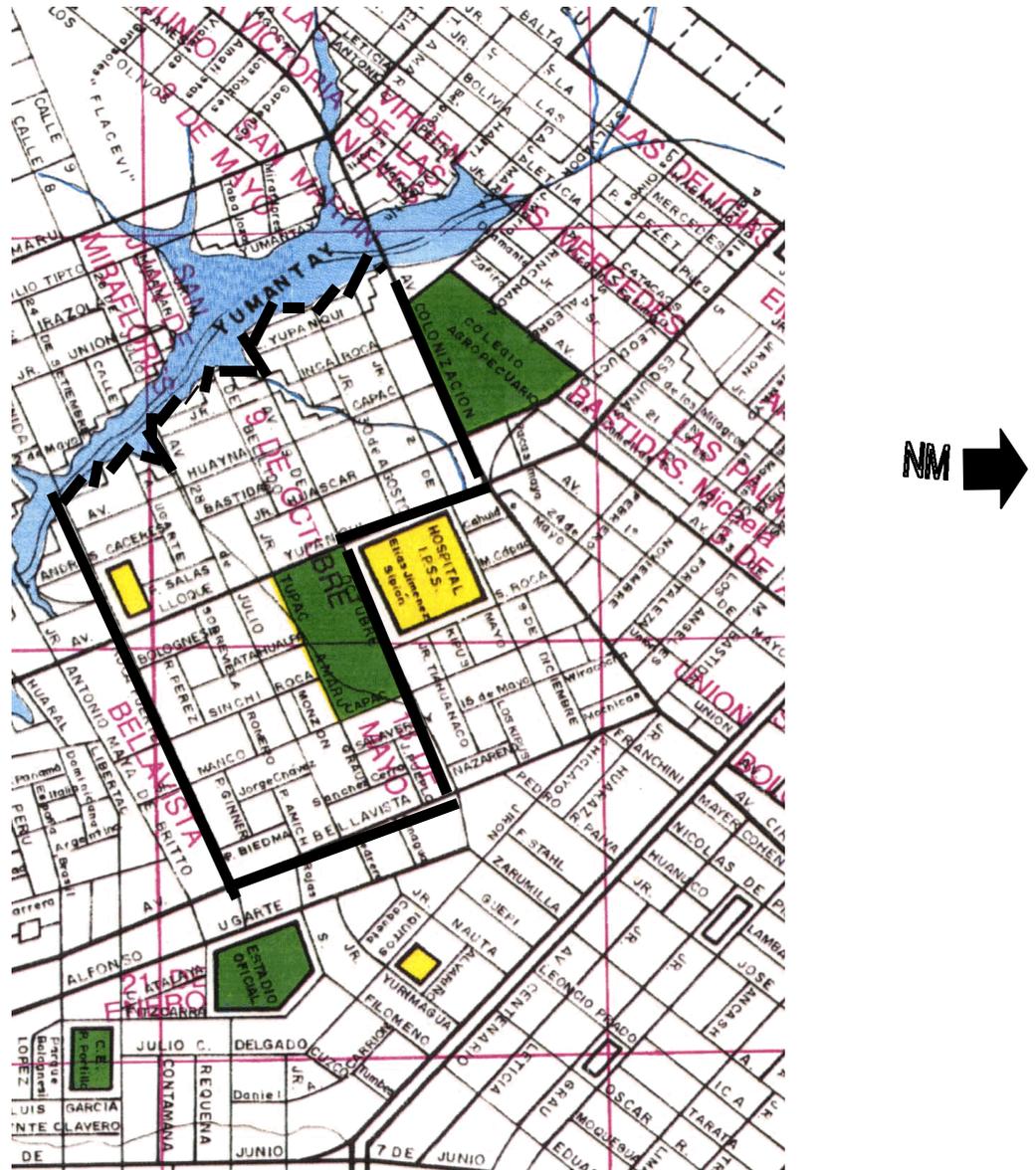


Figure B.2. Location of 9 de Octubre and surroundings

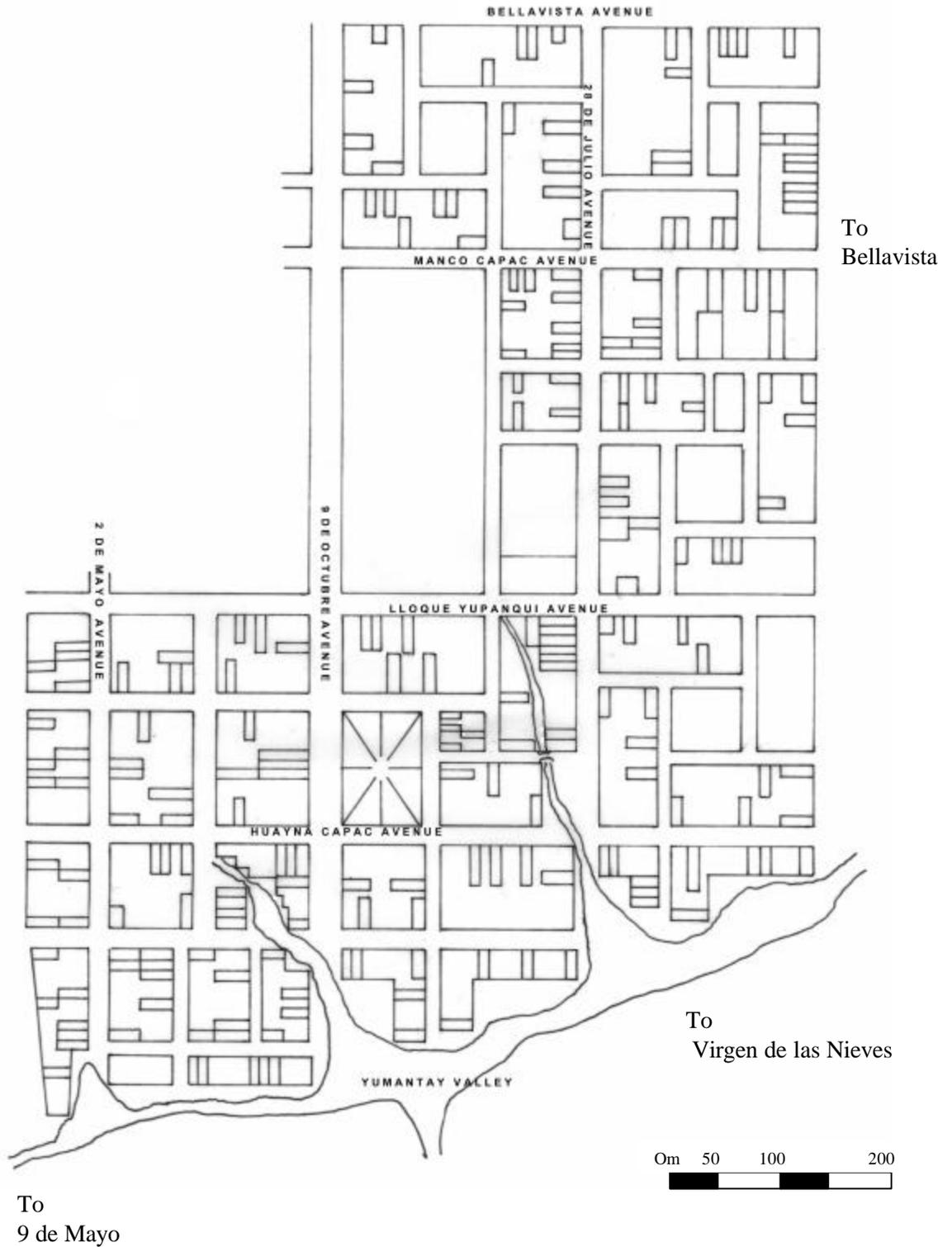


Figure B.3. Map of 9 de Octubre

## Description of Codes

Code	Description
ID	Number of household interviewed
NUMCHILD	Percentage of children under six in the household
EARNERS	Percentage of income earners in the household
INFORMAL	Percentage of informal economic activities in the household
PARTICIP	Participation or non-participation
MALEFEMA	Type of headed-household
WAG0	No Wage
WAG1	Number of income earners receiving monthly salary
WAG2	Number of income earners receiving weekly salary
WAG3	Number of income earners receiving per hour
WAG4	Number of income earners receiving per piece of work
WAG5	Number of income earners receiving per sales
WAG6	Number of income earners receiving per commission
WAG7	Number of income earners receiving casual
TOTALW	Number of income earners receiving wages
POS0	No position
POS1	Number of income earners that have their own business
POS2	Number of income earners that are employers
POS3	Number of income earners that are permanent employees
POS4	Number of income earners that are temporary employees
POS5	Number of income earners that have a familiar work
POS6	Number of income earners that have a domestic job
TOTALPOS	Number of income earners receiving having a job position
WRK1	Number of income earners that work in the house
WRK2	Number of income earners that work in the community
WRK3	Number of income earners that work in the city center
WRK4	Number of income earners that work in the surroundings of Pucallpa
WRK5	Number of income earners that work out of Pucallpa
TOTALWRK	Number of income earners that have a workplace
EDU0	No formal education
EDU1	Number of income earners that have primary or incomplete secondary school
EDU2	Number of income earners that have complete secondary school
EDU3	Number of income earners that have higher education
TOTALEDU	Number of income earners that have some educational level
EDURISK	Level of educational risk
WAGRISK	Level of wage risk
POSRISK	Level of job position risk
WRKRISK	Level of workplace risk

ID	NUMCHILD	EARNERS	INFORMAL	PARTICIP	MALEFEMA	WAG0	WAG1	WAG2
1.00	.50	.50	.50	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
2.00	.00	.83	.67	1.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
3.00	.30	.60	.00	.00	.00	1.00	5.00	.00
4.00	.40	.60	.20	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00
5.00	.50	.50	.50	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
6.00	.20	.60	.20	.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00
7.00	.17	.50	.33	.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00
8.00	.38	.25	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
9.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
10.00	.17	.50	.17	.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	.00
11.00	.33	.67	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00
12.00	.50	.33	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00
13.00	.17	.50	.00	.00	.00	1.00	2.00	.00
14.00	.29	.57	.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00
15.00	.25	.75	.25	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00
16.00	.33	.33	.17	.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00
17.00	.20	.60	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00
18.00	.11	.44	.22	1.00	1.00	.00	1.00	1.00
19.00	.56	.44	.00	.00	.00	1.00	2.00	.00
20.00	.00	.67	.00	.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00
21.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00	2.00	.00
22.00	.38	.25	.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00
23.00	.43	.43	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	2.00	.00
24.00	.33	.67	.33	1.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00
25.00	.33	.67	.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00
26.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	1.00	2.00	.00
27.00	.50	.38	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	2.00	.00
28.00	.00	.50	.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
29.00	.33	.33	.17	.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00
30.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00
31.00	.29	.29	.14	.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00
32.00	.29	.43	.14	.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00
33.00	.50	.50	.25	.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00
34.00	.33	.67	.33	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00
35.00	.33	.67	.33	.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00
36.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00
37.00	.50	.33	.17	1.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
38.00	.40	.60	.20	1.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00
39.00	.25	.50	.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00
40.00	.50	.50	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00
41.00	.50	.33	.33	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
42.00	.42	.42	.25	1.00	.00	1.00	2.00	1.00
43.00	.17	.67	.17	.00	.00	.00	1.00	2.00
44.00	.50	.50	.33	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
45.00	.25	.75	.13	.00	.00	.00	4.00	.00
46.00	.67	.33	.17	.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00
47.00	.63	.25	.13	.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00
48.00	.50	.50	.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00
49.00	.20	.80	.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00
50.00	.33	.67	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00
51.00	.13	.38	.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00
52.00	.60	.40	.00	.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00
53.00	.43	.29	.14	.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00
54.00	.00	.33	.00	.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00

55.00	.43	.57	.00	.00	.00	.00	4.00	.00
56.00	.25	.25	.25	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
57.00	.40	.40	.00	.00	.00	1.00	3.00	.00
58.00	.56	.22	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00
59.00	.50	.25	.08	.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00
60.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00
61.00	.33	.67	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00
62.00	.43	.29	.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00
63.00	.29	.43	.00	.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00
64.00	.50	.25	.13	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00
65.00	.63	.25	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00
66.00	.67	.33	.00	1.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00
67.00	.33	.67	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00
68.00	.25	.38	.00	.00	.00	1.00	2.00	.00
69.00	.50	.50	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00
70.00	.55	.27	.18	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00
71.00	.00	.50	.50	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
72.00	.33	.33	.33	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
73.00	.00	1.00	.50	.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00
74.00	.29	.57	.14	.00	1.00	.00	2.00	1.00
75.00	.00	.40	.20	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
76.00	.64	.18	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00
77.00	.43	.29	.29	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
78.00	.17	.33	.00	.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00
79.00	.50	.33	.17	.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00
80.00	.60	.40	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00
81.00	.29	.29	.14	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00
82.00	.38	.38	.08	.00	.00	1.00	2.00	.00
83.00	.25	.75	.00	.00	.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
84.00	.43	.57	.14	.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00
85.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00
86.00	.42	.42	.25	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	2.00
87.00	.33	.56	.22	1.00	.00	1.00	2.00	2.00
88.00	.60	.40	.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00
89.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
90.00	.50	.50	.25	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
91.00	.67	.33	.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
92.00	.50	.50	.17	.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00
93.00	.50	.38	.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00
94.00	.60	.40	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00
95.00	.50	.50	.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00
96.00	.00	1.00	.50	.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00
97.00	.22	.67	.33	1.00	.00	1.00	2.00	.00
98.00	.40	.50	.10	.00	.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
99.00	.33	.67	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00
100.00	.60	.40	.40	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
101.00	.40	.30	.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00
102.00	.50	.50	.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00
103.00	.50	.50	.17	1.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00
104.00	.25	.25	.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
105.00	.50	.33	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00
106.00	.33	.33	.33	.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
107.00	.14	.57	.00	.00	.00	1.00	2.00	1.00
108.00	.50	.50	.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00
109.00	.00	.67	.33	.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00
110.00	.80	.20	.20	.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00

111.00	.27	.64	.00	.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00
112.00	.60	.40	.20	.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00
113.00	.29	.29	.29	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
114.00	.67	.33	.17	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
115.00	.29	.43	.00	.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00
116.00	.60	.40	.20	.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00
117.00	.40	.40	.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00
118.00	.00	.75	.25	.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00
119.00	.33	.67	.00	.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00
120.00	.20	.40	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00
121.00	.17	.50	.00	.00	1.00	1.00	2.00	.00
122.00	.60	.40	.00	.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00
123.00	.00	.50	.00	.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	.00
124.00	.33	.33	.22	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00
125.00	.29	.57	.14	.00	.00	1.00	2.00	.00
126.00	.60	.40	.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	.00	1.00
127.00	.50	.50	.25	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
128.00	.17	.17	.00	1.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00
129.00	.43	.29	.14	1.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00
130.00	.50	.38	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	2.00	.00
131.00	.20	.60	.20	.00	1.00	.00	2.00	.00
132.00	.00	.50	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00
133.00	.00	.80	.00	.00	.00	1.00	2.00	1.00
134.00	.44	.22	.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00
135.00	.22	.56	.11	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	3.00
136.00	.25	.50	.25	.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00
137.00	.60	.40	.20	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00
138.00	.60	.20	.10	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00
139.00	.25	.50	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00
140.00	.14	.29	.29	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
141.00	.50	.38	.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	.00
142.00	.33	.67	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00
143.00	.50	.50	.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00
144.00	.60	.40	.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00
145.00	.67	.33	.00	.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00
146.00	.46	.23	.08	.00	1.00	1.00	.00	1.00
147.00	.38	.50	.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	3.00	.00
148.00	.60	.40	.00	.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00
149.00	.57	.29	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00
150.00	.60	.40	.20	.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00
151.00	.33	.67	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00
152.00	.33	.50	.33	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
153.00	.40	.40	.20	.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00
154.00	.71	.29	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00
155.00	.00	.83	.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	.00	3.00
156.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
157.00	.67	.33	.17	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00
158.00	.29	.43	.43	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
159.00	.25	.25	.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
160.00	.50	.50	.00	.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00
161.00	.67	.33	.17	1.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
162.00	.60	.40	.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00
163.00	.33	.22	.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00
164.00	.33	.67	.33	.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00
165.00	.55	.27	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00
166.00	.43	.29	.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00

167.00	.25	.38	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00
168.00	.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
169.00	.40	.40	.40	.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
170.00	.50	.50	.25	1.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
171.00	.43	.29	.00	.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00
172.00	.25	.63	.25	.00	1.00	1.00	.00	2.00
173.00	.33	.33	.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00
174.00	.60	.30	.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00
175.00	.55	.36	.18	.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00
176.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00
177.00	.43	.29	.29	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
178.00	.25	.75	.13	.00	.00	.00	5.00	.00
179.00	.50	.50	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00
180.00	.33	.50	.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00
181.00	.67	.33	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00
182.00	.38	.38	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	2.00
183.00	.60	.40	.20	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00
184.00	.40	.60	.20	.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00
185.00	.29	.43	.14	.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00
186.00	.33	.50	.00	.00	.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
187.00	.60	.20	.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00
188.00	.60	.40	.20	.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00
189.00	.17	.33	.17	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00
190.00	.33	.50	.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
191.00	.60	.40	.20	1.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
192.00	.50	.50	.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00
193.00	.60	.40	.20	1.00	.00	.00	3.00	.00
194.00	.40	.60	.00	.00	.00	.00	3.00	.00
195.00	.71	.29	.14	.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00
196.00	.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
197.00	.63	.38	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00
198.00	.44	.44	.22	1.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
199.00	.25	.63	.13	.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
200.00	.57	.29	.14	.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00
201.00	.20	.40	.20	.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00

WAG3	WAG4	WAG5	WAG6	WAG7	TOTAL	POS0	POS1	POS2	POS3	POS4
.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00
1.00	1.00	.00	3.00	.00	5.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	6.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	5.00
.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	3.00	1.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	3.00	1.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00
.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	3.00	1.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00
.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	3.00	1.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	3.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00
.00	1.00	2.00	.00	.00	4.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	1.00
.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	3.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00
.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	3.00	1.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00
2.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	4.00	.00	2.00	.00	2.00	.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	4.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	1.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	4.00	1.00	1.00	.00	2.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	3.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	1.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00
1.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	3.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	3.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	1.00
.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	3.00	1.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00
.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00	4.00	1.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00
.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00
.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	3.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	1.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00
1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	5.00	1.00	1.00	.00	2.00	1.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	4.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	3.00
.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	.00	3.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00
.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00	6.00	.00	1.00	.00	2.00	3.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00
.00	.00	.00	3.00	.00	4.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00	1.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	3.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00

.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	4.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	2.00
.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	4.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	3.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00	1.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	3.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00
1.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	3.00	1.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	3.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00
2.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	3.00	1.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00
1.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	4.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	2.00
1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00
.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	5.00	1.00	2.00	.00	2.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	3.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00
.00	1.00	1.00	.00	1.00	4.00	.00	1.00	.00	2.00	1.00
.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00	3.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	1.00
.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00	5.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	3.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	5.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	3.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00
.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	3.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00
.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	3.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00	4.00	1.00	2.00	.00	1.00	.00
.00	3.00	.00	.00	.00	6.00	1.00	.00	.00	5.00	.00
.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	5.00	1.00	1.00	.00	1.00	2.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	3.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	3.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00
.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	4.00	1.00	.00	.00	3.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00
.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00

.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	5.00	.00	7.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	6.00
1.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	2.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00
.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	3.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00
.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00
.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	3.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	1.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	3.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00
2.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	3.00	1.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	4.00	1.00	1.00	.00	2.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00
.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	3.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	1.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	3.00	.00	1.00	.00	2.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	4.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	5.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	3.00
1.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00
.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	3.00	1.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	3.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	4.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00
.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	3.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00
1.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	5.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	4.00
1.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00
.00	.00	3.00	.00	.00	3.00	.00	3.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00
.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00
.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	3.00	1.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00

.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00
.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00	3.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	2.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00
.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	5.00	1.00	2.00	.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00
.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00	3.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00
.00	1.00	1.00	.00	1.00	4.00	1.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	6.00	.00	1.00	.00	2.00	2.00
.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00
.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	3.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	5.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00	3.00
.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	3.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	3.00	1.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	3.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	3.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00
.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	3.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	3.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	4.00	.00	.00	4.00	.00	4.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	3.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00
.00	1.00	3.00	.00	.00	4.00	.00	3.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00	5.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	3.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00

POS5	POS6	TOTALPOS	WRK1	WRK2	WRK3	WRK4	WRK5	TOTALWRK
.00	.00	2.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00
2.00	1.00	5.00	1.00	.00	4.00	.00	.00	5.00
.00	.00	6.00	1.00	.00	4.00	1.00	.00	6.00
.00	.00	3.00	1.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	3.00
.00	.00	2.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	3.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	3.00
.00	.00	3.00	1.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	3.00
.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00
.00	.00	3.00	2.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	3.00
.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	3.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	3.00
1.00	.00	4.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	3.00	4.00
.00	1.00	3.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	3.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	3.00	2.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	3.00
.00	.00	4.00	.00	.00	.00	3.00	1.00	4.00
1.00	.00	4.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00	1.00	4.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	4.00	2.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	4.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	3.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	1.00	3.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	3.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	3.00
.00	.00	3.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	3.00
.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00
.00	.00	2.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	2.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	3.00	2.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	3.00
1.00	.00	4.00	2.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	4.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	5.00	6.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00	2.00
.00	.00	3.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	1.00	3.00
.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	2.00
1.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	5.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	.00	.00	5.00
.00	.00	4.00	1.00	.00	3.00	.00	.00	4.00
1.00	.00	3.00	1.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	3.00
.00	.00	6.00	2.00	.00	.00	4.00	.00	6.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00	2.00
.00	.00	4.00	1.00	.00	3.00	.00	.00	4.00
.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	2.00
.00	.00	3.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	1.00	3.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	2.00

.00	.00	4.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	2.00	4.00
.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	4.00	1.00	.00	.00	3.00	.00	4.00
.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	3.00	2.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	3.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00	2.00
.00	.00	3.00	2.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	3.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00
.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	3.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	1.00	3.00
.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00	1.00	2.00
.00	.00	3.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	3.00
.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	4.00	.00	.00	.00	3.00	1.00	4.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00	2.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	5.00	1.00	.00	.00	3.00	1.00	5.00
.00	.00	3.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	3.00
.00	.00	4.00	1.00	.00	3.00	.00	.00	4.00
.00	.00	3.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	1.00	3.00
.00	.00	5.00	.00	.00	5.00	.00	.00	5.00
.00	.00	5.00	1.00	2.00	.00	2.00	.00	5.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00
.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00	2.00
.00	1.00	3.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	1.00	3.00
.00	.00	3.00	1.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	3.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00
.00	.00	4.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	2.00	4.00
.00	.00	6.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	.00	5.00	10.00
.00	.00	5.00	1.00	.00	3.00	.00	5.00	9.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00	2.00
.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	3.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	3.00
.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00
.00	.00	3.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	3.00
.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00
.00	.00	4.00	1.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	4.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00



.00	2.00	3.00	1.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	3.00
.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00
.00	1.00	2.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	2.00
.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00	2.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	5.00	2.00	.00	1.00	2.00	.00	5.00
.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00
.00	.00	3.00	1.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	3.00
1.00	.00	4.00	1.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	4.00
.00	.00	2.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	2.00
1.00	.00	6.00	2.00	1.00	3.00	.00	.00	6.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	3.00	1.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	3.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00
.00	1.00	5.00	.00	.00	4.00	.00	1.00	5.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00
.00	1.00	3.00	1.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	3.00
.00	.00	3.00	1.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00	3.00
.00	.00	3.00	1.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	3.00
.00	.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00	2.00
.00	.00	3.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	1.00	3.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00	2.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	3.00	1.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	3.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	2.00
.00	.00	4.00	.00	.00	1.00	3.00	.00	4.00
.00	.00	3.00	2.00	.00	1.00	.00	.00	3.00
1.00	.00	4.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	2.00	4.00
.00	.00	5.00	1.00	.00	2.00	.00	2.00	5.00
1.00	.00	2.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00	2.00
.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00	2.00

EDU0	EDU1	EDU2	EDU3	TOTALEDU	EDURISK	WAGRISK	POSRISK	WRKRISK
.00	1.00	1.00	.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	4.00	2.00
.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	5.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	1.00
.00	1.00	.00	5.00	6.00	1.00	1.00	4.00	1.00
.00	.00	2.00	1.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	4.00	1.00
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Children in  
*9 de Octubre*

Photo A.1. Two children playing at the entrance of the communal center



Photo A.2. Children receiving the *glass of milk* in one of the ten groups that are in *9 de Octubre*



Photo A.3. Girl receiving the *glass of milk* in one of the ten groups that are in *9 de Octubre*

The *glass of milk* in surrounding informal settlements of *9 de Octubre*



Photo A.4. Interview with “Carla”, secretary of the *glass of milk* in her neighborhood located in *9 de Mayo*



Photo A.5. Interview with “Monica”, participant in the *glass of milk* of her neighborhood located in *Virgen de las Nieves*

Housing characteristics in *9 de Octubre*



Photo A.6. A house constructed with the assessment and support of the *Ministerio de Construcción y Vivienda*



Photo A.7. Examples of self-help housing, most recent constructions



Photo A.8. Wood is the most used construction material

Brenda, one of the life-histories



Photo A.9. Brenda's house, where she tries to stay as much as she can despite of her community role as leader of the mother's club in *Santa Clara*



Photo A.10. Brenda's participation in this school board brought in lighting to the playground in the back and the roof for the block of classrooms in the front

Sonia, one of the life histories



Photo A.11. Interview with “Sonia” in the airport while she was waiting a plane to go to Lima and have a meeting sponsored by the *Fondo Contravalor Peru-Canada*



Photo A.12. Sonia driving this tractor and giving guidelines to one of the men that work in the corn-project

Trotter, one of the life-histories



Photo A.13. Trotter and her husband.  
Trotter is showing the things she uses for community roles of health promoter

## ELDA MARIA SILVA

### Date of Birth

May 7<sup>th</sup>, 1971

### Education

**Master in Urban and Regional Planning**, expected May 1998 concentration in International Development, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, VA

**Titulo Profesional de Arquitecta**, June 1995

Ricardo Palma University, Lima - Peru

Outstanding qualification in defending my thesis entitled *Recreational EcoArchitecture for the Huaykamp Camp*

**Bachelor in Architecture**, July 1993

Ricardo Palma University, Lima - Peru

Rank in the Upper Fifth of place and average grade in class

### EMPLOYMENT (1993-1996)

FERPOLIMA, Lima, April - June 1996

- Worked closely with team members including architects and civil engineers
  - Responsible for designing and drawing an apartment building using AutoCAD
- VISION S.A. Project Management and Architecture, Lima, October 1995- March 1996
- Worked in the use of AutoCAD r. 12 and 13 for development of architectural projects

INVERSIONES CATELLO BRANCO, Lima, June - September 1995

- Worked in the use of AutoCAD r. 12 and 13 for development of architectural projects

SUMBI NGOs (Servicios Urbanos y Mujeres de Bajos Ingresos) & Fundacion Angelica de Osma, Lima, January 1995

- Designed a childcare center for orphan children

SUMBI NGOs (Servicios Urbanos y Mujeres de Bajos Ingresos), Lima, September 1993

- Designed a recreational center for children in the community of Gambeta, Callao

SUMBI NGOs (Servicios Urbanos y Mujeres de Bajos Ingresos) & Accion ProCunas, Lima, April 1993

- Designed and supervised a childcare center for street vendors

### AWARDS AND ACTIVITIES

Massey Food & Nutrition Scholar Award, P. Howard Massey, April 16, 1998

- Certificate and stipend to support the publication on my master's thesis topic
- Graduate Student Assembly's 14<sup>th</sup> Annual Research Symposium, April 8, 1998
- 2<sup>nd</sup> Place in the Humanities & Social Sciences category for presenting the research of my master's thesis

FULBRIGHT COMMISSION, Peru Chapter, August 1996

- Fulbright Scholar at Virginia Tech, Blacksburg, VA

UNOY United Nations of Youth, January 1994

- Planned programs in the Ecology chapter