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**REPORT ON PERUVIAN "PUEBLOS JOVENES" PROBLEMS AND POSSIBILITIES FOR
USAID IIPUP TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE**

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NOVEMBER 1979

**AGENCY
FOR
INTERNATIONAL
DEVELOPMENT**



OFFICE OF HOUSING

Report on Peruvian "Pueblos Jovenes" Problems and
Possibilities for USAID IIPUP Technical Assistance

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FOREWORD

This report summarizes the results of a study conducted to set the stage for a FY 80-81 technical assistance program to assist Peru's Ministry of Housing improve the delivery of appropriate (affordable) physical infrastructure and ancillary socio-economic services into "Pueblos Jovenes" (squatter settlements) and other low-income areas. Funding of this study and the indicated technical assistance program is provided by the Agency for International Development under the Integrated Improvement Program for the Urban Poor (IIPUP). IIPUP funds were intended to provide improved social services in conjunction with housing guaranty, development loan, and development grant programs to those segments of the population which have not previously been regular participants within either the credit markets or the urban services delivery systems.

The following tasks were done by Rivkin Associates, Inc. under the auspices of the Office of Housing and the Peru Mission of the Agency for International Development in carrying out this study: (a) reviewed existing sources of information on the socio-economic data base of selected "Pueblos Jovenes" that were or could participate in a HG supported urban slum upgrading program and prepared socio-economic profiles on residents of these areas and related issues that could not be resolved by public and/or community improvement efforts; (b) reviewed the present development programs being delivered into "Pueblos Jovenes" neighborhoods and assessed their effectiveness in addressing neighborhood needs; and (c) developed recommendations on the form of the long-term technical assistance AID might offer the Peruvian Ministry of Housing in modifying existing delivery of service systems and suggesting ways new systems might complement on-going programs and in devising institutional arrangements, local and national levels, that would improve integrated services into "Pueblos Jovenes".

The study team consisted of Hortense Dicker and Amparo Giraldo who did the field work for this study in Peru during October - November 1979. Goldie Rivkin provided team supervision from Washington and directed the preparation of the final study report.

As the findings and recommendations of this report are shared with representatives of the Peruvian government, we hope that they will be useful in guiding the formulation and implementation of appropriate IIPUP funded projects for Peru.



Donald A. Gardner
Deputy Director
Office of Housing

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Project Manager for this study was Goldie W. Rivkin. The field survey and report have been prepared by Hortense Dicker and Amparo Giraldo, who were in Peru October 22 through November 16, 1979. Generous cooperation was extended in many quarters as information, data and experiences were gathered. It is not possible to name the many individuals without whose interest and assistance the task would have been infinitely more difficult, but the specific contributions of the following deserve recognition:

The A.I.D. Office of Housing, in Washington, which provided a wealth of useful background documents, set up appointments with relevant agencies in the city, and at all times facilitated our efforts.

The A.I.D. Mission in Lima, which extended unstinting cooperation at all staff levels. Our special thanks go to the entire staff of the Office of Urban Development for its constant practical and moral support, and for opening key doors to important sources of information.

The Ministry of Housing of the Government of Peru, whose staff at the national level and in the Lima-Callao Sub-Region Office gave generously of its time, in spite of many competing demands on it.

The many other public and private institutions and organizations whose representatives shared information, ideas and often scarce materials, and went out of their way to facilitate our work. We note with special appreciation the assistance of the Office of Planning, Ministry of Health; the Advisory Office and Office of Vocational Training of the Ministry of Education; the Department of Social Services, INAPROMEF; the National Office of Food Support (ONAA); the Credit Department of the National Housing Bank; the Department of Social Sciences, Catholic University; the National Industrial Training Service (SENATI); the National Training Center for the Construction Trades (SENCICO); the Team for Human Development; the National Institute for Housing Action (INIAMI); C.A.R.E.; O.F.A.S.A.; the National Society of Mining and Petroleum; the National Industrial Society; the YMCA (Asociacion Cristiana de Jovenes), and the Association for the Development of the Family (ADEFAM).

Our most particular and warm thanks go to the many men, women and children in the pueblos jovenes who tolerated yet another study team, and who opened their communities, homes and thoughts to us.

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SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This paper is the product of a four week mission to assess the effectiveness of social service delivery institutions in meeting the most critical needs of the low income squatter settlements, the pueblos juvenes, in metropolitan Lima, Peru. The survey has been funded under AID's Integrated Improvement Program for the Urban Poor (IIPUP) for the purpose of identifying areas of need where coordinated action among the public and private agencies that provide services and IIPUP supported technical assistance can improve the delivery of services to the people living in these communities.

Actions or projects recommended here would be considered for implementation in conjunction with an ongoing large scale shelter upgrading program targeted toward the low income squatters in all of Peru's major cities-- an effort assisted through AID's Housing Guaranty (HG) Loan Program. The ultimate objective is to promote the integrated development, or the overall improvement of living conditions, in these "young towns".

IIPUP's Orientation

IIPUP is but one of the programs under which AID can offer assistance in support of efforts to upgrade the urban poor. Its special focus on economic and social conditions of the target group complements the HG program's concerns with the physical aspects of urban shelter. IIPUP is meant to play a catalytic role rather than an operational one. Its funds are available in relatively limited amounts for projects of the sort that identify opportunities, develop project designs, provide technical assistance at critical points, or give some leverage in getting larger efforts underway, etc.

The needs which this study addresses and the recommendations for AID's response are, therefore, larger in scope than IIPUP alone can satisfy directly. They are presented to establish a context for IIPUP's special functions, and to suggest a range of applications for IIPUP funds that wed the program's objectives to the pueblos juvenes' needs.

Scope of the Survey

Because this study mission concentrated on the Lima metropolitan area and on the squatter settlements (as distinguished from the tugurios, or inner city slums), we hesitate to make generalizations from its findings that apply to Peru's urban poor as a whole.

Methodology

The study team conducted numerous interviews with officials of Peruvian ministries at the national level (Housing and Construction, Education, Health), and Lima Sub-region, other national agencies concerned with social welfare (the National Institute for Assistance and Promotion of Minors and the Family, and the Office of Food Support), as well as

a number of major private voluntary organizations, leaders and residents of both pueblos juvenes and tugurios, and several professional organizations and individuals. Pertinent studies and documents were reviewed as well.

The Critical Problem of Data

The chief constraint encountered by the study team was paucity of reliable, current data on the pueblos juvenes. Much of what is available is incomplete, outdated, superficial, contradictory or of dubious origin. This situation was observed to be a critical impediment to the planning efforts of every major agency or organization concerned with squatter settlement upgrading. Auster budget restrictions, imposed because of the nation's economic difficulties, mean that the gaps in data are not being filled and cannot be filled under these conditions.

The massive extent of Lima's pueblos juvenes is visible everywhere throughout the metropolitan area, yet there are no meaningful measurements of the scope of their problems that could serve purposes of policy-making. Clearly, the pueblos juvenes represent a range of diverse problems, and different combinations of problems. They are located everywhere--in the central city, its fringes, and the mountainous hinterland. Some are 40 to 50 years old; others have developed in recent months. Some have one or more basic services such as sewer, water and electricity; others do not. Some have well-established community organizations. Elsewhere, families have been scheduled for resettlement and wait in a state of suspension. Ownership of the land and tenure status of the residents varies from one settlement to another. Socio-economic status of the families, ethnicity, and household composition vary as well. While the dire effects of Peru's economic situation are known to affect the urban poor everywhere, data on such indicators as unemployment, family incomes, malnutrition, and the distribution of benefits from even the limited budgets available for delivery of social services are insufficient basis for planning remedial programs. They are generally aggregate data which fail to distinguish the varying community situations among the pueblos juvenes, and they offer little guidance to those who must design appropriate upgrading programs and set priorities.

Institutions with Responsibilities for Delivering Social Services

In its brief scan of the institutional arrangements for delivering social services to the pueblo joven communities, the survey has identified some organizations which have good personnel at the technical or operational levels.

Public sector agencies which appear to have the capacity--and the sensitivities--to carry on worthwhile programs are the Ministries of Housing and Construction and Education, and INAPROMEF. There are also a number of private voluntary organizations which are doing effective work in the pueblos juvenes or have the potential for doing so.

Some illustrative examples are:

- The Institute for Investigation of Housing Action (INIAVI) is one such group. It was created as a center for channeling technical assistance by professional construction engineers and supervisors to self-help housing efforts of the target group. INIAVI has published instructional manuals and would like to expand its program in the pueblos juvenes.
- The Team for Human Development has served pueblos juvenes--mainly in Lima's southern cone--for 15 years with projects oriented to pre-school children. Using international grants and local donations, they offer nutrition support, medical and dental care and a special program of sanitary latrine construction. Programs for women include instruction in nutrition and hygiene, sewing, handicrafts and home and community development; technical assistance is provided to neighborhood organizations. Students from university schools of social work, medicine, nursing and dentistry fulfill their voluntary service requirements in conjunction with this group.
- OFASA, the Adventist Philanthropic and Social Assistance Works organization, is the principal conduit of Food for Work programs in Lima. It produces and distributes nutritional supplements for infants and nursing mothers and operates vocational training centers. Trainees are employed in some sort of short-term public works project, generally, and are paid with food.
- The YMCA has an outreach program directed toward the urban and rural poor. In Lima its current efforts focus on small inner city pueblos juvenes. Residents are drawn into participating in community surveys so they may gain a realistic perspective on their problems and their own capacities for creating solutions.

Absence of other names from this list is not meant to imply a negative judgment of their relevance or value. CARE and Accion Comunitaria, for example, certainly have much experience in the pueblos juvenes. Limited time, however, made it impossible to cover the field exhaustively and to make more thorough evaluations.

A more comprehensive review of institutions active in the field of social services for the urban poor is needed to produce a more definitive overview of the existing delivery systems. Nevertheless, it is possible on the basis of what we have observed already, to point out that the most serious problems in this sector lie, not in dearth of good schemes or even personnel so much as in the inadequacy of budgets. Worthwhile ideas cannot be implemented and successful programs cannot be fully staffed much less expanded because funding is not available. Inadequacy of operating funds make inefficiency and reduced effectiveness of the existing programs an endemic problem.

Any planning for development assistance in Peru at this time must be placed in the context of the transitional phase through which the country is passing. This phase is likely to last for at least another year, as Peru prepares for its scheduled election in May 1980 and afterward as the first civilian government in ten years takes up the reigns of power and establishes itself. There is no indication of the shape that government will take or the policies it will pursue.

Whatever the outcome of the elections, it is a fairly certain prediction that in the short-term, Peru will continue to suffer from the serious economic crises of recent years. Although the balance of payments situation can be expected to improve, it will not ease the stringent budget and price conditions very quickly. Tight financial constraints on governmental operations, particularly in the social services sector, will very likely be maintained for some time.

FY 1980

Given these expectations, the pre-to-post-election period will not be a good time to try to introduce any significant new programs. With the change from one government to another the risk of losing continuity is too great. IIPUP-funding should, instead, be used to support data collection activities during FY 1980.

In virtually every sector, lack of basic information seriously hampers rational program development, and nowhere do the resources appear adequate to gather the needed data. If IIPUP money can help agencies turn their attention to re-building of the data base, the importance of eventual applications of the information, i.e. upgrading of the urban poor, can be kept in the forefront and the information itself will be available for developing programs and projects in the FY 81-82 period.

Data collection and studies should be geared to the following areas of need:

1. The target population in the pueblos jovenes (development of typologies covering social and economic conditions, e.g. employment and employability statistics, income distribution, spatial distribution, community organization)
2. The shelter sector (survey of pueblos jovenes' infrastructure availability and needs, standards of affordable shelter, access to and use of credit, availability of land to accommodate future growth, tenure status, evaluation of the impacts of upgrading efforts undertaken to date, streamlining of operating procedures, delivery systems, etc.)
3. Vocational training and employment prospects (and opportunities for support of small enterprise to generate income opportunities in the informal sector)

4. Private voluntary organizations (survey of activities, effectiveness and replicability of efforts, resources available and needed)
5. Health (status, resources, opportunities for more effective allocations of limited resources)
6. Women (socio-economic status and needs, access to credit, tenure and services, percentage and location of women-headed households)

Where possible these studies should be carried out by, or in collaboration with, the appropriate sector in order to strengthen data collection skills and systems within institutions as well as to promote increased contact between technical personnel and their client groups. Where necessary, technical assistance should be provided to reinforce institutional capabilities. There are a number of competent research organizations in Lima which should be utilized.

FY 1981-82

Once the political situation has stabilized, it will be possible to turn to program development and project selection.

In selecting activities for IIPUP support, AID should emphasize those which meet one or more of the following criteria:

- contribution to more effective utilization of limited personnel and other resources--with preference given to projects which multiply the impact of resources through integration and coordination with others (e.g. in construction projects multi-service facilities as opposed to single-function buildings).
- facilitating policy making and program development targeted toward the urban poor, particularly those of the pueblos joveres.
- synchronization of the work of various agencies and organizations whose contributions are needed for the HG funded urban projects to succeed (e.g. the Ministry of Housing and Construction's remodeling-entitlement procedures, the Housing Bank's promotion teams in the pueblos jovenes, the home improvement credit program, the mutuales and utilities' basic services provision and the variety of vocational training and small income generation and community-based social services projects that might flow from IIPUP efforts).
- improvement in project management skills (which might include technical assistance in revising procedures, project design, or monitoring and evaluation; personnel training; or short-term consultation on particular problems); the objective of these efforts would be to increase productivity and increase the effectiveness of service to the target population.

- strengthening capacity for project development and management in the cities outside of Lima where only limited attention has been directed so far.
- identifying longer range needs in shelter, manpower, education and training, and other key sectors that have important bearing on urban development policy and patterns. The objectives here should be to avoid foreclosing important options by short-sighted programming and to help the agencies scale their plans to accommodate foreseeable needs.

The following recommendations fit within this framework. They address a range of critical needs investigated in the course of the field survey.

Project Recommendations

We have made suggestions on how IIPUP funding could improve the quality of life in the pueblos juvenes. The nature of the IIPUP program determines that its role shall be one of catalyst or initiator and that it should complement other AID assistance programs (which provide operational grants and loans and development financing). Therefore, emphasis is on technical assistance, training, data collection and feasibility studies.

Specific project possibilities are outlined below:

- Aerial photographic survey and technical assistance in photo-interpretation to develop a broad-scale base of data on the pueblos juvenes. This base can be coordinated with Peru's 1980 national census, can serve in the design of other data gathering efforts and can provide the foundation for subsequent monitoring and evaluation of urban projects.
- Studies of socioeconomic and physical conditions in the pueblos juvenes that can be used to create a typology of these communities. This typology would distinguish the communities according to their most critical problems and needs, the severity of the needs and the most promising prospects for making improvements and could be used as a basis for program design and priority-setting.
- Technical assistance to the Ministry of Housing and Construction. Three areas are envisioned here, all directed toward promotion of greater efficiency in the Ministry and increasing the impact of its work in the low-income settlements. The areas are: (1) assistance at the national level in review of the remodeling-entitlement process. Streamlined procedures could shorten the time required for allocation of plots in the pueblos juvenes and allow more efficient use of the Ministry's scarce resources; (2) assistance to the Lima Sub-Regional Office in developing a management system to improve the flow of information between the communities, the zonal offices and itself as well as among its own principal divisions; and (3) establishment of a coordination unit in the Neighborhood Organizations division of the

Sub-Regional Office to facilitate liaison between its own mission and the Promotion Department of the Housing Bank and the management of the Savings and Loans' basic infrastructure programs.

- Ancillary studies that would have particular value in the planning of new upgrading programs are: (1) a survey to determine the extent and nature of sanitary facilities in the pueblos juvenes, with a particular view toward assessing the benefits of sewer installations made to date; (2) analysis of alternative ways of improving sanitation in the pueblos juvenes at a cost affordable by the broadest possible segment of the population. This might include assessing the feasibility of lowering standards in the interest of serving more families and serving them sooner than would be possible under present standards; (3) research into the production of housing through informal sector mechanisms in the pueblos juvenes covering costs, time taken for construction, sources of financing, materials and techniques employed, labor inputs, etc.; (4) planning out the physical shell, staff, and equipment needs of programs.
- Multi-sector studies of future manpower needs in the formal sector, to serve as basis for rational planning of vocational training.
- Review of the possibilities for outreach projects geared to specific training needs of the target population in respect to relevance, location, costs and methodology. Particular attention should be paid to the special needs of women here so that training can be provided at convenient hours, near to home, and in coordination with income-generation projects in their communities rather than limiting the training to the traditional lowest-paying fields. It would be desirable also to explore how these training programs could be linked with the Food for Work program.
- Income-generation projects in the pueblos juvenes should be prime candidates for IIPUP funding. While expanded opportunities in the formal sector have the highest priority, the recovery of Peru's national economy and expansion of job opportunities that hinge on it is likely to be slow. Therefore, IIPUP's flexibility to stimulate activities for enhancing incomes in the informal sector is especially valuable. Small loan programs for cottage industry tools or small retail inventories are the sorts of enterprise assistance we could envision IIPUP exploring. Another might be technical assistance to small businesses in the pueblos juvenes.
- Expanded activity on the part of private voluntary organizations might be facilitated through improved coordination with official, public sector efforts. IIPUP could investigate possibilities for replicating successful p.v.o. efforts, for extending application of techniques and program p.v.o.'s have used effectively and for funding new types of demonstration projects for serving the pueblo joven population. A step in this direction would be a survey and analysis of the private voluntary organizations to determine their numbers, the nature of their activities, where and with whom they work and the human technical material and financial resources they offer. The survey would point out the most promising areas for further development.

The foregoing list is by no means an exhaustive one. It is, rather, meant to be illustrative. We recommend that it be used together with ideas from other sources as a starting point from which USAID can begin to explore during the coming year where the best prospects for early-start projects lie. Then IIPUP's programming over the FY 80-82 period could be drawn accordingly. In each case, the next steps would involve consideration of project design, feasibility and relative benefits of the alternative possibilities.

I. INTRODUCTION

This paper is the product of a four week IIPUP-funded survey of the delivery of shelter and ancillary social services to urban squatter settlements, or pueblos juvenes, in metropolitan Lima, Peru. The purpose of the survey was to identify areas of need and recommend alternatives for technical assistance leading to upgrading of service delivery to the squatter settlements, as well as coordinated action among the public and private agencies which provide them. The ultimate objective of such activities would be to promote the integrated development of these "young towns".

It is useful to remember here that the underlying rationale for IIPUP is that the concept of urban development involves the availability of the gamut of services which contribute to the satisfaction of basic human needs in the urban setting, of which shelter and physical infrastructure, while essential, are only two components. Others are services in the areas of health, education, child care, transportation, employment opportunities, food and commercial outlets, as well as recreation and cultural facilities, access to information and communication media, etc. An appropriate urban strategy must, therefore, comprehend this larger view. IIPUP looks to the facilitation of such development in the stratum of greatest need--the urban poor in the LDC's.

It is in the stratum of the urban poor that basic services are generally least available, due to a variety of factors, among which are financial constraints; lack of connection between and/or coordination of service providers; inadequate, inappropriate or antiquated laws, regulations and policies; insufficient personnel; lack of organizational skills; an entrenched traditional bureaucracy insensitive to or incapable of responding adequately and appropriately to the needs of the target group; inter- and intra-agency jealousies; inadequate and/or improper services offered; cultural barriers between service providers and the client group; lack of adequate access of the target group to those responsible for policy and decision-making, etc. The list is long and well known.

IIPUP was created in response to these problems. Its approach consists of three basic stages. The first is to survey the state-of-the-art in service delivery, in order to identify those programs and approaches which have been successful and seem to offer the best alternatives for developing countries. The second stage involves a series of field tests of several types of programs/projects supported by AID regional bureaus and in-country missions which meet local needs and conditions. The third stage consists of evaluation of the range of field projects to identify successful experiences patterns, and to provide guidelines for future efforts.¹

The current study falls into the second stage, at the level of service delivery and target group needs survey, identification of critical areas which offer opportunities for AID technical assistance input, and recommendations for specific next steps.

Scope of Work

The study was concentrated in the Lima metropolitan area, where 75 percent of the population lives in squatter settlements or inner city slums.² Efforts were directed to identifying key problems and priority needs of the residents of the squatter settlements. (Although the inner city slums, or tugurios, present a major social problem for the city and the government, one which urgently needs to be addressed, they were not considered within the scope of the present investigation.)³ While the shelter sector received major attention, this was related to its impact on and the reciprocal impact from other sectors.

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1. For a more detailed description of IIPUP see Opportunities for Demonstration Projects under the Integrated Improvement Program for the Urban Poor (IIPUP), Office of Urban Development, AID, Washington, D.C., and the IIPUP Project Paper.
 2. One of the social scientists interviewed during the course of the study described Lima as a large squatter settlement with a few residential areas. This view is not far from reality.
 3. Evidence suggests that the two phenomena should be approached concurrently, as part of an overall urban strategy, since they are related. Such an approach would rationalize planning, since it would require a more accurate setting of priorities and identification of resource needs.

Methodology

The team aimed for as broad a vision as possible within time limitations. This dictated review of relevant materials and studies, interviews with AID staff, intensive study of the activities of the Lima Sub-Regional Office of the Ministry of Housing and Construction, as well as selected offices at the national level, contacts at the national level with the Ministry of Health, Ministry of Education, National Institute for Assistance and Promotion of Minors and the Family (INAPROMEF), National Office of Food Support (ONAA), as well as with a number of the major national and international private voluntary organizations, and on-site visits to upwards of thirty-five pueblos juvenes, "popular urbanizations",⁴ "popular urbanizations of social interest" (UPIS),⁵ and inner city tugurios or slums. At least half of the community visits included one-on-one interviews with community leaders and residents. A number of private professional organizations and individuals were also consulted.

Constraints

Several areas of constraint impacted this study. One was that of the dimensions and diversity of the target areas to be studied. The numbers of pueblos juvenes and the population they include are staggering, even in terms of official statistics. There are a sizeable number of pueblos juvenes whose existence is newly discovered almost daily by the authorities, and some which undoubtedly go unrecorded indefinitely by virtue of their location, particularly those in hidden pockets of the inner city. (These are not to be confused with "tugurios".)⁶

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4. "Urbanizacion popular" is the term for low cost, commercially developed housing.
 5. "UPIS" or "urbanizaciones populares de interes social," refers to areas settled by "excess" populations who have had to leave "remodeled" pueblos juvenes as a consequence of the systematic laying out of sites which the remodeling entails. This process, which is described in greater detail in Section IV of this report, generally relieves the density of the settlements, requiring a number of families to leave. These "excess" families are removed to pre-selected terrain provided by the Ministry of Housing.
 6. The problem is not limited to the inner city. The newly appointed mayor of Chosica, a town in the area of metropolitan Lima, was amazed to discover the existence of some twenty pueblos juvenes of considerable size hidden in the interstices of the mountains which comprise a major portion of the township's area. These pueblos juvenes were not recorded in the archives of the municipality.

Access to many of the pueblos juvenes is difficult (and occasionally dangerous) without appropriate vehicles and the company of persons who know and are known to a given community. While all pueblos juvenes have many common denominators, there are almost as many distinct characteristics which make each one a separate world from its neighbor.

Basic information on institutions is hard to come by, the principal reason apparently being lack of funds, in both the public and private sector, to prepare printed materials. It took considerable maneuvering over several weeks to obtain an organization chart of the Ministry of Housing, for instance. Many of the documents received were given with apologies for their condition and lack of currency. Frequently they were the personal copies of staff members and given as special favors to facilitate the work of this study.

Chief among the constraints encountered was that of acquiring reliable current data. Much data we received was incomplete, out of date, superficial, contradictory or dubious in terms of origin or methodology of acquisition. This was not true in all cases, but it was encountered to a degree which hampered accurate information gathering in several areas, and required checking and re-checking of key data. A case in point is the official number of pueblos juvenes in metropolitan Lima. This figure varied from 400(AID), to 317(Ministry of Housing), to 385(CPIM). Another example is that of the percent of woman-headed households in the pueblos juvenes, where the information varied from negligible to 45 percent, depending on the source of information. There are several possible reasons for this diversity in data, including cultural constraints to revealing the true dimensions of the problem, lack of interest in the issue in some quarters, variations in the situation from one pueblo joven to another, etc. This last issue is probably at the core of the poor data available overall on pueblos juvenes.

As suggested above, the diversity and ever-changing dimensions of the pueblos juvenes phenomenon makes it almost impossible for any one source

to get an accurate fix on numbers for any given time. Another factor which undoubtedly contributes to the problem is the lack of adequate resources within agencies to carry out data collection activities, although the functions may exist on paper.

II. THE TARGET AREA

The pueblitos juvenes are one of the most dramatic features of present-day Lima. They are one of the first sights which the incoming visitor sees on the road from the airport to the city. A perceptive traveler can discern the almost infinite varieties and stages of the phenomenon on the way to central Lima: a settlement of perhaps 500 families living in reed-mat huts (esteras), cheek-by-jowl in a dusty plain bordered by a foul-smelling stream and garbage waste; the community has no basic infrastructure, nor does it plan to install any since it is waiting to be re-settled into another area. Next to it is a settlement of 384 families, a mixture of reed huts and partially constructed houses. While the housing is laid out in orderly fashion, there are no paved sidewalks or streets, and water trucks service the residents' needs, although electricity is available. (Overhead wires do not necessarily indicate that a community has contracted for this service. These lines frequently are illegal "borrowings" from trunk lines.) Further on, another community, still without paved streets or sidewalks, does have basic infrastructure (water, sewage, electricity). Most houses have been built with brick, many already have two stories, and here and there a rudimentary garden can be seen. On the other side of the road, a large settlement is almost indistinguishable from any other urban sector. No reed huts are in sight, streets and sidewalks are paved, electricity and water services have apparently been laid in, small shops of various kinds and cars can be seen; only an occasional unpaved side street indicates that this community is in the category of "pueblo joven". In the distance, other settlements climb the sides of the mountains, extending Lima vertically. These too are pueblitos juvenes, and closer inspection would show the same range of diversity, though less ordered street arrangements, than in the settlements along the Avenida Faucett.

Lima's squatter settlements are the result of more than 40 years of increasing rural-to-urban migration, making the capital city literally and figuratively the center of Peruvian life. More than half of the

urban population is found in Lima; in 1970 it was 14.7 times greater than that of Arequipa, the second largest city; it absorbs 25 percent of the total national population (the population of Lima was estimated to be 4,290,735 in 1977). The great attraction of the city has been the availability of jobs, education and health facilities, access to government services, and the less tangible but nonetheless important factor of the "status" which living in Lima confers on those who have migrated from the hinterlands.

The city's shelter resources have been unable to keep pace with the population influx and growth, leading to an increase of inner city slums and invasion of uninhabited areas on the outskirts of the city. Originally termed "barriadas", these were later baptized as "pueblos juvenes", or young towns, by the Velasco administration in 1968, in a politically motivated effort to remove the pejorative stigma of the former term. Today the tugurios and pueblos juvenes comprise 75 percent of the city's population, the division being 50 percent to 25 percent, approximately. Precise statistics are difficult to ascertain, since new pueblos juvenes are continuously appearing, not only on the outer fringes of the constantly expanding metropolitan area, but in micro-areas within the city itself.⁷ A newer and even more disturbing phenomenon is the "tugurization" of some of the older pueblos juvenes. As the areas available for settlement have become scarcer and further from the central city, there has been a tendency for houses in the pueblos juvenes closer to the center to be sub-divided, to shelter more than the single family for which they were intended. These areas are thus losing one of the important advantages separating them from inner city tugurios, that of lower density.

7. No part of the city is immune to the squatters. Even the fashionable Costa Verde beach area, originally conceived as a showplace "watering-hole", is now check-marked with micro-settlements, much to the dismay of the residents living in the expensive homes and condominiums along the "malecons" overlooking the Pacific Ocean in Miraflores. Though they have protested to the mayor of the municipality, no action has been taken to vacate these settlements. Rumor has it that this would be politically difficult at this juncture for many reasons, not the least of which is that some of the pueblo joven residents are municipal employees.

The population of these areas, which includes the poorest groups on the income scale, are suffering the worst effects of the country's economic crisis. With inflation currently at 66 percent (down from 80 percent in 1978), the bottom 50 percent of income earners, which receives 11.4 percent of total incomes⁸ is experiencing alarming malnutrition,⁹ at the same time that a significant percentage is spending up to 80 percent of its income on food.¹⁰ Unemployment in the Lima metropolitan area was pegged at 27.9 percent and under-employment at 38.8 percent according to figures for June 1977.¹¹ National statistics on infant mortality for urban areas shows 80.2 per 1,000 births.¹² This figure can be assumed to be considerably higher in the pueblos jovenes.

Housing

Housing needs in the squatter settlements far outstrip the residents' ability to obtain them. As of 1977, only 51 percent of all housing units in Lima were considered to be of adequate standard.¹³ It has been estimated that 910,519 additional housing units will be needed to satisfy the needs of Lima's expected population of 5.1 million in 1990.¹⁴ The impact of inflation and high interest rates, however, have brought home construction to a virtual standstill in Peru, which will only exacerbate the current housing shortage. This situation has been acutely felt

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8. Shelter Sector Assessment, p. 24.
 9. An AID/Lima analysis in May 1979 estimates that between 9.6 percent to 21 percent of Lima households falls into this category.
 10. Ibid.
 11. Ministerio de Trabajo, Anuario Estadística del Sector Trabajo 1977, cuadro 24, El Comercio, Sept. 9, 1979.
 12. This figure was quoted by a member of AID's Health and Nutrition Office. There are no infant mortality figures available for the pueblos jovenes.
 13. Shelter Sector Assessment, p. 66.
 14. Ibid.

in the squatter settlements, where the sizeable proportion of the population which lives in reed-mat huts and partially built homes, have had to postpone acquiring more adequate shelter. The implications, not only for the general development of these populations, but specifically for their physical and social health, is serious. These primitive shelters do not give protection against the chill dampness of Lima's long winter, and combined with the severe malnutrition of the affected population, make them especially vulnerable to a host of serious respiratory infections,¹⁵ tuberculosis, etc. The lack of privacy promotes other problems affecting the mental and emotional health of the residents, and has been cited as an important factor in problems of promiscuity found in these settlements.

In the current economic crisis, financing of housing is beyond the normal capacities of the target group. In 1978, the cost of a minimum housing unit was S/.1,987,200.¹⁶ The monthly family income required to obtain a mortgage for such a unit was S/.132,395. Less than 1 percent of the population met these requirements.

It must be noted, however, that in spite of the seeming impossibility of financing housing construction in the pueblos jovenes, houses are being built. Any casual visit to these areas confirms this. There is some mystery, and no completely satisfactory answers to explain the phenomenon. One explanation is that people in the pueblos jovenes are "saving" money, and as small sums are accumulated, they gradually buy bricks and other construction materials until enough is available to build a wall or even a room, possibly without a roof. Further "saving" and small purchases permit more construction. The sight of mounds of bricks in front of lots, or stuffed into open window spaces, is common in the settlements.

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15. The most frequent cause of death among infants under one year of age is respiratory diseases. This figure is cited in El Niño en el Peru, Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE) del Peru, Lima, 1979, p. 249.
 16. Statistics of the BVP (Peruvian Housing Bank) cited in Ponce de Leon, Ramon B. Problemática de la Vivienda y FONAVI, cuadro no. 14, El Colegio de Ingenieros del Peru, Filial de Loreto, October 1979.

Self-help housing, or "auto-construccion", is virtually the only way the target population can acquire permanent shelter at the present time. The use of "savings" to finance such construction, however, is not an entirely satisfactory explanation. While some studies we reviewed indicated that families with a median monthly income of S/.16,000 would have discretionary funds available on the order of S/.4,500 which could be used toward home improvement, other professional sources familiar with the situation in pueblos jovenes seriously questioned how this could be so, given the cost of such basics as food, transportation, education, etc. Other explanations of the perceived discrepancy between average income, necessary expenses and the ability to save, have been that people in the pueblos jovenes, for a variety of reasons, under-report their income; their style of life and "basic" needs require less expenses than other socio-economic groups, etc. While these hypotheses cannot be discounted, they still leave troubling questions regarding financing and income distribution among the target group. There was concern among persons we interviewed, a concern we shared, that in some cases the discretionary income merely represented a decision on the part of the families involved to spend less on such essential items as food, education, and health services, in order to acquire a desired house. There is no doubt that housing, and good housing at that, is one of the highest priorities in the target group, as evidenced by what can be seen in the pueblos jovenes. The question is, what is the price beyond soles, being paid to acquire it. At the present time, there is not enough information available to answer these questions with any certainty.

Health

Given the conditions of housing, unemployment, underemployment and the high cost of food, clothing and health care, it is not surprising to find poor health high on the list of social problems encountered in the pueblos juvenes. A research study on malnutrition conducted earlier this year by the AID mission in low income households in Lima, indicates that a minimum of 9.6 percent of the metropolitan Lima population and a maximum of 26.1 percent suffers severe nutritional inadequacy,¹⁷ due in part to income constraints. Using a minimum cost nutritionally-balanced diet, or "food basket", constructed by the National Institute of Nutrition of Peru, based on September 1978 retail food prices, the study found that some households had reported incomes so low as to preclude their purchase of 50 percent of the minimum INN food budget. These same households devoted over 80 percent of reported household income to food. A larger group in the study sample reported food expenditures representing less than 70.1 percent of the minimum INN food basket.

The impact of these statistics can be seen in related statistics of the Children's Hospital of Lima (Hospital del Niño), where in 1976 more than 69 percent of children admitted were malnourished, 29 percent of infants under one year of age were suffering third-degree or extreme malnutrition and 71 percent of infants one year of age were showing the same symptoms.¹⁸ At least 20 percent of these children came from the Rimac district, 16.4 from La Victoria, 16 percent from Chorillos, all areas in the pueblos juvenes and tugurios.¹⁹ The Niño en el Perú study, from which these figures are taken, also show that in metropolitan Lima 73 percent of births take place in medical institutions, but only 56 percent of births in low income families are in this category. Sixty-Six percent of mothers receive no post-partum attention.²⁰

17. See Research on Malnutrition...A Quantitative Study on the Recent Situation in Lima, AID, Memorandum A-19, May 1979.

18. El Niño en el Perú, op.cit., p. 247. (It should be noted that the International Year of the Child gave rise to, and supported the cited study, which includes much useful information on health statistics not currently available elsewhere. For this the researcher must thank. It is doubtful that without this impetus and support any GOP agency would have placed priority on, or had the financial resources to compile and produce, this much needed information, given the extreme austerity of all institutional budgets.)

19. Ibid., p. 232

20. Ibid., p. 248

Medicines are almost totally outside of the reach of the target population, having risen in cost 130 percent between August 1977 and 1978, with some costs rising as much as 400 percent. (These figures represent an aggregate increase in medication costs of 366 percent between 1972-1976).²¹ The impact of these statistics was graphically demonstrated in a visit to the pueblo joven of Mariano Melgar, where the YMCA social "promoter" pointed out the hut of a woman, the mother of two young children, deserted by her husband, who was suffering from an advanced cancer. Although the hospital had given her a prescription for pain-killing medicine, she could not afford to buy it.²²

While health posts sponsored by the Ministry of Health and private voluntary organizations do exist in the pueblos juvenes, their numbers and condition do not begin to cover the need. While a few communities build their own health posts, they remain empty shells, since the Ministry does not have enough personnel, medical equipment or medicines to operate them. In one recent study of a pueblo joven in the Pamplona Alta area of San Juan de Miraflores,²³ it was found that the nearest public health center was a half-to-one-hour walk from the community.

Contributing to the health hazards are the environment of the pueblos juvenes themselves. Some have literally risen over public garbage dumps, and it takes no great imagination to visualize the results of this situation. Garbage collection itself is a major problem in all of Lima, which is currently sponsoring a municipal "clean-up" campaign. Collection service in the pueblos juvenes is sporadic where it exists at all, and mounds of garbage, some if it burning, are a common sight in the squatter settlements. The debris includes everything from human excrement to dead animals.

21. El Niño en el Peru, op. cit., p. 250.

22. In 1978 the government, as part of its austerity program, instituted a policy of "self-financing" for medical institutions, which meant that former subsidies were withdrawn. As a result, many medicines which previously were distributed free of charge to low income patients must now be bought by the patients themselves. (El Niño en el Peru, op. cit.

23. Child Care Needs in Urban and Rural Peru, Overseas Education Fund of the League of Women Voters, Washington, D.C., revised August 1979.

A miniscule number of pueblos jovenes have paved streets and sidewalks.²⁴ While this problem may not be the highest priority health issue, it nonetheless merits recognition. The all-encompassing dust which is typical of desert-based Lima is given free reign and must be considered a serious health hazard, to say nothing of its other environmental effects.

Education and Child Care

Public education facilities in the pueblos jovenes are severely limited, and must be complemented by private programs such as the schools of Fe y Alegria. In many cases, the facilities are long distances from the communities, posing hazards and hardships, especially for the younger students. Pre-school or child care programs, important not only for the children's development, but also to assure their safety in the case of working mothers, are very scarce, serving nationally only one of every thousand children between the ages of 0-2.²⁵ Figures show that in 1977 only 1,960 infants were cared for in nurseries in metropolitan Lima, while 193,500 attended pre-school centers, a larger number, but still far from the resources required, in terms of the numbers of children who would be eligible for these programs.²⁶ Transportation to the centers frequently poses hardships of time and money on the working mothers, who have to use public transportation to take the children to the centers and then again to their place of work, reversing the process later in the day. According to a report of INAPROMEF (Instituto Nacional de Asistencia y Promocion del Menor y de la Familia,²⁷ in some cases, the

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24. In many cases, communities are waiting for basic infrastructure to be laid in before paving, which means that this condition will remain for many years.
 25. El Niño en el Peru, op. cit., p. 76
 26. The previously cited Overseas Education Fund-sponsored study indicates that in 1975 only 5.5 percent of the eligible children were enrolled in pre-school centers in Peru. (See Table 4-1, p. 41).
 27. Inventario de la Situacion Actual de los Servicios de Atencion a Menores de o a 17 Años de Edad en Lima Metropolitana y Callao, INAPROMEF, Direccion de Asistencia y Proteccion, Lima, June 1979.

cost of transportation is higher than that of maintaining the child in the center. The average "tuition" is from S/.14.00 to S/.15.00 a day.

While some form of public transportation is available in most pueblos juvenes, it is generally inadequate and taxes the limited economic resources of the residents when they must take two or three buses to and from work, or in order to seek employment.

Community Organization

Most pueblos juvenes have a formal organizational structure, the legacy of the Velasco years. When the revolutionary government came into power it created SINAMOS (Sistema Nacional de Apoya a la Movilizacion Social) or National System of Support for Social Mobilization, a movement to create cadres of support at the grass roots for the revolution's proposed social and economic changes. One of SINAMOS' principal responsibilities was to promote and control community organization in the volatile pueblos juvenes. It offered the community residents legal status and eventually title to the lands they had invaded, in return for support of the government. However one might evaluate SINAMOS' political activities, it unquestionably carried out its organizing objectives quite efficiently. With an ample budget, it was able to field large numbers of social promoters into the pueblos juvenes. Communities were organized along pyramidal lines, beginning by blocks. Each community block elected representatives to a Neighborhood Committee, or Ccmite Vecinal. This committee, consisting of a coordinator, treasurer, secretary, and optionally a sports or recreation coordinator, women's committee representative, etc., in turn sent its coordinator to represent it on a Central Committee of the whole pueblo joven, or COPRODE (Comite en Pro-desarrollo), which elected an Executive Committee, or Junta Directiva from among its members. The president of the Executive Committee was also the settlement's representative to a zonal association of pueblos juvenes which in turn was represented at a Lima-wide association of pueblos juvenes.

This structure was nurtured by the social promoters through intensive technical assistance in organizational techniques and leadership development. Through it, and through SINAMOS, the pueblos jovenes had direct and efficient access to the central government, with the SINAMOS "promotores" acting as ombudsmen for the communities to various dependencies of government, whenever problems arose with the bureaucracy. This assistance was particularly helpful in moving the communities' petitions for remodeling, infrastructure, certificates of property, etc., through the myriad offices of SINAMOS' Direccion de Pueblos Jovenes y Areas de Subdesarrollo Internos (ASDUI). This office had responsibility for the process of formalizing the situation of the pueblos jovenes, most of which were invasions, by delineating community boundaries, laying out and assigning lots, giving certificates of property to individual families (usually in a mass highly publicized ceremony attended by important members of the military and SINAMOS hierarchy), preparing the terrain for infrastructure, providing technical assistance for preparation of infrastructure projects, etc. This process, which still exists, is discussed more fully in Section IV.

In addition to their assistance with housing matters, the promoters helped the communities develop a wide range of projects in the areas of health, child care, women's activities, development of cooperatives, adult education, income generating projects, cultural and recreation activities, etc. The objective of these activities was "community participation in the solution of its own problems", or self-help. They served as liaison to the various ministries and agencies which had responsibilities in these sectors and at the same time coordinated the sector activities within the community. Not all communities were able to receive the full range of SINAMOS' attention, but almost all were required to organize along the lines described, at the minimum. This community structure is still in place today.

We have gone into some detail on SINAMOS' community activities in order to provide a basis for assessing the present situation. SINAMOS was "de-activated" in 1978, basically a victim of its own inventions.

Its increasing power as a political and economic force led to abuses and manipulation, perceived and real, of its client groups, resulting in growing resistance on their part. At the same time other elements of the power structure, including government and the private sector, were threatened by SINAMOS' growing power, radicalism and influence.

SINAMOS' de-activation brought a concurrent end to formal community organizing activities by any government agency. SINAMOS' functions and a large number of its employees were transferred to various ministries. The functions of technical assistance to pueblos jovenes were given to the Ministry of Housing and Construction, principally those aspects inherent to the legalization and remodeling process. However, in line with the government's current austerity policy, the MOHC's personnel was sharply reduced at the same time that its traditional responsibilities were augmented by the taking on of a substantial part of SINAMOS' functions.

In communities where SINAMOS' promoters provided concentrated assistance over a number of years, it is possible today to note sharp differences in terms of development even on the physical level, in contrast to communities which received less attention. In the former case, it is apparent that community residents were able to develop a degree of cohesion and sense of purpose which permitted them to move ahead relatively quickly in acquiring infrastructure, building permanent shelter, developing green areas and other community facilities. The neighborhood organizations have continued to function well in at least some of these communities after SINAMOS' intensive assistance has been retired from them.

Of approximately 20 neighborhood organizations visited by the team in the course of preparing this study, it was felt that in spite of the withdrawal of SINAMOS' assistance, at least one third to one half of these organizations, were still viable in that they affected the quality of life of the people they represented and the communities they served. Many of these organizations are well organized, are very active politically, make a lot of noise, and exert much political pressure upon the government. For example, much of the opposition shown by "pueblos jovenes" to the new Decree Law 22612 from being

implemented may be attributed to the organizational efforts of the Lima-wide Association of Pueblos Jovenes. (This decree would permit giving of land titles before total costs are paid to bring "pueblos jovenes" into a formal urban setting. The "Pueblos Jovenes" see this as a move to deprive them of the special status that they have enjoyed to date with the Government of Peru and to undercut their political power as a special group.)

Some neighborhood organizations are well organized and the residents being served are united. Villa Salvador and San Antonascio de Pedregal are two good examples of communities visited by the study team with well organized neighborhood organizations.

The power that neighborhood organizations can still exert is well illustrated in such cases as the organization of a "pueblo joven" which stopped the MOHC from carrying out its plan to eradicate a community to put in a major avenue. At the opposite extreme there are neighborhood organizations that cannot unite residents of their communities. In one such case, the leaders of a neighborhood organization could not unite all segments of a community to bring electricity into the "pueblo joven". Because the community never became united, part of the community that wanted electricity had it brought in while the other part of the residents remain without it.

With the withdrawal of SINAMOS' attention, residents of "pueblos jovenes" lack the necessary technical assistance in such area as teaching people how to work together to achieve community goals through involvement with neighborhood organizations and helping organization leaders develop administrative skills.

The lack of sufficient personnel in both the sub-region and zonal offices of the MOHC does not permit it to extend anywhere near the amount or kind of technical assistance to the "organizaciones vecinales" as they would require, even to satisfy their needs with respect to legalization, housing, and infrastructure issues. The Ministry does not have responsibility for any community organization or development activities beyond these issues. In fact, no other government agency has taken up the slack, nor do they want to because the memories of the extreme politicizing of the communities

under SINAMOS is still very fresh. While there is general recognition that the community organizations have for all intents and purposes been left to shift for themselves, the term "community organization" as applied to pueblos juvenes produces expressions of anxiety and rejection in almost all official quarters at the present time.

As a result of this not-so-benign neglect, many community organizations are experiencing varying degrees of disintegration, lack of confidence in their leadership, lack of member attendance and participation in meetings, and interpersonal and intra-community dissension. This has tended to weaken the effectiveness of the neighborhood organizations as vehicles for facilitating community decision making, and development of activities which promote the general welfare in the areas of shelter, infrastructure, health, education, employment, recreation, etc.

While the concept of "community organization" per se has fallen into official disfavor, the need for community action remains. The enormity of the problems of the urban poor is such that official action can have only limited effects, given the government's present diminished resources in funds and personnel. At the same time, there is a need for some kind of organized dialogue on the part of urban communities with government agencies in order to make their needs known more effectively, and to promote constructive collaboration between them. The problem at this juncture is to maintain and support some level of community organization in the pueblos juvenes in a way which does not open the door to their further politicizing, a delicate task indeed.

Diversity

As indicated above, one of the limitations in studying the pueblos juvenes is their diverse nature, making any attempts to draw conclusions and generalize from a limited sample a risky business. The communities vary in terms of age (ranging from fifty years to one), size, place of origin of inhabitants, whether they are original or "re-settled" communities (or waiting to be re-settled, which keeps a community virtually in a state of suspended animation for an indefinite period), location (perimeter, inner city, mountain), degree of organization, socio-economic level, political orientation, ethnicity, extent of physical development and infrastructure, etc. Few if any studies take these and other variables into account in developing data. Until these diverse characteristics are analyzed and typologies developed, it will be difficult to understand clearly the phenomena of the pueblos juvenes or to develop any rational policies with respect to them.

III. INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS

A number of institutions, public and private, have programs which either impact or potentially impact the quality of life of the residents of the pueblos juvenes. They are analyzed here in order to identify resources which can be brought to bear on some of the problems outlined in the previous section, as well as to suggest ways that the institutions themselves might be strengthened in order to better serve the target population.

A prefatory note is in order before moving to a discussion of specific institutions. There is a significant difference, particularly observed in the public sector, between plans and what actually takes place. The reason for these discrepancies is the severe budget cuts experienced by all public entities, as the government attempts to combat inflation and meet its international credit obligations. Inflation itself has placed further limits on what can be done with funds that are allocated by the national budget. The result is that all institutions are suffering from a shortage of staff, materials, and other basic resources which seriously limit the variety and effectiveness radius of their actions. In some cases elaborate programs are projected, and plans are developed and described as if functioning, while in fact they are gathering dust on shelves, waiting for funding from as yet unknown sources for their implementation. The institutional analyses which follow should be placed in this context.

Public Institutions

A. Ministry of Housing and Construction

The Ministry's main functions are:

1. To plan, implement, control, and apply norms to
 - Housing and complementary services construction;
 - Completion of buildings and public works, with the exception of those for National Defense, in close coordination with the respective sectors.
2. Promote, recognize, review, supervise, process and complete actions related to organizations of housing cooperatives and associations for housing.
3. Promote the development of private sector activities in the housing sector.
4. Prepare and bring order to population centers, planning their development and ordering their expansion.
5. Develop, promote, and execute urban rehabilitation projects and programs directed toward the eradication of squatter settlements and deteriorated neighborhoods.
6. Reshape, designate lots, and legalize unplanned settlements and provide technical assistance in housing and infrastructure construction, especially

on the features relative to the functioning of neighborhood associations in human settlements, in accordance with the guidelines provided by Decree Law 13517 and related measures.

The Sub-Regional Office of Region V of the Ministry of Housing has responsibility for the Lima metropolitan area. Its specific tasks are to promote, advise, organize, supervise, and control the formation and consolidation of the pueblos juvenes, in accordance with Decree Law 13517. These were the focus of the former SINAMOS activities in the squatter settlements.

The Ministry has divided the metropolitan area into five zones: north, center, south, east, and west. Each zone is administered by a Zonal Office of the Ministry, charged with executing the activities associated with remodeling in coordination with the Sub-Region's Offices of Legalization, Remodeling, Technical Assistance and Neighborhood Organization. (see Table 1)

The remodeling-entitlement process is a lengthy and complicated one, composed of five basic steps separated by myriad sub-steps (see Table 2). They are outlined below:

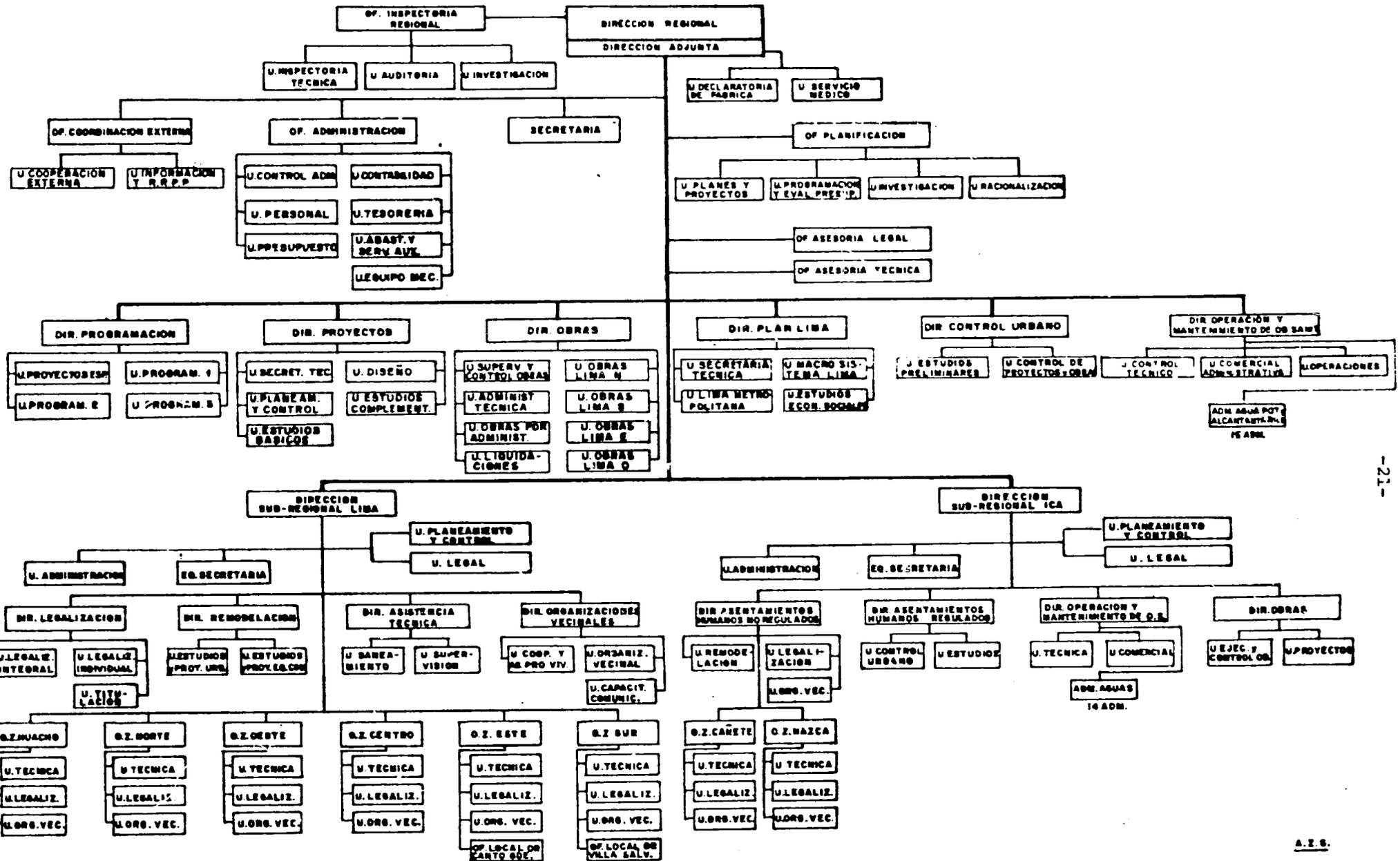
Remodeling-Entitlement Process

1. Recognition as a Pueblo Joven. With the assistance of the Sub-Region Office of the MOHC, the residents of a pueblo joven, generally a group which has invaded an unimproved area of land, initiate the process of "integral legalization" through the presentation of legal and technical documents required to obtain a Resolution of Recognition (or denial of same) emitted by the Regional Office of the Ministry. This recognition confirms that the settlement came into being before 1960, according to the conditions set forth in Decree Law 13517, the instrument which created the pueblos juvenes as legal entities in 1961.²⁸ It includes a census of all residents currently in the settlement.

28. The law does not cover the numberless pueblos juvenes which came into being since 1960. These have been termed "similar areas" in the Ministry's jargon and while they are given "technical assistance" by the Ministry, their legal status is in limbo. It was difficult to obtain any clarification on the Ministry's policy towards them beyond vague statements on the order of "we close our eyes to the legal question and help them too." The matter will have to be resolved one day in order to avoid serious legal entanglements in the future. The question is obviously involved with political decisions which the present government would rather not tackle.

MINISTERIO DE VIVIENDA Y CONSTRUCCION
 ORGANIGRAMA DE LA DIRECCION REGIONAL V LIMA

TABLE 1



2. Urban Qualification. An Urban Qualification Technical Commission determines, through a resolution, whether a pueblo joven is remodelable or eradicable. In the first case, it has been determined that the terrain of the pueblo joven is such that it is reasonably solid and proof against earth movements (an important point in this earthquake-prone country), and that it also permits grading, rational laying out of lots and other community sites and installation of basic infrastructure.

If a pueblo joven's terrain does not meet these requirements, it is declared eradicable, and the residents must be removed to a more suitable area. In order for a community to be eradicated, a new site must be found, either on government-owned land or by expropriation. This is a much-debated process, fraught with conflict and delays, some of which have taken as long as ten years to resolve. New sites have become increasingly scarce, and in the case of expropriation, the original owners may not approve of the terms of expropriation or wish to give up their land, and a long drawn-out court case may ensue. Or the pueblo joven residents may not agree with the Ministry's decision that their community is eradicable, and fight to remain. In some cases, the community is finally declared remodelable in order to close the book on that chapter.

3. Approval of the Perimeter Plan. The Zonal Office develops a plan outlining the community's boundaries, perimeter measurements and areas of land parcel, and submits this to the Sub-Region Office for approval, accompanied by a descriptive memorandum.

4. Remodeling. The Remodeling Plan is a design of proposed subdivision of the settlement based on the Perimeter Plan and cadastral survey. The draft of the remodeling plan can be elaborated by the Zonal Office or by private professionals contracted by the pueblo joven, but the Zonal Office must supervise the process and submit

the Draft Plan to the Sub-Regional Office, which is responsible for approving and implementing it. This includes drawing up a final Basic Plan, a "Definitive Census" of residents, confirmation of specific families, and assignment of lots by a "raffle" or drawing.²⁹ The Zonal Office is then responsible for executing the plan.

If, as frequently occurs, some of the residents are declared in excess as a result of the subdivision, which tends to relieve the density of the settlement, these families must be resettled in another area. Here again, the problem of where to place them is increasingly difficult, incurring delays in the remodeling process. Theoretically, the resettled area should be in the approximate zone of the original pueblo joven in order that the uprooting not disrupt the lives of the families involved too drastically. In practice, this is not always possible, and the re-settled family may find itself on the other end of the metropolitan area, in a much less desirable zone. The only improvement in the situation is that the new terrain has an approved boundary plan, the ground has been graded, and lots laid out. Beyond that, the families must put up their reed huts and begin the process of home and community building again, including the acquisition of basic infrastructure.

5. Lot Plan. The Lot Plan is the graphic representation of the pueblo joven as it is after remodeling, showing streets, blocks, lots and community buildings and areas, together with a descriptive memorandum of the plan. This is elaborated by the Zonal Office, which submits it to the Sub-Region Office. The latter unit reviews the plan and submits it to the Office of Urban Control (the next highest level on the ministry's organization chart), which emits a Resolution of Approval.

²⁹The drawing of lots is based on a previous categorizing of families according to criteria of length of residence in the community, degree of participation in community activities, proof that the family owns no other property, etc. This process also establishes the basis for other decisions, such as who will have to leave the community in the case of "excess populations."

At this point, the community is ready for the development of basic infrastructure projects,³⁰ if it can afford them.

Acquisition of Lands. This is the next step in the process of legalizing the property of individual families in the community (families in the re-settled communities also follow this process).

6. Analysis of Costs. The value of the land and costs incurred in remodeling of a pueblo joven are factored into the analysis which determines the value of a lot, per square meter. When the land in question belongs to the government, the maximum value assigned is 6 soles per square meter. If the land has been expropriated, the costs depend on the negotiated payment to the original owners, and usually result in a higher figure. This step is executed by the Zonal Office and reviewed by the Sub-Region, which indicates approval through an appropriate Resolution.

7. Entitlement. This is the final step in the process of acquiring individual lots in the pueblo joven. Once the regulations of Decree Law 13517 have been complied with (essentially the previous steps), the process of officially selling the lots begins. A General Assembly of Residents of the pueblo joven is called, and a third census is taken to verify that the occupants of the lots are the same ones who were registered in previous steps.³¹

³⁰Of the 317 recognized pueblos jovenes declared remodelable, 60% have been graded, 47% have water (no data is available on the percentage with individual connections), 49% have sewer lines, 73% have provisional electricity installations, 5% have paved sidewalks and 1% have paved streets. (These figures were obtained through a personal interview at the Ministry Sub-Regional Office.)

³¹This step is apparently needed, since, in the course of the years which may intervene from the first and second censuses to the present step, a lot may have informally (and illegally) changed hands.

Once verification takes place, a contract of sale is drawn up between the Ministry of Housing, representing the government, and the individual who buys the lot for his/her personal shelter use.³² The costs³³ are collected by EMADI-Peru, the government agency which administers government property, and title is formally given.³⁴

There follow the steps of individual and community incorporation into the municipal system, but no community has yet reached this point, and until recently there was no legal instrument for accomplishing the latter, since Law 13517 does not cover it. The new Decree Law 22612, designed to bring the pueblos juvenes into the "urban shell," has, for a variety of reasons, drawn fierce opposition from the pueblos juvenes, and has not yet been implemented.

The preceding outline shows clearly that the flow of documents and movement from one step to another is slow. The total procedure can and has taken years (the proof is that no final titles have been emitted) due not only to the tortuous convolutions of the process itself, but also, in great part to the fact that the Ministry's personnel is severely depleted. As noted previously, when SINAMOS' responsibilities in the pueblos juvenes were transferred to the Ministry, its responsibilities doubled at the same time that its personnel was decreased as a consequence of the general austerity decreed by the government. The heads of some divisions at the Sub-Region and Zonal level wear multiple hats, exacerbating their already heavy work load. When we interviewed at the Sub-Region, it was virtually impossible to conduct a conversation without several interruptions and telephone calls, as a given staff member was pulled in several directions at once by superiors, colleagues, and representatives of pueblo juvenes vying for their attention. Mountains of documents waiting to be processed lined their desks, and one individual wryly pointed to these asking how he could ever get to them under the circumstances. Each of these documents represented one step of one pueblo joven's passage through the process described above and illustrated in Table 2. The scene was duplicated in other offices at all levels.

³²Decree Law 13517 states that no resident of a pueblo joven may rent his/her property until five years after legal title has been obtained. Since no legal titles have yet been issued (information received in a personal interview at the MOHC), any current rentals in the pueblos juvenes are illegal.

³³Current average costs are S/. 6,000.

³⁴The new Decree Law 22612, which has not yet been implemented, would permit giving of titles before total costs have been paid.

The need for multiple steps of review and approval between the Zonal and Sub-Regional Office also contribute to the delay in the remodeling-entitlement process, as papers are lost in the diverse transfers between levels and offices. In some cases, rather than trying to locate the papers, an almost hopeless task in view of the situation already described, a new document is drawn up, and the process begun again.

According to the Lima Regional Office of the MOHC, of the 317 "pueblos juvenes" officially recognized, 48.6% have been remodeled; 51.4% still must be remodeled; 58% have an approved perimeter plan; and 18.61% have an approved remodeling plan. Information on the percentage of "pueblos juvenes" which have reached other stages of the remodeling - entitlement process was not available.

Other Concerns

Transportation, which is essential in order to maintain contact and conduct the Ministry's normal activities in the pueblos juvenes, is extremely scarce. Most of the Sub-Region Office cars have broken down and are in the repair shop. Once there they seldom return, since parts are unavailable. Any field visit must depend on whether transportation can be obtained, and this requires maneuvering several days in advance. Crises in the field cause crises in the office as personnel look for transportation.

The transformation of the pueblos juvenes is further complicated by the many government agencies which have had responsibility for it over the last dozen years or so. A Zonal Office estimated it had gone through eight institutional changes, beginning with the ex-Housing Corporation through to the present Ministry. Each institutional change has produced changes in personnel and policy which were barely absorbed before the next changes occurred.³⁵

Again, this has added further delays to an already interminable process.

³⁵In the case under discussion the changes were: Corporación de Vivienda, ONDEPJOV, Promoción Comunal, 10^a Region/SINAMOS, 4^a Region/SINAMOS, 4^a Region/Lima/SINAMOS, Promoción Urbana/Min. Vivienda, 5^a Region/ Min. Vivienda.

Community Impact

At the community level, the neighborhood organizations and the residents they represent have been adversely affected by the long delays. Communities which might have been able to afford infrastructure at the prices of previous years when they first applied for remodeling, can now no longer do so, or must do so at great sacrifice, because of inflation. Homes which might have been built had a community not had to wait for re-settlement, are now further postponed for the same reason. Each semester of delay heightens the problem.

A further cost has been the disruption in the dynamism of the community organizations through the lack of sufficient technical support. While part of SINAMOS' community organization functions were transferred to the Ministry of Housing, and reside in the Office of Neighborhood Organizations at the Sub-Region and Zonal level, their responsibilities are limited to organizing the communities for the remodeling-entitlement process. Their resources are extremely limited even for that purpose, with the result that little is done to orient the communities adequately in terms of documents needed, procedures to be followed, costs, etc. The neighborhood or community organizations do not receive the technical support they need to keep their residents united, resolve intra-group conflicts, and come to constructive decisions with respect to important issues such as infrastructure projects. As a result, frustrations and narrow interests prevail, and costly mistakes are often made. We noted two such instances in widely separated communities. In one case, a community had spent much time debating whether or not to install water and sewer lines; one group wanted to install both, and another felt they could not afford it. So much time passed without being able to reach consensus that costs rose inordinately in the interim. Finally, the first group, desperate at seeing money being lost in the delay, went ahead on their own, and had the infrastructure put in for themselves. The other sector of the community still does not have these services, and the residue of ill-will resulting from the controversy has spilled over into other aspects of community life. In the other case, in a smaller inner city pueblo joven, a similar controversy arose over installation of electricity, with almost identical results. In both instances, these

conflicts showed the lack of professional assistance which the Ministry's Office of Neighborhood Organizations has responsibility for providing, though its current understaffing and other budget limitations make adequate delivery of services impossible.

A larger issue is the need of the communities for social promotion to continue their development beyond remodeling, entitlement and installation of infrastructure. The other urgent problems rampant in the pueblos juvenes, such as health, sanitation, employment, education, transportation, child care, etc., as well as secondary activities such as recreation, youth programs and community embellishment, need organized community attention. This requires sustained and systematic social promotion, none of which is being provided by any government agency.

As currently constituted, the Ministry cannot fill the void. Its primary responsibilities are in connection with remodeling entitlement. Theoretically the Ministry could expand its role in the area of social promotion in the pueblos juvenes, but this may not be the political moment to do it, given the recent SINAMOS history. What is needed is a strengthening of its capacity through increased personnel to fulfill those community organization responsibilities it does have. This would provide needed technical support to the "organizaciones vecinales" in the absence of any other social promotion programs. Such support could have a more long-term impact if it included development of the community organizations' problem-solving/decision-making abilities.

BVP - MOHC Coordination

Another factor which will undoubtedly have an impact on community organization and the Ministry's work in this area, is the projected plan of the Housing Bank to create a Promotion Department. The objective of the department would be to assist the communities in obtaining credit and using it more effectively through an outreach program implemented by "promotores". This personnel would work with the communities, orienting and educating them on matters of credit, and preparing them to obtain loans.

There obviously needs to be coordination of activities between the two shelter-related institutions (BVP and MOHC) in their work with the communities. This should be marked out now, while the Bank's program is still in the planning stage.

Except in isolated instances, the Lima Sub-Region Office of the Ministry does not appear to coordinate its program with other sectors which impact on and work in the pueblos juvenes. This seems to be a poor use of resources on the part of all the sectors concerned, but in the Ministry's case it may be partially explained by its view of its mission in the pueblos juvenes as primarily that of remodeling-entitlement. Nonetheless, opportunities for wider collaboration should be explored. This may imply a greater involvement by the Ministry in the pueblos juvenes at a time when the government is trying to limit its responsibilities in this area.³⁶ Suggestions to broaden the Ministry's activities at the community level may thus not be well received, for this reason and the above-cited experiences with SINAMOS. They should, however, be encouraged to take a longer range view in assessing their role in improving the quality of life of the massive population in the squatter settlements.

Recommendations

Moves to strengthen the Ministry's community organization activities should be tied to a general revision of its remodeling-legalization procedures with the objective of reducing the current backlog and providing quicker and more effective service to its client group. While additional personnel would undoubtedly ease the situation somewhat (and is needed in any case), the procedures themselves need to be simplified before any real improvement can take place.

36. Decree Law 22612, which has given rise to severe conflict, is being interpreted by the leadership of the community organizations as an attempt to cut off the special relationship which has existed between the pueblos juvenes and the government since the promulgation of Decree Law 13517, which gave them official recognition. This appears to be an accurate interpretation, based on conversations we had with persons at various levels in the Ministry, although interpretation of the impact of the law, which is still to be implemented differs sharply, depending on who is doing the interpretation, i.e. residents of the pueblos juvenes and their defenders, or representatives of the Ministry.

The revision should include systematic procedures for data collection, as this activity appears to be in complete disarray, if not visible at the present time, a victim of the personnel and budget squeeze, and more urgent priorities. The lack of reliable data related to the Sub-Region's activities was apparent in each division we visited. Requests for information on items such as numbers of families with lot titles up to the present time, numbers of pueblos jóvenes with basic infrastructure services, costs of infrastructure, duration of the remodeling-entitlement process, number of homes with sanitary facilities, electricity and water connections, etc., resulted in embarrassed apologies that such data was not easily at hand.³⁷ Estimates were given on some points of information, and these varied from office to office. It was obvious that the different units of the Sub-Region were not operating from a common data base.³⁸ The consequences for planning and prioritizing at the Ministry are serious.

B. INAPROMEF (Instituto Nacional de Asistencia y Promoción del Menor y de la Familia)

The National Institute for Assistance and Promotion of Minors and the Family is a public, decentralized institution, attached to the Presidency of the Republic, with national jurisdiction. It was created in 1977 as a successor to the National Assistance Board (Junta de Asistencia Nacional, JAN), which had traditionally been the official charity/welfare activity of the First Lady of the land, under many presidencies and governments. It still is very much in transition from a charity organization to a government ministry, and the signs of its origins are in evidence in many ways. The First Lady is still the "President" of INAPROME, and its financing

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37. In one example, a request to a division office for data on remodeled pueblos jóvenes which have installed light, water and sewage lines, produced, after three weeks' delay, a handwritten list, obviously prepared in response to our request. Given the pressures under which the Sub-Region's personnel work, we felt guilty at having placed one more burden on the individual who had obviously spent some time on the research. At that, the list was incomplete, since it only showed 44 pueblos jóvenes, and data we had obtained from other sources in the Ministry would put the number of remodeled pueblos jóvenes at 155.
38. We were told several times in response to some questions "this is not our area of responsibility. Ask 'X' office, they should have the information." Nonetheless, the activities of each division in the Sub-Region are closely linked with the others in the remodeling-entitlement process.

comes from private and international donations, as well as a small assignment from the government. Volunteers still play a role in its work, although less so than before, as it attempts to "professionalize" its image.

INAPROME's mission is to develop and execute national policy with respect to protection and promotion of minors, the aged, and the family. Its creation under Decree Law 21993 was justified as filling the need for a public institution to establish policy and norms with respect to minors, and to integrate social welfare services dispersed in diverse public agencies of the country. This function is usually carried out by a ministry of welfare, or similar institution in other countries, but has not existed in Peru. The law creating INAPROME recognizes the need for coordinated, multi-sector action between social agencies in the public and private sector.

INAPROME's target group is minors who need care, including abandoned and orphaned children, those with problems of health, malnutrition, delinquency or family disorganization, as well as the invalid aged and others with physical disabilities.

Taking into account its brief history and some of its unquestioned deficiencies, particularly in its administration, INAPROME is still filling a need, though with limited impact. It is currently carrying out activities in 35 pueblos jovenes in Lima-Callao, and in five provinces. It has 12 child care centers of its own, and it supports 23 child care centers built by communities themselves.

The children's centers function daily on a simple level, using community resources to the extent possible. Women from the community are trained to care for the children while their own mothers work. The fee charged for the children is an average of S/.200 monthly.

According to a recent survey of child welfare services³⁹ which it conducted, INAPROMEAF has five large and well-equipped child care centers which are operating at 65 percent capacity due to the lack of a budget for food.⁴⁰ According to knowledgeable sources we interviewed, it has nurseries and child care centers with capacities of 150 and 280 respectively operating at one-third to one-half of capacity, for the same reason. OFASA, Caritas and Food for the World collaborate with some food, but this does not cover the amounts required for the centers to operate at full capacity.

These same sources indicated that the government's budget allotment is totally insufficient and is absorbed in administrative costs. Some child care centers maintain a teacher to child ratio one to six,⁴¹ which is very high, while others have limited resources. This suggests the need for administrative re-organization and improved supervision at several levels. It should be noted that in the midst of an exaggerated bureaucracy we found staff at the technical level who have a clear vision of what INAPROMEAF could and should be, and who are laboring to accomplish that vision, albeit under conditions of severe limitation and considerable frustration.

One plan which cannot be put into effect for lack of sufficient budget is to use social work students from the universities to promote community development projects in the pueblos juvenes where their centers are located. The students require a certain number of supervised experiences to get their degree, and would therefore not be paid a salary, but they would need a small stipend to cover transportation and other minor expenses related to their work.⁴² (INAPROMEAF's transportation facilities are extremely limited, as in all public agencies in Peru, and this prevents even professional staff

39. INAPROMEAF, op. cit.

40. This represents a double waste, since the workshops and classrooms are sitting empty, when they could not only be used by the children, but by other groups, if community activities were well coordinated.

41. INAPROMEAF, op. cit.

42. It was estimated that each student would require S/.20,000 a year (approximately \$83.00), and that five students would be assigned to each zone.

from carrying out its normal activities efficiently--especially in the case of the pueblos jovenes, which are generally difficult to reach by public transportation.)

Our general impression of INAPROME is that it is top-heavy with personnel at the upper administrative level and limited resources at the level of implementation. At the same time, it is trying to carry out an ambitious program which does fill a real need. While it is still laboring under the weight of its past history, it has begun a transition to a more professional status. With the coming of a new civilian government in 1980, the prospects for moving the agency into a more effective role in the country's social development will improve. Since it is the only government institution charged with that specific objective, it should be given the kind of support which will promote its movement in that direction.

Such support could include funding of model replicable projects which integrate government, private voluntary and community resources in activities which have a direct impact on the target community. These projects should be closely supervised, with the lines of accountability clearly understood. Well designed, they would not only benefit the communities involved, but would constitute useful learning experiences for INAPROME, providing models for its other activities.

Specific recommendations for IIPUP-funded projects are outlined in Section VI.

C. National Office for Food Support (Oficina Nacional de Apoyo para la Alimentacion, ONAA)

ONAA grew out of a special commission connected to the Ministry of Agriculture, which was formed to channel emergency food assistance to Huaraz, after the disaster there in 1970. It received its current permanent status in 1972, and is a decentralized agency of the Ministry of Agriculture. Its objective is to improve the nutritional level of the poorest sectors of the population, through a two-pronged program of food support and food security. The first includes distribution of complementary food rations and nutrition education. The second involves the storage of food reserves to be used in cases of emergency or disaster.

The food support program is implemented in four areas of emphasis: student nutrition (supported by AID), reforestation programs (supported by AID), maternal-child health (supported by Food for the World), and food for work (supported by Food for the World and AID).

ONAA collaborates with the Ministry of Health in its student nutrition program (Programa de Alimentacion Escolar) and its maternal-child health program (Programa de Alimentacion Materno-Infantil) in public hospitals. The former program is coordinated with the Ministry of Education through the Ministry of Health. These programs only cover 15 percent of the need in the student population and 2 percent of the need in the case of children from 0-5 years of age.⁴³

ONAA's principal focus is in the rural areas. However, they are collaborating with the Ministries of Housing, Education and Health, in a new program for the pueblos jovenes, using Food for Work (AID supported) as the basis for infrastructure and other public works

43. Information received in a personal interview at ONAA.

of benefit to the community. This program, still in its development phase, will be coordinated with CARE and with neighborhood organizations. A technical committee will identify programs and execute them.

ONAA has six regional offices throughout the country, in each of which it has one or two persons dedicated to nutrition training. The Lima-Callao regional office has three persons to carry out this activity for the metropolitan area, with three more for the province of Lima. The agency recognizes that these numbers can provide little more than symbolic impact, but again, as in the case of every other public institution in Peru, it has a budget which imposes stringent limitations on personnel, materials and programs.

Although its current capacity is limited, because of its concern with a key problem area, nutrition, ONAA can play a useful role as a participant in integrated development programs in the pueblos juvenes. It is beginning to move in this direction and should be encouraged and supported to do more.

D. Ministry of Health

The Ministry has responsibility for attending to the health needs of the 66 percent of the population not covered by the Social Security or other organized health coverage systems such as those of the Armed Forces, etc. In the Lima metropolitan area the Ministry implements its responsibilities through a network of public hospitals, health centers and health posts, the latter mostly to be found in the pueblos juvenes and other outlying areas of the city. These facilities cover less than half of the needed services for the client group.⁴⁴

44. Data from personal interview, AID staff.

The population explosion in Lima, and particularly in the pueblos juvenes, has strained the meager resources of the Ministry,⁴⁵ to the point where essential medicines are unavailable in hospitals, children with infectious diseases are doubling in hospital cots, and many health posts are empty or functioning without the most basic materials or equipment, and suffering from lack of personnel.

Nonetheless, the health centers and posts in the pueblos juvenes do, within these limitations, give direct assistance, and carry out immunization and health education programs, with assistance from private voluntary organizations and in some instances from the community itself. The Team for Human Development (Equipo para el Desarrollo Humano) has worked with the Ministry in promoting community first-aid centers in 13 pueblos juvenes in the southern cone of Lima. They include training of mid-wives from the community and health education for mothers. There is an excellent integrated community health program sponsored by UNICEF, in collaboration with the Ministries of Health and Education, in the southern cone of the city. These and other isolated collaborative programs serve as models for what might be done if adequate resources were available, but they serve only a small fraction of the population in need.

The Ministry lists 88 private voluntary groups which are collaborating with it, but in light of personal knowledge of some of these groups and the vagueness of data on the others, there is a need for a more in-depth assessment to confirm the true extent of their collaboration, and their real potential for contributing to a coordinated health program.

Given the dimensions of the health and nutrition needs in the pueblos juvenes, which must verge close to disaster proportions,⁴⁶ and the

45. The Ministry received 4.6 percent of the national budget for 1979.

46. The data which would give an accurate accounting of health problems, needs and resources simply does not exist, except for isolated studies. The Ministry's budget does not permit any but the most rudimentary information gathering.

total freezing of Ministry funds at a level which barely permits it to operate, there is an urgent need for it to make the most of what resources it does have through more effective coordination with other agencies and programs. Section VI of this paper suggests areas for activities along these lines.

E. Ministry of Education

The Ministry of Education operates under the concept of "co-responsibility" in the area of education. All institutions related with education, public or private, must adhere to the policies of the Ministry, insofar as their educational activities are concerned.

The Ministry's programs are divided into the formal and non-formal, the formal including primary, secondary and post-secondary education and the non-formal a wide range of programs from pre-school care to adult education, particularly in the area of vocational and professional education. The adult and professional education programs include the CENECAPE's (Centros de Calificacion Profesional Extraordinaria), both public and private, which offer the most diverse studies, from business administration to cosmetology and foreign languages; the PROMAE's (Centros de Produccion de Material Educativo), which provide training in a variety of skills (mechanical, carpentry, electronics, graphics, etc.) and produce material for the Ministry itself; the NEC's (Nucleos Educativos Comunitarios), which are educational community multi-service centers, and include basic literacy education for adults.

The most highly developed of these vocational and professional training programs is SENATI, (Servicio Nacional de Adiestramiento en Trabajo Industrial). This is discussed more fully in a separate section which follows.

Approximately 20 percent of the adult non-formal education programs are located in or near pueblos jovenes. In general they function

with very rudimentary material, in keeping with the Ministry's philosophy that training should approximate the student's level and environment.

AID is supporting a project to equip seven Fe y Alegria schools in the pueblos jovenes with workshops for vocational training purposes. These have proven quite successful. In view of the fact that the adult population of these settlements need vocational skills development and the scarcity of such resources available to them, these workshops should be put to fuller use beyond the normal school hours, when they are idle. Such a program could be coordinated by the Ministry of Education with SENCICO and INIAVI, (see below) which could provide teachers and didactic material.

SENATI has also expressed interest in working in the pueblos jovenes and this could present an opportunity for an integrated vocational education project, coordinating the resources of several agencies. IIPUP-funding could play an important role in supporting the development and coordination of the project, and initial costs of teaching materials. The project would not only provide needed skills training, with an impact on income generation, but would have repercussions in improved housing in the community since, through the collaboration of SENCICO and INIAVI, it would provide the self-help skills required to upgrade housing construction.

F. National Industrial Training Service (Servicio Nacional de Adiestramiento en Trabajo Industrial, SENATI)

SENATI was created in 1961 by the Peruvian Chamber of Industry to provide trained manpower for the country's manufacturing enterprises. It has since passed into the public sector as a decentralized agency of the Ministry of Education.

SENATI's stated objectives are to promote the development of workers through training and development, and through them to increase productivity. Its programs are financed by obligatory contributions

from manufacturing enterprises which have 15 or more workers. The enterprise must contribute 1.5 percent of the first S/.24,000 paid per worker. Its programs range from training the unskilled worker to executives at the management level.

SENATI's programs are implemented in varied locations: at the workplace, in one of its three major training centers in Lima, Chiclayo and Arequipa, or through one of its seven mobile training units, each of which contains a workshop and a classroom. These units supplement the work of the three centers in outlying cities and towns. The Lima center, a large and impressive looking plant with several buildings in a modern, campus-like setting, appears to be equipped with the latest models of all types of machinery, and reflects the substantial donations and assistance it has received from many nations and international agencies.

SENATI's curriculum includes 42 occupations, principally in the categories of mechanics and metal work, although a visit to the Lima center showed that it also has impressive textile and graphics workshops. The curriculum is adjusted periodically to meet the current and projected needs of the industrial sector.

A student must be sponsored by a contributing company in order to enter one of the training programs,⁴⁷ and is paid a minimum salary by SENATI during the training. A surprising number of young women were enrolled in all of the courses when we visited the center in Lima, including the machine shops, indicating a fairly progressive policy in this regard.

According to SENATI, it has the capacity to train 1,000 apprentices a year, with occasional courses for 24,000 more students. It states that it is operating at capacity in training apprentices, but a

47. We heard complaints from other sources that this system limited entry into SENATI's programs to those who were already working, or their children, a result of influence and favoritism.

visit to the workshops in Lima left us with the impression that the classrooms and some of the machine shops were under-utilized.

SENATI's director stated that the institution has a strong interest in outreach programs, but that it has not found the mechanism or financing to implement them. Given the urgent need for skills development in AID's target population, SENATI should be considered an important resource in the development of vocational training programs for that group.⁴⁸

G. National Training Service for the Construction Industry (Servicio Nacional de Capacitacion para la Industria, SENCICO)

SENCICO was founded in 1976 by CAPECO, the Chamber of the Construction Industry, to train workers in the industry. As in the case of SENATI, SENCICO was brought into the public sector, and is now a decentralized agency of the Ministry of Housing. The program is financed by obligatory contributions from construction enterprises of 1 percent of the value of each contract. The money goes to the public treasury, which returns a percentage to SENCICO for its budget.⁴⁹

SENCICO's program is aimed at forming workers at the basic and "master" level. At present, they are emphasizing the second category, in an attempt to improve skilled performance in the industry. There are seventeen branches throughout the country, but none of them is able to offer a complete curriculum yet, due to budgetary restrictions. Courses are free, and apparently require some promotional activities to motivate attendance. At the moment there is no monetary advantage to completing training at SENCICO, since completion does not bring any automatic increase in salary.

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48. The World Bank has financed an internal evaluation of SENATI, covering its educational programs, organization, financial structure, and future needs. Its results were not available, since they are considered confidential and for internal use only. Nonetheless, it would be interesting to have a summary of the contents in order to better assess SENATI's potential.
49. The amount returned is considerably smaller than the amount collected. In 1978 the government collected S/.100,000,000 and returned S/.18,000,000 to SENCICO; in 1979 it is estimated that the total collection will be S/.205,000,000 of which approximately S/.70,000,000 will be returned to SENCICO.

Up to the present time, only 4 percent of potential participants have been trained. (It is estimated that there are 250,000 workers in the industry. We were informed by several sources that this is an adequate number to cover the industry's medium-range needs, taking into account a hoped-for normalization of the industry as the economy improves.)

An interesting project which SENCICO hopes to carry out when funds permit is the initiation of a program of supervised practice for its "master" students, in the pueblos jovenes. The students would teach residents, under professional supervision, how to build their own homes. This would answer a real need, since much of the self-help housing being built in the pueblos jovenes is not being done so correctly, according to professionals in the industry. The problems range from poor procedures which lead to weak and dangerous construction, to "over building" through excess use of costly reinforcement.

A similar program has been proposed by INIAVI, and is discussed below.

Private Sector

The following discussion of private organizations is not meant to cover the subject exhaustively. This is a summary assessment of those "p.v.o.'s" with which we had principal contact. The fact that others were not contacted and do not appear in this analysis, does not imply any evaluation of their effectiveness or potential.⁵⁰ There are approximately two hundred or more private voluntary organizations operating in Lima, with varied impact on the social problems of the inner city slums and pueblos juvenes. They cover the range from international organizations to small local groups. There is a need for a comprehensive survey of these organizations in order to assess their individual and collective effectiveness for planning purposes, but such a survey was outside of the scope of this study.

A. Institute for Investigation of Housing Action (Instituto de Investigaciones para la Accion en Vivienda, INIAVI)

INIAVI is a private non-profit organization created by a group of civil engineers who became interested in studying the process of development in the pueblos juvenes. They were particularly concerned at the quality of housing that resulted from self-help construction, finding that it tended to be "under-built", using inappropriate techniques and materials, or "over-built", using an excess of materials which unnecessarily increased already high costs.⁵¹

The group's investigations determined that many residents of the pueblos juvenes had difficulty in obtaining access to credit because the lending institutions were uncomfortable working with this unstable sector of the population. The civil engineers proposed that the Ministry of Housing establish technical assistance centers in the

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50. Accion Comunitaria, for instance, is recognized by many sources as an organization with much experience in the pueblos juvenes of Lima and elsewhere. Time did not permit contact with it. There are other institutions in this category.
51. As noted in many studies, pueblo joven residents prefer to use expensive brick, or "material noble" in building their homes, regardless of cost. Questions of status and image-building seem to play an important role in this preference making it difficult to "wean" homeowners to less costly materials which would provide equal service.

pueblos jovenes to promote self-help housing, but the proposal was not accepted, possibly for budgetary reasons. At that point INIAVI was created. Its objective is to provide technical assistance for self-help housing, through a staff of professional construction engineers and "master" supervisors ("maestros de obros"), and teaching materials created for the specific target group.

INIAVI has produced two manuals as part of its education program, Building with Adobe, and a second, Building with Brick, but its larger plans could not be implemented due to the economic crisis, which saw funds for many projects recede, at the same time that building costs climbed. The latter book was serialized, however, in El Comercio, one of Lima's most important newspapers.⁵² Material from the books, published at INIAVI's expense, have been used informally by SENCICO and the Ministry of Housing, but the group hopes that their use can be expanded as part of a systematic technical assistance program for self-help housing in the squatter settlements, sponsored either by INIAVI, if it can obtain financing for it, or by another institution, but including INIAVI's participation.

INIAVI appears to have the potential for making an important contribution in the area of self-help housing. Its resources, which include professionals who have been advisers to several Ministers of Housing, should be considered in connection with a larger, integrated housing improvement program in the pueblos jovenes which would address credit, home building and improvement, and vocational training.

52. The company of one of INIAVI's directors has evolved a novel system for extending credit for the purchase of building materials in the pueblos jovenes. The company, which produces bricks, operates in normal times with a complement of 200 employees but has been forced to reduce this by half as a consequence of the economic downswing. In an attempt to ease the credit squeeze in the pueblos jovenes, and undoubtedly its own financial situation as well, it instituted a system of selling bricks directly to pueblo joven residents, eliminating the middle man supplier. A home builder is sold the amount of bricks he estimates he can pay for within six months, payment to be made in weekly, bi-weekly or monthly installments, whichever the buyer elected. Collections are made by agents assigned from the community itself, with the agent receiving a modest commission on collections. Various payment methods were tried before the present system was developed. Initially there was a 4 percent default in payments. This has risen to 10 percent, and is expected to reach 12 percent as a result of worsening economic conditions. This arrangement may partially explain the continued housing construction in pueblos jovenes discussed in Section III of this study.

B. The Team for Human Development (El Equipo para el Desarrollo Humano)

This is a private voluntary organization with approximately fifteen years of experience in the pueblos jovenes of Lima. Supported by international grants and local donations, it currently operates in 14 pueblos jovenes in the southern core of the metropolitan area. It is working with 21 groups, and includes preschool projects for 1,000 children from three to five years of age, which offer nutrition support, medical and dental services, and a special program of construction of children's latrines. In each trimester approximately 700 women are given courses in nutrition, health education, sewing, and handicrafts, as well as personal, home, and community development. The Team provides technical assistance to neighborhood organizations, with an emphasis on developing leadership and community participation.

The Team has a small staff of social promoters, complemented by social work students from several universities, as well as graduate students from the schools of medicine, nursing, and dentistry of Lima who are fulfilling their government-mandated year of voluntary service before obtaining professional degrees. The Team coordinates its activities with the Ministries of Health and Education, INAPROMEF and other voluntary groups.

While the Team's programs address important community needs, they cover a comparatively limited scope. The organization does have important assets of years of experience in the pueblos jovenes and excellent relations with the communities and their leaders. It would benefit by participation in a larger innovative community program which would broaden its perspective and permit it to use its considerable experience to greater advantage.

C. Adventist Philanthropic and Social Assistance Works
(Obra Filantropica y Asistencia Social Adventista, OFASA)

OFASA has been operating in Peru for fifty years, principally in the sectors of education, medical and social assistance. Its rural programs extend into the far reaches of the country. It is a principal conduit of Food for Work in Lima, implemented through infrastructure projects and

construction of schools, health posts, and community centers. OFASA produces and distributes enriched food products as supplements for infants and nursing mothers in nurseries and family service centers. It estimates that its maternal-child nutrition program covers 70 percent of the pueblos juvenes in metropolitan Lima.

OFASA has vocational training centers for men and women, utilizing promoters from the community. They are paid with food rations.

While OFASA's extensive Food for Work projects are unquestionably meeting a nutritional emergency, there is some concern as to their long-term developmental impact. The program is currently administered by OFASA, communities are given FFW assistance in three-month units. At the end of the first three-month period the program can be renewed again for another three months. In some cases of extreme need, the program may continue up to nine or more months. Our understanding, however, is that the average "contract" is from three to six months. At the end of that time, assistance is retired, and the community must again fend for itself, somewhat improved in terms of some new roads or common facilities, but with nothing to guarantee further improvement for the individual participants. If the program were linked at the outset with an income generation or food-generation project⁵³ sponsored by another p.v.o. or public institution, with the length of the contract appropriately coordinated for maximum effect, this would increase its impact many times over.

D. YMCA (Asociación Cristiana de Jovenes, ACJ)

The YMCA operates its traditional youth development program in three well-equipped centers in Lima. It has in recent years begun an outreach program in both the rural and urban sector to work more directly with the poorest populations. It is currently focusing its efforts in Lima on development projects in small, inner-city pueblos juvenes, which it feels are within the scope of the YMCA's present resources. These projects

53. I.e., production of cuyes (guinea pigs), which are an excellent source of protein and are considered a great delicacy in much of Peru, including those pueblo joven residents who have emigrated from the provinces.

are based on community surveys in which the community residents participate actively, from the design, through implementation and finally, the analysis. This process helps to identify common problems in the community; these are prioritized, and the community proceeds from this point to develop projects responding to their felt needs. One of the important objectives of this activity is to educate the communities to their own reality, and to give them the information base and planning tools needed to solve their own problems.

The program is implemented by a small but dedicated professional staff which obviously enjoys the confidence of these communities.

While the scope of the YMCA's program is not very large, the projects provide an interesting model which may serve other institutions. It would be useful to observe and assess the projects as they move from the needs identification through to the implementation phase. The results of three community surveys have been printed in mimeographed form, and provide useful data on their communities.

IV. FRAMEWORK FOR INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

Any planning for development assistance in Peru at this time must be placed in the context of the transitional phase through which it is passing. This phase is likely to last for at least another year, as the country moves toward electing the first civilian government in ten years in May of 1980, and as that government takes up the reins of power and consolidates its position. There is no indication of the shape the new government will take or what its policies will be.

Perhaps the only fairly certain prediction that can be made for the short term is that Peru will still be in the midst of a severe economic crisis. The stringent conditions under which almost all Peruvians live and under which government entities operate, particularly in the social services sector, will remain unchanged for the most part. While the balance of payments outlook has improved, and is expected to continue to improve barring unforeseen developments, it will be some time before this will be translated into any substantial changes in budgets and prices.

This backdrop suggests general areas of programming which would be appropriate for IIPUP funding in the period FY 80-82. Specific program recommendations will be outlined in Section V.

FY 80

This period covers the pre- to post-election stage in the country's move to representative government and will not be the optimum time for inauguration of significant new programs. The current government will be an increasingly lame duck until the new government takes possession sometime next summer. The new civilian administrators will need time to move into position and set their own program goals. The transition from one government to another will not be an ordinary one in any case, and can be expected to have more than the usual repercussions in public institutions.

Given these conditions, FY 80 IIPUP funding should be used to support data collection activities. The current lack of reliable, useful data

in almost every sector is one of the greatest obstacles to rational program development by both AID and the Peruvian Government, and must be considered a high priority. The austerity of government budgets does not permit gathering of the most elemental data in public agencies at the present time. Any re-focusing on it will not only provide needed information, but emphasize the importance of such activity. This type of effort is least likely to be affected by the events of the coming year, and the data obtained can provide the basis for specific projects in the period FY 81-82.

Areas in which data collection and studies would provide needed information are: (1) The target population: A wide range of basic information is needed on the pueblos jovenes, from development of typologies to shelter-related needs, employability, income and its distribution, etc. While no one study can or should cover the total range in depth, a reliable basic profile will be invaluable;⁵⁴ (2) Shelter sector: Specific data required is in the areas of infrastructure, housing, community organization, and credit; (3) Vocational training and employment; (4) Private voluntary organizations; (5) Health: Status and resources; (6) Women: Socioeconomic status, access to credit, tenure and services, and needs; percentage and location of women-headed households.

Where possible, these studies should be carried out by, or in collaboration with the appropriate sectors in order to strengthen data collection skills and systems within institutions, as well as to promote increased contact between technical personnel and their client groups. While the proposed areas of study are interdependent and thus do not fall within exclusive sector domains, possible sponsorships can be suggested, in the expectation that the data produced and the results of research will be diffused across sector lines. Such cross-fertilization should be encouraged.

1. Studies of the target population (development of typologies, employment and employability statistics, income distribution, spatial distribution, community organization). Suggested sponsors for studies are the Ministry of Labor, Ministry of Housing and Construction, and the National Housing Bank (BVP).

54. For an excellent discussion of the relative merits of types of studies, we direct the reader to: Eliciting Local Needs in Planning for Urban Based Services for Rural Development, produced by the Development Group for Alternative Policies, Washington, D.C., March 31, 1978. See particularly Section III, "Some Considerations Regarding Information Gathering Techniques."

These institutions have a logical need for data in these areas. Development of such data and typologies would promote more effective planning and programming in all related sectors.

2. The shelter sector (infrastructure availability and needs, shelter standards, access to and affordability of credit, et.al.) Appropriate institutions to sponsor studies in these areas are the Ministry of Housing and the National Development Bank.
3. Vocational training and employment prospects. The Ministries of Education and Labor could appropriately implement studies in these areas.
4. Private voluntary organizations. Appropriate sponsors for studies in this area are AID; INAPROMEF and the Ministry of Health. These institutions are suggested because of the affinity of their interests and objectives, as well as their current collaboration with many of the p.v.o.'s. The broad range of p.v.o. activities, however, cuts across the concerns of almost every sector, and an assessment of their capabilities, resources and potential would be immensely useful to many agencies and institutions concerned with urban development
5. Health (status of the population in the pueblos jovenes; availability of resources; unmet needs; resource allocation). The Ministry of Health should take primary responsibility for studies and data collection in this area.
6. Women (socio-economic status and needs; access to credit, etc.). The situation of women in the pueblos jovenes and in the barriadas is pertinent to the concerns of many sectors and should therefore be included as a discrete element in any of the above-suggested studies. A study focusing entirely on the condition of women in the squatter settlements and barriadas would be a signal contribution to urban development planning across the board. Agencies under whose aegis such a study could be usefully implemented are: INAPROMEF; the National Institute of Statistics (IME); the Ministry of Health; the Peruvian Committee of the Interamerican Commission of Women (CIM).

Where necessary, technical assistance should be provided to reinforce institutional capabilities. There are a number of competent research organizations in Lima which could provide such assistance and which should be utilized. Among them are the Centro de Estudio de Antropología y Desarrollo Social, CEADES; the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos; the Centro de Estudios y Promoción del Desarrollo, DESCO; the Department of Social Studies and the Taller Urbana-Industrial, of Catholic University; the Centro Peruano de Investigacion del

Mercado, CPIM. A special role for the MOHC appropriate in its responsibilities for pueblos jovenes might be as a repository for such studies as they exist now and new ones as they are produced.

FY 81-82

The political situation of the country should be relatively stabilized by FY 81. The new government's goals will have been clarified, permitting assessment by AID of which projects should have priority consideration for development and implementation. This task will have been aided by previous data collection activities. IIPUP funding could appropriately be used in identifying and developing such projects and in supporting the coordination function.

Factored into the criteria for project selection should be the need to utilize limited personnel and other resources in both the public and private sectors more effectively. This points to giving preference to projects which multiply the impact of resources through integration and coordination with others. In infrastructure projects, for instance, emphasis should be placed on construction of multiservice centers. These can combine such activities as health posts; child care centers; community activities such as meetings of neighborhood councils; women's activities; youth clubs; information services, education programs, etc. This will not only assure maximum efficiency and effectiveness in the use of space, but reduce costs and promote coordination between the various sectors. Proximity will tend to keep the sectors better informed of each other's activities and needs, and facilitate coordination at the community level.

Coordinated projects will require the previous establishment of priorities within the respective organizations, in order to ensure clarity of goals and to avoid conflicts in the implementation of coordinated projects.

One of the criteria for IIPUP support of projects should be their contribution to synchronizing other activities. This does not appear to be taking place at the present time. AID can promote such coordination

among the agencies whose activities bear on HG-funded urban projects. We have in mind, as an example, the phasing of the remodeling-entitlement activities of the Ministry of Housing with promotional activities related to infrastructure and home improvement credits. This would require joint development of criteria for the selection of communities where projects are to be implemented. Project design should incorporate plans for related community organization and development activities in the areas of health, income generation, vocational training, and other identified community needs. AID should be able to pinpoint accountability for all of the components in the selected areas.

Priority should also be given to IIPUP support of project management, through technical assistance and training, where indicated. This is an area of urgent need in the Sub-Region Office of the Ministry of Housing, where improved management of those resources available would increase productivity and result in more effective service to its target population. The need for such assistance to other regional offices of the Ministry should also be explored. Although they were not included in this study, it is probable that the lack of efficient management of resources encountered in the Lima Sub-Region also prevails in smaller regional offices. Technical assistance may have an even greater impact in smaller regional offices, where the numbers and dimensions of the problems faced are not so vast as in Lima.

The following section proposes several projects which fall into the general priority areas outlined in the Annual Report of the Housing Guaranty Program for FY 1978, as well as the criteria for project selection outlined above.

V. RECOMMENDED PROJECT AREAS FOR IIPUP FUNDING

The recommendations which follow include specific suggestions of where IIPUP funds could be used to promote activities and projects designed to improve the quality of life in the pueblos juvenes. IIPUP's relatively modest funds dictate that the program be used as a catalyst to identify projects and support necessary first steps toward their design and implementation. Other resources are available, both within AID⁵⁵ and through other funding agencies, to provide ongoing project support after this initial phase. Since basic information is a prerequisite to all good project design, we have placed considerable emphasis on data collection as a required first step to any other activities. Technical assistance also emerges as an important element in these recommendations, but it is seen as providing inputs upon which recipient agencies can build. The training element should therefore be an important component in such assistance.

A. Basic Inventory

Without a basic inventory of pueblos juvenes, the HG-funded upgrading program, IIPUP, and indeed, the efforts of every government agency or private organization in Peru concerned with services for the target group, face serious constraints.

As noted at many points in this study, the lack of basic information on key sectors affecting urban development, the target population, the effects of improvement efforts undertaken to date, and changing conditions, is a serious impediment to effective planning. There is an urgent need for studies which will produce this data. Absence of an overview makes it very difficult to organize the collection of such data, and all the more so to categorize the various low income communities according to their most critical needs and most promising opportunities for remedial action. There is insufficient basis today for judging where, geographically, scarce resources might most strategically be placed.

The first priority for IIPUP funding should therefore be on developing an inventory, consistent and up-to-date, that identifies the location and key physical characteristics of all the pueblos juvenes. Beyond

55. I.e., OPGs, DPGs and loans.

this, there is need for reliable information about the households living in these communities, about the conditions under which they live, and the services they receive.

A variety of data collection activities has been recommended in this study, involving different branches of the social services sector and possibly university-based and other research groups, private voluntary organizations and local consultants as well. The impact of focusing on the pueblos juvenes from several perspectives, of getting service delivery personnel out into the field to re-establish contact with their clients, and the presence of interested officials in low income communities can be stimulating. Yet, if integrated or collaborative improvement projects are to emerge from the new wave of activity, it will be necessary for all the participants to have some common basis of understanding who, and where, and how numerous the target population are. Moreover, some system will be needed whereby the interested organizations and agencies can find out what efforts are being undertaken in a given community at a particular time.

The significance of data problems for the Lima-Callao area is, we assume, reflected many times over when basic data needs for an urban upgrading program of national scope are considered.

Aerial Survey

If there is a single catalyst that AID can offer to help get the basic inventory assembled fairly quickly, it is an up-to-date aerial photographic survey of the pueblos juvenes, with interpretation based on field checks. If the Government of Peru has not already made plans to fly new imagery in the next few months and interpret it so as to serve the purposes of planning urban upgrading, this is a project that should be considered for support by USAID IIPUP or development grant funds.

The coming year, 1980, is further a particularly good time to consider support of an aerial photography project. Peru's next census is scheduled for the early 1980s. Because the set of aerial photographs could be correlated with census statistical output, they would provide an important

physical dimension to understanding of urban conditions. They would be an excellent benchmark, revealing where people--particularly the lower income groups--are living now, under what conditions of density, environment, and access to jobs and urban services.

Aerial photo-interpretation is an efficient means of identifying the locations of the pueblos juvenes, their sizes and perimeters and populations. Densities and patterns of settlement in the individual communities can be readily measured, and the complement of infrastructure available can be discerned with a clarity unavailable in the various existing sources of aggregate data. Schools, markets, churches, open space and other community gathering places show up. Features such as width of streets and paths, quality of the surfacing, storm drainage networks, erosion, street lighting, possibly manholes marking the routes of underground sewer lines (depending on the scale), outdoor latrines, public fountains, waste water disposed of in the street, leaking or overflowing sewers, and solid waste dumping grounds would be readily apparent. Topographic features such as slopes, ravines, marshland, rock outcroppings, could be easily interpreted. Housing conditions, too, based on house plan and size, roofing material and number of floors could be ascertained for a wide area once ground-checking has produced the keys for interpretation.

Potential applications of the aerial survey data are numerous. Comparison with earlier photographs of the same areas would enable assessment of change and trends, particularly the identification of new pueblos juvenes (not yet officially designated as such). Where perimeters of the older communities already established as pueblos juvenes have expanded or densities increased by "in fill" settlement, this group will become apparent and measurable. Moreover, the record of dwelling unit locations is an important tool for designing proper samples in future data-gathering efforts. There are instances where imputed values of the housing types distinguishable in the photos have been used to generate estimates of the income distribution of the resident households.

Enlarged aerial photographs offer documentation of the settlement patterns of the individual pueblos juvenes--highly important to the project

planning work of regularizing plot boundaries and occupancy rights of the resident families. The pictorial base data will be important also to those responsible for laying out infrastructure lines, for locating social services facilities and for stimulating awareness in the pueblo joven communities about the upgrading program and options open to residents.

The multiplicity of potential applications is good reason for AID support of aerial photography covering the low income pueblo joven settlements. Imminence of Peru's 1980 census and the critical need for basic data at this juncture of programming for the pueblos jovenes argue for assigning a high priority to such a project.

Target Group Survey

At the same time that a global vision is being obtained, efforts should be made to focus on the target group in the pueblos jovenes, in order to develop a more accurate reading on this population. Some studies do exist, but the earlier ones, such as the by now classic Matos Mar work,⁵⁶ and the ECIEL research⁵⁷ need to be updated. More recent works give bits and pieces of data or focus on a limited area (i.e., Tugurizacion en Lima Metropolitana).⁵⁸ AID itself has commissioned some useful studies recently, one on nutrition in the pueblos jovenes, the other on pauperized pueblos jovenes and inner city slums in metropolitan Lima. While the latter studies provide a helpful start in developing a data base, they raise many questions and need to be fleshed out.⁵⁹

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56. Matos Mar, Jose, Las Barriados de Lima, 1957.
 57. ECIEL is the acronym for the Program of Joint Studies on Latin American Economic Integration which resulted in the publication of numerous monographs and a major volume entitled, Consumer Behavior in Latin America: Income and Spending of Families in Ten Andean Cities, edited by Philip Musgrove of the Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C., 1978.
 58. Tugurizacion en Lima Metropolitana, Centro de Estudios y Promocion del Desarrollo, DESCO, Lima, 1979.
 59. In a memorandum responding to questions raised by AID, one of the consultant groups commented on the problems attendant on obtaining data in the pueblos jovenes. These included: (1) lack of systematic information with respect to each pueblo joven and tugurio, particularly with respect

A more in-depth study of the pueblos juvenes is proposed. Building on the data provided in the earlier investigations, it should establish useful typologies out of the diversity observed in the target group, and within these typologies essential data with respect to family composition, housing, education (formal and nonformal), income (family or individual, including how it is earned, spent, and by whom), commuting patterns, basic health data, etc. Sector representatives should have inputs into specific information required, although the study is not meant to be exhaustive or in-depth in any sector. Rather, it should provide a reliable general base which can be used by the sectors as a point of reference for studies keyed to their own needs. The proposed study will supplement the results of the aerial photography and should provide a valuable cross-check to data resulting from the national census.

B. Technical Assistance to the Ministry of Housing

The Ministry of Housing is charged with "urbanizing" the pueblos juvenes through the remodeling-entitlement process, an essential step in the development of these communities. This process, as outlined in Section III, is so complex, the Ministry so understaffed, and the communities receive such insufficient assistance in preparing for and moving through the necessary steps, that the system has bogged down and its intended beneficiaries are poorly served. As a result of the endless delays, the residents of the communities are paying higher remodeling, infrastructure, and housing construction costs, through the effects of inflation.

A three-pronged, IIPUP-funded technical assistance packet is therefore proposed to promote greater efficiency in the Ministry and to increase the impact of its work in the pueblos juvenes.

1. Technical assistance in a review of the remodeling-entitlement process to determine how the process can be simplified. The objectives of the revision would be to shorten the process, reduce paper

to food intake, clothing, housing, and the economically active population; (2) the small sample of their studies, which made it difficult to generalize from them; (3) resistance of the target population to give information, especially in the more politicized communities as well as general resistance to the number of investigations which have produced no perceived help for their problems.

work, and make more efficient use of the Ministry's scarce resources.⁶⁰ This assistance should be provided at the national level in the Ministry, since it involves a process presumably used in all of the Ministry's regional offices.

2. Technical assistance to the Lima Sub-Regional Office in developing a management system to improve the flow of communication and papers between the communities, the zonal offices and the Sub-Region, and between the principal divisions in its own office.

This system should include establishment of a data collection unit within the Sub-Region office, which would function in coordination with the Zonal Offices and with the principal divisions of the Sub-Region Office itself. The importance of such a unit cannot be overstressed. It would not only give the Sub-Region Office a much clearer picture of the dimensions and characteristics of the enormous area and population for which it is responsible, but the information gathered would give the office a firmer base for planning and coordination, both internal as well as with other entities. AID should consider IIPUP or development grant unit support of this, either completely or in part, through FY 82, as a demonstration project to improve planning and implementation systems in other regional offices. Given budget restrictions, it is doubtful that the Ministry would have funds available for new activities for at least the next year or two.

3. Technical assistance in designing and supporting the establishment of a coordination unit in the Neighborhood Organizations division of the Sub-Region Office. This unit would coordinate the activities of the division (which also has responsibility for assisting housing

60. We make this recommendation while recognizing that the Ministry may not be receptive to modifications in the process at this time, since it is related to the controversial Decree Law 22612, and tied to the Ministry's relationship with the pueblos juvenes. It is therefore a politically sensitive issue. Nonetheless, the remodeling-entitlement process, in and of itself, does need reassessment. This reassessment should be encouraged and supported if the Ministry is receptive and if it will not involve the Mission in the current controversy with the pueblos juvenes over D.L. 22612.

cooperatives in the pueblos juvenes) with the projected Promotion Department of the Housing Bank and the projects of the S & L's in the pueblos juvenes. The unit would also coordinate the phasing of the Ministry projects in the communities with those of other institutions, as recommended in Section IV of this study. Here again, IIPUP or development grant funding would undoubtedly be needed to support this office for the short and middle run, at least through FY 82.

The recommended proposals would strengthen the work of the Ministry in critical areas, and result in a more effective delivery of essential service to the target group.

Ancillary projects which should be considered for IIPUP funding are:

A survey conducted by the proposed data collection unit of the Sub-Region to determine how many households in the pueblos juvenes have water connections, sanitary and bathing facilities; if they do not have them, why not, and what would be the costs for installing these services. The lack of such elemental facilities is a major source of health problems, and ways must be found to bring the services to a much wider proportion of the target population at affordable prices. While it is estimated that 47 percent of the pueblos juvenes have water,⁶¹ a clearer picture is needed of what percentage of households have actually installed the individual connections.

A follow-on project might be a study to determine the most economical way to bring these services to the communities, and what financing arrangements would be feasible to bring them to the broadest population base.

Other data which is needed in order to develop effective housing programs in the future is: The number of homes completed in the pueblos

61. Data obtained in an interview at the Lima Sub-Region Office of the Ministry of Housing.

jovenes; how long it took to complete them; final cost of construction; whether they were built through self-help or through a contractor; whether credit was available, and if so, through which sources; to what extent savings were used to pay for materials, construction and infrastructure connection, etc.

An IIPUP-funded survey along these lines, conducted by AID or in conjunction with the BVP, would provide invaluable information on which to base not only new credit programs, but integrated with these, the development of systematic self-help housing projects in connection with SENCICO and INIAVI.

C. Vocational Training

While precise data is unavailable, there is no question that in addition to the high urban unemployment and under-employment figures cited elsewhere in this study, there are large numbers of young people who will be entering the employment market each year, most of them with little or no marketable skills and many without minimum, basic schooling. While the current economic situation offers few opportunities for even skilled workers, it is to be assumed that as the country's financial crisis abates,⁶² these workers will, to a greater or lesser extent, gradually be absorbed into commerce and industry. The remaining pool of unskilled and under-skilled workers, including those who will be entering this category, principally from the poorer sectors of the population, will swell the numbers of un- and under-employed, with little outlook beyond a life of vagrancy or the uncertain, limited "career" of street peddler.

While several sectors currently provide vocational training,⁶³ the number of students they can absorb is limited. The quality of training in many cases is questionable, due, at least in part, to financial restrictions which limit the number of classes offered and the availability of even the most basic instructional materials. A much more serious concern

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62. Current estimates indicate that 1980 should show the beginning of an upward curve.
63. The Ministry of Education (basic work cycle at the secondary school level, SENATI, PROMAE, CENECAPE); the Ministry of Housing (SENCICO); INIAVI, etc.

is whether the training presently offered will, in a normalized economic period, offer opportunities for employment. With the exception of SENATI, there is little indication that current training programs have taken this into account. Nor does there appear to be any cohesive national planning for future skill needs, with concurrent coordination of vocational training programs to ensure that they are channeling students into fields which will offer realistic possibilities for employment.

Multi-sector long-range planning is required in this area, planning which takes into account the recovery of the economy and the development and growth of new sectors, particularly those which can absorb significant numbers of workers at various levels: semiskilled, skilled, technicians and professionals.

A recommended sequence of steps for IIPUP-funded technical assistance in this area would be to undertake an initial study which would assess in greater depth the vocational training resources available to the target population in Lima, identify possible areas of future economic development, and recommend modifications in current training programs, as well as establishment of new ones which more adequately respond to the needs.

A second phase should be that of specific project identification, looking towards development of outreach projects which are geared to the specific needs of the target population in terms of relevance, location, cost and methodology.

An important consideration should be concern for the needs of special populations, particularly women in low-income areas, with programs based on studies which assess their basic education needs, present skills and aptitudes, time available for study, funding assistance needed, child care needs, etc. Attention should be given to avoid channeling women into traditional fields which offer low pay and little opportunity for advancement. Where possible, training should be provided in community centers and schools within the pueblos jovenes themselves, and coordinated with income-generation projects in the same communities.

Thought should be given to coordination of vocation training projects with Food for Work, under an arrangement which could give participants income-generation skills within a relatively short period of three to six months. This could include training para-professionals in a number of areas such as health and child care, and development of manual arts required in the community (i.e., furniture building, dress-making), etc.

D. Income Generation

The need for work appears at the top of every analysis of urgent problems in the pueblos juvenes. It is directly related to most of the other problems cited: shelter, health, food, child care, etc. While the economy is expected to slowly improve over the next few years, it will be some time before this is reflected in any appreciable change in unemployment figures. Those most affected by unemployment and underemployment are living in the pueblos juvenes, and special efforts should be made to stimulate employment opportunities outside of the traditional sectors, which cannot respond to the current need.

Given the fact that lack of employment is such a critical factor, and has been for some time, there is a surprising paucity of income-generation projects in the pueblos juvenes. IIPUP-funding could play an important role here in exploring opportunities for and supporting the development of model income-generating projects, designed for replicability and multiplication. This could not only include stimulation of cottage industries, but small loan programs for cottage industry tools, or small retail shop inventories. These projects should have an integrated approach, addressing other critical areas of need as well in the communities identified. Income-generation projects are particularly suited to this approach, since they tend to impact the community on many levels, and if well-designed, can have a beneficial ripple effect beyond those individuals directly involved in the project. As such, they are excellent vehicles for community organization and development, and should be encouraged for this reason as well. Termed "income-generation", they may accomplish similar results, and avoid some of the problems which the term "community organization" or "community development" seems to raise in some quarters.

Among the several types of useful projects which could be considered, the development of community-based income-generating activities principally though not exclusively for women, would address the neglected needs of an important segment of the target population. They constitute 48 percent of that population, and a significant percentage of them have the principal responsibility for providing for their families' essential needs, whether they are unwed mothers, abandoned women, or women who live with "convivientes" for a few months at a time, but receive little in the way of economic support from them. While some studies and official sources maintain that the number of such women is relatively low, other sources, particularly those which have wider experience working in the barrios, indicate that the problem is a serious one, with estimates ranging from 25 percent to 45 percent.⁶⁴

In any case, there seems to be little doubt that women in the lowest economic strata of the urban population constitute either the sole or a necessary complementary support for family incomes. At the same time, they have limited opportunities for generating income and are invariably at the lowest end of the income scale. There is ample evidence that in spite of their household responsibilities, they will eagerly take advantage of any productive work opportunities.⁶⁵

If these women could be organized, through "mothers clubs", for instance, into barrio-based income generation activities supported by supervised credits, such a program would meet several needs:

1. The activities would increase family income at a level where it is most needed.
2. The projects would promote development of basic group and organizational skills in a neglected but important element of

64. The real status of barrio women needs to be further defined. There are few disaggregated statistics on women available at the present time, and much contradictory information, particularly on women in pueblos juvenes.

65. There is a consensus among official and private organizations involved in the Food for Work program that 75 percent of participants in the program are women.

the target population. While such skills would initially be applied to economic activities, it is to be expected that a secondary effect would be their gradual application in other areas of community life.

3. As the women in these projects acquire new and productive skills, and are better able to provide for their families' basic needs, this should strengthen their self-confidence and stimulate interest and participation in wider community issues.

4. In the long-term, a well-functioning network of independent "clubes de madres" can constitute an acceptable, nonpolitical community element through which the government can increase its outreach in many areas of basic social services, and establish productive, needed lines of communication with these communities.

5. The income-generating women's groups, which will provide much needed economic support to the community, can become a useful counter-balance to the "organizaciones vecinales" in those cases where they are dominated by leaders who are manipulating them for political ends.

None of the above is meant to imply that stimulation of income-generation activities should be limited to women. The need for income-generation in the target population is universal. Women-oriented projects have been identified here as promoting self-help employment opportunities for an important, but overlooked sector of the community. At the same time, it is a low-risk means of supporting community organization during a period when it is receiving little support as a matter of government policy.

Useful IIPUP support for such a program could take the form of technical assistance, perhaps in concert with the Ministry of Labor, in a package which would include a more detailed study of women's situation and needs in the pueblos jovenes, design of an income-generation program, and further technical assistance during the initial implementation phase.

E. Coordination of Resources

The magnitude of the social and economic problems in the pueblos juvenes and tugurios of Lima severely limit the impact any single institution can make on the situation. This factor, coupled with the strained resources of all institutions serving these areas, public and private, makes it imperative for all of them to seek ways to increase the effectiveness of their activities through mutual planning and coordination. This does not, however, appear to be taking place to any great degree. In particular, the efforts of the private voluntary organizations seem to be quite independent of those in the public sector, with some exceptions. There tend to be some collaborative efforts between the p.v.o.'s and the Ministry of Health and, to a lesser extent, INAPROMEF. But in neither case are the efforts significant or systematic.

Private voluntary organizations, national and international, play a role in providing essential social services in Lima's pueblos juvenes, tugurios and barrios populares. The true nature, extent and impact these institutions have, or could have, is difficult to assess due to the lack of adequate information on their activities and resources.

While the work of p.v.o.'s is generally recognized and appreciated among their client groups, on the basis of observations in connection with this study, it would appear that their activities could have greater impact with improved coordination among the voluntary agencies and between the agencies and official institutions.

While some attempt at formal coordination of national p.v.o.'s has been undertaken by the National Secretariat of Private Welfare Institutions (SNIPBS) in Lima, its effectiveness is less than might be desired.

Aside from the issue of coordination, the problems of quality of services and their impact are causes for concern. With some notable exceptions, the proliferation of small, basically palliative programs has given rise to a certain cynicism on the part of the target group, in relation to the magnitude of the problem they face.

It would be important to undertake a survey and analysis of the private voluntary organizations to determine their numbers, the nature of their activities, where and with whom they work, and what human, technical, material, and financial resources they offer. Based on this information, it would be possible to develop a system for more effective collaboration in the delivery of services on the part of public and private groups.

Such a system might also include technical assistance to p.v.o.'s which have resources but lack methods for using them effectively.

An example of where coordination between public and private resources might increase and improve services is in the case of the Food for Work program. (We are aware that AID is also contemplating some modifications in this regard.) While the program is unquestionably responding to an emergency situation, it might be possible to obtain increased mileage from it by linking it to a concurrent public and/or privately-sponsored development program, which would result in more permanent gains for its beneficiaries.

The above list of recommendations is not meant to be exhaustive. They are as much illustrative examples as they are blueprints for IIPUP next year. We would recommend that AID explore which of these offers the best prospects for early implementation taking into account as well ideas from sources other than the study, and develop its program accordingly.

APPENDIX

The following pages contain information helpful in planning aerial photographic surveys and their interpretation for the planning of urban projects. It is extracted from a memorandum prepared for the Urban Projects Department of the World Bank by CITRUD, the Center for International Training and Development in November 1979.

Materials and Staff Needed

1. Scale of Aerial Photographs

The best working scale for contact prints is 1/4,000. However, any scale between 1/2,000 to 1/10,000 can be used. When work covers a city of over 2 million inhabitants or over 10,000 hectares, the photo interpretation work will be made easier if two sets of aerial photos are made: one at 1/4,000 and the other at 1/20,000. The larger the scale, the more prints will be needed to cover the same area.

The following formula gives the number of prints that will be needed to cover a given area:

$$n = \frac{A}{\frac{S^2}{10^6} \left(1 - \frac{Flp}{100}\right) \left(1 - \frac{Slp}{100}\right) 22.5^2}$$

where:

n = number of photographs required.

A = total area to be covered in hectares.

S = scale of contact print (S represents the denominator of the scale fraction; for example, for a scale of 1/4,000, 4,000 is the number entered into the formula as the S value).

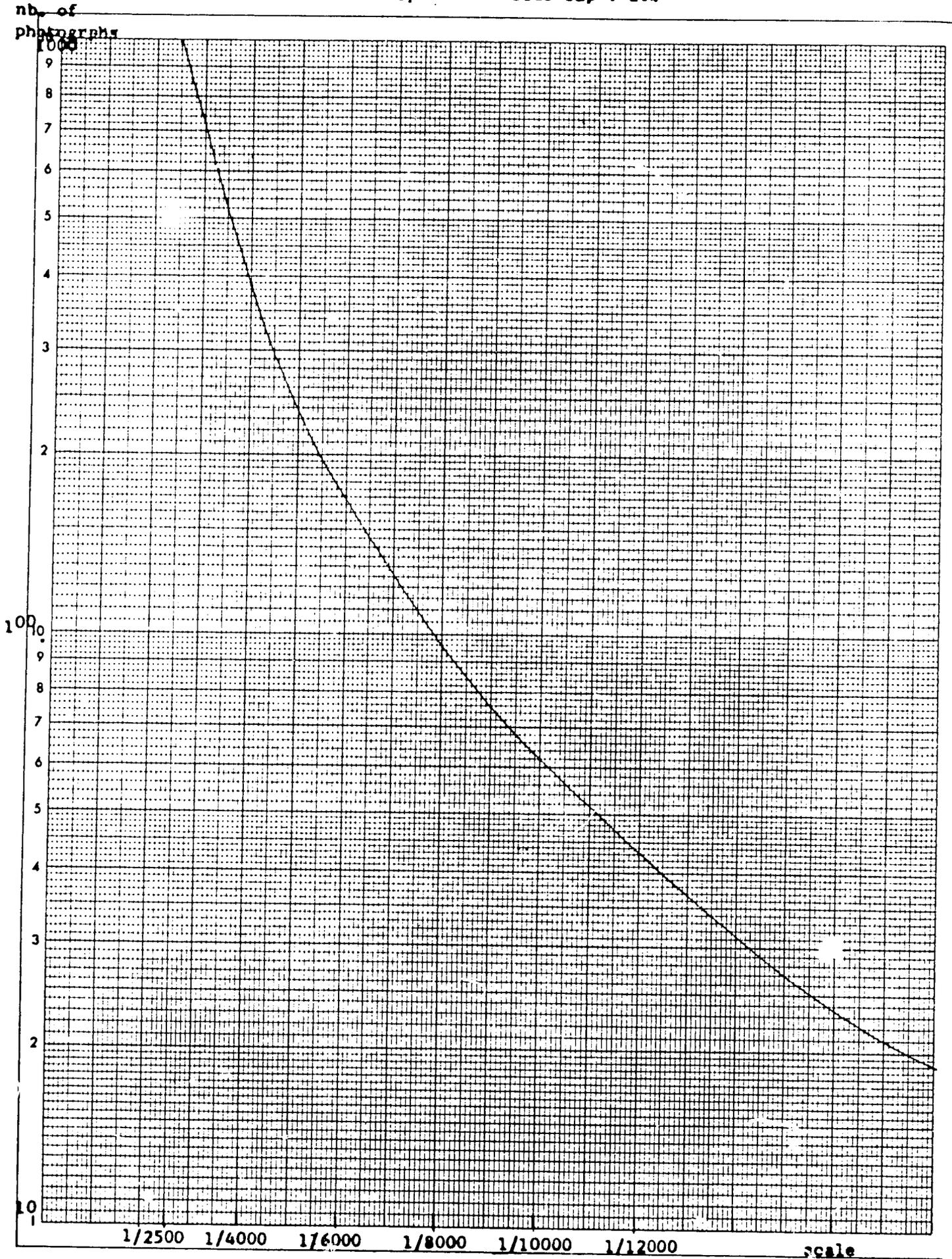
Flp = forward lap (overlap required to obtain stereo photo vision).

Slp = side lap (lateral overlap as a security margin to entirely cover the area or to be able to assemble a photo mosaic).

The graph shown in Figure 13 gives the number of photographs required to cover an area varying from 1,000 to 10,000 hectares at scales varying from 1/2,000 to 1/20,000. The selected value for the forward lap and side lap is respectively 60 percent and 20 percent.

Figure 13
NUMBER OF PHOTOGRAPHS NEEDED TO COVER 1000 HECTARES AT VARIOUS SCALES.

Forward lap : 60% Side lap : 20%



The cost of the photo survey for a given area will depend on the number of pictures required and, hence, on the scale selected for the contact prints. The graph in Figure 13 can be used to determine the trade-off between scale, number of pictures, and cost.

For example, to determine the photo contact scale to cover a city of 2 million inhabitants with an average density of 150 inhabitants per hectare:

Area to be covered -- $2,000,000/150$ or 13,350 hectares.

At a 1/2,500 scale, 980 exposures per 1,000 hectares are needed, or a total of 13,083 exposures.

At a 1/6,000 scale, 170 exposures per 1,000 hectares are needed, or a total of 2,269 exposures.

Although interpretation will be somewhat easier at a large scale such as 1/2,500, the large total number of prints to be manipulated will make the whole operation extremely difficult to organize (one set of contact prints will occupy 0.4 cubic meters -- a room with the approximate dimensions of 1.00 meters wide and 1.63 meters high). On the other hand, the set of 2,269 exposures for the 1/6,000 scale will be relatively manageable in bulk. A compromise solution could be reached by deciding that the total prints, taking into account the staffing available, could go up to 3,000 prints (or 224 exposures per 1,000 hectares). The corresponding scale could then be read on Figure 13 to be 1/5,000.

The type of structure which has to be detected on contact prints without enlargement are also a determining factor in deciding on the scale. On a good quality print, a structure can be identified if its dimensions on the print are not smaller than 0.25 millimeters, so the absolute minimum scale to permit identification of houses which are 3 meters wide is:

$$\frac{\text{minimum photo size of smallest structure (millimeters)}}{\text{minimum real dimension of smallest structure (in millimeters)}} =$$

$$\frac{0.25}{3,000} = \frac{1}{12,000} \text{ minimum scale}$$

2. Cost of Aerial Photography

The cost of an aerial photo survey is made up of three components:

1. Mobilization cost -- a lump sum which depends on the type of airplane used for the survey and the distance from the airplane base.
2. Exposure cost -- the unit cost per exposure multiplied by the number of exposures taken. This is usually degressive: the larger the number of exposures, the lower the cost per unit.
3. Printing cost -- the contact print unit cost multiplied by the number of exposures multiplied by the number of sets required.

Because the number of exposures and prints are proportioned to the scale selected for the survey, the budget available could also be a factor in determining the scale at which the contact prints should be made. When mobilization cost, exposure, and contact print costs are known, it is possible to use the graph in Figure 13 to evaluate the cost alternatives corresponding to various possible scales.

3. Staffing

As a rule, it is better to keep the staff in charge of photo interpretation as small as possible. An approximate staffing requirement can be calculated as follows:

Identification of basic types with ground cross-checking -- 1 architect 10 working days for every 500,000 inhabitants.

Mapping of housing types on base map -- 1 architect and 1 draftsman can process 60 prints a day with occasional ground cross-checking.

Measurement of areas per type on the base map -- 1 draftsman 1 day for each 250,000 inhabitants.

Evaluation of densities -- 1 draftsman and 1 architect for 1 day per each 50,000 inhabitants.

Selection of samples for rent value survey -- 1 architect 1 day per 500,000 inhabitants.

Field survey for rent value evaluation -- 1 architect and 1 draftsman for 1 day per 50,000 inhabitants.

Tabulation and graphic presentation of results -- 1 architect and 1 draftsman 1 day per 100,000 inhabitants.

Cross-checking of results with existing data from other sources and field survey -- 1 architect and 1 economist 1 day per 200,000 inhabitants.

This is only an approximation of staff requirements. The actual staff requirement will depend on the detailing necessary for the analysis and the quality of the prints, as well as on the texture of the urban fabric.

When using the above figures, the staff requirement to do a photo interpretation survey for a city of 1 million inhabitants will be as listed below.

	<u>Person Days</u>	
	<u>Architect</u>	<u>Draftsman</u>
Identifying house types	20	
Mapping	45	45
Measuring areas	4	4
Evaluating densities	20	20
Selecting samples for field surveys	2	
Field survey and rent evaluation	20	20
Tabulating results; graphic presentation	10	10
Cross-checking results	<u>5</u>	<u>—</u>
Total	126	99

Total staff required for photo interpretation work for a city of 1 million inhabitants will require about three architects during 42 working days, or about two months. Two draftsmen will be required for 50 days, or about two-and-a-half months.

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