Of dreams and deeds: the role of local initiatives for community based environmental management in Lima, Peru

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As stated in Chapter 4, neighbourhood organisations are the primary catalyst in the process of neighbourhood development in Peruvian barriadas. They are responsible for neighbourhood development in a broad sense. This covers not only legal issues and environmental improvement, but also the creation of social infrastructure, mediating internal conflicts and assuring a safety net of solidarity when a family in their settlement needs one.

This study is limited to environmental issues. Since the process of legalising land tenure is an important determinant for environmental improvement, we will start with this issue. The chapter opens with a detailed and illustrative description of the process of consolidation as given by one of the neighbourhood leaders, the ex-secretario of the neighbourhood organisation of República Federal Alemana (Pampas asentamientos humanos). Next, the role of the neighbourhood organisations in Pampas and Pamplona in the different steps of physical consolidation and environmental improvement (road improvement, water provision, waste management, and parks) will be described.

República Federal Alemana is one of the older settlements in Pampas de San Juan. It presently has 500 households. Invasions started in 1981. The settlement participated in the Barrantes programme, and the individual land titles were obtained in 1986. Most of the houses are built from durable materials, and some even have several floors. The settlement has had domestic drinking water and sewerage since 1993. The ex-secretario general relates as follows:

'Because there was no room left where we lived, we united and formed a cooperativa to obtain land. When we started, we had about 500 members. When we discovered that the land that we were sold was not handed over to us, we invaded it. But then Alemana did split up into two Alemanas. There were two groups of people who wanted to be leaders. That was also a political issue. One group belonged to the political party APRA, the others were right-wing. So the Apristas walked out, and invaded a piece of land higher uphill. They did take with them all their people, their family, their kin, and their politically affiliated. They were many. And they formed República Democratica Alemana. And we formed República Federal Alemana. Why Alemana? Because we hoped to get some help through the German embassy, that's why. So we bought land from the Mayor, Moscoso. But it turned out that he had sold the same land to two other cooperativas as well, so we invaded it. After the elections of 1983, the Municipality Lima Metropolitana and the municipality of San Juan both had left-wing mayors. I am
a very close friend of the Mayor. And they launched the programme of Barrantes. But they were left-wing governments; they only helped the real _asentamientos humanos_, not the _cooperativas_. So then we decided to turn our _cooperativa_ into an _asentamiento humano_, although we had paid for our land.

In _mi pueblo_ – my settlement – you will find the best-educated people of all settlements. That is because we were a _cooperativa_, than you attract the more qualified people. Okay, there are some invaders that came in later, but most are real _cooperativa_ people, better situated. My settlement has two councillors in the municipality of San Juan. Yes, two of them who made it all the way up to the municipal council. One was the secretary of the organisation during the invasion; the other was vice-president, now they are councillors. People of Alemana really are well prepared.

First, we got electricity. We had to find it our own way, since in the more consolidated _cooperativas_ they did not want to give us anything, no electricity, no water. Nothing. So I took it upon myself to organise that, especially for my housing block. I went everywhere, to the municipality, to the Electricity Company. I had a small shop. I was a little better off than the others, with my small shop, so I put up the guarantee for the credit. We were the first to get provisional electricity, my housing block. Oh yes, they paid me back, we had _parrillada_ after _parrillada_, after _parrillada_, and so they paid me back. Oh yes, we have had the best activities here. I have been secretary of sports for eleven years. Each year we had a big competition. I put in the chocolates, from my bakery, the _vaso de leche_ committee contributed milk, another leader gave the sugar, and another organised T-shirts for the teams. Wonderful competitions we have had here. And I have organised the most marvellous anniversary celebrations of the settlement. Thousands of people came to see the artists we had brought in.

But the most important I have done, is organising water and sewerage for _mi pueblo_. I was not even part of the _junta directiva_. I just was co-ordinator of my housing block in those days, nothing more. They were all _apristas_ in the junta, and they told us that we would get our water through the _Banco de Vivienda_. But this was all politics. And the leaders wanted their own profit. And the _junta directiva_ had invited four private companies, which all had tendered offers for constructing the water and sewerage in Alemana. And in the first meeting I asked all of them whether I could see their paperwork, where they were registered, what kind of guarantee they could give us. And they said that that was all unnecessary, that this was based on mutual trust, on friendship. But I did not believe them. And you know what, it turned out that they were all the same company. The same company under four different names! Can you imagine! So each presented a budget. And the people signed for the cheapest, although they knew it was just one company. Everything was signed, even the credit with the _Banco de Vivienda_. But as I said, it was all politics. Nothing happened. I went up several times, to see the people in the bank. But it was just to keep us quiet. So I contacted other leaders of other settlements, and they told me the same. The _Banco de Vivienda_ was just a political instrument, it had no money, and all got stuck. So what did I do?
I gathered a group of people, one or two of each housing block, and told them: come on, we have to do something. We cannot remain dependent on this kind of people. Why don’t we look for help, from one or another NGO, one or another embassy. Because that is what a leader has to do, he has to search for help for his pueblo. Then I was elected leader. We had formed a group of basically merchants, and we had no political affiliation. We won the elections. I went to the Banco de Vivienda to see how things were going. They were not going. And then I presented to the general assembly that we should do it with our own money, independently. I had such an enormous opposition, you cannot imagine. And the people were afraid that I would run with the money, although I have not asked them for a single sol since I assumed office. So what did I do, I formed street committees. That was a change, no longer housing blocks, as we had been doing for years, but street committees, the people from one side of the street, and the opposite side. In the end the water pipes are built in the street, not in the block, so people from opposite sides of the street have to get to work together. At each side, somebody had to collect the money, supervised by a leader. So, there were always two treasurers, from each side one, and a representative of the junta directiva, to avoid fraud.

Then we went to the Water Company, SEDAPAL. To discuss whether they would accept us if we would do it auto-financed. Whether they would give us technical assistance, and finally to assure that if they did, they would implement the works without any delay, and of good quality. So we started. We hired a topographer. We bought the necessary materials. And yes, I managed to get a donation. I got a donation from the Canadian Embassy, to be able to buy the necessary materials for the waterworks. The rest we got from the Dutch Embassy.

We did provide the unskilled labour. All the men helped to dig the ditches; the women provided the meals and drinks. How it ended with the opposition? Well, in the end they joined in. When they finally saw that it worked out, they joined. But due to all this, all the extra work, all the opposition, the quarrelling et cetera, we were really late in getting our water. We have had water since 1993. Look, here I have an award that they made me. It says: ‘The settlement of República Federal Alemana expresses its gratefulness to Aurelio Caya Nuñez for his efforts and success in realising the works of drinking water and sewerage, 10th of October 1993’.

Now we are working to get our roads paved. I hope we can start by the end of ’97. But there is a lack of organisation, and a lack of leadership. People no longer care, they do not come to meetings any more. We no longer have general assemblies, nor are there meetings of the junta directiva I think. I don’t know, I am no longer secretario general, I have done my job, and the people still are grateful to me’ (Aurelio Caya Nuñez, ex-secretario general República Federal Alemana, February 1997).

This extensive quote makes clear what role the neighbourhood organisation played in legalising land tenure, and the subsequent provision of electricity, drinking water,
sewerage and the improvement of roads. The following sections will provide further information on these aspects, with examples from the other settlements, too.

8.1 Legalising land tenure

As has been indicated in Chapter 4, the process of consolidation is closely linked with the process of obtaining land tenure. Under Peruvian law, the settlement has to pass three stages:
1. Approval of the perimetric plan;
2. Approval of the urban development plan; and
3. Issuing of the individual land title.

The first step, the approval of the perimetric plan, was not that difficult for most of the settlements in Pampas. Both the newest settlements and Pampas asentamientos humanos had to wait and struggle for an average of three years to get their perimetric plan approved. This also gave them official permission to stay on the land they had invaded. This step took much longer for the cooperativas because this was a different procedure and had less government priority. All cooperativas had to wait four years or more, with two extreme cases waiting twelve and fourteen years.

Once the perimetric plan has been approved the settlements can apply for the approval of the urban development plan, and then for the individual land title. How long settlements have to wait for these next two steps is clearly influenced by the political scene. Seventeen settlements that had invaded before 1984 obtained the approval of their perimetric plan and their urban development plan in the years 1985-1987, sixteen even obtaining their individual land title in those years, all through their participation in Mayor Barrantes' 'Programa de Vivienda' (see Section 10.3.1).

On average, the asentamientos humanos (Pampas intermediate) had to wait four years for the urban development plan and five years for the individual land title. All titles were issued by the Municipality of Lima Metropolitana, within the framework of Barrantes programme. The newer settlements had to wait for four years for the urban development plan. The six settlements that already have the individual titles have had to wait six and a half years on average. Eight settlements are still waiting and now fall under the new land titling agency COFOPRI.

This process was also more difficult for the cooperativas, who on average had to wait seven years for approval of their urban development plan. The next step for them is hampered by a change in legislation. The urban development plans as designed and registered are no longer valid, since the actual situation in the cooperativas no longer coincides with the approved plans. Most of the public areas reserved in the approved plans have been put to use. Put less diplomatically, areas reserved for parks, educational or health facilities have been sold to newcomers, quite often to the profit of the leaders. The same happened in the asentamientos, but there the rules are enforced less strictly.

1. The only exception was the settlement República Democrática Alemana where the land title was issued by a national government entity, due to their political affiliations with the APRA.
The role of the Neighbourhood Organisations in Urban Environmental Improvement

The cooperativas are now trapped in the new legal situation (see also Box 8.1). As a cooperativa they officially own the land, so they do not have to fear eviction. However, the new government entity, COFOPRI, by law cannot work in the cooperativa, as only state-owned land falls under their jurisdiction. Cooperativas still fall under the former land titling agency, Lima Metropolitana, but Lima Metropolitana only issues land titles to the cooperativas if the urban development norms – indicating that 13% of the area has to be reserved for public uses – are respected. Cooperativas that have violated this stipulation can obtain an individual title if they pay a high fine to compensate for the occupied land. Leaders of two different cooperativas have stated that these fines were around US $40,000. The population of the cooperativa is not willing to pay such amounts, all the more since they have had to pay for the illegal sale of the land by the leaders, from which they as inhabitants have had no profit at all. As a result of this legal trap, the cooperativas still lack their individual land titles.

Table 8.1 Average number of years that the settlements in Pampas needed to pass the steps in the land titling process

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pampas cooperativa (intermediate)</th>
<th>Pampas asentamientos humanos (intermediate)</th>
<th>Pampas unconsolidated (new)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perimetric Plan</td>
<td>7 years</td>
<td>3.5 years</td>
<td>3 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Development Plan</td>
<td>7 years</td>
<td>4 years</td>
<td>4 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual land title</td>
<td>Still waiting</td>
<td>4 years</td>
<td>6.5 years</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
<pre><code>                            |                                  |                                            | (8 still waiting)            |
</code></pre>
<p>| n=8                    | n=21                             | n=15                                       |</p>


Pamplona excluded because of the low number of cases (3).

The role of the neighbourhood organisation in this process is one of constantly knocking on doors, keeping the files and paperwork in order, and following the paper trail of changing laws in relation to the external actors. They also have to act as mediators and problem-solvers within the settlement. This is, of course, also the period when a lot of corruption can rear its head, when corrupt leaders demand more money for plots or procedures than is necessary, or the leader’s family, friends, kin or allies are given the favourite plots, and so on.

\[2\] Whether the indicated amount is correct could not be verified, but the system of the fines indeed functions as indicated (Personal communication Hildebrando Castro Pozo).
Chapter 8

Box 8.1 The sensitivity of land tenure and the value of information

During my visits, I was repeatedly asked so many questions I could not answer about the issue of the individual titles, especially in two cooperativas, that I approached a lawyer specialised in land tenure regulation and asked him to come to give a talk to the people about it. I had already learned that I always had to discuss this kind of issue not only with the leaders of the settlements, but also with the women leading the communal kitchens. The women were excited by the idea that they themselves could be informed on the technicalities. They repeatedly begged me to ensure that the invitation to the meeting should not only be passed through the neighbourhood organisation, but also through their communal kitchen, to ensure that ‘all’ households would be informed. I did not take any risks, and in the first cooperativa I informed the leaders, and three women’s groups myself: two competing communal kitchens and a group affiliated to the church. In the second cooperativa, I informed the leading woman from the neighbourhood organisation, Maritza, and one of the ladies who owned a small shop through whom I had heard that Maritza monopolised her contacts. This cooperativa was less organised, so I knew of no other people through whom I would reach a network. I copied an invitation for all the households, but even then, I had to accept that not all households would be invited.

The importance of the issue of individual tenureship was proven by the fact that almost 100 people showed up at the meeting. 80 from the cooperativa where the meeting was held and 20 from the other cooperativa. People were very eager to get information firsthand, as the leaders who monopolised the information had manipulated them too often. It was revealing that except for Maritza, the leaders of the second cooperativa did not even show up. Many participants heard for the first time that the occupation of the free areas in their settlements was punishable by a fine.

The meeting made it clear that the cooperativas had three different options from which to choose. The first was to pay the fine, but this was not considered viable. The second was to change their legal status from cooperativa to asentamiento humano, and invite the new land-titling agency (COFOPRI) to come in. A third option was to present a new urban development plan, where the occupied areas would be compensated for by using every single bit of free land, and negotiate with the Municipality of Lima Metropolitana to accept this. The lawyer made it clear that this would be far more successful if all cooperativas in the same situation would join efforts and present a joint case.

The eight cooperativas all are waiting for another legal change that will allow them to get their individual land title without these complications.

Heavy debate about the actual layout of the settlements takes place in the general assemblies. When the tenure issue is on the agenda in the settlement, the most vivid and intense arguments about plot sizes and location take place. Many leaders and inhabitants remember that those were the days where the general assemblies had the highest attendance, and were held if necessary every other Sunday. There is, however, little concrete action the inhabitants themselves can take at that point, other than taking part in the discussions and trying to keep an eye on their leader. It is a period of intense neighbourhood disputes and even arguments, but during which little else can actually be done other than wait for the results of the co-ordination between leaders and agencies.

One settlement, Buena Vista, decided to follow its own policy. Invaded in 1989, it was created too late to participate in the Barrantes programme. The leaders and the population quickly decided that they would start to construct houses of durable materials. As soon as they got the approval for their urban development plan, they
started to build. They assumed correctly that no agency would ask them to tear
down their houses again. They are the only one of the 'younger' settlements in which
the majority of houses are built from durable materials, although they only very
recently got water and light, and still do not possess the individual title.

8.2 Road improvement

Little can be accomplished in the settlements without roads. Neither the water trucks
nor the machinery for installing electricity and sewer systems can enter. Thus, the
first thing the neighbourhood organisations do after the shacks are built is to organise
communal work days, the so-called faenas, to level an entrance road to the
settlement. (In the settlements on the steep slopes, staircases are constructed to
ensure that the settlement can at least be reached on foot.) This is most often done on
Sundays, when most people are free. It is the neighbourhood organisation’s task to
organise these days and make them known to the residents. This took place in two
newer settlements, Patron de Santiago and Ampliación Pacifico, during the field-
work period. Every Sunday afternoon for weeks the residents of the two
neighbourhoods worked together to create a main road, which would connect their
settlements to an existing road. They were working hard to widen the road they had
only created a few days after the invasion. Notes were taken of which families were
participating.

The next step the neighbourhood organisation can take to improve the road is to
try to attract outside assistance, either from local government or from the Ministry of
the Presidency, to improve road conditions by using heavy machinery to grade the
roads. Then a provisional cap of gravel is laid. Paving on top of this layer of gravel is
easy if it is done immediately. Unfortunately, it generally takes a long time before the
roads do get paved, and then the gravel layer deteriorates rapidly.

For most of the cooperativas and the asentamientos humanos in Pampas, getting the
internal roads paved was the highest priority during the years this research took
place. There are different ways to get this done. One way is to hire an engineer to
develop the project, and then contract a private company to do the work, which is
rather expensive. A second way is to present a project to the Ministry of the Presi-
dency, and wait for the army to do it. This is a kind of lottery (see Box 8.2). A third
possibility is to pressure local government to include the settlement in the
programme of public works. This arduous process requires the neighbourhood
leader to make many visits to the municipality.
Box 8.2  
Paving the roads in the cooperativa Ricardo Palmo

'Yes, we got our roads paved three months ago. President Fujimori did that. How did we manage to do it? Well, the president came to bring some of the people their individual land title personally. He did not come to our settlement, but we prepared ourselves. We made a beautiful petition. I went to a niece of mine, who makes beautiful documents on the computer. You have to make sure that it looks nice and very official. I prepared a petition, with all the seals of the neighbourhood organisation. No, they had not helped me, but I thought that I just had to try. So when the president came, we were there, a group of women. And I went to him, gave him the petition, and told him that we wanted our roads paved. He was there with Sr. Yoshyma, the head of the Ministry of the Presidency. He gave our petition to Sr. Yoshyma, and told him: 'Make sure that these people get their road paved'. So, we went to the Ministry of the Presidency, to present our project again. It worked out quite well. In November, I went to the Ministry of the Presidency for the first time. They promised that they would come in December. When they did not, I went again and reminded them that the president had promised us roads. Then they promised that they would come in February. And they did. In February they came, with the army, and paved the roads. No, we did nothing. We only provided drinks to the soldiers. We asked for the sidewalks too, but they only paved the roads. Why don't we pave the sidewalks ourselves? It is true that paving the sidewalks is not that expensive, yes, we should be able to do it ourselves, that is true. But the people prefer to wait till the president comes again, you know. The people prefer that the president does it.' (Sonya, Ricardo Palma, April 1996).

The way in which roads are levelled and opened up in the beginning brings its own problems to the next steps of the consolidation process. Most settlements do not manage to co-ordinate between themselves. There are conflicts between the different settlements about settlement boundaries. As a consequence of these conflicts and the lack of co-ordination, settlements often do it 'their way' in the street-levelling process. The roads are only planned within the settlement, and thus little thought is given to how to connect the roads with the rest of the district. In the consolidated parts of Pammas this problem was solved through the intervention of Mayor Barrantes' programme.

In the newest settlements there are many problems with roads. The settlements of Patron de Santiago and Ampliación Pacífico are hampered by the fact that the neighbouring settlement does not allow them to connect the road on which they worked so hard during the faenas to the main road. As a result, they now have a kind of sandy 'highway' between the two settlements that can only be reached through an almost inaccessible by-way. In the settlement of Buena Vista, great care was taken to leave enough room for a future road. Unfortunately, the neighbouring settlement did not respect this and the area has now been invaded, cutting off Buena Vista from all access except by the 'goat-trails' the inhabitants constructed. The settlement of Las Dos Cruzes has spent many Sundays creating a road following one of the contour lines of the slopes. A municipal topographer came to verify whether the road could be included in the municipal public works scheme. Unfortunately, the road leads to a dead end: a house in the next settlement blocks the road. The topographer left, stating that the field situation as it had developed no longer allowed the road as it had been approved in the urban development plan of Las Dos Cruzes.
8.3 Improving drinking water provision

There is a clear sequence of the improvements undergone to acquire drinking water, from no water, to water vendors, to public tap point, to a private connection with irregular service, to a domestic connection with a regular service. The fight to obtain water in Pampas is especially remembered by the people as a long and arduous struggle. It was most difficult for the first invaders (Box 8.3).

Box 8.3 Obtaining water in the first years

‘In the first years we had to go to Ciudad de Dios to get our water, all the way to the Avenida de los Heroes. The water vendors did not come to our outskirts. They could not come, even if they wanted to, because there was no road. There just was a trail in the loose sand, that was all. So, I had to go all the way to Ciudad de Dios, to fetch water at my father’s house. I constructed a barrow with wooden wheels; you could always hear me coming with the buckets of water, thumping over the stony road. Four, five kilometres up and down. We all had to find our own way to get water. It took a very long time till we got even public taps installed here’ (Alfredo, República Democrática Alemana).

‘First there was a señor that provided us with water. It was a part of an agreement. He was allowed to extract sand from the big crater there already was in Pampas and, in return, he would send trucks with water to Pampas. We had to collect it in Avenida Miguel Iglesias. This worked until we concluded that the crater was becoming too deep, and we no longer allowed the señor to extract sand, it had become too dangerous for the children. So, we ended up without any water. The most pressing problem was the water, until the leaders took action, and managed to get a public tap point installed through SEDAPAL. But one public tap point was not enough, we were 5 manzanas. We were quarrelling. And sometimes we did not sleep, because we had to wait all night for the water, especially in summer, when water became really scarce. We had only one tap point, and we had to walk all the way down to that tap point. When I was pregnant, my husband went to fetch water in the morning, because I could no longer do it. We also had problems with the neighbours from 13 de Octubre. They came to fetch water in our settlement, but they said that we were very bad neighbours, to not let them. When they were fetching water, people grabbed them, and emptied their buckets, just because they were not from our settlement. (Source: Nuestros Trabajos y Nuestra Organización, Memoria del Club de Madres Heroes de San Juan, 1987-1988, Lima 1989).

Many of the settlements managed to get provisional public tap points installed. Five of the cooperativas did so, and managed to get this service installed within two to five years. Twelve of the consolidated asentamientos humanos did so, completed on average within two years, and most of the youngest unconsolidated asentamientos humanos, on average within four years.
Box 8.4 Organising for the final water connection

The new settlements Jerusalén and Manuel Scorza III joined efforts to acquire the final waterworks. Although it is rather unusual for neighbourhoods to seek co-operation in this respect, the leaders were clear that they would have a higher chance of success and possibly lower prices if they could look for an engineer willing to do the work for 50 households at once instead of for 32 and 18 separately. Through acquaintances, they came to know the names of engineers that might be willing to accept the job. One Sunday morning all households were invited to join a meeting held on a small piece of land between the two settlements, where the engineers explained the options. They did not possess a communal hall, so the meeting had to be held outside. From both settlements, almost all households were represented, often by both husband and wife. The 'secretaries of organisation' took notes of which households were present. The invited engineers explained that now that the settlements had had their perimetric plan approved, they could start the procedures for the final water connections. The first step was for a detailed topographic map to be developed after which a preliminary sketch could be made. This process would cost the settlements 50 soles (about US$ 18) per household. The preliminary project then had to be presented to SEDAPAL. If SEDAPAL approved, a final project could be developed. Once SEDAPAL approved the final project, the settlement could request a loan from FONAVI. This was not without its risks, however. An approved preliminary project remains valid for a year. A final project can only be presented when the settlements have their individual land title, so if the settlements do not get their individual title within a year, they will have to start the procedure again, which will entail additional costs. The engineers promised that they would steer the whole process, helping the settlements in negotiations with SEDAPAL 'We know them well, we have done this in many settlements'. The residents tried to negotiate the price down to 30 soles, but they did not succeed. Finally, an agreement was reached that the fee would be paid in two payments. However, discussions then ensued on the electricity connections and roads. The settlements still could not agree on the route of the main road. One settlement had been going ahead and had the lamppost already installed, which determined a placement for the road that did not please the other settlement. The meeting ended up in turmoil and name-calling. A few days later I was informed that both settlements would wait for the final approval of their land titles, and would not take the risk of losing the project approval of the final waterworks due to a lack of title.

The final step, getting the domestic connections, is far more difficult (Box 8.4). The following data are elusive: of the eight cooperativas – all invaded before 1984 – only two obtained water in the 1980s: the cooperativa Fortaleza in 1981 and 27 de Julio in 1985. Fortaleza auto-financed the waterworks, and 27 de Julio obtained a loan from the Banco de Materiales. Both settlements were adjacent to the older well-consolidated parts of San Juan de Miraflores, so it was relatively easy to connect to the existing system. The other six cooperativas obtained their waterworks in the 1990s. A similar figure applies to the 21 consolidated asentamientos humanos founded prior to 1989. Three of the 21 asentamientos humanos obtained their final waterworks around 1985. The others only achieved this in 1991 or later. On average, the cooperativas waited 10 years to get the waterworks installed, and the consolidated asentamientos humanos waited 11 years. Only two of the unconsolidated younger settlements founded since 1989 have their final waterworks installed at present.
The role of the Neighbourhood Organisations in Urban Environmental Improvement

Table 8.2  Steps passed in the provision of drinking water, and the average number of years the settlements in Pampas waited for these improvements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pampas cooperativas (intermediate)</th>
<th>Pampas asentamientos humanos (intermediate)</th>
<th>Pampas unconsolidated (new)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% of settlements that had public tap point</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average of years waited for public tap point</td>
<td>2.5 years (n= 5)</td>
<td>2 years (n=12)</td>
<td>4 years (n= 7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average of years waited for final waterworks</td>
<td>10 years</td>
<td>11 years</td>
<td>Only 2 settlements have final water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n=8</td>
<td>n=21</td>
<td>n=15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Map 5.3 shows that by 1989 most of Pampas still depended on provisional water, either from public tap points where one had to line up for a long time, or from the water vendors who brought the water in with their trucks. This took various forms. SEDAPAL had several water trucks. There are also many private water vendors, who charge more but also come more often than SEDAPAL.

This picture had completely changed by 1996. By then, all the settlements in the consolidated area – cooperativas as well as the asentamientos humanos – had acquired their final works. Four of the newest settlements had managed to get a public tap point, but eleven still had none.

The neighbourhood organisations have played different roles in bringing the settlements to this stage. They can start to try to find ways to solve the immediate problem, as has been done with the agreement signed in Heroes de San Juan, where a deal was made with an entrepreneur who brought water in return for the right to extract sand. The second step is for the leaders try to get a public tap point installed. This is a relative simple procedure at SEDAPAL, where the major effort the leaders have to make is the many visits needed to keep the process going. Not all settlements undertake the effort. Some simply rely on private water vendors to fill their tanks. This option is only viable if the truck can reach the settlement and the houses. There are several NGOs helping households to construct a brick water tank in front of their house (Melendez 1997). In Pampas, by far the most households constructed their own water tank, without any outside support.

For the last step – the domestic connection – the neighbourhood organisations have to contract engineers to develop the technical proposal. This proposal has to be approved by SEDAPAL. Once it is approved, ways have to be found to finance the construction of the waterworks by private engineers. These loans can be obtained through national government credit schemes (Banco de Vivienda and FONAVI), but...
some neighbourhood leaders have also sought financing through NGOs or embassies.

The ad hoc installation of waterworks, in which each settlement contracts its own engineer, does not enhance the quality of the connections in the system as a whole. There was an attempt by Mayor Barrantes to set up an integrated plan for water provision for Pampas as a whole, which was supposed to form part of his programme. An integrated plan would have reduced costs as well as improved efficiency in implementation and maintenance. Unfortunately, Barrantes and his administration were replaced before it came to implementation of the plan. As with all plans, there were settlements opposed to entering into the general scheme, such as República Democrática Alemana whose residents knew that they would get water more quickly through their political affiliations (see box 6.4).

The umbrella organisation of all the neighbourhood organisations in Pampas, the *Junta Directiva Central de Pampas*, was set up in 1986. In this organisation most settlements were represented by their leader, although the actual representation depended very much on how active a leader was and how much he lobbied. It first served basically to accompany the process of land titling, but rapidly turned to the issue of water as the major problem to be solved.

Despite numerous discussions, the formation of the *Directiva Central*, many demands from the leaders to officials, and many co-ordination meetings with SEDAPAL, the integrated plan for installing water in Pampas never became a reality. There is an integrated plan on paper but it is only used as a reference within SEDAPAL.

The realisation by the people in Pampas that the implementation of the waterworks was stranded once again led to the most impressive popular mobilisation that Pampas has ever known. In the first march over 5000 men, women and children marched to SEDAPAL's head offices, carrying banners and billboards. The SEDAPAL officials made it clear to the protesters that this was the wrong place for the protest, since they could not do anything without government support. The next year a second march was organised, to the Congress building in the city centre, with over 7000 people marching. Although the marchers were received by government representatives, they obtained nothing more than new promises.

Despite the efforts to achieve the implementation of an integrated plan for the provision of basic services, in the end the settlements in Pampas each followed their own path: a presentation of the project to SEDAPAL, a loan through the BANVIP or FONAVI, or contracting private engineers.

The population can participate in the process of getting the final phase of waterworks installed in different ways. The first was already mentioned: the massive popular mobilisation where most of the households were represented in the marches to SEDAPAL and the Congress. A second form is a system of auto-finance. In this case, the neighbourhood organisation does not only organise the private engineers to come and do the job, but also organises a loan on the market. In this form, the neighbourhood organisation usually is responsible for guaranteeing the payments. This

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3. Interview with Santiago Huaray, Sedapal, April 1996.
happened in four settlements in Pampas, two cooperativas and two asentamientos humanos. A more common way is that the settlement contracts the engineer to develop the first project, and once everything is approved, applies for credit from the Banco de Vivienda or Fonavi.

Most settlements negotiate that the unskilled labour will be contracted from within the settlement. In other projects, the price is lowered by volunteer labour by the population. The case of Repúblic a Federal Alemana, which managed to get a donation from the embassy and donated the unskilled labour themselves, is a rather exceptional case. One other settlement in Pampas did put in a great deal of volunteer labour, in an NGO-based project. The NGO provided technical assistance, the population financed the project through the NGO, and the population dug the ditches. This was done in one of the smallest settlements in Pampas, where installing the waterworks was relatively simple.

8.4 Solid waste management and parks

Neighbourhood organisations organise clean-up campaigns to ensure a cleaner settlement. These campaigns are normally held on Sunday mornings. Each household is supposed to send a member. Most neighbourhood organisations organised these clean-up campaigns in the past. In the older settlements this has stopped. In Pamplona, they are no longer organised at all. There are only two cooperativas where the organisation claims they still organise these campaigns, and five leaders of Pampas asentamientos humanos state that the organisation still organises these clean-up days. There are other settlements where the women’s organisations have taken over the responsibility for organising these campaigns (see Chapter 9).

Furthermore, the leaders often go to the municipality to complain about failing waste collection. The accumulating waste is considered a serious problem and has become an issue in election campaigns. Neighbourhood leaders put some pressure on local government to improve the service, but without much success.

There are very few initiatives for greening public space in a collective manner. So far, only one neighbourhood cooperativa leader has managed to get municipal support for the construction of a small park (see Chapter 9). Any other park initiatives stem from individual residents, not from the neighbourhood organisations. The issue of parks is not high on the agenda of the neighbourhood organisations.

8.5 Different kinds of leadership

The situation in a neighbourhood is also dependent on the behaviour of the leader (Box 8.5). There are different reasons for a leader to present himself for the job. Some leaders do so for personal gain. The ‘profit’ varies from financial profits or social status to possibilities for upward social mobility. Many current employees of the municipality are former neighbourhood leaders, and most of the current councillors of the municipality started their careers as neighbourhood leaders. Other neighbourhood leaders accept the job because the population requested them to do so.
Sometimes they even accept reluctantly, because they know it can be a lot of work. Particularly if someone is not after personal advantages, the role of *secretario general* can cost a lot in terms of time and money.

Once they are elected, leaders also vary in their behaviour. Some leaders are very active in seeking ways to improve the situation of their settlement. They go to many offices of external actors to present projects. They use their networks to get access to politicians, municipal employees or functionaries of the public utilities. Whether a project reaches the implementation stage or not often depends on the perseverance of the leader. It requires a great deal of dedication on the part of the leaders to follow the changes in the external context, changes in rules, regulations and the competencies of the different external institutions. The active leaders often go to the municipality to receive information and nurture their contacts.

A second group of leaders acts more 'reactively'. They show up in meetings when they are invited. If they are informed that something has been achieved in the neighbouring settlements, they pass by to ask information, to see whether the same could happen in their settlement. Their basic sources of information on changes in the institutional context are the other leaders.

The last group is the 'inactive' leaders. These are usually the leaders that have been in charge of their settlement for quite some time. Several settlements have not had elections for years, and the leaders are only leaders in name. Sometimes there are intensive internal disputes, and the legitimacy of the leadership is contested. Three settlements had two neighbourhood councils each, each with its own group of inhabitants. In these three settlements, improvements had come to a standstill, since there was no longer any official representation of the neighbourhood. In other settlements, either the leaders or the inhabitants see no need to change the leader, even although he is inactive. These are some of the settlements where the basic needs are being met, and people are now concentrating on individual home improvement.

Sometimes the women's organisations challenge the status quo of non-functioning organisations. When the leader's inactivity starts to hinder them in their own activities, they try to pressure him to step down. Unfortunately, only the neighbourhood council can officially call general assemblies, and if the neighbourhood leaders refuse to call a general assembly, it is difficult for the population to enforce a change.

It is difficult to directly correlate the environmental improvements made to the characteristics of the leaders. Many of the improvements were realised while other leaders than the current ones were in charge. It only could be noted in the field that in several neighbourhoods improvements continued after water and sewer connections had been established, and that in others they did not. The neighbourhoods where improvements still took place were either headed by active leaders, or had other people taking initiatives.
Box 8.5 Some experiences with different leaders

República Federal Alemana: For years, improvements in República Federal Alemana were initiated by Aurelio Caya Nuñez. Whether secretario general or not, he was always active, organising anniversaries, mobilising for final water connection, or for getting the roads paved. República Federal is one of the oldest and also one of the more 'successful' settlements, which has realised services such as a health centre, day care centres and a good local comunal. Also, Aurelio himself is successful. He has a well-equipped bakery on the major road, with a beautiful house on the second floor. He does not limit his activities to the activities in Alemana. During the last municipal elections he ran as an opposition party candidate and visited activities in many settlements on behalf of the party.

República Democrática Alemana: Señor Diaz was secretary general of Alemana for six years. He directed the settlement in the first important years when tenure issues had to be solved. He is one of Alemana's more successful inhabitants, with a well-provisioned shop along the major paved road, a nice sturdy house, and two children studying at a private university. His wife is one of the most active members of the parish in the settlement, and together with their children, they are involved in many neighbourhood affairs. Leadership changed in Alemana, and now the organisation is dormant. The current leaders are accused of corruption and selling land. They sold an area reserved for a park to a protestant congregation. Mobilisation of the people in Alemana nowadays takes place through the vaso de leche committees or the church. It is easier to mobilise through the women's organisations.

27 de Julio: Demetrio has been directing the cooperativa 27 de Julio for six years, and is still active. Recently he managed to get the beginnings of a park constructed in front of the school. Meetings called are well attended. Nonetheless, opinions in the cooperativa are divided about his leadership. There is a comedor run by his allies, claiming he is a good leader, but there is a second comedor accusing him of corruption. They claim that the roof on his beautiful house was paid for by a donation from the municipality meant to roof their comedor. An energetic lady putting in small vegetable gardens goes ahead without confronting him.

Cedros del Sur: Aida has directed the small asentamiento humano Cedros del Sur for three years now. Before that, she was in charge of the comedor, the glass of milk committee, and had two functions in the junta vecinal. Most of the improvements were made before she assumed this assignment, but she managed to get the neighbourhood organisation back on its feet, to organise communal credits for home improvement, and is currently searching for getting the roads paved. Since the inhabitants decided to beautify the streets and plant trees, Cedros del Sur has become one of the cleaner settlements.

During the project, we learned to know the different leaders of the eight participating settlements quite well. Two leaders were always up to date on changes in the context. They had their own contacts at the municipality and COFOPRI and had many meetings, and a clear and non-partisan policy towards the project. Both were politically affiliated to the current mayor, and one even to a congress member. Two other leaders were actively engaged in seeking ways to get the water works installed. These leaders were more dependent on others for up-to-date information, but had many meetings to search for opportunities. Two other leaders were more reactive. They joined at a later phase of the project, and followed the advice of the active leaders. Two leaders hardly ever showed up at co-ordination meetings.
**Box 8.5  Some experiences with different leaders**

One settlement participated in the project due to the activities of a former leader who always managed to get the necessary signatures from the current leader. In the other settlement, it was the inhabitants – especially the women – who ensured that they could participate. One of the reactive leaders was removed from his office when the inhabitants decided that they wanted a more intensive participation in the project. The 'social assistant' of the settlement, a very energetic lady who had co-ordinated the community health workers for several years, replaced him.

**8.6  In conclusion**

It can be clearly seen that the neighbourhood organisations do play a very important role in the process of neighbourhood consolidation and in improving environmental conditions. The neighbourhood organisations are responsible for going through the different steps in the process of legalising land tenure. The neighbourhood organisations are responsible for organising the communal work days to clear the site, open up the roads and mark the public spaces. The neighbourhood leaders are responsible for getting the provisional tap point for drinking water installed, and the neighbourhood organisations organise clean-up campaigns in the first years of neighbourhood development. The neighbourhood leaders are furthermore responsible for organising the fundraising activities for communal purposes, mediating in conflicts and taking care of families in need.

The next steps in the process of improvement of the environmental conditions can also be dealt with by special committees: a committee pro agua (for water), pro pistas (for roads) or pro parque. But these committees still function under the responsibility of the neighbourhood organisation, and most often one of the neighbourhood leaders takes part.

We can also conclude that in the long run the neighbourhood organisations are successful in making the improvements. All settlements have passed the first two steps of legalising the tenure situation. In most of the settlements – even the newest – individual land titles were granted. Only the cooperativas, because of their special status, have not reached this last phase.

In all settlements, roads have been opened up. Several settlements even took this some steps further and have had the roads graded or even paved. Many settlements have managed to get public tap points installed, and in the long run have even completed the connection to the drinking water and sewerage system. Once this is realised, though, the situation changes, and in many neighbourhoods the role of the neighbourhood organisation becomes less important. The picture, however, is very diverse. There are neighbourhoods where improvements continue, even after the installation of water and sewage facilities.

Some improvements were clearly related to the external context, as happened to the neighbourhoods that were granted their land title under the programme of Mayor Barrantes.
Much depends, however, on the characteristics of the leader. Realising improvements for one's settlements requires perseverance and a willingness to try as many opportunities as possible. Some leaders do have this endurance, while others do not. Some leaders can be considered 'pro-active', trying as many opportunities as they can, while others are 're-active', reacting to changes in the context, following the other leaders. Some leaders are 'inactive', no longer acting in the interest of their neighbourhood. These are the leaders who do not even respond to invitations from external actors for co-ordination meetings.

As a consequence of the focus on the 'defended neighbourhood', the development of the area as a whole is somewhat chaotic. It could already be observed from aerial photograph no. 2 (section 5.2.1) that the urban lay-out is less structured in Pampas de San Juan than in the neighbouring districts of Villa El Salvador and Villa Maria de Triunfo, where external agents had a more important role in the planning process. It is not necessarily a problem that the urban development scheme does not follow the rectangular grid as applied in Villa El Salvador. However, the emphasis on the defended neighbourhood can cause problems, as was demonstrated in the cases of road improvement. Some settlements are locked out of proper transit roads, and another has a major road that can only connect to a narrow by-way. The implementation of the water and sewage system by individual settlements also makes their construction more expensive. It is left to the resourcefulness of the neighbourhood organisations whether or not they manage to join efforts and lower the price. This effort failed in several cases.

In general we thus can conclude that the neighbourhood organisations are an important engine in settlement development, but especially so in the first years of settlement formation. In the longer run, their effectiveness can be constrained by internal and external factors. For the neighbourhood organisations as such, developing an improvement strategy that goes beyond the boundaries of their own settlements is a difficult task. Attempts to reach this higher level of planning were undertaken several times, as was seen in the previous chapter with the different central councils of Pampas de San Juan, but failed for various reasons.