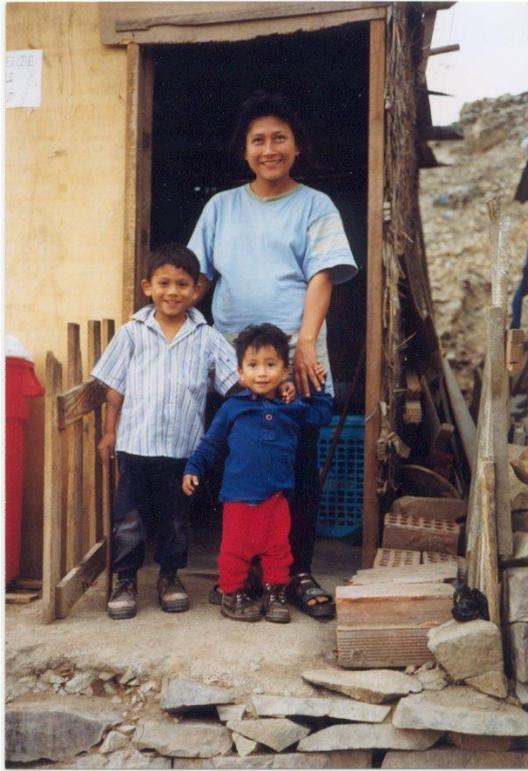


The struggle to belong

Dealing with diversity in 21st century urban settings.

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Graciela's house in 1996 and 2010 : From triply to a second floor in durable materials

“*Debe ser esfuerzo propio*”: changing patterns of belonging in Lima's peripheral settlements

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Abstract

Decades of Habitat-studies in Latin American cities have resulted in a rich and varied knowledge on how the urban poor organize and exercise pressure to gain access to land, housing and basic services. The Peruvian experience stands out, because of its early and progressive policies vis-à-vis the invasions on Lima's peripheral lands. Since the fifties the Peruvian government promoted the approach of the "cheap house that grows" on Lima's peripheral lands. This paper however argues that the Peruvian model of "laissez faire" has reached its limits, both in physical as well as in social terms. Based on a longitudinal study comparing a 1997 with a 2010 household survey, as well as qualitative data, this paper shows that the current generation does not want to follow their parents' tradition of land invasion and incremental home improvement. They have grown up in the city, in fundamentally different circumstances, in which "*ser profesional*" (be a professional) was the major goal. Consequently they no longer aspire to collective action, but put emphasis on individual efforts, which also implies a very different sense of belonging to the city. It is no longer a strong attachment to the neighbourhood, but the sense that the city is – or at least should be – theirs.

Introduction

Since mid-2000s a number of studies have appeared describing the situation in the consolidated slums of Latin American cities (Perlman 2003; Perlman 2006; Ploger 2006; Vargas 2006; Moser, Felton et al. 2007; Holston 2008; Moser 2009; Perlman 2009) of which the study by Perlman (2009) is probably the most well-known. Both Perlman (2009) and Moser's (2009) longitudinal studies document the trajectories of settlements in Rio de Janeiro and Guyaquil respectively from their early invasion until what John Turner labelled "completed" (Turner 1967)¹. They document similar trends: a gradual improvement of material wealth paralleled with deterioration of the social environment. The second and third generation in Rio's *favelas* are better educated, healthier and live in better material circumstances than their parents and grandparents did when they started their families thirty years ago. Yet, in terms of mental health and future prospects the younger generation in Rio de Janeiro is worse-off. Perlman documents mounting unemployment, no perspective of accessing jobs that meet their aspirations and level of education, which leads to anger and frustration. Escalating violence – often drug-related – seriously disrupts social relations in the settlements and adds to the sense of insecurity and hopelessness (Perlman 2003;2009). It should be noted that both Moser (2009) and Holston (2008) report more positive outcomes of the consolidation process. The studies by Moser and Perlman inspired me to revisit the settlements where I conducted my PhD research (1996-2000) in Pampas de San Juan, San Juan de Miraflores in Southern Lima, Peru. My PhD research had focused on the question to what extent households in Pampas de San Juan had contributed – either through collective action or through individual efforts – to the improvement of their settlements. In 2010 I returned to document three major issues: changes in material well-being, the current level of collective action in the settlements, and what had become of the children of the original invaders. After a brief section on methodology this paper will present the dynamics of the consolidation process in the mid-1990s, the results of this process as encountered in 2010, the view of the new generation on both the past and the present situation, in order to conclude with what these developments imply for their patterns of belonging. I end with some reflections on the implications of my findings for the research agenda.

¹ Turner developed his thoughts on "self-help housing" and the role of collective action in community development while working with Peruvian professionals on housing projects in Lima and Arequipa in the 1950s and 1960s. The idea of "*la casa barata que crece*" ("the cheap house that grows") stems originally from the right wing politician Pedro Beltran, head of the Commission for Agricultural reform and Housing (1957-1958). "Self built" settlements according to Turner would develop from incipient (without any services and with precarious huts), through "developing" (incremental improvement of quality of houses and services) to reach the phase of being "complete" after 12 years, where all major services were supposed to be complete. See for a more detailed account of to what extent Pampas' development exemplifies Turners thoughts Hordijk 2010.

Methodology

This paper is based on a longitudinal study comparing household wealth and neighbourhood dynamics in 1997 with the situation encountered in 2010 in Pampas de San Juan. Pampas de San Juan is situated quite central in Lima's so-called Southern Cone, an assembly of peripheral settlements, home to approximately 1,3 million inhabitants, or 15% of Lima's population. The district San Juan de Miraflores had 335,237 inhabitants according to the 2005 census, but this has probably risen to 367,000 by 2009 (Klop 2010). Around 60,000 of them live in Pampas de San Juan. In 1997 a survey was held among 400 households². These surveys were complemented with numerous interviews and a series of participatory workshops on neighbourhood improvement (Hordijk 1999; Hordijk 2000). One series of these workshops was conducted with a youth group called "La Nueva Generación", and resulted in the construction of a park. With this same youth group we developed a documentary on their functioning, contrasting it with youth gathering in gangs. A second short film was made in 1999, when two Dutch teenagers documented the ordinary lives and future aspirations of their peers in Pampas.

In 2010 212 of the households surveyed in 1997 were willing to participate in a retake of the original survey³. The survey was complemented with a series of interviews with residents (both founding members and their grown up children) and neighbourhood leaders, two workshops with founding members of the settlements, and two workshops with the second generation *pobladores*. This paper furthermore draws on the work of Plyushteva (2009), who interviewed 46 young adults from the second generation in Pampas, explicitly contrasting their situation with the situation of their parents⁴(Plyushteva 2009).

In the 1996-2010 period Peru witnessed a number of important changes. My PhD fieldwork (1996-2000) roughly equalled Fujimori's second term, the most authoritarian period of his "demodidadura". Although macro-economic growth rates were already improving, the consequences of the 1980s economic crisis and the Fuji-shock (one of the severest stabilization programmes on the continent) were strongly felt in the peripheral settlements. After the return

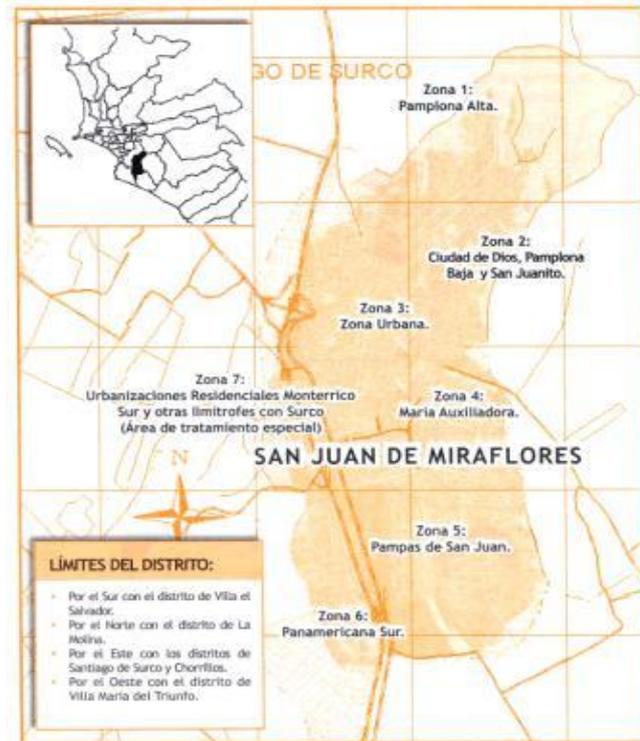


Figure 1 : Map of the district San Juan de Miraflores, location within the city (upper left corner). Pampas de San Juan is indicated as zone 5. Source: Municipality of San Juan de Miraflores, 2009 cited in Plyushteva, 2009.

² The PhD research did not only cover Pampas de San Juan, but also three control settlements in another part of the district, called Pamplona Alta, bringing the total number of households surveyed at 496. In the retake of the survey the settlements in Pamplona Alta were also included. Since all qualitative data gathering was concentrated in Pampas de San Juan, the findings of Pamplona Alta are not considered in this paper.

³ For the section of the survey soliciting data on the situation of the children it is a limitation that I questioned the original respondents, i.e. the parents of these children, and therewith do not have quantitative data on how this second and third generation themselves judge their situation and progress.

⁴ I herewith would like to thank Anna Plyushteva for handing on all her research materials to me. The thoughts expressed in this paper would not have been developed without her input. Whenever I use her materials (dated 2009) I refer to this with her initials AP.

to democracy in 2000 the Peruvian economy entered a phase of dynamic growth at an average of 6% to 7% per annum, ending 2010 with a growth rate of 8,7%. Although much of this growth has to be attributed to escalating profits of the mining sector (jobless growth), unemployment rates in Peru are at an all time low of 7,1%, and average real incomes have grown substantially (Baduel and Quenan 2011). Poverty has dropped considerably for Peru as a whole, but the most significant drop in poverty levels was reported in Lima Metropolitana (World-Bank 2008). Yet in the same decade the Gini-coefficient rose from 0,462 in 1996 to 0,505 in 2007 (Baduel and Quenan 2011). In my 1997 survey ca 30% of the households were poor. Poverty levels in the district as a whole were estimated at 23,8 in 2004, and had lowered to 19,1% in 2010. San Juan therewith fared best among its peers in the Cono Sur, with Villa El Salvador at 21,9 and Villa Maria de Triunfo at 27,9 (RPP 2010). We can thus conclude that in terms of economic and employment opportunities there was a favourable environment for Pampas inhabitants and their children. But did they reap the fruits of the improving conditions?

Arriving in the 1980s

Since the 1950s a set of formal and informal rules had developed guiding the practice of invasion as the most common way for Lima's urban poor to access land. With the enactment of the "Ley de Barriadas" (Law on the informal settlements) Peru was the first country to regularize "self-development". Although in theory land was supposed to be serviced before it became inhabited, in practice none of the governments has ever been capable of keeping up with the pace of urban growth. Consequently a form of inverse urbanization developed: land was first inhabited illegally, then legally, and thereafter services were acquired little by little. The cost of basic services provision was borne by the poor themselves. The pace of this consolidation process was mainly mitigated by the interplay of two factors: personal qualities and perseverance of the neighbourhood leaders and political momentum.

For many years Pampas de San Juan had remained untouched, since the land was known to be privately owned. But when rumours started to spread in the 1980s that property of the land had reverted to the state, the area rapidly filled up. In five years, more than 8,000 families established themselves on a plot. They did so under a lucky star. In 1984 Alfonso Barrantes became the first left-wing mayor ever elected in Latin America. To bring the massive land speculations in the mushrooming *barriadas* to a halt, he launched four programmes to regularize land tenure. One of these programmes targeted Pampas de San Juan. Whereas normally it easily could take a decade or more to regularize land tenure, and therewith the entitlement to start negotiations with all entities responsible for basic service provision, it took the invaders of Pampas de San Juan of that era on average "only" 4 years. Nevertheless: the first decade was harsh. As one of the invaders remembered:

'In the first years the water vendors did not come to our outskirts. They could not come, even if they wanted to, because there was no road. There just was a trail in the loose sand, that was all. So, I had to go all the way to Ciudad de Dios, to fetch water at my father's house. I constructed a barrow with wooden wheels; you could always hear me coming with the buckets of water, thumping over the stony road. Four, five kilometres up and down. We all had to find our own way to get water. It took a very long time till we got even public taps installed here. And it was dangerous here. There were fights over the boundaries of our settlement, other settlements felt threatened. So they started to throw stones at us. Things got worse week after week, and they finally came to burn down our shacks. Our eldest son had just been born, I could not leave my wife alone, not even during the day ' (Interview with Alfredo in 1997).

Most invaders arriving in Pampas in the 1980s came from other parts of Lima. The majority had been born outside Lima, but had moved with their parents when still in their childhood and had grown up in the city. They invaded land to obtain a house for themselves and their children. By the end of the 1980s the more convenient, relatively flat areas of Pampas had filled up. The first

part of the 1990s was characterised by a set of much smaller invasions on the steep slopes, unsuitable for urbanization.

When I first visited Pampas in 1996 I counted 44 settlements, each with their own neighbourhood council, many with a communal kitchen led by the women of the settlement, an active network of health promoters (women from the settlements trained by an NGO to raise awareness on basic health issues), and a number of other community based organizations. The situation in Pampas was highly diverse. Whereas the early invaders already possessed their land titles for years, had built their houses in durable materials and had a domestic water connection and sewerage, the new arrivals on the steep slopes were still living in plywood and using latrines. For their water they depended on private trucks, public tap-points or a water tank of SEDAPAL. What most had in common was that they considered themselves owners of their plots and their houses, including those without legal tenure.

In 1996 Pampas had already reached Turner's phase of "completed" *barriada*. More than 40% of the households had built their first floor from durable materials, although still with a temporary roof. Another third had already completed their concrete roof, and 10% even had a second floor of durable materials. Over 80% had a domestic drinking water connection, and over 70% a private toilet. The scarcity and the quality of drinking water were nevertheless considered the most pressing problem in the sector at that time. Water run only twice a week for ca. 6 hours from the tap, and had to be stored in water tanks where the quality rapidly deteriorated. The major roads were paved, and the area counted with innumerable small shops (many with public phones), services and restaurants. There also were a number of informal markets, some also offering clothing and household utensils. Along the major road many small workshops were established. One of the distinguishing functions in Turner's classification that was saliently missing, were the banks. In those days banks required an initial deposit of US\$ 500 to open a bank account, a sum out of reach for most inhabitants. For cinemas the *pobladores* had to go to Ciudad de Dios, a few bus stops down the main road.



Figure 1: A typical street in Pampas 1996 - First floor in durable materials, but still with a water tank in front

An important detail for the subject of this study: 80% of the families in Pampas were nuclear families, the majority with most of their children under 16. Around two thirds of the male breadwinners worked in the informal sector, over 60% of their spouses stayed at home.

Collective action and belonging in the 1990s

The interplay between settlements and the state also determined the patterns of belonging for the invaders of Pampas de San Juan. In order to succeed as an invader one had to take part in the neighbourhood assemblies, one had to engage with the neighbourhood leaders and monitor their activities, and one had to send household members to the *faenas*, the collective activities aimed at neighbourhood improvement. Investment in the 'cheap house that grows' first inevitably required a phase of collective action, or, in the words of Riofrio, communal organizations undertake those activities that are *prior* to individual activities and *necessary* for individual initiatives⁵. Thus in the survey held in 1996 over half of the respondents indicated that at least one household member had participated in opening up and levelling the roads in the early years after the invasion, a quarter participated in the construction of the waterworks, over three quarters had participated in clean up campaigns, and most of them had done so even recently (Hordijk 2000). This resulted in a strong feeling of belonging to the house and the neighbourhood. Over three quarters of the respondents indicated that they would never move.

'You know, I have worked so hard for this plot, it is really mine now. My husband suggested that we should move, it seems if we will never get our title to the plot, but I refused. He did not work on the plot as I did, so many afternoons hacking the rocks. Now that I have made it my own I want to stay' (Graciela, in an interview in 1996- see cover photo)

There were a number of other expressions of the attachment to the neighbourhood. In 1996 around 40% knew the name of the neighbourhood leader and participated in the last elections, and over two third claimed that they paid a financial contribution to the neighbourhood organization if needed. It should be noted that this latter claim was not confirmed by the leaders of that era, who kept complaining that neighbours never paid. More than half of the respondents reported that they still celebrated the anniversary of the neighbourhood, either in remembrance of the day of invasion, or referring to the patron saint of the neighbourhood. In over half of the settlements the participation in neighbourhood affairs could be classified as medium to high (Hordijk 2000:153). Nevertheless, in quite a number of settlements the neighbourhood organizations were already dormant. They were considered inactive by their own leaders but were still in existence and could be mobilized at any time, and were present in the minds of the inhabitants.

When I researched the dynamics in Pampas in 1996 there were a number of clear trends. In the more consolidated neighbourhoods the phase of strong collective was over, and people concentrated on two major ambitions: improving their house and sending their kids to the best schools they could afford. Almost two thirds of the respondents expected that they would be able to improve their house in the coming years. Almost 100% of the children in the school going age (5-15) went to school in 1997, and of the 16-25 year old a third still were in school. Within this group 20% combined study and work. Another 36% had some kind of work according to their parents, and 31% was neither studying nor working (see table 3). Unfortunately I did not register what kind of work this youngsters were undertaking in 1997. The children were supposed to reach what most of their parents had not, "to become a professional". Also the youngsters expressed the importance of this.

"I want to become a nurse. Becoming a professional is becoming someone. If you are a professional, you become someone, and people will no longer humiliate you" (Ruby, 16 in 1999, quote taken from the film En Busca de un Sueno)

⁵ *Ese tarea publica es PREVIA a la privada y NECESARIA para la privada'* Riofrio 1996, personal communication, cited in Hordijk 2000:95

"I want to become a lawyer. That is what I always wanted. My sister will help me. No, I do not know anyone who studies at university, but I will (Vanessa, 18 in 1999, quote taken from the film En Busca de un Sueno)

My parents are from the provinces, simple people. (...) They always cared more that we are educated, that we become professionals, than to have a nice house. It doesn't matter that our house is modest, and we eat modest. Now I am grateful to my parents, because we have education, we are professionals. (Ana Maria, 26 in 2009, in an interview with AP)

Yet in the 1990s many respondents were complaining about the lack of opportunities and the high unemployment rates among youth. Another recurring issue was the increasing level of violence of youth gangs. Many settlements, especially those with growing numbers of 12-20 year olds, reported having their own "pandillas". These youth gangs gathered in the afternoons, engaged in fights with neighbouring gangs, threw stones at neighbours' houses and scared them. The better organised settlements still had some defence against these threats:

'We all have a whistle now. As soon as they come we go on the streets, whistle to warn the others and make a lot of noise. The first few times the youth gangs got afraid of so many adults. They threw some stones, but then ran off. Now they have even stopped coming to our neighbourhood (Ana, in an interview in 1997)

Coming of Age: the results of the consolidation process.

When I returned in 2010 there were two clear trends: almost all respondents prompted the physical improvement realized, but also prompted that violence and robberies had soared. At first sight this revisit confirmed the findings by Perlman (2009): clear improvements in material conditions, but what had been acquired was also felt under constant threat of this violence.

Material improvements

Over two thirds of the households had managed to realize the aspiration to improve their house. In 1997 a third of the households lived in shacks, and another third had constructed the walls but not yet a concrete roof, in 2010 less than 10% still lived in shacks, another 15% had no concrete roof. More than half of the respondents now lived in a house of at least two floors, the majority of them even in had already constructed the final roof on this second floor or realized more floors (see table 1).

Table 1 Consolidation of the houses in 1997-2010		
	1997	2010
Straw or wood	32,5%	9,5%
Brick, one floor, no concrete roof	36,1%	16,5%
Brick, one floor, concrete roof	22,9%	20,3%
Brick, 2 floors, no concrete roof	8,5%	25%
Brick, 2 floors, concrete roof or more	n.a.	29,2%
Domestic water connection	71,6%	96,1%
	(n=388)	(n=212)

Source: Authors' survey 1997, and 2010

More than half of the respondents indicated that they had constructed to be able to accommodate their children. In 2010 most of the roads were paved, although in some settlement the sidewalks still needed to be constructed. While in 1996 almost 30% had no domestic water supply, and another 50% had a domestic supply but with water running only

two times a week for a number of hours, 96% had a regular service in 2010. But there were many more striking differences. Now roads are paved and cars and motor-tricycles can drive you anywhere you want to go, the local economy has diversified and grown. While in the 1990s photocopying services were only available at the main road, small shops now offer these facilities everywhere and there are also many internet cabins, both legal and hidden. In one of the oldest neighbourhoods, the “hostals” have proliferated. Here you can hire a room per hour, and they are being advertised with Jacuzzis and gyms (see figure 2). In almost a quarter of the houses of the original sample we observed a kind of economic activity, from renting rooms to all different kind of shops, internet cabins or private primary schools. Peru’s most conservative bank is now omnipresent in the area.

Households reported owning many more items. Car ownership has increased substantially, and a third of the households even owns a washing machine. Thirty percent also reports having a computer, and 20% of the households have internet access at home (see table 2). Two thirds of the respondents indicate that their children contribute to the household income.

Table 2 Possession of Artifacts 1997-2010		
Artifacts	1997	2010
TV Black and White	64,7%	30,8%
TV Colour	36,2%	86,9%
Video	8,2%	21,3%
Cable	n.d.	23,9%
Telephone, landline	18,7%	57,4%
Mobile Phone	n.d.	82,3%
Fridge	44,9%	74,9%
Car	5,6%	19,3%
Washing machine	n.d.	31,5%
Computer	n.d.	28,9%
Internet at home	n.d.	18,9%

Source: Author’s surveys 1997-2010

Despite this material improvement people were in general negative about their situation. The increased violence was mentioned in each and every interview or workshop, and more than 90% indicated it as the major problem in the survey. It was not only that the incidence of violence and robbery increased, most importantly the intensity and kind of violent attack concerned the people in Pampas, old and young alike.

“In the past they threw stones, and they quarrelled among each other. Now they come with heavy weapons. They jump from a car, empty your house during daylight, and drive off again. There is nothing you can do. And if you defend yourself they come after your children, they know you, you know. (Cecilia, workshop 2010)

The spirit of community organization has further declined. Still half of the respondents knows the leader, and in name neighbourhood organizations are still there. Yet only a quarter mention the neighbourhood anniversary, and although 80% indicate that *parrilladas* are still held, this is only in a third of the cases done for a common purpose. Or as Johnny explains it:

There is less togetherness now. Before, for fundraisings, for celebrations, if someone was ill, all the neighbours used to work together to help. We used to be more social. This community was much more united. As time passed, we became more individualistic. (Johnny (27) 2009 in an interview with AP)



Figure 3 A typical street in Pampas 2010- Houses of two or more floors, some nicely finished, the roads paved, sidewalks still to be done. Cars on the road, but also a gate that only allows pedestrians in to protect against robberies. The careful observer will note the sign of the internet café.

The “new” generation: Our reality is different

The 496 households visited in 1997 reported 1,377 children living in their households. Two thirds of them were under 16, a quarter of them were between 16 and 25 years of age. Only 10% were older than 25 in that era. Of this cohort we could trace the current situation of 624 children. The respondents in 2010 furthermore reported 130 children born between 1997 and 2010 (not counting the grandchildren that had been born and were living with them). The situation of this second generation is very different from the situation of their parents. The following general trends can be summarized: They are better educated, they are enrolled in education for longer, and in general they acquire better jobs than their parents. Although they are still living with their parents or in-laws, they are less engaged in collective action than their parents, and more focussed on individual progress. Furthermore, the adolescents nowadays study longer than their peers did more than a decade ago. In 1997 a third of the 16-24 year old still studied, in 2010 this had risen to half of them. In 1997 only a fifth of this studying youth simultaneously worked, nowadays this has doubled. And while in 1997 almost a third neither studied nor worked, this dropped 11% in 2010 (see table 3). There thus was little idle youth in 2010.

Table 3 Study and work of the 16-24 years old in 1997 and in 2010						
	1997			2010		
	Works	Does not work	Total	Works	Does not work	Total
Studies	21% (n=22)	79% (n=81)	33% (n=103)	40% (n=41)	60% (n=61)	50% (n=102)
Does not study	54% (n=111)	46% (n=96)	67% (n=207)	78% (n=80)	22% (n=22)	50% (n=101)
Total	43% (n=133)	57% (n=177)	100% (N=310)	59% (n=121)	41% (n=83)	100% (N=204)

Source Author's surveys 1997 -2010

While in 1997 an average of 8% of all respondents in Pampas (including the 16-25 year olds) had tertiary education (5% vocational training, and 3% university), in 2010 37% of the 16-24 year old still at school were following vocational training (*instituto tecnico*), 23% studied at university level and 14% were enrolled in another form of education. That almost a quarter managed to enter university can be considered remarkable. Another remarkable outcome was that of the employed in the 16-24 age bracket, 20% counted with some kind of social benefit⁶. Another sign of the improved situation is that almost 40% of the 16-24 year olds, and a little over 50% of the 25-45 year olds of the working second generation worked at a level that matched their level of education. There are thus not only many that do find a job, this job is also at par with their educational attainments, at least in the eyes of their parents.

Two decades of investment in education and the pressure “to become a professional” have instilled ambitions and a different mentality in this next generation. They no longer plan to invade, as their parents did. Invasions are considered risky, inconvenient, but also as an improper manner to acquire housing. The expression *debe ser esfuerzo propio* (‘it should stem from your own efforts’) was an expression recurring in many conversations.

Invalidate? No! No, I do not want that. I can make my own money. It should stem from your own efforts, you know (Judith, 29, in an interview 2010)

I feel that if I want something I should work for it. I know there are people who need to do it, because they will never manage to earn the money to buy their own piece of land. Yet for example in the invasion that took place here recently⁷ those people had houses right next door. It's not necessary. (Johnny (27), 2009 in an interview with AP)

Participate in an invasion? ... No... I don't really have time for it (Marylin 25, 2009 in an interview with AP)

⁶ Peru is currently developing a differentiated social security system, in which there are various forms of health insurances. Receiving social benefits not necessarily implies a full fledged formal contract including retirement pay, paid sick-leave and severance pay. In many cases it referred to a form of health insurance only. A health insurance can however be very important to protect against a relapse into poverty.

⁷ A very small invasion. See for an account of this invasion Hordijk (2010)

“Invasion, oh no! Way too risky! And you have to work for your house, you know. You have to save money. If you put all your efforts in, you can, you know” (Jorge, 22, in an interview in 2010).

“Most of the invasions nowadays are very, very far away. In the desert, sand, sand, heat. There is no water, no light, there is nothing. And to go there, when I have so much already installed here... I do not think that would be good for me. If I would go there, I would have to start from scratch again. ...I can now work to study....My parents support me at the moment, I do not work to eat” (Julio, 20, in an interview with AP in 2009).

Because buying a house is not an easy option, 76% of this second generation still lives in the house of their parents or other family members (most often in-laws). Yet among the quarter that lives elsewhere, we see an interesting trend. Although most of them rent (32%), 26% did manage to buy a house and only 7% of them lives in an invasion area. This 7% are all over 25 years old. In other words, although most are confined to living with family, there is a not insignificant minority that manages to access housing through the market. The resistance to new invasions is not only discursive, but also seen in practice.

Textbox 1 A succes story of the 2nd generation

Judith (29) was born in Ayacucho. When her father was murdered by Sendero Luminoso the family fled to Lima, where after several years in the inner city slums they settled in Pinos, in Pampas de San Juan. Judith was determined to progress. She could not count on parental support and has always worked to finance her studies. After secondary school she enrolled in a vocational training which offered certificates that could afterwards be validated by a university. After a few years she acquired a job at an NGO, which enabled her to finance university studies. She managed to finish her accountancy studies, has a well paid job now in the private sector, which comes with all social benefits. Her husband is a mechanic, with less stable work. They live with their first born in a room at the second floor of her in laws. “Within a year I will have the initial deposit of US\$ 5000 to buy us a house. I will buy here in Pinos. This is where all my family lives, I do not want to move from here. But I definitely want to have a home of my own, where I feel free to do what I want. I now always have to adjust to my mother in law, they never stop complaining about us. That is why we will move as soon as we can. With a US\$ 5000 deposit and my salary I can get a loan for around ca. US\$ 50.000, therewith we can buy a good house here” (Judith in an interview in 2010).

This new generation is distanced from neighbourhood affairs. It is however too easy to interpret the lack of interest in community affairs as a sign of modern individualization only. Many of this new generation want to stay in their neighbourhood. Even of those planning to buy a house or department quite a significant number plans to stay nearby, because this is where their family lives, this is where they know everyone, this is where they have their social life. Judith provides one of the clear examples of many of these trends (see textbox 1). Many of the young adults interviewed furthermore idealize the collective past, and cherish the neighbourhood identity as part of their own identity:

To me the most important thing is the history of this place. Seeing the evolution of the place, of the community. It is an emotional connection. One may want to go to live in another place for things like the crime and everything, but you still are part of Pampas, because you and your parents have come here and have constructed it all. (Johnny, 27, 2009, in an interview with AP)

I identify with this that is Pampas. I know it; I was born here, I have lived here (Marilyn, 25, 2009, in an interview with AP)

Miraflores (a rich district) is cleaner, better looked after. But I think also that the people are different. They just care about themselves. (Mary Isabel, 27, 2009, in an interview with AP)

I wouldn't want to live in Surco, Miraflores or La Molina [middle- and high-income districts of Lima]. Here you have your neighbourhood, your neighbours. You go out and communicate. Here there is more unity and more friendship. In districts like Miraflores, it's you, your life, your house; you know no-one other than your family. If I had to leave, better go to the provinces. (Katia, 19, 2009, in an interview with AP)

That the younger generation is less inclined to participate in neighbourhood affairs is due to four important reasons other than increasing individualism. The first motive is that there is far less reason to organize, since most services are installed by now. That is why collective action in general declined, let alone youth participation in collective action. A second reason for the lack of engagement of the new generation is the functioning of neighbourhood organisations itself. The neighbourhood organization in its classic form is meant for the original invaders: the heads of households and their spouses are supposed to participate. Quite a number of neighbourhood organizations have an article in their regulations limiting the right to vote to the owners of the plot, therewith excluding all that live with their parents or other family members. More importantly, the youth also feel they have no voice:

There was a time when youngsters used to take the initiative. But people didn't like that. So they gradually stopped. (Lourdes, 23, 2009 in an interview with AP)

Leaders are always older people. If a young person goes to suggest something, they cut you off straight away. "We are the leaders and we can decide what to do." (Johnny, 27, 2009, in an interview with AP)

The prevailing opinion of young adults about the presence of these community institutions, gravitates towards scepticism and indifference:

There is a neighbourhood council here, but it's not really important. It doesn't do anything for the development of the community (Luciano, 18, 2009 in an interview with AP)

No, I am not part of that participatory mood. The first thing I always ask is: Okay, how are they going to share the profits... (Jorge, 22, in an interview in 2010)

The people who take part in the neighbourhood council are still a bit too focused on things like streets, sidewalks, parks. But this is not the only thing we need. Nowadays, we are thinking more about culture, about the community. (Merly, 19, 2009, in an interview with AP)

They also criticize the neighbourhood councils for being too much concentrated on the neighbourhood only, losing sight of higher levels of scale⁸, fragmenting the interests of the people of Pampas instead of searching for the common interest.

Being the leader of the whole of Pampas, and only taking care of your own community? I don't understand that. (Martin, 27, in an interview with AP)

This exemplifies an important aspect of the changing mentalities. Whereas their parents are very much focussed on the neighbourhood level because that is what their struggle concentrated on, this younger generation has a wider spatial horizon. The adolescents I interviewed in the 1990s

⁸ I have commented on this limitation of the neighbourhood organizations in Hordijk 2000

were confined to their district. Moving beyond the district boundaries was highly uncommon and a visit to a higher income district an adventure. Nowadays they go to all over Lima, other districts are part of their mental map. They consider whether they would like to live there or not, they have some family members or friends in other districts. An hitherto unexplored subject is the role social media play in this increased physical mobility. Unprompted several interviewees mentioned how virtual contacts transformed into real life contacts and social relations. This issue merits further research.

Conclusion

For more than sixty years young adults in the family forming phase have invaded Lima's outskirts to find a house for their future families. For Lima's youth of today this is no longer an option, and Lima's successful model to "let the poor take care of themselves" has come to an end. This has three main reasons: there is less land to invade, the policies have changed, and so have mentalities.

Unlike in most other cities, access to land has hardly been a problem in Lima. But now even the steepest slopes have filled up. Those who still wish to invade have to travel long distances from Pampas de San Juan, either to the North Cone of the city (which easily takes two to three hours by public transport), or to the outskirts of the beach districts much further South. There thus is a physical barrier to invade, especially since the young people want to live close to their relatives. Also the policies have changed. Whereas *de jure* it was always prohibited (all progressive laws always targeted existing *barriadas* but prohibiting new ones), *de facto* it has been condoned. Yet since the adoption of a new law invaders risk imprisonment. And even although this has hardly happened, it has been internalized that "invasion is forbidden." This puts a mental barrier to invasions.

But most importantly: most young people no longer want to invade. First of all they consider it too strenuous to live in a very small uncomfortable shed without any amenities. But they are also ambivalent about invasions: they are proud of what their parents did, but consider it inappropriate for themselves. "It should come from your individual effort", they say. This reflects a change in mentalities. This generation was raised with two contrasting yet coexisting narratives. There were the stories of the heroic past of their parents, the arduous struggle in the bare desert, a heroic past they still honour. Yet they have also witnessed the downside: the internal struggle, fights between neighbours, corruption and clientelism. Simultaneously their parents very much emphasized the importance of individual progress, of "*ser profesional*". Many of this new generation have managed to reach higher level of education and some even indeed became a professional. In contrast with Perlman's (2003; 2006; 2009) findings more young people have benefited from a decade of economic growth and amplifying employment opportunities. This also changed their mentality: access to housing no longer is sought through collective action, but through the market. It is however unlikely that all who aspire to have their own accommodation, and especially their own "house that grows" will be able to find it through this channel. A major challenge in the decades to come is how to provide housing for this new generation that now is forced to continue to live with their parents. The old institutions as invasions and neighbourhood councils have lost appeal and practical value, but newer ones have not yet been developed, neither by the state nor by the youth themselves. The neighbourhood - local government interface which has been the back-bone of the institutionalization of collective action no longer fits the new patterns of belonging to the city.

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