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Non-governmental organisations and philanthropy: the Peruvian case

Abstract

This article describes the historic evolution of the third sector in Peru, from its emergence during the time the country was under Spanish colonial rule (from 1535 to 1821) until developments in the twentieth century. Using available information, an attempt is then made to appraise the recent and current scope of the topic and the dimensions of the institutions of the third sector. The legal status and tax regimes are discussed. Some organisational forms of survival and solidarity implemented by the grassroots communities are also described. These confer characteristics that may be different from those of other Latin American countries. Finally, relations between the third sector and the state are described.

Introduction

The purpose of this article is to achieve an initial understanding of the most important dimensions and characteristics of the non-governmental organisation (NGO) sector, which performs diverse philanthropic activities in Peru. In the Peruvian context, we can define 'philanthropic NGOs' as non-profit social entities which provide specific services of social assistance. This definition includes the following elements: autonomy from the state (this includes those organisations that are independent in their decision-making, although in some cases there is a partial mobilisation of public funds); organisation (these groups have either minimal or advanced internal structure); and altruistic purposes (they are not motivated by profits). The article begins with an historical overview of the development of these organisations in Peru; pulls together existing data on the sector's scope and scale, and describes its legal and tax status; and then notes some new developments in volution action, and explores the evolving nature of relations with the state.

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Historical background

Philanthropic activities in the sense described above started to emerge in colonial times, between 1535 and 1821. Philanthropy was associated with the upper and oligarchic classes, and religious orders, and sought to achieve diverse goals. Financial support was provided by families and businesses, public collections, state contributions on a small scale, and via the private administration of foundations and religious orders.

The NGO sector's origins were strongly connected with religious or solidarity-based humanitarian motivations in sympathy with poor people. During the nineteenth century, philanthropy was particularly closely associated with religion. The charitable acts of wealthy families, the *cabildos* (citizens' groups enforcing public order) and the municipalities were guided by Catholicism, with pious works variously entrusted to different saints and religious brotherhoods.

At a cultural level, two branches of philanthropy could be distinguished during the colonial period: first, Hispanic-Catholic, which emerged at the time of colonial regimes; and, second, the philanthropy associated with small groups of non-Hispanic migrants coming to Peru from Europe and Asia, creating Italian, English, Chinese and Japanese immigrant colonies. Hispanic-Catholic philanthropy tended to create open organisations for the 'indigent' in general, whereas the immigrant organisations limited the scope of their protection to their members although, over time, they did open their services up to the rest of the population. This was a philanthropy geared towards the urban minority in a country that was predominantly rural. The indigenous population, such as the *quechuas* and the *aymaras*, along with the black population released from slavery, were rarely the subject of philanthropic work and, on those occasions, what was undertaken was relatively limited.

Peru experienced its industrial modernisation at the end of the nineteenth century. Unions emerged in the following areas: agriculture workers in sugar cane plantations; mine workers in the Andes; textile workers; dock workers; and urban transportation workers in Lima. The union workers formed philanthropic groups, including those which provided a variety of human services, and worked in the poor neighbourhoods in Lima. This was the era during which mutual benefit associations also achieved particular prominence. At this time, artisan unions and the workers of the first industries organised to help their members with funds for health and burials, among other things. The owners of the pioneering industries themselves also sponsored the mutual societies at this time: an important motive for which was to provide minimal social services which otherwise would not have been available. This practice lasted until the mid-twentieth century.

Another phenomenon at the beginning of the twentieth century was the introduction of new mining extracting techniques and the formation of miners enclaves in foreign business properties, placing obligations on the businesses with their workers and the state. In this way, the Peruvian laws forced the mining companies to establish schools and medical services for their workers, their families and the population that lived in their compounds. Similar programmes emerged in the sugar plantations and mills on the northern coast of the country.

The first instances of rural philanthropy were in fact initiated by one of the evangelical churches in 1920. As the Catholic church monopoly over religion diminished, evangelical pastors from different churches started to organise schools in rural areas, especially in southern Peru. Their efforts to improve literacy among the population, alongside the work undertaken to fight against alcoholism, were particularly notable features of the philanthropy of this period.

The state administered only a minor part of national resources for a long period: from 1821 until the 1950s. Only a limited role for the state was possible because of foreign and private sector businesses' ownership of natural resources. From the 1950s onwards, however, with the process of import substitution industrialisation (ISI), the growth of the population, and a second migration wave towards the cities, the state did begin to play a larger part: until 1990, when the International Monetary Fund's adjustment programme was introduced.¹ At the same time, civil society organisations remained extremely active, being either initiated by the non-governmental sector or, at times, through the state's own efforts.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the middle and upper classes were especially active in organising private *schools and colleges*. In the case of the poorer sectors, especially the rural areas, they formed associations to promote the organisation of schools for the local communities. Associations, therefore, filled the gaps left by the state itself, promoting private education in the case of the upper classes, or complementing the state investment in the building of schools in the case of peasant communities. In addition, the important advances made in public education during the Republican period cannot be explained without taking into consideration the actions of the organisations that complemented or advanced that state's activities, acting as pressure groups to create public schools or the naming of teachers.

The social impulse towards the creation of *medical assistance or hospitals* was smaller at this time; this activity tended to be undertaken by the state, immigrant colonies or private for-profit groups. Examples of philanthropic hospitals operating in the first half of the twentieth century were: the Public Beneficence facility of Lima; the Maison of Santé (a French colony hospital, which at times was open to other segments of the

population); and the Italian Clinic, sharing similar traits.

The accelerated demographic and urban growth the country experienced in the mid-twentieth century explains in large part the increase at this time in another major field: *housing associations*. Housing associations' history is confused and intertwined with that of residents' associations which developed in marginalised land adjacent to the cities and performed tasks of occupation, settlement, defence and urban planning. At the same time, by the 1950s, international co-operation had introduced to the country a model of mutual associations for housing construction with promotional credit funds. This model, which created many mutual benefit housing associations, lasted until the 1990 adjustment programme.

Social, cultural and sports centres were another important strand of voluntary action in the mid-twentieth century, becoming an institutional expression for the urban popular classes. Initially, these had been formed by workers or the lower middle classes. They were then reproduced by provincial resident organisations in Lima and other important cities. The former played a very important role in the creation of popular urban culture, expressed in sports, poetry, music and popular songs. The latter served as an active and systematic channel of communication between the rural and urban areas.

From 1965 onwards, and particularly up until around 1980, international co-operation emerged as an important factor shaping the development of philanthropy. International funds began to play a part within national support initiatives. This is when NGOs began to be recognised as such. The foci of NGOs' programmes were: rural development; popular organisation; public education; alternative communication; and academic research. From 1980 onwards, new pressures were to have a major impact upon how NGOs developed. External factors included the new policies adopted by the international co-operation agencies, resulting in support programmes for micro enterprises, gender problems, ecology and family planning. Internal factors, such as the deteriorating economic crisis, the endemic economic shocks, the beginning of political violence and terrorism, AIDS and drug addiction as a social phenomena, the support for survival, the fight against drug addiction, the aid to the political refugees, and the defence of human rights were also relevant. These new issues were addressed by existing NGOs or generated new responses through the creation of further specialist NGOs.

A final, prominent and important recent development in Peruvian philanthropy has been the emergency of *popular lunchrooms* and other services promoted by women. The primary purpose of the former has been for women to prepare daily food for various families jointly. Clubs for mothers first appeared in 1950, promoted by the government. Between 1979 and 1981, the parochial lunchrooms were most predominant. The

lunchroom headquarters emerged in 1981. Between 1982 and 1984, the Belaunde government (1980-5) created family kitchen programmes and the programme of economic development for livelihood of the Municipality of Lima. This created a large number of self-managed lunchrooms. The development of these associations have gone through a transformation in which, in some cases, their activities are complemented with their original tasks and, in other cases, they rapidly progress from survival groups to economic activities. For example, some of the clubs for mothers have started workshops for confection, knitting and art crafts, among other activities. The sale of these items has generated income both for the individual concerned, and for the associations' wider membership.

Current scope and dimensions of the non-profit sector

As noted in the introduction, philanthropic NGOs, for the purposes of this article, can be defined as those third sector groups that provide social assistance services to their members or the rest of society. These now range in size from extremely large national networks, such as Caritas or CARE which embrace almost the entire nation (Caritas works in 44 areas, whereas CARE operates in eleven locales), to small development promotion centres located in smaller areas and employ just ten people in total. Medium size centres, such as DESCO or CIPCA, have an average staff of 100.

Philanthropic organisations currently primarily receive funds from five sources: religious orders; urban and rural popular organisations; international NGOs; international co-operation agencies; and private businesses. Table 1 groups organisations according to their major sources of support and social origins.

Unfortunately, the available information on the number of organisations across these categories is limited, scarce, contradictory and not reliable. These sources of information include the public register of associations (see next section); official data on associations involved in international co-operation; and other sources that are limited purely to NGOs or development NGOs which, as Table 1 shows, constitutes just one segment of the broader third sector. One of the few attempts to make comparisons over time has been undertaken by DESCO, a non-governmental association for community development (DESCO, 1994). In 1994, DESCO registered information on 897 total institutions, among them university research centres, NGOs, religious NGOs, networks and consortia. This represents a significant increase over the course of the late 1980s and early 1990s, since the DESCO Data Bank registered 218 NGOs in 1984. In 1990, there had been 700 registered groups. DESCO argue that 769 of the institutions identified in 1994 could be considered 'strictly as NGOs'. Another survey, in 1991, by the Centre for National Associations registered 387 NGOs,

Table 1. *Philanthropic organisations, and their form of support and social origins*


Type of support organisation	Social origin	Philanthropic organisations
Social organisations	Peasant communities	Family father associations Mother clubs
	Resident associations (urban)	Housing committees Mother clubs
	Unions	Women's associations Consumption co-operatives Educational associations or co-operatives Other services of mutual benefit assistance
Catholic and other church organisations	Social services	Educational associations Savings and consumption co-operatives
	Charity organisations	Hospital, clinics and other health services Elderly and orphan asylums Food distribution
	Development organisations	Social and development research centres
Private businesses	Social programmes	Rural schools Rural hospitals Other services
Private associations	Educational associations Social service associations	Colleges, universities Hospitals, clinics, urban scenery
International co-operation agencies	Development promotion	Diverse services for the centres and other NGOs population
International NGOs	Rotary and Lions clubs International Red Cross World Youth Christian International Scout	Civic cultural development Aid in case of war or disaster Youth programmes Infant and youth programmes
	Other similar international associations CARE International	Other services Agriculture, nourishment, support, basic sanitation

27 co-ordinations and networks, and 18 university centres, totalling 432 organisations (Asociación Nacional de Centros, 1991).

A third study, while even more limited in terms of organisational coverage, covering only *development* NGOs did provide relatively rich data on this component of the wider sector's geographic scope and human resources (SASE, 1993). This study confirmed that development NGOs (NGDOs) - defined to include rural development NGOs, supporting peasants, small farmers and communities through education, credit and technical assistance - were particularly concentrated in Lima, although to a less marked extent than had been found in previous studies. It must be mentioned, however, that these data may be misleading, considering that some of the 'large' NGDOs have their headquarters in the capital but have important activities in distant rural areas. On the other hand, it should be taken into consideration that Lima has six million inhabitants, which is more than one-quarter of Peru's 23 million population, according to the 1993 census. Lima, in fact, had one third of all NGDOs identified, while two thirds were concentrated in the departments outside the city. When looking at the distribution of employees of NGDOs, these were found to be heavily concentrated in Lima. Of the 6,855 registered workers, 3,505 are in the capital. The number of estimated NGDO workers in this survey is equivalent to one third of the financial and insurance sectors in the metropolitan area of Lima, if using the figures from the General Statistics Office of the Ministry of Labor and Social Projection (*Espresso*, 1993).

This survey also appears to reveal an interesting pattern of NGDO formation and employment outside Lima. Those areas that have been most affected by violence and terrorism seemed to have relatively low concentrations of NGDO activity. These are emergency zones where, due to the presence of subversive groups and the armed forces, the work of the NGDOs was more difficult, if not impossible.

A final source of data worth mentioning is that compiled by the Technical Co-operation System of the President Ministry (SECTI, 1993). These data cover philanthropic organisations that have worked with international technical co-operation funds only, but do give some idea of the amounts of funds available to this particular group of NGOs. Table 2 shows the level of funding involved from 1990 to 1992. These funds are generally donations made by foreign NGOs. The main countries that gave support to Peru on a bilateral level were the United States, Japan, Italy, Holland and Germany, whereas the European Community was the most significant multilateral contributor. According to these data, over the period 1980 to 1991 Peru received US \$1,552 million with an annual average of US \$114 million. This was about 0.3 per cent of the GNP. During this period, bilateral co-operation contributed 63 per cent,

Table 2. International technical co-operation funding received  Peru, 1990-1992

Year	Total (US \$000s)	Bilateral (US \$000s)	Multilateral (US \$000s)	NGOs (US \$000s)
1990	163,532.4	102,758.8	47,910.8	32,853.1
1991	168,253.0	103,000.0	30,888.7	34,364.3
1992	380,129.3	223,216.0	68,913.3	88,000.0

Source: SECTI (1993).

and multilateral co-operation 22 per cent of available funds.

Legal and tax status

At the time of writing (1994), Peru is experiencing radical legislative change. The Constitution, the civil code and the criminal code have all been reformed, in 1993, 1984 and 1989 respectively. These and other recent legislative changes have had major repercussions in the tasks of philanthropic organisations.

A major thrust of the new laws has been to reduce the role of the state in education, public health and economic development. With the drastic reduction of state funds and powers in these areas, the possibilities for civil society organisations activities have multiplied.

We first note the fiscal treatment of non-profits. NGOs, in general, are exempt from income tax, but they are subject to general sales tax and the transfer of goods tax. The 1993 Constitution does, however, exempt education associations from general sales taxes. Private and public universities, private primary and secondary schools, associate degree institutions, and academies for university admittance are included in this area.

NGOs can legally register in different ways: as foundations, committees, civil associations, or as peasant and native communities. They may also operate without formal legal personality or structures. We consider each option in turn.

First, a *foundation* is an organisation that administers funds created for a specific end, and following the new civil code.² These organisations are registered by the Justice Ministry, and are supervised by the Council of Foundation Surveillance. Although most of these foundations have very specific goals and concentrated activities, the supervision of the Council is less strict than institutions registered in other judicial bodies as described below. This is the oldest form of Peruvian NGO. Included here are foundations formed by wealthy persons or families, such as Riva Agüero, Larco Herrera and Fernandini. These are devoted to different

goals such as finance the Catholic University, aiding the mentally ill, promoting cultural activities, supporting the Santa Rosa of Lima cult, raising orphans, investing in the Peruvian Foundation in the Fight against Cancer, or investing in foundations that promote sports activities.

A second legal form is the *committee*. The committee is an organisation made up of legal and non-legal bodies, dedicated to the public collection of contributions with altruistic ends.³ It has a general assembly and a board of directors. The Public Ministry can receive complaints concerning any agreements or acts that violate the organisation's legal status from any of its members or from the board of directors. It can also ask for its dissolution when its acts violate the public order.

The third structure is that of *civil associations*. In contrast to the old Peruvian code, the new code establishes specific norms for civil associations that give them a similar structure to private businesses. There are many similarities between the two: businesses are organised by a board of shareholders, a board of directors, and the management; civil associations are made up of a general assembly of members, a board of directors and a director.

Civil associations enrol at the public registers, and are supervised by the President's Ministry. Arrangements for supervision depend upon their field of interest. For example, the Agricultural Ministry supervises agrarian associations, and the Education Ministry those that are dedicated to cultural activities.

In theory, associations, foundations and committees can function without being enrolled on the public register. The 1984 civil code acknowledges this through a new arrangement, which does not impede the citizen's right of association. In these cases, its role is regulated and supervised by its own members.⁴ However, in practice, these organisations do tend to seek enrolment since this makes it easier for them to negotiate funds to support their activities.

A fourth category in Peru are the *peasant and native communities*. These unique organisations were originally legally recognised by the 1920 Constitution, but are now defined under the 1984 civil code as: 'traditional and stable public interest organisations, constituted of natural bodies and whose aims are geared to make the best of their patrimony, for general and equitable benefits of the commoners, promoting their integral development'.⁵ In the 1993 Constitution, they were given recognition as legal persons. The Constitution also established that they are 'autonomous in organisation, in communal work, and in use and free disposition of land, as well as in economic and administrative operation'.⁶

There are 1,500 peasant and native communities in Peru. Each community includes between 30 and 1,000 families. Altogether, it is estimated that there are 5,000 communities which encompass an estimated population

of five million persons, a quarter of the country's total population. These cannot be considered philanthropic organisations, but they can be considered non-governmental, and they express a unique way in which Peruvian civil society is formed. These organisations have substituted or complemented the state's role in the building and maintenance of mainly communication, irrigation channels and schools.

We finally consider *non-legal voluntary associations*. This has become a popular method of association in Peru (Béjar, 1993). This diverse range of associations, not formally recognised by the Peruvian state, includes many 'survival organisations', such as some of the clubs for mothers and popular lunchrooms referred to earlier in this article. The middle classes have also formed associations not recognised in a legal sense. Among them are owner and neighbour associations that organise and administer the maintenance of parks in certain neighbourhoods and condominiums. They also defend their homes from robberies by hiring personal security. These work within the legal framework without necessarily having legal representation.

In fact, grassroots organisations are a mixture of non-legal and legal forms. In many cases, local populations have adapted already existing legal associations to confront new conditions or emergencies. Particularly noteworthy here are organisations dedicated to defending communal security, such as the peasant rounds; this form of organisation is already recognised by the new Constitution, and is one of the new forms of voluntary action described in more detail in the following section.

New forms of voluntary action: peasant rounds and business involvement

Among the new associations created as a consequence of the period of violence that started in Peru in 1980, the *peasant rounds* should be mentioned as the most important. The peasant rounds are citizen patrols which emerged as a reaction of local communities and small property owners against rural delinquency and terrorism. The rounds, which today include tens of thousands of precariously armed peasants, assumed, almost from the beginning, tasks of justice, popular government, self-defence and, in some cases, development.

In their first stages, the rounds were started by a group of small landowners and commoners in Cajamarca, who organised to prevent cattle theft and assumed rural police tasks. In the mid-1980s, this movement extended to many provinces, and the department of Piura. It established its authority as a grassroots, autonomous movement, and started to administer local justice. In the beginning, these groups were not legally

recognised. However, with the emergence of two armed leftist subversive groups, *Sendero Luminoso* (the Shining Path) and MRTA in the northern provinces, Congress voted to recognise the legality of the rounds, although with restrictive criteria and limited autonomy.

In response to the presence of *Sendero Luminoso* in the rural area of the Ayacucho department, and also in the jungle areas, the armed forces organised militias, known as *montoneros*. Conceived from the barracks and under officers' orders, the militias currently cover several provinces in five of Peru's 24 departments. The first reports of the Armed Forces Command talked of 18,000 armed men. Today, various analysts estimate that the number is closer to 200,000 men. They have already held their first nation congress, in which the *ronderos* (members of the peasant rounds) were able to express their demands, almost always linked to local development. The military has created its first development programmes to deal with their demands. In most cases the patrols in Ayacucho or Ucayali (Peruvian departments suffering from violence now and in the recent past), do not depend formally on the military chiefs, but their activities must be reported to them. In Piura and Cusco, two other Peruvian departments, the patrols depend directly on the authorities of the rural communities that elected them.

In the beginning, the peasant rounds were classified by some leftist organisations as paramilitary organisations, confusing them with organisation of this type that acted in Argentina and Bolivia during the 1980s. But these Peruvian groups were of a very different character. This has been a massive grassroots phenomenon, developed by ordinary men and women, and organised with popular support and tolerance, without which its existence would not be possible. Their grassroots character is demonstrated by the fact that, for many observers, the peasant rounds and other community groups can be hard to distinguish. In addition to their law enforcement role, the peasant round's social activities include the distribution of donated foods, and small public works, such as maintaining roads and cleaning irrigation channels. In all of these cases, these organisations are confused with communal organisations and assume their functions.

The peasant rounds thus express two simultaneous phenomena: the peasant uprising against *Sendero Luminoso*, and the negotiations of the peasants with the military, as reflected in the Satipo Congress in 1992. Both phenomenon have a deep meaning in the social and political evolution of the country. They have also changed the political and social regimes in the rural areas during state of emergency; transforming the communities; altering power relations; and establishing new relations within the involved communities, the armed forces, and the rest of Peruvian society. The rounds are as heterogeneous as the peasants that

form them. We find those that are autonomous and those that are completely dependent, including those operating in the jungle, in which the whole community is mobilised by the army.

The rounds also have variations in their relations with NGOs. Along with the Catholic church, the NGOs have played a decisive role since the 1980s, supporting the creation of rounds in Piura, Cajamarca and Ancash. Later on, they had a determining role in the defence of autonomy with the native communities of the Ene river, in the central jungle, concerning the conflicting forces. However, the NGO relationship with the other rounds is very difficult due to the presence of the armed forces, which generally forces the community to have an exclusive and excluding relationship with them.

Another new development in the philanthropic field has been the involvement of *private business philanthropy in development programmes*. Some examples are donations to schools, to local government and neighbour organisations. Businesses receive a tax deduction depending on the area in which they work and their preference. Those that practice this are state-run businesses, such as Petroperu, Centromin and Mineroperu, which are in the process of privatisation, and multinationals, such as Southern Peru Copper Corporation and Occidental Petroleum. These programmes tend to be permanent when concerned with financing schools or hospitals for the attention of workers, but occasional when offering donations to diverse cultural or assistance activities.

The private mass media has joined with civil and business organisations to develop assistance campaigns with specific goals, such as 'Teleton' which organises annually to collect funds from the citizens for the rehabilitation of disabled children at the San Juan de Dios hospitals. During the moments of greatest terrorist violence, the private businesses, along with commercial radio and television, supported the campaign 'United Against Crime', calling citizens to denounce the terrorists.

In addition, private banks have organised foundations for cultural and educational activities geared towards the community, as in the case of the *Banco de Crédito, Continental* and the *Banco de Comercio*. The Chambers of Commerce, which groups the business people of the main cities, has initiated credit programmes geared toward micro enterprises, with US \$6 million of funds provided by the Interamerican Development Bank.

Relations with the state

We have seen that traditional philanthropic organisations are recognised by the state in Peru, and they are also increasingly acknowledged by public opinion. Yet beyond this general recognition, there are major

differences in the relationships of different types of third sector organisations with the state and its central, regional and local components. Traditional philanthropic agencies tend not to question the system nor existing policies. Yet the non-governmental sector has been protective of its own autonomy, and some organisations even see the state as the enemy while, at the same time, successive governments have distrusted NGOs. For their part, many development NGOs have opposed government policies in various areas, criticising the state for its bureaucracy, over-centralisation, inefficiency and even immorality. This antipathy has in its turn been reciprocated. Thus, the government has presumed NGOs to be inefficient, incapable of taking on large massive projects, or to be overpoliticised.

For these and other reasons, in recent years government officials have created their own NGOs to channel resources from international co-operation, and suspicion of the motives here have led to demands from the Peruvian Parliament to investigate NGOs. However, relationships are changing. The presence of NGOs is starting to be accepted by the state, and contacts are becoming more frequent at the regional, local and central levels. Co-operation between NGOs and municipalities is frequent, especially in poorer neighbourhoods of the important cities or small towns, through agreements or joint projects of various natures. This is also the case, formally and informally, with the state agencies that operate at a local level.

The situation is more delicate, and even conflictive, with the central government. There had been a tendency to attempt to control NGOs on behalf of the state by forcing them to ask for authorisation to receive international donations, presenting biannual reports to the President Ministry, approving laws that give officials the power to intervene in the NGOs or eventually submit them to the verification of special commissions. However, the state does not have sufficient organisation to execute this type of bureaucratic control effectively.

The creation of the Compensation Fund for Social Development (Spanish acronym: FONCODES) with public treasury resources and international co-operation, has given the NGOs and other municipal and community organisations, the opportunity to receive state funds destined for small, local infrastructure works. This system consists of execution committees that must have members from the local authorities or grassroots communities. The NGOs operate as technical consultants and monitor the use of funds received by those operating on the ground. However, the FONCODES policies and its strategies are determined by the central government, without the participation of the NGOs or the grassroots organisations.

According to the SASE study (1993) referred to above, 87 per cent of the NGOs studied co-ordinated with some state agency. The majority of these NGOs (75 per cent) do so with the central government, and

with the Ministries of Health, Education and Agriculture, or with social programmes on a national level, such as ONAA, PRES and INIAA, agencies dedicated to distributing donated foods, and agriculture emergency and research. Of the polled NGDOs, only 28 per cent directly co-ordinated with the municipal governments and 25.6 per cent with the regional governments. Fifteen per cent of the NGDOs co-ordinated with universities, a notably low figure.

Conclusion

As in other Latin American countries, the presence of international co-operation has been a decisive factor in Peru for shaping the birth and growth of non-governmental organisations engaged in development activities, and has mostly comprised professionals and university graduate experts. However, based on a quantitative appraisal of all non-governmental organisations (and not only on the ones engaged in development activities), it may be affirmed that at least from 1960 the membership, themes and coverage of the non-governmental sector in Peru have been consistently growing. It now appears to involve strong participation on the part of the poorest sectors of society.

Also notable in the Peruvian case are certain very specific cultural characteristics stemming from historic traditions of co-operation and solidarity. These traditions are particularly to be found among people of indigenous origin that link the grassroots organisations of the third sector in both rural communities and urban populations.

Notes

- a Héctor Béjar is at the Centro de Estudios para el Desarrollo y la Participación, José Faustino Sánchez Carrión 790 (Ex-Pershing), Lima 17, Perú (phone 511 462 9833; fax 511 461 6446; email Postmaster@cedep.org.pe).
- 1 This programme sought to balance state financing and control high inflation rates. It included drastic cuts in the state's budget, prices increases and mass redundancies for state employees. Many state-owned banks and mutual funds were declared bankrupt.
- 2 'A foundation is a non-profit organization instituted by the affectation of one or more goods to carry out a religious, assistance, cultural or other social interest purpose' (Article 99 of the 1984 civil code).
- 3 Arts 111-123 of the 1984 civil code.
- 4 Arts 124, 127 and 130 of the 1984 civil code.
- 5 Art. 134 of the 1984 civil code.
- 6 Art. 89 of the 1993 Constitution.

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