The Politics of Stakeholders' Participation

A case study of the Vilcanota watershed in Cusco Peru



MSc. Thesis by Yamile Julio Castillo

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A case study of the Vilcanota watershed in Cusco Peru

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GLOSSARY OF TERMS

AAW: Autoridades Autónomas de Cuenca (Autonomous Authorities of Watershed)

CBC: Centro Bartolomé de las Casas (Bartolomé de las Casas Center)

CIDA: Agencia Internacional Canadiense de Desarrollo (Canadian Internacional

Development Agency)

CONAM: Consejo Nacional del Ambiente (National Council of Environment)

COREPRO: Cordinadora Regional de Colegios Profesionales (Regional Coordination of

Professional Schools).

CPR: Common Pool Resources

EGEMSA: Empresa de Generación Eléctrica Machu Picchu S.A. (Company of Electric

Generation Machu Picchu S.A.)

GIS: Geographic Information System

GTE: Grupo Técnico Especializado (Specialized Technical Group)

GSAAC: Gestión Social del Agua y el Ambiente en Cuencas (Social Management of

Water and Environment in Watersheds)

IMA: Instituto de Manejo de Agua y Medio Ambiente (Water and Environment

Management Institute)

INRENA: Instituto Nacional de Recursos Naturales (National Institute of Natural

Resources)

MCVW: Comité de Gestión de La Cuenca Vilcanota (Management Committee of the

Vilcanota Watershed).

MEF: *Ministerio de Economía y Finanzas* (Ministry of Economy and Finances)

MIMA: Manejo Intensivo de Microcuencas Alto andinas (Intensive Management of

Andean Micro watersheds)

MINCETUR: *Ministerio de Comercio Exterior y Turismo* (Ministry of Trade and Tourism)

MSP: Multi-Stakeholder Platform
NGO: Non Governmental Organization

OPI: Oficina de Programación de Inversiones (Office of Investment Programming)

PRONAMACHCS: Programa Nacional de Manejo de Cuencas Hidrográficas y Conservación de Suelos (National Program of Watershed Management and

Soil Conservation)

RBDPM: Integrated River Basin Development Planning Management

SEDACUSCO: Entidad Municipal Prestadora de Servicios de Saneamiento del Cusco

(Municipal organization for wastewater treatment)

SNIP: Sistema Nacional de Inversion Pública (National System of Public

Investment)

SNV: Stichting Nederlandse Vrijwilligers (Netherlands Development Organization)

ST: Secretaría Técnica (Technical Secretariat)

UNSAAC: Universidad Nacional San Antonio Abad del Cusco (National University San

Antonio Abad of Cusco)

WUA: Water Users Association

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CHAPTER 1

1.1 INTRODUCTION

In several countries all over the world, conflicts about natural resource management are a common phenomenon. Those conflicts can lead to several outcomes at worst case even war. However there is a broad variety of mechanisms used to deal with this problem. One of those mechanisms is the implementation of Multiple Stakeholders Platforms (MSPs) which are

decision-making bodies (voluntary or statutory). They comprise different stakeholders who perceive the same resource management problem, realize their interdependence for solving it, and come together to agree on action strategies for solving the problem" (Warner and Verhallen 2004: 2)

In Latin America, Multi-Stakeholders Platforms (MSPs) emerged as a recent phenomenon relating political changes that affected the role of the state in natural resources management. Those changes include the transition from centralist management of resources to a



Figure 1: Vilcanota River in the area of Pisaq

decentralized model involving the transfer of management functions to a wide range of users and organizations. This transition process occurred within a neo liberal economic model, been influenced by social and political processes in every country. (Oré, 2007)

In Peru, the state faced institutional reforms since the 90's. In this context the government aimed to change from a protagonist and supportive role to the delegation of its powers to smaller locally controlled unities of management (Chavez, 2004).

In the Region of Cusco the contamination of the Vilcanota river by waste water and solid garbage is a severe problem. Therefore the implementation of a decontamination project was one of the aims of the Regional Government. However, after several years, still no big steps had been taken in the decision making for the decontamination of the watershed. It seems that due to certain aspects, the multi-stakeholders platform that was created is having difficulty in functioning. Therefore, this thesis will explore how do politics can influence the stakeholders' participation in the decision making processes. The outcomes will reflect on the dynamics of politics, the ambiguity of participation and the underlying network of power relations and culturally specific practices influencing the politics of stakeholders in MSPs.

This research aims to get a better understanding of political processes influencing the decision making process within an MSP. The reason of the implementation of an MSP in the Vilcanota river is to decide which decontamination project for the Vilcanota watershed is preferred by the stakeholders.

This report is organized into five chapters. The first chapter describes the objective, research question and analytical framework. The second chapter gives an overview about relevant processes, this chapter is aimed to help the reader to understand the case studies presented in the chapters three and four. The final chapter will provide the conclusions about the politics influencing decision making processes within a MSP.

1.2 OBJECTIVE

The objective of this research is to explore and analyze the influence of politics (and consequently power relations, participation and culturally specific practices) affecting decision making processes.

1.3 PROBLEM STATEMENT

The concepts and expectations about MSPs are high and highly normative; in practice MSPs perform in a different way. There is a lack of knowledge about the process of decision making in practice. Hence, research is needed in order to have a better understanding of those dynamics within a MSP.

The city of Cusco and many small rural cities located in the area of the Vilcanota watershed has been polluted during time. The population grow is also another factor that exercise pressure over the area and consequently contaminate with wastewater and solid garbage. The main source of pollution comes from the city of Cusco which is also the largest city in the watershed. The city was facing a tremendous growth during the last couple of years, mainly because the increasing tourism.

This contamination problem, inspired the regional government to implement a decontamination project. The decontamination project will be decided by a group of stakeholders. Therefore the dynamics within this MSP needed to be investigated.

In the case of the Vilcanota watershed these processes are not neutral. Strong political and personal interest, contrasting opinions within institutions, alliances and power relations display a controversial role within MSPs. Additionally, since culture influence negotiation processes, it displays a relevant role in the way how the decision making process about the decontamination project implementation in the Vilcanota watershed is arranged.

1.4 ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical concepts of this section are better understood if the links between them are briefly explained. Integrated Watershed Management in this analytical framework is the starting concept, under it; the concept of the Multi-stakeholders Platform arises as a tool to ensure the integrated watershed management. The stakeholders and their interrelations are the main focus of interest in this research.

The analytical framework will also explain, discuss and analyze the notion of MSP. Aspects like Participation, Power relations will also arise due to their influence in MSP. On the other hand the base concept for the general analysis of the thesis research relies in the concept of politics, as an additional factor influencing the way to make politics, the culturally specific practices will be described.

The diverse phenomenon's that influence participation, power relations and their interrelations are politics and consequently the cultural specific practices. These relations are analyzed in order to obtain a better understanding of the process of decision making about the decontamination project within the GTE understood in this research as a MSP. In order to provide a clear understanding of the concepts mentioned above, the concept of integrated watershed management is the starting point to be discussed and analyzed.

1.4.1 Integrated watershed management

In mainstream policy, the concept of Integrated Watershed Management is highly popular and from this concept, some other concepts arose. That is the case with MSP, both aspects represent the highly theoretical base. This research will focus on the implementation of those concepts in practice.

Integrated Watershed Management can be understood as a comprehensive multi-resource process, involving all stakeholders in the watershed, who together as a group, cooperatively work towards identifying the watershed resource issues and concerns that also develop and implement a watershed plan with solutions that are environmentally, socially and economically sustainable¹.

From the experience of the Vilcanota watershed can be stated that involving all the stakeholders of a watershed is practically impossible. There are many difficulties to face before all stakeholders voluntarily accept to work towards a same and common purpose. Those difficulties could rely in the sense of interdependence.

From the political and management point of view, despite the neutral boundaries of a watershed, in practice the boundary is only an instrument in order establish and delimitate politics. This issue is related to the ways by which governmental duties are shared among the central and the local instances of decision making and implementation of plans, programs and projects or other initiatives and actions. In Peru, the evolution, of the approach to management for the coordination of actions in a watershed during the past years, has been neither stable nor uniform. Management systems have been changing in an irregular manner. The coordination of activities at the watershed level was limited in the past to a sector approach, In the Peruvian context the concept of integrated watershed management evolved simultaneously through the political history of centralization and decentralization efforts. "As global consensus about the need for integrated management grows, it may now be social and economic forces, rather than technical considerations, that determine the success of an integrated watershed planning effort". (Heathcote 1998:11)

The challenges of creating capabilities for governance of natural areas, is based in the coordination of governments as well as institutions and stakeholders, both public and private. (Dourojeanni ¿?)

Biswas (2004) points out that although at a first sight, the concept looks attractive a deeper analysis brings out many problems, both in concept and implementation, in meso and macroscale projects. "The definition of IWRM continues to be amorphous, and there is no agreement on fundamental issues like what aspects should be integrated, how, by whom, or

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¹ Bert Bruins Lecture notes of Integrated Watershed Management ESW-30306. Course 2006 Wageningen University

even if such integration in a wider sense is possible. It is argued that in the real world, the concept will be exceedingly difficult to be made operational" (Biswas, 2004: 1).

Barrow (2001, as cited in Dourojeanni ¿?) also denotes the vagueness of the concept by stating that Integrated River Basin Development Planning and Management (RBDPM) is attractive but has usually poorly developed. It is believed that this is due to faulty in implementation and administration, stating that many efforts have been failures.

All these statement stress the lack of agreements, not only in relation with definitions, but also on how to reach integrated watershed management objectives. Each author has its own criteria of what should include "a model" of good water resource management.

Nowadays worldwide environmental, socio-economic and political changes are challenging some of the foundations on which watershed management has been based. The main tendencies induce the transference of responsibilities to "light" institutions, focused in multi-stakeholders participation. In this context, is assumed that the role of the MSP is fundamental in the successful development of plans, programs and strategies about the natural resource management in watershed.

1.4.2 Multi-stakeholder Platform

"A MSP is defined as a decision-making body (voluntary or statutory) comprising different stakeholders who perceive the same resource management problem, realize their interdependence for solving it, and come together to agree on action strategies for solving the problem" (Steins and Edwards, 1998 as mentioned in Warner et. al. 2004: 2).

The discourse of Multi-Stakeholder Platform (MSP) has become largely popular in the international water world, dialogues, partnership; everything is "Multi-stakeholder" in order to achieve a participatory resource management. This popularity can be a consequence of the high expectations of MSP. Some authors affirm that MSPs supposes to promote democratization processes, emancipation and empowerment, conflict resolution and more integrated and efficient resource management. "Stakeholder identification and negotiation have promised to bring visibility, compromise and democratic decision-making to stakeholder relations" (Edmunds et. al. 2001: 1) On the other hand MSPs tend to fail if there is a national or regional weak policy planning, inexistence of defined models, little knowledge of the subject between the authorities and the decision makers and high dependence of external financial support.

Therefore a clear analysis is needed to the concept of Multi-stakeholders platforms. In this context the term Multi aims to reflect about the variability that could be presented within a platform of negotiation. The term Multi, reflects the different backgrounds or personal variability that the stakeholders could have. Some of those reasons could be related to class, gender, ethnicity, identity, culture, education or profession, or any of the multiple interests related to the watershed.

In this context, Stakeholder can be defined as any relevant person, group or organization with an interest in the issue, either because is going to be affected by the subject or because has influence, knowledge and experience with the subject (Warner et. al. 2004). Furthermore the previous concept is rather a limited concept that assumes stakeholders as a homogeneous interest group based in economic and resource interest. Stakeholders can present cultural,

racial, ethnic or linguistic differences and within the negotiation table can be subject to unequal power differences.

A platform is an arena of negotiation, is related to the space or environment where the negotiation and decision making is done. Therefore a platform is not fixed to any physical context. The ideology of having a platform is based in the fact that the participants can negotiate in a neutral arena where the stakeholders could have the same level of power and decision making. In practice and according to the case studies, those arenas of negotiation are never neutral due to the structural contradictions of ethnicity, class, power and so on.

For this thesis research the MSP is understood as a process developed over time. Warner (2007:1) mentions, "Studying Multi-stakeholder platforms means zooming in on a phenomenon without very clear prior definitions. Like the elusive regimes of international relations, they are not necessarily "things out there", institutions with offices, by-laws and secretariats, but inferred patterns of behavior and interaction, singled out of a complex reality and labeled "MSP" because having this classic constellation seems to add to our understanding of reality". Multi-stakeholder Platforms (MSP), are also know as "Dialogues", "For a", "Partnership" which are on the rise as a way of addressing common pool resource (CPR) management issues in, among others, fisheries, coastal resources, joint forestry and water management. Steins and Edwards (1998) affirm that Common Pool Resources (CPR's) are resources that are used for different types of extractive and non-extractive purposes by different stakeholder groups and are managed under a mixture of property right regimes.

The implementation of MSPs has become in a popular policy trend that aims to decentralize power from the state to small unities of management. The implementation of this new tendency in practice faces several constrains. In the context of Peru, the implementations of these mechanisms were highly sponsored by international cooperation and were very much vulnerable to political changes and influences. On the other hand, the implementation of MSPs can also be used by developing countries in order to achieve financial support for this type of initiatives. Therefore, the following concept will discuss the implications of politics and the several elements that shape the term politics.

1.4.3 Politics

Politics is defined by Calhoun (2002:369) as "the ways in which people gain, use and lose power. Politics is viewed as constitutive of legitimate of social life, insofar as it provides ways for individuals to express their opinions, influence each other, and build institutions. Most modern usage prioritize the activity of states - whether action between states or the process of reconciling diverse interest within them. The latter responsibility includes deliberation over means and ends, as well as the implementation of collective decisions. Some perspectives take the state as the central actor possessing potentially independent prerogatives and goals; others look to the process by which groups and interest (both inside and outside the state) negotiate and struggle for control".

Therefore politics are inherent to several decision making processes, and its influence over those processes can be observed as an intermittent process. Politics should be understood in this thesis report as power games. In that sense **Power** can be defined as "the ability to exert control over people, even against their will. For Weber, power is basic to the organization of social action and the pursuit of interest". (Calhoun 2002: 378)

On the other hand, Pratt (1974) defines power as the capacity or authority to dominate people, restrain them and to control them, to obtain obedience, to cut its freedom and to drive its activity in certain directions. It came from the result of personal charisma that urges to obey the leader, the tradition or sacrosanct character, of an institution or the rational acceptance of a monopoly of wealth. All social order is a system of power relations with hierarchic subordination and of regulated competition and cooperation.

Power is the medium which conflicts of interest are ultimately resolved. Power influences who gets what, when and how. (Ubels, 1997) Elements of power and power relations are presented in the case studies that will be described in the following chapters. Power relations are present in the everyday dynamics and interactions and are inherent to culture and politics.

In this way politics are based in the way how to exercise power and how to rule. The role of the state is a representative example about how to implement and exercise power. Therefore politics do not only perform a powerful role in order to rule, implement decision making and so on, but through the use of power it also has influence in who participates, why certain group participates and how people participate within MSPs and other processes. A simple definition states that participation is the entrance in some defined social situation, identifying yourself by means of communication or by the common activity. (Pratt, 1974). Participation is necessary to identify multiple perspectives of the various stakeholders, encourage involvement and action and resolve conflicts for the common and future good.

A very theoretical point of view, is described by Cleaver (1999: 601) who mentions that "institutional inclusion has become an integral strand of participatory approaches; a process which is assumed to ensure the more efficient delivery of development, the inculcation of desirable characteristics amongst participants (responsibility, ownership, cooperation, collective endeavour) and therefore empowerment." In practice inclusion is very much related to the criteria of the institution who decides who is included and who is not, the purpose of the implementation and the final goal.

"The concept of social inclusion emphasizes involvement in the structures and institutions of society. Most fundamentally, the participatory and the communicative structures, including new forms of social partnership through which a shared sense of the public good is created and debated" (Cleaver 1999: 599) The inclusion of structures and organizations can be questioned in the sense that despite that social inclusion is a highly positive, in practice not always the most relevant stakeholders are considered. Therefore the exclusion of a certain group is a frequent situation, varying with context. Reasons adduced for the exclusion from the MSP process may be that power relations influenced the negotiation process in a certain direction where the excluded stakeholder represents the opposition or an impediment. In general exclusion from local institutions is considered undesirable.

Voluntary self exclusion, happens when "groups may elect not to participate because they stand to gain more from social action outside the platform or have less visible ways outside formal democratic pathways of putting pressure on decision-makers. Disadvantaged groups, who are acutely aware of opportunity costs, may realize that their participation only legitimizes decisions made by other, more powerful groups, and feel there is little room for promote their interests on agenda. Powerful groups may have overwhelming political or economic clout so that they do not feel the need (the problem and solution interdependence) to negotiate with other groups" (Warner et. Al. 2004: 10).

The concept of participation has become a popular term in the common development discourse, it is very much encouraged that people should participate but "there is little evidence of the long-term effectiveness of participation in materially improving the conditions of the most vulnerable people or as a strategy for social change". (Cleaver, 1999:597)

On the other hand, it is possible that the participants lose the motivation and interest in the topic of discussion or negotiation. Monopolistic groups of power also tend to dismiss the legitimacy of MSP decreasing the interest of the participants.

Culture is not easy to define. It can be said that there are as many definitions as authors writing about it. Odegaard (2006: 42) mentions that "culture must be seen as an ongoing creative process through which people continually incorporate and transform new elements. Such a notion must recognize meaning as embodied and not only as mental representations and in this manner engage the concept with practice, the perceiving with the acting agent."

In social anthropology, culture is a catchword for all those patterns of thinking, feeling, and acting. Not only activities supposed to refine the mind are included, but also the ordinary and menial things in life – for example, greeting, eating, showing or not showing feelings, keeping a certain physical distance from others or maintaining body hygiene. Therefore in the case of MSPs this concept of culture is directly related in the way how certain people establish personal relationships through the implementation of those patterns of behaviour.

Culture is always a collective phenomenon, because it is at least partly shared with people who live or lived within the same social environment, which is where it was learned. "Culture consists of the unwritten rules of the social game". It is the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from others. Culture is learned, not innate. It derives from one's social environment. Culture should be distinguished from human nature on one side and from individual's personality on the other". (Hofstede, 2005:3)

For example, alcohol consumption can be seen as one of many other basic things of life, "alcohol tends to be linked in at least some way with almost every aspect of culturally specific practices, and the many roles it plays in most cultures are surprisingly diverse". (Heath, 1987: 10) Therefore alcohol can be a common element of both, culture and politics. The inclusion of the concept has a specific use which is discussed in chapter three of this thesis research analysis and helps to understand the cultural and political way to establish negotiations and relationships.

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Based in the research question, the structure of this thesis report will be elaborated. In the same way, the conclusions will try to answer the main and sub questions.

Main Research Question

How do politics influence stakeholders' participation in the decision making process about a decontamination project in Cusco, Peru?

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Sub Questions

After mentioning the main research question, in order to materialize it, several sub research questions will help to answer the main question and cover the whole content.

Politics

- -What were the political motivations and practices behind the creation of MCVW and the GTE?
- How do politics influence power relations in the MCVW or the GTE?
- How political positions affect the institutional alliances?
- How do decentralization policies at the national level affect the performance of an MSP and the management of natural resources in the Vilcanota Watershed?

Stakeholders Participation

- How do politics influence stakeholder's participation in an MSP?
- Which stakeholders participate, who are included or excluded (or self excluded) from the MSP and other arenas of decision making?
- How is the decision making process affected by powerful stakeholders?

Culturally specific practices

- Which are culturally specific way in which the politics of stakeholders participation are carried out? (e.g. How do friendship and drinking together and ritual kinship influence the decision making?)
- Which strategies are used to convince or motivate stakeholders to join efforts in the watershed management?
- Where do some stakeholders informally get together and establish alliances?

1.6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1.6.1 Overall Research Approach of the Case Study

The objective of the elaboration of two case studies about the Vilcanota MSP was to develop a full understanding of a process in a specific situation, in its natural setting, recognizing its complexity and context. Therefore, the cases can be defined as the phenomenon of some sort occurring in a bounded context.

Qualitative approaches were used to obtain data about the research topic in the study area. The data collection methods include interviews and observations in the field whilst data was also extracted from literature review of projects carried out in the area. On line news papers were also consulted in order to obtain relevant information from a different source.

The primary units of study were all the relevant actors involved in the *Comité de Gestión de la Cuenca Vilcanota* (Management Committee of the Vilcanota Watershed) and the GTE (Specialized Technical Group). Consequently governmental agencies, Industrial water users, public and private water users, Public interest groups (NGO's) were considered as primary units of study. In order to define who I would interview documents provided by the NGO Arariwa were reviewed about previous MCVW meetings. The statutes of the MCVW and some other documents were also analyzed.

These main and sub-questions were answered by the analysis of documents, literature review and partly by the information provided by the interviews and observations carried out in the research area during the analysis of the Chapters 3 and 4 and the final conclusion.

Constraints of the Research

The initial objective of the research was to analyze cultural differences, and how those differences affected the performance of the MCVW. This situation changed during the field research because there were no meetings of the MCVW where this information could have been collected. Therefore the research changed and there was decided to focus on understanding the political factors that affect and influence the current decision making process in the Vilcanota watershed management.

1.7 Data collection Analysis for the elaboration of the Case Study

The data collection was carried according to a methodology that was used by Ahlers (¿?). That methodology describes the way how data collection in the field should be collected and analyzed. A field diary and a tape recorder were used in order to register information about the interviewee, the place, time and context.

1.7.1 Primary Data

Interviews were especially used in the data collection process in the research area. Open interviews were used largely in the collection of primary data. Interviews were applied according to the circumstances and to the interviewees.

The interviews where carried out in 18 public and private institutions related to water and watershed management, rural development, irrigation and sanitation. From those institutions 27 people where interviewed. ²Some of those interviewees where consulted several times in order to obtain their opinion.

The interviews where documented by written recording during the interviews. For the first case study about the Meeting of Majors of the Vilcanota watershed a tape recorder was used in order to capture not only the information provided but also the attitude and behavior of the participants. Furthermore, photos were taken as another tool for primary data of the events.

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² See annexes. Table No 1 List of Interviewees

1.7.2 Observations

The use of observations in the data collection process covered several events from which two of them will be presented in this research. In the Meeting of Mayors of the Vilcanota Watershed aspects of politics, power relations, participation, inclusion and exclusion were analyzed. The second event was the meeting of the GTE of the Regional Government and an informal meeting where the negotiations alliances and decision-making process were observed.

Besides the observation during the meetings, observations where carried out during interviews and visits to the field. Attitude and behavior were also observed during meetings, interviews and visits to the field. Those parameters were relevant in order to obtain a better perception of the interviewee.

1.7.3 News Papers and E-news

The decontamination project of the Vilcanota watershed obtained remarkable attention from the media as well as several newspapers and internet magazines. In fact Gupta, (1995) is correct when mentions that we must pay careful attention to newspapers as cultural texts that give us important clues to the political culture of the period. In the annexes can be observed some newspaper articles that showed how relevant information about the decontamination project was presented to the inhabitants of Cusco, Peru and worldwide.

1.7.4 Compilation and analysis of historic and relevant Data

The compilation and analysis of historic and relevant information was carried out by visiting the libraries of the CBC and the data bases of some institutions that kindly collaborated in this research. Those institutions located in the city of Cusco were IMA, Arariwa, SEDACUSCO, the Department of Natural Resources and Environment of the Regional Government, the GTE and EGEMSA.

Furthermore the consultation of these sources was relevant for compiling trends and parameters over the years. This helps to get complete understanding of the political processes and decision-making about the natural resources of the area over time.

CHAPTER 2

An overview of the context of the Vilcanota Watershed

2.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the process of change in the management of the Vilcanota watershed during time. Therefore the chapter aims to provide information related to the physical, political and the natural resources management in the Peruvian context. This insight will clarify some important aspects for the following chapters. This objective is achieved by describing some events, in order to understand the evolution process that the MSPs of the Vilcanota watershed in Cusco, Peru had during the last decade.

An important focal point is given to describe the historic and political aspects of Peru influencing watershed the management and consequently the tendencies to implement Autoridades Autónomas Cuenca de (AAW Autonomous Authorities of Watersheds).

The process of formation establishment and development during time of the Management Committee of the Vilcanota Watershed (MCVW) will also be briefly described. Further more the characters, institutions: relevant stakeholders and the role they perform are described. Finally two legal tools implemented by government will be described.

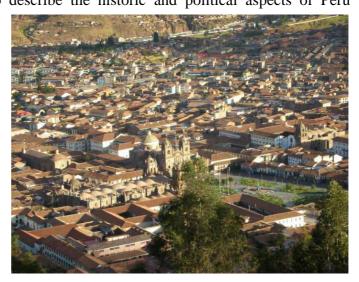


Figure 2: The city of Cusco, the polluter of the Vilcanota.

2.2 General aspects and Contamination of the Vilcanota watershed

The Vilcanota watershed represents 14 % of the total area of the Region of Cusco, Peru, has nine provinces and 51 districts. The watershed is the most densely populated area of the Region with 650,000 inhabitants in the year 2002. (Gomez, 2003) The demographic pressure on land is also pressure over resources. The institutional incapability to solve another problem caused a major environmental contamination problem.

The Huatanay sub-watershed is one of the 14 more important areas of the Vilcanota watershed. The city of Cusco is located on the banks of the Huatanay river flows across the city and functions as the natural collector of the wastewaters of the inhabitants of the shores.

The city of Cusco pollutes the waters of the Vilcanota river with 10.4 millions of m³ out of 13.9 millions of m³ of waste water generated in the watershed. (Gomez, 2003)

Those environmental problems arose due to the weaknesses in the development planning and especially in the environmental management. Despite that during the last decade the state is aiming to give a radical change by the implementation of new decentralized political models that could cope with those problems. Despite that this is a severe problem in the watershed; the Management Committee was created with the aim to deal with environmental problems as well as many other objectives.

The area of the watershed is large and has a wide variety of inhabitants within its geography, classes, gender, ethnic group, identities.

2.3 Decentralization and the Political context of Peru

In the history of Peru, early attempts of decentralization can be observed.

Peru has faced a dynamic process of centralization and decentralization during the last couple of centuries. The main factors affecting this dynamics were the end of the military regimes, subsequently the space for democracy and the reforms in Peru during the 90's (Cortéz, 2001).

Only after almost a century, on July, 1979, during the government of Fernando Belaunde Terry the Constitutive Assembly declared Peru in the article No.79, as "a Decentralized and Unitary State". This event provided the necessary bases for the creation of regions by means of the regionalization process. Since that constitution Peru consist out of three levels of Governance, which are the Central or National, Regional and the Local Government³.

The Republic of Peru faced this transition, associated to important institutional reforms since the 90's. At that moment the state consolidated the change of its protagonist and supportive role to the functioning of social structures to the decentralization of its powers to the smaller unities of management (Chavez, J. 2004).

The years of violence caused by Shinning Path also finished when engineer Alberto Fujimori became president of Peru (1990-1995; 1995- 2000) and stopped the escalation of violence. During that regimen, an neo-liberal economic model was implemented while an authoritarian style, characterized by the non recognition of grassroots and several civil-society organizations or even eliminated them, was the most distinctive aspect of this administration. (Ore, 2007) Alberto Fujimori in 1992 also draws back in more than a century the efforts to achieve decentralization. Fujimori dissolved the regional governments. (Klauer, 2005).

"During the last years of Fujimori's second government (1995-2000) the first *Mesas de Concertación* (negotiation tables) were implemented in response to the specific demands raised by local and regional groups. These new forms of civil society participation were characterized by the negotiation of conflicts and a search for agreement and consensus that differed from Perú's cultural tradition of conflict and confrontation. The negotiation tables became very important during the transition government (2000-2001) of Dr. Valentín Paniagua which encouraged and promoted them to deal with the issue of extreme poverty, human rights, and to elaborate regional strategic development plans.

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³ Retrieved on 3 of December 2007 on: http://www.congreso.gob.pe/ntley/Imagenes/Constitu/Cons1979.pdf

It is in this context of a new and increasing participation of the civil society searching for consensus and dialogue that the platforms in water management appeared. Both Paniagua's Provisional Government and (2000-2001) and Toledo's government (2001-2006) appointed new officials as heads of the public organizations, companies and projects. The new appointees had little or no knowledge of both the area and the previous involvement; their organizations had had in the platform, and continued to participate without formulating any important initiative." (Oré; 2007: 137)

2.4 Legal Framework

The Peruvian Water General Law (Law Decree No 17752) promoted the creation of, Autonomous Authorities of Watershed (AAW) as the maximum decision-making body for the use and conservation of soil and water resources. Those AAW were established in the watersheds that have regulated irrigation or in which there is an intensive and multi-sectoral use of the water. In fact, a dozen of Autonomous Authorities were created, which during time could not be consolidated as a technical-administrative instances according to the law. This happened due to a series of existing limitations, such as, sectoral dependency, lack of financial autonomy and the lack of participation from diverse productive sectors related to the use and management of water. Exceptionally, some independent AAW had an adaptive performance, it happens to Chancay-Lambayeque, Chira-Piura and Jequetepeque; nevertheless, it happened because they were associated to great projects of investment in hydraulic works. (Bernex et. al. 2004)

On the other hand Hendriks, (2004) affirms that in more than 10 years, six *Autoridades Autónomas de Cuenca*, AAW (Autonomous Authorities of Watersheds) were created in Peru. These AAC were created with the idea to implement an integrated water resource management. Principally it was pretended to focus on the territorial watershed, but the AAC were dedicated to specific problems, activities and wishes with an administrative delimitation that was not necessarily concordant with hydrographical criteria.

In the last two decades, there were several attempts to elaborate a Water Law that could reform the legal regime. The first attempts occurred during the second government of the President Fernando Belaunde Terry (1980-1985). Nevertheless, the most consistent efforts occurred during the government of Alberto Fujimori (1993 and 1997). The first prepublication of a Water Law project (July 2001) took place during the transition government of the President Valentin Paniagua.

Actually there is a new Water Law project that was pre-published the 25 of April of 2003, whose elaboration was in charge of a multi-sectoral commission. That commission included representatives of all the ministries and public organisms related to water, as well as the private users of the agrarian, mining, industrial and urban sectors. Additionally, Congressmen have presented, (between March and July of 2003), five different law projects that regulate the use of waters. (Bernex, et. al.2004)

2.5 The Management Committee of the Vilcanota Watershed

During the transitory government (2000-2001) of Dr. Valentin Paniagua, the minister of Agriculture Carlos Amat y Leon defined a policy to implement integrated watershed management through the implementation of a management committee. This committee was

implemented in the Vilcanota watershed because the area was representative. The main objective of this committee understood as an MSP in this thesis research, was to deal with the environmental concerns of the area.

In the initial stage of the conformation of the committee there were several stakeholders participating of this event. Approximately 23 micro-watersheds out of 70 participated in the formation and establishment of this MSP. The variety of stakeholders was relevant, representatives of the *Juntas de Usuarios de Riego* (Irrigation Users Unions), the presidents of the micro-watersheds as well as the representatives of public and private institutions and industrial water users, were stakeholders in this MSP.

During time, this initiative lost legitimacy due to several reasons. The MSP had to depend of the good will of the technical secretariat which provided financial and logistic support.

Initially the committee was created with the purpose to be the representative of the civil society and have parallel power (over the management of the natural resources) than the government. Within the stakeholders there was a wide variety, indigenous people, farmers, mayors, representatives of other institutions and NGOs were gather through this initiative. Initially the regional government was one of the members of the committee, but since April of 2007, the regional government launched two legal initiatives in order to implement a decontamination project. Through this document the government leaves the MCVW and creates a different type of MSP, the GTE. The implementation of this new MSP becomes the MCVW in one more of the other members under the rule of the government at the same level of other NGOs who are also stakeholders of the MCVW. The implementation of these political tools decreases the management level of the MCVW.

2.6 The Legal initiatives applied by the Government

2.6.1 Regional Decree

The Regional Decree 002-2007-CR/GRC.CUSCO is a new legal instrument launched by the Regional Government of Cusco (2007-2011), on the 3rd of April of 2007. The appearance has a lot to do with previous lobbing activities and the election of the new political administration. The future of the MCVW is very much related to this regional decree; the consequences of management of this new legal initiative could disaggregate the MCVW.

The regional decree refers to the Article No 66 of the Political Constitution of Peru that mentions that the natural resources are patrimonies of the nation, therefore their treatment and use should be done considering individual and collective interest. The resources should be preserved for the present and future generation and will serve to the rest of the nation.

In the same way the document mentions many others Articles and Legal tools to establish the protection of the natural resources as a must. The Peruvian government also recognizes itself as a strategy maker to control the risk that threatens the resources. The government aims to control and promote water quality and use by integrated water management avoiding environmental damage.

The Regional Decree remarks the context of the Vilcanota watershed, due to it's relevance in economic, cultural and political activities carried out in the area.

The article No. 3 of this Regional Decree supports the creation of a GTE (specialized technical group) conformed by the following institutions:

- Executive Secretariat form CONAM
- Instituto Nacional de Recursos Naturales INRENA (National Institute of Natural Resources) Cusco
- UNSAAC
- Regional Direction of Production
- Regional Direction of Foreign trade and Tourism
- Regional Direction of Agriculture
- Regional Direction of Health
- IMA
- PRONAMACHCS
- Asociación Arariwa
- Consejo Regional de Colegios Profesionales del Cusco (Regional Council of professional schools of Cusco)
- Management Committee of the Vilcanota Watershed MCVW
- Multi-disciplinary committee of UNSAAC
- Provincial Municipality of Cusco
- One representative from the 51 Provincial Municipalities of the Vilcanota Watershed
- Other public or private institutions that the commission could agree on.

The structure of the Specialized Technical Group promoted by the Regional Government shows clearly the inclusion of the Management Committee of the Vilcanota Watershed as an ordinary member. The appearance of this new way of platform decreases the position, work and legitimacy of the MCVW.

It is important to remember that the origin and purpose of the MCVW during its creation was to become a representative organization of the civil society leading environmental issues in the Vilcanota watershed. Having as a counterpart the Regional Government, IMA, PRONAMACHCS Arariwa and some other relevant institutions in the area, through the launch of the Regional Decree, its scanty faculties were taken away. If the MCVW faced already problems and difficulties, this could be the last hit to kill the beast.

The committee during a certain period was the Lion's head in what concerns to be the ideal consensus building organization emerged from the civil society. Nowadays its protagonist role, due to several organization, management problems and the Regional Decree have displaced the MCVW to the Lion's tail.

The Regional Decree and the Decontamination project for the Vilcanota river.

The initiative for the implementation of a decontamination project implementation in the Vilcanota river, re-emerged under the management of Mr. Hugo Eulogio Gonzales Sayan, the president of the regional government of Cusco (2007-2011).

The first action that was taken in order to achieve this initiative was launching the Regional Decree 002-2007-CR/GRC.CUSCO on the third of April in 2007. This regional decree shows the urgency to tackle the contamination problem. This legal instrument aims to deal with the technical aspects of the contamination problem. This means obtaining financial support from the municipal authorities (mayors) as well as from the national government, analyzing the legal procedures of the project implementation as well as the technology proposed by the companies.

The regional decree also promotes the formation of a GTE, a multidisciplinary group of professionals representing some institutions and organizations working in the Vilcanota watershed. This GTE was formed to deal with the political, administrative, economic, financial, and legal aspects related to what is at stake interest, the approval of project proposals⁴.

During the first meeting of mayors carried on the second of June in Urubamba, one of the agreements reached was to invite the companies Stantec and Asther S.L. to the second meeting of mayors to let the participants see the contrasting technology and proposals of both companies.⁵

2.6.2 Grupo Técnico Especializado GTE (Specialized Technical Group)

The GTE is a Group of Stakeholders selected by the Regional Government of Cusco. The creation of the GTE is one of the political tools that the Government used to exert power about the implementation of the decontamination project.

In the article No. 5 of the GTE statutes, is mentioned that as soon as the second stage of the project would be implemented, the participation of the mayors will be included through the participation of a representative.

In the same way the Complementary dispositions of the Regional Decree 002-2007-CR/GRC.CUSCO launched the 3rd of April of 2007 in the first article mentions that the representative of the 51 provincial mayors of the Vilcanota watershed will be choose democratically in a meeting called by the presidency of the GTE.

2.7 Relevant Stakeholders

In order to get a better understanding of the following chapters and their dynamics, a brief overview of the stakeholders and the institutions that they represent will be presented.

2.7.1 The Institutions

Several institutions, public and private are subject to inclusion and exclusion from the decision making process to achieve the decontamination project for the Vilcanota watershed. In this section their role is better described.

The Canadian company *Stantec* provides engineering, design and consulting services. In 2002 they worked whit Inspectra ⁶ and SEDACUSCO ⁷, through the International Development Agency. ⁸ Stantec does not have a predominant role in the general story. In fact, they were participating in the Meeting of Majors because the Regional Government invited them. They represent Asther's competition.

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⁴ Adel Manzanero speech in the 2nd Meeting of Mayors of the Vilcanota watershed. (14/7/07)

⁵ Adel Manzanero explanatory participation in the 2nd Meeting of Mayors of the Vilcanota watershed. (14/7/07)

⁶ Inspectra is a Peruvian engineering services company for the oil, mining and general industries.

⁷ SEDACUSCO is the municipal organization for wastewater treatment. Source: <u>www.sedacusco.com.pe</u>

⁸ Source: www.stantec.com

The other party is the Spanish engineering company *Asther S.L.* They perform a predominant role in public activities and events related to the decontamination project of the Vilcanota watershed. Asther is the most powerful stakeholder and they self proclaimed in public events as the representative of the Dutch Norit company that was pre-selected to implement the decontamination project for the Vilcanota watershed. Asther has also great influence towards governmental leaders, politicians and other stakeholders that are forming the GTE. One of the strategies that Asther used to validate its technology was paying a trip to Europe to the president of the Cusco Region, and some other politicians at national level. This trip was aimed to let the politicians witness the technology that Asther proposed in practice in Germany, Spain and The Netherlands.

The *Regional Government* is involved in the implementation of the decontamination project through the engagement of the Department of Natural Resources and Environment. The Natural Resources department carries out several activities aiming to establish a program for the decontamination project. Since the new government management was established at the beginning of 2007 many activities were carried out. The Government declared as a priority the decontamination of the Vilcanota river, therefore they elaborate a Regional Decree that stated the creation of the GTE. This group of stakeholders can be stated as another MSP that has a deliberative character.

The regional government is showing to have preference for Asther's project and accepts all the conditions and favors that Asther offers. Despite of this favoritism for Asther, the Regional Government is constantly pursuing to show neutrality. One of the evidences of this aim for neutrality is the last minute invitation of Stantec to participate in the Meeting of Mayors in Calca. Nobody expected that would be competition for the project presentation of Asther. Not even in the brochures prepared by the municipality of Calca that was delivered in the meeting, the participation of Stantec was stated. Despite that the Regional Government aims for neutrality, they give total support to the initiatives of Asther.

The *provincial and municipal mayors* are also important stakeholders. The 51 mayors of the Vilcanota watershed play a double role in this process, they are selectively included in the decision making process due to the significance of their financial contribution. On the other hand they are absolutely excluded from the decision making in the sense that they have only one representative in the GTE. Therefore it means that the vote of the 51 mayors is represented by only one vote within the other stakeholders of the GTE.

The *National government* plays an important role within the future of the decontamination project; their role is the elaboration of a *Decreto Supremo* (Supreme Decree). They would declare the Vilcanota river as a priority and through this process ensure the financial collaboration by creating a national indebtedness.

The *GTE* was created by a Regional Decree that stated the priority to decontaminate the Vilcanota river. This MSP is ruled and lead by the manager of the department of Natural Resources from the Regional Government. The stakeholders selected to participate are mostly government directors with some or little knowledge about the history of the decontamination process. The creation of this new type of MSP absorbed completely the role that the Management Committee of the Vilcanota Watershed had in the past. In fact, the MCVW become another member of this macro-MSP. In this platform, stakeholders with and without experience sat around the same table. The experienced ones had already a position about

what should be or not done, the new stakeholders just follow the negotiation and usually choose what sound for each of them the most reasonable option.

The *Institute of Water and Environment Management IMA* was created by the old government of the Inka Region in June of 1991, by a Regional Decree. It depends directly of the Regional Presidency and is the unit of execution from the Regional Government. IMA is an institute specialized in environmental and watershed management that promote and produce knowledge to contribute to the sustainable development.

Arariwa Association is a Non Governmental Organization NGO working in the area of the Vilcanota watershed for 18 years promoting the rural development in the Andean farmers' communities in several provinces of Cusco. Gomez, (2003) affirms that they are working with approximately 67 farmer communities located in 5 basins in the Vilcanota watershed, in the districts of Lamay, Calca, Chinchero, Urubamba and Ollantaytambo. After an evolutionist process, Arariwa had changed its vision from rural development that goes beyond agricultural development to a broad view of development. This includes activities that go into the articulation rural-urban activities, with a more regional and national view of the development.

The *Management Committee of the Vilcanota Watershed* suffered the political changes of stakeholders from several governmental institutions and could not continue with the previous work and compromises done to the MCVW. As a consequence the processes become fragmented and lost the sequence. Political differences among the institutions participating (highly political governmental institutions versus NGO's) produced friction and the consequent abandon of the MCVW.

Another problem that the committee faced is the lack of financial means in order to develop independent activities. As a consequence, the president started to negotiate and find agreements and alliances with Asther S.L. Therefore the president of the MCVW started to promote Asther's prefeasibility project for the decontamination of the Vilcanota watershed. IMA was the first organization pointed to evaluate the proposal from Asther S.L. with a negative result.

Therefore the role of the MCVW as a committee itself is not protagonist; in fact the protagonist role is developed by its president, Mr. Perez, so let's review the most relevant characters of this story...

2.7.2 The Characters

During the next chapters three and four, several characters perform a relevant role in the decision making process, consequently, to gain a better understanding of the situation and dynamics the role that they represent is described as follows.

Stakeholders supporting Asthers' project

The *President in the Management Committee of the Vilcanota Watershed* is Joaquin Perez who used to be the Mayor of Ccoya. Actually he plays a polemic role because of his self proclamation as president of the MCVW since its creation in 2001. As President of the MCVW he implemented alliances with Asther in order to achieve the decontamination project. Perez frequently uses the title of President to denote his authority. His role as a

president, is not always criticized, some interviewees believe that he does an altruist labor because he does a non paid work.

Jose Artunduaga is *the Manager of Asther S.L.* He represents the Dutch company Norit in Peru. From profession he is a chemical engineer and has a Spanish nationality. He has only one goal in his mind, to achieve the implementation of the decontamination project evaluated in 208 million Euros. To accomplish this objective he strategically involves stakeholders in Asther network. The appeal he uses to engage more supporters is through the display of a variety of culturally specific practices and favors.

The secretariat of the GTE is Andres Andrade. In the past he was an active member in the Management Committee of the Vilcanota Watershed MCVW and next to that, he used to work as university teacher of the UNSAAC. Nowadays he is retired and spent most of his time and efforts in Asther's achievement of the decontamination project. He displays the role of the typical politician implementing networks and convincing people to engage in their purpose.

The Cordinadora Regional de Colegios Profesionales COREPRO (Regional Coordination of Professional Schools) Mr. Javier Paredes, Architect of profession, he does not develop a relevant role in the story more than as a strategic supporter of Asther's project during the GTE formal and informal meetings.

The *Regional Manager of the Department of Natural Resources* from the Regional Government is Adel Manzanero⁹. He is the president of the GTE. The role that Manzanero represents is apparently neutral about the two companies. On the other hand, Asther supporters use the computer and facilities of Manzanero's office in order to elaborate letters or invitations for the meetings.

Stakeholders against the technology proposed by Asther

The Executive director of the Instituto de Manejo de Agua y Medio Ambiente IMA (Water and Environment Management Institute). Mr. Luis Romero had been involved in the process long time ago, has a broad knowledge about the legal procedures that the project had been facing. He expects that the decontamination project could become a reality but, he is not in favor of the proposal of Asther. In fact he had to elaborate reports mentioning that the Asther's prefeasibility project did not full fill the technical requirements from which IMA could support.

The representative of the NGO Arariwa Association is Maria Celia Ruiz. She worked establishing, organizing and coordinating activities since the early stages of the MCVW creation until the present. She feels personally involved and compromised with the MCVW and with the work that Arariwa develops as part of the MCVW Technical Secretariat as well the work in rural communities of Cusco. Her main concern is the possible failure that the high technological project proposal of Asther could have in the rural context of Cusco.

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⁹ The names of the Characters are fictitious, were changed in order to protect their identities.

Stakeholders with less knowledge about the process

Some stakeholders like the representatives of INRENA, PRONAMACHCS, the Regional Directions of Agriculture, Production, Foreign trade and Tourism, Health and so on. Those stakeholders do not have a defined position about the situations discussed on the meeting. On the other hand, despite that in the case of PRONAMACHCS as institution has a remarkable experience in the topic, the delegate could not represent it.

2.8 The Letter from IM A to Arariwa

The letter

The letter ¹⁰ is a document that Arariwa received from IMA describing relevant issues about the "decontamination project" of the Vilcanota watershed as well as recommendations to apply in the project proposal. IMA stresses that during the year 2004, the MCVW and Asther S.L. joined initiatives to elaborate a base document to develop a "Sustainable decontamination Program of the Vilcanota river, named Kaurary Wilkamayu".

In the year 2005 the regional government determined that the technical studies required for the program should be done according to the norms of the *Sistema Nacional de Inversion Pública* SNIP (National System of Public Investment). Therefore the regional government and the provincial districts located in the Vilcanota watershed assumed the responsibility to provide financial support to the program and recommended the elaboration of the program by the IMA.

In the same year an exposition was done to the local and regional governments about the terms of reference for the elaboration of programs, in the same way Asther made an exposition about the treatment of solid garbage and wastewater.

IMA did not elaborate the project due to the following reasons:

- The exigency of Asther to elaborate the program profile according to the SNIP norms within 10 days. This situation was not accepted by IMA due to the magnitude of the project to develop in short time.
- With this situation, Asther decided to assume the program formulation. This program was turned back from IMA several times due to the lack of technical quality and because was not according to the requirements of the SNIP.
- In February of 2006, Asther and the MCVW presented to the *Ministerio de Vivienda*, *Construccion y Saneamiento* (Ministry of Dwelling, Construction and Sanitation) 11 Volumes of the "Decontamination Integral and Sustainable of the Vilcanota watershed" program. Those documents where presented in the SNIP but later turned back to lacking elements and procedures demanded by the SNIP.

¹⁰ The letter was obtained from Maria Celia Ruiz worker of Arariwa. She only mentioned that the letter was sent by IMA, but at the time she provided the information, she mentioned that would be useful and would help to have a better understanding of the current situation.

CHAPTER 3

Politics in a meeting of mayors

The decontamination project of the Vilcanota Watershed

3.1 Introduction

This chapter contributes to a better understanding of the relevance of politics in the dynamic process of participation and power relations affecting the level of participation in the decision making of a Multi-Stake holders Platform, MSP.

This chapter focuses in the activities carried out during the Meeting of Mayors of the

Vilcanota Watershed held in Calca the 14th of July of 2007.

The event reflected the previous alliance between the representative of the Spanish company Asther S.L. and the president of the Management Committee of the Vilcanota Watershed MCVW. The Regional way how Government engaged on their also described was through the elaboration of political instruments. Those instruments are the Regional Decree 002-2007-



Figure 3: Poster of the event described in this chapter

CR/GRC.CUSCO and the GTE. The first instrument was used to partially commit the Mayors in the indebtedness that the implementation of the project would require. Paradoxically, the second instrument excludes the mayors participation of the decision making process materialized by the GTE.

Further more, in the meeting can be observed the discourses of the different actors, their roles, behavior and personal interests. Conflicts about power relations, decision making control, participation, inclusion exclusion and culture are elements analyzed in this chapter.

3.2 Unexpected guests

It is nine o'clock on Saturday morning in Calca Cusco, despite that is winter, in the swimming pool of the *Centro Recreacional* (Recreational Center) of the municipality of Calca, Daniel Rocha swims in the cold water. After a few minutes he went out and commented that he will collaborate to his colleagues to arrange the auditorium located next to the main entrance of the recreational center. While he dressed up, he said "the meeting is a waste of time, nothing is going to change, my opinion as a municipal worker is that this is only a social meeting from which nothing good will be obtained, it is just the natural shape of the watershed, the wastewater needs to flow and the natural sources of drainage are the creeks that goes to the rivers.".

The comment above reflects the perception of a municipal worker about the meeting of mayors. He remarks the shape of the watershed as a geographical difficulty to work on, but in fact reflects the political failure to assume responsibility about natural resources management. From his perspective nothing happened before and there are no serious reasons that something will happen now.

In the auditorium of Calca, a couple of municipal workers were discussing where to locate the red-white insignias, the national and local flag. They were checking weather the microphones were working or the sound system was loud enough. While they were busy with the details of the event, the participants appeared, one by one.

As the participants were arriving to the meeting they started a colloquial conversation with the neighboring mayor or participant, after a few minutes small groups of people were formed.

Mr. Joaquin Perez the president of the MCVW was brought to the meeting by the mayor of Santiago, Mr. Gerardo Arce. As soon as he went out of the car he hurried to salute the authorities, representatives of NGOs and some other personalities. Meanwhile he was doing this, he found out that between the invited people he saluted, were the representatives of the competition. The Canadian company Stantec was also there willing to present their proposal for "The Decontamination Project".

Mr. Jose Artunduaga, the manager of the Spanish company Asther S.L. who was responsible to explain their decontamination project proposal arrived, wearing a purple suit with white stripes. He looked even more elegant than his good friend and business fellow Mr. Joaquin Perez, who was waiting already for a long time. Perez was eager to introduce him to the persons that he knew, before the meeting started. After the traditional practice of greetings and a long session of hugs, the Spanish Artunduaga and his entourage were surprised by the news from Perez. The presence of the Canadian competition Stantec who were invited by the Regional Government to the event produced nervousness, anxiety and anger in Artunduaga.

The meeting of Mayors of the Vilcanota watershed held in Calca, started almost two hours late. According to the local cultural practices, applicable to birthday parties, festivities and all type of social events to never start at the time mentioned in the invitation.

The meeting started like most political and governmental events in Peru. To open the ceremony the national, regional and local hymns were intoned. The speaker of the event randomly offered a short but eloquent speech related to environmental issues of the Vilcanota river, aiming to wake up the sensibility of the audience. The mayor of Calca offered a speech where he mentioned the relevance of the event, the importance in saving the Vilcanota river and a more important point for him, the chance to establish a commonwealth of mayors of the watershed. The mayor also showed his happiness and enthusiasm to be the host of such an important event.

3.3 The Speeches

Mr. Adel Manzanero the Regional Manager of the Department of Natural Resources from the Government, started his speech by recognizing the job of Mr. Joaquin Perez as president of the MCVW who worked on behalf of the Committee since 2001.

The concern of the Regional Government related to the contamination problem in the Vilcanota watershed was also mentioned. A brief report was presented remarking that the priority of the Regional Government is to recover the Vilcanota watershed. Emphasis was put on the large responsibility of everyone, to make all the efforts necessary to recover the watershed. In this way he affirmed that "the recovering of the Vilcanota watershed" is a priority in the government plans of this new administration. The first management task the Regional Government organized was the coordination of tasks with Mr. Joaquin Perez.

From Caballero's point of view, Perez had been working the last few years to summon public and private institutions to discuss the possibilities for the decontamination of the Vilcanota. Therefore, together they could better coordinate and establish a compromise to solve the problem. By doing this recognition, Mr. Manzanero is legitimizing the role of Perez to the audience and indirectly validating the negotiations that they had with Asther S.L.

Manzanero mentioned implications of the Regional Decree No 002 that was launched by the Regional Government in April of 2007 which the Vilcanota watershed was declared a priority in the Regional agenda. In the Regional Decree, the article No 2 creates the GTE (Specialized Technical Group).

The GTE is a multidisciplinary group of people arranging the political, administrative, economic and financial issues of the project proposals. The GTE after deliberation would provide to the *Consejo Regional* (Regional Council) the name of the company that could implement this project. The Specialized Technical Group was working on making agreements with 51 mayors of the watershed. Therefore the Regional Government invited two companies, which would provide their technical and financial proposals for the decontamination of the Vilcanota Watershed.

Despite that the Regional Government, indirectly supports the negotiation initiative of Perez and Asther, aims to show a neutral role by inviting the meeting of mayors two companies presenting the decontamination project proposal. On the other hand, the GTE plays a double role by including 51 mayors through the financial engagement; meanwhile their participation in the GTE is excluded by allowing only one mayor as representative.

Caballero's speech continued mentioning that at the end of the meeting the Regional Government will ask to the 51 mayors to sign a compromise of acceptation of this project. This is a vital requirement for the regional *Oficina de Programación de Inversiones*, OPI (Office of Investments Programming) as well as for the *Ministerio de Economía y Finanzas*, MEF (Ministry of Economy and Finances). This compromise would ensure the indebtedness that the inhabitants of Cusco would acquire.

During his speech he also mentioned that the GTE obtained the commitment of the *Canciller de la República* (Chancellor of the Republic) to support the indebtedness for the Cusco Region. Manzanero considered the agreement with this higher politician to be very important. On the other hand he mentioned that they were waiting for a National Supreme Decree to be launched by the National Government, declaring the priority of the Vilcanota Watershed.

As soon as the Supreme Decree would be launched, the National Government would have to provide a counterpart to finance the payment of this mega-project. Therefore the participation of the 51 municipalities was essential, he stated. To finance the project they expected the National Government to be a counterpart that supports 40 % of the total investment. The

Regional Government would provide 30% of the indebtedness, 10% would be financed by the Provincial Municipality of Cusco and SEDACUSCO which are the "polluting agents". Finally the last 20 % would be provided by the 51 municipalities of the Vilcanota watershed.

Manzanero spoke on behalf of the president of the Regional Government of Cusco, Mr. Hugo Eulogio Gonzales Sayan who was invited one week ago (7/7/07) by *Norit* ¹¹ and the *Rabobank* ¹², to visit Spain, the Netherlands, and Germany. ¹³ The only objective of the trip was to verify the functioning of the systems that Asther S.L. as Norit representative offered in their project proposal. Manzanero believes that it is important to validate foreign technology in the field, because based on Gonzales opinion they could reach an adequate decision.

Manzanero stressed that the 51 municipal mayors would not decided with which company they would work, but they would sign an agreement to assume the indebtedness at institutional level. The fact is that despite that the mayors are responsible for the provincial and municipal indebtedness; the statutes of the GTE do not allow more than one mayor representative participating. Therefore, the mayor's representative is only one vote among 16 others.

Manzanero mentioned that the invited companies, the Canadian Stantec and the Spanish Asther S.L. would present their technical proposal for the project. In another meeting, the mayors and the GTE would decide which company they would choose for executing the project.

Mr. Joaquin Perez, President of the Management Committee of the Vilcanota Watershed began his speech by narrating the history of his work with the MCVW and the established relationship with Asther S.L. Perez spoke on behalf of the Management Committee of the Vilcanota Watershed mentioning that he was working on the realization of the "Kausari Wilcamayu¹⁴ project" for some years already. He told that the MCVW has a high priority in the "Integrated and Sustainable Decontamination of the Vilcanota River and its Effluents", specially the Huatanay river which is the main polluter of the Vilcanota River.

He also referred to the good luck to meet two years ago Mr. Jose Artunduaga. Perez continued relating Artunduaga's research along the Vilcanota river. Inspired in the clean rivers of Europe and USA he got motivated to work in the pre-feasibility decontamination project. Artunduaga presented this pre-feasibility project proposal to the MCVW who were eager to adopt and implement it, as how Perez mentioned "a dream come true".

Perez was also thankful to Artunduaga because he made "the favor" to obtain financial support from his contacts in Spain and The Netherlands to implement the decontamination project. The idea of making a favor implicitly refers to have a reciprocity relation that eventually should be paid back

Perez continued mentioning the failure of the previous president as well as many mayors, who did not listen to the needs of the MCVW. "As the committee does not count with

¹¹ Norit is a purification water company established in The Netherlands.

¹² Rabobank is a bank from The Netherlands.

¹³ See annexes, Box No 4, Travel authorization to Europe for the President of the Regional Government.

¹⁴ Kausary Wilcamayu in quechua means wake up or back to life Wilcamayu which is the original name of the Vilcanota river before the Spanish conquest.

financial support for its functioning neither to pay the value of a profile study, we went to talk with the Mr. Artunduaga who provided the financial support to our demands".

In the city of Chinchero some years ago, he contacted Mr. Toledo the president of Peru (2001-2006), promised to support the decontamination project initiative. They presented documents with more that 2800 signatures claiming his support but sadly nothing happened in the end. Now Perez hopes that Mr. Alan Garcia, the actual president (2006-2012), would listen to their claims. After a document presentation made in Lima, a minister accepted the proposal. This minister promised again that the project would become a reality. This example reflects the relevance of government politics in the implementation of projects and programs and their variability during one government to another.

Perez explained that agriculture could improve if the river would be decontaminated. Modernized irrigation could be used in order to improve the production of crops. This would make it possible to further extend the production chain and even export agricultural goods. Fishing was also a point in the list of possibilities for improvement, he told that in the past, they had trout and many other varieties of fishes used for self-consumption as well as for commercialization. He finally mentioned that clean water for cattle consumption would decrease the diseases that they have in the bovine and ovine animals. The aspect of tourism was also mentioned, stressing the decrease of tourist dedicated to canoeing. Activities that young people enjoyed in the past nowadays don't exist any more due to the river's pollution. The discourse continued explaining the cultural, anthropological and economical relevance of the area. Some points where used to motivate and engage the mayors to sign the indebtedness.

The personal relation with the company Asther S.L. was also mentioned, Perez stressed that he did not have the chance to see their proposal before, but thanks to the following presentation, all the mayors presented could compare the offers of both companies¹⁵.

3.4 The Project Presentation

Mr. Jose Artunduaga, Asther's representative, stood on the stage doubting to make the presentation in front of the competition. The nervousness, anxiety and anger he tried to control, suddenly exploited. With a thunder voice he requested the Canadians to leave the auditorium while he would be doing the presentation. The audience replied with a generalized murmur and signs of disappointment. Artunduaga continued with a less arrogant tone saying that it would probably be better to let the Canadians present first and the Asther S.L. team would leave the room. The Canadians should not feel offended by this because it is part of a normal procedure in project presentations, Artunduaga mentioned.

The Canadians were surprised by the development of the events and by the sudden change of plans. They accepted the deal and they apologized in advance because they would take some time to install their equipment. Meanwhile they were making all the arrangements for the presentation and after Artunduaga left, some mayors raised their voices expressing disappointment for the recent claim of the Spaniard.

¹⁵ When I had an interview with Mr. Perez he suggest me to visit him in Asther's office where we would discuss about the MCVW, Asther and technological aspects of their project proposal.

The mayor of Santiago ¹⁶ Mr. Gerardo Arce said... "Mr. Artunduaga is arrogant and overconfident. He acts as if he already won the execution of the project, comrades... this is an abuse of power; we are the ones who will decide which company we are going to choose to execute the project...! Artunduaga believes that he can come here and do everything he wants..!! That is not possible, comrades"

The claim of the mayor of Santiago is not only a claim for respect, also hides the frustration of the exclusion of the decision making process, the exclusion of the GTE.

The voices of some other mayors tried to calm down, some other people also support the opinion of the mayor of Santiago by clapping and screaming. The order returned as soon as the Canadians were ready to give the presentation. Mr. Ian Morrison made a long presentation in English meanwhile his fellow Fernando Rodrigo translated simultaneously.

The most relevant point made during the presentation was related to the scope of technical and financial aspects. The installation of eight wastewater treatment plants would cost between 28 and 48 million dollars, the management of the garbage would cost between 8 and 12 million of dollars. Stantec proposed an "Integrated Watershed Management Project" that in total would cost approximately 43 to 72 million USD. This amount of money could be obtained by means of a loan from a Canadian bank or from the Canadian International Development Agency CIDA. However the decision would be up to the mayors and the government, the Canadians mentioned.

After the presentation, which took longer than expected, a round of questions was made in order to clarify some doubts from the audience. The Canadian team left the room in order to let Jose Artunduaga present Asther's project proposal.

The presentation of Artunduaga started with the causes of the pollution of the Vilcanota river, he mentioned that the bad management and obsolete technology is the problem of the watershed. He mentioned that the first time he arrived to Peru and people talked about oxidation lagoons, he had no idea what people where talking about. He had to visit one of them to really understand the water treatment process.

Artunduaga said... "I was really shocked when I first saw an oxidation lagoon. To me it is just a palace for bacteria and viruses a wonderful swimming pool for parasite. We don't have them is Spain, it is a pre-historic technology"

He continued with the technology that is used in Europe, USA and other developed countries, by saying... "Dear mayors, you shouldn't be less than the developed countries; it's time for you to make the change. Now that you can choose to apply modern technology to daily life needs...wouldn't you like to be at the same technological level as Canada, USA, Europe or Japan? The Project that Asther proposes is the chance to reach that goal"

Artunduaga persuade the mayors to support Asther's project proposal as a way to achieve their modernization. The technology that Asther S.L. proposed was based on a Membrane BioReactor developed by the Dutch company Norit. This was a new technology used in some developed countries. As a new technology, the price for it was also high. Artunduaga also proposed as part of his project the construction of a crematorium for solid garbage. As a

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¹⁶ Santiago is a district of Cusco, as well as Wanchaq, San Sebastian, etc.

result the total investment would be 208 million of Euros. The indebtedness would be financed by the Rabobank from the Netherlands.

This controversial project caused certain curiosity among the audience. A Spanish woman worker of the NGO Guaman Poma confronted the opinion of Artunduaga and asked if they did studies about the adaptability of the local users to this technology and how the maintenance should be done, she continued comparing the technology and budgets proposed by the two companies. Mr. Artunduaga who was already annoyed to have a project competition and did not like the comment, reacted with vehemence... "What does it matter to you... you don't even know what are you talking about! The woman who made the question reacted to the lack of respect; many mayors got upset as well and criticized the controversial attitude of Artunduaga.

At that moment, chaos governed the auditorium; the offended woman screamed and wanted to get back the microphone to keep discussing. Some mayors stood up and claimed respect from Artunduaga. Other participants request a mediator to be in charge of the order in the discussion in the room. This was a crucial moment in the meeting, during the discussion, some participants left the room and some others, while seated discussed with the neighbor about the situation.

To set the peace and order again, the organizers appointed a chairman who would organize the further questions and answers. The event was already disorganized, but some participants still made some questions. One of the municipality representatives also mentioned that during a previous meeting Asther S.L. promised the 35 per cent to be subsidized of a total price of 300 million Euros project by the Dutch Rabobank. Artunduaga denied this possibility and he even remarked that they already reduced the total price of the Project to 208 million Euros.

The discussion continued for a while in a less enthusiastic environment until the mayor of Calca and host of the event decided to close the event by inviting the mayors to have lunch together.

3.5 The lunch

The crowd moved towards the back yard where some municipal workers where doing their best to serve *Pachamanca*¹⁷ to all the guests. I was invited to join the lunch by Mr. Joaquín Perezwho sat in the front part of the table with the host mayor and the representatives of Asther S.L. and Stantec. I sat next to some farmers and municipality representatives. While the food and the beers were served. Some people where making some comments about the meeting.

After the traditional ritual of making a toast on behalf of the *Pachamama*¹⁸ and throwing some drops of drinks onto the ground, the mayors, guest companies and invited people once

¹⁷ Pachamanca (from the quechua *pacha* <land, earth> and *manka* <pot>; earth pot) is a traditional Peruvian dish composed by *habas* (Vicia faba beans), potatoes, sweet potatoes, cow, lamb and pork meat, eventually chicken and guinea pig meat as well, all cooked underground with herbs and spices. This is a typical dish that reminds of the time of the Inca Empire.

¹⁸ Pachamama (From the aymara and quechua *pacha* < land, earth > and *mama* <mother>) is the name for the mother earth. It is the great deity of the central Andes.

again discussed the relevance of the Project. The authorities of the event continued making speeches, this time in a very informal way.

Some of them where more eager to listen than to talk, that was the case of Mr. Andres Andrade, who was careful listening, Mr. Andres used to be an active member of the MCVW as well as a teacher from *Universidad Nacional San Antonio Abad del Cusco* UNSAAC (National University San Antonio Abad of Cusco). Nowadays he was retired and spends all his efforts and energy being the secretary of the GTE. Mr. Andrade supports the initiative of Asther's project, but in public he shows a neutral position.

After the lunch many people felt eager to go back to Cusco and enjoy the weekend. Meanwhile everybody was leaving, some others decided to stay and enjoy the two days of activities that the host municipality had organized. A soccer game was the activity proposed after the lunch, the next day an excursion to the local thermal waters would be organized. The organization of recreational activities denotes the relevance of culture, tradition and enjoyment on politics.

3.6 The return to Cusco

During the return to Cusco, Benjamin Alvarez, a municipal representative of Calca took a bus to return to the city were his family lives. On the route he explained his point of view. "Nothing is going to change" he said, meanwhile he pointed far across the road little rooms painted in blue "those latrines are the reminder of another failure, the project of the World Bank and MINCETUR which supposed to implement an integrated watershed management to promote tourism, but what have they done?? Latrines, they improve a handicraft market and that is all...millions of dollars spent in nothing. I presume that the future of this new decontamination project is going to have the same end".

3.7 ANALYSIS

Summary

The purpose of the meeting organized by the Regional Government was to inform the 51 mayors about the technical and financial proposal of Asther S.L. and specially to engage them in a financial agreement. Artunduaga, the representative of Asther S.L. thought he would be the only presenter of the project proposal. As soon as he realized that the Regional Government, aiming for transparency, invited another company, he got disappointed. The anger was put in evidence when Artunduaga requested the representatives of the Canadian company to leave the auditorium during his presentation. This situation triggered complains of the mayors about their frustration of been mistreatment by the arrogance of Artunduaga and been the excluded from the decision making process. During the project presentation of the Canadian Stantec, a decontamination project proposal of approximately 72 million of Canadian Dollars was proposed. While the Spanish company Asther S.L. proposed a 208 million Euro project. After Artunduaga's presentation, a round of questions was carried out. Dazzle by his arrogance and anger he did not replied in a proper way to a technical comment made by the Spanish women producing another polemic incident. Some mayors who were affected by the lack of respect decided to leave the auditorium. Meanwhile others stayed until the lunch and enjoyed the two days of recreational activities.

One of the most important points of analysis is the influence of politics in the performance of a Multi-stakeholders platform. The continuity of political activities of development among different government periods seems to be affected from one government to another. On the other hand, Warner (2007: 12) mentions "Governments have certain exclusive resources at their disposal: sizeable budgets and personnel, special powers, access to the mass media, a monopoly on the use of force and democratic legitimation. Access to these resources generally means that governments have considerable power in particular to define the strategic space of any actor." In this way can be understood that politics affect not only among different governments but whiting the same political regime.

The political history of Peru, have shown that every government had a particular vision on the way how natural resources should be managed. Perez reflects that situation by mentioning that during Toledo's government (2001-2006) they had no support to impulse the initiative of decontamination, but during the government of Alan García (2006-2011) they got a positive reply.

During Artunduaga's presentation, the mayors were strongly encouraged to support Asther's project proposal. His argument was based on the achievement of modernization that would be done by supporting the technological change. The technology that Asther S.L. proposed was based on a Membrane BioReactor developed by the Dutch company Norit. As modern technology, the process of maintenance and manipulation demands a high specialized training. In the meeting the high level of technology arouses susceptibility from the audience that was reflected by the doubts about the possible implementation and the acceptability of the local users.

Eyerman (1992:37) affirms that "the concept of modernity has its roots in the attempt to come to grips with the meaning and significance of the social change as the result of industrialization, urbanization and political democracy on essentially rural and autocratic societies. The term modernity was coined to capture these changes in progress by contrasting modern with the traditional". In the rural areas of Cusco, a high percentage of the rural inhabitants are indigenous people, *Quechua*¹⁹ speakers and whose interactions with nature and among themselves are based in Andean reciprocity and Cosmo-vision. Therefore, the question arises again; would it be possible that those "traditional" communities could cope with the demands of maintenance and operation of the "modern" technology proposed by Asther? This request of modernization is a demand for social change.

This interest to achieve modernization from Asther is based on personal interests or self interest. Crano (1994) suggest that the personal interest have an impact on the attitude-behavior. Research in social psychology suggests the moderate impact of self-interest on attitude-behavior. Further explorations on the concept of personal interest have shown that personal attitude have implications on many judgment aspects.

Personal interest seems to affect the tendency of people to overreact and influences the degree that other people are agreeing or not with their tendencies. This bias is known as the fake-consensus or the supposed-consensus (Crano, 1983; Marks and Miller, 1987; Ross, Greene and House, 1977 as mentioned by Crano, 1994). In this sense, personal interest can create both, competences and alliances to achieve the "object of interest". In this case the object of interest is the achievement of the decontamination project for the Vilcanota river.

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¹⁹ Native language of the Andean countries, extended in Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia and the north of Chile and Argentina.

The competence in this event can be observed by the comments and criticism to the technological project of Asther which evidently created overreaction of its presenter.

On the other way around the alliance of some characters was observed during the speeches. These alliances were done at early stages of negotiation and could have been certainly produced by the legitimate interest in the decontamination project. Nowadays the alliance seemed to become an instrument to conduce power.

Whyte, (1976) affirms the existence of two quite different conceptions of the nature of power. The first, micro power is based on interpersonal context focusing upon the dominance of one individual over the other. The second tendency focuses power upon a macro level, explaining how major structural elements of a society shape behavior. Both approaches separated are insufficient; therefore, the relation between the macro and the micro level is needed.

As these relations were explored, is important to remark their relevance at macro level due to their impact on how resources, laws, rules, exclusion, inclusion and decision making are applied among the society. In this context the case of the Regional Government who never called for an open tendering for the decontamination project of the Vilcanota river can be observed. In fact what they did was accepting the study project from Asther S.L. and assumes it as their own. Therefore the Regional Government aiming transparency could just invite the companies, (Asther S.L. and Stantec) to present their proposals. In this context the powerful role of Asther which apparently convinced the Regional Government to accept their project proposal. On the other hand the Regional Government influenced by Asther did not follow the conventional procedure of an open tendering. What in fact happened is just that they invited another company to the meeting of mayors aiming for neutrality.

Artunduaga also tried to conduce the meeting in his favor by making an eloquent speech about modernization. In the same way, by requesting Stantec to leave the auditorium while they made their presentation he demonstrated his assumed power producing a dramatic reaction among the audience. From the point of view of anthropological performance, Turner (1988: 4) affirms that "situations-arguments, combats, rites of passage-are inherently dramatic because participants not only do things, they try to show others what they are doing or have done; actions take on a 'performed-for-an-audience' aspect." On the other hand Boelens (Forthcoming) explains that "Power, its use and functionality, is fixed in the rules and therefore they are endowed with the legitimacy and faculty to dominate, dictate law and claim the obligation to obey them, serve as a referee, and where needed, use violence to enforce submission." In this sense, the response of the mayor of Santiago, Mr. Gerardo Arce was not more than the frustrated response to the abuse of power, exclusion about the decision making and authoritarian behavior. Power relations, inclusive and exclusive are the two sides of the coin; one sometimes shows the participatory face while the other shows the oppressive, top down strategy. (Boelens, forthcoming) Power and participation are often interconnected concepts which in fact relate, the level of participation and the level of power sharing (Bruns, 2003 as mentioned in Warner 2007)

It is a sensible issue to define who participates and how in the establishment of a MSP. "Participatory Natural Resources Management (NRM) encompasses a spectrum of power relations among stakeholders stretching from one extreme where control over natural resources is concentrated over a single powerful stakeholder to another extreme where other stakeholders inform, influence, or perform NRM." (Currie-Alder, 2007: 246).

In the case of the Vilcanota, the Regional Government launched a Regional Decree which declared the recuperation of the Vilcanota river as a priority. In the same way was promoted the creation of a (GTE) Specialized Technical Group. Despite that the mayors are responsible for the provincial and municipal indebtedness, the statutes of the GTE does not allow more than one vote among 16 others. Therefore, the GTE created by the Regional Government plays a double role. It includes 51 mayors through the financial engagement, meanwhile their participation in the decision making process is excluded. Therefore, the less people involved in decision making of the GTE, the more chances to speed up the process and to find an agreement among the homogeneous members. This situation is an example of what Boelens (forthcoming) denominates "Classic, vertical, coercive power" whose functioning is the inclusion or the exclusion.

Those power relations that permeate every aspect of social life can be observed through the interactions of some characters and by their performance in the meeting. Mr. Manzanero legitimized the role of Mr. Perez by referring to the aim of the Regional Government to work in close relation together. Meanwhile Perez self-recognizes himself as an authority, (the president of the MCVW) though he has not legitimized power from the bases. On the other hand, Manzanero indirectly validated the negotiations that, the MCVW had with Asther S.L. The Regional Government, despite that indirectly supports the initiative of negotiation of Perez and Asther S.L., aimed to show a neutral role by inviting two companies that presented their decontamination project proposal.

Price (1975: 422) mentions that "goals on whatever level, however, are the motivational factors for the expectations of the future that cause decision-makers to choose a form of behavior in order to accomplish them." The attitude of Mr. Perez saluting and greeting to the mayors before the start of the meeting showed and adopted behavior. He aims to show his obeisance to the mayors and at the same time prepare the arena for the arrival of Mr. Artunduaga. In the same way, the idea of making a favor implicitly refers to have a mutual relation of debt that sooner or later should be paid back. "The extent and benefits of the favor shown to some fields are also at issue in policy circles". (Culliton 1975 as mentioned on Liebert, 1976: 664). During the speech, Perez introduced Mr. Artunduaga as the "savior" to be paid back for the favor of obtaining financial support for the decontamination project.

Within politic events, the organization of recreational activities denotes the relevance of culture, tradition, friendship and enjoyment in Peru. This situation reflects what Rap (2007:7) mentions "as the ability to organize public modes of enjoyment as the art of managing people which entails becoming part of a wider design", for example with food and drinks, soccer games or visits to thermal waters. The culture of power requires the willingness to keep personalized relations among mayors, representatives of the government, companies and the people involved in the GTE.

At the beginning and at the end of the case study description, the perceptions of Fernando Ruiz, a municipal worker (swimmer) and Benjamin Alvarez, municipal representative of Calca returning in the bus to Cusco, showed the relevance of politics in a broad sphere of interrelations. The first one, Fernando explained his frustration and understanding of the technical problem of contamination by blaming the natural shape of the watershed as a natural drainage. On his simple understanding of the situation, he sees no other explanation for the contamination; all the wastewaters have to flow through a natural stream, to the Vilcanota river. What can be observed is the use of technical language that is not neutral, it was used to explain and justify a political failure. On the other hand, the opinion of the

municipal representative of Calca, Benjamin Alvarez, summarizes the objective of this chapter, which is to demonstrate the central role of politics in natural resource management. His input is relevant since politics affect the way how natural resources are conceived and understood during every governmental period. Each government develops activities according to their ideologies and vision of what they consider as "the proper way". In Peru, this phenomenon, created a cumulus of failures and fragmented programs, projects and overlapping efforts during the different regimes of centralization and decentralization.

3.8 CONCLUSIONS

During this chapter the importance of politics influencing the performance of a Multi-Stake holders Platform, MSP and its relevance in determining personal interest, alliances, power relations and participation has been argued. The relevance and influence of politics is intrinsic to the whole process of decision-making. Therefore, politics can be understood as the stage on which all the processes are held.

Policies at national level can change from one government to another affecting the perceptions, understandings and decision making about natural resources management. This discontinuity in the processes affects especially the highly politicized institutions that renew or reallocate their personnel according to political will. In the same way, political governments can create new institutions with overlapping tasks and responsibilities.

The meeting of mayors represents a scenario to analyze political discourses. The transformation of the initial legitimate claim for the decontamination of the Vilcanota river had changed during time. Currently, due to Asther's influence this claim is used as a mask to cover personal interest and alliances among politicians and other stakeholders. The implementation of the decontamination project is the final target, not only because of the decontamination of the river, but especially because it represents the success of the alliance.

Mr. Artunduaga, the manager of Asther S.L. displays a powerful role by establishing strategically contacts. His main ally is Mr. Perez, the president of the MCVW has influential contacts especially at regional and national governmental level. Mr. Perez's strong point is the fact that he was in the past mayor of Ccoya and later elected president of the MCVW on 2001. Since then he is recognized as a public authority, obtaining attention from other politicians, media and civil society. Moved by personal interest, he self proclaimed president until he could implement the decontamination project²⁰.

By the public he is recognized as an authority meanwhile he has no support from the bases neither from the *Secretaría Técnica* TS (Technical Secretariat). Mr. Perez behavior obstructs the democracy in the MCVW as well as influence what should be a neutral process of the decontamination project proposal and implementation.

The alliance of Artunduaga and Perez gave support to each other, but in order to materialize the decontamination project they needed to involve the Regional Government. Asther S.L. paid a trip to the President of the Regional Government to Germany, Spain and The Netherlands in order to let him validate the technology proposed by Asther S.L. This is also a "favor" to pay back in the future to Mr. Artunduaga. Therefore can be concluded that the

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²⁰ Informal conversation with Mr. Joaquín Perez after the meeting of the *Grupo Técnico Especializado* GTE. (24/7/07)

relevance of cultural practices and favors in order achieve a purpose requires a great level of performative competence. (Gupta, 1995 as mentioned in Rap, 2007)

Through the two legal instruments like the Regional Decree and the consequent formation of the *Grupo Tecnico Especializado*, GTE (Specialized Technical Group) the Regional Government can decide who participates and how.

CHAPTER 4

A political meeting

4.1 Introduction

The relevance of cultural practices is remarkable in politics and decision making. This chapter focuses on this relevance as a way to understand the dynamics of multi-stake holders participation. Leading the decision making process for the implementation of the

decontamination project in the Vilcanota watershed. Those elements are analyzed in a regular meeting of the GTE held the 24 of July of 2007 in Cusco Peru. During this meeting agreement, discrepancies of objectives, doubts and personal interests were evidenced in order to choose a company to implement the decontamination project.

In this scenario the legal procedure is contrasting to the sphere of negotiations and personal interests presented in the discussion table. In contrast, another arena, where some stakeholders join after official meetings or during their free time, becomes the real scenario where the agreements, negotiations and alliances really occurred. This chapter also considers the role of



Figure 4: Lunch after the meeting of Mayors in Calca

alcohol and enjoyment as a lubricant in the political engine.

4.2 Meeting of Representatives of the GTE of the Regional Government

It was three o'clock in the office of the Department of Natural Resources and Environment of the Regional Government of Cusco. Around twelve stake holders representing several organizations were gathered in a round table willing to decide the future of the project. The meeting started as usual, first the secretary; Mr. Andres Andrade the secretary of the GTE reviewed the minutes of previous meetings, in the same way he reported about the correspondence received and emitted.

After Andrade's brief report, Mr. Abel Caballero, president of the office of Natural resources and Environment of the Regional Government explained the activities carried out during the meeting of majors of the Vilcanota watershed. He said..."I expected that the agreement of indebtedness with the mayors would have been signed during the meeting of mayors held in Calca, but due to the lack of attendance, they did not sign it. Only 10 majors attended the meeting, 32 of them sent a representative and nine majors did not send a representative and did not show up". Manzanero proposed to call for a third meeting where he hoped all the

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mayors could participate to obtain the agreement of indebtedness. He mentioned that during the meeting they were also surprised by the absence of the major of Cusco. Manzanero continued "The technology that Mr. Hugo Gonzales Sayan saw in Europe is viable, but what should be a point of discussion is the lifetime and maintenance of the Membrane BioReactor proposed by Asther".

During the 18th of July 2007, Manzanero traveled to Lima with the objective to request from the congressmen the elaboration of a national decree that could support the initiatives of decontamination of the Vilcanota river and declare its priority. During the trip to Lima and aiming for a better understanding he negotiated with the *Concejo Nacional del Ambiente* CONAM (National Council for the Environment) for support. Manzanero requested the collaboration of a group of specialists who would contribute analyzing the technical aspects of the decontamination project proposals.

Manzanero expressed the need to reformulate the characteristics and conditions of the regional government project proposal to reduce the costs of investment. He continued saying: "The costs of the project implementation are very high maybe there is a good possibility to combine both technologies proposed by Asther and Stantec". Manzanero also informed that the regional government request to the faculty of Chemistry Engineering of the *Universidad Nacional San Antonio Abad de Cusco* UNSAAC (National University San Antonio Abad of Cusco) to make a quick evaluation of the project proposals of both companies.

The architect Javier Paredes representative of the *Cordinadora Regional de Colegios Profesionales* COREPRO (Regional Coordination of Professional Schools) claimed speed in the process. He suggested discussing the next point because too much time had been invested in the previous topic. Paredes could not hide his anxiety to make the technical evaluation of both proposals, Asther and Stantec.

Meanwhile Mr. Luis Romero, the Executive director of the *Instituto de Manejo de Agua y Medio Ambiente* IMA (Water and Environment Management Institute) remarked that during the meeting the process was accelerated. He could not understand the hurry of the other members who where pushing to speed up the process. Cruz had been involved in the process since long time ago; he knew legal the procedures perfectly well. On the other hand Joaquín Perez presuming his authority as president of the MCVW requested to follow the agenda, he continued saying that the perception of Mr. Cruz was wrong, considering the fact that they were already delayed in several aspects. Perez continued "The government invited two companies to present the official proposal having ten days to do so; the documents of Stantec were never presented". The voice of Andrade supporting Perez said... "Only one company presented the proposal within the ten days, if we keep discussing and waiting, what would be the legitimacy of this Specialized Technical Group?"

Adel Manzanero claimed some order in the room and proposed to carry on the evaluation of the proposals and to discuss the environmental needs of the proposed technology.

At this point Maria Celia Ruiz representative of the NGO Arariwa, mentioned that her biggest concern was related to the adaptability of the local user to the technology presented by Asther.

She said "We must walk in this process with solid steps, I'm afraid about the technology proposed by Asther, sometimes working in the communities we face difficulties due to the

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incapability of local users to adapt to new process and technologies. I don't think that is applicable to our reality, where we have so many varieties of cultures, it is also a very expensive technology that if one day would not work, will remain as a proof of failure to all of us".

The audience had a moment of silence after that comment and suddenly Mr. Andres Andrade changed the topic referring to the involvement of the Mayors in the process of discussion and negotiation. He made his point clear by saying... "the involvement of Municipal majors is not relevant because the meetings would become unproductive, then we will never find an agreement to work on".

Mr. Luis Romero raised his voice against this position and mentioned his worry, from his point of view the not participation of the mayors in the process could generate problems. He said, "How can be possible comrades that the majors who are the ones who are going to pay the debt are not able to give their vote and be able to decide by themselves...!! It is not logical to have only one representative out of 51 participants..!! That is not democratic"

To this comment Perez replied that "...now is not a matter of discussion if we include them into the process of negotiation or not, the only thing that we were doing is just follow the statutes of this GTE". He continued affirming that the only reason to have a representative is just to let them know with how much money they will participate. Perez continued mentioning that "we" (referring to the MCVW) support the Kausary Wilcamayu ²¹project.

Mr. Cruz getting excited about the discussion mentioned that the Regional Government should elaborate their own project profile first and then evaluate the proposals of the two companies. "In this case the normal procedure is not correct", he said²².

At this point the discussion turned exciting, Maria Celia Ruiz decided to leave the room dazzle of frustration, meanwhile Mr. Luis Romero stayed to witness how the meeting would be conduced and what would happen.

Manzanero suggested continuing with the meeting organizing three commissions that could evaluate the technical, economical and legal aspects of the project proposals. The President of the meeting requested to the participants to vote if they agreed on this decision. Perez claiming for legitimacy suggested following the statutes. Some impartial stakeholders were convinced by Perez to vote in favor of forming working groups.

Therefore every participant joined a working group where they would work. Mr. Cruz representing IMA joined the group that would evaluate the legal conditions of the agreements, the technical aspect would be evaluated by a large group of stake holders composed by the president of the MCVW (Mr. Perez), the representative of COREPRO (Mr. Paredes), the representative of INRENA and the representatives of the Direction of Health

Vilcanota river

²¹ Kausary Wilcamayu in quechua means wake up or back to life Wilcamayu, which is the original name of the Vilcanota river.

²² Romero mentioned that Asther present the Study of Feasibility Project to IMA. After reviewing it they have noticed that there were many failures and decided to not validate it. Due to this negative reply, Asther presented the Study of Project Feasibility again to the Regional Government who finally assumed it like own. Therefore the Project Proposal of Asther is directly filling the requirements of the Study of Feasibility Project of the Regional Government (Asther's original version). Romero mentioned in a sarcastic way, "The Spaniard come with a carrot on his hand, and now all the rabbits jump around him" (Interview 3/8/2007)

and Tourism as well. The secretary of the GTE (Mr. Andrade) preferred to join the Economical Commission.

After this division of tasks the meeting was concluded, all the participants evacuated the meeting room, except for Andrade and another stakeholder who said... "yes my brother... the project seems to be an interesting option, but what keeps me worried is the amount of money that we are talking about" to this position Andrade said in a ironic tone "... you shouldn't be worried or... are you going to pay the debt from your own pocket??? You should support us... is good business..!"

I agreed with Mr. Andrade to have an interview after the meeting I had to wait for him meanwhile he finished the preparation of his documents and paper work. We went out of the office because he thought that would not be a proper place to have the interview and then he invited me to go to drink a juice. On the way we found Mr. Perez who was still walking through the gardens in direction to the governmental complex exit, the Architect Paredes was also there, talking with another representative of the and the representative of the University about the outcomes of the meeting, they also joined for a juice.

Meanwhile we were walking on the street, Mr. Perez told me "this is a project that needs to be done, and be sure that I assumed the compromise as personal, that is why I decided to fight, to achieve the project, I'm not going to leave the MCVW until we succeed to achieve the project²³"

As soon as we were close to the place Mr. Andrade said to me, "we are going to the real Office, there is the place where we discuss more freely all the relevant issues..." and then he laughs.

4.3 The Office

The office is the name that Mr. Andrade gave to a bar restaurant near by the Regional Governmental complex in Cusco. That rustic place is the headquarters of the supporters of Asther. As Andrade mentioned, after any meeting, or after a working day, they like join to discuss aspects that happened during the day. As soon as we arrived, Andrade and I seated in a different table than the others, he started the interview by describing some aspects of the origin of the Management Committee of the Vilcanota Watershed. Andrade mentioned the history of the MCVW by talking about Perez's job and how he had become the president of this committee.

Later he described some issues related to the actual situation, the Regional Decree and the GTE, and some other theories. Suddenly he asked to the waitress to bring two beers. As soon as he started drinking, the conversation became more relaxed. He mentioned that in the meeting in the Regional Government complex, the two sides of the coin could be seen, their side, and the side of what he liked to call "lefty revolutionaries against progress".

He said "Mr. Cruz, from IMA and Maria Celia Ruiz from Arariwa are the opposition, they have a wrong point of view, Ana Cecilia works for an NGO who pays well, they can always

 $^{^{23}}$ Mr. Perez referred to his position as president of the MCVW and to the achievement of the Kausari Wilcamayu project.

complain about everything they want, at the end of the day they always go home happy and with the pockets full of money".

Alfaro referred to Cecilia's comment made during the meeting saying "how can she have such an opinion about the technology of the project? Is ridiculous, for example not because beers are product of German technology means that I, a Peruvian can not like and drink them!!"

The eloquence of Mr. Andrade lasted for a while, he mentioned names of people who also travelled to Europe with the Regional President, and were involved in politics at national level. He said that Asther S.L. as representative of Norit paid for their trip and hopefully the favour would be returned. This means that Asther workers expect the favour to be paid back as a mean of another favour, the Regional and National Governmental support and commitment to Asther's project.

As soon as we finished the interview we moved to the table where Paredes, Perez and others where seating. There were six men in total, Andrade introduced me to all of them and mentioned the presence of a "new comrade", a representative of UNSAAC. While they were drinking they commented what happened during the meeting and who said what in favour or against Asther's purpose. As soon as we sat in their table, the euphoric discussion turned into a more relaxed conversation, this situation did not last long, when the beer arrived to the table, the excitement seized them again.

In this environment where the traditional music sounded loud, the voices and laughs were confused in a same sound; some participants could still make some political negotiations. One of the stakeholders tried to convince Mr. Paredes to be the candidate for the next presidential election of the Regional Government. They promised to Paredes that he would count with the votes and support of all of them. While Mr. Perez described his worries about the environmental problems of the Vilcanota river. Andrade and some others kept drinking beer and talking loud about the wonders that the project would bring to themselves and to the inhabitants. The alcohol of the beers intensified the conversation, sometimes about the nexuses that they had to establish in order to achieve their objectives, some others identifying the possible strategies to speed up the process. Meanwhile another round of beer sponsored by Paredes arrived to the table...

4.4 ANALYSIS

Summary

During the meeting of GTE the discussion about the evaluation of the project proposals was carried out. Eventually was observed the participation of some stakeholders against the way how the process was carried out. An important argument regarding technological aspects of the project proposals was done as well as the inclusion of the mayors in the GTE. After discussion, the decisions took in the meeting were related to the formation of three working groups that could evaluate the technical, legal and economical aspects of the proposals. After the meeting, some stakeholders gathered in "The Office", a bar restaurant where they usually carried out informal meetings. This new arena of decision making, give us the entrance to the sphere of politics of enjoyment, friendship and what some authors defines as wet politics.

The previous chapter the meeting of Mayors of the Vilcanota watershed held on Calca, was described. In this chapter the meeting of the GTE (Specialized Technical Group) is analyzed as the continuation of the previous event. In this meeting was observed the presence of an 'elite' of decision makers and stakeholders representing institutions related to the Vilcanota watershed.

The Specialized Technical Group was formed in order to fill the requirements stated in the Regional Decree 002-2007-CR/GRC.CUSCO. The Regional Decree is a legal instrument elaborated by the management of the Regional Government (2007-2011). Therefore the selection, inclusion and exclusion of stakeholders who participate in the GTE were done by Government officers. In this sense the government has a powerful role in order to decide who participates and who does not.

On the other hand the GTE supported by the Government assumed a powerful role in order to implement the rules of the game. Asther elaborated a project profile study which later was adopted by the Regional Government. The GTE gave 10 days to the contesting companies to present their official proposals. Asther enjoying a favorable position presented their project proposal within 10 days because they had already prepared the project proposal from before. On the other hand Stantec S.L. could not elaborate and presented their project proposal within 10 days to the GTE. Some stakeholders willing to take advantage of the situation were willing to do the evaluation in favor of Asther. The anxiety of those stakeholders could be appreciated by the way how they were pushed to do the evaluation of the companies.

During the meeting of the GTE, Manzanero referred to the lack of participation of the mayors and the consequent lack of financial support for the decontamination project by not signing the agreement. This element of analysis reflects the unique interest of the government to obtain the mayors financial support and its aim to call for a new meeting where they could finally obtain the mayor's financial commitment. In contrast the comment of Mr. Gabriel Romero, the manager of IMA reflects his worry for the exclusion of 51 mayors from the decision making process in the GTE. To this comment Perez replied that "...now is not a matter of discussion if we include them into the process of negotiation or not, the only thing that we were doing is just follow the statutes of this GTE". By this comment can be observed the character of the statutes of the GTE who selectively include the mayors for the payment of the indebtedness and exclude them from the decision making process. The comment of Perez justifies himself behind the argument of the legitimacy of the statutes.

Initially Asther was the company who brought to the table the idea of the decontamination project implementation. The alliance with some members of the Management Committee of the Vilcanota Watershed was a successful strategy in order to obtain support. Both, the MCVW as well as Asther had an agenda of negotiations and lobbying among some other stakeholders in order to achieve their support. In the same way the GTE also established alliances with politicians at national level, aiming to obtain the support at higher political level to be able to implement the decontamination project. In the GTE another level of alliances, power relations, agreements and personal interests revealed the aim of some stakeholders to dismiss the project proposal of Stantec. Price, (1975: 423) mentions that "It is possible, to treat any political situation as an interaction pattern in which some actors (the controllers) are either producing or attempting to produce behavioral modifications on the part of other actors (the controllees)". In this case, only some stakeholders agreed to dismiss Stantec (the controllers), meanwhile they tried to convince the other stakeholders who had a less aware behavior (the controllees).

During the meeting the doubt about technological aspects arose again, this time, the opinion of Maria Celia Ruiz a worker from the NGO Arariwa described the difficulty to implement modern technology within a traditional culture. This caused a strong impression in Mr. Andrade. He complained about Maria Celia's concerns during the interview. "Under conditions of high personal interest, the preference for similar comrades above the different ones is evident."(Crano, 1994:1) This affirmation shows the way how Andrade perceives as adversaries Maria Celia Ruiz and Luis Romero due to their contrasting opinion about the project implementation. The discussion about modernization also arose again.

Inglehart et. al. (2000) describes two schools of thought about modernization. The first school emphasizes the *convergence* of values as a result of "modernization", the overwhelming economic and political forces that drive cultural change; this school predicts the decline of traditional values and their replacement with "modern" values. On the other hand the other school of thought emphasizes the *persistence* of traditional values despite economic and political changes. In that sense traditional values will continue to exert an independent influence on the cultural changes caused by economic development. In that sense the position of Ruiz shows a concern about the failure in the application of high technology due to the difficulty of occurrence of cultural change of traditionalistic inhabitants. On the other hand the claim of Andrade seems to refer to his condition of Peruvian as cultural persistent. He can enjoy drinking beers product of German modernization without loosing his identity as Peruvian. There is also another school that mentions that the traditionalistic inhabitants can adapt and use the technology and do not became directly modernized²⁴.

Analyzing the ideological line of Andrade and according to the demand of modernization from the elite of decision makers leading the GTE, Inglehart et. al. (2000:168) mentions "Paradoxically; modernization can actually strengthen traditional values. Elites in underdeveloped nations who attempt social change often use traditional cultural appeals". Therefore traditional religious values also have an influence on the institutions of a society. Fallaw (2002: 57) continues saying that "the idea that alcohol would assume a central role in politics is not surprising, given its cultural significance. In much of Latin America, alcohol was esteemed as a ceremonial gift". Douglas, (2002: 6) continues saying that "Important studies of Latin American drinking patterns introduce the element of power and status advantage. In modern *mestizo* society drinking is part of the individual's competition to assert himself".

During the meeting of the GTE can be concluded that three groups of people were identified. Asther's supporters aiming for modern technology, the opposition group with long experience in the field and the stakeholders with less knowledge about the situation. Their condition as impartial, less knowledgeable or passive can be attributed to their lack of information about the (legal) processes as well as their recent involvement. This last group has the disadvantage when involving process without previous knowledge of the situation. This group seems to be likely to engage in alliances how was demonstrated by the representative of UNSAAC.

The presence of an alcoholic beverage during the interview of Andrade and the informal meeting of some stakeholders of the GTE in the bar restaurant shows its relevance as part of

²⁴ This theory was explained by Paul Guelles during the Walir course in Lima Peru (January, 2005) Guelles reflected about the use of mobile phones by rural farmers in Bolivia who despite of using technology they did not changed their traditionalism.

the environment and setting, as well as attitudes, expectancies, and other social and cultural factors. Heath, (1987: 10) mentions that "Emotions run high on the subject of who may drink what, how much, when, in the company of whom, and so forth. For these reasons, alcohol tends to be linked in at least some way with almost every aspect of culture, and the many roles it plays in most cultures are surprisingly diverse".

Drinking is, in most cultures, primarily a social act and from this perspective can be said that some members of the GTE aiming to engage the collaboration of some other neutral members used the bar as the headquarters for this purpose. Heath (1987:12) mentions that "public drinking places can be special in the sense of allowing relative relaxation of racial segregation, facilitating informal contacts with partners of the same sex or opposite, or relaxed conviviality with coworkers and compatriots. The distribution of alcoholic beverages can also be linked with social satisfaction, reciprocal labor exchanges, as well as hospitality, the manipulation of social networks and so forth".

During the meeting in the Regional Government complex kinship were no evident, in fact the environment was rigid and serious. The alliances and relations of trust became clearer only after drinking alcohol in the informal environment of the bar that.

4.5 CONCLUSIONS

The meeting of the GTE represents the scenario of decision making process. During the previous chapter described the way how politics through power relations influence the process of decision making. In this chapter, was deeply analyzed the relevance of cultural practices as a determinant factor influencing politics and decision making.

The chapter argued this relevance as a way to understand the dynamics of multi-stake holder's processes. The broad concepts of politics and culture are the elements that represent the stage on which other processes are held. Aspects like agreements about the dismissal of the project proposal from Stantec, the underling alliances and the cultural way to make political agreements through the use of alcoholic beverages were discussed and analyzed.

Elements of power and power relations were not an exception during the meeting, Mr. Perez who affirmed his will to perpetuate himself in the power is a good example of many who use the force to achieve personal interests in all possible levels.

The dismissal of this project proposal represents the ultimate evidence of power and power relations. The claim for the legal procedure to evaluate the companies was another tool used to conduce the meeting into a certain direction thought in advance. Therefore this legal tool was not established to setup guidelines in equal conditions but had the previous intention to exclude Stantec. The popular Spanish saying "hecha la ley, hecha la trampa" (made the law, made the trap) describes the common use of legal instruments which do not have an exclusive purpose, but also represent the double purpose for what law was made.

The process of establishing alliances and personal relations might occur through informal conversations and by displaying an amazing cultural performative competence. Therefore aiming to involve and to reinforce the support of some stakeholders a variety of cultural practices was performed.

By using a stakeholder's analysis²⁵, to determine the level of involvement of stakeholders can be stated that the stakeholders who support Asther's project belong to the category of decision makers Co-operating. The stakeholders against Asther's project are experts Co-operating for their significant knowledge about the situation. The last group identified belong to the group of decision makers but his level of involvement is only Co-knowing because they do not play an active role in the decision making process.

The decision to give ten days of tolerance to present the project proposals of both companies was a tool designed in advance in order to exclude the proposal of Stantec. Therefore can be concluded, that despite that MSPs have in theory a very idealistic objective, in practice can become a stage where the struggles about participation and power relations are widely performed.

The display of these cultural practices can be analyzed from three different perspectives. The bar restaurant, represent an environment of relaxation were Asther's supporters can negotiate freely. The alcohol consumption establishes trust relations, friendship and camaraderie. Whiting this environment of confidence another culturally tendency happens, marking or pointing people. The purpose of this practice is "identifying the enemy", the opposition and made them "visible" in order to let other stakeholders be aware of that.

²⁵ Stakeholders Analysis Techniques, Assignment of ESW-30306 Developed by Bruins Bert (25/09/2006)

CHAPTER 5

Conclusion

In order to have a better understanding of this chapter, the conclusions will be structured in order to give an answer to the research question and sub questions. The conclusion is build up through the concepts used in the analytical framework and the empirical information presented in chapter three and four.

Therefore, "How do politics, culture and power relations influence stakeholders participation in the decision making process about the decontamination project in Cusco Peru?"

The answer to this question will try to relate to:

Integrated Watershed management

In the case of the Vilcanota, the "watershed as a unit of planning" is presented as a neutral, technical definition to set the boundaries of the watershed management. In reality it can be concluded that technical language was used to justify political definitions of boundaries

(Moreyra and Wegerich, 2006). delimitation of the Vilcanota watershed as unit of management has shown by empirical information presented in chapter three and four to be a political strategy. The political strategy implemented by the regional government is meant to engage 51 mayors and their municipalities in the indebtedness of the decontamination project. The delimitation of the boundaries of the Vilcanota watershed is a political strategy to include 51 mayors and their municipalities in the indebtedness for the decontamination project.



Figure 5: Plaza de Armas of Cusco

On the other hand, the Vilcanota watershed is large in area and highly fragmented. There is no felt of interdependence among the natural resource users upstream, middle and downstream. The water from the Vilcanota river is not used for irrigation purposes, the waters are only used for hydroelectric generation by EGEMSA. The micro watersheds face more struggles of interdependence because they use water from the tributaries for irrigation. Apparently the scale of the management tends to influence it success, the smaller the unit of management the easiest coordination of the stakeholders. Within the watershed, the cultural diversity of it actors neither their opinion nor interests were ever consulted or represented in the GTE.

The idea of implementing an integrated watershed management in the area of the Vilcanota watershed is not a recent initiative. There is the tendency to think that previous implementation of integrated watershed management in the Vilcanota, become a failure due to political processes within its administration. Therefore, governmental politics display a

fundamental role when considering the implementation of natural resource management projects.

Multi-Stakeholders Platforms

The expectations about MSP are significantly positive. From the experience of the GTE can be concluded that the outcome of an MSP is directly related with the nature or purpose of its creation, the power relations of their members and the political context were is implemented.

MSPs are not things out there, but processes; hence MSPs can have positive or negative changes over time depending of the way how power relations and roles manage the interests that are on stage.

The regional Government in order to achieve the decontamination project had to implement a strategy in order to obtain national and regional governmental financial support to implement the decontamination project. The implementation of MSPs is a strategy to full fill requirements and commit financial resources in all possible levels.

The role of the Regional Government was predominantly political within the GTE. The statutes of the GTE selectively determined which stakeholders would be included and which would be excluded like the mayors of the watershed. The role of the GTE can be understood paradoxically as a selective instrument of both inclusion and exclusion. Therefore can be concluded that the creation of the GTE was a political tool used by the government to control the decision making process about the decontamination project of the Vilcanota watershed.

Whiting the members participating in the GTE the main responsible of the contamination of the Vilcanota river SEDACUSCO, does not participate. Therefore MSPs do not always represent a neutral arena of negotiation and decision making. In fact the GTE is a group of stakeholders who want to approve Asther project proposal as soon as possible and with the less opposition as possible.

Politics

The continuity of natural resource management models are subject to the political changes displayed at national, regional and local level. These fluctuating tendencies have demonstrated that a government can implement an MSP during a management period while the next, the previous initiative will have no support from the actual government. The case of the MCVW is the best example.

In highly politicized institutions, the impact of these changes is even higher and affected by political changes in government affecting the continuance of projects, programs and plans. These changes were usually based in different political backgrounds therefore the way of working will be also impacted.

The regional Decree and the GTE were political tools designed to include and exclude stakeholders according with the convenience. Therefore, politics are not a neutral process, are shaped by personal and common interests, ideologies of the period and are designed with a previous intention in advance. The case of the Legal tools implemented by the government is a clear example. One reason underlying this situation is that Governments do not like power sharing; therefore they will try to control the process as much as possible.

One lesson learned from the Peruvian experience is that is not easy to implement new institutional management structures while parallel there are still structures, competences and institutional powers previously created.

Power and Power relations

Power and power relations were a constant element presented during the examples presented in chapter three and four. Power represents the knowledge and ability to control and rule the others, therefore also influence and shape the way how processes and decision making is carried out.

From the case of the GTE can be observed that the outcome of the negotiation process was conduced by a group of powerful stakeholders. Therefore can be concluded that if there is no fair balance of representation and power among participants the credibility and legitimacy of the MSP are in danger.

Asther become the powerful stakeholder of this story by making favors. Asther used his power relations to engage the regional government in their purpose and to acquired the prefeasibility project from Asther and adopted as own.

Participation

The members who participated in the GTE can be understood as a political "elite" of decision makers. In the statutes of the Regional Decree it was stated who would participate. This election of the participants implicitly excluded other potential stakeholders like water users associations.

Paradoxically within the GTE the participation of the stakeholders is not given in a scenario of equal in conditions. The professional experience, personal interest, culturally specific practices and so on, influence the negotiation processes.

The negotiation displayed during the meeting of the GTE to decide which company would be the most suitable was not a neutral process. Power relations and pre established alliances, conduced the direction of the decision making.

The case of stakeholders supporting the project proposal from Asther, can be observed that the performance of culturally specific practices strengthen alliances, friendship and promote the support and agreement in the decision making. The practice of these cultural specific activities is exclusive of this group of stakeholders; through this they also exclude the opposition and Stantec (representatives of IMA and Arariwa) as well as the stakeholders with low awareness of the process.

Culturally specific practices

Culturally specific practices are subtle ways to engage people in purposes by affecting their mood, emotions and feelings in order to strengthening personal kinship and alliances. Therefore culturally specific practices use emotions, affection or sympathy to engage stakeholders within a certain purpose.

One of the several ways to achieve that engagement is by the use of food or alcohol that serves as a linking element in order to establish trust relations. The bar restaurant where some stakeholders gather to discuss, provides a relaxed environment where the stakeholders can just talk free and trust in the others. Within this context one of the most common practices is black marking, or marking the "enemy" represented by the opponent to their ideologies, plan or projects.

The role of favors is also remarkable, favors are not for free, and in cultural practices they are always expected to be paid back.

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ANNEXES

Figure No 6

Asther S.L. as Norit representative displaying a performance about the technology proposed for the decontamination of the Vilcanota river.

Source: "Know How" is a magazine published by Norit NV. In the Vol. 10-2007 No. 2 can be observed the implementation of Norit Technology in Cusco Peru (pages 10-11). Retrieved on: http://www.sudmo.de/mailing_images/knowhow-en_05_07.pdf

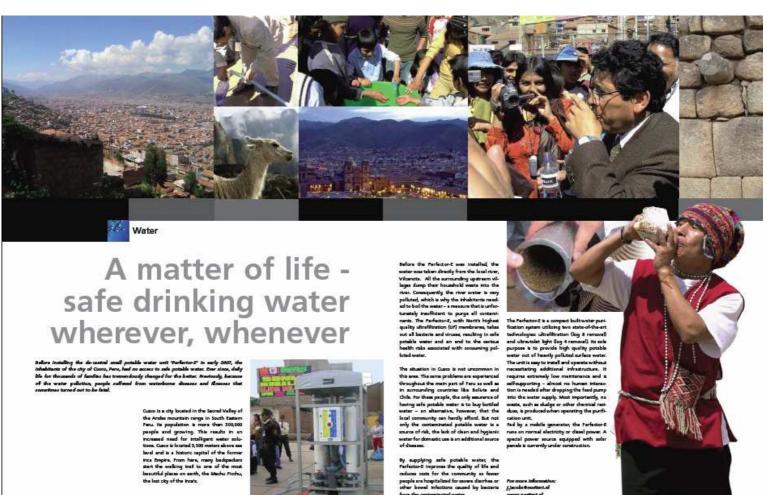


Table No 1

List of Institutions and People Interviewed					
No	Institution	Location	Interviewees	Location	
1	JUR	Cusco	Jorge Bejar Lozano Santos Castillos Wilfredo Concha Farfán	Av. Micaela Bastidas	
2	Arariwa		Ana Cecilia Quiñones	Av. Los Incas Final	
3	Sub G.Plan.Gov.R.	Cusco	Abel Caballero Osorio Judith Gibaja	Wanchaq	
4	SEDA	Cusco	Ing. David Valenzuela Chirinos	Plaza San Francisco 332	
5	EGEMSA CGCV	Cusco Cusco	Ing. Carlos Ernesto Vidal Ing. Jose Palomino Mora	Av. Machu Picchu s/n Dolorespata	
7	UNSAAC	Cusco	Walter Antezana	Av. De La Cultura	
8	IMA Plan Internacional	Cusco Cusco	Hebert Gomez Aquiles Cruz Chaparro Samuel Gastañaga	Av. P. Vilca Apaza 332	
10	PRONAMACHCS	Cusco	Robert Camero	Av. Micaela Bastidas 315	
11	CBC	Cusco	Marco Zeisser Edwin Rodriguez	Pasaje Pampa de la Alianza 164	
12	IPROGA	Lima	Carlos Pereyra Antonio Figueroa Magdalena Guimac	Av. Republica de Panamá 6384	
13	Salsgitter	Lima	Raul Valcarcel Alejandro Zapata	Maximo Abril 580, Jesus María	
14	GSAAC	Lima	Andres Alencastre	Natalio Sanchez 220 4to Piso	
15	Plan Meriss	Cusco	Ing. Infantes Eraclio Bosa	Av. P. Vilca Apaza	
16	Guaman Poma	Cusco	Justo Vargas	Jr Retiro 346 Urb. Tahuantinsuyo	
17	Masal	Cusco	Andres Estrada		
18	GTE	Cusco	Alcides Perci Alfaro	Wanchaq	
	27 People Interviewed 18 Institutions Interviewed				

Box No 1 News about the Decontamination Project of the Vilcanota

Cusco 11 of Julio del 2007 Article Published by Correo Peru

Source: http://www.correoperu.com.pe/correosur/cusco/nota.php?id=13430

83% de Contaminación del río Vilcanota será tratada

Purificación de aguas, demoraría 4 años de acuerdo al expediente técnico del proyecto Cusco/ Yrma Zela Vera

El titular del Comité de Gestión del Proyecto Vilcanota, José Palomino Mora, refirió que la contaminación del río Vilcanota se encuentra en un 83% de acuerdo a los últimos estudios realizados por la empresa española Aster. La mayor fuente de infección de las aguas de este torrente, es el río Huatanay, que siendo el afluente más cercano a la ciudad del Cusco, deposita los desechos orgánicos en este afluente que a su vez contamina a más de 51 poblados que se encuentran en sus riveras. Los tratamientos que se deben realizar en cuatro años aproximadamente, son el tratamiento de las aguas servidas, residuales y pluviales, para los que se requieren 208 millones de euros, que deben ser endeudados por las municipalidades y el Gobierno Regional involucrados en el proyecto. Para ello, es necesario la colocación de plantas de tratamiento, sostuvo Palomino Mora, porque ante tanta contaminación hay gran cantidad de animales que han muerto, además que algunas poblaciones consumen estas aguas. La figura para que funcione este proyecto es que el Ministerio de Economía y Finanzas apruebe el crédito de los 208 millones de euros que podrían ser otorgados por la Rabo Bank entidad bancaria Holandesa, para que Norit, empresa privada de este mismo país, sea la encargada de purificar en cuatro años el torrente de los Incas, como el proyecto refiere al denominarse Kausari Willcamayu vocablo quechua que significa Vilcanota vive. Para realizar el tratamiento de estas aguas, es importante utilizar tecnología de punta en la depuración de los micro organismos del río Huatanay, sostuvo en el encargado del proyecto, quien mostró su optimismo, frente a la posibilidad que el sueño de todos los habitantes del Valle Sagrado de los Incas se haga realidad en cuatro años más. Canchis, Quispicanchis, Cusco, Calca, Urubamba, son algunas de las provincias que atraviesa el torrente que podrían generar otra fuente de ingresos por el Vilcanota.

MAS DATOS

El proyecto de recuperación del río Vilcanota cuenta con varios años, que finalmente se harían realidad, todo depende del visto bueno que dé el Ministerio de Economía y Finanzas.

Box No 2

News about the Requirement of a National Decree for the implementation of the Decontamination Project

Lima 21 of April 2007

Article Published by Noticia Local – Agencias

Source:http://noticialocal.blogspot.com/2007/04/banco-holands-ofrece-ayudapara.html

Banco holandés ofrece ayuda para descontaminar el río Vilcanota

El presidente del Comité de Gestión de la Cuenca del Río Vilcanota, José Palomino Mora, reveló hoy que existe una oferta formal de 208 millones de euros del banco holandés Rabobank para la descontaminación del mencionado río ubicado en el Cusco. Por ello solicitó al presidente de la República, Alan García Pérez, que apoye al Cusco mediante la dación de un decreto de urgencia para que el proyecto de descontaminación del Vilcanota pueda ser viable. "Hay una oferta muy formal del Rabobank de Holanda, que está en coordinación con el gobierno holandés, de 208 millones de euros para hacer realidad este proyecto", indicó Palomino.

Por su parte, el presidente regional del Cusco, Hugo Gonzales Sayán, señaló que no necesitan el apoyo económico del Gobierno Central, pero sí las facilidades del despacho del primer ministro para que la cooperación holandesa pueda concretarse.

Box No 3 News about the decontamination project of the Vilcanota

Lima 3 January of 2008

Article published by Cronica Viva

Source:

http://www.cronicaviva.com.pe/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=6699&Itemid=32

US\$ 100 millones costará descontaminación del río Vilcanota

Los trabajos de descontaminación integral de la cuenca del río Vilcanota demandará una inversión aproximada de 100 millones de dólares, debido al alto grado de contaminación que presenta, precisó Aquiles Cruz Chaparro, director ejecutivo del Instituto de Manejo de Agua y Medio Ambiente (IMA). En ese sentido, señaló que la Comisión de Medio Ambiente del gobierno regional del Cusco, se encuentra elaborando un dictamen del proyecto de ordenanza para declarar en emergencia la cuenca de este río.

"La declaración de emergencia por contaminación, permitirá la captación de recursos para iniciar el proceso de descontaminación. Actualmente existe una propuesta de una empresa española llamada ASTER, que tiene la intención de invertir 208 millones de euros", dijo el director del IMA.

Cruz manifestó que en el Sistema Nacional de Inversión Pública (SNIP), no existe un perfil de proyecto aprobado para la descontaminación del río Vilcanota. En ese sentido señaló que el IMA se encuentra elaborando un perfil de proyecto, el cual estará listo dentro de tres meses.

El proyecto de descontaminación contempla procesos de forestación en las áreas contaminadas, programas de educación y sensibilización en la población para que se evite más contaminación, entre otros.

Box No 4

Travel Authorization to Europe for the President of the Regional Government

Lima 27 of June of 2007

Published by El Peruano Diario Oficial, Page 34, Source:

http://www.fonafe.gob.pe/adjuntos/EL_PERUANO_270607_pag31_Nro_347885.pdf

Autorizan viaje del Presidente Regional a Europa, en comisión de servicios

GOBIERNO REGIONAL DEL CUSCO CONSEJO REGIONAL ACUERDO DE CONSEJO REGIONAL No 044-2007-CR/GRC.CUSCO

El pleno del Consejo Regional del Gobierno Regional de Cusco reunido en Sesión Extraordinaria de fecha 26 de junio del 2007, ha determinado emitir el presente; y,

CONSIDERANDO:

Que, el Gobierno Regional ha determinado y priorizado la ejecución del Proyecto Kausary Wilkamayu como parte de las acciones importantes a ejecutarse en el marco de la recuperación integral del Río Vilcanota y sus afluentes, en cuyo efecto debe realizarse negociaciones con las empresas con las que se contratará;

Que, con carácter de urgente e inmediato deben iniciarse las conversaciones entre el Rabobank de Holanda con el Ministerio de Economía y Finanzas de Perú, para la aprobación del endeudamiento internacional y el aval del MEF para poder concretizar la operación. Debido a la ordenanza Regional No 002-2007-CR/GRC.CUSCO se estima el plazo máximo de un mes para ello. Que es de suma importancia el inicio de las acciones de descontaminación de Río Vilcanota que serán efectuadas como consecuencia de la subscripción del contrato y el cumplimiento de las condiciones y plazos que se fijen previas las conversaciones que debe realizar el Presidente Regional y funcionarios del Gobierno Central en España y Holanda;

Que, la Gerencia General de ASTHER S.L. DE ESPANIA Agua y Medio Ambiente Ing. Juan Astorga Espinosa ha formalizado comunicación invitando a una visita a Europa a los señores Presidente Regional Lic. Hugo Gonzáles Sayan, Secretario de Coordinación de la PCM, Secretario Técnico del Instituto Nacional de Desarrollo de los Pueblos Andinos y Amazónicos y Afroperuanos INDEPA, con los gastos de viaje pagados en su totalidad, lo que no devengará costo alguno para el Perú, funcionarios que deben efectuar gestiones con el objeto antes señalado, principalmente en España y Holanda;

Que, el Consejo en ejercicio regular de atribuciones señaladas por la Ley Orgánica de Gobiernos Regionales y por su Reglamento Interno de Organización y Funciones, ha evaluado la importancia de las gestiones que personalmente debe efectuar el Presidente Regional en España y Holanda y ha votado la necesidad de emitir lo siguiente:

ACUERDO:

Artículo Único.- Autorizar el viaje del señor Presidente Regional Lic. Hugo Eulogio Gonzáles Sayan a Europa principalmente a España y Holanda, a realizarse entre los días 27 de junio y el 4 de julio del presente año, el mismo que no irrogará gasto alguno a la administración regional ni al Estado Peruano.

Dado el 26 de junio del 2007

HUGO GONZALES SAYAN Presidente Regional

M. ADOLFO ESTRADA TAMAYO

Consejero Delegado

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