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Doctoral Dissertation  
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**Collective labor in practices.**  
Instances of Governmentality in the  
Third Wave of Lima's Popular  
Urbanizations.

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\* \* \* \* \*

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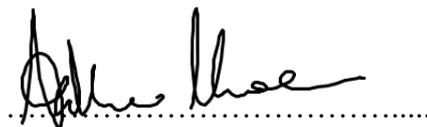
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A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Andrea Mora', is written over a horizontal dotted line.

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# Abstract

Nearly 60% out of the over nine million Lima's metropolitan city inhabitants currently reside in self-built peripheral urbanizations which settled along in different phases. This dissertation focuses on the third wave of such urbanizations that are not yet consolidated, started during the 1990s economic crisis and political uncertainty. Specifically, the investigation analyses the urban order in La Nueva Rinconada, one of San Juan de Miraflores 'sectors, exploring rationalities and practices of conduct and governance in the current urban development process, emphasizing collective labor practices role.

The research argues that such practices in Peruvian urban areas cannot be recognized undisputedly just as a perpetuation of an ancient tradition, a participative practice of resistance against the formal economic system, or a practice co-opted by development agencies. Conversely, they seem to be more an expression of the situated urban order that reflex an oxymoron: a state of stability based on precariousness. The legacies of terrorism, migrations, neoliberal economic adjustment, and decentralization policies have shaped how the governmental system and spatial policies relate to the last wave of popular urbanizations in ways that seem to perpetuate their marginalized position while simultaneously offering them prospects and hope for improvement.

This investigation first presents the historical and theoretical perspectives on collective labor practices in Latin America and Peru while exploring the contextual political and economic causes which have led to different interpretations of the practice itself. Secondly, it introduces the concept of "Popular Urbanization" to situate such practice according to the democratic-autonomous paradigm. Subsequently, it analyses chains of activities, material arrangements, and rationalities that compose the constellation of practices involved in the popular urbanization development process.

This dissertation queries selected processes and practices by analyzing the effect of power that shapes the local population's conduct. In order to do so, it mobilizes practice-based thinking and Governmentality studies supported by qualitative drive multi-method case study applied to two methodological movements in examining and interpreting urban phenomena.

This study found the emergence of the urban order of the marketplace in these areas accounting on cooperative, competitive, informative, and regulative principles. In this urban order, a multiplicity of organizations participates directly or indirectly in development practices influencing the conduct of local inhabitants. At the same time, it shows how local organizations themselves tactically use the knowledge acquired from outside their own agenda to face environmental, economic, and technical constraints.

Finally, it will be argued that collective labor practices became a normalized spatial technology - functional and supplementary to the marketplace's urban order. Therefore, the study sustains the need to seriously consider the interrelationship between development technologies and everyday practices in popular urbanization to reach a harmonious urban development. The political recognition of inhabitants' capability should be followed by technologies of governing that accompany and sustain local practices in their performance instead of taking them for granted criticizing those who do not conform their conduct to them.

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# Introduction

The notion of order is ubiquitous in all social practices, even in the most mundane or extreme. Therefore, people perform activities not randomly but rather to respond to a wide range of stimuli and inputs. The different responses to such interaction contribute to defining and maintaining specific order or challenging it.

This study attempts to clarify how urban order is created and maintained through ordinary practices even in a most unexpected place: a low-income marginalized settlement in the outskirts of Lima, Peru. It is one among the multitudes settlements that can be found in the suburbs of large Latin American (LA) cities where housing is appallingly poor and people live under very harsh living conditions.

Despite traditional analytical positions focused on the multitude of urban territories and forms that such practice produces, the challenge here is to focus on the various urbanization practices and the social production of space that are transforming those territories and generating certain rules and standards, values, and norms. This means that the spatial units of urban analysis conventionally based on geography, demography, morphology, and a corporate or political entity have been reoriented in favor of practices and processes (Schmid et al., 2018). In this work, the identification of such new units happened almost by chance upon learning of the existence of the peculiar labor practice carried out by the local population in those marginalized urban areas.

During the devastating floods and landslides that occurred in 2017 in Lima (Collins, 2017), I came across the Twitter hashtag *#FaenaComunal* used by Kenji Fujimori, a Peruvian congressman from Fuerza Popular, launched in an attempt to support the affected population in such areas. In a video, Kenji appears to be walking around affected areas, trampling the mud, and appearing at a communal worksite carrying sand sacks. This motivated people to join the collective labor practice after the Huaycoloro River had burst its banks in the largest and one of Peru's poorest city districts: San Juan de Lurigancho. Somehow, Kenji resembled his father, former president Alberto Fujimori, when he directly assisted poor settlers during his populist government (Plataforme\_glr, 2017).

Looking backward, I found the same hashtag *#FaenaComunal*, in 2013 as well, on Kenji's profile on a Facebook platform. On that occasion, Kenji, together with his sister Keiko, built a hundred linear meter staircase for the inhabitants of the Juan Valer Sandoval neighborhood organization, located in the hillside of that same above-mentioned district -as one of the thousands of spontaneous and marginalized urbanizations raised since 1990 in the outskirts of the city during his father ruling (Fujimori Higuchi, 2013).

Steadily, Kenji's media attitude to show his involvement with the population living at the margin in the last generation of peripheral low-income settlement was a picture to promote his leadership within the party at the expense of her sister's guidance in the previous Peruvian national election. These events boosted his career and increased his political capital. Nevertheless, what is interesting to note here is how this political capital was created. Kenji's governmental strategy expresses itself through working activities collectively performed in order to accrue citizens' support. Mitigation interventions, as well as the realization of the staircase, were not part of municipal or government programs. Instead, they are usually arranged, through collective labor practices known as *Faena Comunal* (in Spanish), a neighborhood participatory activity —economically sustained and physically performed by locals and, in these cases, also supported by the congressman.

Appearing in the *Faena Comunal* is part of the profile he has been creating and which we should not consider as an isolated event in marginalized urban areas. It is not uncommon that collective labor practices in popular urbanizations turn into a stage for political life mediatization during electoral campaigns. This showcase happened in the case of Kenji Fujimori as well as in Renzo Reggiardo's recent case -a candidate running for the capital city's mayoral race through *Perú Patria Segura* in 2018 (Prado et al., 2018).

These events allow speculating how collective labor practices at the urban margins could be understood and appropriated from other practices to pursue restricted and different interests. Nevertheless, in whose "interest" would it be? Beyond the mediatization of political life and the construction of concerns, one underpinning question left unanswered concerning urban order: *What forms of "power" emerge and are embodied in such practices? What are its effects? How do they operate? Who, if anyone, exercises them and stands to gain?*

From these questions, at least two key topics emerged in this work. Firstly, the debate about the notion of urban order and relational analysis between the different actors within whom the order is fulfilled. This relation is still a relevant topic in Peruvian society (Crabtree, 2000; Levine & Romero, 2006). Secondly, the issue around the conduct of collective labor forces by the poor and the relevance of the effect of power -which rule those forces to provide local development and wellbeing. This is an ongoing debate beyond the Peruvian case. Indeed, in the midst of the LA neoliberal revolution, political parties and public institutions have been unable or ideologically reluctant to meet their social obligations in terms of urban development for the poor. Therefore, the poor were encouraged to solve their problems on their own. As Gilbert said: *"The poor need to be housed but, if proper housing cannot be supplied and properly serviced, it becomes a question of encouraging the poor to do it themselves."* (1992, p. 441).

The research focuses specifically on the type of "encouragement" local populations receive for act as "autonomous", derived in large part to the rise of neoliberalism in the country and to the idea that governments fail, that markets succeed, and that individuals are singularly responsible for their success or failure (Hackworth, 2009).

A large number of studies have been carried out on collective labor practices concerning the private construction of houses under the acronyms of “sweat equity”<sup>1</sup> and “self-help” (Burgess, 1977, 1985; Collier, 1975; Gilbert & Ward, 2009a; Gyger, 2013, 2019; Pradilla Cobos, 1983; Turner, 1976, 2018; Turner & Fichter, 1972; Vega Centeno, 1992; Ward, 2012a; Ward & Macoloo, 1992). As we shall see in the next chapter, such studies start from different and contrasting perspectives to the theme (Calderón Cockburn & Vega Centeno, 2016). While mentioning such studies, this thesis does not necessarily want to start from them but instead lends itself to address the issue from a relatively new perspective.

First, because the unit of analysis is neither a house nor a household, as well as the central theme of the research is not “housing” or, more generally, the private living spaces production. Nowadays, even regarding the building sector, housing construction in local marginalized urban settlements is no longer a collective task (Joseph A. et al., 2005). Instead, the chosen units of analysis are the process of urbanization and the collective labor practice itself, while the general outcome is the emergence of a rewed type of urban order rather than a house.

Secondly, because the perspective adopted, which crosses urban studies with the sociology of work and organizations through governmental analysis, is close to what is known as the democratic-autonomous paradigm in LA urban studies (Connolly, 2013; Del Río, 2015; Duhau, 2016, 2003; Duhau & Giglia, 2004, 2008). This paradigm redirects such studies, moving beyond the ruler-ruled relational dichotomy between “the state” and grassroots movements and organization. It also overcomes the difference between the formal and informal urbanization debate because it considers urban phenomena a multidimensional process resulting in an assortment of actors’ intervention and practices. Furthermore, it adopts an inductive posture that proceeds from studying sensory experiences to explain a phenomenon setting aside general discourses on the city based on theoretical deduction. Indeed, if we are looking at the current “urban order”, we should use empirical lenses to unveil relations and related technologies at the keystones of recurrent processes and practices in low-income and marginalized areas. The democratic-autonomous paradigm welcome moves in that direction.

Geographically speaking, this research was limited to the case study sites of La Nueva Rinconada in a Lima southern district, where a third “wave” of low-income and marginalized settlement emerged after the so-called urban “neoliberal turn” since late 1980 (Calderón Cockburn, 2013b; Calderón Cockburn & Vega Centeno, 2016; Durand, 2004; Ramírez Corzo & Riofrío, 2006). The research approached collective labor practices performed in five low-income and marginalized settlements in the first place because of the involvement of the local NGO TECHO-Peru - just TECHO from now on - for which I was a volunteer.

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<sup>1</sup> According to Habitat for Humanity International Sweat equity is a term used often when talking about the creation or building process where the labor force becomes a proper investment in the project to low income families. See <https://www.habitat.org/> to furder ditails.

Temporally speaking, the investigation was undertaken over ten months -six of active fieldwork- between November 2017 and August 2018 using a specific qualitative multi-method approach based on two methodological movements (Nicolini, 2009, 2012; Nicolini & Monteiro, 2016). The research focused on in situ urbanization that was grassroots-led and other intervention that was part of a third sector organization partnership or independent project which took advantage of collective labor practices.

As the investigation progresses within the fieldwork, a single case study has been followed because the practices the research was trying to unearth were much more complicated than imagined. The research succeeded more within the El Trebol neighborhood organization -one of the five initially involved, since it could provide paradigmatic examples of collective labor practices. El Trebol was formed in 2001 in an unfavorable unused hilly location characterized by a sloped area, piggeries, and a graveyard. It starts from a natural uphill and spreads to the top and terraces along two facing hills' slopes. The administrative area of El Trebol consists of 10.2 ha subdivided into 283 plots —268 of which were currently employed at research time. In these plots, 1250 people approximately were living subdivided among 270 families.

However, the research did not abandon the remaining four cases completely. With such cases, the research kept finding about a broader set of issues and problems that might be missed just considering a single case. Thus the “leftover cases” became a source of additional information for this work, providing a term of reference, and confirming that the El Trebol case was not remote at all.

Regarding the dissertation structure, this work comprises of four parts and six chapters. For clarity, the first part, called *Background*, contains the first two chapters focusing on the overall hypotheses and aims of the research and the historical context in which the topic is developed. The second part is titled *A package of theories and methods*; it sets the theoretical chapter and methodological framework, and the third part: *Empirical evidences*, constitutes the empirical section, composed of the last two chapters. Besides the Introduction, the thesis also includes the conclusive part: the *epilogue* followed by the reference literature and an appendix.

The *first chapter* is that of disciplinary framing and lays the groundwork for defining the hypothesis and research questions. In other words, it represents a journey that follows the interpretation and transposition of a shared collaborative work practice in Latin America and its contemporary meaning in what will be called popular urbanizations in this research.

The *second chapter* frames the diachronic evolution of the Peruvian urban orders in popular urbanizations by outlining the economic and socio-political conditions that generated it focusing on the size and characters of the three main waves of popular urbanizations that emerged in Lima. Specifically, this chapter will focus on the last wave of popular urbanization's organizational setting, interpreting the neoliberal urban order created among the public agencies, private firms,

grassroots movements, and third sector organizations. Finally, this section presents La Nueva Rinconada's case study area in which the research took place.

The *third chapter* contains the ontological and epistemological positions used in this work. It revolves around the central role of the practice issue in social debate for urban analysis and presents the researcher positioning inside the practice-based thinking tradition. It strived to answer questions on where the "practice" approach comes from, what it is precisely, and how it is distinct from yet complementary to other constructs. It takes into account mostly Theodore Schatzki's explicit ontology using as an example in the research on informal settlements and space production in Lima. Moreover, this section shows how practice-based thinking might benefit urban studies by exemplifying the interaction between the social sphere with materials and its positioning in time and space. Lastly, the chapter deals with the urgency to distinguish the effects of power in practices and proposes to deal with the problem of power through the notion of Governmentality. It highlights the existing governmental technology in literature and the governmental rationalities that exist. Furthermore, It introduces resistance practices as *countre-conduct* and the difference between this and other kinds of resistance in the literature.

The *fourth chapter* reflects on the methodological path of the research. The approach followed has attempted to be multi-methods oriented but developed mainly as auto-didactic. The chapter incorporated the discussion on the methodological approximation adopted, starting from practice-based thinking proposals of research. It introduced the qualitative multi-methods created with the adoption of a sort of camera lens, which allows the researcher to 'zoom-in' towards the accomplishment of a specific practice and then 'zoom-out' following the connectivity of this practice in its relational system (Nicolini, 2009, 2012; Nicolini & Monteiro, 2016). The first movement encompasses a qualitative data-collection method —such as direct observations followed by semi-structured interviews with practitioners. The second movement incorporates semi-structured interviews with key players of different organizations and exploratory focus groups assisted by a local non-governmental organization (NGO) to analyze the local settlements' physical and social environmental conditions.

The *next chapters* constitute the empirical section of the work. They differ when compared to the methodological assumption at the base and according to the unit of analysis adopted; however, they strive to respond incrementally to instrumental questions featured in the introduction. Throughout these chapters, the hope is to achieve a broader description of a complex phenomenon, increasing connection and interactions among things, practices, formal institutions, and other organizations at a different scale.

*Chapter five* introduces the popular urbanization process and the technologies of power that lead the change so hoped for by local organizations. Moreover, external organization policies and strategy of services and infrastructure supply are examined under a critical lens.

In contrast, *chapter six* deals with the spatiotemporal occurrence of the collective labor practice called *Faena Comunal* and its configuration on the field.

This chapter presents the different components of this practice such as non-human animals, geographical features, and working tools -as well as display the kind of aims, rules, and knowledge that make it unique. Then, it unveils how governmental technologies interact with the practice itself.

Finally, in the section *Discussion and conclusion*, there is a summary of the core findings concerning the main research question raised. Furthermore, it discusses how the findings are related to key theoretical ideas and issues that emerged in the first and third chapters. Also, it discusses the relevance of the finding related to other collective labor practices in the LA region. The limitations and further contributions of this research are identified, and various relevant topics for further research are suggested.

# PART ONE: BACKGROUND

*“Memory is redundant: it repeats signs so that the city can begin to exist.” (Calvino, 1974, p. 19)*

# Chapter I

## Rationale

### 1.1 Introduction

At its simplest level, developing a theoretical framework begins with a research question, proceeds by identifying key variables and the relationships among them, and results in a plan for observing those variables and relationships empirically. In reality, this has been an iterative process that has suffered various changes until the very moment of this writing. Questions of operationalization lead to modification of the hypothesis and reframing of the research questions to narrow the scope within the research. In this chapter, I tried my best to give order to what has been an unpredictable research process.

The main purpose of Chapter I is still to describe the problem that will analyze showing the dissertation's boundaries, the research nature, the purpose of the study, and the research questions to be addressed.

Section 1.2 deals with the collective labor practice setting and the urbanization process in Latin America's low-income and marginalized settlement, trying to avoid over imposed labels and categories dragged from western literature.

Section 1.3 focuses on the characteristic of the traditional collective labor practices in Peru, moving anthropological and sociological literature that show how collective labor has historically been used by actors other than those who practice it for their purposes.

Section 1.4 reported how the central debates in LA had addressed collective labor as participatory practices for the urbanization of marginal areas. Furthermore, it shows how the research is positioned among those debates.

Finally, after all the reasoning developed from the previous sections, Section 1.5 defines the hypothesis and the research questions.

### 1.2 Situating collective labor practices

In the field of urban development studies, spontaneous and marginalized urbanizations, usually known as "slums" in the Western tradition -as well as squatter, shantytown, or informal settlements- are the spaces in which collective labor practices are situated. They are entangled with a plurality of other divergent practices that overcome the traditional city making schemes and material arrangements linked with certified standard and building techniques.

Since humanity first began to live in cities, institutional discourse said that inadequate building practices and overcrowded urban housing where the poorest urban society members lived, have been recognized as urban living aspects -as far as unsuitable (UN-Habitat, 2010). However, with increasing urbanization rates in the second half of the nineteenth century, such living practices and their material arrangements have, in most cases, been proliferated widely rather than reduced (Balbo, 2005).

According to UN-Habitat, a quarter of the world's population lives in slums, with many of the dwellers stemming from the so-called "Global South". International organizations estimate that the numbers are growing<sup>2</sup>, and in their general opinion, the "Slum challenge" continues to be a crucial driver of the persistence of poverty and inequity in the world (UN-Habitat, 2013). Currently, slum discourses<sup>3</sup> take place in the New Urban Agenda – inherited from the previous one which is linked with the last Millennium Development Goals<sup>4</sup> and is ready to be addressed once again (UN-Habitat, 2016).

As many scholars have reported, the term "slum" usually has derogatory connotations, and it still bears discernible pejorative traces from its origins (Arabindoo, 2011; Gilbert, 2007; Osborne & Rose, 1999). "Slum" is a flawed concept in accounting for the spatialities and lived dimensions that encompass many different modes of urbanization in LA. Nevertheless, the concept is difficult to escape due to its extensive use in international development agencies and technical literature<sup>5</sup>. Therefore the first step is to move away from generalized and Western-centric perspectives, and instead accommodate more native ones. A change of terms corresponding to a shift in the perception and understanding of the LA urban order is thus required (Soulier, 2012).

In Latin America's (LA) urban demographic swarm of the nineteenth century, a multiplicity of low-income, mostly self-built, and marginalized settlements have emerged. According to the *State of Latin American and Caribbean cities 2012: towards a new urban transition* report, in the region, 113 million people were living there in 2012 and, based on the growth rate at the current time, over 160 million

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2 According to the progress of goal 11 in 2018, the United Nations declare that between 2000 and 2014 the proportion of the global urban population living in slums dropped from 28.4 percent to 22.8 percent. However, the actual number of people living in slums increased from 807 million to 883 million. (United Nations, 2018. Goal 11; Sustainable Development Knowledge Platform.) Retrieved May 11, 2019, from <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/sdg11>

3 According to Morales-Moreno (2011) such discourses create a "natural" separation between slums and the rest of urban populations.

4 Try to look at Goal 11 "Make cities inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable" to deepen the topic. The targets 11.1, 11.2 and 11.7 and their indicators are directly connected with the slum challenge. (United Nations, 2018. Goal 11; Sustainable Development Knowledge Platform.) Retrieved May 11, 2019, from <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/sdg11>

<sup>5</sup> For instance, have a look at the trilogy published by UN-Habitat: *Streets as Tools for Urban Transformation in Slums* (2012) and *A Training Module for Designing and Implementing Citywide Slum Upgrading* (2013) and *A Practical Guide to Designing, Planning, and Executing Citywide Slum Upgrading Programmes* (2014)

households are living in such precarious conditions which stand for 24.5% of the total (UN-Habitat, 2010, 2012, 2015).

A variety of indigenous autonomous terms locally identify, and in so doing reconceive of such urbanizations since their first appearance. Mangin (1967) reported a list of these local names in the sixties some still in use today among which there are *Colonias Proletarias* in Mexico, *Favelas* in Brazil, *Ranchos* in Venezuela, *Callampas* in Chile, *Barrios de los Pobres* in Ecuador, and *Cantegriles* in Uruguay. Moreover, as Abrams (1966) has stated, those terms frequently are used with refer to colorful and contemptuous ways —such as *Ciudades Perdidas* in Mexico; *Barrios Piratas* in Colombia; *Villa Miseria* in Argentina, and *Barriadas Brujas* in Panama. In Peru, they were generally called *Barriadas*, the Spanish translation of marginal settlements<sup>6</sup>.

Semantically, from now on, I will try to use only the more sympathetic denomination of Popular Urbanizations which conceptually stretches or expands the original local concepts to better situate collective labor practices rather than curtail inquiry into them to a delimited and ill-fitting specific perspective which overlooks their possible regional processual profiles. In fact, what drew indigenous autonomous terms together into the new concept is that very similar productive dynamics shaped the urbanization processes related to them. Firstly, they describe urbanization phenomena outside of formal standards, planning practices, and conventional elitist ideas of what is conceived as a “traditional” city, and which also differ from the inner-city degraded urban zones called *Tugurios*, the Spanish translation of “slums” (Gyger, 2019; Mangin & Turner, 1968; Wallace, 1984). Secondly, they all were at least initially low-income marginalized settlements with moments of self-production of urban space, incremental processes of construction, and solid organizational structure (Schmid et al., 2018; Streule et al., 2020).

I have retrieved the Spanish term *Urbanización Popular* that was frequently used in the LA debate by Emilio Duhau (1991, 2003) and other Mexican scholars (de la Cueva, 1993, 1995; Trujeque Díaz, 1997) for this end. Likewise, it was used by Jonh Turner (1972) in Peru to identify squatter settlements surrounding the city of Arequipa during his career’s early stages as the technical assistance office<sup>7</sup>.

The translation of the Spanish term *Urbanización Popular* is a helpful concept to highlight lexical and semantic components. Literally translated, the composed term would be “urbanization by the people” or “urbanization of the people”. The

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6 The term “Barriada” refers to “Barrio marginal, generalmente de construcciones pobres y precarias.” according to the Dictionary of Latin-American Idioms of the Royal Spanish Academy online. See Barriada. (2021). In Diccionario de americanismos (Online). <https://lema.rae.es/damer/?key=barriada>

7 A note to Peruvian Scholars. From a technical perspective, the term "urbanización popular" has been used in Peru since the 1990 to identify specific urban developed other than informal possession and ownership of land for urban purposes, with titles granted in favor of Pro-Housing Associations, Housing Cooperatives, Housing Associations, Homeowners' Boards, Buyers' Boards, and any other form of association for housing purposes. Although I am aware of this peculiarity, my reference to this meaning is not intended to take account of this limited definition (Aprueban Reglamento de Formalización de La Propiedad Informal En Urbanizaciones Populares. Partes Pertinentes., 1999).

first part – *urbanization* - can be understood both as the action and effect of urbanizing -process - or urbanized sectors of a given population which entails material outcomes<sup>8</sup>. It is used here with an active connotation to indicate the production of new settlements.

The second part of the term, which includes *People*, contains two meanings. On the one hand, the preposition “by” highlights the ordinary practices of people in processes construction and maintaining of settlements, which are neither practices adopted by miserable and desperate people nor those performed by specialists and building technicians<sup>9</sup>. It is used here to designate the settler/practitioners directly involved in the process of urbanization.

On the other hand, the preposition “of” has a strong class connotation. It refers to the subject of “popular classes”, which usually include peasants, the unemployed, the informal proletariat, and micro-entrepreneurs as historical products linked to productive structures, power relations and defined by their cultural connotations (Portes & Hoffman, 2003)

Following Schmid (2018) and Streule (2020), I used an English loan translation<sup>10</sup> rather than a literal translation to give the term *Urbanización Popular* a renewed sense. Therefore, Popular Urbanization indicates the novelty behind the inherited understandings of the term, whilst at the same time explicitly acknowledging the roots of the term and the concept.

Operating as an “umbrella term” and despite its original connotations, “Popular Urbanization” should take the discourse on low-income and marginalized settlements in different and promising directions which includes theoretical and methodological stances. For instance, Popular urbanizations within the LA society can identify a shared and widespread way of urbanization for most city inhabitants, describing an alternative way of urbanization in line with post-colonial/decolonialized thinking (Bortoluci & Jansen, 2013; Connolly, 2013). A decolonialized perspective is embedded within it since the term itself tries to disband power relations and conceptions of knowledge which foster the reproduction of well-established geopolitical hierarchies -such as the word “slum” or “informal settlements”- by proposing new autonomous discourses (Maldonado-Torres, 2006; Robinson, 2006).

Furthermore, the use of this last term gives way to the multiplicity of dimensions involved in the urbanization process rather than exaggerating a few — which are usually linked to legal status, economic situation, and physical outcomes. Referring to the concept of “Popular Urbanization”, other international scholars also highlighted this multidimensionality of intentions through a comparative

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<sup>8</sup> The term “urbanización” refers to “1. f. Acción y efecto de urbanizar; 2. f. Núcleo residencial urbanizado” according to the Dictionary of the Royal Spanish Academy online. See Urbanización. (2021). In *Diccionario de americanismos* (Online). <https://dle.rae.es/urbanización>

<sup>9</sup> Popular definition and meaning. (2019). In *Collins English Dictionary* (Online). <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/popular>

<sup>10</sup> In linguistics the loan translation is a word or phrase borrowed from another language while translating its components, literally word-for-word or root-for-root translation.

analysis in four cities around the world (Schmid et al., 2018; Streule et al., 2020). According to them, critical aspects of why this form of urbanization matters concern the material transformation of the territory (material side), the negotiation in the process of settlements consolidation (political side), and the collective experience in that process (social and organizational side). They also consider these three elements as constituent elements of a specific urban strategy: “*acting through intricate webs of negotiation with state actors to secure incremental gains in tenure security, infrastructure and amenities*” (Schmid et al., 2018, p. 17).

Even assuming a direct link to the original Spanish word and meaning, such scholars (op.cit.) reduced the relevance of Mexican scholars to legal aspects in popular urbanization analysis. To them, such a term has been applied to settlements that were seemingly constructed outside of the regularized and formalized housing construction and urban planning procedures which reductively highlight just one aspect: the distinction between “formal” and “informal” material outcomes. This one-dimensional conception privileges only one singular factor as decisive for their definition.

I believe that reducing what has been done on this topic to a bland definition that involves just the informal character of popular urbanizations is misleading. As crucial as it is, the illegal or irregular land tenure is only one of the contribution marks that define the term (Trujeque Díaz, 1997).

This was the main reason that made me discard the idea of using a fashionable term like “informal urbanization” to identify a complex process despite postcolonial scholars such as Roy (2005, 2011a) having been inspired by it in an attempt to disrupt hegemonic ways of thinking (Schmid et al., 2018; Streule et al., 2020). Instead, I suggest that analytical multidimensionality could be better distilled into the “Popular Urbanization” concept, thereby shifting the central perspective towards the social production of urban space by highlighting how these spaces emerge, transform over time, and mainly, how they differ from spaces produced through other related but distinct urbanization processes. Nevertheless, to do this, at least five aspects of the urbanization process (that include the three mentioned above) should be addressed simultaneously:

- Spatial aspects concern the peripheral expansions in unurbanized areas as foundational experiences in “colonized” development processes (Duhau & Giglia, 2008, p. 331).
- Temporal aspects which define the incrementality and progressivity of the urbanization occur in small additions. In face, an entire family circle could be involved both in housing construction and in underlying infrastructure and services (Duhau, 2003; Turner, 1972)
- Social-organizational aspects include beneficial forms of relational orders and activities allowing what Duhau and Giglia call the “*domesticación del espacio*” —space domestication (Duhau & Giglia, 2008, p. 341).
- Normative aspects commit to specific legalized or institutionally recognized practices (Duhau & Giglia, 2008, p. 343). However, normativity revolves not just around the juridical dimension. Indeed, other forms of normativity

exist both in written and oral form, starting with inhabitants' costumes and habitus. In the LA region, practical matters define the social and material order in these settlements and the effect of power over daily activities.

- Political aspects, as previously mentioned, identify the production of “Popular urbanization” as subject to the political control and mechanism of customer-driven support for specific parties or politicians (Trujeque Díaz, 1997).

As this brief discussion shows, the term “Popular Urbanization” appropriately corresponds to many aspects that I address in the dissertation. However, it remains a revisable and open concept due to the urbanization process unfolding in diverse ways, which are dependent upon specific geographical, legislative, political contexts, and which may result in a multiplicity of spatial outcomes and temporal trajectories. Therefore, this definition is not intended to be fully exhaustive, but, it at least clarifies the semantics and spatial boundaries which situate the primary unit of analysis.

### 1.3 Framing collective labor practices

Coming across collective labor practices simultaneity without territorial contiguity in LA popular urbanizations is not uncommon. In Mexico, the call to perform collective labor activities for mutual benefit takes the name *Tequio*. The *Tequio* is known as a traditional community practice that asks residents to contribute with their time free of charge within community-improvement projects as part of indigenous communities' standard civic obligations. Although this practice is less common in urban areas, the *Tequio* is also performed in popular urbanizations and district municipalities to diminish top-down political and economic dependency (Kraemer Bayer, 2003). Holzner (2010) has linked urban *Tequio* practice with the shifting interest of disenchanted and disillusioned residents from the formal political arena to grassroots organizations in Mexico City since 2000 —when public financing for infrastructure projects has dried up. The *Tequio* then has become a crucial practice that allows grassroots organizations to build infrastructure and provide essential services that neither the local nor the public agencies offer.

Collective labor practices are not limited to Mexico. Looking at southernmost latitudes, a collective system of mutual aid known as *Mutirão* in Brazil has been used by the federal government to subsidize housing programs until 1980. The word *Mutirão* was traditionally used to mean “free help” in which workers assisted each other through collective work to address individual needs. During the 1960s, the idea of working in groups to reach a common objective was transferred to the Brazilian urban context and coopted by a government project. It was intended that the construction of houses and infrastructure in popular urbanization would be self-

undertaken with just the technical and financial support of public authorities (Cavalcanti et al., 2004).

In Ecuador, the *Minga* or *Mega Minga* -in its metropolitan version- is another collaborative practice to get things done in poor urban communities. It is a mandatory practice and entails an exchange of labor (Klaufus, 2010, 2012). Testori and D'Auria (2018) have reported how the urban *Minga* in Ecuador is usually promoted and organized by district municipalities to implement basic infrastructure services, such as potable water and waste treatment, under the assumption of shared responsibility: the municipality finances half of the work, while the inhabitants provide the other resources. They treated such interaction as a “cultural co-design” of spaces that holds the potential to re-organize society by re-designing actors’ roles and responsibilities to guarantee crucial rights.

To a lesser extent, collective labor practice initiatives also occur in Chile, under the protective wing of an institutionalized infrastructure improvement program called Participatory Pavement program, *Programa de Pavimentación Participativa*, based on the sweat equity feature of development programs (Gramsch, 2003).

Finally, *Faena Comunal* is the collective labor practice encountered in La Nueva Rinconada, an unconsolidated Peruvian popular urbanization situated in the district of San Juan de Miraflores (SJM), one of the forty-three districts of the capital metropolitan area where a third “wave” of popular urbanizations emerged after the so-called “neoliberal turn” in 2000 (Calderón Cockburn, 2013b; Calderón Cockburn & Vega Centeno, 2016; Durand, 2004; Ramírez Corzo & Riofrío, 2006).

Given the ostensible “traditional” characters of collective labor practices in the whole LA region, it is considered useful to explore the origin, rationality, and principle lading the *Faena Comunal* in the rich Peruvian social science literature.

As Gelles (1984) reports, *Faena Comunal* in rural Peru is a form of “communitarian” work that originates historically in the traditional Andean cosmovision<sup>11</sup>, where a solid sense of collectivist interdependence existed. Yamamoto calls it a form of “*supportive social interaction*” (2016, p. 32), which is established inside an “*ideology of reciprocity*” (Mayer, 1974, p. 55). Under this assumption, part of practitioners’ working hours lied in favor of the same organization’s collective interest. Substantially, it implies a practice of utilities exchange and networking between individuals and a collective organization. For instance —among which the *Faena Comunal* activities stand. He states that “*each communal member serves his community and, in reciprocity, the political entity of the commune grants him the rights and privileges of being a communal member*” (1974, p. 55).

On the one hand, key membership benefits include the guarantee of land possession, its usufruct and full inheritance rights to all organization members, as

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<sup>11</sup> The Andean Cosmovision is a way of perceiving and interacting with “social” and “natural” reality found in the local culture of the high Andes which is based on cosmogony, a mythological step about explanation of the world, namely the global vision of reality in all its forms and manifestations. It is a set of processes that bring into local awareness all aspects of their corporal and social existence that is not tenable within the European or North American worldview..

well as the participation of cultural and spiritual events, the usufruct of collective infrastructures, and the access to the local council to prevent or mediated disputes. On the other hand, every community member must play certain symbolic roles supporting the organization during their lifetime and protect collective lands when there are threats.

Furthermore, as far as we are concerned, the involvement of at least one member of a domestic group during a *Faena Comunal* activity is required. In Mayer's report, we can also find a system that controls over the work for tracing participation and a payment of a fine to be paid if failure to meet community rules.

Even more recently, two additional studies allow us to highlight an essential aspect of the current practice of the *Faena Comunal* in Andean organizations. First, Peña Jumpa's case study (1998) in Calahuyo, Puno. Second, there is Yamamoto's research (2016) carried out in the Chucuna Andean village. In both of them, collective spaces and basic infrastructure services have been built and maintained through the *Faena Comunal*. As Yamamoto claims in Chucuna:

*“There are access roads, water canals, and other issues that concern to all members of the group. As building and maintenance of these issues are not supported by the government, the trabajo comunitario [in spanish] or community work is organised, a day or several days of labour where all members of the community go for the job.”* (2016, p. 32).

Contrary to other collective interaction forms, the *Faena Comunal* appears to be undeniably an asymmetrical form of reciprocity (Gelles, 1984). Those asymmetries regard the lack of direct equal individual reciprocation and the presence of rules which expect some kind of coercion—from a levy paid to the direct exclusion of social services in case of lack of commitment. Tenant's obligation to perform a *Faena Comunal* and its utility to trade in services render such practice quite similar to that of the *Corvée*<sup>12</sup>. In the Andean traditional society, a particular type of *Corvée* existed. It was known as *Mit'a* (*Mita* in vernacular) and its meaning resides in the philosophical concept of “eternal repetition”. As claimed by Canseco, in fact:

*“the equivalent of tribute in the Andean world was the labor force, organized by the Mita on rotational basis whether for the benefit of the Ayllu, the local chief, the lord of the macro ethnic group, the huacas, or, during the period of Inca rules, from the state”* (1999, p. 189)

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<sup>12</sup> *Corvée* was a practice imposed by an administrative unit, usually for public works or to support symbolic cultural projects, performed in many civilizations over time. It differs from forced labor in being a general, intermittent labor practice that lasts periodic short-term obligations while forced labor is usually prescribed for a long or indefinite period as a method of punishment or discrimination. According to Marx (2003), *Corvée* was a pre-capitalist form of surplus of labor, adding to the labor-time necessary for workers' maintenance an extra time folded to secure the subsistence of the entity which owned the means of production.

Regrettably, the *Mita*'s traditional institution, related initially to rotation work schedules to the Inca State, changed during the Spanish colonization when the overwork object was tied to an exchange-value of the products rather than their use-value. Actually, if the relationship between a local unit and the Inca powers implied a form of reciprocity —however asymmetrical— this substantially disappeared at the level of interaction during the Spanish regime giving way to slavery and patronage practices (Mayer, 1974). Empirical evidence can be found in the Spanish *Mita*'s collective labor practice presented by Rowe (1957). The Spanish colonial labor institution of the *Mita* in the LA region was known as the *Encomienda* system. Under the colony, it provided local workers needed for numerous projects connected with public works such as building and road construction, service to travelers, and relevant economic colonial enterprises such as mining, in a regime of substantial exploitation (M. Smith, 2004). For instance, in 2013 the *Faena Vigawantuy*, also called the *Great Faena* or *hatun ayni* in Quechua local language —a traditional form of collective labor practice carried out in the department of Huancavelica— had acquired the status of the intangible cultural heritage of the nation through specific resolutions (Declaran Patrimonio Cultural de la Nación al Vigawantuy, 2013; Resolucion Vice Ministerial N° 096-2013-VMPCIC-MC - Norma Legal Diario Oficial El Peruano, 2014). The *Vigawantuy* involves the cutting and transfer of tree trunks for future use in infrastructure works such as canals and stairways based on collective needs.

According to official statements, it appears to have great importance for the population as an expression and reinforcement of old communal bonds, as well as to strengthen people's relationship with nature. The importance of this specific practice has been underlined many times in the anthropological report attached to the resolution and submitted to the ministry, but most importantly, they also highlighted the origin and commonality of *Faena Vigawantuy* to other collective labor practices in the whole Andean region, leaving out some interesting angles. In fact, according to the Director of Intangible Heritage:

*“El origen de esta práctica estaría, según el expediente, en el sistema de trabajo forzado del régimen de haciendas, y de la institución religiosa católica, cuyas construcciones espaciales requerían de troncos de gran tamaño. Desaparecida la hacienda, esta práctica se continúa para las obras públicas de la comunidad, pero*

*“The origin of these practices lie, according to the file, under the tax (hacienda) regime forced labor system, the Catholic religious institution -- whose spacious constructions required large scale logs. Once the hacienda disappeared, this practice remains for the community's public works --as well as for new homes for*

*también para las nuevas casas de las parejas recién formadas. Sin embargo, esta historia y necesidades han sido las mismas en toda el área andina, mientras que la costumbre del vigawantuy es exclusiva de esta región, lo que sugiere que esta tradición provine probablemente de la práctica local de la población que se ha desarrollado en este territorio, y sería entonces por ende más antigua.” (Mujica Bayly, 2013, p.2)*

*recently formed couples. However, this type of trajectory and needs have been the same throughout the whole Andean region while the vigawantuy custom belongs specifically to the region already mentioned. This suggests that this custom probably originated from the local practice of the population living within that territory, thus older” (own translation)*

This extract highlights quite clearly how supposedly “original” pre-colonial labor practices give in to the requirements of local powers, changing in meaning and aiming through the colonial age, is brought back today to a main stage as a symbol of tradition and authenticity. It allows one to speculate how a phenomenon could be understood and narrated from different perspectives in order to pursue restricted and different interests. As Mayer (1974) points out, such a form of manipulation turned reciprocity into an ideological instrument to establish a condition of co-optation or almost were still active/in place in the rural community of the twentieth century in a completely different socio-political context.

## **1.4 Interpreting collective labor practices**

If the Faena Comunal has not been the same meaning in Peruvian history, even fewer other forms of collective labor practices have acquired the same social, cultural, or political significance in all the LA region. Their interpretations have varied according to the ideological debates and discourses used to face progress and development related directly to them. Starting from Del Río (2015), we can identify four paradigms<sup>13</sup> at play in how social scientists have been dealing with spontaneous practices and around the relationship between public agencies’ role and grassroots organizations’ responses so far. Better said between different

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<sup>13</sup> The use of the term "paradigm" can be questioned. However it refers here to a theoretical system that has enough consensus in a community of practices to dominate a field of study (Connolly, 2013)

political rationalities of governing. These paradigms are: the marginalization paradigm, the libertarians and anarchists paradigm, the neo-liberal and individualist paradigm, and the democratic-autonomous paradigm.

The concern for the problem of “marginality” in LA social sciences arose after World War II, when the population living in precarious conditions began to appear on large cities’ outskirts. The marginalization paradigm referred to hyper-urbanization, modernization, and poverty questions that prevailed in the 1960s and early 1970s. Since the 1950s, many LA countries were experiencing hyper-urbanization, understood as the presence of urbanization high rate that did not correspond to a similar industrial growth rate —so that rural-urban migrations involved the transition from low-productivity rural jobs to urban jobs that were also not very productive. It was seen as a pathology and a deformation of the Western countries’ rational urbanization model (Schteingart, 2000).

The marginalization paradigm came in two primary forms: cultural and economic, dragging itself behind two conflicting theoretical perspectives (Delfino, 2012; Ward, 2004). On the one hand, the cultural perspective, also known as “modernization theory” proposed a dualism between the “modern” city and the backward one associating certain social forms to space production practices. From this cultural perspective, marginality constitutes a steady-state —the unachieved integration of specific population groups into the urbanization process and participation due to their cultural practices. In this scheme, while established cultural barriers prevent the transition to a modern urban lifestyle, high growth economic rates and the deepening of development policies constitute the paths from which underdevelopment will be overcome in time (Schteingart, 2000). In the Peruvian context, researchers influenced by this orientation towards human worth and potential practices in popular urbanization could start with Matos Mar’s (1985, 1986, 1958) vision. In his works, Matos Mar proposed a structural and linear idea of progress, expressed in its hypothesis of a popular overflow —*desborde popular*— and connected with the idea that popular urbanizations were, first and foremost, a cultural-practical phenomenon rather than urban facts (Calderón Cockburn & Vega Centeno, 2016). Consequently, in the late 50s, collective labor practices have been seen as a transition of somewhat traditional Andean practices into popular urbanization and, to that extent, it made it easier for the person performing them to adapt to the urban life as well as influencing a new urban culture (Matos Mar, 1958).

On the other hand, the confluence of Marxism and nationalism thought into an economic perspective originated the “dependency theory”. It became prevalent in LA’s *intelligentsia* during the 1960s due to the North American culturalism crisis, the influence of structuralism, and the cultural spring that started with the Cuban revolution. The economic perspective seeks to explain the characteristics of dependent development and the subordinate condition of LA cities through the process of capital accumulation in the world-system economy. Indeed, Marxist traditions conceived marginality as an ongoing process guided by capitalist

accumulation laws rather than a steady-state. Therefore, the structural base of underdevelopment transcended the cultural discourses, creating the baseline for a critical reflection on the system of dependent capitalism, its apparatus, and its effects on LA cities.

However, more than its explanatory power, what transcended this paradigm was its capacity to inspire political action as an alternative to the traditional class struggles that animate socialism at the time. The stimulus and the promotion of participation, and the claim for popular urbanization as a legitimate city part were intended to change the complex of dominant social order and overcome the marginalization faced by the urban poor through radical political practices (Connolly, 2013). Indeed, the popular social movements' broad participatory practices in the 1960s emphasize structural impediments to development and no longer blamed themselves as a cause of such impediments.

For instance, Pradilla Cobos (1983) and Burgess (1985) —from a theoretical point of view— and Lloyd (1980) —from an empirical one— have shown how public agencies tried to prise settlers' involvement in basic infrastructure services provision through collective labor practices related to community actions, self-help, and community development initiatives. Such apparatus used to mystify the traditional forms of subsistence and idealized the backwardness of the productive forces that they represent as “the solution to the housing problem” or “the conservation of traditional constructive practices” in its eagerness to sympathize with low-income sectors. Through these collective efforts, poor settlers were encouraged to feel they were in control of their lives and living conditions. They tend to develop discourses of “freedom”, “own initiative” and a sense of being “masters of their own acts” to the extent that they ascribed the lack of basic infrastructure services not to a failure of the public agencies but to their inability to cooperate. From a Marxist perspective, collective labor practices appear a form of *Corvée* (Marx, 2003) conceptualized as an outcome of structural processes of dispossession, exclusion, and exploitation. Practitioners must work overtime, extending their workday outside the market system as far as they invest weekly in collective labor practice to produce their collective subsistence means outside the private sphere because they have got no other choice. The extension of a typical working day and the surplus of labor created, allowed public agencies to save investment funds —funds that will be unfairly poured into free or subsidized infrastructure works to middle and high-income sectors, lengthening the marginal forms of subsistence to which the system of Dependent Capitalism subjects a considerable part of the urban population.

Within the second half of the twentieth century, confidence in the previous prevailing paradigm was eroded progressively due to the drastic change in historical context that will be partially shown in Chapter II retracing the Peruvian case. Therefore, the resulting need to formulate new research directions was combined with fresh outlooks concerning urban studies' roles: not any other critical approaches but one to exalt the existing order (Duhau, 2016).

As Pimentel Walker (2016) has reported, a new debate on land regulations and urban development outstanding 1960s LA urban studies, becoming more appealing between the 1970s and 1980s. John Turner is widely recognized as a key

protagonist in the development of alternative and socially progressive housing models in Latin America, becoming the speaker of the libertarians' and anarchists' paradigm. Oppositely to the Marxist–materialist assumptions, Turner claims that *“It cannot be assumed that the value of a shelter [as well as of other goods] as a material products ground in its physical quality”* (2018, p. 114). The users determine the value of a product or good through contingencies criteria—which can change radically through time, following changes in a family unit's socio-economic status. Thus, housing should never be conceived as a “final” product but instead an open procedure (Harris, 2003a; Ward, 2012b). Indeed, Turner did not consider basic infrastructure services provision, including housing, only as a technical or economic question, but a way for the urban poor dignity and self-recognition (Turner, 2018). People living there were not silent and “without hope”; on the contrary, they worked ceaselessly to improve their living conditions (Turner, 1967, 1976, 2018; Turner & Goetze, 1967).

Therefore, popular urbanizations and related practices of production were rational and viable responses to rapid urbanization and should be perceived as “solutions” rather than problems (Mangin, 1963, 1967; Mangin & Turner, 1968). These ideas influenced global institutions like the World Bank and the United Nations, which sought to incorporate his approaches to participatory self-build housing as a platform for urban development. However, Turner's ideas were not wholly news.

The debate on self-help as a consistent policy emerged in the LA region even before the rise of Turner's views (Harris, 1998a). Actually, the term “aided self-help” was created in 1948 by Jacob Craned, Assistant Director of the US Public Housing Administration, working on Puerto Rico's new urban policies to deal with the growing housing problems in emerging countries. In the late 50s, several US-based agencies had been involved in regional and local housing policies in central and south America. Institutions such as The World Bank (WB)<sup>14</sup>, the United Nations (UN), the Organization of American States (OAS) before, and the Housing and Home Finance Agency (HHFA), the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB), and the successive Agency for International Development (USAID) have begun to take an interest in the growing problem of market externality and consequent informal expansion of the housing sector as part of a strategy to prevent the strengthening of the Communist movement in such areas. None of these institutions endorsed direct public intervention in the sector as a response to the growing housing problem. Instead, aided self-help had been a high priority (Harris, 1998b; Harris & Arku, 2007; Harris & Giles, 2003).

Besides, and maybe more radically linked to other forms of aided self-help promoted elsewhere, the new element in Turner's strategy concerned the collective aid among neighborhood members without the support of governmental agencies through the so-called “unaided self-help” or “auxiliary self-help system” encouraging settlers' “spontaneity” and “participation” (Oyón, 2018; Pecoriello,

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<sup>14</sup> In late 1960s, under the presidency of McNamara at the World Bank, housing improvement for low income households was widely considered a guarantee of political stability.

2013). The full control of design, construction, and management of homes should involve collective support and system between families and broader communities in a long or indefinite period of progressive urbanization. In light of his visions of poverty's inevitability, collective labor practices represent a form of grassroots political self-management because they guarantee owner-designed control and urban entrepreneurialism participation (Bower, 2016).

According to Ward, Macoloo (1992) and Oyón (2018), Turner's ideas led to approaches that emphasized dwellers' autonomy, small-scale interventions, and encouragement of user housing production. However, they do not concern other housing elements. Despite collective labor practices in housing, basic infrastructure services were not easily obtained only by dwellers' efforts. This last consideration was a matter for subsidiarity: if housing has a proper core in the local and individual dimensions, basic infrastructure services do not. They worked at the urban scale and should have been centrally planned and managed. To address such problem, Turner claimed that it would have been necessary that national and local governments allocated much-needed resources to fund public services, basic infrastructure services, lands, and, where possible, credit facilities (Turner, 1976, p. 158, 2018, p. 171).

Then, the Neo-Institutionalist economics school of developmental thinking constituted the baseline of the Neo-liberal and individualist paradigm that emerged in the 1980s, gaining wide diffusion in the face of neoliberal postulates with a globalist orientation in line with local development policies prized by US-based International Organizations (Scarpocchi, 2016).

In the early 1990s, new rhetoric on development took hold globally, suggesting facing market failures without the need for state intervention but instead with people's own resources (Capdevielle, 2014). It has been accompanied by an interpretation of "social capital" as communitarianism, togetherness and social cohesion fostered by the mainstream part of the social sciences community and international organizations. The metaphoric use of the word "capital" referring to stocks of available human resources derived from the network of relationships possessed by a social unit such as, in my case, neighborhood organizations (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998).

This idea recalls de Soto's assumption that wealth is conquered by knowing how to use available capital. He said:

*"Wealth is achieved essentially by one's own effort. It is earned, little by little, in an active market where goods services and ideas are exchanged, and people are constantly learning and adjusting to others' needs. Wealth comes from knowing how to use resources, not from owning them." (1989, p. 243)*

The idea of "Social relations" as an economic capital becomes an appealing topic for many, whether they want to strengthen it or to take advantage of it.

Neo-liberal and individualist paradigm also matched the concept of “social capital” with “informality”, exhibiting positive biases towards finding new possibilities and seeing unmet market needs. In fact, it explains the persistence of illegal, irregular, informal, or clandestine practices in accessing, occupying the land, and building on it from an institutional-legal framework that imposes prohibitive entry and permanence costs for formality —charges that cannot be covered by the poor (Calderón Cockburn & Vega Centeno, 2016; Smolka & Mullahy, 2007).

The term “informality” was used to describe an urban economy sector referred mainly to the poor’s labor subsistence practices at the social margins where those not in regular employment could somehow make a living without venturing into illicit activities (International Labour Office, 2002, 2014).

There are at least three dimensions of informality in construction practices. First, the usage of “informal settlement” nomenclature seems to have been introduced by the leading representative of this paradigm, Hernando de Soto, to identify the breaking of urban planning rules based on the formal building processes of the modern city. Through his work in Lima, de Soto (1989, 2001) identified that the “formal” channels of law and bureaucratic procedure costs imply both legal activities and free competition limitation while fostering the rise of the informal market economy and patronage practices. Then, “informal settlements” succeed precisely by opposing themselves to “formal” urban development practices. In this sense, de Soto’s central hypothesis was that such costs and expenditures linger on the family economy scale —restricting the productive and efficient use of resources and their initiatives. Furthermore, the status of “informal” affects not only the physical development of those settlements but, more often, their economic and social population stability —including livelihoods, credit markets, public and municipal services (Turner & Goetze, 1967, p. 126). Considered as a set of dead assets permanently separated by the financial system, informal settlements, once integrated, could be transformed into liquid resources activating entrepreneurs’ individual initiatives.

The second and third dimensions of the informality in construction practices, involve the process rather than the final product’s legality. It is known as the “informal construction process” placing more emphasis on the informal construction sector as well as on labor and employment status. Here, the presence or absence of regulation and protection distinguishes between formal and informal practices (Wells, 2007).

According to the Neo-liberal and individualist paradigm, public agencies should limit themselves to eliminating settlements’ extra-legal status and facilitating regular jobs throughout market deregulation. It brought institutional land titling practices and land reform strategy through which private individuals and families can acquire formal property rights for land they have previously occupied informally or customarily. Theoretically, legal title would guarantee access to credit, and by using property titles as credit guarantees, a little entrepreneur could make investments in the improvement of their assets, both homes and businesses. In this way, the legalization of “informality” and the

provision of individual freehold titles would enable progress towards poverty eradication. In other words, the regularization of popular urbanization would allow a solution to housing and poverty problems in cities at once<sup>15</sup>. However, the spatial implications of formalization are of no concern to the Neo-liberal and individualist paradigm, which does not consider the potential negative impact for overall urban development of granting legal status to any parcel, no matter how poor the physical condition of the housing structure, dangerous environmental conditions or how ill-planned the settlement is (Gyger, 2019). Otherwise, to deal with the informal construction process, the new public agencies' role should promote a transition framework from informal to formal. This framework includes facilitating private entrepreneurship, removing obstacles to market access, and promoting freedom of association—including the right to establish and, subject to the organization's rules (International Labour Office, 2014).

Collective labor practices become mainly studied in this last paradigm through the notion of “informal practices” often regarded as a virtue in its own right. Especially in urban development, the “informality” connected with housebuilding practices in popular urbanizations represented an extensive research pattern. It focuses on what Ash Amin and Nigel Thrift have identified as: *“social endeavor and improvisation, acknowledging slum life as harsh and challenging, but also successfully negotiated by enterprising residents making a home, neighborhood and opportunity”* (Amin & Thrift, 2017, p. 136). An approach that can also be found in other radical writers and scholars, such as Robert Neuwirth (2005) and Mike Davis (2006) became fruitful since it illuminated the possibilities of a self-organized and self-regulated society to face market failures without the need for public agencies intervention (Capdevielle, 2014). Therefore, when properly treated—inciting practitioners to conduct themselves in an entrepreneurial fashion, emphasizing their ambition, calculation, and personal responsibility—“informal” collective labor practices could be closely integrated with the neoliberal political structures maintaining the “status quo.”

Myriads of small, lateral and almost peripheral, petty movements and subtle displacements have occurred in the last decades, which suddenly gained momentum dissipating flows of imitative repetition of previous paradigms research approaches, and have considerably redrawn the map of urban studies in the LA region (Del Río, 2015). Critical connotations are re-emerging with those movements due to the awareness that, to overcome the “housing issue” self-building practices have brought an urban chaos that reproduces settlers' vulnerability by showing the policies' inadequacy emerged in previous positive paradigms (Olsson, 2012). Otherwise, the democratic-autonomist paradigm criticizes popular urbanizations from a relativist and poststructuralist perspective. The paradigm sees beyond the

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<sup>15</sup> The rather dubious merit of such arguments have been amply addressed by scholars elsewhere (Ahiakpor, 2008; Calderón Cockburn, 2001; Gilbert, 2002; Weeda, 2012)

theme of “housing” and conceives popular urbanizations as a complex social construction (Connolly, 2013).

Emilio Duhau (2016) has attempted to resume the most significant features that could fall under this last paradigm. They concern an epistemological renovation, an interpretative adaptation, and an effective resignation. First, those approaches open the way to the epistemological transition that competes with this paradigm. They are witnessing a shift that comprises how to do urban research: from a deductive method that moves from axioms and postulates to obtain demonstrations and explain the phenomena to an inductive posture that proceeds from studying sensory experiences to explain a phenomenon. In other words, it means setting aside general discourses on the city based on theoretical deduction towards recognition for the need to characterize and interpret daily practices, whose complex reproduction could explain overall urbanization trends (Connolly, 2013; Duhau, 2016).

Second, inside this interpretative mode of inquiring about urban phenomena, reproduction, and adaptation, urban phenomena are considered multidimensional processes resulting in the intervention and practices of a multiplicity of actors, including public bureaucracies, several public agencies, private sectors. The multiplicity of organizations that deal with popular urbanizations should start from the constituted reality building appropriated proposal of urban development (Duhau, 2016).

Third, the necessary simplification in public agencies activities should not mean that formal processes are simplified so that one style of urban socio-economic development practice could be adapted to another, as it has occurred in the Neo-liberal and individualist paradigm proposals that promote the “informal” transition into “formal” by weakening the rule of law and governance. Instead, urban development practices cannot but diverge and their modernization should require the improvement of pondered and calibrated government technologies (Takano & Tokeshi, 2007).

Moreover, those approaches reoriented urban studies, moving beyond the ruler-ruled relational dichotomy. It moves from the public agencies’ analysis and its functions to civil society’s different forms of hegemonic domination analysis and how the multiplicity of movements, actors, and activities in the urban realm affect each other (Coulomb & Duhau, 1988; Duhau, 2016).

Finally, after reviewing previous dominant paradigms in LA urban studies, it appears clear how the theoretical dispute had to do mostly with the different ideas of how urban reality can be transformed —rather than on the possible and contrasting methodologies to study it (Connolly, 2013). Instead, approaches features, which compose the democratic-autonomous paradigm, attempt exactly to do the latter. They move from national socialist, anarchist, and neoliberal visions to face progress and development to the democracy of daily life. In contrast to the marginalization paradigm and the Neo-liberal and individualist paradigm, the democratic-autonomous paradigm rejects socialist and neoliberal utopia and beliefs about comprehensive and progressive social change projects —both from public agencies or individuals— to pursue more practical preoccupations to recover social and cultural values put into play in constructing popular urbanization order (Del

Río, 2015; Duhau, 2016). In contrast to the libertarians' and anarchists' paradigm, they are more aware of the limits of "intermediate technologies" (Burgess, 1978) and more careful not to lose sight of the role of conflict and contradiction in the creation of such order. They move from a naïf vision of self-help, as voluntarily and autonomous, to a critical vision that addresses organized collective labor practices under the big umbrella of the Social production of habitat –*la Producción social del habitat* (Del Río, 2015).

Other critical discourses do not necessarily arise from collective labor practices in popular urbanization as a starting point for implementing development policies in a broader sense (Calderón Cockburn & Vega Centeno, 2016). For instance, a critique of a government-supported self-help case involved Peruvian popular urbanizations since the seventies; scholars like Ward (2012a) and Burgess (1977, 1985) harshly criticized Peruvian housing self-help projects in urban areas rooted in the concept of "sweat equity". They argued that government-supported self-help led to the poor's co-optation, channeling their demand-making into more public agencies control. These discourses have begun to be accepted in the Peruvian academy and public institutions, accompanied by a critique of the neoliberal policies that have invested Peruvian society in recent years. Relevant works such as Miyashiro (2009) about physical and habitational vulnerability and Calderon (2013b, 2016) concerning illegal economic practices affect technical and professional opinions, pushing proposals on resettlement projects and social housing programs where necessary. The results of those rough ideas provide new collective knowledge on such phenomena and, maybe one day will culminate in changing the term of reference once again.

This rough summary is undoubtedly basic and incomplete, and one could reasonably object to the gross separation between paradigms or even question the use of the term "paradigm" to describe a multiplicity of different dimensions and some of the implied generalizations. Undoubtedly, the field is more intricate than what has been shown above. Nevertheless, one should concede that it catches fundamental notions of important strands of the LA urban thinking, enabling a fair critique, namely, that the collective labor practices have been mostly thought of as a bounded unit and a stable object in an equally bounded and stable space.

## 1.5 Querying processes and practices

I leave to analyze collective labor practices closest to the critical but lifelike position of the democratic-autonomous paradigm with the attempt to disclose the current urban order represented in Peruvian unconsolidated popular urbanizations. I started moving closer to practice-based thinking where "order" can be understood as a collection of interlinked and interdependent "*regimes of ordinary actions*" (Nicolini, 2014) in relationship with different practices that regulate the conduct of

others towards urban development objectives. Then, I crisscrossed Governmentality in order to decipher this constellation. It has been instrumental in making sense of how popular urbanizations development is governed and how collective labor practices are related to such development.

In this perspective, how should the collective labor practices be conceived in the last wave of popular urbanizations in Lima? Are they *an expression of culture and tradition* or an *attempt to a hushed co-optation*, as suggest by the two faces of the marginalization paradigm? Are they an *expression of spontaneity and participation* as the libertarian and anarchist paradigm have evoked, or rather an example of *resistance against the market rules and its formal system* as has been recalled by the neo-liberal and individualist paradigms?

I believed that the undisputed recognition of such practices in Peruvian urban areas seems to be more than just a perpetuation of an ancient tradition, a co-optation by public agencies, or a participative practice of resistance against a “formal” system. By rolling back, urban paradigms transposition on real-life supposedly would have had to allow autonomy and creativity to flourish in popular urbanization. Instead, the current hypothesis is that they have delivered semi-privatized slippery urban-technocratic order that does more crushing than the replacing one.

Within this hypothesis, the study of situated practices, distributed and enacted through a multiplicity of activities as a regular and recurring phenomenon, becomes the analysis of urban order in urbanization processes and practices (Amin & Graham, 1997; Duhau & Giglia, 2008; Giddens, 1979; Indovina, 2016). An account of order compatible with practice-based thinking can probably be encompassed by French philosopher Michel Foucault’s account of the effect of power and governing (Watson, 2017). Foucault’s conception of power as “*a mode of action which does not act directly and immediately upon others, [but] instead acts upon their actions*” (1982 p. 220) becomes relevant in my attempt to define the relationship binding *Faena Comunal* with the current urban order in popular urbanization. The thesis worked precisely with one of his analytical concepts called *Governmentality* developed in Foucault’s later years in his lectures at the Collège de France and further elaborated from a neo-Foucauldian perspective. Besides, the work also explores concepts of resistance, co-optation, and tradition to verify their theoretical affinity to the current analyzed practices.

Finally, the debate on current urban order does not intend to be just rhetoric exercised; yet, to criticize specific arrangements and identify and evaluate events by considering alternatives. After all, the urban order debate is:

*“a debate driven by a commitment to human freedom and political equality: to the idea that people should have a hand, and that they should have a roughly equal hand, in helping shape the terms that govern their existence.”*

(Hayward & Lukes, 2008, p.9)

Considering the hypothesis mentioned above, general questions for this study have emerged as follows:

- 1. How do current governing technologies affect the urban order in the third wave of popular urbanization in Lima? Which are the principles leading them?**
- 2. How should the collective labor practices be conceived in such order? How they unfolded and reproduced in it? How are they governed and managed?**

Three instrumental steps have been posited to find the means and the methods by which those objectives can be achieved.

The first step looks into the governance of popular urbanizations to identify the constellation of organized governing practices that maintain and shape urban order in the area. The second step maps technologies of power and the rationality behind the practices of governing. Indeed, the effect of power never results only from one recognizable moment practice; instead, it stems from its accomplishment alongside other practices (Watson, 2017).

Finally, the last step cuts through deep the *Faena Comunal* and its components, figuring out how they are configured. It includes the set of activities, artifacts, tools, and environmental conditions interwoven with this kind of collective labor practice.

These four steps are synthesized as follows:

1. Identifying actors and their roles in popular urbanizations development.
2. Mapping how the rationalities and techniques of governing shape urban order in the last wave of popular urbanization.
3. Unravelling how *Faena Comunal* is configured in the third wave of Peruvian popular urbanizations, identifying its components and meaning.

As will be better explained in Chapter VI conceptual and formal tools adopted to address these questions concerned a single methodology and various methods. Firstly, the research is based on a single case study (Yin, 2003) that involves two methodological movements that compose a qualitative multi-method approach: ‘zoom-in’—looking for a specific practice— and ‘zoom-out’ —looking for processes and related governmental technologies outside the practice (Nicolini, 2009, 2012; Nicolini & Monteiro, 2016). The ‘zoom-in’ movement includes a non-participatory observation method followed by semi-structured one on one interviews with practitioners. Conversely, the ‘zoom-out’ movement includes semi-structured interview methods with non-practitioners and external key informants combined with exploratory focus groups assisted by a local non-governmental organization (NGO) to analyze popular urbanizations’ physical and social

environmental conditions. Both movements include document analysis as well as a secondary source.

## **1.6 Closing remarks**

This thesis examines the current urban order within the low-income and marginalized urban areas, starting with the collective labor practices' role and significance in Lima. Utilizing the umbrella term “popular urbanization” I suggested shifting the analytical perspective towards a dynamic understanding of the social production of such order at the margins. Indeed the thesis intends to engage the contemporary debate opened by the democratic-autonomous paradigm in the definition of the local urban order in such areas.

As a point of departure this work consider urbanization as a multidimensional and differentiated processes resulting in the intervention and practices of a multiplicity of actors (Duhau, 2016; Takano & Tokeshi, 2007) and adopt an inductive posture, that proceeds from studying sensory experiences in explaining urban phenomena (Connolly, 2013; Duhau, 2016) with the aim to moving beyond dichotomous representations of urban reality (Coulomb & Duhau, 1988; Duhau, 2016).

By briefly reviewing the various paradigms that have emerged up to now in LA urban studies, we have discovered how collective labor practices have been subjected to different interpretations as they focus on specific aspects of the phenomenon or are analyzed under different ideological perspectives. However, collective labor practices remain a notorious manifestation of unmet needs and self-organization in popular urbanizations, at least in their early stage.

The principles of repetition, temporality, and mandatory labor, associated with use-value and an asymmetrical form of reciprocity, appear to be at the center of the traditional collective labor practices in Peru. However, the practice transposition in urban areas and the use of new lenses used to interpret such practices could show some other principles based on emerging or traditional order. Practices and processes have become units of analysis referring to the level of aggregation of the data collected during the data analysis stage to figure it out.

Therefore, this work queries selected processes and practices by analyzing the fuzzy power-effect that influences local practitioners' conduct. In order to do so, it mobilized contemporary debate on practice-based thinking combined with Governmentality supported by a qualitative multi-method approach.

# Chapter II

## The state of popular urbanizations

### 2.1 Introduction

Practices should always be reported on the historical and social conditions that rendered certain rationality of “real” governing (Lemke, 2002). Therefore, the first operational decision is to narrow down the social context of action in which the governmentalization of the collective labor practices is studied. The chapter reports how different Spatiotemporal phenomena are historically drawn together at a particular conjuncture and often stabilized in specific urban order identified below with the neoliberal order notion.

LA region offers a unique perspective on popular urbanizations neoliberal order due to its particular urban history. As Santos y Ascon Borrás (1973) have reported, the LA urban phenomenon has been driven by a unique convergence of worldwide factors since the early time. These are actually linked to earlier Western migration and global trade development, due to the excellent access to raw materials that had value to the European industry. The result was a XIX century economic development concentrated in a small number of cities, where a more recent population concentration stems from rural-urban migration caused a demographic explosion earlier than in other urban areas around the world. Obviously, through the nineteenth century, urban character has changed consistently. A tipping point should be found in 1963 when the LA region urban population exceeded the rural population for the first time in history. Today, with about 80 % of the regional population living in urban areas, the LA region is the world’s most urbanized region—challenging the North America<sup>16</sup> podium. However, its populational composition has mostly changed.

As Carrión Mena (2016) has pointed out, a lower urbanization rate started to show in the 60s. In his opinion, urban-rural migration was no longer how urbanization occurred; instead, a new urban-urban migration phenomenon emerged. Especially in the LA region, this urban-urban migration is related to an increasing number of problematic and extensive urban agglomeration areas with

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<sup>16</sup> Looking at: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/270860/urbanization-by-continent/> for further information

more than ten million inhabitants, technically called mega-cities<sup>17</sup> (Aguilar et al., 2003; Gilbert, 1996; Ioris, 2015; Stratmann, 2011). This phenomenon reflects different patterns of urbanization and different orders of urban practices. First, new polycentric densification through verticalization and peripheral suburbanization unfold one another in what Pedro Abramo (2012) has called the “Com-Fused” city. Second, the traditional tendency to cellular and linear urban growth is acquired, instead of the character of fragmented structures —dividing functions and spaces at the microscale (Bäbr & Borsdorf, 2005). Last, we are witnessing an increasing variety of lifestyles and conflictual urban practices that are based and coexist under a constellation of situated normativity (Duhau & Giglia, 2008). Even if the urbanization rate decreases, the demand for housing and related services systematically exceeded the capacity of public agencies and formal market to supply it. Governments have not been able to develop mechanisms to provide or financing for affordable housing or basic serviced at the rhythm and rate required, leaving the LA region with numerous housing problems and slums burgeoning (Gilbert & Ward, 2009b; Magalhães et al., 2016).

Section 2.2 initially suggests a diachronic introduction of the Peruvian urban order in popular urbanizations, outlining the most critical factors that generated popular urbanizations growth in the Peruvian case until current times. Furthermore, following post-colonial/de-colonial critiques (Schmid et al., 2018), each subsection tries to emphasize terminologies restyle that emerged seasonally to identify popular urbanizations according to changes in dominant national economic-political ideologies.

Section 2.3 deals with the last wave of popular urbanizations’ organizational setting —interpreting the neoliberal urban order created among the public agencies, private firms, grassroots movements, and third sector organizations.

Finally, Section 2.4 presents the case of La Nueva Rinconada, the case study area in Lima, where the research took place.

## 2.2 A glimpse back

Peru has been one of the most studied countries globally regarding popular urbanization issues to the point that some of the ideological paradigms traditionally used to explain, sustain or contrast such phenomena were born there (Gyger, 2019). The peculiarity of the Peruvian case was that the urban demographic swarm, which gave way to popular urbanizations, collapsed the traditional national order based on a conservative and elitist society. This demographic swarm has been so extended that it changed coastal cities character, converting the coastal region to the axis of national economic and political life. Nothing similar has happened in any other

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<sup>17</sup> As Jennifer Robinson (2006) has reported, in last decade’s most of the developmentalist debate about urban studies was based on labelling and categorize cities fostering the division between wealthy global cities and poor megacities.

region within LA (Matos Mar, 2016). The capital city of Lima perfectly sums up this upheaval.

Lima's rapid growth is a mid-twentieth century phenomenon (see Figure 1). At

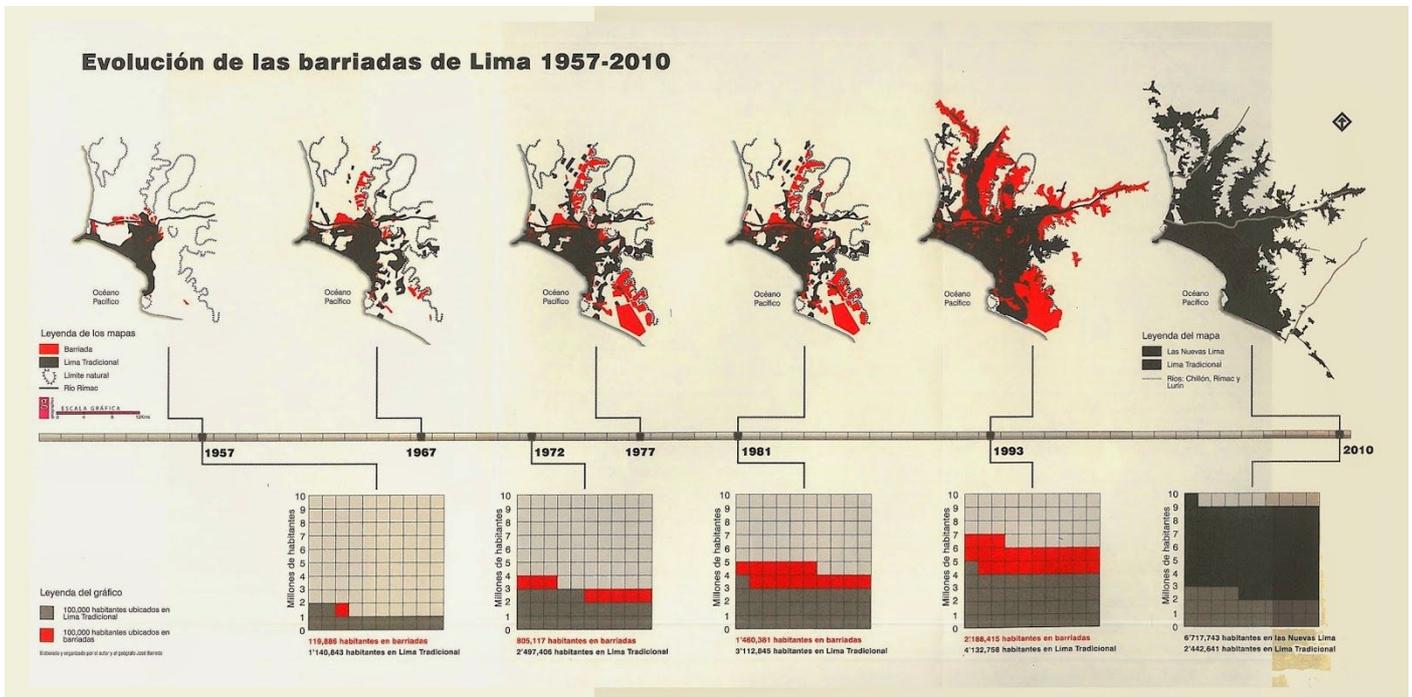


Figure 1: Lima and its popular urbanizations 1957-2010. (Source: Matos Mar, 2016)

the beginning of the previous century, the population of the Peruvian provinces of Lima numbered 150.000. This figure had doubled by 1930, tripled by 1940, and has increased tenfold from 1900 to 1960. In 1980 the population reached 4.800.000 to double again between 1980 and the current date (Maguiña Salinas, 2009; Sánchez Aguilar, 2015). Astonishing, nearly 60% of more than 9 million people just consider the capital and metropolitan area are currently living in popular urbanizations (Golda-Pongratz, 2018; Herrera, 2002).

Taking cues from local literature (Calderón Cockburn, 2003, 2016; Castro & Riofrío, 2013; Driant, 1991; Gyger, 2019; Lloyd, 1980; Matos Mar, 2016), it is possible to identify at least three great waves of popular urbanization expansion. The metaphorical use of the notion of a wave suggests that there are peaks and troughs in the popular urbanization process due to various factors coming into play. New factors may cause new "waves" even when the previous ones have not stopped yet. Since this chapter aims to show the waves of popular urbanization growth, I use a series of factors to delimit the wave periods. Undeniably the limits proposed for each of the waves do not constitute rigid thresholds. However, they are necessary for a synthetic description of the phenomenon.

I consider the degrees of Peru's internal migration that affect Lima's metropolitan city demography as a first factor. Matos Mar (1985, 2016, 1958)

reported the popular urbanization growth as a massive Andean migration product—which he has called *el Otro Peru*—coupled with the lack of formal land availability, recognition, and rights.

The second is related to the political-economic and legislative response that Peruvian elites have taken to govern the phenomenon. Castro and Riofrío (2013) have distinguished four periods, in which we will see the official policies regarding the formation and improvement of popular urbanization: social housing policy; physical and legal rehabilitation policies; sites-and-services approach; massive land titling policies. Such periods covered above more than half a century encompassed significant political and social change within Peru, triggering strong metropolitan resonance. Starting with the military regime of Manuel Odría (1948-1956), succeeded by attempts to consolidate liberal democracy under Manuel Prado (1956-1962) and Fernando Belaúnde Terry (1963-1968)—interrupted by a brief interlude of military rule (1962-1963). The period also includes the leftist military regime (1968-1980), and then a fragile return to democracy in the 1980s under Belaúnde (1980-1985) and Alan García (1985-1990). Then, it finally followed the emergence of orthodox neoliberalism under Alberto Fujimori (1990-2000), partially restyling by Alejandro Toledo's (2001-2006), García's (2006-2011), and Ollanta Humala's (2011-2016) presidencies.

The third factor is linked to the urban forms generated that partially derive from localization trends. For instance, Driant (1991) identified the inner-city spontaneous growing phases of the 1940, the peripheral and planned *barriadas* of the 1970 until the multiplication of conflictive invasions on hillsides in the late 1980.

The last factor concerns the discourses built upon the phenomenon and the symbolic meaning that from time to time was attributed to popular urbanizations and their dwellers with positive and critical considerations that came in and out (Calderón Cockburn & Vega Centeno, 2016). For instance, Calderon (2016) identified three waves related to the specific grassroots movements or population involved in the invasion. He identified a first urban “wave” between the 1940s and the 1960s, calling it “pioneer”. It succeeded by “the sons of the city” between the 1960s and 1980s, and the “neoliberal” which go as far as current events. I shall refer to this last subdivision in the thesis.

### *2.2.1 The first wave*

Uneven development, confined to the coast, sparked social mobilization in the interior highlands *-la Sierra-*, rural-urban migration, and peasant/landowner confrontation. For the first time, Lima experienced an unprecedented rate of urban growth. The population was almost tripling between 1940 and 1960 from an estimated 450.000 to around one million and a half. The formation of the “pioneer” wave of popular urbanization has been the direct consequence of the occurring severe crisis of national governance, the strategical tolerance of local and national

politics, the inadequacy of modernist planning processes, and the inability of the State and private sector to build sufficient housing units to accommodate both migrants and the local population (Gyger, 2019; Lloyd, 1980; Matos Mar, 2016).

Many of the smaller popular urbanizations which existed since 1920 have evolved by slow accretion. Inhabitants were workers that squat leftover spaces near the workplace, such as agricultural lands or construction sites. However, the phenomenon as a product of circumstance was small, scattered, and ephemeral. Nonetheless, the new astonishing phenomenon was land invasions occurring both on hills around the city center and in plains on the periphery. It concerned massive and organized land occupations involving hundreds of people before living several years into the established city (Matos Mar, 2016).

Matos Mar (1985, 1958) argues that the poor who could not deal with formal institutions or were discouraged from doing so due to a combination of corruption, abuse, and discriminatory practices began to form their own organizations. According to Matos Mar, in the popular urbanization processes of development such organization detected leading roles, he said in fact:

*“A *barriada* is always set up in this organized manner. At the same time a residents' association is formed on the initiative of the promoters of the invasion [...] and, once established, elects its own officers. The residents' associations are established to defend the rights of the inhabitants and to act on their behalf in their efforts to achieve their basic goal of obtaining ownership of the plots on which they reside. This is the main objective of these associations and the principle basis of all their actions.” (Matos Mar, 1958, p. 11)*

Even William Mangin (1963) have touched upon the topic. As he has explained, during the 1950s and 1960s, land movements in Peru were strong. Those peoples organized themselves and complained about their status of abandonment and being forgotten by public institutions. Usually, invaders descended upon the selected land during the night, marking regular plots and laying out space for streets and squares and erecting their temporary shelters with burlap and straw mats. Often, there were connivances between political parties and land movements. Organizers were politically astute, seeking support from influential political leaders, choosing the invasion date according to Holidays and observances in Peru to reduce the likelihood of violent government reaction and resisting in the occupied place by showing their attachment to the current regime. With the original invasion secured, specific tasks were distributed among dedicated neighborhood organization committees to arrange basic infrastructure services —frequently assembling them on their own. Afterward, new plots used to be added at the margin of the original invasion and popular urbanizations grew up exponentially due to the given land availability (de Waardt & Ypeij, 2017; Lloyd, 1980).

The Peruvian term *'barriadas'* adopted in the 1940s firstly instilled mistrust about this kind of urbanization process, fostering policies of control and eradication (Connolly, 2013; Ludeña, 2006). According to Collier (1975), these prejudices were reflected in some of the labels which have been applied to the settlements, such as the Belt of Misery - *Cinturon de Miseria*, Clandestine Housing Development - *Urbanización Clandestina*, and Social Aberration - *Aberración Social* on the knowledge line of the first publication of its kind, called *Barrios Marginales. Aberración Social* (Berckholtz Salinas, 1963). However, while most invaders tended to occupy large parcels of government-owned land, active police intervention and evictions of the squatters were limited to private land occupation and the ruthless and massive eradication has not been typical anyway.

In the 1950s, the legalization of popular urbanizations took place. During the regime of General Manuel Odría (1948–1956), clientelism practices to court the loyalty of popular urbanizations inhabitants became recurrent and Odría himself and his wife significantly acted as patrons to numerous groups seeking land and charity in anticipation of earning their electoral support. This marked paternalism created a steady tide of personal dependency between the president's family and the popular urbanization inhabitants. Actually, the largest of these government tolerated invasions in Lima's West side, the 27 de Octubre (currently Urbanización Perú), strategically commemorated through its name Odría's military cup date and received full legal recognition in 1951. It became one of the first recognized popular urbanizations in the contemporary district of San Martín de Porres (Gyger, 2019; Lloyd, 1980), and it represents the peak of the first wave of invasions in this historical reconstruction.

In the mid-1950s, the dictator's power and consent fell sharply. In this period, new movements and political organizations both from the right and the left were born, lined up in an international debate where the Cold War was raging, questioning at the time system. In this context, the most significant land invasion of the time took place, taking advantage of the climate of national uncertainty and political consensus-seeking. City of Gods – *Ciudad de Dios'* birth exalted the housing problem in Lima and definitively consolidated the form of the invasion as the practice of popular urbanizations foundation. On December 24th, 1954, five-thousand people affiliated with the *Asociación Mutualista de Obreros Generales La Providencia* invaded the Pampa de San Juan located outside the urban area and in the southern periphery of the Rimac Valley. The news of the invasion took on national importance for several weeks and drew thousands more to join the land occupation. If the land invasion was so rapid and unexpected, the State response was just as much. Having declined to evict the invaders, Odría offered to give them the occupied land for a symbolic price. Moreover, after adopting this position and even mentioning a State office's installation in the field, in 1955, he promised formal recognition demanding conformity with the new downgraded planning law in change. The reformed Ciudad de Dios was located opposite to the original occupation site and was partially “urbanized” by the State itself to the extent of

being provided with paved roads, water, and sewerage while proper dwellings were designed to be extended via aided self-help on the owner's schedule (Gyger, 2019; Matos Mar, 2016).

In 1956 Odría was succeeded by Manuel Prado Ugarteche at his second mandate (1956-1962) which redefined a new stage of liberalism in Peru.

At the time of the Prado government, there was great interest in popular urbanization policies and, more generally, housing policy. Prado responded to intensifying concern over popular urbanizations by establishing the *Comisión para la Reforma Agraria y la Vivienda* (CRAV), appointing Pedro Beltrán Espantoso as its head. In the context of this debate, Pedro Beltrán played an important role in setting the agenda for future housing policies in Peru (Collier, 1978; Gyger, 2019).

Beltrán was an economist educated in London who served as Prime Minister and Minister of Finance from 1959 to 1961. He was one of the most influential government members, leading men of Peruvian oligarchy and spokesman for urban liberalism in Lima. Moreover, he was the owner of *La Prensa*, the newspaper that, by siding with the invaders, contributed to bringing the case of Ciudad de Dios to the national forefront, pushing the previous government to envisage concrete actions to solve the housing problem.

CRAV's objective emphasized the link between countryside underdevelopment conditions and urban migration related to small and medium property ownership. It promotes rural landholding and dignities single-family homes in urban areas. However, the commission's work was ambiguous. On the one hand, rural development proposed programs were moderate and limited and did not consider the most effective agrarian reforms. Indeed, the redistribution of existing productive land was insignificant, reflecting conservative interests among the Peruvian agrarian elite, such as Beltrán himself. On the other hand, CRAV advocated private real estate developers' support in urbanization processes and private financing in housing. In Beltrán's program, there was the elimination of rent control; the release of taxes to encourage the construction of low-cost housing; the modification of real estate transaction taxes to make small property transactions fairer; the facilitation of mortgage eligibility and the introduction of mortgage insurance; the promotion of mutual savings and credit associations; and special incentives for private investment that would help lower land prices.

Beltrán declared that the social housing programs were unnecessary, stating that popular urbanizations were a prime example of individual effort's potential at once provided basic shelters, economic development, and moral improvement in low-income sectors. Beltrán himself invoked a self-sufficient spirit to solve the housing problem.

In the Beltrán program, a certain urban development model would better encourage self-help and collaboration among neighbors. As Collier (1975) and Peek (2015) have reported, one of the most influential Beltrán's self-help proposals was the inexpensive housing unit called *la casa barata que crece* —the cheap house that grows, implemented in the Ciudad de Dios urbanization. It was the precursor

of the sites-and-services schemes that architect Jhon Turner had advocated for after working with the new National Housing Institute in 1960 under Beltrán's presidency.

Beltrán's ideas supported a vision of development linked with the initial research centers on self-help financed in Colombia, Chile, and Peru under the auspice of OAS and IADB. Since 1956, the UN sent housing policy advisors to Peru to encourage the government to invest in self-help, achieving a broader consensus only in 1959 precisely with the support of Pedro Beltrán (Harris & Giles, 2003).

Beltrán also emphasized the value of self-help in existing popular urbanization and insisted that property titles should be granted just once collective labor practices had taken place. In this way, popular urbanizations would be incorporated into the conventional legal system of private property. He also proposed a program of collective labor practices, consisting of coordinating groups of fifteen to twenty families to immediately build their houses—with the State's technical assistance to guide their efforts. The matter, seen from this perspective, was primarily technical, not socioeconomic, and urban distortions could be remedied with the input of professional expertise (Collier, 1978; Gyger, 2019). Indeed, in 1957, the Prado government created a national technical assistance office to provide *barriada* residents with the necessary guidance to regularize and rehabilitate popular urbanizations, which contributed in the early years of the 1960s to more than 30.000 self-help dwelling units and more than 104 popular urbanizations recognitions, the most considerable number seen ever since (Harris, 2003b). The number and size of *barriadas* continued to increase significantly in Lima, where the Pampa de Comas and Villa María del Triunfo invasions in 1958 are noteworthy. Until then, it was evident that the technical assistance offices would not, in themselves, be sufficient to control insurgent settlements.

Collier (1978) showed that Beltrán was pursuing a well-defined set of broader goals through his proposals. First, the new private sector's housing development role served his and his entourage commercial interests directly due to his real estate and building sector businesses. Second, he supposedly believed that houses which can be improved through time and the increasing respect for private property would tie low-income sectors to the system, making them less susceptible to radical movements and less dependent on government support. Last, the growing popular urbanizations sector could be used as a political support source and Beltrán and his group were interested in such support.

When Turner arrived in Peru in 1957, he found fruitful debate through which he could easily sharpen his argument before those radical criticisms of urban planning emerging in Western academic discourses<sup>18</sup>. According to Bromley (2003), in Peru, three different schools of thought led by Fernando Belaunde, Pedro Beltrán, and Carlos Delgado's ideas animated housing policy, city planning, and

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<sup>18</sup> The Death and Life of Great American Cities written by Jane Jacobs and published in 1961 provided a profound critique of the 1950s modernist urban planning policy referring at the modernist planning dogma era touched the highest point in US discourses and a growing interest all around the world.

political ideology debates. Turner had been focalizing on a representational change the whole time since he released '*Lima Barriada today*' in Architectural Design (Turner, 1963). Although during the earlier years of development popular urbanization seemed disorganized, he was firmly convinced about the government and public agencies' inadequate responses to address the problems of the poorest groups by traditional programs. For him, those policies' products were unsatisfactory quantitatively and qualitatively compared to the potential of community-based and action-oriented models for a social change (Turner, 1967).

### 2.2.2 *The second wave*

In the time between 1961 and 1981, the migratory movements reached their maximum relative intensity. The urban population increased nationwide by 17.8% at the expense of the rural population, while just Metropolitan Lima grew 250% in those same years (Sánchez Aguilar, 2015). Social development became a higher priority in Peru —seen as a cost-effective way to defuse political discontent emerged with echoes of the the Cuban Revolution. The term *barriada* was officially replaced within this second wave when, as Abrams states: “*the way [in which people] have organized their settlements have evoked admiration rather than stigmatization*” (Abrams, 1966, p. 36).

According to Matos Mar (2016), the government elites solution to reduce popular urbanizations' social pressure was the co-optation of the settlements into a legitimate government system according to two strategies. The first strategy revolved around an alternative solution to sort the urban space, overcoming modernist imperatives of the 1949 Lima Pilot Plan- *Plan Piloto de Lima (PPL)*. The urban planning regulations reforms, followed by the City of God invasion, included the codification of a new category of urban settlement of the popular type - *Urbanizaciones Populares de Interés Social (UPIS)*. It fostered the construction of lower quality public services in popular urbanizations providing at once technical assistance to build private housing units. Then, after CRAV final report followed by a prolonged debate, many of these practices were embodied in the Law of the Marginal Neighborhood n.13517 -*Ley Orgánica de Barrios Marginales*-promulgated in 1961, the first of its kind in all the LA region. Further invasions were allegedly prohibited, but existing popular urbanization could be titled on the condition that their primary urban services were improved and that individual dwellings were rehabilitated to acceptable standards defined by law. While conventional urban planning techniques failed, Law 13517 reflected the confidence that urban techniques could once again offer rational and practical solutions for urban growth (Gyger, 2019). This important law is placed here as a marker of the end of the first wave of invasions and the beginning of a new period.

The second strategy concerned the "districtisation" of popular urbanizations. Comas and Villa Maria del Triunfo became districts almost at the end of the Prado

government, replicating the experience of the 27 de Octubre, while Independencia, El Agustino, San Juan de Miraflores (SJM) were proclaimed districts under Belaunde Presidency in order to facilitate their self-sustainment through tax collection and discharge to the desire for recognition of the population.

After a brief interlude from Perez Godoy's military government (1962-1963), Fernando Belaúnde Terry (first mandate 1963 to 1968) was elected President. Belaúnde was an important architect, graduate from Texas (US), and professor at the National Engineering University of Peru. As a modernist supporter, he seemed more interested in town-planning and rural development. On the one hand, Belaúnde proposed the demolition of substandard neighborhoods, synchronized with a resettlement program involving the construction of urban emergency units. The land invasions were seen as a disgrace, and to solve the crisis, the state should have necessarily provided large-scale, state-backed housing projects<sup>19</sup> coordinated by proper planning tools materialized with a new development plan: The Metropolitan Development Plan for Lima-Callao (PLANDEMET). The plan substantially reaffirmed the principles of Law 13517 concerning the upgrading of existing popular urbanization, the construction of new social housing by state agencies, and the identification of future urban land expansions along major roadways.

On the other hand, Belaúnde sought his support in the rural area, sharing the CRAV analysis about the link between countryside underdevelopment conditions and urban migration. His approach emphasized the idea of community action, the role of municipalities in community development, and collective labor practices in rural areas. Indeed, under the leadership of his government, a crucial infrastructuralization program called Popular Cooperation - *Cooperación Popular*, intended to limit the rural-urban migration to the coast (Belaúnde Terry, 1960). However, as with Lima's Plan Piloto, Belaúnde urban aspiration would remain partially unfinished because such schemes became inaccessible to the lower classes while his rural program had not implemented projects of agrarian land reform (Gyger, 2019).

Under Belaúnde, the increase in national public debt, the intense pressure on crucial economic sectors by foreign countries, and the disproportionate power still in the hands of the old land oligarchy brought the civilian government to fall under the coup of the general Juan Velasco Alvarado in October 1968. Velasco's military regime (1968-1975) was unique among the modern LA region for its reformist intents and left wings populist character. The government limited U.S. economic influence in Peru, nationalized transportation, communications, and electric power infrastructure, and converted millions of acres of privately owned farms into worker-managed cooperatives implementing the agrarian land reform.

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<sup>19</sup> Belaúnde redirected government resources back into the conventional mass-housing schemes, two of which were the Conjunto Habitacional Palomino (1967) and the Conjunto Residencial San Felipe (1969).

The first essential step in the development of popular urbanization policy after the coup was the announcement, in early November, of an Army program to level the streets of the popular urbanizations as well as the creation, in early December, of a new government institution dedicated to the development of the popular urbanization which brought together all the agencies that had hitherto dealt with the *barriadas*.

With the creation of the National Organization for the Development of Young Towns, later known as ONDEPJOV, the laudatory terms of 'Young Towns' officially emerged, replacing the previous epithets (Collier, 1975; Driant, 1991; Lloyd, 1980). The requirement of stigma has been loosened in this definition to permit the inclusion of new government-sponsored settlements. Indeed, according to Driant:

"La aparición de un nuevo término oficial, "pueblo joven", reflejaba la voluntad de otorgar a las barriadas una nueva imagen teñida de optimismo: una vez superado el período de "juventud" fuertemente influenciado por el mundo rural (el uso de la palabra "pueblo" en lugar de "barrio" no es pues neutro), éstas debían alcanzar la madurez e integrarse a la ciudad en las mismas condiciones de los otros barrios. Se pasaba entonces de la noción de zona urbana marginal, empleada en la terminología anterior, a la de ciudad en proceso." (1991, p. 86)

*"The appearance of a new official term, "pueblo joven" (young nation), reflected the desire to give the slums a new image tinged with optimism: once the period of "juventud" (youth) strongly influenced by the rural world (the use of the word "pueblo" instead of "barrio" is therefore not neutral), they had to reach maturity and integrate into the city under the same conditions as the other neighborhoods. The notion of the urban slum, used in the previous terminology, was then changed to that of the city in process" (own translation)*

Since the 1960s, several studies have been linked to third-sector organizations and leftist parties regarding the inhabitants' social mobilization capacity. In such a

historical occasion, ambitious urban self-management programs were created based on a sense of solidarity and mutual aid attributed to popular urbanizations' inhabitants. The most important aspect of this encouragement was ONDEPJOV's vigorous effort to create and strengthen community organizations by training local leaders and encouraging collective infrastructure services development rather than housing projects. The ONDEPJOV was constituted by both members of the state's armed forces and civilian figures with working experience in popular urbanizations —such as the Office of Young Town led by Monsignor Luis Bambarén, Bishop of Chimbote or Community Action Perú, an entity founded by New York-based organizations.

On the one hand, grassroots participation in popular urbanizations was structured around a series of hierarchically arranged units from the block level: each block of thirty or so households would elect its own three-person neighborhood committee. In turn, these elected a central board of directors at the zone scale. Finally, the board's secretary-general joined the regional office's coordination committee, which provided ONDEPJOV officials and professional staff support. On the other hand, the ONDEPJOV was in charge of executing electrification, water, road infrastructure, and schools construction. The operational circuit was as follows: the ONDEPJOV received the specifications of the organized residents and made contacts with the private sector in charge of carrying out the works on behalf of the public companies responsible for the service's operation. However, through this process, ONDEPJOV incorporated into its membership structure the earlier resident-run, effectively cooptating any other independent organizations (Portocarrero et al., 2002).

Although the State did not entirely prevent new popular urbanizations formation, it did reject any uncontrolled invasion, reinforcing repressive practices and encouraging relocation. Doing so, the Velasco government also planned new urbanizations in desert lands, the so-called *barriadas-ciudad* (Golda-Pongratz, 2018, p. 265) or *barriadas ordenadas* (Teschner, 1998) such as Villa el Salvador (1971) or Huaycan (1984) involved in this resignification process. Especially the former is posited in this reconstruction as the culmination of the second wave of popular urbanization. Conceptually, it was a model of a utopian and almost self-sufficient city that could facilitate the democratic character of the new urban society. It was planned with industrial zones, unitary lots for the self-construction of houses, and ample accessible areas for communal and collective equipment.

When the City of God was already consolidated, the march towards the peripheral desert lands was resumed by the great invasions of Pamplona Alta under the Velasco presidency. The first invaders arrived in the 1960s, when a group of families and informal vendors from Lima's Central Market were moved by order of the city's mayor Luis Bedoya Reyes, to the area known as Pamplona Baja. It was a land subdivision carried out by the mayor of Lima after a fire consumed shacks in a central area of Lima on May 28, 1963. All those affected were transferred to the foothills of the Pamplona Alta hill from where the subsequent invasions

consolidated the upper part. The emergence of new sectors and the increase in population pressured the pig farms owners established since the 1950s to gradually abandon Pamplona and move to the upper parts of the hills on the east and south sides.

Initially, two hundred families invaded a site at Pamplona Alta, seizing state-owned land on the eve of the Annual Meeting of the Board of Governors of the Inter-American Development Bank, held in Lima on April 30<sup>th</sup>, 1971. The timing of this invasion, surely, was not accidental. After a month, tens of thousands of people gathered to take part in it. In the Pamplona Alta invasion, the children of the invaders from previous decades played a fundamental role coupled with new Andean migrants from the 1970 Ancash earthquake. However, the settlers aimed not to secure the place but to use their occupation to pressure the regime into offering them a relocation site. In the compromise reached after violent protests, and eviction attempts, the invaders agreed to move to a location chosen by the government. The government quickly identified a relocation site further south at Tablada de Lurín- 25 kilometers from the center of Lima —on desert terrain that had previously been identified by PLANDEMET as a suitable zone for urban expansion. In a few months, seven thousand families from the Pamplona Alta invasion had arrived at the relocation site, renamed Villa El Salvador, the first case of *barriadas ordenadas* or *barriadas-ciudad* (minimum site and service schemes) (Golda-Pongratz, 2018; Teschner, 1998).

The invasion of Pamplona represented a serious challenge to government policy aimed at preventing people from obtaining land by merely occupying it, and the government sought to highlight that invasions were not a legitimate means of acquiring land. Although, Velasco's government did ban invasions after the occupation —reducing their number in the first two and a half years of government. He also created the National System of Support for Social Mobilization- *Sistema Nacional de Apoyo a la Movilización Social* (SINAMOS). SINAMOS has been the first step of popular organization recognitions in Peru, whose mission was to promote citizen participation mechanisms to establish a framework for dialogue between the government and the people. Simultaneously, it was also converted into a repressive tool to carry out surveillance of non-sanctioned political organizations, particularly within popular urbanizations (Kruijt & Degregori, 2007; Portocarrero et al., 2002)

The first signs of the economic crisis, appearing at the end of 1973, ended up shaking the regime and plunging SINAMOS into unpopularity, precipitating the fall of Velasco and the seizure of power by General Morales Bermudez (1975–1980), who oversaw an unfolding of revolutionary rhetoric and a shift to the right.

Although a new president was already in charge, the popular urbanization inhabitants continued to mobilize and protest in demand of basic public services articulating their interests with the workers' movement requirements. In 1978 *barriadas* movements in the city of Lima constituted the *Comités de Coordinación y Lucha barrial*, which later became, at national level, the National Confederation

of Young Town and Popular Urbanizations of Peru - *Confederación Nacional de Pueblos Jóvenes y urbanizaciones populares del Perú*.

Following the Velasco approach in a first stance, Morales created the National Office for the Participation of Young Towns - *Oficina Nacional de Participación de los Pueblos Jóvenes* (ONPPJOV), promoting public services provision into popular urbanizations. However, most popular urbanization developed fairly radical demands, which went far beyond issues of physical development and included proposals for a community bank, worker control over the industrial park, health and education, and public authorities. Therefore, the government began to consider the neighborhood organizations as enemies of the military regime. For that reason, authorities abandoned them first and then hampered them by cutting funds. In this context, SINAMOS was deactivated, the State transferred the problems of popular urbanizations to the municipalities and intensified moments of harsh widespread repression (Driant, 1991; Gilbert & Ward, 2009a; Matos Mar, 2016).

### 2.2.3 *The third wave*

Towards the 1980s, Lima's social dynamics showed the effects of three central phenomena that impacted popular urbanizations in the years that came: the internal conflict, a new rural exodus, and the adoption of the neo-liberal model of development.

From the early 1980s to the late 1990s, a bitter internal conflict impacted the indigenous highlands and unsettled popular urbanizations social order. The presence of terrorism left as a consequential fear and mistrust among settlers and more significant skepticism and rejection of political activity. Traditional political parties lost prestige in neighborhood organizations and shrank to near non-existence to the point that parties affiliated leaders were threatened and murdered by terrorists (Kruijt & Degregori, 2007). Indeed, *Sendero Luminoso*<sup>20</sup>'s last step to subverting Lima passed through the control of popular urbanizations and grassroots organizations support. For them, this growing population of poor concentrated in Lima's periphery was fertile terrain to build pillars for their Maoist revolution (Burt, 2016).

The internal conflict also intensified the process of mass migration from the rural areas towards Lima. Actually, between 1981 and 1993 the absolute increase in immigration to the capital was 507,180 people, and the relative share was 26.9%. Moreover, between 1993 and 2007, immigration to Metropolitan Lima increased by 364,800 people, 15.3%. This last migratory event substantially changed the regional scenarios and the conditions of the population's daily life. A new type of migrant appeared at the time: the one displaced *-el desplazado-*. Unlike traditional

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<sup>20</sup> The Shining Path - Sendero Luminoso was a revolutionary communist party and political organization in Peru following Maoism thought and founded in 1969 by Abimael Guzmán. It regarded as a terrorist organization by Peru for its violent and brutal activities during 1980 and 1990. Although the organization's numbers had lessened by 2000 militant factions of the Shining Path continued to be active in drug dealing and other illegal activities.

migration, this displacement has a regressive character; it is encouraged by fear and insecurity, reducing expectations to the search for a safe refuge that allows the exercise of a peaceful life (Maguiña Salinas, 2009).

Finally, the history of the third wave of popular urbanizations has a great deal to do with adopting a neoliberal-inspired political-economic regime and its consequences. The term Human Settlements *-Asentamientos Humanos* emerged with the will to “normalize” land occupation phenomena in 1980. Apparently, the 1967 PLANDEMET Esquema Director 1967-1980 <sup>21</sup> already contained such technocratic nomenclature, which has been strategically recovered after the fall of the military regime. Afterward, the term was popularized by the Habitat I conferenced in 1976 and it appears in Peru with the first Law on Municipalities, n. 051-04 in 1981 (Gyger, 2019). To date, the *Asentamientos Humanos* nomenclature belongs to the broad category of marginalized suburban neighborhoods *-Barrios Urbanos Marginales* (BUM) that has acquired a recent specific recognition in Peruvian legislation given the absence of explicit references to legal or illegal land possession and type of tenure. Instead, to qualify the term, the reference concerns to monetary and non-monetary poverty indicators and the degree of public services supply. Indeed, according to the government classification, the BUM is a:

“núcleo urbano caracterizado, por presentar altos niveles de pobreza monetaria y no monetaria y carecer, total o parcialmente, de servicios de infraestructura y de servicios de equipamiento” (*Dirección Nacional de Urbanismo-DNU, 2013, p. 6*).

*“Urban area characterized by high monetary and non-monetary poverty rates and the lack of, total or partial, infrastructure and facilities” (own translation)*

In 1980, Peru suffered a deep debt crisis and an associated recession with a more significant impact on cities. Indeed, following the Washington Consensus<sup>22</sup> "standard" reform package, most countries adopted neoliberal-inspired reforms necessary to "protect" their economies. In Peru, those policies had been initiated by Belaúnde's (1980-1985) liberal reformisms, implemented in their orthodox version under Fujimori (1990-2000) and partially restyling mainly by Alejandro Toledo (2001-2006), García (2006-2011), and Ollanta Humala (2011-2016) presidency.

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<sup>21</sup> I based this passage on a private conversation I had with Professor Pablo Vega Centeno. For a first insight to this urban development plan read the work of Wiley Ludeña (2006)

<sup>22</sup> A British economist named John Williamson coined the term Washington Consensus in 1989. The term refers to a set of recommended structural reforms based on free-market economic policies and supported by prominent international financial institutions.

The rationale behind those governments was limiting the State's responsibilities and interventions in all social and economic sectors as well as fostering decentralization, privatization, deregulation policies to reach a blissful macroeconomic stability (Moreno-Brid et al., 2004; E. Silva, 2009; Torres, 2005; Williamson, 1990).

After twelve years of military governments, Belaúnde reemerged as president in the 1980 elections and brought Peru back to democracy. With high consensus, Belaúnde was poised to revive its developmentalist agenda that had been interrupted by his removal in 1968. The foreign debt payment suffocated the central government and could not execute an adequate social policy. The only two outstanding “housing” programs implemented were *Cooperación Popular*, created to deploy infrastructure in rural areas, subsequently replicated in urban areas, and *Banco de Materiales - Banmat* Law No. 23220 of September 28, 1980, which lends money to obtain construction materials at low rates to encourage self-help. With the creation of such programs, here comes the end of the second wave of popular urbanization and the beginning of the third one.

Government reforms devolved responsibilities to local municipalities, entailed both a decentralization of the national government’s power and a democratization of decision making on issues affecting local communities’ everyday lives. With the Decree-Law (DL) n.51 enacted on March 16, 1981, the ministry transferred popular urbanization competencies to the *Dirección Ejecutiva de Asentamientos Humanos Marginales* with the end to support the low-income population at the local level. Article 21 locates its essence:

*“Los asentamientos humanos marginales con características de pueblos jóvenes reconocidos o no, existentes a la fecha de promulgación de la presente ley, estarán bajo la jurisdicción y control de las municipalidades provinciales, las que se encargarán de prestarles el apoyo técnico necesario en lo concerniente al saneamiento de su estructura físico-legal, identificando y priorizando los proyectos que*

*“Marginal human settlements characterized as young towns (pueblos jóvenes) whether recognized or not, already existing at the current law’s enactment date, would be under provincial municipalities’ jurisdiction and control --which would be in charge of offering the needed technical support regarding their spatial and legal structural sanitation by identifying and prioritizing projects that would contribute*

*contribuyan a elevar su nivel de vida.”*

*to their life quality betterment.”  
(own translation)*

On June 8, 1984, district municipalities acquired urban development tasks such as urban planning and popular urbanization management. Only water, drainage, and electricity services remained under national companies competencies. Law n. 23853, the Organic Law of Municipalities – *Ley Organica de Municipalidades* submitted pressures and problems of local governments. Subparagraph 5 of Article 70 defines the municipal functions, stipulated that these must:

*“Prestar asistencia a los pobladores de los asentamientos humanos establecidos conforme a ley dentro de su jurisdicción, para el saneamiento de su estructura físico-legal hasta el otorgamiento del título de propiedad por el Concejo Provincial respectivo; y planificar otros nuevos, señalando en ambos casos las tasas y condiciones a cumplir por los beneficiarios.”*

*“Offer assistance to the inhabitants of humans settlements established by law within its jurisdiction for their spatial and legal structural sanitation up to property title granting by the corresponding Provincial Council (Concejo Provincial) -- as well as plan for new to come taking into account, in both cases, the fees and conditions to comply with by the beneficiaries.” (own translation)*

In this way, all existing or future neighborhoods could theoretically be legalized with municipal district authorization. The law aroused strong opposition in parliament and followed months of protests and demonstrations. Actually, it directly contrasted with the national Law n.13517, allowing a new amnesty and the extended delivery of property titles to popular urbanizations established until the 1980s. Furthermore, Law n.23853 implementation was appalling. Only in the first eighteen months, the Metropolitan Lima delivered 55.915 individual property titles, 2.7 times more than they had ever been granted since 1961; nevertheless, without registering them correctly and without implementing significant development projects (Driant, 1991; Gyger, 2019; Matos Mar, 2016).

Given the economic and political crisis of the government of Belaúnde, Alan Garcia (1985-1990) was elected president. The government promulgated Law n.24513 under the influence of the Institute for Liberty and Democracy, of which Hernando de Soto was a leading member. Law n.24513 was another attempt to cope with the fact that about half the population had no property title or legal status. Law n.24513 supersedes all of the earlier legislation in some ways. The mentioned law makes popular urbanizations formed during the five years 1980-85 as well as those followed the passage of Law n.23853, eligible for recognition, but avoiding once more topics related to the provision and installation of public services.

The creation of a unique Real Estate Registry of Informal Settlements and Popular Urbanizations with a mortgage program designed explicitly for its inhabitants and an additional amnesty on the latest invasions were the next steps made following de Soto's advice in Garcia concluding period of electoral mandate.

Firstly, with the support of the political parties convinced of the need for institutional reform, Peru passed laws to establish a parallel parcel-based urban land registry that formalized and simplified property rights introducing a system that recognized community-based extra-legal norms and practices utilized simplified procedures and parcel-based records. Secondly, the Popular Mortgage - *Hipoteca Popular*, the first of its kind, was created to give credit to popular urbanization inhabitants on private and state-owned lands. This mortgage was created by DL n.495, published on November 15, 1988. In this new figure, the mortgaged object was no longer a real estate property owned by a person but was land possession and building ownership made on it. However, the municipalities in charge of carrying out the land reclamation had neither the capacity nor the time to implement them. Theoretically, if the land was not cleaned up, the plans for the layout and development of the new urban space were not generated, and, as a result, no title deeds could be issued—even if they were consigned to the Real Estate Registry of Informal Settlements and Popular Urbanizations. Lastly, in 1989 the government enacted Law n.25105. It established that the application and enforcement of Law n.24513 be extended to August 30, 1989. It was validating a further widening of unprovable maximum terms.

Alan Garcia's pure populist style government soon turned disastrous. Price control and subsidy policies distorted the market and harmed public finances. Moreover, his decisions to nationalize the banking industry and suspend the country's foreign-debt payments helped plunge Peru into economic hyperinflation. The recession increased unemployment and poverty and caused a progressive abandonment of state economic and social functions. In the 1980s, Peruvian society assisted in the "informalization" of the traditional classes, expressed through the de-proletarianization of the popular sectors and impoverishment of the middle classes.

Emblematic as it is, the last wave of popular urbanization sprawled out where it would never have been thought possible to develop in previous decades. More settlers began to occupy less suitable and marginalized areas, residual and

peripheral spaces such as riversides and steep slopes with high gradient, valleys subject to flooding, and private wasteland areas or areas reserved for public and collective projects creating new popular urbanizations (Miyashiro, 2009; Ramírez Corzo & Riofrío, 2006; Velarde Herz, 2017). The new uncontrolled march towards the peripheral ravine lands followed a schema known as ant's occupation - *ocupación hormiga* that is: first, few families came, then others little by little. In this regard, Manchay popular urbanization stands as an emblematic case. Housekeepers of the highest rental districts of La Molina and Cieneguilla to the east of Lima and other Lurin Valley farmers settled the area since 1960. They were living isolated from one another until 1980 when many unorganized, displaced, and unrooted peasants began to densify the area. Most of them were victims of political violence originally from Ayacucho, and Huanta —areas found a tolerable place to live in the hot sandy landscape of Manchay. The poverty rate was high, yet these residents were forced to spend more on basic infrastructure services such as transport or water than Lima's residents in far more central areas. In 1983, a group of local leaders created the *Centro Poblado de Manchay*, to demand recognition by the State. They were not alone. Between 1980 and 1985, the municipality of Lima recognized 203 new popular urbanizations. By 1981, 1.329.000 people were living in popular urbanizations, making up 29% of the total population of Lima at the time—a proportion which has continued to expand, reaching 2.421.000 people in 1989 the 35% respectively (Calderón Cockburn, 2016; Matos Mar, 2016)

During this emergency period, Municipalities and third sector organizations<sup>23</sup> had to take direct charge of popular urbanizations' internal needs. The former instituted emergency programs, addressing the needs of their residents, including preventative health, sanitation, and nutrition. The latter proposed alternatives to the traditional clientelism practices promoting economic initiatives and the awareness of the popular classes. Programs like Glass of Milk -*Vaso de Leche*, and the establishment of community-run dining halls - *Comedores Populares* organized by local women to feed infants and prepare meals saving households time and money, proliferated with the support of both.

The primary response to economic and social problems came in the form of a mobilization in favor of liberalizing reforms. <sup>24</sup>The politic economic crisis of the 1980s wounded the mercantilist state to death and opened the doors to the neo-liberal state. Generally speaking, this new model dismantled state business activity through privatization and reduced public agencies' skilled interventionism. According to Calderón Cockburn and Vega Centeno (2016), this was the time of a

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<sup>23</sup> Third sector organisations describes here the range of organisations that are neither public sector nor private sector. It includes voluntary and community organisations registered charities, social enterprises focused on development and poverty reduction For this text it eludes other organisations such as self-help groups, community groups and co-operatives called here grassroots organizations, corresponding with the peruvian *organizaciones sociales de base*.

<sup>24</sup> These were put forward and coordinated by Mario Vargas Llosa, the famous novelist who later became an ideologue and enthusiast of neoliberalism.

new wave of popular urbanizations, institutionally perceived and understood through a liberal and individualistic perspective. What is peculiar in Peru is that this transit does not change the existing relationship between public agencies and popular urbanizations.

Alberto Kenya Fujimori Inomoto (1990-2000) was the unexpected winner of the 1990 presidential election on the independent ticket, Cambio 90, which marked an abrupt change in Peruvian economic and political direction. His office served as the prototypical case of neo-populism in the LA region. Fujimori ruled in a top-down, individualistic manner, appealing directly to Peru's poor and using an “anti-system” or “anti-political” rhetoric that weakened the political class. At the same time, he pursued neoliberal policies at the appeal of globalizing private economic interests (Barr, 2003).

Fujimori inherited an insurgency situation close to civil war, an external debt crisis that had run unresolved throughout the 1980s, and an economic collapse with runaway inflation since 1988. To face the national financial situation, Fujimori quickly adopted radical neoliberal initiatives, first among which the package of the SAPs under multilateral organizations' councils. Fujimori was able to materialize in its rapid results in the area of inflation control, fiscal reordering, growth of the Gross Domestic Product, as well as its inconsistent effects on employment, income, and social welfare (Palmer, 2000). The SAP has had four clearly defined moments. The first (1990-1991) was the “Fujishock” with relative price super-adjustment. In the second moment (1991-1992), Fujimori pursued draconian state reforms and privatization as orthodox as the Chilean model —strengthened by a new centralization of powers in the executive hands. In the third moment or period (1993-1996), there was the much-needed “growth” as high as unexpected and the approval of a new constitution that consecrated the neoliberal model of development. The fourth moment (1996-2000) began with an orthodox readjustment, but it ended with the renegotiation of the foreign debt, and the PAE started to block and show its inability to move towards authentic growth or development (Leonard, 2000; Palmer, 2000).

What happened in 1992 and 1993 was emblematic and made evident the situation in the country, when the already precarious democracy became semi-dictatorial after the presidential self-coup – *autogolpe*, followed by the adoption of a new constitution which stimulated private ownership of public assets and facilitated access to foreign investors, consolidating at once the executive power.

In terms of urban government, the Fujimori regime adopted two strategies. On the one hand, it recentralized regulatory functions, including spatial planning with the privilege exclusion of the Lima metropolitan area, the recognition of popular urbanizations, land titling, and thereby denying local governments the ability to manage the regularization process. On the other hand, the role of the government was increasingly reduced to one of general management and business promotion. It pursued the expansion of the real estate market with the benevolence of private construction and management companies. The notion of the household as a right

was erased from the 1993 Constitution, and the subsequent laws on compulsory purchase and modifications of the Civil Code pose difficulties to the adoption of regulatory measures on the private property market. In the face of this, urban services and infrastructure were privatized as well (public transport, electricity, education, and health). Fujimori also dismantled the Ministry of Housing, the mutual system inherited from the previous administration that operated under the management of the Housing Bank - *Banco de la Vivienda* and the Central Mortgage Bank, and also removed other assistance mechanisms for low-income neighborhoods and popular urbanizations. Only the Building Materials Bank - *Banco de Materiales* (BANMAT) survived to provide loans for building materials for self-help activities in popular urbanization. To conclude, the new housing policies treated houses as market assets (Calderón Cockburn, 2012, 2013a).

Becoming evident that the Shining Path established a significant presence in Lima—particularly in the immense popular urbanizations that encircle the city—Fujimori adopted strong measures against insurgency and carried out a general bloody repression of movements against the regime. However, to offset the burden of his policies on Peru's poorest segments of the populations who had brought him to power, Fujimori's administration made an explicit political agenda of direct democracy - *democracia directa*, where the government responded directly to the people without parties or intermediaries such as labor unions<sup>25</sup>. The institutionalization of such changes can be read within a new regulatory mark dedicated to the process of citizen participation. Two laws had summarized these changes in Peru. First, the Law 25307 published in 1991 declared of priority national interest the work carried out by Mothers' Clubs, Glass of Milk Committees, Self-managed Popular Dining Rooms, Family Kitchens, and other grassroots social organizations with the goal to activated social compensation programs and counteract revolutionary movements expansion. The National Superintendent of Public Records SUNARP resolution 373-2003-SN -and subsequent additions defined modalities and procedures to formal recognition. Second, Law n. 26300, enacted in 1994, determined the rights of participation and citizen control with mechanisms of involvement in the State's public affairs (Valdiviezo Del Carpio, 2013).

Under Fujimori's new agenda, between 1991 and 1993, the government created a plethora of new developmentalist agencies. They included first the Fund for Social

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<sup>25</sup> According to Roberts and Portes (2006), labor unions, as well as the chambers of commerce and industry, the industrial associations, the exporters' associations, the professional colleges of the middle class and all-powerful trade-union confederations that played a significant role in urban social movements in the past period dramatically losing membership in the 1980s and stagnated during the 1990s. On the one hand, they lose their political power because local manufacturers were devastated due to their inability to compete with cheaper imported products. On the other hand, the participation of the informal sector in urban employment increased sharply. Formal workers in medium to large enterprises become a smaller proportion of the urban population, while self-employed workers and informal entrepreneurs become a substantial proportion of the urban workforce.

Compensation and Development (FONCODES), based on the Bolivian experience of a social investment fund, whose purpose was to finance infrastructure projects, social support and stimulating technological development and productivity. Second, the National Food Assistance Project (PRONAA) was created to provide food support in rural and marginal urban areas. Both represented the most important social programs of that decade, followed by the Resettlement Support Program (PAR) and the National Project for Water and Soil Conservation Management (PRONAMACHCS). The targeting and active participation of the beneficiary population in the implementation of the programs did not work well, generating a set of perverse effects, both on its sustainability and its aggregate impact. Complementarily, the Fujimori regime supported Third sector organizations' intervention, which focused primarily on an array of self-help activities that channeled modest resources to low-income sectors. Then, in a further effort to preserve his grassroots image and maintaining a political advantage of low-income groups' activities, Fujimori's administration openly encouraged neighborhood organizations and committees' involvement in coordinating efforts aimed at ensuring daily survival. The social compensation programs' design aimed at providing immediate but limited material rewards coupled with the support of third sectors organizations and neighborhood organizations were the channels of political support and clientelism between the regime and popular sectors. These strategic moves kept the Fujimori's man of people image until today (Burt, 2016; Estrada Mora & Perea Flores, 2008; Palmer, 2000; Rousseau, 2006; Tanaka & Trivelli, 2002).

Popular urbanizations did not cease under the Fujimori's regime. The land request had been significant, thus new massive and illegal land markets began to grow with it (Calderón Cockburn, 1999, 2013b, 2016). A perverse market with adopted strategies included illegal autonomous providers or associations, temporary employee squatters, and developers, who act for their personal gain (Golda-Pongratz, 2018). The response of the government was simply to let the invasions go where they wanted to go.

At that time, Fujimori's pro-growth agenda set aside the aided self-help policies and substantially replace them with a new formalize and regulatory strategy at the national level, emerged in support of tenure security (Dupont et al., 2015; Matos Mar, 2016). Since the late 80s, there was a growing pressure from the state to transform these user rights into ownership rights and promoting individual property over the collective property at once. As said before, the Organic Law of Municipalities of 1984 passed responsibility for regularisation from the central government to provincial municipalities. Between 1981 and 1995, the municipalities administered the procedures, authorizations, and land regularization policies. It was in this context that Hernando de Soto's ideas locally become relevant.

As Gilbert (2002) has reported on the issue of titles, credit, and housing, de Soto not only was also highly influential in Peru during the 1980s but also acquired significant influence in Washington's society thanks to his first book *The Other*

Path (1989)- *El Otro Sendero*. So, it is no surprise that he became an influential advisor in Alberto Fujimori's authoritarian government. Once again, the Peruvian parliament enacted de Soto suggestions to assure that extra-legal property was titled and recorded in 1995. Through his Institute for Liberty and Democracy-ILD, de Soto contributed to the implementation start-up programs of the Commission for the Official Registration of Informal Property - *Comisión de Formalización de la Propiedad Informal* (COFOPRI) through the Law 803, March 1996. to Promote Access to Formal Property - *Ley de promoción del acceso a la propiedad formal*. In Lima metropolitan areas, Land titling was already used regularly but moderately until 1996. While starting from the approval of Law 803, property deed delivery increases enormously, until reaching over 100.000 titles per year between 1997 and 2000. The surge of property deeds granted by COFOPRI at that time represents in this study the peak of the third wave of popular urbanizations.

De Soto's key message was that Lima's popular urbanization dwellers were victims of the inappropriate and excessive bureaucracy—which made their lives unnecessarily difficult. In this vision, he rejects the cold-hearted corporate disdain for the 'unproductive' poor, supporting instead that they were the lifeblood of the economic development of Lima too often hampered by the state. Therefore, the government must refrain from harassing squatters, denying them legal status, or attempting to monopolize control of low-income housing construction. As a consequence, he rightly praised the initiative and hard work of the poor in setting up semi-informal and informal businesses and popular urbanizations fostering the ideas of local entrepreneurs and ownership heroes (de Soto, 1989).

Like other fellows, de Soto likes self-help for its material effects, claiming that it succeeds in providing universal shelter and rising property values. Furthermore, he proposed a kind of 'final solution' to change the poor's economic perspective. Firstly, he suggested that reducing the regulatory system could speed up work processes, and make work as easy as possible. Secondly, he proposed to legalize the possession of the land and later their residential property, ensuring the security of land tenure throughout *de facto* protection against eviction. He believed that popular urbanizations' "frozen capital" - such as land and buildings - could release their hidden potential through a formal possession (de Soto, 2001).

The act of legalizing land tenancy in de Soto's account was supposed to have various impacts on the urban economy, allowing the population to access bank loans and formal credit systems, improving productivity and investment, adding the value of the land, and increasing fiscal income from taxes. Just later, through other influential works, those mainstream beliefs crashed—revealing the myth about popular capitalism (Bromley, 2004; Calderón Cockburn, 1998, 2001; Gilbert, 2002; Rush, 2013). Many officials and other Key informants acknowledge the system itself encourages and permits informal and unregulated growth and that some of the policies designed to regularize land have created more irregularities. So, actually, consequences can be summarized as an increase in uncontrolled land invasions. The 1993 census registered 1.147 popular urbanizations in Lima for a total of 2.188.442 inhabitants, 34% of the city's total population estimated at 6.434.323. In 1998, 1.980

popular urbanizations were hosting 2.623.000 people, 37% of the metropolitan population. To sum up, 883 new popular urbanizations were built in just five years sheltering 434.585 new inhabitants (Calderón Cockburn, 2016).

Although Fujimori won the May 2000 elections, amid further allegations of vote-rigging, the prized third term was the beginning of his downfall. Indeed, after the Montesinos scandal broke on that same year, the opposition gained control of Congress for the first time in eight years and ousted Fujimori on account of his "moral incapacity" —as permitted by Peru's new constitution.

An opposition-dominated congress installed an interim government of highly respected technocrats under its president: Valentin Paniagua, including Javier Perez de Cuellar as prime minister, the secretary-general of the United Nations at that time. The interim government's main task was to oversee the transition period and organize new and clean elections under international auspices. The first round of these elections on April 8<sup>th</sup> 2001 resulted in a victory by Alejandro Toledo and his movement *Peru Posible* with APRA and its presidential candidate, Alan Garcia, coming in a strong second. Both contenders were able to mobilize anti-Fujimori sentiments and promised to reinvigorate democratic political institutions and reverse the effects of a decade of centralist and anti-institutional rule under Fujimori even if their programs have remained somewhat vague and sometimes overly optimistic (Schönwälder, 2002).

Alejandro Celestino Toledo Manrique (2001-2006) went on to win the decisive runoff vote on June 3<sup>rd</sup> 2001 and became president. Toledo's mandate reintroduced planning at the national level creating the National Centre for Strategic Planning (CEPLAN) —after a decade in which planning was seen as an enemy of the free market. Moreover, the environmental planning scheme was formally incorporated into the planning system in 2003, accompanied by a rapid process of decentralization. In fact, until 2002, Peru was highly centralized. For this goal, the Constitution adopted under Fujimori was reformed, and new legislation was approved. The Constitution had been enacted with Article n195 and amended by Law n. 27680, on March 7<sup>th</sup> 2002. Through this Act, the State set up twenty-five regions based on existing departments with elected governments and redistributed power, funds, and administrative duties among its three levels: national, regional, and local —increasing their participation in infrastructure, health, and education at once. Subsequently, there were the approvals of the Organic Law of Regional Governments -*Ley Orgánica de Gobiernos Regionales* in 2002 and the Organic Law of Municipalities -*Ley Orgánica de Municipalidades* the year after, which contains the legal framework for urban and territorial planning. The decentralization reform also incorporated the framework for popular participation including participatory budgeting throughout the mandate of a new Participatory Budget Law -*Ley Marco del Presupuesto Participativo* (Fernández Maldonado, 2019; McClintock, 2019; McNulty, 2011).

Furthermore, the government re-established the Ministry of Housing, Construction, and Sanitation and also launched a National Housing Plan (2003-

2007). It established different programs to subsidized housing policy which granted low-interest loans and funds programs to promote affordable housing. One program called *Mivivienda*, targeted the middle class; another, *Techo Propio*, was for mid-lower income families.

Within this general framework, the key to the relationship between the State and the popular sectors was split in two directions: Formalization and basic infrastructure provision. Firstly, the relationship was maintained under the formalization policy understood as the delivery of property titles first to the popular urbanizations and then to their inhabitants thirsting for citizenship. In fact, local districts re-obtained formalization competences in 2004 through the Law 28391 named *Ley de formalización de la propiedad informal de terrenos ocupados por posesiones informales, centros urbanos informales y urbanizaciones populares*. Simultaneously, the law transferred COFOPRI under the new Ministry of Housing, Construction, and Sanitation to continue its technical and logistical support through municipalities agreements rather than closing it and empowering municipalities directly.

Secondly, the state-popular urbanizations relationship was strengthened by a new basic infrastructure policy. Then, at the beginning of 2006, growing social pressure led to the promulgation of the Law n. 28687, named *Ley de desarrollo y complementaria de formalización de la propiedad informal, acceso al suelo y dotación de servicios básicos*. It allowed popular urbanizations without formalization to access basic infrastructure provisions, unlike what had been established since 1996. Article 25 of the law mentioned above authorized service providers in the presence of a special Certificate of Possession - *Constancia de Posesión* issued by the district municipalities (Calderón Cockburn, 2017).

Beyond the favorable macroeconomic indicators shown by the Peruvian economy, it was evident that most of the population was discontent —and disconcerted— with the economic policy of the previous fifteen years. This discontent was reflected in the unpopularity rates that President Alejandro Toledo achieved at the end of his mandate in 2006. Anti-Toledo and anti-neoliberal sentiments were the springboard for the return of Alan García (2006-2011) to presidency.

The long-lasting scarcity of basic infrastructure services was perceived as one of the main electoral topic in presidential campaigns. Once elected, García sensed the political significance of water scarcity in Lima and pledged to bring drinking water to the most distant peripheries of the capital. Therefore, in 2006, the basic service system was simplified for water and sanitation projects in order to accelerate the mobilization of funds. García started the program Water for All - *Agua para Todos* with a portfolio of projects for the capital city as part of a national strategy implemented through a new water supply and sanitation service plan -*Plan Nacional de Saneamiento 2006-2015*. Service extension to peripheries was enhanced thanks to these political, institutional, and financial supports. However, the program was not merely an extension of coverage of drinking water and

sanitation services, but a specific tool in the fight against extreme poverty and indigence. Thus, after discussing the phenomenon of poverty as a problem of exclusion, state intervention was finally proposed as the only possible way to confront it (Criqui, 2013a; Garrido-Lecca, 2010; Ioris, 2012).

The new government also reoriented the housing policy to involve the private sector for home building activities in lower-income population segments. The new National Housing Plan (2006-2015) –*Vivienda para todos* re-adapted the finance system to the different socio-economic levels of the population —except for the ones who had easy access to commercial mortgages. In 2007, a new program, My Home –*Mi Hogar*, was introduced as a tailored program for the lowest socio-economic segments previously excluded (Fernández Maldonado, 2010).

Despite García's former record of leftist economic policies and reformist campaign, his government was exceptionally business-friendly. It continued to maintain ties to Washington expanding free trade agreements and incentive relations with the United States and became a front man on economic development initiatives. Peru's economic growth was strong as well as social conflicts generated by the exploitation of its national resources and repressive policies, such as the tragic events in Bagua<sup>26</sup>.

A political "outsider" Ollanta Moisés Humala Tasso (2011-2016), leader of the Peruvian National Party, with sympathies in Lula's political economy in Brazil, won the new tournament election. Astonishingly, even President Humala's economic strategy consisted on maintaining free-market policies while narrowing the wide economic distribution and the social exclusion gap of the Peruvian population. A concrete example of this consistency can be found in the current housing policies reshaped under Humala's administration.

The Building Materials Bank –*Banco de Materiales* (BANMAT) started for the first time in 1981 to support self-housing improvements through loans and ended in August 2012. It was replaced with a renewal housing policy promoted by the Inter-American Development Bank in the whole region, the so-called Savings, Subsidy, and Loans –*Ahorro, Bono, Crédito* (ABC) programs (Fernández Maldonado, 2015a; López Castro et al., 2019). The fund Mivivienda (FMV) became the main institution in the social housing sector, offering two modalities for the acquisition of a house: The Mivivienda credit, for the middle class and Techo Propio, for less wealthy groups. Two sub-financing programs under the Techo Propio Program<sup>27</sup> –*Programa Techo Propio* (PTP) were initially designed to finance housing for low-income sectors, including those settled in old popular urbanizations. The first was called Construction on Own Site –*Construcción en Sitio Propio* (CSP). The beneficiaries are the families that have an empty plot of land on which a specific type of housing declared of Social Interest (VIS) should be built,

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<sup>26</sup> Violence broke out on 5 June 2009 under Garcia administration, when police moved in to break up a roadblock on a stretch of road known as the Curva del Diablo near Bagua in the Amazonas department, where indigenous people were protesting against a series of laws allowing for the exploitation of natural resources on their ancestral lands.

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and that do not have another house or land registered at the national level. The second is called Home Improvements -*Mejoramiento de Vivienda* (MV). In this modality, a family could execute works of remodeling, rehabilitation, and extension on an existing building with the purpose of implementing some of the VIS characteristics. However, out of a qualitative housing deficit of 1,5 million units at the end of the Humala's mandate, a little less than 70.000 households had been supported, which is 4.64% between the two programs (Calderón Cockburn, 2015). The first reason was that both programs required a home registered in Public Records to fully formalize the procedure and without fiscal charges or liens among the access criteria. Formalization remains a condition that excludes most of the latest popular urbanizations, including those investigated in this work. The second reason had to do with the lack of integrating urban perspective since elements concerning the urban aspects of the housing projects were not mentioned. The list of activities included connection to networks, tracks and paths, integration with existing urban services and the rest of the city, among others. As Fernández Maldonado (2015b) claims, this sectorial perspective not only suggested coordination problems between the central government—in charge of housing policy—and the local government—in charge of urban planning—but even worse since it suggested that the central government, through fund Mivivienda, shared a very restricted city vision, together with the private sector, that characterized the recent development of housing production.

In general terms, the new housing policy ended up favoring the middle-class demand, which obtained 80% of the resources invested between 2006 and 2012. Within the same period, the State only invested 30% of what it had stipulated in the National Housing Plan (2006-2015). It is evident that the formal system that provides land and/or housing lies mainly in private property owners and developers' hands, producing what Fernández defines "*the commodification of urban development*" (2015a, p. 80). Lower-income sectors benefited little from such a system; yet, their demand for housing actually increased (Calderón Cockburn, 2019).

In conclusion, the period covered above (2001-2016), while showing a continuity of political economy in the same vein as the preceding neoliberal season, it encompasses a last democratic transition and an administrative decentralization process. Furthermore, it created an opportunity to redefine the urban government and housing policies in which the State becomes the facilitator of commercial relations; private firms act as dealers, housing is the product of the market, and citizens are seen mostly as consumers on the basis of their spending power.

### **2.3 Into the glare of a new order**

Neoliberalism overcame the set of economic policies associated with the so-called Washington Consensus. Indeed, It is not merely a set of economic policies; it is not only about facilitating free trade, maximizing corporate profits, and

challenging welfarism. Instead, neoliberalism carries a new form of social rationality: the responsibility and autonomy of free subjects in their voluntary associations that can exist in complex interrelations with populism, antigovernmental reaction, and neo-conservatism (Dean, 2014).

I agree with Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore (2005) when they argue that neoliberalism is a powerful descriptor of the current urban order; this could be especially true in the Peruvian case, as shown in the previous section. Brenner and Theodore argue that neoliberalism's dynamics and continuity in time are based on three pillars grounded in the US socioeconomic context—partially adaptable in the Peruvian case as well—nonetheless, the consequences of neoliberalism for the Peruvian cities are highly unique with remarkable socio-spatial and environmental impacts (Ioris, 2012, 2013). There, neoliberalism manifests itself as a new modality of urban governance, a discursive practice of representation, and a spatial organization practice.

According to the first “pillar”, neoliberalism implies a change in the way of thinking about government and seeks to enact over the capacity of political calculation, decentralizing decision making processes, and devolving power to mediators to ensure the wellbeing of individuals, populations, and nations more broadly. Specifically, it provides a new scope for political actors as equal partners in government permitting to facilitate and inspire the self-governing activities of a multiplicity of actors—who should take onto themselves several of the responsibilities previously pertaining to the state apparatus (Osborne & Rose, 1999).

The second “pillar” states that neoliberalism implies specific discursive practices. For instance, welfare state reforms activated in the LA region during the 1950s and 1960s had been sharply criticized for losing attractiveness (Brearley, 2016). According to neoliberal rhetoric, welfarism damages citizens' agency by producing a dependency culture based on attitudes of expectancy; for example, that governmental organizations will do what just social actors can do (Rose & Miller, 2010).

Finally, with the third “pillar” neoliberalism can be interpreted as “*a historically specific, fungible, and unstable process of market-driven socio-spatial transformation.*” (Peck et al., 2009, p. 51). Therefore, spatial organization and transformation appear all at once as the foundation, arena, and medium of neoliberal practices implementation. In other words, all aspects of urban life under a neoliberal economy—such as health, leisure, knowledge transfer, work, political and social participation, access to services, among others—are understood as factors that can be mobilized and spatialized to catch the flow of local and global practices which connect persons, processes, and things as commodities (Brenner et al., 2009; Osborne & Rose, 1999).

It is crucial to understand that neoliberalism is an extraordinarily malleable rationality of governing that so it has been taken up in different ways by different actors; thus, there is no universal neoliberal core or essence. Luna (2017) had shown how the current Peruvian social order was possible through the articulation of

neoliberal ideas and values with authoritarian legacies and populist politics under Fujimori's regime. Authoritarian, populist practices and neoliberal principles were woven together in an attempt to "pacify" the country in late 1990, reforging collective values and organizational behaviors.

Therefore, in the following sections, it will be shown how the various local actors involved in urbanization processes have adapted to this rationality of government in the Peruvian context.

### 2.3.1 *Public agencies*

Despite decentralization reforms, central government authorities still share the private sector's view where municipal governments are a source of incompetence and bureaucratic constraints rather than the body responsible for planning, growth, and development of popular urbanizations at the local level —position supported by the fact that decentralization has neither included the necessary devolution of resources and capabilities, not enough power over land use at the municipal level, with granting titles and issuing permits remaining largely removed from their purview. Deprived of social and economic resources and the necessary political strength, municipal governments have neither practical legitimacies nor the technical capacity to produce and enforce local planning regulation in such areas. These weaknesses have led municipal governments to step aside from planned urban development, whether by force or convenience. Urban development responsibility is gradually left to the real estate market and private agreements among interested parties, favoring the so-called "urban entrepreneurialism" approach<sup>28</sup> at the expense of traditional planning regulation (Calderón Cockburn, 2017; Harvey, 1989).

The social value of urban planning regulations has been historically weak in Peru, and formal planning was directly considered an "impractical" solution for local and regional development challenges<sup>29</sup> under neoliberal rules (Fernández Maldonado, 2015b, 2019). Viewing the 173 country's largest cities in 2016, 135 had outdated urban plans or did not have urban planning tools at all (Calderón Cockburn, 2017). It would be easier remembering how the normative urban planning that started to run since the first half of the twentieth century was characterized firstly by its proposals' rigidity on urban land use and expansion zones in the medium-long term; secondly, by its imposition over local actors due to little margin for discussion and re-negotiation with stakeholders. In Peru, this rigidity and imposition have been directed to the management and transformation of the formal city traditionally occupied by social elites of different ranks; however, it did not work with the progressive development of the newest popular

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<sup>28</sup> Also known as "new public management" approach (Osborne & Rose, 1999)

<sup>29</sup> Emblematic the case of the Lima urban development plan - *Plan de Desarrollo Concertado de Lima* (2012-2025) during the term of the former mayor Susana Villarán (2011-2015) which has become a dead letter.

urbanizations' areas at all (Córdova-Aguilar, 2019). A notorious example of the failure of urban planning also involves the city of Lima in recent years. Despite Susana Villarán's administration efforts to draw up the Lima and Callao Metropolitan Development (PLAM2035) since 2010, the subsequent administration of Mayor Luis Castañeda neither considered it necessary nor created another one that could guide metropolitan public investment. Therefore, the municipality still acted by entrepreneurial "projects" and "partial management plans" according to the temporary needs and stakeholders' pressures.

Otherwise, the urban entrepreneurialism notion offers a more "democratic" and horizontal representativity in the short run. In contrast to classic approaches to developing and maintaining the physical and social fabric of urban areas, the notion of urban entrepreneurialism has emerged during the past thirty years as an astute mobilization and combination of capabilities, ingenuity, and resources by the local authorities to steer the collective aspirations and initiatives of various urban actors - public sector, private sector and civil society - in a direction which, theoretically, maximizes the benefits for all due to its character based on association agreements and consensus-building. It focuses more on the organization and maintenance of the services through their "optimum" use promoting a more holistic decision-making process (McGill, 1998; N. Taylor, 2010).

Furthermore, urban entrepreneurialism goes beyond the classic notion of participatory urban planning. Urban entrepreneurialism creates space for external actors to replace publicly funded provision: The urban 'poor' included. It generally involves joint initiatives with end-users of public amenities and services including their direct involvement in implementing and maintaining basic infrastructure services without necessarily requiring the availability of financial resources to start. Indeed, urban infrastructure services, including housing, can be delivered to low-income sectors differently. According to Joshi and Moore (2002), five well-established modalities to reach widespread minimum basic infrastructure standards exist. First, public agencies can directly provide basic infrastructure. Second, basic infrastructure costs can be covered through public-private partnership (PPPs)<sup>30</sup> models. Third, private institutions such as religious organizations, philanthropic foundations, and firms can directly bear the cost through their corporate social responsibility sectors. Then, the direct market platform is where basic infrastructure supply is acquired on a commercial basis. Finally, service provision could be based on "*self-determined solutions*" (Cavalcanti et al., 2004, p. 18) beyond the reach of outside organizations to provide infrastructure, education, security, among others.

Concerning the low-income urban sectors, the urban entrepreneurialism approach has led to developing programs and projects focused on supporting popular urbanization through in-situ upgrading efforts along a different intervention line by moving away from merely delivering property titles and house loans; thus, marking a new era in housing policy. Such programs acknowledge that active

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<sup>30</sup> PPPs was praised by the Habitat II Agenda during the United Nations Conference on Human Settlements in June 1996 and remain a key practice for development goals (World Bank, 2003).

grassroots participation in the formulation, prioritization, implementation, and maintenance phases of upgrading plays a core role within their sustainable development strategy. By involving the grassroots in the planning and shaping of their living environment, the programs are expected to make the local population aware of their situation while providing them with tools to better their own lives and expressing their potential.

For instance, the so-called “slum upgrading” programs, which were relatively rare in Peru<sup>31</sup> compared to other LA countries, have emerged both at the central and local government levels in the last years. They embrace two critical pillars of development sustainability in small and medium scale projects. First, they involve different stakeholders reproducing PPPs, private firm corporate social responsibility engagement, and grassroots organizations. Second, they address lack of access to adequate basic infrastructure services and sanitation, lack of durable housing, the lack of sufficient collective space, the lack of public safety, and other aspects, simultaneously, with the intention to change impoverished conditions (Nitti & Dahiya, 2004).

Countrywide, the Ministry of Housing, Construction, and Sanitation of Peru launched several programs that do not offer direct financing for home purchase or construction for individuals, but rather urban equipment improvement, contributing to popular urbanizations’ living conditions. The Comprehensive Neighborhood Improvement Program -*Programa de Mejoramiento Integral de Barrios* (PMIB) is a program to be held as an example. The *Decreto Supremo 004-2012-VIVIENDA* has promoted the PMIB on the path of the previous *Programa Integral de Mejoramiento de Barrios y Pueblos* (PIMBP) launched in 2007. The program improves the housing and living conditions of popular urbanizations through street paving, construction of roads, sports facilities and retaining walls, planting vegetation, and façades painting. The budget executed for the program has increased sharply between 2004 and 2015, from 3.472.000 PEN -approx. 1.052.121 USD to 645.802.000 PEN -approx. 195.697.575 USD, growing 185 times since its inception<sup>32</sup>. The Inter-American Development Bank has partially financed the program. Still, adequate resources came from coordinated and concurrent actions from the Ministry of Housing, Construction, and Sanitation, Local Governments, and grassroots organizations.

Locally, the wealthiest districts elaborated on their projects and programs. For example, the Municipality of Metropolitan Lima, during the 2011-2014 administration, developed the My Neighbourhood Programme -*Programa Barrio Mio* intending to improve life quality within popular urbanizations. Neighborhood organizations prioritized infrastructure and they were also trained to coordinate and

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<sup>31</sup> A unique example of an early Government-Community partnership is the experience of Villa el Salvador in Lima (Peru), where the partnership also benefited over time from the World Bank Urban Sites and Services Development project (1976).

<sup>32</sup> Using an average conversion from US Dollar (USD) to Peruvian Sol (PEN): 1 USD = 3.3 PEN at the time of my fieldwork.

manage projects in partnership with the municipality and private enterprises (Calderón Cockburn et al., 2015; Molmarova et al., 2017).

Regardless of the results, those programs have been implemented just in recognized popular urbanizations. Thus, formal programs exclude the most precarious settlements (García Mora & Conthe Calvo, 2008; López Castro et al., 2019). Therefore, what happens to not consolidated popular urbanizations, excluded from the public agencies' formalization programs and those urbanizations still in the process of formalization and consolidation? As shown in the following empirical chapters, the development process is not prevented —not even a valid alternative is provided for displacement, which has always been a sporadic practice in Peruvian history. The populations settled in such areas still need paved streets and roads, leisure facilities, retaining walls, and green spaces, but they must rely on the so-called “*self-determined solutions*” (Cavalcanti et al., 2004, p. 18).

### 2.3.2 *Private sector and utility firms*

A notorious element of the urban entrepreneurialism approach is the direct engagement of private utility firms in shaping urban order (UN-Habitat, 2007). As seen in the previous section, the regularization and upgrading of popular urbanizations have been considered the main development options in Peru. The extension of basic infrastructure services influences the type of urban order determining urban integration and consolidation of such settlements into the city (Criqui, 2013a, 2013b; Rush, 2013).

Besides SAP implementation, governments' main objective since 1990 has been to create an economic and political milieu that enables private enterprises to emerge and develop. On the economic front, this has meant the establishment of a robust fiscal and monetary base, a reduction in the trade deficit, and a sound exchange rate regime for Peru's latest currency: The *Nuevo Sol*. On the institutional and political front, the change in economic policy has meant a fundamental redefinition of the public agencies role within society (Luna, 2017).

In past decades, the legal framework for private investment in Peru has evolved in favor of active private sector participation to improve resource allocation efficiency, to reduce public transaction costs, and to encourage a competitive services market. The landmark events included the DL n.674 in 1991 to promote private investment in public agencies enterprises fostering private investment growth and attracting foreign capital to Peru. Like other laws, this fundamental law takes effect from the time of its adoption and controls all other laws subsequently passed. In 1992, the State authorized DL n. 25575 to provide limitless guarantees on the protection of investments; tax regulation for foreign investors was created with DL n. 25681 within those same years, and the repayment of debt incurred by public agencies, owned enterprises playing an active role in the investment process were suspended with DL n. 25685. According to the constitution of 1993, public agencies assumed a subaltern role to private entrepreneurial activities. Lastly, in

1999, the State approved LD n.757, a new framework law for private investment growth (Torres, 2005).

As a consequence of these new laws passing, all government holdings in the fisheries and financial sectors —more than two-thirds of those in mining, oil, and telecommunications and, to a large extent, electricity generation and distribution— were privatized. Likewise, the construction and management of strategic infrastructure such as roads, ports, railroads, and airports were gained by private investors. For instance, within the electricity sector, twelve public agencies-owned distribution companies were responsible for providing electricity services in Peru. With the Law of Electric Concessions (DL n.25844) approval in 1992, public agencies-owned companies were spun off in that same year into several smaller companies separating power generation from transmission and electricity distribution. Four companies were fully privatized to serve the distribution market in Lima and other regional companies were redesigned to cover broader geographical areas (Criqui, 2013a, 2013b).

About the telecommunication sector, the Peruvian government privatized the Public Telephone Company -*Compañía Peruana de Teléfonos* and the National Telecommunication Corporation -*Empresa Nacional de Telecomunicaciones* in 1994. Both enterprises were purchased by *Telefónica*, a multinational telecommunications company headquartered in Madrid, Spain. *Telefónica* obtained with its purchase some sort of monopoly in the telecommunications sector for nine years (Torero et al., 2003; Torres, 2005).

Concerning the water and sewerage sector, the cholera epidemic erupted in 1991 in Lima, after a century without similar incidents, provided the political justification for the Fujimori administration to open the Peruvian water sector to private investments in 1994 through the General Law n.26338 for Water and Sanitation Services. The idea was to include the *Servicio de Agua Potable y Alcantarillado de Lima* (SEDAPAL) in the list of public utilities to be privatized. The process was postponed several times and eventually cancelled in 1997; therefore, SEDAPAL did not go through a full privatization, mainly due to political and social concerns. Nevertheless, a reform process took place to increase its entrepreneurial performance. It concerned a reduction in labor costs, higher consumer tariffs, wide-scale metering improvement, increased service hours, etc. (Criqui, 2013a, 2013b; Ioris, 2012, 2013, 2015; Tavera, 2001).

In many instances, this has meant that the private sector assumes the risk of execution and management, while the community receives the benefits. However, the private sector can effectively improve cities' quality of life just if certain conditions are present. These include the possibility of charging consumers and making a profit, and the absence of daunting obstacles such as technology gap and large investment scale by the undertaking by the side of private firms; the collection of user fees to remunerate service providers, the subsidization of poor consumers, an effective control of urban government to prevent nepotism and corruption, and contrasting private abuse of dominant position by the side of national and local

governments; discerning and attentive practices that can hold the sector accountable and help standardize maintenance by consumers' side (Otiso, 2003).

Without these conditions or at least some of them, well-functioning provision can be problematic. The private providers alone have a poor record of designing and providing urban services to poor communities because of limited profit-taking opportunities. Like everything else, the business goes where the money is.

Peruvian political pro-poor commitment has led to adopting practices such as financial assistance in subsidies or reduced connection charges to ensure private firms' participation. This is how the communications sector works. For instance, the Telecommunications Investment Fund (FITEL) of the Ministry of Transport and Communications subsidizes jobs in urban and rural areas with 2% or less tele-density — one line per hundred inhabitants. Similarly, the Electrification Program for the urban and rural sectors provides funding from the Ministry of Energy and Mines to ensure the service (Matute Mejía, 2008). Furthermore, since 2008 (DL n.1012) the Peruvian government has started to actively promote alternative investment possibilities such as PPPs and the execution of public works for payment of taxes, the so-called “*obras por impuestos*”. It was conceived as an opportunity for the public and private sectors to reduce the country's infrastructure gap. Through this mechanism, private companies advance their income tax payments to directly finance and execute public investment projects that sub-national governments and national government entities prioritize. Once completed, governmental agencies return the invested amount to the Private Company through specific certificates that can be used for income tax payment (Dirección General de Política de Promoción de la Inversión Privada, 2020).

As a consequence of the afore mentioned issues, utility firms have extended their network and coverage also in unplanned zones, in popular urbanizations and other marginalized areas regardless of their legal status, whether to fulfil their objectives, increase customer base, or to obey political demands —converting them into the arena and medium of neoliberal practices implementation (Brenner et al., 2009; Osborne & Rose, 1999). With their involvement, significant progress in access to utilities has been recorded in such areas from 1990 to 2017. Positive changes were recorded in urban water provision and sanitation, electricity and communication technologies were the integrated urban coverage reached 83.2% (Calderón Cockburn et al., 2015; Dirección General de Seguimiento y Evaluación, 2017)

### 2.3.3 *Grassroots organizations and the third sector*

Another decisive element of the urban entrepreneurialism approach in popular urbanizations is that, in one way or another, the direct engagement of grassroots and third sector organizations involved is pivotal in popular urbanization development processes. Hence, the local population's degree of organization, their ability to achieve common goals, and the social capital available are key issues in explaining the contextual urban order (Castro & Riofrío, 2013).

As already mentioned, the late 1980s were a watershed in grassroots organizations existence. With the decline of political repression and the beginning of political decentralization, Peruvian society created a new institutional opening for grassroots with the idea that increasing popular participation could make local political institutions more accountable and efficient. Farthest, after 1975, grassroots organizations in popular urbanizations shook off the co-optation by the Velasco government, increasing their autonomy from the public agencies and their capacity to form alliances with other actors —particularly political parties, unions, and local and regional movements. Their collective identities and broader experiences to deal with other actors seemed to be sufficient to move from relatively isolated and specific demands to more global and political ones. However, the ideological and strategic motivation behind the popularity of grassroots organizations and participation was to serve very different goals after 1980 due to a variety of factors such as the economic crisis, the critical state of public finance, the demise of the developmental state, the failure of the marginalization paradigm, and the rise of neoliberalism (Schönwälder, 2002).

The phenomenon of informal workers, vividly described by Matos Mar (1985, 1986) and de Soto (1989) had practical consequences for the emergence of new kinds of grassroots organizations. They mainly reflect microentrepreneurs and the informal sector in general —local and regional chambers of artisans and semi-institutionalized networks of micro and small entrepreneurs (Kruijt & Degregori, 2007). As de Soto has claimed, their agential capacity has been praised until the burden of social and economic redemption was transferred into their hands. He stated:

*“Wealth is achieved essentially by one’s own effort. It is earned, little by little, in an active market where goods services and ideas are exchanged, and people are constantly learning and adjusting to others’ needs. Wealth comes from knowing how to use resources, not from owing them.” (1989, p. 243)*

From that point forward, interest in grassroots organizations has been high since grassroots involvement directly implies a “sweat equity” solution to development issues. Sweat equity is a particular type of practice to the value-enhancing improvements of a good generated from the sweat of one's brow. Actually, when people refer to “sweat equity”, they mean their physical labor, mental capacity, and time to boost a specific project or venture's value without payment. This view is in keeping with that of multilateral institutions such as the World Bank, Inter-American Development Bank, and UN-Habitat, praising "bottom-up" development practices to face poverty and marginality (Magalhães et al., 2016; Ruster, 2003; World Bank, 2003)

Tovar (1996) and De Silva (2007) had aimed to provide an overview of Peruvian grassroots organizations that characterize the social capital into popular urbanizations after the 1980s. Tovar (1996) has divided such organizations into three macro categories. The first concerns neighborhood organizations - *organizaciones vicinales*, the most common type of organizations marked by activities related to assemblies and elections as an indicator of democratic attitudes as well as collective labor practices for the benefit of the community. The second relates to the *organizaciones funcionales y femininas* here translated into "functional" organizations because the purpose of such popular organization changes depending on the specific aims and needs faced. Nowadays, it is still possible to bump into organizations on the field associated with health and food safety —such as the *Comedores Populares* and *Comités de Salud* or educational groups like the *Bibliotecas Juveniles* or leisure groups such as *Clubes Deportivos*, among other institutional networks— which evolved under the aegis of progressive municipal management forming an overlapping network of popular support in popular urbanizations. Finally, Tovar presented centralized grassroots organizations -*organizaciones de centralización*. Such organizations imply the coordination and centralization of the other two previous categories' administrative structures in support of the development of social movements related to specific claims. Likewise, De Silva (2007) identified five groups that match prior macro groups. They are the extra-community organizations or federations among which we can detect the Country Clubs -*clubes de provincianos* (Golte & Adams, 1990), the intra-community organizations, women's groups, neighborhood associations, and self-defence committees.

During the 1990s and 2000s, urban grassroots organizations declined in size and importance in the social mobilization of the bases. In their place, a popular mobilization oriented to survival strategies grew —food, health, building— implemented through Tovar's (1996) "functional" organizations category. Looking for adaptation strategies to escape from the over mentioned political, ideological, social, and economic crisis, individuals assumed the struggle for their own development to satisfy emerging needs, rather than rely on political parties, unions, or traditional social organizations as it was in the previous decades (Collier, 1975; Joseph, 2005). Through collective organizations and independent solutions based on their own limited resources, especially the most marginalized have opened a space to nurture the skills necessary to challenge and resist the difficulties associated with structural adjustment (Hays-Mitchell, 2002). According to such perspective, the process of popular urbanization formation emphasized the role of small-scale spontaneous entrepreneurs; as an illustration, professional invasion organizers, small service transport operators, on-site water sellers, and building workers who found business opportunities in the emerging urban order —rather than class-based or grassroots-organized practices previously valued both by the dependency theory and libertarians and anarchists paradigm alike. The newly adopted strategies responded more to daily needs, mainly individual and family consumption and, in practice, challenged the narrow conception of grassroots

organizations as strictly class-based phenomena —consequently, their political revendication (Díaz-Albertini Figueras, 1991). As previously reported, the Peruvian public agencies -not a single party, worker unions, or third sector organization- directly promoted and structured the weakly organized sectors —as seen in national Law 25307 and Law 26300— facilitating the direct relationship of the authority with the populations and creating a clear and unequivocal clientelist relationship. Thus, legal principles and institutionalized practices bounded the grassroots once again (Díaz-Albertini Figueras, 1991; Díaz-Albertini Figueras & Melgar Paz, 2012; Tanaka & Trivelli, 2002).

With the *Ley Orgánica de Municipalidades* n. 27972 in 2003 and the new Participatory Budget Law -*Ley Marco del Presupuesto Participativo* n. 28056 in the same years, grassroots importance had also been recognized at the local level up to including them fully in the local governance structure. According to law, district municipalities should inform and encourage grassroots organizations and communities' participation in public interest matters. The law also invites such organizations to participate in the neighborhood councils -*La Junta de Delegados Vecinales Comunes*. This last institution is a coordinating body composed of representatives of urban and rural groups that promote local development, participation, and collective actions. Furthermore, the abovementioned laws explain the establishment of Neighborhood Participation Management Offices - —*Gerencias de Participación Vecinal*— in each municipal district promoting, facilitating, articulating, and strengthening spaces for the citizens participation. Those offices first conduct and supervise activities to promote grassroots organizations, municipal volunteering, youth participation development. Second, they manage, develop and lead the procedures and actions for the recognition, registration, and data renewal of the organizations in the Single Register of Social Association -*Registro Único de Organizaciones Sociales* (RUAS). Such institutionalization path at present has pushed the local government and other external organizations only to discuss urban development issues with legal representatives of recognized and formalized grassroots social organizations (Dupont et al., 2015; Strauch et al., 2015).

In summary, such organizations were not steered only towards the traditional attitude to communitarianism nowadays. Therefore, they were and still are authentic organizations specifically created to guarantee population participation first in the decision-making process of their economic, social, and political dimensions and second in the mediation with other actors in the urban development process. Moreover, they are essential to define the rights and duties of the inhabitants and to provide a proper collective response to everyday difficulties and challenges (Mangin, 1963, 1967; Matos Mar, 1958; Strauch et al., 2015). However, they depend more on the existence of some statal institutions and third sector organizations to such an extent that they interact in a way in which one cannot survive without the support of the other (Cavalcanti et al., 2004; O'Gorman, 1994; Roberts & Portes, 2006; Tovar, 1996).

Peruvian third sector organizations act as a relevant intermediary institution between international cooperation, the various national actors, and the local grassroots organizations. They also play relevant roles in urban entrepreneurialism development, defining programs and projects locally (Ruster, 2003). In the first scenario, they play the part of development program management unit, while in the second scenario, they are used to working in the project area alongside grassroots organizations providing resources in terms of practical knowledge, material supply, and labor forces necessary to bring a project to fruition and its implementation. For instance, in 2010, the University of Washington's (UW), the *Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos* and design professionals from Engineers without Borders and Architects without Borders-Seattle have worked since establishing the Informal Urban Communities Initiative (IUCI). It was a design activism, service-learning, and research program based in Lomas de Zapallal, an unrecognized popular urbanization located in northern Lima (Spencer et al., 2014). One could also mention the case of the NGO Desco in Villa El Salvador, Lima, and the international NGO TECHO activated in Lince, Lima. On the one hand, Desco provides support to local institutional strengthening, management, neighborhood and housing improvement with a series of gender-based, economic development and environmental programs such as *Ciudad Mujer: Igualdad de género y empoderamiento de las mujeres en Lima Metropolitana* and *Gestión participativa de vivienda mínima para mujeres pobres en Villa María del Triunfo y Villa El Salvador* among its last projects (desco, 2015). On the other hand, TECHO develops programs on housing, infrastructure, and education in popular urbanizations through the collaborative work of families and neighborhood organizations with youth volunteers and private firms (TECHO, n.d.). The result in both cases concerns the development of approaches and methods to provide active support at the local level, especially in participatory medium-term planning.

However, it has not always been like this. The sector role has changed in time, adapting to momentary political and economic constraints at the national and international levels showing an enormous heterogeneity and the multiple faces of the organizations that make it up (Portocarrero et al., 2002).

At least four third-sector organizations' profiles can be detected in the current Peruvian society, here identified as "supporters", "assistances", "defenders" and "providers" —based on Díaz-Albertini and Melgar (2012) work. Although each profile played a leading role within the timeline already encountered, one profile's advent did not mean the dissolution of another profile. The first third-sector organization's profile (1960-1980) was based on *support* for the leftist revolutionary camp leaders, whether they belong to parties, workers, peasants' organizations, or progressive church sectors<sup>33</sup>. In line with the dependency theory proposals, the "supporters" profile strategy involved raising social awareness, a

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<sup>33</sup> The best-known form of progressive church was the liberation theology developed within the Catholic Church in Latin America in the 1960s, arising principally as a moral reaction to the poverty and social injustice in the region.

process by which third-sector organizations sought to make low-income sectors understand that the situation they were experiencing was due to the capitalist economic structure in its imperialist stage. In such a conjuncture, voluntaries acted as "militants", and their activities did not involve public institutions or private firms because they were conceived as a structural part of the problem.

After the Velasco regime, the beginning of the decentralization process, and an impellent economic crisis, the class-based and revolutionary positions began to lose their theoretical and practical validity. The low-income sector's new shared needs were no longer political but technical —seeking to improve their material living conditions and restricted well-being. As previously mentioned, to the changing needs of grassroots organizations linked to survival strategies -food, employment, and income- and consumption -housing, basic infrastructure services- the third-sector tended to assume a more welfare-centered profile (1980-1990) due to a prevailing logic of assistance and emergency response. Thus, the third sector expanded their place in society since they were not merely at the service of the popular classes but identified as a pair with grassroots organizations born to cope with material difficulties. The "assistances" profile strategy tended to formalize third sector organizations' relationships with the grassroots via agreements by making it clear that each party had responsibilities and autonomous space in society's developmental arena.

The decade of the 1990s was one of confusion over roles that weakened third-sector initiatives and proposal capacity, and like the grassroots organizations at the time, the third-sector organizations experimented with a *defensive* profile (1990-2000). It coincided with a social and political environment that was little mobilized by civil society and overwhelmed by public agencies' initiative and control as a product of terrorism and Fujimori's authoritarianism. Firstly, the new emerging "defender" profile strategy fostered the sectorization and professionalization of the organization's activities at the local level and generally allowed an opening to the market as a source for their economic sustainability through private consulting and product sales and as a solution to poverty issues<sup>34</sup>. Secondly, and more importantly, third-sector organizations understood that they must change their old approach prompted to mobilize the oppressed and assistance to low-income sectors for a more comprehensive one from which a more complex increase of capabilities and skills in defense of civil rights can be supported.

The last "providers" profile (2001-2016) is marked by third-sector organizations' renewed presence —as they regained political roles and spaces lost during the Fujimori regime. However, their presence has to deal with a period of reinforcement of the neoliberal paradigm, which implies a clear hegemony of market forces and firms. Three-point exemplified the current "providers" strategy in Peruvian third sector organizations (Díaz-Albertini Figueras & Melgar Paz, 2012). Firstly, under the traditional neoliberal scheme, third sector organizations have become a useful alternative in providing basic services previously considered

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<sup>34</sup> This is how the so-called "poverty reduction agenda" begins to be implemented in Peru.

public sector responsibility. This usefulness can be expressed in a wide range of activities, such as training and education, technical advice, and public works' direct execution or supervision. Secondly, under the notion of strengthening democratic institutionality, the third-sector organizations sought to provide spaces for meetings, consensus, and agreement with the public or private sector. As the third sector's role becomes more to create a positive space for low-income groups or grassroots organizations in their dealings with public and private officials, they acquire a more constructive role within the civil society.

This character has cultivated a strategy of "consensus", avoiding confrontation with governments. Lastly, the new "providers" strategy approaches the business world, which is no longer seen as the problem but as a possible solution —fulfilling at least three functions: they have supported the creation, consolidation, and formalization of small and micro enterprises among the low-income population; they have sought to link micro-entrepreneurs to medium and large firms often as suppliers, advising and training them to meet their requirements. They have then supported private firms in their relations with grassroots organizations improving the corporate social responsibility sector both as advisors when preparing their project portfolios and as grant beneficiaries.

What emerges through this narrative digression is that those third sector organizations' last leading profile has been more concerned with making the system work from above following pre-given standard rather than working on civil society alternatives. In other words, they have been working based on the governance model already designed by maintaining the current status quo (Portocarrero et al., 2002).

## 2.4 Within La Nueva Rinconada

The SJM district was born out of one of the largest invasions ever generated in Latin America, which originated at Christmas 1954, "*la barriada de Ciudad de Dios*". This "pioneer" peripheral land occupation (Calderon, 2016), promoted by a worker movement, was recognized as a district under the first Belaúnde government on January 12, 1965.

Much of the municipality is located on Pacific littoral sandy desert plains but includes at its edges also hilly areas. The 2017 National Census placed the municipality population at 415,870, which represents 4.84% of Lima metropolitan inhabitants. The population density has increased over the years, consistent with the province's growth trend and the department of Lima that currently reach 3.000 people per sq. km of land area. However, in San Juan de Miraflores, there is a population density of 17.342 inhabitants, about six times more than the provincial average (Gómez Gallegos, 2019).

Administratively the municipality is currently divided into 6 governmental zones (see Figure 2). The ZONE I Pamplona Alta, which includes the sectors of Pamplona Alta, La Rinconada and Nueva Rinconada; ZONE II: Pamplona Baja; ZONE III: Zona Urbana; ZONE IV: María Auxiliadora; ZONE V: Pampas de San Juan and ZONE VI: Panamericana Sur.

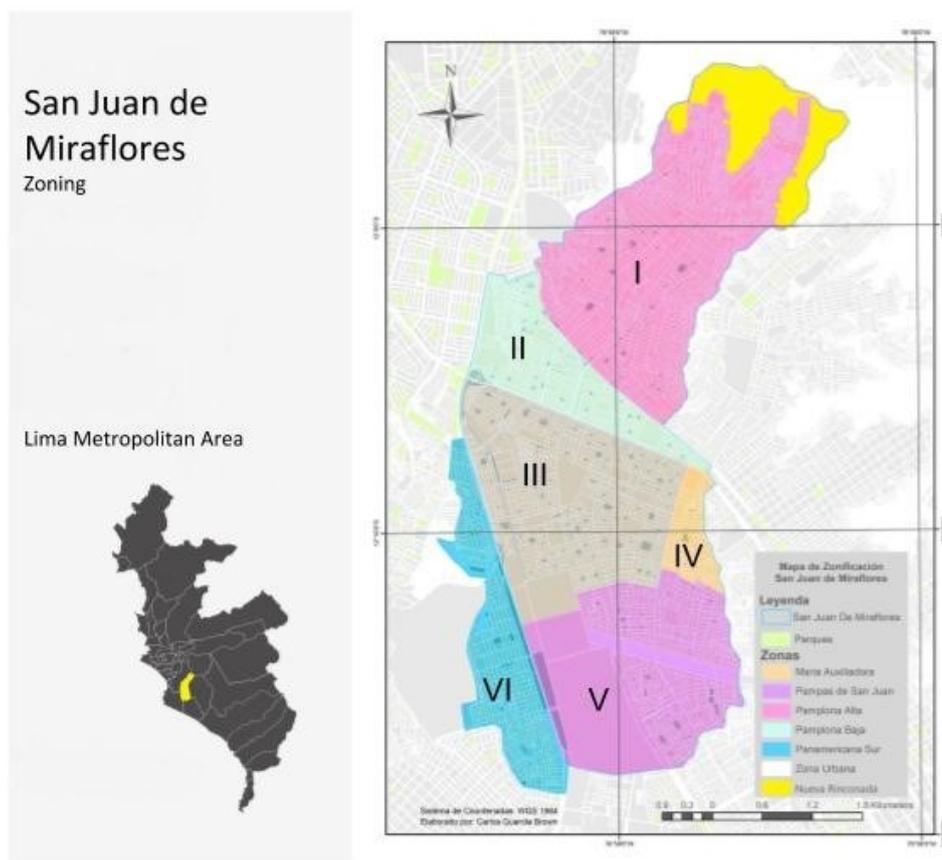


Figure 2: San Juan de Miraflores Zoning Map (source: own reworking of TECHO maps)

La Nueva Rinconada constitutes the northern boundary of the SJM district, and it is the youngest sector of zone I of Pamplona Alta (see Figure 3). La Nueva Rinconada is bordered by the District of Santiago de Surco and Villa María del Triunfo. The area is currently made up of the peaks of the Casuarinas, Puquio, and Pamplona hills. Comprehensive 2.180.000 square meter area, the actual territory is occupied by agricultural and livestock plots and popular urbanizations on private and state land (Salcedo et al., 2017).

The history of this massive *barriada* should begin with a description of the reason for the squatting. In 1968, the Peruvian state sold around 860.000 square meters of hilly land between SJM and Villa María del Triunfo districts located in the southern part of the metropolis: the “*Cono Sur*”. The new owner was the *Asociación Agropecuaria Industrial de la Rinconada de Ciudad de Dios*, an association of entrepreneurs which bought parcels for activities in the agro-pastoral sector. At that time, it was merely a peri-urban area far away from the city's border’. The owners built stables to breed pigs and some of them cultivated cacti, but generally, they did not live in the area (Weeda, 2012).

All Nueva Rinconada land occupations occurred at the time of the surrounding urban population displacement. As Calderon (2016) reports, in 2000, during Fujimori’s second term, he authorizes one million new lands tenure titling: therefore, creating waves of new squatter invasions (see Figure 4). In San Juan de Miraflores the representative of Fujimori’s offshoot party *Movimiento Independiente Vamos Vecino*<sup>35</sup> was Adolfo Ocampo Vargas. He entered his third



Figure 3: La Nueva Rinconada and its geographical location (source: my own processing)

term as mayor in 1998 and was removed in 2002 to financial irregularities and embezzlement of public funds with just months to go in his term. Thus, we must

<sup>35</sup> The *Movimiento Independiente Vamos Vecino* was a right-wing Peruvian political party founded by Alberto Fujimori, Absalón Vásquez and Anselmo Revilla to participate in Peru's 1998 municipal elections. Therefore, a party launched to expand Fujimorism at the subnational level.

place La Nueva Rinconada land occupation within the context of this municipal administration and its affiliation with practices that made Fujimorism synonymous with influence trafficking, embezzlement and abuse of power (Rouleau, 2013).

On January 6th, 2000, the invasion of la Nueva Rinconada took place. Thousands of people joined together randomly, organized themselves on the field, and constructed their precarious shelters with the idea of a chance of improving their situation by acquiring land titles and services —without knowing who the former landowner was. Rouleau (2013) has widely analyzed the invasion within a broader political, economic, social, and historical framework in his work. As he has reported, property owners awaited the entrance of the invaders repelling groups several times. Information about the invasion had spread throughout the city sector through flyers and chatting. If a potentially interested party did not get a flyer, then a neighbor or someone in the market passed on the information that there was going to be a soil occupation on December 31st. It was also the case reported by the leader of Minas 2000 and chief-woman of the Legal Physical Sanitation Commission - *Comisión de Saneamiento Físico Legal de la Nueva Rinconada* that I interviewed



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Figure 4: Land squatting in San Juan de Miraflores 1992-2005 (Surce, Desco,2006)

once. Actually, there were two failed attempts before success on the eve of January 6th as well as smaller, older, sporadic invasions which took place in 1992. This invasion was one of the first to be reported in the press in the running towards the 2000 elections and it led many to realize that, throughout Lima and even outside Lima, people were becoming emboldened enough to invade private property and land set aside for public services. According to a research report promoted by the Centro de Estudios y Promoción del Desarrollo-DESCO, in Lima's southern district, popular urbanizations sharply grew between 1993 and 2006. Approximately 884 ha had been squatted by 164.000 new inhabitants (Ramírez Corzo & Riofrío, 2006).

In La Nueva Rinconada occupiers were not evicted and approximately 46.755 people are living there, subdivided into 138 neighborhood organizations —7 out of 10 of which were relatively small with up to 99 families (TECHO - Perú et al., 2018). Starting with simple plots on a sloping hill, La Nueva Rinconada could be reached by pedestrians and vehicles through accessible paths. The buildings turned from long-lasting materials and were assembled through self-help initiatives. The progressive dimension of the urbanization was quite peculiar in cases of settlements such as 7 de Enero and Girasoles when the board members, narrating their own experience in a *Faena Comunal*, stated that a town does not get up overnight, but it takes little by little for small additions:

*“Estamos aquí desde el 2000 y siempre hemos trabajado, anteriormente para organizarnos bien, prácticamente hemos hecho faenas desde las 7am hasta las 2pm para abrir vías y **después poco a poco** para organizarnos en nuestro AA.HH., ver las calles y ordenar las casas. Hemos hecho las escaleras, las barandas, etc. **Un pueblo no se levanta de un día al otro, requiere mucho tiempo.**”*  
(member of 07 de enero, 24/06/2018, San Juan de Miraflores)

*“Los accesos de las vías las han hecho los vecinos en*

*“We are here since 2000 and we have always worked --at first to get organized and then, practically, we have performed tasks from 7am until 2pm in order to open up roads and later, **little by little**, to get our AA.HH. (human settlement) up and running, do some road construction and arrange housing. We have built stairs, handrails, etc. **A town does not rise overnight; it takes a long time**”* (own transtation)

*“Access to roads have been created by the neighbors in coordination with other AA.HH so that the water carrier can*

*coordinación con otros AA.HH. para el acceso del aguatero, para que ingresen los camiones. Las escaleras, las barandas, los accesos. Antes tus tenías que comprar agua aquí y cargarla hasta arriba. En faena ya con los años hemos avanzado y esto no es un trabajo de una semana.” (member of Girasoles, 15/04/2018 San Juan de Miraflores)*

*come, so that trucks can drive up. The stairs, the handrails, the entrances. Before, you had to buy water down here and carry it uphill. Through community chores, **through the years, we have progressed and this is no longer a one week task.”** (own transtation)*

However, twenty years after the invasion, the consequences of the original urban order are still visible: Land property conflict has caused an impasse between the invaders and the landowners; different land uses are incompatible with one another; basic infrastructure services are far to be implemented, while environmental risks are far from being mitigated —as will be shown in the third part: empirical evidence.

The best and, perhaps, the only way to illustrate the new order is to describe the situations which have led to its formulation. The following description is a composite case study based mainly on El Trebol —one of the five neighborhood organizations in La Nueva Rinconada of which I was rapporteur during the research fieldwork.

El Trebol probably stands as the most similar pattern of *Asentamientos Humanos* in slope areas and an excellent example of the third wave popular urbanization. It was formed in 2001 from the union of other three settlements: La Lloreda, 06 de Enero, and Sol Naciente, established in January 2000 in an unfavorable unused hilly location characterized by a sloped piggeries area and a graveyard. El Trebol starts at a natural uphill and spreads to the top and terraces along two facing hills. It is divided by a small valley that opens up, descending towards the south.

According to the neighborhood board, the organization possesses 10.2 ha subdivided into 283 plots, 268 of which are currently employed (see Appendix D: Field report, 04/02/2018, vol. I, p.61). In these plots, approximately more than 1250 people are living subdivided among 270 families. Most of El Trebol's inhabitants do not belong to Andean or indigenous communities. Instead, they come from Lima's metropolitan area sectors and other Peruvian departments. Many of them have had previous urban experience even if this had not taken place in those slope areas (see Appendix D: Field report, 08/07/2018, vol. III, p.124).

Starting with simple plots on a sloped hill, the neighborhood organization has reached pedestrian and vehicle-accessible pathways. Private and collective buildings are made with long-lasting materials and assembled through self-help initiatives. The general secretary of the neighborhood organization summarized the legal, physical situation of the settlement and the progress made as follows:

*“En nuestro asentamiento humano, no contamos con agua, luz, de tal manera que cuando hayamos aperturado las carreteras, ya tenemos acceso al aguatero [...] Hemos logrado abrir los principales accesos a las viviendas de los vecinos, cómo se ve, el área donde vivimos es bastante accidentado, un terreno empinado. ¿Que hemos hecho? hemos logrado construir el 98% de las escaleras, un local comunal, hemos comprado una máquina mezcladora que nos sere para trabajos de construcción, hemos comprado sillas...” (member of EL Trebol, 18/03/2018, San Juan de Miraflores)*

*In our human settlement, we do not have running water or electricity, so once we open the entry roads, we will be able to access the water provider (...) We have been able to open the main entrances towards the neighbors' houses. As you can see, the area we live in is very rugged, a hilly terrain. What have we done? We have managed to build 98% of the stairs, a community hall, and we have bought a concrete mixer that we can use for construction work; we have bought chairs...” (own translation)*

However, stairs lack handrails, and the few available are perishable and in poor condition. Roads have dirt and dusty floors usually built to consume less and less desirable construction sites. Water and electricity supply are provisional and require continuous maintenance. Then, a permanent solution for both is still one of the top priorities of the settlers' concern. The security provided by the possession of a homesite is another concern. El Trebol occupies a private land owned by the agro-industrial association -Asociación Agropecuaria Industrial la Nueva Rinconada, and they know that the plot's formal acquisition process has become more complicated than those cases where the State owns the lands.



Figure 5: El trebol - La Nueva Rinconada 2020 (source: photo repertoire)

## 2.5 Closing remarks

From this first chapter, one can see the historical reconstruction of the popular urbanization phenomenon in Lima. The type of strategies to solve the housing problem established between actors' multiplicity has changed over time, while operating practices have never changed. Since the first wave of popular urbanization, public agencies' attitude has been either out of impotence or connivance and of tolerance towards the organizations that guided them—allowing settlements constructions. However, the surge of urban growth overwhelmed the older urban order and spawned a proliferation of urban grassroots organizations and third sector organizations of all kinds unified by their common need to solve urgent and immediate housing, food, transport, education, and violence issues. Except in rare cases, the technological and financial public agencies support has not been sufficient to deal with the daily problems that gradually emerged with land occupation and settlements consolidation, conversely many legislative and administrative updates were put in place to facilitate private and third sector intervention, creating uncertainty and a generous margin of discretion on how and where to proceed.

Furthermore, lacking reliable interlocutors and regular access to channels of supply for subsidies, stakeholders adopted relationships based on “alternative” practices to build functional connections with leaders and groups to provide and manage development aid, regardless of the political and economic prevailing ideology. In the extra-institutional field, public agencies and grassroots organizations establish time-honored paternalistic and clientelist practices to earn electoral support on the one hand and see collective requests satisfied, on the other hand. It was particularly evident under Odría (1948-1956) and Fujimori (1990-2000) regimes, but also under Alan García's first (1985-1990) and second (2006-2011) mandate. Clientelism practices to court the loyalty of popular urbanizations inhabitants became recurrent and national and local parties' key figures significantly acted as patron to numerous groups seeking land and charity.

Alternatively, governments had actively attempted to co-opt grassroots organizations into an institutional field to create a functional order that preserved social control. The salient step was the "districtisation" of popular urbanizations. Actually, their organizations turned into local administrative bodies under Belaúnde's first mandate (1963-1968). Then, the ONDEPJOV and SINAMOS made a vigorous effort to create and strengthen community organizations by training local leaders and encouraging urban development under Velasco's regime (1968-1975). Thirdly, Mothers' Clubs, Glass of Milk Committees, Self-managed Popular Dining Rooms, Family Kitchens, and other grassroots social organizations were officially recognized through Law 25307 promulgated under Fujimori's first mandate (1990-2000) in order to activate social compensation programs and counteract insurreccional movements. Lastly, with the *Ley Orgánica de Municipales* n. 27972 in 2003 and the new Participatory Budget Law n.28056, grassroots organizations were recognized by the local level to include them into local governance structures fully.

As highlighted in the chapter, a turning point in the actual urban order was the political and economic crisis of the late 1980s, which opened the doors to the neoliberal state. Neoliberalism is characterized by the emergence of different government rationality, which weakens the classic state powers and strengthens the representative institutions at the local level. It pursues a policy of multiplication of decision-making centers and the creation of widespread networks in order to affirm urban order. Concerning Peruvian popular urbanization order, Neoliberalism manifests itself as a new modality of urban governance, as a discursive practice of representation, and a spatial organization practice (Brenner & Theodore, 2005)

Peruvian urban governance took the form of "urban entrepreneurialism" at the expense of traditional planning regulation (Calderón Cockburn, 2017; Harvey, 1989). This new model dismantled public agencies' business activity through privatization and reduced public sectors' interventionism —as we saw in the previous section. What is peculiar in Peru is that this transition does not change the existing relationship between public agencies and popular urbanizations, demonstrated by the fact that many focusing programs act on them. However, it has led to the advent of different decentralized stakeholders, such as private firms and

third-sector organizations. They have inaugurated the season of practical opportunism that makes the system work from above by following pre-given and generalized standards on a micro-scale. Starting with the technocratic nomenclature of Human Settlements -*Asentamientos Humanos (AA-HH)*, new discursive practices have tried to “normalize” land occupation phenomena while emphasizing the fight against poverty topics and urban entrepreneurship to potentiality escape it (Gyger, 2013).

The popular urbanizations’ spatial organization reflects the type of relationship built on it and the place and legal status of those kinds of settlements. Looking for adaptation strategies, individuals have assumed the struggle for their own development to satisfy emerging needs —rather than relying on political parties, unions, or traditional social organizations as it used to be in previous decades (Collier, 1975; Joseph, 2005). Urban grassroots organizations developed a sense of autonomy looking in a democratic way to their own collective interests and goals hanked by the room for flexibility given by the law (Levine & Romero, 2006).

Furthermore, the third wave of popular urbanizations reproduces its pattern without considering the topography. Settlers began to occupy less suitable and marginalized areas such as riversides and steep slopes with high gradient followed by a scheme known as ant's occupation -*ocupación hormiga* that is: First, few families have come, then others little by little (Miyashiro, 2009; Ramírez Corzo & Riofrío, 2006; Velarde Herz, 2017). They have stringent safety and environmental issues to challenge and increase overcrowding and service provision problems but can reach essential development relying on external actors' help working in the charity and free-market sectors. In this socio-political and economic framework, collective labor practices —we left momentarily on the sidelines— will be analyzed in chapter six of this work.

## PART TWO: A PACKAGE OF THEORIES AND METHODS

*“The bridge is not supported by one stone or another  
[...]but by the line of the arch that they form [...] Without  
stones there is no arch” (Calvino, 1974, p. 82)*

# Chapter III

## Theorizing practices

### 3.1 Introduction

Starting with the assumption that an urban order exists even in the most unexpected places, this chapter tries to understand three related central issues. The first issue concerns the elements that make up urban order. While answering such a thing is not only an epistemic issue but also, and more deeply, an ontological one. Therefore, the track of thought containing this research promotes an understanding of the urban order based on social ontological traditions that focus on urban practices in the “background” of our encounter with the world.

The second relates to the dichotomous manifestation of the urban order moved by structural and contingent forces. Through practice-based thinking, significant attention is directed towards the production of order and how, on a theoretical level, it is possible to establish a dialectical relation between the macro-level social forces (Structure) and the independent capacity of individuals (Agency) to explain the order formation without denying both.

The third revolves around how the urban order is constituted and how certain elements arrange together or push back. Indeed, the urban order constitution has been the source of conflicts, mediation, oppression, liberation, marginalization, and exaltation, in a nutshell of effects of power over practices.

Section 3.2 has been dedicated to the first and second points. It reports the multifaced conception of Structure and Agency in social sciences applied to the urban realm. Furthermore, it has been written, waiving together some philosophical stances on how we might conceive order overcoming such duality by applying some of practice-based thinking main concepts.

Section 3.3 has dealt with the third abovementioned issue. It has been dedicated to Foucault's analytics of conduct and countre-conduct adopted to grasp power's effects flowing into the urban order from a practice-based thinking perspective to make visible the concrete activity of governing.

## 3.2 Tracking urban order

In the field of urban studies, many socio-ontological conceptions try to figure out what urban order consists of.

Analyzing the urban focusing in the traditional modes of urban production — meaning space as a product— and social relation —space in the process— recalls a functionalism/structuralism tradition of order we already encountered in the marginalization paradigm (Peet, 1985). Through “production”, the functionalism/structuralism vision of urban order refers to a combination of economic structures that lead a productive system, with the ideological, social, cultural, and political superstructure allowing the system to be quietly reproduced (Ward & Macoloo, 1992). The neo-Marxist writers such as David Harvey (1989, 1992) and Manuel Castells (1999) have sought to explain the urban order from the outside as formed and shaped by external powers and forces, such as general socio-economic laws, emphasizing the pre-eminence of a social whole over its supposed individual parts (R. Smith, 2012). The primary way to deal with urban order issues under this paradigm was to support political claims from below about social rights to urban space and resources, fostering the polarization between social structure and human agency (Thrift, 1983). Practices and processes were split up into a set of broad structural categories becoming sort of an epiphenomenon.

Conversely, with the notion of “Agency”, scholars have shaped a medium to understand urban order from the inside, starting from micro-level factors. “Agency” can be conceived as the possibility of carrying out an action as long as individuals can choose to act or not to act. If they cannot act differently than they do, they become powerless and without Agency (Hayward & Lukes, 2008; T. Schatzki, 2017).

Both the Libertarians’ and Anarchists’ paradigm and the neo-liberal and individualist paradigm focus mainly on the “agency” of the most marginalized.

Among the many interpretations of Agency in social and political theory, three main perspectives can be detected. One perspective is that power is best conceptualized as an actor’s capability to achieve its will, maintaining a program of activities that make it essential for practice accomplishment. The second refers to an actor’s ability to perform independently of constraining chains of social structures, whether it concerns the difference that actions made to social affairs beyond the site in which the action is carried out or in the exact site of the action. These first two perspectives could be better explained using the notion of “power of agency” and “agentic power” with the former referring to the ability of actors to perform and the latter referring to the character and effects of their actions on the structure (Campbell, 2009).

The third perspectives consider decisions that are not made—nondecisions as a form of agency.

In the following paragraphs, all three perspectives will be undertaken in a thorough manner using examples.

The first and most common perspective implies “Agency” as a choice among different options, better said a person’s independent capacity to make choices and the possibility to act according to one’s will. Sen’s concept of Agency Freedom may help us to deal with this theoretical perspective. In Sen, the individual is at the center of the decision-evaluation process. She mentions:

*“A person’s agency freedom refers to what is free do and achieve pursuit of whatever goals or values he or she regard as important. A person’s agency aspect cannot be understood without taking note of his or her aims, objective, allegiances, obligation and in broad sense the person’s conception of the good” (1985, p. 203)*

In this scheme, personal well-being has an intrinsic relevance in judging the opportunities for pursuing advantages because, as she reports, well-being could also act in contrast to the sense of Agency Freedom. In the field of housing policy studies, a similar stand has also been expressed by John Turner through the concept of “*intrinsically significant activity*” (Turner, 2018, p. 110) as a medium of personal fulfillment. This kind of agency refers to all those activities which depend on the closest life aims, such as food procurement and preparation, the care of the body, clothing, and accommodations. Therefore, this commitment prioritizes short-term self-well-being, while other long-term and more complicated choices are left behind—even if they are socially more relevant in reshaping an unfitting urban order.

Besides, the other theoretical perspective considers the influence of Agentic Power. For instance, James Holston (2011) has defined Agency as the capacity to subvert rooted privilege and taken for granted categories of domination expressed by people of the world urban peripheries to achieve their need as a citizen. He said, “*These are the agents who, in the process of building and defending their residential spaces, not only constructed a vast new city but, on that basis, also proposed a city with a different order of citizenship*” (2011, p. 343). Thus, through this “insurgent urban citizenship,” individuals acquire their agentic power to contrast social structure.

However, it could also emerge in daily practices to coexist differently in an existing urban order as part of the set of tactics acting behind symbolic norms while maintaining an aversion to direct coercive risk (de Certeau, 1988; J. C. Scott, 1985, 1989, 2003). When it is claimed that people help shape urban order, this second sense of agency is invoked in one case or another. This second perspective is a crucial element for any breakthrough.

As referred to above, power of Agency and Agentic power belong to what Giddens called “*power as a decision-making approach*” (Giddens, 1979, p. 89). However, this is just one face of how the Agency can express itself. To fully understand power, analysts should also consider decisions that are not made - nondecisions. Therefore the other face relates to “*non-decision-making*” power

(Hayward & Lukes, 2008). Non-decision-making power is implicitly accepted and undisputed in practice and purposely intended to maintain the status quo in the ways that certain social entities are able to keep specific issues and ideas off the agenda in a given decision space. Therefore non-decision-making power could hinder popular sectors' strategies to achieve political demands suppressing challenges to the status quo and suppressing the addition of new issues to an urban agenda.

These examples have shown the traditional dichotomy of approaches to understanding urban order as appear in the study of urban issues and elsewhere: Social structure or Agency in their various facets. Then, how does this supposed dichotomy emerged within the path marked by the democratic-autonomous paradigm?

In the race for various alternatives to well-defined and well-organized enduring order, contemporary ANT, assemblage thinking, and practice-based thinking are on the cutting edge of social ontologies—which espouse a more or less flat ontological approach for theorizing order. Specifically, there seems to be a broader consensus that social practices analysis aims to overcome the overmentioned problematic dualism of “order” on a theoretical level and establish a dialectical relation between Agency and the so-called Social structure.

### *3.2.1 Towards an ontology of social practices*

The democratic autonomous paradigm mentioned in Section 1.4 is just one of the faces of a broader global shift in science that restructured categories and classifications to move from a society-oriented spatial science to space and place-oriented social science. As Werlen (2017) claims, a meaningful change was carried out through this shift: questions from where objects and people are located in space have been replaced by questions related to the form of everyday space-making in urban realities—including studies concerning materiality, practices, and processes. Urban studies have been moving “*from a sense of space as a practico-inert container of action*” to a “*socially produced set of manifolds*” (Crang & Thrift, 2000, p. 2). Concepts that recall the idea of space as a product involve a socio-spatial dialectic through which people modify spaces through their actions and, simultaneously, the characters of spaces created changed their behaviors (Lefebvre, 1991). This dialectic, which is always set up, conducts scholars to think up space as a process and in-process rather than a finished product.

Furthermore, general ‘WHAT’ questions, such as “*What is the urban order and what should it be?*” that recall abstract idealisms of urban reality have been replaced by ‘HOW’ questions, —such as “*How the urban order is produced?*” They highlight a new dynamic approach in urban studies, allowing scholars to move from theoretical positions into more empirical ones prioritizing the relational level of day-to-day interactions, makeshift reactions, and processes that reveal how urban order is brought into being. In this shift, there are not only ‘social’ components of urban order at the center of the reflection: Non-human material arrangements matter

just as much as human beings, artifacts, natural forces, atmospheres and so on. These appear as prominent elements that come into play more and more frequently into countless entanglements making up urban order (Farías, 2012; Lancione, 2016; Lieto, 2017; Murdoch, 1997, 1998, 2006).

This section presents three international well-known social ontologies that have been transposed into urban studies that embrace such changes closer to the theoretical position adopted. These ontologies are known as actor-network theory (ANT), assemblage thinking, and practices-based thinking. They offer theoretical tools to conceive the social and peculiarly correlated phenomena, as opposed to what Theodore Schatzki calls “*a wide variety of social system and structuralist theories that make systems principles or abstract structures and mechanisms central to social phenomena*” (2012a, p. 13).

The first social ontology I refer to in this section is ANT, an approach developed by scholars such as Bruno Latour (1984, 1999) and Michel Callon (1984), and their followers within social studies of science. Broadly speaking, this ontology acknowledges and foregrounds the Agency of non-humans -or actants - within their web of relations according to a certain trajectory. Relationality, networking, and links are the recurrent unit of analysis in ANT, the building block of social affairs (T. Schatzki, 2018); however, ANT itself is a complex theoretical construction with many adaptations. Latour has said that ANT is derived from an “*actant-rhizome ontology*” (1999, p. 19) with the original aim to valorize the insights of ethnomethodology in which actors know what they do and the researcher has to learn from them not only what they do, but also how and why they do it. In fact, the comparison indicates significant overlaps between the ANT conception of networks and Gilles Deleuze's philosophical conception of knowledge, known as “rhizomes”, including the multiplicity of heterogeneous relationality and that any entity can be seen as both composed and composing relations (Murdoch, 1997; Soulier, 2012).

In ANT, through space, scale, and time, the research object proves to be multiple. This feature applies to urban issues and is also stressed by Amin and Thrift in their book *Cities: Reimagining the Urban*, when they suggest that:

*“The city is made up of potential and actual entities/associations/togethernesses which there is no going beyond to find anything 'more real'.” (2002, p. 27)*

Conversely, space, scale, and time, become a contingency matter that denies structural postulate. Space, scale and time are enacted and assembled at concrete local sites —where actors produce different associations through their agency. One of the most notable examples of this empirical commitment with actual and concrete urban sites in the LA region is Emilio Duhau’s and Angela Giglia’s book *Las reglas del desorden: habitar la metrópoli* (2008). With a systematic intention and a socio-anthropological gaze that privileges the relationality between order and conflict, Duhau y Giglia show that public space in Mexico City does not exist in

one space or scale but is differently enacted at multiple sites or fragments. They represent such fragments by defining them not through spatial boundaries or scales but by types and lines of activity emerging through the networks ordering different sites.

However, ANT has also tried to extend the principle of relationality beyond language and communication, thus beyond human interaction. The multiple relations of an entity include objects, tools, technologies, texts, environmental configurations, etc. —which are not social by themselves. Paying attention to these interconnections adding non-human interactions is particularly crucial for understanding urban as, for instance, a socio-technical system. Graham and Marvin have notoriously attempted such a new conception of the urban order in the book *Splintering Urbanism* (2001). They make an international and interdisciplinary analysis of the complex interactions between infrastructure networks and urban spaces showing that urban infrastructure is a life-or-death matter for cities and citizens. Similarly, Ash Amin and Nigel Thrift in *Seeing like a city* (2017) consider the urban as a machine: A living assemblage of socio-technical systems, not fully comprehensible, in which infrastructure networks are technologies of government that not only expand opportunity and benefit but also reinforce social inequalities.

Murdoch (1998) further argues that this material aspect allows networks to endure and be stable over time and space, to become, in some way, a system in a steady-state or dynamic equilibrium. He also states that there are stabilized relations that permit the perpetuation of urban order.

As a matter of fact, practices are mentioned in all the previous studies. However, since they arise from forming contingent stable links within broader networks, the researcher's attention to such links is essential and primary.

The second social ontology I refer to is “Assemblage”. The concept of assemblage also comes from philosophy studies. It was also introduced by Deleuze and Guattari for whom assemblage designates a way in which the real is formed (Farías, 2012, 2016). More recently, urban scholars have used the term to characterize, to varying degrees, the non-unified, non-hierarchical, non-linear, hybrid, flat, and complex interpretation of the urban order. More simply, one can think of “Assemblage” as both an orientation to the world and a cluster of objects in the world. Thus, any social and non-social entity on any scale —persons, communities, infrastructure, cities— can be described as an assemblage that offers the readers a genuine alternative to organic totalities (McFarlane, 2011b). In particular, any assemblage under this school of thought could be seen as a form-giving process or a form of becoming starting from complex interactions between heterogeneous and autonomous components parts producing an open system —a collection of symbiosis which has to be analyzed as such. To sum up, an assemblage is a promising modality for arranging a “multiplicity” of heterogeneous entities and spaces of possibility so that they work together for a certain time to create an alternative urban order (Farías, 2016; Soulier, 2012).

Amin’s reflections on ‘telescopic urbanism’ (2013) fuelled by other scholars (Arabindoo, 2013; Lancione, 2013; McFarlane, 2013; Neuwirth, 2013), entirely

represent this debate within urban studies. Amin (2013) reclaimed the need for different analytical lenses enquiring cities to propose appropriate interventions. Indeed, the debate is itself an opportunity to rethink the urban order as a complex whole rather than composed of separated phenomena —each one self-referential. Sustaining this necessity, Amin has elaborated a compelling metaphor:

*“A first step towards a politics of the staples understood as shared infrastructural rights across the urban territory is to turn the telescope the right way round so that the whole city comes back into view, revealing the multiple geographies of inhabitation and their interdependencies, showing business consultancy city and slum city as part of the same spatial universe.”(2013, p. 486)*

Colin McFarlane’s work (2009, 2011a, 2011b, 2013) builds upon and extends the latter line of research. An exception worth mentioning has been the work in São Paulo (2011b). McFarlane investigates how dwelling brings to assemblage a means for thinking through how assemblage actually takes place. The everyday accomplishments of dwelling highlight the very acts of assembling themselves: Dwelling names the constitutive assemblage processes. As McFarlane clarifies, assemblage

*“seeks to attend to why and how multiple bits-and-pieces accrete and align over time to enable particular forms of urbanism over others in ways that cut across these domains, and which can be subject to disassembly and reassembly through unequal relations of power and resource” (McFarlane, 2011b, p. 653)*

Human and non-human components interact to form an ongoing composition of the urban world through socio-material practices in an assemblage. Such interaction emerges in what McFarlane calls the “depth” of history that produces practices themselves and through the potential of new practices in specific circumstances. Therefore, the unit of analysis in assemblage theory appears as “*particular urban alignments*” (McFarlane, 2011b, p. 655) formed through change processes, the reimagination of boundaries, and the resignification of practices themselves. Other examples on the same line include McFarlane’s work on social movements (2009) which openly criticize the concept of network and connectivity (proper of the ANT) to describe what was going on in Mumbai, the capital city of the Indian state of Maharashtra. He insists that assemblage concepts better describe social movements retaining a focus on the emergence and allows the component parts to exceed the network:

“unlike network, assemblage does more than emphasize a set of connections between sites in that it draws attention to history, labor, materiality and performance. Assemblage points to reassembling and disassembling, to dispersion and transformation, processes often overlooked in network accounts” (2009, p. 566).

For example, in relation to some ANT readings, assemblages are relations not just of stability of a fully-fledged system but of excess, flux, and transformation. Whereas in ANT, the linkages between its components form logically necessary relations which make it as wholesome as it is. Conversely, in an assemblage, these relations may be only contingently obligatory and maybe “unplugged” from one assemblage and “plugged” into another without losing its identity.

The third and last social ontology explored focuses on practices. Focusing on social-practices analysis has become a buzz in the urban world over the past twenty years —as research works under this rubric have emerged. A growing list of ontology positions has tested out formats for the methodological and often ephemeral structure of social practices research; as seen just above, practices are often conceived as research objects.

Questioning established categories Amin and Graham emphasize the heterogeneity of practices that “*challenges the very idea that generalization can be made about what the 'city' is*” (1997, p. 420). More recently, in *Cities reimagining the urban* (2002), Amin and Thrift have followed an approach close to the phenomenality of ordinary practices and everyday life to appreciate and understand the urban complexity. Moreover, this practice has been used to scratch also the so beloved idea of human and non-human interaction in contemporary urban studies. For instance, Neil Brenner recently has shown interest in a “*range of socio-material practices, investments and infrastructures that constitute the geographies of urbanization*” (Roy, 2016, p. 819) —as well as Colin McFarlane in the application of its “assemblage thinking” (McFarlane, 2009, 2011a, 2011b, 2013).

Considering subaltern urban studies and post-colonial analytics, Roy (2011a, 2011b) and Sheppard et al. (2013) stress the need to use approaches that privilege everyday practice analysis carried out by marginalized people. More closely, Roy proposes a perspective to provide accounts for the popular urbanizations “*as a terrain of habitation, livelihood and politics*” (2011a, p. 224). Through subaltern urbanism, she created a space to narrate poor people’s practices which remain often neglected. In this narrative, the idea of a *slum habitus* (2011a, p. 228) as a form of pragmatism, negotiation, and survival plays a vital role against others based on domination and hegemony. On the same line, Sheppard, Leitner, and Maringanti sympathize with Roy’s approach. They have said:

“that privilege everyday lived urban life over research strategies that view cities from a distance, explicitly or implicitly working to disrupt mainstream global urbanism by

attending to the tactics of survival and subversion resorted to by subaltern or subordinated populations.” (2013, p. 897)

However, contrary to the other abovementioned ANT and Assemblage theory's social-ontological assumptions, Practices-based thinking entails that urban order is fundamentally made up of “*practices*” rather than “*associations*” according to a specific trajectory (Amin & Thrift, 2002, p. 27) or “*particular urban alignments*” (McFarlane, 2011b, p. 655).

Using the words of Jones and Murphy, practice-based thinking offers us an ontological and epistemological status aiming to “*examine and interpret socioeconomic processes through a focus on the actions and meanings through which and wherein the everyday world is constituted*” (2011, p. 371). From this ontological position, such thinking tries to answer the question ‘*what is there?*’, providing new vocabulary built to describe a social and material world: What constitutes social reality are practices and their arrangement (T. Schatzki, 2010b). Therefore, the way to understand the social world has to consider the “*materiality of the human's work*” (Sini, 2017), its evolution, and interrelation.

From the epistemological position, instead, it attempts answering to the question ‘*what do you know?*’ or ‘*how can I know what exists out there?*’ — sustaining that a valid form of knowledge appears in practices and the only way to obtain it is through the daily routines and ordinary chain of actions analysis. Social phenomena, such as organization, economy, housing, exclusion, among others, are thus explored employing a special lens which allows researchers to see and unveil the “*regimes of ordinary actions*” (Nicolini, 2014) composing them, how those actions are joined together in a nexus, and bundled with the material world (T. Schatzki, 2012a). In conclusion, under this specific ontology, a social phenomenon is mainly composed of three superimposed dimensions: *practices*, their *interrelations*, and correlated *materiality*.

There is neither a single line of approach of practices-based thinking to be followed nor a unique and cohesive “Practice Theory” —particularly when practice-based thinking is contextualized and expressed through grammars of power and normativity more broadly. Moreover, there is no consensus amongst researchers about how practices might be used and I do not believe there should be any necessarily. Most scholars who have theorized practices disagree on the nature of their composition, extension, and mediums underlining different epistemological frameworks within which ideas about “practices” have been articulated (Gherardi, 2012; Jones & Murphy, 2011; Miettinen et al., 2009; Nicolini, 2012; Reckwitz, 2002; T. Schatzki, 2002). Nevertheless, moving inside this broad “*family of orientations*” (Nicolini & Monteiro, 2016), means adopting a “*mode of ordering*” (Gherardi, 2012, p.2) the reality that could help to investigate also the multiplicity of urban life — following Emilio Duhau concern on urban order (2003).

The story of practice-based thinking offers an absorbing chronicle of the study of human thought based on activities (Hui et al., 2017). It evolved through two crucial seasons.

Despite the legacy of ancient Greece pioneers such as Plato and Aristotle in developing knowledge-based tradition on rationality and praxis, the first season of practice-based thinking fits in the philosophy of actions of the last forty years, as Nicolini (2012) reminds us, which emerged by influential works of authors such as Bourdieu (1977, 1998), Giddens (1984) and De Certeau (1988).

While their conceiving of practices occurs in different ways, each of them places ‘practices’ as a central element in social life —a link that joins the “individual” to the systemic “structure” (Watson, 2012).

Starting from the previous authors, Theodore Schatzki (1996), Orlikowski (2000), Silvia Gherardi (2000), Elizabeth Shove (2008), and Davide Nicolini (2012), among other recent scholars, have developed renewed proposals that make up the second season. Commonalities concern the scholars' background and the conception of a practice (Reckwitz, 2002; T. Schatzki, 2012a). First, these last scholars have been influenced by the interpretative and cultural turn in social sciences and are close to Wittgenstein and Heidegger's philosophical positions. Second, in their thought, “practices” composition has to do with organized and routinized activities carried out and processed daily. Furthermore, away from traditional rational behavior, such activities are conceived as non-propositional<sup>36</sup> which influences people's peculiarities and identities. Other commonalities have been reported in Nicolini and Monteiro (2016), emphasizing history, constituency, and the normative dimension of a practice. Generally speaking, conceiving a ‘practice’ as *“a routinized way in which bodies are moved, objects are handled, subjects are treated, things are described and the world is understood”* (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 250) is mostly accepted.

In the following sections, Theodore Schatzki’s philosophical thought (1997; 2001; 2002, 2005, 2010b, 2012a, 2016a, 2016b, 2017; 1996) makes the case inspiring the dissertation's theoretical framework. The umbrella term “Practices-based thinking” has been selected not to use the idea of a closed and complete theory, despite my reference author used to handle the term “theory” (T. Schatzki, 1997).

### **3.2.1.1 Break up and reassembling practices**

In Schatzki's account (1997), the essential elements of a practice are actions of bodily doings and sayings. An action is a space-time event done by a practitioner's body involving conscious and unconscious kinetic movements and tools directly

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<sup>36</sup> "non-propositional" is a conception borrowed from neurolinguistic studies. What Schatzki means with ‘Non-propositional activities’ , can be intended to explain automated, effortless, “ready-made” activities without constructed formulation, composed of sequences of actions and highly embody responses.

related to those movements<sup>37</sup> —e.g., wristwatch to measure time; glasses to see; footwear to walk; pencils to write; microphones to speak; toothbrushes to brush teeth and so on and so forth. Everyday practices are hence tangible. As Reckwitz (2002) has reported, ‘the body’, which is a central element in practice performance, cannot be conceived as a mere instrument because it is how we understand and shape the world<sup>38</sup>. Following what Simonsen said: “*we are our bodies and all our experiences and the meanings that animate our lives are based in active corporeal involvement in the world.*” (2007, p. 171). All of our routinized actions are thus performance-related to our human body and extensions.

In this particular ontology, discourses and languages irrefutably lose their pre-eminence to become just another type of practice (Reckwitz, 2002). Even Schatzki (2002) supports this idea. In his view, both the “doing” and the “saying” have the same importance. However, differences still exist. Firstly, “saying” should be conceived as a subclass of “doing” (T. Schatzki, 2012a). Secondly, the main difference between “doing” and “saying” involves the distinction between discursive and non-discursive actions (T. Schatzki, 2017, p. 127) because discourses can refer to a range of communicative media (Mains, 2006). Indeed, “saying” actions involve kinetic and semantic systems while boldly doing involve only a conscious, or unconscious, kinetical system. Therefore, the “saying” is not necessarily expressed through an oral or written language but can also be expressed through a symbolic form of interaction in the discursive field of meaningful communication: “*Shakes of the head, waves of the hand, and winks can all, given the context, say something*” (T. Schatzki, 2002, p. 72). In conclusion, corporal languages, oral saying, and texts that compose discursive actions together with non-discursive actions fulfill multiple roles in practice performances as “binding agents” to connect practice’s elements in a particular arrangement.

There are also the following questions that need to be answered. *How can we have a proper sense of what people do and say? Where should we look for a proper meaning in urban world events?*

Unfortunately, a single action does not explain what meaning it carries. Mentioning Wittgenstein (Wittgenstein & Anscombe, 1989), Simonsen (2007) argued how meaning and significance could not be conceived as a unitary and pre-given assumption. Actions’ meaning —as well as words’ meaning— are never univocal. According to the critical review of normative concepts in classical philosophy, the meaning of an action is made up of multiple relations explained through contextual arrangement (Murdoch, 2006). A type of action such as building, for example, can be performed in different contexts; however, building

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<sup>37</sup> We will discuss the organization and arrangement of artifact in practice-based thinking in the following paragraphs.

<sup>38</sup> In Reckwitz (2002) practice theory reports, moreover, mental activities are bodily activities as well. A social practice consists of certain bodily and certain mental activities and both the mental and the bodily ‘dimensions’ in practice constitute an inseparable set.

following formal code regulations in the urban downtown is something completely different in its essence than building through the process of popular urbanization. Therefore, an action only acquires meaning when done with others unfolding in a “*set of doings and sayings*” (T. Schatzki, 2002, p. 73) situated and semantically contextualized.

A single practice also never exists in isolation with clear, defined, and fixed boundaries. According to Schatzki's ideas, practices should be conceived as “*interwoven activities in a given social domain*” (1997, p. 285). Each activity is formed by a specific cluster of different intelligible<sup>39</sup> actions performed together in a given spatial-temporal chain and potentially open to changes (T. Schatzki, 2005). For this research, It is of interest to note that an order is over imposed on those actions that create a cluster. As Schatzki (2002, p. 73) has reported, expressions such as “task” and “project” explain subsystems within a practice. For instance, still considering the building practice, tasks may consist of coherent actions to perform an optimized housing basement —such as preparing the optimum concrete mix or placing the correct set of steel reinforcing bars. Conversely, performing a project consists of a higher state of hierarchical order, such as building an entire floor, understanding how the first floor of a detached house is usually represented in popular urbanizations, and accepting the different tasks connected to that.

Moreover, unusual and circumstantial actions, errors, or innovations are likely widespread features in a practice because performing inside or related activities also bring about a change of the practice itself. Some of this order of actions, such as “tasks” o “projects” may change occasionally. We can imagine a shoddy terraced retaining wall effect in slope areas housing construction and how a small structural failure affects the last stages of building work. It would have a permanent effect on the kind of resulting structure, messing up the pre-given assumption and order of things. Sometimes those unforeseen incidents can also modify the shape and dimension of the building practice within the context. Differences between a house building practice in the first wave of popular urbanization forty years ago and building practice in the third wave of popular urbanization could be remarkable. They imply different environmental conditions, artifacts involved —building materials and tools—, rules and parameters adopted (see Section 2.2).

Following Schatzki (1997, 2002, 2010a, 2012a; 1996), the set of “doings” and “sayings” organized in given tasks, and projects in a complete practice, are linked through a compound of four orders of operations which he calls “organizing features”. These are a) *practical understanding*, b) *explicit rules* followed, c) *teleoaffectivity*, d) *general understanding*. Practical understanding is the first order in which actions are kept together. It refers to skills developed in reiterated activities and experiences alongside a practical discernment on when specific performance is required. In Schatzki's reports, practical understanding can be conceived if taking

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<sup>39</sup> In its original meaning intelligibility was a form of comprehension apprehended only by the intellect, as opposed to the senses.

into consideration Bourdieu's "Habitus" (1998) and Giddens's "Practical consciousness" (1984): the deeply grounded habits, skills, and dispositions that someone possesses due to their life experiences which cannot be verbally or discursively formulated<sup>40</sup>. Practical understanding resembles their conceptions but further enhancing the capacity of recognition through a performance analysis of particular actions such as: raising a hand in class to speak or putting a hand over the mouth when coughing (T. Schatzki, 1997). Practical understanding alone, however, does not always succeed in behavioral explanations. In Wittgensteinian's tradition, b) *Rules* and c) *Teleoaffectivity* are also involved in this —respectively connected with normative and intentional dimensions of practices. On the one hand, explicit normative force<sup>41</sup> concerns "*explicit formulations, principles, precepts, and instructions*" (T. Schatzki, 2002, p. 79). It influences or determines the "*the ground for and limits upon the possibility of meaningful and practicable action by practitioners*" (Watson, 2017, p. 172).

On the other hand, Teleoaffectivity expresses projectivity – ends are tied to hopes and expectations expressed before or during an activity. Schatzki (1997, 2002, 2012a) conceives that *Teleoaffectivity* is constituted mainly by two components: emotional/affective events -such as to desire, hope, or suffer because of something- and the teleological state of affair<sup>42</sup>. They affect reasons to conduct an activity and its performance. Both have reasons for at least most of our routinized actions. From the side of affectivity and emotions, Simonsen (2007) suggests that "*they primordially function [occur] at the pre-reflexive level*" (p.176), and they are expressed through the body's movement rather than explicit considerations. From the other teleological side, Schatzki follows a more positivist and "social philosophers of science" assumption, considering individual human actions —as well as the whole social practice— explained with reference to their purposes. To summarize, *Teleoaffective* structure orients both the set of "ends" —pre-reflexive— and the "aims"—reflexive— that participants pursue.

The last component for action ordering is *General understanding*. According to Gram-Hanssen (2010), Schatzki does not fully explain his fourth-order of mental operations, which links practices together. Added at a later time in his theorization (2002; 2010b; 2012), the "general understanding" lights up only when a certain degree of complexity in the practice set is reached. It stands as some kind of reflexive understanding, highly abstract and vague, connected with a shared practitioner culture that shapes practices' identity. For instance, it revolves around expectations and values related to status, honor, taboo, moral and aesthetic

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<sup>40</sup> In the sense of Bourdieu and Giddens they cannot be representative. In other words, they develop a non-representative theory of actions (T. Schatzki, 1997, p. 294).

<sup>41</sup> Explicit rules, which in practice view are also deployed through others practices, such as supervision, ethical codes and professional norms writing, active control and other mechanisms of behavioural incentives and dissuasion.

<sup>42</sup> "Teleology, (from Greek telos, "end" and logos, "reason"), explanation by reference to some purpose, end, goal, or function. Traditionally, it was also described as final causality" Definition of Teleology in Encyclopædia Britannica -<https://www.britannica.com/topic/teleology>- Last visit 19/02/2018

dispositions—all rooted in “cultural” orientation<sup>43</sup>. In Schatzki’s latest book, *The timespace of human activity: on performance, society, and history as indeterminate teleological events* (2010, p.51), he suggests that general understanding symbolizes implicit rules in contrast to the second component explained above.

Giving a practical example from fieldwork data, actions that make up a safety draft plan may be organized by a) instruction, requirements, and rules requested b) knowing how to draft, c) a couple of personal purposes and emotive status which guide the action, d) expectations and responsibility. Explicit rules such as safety norms and commitment requests have to be followed. Also, specific documents have to be produced, such as planimetry, sections, and details. However, even if someone knows all the normative steps to produce a draft project, only through a specific competence acquired through years of practice can someone hope to produce such things accurately. For instance, proper detail levels should be assigned to a specific view scale. Acquired proper language to use in the final report is a part of this embodied knowledge acquired through direct experiences as well.

Moreover, even if it is clear which rules have to be followed and a designer has proper “know-how”; personal purpose and emotional status can affect daily productivity, design quality, and accuracy. For example, it concerns the clarity of the lines drawn out or other material errors committed in a context of the stress of disagreement situation with the commitment, other partners, or for other personal reasons. Lastly, general understanding sets the ground so that whoever has been through practice can “recognize it” and recognize themselves in it. Indeed, it is culturally accepted to ask for an architect or engineer's support rather than a medical doctor if someone needs to obtain a safety draft plan. Those involved have expectations in a specific professional practice to obtain the best final product in terms of material selection, security, space layout, technological installations, and facilities—an expectation shaped by shared ideas, roles, functions of various activities, jobs, or practices in a particular social context. Supposedly in more formal ways than in informal ones, such ideas also drive how people talk, dress, and act. All behaviors are based on implicit shared assumptions.

In conclusion, saying that actions composing a hand draft plan are bound together by a specific dimension of the previous four orders of operations is saying that participants of the same kind of practices share the same semantic field. They are thus able to understand one another due to a shared process of sensemaking: what Schatzki (2005; 1996) calls *intelligibility*. In fact, the core in Schatzki’s former way of thinking is that he is primarily concerned with the following: “*that understanding/intelligibility is the basic ordering medium in social existence*” (1996, p. 12) and the certainty that practices are the “*site where understanding is ordered, and intelligibility articulated*” (1996, p. 110).

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<sup>43</sup> Consistently with the practice ontology, what is considered "cultural" is nothing but a multiplicity of previous shared practices affecting a current one.

In previous explanations of Schatzki's views, events and phenomena were somewhat more than just a set of already meaningful actions, results of clear decisions of rational thinking, or lead by structural principles (Nicolini, 2012; T. Schatzki, 1997). Actions acquire meaning when they belong to an intelligible process articulated in a more significant practice. In essence, when practical understanding, explicit rules, the teleoaffective structure, and general understanding are shared among different practitioners. For this reason, practices have a higher ontological position than actions.

### 3.2.1.2 A bundle of practices and material arrangements

Carrying out a practice means getting involved with material and physical arrangements located in time and space. According to Schatzki's ontology, "*The activities that compose practices are inevitably, and often essentially, bound up with material entities*" (2012b, p. 16). This symbiotic relationship is so intense that throughout this interrelation -materiality and a set of humans' actions- not only sustains production and reproduction of certain practices as Reckwitz (2002) assert but also that specific material arrangement simply does not exist out this bound. Then the main questions here could be revealed *What Schatzki means by material entities?*

Within the category "material arrangement" Schatzki (2002, 2010b) includes entities such as "humans", "artifacts", "organism", and "things of nature" due to its significance to human thought. This substantial subdivision of entities is an arbitrary choice but primarily helpful to investigate social life<sup>44</sup>. The first distinction between humans and organisms stems from humans' specific prerogatives: To develop advanced languages, morality, ability to understand others' minds processes. The second distinction between 'artifacts' and 'things of nature' is more sophisticated. His definition of 'artifacts' not only concerns "human products" as a product of human activities, such as computers, hammers, pencils, texts, but also the alteration and modification of what usually is conceived as "nature" such as landscapes, modified microorganisms, and bonsais. Furthermore, Schatzki (2002, p. 178) defines all those organisms and things that have not been relatively affected by human beings as "natural".

Contrary to the positions of ANT and Assemblage thinking, Schatzki deplors the human agency's debunking —even if it is not a shared positioning in the practices-based thinking. Gherardi (2017), for instance, uses the concept of socio-material practices to enrich practice studies with a post-human approach concerning a robust entanglement between culture and nature. Others, with more humanistic approaches instead, still assume the centrality of human agency in practices. Scholars such as Monteiro and Nicolini (2015), Simonsen (2007), or the same Schatzki (2002) maintain a pre-eminence in body and humanlike mental agency in socio-cultural experiences rather than addressing agential roles to related materials

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<sup>44</sup> Others ontologies, such as Translation and ANT as instance, used to collapse everything into a single "hybrids" category.

or other non-human entities. In saying that, this work relies on the latter statement believing that non-humans and other-than-human entities do not and cannot operate alone; they rather have a strict dependence on human activities.

In short, practice-based thinking offers promising ideas for analyzing people's activities. Moreover, of course, it is quite appropriate at grasping the social context in which individuals form and persist.

The relational variations in substance and intensity between a bundle of practices and material arrangements are essential in Schatzki's (2010b, 2012b) social analysis but will not be developed further in this paper as they would not make a significant contribution to the research at hand.

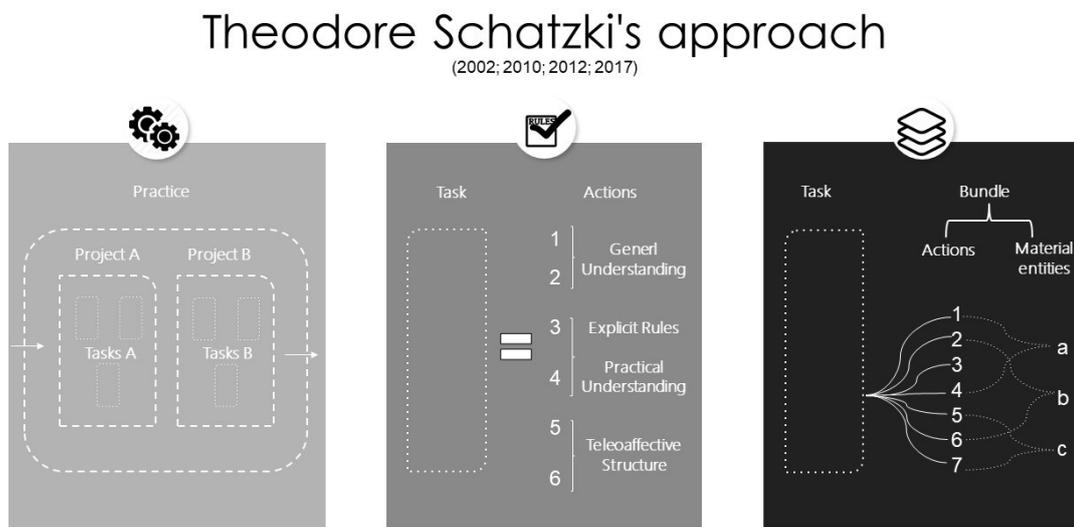


Figure 6: Theodore Schatzki's approach (source: own elaboration based on Schatzki's thought)

### 3.2.2. *A practical order*

In line with the studies discussed above, practices can be considered as the house of both Social structure and Agency, where the “every day” takes place and acquire specific meaning (T. Schatzki, 2002). According to Schatzki, in comparison with ontological “societism” and “individualism” practices’ ontology lies in the middle. He claims that:

*“Like societist ontologies, they immerse the relevant features of individuals in wider, distinctly social settings in the absence of which people with these features would not exist. Like individualist ontologies, however, they deny that the wider contexts in which these features exist fundamentally diverge in character from these features: properties of individuals are ontologically continuous with the distinct social contexts in which they exist” (2005, p. 469)*

Considering what Schatzki has reported means considering urban order bounds to a context in which it flows without denying both dimensions as a medium of this flow. In practice-based thinking, this placement was already evident within the *structuration theory* (Giddens, 1984), where Giddens had shown the nonsense of polarizing choices and constraints. He argues that structures are reproduced through practices and, by themselves, perpetuate and transform those structures:

*“The basic domain of study of the social sciences, according to the theory of structuration, is neither the experience of the individual actor, nor the existence of any form of societal totality, but social practices ordered across space and time.” (1984, p. 2)*

Slightly more on the side of determinism, even the concepts of *habitus* and *field* developed by Pierre Bourdieu can be placed within the same line (Thrift, 1983). Bourdieu stated that:

*“It is necessary to abandon all theories which explicitly or implicitly treat practice as a mechanical reaction, directly determined by the antecedent conditions and entirely reducible to the mechanical functioning of preestablished assemblies” (1977, p. 73)*

As a set of unconscious schemes that structure the ways of thinking, perceiving, and acting, the habitus structures and encodes activities. However, activities can mold the habitus as well —if they are compatible with the field conditions. Moreover, De Certeau’s work explains these concepts quite clearly on the production of urban space and narrative in *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1988).

He clarifies how formal rules and their outcomes<sup>45</sup> influence but never wholly determined the cities' inhabitants' practices.

All those peculiar theoretical approaches have eventually reached the field of LA urban studies offering theoretical tools for analyzing the effects of power in marginalized urban phenomena dealing with different urban issues such as consumption, mobility, and the social production of space. They evoke a scenario where there is no space for polarization, division, or separation but only for relational synthesis (Jaramillo Marín, 2011). For instance, Javier Protzel (2011) provided a renewed practice-based thinking scenario in Lima, overcoming private and public realms duality. According to the author, if ordinary and routinized activities still differ substantially between the wealthiest and the poorest, they appear to be linked through a shared practice related to the “cultural industry” that exploded during the last decades and crossing specific places. It involves programs watched on television, gastronomy, ways of living the holidays that crosscutting social classes. In his ideas, practices are essential not just in terms of work but also because they enable the collective urban life through their circulation, changing and reproduction, and they remain to be the shells in which humans enact their personal and social lives.

Duhau and Giglia (2007) have addressed globalized retail chain phenomena and informal micro streets-commerce in Mexico City —starting from practice-based thinking. They have tracked how consumption practices are differentiated among different economic sectors and respond to material restrictions/concessions in particular places show how *“far from being a purely instrumental activity, “shopping” is inextricably mixed with recreation and other activities linked to the complex process of reproduction of everyday life.”*(2007, p. 79). Similarly, Galindo Guzmán (2018) has analyzed the relationship between Bogotá city and the system of global cities through the role of Business Centers as global devices implemented in local environments using the Giddens’ structuralization theory. He has shown how Bogotá makes part of both global and local urban dynamics by articulating interconnected practices at both scales materialized in shopping centers, free trade zones, and particularly in business centers.

Furthermore, with the notion of “risk habitus”, Hernández Aguilar and Ruiz Rivera (2016) have analyzed the social logic and everyday decision-making processes that relate to risk perceptions and responses of the residents of Puebla’s landslide-prone settlements to understand the underlying conditions of vulnerability in a specific context under the sociological gaze of Bourdieu. The scholars show that settlers’ vulnerability judgment is based on a dyscrasia between their good perceptions of preparedness to face a risky situation and the factual hazard level to which they are exposed to —in spite of practice knowledge of the risk and low investment in preventions. In the same line of thought, Amao Cenicerós (2017) allows us to think from street art in the processes of participation, integration,

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<sup>45</sup> The theme of resistance and space-time appropriation against controls apparatus in his work emphasized the effects of power implicit in spatialized practices -which he calls “tactics”-.

assimilation, and social exclusion. She has studied the transformations that street art underwent in Tijuana by incorporating new actors who reformulate the traditional field. She also has shown how the artistic-urban sphere generational transition decentralizes street art as a “rebel activity” and re-positions it in the “official culture” of public discourses and programs.

Conversely, Barragán Rodríguez (2010) has focused on the everyday life practices of street young adults in Mexico City’s public space under the sociological gaze of De Certeau. She has noted how young men and women devote themselves to exploiting a territory by creating a system of opportunity for their survival and the realization of recreational and economic —illegal— activities. They create a functional and instrumental relationship with the space-place practiced which leads to the emergence of conflicts with other practices in space. De Certeau’s trajectory also emerges in how García (2013) has analyzed the social construction of public spaces in popular urbanizations of Bogotá. According to him, through the interactions between daily practices, the inhabitants transform public spaces physically and symbolically. This interaction also modifies space practices according to the neighborhoods’ needs, expectations, and possibilities. The material disposition that it achieves, such as the appearance of flower boxes, benches, courts, paths, among others, are evidence of this interaction and stimulus for further changes. Similarly, Prieto Peinado’s study (2018) on infrastructure construction and collective spaces improvement in post-earthquake urban reconstruction plans in the towns of Constitución and Llico in Chile represents another example of De Certeau’s influence. She has explored spontaneous spatial processes of appropriation that have emerged in these towns revealing the existence of what the author calls “spaces of opportunity”: Interstices not intended for use which appears between the emergency shelters, next to trees or leftover spaces which and, beyond the disadvantages inherent in the conditions of the prefabricated units, these were spaces that provided well-being in terms of leisure practices. These researches demonstrate once again that urban order is not just acted on by dominant or traditional groups which structure social life, but also by the determination of some agents —in a collective or individual form— which reflect and respond to the contingencies and multiple, dynamic realities of lived urban space.

As for his predecessors, Schatzki argues in favor of an ontology of “place”. He characterizes social life primarily by grounding in something he called “*the site of the social*” (2002), utilizing the notion of social *site*, the specific context in which an order can emerge. The site of the social is the space where, and as part of which, social life inherently occurs. This site-context is composed of a mesh of materiality and practices: “*Orders are arrangements of entities (e.g., people, artifacts, things), whereas practices are organized activities. Human coexistence thus transpires as and amid an elaborate, constantly evolving nexus of arranged things and organized activities*”(2002, p. X1).

Material arrangements in site-context are labile phenomena; these are only transitory fixations that can absorb the more restricted notions of order as

regularity/pattern, stability, and interdependence—in another world, form a given *structure*. Individuals' Agency is embedded in the social interaction of practices also able to shape the order dynamics. As a matter of fact, human practitioners are part of such an arrangement, but not merely “carriers” of practices. Instead, they are the medium through which practices are being channeled, shaped, displayed, and perpetrated (T. Schatzki, 2017). This coexistence sets up the site-context of practices, both the site of social structure and individual agency.

Starting from this ontological basis, if we should now define the general field of urban order, we could say that it is neither the outcome of an over-imposed authority project from a formalist or legalist perspective nor one of “rational” individualistic choices. Instead, people/practitioners when use, transit, remain or shape roads and sidewalks, furniture, traffic lights, vehicles -as a matter of example of site-context that make up the urban- they do so based on practical understanding, explicit rules, teleoaffectivity, a general understanding that make up different practices simultaneously. The compound of the four orders of operations tells all of the people/practitioners what site-contexts are for, how they are used, how they should be used, and what behaviors are expected to perform by others in such particular site-contexts and what they expect from them (Duhau, 2003; Duhau & Giglia, 2004; T. Schatzki, 2012b).

### 3.3 Power in practice

In its divisions and construction, each kind of urban order may have been the source of conflicts, mediation, oppression, liberation, marginalization, and exaltation. Thus, each kind of urban order is also an expression of “power” — economic, social, political, institutional, technological, etc.— able to imprint a mark on a particular urban site-context (Indovina, 2016).

To be consistent with contemporary practice-based thinking's ontological and epistemological commitments, also approaching “power” became a matter of practice. As Giddens (1984) reminds us, the concept of practice is logically interwoven with the concept of power because the latter is instantiated in action as a regular and routine phenomenon. Under his views, “power” can be identified with the agentic capacity to act in the social world and is defined as “*the means to getting things done*” (1984, p. 283).

However, not much is gained by noticing that power is ubiquitous to practice. Indeed, practice-based thinking assumption to deal with “power” issues could become quite useless if power is identified just as the capacity to act (or not to act) as we choose or prefer, without any compulsion or restraint given by other practices in their interrelation. The more significant challenge is to understand power as integral to and an effect of distributed practices.

Rather than apprising just the *Agentic power* notion, Practice-based thinking should understand and characterize the other side of the coin as well. It regards the

effects of such a capacity to direct, conduct, or influence others' actions in site-context elsewhere, thus focusing on how practices orchestrate other practices. Grappling with the idea of “power” as an effect, Foucault's (2017) reflections on “power” are suggestive here, as presented in some of his lectures at the *Collège de France* and elsewhere between 1977 and 1978. In these lectures, Foucault devoted a good deal of attention to the theme of modern political “power”, constructing a genealogical tale as much substantive as critical and questioning its rationality, sources, character, and targets. He introduced analytics of government approach, or *Governmentality* took up later by sociologists, political scientists, geographers, and government theorists, generating a new study field: Governmentality studies (Burchell et al., 1991).

The literature offers recent evidence about the opportunities of using Practice-based thinking and Governmentality together.

For example, regarding the literature on governmentality, Marttila (Marttila, 2013) together with other scholars (McKee, 2009; O'Malley et al., 1997; Stenson, 2005), question the trend to an overly abstract view of governing and its disregard of empirical reality and analysis. They sponsor a more descriptive empirical emphasis on analysis to account for how subjects, constituted through government practices, turn up in everyday activities. Although not directly mentioned, a significant link emerges with the epistemology of social practice research to overcome the abovementioned limits.

On the contrary, regarding the literature on practice-based thinking, Matt Watson (2017) looks at Governmentality directly, focusing on how practices are shaped and governed. He understands power as itself an effect of performances of practices rather than an object or property external to them.

In his writing, Watson criticized the tendency of practice-based scholars to conceive power just as an object - a combined and united property of the social - and complains about the lack of studies focusing on how some practices and practitioners deliberately affect the conduct of practices and practitioners elsewhere. According to him, some observable phenomena forming social order, related to patterns of domination, social elites, and hegemonic ideologies, demand some means of understanding in practice-based thinking. Developing such a position depends on looking for different ways of understanding power as effect "on" something rather than object "of" something.

In an attempt to find an account of power that is coherent with practice-based thinking's ontological commitments, Watson turns to Foucault (1982, 2017) and Latour (1984, 1999). According to him, Foucault's work provides a means of ordering an analysis of practices in relation to governing, while Latour offers an understanding of those relations, tracing them in their material functioning. Therefore, Watson suggests that the distribution of agency among practitioners or different practices in a constellation should be considered to deal with power as an effect and that a good way to do it is that account for means of executing power -

technologies, and apparatuses of governing- over the practices of “others” and their performances.

The scholars mentioned here are the ground for considering that practice-based thinking can meaningfully engage with questions of power as an effects of practices.

### 3.3.1 *Technologies of government*

According to Foucault (2017), Governmentality can be explained in three ways. First, Governmentality is a trend that fosters particular forms of knowledge reunited under the umbrella terms of “government.” The term “government” refers to the “*conduct of conduct*” (Dean, 2014, p. 18). It is substantiated in a more or less systematized constellation of practices —a “technology”— to lead, direct, or guide other practices, moved by specific forms of reasoning —a “rationality” that defines the telos of action or the adequate means to achieve it. Governmentality, thus, analyzes the rationality (goals and objectives) of governing authorities and does so over the “population” as a new object of political calculation (Lemke, 2002).

Second, Governmentality marks the emergence of a distinctly new form of thinking about and exercising power in certain societies. A form of thinking that understands power as a technical and practical matter. Therefore, Governmentality revolves around understanding rationality transposed effects into the material world through technologies, procedures, and material arrangements. Such forms of power influence how we perform daily practices, our ways of doing things, and how the social order we belong to is reproduced (Dean, 2014).

Last but not least, according to Foucault (2017), Governmentality is a spatiotemporally bounded analysis; it is a transformative process that originated in Europe since medieval times. Considering Governmentality as an analytic tool to enquire a specific historical process, Foucault’s lectures are based on the following thesis: The modern Western form of government results from a complex combination of “political” and “pastoral” power. On the one hand, political power derives from the ancient Greek conception of *Polis* as an entity organized around rights, universality, and public space. On the other hand, pastoral power derives from a religious concept that focuses on individuals’ comprehensive guidance. Both forms of power have been molded together after the French Revolution to support the emergence in the eighteenth century of a new political and moral philosophy based on liberty and freedom.

Regarding the first two points, Foucault’s essay *The subject and the power* resume the concept more effectively. Governmentality refers to the study of:

*“the way in which the conduct of individuals or of group might be directed [through] modes of action more or less considered or calculated, which were destined to act upon the possibilities of action of others” (1982, p. 790)*

Therefore, Governmentality could be defined as the study of power as practices on other practices. It pressures rather than annuls other agential capacities; it acts upon, and through, an open set of practical and ethical possibilities (Gordon, 1991). This takes us to a reverse feature of Governmentality: The study of the “autonomous” individual’s capacity for self-control and how this is linked to forms of political and economic rules (Lemke, 2002).

According to the last point, we can say that Foucault focuses on the problem of governing under conditions of emerging liberalism in Europe, wondering how it is possible to govern “free” individuals while maintaining social order. Indeed, within liberal policies, the government is bound up with the practical problems of managing individual behaviors without compromising their condition of freedom (Murdoch, 2000). However, despite its original temporal limit, the commensurability of Governmentality presents perhaps the most interesting possibilities in relation to the current neoliberalism.

In Foucault’s Collège de France lectures of 1979, the discussion on neoliberalism in three post-war Western countries revealed how the enterprise’s economic-organizational vocation became a diffuse and pervasive style of conduct throughout society that could be a generalized principle of functioning. Consequently, coherent entrepreneurial methods were born for the programming of the totality of governmental action (Foucault, 2010; Gordon, 1991).

Further elaboration on Governmentality provides the contemporary field of studies of rewed paths. In fact, as an analytical tool to inquire about neoliberal order, Governmentality has become appetible not just in contemporary Western countries. It seems to be a perfect fit to describe how practices and social order are managed in different realities, especially in post-colonial/de-colonial societies in the Global South (Drinot, 2014; Petrillo, 2018; D. Scott, 1995).

Another evolution of Foucault’s thinking is undoubtedly the application of governmental analysis to multiple actors. The problem of governing society was first posed in Foucault’s (2017) lectures as an internal or “domestic” matter of state. However, not just the over-valuing abstraction of “The State” and its bodies, as institutions engaging in government, can act upon others through government forms; they can be observed by looking at government practices and techniques within other organizations subsisting in the state (Miller & Rose, 2008; Rose & Miller, 2010; Rose-Redwood, 2006).

A multiplicity of organizations exists, working with a range of apparatuses, procedures, and technologies that attempt to take care and subsequently govern the belief and desire of segments of the population. Those organizations are yet outside the “government bodies”’ formal control but can enroll practitioners, procedures, and artifacts to pursue their regulation and control goals. Usually, this occurs through a range of practices of building, learning, making deals, mobilizing resources, and so forth, which enact local social commitment (Rose, 1993, 1989).

This case distances itself from the notion of co-optation. In the *Foundations of Theory of Organization*, Philip Selznick (1948) has used the term co-optation to

describe how oppositional movements went hook, line, and sinker by other organizations' structures that they are trying to influence. Co-optation is thus a practice focused on absorbing those who seek a change into a scheme of voluntary control. However, it is not a practice indiscriminately adopted. It sets in if an organization recognizes that its rationality, agenda, and legitimacy have been explicitly called into question by other organizations (Holdo, 2019). Oppositely, the sign of this networking of power has been the emergence of a new “governance” as field of analysis. At its most general, the term “governance” is used as a type of umbrella term to any strategy, practice, process, procedure, or project for exercising authority through supposed autonomous subjects —not onto passive objects contained in a predetermined space (Rose, 1999b; Sending & Neumann, 2006).

For instance, Molas (2019) has presented an investigation carried out in an artistic clinical approach with children and teenagers in Rio de Janeiro during a sensitive moment of social tension in popular urbanization. She was interested in knowing if the NGO program inventive potentialities, in which she was directly involved, could harbor the production of spaces of subjectivation while resolving the controversy. From an inverse perspective, Frösén (2013) evaluated the NGO TECHO -the same one I was part of- as an actor within government programs to “overcoming poverty” through popular urbanization development projects in Santiago de Chile. Specifically, she analyzed first the mutual understanding and influence between government positions and the organization started when TECHO was an emergency shelter government supplier. Second, she identified the concept of “Social Inclusion” fostered by the organization as a technology to produce social cohesion and “responsible citizens” who can access housing through a regulated self-management of their communities and themselves.

Simultaneously, with the ideas of “governance” we have assisted in extending entrepreneurial’ rationality to previously exempt areas such as electricity, water, telecommunications, transport, and other basic infrastructure services, as we already saw in Chapter II. Entrepreneurial’ rationality entails the deployment of new technologies of governing from multiple centers through powerful means of governing at a distance: Means of administering populations through their own self-management in a marketplace of possibilities useful to setting budgets, targets, standards, and objectives —all overseen by the ubiquitous techniques of monitoring and audit. Techniques encompass both the public and private spheres, working across different scales to shape the most privatized practice while including organizational behaviors at the collective scale (Miller & Rose, 2008; Osborne & Rose, 1999). For instance, concerning the provision of services in LA, Ioris (2012) has demonstrated the interconnections between various social exclusion mechanisms that have composed the recent history of water management in Lima's city while questioning how the government has problematized water supply as a matter of “scarcity”. He claims that “scarcity” has been instrumental in the convergence of powerful private interests and subsequent technologies in organizing urban water systems.

The spatialization of governance measures is also another debating point. Indeed, to govern requires a need to represent and clarify the space over which the conduct's control must be exercised. I am arguing about delimiting multi-dimensional spaces formed by individuals' characteristics, practices, objects, and geographical belonging into a unit of analysis. Hence, spatialization involves the effects of technical knowledge over subjected areas that establish regulatory patterns and normalization techniques (Murdoch, 2000; Rose, 1999b).

In that sense, cities are usually instituted as bodies to govern in response to an increased “ungovernability” of their own diseases. In Osborne and Rose’s (1999) discussion of Charles Booth’s and Patrick Geddes’ work, it becomes clear that surveys of spaces serve to order and control conduct in cities despite different mapping rationalities that have emerged on those results.

Switching to the LA urban literature and more empirical works, Abufhele’s paper (2019) questions how the government problematized popular urbanizations as “territories of poverty” in Santiago and how it has been instrumental in the Chilean urban governance during the 1990s to make such a particular segment of the population a “subject of poverty”. Indeed, popular urbanizations became a field of government interventions under the label of “territories of extreme poverty”. Such preliminary operation justified the displacement of focalization upgrading programs such as *Chile Barrio* and others to bring an off-axis parameter identified as the cause of poverty back into the norm: Substandard shelters. Therefore, spaces can be earmarked for several different purposes, including those of power, order, and discipline, and, in many cases, to manage the effects of “unwanted” social phenomena (Osborne & Rose, 2004).

Second to last, the concurrent use of tradition as a governmental technique acting for strategic purposes is not uncommon in government. In the book *The invention of tradition*, Hobsbawm and Renger (2002) have highlighted the customary constructions of routinized activities, deliberately invented or reinvented in the recent past in the United Kingdom and its colonies. Those traditions have a qualified scope, with the aim of their reproduction. They give new meaning to certain phenomena otherwise without acceptable foundations. Usually, the necessity of such “new traditions” occurs in a period of rapid and significant change in a given social system where “old traditions” —old governmental technologies— were less flexible and adaptable to specific contextual characteristics. As a matter of fact, this is a strategy already seen elsewhere under neoliberalism. According to Rose and Miller (2010) the respect and the support for practices linked to tradition and religion in Britain have provided a translatability between traditional values and neo-liberal principles, opening a composite space for elaborating governmental programs.

Lastly, introducing the trickiest element, there are indirect techniques for leading and controlling individuals formed alongside the technologies of power which aspire to construct responsible subjects whose moral quality is based on the fact that they rationally act through a logic of self-acceptance and self-care. They are called “technologies of the Self” and are based on the activation of specific

psychological conditions such as the exaltation of innocence, dignity, and acceptance or, on the contrary, guilt, shame, and non-acceptance. Thus, through technologies of the self, subjects are led to choose the “right” things to do in a specific circumstance to attain a certain state of happiness and quality of life or, conversely, change their behavior. The notion has been taken from Foucault's seminar “Technologies of the Self” (1988) in which is traced how individuals act upon themselves in history, starting with Greco-Roman philosophy and early Christianity.

Several studies have elaborated aspects of “technologies of the self” from historical and empirical perspectives. The former was developed by Rose (1999a), which focused mainly on the role of the knowledge and expertise of the social sciences in the rationales of the modern government model by looking at some of the historical events, cognitive shifts, and technical innovations. The latter has been presented by Carenzo y Fernández Álvarez (2011). For instance, they have analyzed residual waste collection and recycling practices in La Matanza, one of the poorest districts in Buenos Aires, discovering practitioners were encouraged to form cooperatives as a requirement for financial resources and political support. The presentation of the city “No Waste” program was inscribed as an outstanding event within a process of rule production destined to structure the informal and illegal recycling sector. In the most interesting part, the authors report how through “technologies of the self” individuals' conduct had been molded and their identities shaped to create “entrepreneurial” subjects and collectives capable of creating “self-employment” in popular urbanizations.

Despite its value, Governmentality is nonetheless an analytic position that has come under challenge. The first critique of Governmentality is Foucault's over-emphasis on State, as we have seen surpassed by the modern approaches (Miller & Rose, 2008; Rose & Miller, 2010; Rose-Redwood, 2006). Even if Foucault rejects the state as a unified and monolithic all-powerful ruler, he emphasizes its importance as a site where power relations condense —the state as a “relational ensemble” (Jessop, 2007, p. 37).

Second, Governmentality tends to promote an overly abstract view of governing in which politics is reduced to a form of rationality. O'Malley, Weir, and Shearing (1997) have questioned the Governmentality studies trend to separate the programmatic phase of “governing” as the source of univocal rationality from its field implementation internally contested, and thus contradictory rationalities.

Third, Governmentality in practice can be criticized for its disregard of empirical reality. A review of the post-Foucauldian Governmentality literature suggests that the implementation phase of governing has been analyzed mainly through discourses. Therefore the analysis results appear more diagnostic than descriptive, giving primary emphasis on “rationality” as the first order of analysis rather than achieved empirical and practical “second-order” of analysis on “techniques” of governing. This preference to disregard empirical actualities results in a fundamental inability to account for why subjects, constituted through

governmental discourse, fail to turn up in everyday activities entirely (Marttila, 2013; Mckee, 2009; Stenson, 2005).

Last, and related to the previous point, is its inattention to social dissent. Kerr (1999) has stated that Foucault's Governmentality reproduces the tendency to a top-down conception of power that externalized and marginalized social agency. In this way, it cannot explain why practices of governing change when they do, and thus, it appears just as a theory of social reproduction. On the same line, O'Malley, Weir, and Shearing (1997) unveil the tendency to silence the constitutive role of contestation and thus contribute to the formulation of progressive views of governing.

### *3.3.2 Governmental rationality*

Following Theodore Schatzky's interpretation of practitioners' ends, this section aims to schematize the polymorphous character of "rationality" under practice-based thinking in order to master different governmental technologies. Practice-based thinking schematization allows banishing particularized perceptions of rationalities by ordering them into comprehensible and "meaningful" regularities.

According to Foucault (2010, 2017), a kind of order can be discerned in the chaotic intrigues of technologies and apparatus that emerged from governing practices. At least in a loose sense, he claims that these practices possess their own rationality that informs the rules, procedures, and goals of governmental action. He was looking for logics capable of making some form of technologies conceivable and workable for its practitioners and those on whom they were practiced, and he coined the term "rationality of government" to know and think about the nature of such logics (Gordon, 1991; Lemke, 2002).

Theodore Schatzki's (1997, 2002, 2012a) works have served as a central resource for practice-based thinking theoretical accounts of "rationality". In Schatzki's schema, a practice possess their own specific "teleoaffective structure": a range of normativized and hierarchically ordered ends, projects, and tasks to varying degrees coupled with normativized emotions, which link the "doings" and "sayings" that compose the practice. Schatzki's concept of "teleoaffectivity" combines the sense of orientation to a particular purpose, end, goal -teleology- with the emotions and motivational engagements -affect- enjoined by such orientations as seen in Subsection 3.2.1. They affect the reason to conduct an activity and its performance, such as desire, hope, and suffering because of something structuring and orienting the set of "ends" -pre-reflexive- and the "aims" -reflexive- practitioners pursue.

However, teleoaffective structures in Schatzki's (2002) account are the property of practitioners' willingness and are not equivalent to the purposes and aims of collective will or communities of practice. The concept is, therefore,

unsuited to capture governmental rationality that crosses multiple practices and communities. Schatzki tentatively introduces a different concept to exemplify the broader rationale behind a constellation of practices in a comprehensible and "meaningful" direction. Schatzki's book "The site of the social" exemplified the Shakers' sect<sup>46</sup> rationality around three principles based on harmonious communitarianism, hierarchical decision-making, and religious beliefs in salvation, introducing the term "teleoaffective regime" (2002, p. 28). Defining the main principles that lead a regime is more suitable to detect macro-social forms of governmental rationality. Indeed these regimes illustrate the common ordering of activities that reign across sets of multiple practices that suggests a manner or method of rule or government.

Therefore, Practice-based thinking surpassed a simple Weberian<sup>47</sup> form of rational reasoning used to pursue concrete tasks of social management. Practice-based thinking includes this but reveals an additional unity of characters proposing a "rationality" that results from deeper patterns and shares epistemic.

Despite the apparent overlaps between the use of the term "regime" and that of "general understanding" of practice in Schatzki's considerations shown by Welch (2020), I will refer to the use of this term to illustrate the common ordering of activities that are at the basis of the urbanization process, and that will therefore form the rationality at the basis of multiple practices inherent to the same process.

Even if practice-based thinking does not deny that rationality can be guided by a script and directed by a limited number of generative principles, it states that practitioners continually translate these scripts and might perform these principles in different ways. In development studies, Olivier de Sardan (2008) uses a similar perspective to critique institutional development models. He shows that

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<sup>46</sup> The Shakers were a millenarian nontrinitarian restorationist Christian sect espousing egalitarian ideals between man and women even in spiritual leadership roles. They are also known for their simple living, architecture, technological innovation, and furniture.

<sup>47</sup> Rationality has been recognized as perhaps the major theme in Max Weber's main works (Kalberg, 1980). The first is a pragmatic/instrumental-oriented rationality related to the expectations about other practices and material arrangement in the site-context. Rationality works in relation to the practitioner's purely pragmatic and egoistic interests as practical, rational choice in the short term. A pragmatic/instrumental rationality accepts given realities and calculates the most expedient means of dealing with the difficulties they present in terms of everyday interests. Thus, this type of rationality exists as a manifestation of man's capacity for means-end rational action. The second type is a value/belief-oriented rationality. This type of rationality involves a knowledge of increasingly precise ethical, aesthetic, religious, or other abstract concepts to justify causality and the formation of symbolic "meanings". More generally, all abstract and theoretical cognitive processes denote rationality in all their expansive active forms. The third type of rationality is substantive/affective-oriented, determined by a practitioner's specific feelings and emotions. Like pragmatic/instrumental thought unlike value/belief-oriented rationality, rationality directly orders action into patterns. However, it does so not based on a purely means-end calculation of solutions to daily problems but in relation to a past, present, or potential degree of pleasure or displeasure that re-emerges at the moment of action. The last type of rationality is formal/conventional-oriented and determined by ingrained habituation. Formal/conventional rationality generally relates to a structure of domination that acquired specific and delineated boundaries in economic, legal, and scientific spheres. It refers to a bureaucratic form of rationality. Whereas a pragmatic/instrumental-oriented rationality always indicates a tendency to calculate and to solve daily problems by means-end rational patterns of action, formal rationality ultimately legitimates a similar means-end rational calculation by reference back to conventionally applied regulation

practitioners do not simply follow the cooperative projects but instead reshape them in practice through processes of assemblage or reject them on social beliefs and conventional bases. A theme that brings us closer to the following and final section of the chapter.

### 3.3.3 *Countre-conduct and resistance*

Foucault suggests another way to reveal relations of forces by locating their position verifying their implementation throughout technologies of government: “*It consists of analyzing power relation through the antagonism of strategies*”(Foucault, 1982, p. 780) he said. Discussing countre-conduct issues is intended to address some of the criticisms of Governmentality approaches already mentioned in Subsection 3.3.1, which can contribute to a better understanding of the complexities and instabilities of urban order in popular urbanizations.

As one of the important concepts in Foucault’s lectures at the Collège de France, countre-conduct is correlated to the conduct it is opposed to due to the strategic reversibility of power’s effects surprisingly connected with Governmentality’s analytical tools (Gordon, 1991).

Countre-conduct is a wide-ranging concept; it intertwines and distances itself from other concepts such as disobedience, dissidence, revolt, and insubordination, critically analyzed by Foucault’s own account. In essence, countre-conduct can be defined as a kind of practice of resistance. Indeed, resistance is the first term mentioned in the countre-conduct discussion, where Foucault has laid out his intentions at the *College de France*:

*“I would like to try to identify some of the points of resistance, some of the forms of attack and counter-attack that appeared within the field of the pastorate [...] that could be called specific revolts of conduct”* (Foucault, 2017, p. 144).

Resistance as “countre-conduct” generally exists at a small-scale/micro-level as opposed to taking on the form of more massive revolutions. These are understood as passive and sometimes invisible actions, strategies, and tactics practitioners use individually or collectively in everyday life in order to face “immediate” struggles that are close to practitioners —affecting the social order in their neighborhood (Foucault, 1982). In light of the preceding discussion of structure and agency, I would like to suggest that countre-conduct is a productive concept into practice-based thinking precisely because it does not base resistance on a stringent interpretation of “*Agentic power*” as mentioned in Section 3.2.

With explicit reference to Foucault’s thought, Michel de Certeau (1988) has tried to locate practices that are foreign to the panoptic “geometrical” or “geographical” city space that elude and escape disciplining technologies without being outside the field in which they are exercised. For instance, his discussion

about spatial practices invoke a rhetoric of mobility —walking, public transport, among others. Practitioners create their site-context around and against the fixed representation of space that is the city itself. As de Certeau as said:

“The long poem of walking manipulated spatial organization, no matter how panoptic they may be: it is neither foreign to them [...] nor in conformity with them [...]. It creates shadows and ambiguities within them.”(1988, p. 101)

Walking resists imposed spatializations carving out escape routes; they produce counter-spatializations even in minor ways. Such “tactics”, as he called them, are used by the “weak” against everyday spatial hegemonies reclaiming their existence. Another example can be drawn from James C. Scott’s works (1985, 1989, 2003). Scott’s notion of micro-resistance or “everyday forms of resistance” implies that practitioners, subjected to technologies of government, act behind governmental rationality through creative tactics such as dissimulation, false compliance, evasion of taxes, pilfering, feigned ignorance, mockery, slander, arson, sabotage, so on and so forth. Such practices require little or no coordination or planning; they often represent a form of individual self-help and are concerned chiefly with immediate, de facto gains; most importantly, they maintain an aversion to any direct symbolic confrontation with technologies of government.

For instance, in the LA region, learned clientelism practices between individuals and the local political institutions as mechanisms to establish links and bonds outside the government’s formal and legal system could be considered a resistance practice of *countre-conduct* against formal governmental rationality. Clientelism is a practice built upon the principle of “*quid pro quo*” enabling “clients” and “patrons” to benefit from mutual support as they play asymmetrically but parallel to each other at different levels of political, social, and administrative articulation (Roniger, 2004). As Ramos (2016) has reported, this relationship is known and practiced in Lima’s districts between neighborhood organizations and local authorities to guarantee that the city’s management is carried out uneventfully. The author shows how this practice is performed naturally in daily life to face problems that would otherwise be difficult to overcome and that the friction with “illegality” is not considered a limitation.

To summarize, *countre-conduct* could be exemplified as a critique of particular incarnations of authority rationality substantiated in practices. Practices, which often covert behind the mask of public compliance, are used to indirectly modify the effects of power when they take form in the operationalization of activities that counter the processes employed for conducting others. Just like government structures, *countre-conduct* presumes systems of knowledge and competence to make them more concrete and tangible —systems built upon practitioners’ own rationalities and undertaken using varying techniques to validate resistance activities. While rationalities of governing direct the techniques and practices of those who govern and their conduct, the same happens with *countre-conduct* techniques (Demetriou, 2016).

### 3.4 Closing remarks

The main theoretical assumptions of this chapter can be summed up in 5 points. First, urban order comprises three superimposed dimensions: *Practices* and correlated *materiality*, forming bundles and their *interrelations*. Practices are composed of hierarchized entities -project and tasks- kept together by four orders of operations: practical understanding, explicit rules, teleoaffectivity, general understanding (T. Schatzki, 2012a).

Second, the compound of the four orders of operations overcome *structure* and *agency* duality. They tell all the people/practitioners what site-contexts are for, how they are used, how they should be used, and what behaviors are expected to be performed by others in such particular site-contexts, and what they expect from them (Duhau, 2003; Duhau & Giglia, 2004; T. Schatzki, 2012b).

Third, the concept of practice is logically interwoven with the concept of power (Watson, 2017). Power is instantiated in practices as a regular and routine phenomenon that can be tracked inside an activity or among activities to understand how certain entities are arranged together or pushed back. Therefore power can be conceived and recognized as an effect of practices because enacted through them.

Fourth, specific governmental rationalities (Foucault, 2010, 2017) or “teleoaffective regimes” (T. Schatzki, 2002, p. 28) and technologies can be mapped inside different practice/arrangement bundles in a limited site-context to identify how practices orchestrate other practices at a distance (Burchell et al., 1991; Dean, 2014; Osborne & Rose, 1999).

Last, *countre-conduct* as a critique of particular incarnations of authority rationality substantiated in micro-resistant practices should not be seen as dysfunctional to the reiteration of a particular urban order but functional to it (Demetriou, 2016; J. C. Scott, 1985, 1989, 2003).

# Chapter IV

## Practicing theory

### 4.1 Introduction

As seen in previous chapters, governmentality research has turned out a very powerful tool for analyzing social order and logics involved in organizations. However, its overly abstract view of governing and lack of methodological elaboration in empirical analysis has left unclear how its particular theoretical perspective influences fieldwork research (Marttila, 2013; Mckee, 2009; O'Malley et al., 1997; Stenson, 2005).

Instead of defining urban order from a top-down perspective, I was more interested in unveiling the current order's effects transversally, starting from empirical pieces of evidence such as practices on the field. It was the reason to approach the topic from the inhabitants' viewpoint and the motivation to observe practices of self-production of space in popular urbanizations as a first approximation.

Nevertheless, how can one reconcile this level of analysis with a general interest in urban order? Does going deeply into settlers' tactics rather than surfing through more institutional strategies mean adopting positions may clash with one another? Both points of view mentioned above have a specific referential scale in their focus plane—probably a set of research methods and corresponding apparatus - depending on the type of lens adopted, the degrees of control over the study conducted, and the focus on the studied phenomena' temporal dimension (Yin, 2003).

Therefore this chapter has become an attempt to overcome a fixed focal lens directed to one of those realities looking for a variable scaling to move the investigation inside and outside the two previous positions with a fair degree of inventiveness. Indeed a *“practice is a multifaceted and multidimensional phenomenon, it can only be empirically approached through toolkit logic and collage or heteroglossia, or even carnivalesque, approach.”* (Nicolini, 2012, p. 215). Thus, the methodological question response led to developing a reiterative and multipolar path based on two methodological movements: ‘zoom-in’ and ‘zoom-out’ into a single case study.

In Section 4.2, this chapter first provides the research's methodological premise and focuses on the different families' orientation in practice-based thinking and research design in locating the study of power in practice. Second, Sections 4.3 discuss the methodological strategy adopted concerning two methodological

movements ‘zoom-in’ and ‘zoom-out’. Section 4.4 describes what the approach to the study area depended on and what it was like reviewing the different methods used in the field to collect information. Section 4.5 explains how data analysis has been conducted. Then, Section 4.6 continues with the researcher's positionality, ethical considerations of the research methodology. Finally, Section 4.7 concludes with methodological weaknesses and limits.

## 4.2 Adjusting theoretical lenses

Nicolini has summarized four possible configurations of intents in approaching practices analysis, each accompanied by flexible and suitable methods (Nicolini, 2014; Nicolini & Monteiro, 2016). According to Nicolini, practice-based works can be related somehow through “family resemblances”<sup>48</sup> and similarities composing methodological sets. He has condensed those families as follows:

- The situational family focuses on actions setting and unfolding and how materiality arranges with them. Thus, the focus is not on how single people perform the practice but rather on the performance itself as a whole. Essential methods regard real-time observations through video methods, shadowing, breakdowns, and apprenticeship.

- Genealogical family studies the life of practices. The emerging, changing and disappearing of situations and phenomena. Genealogical methodologies got a well-established procedure in ethnography, determining both social relations and group relationships. They could also concern historical methods of analysis such as oral history interviews or archival research.

- Configurational family studies associations between regimes of ordinary activities that work together in spacetime and their outcomes. Here, the notion of situated practice is enacted while focusing on specifiable historical, discursive, and material situations that include it. The idea of a more substantial texture or net in which a phenomenon is submerged in extends and articulates the researcher's perspective on more significant phenomena. Suggested methodologies include the ‘zoom-in’ and ‘zoom-out’ approach (Nicolini, 2009) and the ‘spiral case study’ (Gherardi, 2010), both of them allowing to follow activities interrelation and expansion.

- The dialectical family instead puts the dynamics of the association between practices —internal tension and evolution within practices— at the center of the debate. Once again, related methods such as the historical method link with the historical reconstruction of practices, focusing on how practices stay together in a particular space and time, using primary sources and other evidence to reconstruct facts.

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<sup>48</sup> Nicolini has dragged the term probably from Wittgenstein's philosophy (McLachlan, 1981)

As Fife (2005) suggests, to properly deal with practices analysis, material gathered empirically as a first approximation should be verified or reinforced by complementary methods results. This combination of multiple techniques is usually called a “multi-methods approach” otherwise known as “triangulation” (Cardano, 2003). It does not require having both quantitative and qualitative methods in a research project. Instead, it deals with research problems with an arsenal of complementary methods to pursue an alternative perspective by changing the inquiry scale (Hesse-Biber & Johnson, 2015). Not less, it requires a deep understanding of the phenomenon to be studied (Hankivsky & Grace, 2015).

Nicolini's (2009, 2012, 2017) proposal to understanding practices' dynamics and characteristics also require a sort of multi-method approach through the reiteration of two focal movements “*zooming in on the accomplishment of practices and zooming out of their relationships in space and time*” (2009, p. 213). Those theoretical movements -moving the zoom and returning to the previous focus and starting over- allow the researcher to act at the same time as an insider in the situation -situational family- catching the meaning and accountability of a practice as if it were a practitioner, as well as an outsider, to analyze the practice in the interrelation with other practices -configurational family (Bispo, 2015).

In order to study practice dynamics and the effects of power in it, this chapter promotes the integration of “situational” and “configurational” families and their methodological stands through the two Zoom-in and Zoom-out movements' reiteration.

### **4.3 Zoom-in and zoom-out movements**

The analysis of power in practice has started inside -in space- and during -in time- activities, following the “situational” family resemblances in practice-based thinking. Therefore the ‘zoom-in’ movement encompassed the direct observation method to follow practices into their authentic environment and one-to-one interviews with practitioners to deal with practices in a discursive way.

Fieldwork data collection relies first on direct observation, which disembodied and materialized practices into physical mediators -humans, artifacts, things of nature, and other forms of representations following Schatzky's conception of practices we met in Section 3.2.2 with the idea of emphasizing neighborhood organizations' intersubjective understanding of activities and other essential material aspects related collective labor practices.

The second ‘zoom-in’ method has concerned discursive interviews. They capture and represent practitioners with ongoing concerns and opinions about collective labor practices during the time of activities. Complementary methods include photo collections as articulate statements of specifically situated events: The collective labor practice.

The effects of power arising from collective labor practices and the urbanization process relationship has been studied with the ‘zoom-out’ research movement. The ‘zoom-out’ movement radically changes the unit of analysis,

focusing on external practices and practitioners other than collective labor practices connected with the local urbanization process in accordance with the



**Figure 7: Key informants' categories and a sample pie chart**

“configurational” family resemblances in practice-based thinking. This second movement concerned the networking step. It enlightened how rationalities of governing and ideologies, apparently without any sort of direct contact with collective labor practice, are connected into a vast cosmos. Indeed, all practices are interwoven with one another through the time-space, in a messy texture of dependency. As reported in Subsection 3.2.1 practices never happen in isolation.

Therefore, power in practices has also been tracked among different practices and practitioners analyzing its effect on them. It substantiated itself in relation to other external practices that occur before, after, and outside the set and scenery of collective labor practices in popular urbanizations.

A preliminary method advanced to the backstage of actions involved survey interviews through Focus Groups to uncover the connection among different organizations and grab La Nueva Rinconada's socio-organizational, normative and material aspects. They have been used during the research period as part of TECHO's Habitat activities program within the selected areas, as explained in the next section.

Simultaneously, the idea was to grasp opinions and information from external organizations in the field of popular urbanizations' development process. Discursive tandem interviews with external organizations became part of the core method. Tandem interviews have been used to interact with professionals and experts in the urban development field in a more formal context. They were chosen to highlight the governmental rationality that shapes political, material, and social-related practices of other actors involved in collective labor practices at the local

## External organizations



Figure 8: External organizations composition

scale. Furthermore, “configurational” families of analysis required the following formal requests, documents, and authorization outside the collective labor practice in la Nueva Rinconada. Therefore, complementary methods include document analysis at different levels.

In the ground of qualitative data collection methods, surveys interviews, and discursive interviews, both have helped this research determine what interviewers can think, how they can make decisions, and what they could believe. Traditionally, both survey and discursive interviews involve questions and answers directly submitted, but their content provided a different kind of information despite their similarities. The survey interviews through Focus groups have provided the first layer of information. They established a solid base of facts and phenomena, determine past courses of action, and provide a first understanding of contextual situations through a narration.

On the contrary, discursive interviews have allowed the recovery of information not immediately evident in the form of narratives<sup>49</sup>. They provide a sort of the second layer of information.

### 4.4 Preparing the Fieldwork

The issue of safe access has been the leitmotif of the fieldwork. Like many other marginalized places, popular urbanizations still have a reputation as "dangerous place". I was aware I could not go into and approach people randomly

<sup>49</sup> A variety of terms has been used to define discursive interviews in qualitative methodology. Adjectives such “qualitative”, “In-depth”, “dialogical”, “comprehensive”, “clinical” and the same “discursive” can be considered synonymous with the same research tool, although it may sometimes diverge by nuances and aspects highlighted (Cardano & Ortaida, 2017; Corbetta, 2015).

without some kind of “safe-conduct” guarantee from recognized authorities. Thus, I arbitrated access in the field taking advantage of previous contacts with TECHO, a regional NGO that focuses on extreme poverty overcoming and citizen empowerment. My collaboration with them developed across two periods. The first period covered one full year after the master's degree from September 2015 to September 2016. During the first volunteering period, I worked in La Pradera de Manchay in the Pachacamac District, performing urban analysis for an urban upgrading plan proposal called *Mejora Urbana Integral-MUI*, which gained certain popularity for being the first of its type as an associative proposal.

The second period restarted a few weeks before the Ph.D. fieldwork at the beginning of February 2018. TECHO enlisted me as a volunteer in a new program called *Habitat and habitability* -just Habitat from now on, in which my skills and experience were considered valuable. This new team was created with the prospect of consolidating informal settlements and planning future activities with grassroots associations, also in coordination with other TECHO's teams. Habitat's purposes concerned the recollection of information from La Nueva Rincondada's housing and basic infrastructure services specifically, to determine accessibility problems and make new integrated planning proposals along the lines of what was tested with the Pradera project in 2016. However, unlike the first MUI designed on architectural project proposals, data collection and analysis acquired higher priority in this new phase.

TECHO Habitat developed new approaches and tools addressing the lack of information and knowledge in local *barriadas* concerning focus groups, mapping, and direct observation with the help of geolocalization software. I was there when those methods were prepared and tested, initially as volunteers and subsequently like volunteer coordinators. This was the reason for my presence in La Nueva Rincondada.

This collaboration granted secure full access to the field. Indeed, TECHO Habitat became the most important gatekeeper in the area, together with the neighborhood organizations' board members who agreed to collaborate with TECHO. On the other hand, it splits research time between volunteering with the NGO and academic with the Ph.D. proposal. As will be evident from the discussion in Section 4.6, the main effect of this closest collaboration concerns the form of observation I have finally chosen, the interview participants I selected, the relationships established with them, and the type of data collected.

The case study research was planned to be carried out in 9 months between November 2017 and August 2018, three months for the case study design, and six months of active fieldwork following ‘zoom-in’ and ‘zoom-out’ research movement. According to the TECHO schedule, the case study took into account five neighborhood organizations in La Nueva Rincondada: El Trébol, 7 de Enero, Villa Hermosa, Villa San Juan, and Girasoles. As already mentioned, the case study design has also included external organizations such as public agencies, third sector

organizations, private sectors, and utility firms related to the local urban development process.

In order to ensure high participation levels in the research activities, neighborhood organizations' members knew that TECHO volunteers were visiting for legitimate reasons. Each Habitat member received a recognition outfit equipment, usually a T-shirt with the organization's logo or a vest to wear, and a letter of introduction/intent from TECHO project managers. Equally, my role as a foreign Ph.D. student was explicit both inside TECHO and neighborhood organizations. I prepared a letter of introduction/intent with my co-supervisor at PUCP to strengthen my field position and transparency, as highlights in Subsection 4.6.3. Respecting confidentiality principles and sensitivity, I tried to break corresponding positional ignorance and mistrust, informing interviewees of my personal life, interest, and research aims hoping to receive information I needed in change.

The selection criteria for key-informant for both 'zoom-in' and 'zoom-out' research movements has been "convenience sampling" as called by Vandebosch (2008). According to him, a convenience sample is a non-probability type of survey method in which the survey data is collected from a group of people who are easy to approach or meet in order to gain the most detailed information about the perspectives and experiences of specific. This was the case of the focus group participants who were already active and known in TECHO's community.

It is, therefore, necessary to set out the criteria that led the NGO to act in that specific context and with those specific organizations. Following the Urban Poverty Reduction Strategy developed by the Ministry of Development and Social Inclusion (MIDIS), TECHO decided to focus his work where the highest concentrations of urban poverty were encountered. La nueva Rinconada área among others areas was one of them (TECHO - Perú et al., 2018). According to TECHO's subjective criteria, five neighborhood organizations were already selected at the point of my second involvement: El Trébol, 7 de Enero, Villa Hermosa, Villa San Juan, and Girasoles. The selection criteria used by the NGO became evident to me after a few months. These refer first to the results of a household characterization survey<sup>50</sup> - *Encuesta de Caracterización de Hogares* performed in the area that allowed characterizing the situation of households and the organization involved so that it serves as input for planning the joint work of the local community and TECHO. Second, it included the inhabitants' participatory attitudes and effectiveness in carrying out the activities planned with TECHO, which were achieved in previous engagements.

Likewise, the interviewed representatives of the external organizations were selected based on accessibility aspects, each organization's availability, their willingness to participate in research, and their expertise in specific topics. In such

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<sup>50</sup> See TECHO website for further information: <https://sites.google.com/a/techo.org/gestion-comunitaria-peru/home/encuesta-de-caracterizacion-de-hogares>

circumstances, Tania Herrera Romero, and Kelly Gomez Perochena from the the *Grupo Interdisciplinario de Investigación en Ciudades y Territorios Urbanos* (INCITU) at the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru (PUCP) helped me to identify the proper institutions and interlocutors.

Finally, I found local advisors. Interview questions on infrastructure facilities were shaped by following the advice and recommendations of Isabella Albarran, head of the TECHO research team, through “guidelines” (Cardano, 2003; Corbetta, 2015; Fife, 2005). Through guided or semi-structured interviews, I created space to decide how to set questions, modality, and through which arrangement conducting the meeting, overall establishing a more comfortable communicational style according to the situation. Moreover, interviewees were still free to shape/change their answers and response profiles at any time. One of the main advantages of using guided interviews has concerned the relative stability of roles covered through the research period. It helped to fulfill my obligations, complying with ethical codes and with the research objectives. The second advantage concerned flexibility while remaining committed to research intentions. I freely received fascinations from interviewees during interview sections, updating further questions submitted to other subjects, and even maintaining the guided structure. Indeed, interviewers’ questions have been structured similarly for each ‘zoom-in’ and ‘zoom-out’ research movement.

The following subsections discuss the methods of collecting data in detail, showing their belonging with the movement of ‘zoom-in’ or ‘zoom-out’ in turn. Methods are listed in chronological order starting from the activity effectively started earlier. Each activity will report.

#### *4.4.1 Focus Groups*

Focus groups were activated in the preliminary stage of the ‘zoom-out’ research movement as necessary for the research carried out by TECHO Habitat and functional to my understanding of urban development processes in the area. In contrast to other research methods, Focus groups have involved members of the TECHO Habitat program, TECHO-based community program, and local board in eight sessions of each neighborhood organization. Those sessions were dealing with eight different subjects: Waste management; water supply and sewage system; electricity supply; transport systems and accessibility, public and collective spaces; urban security; education system; sanitation system, and local economy. Comprehensive TECHO Habitat's approach to their own work concerned collecting surveys, spatial and material data. In pursuit of this research, Focus Group activities played a crucial role aside from direct visual evaluation.

Serial meetings in focus groups comprise many meetings with the same people over a while, to studying process and experience through time (Corden & Millar, 2007), with the benefit of creating an atmosphere of mutual respect and trust (Crang & Cook, 2007). Therefore, TECHO planned a series of 8 focus groups, each one

regards a specific urban topic, in the five previously mentioned neighborhood organizations in La Nuva Rinconada.

Focus Groups allowed a preliminary exploration of the fieldwork. In fact, through Focus Groups, I understood how board members of neighborhood organizations work out their thoughts and feelings about urban topics and certain matters in social contexts. Furthermore, I became aware of Habitat's main aims and work. Finally, Focus Group meetings with TECHO volunteers and board members created a keen awareness of life practices and struggles in those environments. Moreover, following focus groups has been particularly useful to flesh out concepts, stories, and arguments collected during the 'zoom-in' movements and became aware of apparent contradictions among collected data from other sources.

Undoubtedly, the focus group's mayor aims concern information and data collection, but how that information is collected acquires tangible importance. Bringing participants together to discuss a topic in a group has to follow a proper guideline to ensure minimum data quality standards. As Crang and Cook (2007) suggest, implementing and performing these kinds of interviews required proper schedules and subject consensus and agreements. Therefore, the reasons for the series, number of meetings, the average time of each one, and session topic have to be clear with the interviewer and interviewee.

I worked with TECHO in five different neighborhood organizations with limited human resources and time contingency. Then we chose to set up all focus groups with a standardized design and imposing our research interest to guide the discussion. Substantially each focus group was structured through a deliberate and pre-planned directive approach to control questions and group dynamics to delivering results on time and maintaining comparability across groups (Bosco & Herman, 2010; Crang & Cook, 2007; Morgan, 1995, 1996).

We achieved activities effectiveness considering the minimum accepted number of participants and giving them enough time to cover the range of issues planned. In the first case, we planned to involve no less than six and no more than ten each group, depending on the research topic; in the second case, we scheduled the duration of each meeting around one hour and a half.

Focus groups were usually conducted in a formal setting. The organization's premises, called *Local Comunal* in Spanish, becomes the setting where those meetings took place in order to facilitate participation (Breen, 2006) and reduce the risk of disorientation or inconveniences to participants (Bosco & Herman, 2010). If other activities occupied a formal context, or it could not be used momentarily, the meetings were moved to private apartments -as in the case of Villa Hermosa- or in other collective spaces - as in Girasoles' case. To sum up, we chose those settings because they were comfortable, with an actual meaning for our participants and because they worked relatively well to our project's goals.

Recruited participants belonged to both neighborhood organizations board members *-junta directiva* and TECHO community group members *-Equipos de Comunidad* for a total of five persons at least, to which add at least another one or two moderators of TECHO Habitat. Board member composition and TECHO community group members were heterogeneous groups composed of both males and females, each with similar backgrounds.

As Morgan (1995) suggests, a couple of strategies were used to avoid recruitment problems. First, we involved TECHO's local community teams in hiring a more reliable partner in an organization's meetings. The strategy to involve only neighborhood organization board members rather than other association members could be questionable. Risks and opportunities were exposed in Crang and Cook (2007) as well as in Bosco and Herman (2010). TECHO chooses an already existing group for specific organizational requirements but also for the kind of information collected. Indeed, the board members organize collective effort activities weekly and deal with institutions and external organizations, such as TECHO, about urban consolidation issues frequently. Therefore, we are talking about issues "normally" discussed in this kind of setting.

#### 4.4.2 *Direct observation*

Direct observation, and precisely "shadowing", has been the first and deeper 'zoom-in' in methods adopted in the field of the situational family of practice-based thinking. As Gobo (2008) has suggested, the gaps between what people say and their contextual behavior can be filled with fieldwork research, considered the principal source of knowledge about social phenomena and practices.

Researchers today have taken many techniques traditionally used by anthropologists and ethnologists on the field. Between these, the direct observation methods are quite popular. There are many variations in observational research. Just considering the 'direct' ones, they can be summarily divided into four main stereotyped typologies according to the degree of involvement in the activities and the clearness of roles played (Gold, 1958).

1. *Complete participants* —where researchers are entirely part of the setting, as covered observes.
2. *Participants as observers* —where researchers gain access to a setting by having a natural and non-research reason for being part of the setting. As observers, they are part of the group being studied.
3. *Observers as participants* —where researchers have only minimal involvement in the social setting being studied. Some connections to the setting may exist, but observers are not naturally and typically part of the social setting.
4. *Complete observers* —where researchers are not part of the social setting at all and are neither seen nor noticed by participants. An

example of complete observation might be watching public space users in a square, using cameras, or from a privileged and hidden perspective, such as a building facing the square.

What is called “shadowing” comes from a reduced interaction with practitioners. It usually emerges by the pattern of the “observer as participant” stereotyped above; even if a series of elements of the “shadowing” could also belong to a more participatory position such as both complete participant position and participants as “observer” (Corbetta, 2015). These elements are laid out in a medium/long observation timeline, the researcher’s permanence and adaptation to contextual workplaces, the interaction among the researcher and other subjects involved, and how activities should be described.

I cannot refer to my approach as “participant observation” basically because, in that case, *“observers are doing the same things as the people -or some of the people- they are observing”* (Czarniawska, 2014a, p. 44). The heaviness of the work performed in collective labor practices, the lack of safety measures, skills required, and tolls linked to the construction industry did not allow me to reach full participation. Therefore, I watched people’s activities, maintaining some distance and using most of the time take notes and photos of the situations under scrutiny.

Furthermore, “shadowing” does not allow researchers to represent objects of inquiry from the point of view of an “insider” or a “practitioner” when compared to the participant observation. That cannot be its function. As Czarniawska claims, *“an observer can never know better than an actor; a stranger cannot say more about any culture than a native can, but observers and strangers can see different things than actors and natives cannot.”* (2014a, p. 45). According to her, conceiving an outsider perspective the same as a local perspective is an illusion because world understanding strongly depends on our subjectivity and particularly embodied dispositions such as our habitus, quoting Bourdieu (1977). Acceptable ambition covers more the development of an intersubjective perspective together with the local in a *“dialogical relationship”* (Czarniawska, 2014a, p. 45) rather than believing in a “going native” fashion. Methodologically speaking, Shadowing has allowed me to preserve an “outsider” attitude without the assumption to reach a “native” understanding.

Then, through Shadowing, I have unraveled the collective labor practice into different sets of projects and tasks developed in fieldwork. “Shadowing” techniques allowed me to follow both practitioners and nonhumans entities such as objects and quasi-objects over an extended period: From the moment they begin an activity -or are insert in ones- until they leave it -or are deposit-. Altogether I performed 110 hours of collective labor practices direct observation in five different neighborhood organizations: El Trébol; Villa Hermosa; 7 de Enero; Villa San Juan; Girasoles. Approximately 65 hours were spent just in El Trébol *Faena Comunal*. Furthermore, to corroborate the information collected, I also spent five hours in each of the remaining neighborhood organizations in their collective labor practices.

Conversely, the remaining fieldwork hours have been spent in other neighborhood activities and the preliminary reconnaissance of La Nueva Rinconada.

To conclude, “shadowing” has been a holistic and insightful method to report projects, tasks, and related material arrangements that move often and quickly into collective labor practices. It has been a research tool to document in detail diverse processes going on simultaneously in various settings, showing their independence and connections in the weekend routine (Czarniawska, 2014b).

#### *4.4.3 One-to-one interviews*

In the field of qualitative research, interviews are an interpretative method based on human interaction and communication. They are commonly used to collect information about past and present subjects’ circumstances, personal backgrounds, feelings, and opinions on their or other’s actions (McDowell, 2010). Therefore, information and stories are transmitted verbally from a subject - interviewee- to another -interviewer- in form of direct communication.

Generally speaking, different forms of interactions are possible based on the number of interviewers and interviewees involved. In the second ‘zoom-in’ movement, I followed Fife’s (2005) proposal to assembling the One-to-one interview schedule only after several weeks of preliminary research and general observation into the field in order to increase compliance with interviewed practitioners.

The criteria for interviewees had to do with their physical and organizational proximity. First, they should have participated in collective labor practices during my stay. Second, I chose to involve neighborhood organizations’ board members in El Trebol and community leaders in the other four organizations for expediency reasons. Inside this population, a total of six men and four women have been questioned for a total of ten practitioners (See appendix A and B).

As said before, the main purpose of collecting information through discursive interviews is to obtain information that is not immediately obvious in the form of narratives and argumentation (Cardano & Ortalda, 2017). Therefore, the ability to collect information has to go beyond interviewees’ social profiles, beliefs, attitudes, and factual information, involving the discursive character of the narration. Discursive information regards the second level of information inside which the previous are embedded, through which may arise a common intersubjective sense of the reality. This information may allow the researcher to unveiling the kind of social relationships and the modalities of its transmission (Herbert, 2010) and tracking the interviewee’s cognitive framework and value (Cardano, 2003).

Questions submitted were orientated to grasping interviewees’ points of view on aspects and issues essential for the research. This was the case for both questions involved in collective labor practices inside neighborhood organizations and

external organizations. However, some interviewees were willing or happy to share their views. Especially during fieldwork, I conducted interviews with individuals that ended up becoming group interviews because other people were unexpectedly present and joined in with the conversation, such as in the case of El Trébol practitioners (see Appendix D: Field report, 10/03/2018, vol.I, p.160; Field report, 08/04/2018, vol.II, p.49). Other practitioners were less receptive, and direct questions were necessary to push the conversation forward at the cost of losing a discursive interaction.

#### *4.4.4 Tandem interviews*

In the last ‘Zoom-out’ movement, other organizations involved in La Nueva Rinconada's development process have been reached - here called “externals”. External organizations' selective process came from direct fieldwork experiences, collected focus group data, and confrontation with the INCITU-PUCP research group.

However, getting information previously about whom to contact precisely has been a complicated process with external organizations. For instance, sending interview requests by mail to private or public institutions took me time because I was unsure about office responsibilities and in charging employers due to a general absence of transparency. Especially in public offices were required to compile specific requests addressed to the political authority on duty that could take weeks to issue the permit. Furthermore, I would not have used the same approach already experimented with interviews with Key informants in popular urbanizations.

I realized the need to be accompanied in the process by someone with more experience. Therefore, I tried to relieve my positional ignorance and disorientation, requiring the cooperation of a trusted local person involved in my community of practices with a sound knowledge of the field and some formal interaction experience to access institutional levels outside the case study area.

Finally, I planned a tandem interview method to deal with external organizations, accompanied by Kelly Gomez Perochena. Kelly was a local student of critical geography at PUCP and a member of the INCITU research group. She was working on her thesis concerning environmental justice and water management in la Nueva Rinconada when I looked for help during my research activity. Together we have reshaped the question agenda, and we met experts of the public agencies and private sector and utility firms.

As Kincaid and Bright (1957) have highlighted, the advantages of this collaboration concerned three points. First, Kelly had made me feel more comfortable and relaxed in the context of carrying out the “formal” function of cultural mediators. She also managed to break taboos quicker than in other loner experiences, legitimating some hidden discourses about delicate topics such as land squatting, conflicts, health and working conditions, supply materials, and products. Lastly, multi-perspectival meetings incremented the attention into verbal and non-

verbal communication. Indeed different perceptions alerted me about diverse aspects of the interview process.

A preliminary catalog was prepared to divide external organizations into three groups: Public agencies, third sector organizations, private sector, and utility firms. Inside these three groups, a total of nine men and four women holding administrative positions and equipped with long experience have been interviewed (see Appendix C).

Concerning public agencies, we have interviewed members of the local administration of San Jun de Miraflores, in the person of the *Gerente de desarrollo urbano*, the *Subgerentes de obras privadas*, and two employees from the *Subgerencia de Defensa Civil* and *Participación vicinal*. Furthermore, we involved an officer from the *Empresa Municipal Administradora de Peaje de Lima-EMAPE* and the *Subgerente de Defensa Civil de Lima* Metropolitan city under the direct control of the City metropolitan government. Second to last, we have spoken with a former board of directors member of *SEDAPAL* and with the director of the *Equipo gestión social de proyectos* of the same public firm. Finally, a meeting was arranged with an executive from the *Organismo de Formalización de la Propiedad Informal* (COFOPRI).

There were three third-sector organizations involved in building and construction activities in la Nueva Rinconada and specifically in El Trebol. We have succeeded in having meetings with two of them. Firstly, we met TECHO members. Besides work as gatekeepers, TECHO has been a reliable source of information. We have interviewed the TECHO community team leader of El Trebol and the local organization's Social Director. Secondly, we dealt with the chief woman of the *Legal Physical Sanitation Commission* of the Nueva Rinconada. Lastly, we also tried to contact *Solidaridad en Marcha* (SEM), a Christian association promoting health, education, and community development activities. It directly participated in stairway construction in El Trebol through its social program. However, we had to give up after several attempts.

Furthermore, we contacted three professional offices inside the private sector and utility firms: An architectural firm, a surveying firm, and a service construction company. The first directly worked with the El Trebol neighborhood organization. The second worked with Girasoles neighborhood organization as well as with other organizations in La Nueva Rinconada. The last was a contractor involved in the civil works for popular urbanizations electrification in the area. Also, we tried to contact *Luz del Sur*, a Peruvian utility company directly involved in electric power

distribution in the southern part of metropolitan Lima. Even in this case, we had to give up after several attempts.

#### 4.4.5 Complementary methods

Both ‘zoom-in’ and ‘zoom-out’ movements also included an equivalent study of secondary sources generally through complementary methods. Complementary methods refer to procedures to track social facts indirectly transposed in their material form as a record for personal or social matters. This work deal with two sources of documents: Visual and textual.

Using secondary data sources may be considered a stratagem in practice-based thinking when practices can no longer be observed or when informants have forgotten details. However, visual and textual secondary sources in this research should not be conceived as a mere container of information, rather as a way to contextualize information, addressing a variety of expert perspectives and insights (Flick, 2009).

Furthermore, document analysis includes indisputable advantages. On the one hand, unstructured sources such as interviews from both neighborhood organizations practitioners and external actors, as well as from field notes, are naturally incomplete and, most of the time, inaccurate. They can lead to a misleading representation of processes and practices under analysis. Conversely, documents are already existing artifacts and unaffected by the research process. Moreover, they are stable over time. Indeed, documents represent a version of reality produced for specific purposes and structured or layout in a way related to those purposes that cannot be changed (Bowen, 2009; Flick, 2009, 2011).

Therefore, the ‘zoom-in’ movement complementary tools include visual sources such as photos and drafts (Flick, 2011). They related to the *Faena Comunal* practice and were directly produced during the fieldwork. I used a Canon Powershot G11 camera and Faber-Castell multicolor pens as instruments for research purposes. Through these tools, 341 photos and numerous sketches were created, each with visual annotation of the shooting date and time. However, only a few will be included in this work. Conversely, the ‘zoom-out’ movement deals with official textual sources, including official documents, both printed and electronic. The data set was very specific. I analyzed maps, institutional reports, thesis, guidelines, laws, agreements, letters, and memoranda in which the aims and contents are outlined for several topics related to the development process in La Nueva Rinconada.

### 4.5 Working with data

Through the research conducted within the ‘zoom-in’ and ‘zoom-out’ movement, four main types of data have been collected: Field notes, recorded interviews, recorded focus groups discussion, and documents of a technical-

administrative nature. The qualitative data examination was activated by a wild search for data meaning, moving from the qualitative information recollected into some form of explanation and interpretation of main and recurrent themes, instead of a clear initial intention linked with the leading research interest.

The first step has dealt with field notes analysis using a traditional medium of documentation: Fieldnote reports (Flick, 2009). I condensed field notes into four diaries containing essentials information about collective labor practices proceedings and other related events. The research routine was to spend limited periods in the field, perhaps four or five hours during the weekend practice accomplishments. Then, heading a complete memory transcription leaving the field. It concerned implementing daily field notes into new pages creating a report or story on their base. I divided a page into two columns to collect data: descriptive information on the left column and free space on the right as a first practice. Subsequently, I separated reflexive information such as impressions or ideas from actual observations using the free right column as the second practice—this strategy allowed adding missed information, creating new links with previous notes, and renewed thoughts at a later stage (see Appendix D).

Field notes analysis concerned collective labor practices indexing and taxonomisation in line with practice-based thinking. The first aspect focused on ‘projects’ and ‘tasks’ determination on which each practice is based. The second aspect, probably the most important, concerns the connection which keeps those activities together inside and outside the practice mentioned above. The proposal made by Theodore Schatzky in Subsection 3.2.1.1 Chapter III illustrates how practices can be organized, how extended sequences of activities are taken together in a regime, how functions are allocated among participants, and how practitioners are associated with carrying out some of them. Then, I attempted to convert Theodore Schatzki’s theoretical position into a tool to shape a comprehensive and systematic picture of collective labor practices under scrutiny. As Leplat (1994) and Suchman (1997, reported to Gherardi, 2012, p.43) points out, collective and cooperative aspects of project and task can help to reveal features of the workgroup structure, the role of the interdependence of projects and tasks within the workgroup and among other practices outside the fieldwork. This also provides answers on where and when those activities have been accomplished and according to what rules. Projects and tasks so have a primary role in the analysis. Furthermore, connections of projects and tasks can be carried out within a variety of different criteria of analysis. I picked the following criteria based on the consideration emerged in the previous chapter:

- The temporal and spatial dimension of a practice: According to data, a collective labor practice can be divided into eight semantic units relating to the practice's temporal and spatial dimensions. Each unit reveals a

progressive chronological understanding of projects and tasks and their accomplishment.

- Knowledge-in-bundle: Data also underlines the social and situated dimension of collective learning and knowing. Here the notions of practical understanding and general understanding mentioned in the theoretical chapter have been used in the practice's description.
- The elements of the environment: The relationship between work environments and the structuring of work activities emerged from the collected data. It showed how collective work was mediated by humans being, animals, artifacts, and natural things, contributing to creating a unique work environment.
- Target and purposes: Data also answer why practitioners perform collective labor practice activities and which intentionality is behind them. Then, I identified effective results and situations practitioners want or plan to achieve through collective labor practices.
- Guided normativity: Data shows which explicit rules govern the collective labor practices in El Trebol and all the activities connected to shape practitioners' conduct.

The first approximation was not driven by a rigid research objective-oriented analysis, which has led to utilizing collected data to construct inclusive categories that could define the analysis units. It was only later that the object of the analysis was defined and the proposition settled.

The second step has dealt with the preliminary analysis of key informants' recorded interviews. The verbatim transcription of the recorded interviews to have their spreadsheet version and facilitate consultation occurred out of the field, back to Italy months after their field collection - despite good research practice suggesting otherwise (see Crang and Cook, 2007 p. 82). The cause of the delay was the lack of time and proper tools necessary to carry out the transcription on the field efficiently. Consequently, the transcription process did not occur directly but has been facilitated by a native Spanish speaker with proven transcription experience and just subsequently validated by the author. Interviews were fully transcribed, coded, and analyzed in Spanish —with the extracts included in the text translated into English to reach a wider audience.

Concerning the qualitative analysis of interviews, this second step has implied using QDA Miner Lite, a free version of computer software related to qualitative research. The coding process and data classification have been limited to the semi-structured interviews with the external actors and neighborhood organizations' members.

I first used an open coding technique, which implied creating a long list of codes, clustering all of them in a second step, and cleaning the lists in the last one (Fife, 2005). Figures 9 and 10 are the result of the first group of attempts to accomplish this task. This process followed different paths about the two main units

of analysis behind the research proposals –collective labor practices and urban development process– which were used to differentiate interviews' code groups. The software identified 41 potential sub-themes according to collective labor practices initially, followed by 37 potential sub-themes in the urban development process. Finally, the *fil rouge* that held practices and processes emerged understanding power as an effect of performances of practices only in this advanced research stage.

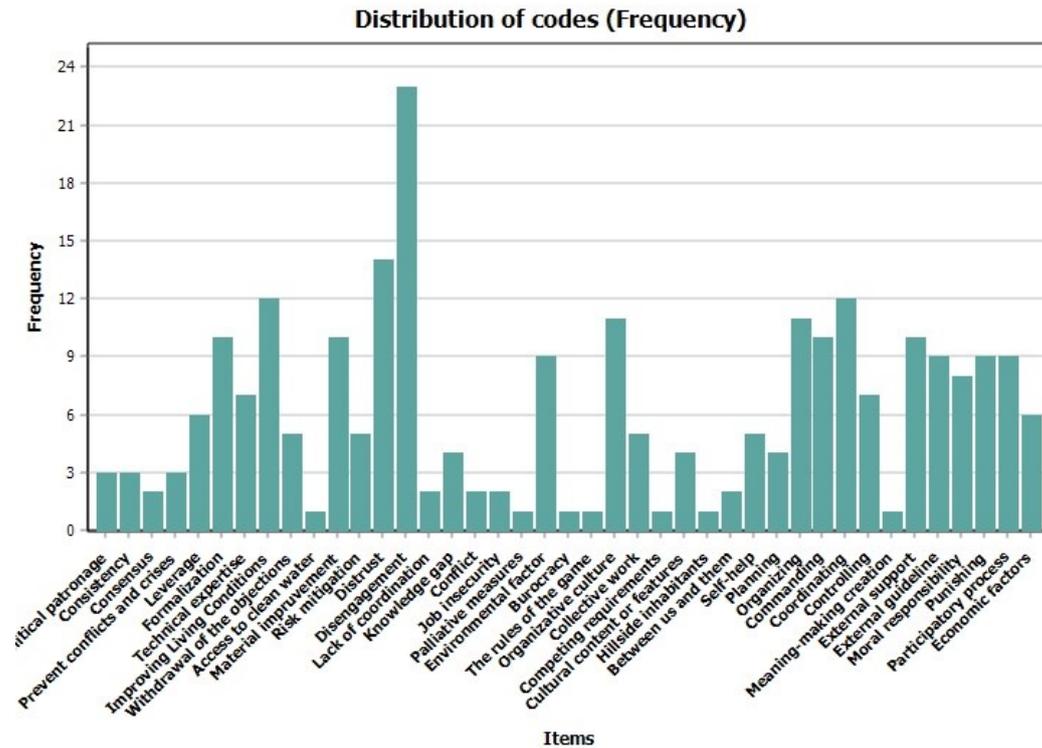


Figure 9: collective labor practice sub-themes by coding interviews (source: QDA Miner Lite)

After identifying the research object - the effect of the power mechanism that subjected the collective labor practice conduct, I repeated the previous steps to redirect the coding according to the renewed research questions and objective. In the commissioning of this, I focused on specific sub-themes that already emerged in the previous process revolving around the formalization procedures; the technical expertise; the organizational culture of the population that involved coordination of activities, clear commands, and punishments in the improvement of their living condition.

The same occurred with the technologies of power adopted to shape the conduct of the urban development process. Selected codes included deregulated acts, fragmentation of intents, coordination, and normalization of activities, technical supports including guidelines, expertise production, and knowledge transmission.

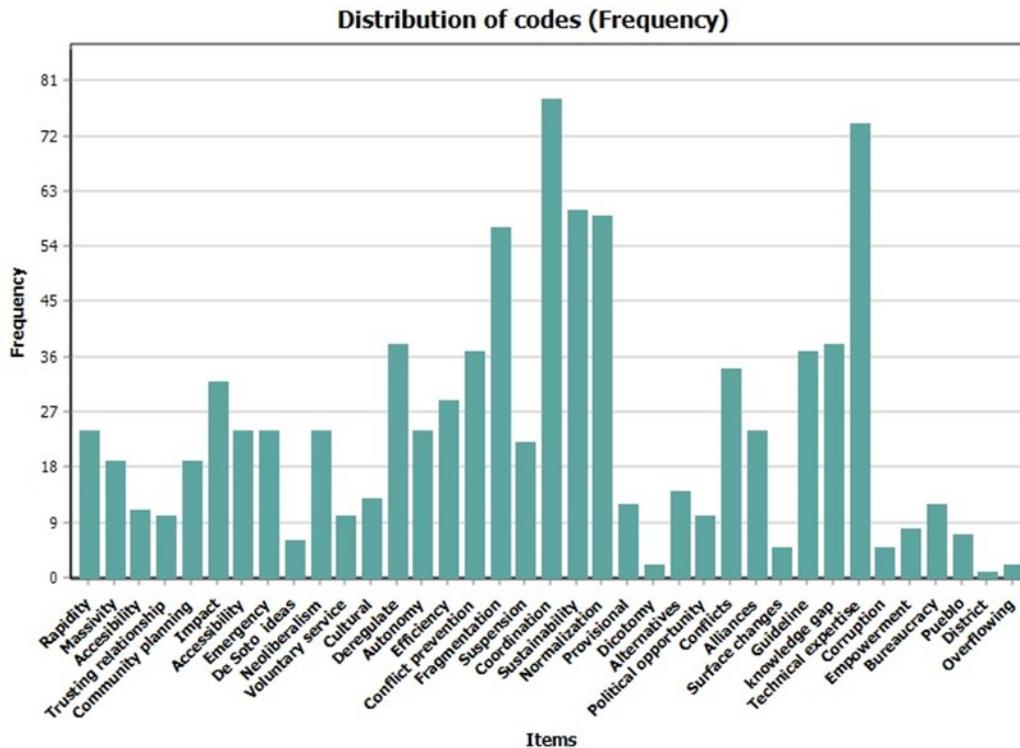


Figure 10: urban development process sub-themes by coding interviews (source: QDA Miner Lite)

The third step dealt with preliminary focus group analysis. As in the case of the field notes analysis, there was no software coding for the latter. The intention was to organize the urban development process by identifying the phases and operational difficulties encountered by neighborhood organizations in an area such as Nueva Rinconada. The data analysis configured the first part of Chapter V, just as the field notes' analysis helped construct Chapter VI.

After the first dissertation review process, the need arose to delve deeper into how the technologies of conducting local practices worked. This need led to identifying the effects of power through specific types of governing technologies and rationalities that could work across practices and development processes at once.

After reanalyzing the material obtained through field notes, interviews, and focus groups, I have identified five technology types that embrace forces that operate in the area transversally. They are *Record technologies*, *Binding technologies*, *Advising/warning technologies*, *Advocacy/counseling technologies*, and *Assessment technologies* heavily inspired by the idea of “governing at a distance” (Miller & Rose, 2008; Osborne & Rose, 1999).

According to the analysis, *record technologies* allow the public recognition and schedule of an entity related to boundaries definition, mapping, standardization procedures, institutionalization. Then, *binding technologies* allow the integration of an entity to a system of shared rules. They attempt to standardize a measurement scale and implement a classification under “technical” solutions considered universally applicable. Subsequently, *advising/warning technologies* direct an entity's choices unambiguously. They are guiding technologies that set a prior direction for urban development. Therefore, *advocacy/counseling technologies* accompany an entity in the formulation of possible cooperative choices defining possible projects, objectives, resources, activities, deadlines, and responsibilities. Lastly, *assessment technologies* evaluate the choices made by an entity according to predetermined criteria producing a judgment that works as a starting point to improve future performances.

Similarly, starting from the idea of the rationality of governing and Schatzki's work on the “teleoaffective regime” encountered in section 3.3.2, the acceptance of certain principles on which the practices performed were researched and classified within the development process. They vary among the different public agencies/offices, private sectors, utility firms, grassroots, and third sector organizations. However, under subjective criteria, I clustered previous principles into four main groups, which constitute the pillars of the urban orders in popular urbanizations, as reported in Section 5.5.

## **4.6 Research positionality and ethics**

Practice-based thinking should allow questioning how the research practice has been conducted, about the researcher's positionality, and strategies to deal with unexpected occurrences and difficulties. The researcher's self-understanding as an integral part of the fieldwork and as a data collection machine emphasizes its “agentic” power management. Indeed, the researcher constructs questions to ask and make knowledge claims based on what he discovered through the relation between already existing practices within which he worked and its own research practices under construction (McDowell, 2010).

Based on the previous point, I have assumed that each researcher must take care of his academic purposes and problems of concern for his research process and ethics simultaneously. Even in this passage, power relations became the key issues and grew important together with other qualified indicators such as diversity, differences, and the nature of knowledge constructed through the fieldwork. Furthermore, such indicators become particularly relevant if the research involves traditionally weak and marginal subjects in a global south context, exposing the researcher to potential positionality asymmetry depending on race, gender, social class, and other social constructs that reflects my case (Cardano, 2003; Cope, 2006).

I can frankly say my research practice has been particularly stressed in the fieldwork with neighborhood organizations, where most would have been necessary. Initially, I naïvely underestimated my status. It became quite clear after an informal meeting with a colleague and co-interviewers in which she discussed my “capacity” to gain access to valuable data claiming: *“It is always easy for you, but do not forget, you are a white, male European researcher interviewing mostly male’ speakers”* (see Appendix D: Field report, 04/07/2018, Vol. III, p.117).

I immediately proposed that from that moment onwards, I would honestly have asked myself: *“did my face, accent, and belonging give me some sort of privilege when I engaged with research participants? The participant saw me in an overwhelming position? And which are the consequences of such a situation?”*.

So, only after a third person openly pointed it out to me, I become aware of my positionality as a novice researcher, white and male, born as “millennials” in the lower/middle class of workers in northern Italy, and profoundly influenced by the Catholic Church teaching on many contemporary ethical and life issues which make me sensible to discipline, hierarchy, and rules. Furthermore, my university education background in the field of geography and planning could reveal something else; I stoked between a descriptive vision and a proactive vision of the research, which manifested through the contemporary participation of research groups and NGOs activities on the field.

The following paragraphs highlight those tensions that exist within my research dependency, membership roles, and ethics.

#### *4.6.1 Overcoming academic dependency*

When I started with the formal investigation on LA popular urbanizations four years ago in Italy, I began reviewing academic articles in the fields of Geography, Planning, and Development on the basis of the impact, influence, and prestige of their journals, according to the Scimago Journal & Country Rank<sup>51</sup>. Publications in international journals such as *Cities*, *City*, *Urban Studies*, and *Urban Geography* end many others with the highest values that have constituted my first knowledge corpus in the research design. Through them, I have discovered some postcolonial and poststructuralist works that have shaped my academic position in urban studies and social science in general. Authors such as Ananya Roy, Ash Amin, and Colin McFarlane, with their thoughts and ideas, have contributed to recalibrate my critical lenses on the urban world at the margin of the most significant narratives of development and cities.

However, the background regional studies matter. I was pretty naïve looking at the LA region from a taken-for-granted academic perspective shaped mainly in

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<sup>51</sup> SCImago Journal Rank (SJR indicator) is an index of the scientific influence of academic journals that accounts for both the number of citations received by a journal and the importance or prestige of the journals where such citations come from. For further information visit: <https://www.scimagojr.com/>

Europe and Asia - by the above authors' background. My background caused intelligibility problems during the second year of fieldwork in Lima with some local colleagues of INCITU. The affiliation since March 2018 with the INCITU research group through a visiting agreement strengthened the regional perspective of this work. Sociologists, anthropologists, architects, and geographers who worked alongside me have influenced the research conduct with their knowledge background. However, regular weekly meetings show me the lack of conventional western paradigms (Kuhn, 1970) and my own inadequacy. When we discussed our research, we did not possess shared units of rules and standards about how problems should be detected, understood, and addressed, even if we were working on the same topic. My deal with feelings of inadequacy of the first weeks gave way to a more careful thought on my academic belonging. Just a few authors and journals previously mentioned it meant something to them. Instead of accusing them of regionalism, I quickly realized I was academically dependent on western journals and authors. According to Syed Alatas, academic dependency can be defined as:

*“a condition in which the knowledge production of certain social-science communities is conditioned by the development and growth of knowledge of other scholarly communities to which the former is subjected” (2012, p. 285).*

It has made the local and regional debate about urban studies challenging.

Consistently with practice-based thinking, the origin of the problem is of a practical type. From an institutional standpoint, Italian international graduate education such as MSc and Ph.D. career-building and an English-based system based on international scientific journals and country ranking are undiscussed and uncriticized passages to academic recognition. Otherwise, the relations of interdependence between LA academies and Anglo-Saxon systems of knowledge do not assume such a form of dependency. At least in Peru, local and regional journals and authors maintain their autonomy, contrary to many other aspects.

The way I used in the first instance to inform myself about the topics I was interested in was the reason behind used quotations and authors in the first research stage. Aware of this, I tried a couple of paths to overcome this kind of dependency; even if I wonder, I am still somehow subjected to Anglo-Saxon systems of knowledge in Geography, Planning, and Development. The body of knowledge is hard to modify.

Accordingly, the first path carried out at a late research stage cornered a Ph.D. visiting to reshape my positioning system partially. I spent five months in the Centre for Latin American Research and Documentation-CEDLA of Amsterdam during the Ph.D. third year, filling the knowledge gap with new sources of ideas and concepts<sup>52</sup>. I tried to move the overlook from an “international” perspective on low-

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<sup>52</sup> Indeed the participation in the The Latin American Studies Programme (LASP) - CEDLA introductory course for doctoral students in May 2019 entitled: Social Transformations in Latin America: Themes and Epistemologies was very useful.

income settlements into a regional-based one, or at least an attempt has been made in this regard.

The second path relates to discovering a new scientific knowledge source to challenge western design Web of Science and Scopus. I have used the Scientific Electronic Library Online - SciELO as a tool for the last stage of the research. It is a database that indexes the full text or metadata of scholarly literature conceived to meet developing countries' scientific communication needs, particularly Latin America and the Caribbean countries. It contains about 500 journals and nearly 150.000 articles published in Latin America, Caribbean countries, Portugal and Spain. Most of the titles are Open Access.

#### 4.6.2 *Playing different roles in fieldwork*

I tried to maintain separate outside and inside the fieldwork, both the researcher and TECHO volunteers roles. Theoretically, this attempt should allow me to wear different masks, ask research participants different things, adopt different attitudes, and maintain an “objective” perspective.

Working within an organization's boundaries usually means responding to administrative control and research conditions concerning timeline and deadline, incorporating compatibility with pre-existed models of productivity and, among other things, product rentability, respect roles, present research material, and expendable results. If TECHO had adopted business management requirements and pressures over me, I would have overly bent my research aims to their organizational aims. Luckily, the focus group setting process has followed a more flexible and concerted path. I shaped TECHO Habitat's research aims through a collaborative approach. A new emphasis on the research methods and attitudes was given by lightening TECHO guidelines giving direct and tangible feedback to neighborhood organizations. As already mentioned, both the research designs - TECHO and Ph.D.- have acquired continuous feedback provided by a specific research area inside TECHO -called *Investigation Social* in Spanish- in the research manager's figure. It also involved strict communication -not always effective- with TECHO community teams of each neighborhood organization, without which the fieldwork meetings could not have been organized.

Additionally, I found myself collaborating explicitly with students and professionals in the field of urban studies in TECHO. Architects, Engineers, Human geographers, Urban planners, and Lawyers collaborated to create a new investigation line shaping their tool-kit methods due to the novelty of the newly born *Habitat and Habitability* program. Each of those experts participated with their stock of knowledge, contributing to creating a multidimensional interpretation of urban reality under scrutiny. I have been a part of such a process; more than that, I lead a part of the TECHO research project, influencing it, inspiring discussions, and collaboration among participants also for the benefit of my own research. In

conclusion, outside the fieldwork, there was no difference between my researcher and volunteering positioning roles. The masks were inconsistent.

Inside the field, though, it was another matter. As previously mentioned, only the ‘zoom-out’ research movement was carried out with TECHO's collaboration involving the Focus Group method. Indeed, I struggled with my different roles in managing Focus Group under the TECHO Habitat team's coordination. During the Focus Group implementation and my planned interviews, I felt compelled to clarify which “mask” I was wear, and I was persuaded to act otherwise. For instance, when participants started to consider the weekly meeting lightly. Many forgot their agreements with TECHO Habitat and did not meet the group, while others did not do their weekly chores properly. After several attempts, I assumed an authoritarian approach wearing the TECHO “mask” not precisely in line with relational power, responsibility, and ethics. However, I can honestly say that it worked pretty well to whip the team into shape and go hed both with the research plan and the TECHO schedule. Finally, the participants themselves, at times, started to ask if I was there as a TECHO member or as a researcher. Notwithstanding my short and cutting answer, I was never really sure.

Another advantage of wearing different “masks” on the field consisted of the relative ease of addressing participants' requests, for instance, requests concerning special financial assistance or the satisfaction of material/economic needs. During the ‘zoom-in’ investigative movement, I sometimes found myself having to wear the TECHO mask explaining that there were options to express community needs through the TECHO program and organized a shared strategy to voice such requests (see Appendix D: Field report, 18/03/2018, Vol. I, p.159). Such trickery has made that the pressures exercised on me as a researcher came diverted and absorbed elsewhere.

#### *4.6.3 Ethical implications and strategy adopted*

Working with different neighborhood organizations and external institutions implied facing ethical issues when data have to be collected. To face these issues, I adopted three strategies.

First, most research institutions already have an ethical code and guided lines that researchers must follow to act correctly and formally. I have respected the following requirements as an INCITU-PUCP member due to the lack of instructions from my alma mater. On the one hand, I asked permission to interview specific members of different institutions through a formal request signed by the INCITU-PUCP research manager. On the other hand, I submitted a “research contract” based on a document called *Consentimiento Informado para Participantes de Investigación*. It was a standardized model to fulfill with an explicit declaration of intent to safeguard both interviewees and researchers. Each semi-structured one-to-

one and tandem interview have been anticipated by the sign of this document (see appendix E).

Second, I tried to follow three main principles outside the boundaries of academic obligations, which concerned the transparency of research procedures, the non-maleficent or deception of intents, and the protection of collected data. These principles can be condensed into one: The principle of mutual respect (Flick, 2011). Thus, the lines following are an attempt to respect all the organizations' rights I have encountered in the research.

To be consistent with the previous principle, as members of the TECHO Habitat, we felt obliged to release an internal "presentation card" to the five neighborhood organizations board (see appendix E). They included the TECHO Habitat project's main aims, its methodological approach, and the research terms. Also, we organized friendly buffets in each neighborhood organization after TECHO Habitat focus groups, delivering statements of accomplishments to recognize participants' achievements in our activities (see Appendix E, sample 4).

Third, I thought that further conditions to access collective labor practices were required as an independent researcher. Therefore, I presented explicit requests to EL Trebol board members explaining my research and objectives.

I felt morally obliged toward people and their situation, especially with the board members of EL Trebol. However, I tried not to create any sort of expectations for my research. I did not do any relevant favor for neighborhood organizations concerning urban development issues, and I have always made clear that mine would be a formal investigation procedure about the Faena Comunal, merely academic; consequently, it would not have changed their situation<sup>53</sup>.

Otherwise, as a member of the TECHO Habitat, I give them strategic advice. Indeed TECHO could provide direct benefits to neighborhood organizations after a planning process with the community team. It allowed me to forward and redirect requests, explaining how to incorporate them into the planning process. On the same line, I have decided to organize a thanksgiving launch with Italian regional produces and specialties on the last day with the board members of EL Trebol.

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<sup>53</sup> Still board members in EL Trebol tried to turn me into an asset, expendable in conflict resolutions and informally they ask me a "contribution" to foster community well-being.

## 4.7 Methodological weaknesses

The drafting of the methodological framework did not follow a linear path and has required a great effort to be shaped since the first Ph.D. years. This non-linearity has led to sudden changes of pace, false starts, late adjustments, and unquestionably mistakes. Therefore, the study that has been undertaken suffers from methodological weaknesses. The most important ones will be presented in this section, respecting the logical order of the research.

The first weakness is directly linked to the case study drafting. As stated, the study was limited by time and other resources to an area in Lima called La Nueva Rinconada chosen by pure chance through TECHO's mediation. Being involved with already compromised TECHO neighborhood organizations during the 'zoom-in' and 'zoom-out' had had its benefits but implied another limitation. Indeed, TECHO expressly chooses poor communities with higher social potential and reliable board members. Therefore, the considerations made here could be challenging to generalize elsewhere, even with other organizations that do not match the profile.

The second weakness concerns the second unit of analysis chosen. As the reader might further realize, Chapter V does not involve the study of "practices" properly speaking; instead, it analyses situations, policies, and rationalities put forward by different actors - identified here as the process of urbanization - in which the collective labor practices could have a direct or indirect role to play. For this to be the case, it would have been necessary to adopt a more authentic practice-based thinking there as well. However, it would have implied a very long -several more months- "clinical" trial of other different practices involved in the development process and development of popular urbanizations. Time and energy I had not available.

The third weakness regards the two methodological movements adopted. A tricky issue related to the 'zoom-in' and 'zoom-out' research strategy has to do with the starting and the ending point of the research. I started with the "zoom-out" movement planning preliminary focus groups, and then, only later, I prioritized real-time research practices. However, while applying the last movement, real problems began; the 'zoom-in' and 'zoom-out' occurred several times following a nonlinear path. Probably it is something inherited in all practice base thinking approaches. As Nicolini (2009, 2012) has reported, through 'zoom-out' research activities, plenty of interconnected practices are unveiled, and researchers are forced to carry out different parallel mini-projects at different stages of the research.

The fourth weakness is related to TECHO Habitat research. They regard (a) interactional problems; (b) accuracy problems; (c) mental effort problems; (d) seriality problems during Focus Group planning and performance. One of the main

problems concerned (a) established power relations and the unusually high degree of mutual knowledge among participants. Social interactions in the TECHO focus group were a little hard to handle. Habitat teams played a crucial moderating role in group dynamics, even if any of them explicitly being trained to do so. Furthermore, we asked participants to previously answered pre-planning queries, encouraging them to put together their ideas during the meeting.

Other problems concerned the guideline questions (b). TECHO Habitat defined nine research topics: Waste management, local water, and sanitation systems, electricity supply, local mobility and transportation system, collective and public spaces, urban security, housing and soil policy, education and training programs, health services, and economic activities. For each topic, strict guidelines have combined at least thirteen questions —accompanied by a local pre-printed map— unless Morgan (1995) criticizes the number of submitted questions and the emphasis given by the researcher's objectives in research. Some of those questions explicitly required mapping activities, such as indicating informal water or electricity supply, property limits and boundaries, waste collection points, among others. Due to time contingency and difficulty to perform mapping, TECHO had trained participants before each meeting to avoid understandability problems and guarantee a prompt start (Crang & Cook, 2007). Sharing and comparing individual information, discussion time, and the creation of new collective maps then occurred later, during the focus group activity.

Queries also used to be delivered and explained one or two weeks before the focus group. Those queries on exposed topics have been an important effort for the participant of the following Focus Groups. Indeed, after the first two meetings, participant obliged their mandate. Spoiling the previous idea, they started to work on give queries hasty, just 10 minutes before the meeting, rather than taking the whole week to reason on each topic. Outcomes were vaguer than with a proper submission.

Another point came up regarding mental effort problems during the focus group (c). Unless those questions were usually well integrated, having a proper condition to develop thirteen topic questions in an hour and a half could be challenging. TECHO Habitat shall act by mutual agreement of the interested parties. We got a chance to work with local board members only between the conclusion of collective efforts practice (11:00 a.m.) and lunchtime (12:30 p.m.) Board members were usually exhausted at the time; once in a while, someone was falling asleep during the meeting. Effectiveness in each focus group has required a severe effort, which led to constant schedule adjustment and incentives, such as a small gathering and refreshments. Indeed typical Peruvian participatory incentives have been adopted: the so-called '*pequeño refrigerio*' -soft drinks and snacks- offered by the organizers.

Finally, even if formal agreements were established to ensure a long-term collaboration between TECHO Habitat and all the neighborhood organizations involved, the amount of effort required was not considered in the research design (d). It forced TECHO Habitat to bridge focus group distances, sometimes on the

same date, just like reorganizing and bringing together the last thematic focus groups such as “health services” and “economic activities”.

The fifth weakness interests the specific direct observation method and my double role as a volunteer/researcher. Carrying out a practice into the ‘zoom-in’ movement means getting involved with material and physical arrangements — being that this symbiotic relationship is intense and specific material arrangement or practices simply does not exist out of this bound. Sometimes I have got no choice to try out different tools and techniques directly. Thus, I gave up “shadowing” on various occasions, thereby jeopardizing methodological rigor and proper clarity in the approach used. Furthermore, inside the ‘zoom-in’ movement, the trick of wearing different masks during fieldwork made research participants suspicious about the kind of answer they should have been provided. Occasionally, the masks’ trick has put me in trouble not being sure about the mask to wear and asking questions that could be valid for one or the other research indiscriminately.

The last and foremost critical weakness is directly linked to data analysis. It is helpful to realize that I was not yet sure about the research proposition at the time of the field notes’ first analysis. As Section 4.5 has shown, the focus of the research changed over time. The analysis certainly provided the structure of the first part of Chapter VI but also revealed its limitations. In fact, the chapter tried to describe as much as possible the structure of collective labor practices and what it has produced in terms of urban order, leaving little room for more critical analysis of the object of the investigation still blurred at that time. It led to a disconnect between the preliminary analysis of information and the new one. The lack of a general analytic strategy and the inability to heal these discrepancies led to creating a fragmented product where the representation of events or phenomena is not well linked to their critical analysis and discussion. A secondary analysis to cement together the various levels of data collection would be necessary.

## **4.8 Closing remarks**

The chapter examined the methodology, methods, and constraints related to the study on collective labor practices and the extended networks of development practices in popular urbanizations. The chapter develops “situational” and “configurational” approaches to practices, and their methodological stands to study power in practices (Nicolini, 2009, 2012; Nicolini & Monteiro, 2016). Such approaches spelled out the two methodological movements ‘zoom-in’ and ‘zoom-out’ in the research design similar to a “multi-methods approach” (Cardano, 2003) composed by data collection methods which involved direct observation, one-to-one interviews, tandem interviews, focus groups, and document analysis covering the two units of analysis chosen.

The ‘zoom-in’ movement enabled the analysis of power’s effect inside -in space- and during -in time- of ordinary actions, following the “situational” family resemblance flows research flow in practice-based thinking. The ‘zoom out’ movement allowed studying power relationally, unraveling the bundle of practices and material arrangements carrying it, and identifying crossroads following ‘configurational’ research flows (Nicolini, 2017; T. Schatzki, 2016a, 2016b).

The analysis and interpretation of the interview data and fieldwork notes were also discussed. The former analysis identified sub-themes concerning power relations, aims, challenges, sustainability, origins, and group sections' conduct. The latter identified relevant subthemes, creating a taxonomy of collective labor practice activities which are based on: The temporal and spatial dimension of the practice, knowledge-in-bundle, the elements composing the environment, targets and purposes, and guided normativity in line with Schatzki's onto-epistemology of social practices founded in Chapter III.

Regarding the extended networks of governmental practices, the analysis summarized five technology types that exemplify the forces that operate in the area. They are *Record technologies*, *Binding technologies*, *Advising/warning technologies*, *Advocacy/counseling technologies*, and *Assessment technologies* inspired by what Miller, Rose, and Osborne called “governing at a distance” (Miller & Rose, 2008; Osborne & Rose, 1999).

## PART THREE: EMPIRICAL EVIDENCES

*“The city [...] does not tell its past, but contains it like the lines of a hand, written in the corners of the streets, the gratings of the windows, the banisters of the steps, the antennae of the lightning rods, the poles of the Bags, every segment marked in turn with scratches, indentations, scrolls.” (Calvino, 1974, p. 11)*

# Chapter V

## Shaping urban order in popular urbanizations

### 5.1 Introduction

The chapter looks into the governance of popular urbanizations to identify the alignment of continuative and provisional technologies of “power” with maintaining urban order in La Nueva Rinconada's development process, taking as an example what happens in the EL Trebol neighborhood organization. Indeed, as shown in Chapter III, the effects of power never result only from one recognizable moment practice; instead, they stem from its accomplishment alongside other practices that coexist in a continuum (Watson, 2017).

Section 5.2 focuses on the procedures and processes of formalization and regulatory technologies. Those technologies are compared and critically analyzed using Focus Groups, tandem interviews with key informants, and document analysis, as shown in Section 4.4, which led to understanding the current challenges in the area. Generally speaking, there are three obstacles to popular urbanization development in a given area. The obstacles raise if the occupied land is privately owned and located in places that are claimed to be developed conventionally for middle and high-income sectors. Secondly, when the occupied land is complicated to build and shaped for housing purposes, such as in very steep places, flood zones are located inside the boundaries of hydrogeological and seismic risk areas. Thirdly, if non-residential lands, such as road interchanges, industrial centers, or environmental protected areas are occupied (Castro & Riofrío, 2013).

Section 5.3 reports basic infrastructure services provisions where technical and social elements have been bonded together through collective labor practices in specific situations. The focus is on infrastructure and leisure production in popular urbanizations concerning the pathway, leisure facilities, and power provision system. The section presents resource availability and different strategies and tactics to reach service provision. Usually, infrastructure is invoked in images and representations of urban “progress”, central for the normative aspirations of urban actors of civil society to pursue wellbeing. However, its configuration also contributes to the “geometries of power” into a city's social, economic, ecological, and political life (Graham & Marvin, 2001). Indeed, approaching processes and practices related to infrastructure productions and maintenance have become the starting point to follow how particular technologies of power work.

Finally, Section 5.4 unveils the catalog of governmental technologies divided into five categories *Record technologies*, *Binding technologies*, *Advising/warning technologies*, *Advocacy/counseling technologies*, and *Assessment technologies* as revealed by the analysis in Section 4.5. Moreover, from this same catalog, the chapter presents principles leading the “teleoaffective regime” (T. Schatzki, 2002, p. 28) behind them. Lastly, it identifies the countre-conduct practices present and their scope.

## 5.2 On the process of formalization and regularization

When COFOPRI realized a study on the area in 2003, EL Trebol discovered their fate as many other neighborhood organizations. Most of the land in La Nueva Ricnonda belongs to a private organization. This implies that there can not be a direct transfer of land rights between the State and the people occupying the area. Thus land acquisition has to follow other more consuming procedures.

Also, the geographical position of El Trebol and the environmental risk associated with it has become an issue over time. As a López and López (2004) and Caballero Zeitún (2016) have reported, this kind of areas, known as slope cities - *ciudades en laderas* or slope urbanization - *urbanización en laderas* does not favor the urbanization process. Furthermore, in a region where the earthquake risk is high, the location affects the degrees of urban and dwelling vulnerability exponentially, increasing natural and anthropic risk, and precarious technology generally produces a cumulative effect. Consequently, the possibility to upgrade the popular urbanization situation in slope areas decreases sharply.

The precarious conditions mentioned above only exacerbate the cost of living and expenses considered essential. This situation is well-known among civil servants of the municipality as reported by the assistant general manager of the *Oficina de Participación Vecinal in SJM*:

*“Tú invades en la punta de uno de nuestros cerros. Pues el pacífico cuesta más caro. Tienes que estar pagando a los dirigentes contantemente por las ocupaciones. No tienes agua, no tiene luz, eso te cuesta más. ¿Cuánto te cuesta un balde de agua? Tres, cuatro soles. ¿Mensual cuanto pagas de agua? 150 soles. Mientras que*

*“You invade the very top of one of our hills. The peace-seeking way has a higher cost. You have to be constantly paying leaders for squats. You have no water, no electricity and that costs more. How much for a bucket of water? Three, four soles. How much do you pay monthly for water? 150 soles. While you would pay for a*

*un recibo de agua normal lo puedes pagar 30 soles. Ósea, **la vida es más cara.** [...] Todo, la vida es más cara. **Eres pobre, pero es más cara.** Porque no tienes pista, no tienes conexión a la zona urbana rápidamente. No tienes movilidad. Tienes que caminar en el medio del barro. Sin luz, sin agua, sin conexiones, pagando a los dirigentes contantemente por un plan visado, por la constancia de posesión... Y todo eso, genera un gasto mucho mayor” (employee of Subgerencia de Participacion Vecinal, 08/08/2018, San Juan de Miraflores)*

*regular water bill around 30 soles. In other words, **life is more expensive** (...). All of it, it costs more. **You are poor, but it has a high cost.** You don't have access to a highway, no fast connection to urban life. No mobility. You have to walk through mud. No electricity, no water, no connectivity, constantly paying leaders for an endorsed plan, for the certificate of possession...all of that generates higher expenses.” (own translation)*

Despite all those issues, no relocation policies have been effectively implemented. Therefore, a peculiar urban order has been established over time in La Nueva Rinconada, albeit based on recognized associationism, the right of possession, collective labor force to address material and physical constraints, and the pursuit of concessions. The following sections address different stages of the process mentioned above, focusing on the third wave of popular urbanizations that shape the current urban order in such areas.

### *5.2.1 Neighborhood organization features*

In the initial stage of El Trebol's development, the city authorities were not involved. Inhabitants had to struggle to obtain their basic needs through internal and external interventions. Requests and support to facilitate work activities and services supply and the chance to negotiate with other stakeholders are allowed only and exclusively to recognized and certified neighborhood organizations now as then. As mentioned in Subsection 2.3.3, neighborhood organizations are the most common type of organizations devoted to urban micro-scale development issues marked by activities related to elections, assemblies, and collective labor practices for the benefit of the community. Taking into account what happened to the first wave of occupation during the late 50s, Abrams has claimed:

*“Cooperative effort is necessary from the initial plan of an organization to the need for joint action and resistance. Cooperative features may also exist in the pathways and common grounds. There is usually more spontaneous cooperation among squatters from the same village, family, or tribe, but the co-operators may also be a mixed group who assembled for the express purpose of the acquisition.”*  
(1966, p. 39).

Currently, cooperation is realized and maintained through different instruments first among all the Certified Minutes Book called *Libro de Acta de fundación* del AA.HH; the essential document of the organization's life.

The *Certified Minutes Book* refers to a book in the central board's hands for recording the proceeding orders in an assembly. In the El Trebol neighborhood organization, this Acta was created in June 2001, 11, beforehand a notary lawyer in Villa Maria del Triunfo district. The process of the foundation also constitutes a considerable cost for a young organization. The Notary fees are expensive, establishing an organization partnership starting from 1000 PEN – 303 USD by a public notary (see Appendix D: Field report, 10/08/2018, vol. IV, p. 32).

*Certified Minutes Book* includes the Statute - *Acta de creacion del Asentamiento Humano* with and the report of the first election made -*Acta de eleccion de la junta directiva central del Asentamiento Humano*. Furthermore, it includes records of official actions taken at a meeting of a board of members or during a formal neighborhood reunion general assembly. The date of the day and signatures identify each record (Actas n001 - A.A.H.H. “El Trebol” Pamplona Alta, 2001).

The organization's statute reflects the first members' vision, values, and general and accepted methods to pursue that vision. As a civil servant of the Neighborhood Participation - *Participación Vecinal*- office in SJM referred to it once:

*“Su estatuto son las reglas del juego interno de ellos”*  
(Employee of the Sub gerencia de Participación Vecinal, 08/08/2018, San Juan de Miraflores).

*“The statute are the rules of their internal game”* (own translation)

The organization's main aim in El Trebol is quite clear. It has to do with what they call Comprehensive Development- *Desarrollo Integral* of the sector achieved through infrastructural building and development work inside El Trebol's border, as well as maintaining contacts with organizations and NGOs able to support the operations (Actas n001 - A.A.H.H. “El Trebol” Pamplona Alta, 2001, p. 15).

Statute second page illustrates the four main objectives; they are related to:

1. The material and legal rehabilitation of property;
2. The consolidation of territorial boundaries;
3. The provision of basic infrastructure services (water, sewerage, and electricity)
4. The construction of access roads and other mobility systems

The organization's statute also includes the procedures necessary to achieve representatives recognition: the Central Board election (Actas n001 - A.A.H.H. "El Trebol" Pamplona Alta, 2001). There is an organizational structure with three levels: the central board of directors, the delegates from each block, and the neighbors. The formation of the neighborhood organizations is a complex and very conflictive process <sup>54</sup> as I directly assisted (see Appendix D: Field report, 15/04/2018, vol.II, p.67). Different groups - social and territorial - converge to elect a board of directors to represent them face-to-face with public agencies, utility firms, and third-sector organizations. Usually, two lists were formed, made up of people from blocks on opposite sides of the land they occupied, who may then have different interests in urban development, or else different political positions that usually result in accusations of mismanagement of money and/or cheating behavior. The election can take place through the electoral committee or by direct vote of eligible members. The two modalities are not exclusive; the previous board can also ask for direct voting in case of alleged impropriety by the electoral committee. If the final result is considered valid, it leads to the confirmation of a new central board compose as follow:

- General Secretary;
- Deputy Secretary;
- Economic Secretary;
- Recording Secretary;
- Organizing Secretary;
- Press and Propaganda Secretary;
- Organization's Prosecutor;
- Health promoter;
- Construction Secretary;
- Defense Secretary;
- Secretary of Sport.

Rarely are all roles filled. Often there is an overlap of responsibilities in the hands of a few individuals. Anyhow, such roles imply the highest responsibilities inside the neighborhood organization, both moral responsibility and legal. Indeed to initiate, promote, and complete formalization procedures until the independence,

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<sup>54</sup> To this respect see also Ramírez-Corzo's work on the construction of space in popular urbanization (2017).

titling, and individual registration of each lot depends on the neighborhood organization's legal representative as established in the last paragraph of Article 5 of Law No. 26878, *Ley General de Habilitaciones Urbanas*. Therefore they should possess a diverse set of skills to be successful in their duties: Spanish fluent in written and spoken, also demonstrating that they know how to add up. These are essential criteria to be elected in El Trebol.

Furthermore, the statute includes another tool essential to reach the Comprehensive Development of the settlement. This is the collective labor practice called *Faena Comunal*, as it will be detailed in the next chapter.

### 5.2.2 *Where all proceedings start*

As mentioned in Subsection 2.3.3, after electing their representatives, neighborhood organizations must delegate their General Secretaries to turn their status into a formal and recognizable one recording them on a *Single Register of Social Association – RUAS* (see Figure 11). In La Nueva Rinconada, the office in charge of processing the registration is the Neighborhood Participation department – *Subgerencia de Participación Vecinal* of San Juan de Miraflores district. That is the office from which all administrative processes begin. As a municipal employee of the same office has declared, the formal organizations' recognition is the main mission of this public agency:

*“Para nosotros, **nuestra misión y nuestro objetivo** como subgerencia de participación vecinal es tratar de **reconocer a todas las organizaciones vecinales**, llámese comedores populares, vaso de leche, clubes de madres, juntas vecinales, juntas pro parques, juntas de obras, todo lo que sea directivas.”*  
(Employee of the Sub gerencia de Participación Vecinal, 08/08/2018, San Juan de Miraflores)

*“For us, **our mission and our vision** as the Neighborhood Participation Department is to be able to **recognize every existing neighborhood organization**, call it community kitchens, Glass of Milk Programs, Mothers' Clubs, neighborhood councils, parks and recreation councils, construction councils, anything that has to do with management.”* (own transtation)

Recognition thus marks the first and mandatory step toward formalization and normalization of popular urbanizations and cannot be skipped as the same employee has commented:

*“Todos los tramites, de dirigente, de constancia de posesión, del plano de visado, todo para que tengas agua, luz desagüe, todos los servicios básicos que puedas tener en el asentamiento humano, **nacen de acá. Porque si tú no tienes tu resolución de dirigentes, si tu no cuentas con esto, no puedes avanzar nada.** (Employee of the Sub gerencia de Participación Vecinal, 08/08/2018, San Juan de Miraflores).*

*“Every leader-related piece of paperwork, the certificate of possession, the vised master plan , everything for you to get water, electricity, a drainage system, every basic need you may have within the human settlement is **born here because if you don’t have these resolutions, as a leader, then you cannot move forward**” (own transtation)*

The organization must meet a series of requirements to receive this recognition, as shown in the *Ordenanza 1762-MML* of Metropolitan Municipality of Lima (Procedimientos para el Reconocimiento y Registro Municipal de Organizaciones Sociales para la Participación Vecinal, 2013). The first requirement concerns the prove of the board of directors’ elections formalized by specific documentation and copies of their valid identity cards. Furthermore, the office required copies of notarized documents such as a *Certified Minutes Book*; the organization's statute, and the register of members of the organization called *Libro Padron de Moradores* it is a document with the names, dates, signatures, and data of valid identity cards or passports of all individuals enrolled in the organization. Lastly, it is mandatory to present a location sketch map with reference points to identify the neighborhood organization's institutional address. It must be a formally recognized address present in the municipal land register and not be located in an area whose ownership does not correspond with that of at least one of the association members. Such address usually corresponds to that of the organization facility; in its absence may also coincide with that of the first central board secretary domicile.

The recognition by regulations' timing is 30 working days, basically one and a half months. The SJM office assigned that they are used to recognize and record

them in one week, The formalization process responsibility and costs belong to neighborhood organizations themselves, but the municipal expenditure is reasonably small 16 PEN – 4.8 USD in SJM approximately.



Figure 11: Example of Certificate of Recognition for organization in La Nueva Rinconada released by the San Juna de Miraflores municipality (source: President of a local commission Saneamiento físico legal de la Nueva Rinconada)

The Neighborhood Participation department also has a secondary mission. It plays the role of the administration's "political arm". Political arm in that it acts as an intermediary between the various organizations' requests and the various municipal offices alongside the work of formal recognition of organizations, while collecting useful information for the territory's control. In this regard, one of the employees has commented:

*También es el **brazo político de la autoridad de turno**, ya que nosotros vemos todo el tema "político". Lo digo entre comillas, porque no necesariamente para hacer política ahí, sino político porque nosotros vemos si es que pasa la basura, si es que hay un desborde por ahí, si es que los perros están abandonados. **Nosotros vemos todo tipo de tema.** Esta sub-gerencia es el **anexo a todas las gerencias y sub-gerencias.** Si un vecino tiene un reclamo viene acá y nosotros pasamos los reclamos a la gerencia o sub-gerencia correspondiente. [...] Yo cuento ahorita con un promedio de 12 o 13 promotores que trabajan en el campo [...] **viendo los problemas del distrito.** Conversando con la gente, porque ese es nuestro trabajo conversar con la gente, con los dirigentes **y recoger al información de afuera.** (Employee of the Sub gerencia de Participación Vecinal,*

***"It also stands as the current government's political arm** since we take care of "political" issues. I am using quotation marks because we don't necessarily proselytize there, I mean political because we have to make sure there is trash pick up, if there are any overflows, if there are abandoned dogs. **We are involved with every issue.** This sub-department is **annexed to every other Department and sub-department.** If a neighbor wants to file a complaint, they come here and we pass those complaints to the corresponding Department or sub-department (...) Right now, I have around 12 or 13 promoters doing fieldwork (...) **looking out for the district's issues.** Talking to people because that is our job, chatting with people, with the leaders and **collecting information from outside.**" (own translation)*

08/08/2018, San Juan de  
Miraflores).

Through promoters' use, one or two for each administrative division, the municipal governing authority collects useful information to prevent, monitor, or modify important events within its jurisdiction. Promoters issue the resolution of registration and recognition and are responsible for making the whole file. Moreover, it is always at their discretion to check if the organization's address is correct and compliant with regulations.

### 5.2.3 *The legal rehabilitation of property*

Considering the land situation in La Nueva Rinconada, COFOPRI confirms that in 2015 at least 80 neighborhood organizations, over 138 were settled in private land, and 8 occupied both private and public ones (Aguilar Pérez, 2015). This situation leads to tenure insecurity and juridical conflict in the area.

As already saw in Subsection 2.2.3, COFOPRI has a leading role in informal ownership recognition since 1996, as one employee has reported:

*“Hubieron varias razones por las cuales se crea Cofopri, pero el sustento formal es porque se hace un estudio de cuantos **asentamientos humanos fueron titulados** entre 1961 y 1996, cuando se crea Cofopri, y se aprecia que el numero de **asentamientos es mínimo**. Esa es una razón. La otra razón es que el tiempo para la **titulación era de aproximadamente 7 años**. Osea la población desde que se presentaba a la municipalidad con sus documentos para decir “titúlenme”, hasta que lograba el titulo de propiedad, pasaban mas o menso de 7 años.*

*“There were several reasons for the creation of Cofopri but the formal foundation lies on a study on how many **human settlements were titled** between 1961 and 1996. When Cofopri is funded, it can be seen that **the number is minimal**. That is one reason. The other reason is that **the titling waiting time was about 7 years**. I mean, since the population first visited the Municipality with the paperwork and said “give me a title” until actually obtaining it, it took around 7 years. Additionally, **the cost for the settlers was extremely high**.*

Adicionalmente, **el costo para el poblador era altísimo**. Se calcula [...] que costaba alrededor de 2000 dólares un título de propiedad para una familia, porque ellas mismas tenían que llevar sus documentos de una oficina a otra, había derechos que pagar, tramites que cumplir, el costo era muy alto para los pobladores. Entonces se crea la **necesidad urgente** de tener una entidad que pueda llevar a cabo el proceso de titulación de una manera **mas rápida, masiva y también gratuita** para los pobladores.”

It was calculated (...) around 2000 dollars in average for one family's property title, since it was them who had to take paperwork from one office to the next, rights to pay, procedures to follow, the cost was really high for the population. So, there was an **urgent need** to have an entity which could conduct the titling process **faster, massively and also free of charge** for the population.” (own translation)

According to the occupied land juridical status, the renewal process of physical consolidation and legal “inclusion” called *Saneamiento físico legal de predios* in Spanish can follow two different paths. Both cases involve the direct intervention of the COFOPRI to insert the possession into the National Superintendent of Public Records SUNARP.

First, there is the informal ownership recognition in public-state lands. With the LD n. 803 of 1996, the Fujimori government has given responsibilities at COFOPRI for land titling that was formerly assigned to the municipality (Calderón Cockburn, 2016). COFOPRI juridically acquires the settlement land through a process called Comprehensive Formalization -*Formalización Integral* and subsequently transfers the ownership's parcels to the settlers through another process, called Individual Formalization -*Formalización Individual* (see Figure 12). Current preconditions concern the mandatory qualifications of the informal ownership and the limits of its application as explained in law n.28687-2006 (Reglamento del Título I de la Ley N° 28687, referido a “Formalización de la Propiedad Informal de Terrenos Ocupados por Posesiones Informales, Centros Urbanos Informales y Urbanizaciones Populares,” 2018). The former foresees that:

1. the no ownership concerns goods possession already;
2. the size of the lot must not exceed 300 square meters;

3. the destination and use of the possession must regard housing and commercial activity
4. squatting groups must be settled before December 31, 2004. Successive land occupations must follow another way to obtain property rights.

Instead, the applicative limit regards the location of the informal ownership. To be formalized, a possession cannot overlap public services areas, social equipment areas, public housing program areas, heritage and archaeological areas, parks and nature reserves, as well as and foremost critical recognizable social-environmental risk zones. Indeed, one of the formalization process's fundamental criticisms was that it privileged the massive delivery of titles without an adequate analysis of the real situation on the ground, even if it was already clear since 2007. After the 2007 earthquake that devastated Pisco, a city 241 kilometers south of Lima, land titling become forbidden in vulnerable areas. Nevertheless, the issue returned to public debate throughout 2017 due to the destructive phenomenon *El Niño*. Regardless of the problem and driven by political interests, COFOPRI coined the modality of “charged titles” –*títulos con carga* alien to any legal mark, to formalize lands located in risk zones, such as hillsides and dry riverbeds where public services could hardly be provided. It meant that COFOPRI gives each neighborhood organization members a “title”, but telling them that soil was poor in quality and that it would be necessary to work to mitigate the risk exposure to make the title effective.

As mentioned by the leader of Minas 2000 and chief-woman of the *Legal Physical Sanitation Commission of the Nueva Rinconada*, most of the settlement situated in public land in La Nueva Rinconada received these “charged titles”:

*“Yo en ese entonces trabajaba en la Municipalidad de Lima, en la gestión de Susana Villarán, estando en un taller de capacitación, me asignan a Nueva Rinconada y ahí empecé a trabajar, estaban trabajando con 18 pueblos que estaban en la parte estatal que **tenían títulos de propiedad** que fueron **dados en el año 2009 con el Gobierno de Alan García**, antes que salga. Cuando llegaron aquí **se dieron con la sorpresa que todos***

*“Back then, I was working for Lima’s City Hall under Susana Villarán’s administration. While attending a training workshop they assigned me Nueva Rinconada and I started to work there. They were working together with 18 towns which, state-wise, **owned property titles given to them back in 2009 under Alan García’s mandate**, before he was out. When they arrived here, they **found out they had risk issues**. So, what do they*

*tienen problemas de riesgo, entonces qué hacen, los titulan, pero con un acta que dicen que en un año deben comprometerse a levantar su riesgo, que es lo que se llama título con carga. Hoy ya hay una ley que no permite el título con carga porque vinieron los huaycos y las casas que estaban en riesgos tenían títulos” (member of Minas 2000, 22/04/2018, San Juan de Miraflores)*

*do? They give people the titles anyway but with a memorandum that says they must agree to get rid of the risk in one year --this is what is called a charged title. Nowadays, there is a law that bans granting charged titles since the huaycos (mudslides) and the houses at risk were titled.” (own translation)*

Formalization procedures in charge of COFOPRI and constituted on the state-owned land until December 31, 2004 have been executed ex officio progressively just on eighteen neighborhood organizations informal possessions over 130 analyzed in 2015 (Aguilar Pérez, 2015). Most of them were formalized in the manner of “charged titles.”

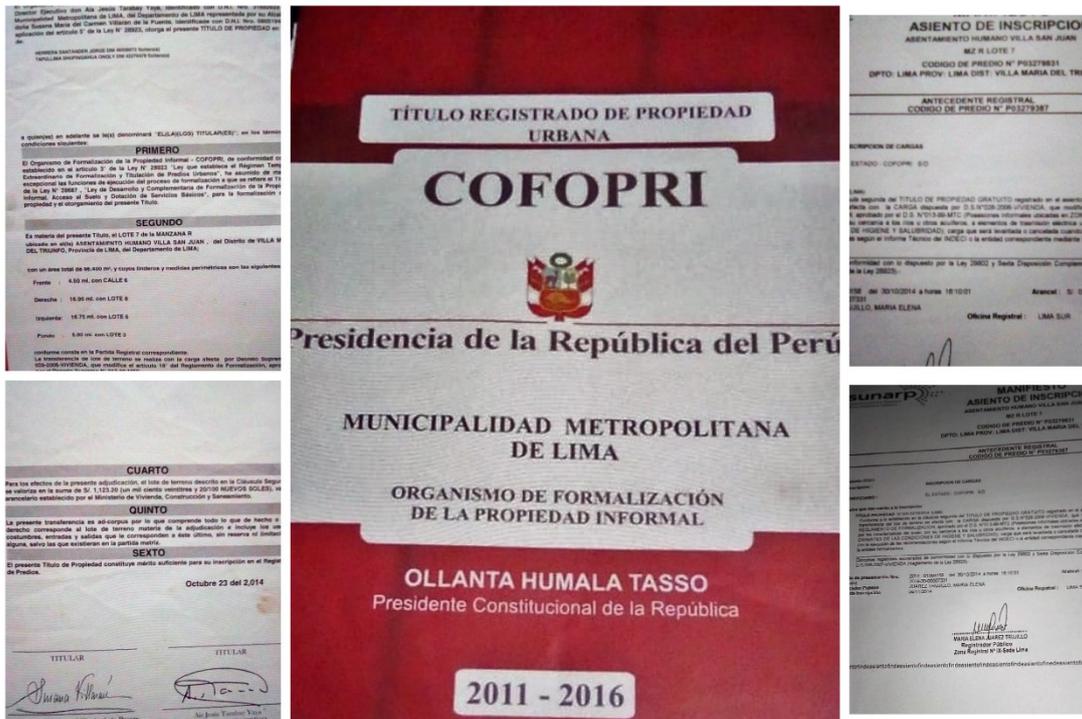


Figure 12: Villa San Juan neighbor's Property deed and title (source: photo repertoire)

Second, there is the recognition of informal ownership in private lands. The Peruvian Civil Code (Código Civil peruano, 2015) illustrates two different schemes to reach this final aim. On the one hand, there is the process of mediation and reconciliation between owners and squatters, ending with a formal selling of the private area. On the other hand, the legal procedure is a type of Acquisitive Prescription called *Prescripción Adquisitiva de Dominio*. It is a way of acquiring property through possession for a certain period through the legal transfer of property rights. It works when no legal owners can be identified or even when the formal owner cannot demonstrate a real possession and use for his own good (Irazola & Lau, 2011). Whereas the former proposal shifts the administrative burden to economic players, the latter usually requires less economic resources from the settlers.

Preconditions to bring *Acquisitive Prescription* to a successful conclusion require that the possession must be:

1. Continuous that is without interruptions;
2. Peaceful which means without events of physical and moral violence;
3. Having public nature, which means that the possession must be visible by a larger community, and behaving as owner as such for ten years.

Therefore, in the prescription's procedure, the holder is required to behave as the owner. Holders have to collect specific documentation which has to be submitted to Cofopri to assert such role:

- Affidavit certified that before December 31, 2004, no pending judgment against the possessor who disputes the property exists;
- Affidavit certified saying they are not already owners;
- Copy of the statements showing the legal representative registration of the organization and the currency of the assignment;
- At least 40% of the inhabitants must have signed the request;
- Valid property identification
- Certificates of recognition emitted by a competent institution;
- Relevant documents to demonstrate the duration of the continuous possession, such as any receipt of payment for the services delivered;
- Affidavit certified owners' identification or its lack of knowledge;
- Current census of settlers, their general data, and number of occupied lot

El Trebol tried to follow the latter path in 2013 unsuccessfully due to lack of required documentation years after another failure in the mediation and reconciliation process between owners and squatters in 2005 (Tarazona Yabar, 2013). According to COFOPRI, Neighbourhood Organization lacked two of the

required documentation in the last report they possess. Those documents consisted first of continuous possession evidence, such as any payment receipt for the services delivered. Second, of the census of settlers, their general data, and lots of numbers they occupy.

El Trebol should have submitted in twenty days such documents starting from June 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2014 (Berrospi Matute, 2014). Central board members affirmed that they elaborated a census of the inhabitants, attaching the necessary documents that proved the peaceful and permanent stay for more than ten years using birth certificate and ID card records. Everything they collected was sent to COFOPRI on July 8<sup>th</sup>, 2014, fifteen days after the deadline. Therefore, the case was probably dismissed (Flores Escalante, 2014).

#### 5.2.4 How to prove the possession

In 2006, the general inadequacy of the legal framework for improving living conditions in popular urbanizations and the population's demands for urban services prompted the newly elected government of Alan Garcia to reframe popular urbanization development policies as mentioned in Subsection 2.2.3. with the law, N° 28687/2006 *‘Ley de Desarrollo y Complementaria de Formalización de la Propiedad Informal, Acceso al Suelo y Dotación de Servicios Básicos’*, the legislator provided two complementary measures to obtain formal and essential services in popular urbanizations without a legal land title. First, it required the recognition of the physical possession of a land plot released by the local district. Second, it concerned the Basic Plot Plan with parcels, roads, paths network, and perimeter identification of the settlements validated by the same local administration. Obtaining such documents is not an easy task, even today.

In the first case, the state established the validity of the Municipal Certificate of Possession - *Certificado Municipal de Posesión*, also known as *Constancia de Posesión* in Spanish, to access services without holding title deeds (see Figure 13).

Subsequently, the Supreme Decree N° 017-2006-Vivienda specified that:

“Las empresas prestadoras de servicios públicos al mérito del certificado o constancia de posesión otorgarán la factibilidad de servicios a los titulares de dicho documento para lo cual presentará su solicitud acompañada de la

“The companies providing public services on the basis of the certificate or proof of possession will grant the feasibility of services to the holders of this document for which they will present their application accompanied by the Municipal Certificate of

constancia certificada de  
posesión y plano simple de  
ubicación del inmueble”.

Possession and a simple plan  
of the location of the property”  
(own translation)

The new tool was issued directly by district municipalities. This Municipal Certificate of Possession legally binding public services and not a recognition of property rights. Without modifying the formalization process carried out by COFOPRI, this law made it possible to dissociate the access to public services from property title in a pragmatic and needs-oriented strategy.

Besides, the regulation of the law mentioned above (D. S. N° 017-2006-Vivienda) sets out requirements for granting a certificate or proof of possession. The requirements are simple. They concern an official request, an identification document, the Basic Plot Plan, and certificates of verification of each truthful possession by a municipal official and signed by inhabitants. Locally, the administrative procedure for obtaining the Municipal Certificate of Possession of SJM is developed based on the Unified Administrative Procedures Text - *Texto Único de Procedimiento Administrativo* (TUPA) drawn up by the same municipality. In addition to the requirements mentioned above, the TUPA includes a certificate or proof of possession emitted by the General Secretary of the neighborhood organization or at least or statement sworn by five neighbors of the adjacent possession.

Likewise, the law also indicates when a certificate or proof of possession should not be granted. It depends on the physical and legal characteristics of the area. For instance, when the land is used or reserved for public services or has a national defense priority, mining activity, or its location is in archaeological or cultural heritage zones or protected or preserved natural areas, *Proof of Possession* should not be granted.

Furthermore, Proof of Possession should not be granted even when a popular urbanization location is in environmental risk zones, according to the prior verification of The National Institute of Civil Defense <sup>55</sup>- *Instituto Nacional de Defensa Civil* (INDECI) or other competent bodies. Municipal officials should also consider that it is not advisable to hand over the land recognition if possession, occupation, or ownership of the area is in extrajudicial conflict or litigation.

However, according to Cornelio (2019), the reasons for declaring the certificates issued null and void rarely concern the location of the dwellings in a risk zone and the fact that they are not in public or peaceful possession. It depends mostly on the maximum administrative period for intervention, which is limited to

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<sup>55</sup> The National Institute of Civil Defense is a public body, dependent on the Ministry of Defense, whose task is to ensure an optimal response of society in the event of disasters, supervise the attention of the people affected by them, coordinate with the entities responsible for the actions required to address the emergency and then rehabilitate the affected areas.

two years, to the lack of resources for a legal dispute, and the political consequences.

Indeed, El Trebol finds itself in a situation of unpretentiousness irregularity. It received its first *Municipal Certificate of Possession* on February 14, 2002, years before the abovementioned law, and no action for revocation has been brought. The same occurred with Minas 2000, the neighborhood organization led by the chairwoman of the Legal Physical Sanitation Commission of the Nueva Rinconada. It has reported:

*“En el año 2000 nos lo dieron. El alcalde en ese entonces si nos apoyó y el alcalde era Adolfo Ocampo Vargas” (chair of the Comisión de Saneamiento Físico Legal de la Nueva Rinconada, 22/04/2018 San Juan de Miraflores)*

*“In the year 2000 they [the municipal authorities] gave it to us. Mayor Adolfo Ocampo Varga at the time did support us” (my own translation)*

According to this statement, it can be assumed that the administrative proceedings granting the *Proof of Possession* there was activated since the year 2000 as a local procedure. The evidence is that for proving the exercise of direct, continuous, peaceful, and public possession of occupied plots in 1999, occupants already had to submit a copy of documents included in the Supreme Decree N° 013-99-MTC. The requirements were a loan contract, receipts for payment of public services, affidavits or payment receipts, domicile certificates, the private or public documents showing the transfer of full possession to the settler's favor, a COFOPRI direct statement based on neighbors' sworn statements, likewise, “*any other reliably evidence attesting the possession providing proof of the public, immediate, continuous and peaceful exercise of possession of the lots for a period not less than one year*” (Article 38). It is very likely that with this last formula, many municipalities began to create their own declarations of informal possession recognition to facilitate the formalization process.

Today, in the case of SJM, the authority that approves the procedure is the Subdirectorato for Private work, Cadastral and Land management services - *Subgerencia de Obras Privadas, Catastro y gestión del Territorio*. The Right of Payment - *Derecho de Pago* with the stipulated TUPA procedures for the Municipal Certificate of Possession is about 75 PEN – 23 USD per applicant, to be added to the required expenses for a procedural fee - *derecho de trámite* of 15 PEN - 4.5 USD one-off.



MUNICIPALIDAD DE SAN JUAN DE MIRAFLORES

# CONSTANCIA DE POSESIÓN

**N° 1549-2014-SGOPCGT-GDU-MDSJM**

Visto el Expediente N° 11049-14 de fecha 05-07-14 promovido por (doña) DONATILA ESTHER LEVANO ARROYO con DNI N° 06741960 y doña VERONICA YVONNE ONTANEDA LEVANO con DNI N° 06788169 quienes solicitan Constancia de Posesión para el inmueble ubicado en el AA.HH. Minas 2000 Mz-A1 Lt-01 La Nueva Rinconada, Distrito de San Juan de Miraflores Provincia y Departamento de Lima, con el fin de realizar la Factibilidad de Servicios Básicos.

Que, de acuerdo al Informe N° 30-2014-GAVY-SGOPCGT-GDU-MDSJM, del Personal Técnico del Área de Catastro, se indica que en el predio en mención se viene ejerciendo posesión pública, pacífica y continua por parte del administrado, la misma que se da fe mediante las Declaraciones Juradas firmadas por los vecinos colindantes a su predio y que obra a Folio 5 del presente expediente, siendo de la opinión que se declare Procedente lo petitionado toda vez que el administrado (a) cumple con los requisitos previstos por el Art. 28° del Decreto Supremo N° 017-2006-VIVIENDA.

Que, de acuerdo al Informe Técnico se da cuenta que el predio cuenta con un área de 99.40 m<sup>2</sup> aproximadamente, comprendida dentro de los linderos y medidas perimétricas siguientes:

- Por el frente colinda: con la Autodenominada Av. Principal con 11.00 ml.
- Por la derecha colinda: con Posesión de Terceros con 8.50 ml
- Por la izquierda colinda: con el Autodenominado Pasaje 1 con 8.50 ml.
- Por el fondo colinda: con el Autodenominado Lote 2 con .13.90 ml.

Se otorga la presente Constancia de Posesión, en mérito al Artículo 27° del D.S.017-2006-VIVIENDA, y el Artículo 30° del precitado D.S., que establece que: la Constancia de Posesión no constituye reconocimiento alguno que afecte el derecho de propiedad de su titular. Conforme lo establece el Artículo 896° del Código Civil "La posesión es el ejercicio de hecho de uno o más poderes inherentes a la propiedad". En ese sentido el presente documento solo deja constancia de un contacto eventual del sujeto sobre el bien.



San Juan de Miraflores, 24 de Octubre del 2014

MUNICIPALIDAD DISTRICTAL DE SAN JUAN DE MIRAFLORES  
Arg. Carolina Murcillo Parra  
Sub Gerente de Obras Privadas, Catastro y Gestión del Territorio  
LAP: 12795

Av. Belisario Suárez N° 1075 - Zona D - San Juan de Miraflores  
Tel: 276-6716

[www.munisjm.gob.pe](http://www.munisjm.gob.pe)

**Ciudad Educadora!**

Figure 13: Example of Proof of Possession for organization of La Nueva Rinconada released by the San Juna de Miraflores municipality (source: President of a local commission Saneamiento físico legal de la Nueva Rinconada)

### 5.2.5 *The birth certificate of a settlement*

Since early times, squatters have developed an excellent strategy to assign settlement parcels to obtain future formal recognitions (Abrams, 1966). Local organizations and groups of interest hired consultants and advisors to outline the urbanization on the land they intended to occupy or have recently occupied reaching the adequate standard and regulatory layout. Today, neighborhood organization's awareness is very high on this topic, but it was not always so. As a member of Girasoles led us to expect:

*“Antiguamente nadie sabía nada, hemos cometido muchos errores porque **hemos trabajado con ignorancia, a criterio propio sin tener la asesoría de ningún ingeniero que nos han llevado a tener más faenas e invertir más tiempo**” (member of Girasoles, 15/04/2018 San Juan de Miraflores).*

*“In the past, nobody knew anything. We've made many mistakes because we have **worked accompanied by ignorance, according to personal discretion and without the assessment of an engineer --which has led to having more tasks and investing more time.**” (own translation)*

Nowadays, the Basic Plot Plan (see Figure 14) is not made only by “*skilled amateur who might have had a good future as a city planner*” as Abrams sustained (1966, p. 28) but by architects, surveyors, and consultants receiving payment for it. As two different neighborhood organization's members stated, settlers who do not have proper knowledge and skill need to employ authorized professionals guiding them with the work or at least pay for an authorized signature.

*“**Contratamos un ingeniero que vinieron a medir el terreno y desde ahí empezamos las faenas.**” (member of 07 de enero, 24/06/2018, San Juan de Miraflores).*

*“**We hired an engineer who came to measure the terrain and from there we started with communal work.**” (own translation)*

*“Si, el plano para servicios básicos lo hicimos con un profesional con observaciones que dio la municipalidad, se corrigió y ya lo tenemos visado, tenemos también un plano de COFOPRI con el cual también hemos trabajado.” (member of Villa San Juan, 22/07/2018, San Juan de Miraflores).*

*“Yes, we created the basic needs plot plan with a professional and feedback given by the municipality. We made adjustments and it has been already vised. We also have a plot plan by COFOPRI which we have also worked with.” (own translation)*

The administrative procedure through which neighborhood organizations formalizes in front of the municipality the permanence in a new area and its future urbanization concerns the production and approval of a Basic Plot Plans. A plot plan is an architecture, engineering, or landscape architecture plan, which shows the buildings, utility runs, and equipment layout, the position of roads, and other constructions of an existing or proposed project site at a defined through a “top-down” orientation. It requires a site location map with an adequate scale, a perimetric map, a development map, and a street layout with a longitudinal section—all together accompanied by other descriptive information. All documents must be signed by professionals certifying and qualifying, such as engineers or architects outside the public sector, and delivered to the responsible municipality's Technical area of Cadastre and Private Works Office.

The realization of the Basic Plot Plans and its visa process is a procedure that is far from cheap. A new plan's average costs vary from approximately 10,000 to 15,000 PEN – 3030 to 4545 USD, increasing if a territory under the organization's control is vast or decreasing if the territory is small or implies a simple modification of a previous plan. Moreover, additional expenditures involve administrative and materials costs of the municipality's procedure, which are about 300 PEN -91 USD in SJM. These amounts are entirely in charge of a single neighborhood organization.

According to the Low N° 29090, *ley de regulación de habilitación urbana y edificaciones*, such documents are the same as requested in any other urban development procedures. Therefore, no differences are allowed in setting urban standards and land use in popular urbanizations. A surveyor who worked in La Nueva Rinconada has confirmed that more and more often today, the *Basic Plot*

*Plan* can also be considered as a preliminary procedure for a proper urban development plan known as *Plano de Habilitación Urbana*:

*“se llama visación de **planos para servicios básicos**. Pero lo que pasa es que con la modernización del Tupa o de los procesos acá de las municipalidades, **se está perdiendo** eso y hay algunas municipalidades **que lo llaman pre-habilitación urbana**”*  
(entrepreneur, 30/07/2018, Villa el Salvador )

*“It is called a **basic plot plan visa process** (endorsement). What has happened is that the Tupa and municipalities’ processes updates, we have been missing out and some municipalities **are now calling it urban pre-entitlement**”*  
(own translation)

In the TUPA 2018 version drafted by the municipality of SJM I did not find such nomenclature, where there is only a reference about the “legalization” procedure for already accomplished urbanization. A reference may instead be found into an earlier ordinance of the same municipality: the N° 000017-2004/MDSJM.- *Aprueban visación de planos de cortes de sección de vías para tramitar la implementación de los servicios básicos de agua, desagüe y luz.*

This second procedure is currently the most important. In this regard, both an official of the technical area of cadastre and private works office in SJM, and a private surveyor working in la Nueva Rinconada strengthened the concept:

*“**primero sería factible que se visen los planos**. Porque la mayoría de nosotros nos guiamos por los planos, por las medidas, para saber cuánto está ocupando esa posesión. Entonces **si no tenemos información de ese asentamiento humano simplemente se le deniega** [la*

*“**First, it would be feasible to obtain the plot plan visa** because most of us guide ourselves by the plot plans, the measurements, to know how much the squatter (settlement) is taking. So, **if we don’t possess the settlement’s information, we just deny it** [the proof of ownership/record*

constancia de posesión], porque en nuestra base gráfica no figura ese asentamiento humano” (employee of subgerencia obra privadas, 10/08/2018, San Juan de Miraflores)

“En un asentamiento humano, que no tiene un plano visado por la municipalidad, **no cabe hacer ninguna obra.** Ósea no es posible hacer ninguna obra. No entra Luz del Sur, no entra Seapal, no entra una obra pública, porque no entra en la formalidad. **Con la aceptación del plano visado, es como una partida de nacimiento de un asentamiento humano.**” (entrepreneur, 30/07/2018, Villa el Salvador )

of possession], because the human settlement is not present in our graphic database” (own translation)

Within a human settlement without a plot plan visa granted by the municipality, there is no public work to be done. **I mean, it is not feasible to start any work.** Luz del Sur Electric Company doesn't have coverage, Sedapal Water Company doesn't have coverage, public work is not feasible, because there is a lack of formality. **Once the plot plan visa is processed, it is basically like the human settlement's birth certificate.**” (own translation)

In addition to serving for the issuance of the certificate of municipal possession and the technical requirements of providing basic services, the Basic Plot Plan also serves conoscitive intentions. In fact, the mosaic of plans provides a pre-overview of land occupations in terms of the number of lots present that have the characteristics to be formalized has commented by a public employee:

“esos planos visados que se hacen para servicios básicos **nos dan referencia de cuantos asentamientos humanos se encuentran en**

“Those plot plan visas that are granted in order to obtain basic services give us a **reference on how many human settlements there are in the**

*esa zona, para tenerlos identificados. Ya posteriormente, ya cuando ellos quieran sanear su propiedad, entonces igual Cofopri nos brinda toda la información” (employee of subgerencia obra privadas, 10/08/2018, San Juan de Miraflores)*

*area, so that we identify them. Afterwards, once they want to start a sanitation process within their property, then, just the same, Cofopri offers us all the information” (own translation)*

The drafting and visa process itself is not just a bureaucratic in its nature. Most of the time, they occur under different logics —based on a range of tolerated practices. Firstly, they can work under a scheme of tactics and mediations between what technical regulations report and what can actually be done in the field. Secondly, they can follow a strategy of political opportunity.

In the first case, the tactics of the technicians presuppose, for example, a readjustment /flexion of the regulations as emerged by a surveyor interviewed:

*“No se puede simplemente aplicar las normas, puesto que, si en las normas dice que un lote debe tener por ejemplo mínimo 90 mts<sup>2</sup>, muchas veces no es aplicable puesto que la cantidad e las personas supera esa área, entonces nos obliga a hacer un lote que tiene 85 m<sup>2</sup>, por ejemplo. Las calles también con el ancho mínimo para que puedan ser aceptadas por parte de la municipalidad” (entrepreneur, 30/07/2018, Villa el Salvador )*

*“You can't just apply the rules since the norm states that a lot should have a minimal area of 90m<sup>2</sup>, many times that is not the case since the quantity of people exceeds the area, so we are compelled to make an 85m<sup>2</sup> lot, for example. The same occurs with minimum road width so that they can be approved by the municipality.” (own translation)*

In the second case, the technical part and all rules can be mined and unattended to make room for practices that pursue political interests. This aspect emerged in interviews, whether it is a question of facilitating the visa process, as the leader of El Trébol told us, or that it is about putting a spanner in the works, as the surveyor mentioned to us:

*“Solicitamos entonces un encuentro con el alcalde y como Yo lo apoye por su campaña de repente tomó una decisión y a su funcionario le dijo de atender el caso de este asentamiento hoy mismo, y nos atendió y nos solucionó al problema, ¡nos viso y nos dio la resolución!”*  
(member of EL Trebol A, 18/03/2018, San Juan de Miraflores)

*“todo el proceso es reglamentado, así es. Pero en la visación de planos, hay algunos aspectos políticos también. Por ejemplo, si el alcalde no quiere visitarlo, por alguna razón política, no lo hace [...] Pero no es que las normas sean diferentes, las normas son iguales, pero como hay un cierto vacío en todas las normas, entonces cada municipalidad lo puede interpretar. En una municipalidad puede ser mucho más difícil visar un plano, y en otra municipalidad puede ser*

*“So we requested a meeting with the mayor and since I supported his electoral campaign, suddenly he made a decision and told his desk officer to follow up with this human settlement’s case today; he attended us and solved the issue. He granted the visa and the resolution!”* (own translation)

*“The whole process is regulated; it is what it is. However, regarding the plot plan visas, there are a couple of political aspects as well. For example, if the mayor doesn’t want to visit it, for any political reason, he won’t [...] It doesn’t mean that the norms are different, they are the same but, since there is some sort of legal void within these norms, then the municipality can interpret. In some municipalities it might be very difficult to be granted with a plot plan visa while easier in others, depending on the*

*mucho más fácil, por la voluntad política que tenga dicha municipalidad.”*  
*(entrepreneur, 30/07/2018, Villa el Salvador )*

*political willingness of that specific municipality” (own translation)*

In both cases, which often overlap, institutional practices' configuration allows to establish a substantive extra-normative regime.



Figure 14: Signed basic plot plan in El Trebol. Old version (source: El Trebol neighborhood organization)

### 5.2.6 Risk mitigation tools and techniques

Neighborhood organizations for El Trebol locate on high lands, around those situated in flat areas occupied between 1950 and 1980 in Pamplona and Pamplona Alta. After the first and second popular urbanizations waves, unoccupied free lands become rare and expensive while the stock of state land was almost exhausted. Thus, a vast majority of the population follow the example of the first and second generation of settlers and squat new hilly lands (Driant, 1991). In such circumstances, most formalization processes proceed when neighborhood organizations directly deal with environmental issues.

Firstly, hazard impacts in La Nueva Rinconada are influenced by human activities apart from climatology and geology's associated factors. For instance, in

2014, the Municipality of SJM declared La Nueva Rinconada an environmental emergency area due to the presence of piggery farm, miasmas, and the high health risk (Dirección de Higiene Alimentaria y Zoonosis, 2014; El Comercio, 2014). However, the measures necessary to combat and eradicate the phenomenon of piggeries have never been taken in a definite manner since farmers are formal owners of their plots and current land-use functions allow them to continue their activities. An employee in SJM District summarized his knowledge about the emergency as follow:

*“sí, recién he tomado yo, hace 4-5 meses, conocimiento de que existía este **documento de emergencia** sanitaria. Y en el gobierno anterior al actual, estamos hablando del presidente Umala **se intentó levantar el riesgo sanitario**. Pero no se logró. ¿Porqué? Porque **los que crían ganado porcino** en Nueva Rinconada, **tienen título de propiedad**. Han comprado el terreno. Entonces es muy **difícil que se pueda reubicar** este ganado porcino, porque ellos son los dueños de la tierra donde están criando los cerdos.” (employee of Subgerencia de Defensa Civil, 03/06/2018, San Juan de Miraflores)*

*“I just recently found out, 4-5 months ago, that this health **emergency document** existed. From the former government to the current one, we are speaking about president Umala, they **tried to lift the health risk**. But they couldn't. Why? Because **people who raise pigs** in Nueva Rinconada have property titles. They have bought the land. So, it is practically impossible to relocate the piggeries, since they own the land where they are raising the pigs.” (own translation)*

Secondly, in addition to public health problems, there are also problems concerning soil's structural nature that affect its stability and the geological hazard. Coastal hills are exposed to multiple physical hazards. They are particularly vulnerable due to steep slopes, shallow soils, adverse climatic conditions, and geological variability. Among the common natural and human-made hazards, the hill ecosystem is vulnerable to earthquakes, waterlogging, flash floods, and

landslides. Climate change and induced variability further increases the frequency and intensity of hydrometeorological hazards. The coastal desert region is typically dry throughout the summer but can be significantly impacted by climatic changes when the adjacent ocean warms and the equatorial trough oscillates further south. Especially under the Coastal Niño phenomenon, much of the Peruvian coastal desert region is particularly hard-hit with incessant, monsoon-like rains causing mudslides known as *huaycos* from the hilly areas down to the valley. Besides, Peru is one of the most earthquake-prone countries on the planet. The hilly coastal region sits astride one of the most volatile ruptures in the Earth's crust; it is increasingly at risk of being hammered by a one-two quake-tsunami punch causing landslides — including rockfalls, profound failure of slopes, and shallow debris slopes.

Regarding environmental risk mitigation, measures have been taken into consideration since 2004. They are mandatory to start both the visa process and the recognition of neighborhood organizations in La Nueva Rinconada. Indeed, as two officials from SJM report:

*“para visar un plano, se debe contar con ciertos requisitos, y uno de ellos, del año 2004 es un certificado de defensa civil. Ahora se está cambiando para que sea un informe de estimación de riesgos. Entonces yo quiero visar mi plano para el tema de luz o para el tema de agua y desagüe primero tengo que mitigar mi riesgo. Mitigo mi riesgo, pido la estimación, me dan la estimación con riesgo medio y recién la Subgerencia y Catastro me hace la visación de plano” (employee of Subgerencia de Defensa Civil, 03/06/2018, San Juan de Miraflores)*

*“También se les pide un informe de defensa civil, para*

*“In order to get a plot plan visa, there are some requisites, among these, starting in 2004, a civil defense certificate. It is currently being changed so that it is a risk assessment report. So, if I want my plot plan to be granted with a visa for electricity, water, and sewage, I first need to mitigate risk. I mitigate risk, I ask for the calculation, only once I have a received a medium risk calculation I can get the visa granted by the sub-department and Land Registry (cadastre)” (own translation)*

*“They are also asked to submit a civil defense report, to know if it is a high risk area or not. Well, if it is, in*

*ver si la zona está en alto riesgo o no. Bueno, sí está en alto riesgo, ahí sí que no se le van a visar los planos. [...]entonces ellos inician su trámite ante el área que corresponde, también van, inspecciona, y si cumplen con todas las medidas de seguridad de ese asentamiento humanos se entrega una estimación de riesgo.” (employee of Subgerencia Obras privadas, Catastro y Gestión del territorio, 10/08/2018, San Jun de Miraflores)*

*fact, high risk, you are not going to get that plot plan visa [...] so they start the procedure under the corresponding department, they also visit, inspect and, if they comply with all the security measures within that human settlement, they are given a risk calculation” (own translation)*



# Municipalidad Metropolitana de Lima

Gerencia de Defensa Civil y Gestión del Riesgo de Desastres -  
Subgerencia de Estimación, Prevención, Reducción y Reconstrucción  
Decenio de la Igualdad de oportunidades para mujeres y hombres - Año del Diálogo y la Reconciliación Nacional



## INFORME DE ESTIMACIÓN DE RIESGOS Nº 001 - 2018 - MML - GDCCRD - SEPRE

A : **Ing. Eduardo Casaverde Torres**  
Gerencia de Defensa Civil y Gestión del Riesgo de Desastres.  
DE : **Ing. Gabriel González Carcausto**  
Subgerencia de Estimación, Prevención, Reducción y Reconstrucción.

### I. DATOS OBJETIVOS DE LA INSPECCIÓN

1.1 Dirección : **ASENTAMIENTO HUMANO FUNDO EL OLIVAR**  
1.2 Distrito : **Santiago de Surco**  
1.3 Provincia : **Lima**  
1.4 Departamento : **Lima**  
1.5 Objeto de Evaluación : **Asentamiento Humano**  
1.6 Solicitante : **Dirigencia vecinal**

### II. REFERENCIAS

2.1 Documento : **D.S. 18593-2018 (Exp. 088)**  
2.2 Órgano Ejecutante : **Subgerencia de Estimación, Prevención, Reducción y Reconstrucción**  
2.3 Fecha de la Inspección : **19 de enero del 2018**  
2.4 Fecha de Emisión : **24 de enero del 2018**

El presente Informe solo se limita a la Estimación y cumplimiento de las condiciones de Seguridad en Defensa Civil, los problemas legales de superposición, propiedad privada, propiedad en litigio, terrenos considerados por el Ministerio de Cultura. Entre otros, no son responsabilidad ni se evalúan en este Informe, por consiguiente, no debe considerarse para temas ajenos a la Seguridad en Defensa Civil.

### III. SITUACIÓN GENERAL

- Mediante el documento de la referencia la dirigencia vecinal solicita Informe de Estimación de Riesgos para el Asentamiento Humano Fundo el Olivar en el distrito de Santiago de Surco, por lo que, atendiendo a lo solicitado, personal técnico de la Subgerencia de Estimación, Prevención, Reducción y Reconstrucción de la Municipalidad Metropolitana de Lima, conformado por el suscrito y; los bachilleres en arquitectura, Adrian Condor Neyra con DNI 71722691 y Gabriel González Carcausto con DNI 70681753; realizaron la respectiva evaluación de campo.
- La Evaluación se realizó en coordinación con el Sr. Eduardo Casaverde Torres, con DNI 08754591, domiciliado en Mz B Lt 13 (Secretario General), Teléfono 01 300 0239 y el Sr. Rodolfo Chalco Quispe, con DNI 23680141, domiciliado en Mz A Lt 5 (Secretario de Prensa y Propaganda)

#### 3.1 UBICACIÓN GEOGRÁFICA

- El Asentamiento Humano Fundo el Olivar, se encuentra ubicado en el distrito de Santiago de Surco, Provincia y Departamento de Lima.
- Con coordenadas UTM referenciales siguientes:  
282 580 E  
8 656 560 S

#### 3.2 DESCRIPCIÓN FÍSICA DE LA ZONA

##### 3.2.1 Accesos:

Desde la oficina de Defensa Civil ubicada en la vía de Evitamiento Km. 6.5, hacia el sur por la avenida Tomás Valle, continuar por la avenida Santiago de Surco luego girar a la derecha por la avenida Surco hasta el cruce con la prolongación de la avenida la república, referencia Colegio Santa Teresita, se encontrará una trocha, donde se encuentra el Asentamiento Humano objeto de estudio.

##### 3.2.2 Clima:

Su clima es de tipo desértico con muy escasas precipitaciones en invierno. La temperatura media oscila entre los 17° C. a 19° C.

##### 3.2.3 Topografía

La topografía del terreno donde se ubican los lotes tiene pendiente plana.

9

Gerencia de Defensa Civil y Gestión del Riesgo de Desastre - Municipalidad Metropolitana de Lima  
Vía de Evitamiento Km 6.5 Piedra Liza - Rimac - Lima / Teléfono 632-1100 Anexo 1173 - 5054  
Asentamiento Humano Fundo el Olivar - Santiago de Surco.

Figure 15: An example of Risk Assessment Report 2018 (source: Metropolitan Municipality of Lima)

Recently, the *Risk Assessment Report* has also become a tool utilized by COFOPRI in popular urbanizations titling process to avoid conflict with the local population. Neighborhood organizations have to require this kind of intervention directly to keep on moving ahead in the development process. As a COFOPRI employee has stated:

*“Cuando el técnico [de COFOPRI] va a campo y determina que hay condiciones de riesgo [...] suspende la formalización. De todas maneras, pide un informe como sustento para la población. Porque obviamente la población no te va a aceptar ‘señor yo digo que la población está en zona de riesgo!’ y la población ya sabe, y te dice ‘¿y el documento? ¡Yo le creo solamente si me lo dice Defensa Civil!’. Nosotros pedimos entonces el informe a Defensa Civil para tener el sustento de porqué ese pueblo no va, y nos evitamos el conflicto con la población”*  
(employee of COFOPRI, 09/06/2018, San Borja)

*“When the specialist [COFOPRI’s] does the fieldwork and determines there are risk conditions [...] they call off the process. Anyways, they ask for a report as evidence for the population. Obviously, the people will not accept this ‘Sir, I’m telling you, the settlement is located in a risky area!’. People already know and they’ll say ‘and the document to prove it?’ I only believe it if Civil Defense says it!’ That is why we ask Civil Defense for that report because that settlement is a no go, so we avoid conflict with the population”* (own translation)

In the current manuals of the INDECI (Podestà Llosa, 2006), a risk estimation survey is entrusted with qualified technicians belonging to each municipality. They have the task of producing *the Civil Defense Report* and have responsibility for it (see Figure 15).

The program evaluation process goes through four phases: advocacy, evaluating, reporting, and implementing. In Lima, the advocacy phase belongs to district municipalities. They have a more educational function working on neighborhood organizations' empowerment as if they were an external audit institution, based on collective labor practices are planned as the first instance. The reason is that local authorities are often accused of a lack thereof and favoritism. An independent evaluator shall be an entity with no conflict of interest arising from any political or commercial relationship with the neighborhood organizations.

*“Pero quien lo está haciendo ahora, en este caso, para la titulación, **la estimación de riesgo, lo está haciendo la municipalidad metropolitana de Lima. Ellos mandan sus profesionales y hacen la estimación de riesgo. Y ese informe se lo dan a ellos y ellos lo presentan a Cofopri. Aclaración: ¿Con qué sentido se hace esto? Para que nuestra municipalidad no sea “juez y parte” como se dice. ¿Porque qué hacemos? Yo voy al pueblo, lo preparo, y como está en mi jurisdicción yo digo ¡está bien!, y lo entrego, favoreciendo a los pueblos. Entonces lo que se quiere es evitar eso. Nosotros preparamos a los pueblos. Viene un tercero, un imparcial, de Lima, y ve si efectivamente el trabajo que se ha hecho ha sido realizado de manera favorable y el riesgo si ha disminuido. Un imparcial hace la estimación de riesgo. ¡Pero nosotros también ayudamos a la población, en el sentido que hacemos la capacitación, la preparación, todo! Y muchas veces se ha hecho de ir allá a hacer una previa visita y vemos, y si encontramos algún error que se pueda corregir, que lo***

*“But the entity doing this now, in this case, for title granting, the risk calculation, **it's being done by Lima's Metropolitan City Hall (municipality). They send their experts and make the risk assessment. They give this report to them and then they submit it to Cofopri. Just to be clear. What's the purpose of this? So that our municipality isn't “both judge and defendant”, as it is said. Why do we do this? I go to the settlement, I prepare it and, since it is under my jurisdiction I say: It's ok! And I grant it, favoring the settlements. That is what we are trying to avoid. We get the settlements ready. A third party comes, someone unbiased, from Lima, and checks if the work done has been conducted properly and the risk has been reduced. This impartial party makes the risk assessment. But we also support the population in the sense that we offer training, we do the prep, everything! Many times we have made a previous visit and we check. If we see any error that can be corrected, they can go ahead and do so and when Lima comes, that mistake has already***

*corrijan, para que cuando venga Lima ese error ya este subsanado, sino se retrasa, todo. Así estamos haciendo todo esto.” (employee of Subgerencia de Defensa Civil, 03/06/2018, San Juan de Miraflores)*

*been taken care of. If not, everything is delayed. This is how we are doing this.” (own translation)*

Therefore, the Civil Defence Department of the metropolitan area provides the assessment and reporting phases through its technicians while local municipalities work on neighborhood organizations' empowerment.

During the estimation process in fieldwork, professionals consider several socio-economical, technological, and physical aspects of identifying and typifying risks and vulnerability. These items fall into two categories preliminary analyzed: structural and subsidiary categories.

The “structural order” defined the material arrangement of a settlement, focused on hills side stability and infrastructure security. Precisely technicians evaluated:

- mountain home retaining walls quality;
- the presence of rock mass and loose inert material factors;
- the existence of access to settlement blocks that do not comply with national laws and regulations on mobility and transport;
- the absence of retaining walls was essential;
- the presence of not-standard electrical systems;

These elements define the space for collective labor practices as they emerged both from interviews and assessment documents of surveyors' equipment. An employee has explained the formal procedure as follow:

*“Vamos nosotros y llenamos la ficha: ponemos el día, el distrito, el poblado, cuantos lotes, cuantas manzanas, en cuanto están posicionados, si tiene servicios (agua, desagüe, luz...en algunos casos hasta gas), accesos (como llegamos), y la parte estructural. [...] Entonces de acuerdo con lo que*

*“We go and we fill out the form: we update, district, settlement, lot quantity, hectares (manzanas), how they are positioned, if they have services (water, sewage, electricity...in some cases even gas), access (how we get there), the structural part [...]. So, according to what we have*

*hemos analizado por peligros, por incendio, nosotros concluimos cual es el riesgo. Se hace un cálculo de que es lo que pasaría con esto, tenemos las conclusiones de orden estructural: orden estructural es todo lo que sea físico, que ellos puedan trabajar con la mano: que tengan que hacer sus escaleras, sus muros de contención, que tengan que arreglar sus pircas. Lo físico es estructural.” (employee of Sub Gerencia Defensa Civil, 20/07/2018, Rímac)*

*assessed as risk, fire hazard, we conclude what the risk is. We make the calculation of ‘what would happen if?’ We have the structural part conclusions as well: structural order includes everything that is physical and that they can work with their hands --such as making stairs, highway retaining walls, if they need to fix their pircas – property retaining walls. The physical means structural.” (own translation)*

Security measures involve not only structural elements as previously mentioned but also elements consider subsidiary to the former. Therefore, according to the non-structural category requirement concern the training workshops about septic tank management, a preventive training program with group dynamics simulations, as well as training about earthquakes and fires disaster management, all organized by the local Civil Defence Department and by Disaster Prevention Research Institute -PREDES. Other measures include plans and documents and statements of accomplishment such as a validated Emergency and Evacuation Plan -*Plan de Seguridad y de Evacuación* according to law n°2855 (Ley que establece la obligación de elaborar y presentar planes de contingencia, 2005) and a geotechnical survey of soil conditions that generally accompanies the plan (see Figure 16). These documents must be signed by certifying and qualifying professionals such as engineers or architects outside the public sector and delivered to the responsible municipality's department. A new plan's average costs may reach thousands of dollars, increasing if a territory under the organization's control is vast or decreasing if the territory is small or implies a simple modification of a previous plan. Not to mention first aid kit and emergency fire equipment costs, in El Trebol, the emergency plan was made by an external professional for 2000 PEN -606 USD-approximately, while the survey reached 6000 PEN – 1818 USD, due to the mandatory execution of several core drillings in the soil. The final report assesses the presence or absence of such elements by scoring each part separately. To get right to the point, the survey of physical and social vulnerability and hazard

detection allows technicians to report the settlement's comprehensive risk into one of four levels: low, medium, high, and very high.

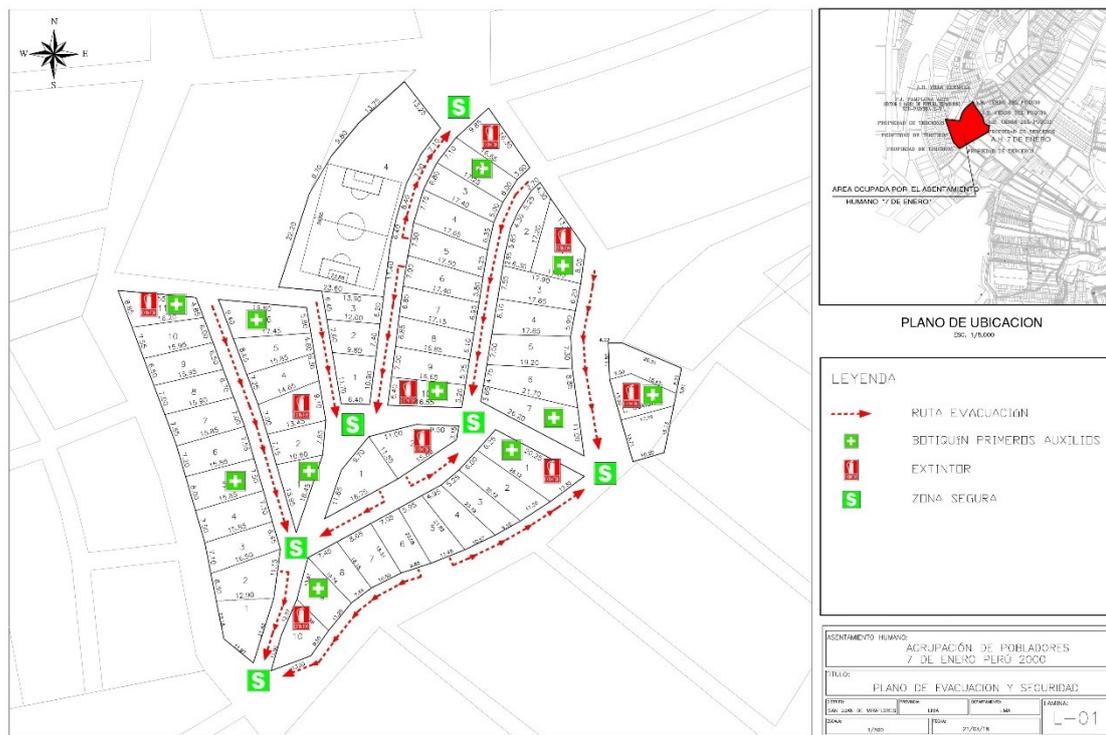


Figure 16: Example of emergency Evacuation Plan in 7 de Enero (source: TECHO Peru)

Lastly, the implementation phase concerns the spending and the commitment of other organizations in order to mitigate high-risk situations. The provision of specialized municipal machinery for infrastructural works is quite common in popular urbanizations. However, SJM popular urbanizations share the cost of the intervention with the municipality. Indeed, as a local employee of the *Sub Gerencia Defensa Civil* said:

*“en el caso de asentamientos humanos que son ya antiguos y están en zona de riesgo mitigable, de riesgo medio, la principal tarea la hace la población, en los trabajos que se llaman faenas dominicales.[...]Ahora, cuando se quiere remoción de escombros, o traslado de rocas*

*“In the case of long-standing human settlements which are located in mitigable risk areas, medium risk, the main tasks are performed by the population itself through work called Sunday chores (faenas dominicales) [...]. Now, when debris removal is required, or rock and sand transport, they*

y arena, piden también a la municipalidad y **se les brinda el apoyo con maquinaria** para el traslado del desmonte, con un convenio muy simple, de **combustible y pago del chofer** para que pueda hacer este trabajo. [...] Ahora, **el tema de la maquinaria pesada**, llámese una retroexcavadora o un cargador frontal, esto si muchas veces **lo tiene que asumir la propia población** [...]

make a request to the municipality and support is **offered with needed machinery** to transport the waste by a very simple agreement: **Paying for gas and paying the driver** so that he can perform this job [...]. Now, **regarding heavy machinery**, call it a backhoe or a front-end loader, this **usually has to be paid by the population** [...]" (own translation)

Conversely, the municipality commitment is weak and restricted to specific treatments limited to the external audit if the local population occupied very high-risk areas such as in El Trebol case. Commitment is reduced to the minimum in order to prepare people in the worst scenario reducing potential damages:

**"porque esas viviendas generalmente están ocupando sitios que no deben ser habitados. Entonces lo que se hace es asesorar la población para que este riesgo disminuía. [...]** Igual nosotros los ayudamos par que el daño sea menor, en el supuesto caso en que ocurra un fenómeno natural. [...] **le manifestamos apoyo** y le dijimos: miren **ustedes están en zona de alto riesgo no mitigable** y están ustedes ahí asentados. Si no pueden acceder

**"Because those houses are usually built over land that should not be inhabited. So what is done is to train the population so that the risk is reduced [...].** Likewise, we help them so that the damage is minimized, given the case of a natural disaster happening [...] **we openly offered support** and said: Look, **you are in a non-mitigable high-risk zone and you are living there. If you cannot request a relocation by law, we can guide them so that they can have a chance and**

*al reasentamiento por ley, les indicamos cual es la manera para que puedan ellos tener la posibilidad de no perder la vida en caso de un fenómeno natural, como es un sismo. Igual los asesoramos, los preparamos y es damos las herramientas necesarias para que puedan proteger su vida.” (employee of Sub Gerencia Defensa Civil, 03/06/2018, San Juan de Miraflores)*

*not lose their lives if a natural disaster strikes, like an earthquake. We offer advice, we prepare them and we give them the needed tools so that they can protect their lives.” (own translation)*

Underlying this behavior, there is a mandatory declaration of uninhabitable living conditions released in such areas where previous last risk levels will be difficult, if not impossible, to mitigate fully or where mitigation is unachievable for the neighborhood organization resources. According to the Relocation Law n. 29869 as amended and supplemented (Ley quemodifica la Ley 29869, Ley de reasentamiento poblacional para zonas de muy alto riesgo no mitigable, 2017). Then district municipalities should provide a technical survey to identify the non-mitigable risk areas and predispose a plan or resettlement. Nevertheless, as a civil defense department employee commented, those measures are still far from being taken in La Nueva Rinconada:

*"hay una ley, ustedes deben saber la ley de reasentamientos humanos, pero muchas veces no se cumplen y entonces están ahí hasta ahora...y tendrían que hacer un trabajo más arduo... y no se...y tedioso ¿no? Para poder? Porque claro, técnicamente se puede hacer en*

*"There is a law, you must have heard of the **Human Resettlements Law**, but, many times, it is not followed and so they are still there...a more arduous job should be done...I don't know...tedious, maybe? So that it can be done. Of course, technically you can build them on a steep hill, you*

*una ladera que tenga pendiente, se pueden hacer digamos plataformas, muros de contención, vías, ¿carrozables afirmados? Pero lo que nos indica es que por el momento, como el riesgo es muy alto, **no se les puede brindar servicios.*** (employee of Sub Gerencia Defensa Civil, 03/06/2018, San Juan de Miraflores)

*could make, let's say, terraces, retaining walls, tracks, affirmed dirt roads? But what it tells us is that, for now, since the risk is too high, **no services can be offered to them.*** (own translation)

Most of the time, practitioners feel abandoned because of municipality conduct—between commitments and disbursement, and no trust in government authority anymore, as commented by two representative members of 07 de Enero and El Trebol.

*“Yo trabajo en presupuestos de la municipalidad, vienen personas que ya están confirmadas, pueblos viejos, están pidiendo que les hagan sus veredas o que les arreglen sus parques, están pidiendo agua para sus parques... **cuando nosotros hemos ido a la municipalidad a que nos boten el desmonte, nos han hecho pagar 100 soles porque cada volquetada, no nos dan nada gratis. Nos ponen tantas reglas tantos ‘peros’, pero nosotros mismo hemos levantado todo. Cansa mucho. [...]** Por otro lado, yo veo*

*“I work in the municipality’s budgeting department. People, who are already confirmed, come. Old settlements are asking for their sidewalks to be built, their parks fixed, they are requesting water for their green areas... **When we have visited the municipality so it takes care of waste for us, they have made us pay 100 soles per dump truck, we don’t receive anything for free. They institute so many rules, there are so many ‘buts’;** however, we are the ones who have built everything from scratch. It is very tiring. [...] On*

*eso, ¿si nos piden todo listo, que nos va a dar la **Municipalidad** en el tiempo que ya este formada? Nada, porque ya hicimos todos.” (member of 07 de enero, 24/06/2018, San Juan de Miraflores).*

*“**No tenemos apoyo de las autoridades locales** [...] Les hacemos llegar documento solicitando maquinaria, para aperturar las calles se necesita maquinaria pesada. **Muchas veces no tenemos el apoyo**, o las maquinarias están malogradas o el estado no puede intervenir por ser propiedad privada (member of EL Trebol A, 18/03/2018, San Juan de Miraflores)*

*another note, I see that and, if **they ask us to have everything ready, what is the municipality going to provide** to us once the settlement is already formed? Nothing, because we would have done it already.” (own translation)*

*“**We receive no support from local authorities** [...] We comply with the document requesting heavy machinery so that we can inaugurate roads that require heavy machinery. **So many times we do not have the support**, or the machines are broken and the estate cannot intervene because it is private property” (own translation)*

Listening to local inhabitants leads one to believe that the absence of local authorities and state representatives' ineffectiveness are their main complaints. In general terms, this feeling is something that overwhelms popular urbanizations' life limits. Both in Lima and Callao, the highest percentage of dissatisfaction is related to management carried out to address district services and infrastructure issues as reported in the last perception survey by Lima Como Vamos <sup>56</sup> to evaluate the urban quality of life in the city (Asociación Unacem, 2019).

To support or replace the public authority role, third sector organizations intervene with specific projects such as the one activated in 2018 by Hazards and Disaster Research Centers - PREDES. PREDES planned activities the project *Gestión del Riesgo de Desastres, Preparativos para Emergencia* financed by The

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<sup>56</sup> Lima Como Vamos is an independent citizen observatory reporting the perception of quality of life in the city of Lima annually. See more information on the website of Lima Como Vamos at <http://www.limacomovamos.org/>

United States Agency for International Development (USAID). It strengthens the capacity of neighborhood organizations' response in the district of SJM, reducing disaster risk, preventing possible damages, and prepare for disaster response (PREDES - Centro de Estudios y Prevención de Desastres, 2018).

Several other key informants explicitly acknowledged that collective labor practice is the only chance for neighborhood organizations to improve popular urbanizations' living conditions. For instance, in one interview carried out at the Urban Development Division of SJM district about the relationship between environmental risk and collective labor practice, it was stated:

*"Hay zonas que tienen alta pendiente y riesgo muy alto ahí pondríamos una zona intangible, una zona de protección, porque seguramente tiene mucha pendiente. En otras zonas donde falta trabajo, pues poner y especificar recomendaciones. Y en zonas que no se conocen, que fue en ese momento 60 o 70%, que fue lo que nosotros reflejamos en el plano, tuvimos que cambiar la zonificación hasta que la gente trabaje. Con esa intención, nosotros fuimos a la gente y les dijimos: "para que ustedes puedan tener un saneamiento, tengan agua, luz, y se pueda hacer un plan vial acá se necesita que primero trabajen con el riesgo. Si ustedes no mejoran sus condiciones, nosotros no vamos a poder, ni el estado va a poder darles lo que ustedes*

*"There are areas with steep slopes and very high risk, there we would put an intangible zone, a protection zone, because it is probably very steep. In other zonas, where there is lack of work, suggestions could be stated. Then, within unknown zones, back then these were around 60 or 70% and what we reflected on the plot plan, we had to change the zoning until people could work. With that in mind, we went to the people and told them: "If you want sanitation, water and electricity service, a road plan, first you need to deal with risk. If you don't improve your conditions, we won't be able to do so, nor the estate will be able to provide what you need. You must work. You must vacate the safe zones." (own translation)*

*necesitan. Tienen que trabajar. Tienen que liberar las zonas seguras". (employee of Gerencia Desarrollo Urbano, 02/07/2018, San Juan de Miraflores)*

On an overall level, interviewees' responses concern the nature of relations and compromises outside the neighborhood organizations. It is an asymmetrical relation that subordinates a universal right of an adequate standard of living for health and well-being<sup>57</sup> to the practitioners' economic possibilities and the ability to perform work.

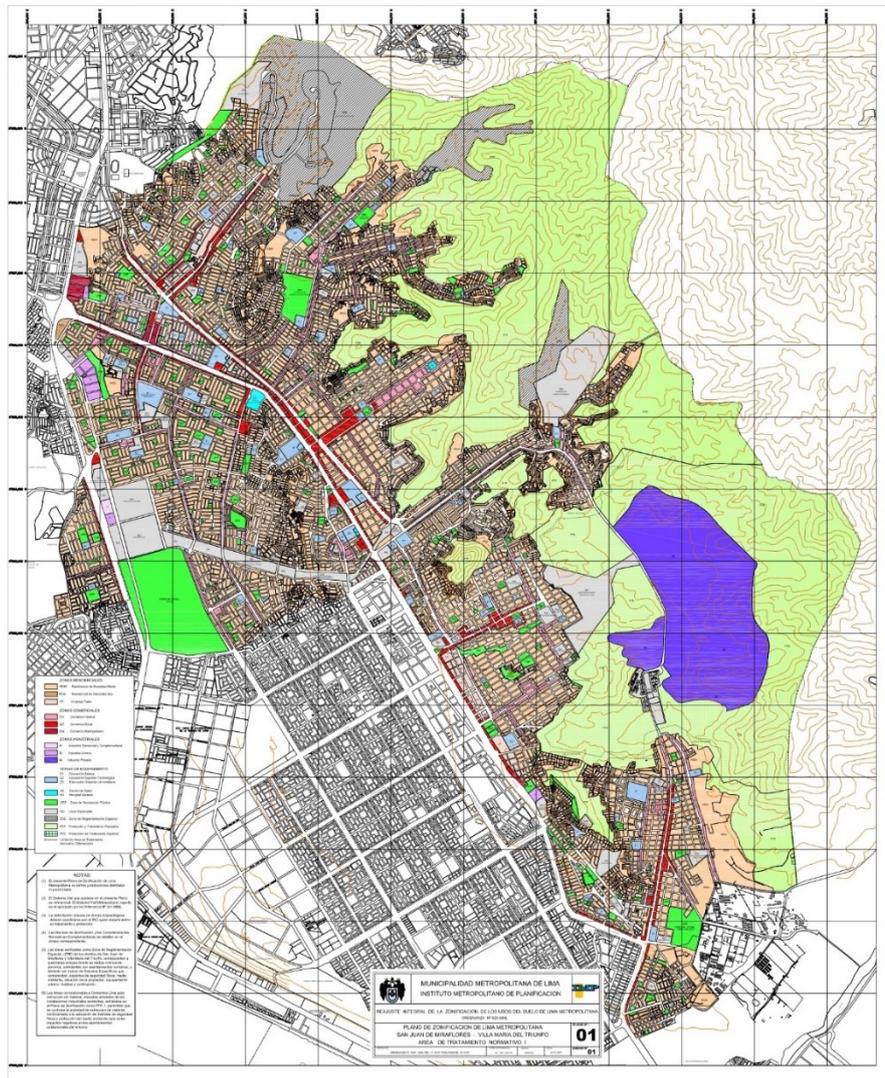
### *5.2.7 Spatial planning, issues and challenges*

The formal land classification of La Nueva Rinconada de Pamplona Alta is still agricultural. However, having been invaded more than twenty years ago, it turned into a residential area on praxis. Usually, when a property owner wants to use their land in a way that is not currently permitted by the zoning regulations, the owner must request to rezone the property. In Lima, a rezoning process must be approved by the Metropolitan Planning Institute - *Instituto Metropolitano de Planificación* (IMP). Unfortunately, many of the invaders are not formal owners, making such a change challenging because they cannot submit direct requests.

In 2007, the Metropolitan Municipality of Lima agreed with SJM's municipality, and IMP declared La Nueva Rinconada a Special Regulatory Zone - *Zona de Reglamentación Especial* (ZRE) by Ordinance n. 1084 MML (see Figure 17). Through this act, they created a "special area", placed over the existing base zone, which identifies actions in addition to those in the underlying agricultural base zone. These actions concern the drafting of environmental, physical hazards and physical-legal property sanitation studies, the redefinition of comprehensive planning that defines urban uses —productive and non-productive—, the location of municipal facilities with the marked layout of local and metropolitan roads, among others (ORDENANZA-N-1084-zonificacion.pdf, 2007). The new regulation had the aim to guide urban consolidation and legalization of the possession within La Nueva Rinconada.

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<sup>57</sup> Article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights reports: "Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control"



**Figure 17: SJM Zoning Map. Special Regulatory Zone in dark gray (source: San Juan de Miraflores)**

Eight years later, the last mayor of SJM Adolfo Ocampo Vargas formed a special commission to evaluate and manage the viability of changing zoning once again and, this time, in a formal residential zone. Even if a decent consolidation degree of the valley's lower part had been achieved for the record, the problems remained on the upper and steepest part. Indeed, rezoning proceedings have not yet been completed today. According to IMP, in order to be able to make the change of land use, at least 70% of the territory has to reach a reasonable environmental risk. As seen in the previous paragraph, achieving this situation is not an easy task in terms of money, work, and time:

*“lo que ocurre es lo siguiente; es que casi toda la población de la Nueva Rinconada, de las laderas que están en la parte baja, ya casi todos se han consolidado, tienen vías, escaleras luz entonces ahí ya prácticamente tenemos que considerarla nosotros como zona urbana. ¿Pero qué ocurre? **Ocurre que todavía no se da el cambio de uso del suelo. Y ese cambio de uso lo tiene que determinar el Instituto Metropolitano de Planificación, que es el IMP, que forma parte del gobierno regional de Lima. Entonces ellos, a través de los evaluadores que vienen a ver los pueblos que están ya preparados, están poco a poco haciendo los informes técnicos y determinando nivel de riesgo medio. Están tratando de que por lo menos un 70 % de la población de la Nueva Rinconada esté con un nivel de riesgo medio. Con ese 70% que ellos están exigiendo, ya se puede lograr el cambio de zonificación.***

*“What happens is the following: most of La Nueva Rinconada’s population, from the slopes on the lower parts, most of them are very much consolidated, with roads, lit stairs; so, we should practically consider it an urban area. What happens then? **The change on land use hasn’t happened yet.** That change is determined by the **Instituto Metropolitano de Planificación (IMP)** which belongs to Lima’s regional government. So they, through evaluators who come and visit the settlements already prepared, are little by little creating the technical reports and determining whether there’s a medium risk level. **Their aim is that at least 70% of La Nueva Rinconada’s population lives within medium risk levels. With this 70% they are demanding, a change in zoning could be achieved.**” (own translation)*

Detecting the exact percentage of the population still in high-risk areas is a task various institutions are working on. The first problem is the discretionary nature of

the request for environmental risk assessment, which leads to a lack of complete data on the area. The second problem has to do with the fragmentation of intervention. In addition to the authorities responsible at the municipal level, there is the PREDES intervention—which also regards the scheduling of settlements and populations in high environmental risk areas. Then, there is the TECHO project called *Relevamiento Asentamientos Populares* to identify, characterize, and to georeference popular urbanization in SJM. The site's location and characteristics, its access to basic infrastructure services, land tenure, evictions, physical and social risks were identified in 2018, and data have been shared with local authorities (TECHO - Perú et al., 2018).

### 5.3 The provision of basic infrastructure services

In El Trébol, stairs, street pipes, electrical connections, and services components (such as the organization's premises, kindergarten, sports slabs) and other basic infrastructure services have their own progressive dynamic. In time, they have been adapted to support the main activities of the settlers in the neighborhood and the authorities and allies' requests that appeared in time, as we shall see below. What follows is an approximate timeline of the El Trébol infrastructure development over more than 15 years (see Figure 18).

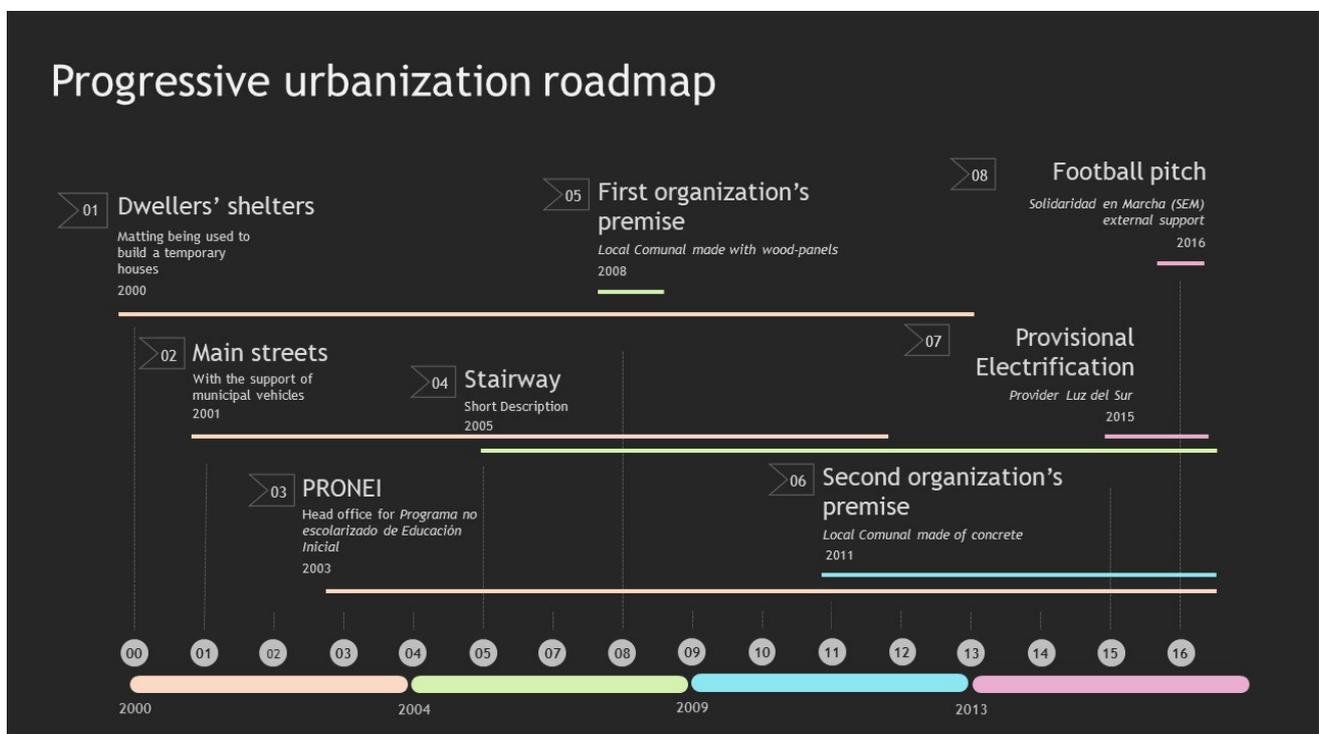


Figure 18: Progressive urbanization in El Trebol 2000-2016 (Resource: personal fieldnotes)

Infrastructure can progressively cover various stages depending on the resources of the same organization, the physical and environmental character of the area, and the legal aspects concerning the land possession that compose the urbanization. However, it is relevant to report a difference in the degree of consolidation, usually also in the same administrative space of neighborhood organization.

For example, El Trébol consists of three different sectors: the central core, which is the oldest and most consolidated erected from 2000; the *Remanente* — literally what is leftover— on the right side of the Valley started in 2012. Lastly, what is known as *Expansion* parcelled out in 2010. It is the most precarious sector physically separated by the other two due to another administrative space that belongs to another neighborhood organization: *Los Alamos*; split from the original administrative unit in 2013 due to internal political conflicts. It spread on top along the hill's left-hand side until it touches the famous Wall of Shame - *Muro de la Verguenza* separating one of Lima's most exclusive gated communities in Lima: The Casuarinas part of the municipality of Santiago de Surco.

The three sectors give rise to clear differences in the consolidation of streets and stairs as well as a different strategy for electrification and water provision mainly because they are physically and normatively differentiated internally.

As described in Subsection 2.3.2, the relationship with a multiplicity of outside organizations, both governed by public law or private, has been instrumental in basic infrastructure services provision. Substantially, a single system such as electricity supply can involve four different kinds of organizations: public sector - district, metropolitan or national-, pro-profit private sector, non-profit private sector (NGOs), and neighborhood organizations (or others) which compose the beneficiaries or customers themselves.

In the formal process of land development called *Habilitacion Urbana*, the unavailable land is designed to accommodate public services, tracks, paths, and road infrastructure, water, drainage and sewerage networks, and public lighting. According to the national building regulations, residential development -even the progressive development- must comply with facilities' contributions in enabled lands. They depend on the zoning regime and district urban plans. The minimum contributions should reach 8% of the utilities in public leisure; 2% with public parks, and another 2% in educational facilities, besides electrification, running water, and sewerage systems. Otherwise, when minimum standards are not reached, a recovery in money is accepted for the following specific purposes: public leisure, education, zone parks. According to the National Building Code of Peru, after ten years of substandard situation, the local district must take charge of the missing facilities provision (Reglamento Nacional de Edificaciones, 2006).

However, support for neighborhood organizations in the third stage of popular urbanizations is never for free or guaranteed because there is a discrepancy between formal zoning and soil uses, as shown in Section 5.2.7. Furthermore, locally available resources do not match the growing demand of the local population in

terms of political awareness, legal obstructions, and financial straits, which can severely limit the operational capabilities of the local districts.

For instance, in SJM district, the Participatory budgeting *-Presupuesto Participativo-* imply an ex-ante exclusion of all the sector of La Nueva Rinconada. Participatory budgeting is a prize competition for the urban upgrade of a district area through project proposals from below. In the LA, participatory budgeting experiences illustrate a scenario of legitimate forms of interaction between a governing system and relevant groups of citizens (Holdo, 2019). However, local participants and the project proposal must be located in already formalize and urbanized areas as a condition for the selection, as has been mentioned by one of the Urban Development Department employees of SJM:

*"I: [los] proyectos participativos tienen que ver con la participación de la sociedad de San Juan de Miraflores en un concurso, en el que la población presenta distintas obras, y se aprueban algunas.*

*0: ¿y en el caso de obras que presentan en asentamientos humanos en el distrito?*

*I: Ahí es distinto, porque esas obras, las de los asentamientos humanos, cuando no cuentan con una habilitación urbana, no tienen ese carácter. Y entonces la mayoría de las obras son dentro de un sector urbano: ósea un parque, un mejoramiento, una creación, las pistas o las veredas." (employee of Gerencia Desarrollo Urbano, 02/07/2018, San Juan de Miraflores)*

*"I: Participative projects revolve around San Juan de Miraflores' society's participation in a contest in which the population submits various projects and some are approved.*

*0: what about projects being implemented within the district's human settlements?*

*I: That's a different thing because those projects, within the human settlements, when these do not have an urban development act, they don't have that nature. So, the majority of the projects occur within an urban sector: I mean, a park, an enhancement, a creation, the roads or sidewalks" (own translation)*

Therefore, in popular urbanizations without a proper *Habilitacion Urbana*, there are differences in how those systems are produced and regulated in terms of material conditions, socio-political relations with the state, and other organizations.

Conventionally, the implementation of most basic infrastructure services is still obtained through negotiations between a neighborhood organization, respective agencies of Lima's metropolitan administration, local districts, and public service companies. However, in La Nueva Rinconada, those organizations' negotiation is ambivalent, marked by public recognition and disrepute. Furthermore, development partnerships based on equal power positions and responsibilities between actors are far from sufficient. That is why neighborhood organizations adopt inner collective labor practices to sustain themselves: the *Faena Comunal*, as shown in the next chapter.

### 5.3.1 Road Infrastructure

Road infrastructure system consists of the installation of fixed assets, including surface roads and stairways. Detected options to improve the road infrastructure in La Nueva Rinconada are three. The first concerns public agencies involved in the construction and improvement of roads and pathways, which belong to the district administration and Lima's metropolitan government. The most active in this respect is undoubtedly the *Empresa Municipal Administradora de Peajes de Lima*, EMAPE. It is an agency of the Metropolitan Municipality of Lima created in 1986 to manage the urban toll roads and the development and maintenance of the urban transport infrastructure in the area. As Meza (2009) has claimed, the constructive culture in popular urbanization continues to produce and transform, in a significant way, the built environment; nonetheless, usually without achieving the standards required in more consolidated sectors. The stairs have perishable handrails (when they have them), and the smooth concrete makes them slippery and dangerous; the roads have no floors and are dusty in the summer and covered in mud in winter. Their size and shape are usually built to consume the least possible space in order to avoid affecting occupied plots and private spaces. That way, within EMAPE, the Program Solidarity —Programa Solidaridad— provides necessary facilities and installations in popular urbanization such as stairs, solidarity houses, concrete walls, among other services, throughout the metropolitan area to respect construction standards. The unmistakable style adopted with the previous Mayor, Óscar Luis Castañeda Lossio, makes these yellow infrastructures recognizable everywhere in popular urbanizations (see Figure 19).



Figure 19: EMAPE regular stairway (source: photo repertoire)

EMAPE approach does not directly involve neighborhood organization practitioners. However, collective labor practices are used to enable selected areas and maintain the main communication routes so that EMAPE definitive stairways and football fields can be easily built. Collective labor practices are then instrumental in facilitating other institutional practices. As one solidarity program employee reported:

*“a veces **necesitamos algunas facilidades** que nos puedan dar, ya sea por seguridad, ya sea porque necesitamos ingresar materiales, y de*

*“Sometimes we need to be granted a couple facilities whether it is for safety, to bring materials. [...] Settlers participate; they know they are*

*repente necesitamos habilitar un camino para que puedan ingresar los materiales. [...] Los pobladores participan en el tema, que ellos son la mano de obra que utilizamos. Ahí de esa forma participan. Los participamos también cuando estamos elaborando el proyecto para no entrar en contradicción con ellos, para mantener sus costumbres.”*  
(employee of EMAPE, 31/07/2018, Lima)

*the workforce we use. They participate in that way. We also include them whenever we are elaborating projects so that we don't contradict them, to keep their customs.”* (own translation)

In this case, the collective labor practices are programmed just in the program's implementation phase while other decisions such as the planning phase, the number, location, and acceptance are usually taken in other fora and remain strictly guided by technical issues and subject to legal restrictions. Apparently, neighborhood organizations accomplish an unnecessary formality making requests to EMAPE because the institution's operating procedures do not take these requests into account. As the same employee stated:

*“Existe lo que es el pedido de la población, pero en realidad el pedido de la población es un formalismo, no tiene nada que ver con la decisión que se toma. La decisión ya está tomada, ya está más o menos definida, ¿pero por qué en teoría da la impresión de que es a pedido de la población? Porque necesitamos que esta población acepte el proyecto.*

*“There is what is called the population's request, but it really isn't, it is just a formalism, it has nothing to do with the decision being made. The decision has already been made, more or less defined. So, why, in theory, there is an impression that it is done by people's request? Because we need the population to embrace the project. If they don't, we could face challenges while*

*Porque si ellos no lo aceptan, podríamos tener inconvenientes en su desarrollo. Ellos piensan que es por su pedido, pero no es por su pedido.” (employee of EMAPE, 31/07/2018, Lima)*

*implemented. They believe it is upon their request, but it is not.” (own translation)*

Once again, just the neighborhood organizations which are in the process of formalization directed by COFOPRI have the chance to receive this kind of infrastructure improvement. This excluded occupying areas with private ownerships and no mitigable environmental risk zones. Without public support providing a secure footpath and staircase in unsafe or private property areas such as in the case of El Trébol is a challenging and labor-intensive activity.

Therefore, the second option revolves around the direct and intense recourse of collective labor practices. The chairwoman of the *Legal Physical Sanitation Commission of the Nueva Rinconada* narrated about road construction works in one of the first settlements in the area, letting the emotion of the moment shine through:

*“Estas vías las trabajamos todos hasta allá, en faenas, desde la seis de la mañana hasta las diez trabajamos y como éramos tantos entonces **por grupo asignábamos los trabajos** y esa carretera se hizo con apoyo de todos [...] Era roca toda esta cumbre, todo era roca, entonces que hicimos, nos organizamos al terminar manzanas por grupos, **le debamos un metraje y ellos podían terminar en un día, dos días o tres días.... y lo terminaban.** Les debamos por decir tres metros y ellos tenían que picar y habilitar y le debamos las medidas y todo [...]*

*“We all worked making these roads up to there, through tasks (faenas), from six in the morning up to ten we worked and since we were so many, we assigned tasks by groups and that road was created with everybody’s support [...] That peak was pure pure rock so what did we do? We organized ourselves to finish a hectare per group, we would assign measurements and they could finish in one, two, or three days...and they did. We would assign three meters, let’s say, and they had to break through stone and prepare, so we gave them the*

*En un comienzo nadie nos quería apoyar, **nosotros solos a pico y lampa y por esto es que cuando yo hablo de este tema me da mucho sentimiento, mucho sentimiento me da verdaderamente porque hemos luchado duro para poder aperturar la vía [..] Ahora no, ahora hay carreteras, pero echa por la misma población. Acá no ha venido el estado o la gestión municipal para brindar maquinarias y aperturar las vías, lo que han hecho es apoyar para alinear las vías, pero son vías que ya la habíamos aperturado nosotros.** (chair of the Comisión de Saneamiento Físico Legal de la Nueva Rinconada, 22/04/2018 San Juan de Miraflores)*

*measurements and everything [...] At the beginning, nobody wanted to support us, **we were by ourselves with peaks and shovels. That is why when I speak about this I feel moved; I get emotional because we have really worked hard to open up this road [...] Not now, there's roads already, but made by the very people. The government didn't come here, or the municipal management to offer machinery or road openings, what they have done is offer support to align the roads, but we had already inaugurated them ourselves.** (own translation)*

The third option to improved accessibility in the area concerns the third-sector support in the settlement's development supported by private firms' corporate social responsibility areas. As an illustration, I will report the staircase construction in which I was involved (see Figure 20 and Appendix D: Field report, 04/03/2018, vol I, p.115). It was one of the three tasks concerning road infrastructure improvements planned for the day. The project started in March 2017 to respond to the requirements made by Luz del Sur —the energy providers— to get the ultimate power grid in the sector called *Rimanente*. Results revealed that compelling planning also depended on the appearance of another actor. A Catholic association called *Solidaridad en Marcha* aided El Trebol through its Volunteering for Community Development program. It regards a form of aid self-help that involve foreign volunteers for the labor ranks. *Solidaridad en Marcha* is a Catholic association based in SJM that belongs to the Christian Life Movement (CLM). It

has been active since La Nueva Rinconada origins, and for EL Trebol's organization, they provided support by 40 young people from the Catholic school in Bismarck, North Dakota, USA, where they built a sports facility in 2016 (Familia Solidarité Noticias, 2016a, 2016b). The different NGOs do not collaborate with one other. Each organization or each group has its own projects and its way of doing things in collaboration with the neighborhood organization. Indeed, TECHO did not know of this last collaboration despite his active presence.



Figure 20: Stairway construction area - El Trebol (source: photo repertoire)

Considering the position of the access routes on the *Basic Plot Plan* called *Plan Visado* or, technically, *Plano simple de Ubicación de lotes*, practitioners tracked and laid the groundwork with white chalk powder, bobbins of nylon thread, stone plumb bob, and a metric fiber tape. The *Basic Plot Plan* appears as a normative plan. However, on that occasion, it was used just as an approximative reference. Indeed, tracks have been readapted to the limits of pre-existing individual plots,

hoping for a not closer inspection and supervision by Luz del Sur, the electricity provider. The reason was simple; they preferred to readapt the plan on practice rather than questioning the limits of pre-assigned “private” land parcels that would lead to the opening of a dispute.

Neighborhood organization central board planned an additional *Faena Comunal* at the end of March to dig out and to prepare the ground for the forthcoming staircase construction phase (see Appendix D: Field report, 25/03/2018, vol 2, p.18). On that occasion, practitioners cleared and layered the groundwork, built formworks, made concrete and moved it to higher ground, poured it, and finished a stair section with a float. Three broader tasks were displayed to lay the groundwork for the construction phase and the prompt arrival of the *Solidaridad en Marcha* volunteers.

First, all the practitioners collected wooden planks for formwork at the base of the groundwork. It has been a considerable effort because the warehouse -a little blue shelter- was not easy to reach walking due to the lack of proper paths and because it was located in the higher ground on the other side of the hill, in the *Expansion* sector. Furthermore, wooden planks were in awful condition, with fouling layers, insects’ nests, and rusty nails popping up.

Second, it was necessary to remove two private bulky water tanks anchored to the ground and relocate them out of the planned stairway path, whereas another was brought to the concrete production site loaded on a practitioner's shoulders to have a durable water reserve during the concrete production process.

Third, practitioners used the water remained in tanks to wet the ground, preparing sub-base for stairs, making the leveling process easy through picks and shovels. In this step, I assisted in removing a massive rock nested in the middle of the groundwork (see Figure 21). It has been a collective effort through individual micro and improvised attempts to smash the rock or pick it up and roll it away under a building expert's supervision. Then a unified strategy promoted by one of the central board members allowed them to remove the hurdle. The work succeeded in using long steel posts as a physical lever. The leader sentences were iconic in this regard. He said: “*Give me a lever long enough and a fulcrum on which to place it, and I shall move the world*” to paraphrase Archimedes.



Figure 21: the removal task of a massive rock which was located in the stairway project area of El Trebol (source: photo repertoire)

Concrete stairs also require temporary formwork and the necessary supports (see Figure 22). The last stop of the day concerned the proper formwork assemblage in the basement. On the first weekend of April, I followed up on this last stage, coming back from a couple of interviews (see Appendix D: Field report, 08/04/2018, vol 2, p.46). One-quarter of the stairway was already running through *Solidaridad en Marcha's* intervention, but the work would necessarily need to advance without them because the ready-made construction material could not be left out in the open space for a long time. Indeed, fine sand, gravel, and cement bags were mixed with shovels in a flat area near the base of the staircase while nails and screws, with wooden boards to support the formwork, were left at the edge of the staircase.

On that occasion, I realized that neither a physical project on paper nor estimates was made to identify the amount of material needed to complement the project before the building phase. Talking with the public works secretary, he started giggling by repeating the sentence “*out of sight, out of mind*” in Spanish. It means that both practitioners and the supervisor had no clear idea of the total construction cost and preferred not to have it to avoid dissatisfaction regarding the actual costs.

Based on an initial approximation and the Basic Plot Plan measures, central board got 4.5 m<sup>3</sup> of concrete -150 bags on the market for the 20 PEN each-, 10 m<sup>3</sup> of gravel -550 PEN-, 5 m<sup>3</sup> of sand -250 PEN- and 2.5 m<sup>3</sup> of water -120 PEN- to finish 38 meters staircase with a width of 130 cm. The practitioner collected rocks in the surrounding area and used them to fill the steps before casting to minimize the use of concrete as much as possible and to build a sturdy sub-base. I do not think I am going very far from reality by saying that at least 50% of the material used was pure rock. Thus, this staircase project's final expenditure might have reached 2235 PEN, approximately 678 USD, obviously without counting the workforce.



Figure 22: Stairway construction phase - El Trebol (source: photo repertoire)

### 5.3.2 Leisure facilities

The so-called *Local Comunal* is the organization's premises. It is a facility, flexible in the use with which neighborhood organizations equip themselves and on which a large part of the organization's life depends. This type of building is one of the most important investments made in popular urbanizations.

El Trébol has gotten two of these spaces. The oldest one is now called the *Viejo local*. It measures 146 square meters arranged on a single level and made up of wooden panels and veneers for the roof full of work tools and documents accumulated by the association. The second is a new space. It is made up of bricks and a reinforced concrete structure with a base of 350 square meters. The main level was built progressively from 2011 to 2017, although the work remains incomplete today. It began like many other constructions without a complete project or design, just by using the skills and practical experience of professional masons and

construction masters who lived in the settlement. In 2012 they began to collaborate with young architects at the time member of a group of students and now founder of MincaArc studio, which offered their expertise to design the venue. One Architect described his first meeting with the organization as follows:

*“Y da la casualidad de que un día [...] comienzo a ver qué están haciendo unas obras en el trébol, me acerco a preguntar qué estaban haciendo y es ahí donde empieza la conexión con el trébol, con la dirigencia de trébol y con la población. Entonces **ahí también me dan sus necesidades**, que les faltaban porque estaban haciendo una obra sin planos, sin nada. **Me comentaron que necesitaban planos para seguir avanzando la obra. Es ahí donde yo intervengo con mis colegas** y comenzamos también un trabajo con ellos en el trébol.” (member of MincaArq, 02/07/2018, Lima).*

*“It so happened that one day [...] I see that there’s work being done at El Trébol, I come by and ask what they were doing and that’s when the connection with El Trébol began, its management and its people. So, right there they **shared their needs with me**, things they were missing because they were working without a plot plan or anything. **They commented that they needed plot plans to move on with the projects. That was when I intervened with my colleagues** and we started working with them at El Trébol.” (own translation)*

What was subsequently called el *Nuevo Local Comunal* does not have this title in the formal documents. Instead, the use of soil reported in the *Basic Plot Plan* formally foresaw an event hall and sports facilities area. Indeed, the area was formally and officially assigned to public use precisely as a recreation and leisure space. Architects came up with an alternative solution to avoid significant deviations from what was initially planned. They projected a sports slab above the premises to maintain recreational use.

With the draft in their hands, neighborhood organizations struggled in raising the necessary funds and materials to go forward with projects.

As opposed to the staircase, founds of this magnitude can be achieved by self-appraisal to a limited extent. For most, they depend on external support and opportunities from which neighborhood organizations pragmatically try to gain practical benefit. The lack of funding already available to carry out the *Local Comunal* was one of the factors that most delayed the fulfillment of the works, as the architect told us:

*“Lo que demoraba un poco más era el tema del financiamiento, porque era un poco más difícil conseguir los materiales. [...] los materiales, ellos mismos los gestionan. En ese aspecto nosotros no intervenimos muchos porque era un tema de gestión de la directiva de recibir a veces donaciones, de algunas ONGs, o recibir donaciones incluso de algunos alcaldes o aspirantes a alcaldes, que prometían con algunos materiales, ¡y bienvenido sean!” (member of MincaArq, 02/07/2018, Lima).*

*“What took a little bit longer was financing because it was a little bit harder to get the materials [...] the materials they found those themselves. On that matter, we didn't intervene much because it was a board's management thing to sometimes receive **donations from NGOs** or receive **donations even from some mayors and candidates aspiring to be mayors**, who promised some materials: **So very welcome!**” (own translation)*

Part of the material for realizing the new organization's premises was covered with a donation of 200 bags of cement delivered by a mayor candidate<sup>58</sup> in exchange for electoral support in SJM's last communal election (see Figure 23). He delivered the material to the neighborhood organization, and finally, they were able to make the ground floor and the roof of the new building. The same happened once again during my fieldwork timeline when a mayor candidate of the following electoral competition appears. He offered to finance the sports slab with a large tensile structure already projected by MincaArc architects at the second level of the organization's premises (see Appendix D: Field report 07-04-2018, vol.II, p. 45).

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<sup>58</sup> Wilfredo Alayo, former official of the municipality of San Juan de Miraflores who held the position of Urban Development Department director, in 2014 was a candidate for mayor of San Juan de Miraflores with the Fujimori party.

These acts constitute crimes, which are typified in Articles 393, 394, 395 and 397 of the Peruvian Criminal Code. Nevertheless, it is corruption only if a civil servant or public servant acts. If not, this form of politician trading one favor for another -in which the politician would personally benefit- is not corruption but “logrolling” – a rather common exercise in Peruvian politics.



Figure 23: Plaque commemorating the opening of the new organization’s premises. On the same plaque there are the names of the central board and those of the godfather who financed the construction (source: photo repertoire)

From what was intended, agreements resulted from face-to-face commitments with the board members and signed by the candidate on paper. It is a valuable strategy because a signed document can be used as a lever in case of electoral victory. Astonishing, in both cases, nobody talked about candidates ‘programs or their political affiliations. The relationship between politics and civil society in these neighborhood organizations apparently has a pragmatic and contractual nature.

This pragmatism can also be found in the relationship between neighborhood organizations and third sector organizations. As some interviewees have shown, usually, stakeholders try to take advantage of neighborhood organizations' skills and assets to reach their specific goals. Recalling his early work experiences, the architect founder of the MincaArq firms stated how collective labor practices in popular urbanizations have been vital for his professional growth. He firmly said:

*“desde un comienzo yo lo vi como una oportunidad de crecer, tanto por la población, porque la población siempre ha tenido esas necesidades de tener un lugar donde vivir, donde surgir. [...] entonces viendo a ellos, nosotros también como estudiantes de arquitectura o arquitectos, eso también es algo muy motivador, porque vemos que la población quiere progresar y nosotros también vemos una oportunidad donde poder comenzar una carrera. Porque es como un lienzo en blanco. [...] yo lo definiría así, un asentamiento humano para mi es como un lienzo blanco, como arquitecto o como urbanista. Entonces aprovechamos la forma de trabajo, tecnificando la parte proyectual, la parte arquitectónica que le faltaba a ellos” (member of MincaArq, 02/07/2018, Lima).*

*“From the beginning, I saw it as a growth opportunity, for the population itself since people have always needed a place to live and thrive. [...] so, seeing them, and us as architects or architecture students, it was very motivating because we see people trying to progress so we also see an **opportunity where we can start our careers**. It is like an empty canvas. [...] I would define it like that, a **human settlement for me is like an empty canvas**, thinking as an architect or a town planner. Then we **took the chance is this work dynamic**, making the design more technical, offering the architectural side they were missing” (own translation)*

This interview excerpt makes the professional's intentions very clear. His intentions materialized during a meeting with members of the El Trebol neighborhood organization. There MincaArch collective came to present the second level project of the organization's premises they built and, at the same time, tried to take advantage of the trust gained over the years to sell other technical skills for a fee (see Appendix D: Field report, 07-04-2018, page 45, vol.II). Stakeholders are well-prepared to service the low-income market exploring profit-making opportunities and existing assets in popular urbanizations (Baker & McClain, 2009).

Contrary to what happened with *Solidariedad en Marcha* the relationship between the TECHO and neighborhood organizations is, most of the time, contractual rather than passive charity. Like its international counterpart TECHO Peru works within four areas of emergency needs with the idea to eradicate urban “poverty” (Techo.org, 2018):

1. Education. It constructs or rehabilitates schools, training centers, libraries, playgrounds, and kindergarten.
2. Recreation and Leisure. It constructs or rehabilitates cultural centers, sports facilities, playgrounds, viewpoints and public squares,
3. Local-level market development. It constructs or rehabilitates storages, dining, corrals, barns, and markets.
4. Public Spaces. It constructs, rehabilitates, or installs public lighting and electrical connections, pedestrian access, channeling clean water, small water and sanitation works.

They shake off their aid-based approaches to foster responsibility on the part of central board members. They set up permanent *Sector-Based Committees – Mesas de Trabajos* to identify the neighborhood organization's main problems. *Sector-Based Committees* in which TECHO Community Teams and neighborhood organizations central board of directors participate. The relationship emerges in an interview with a TECHO coordinator volunteer in El Trebol at the time. She said:

*“Yo más o menos ahí llegué y dije ‘estas son mis condiciones para trabajar contigo’ Tal cual. Para sacar proyectos en delante, necesito tu compromiso, necesito esto y esto de ti, y yo te prometo estas cosas. Ósea, fui súper clara y directa. Y sino le*

*“I more and less got there and said ‘these are my terms and conditions to work with you’. Just as it is. To bring projects forward, I need your commitment, I need this and that from you and I promise this and this. I mean, I was super clear and direct. If they were*

*interesaba, yo también le decía 'si no estamos alineados, yo agarro mi equipo y mis oportunidades y me voy, porque hay más comunidades que pueden necesitar me'." (employee of TECHO, 12/06/2018, Lince)*

*not interested, I thought 'well, if we are not on the same page, I'll take my crew, my opportunities and leave because there are more communities that might need me'" (own translation)*

Then, apart from the agreements with the neighborhood organizations and board members, NGOs form partnerships with national and international firms working through their corporate social responsibility sectors. Collective labor practices usually involve NGOs supported by private firms through supplies and labor. In the specific case of TECHO, they settled future activities through external agreements and plans called Community Activity Plans -called *Matriz Operativa Comunitarias* in Spanish essential to raise the revenue necessary to finance the planned measures.

*"Otra de las articulaciones que tenemos y, que son de las principales también, **son las empresas**. De hecho, las empresas, nosotros articulamos con ellas, sobre todo con sus **áreas de responsabilidad social**, para poder **lograr financiamiento e involucramiento en la implementación de algún programa o proyecto** [...] Entonces si no tienes un plan de acción claro, enfocado a resultados, enfocado a generar impacto, enfocado en un lapso de tiempo, es poco probable que consigas aliados, de parte de*

*Another one of the coordinations we have, and one of the main as well, is **with companies**. Actually, we coordinate with companies, especially within their **social responsibility departments**, so that we can **receive financing and involvement throughout a program or project implementation** [...] If you don't have a clear action plan focused on results, focused on generating impact, targeting a deadline, it is unlikely you'll find allies, as from Techo" (own translation)*

*Techo" (employee of TECHO,  
13/06/2018, Lince)*

Even TECHO has its allies. Therefore, the community team that goes in a *barriada*, goes with that portfolio of allies, and two things could happen. First, a neighborhood organization already has its own *Action Plan*, and TECHO teams look for how to develop through a project submitted to a private company. Second, a private company comes with a proposal and asks TECHO to find the best place to develop it with a neighborhood organization.

This last case also concerned the game park project I have been working on. The logic behind the interventions was also clear within the neighborhood organization, as explained by a member of El Trébol:

*"Sí, ese tipo de trabajos se hacen porque vienen los jóvenes comprometiendo a empresas privadas para que estas inviertan y hagan algunos trabajos en Asentamientos Humanos como los nuestros. Entonces, a veces vamos a concursar entre diferentes Asentamientos Humanos haciendo bien nuestro trabajo, nuestras propuestas, qué queremos y para qué queremos mejorar, todo esto entra a evaluación por parte de la empresa y nos apoyan con un estímulo económico para mejorar, por ejemplo, ese parquecito." (member of EL Trebol, 18/03/2018, San Juan de Miraflores)*

*"Yes, this type of jobs happens because the youth come engaging the private sector so that it invests and makes some projects within Human Settlements like ours. So, sometimes there are contests amongst different Human Settlements, doing our job right, submitting our proposals, saying what we want and what for; all of that makes it into the company's evaluation and they support us through an economic stimulus to the betterment of that little park there, for example." (own translation)*

According to the interview, the project proposal was implemented with the neighborhood organization only after an internal selection phase reflecting a competitive logic. Among the selection criteria, the donor's potential return of

image is of great importance for TECHO (see Appendix D: Field report, 02/02/2018, vol.I, p. 58).

As reported by a volunteer from TECHO in the middle of November 2017, the Mondelez Peru S.A. company decided to invest in La Nueva Rinconada's facilities. TECHO's proposal was a playground in the area, and after the evaluation phase, the project was assigned to El Trébol. However, it was not adequately concerted with the neighborhood organization due to strict implementation deadlines. It seemed the type of games installed that were not the most suitable for children and the material bought that was not the most suitable for the area's climate and it was quickly ruined. Reaching January, the site was wholly neglected.

When TECHO become aware of the failure of the previous implementation phase, it decided to propose another solution for the area. Another project was submitted and accepted by the neighborhood organization. New funds come through a competitive fund of TECHO called Fontecho, as well as through the area of Social Responsibility of *San Ignacio de Loyola* university – USIL (see Figure 24). Students of the Institute of Entrepreneurs won the grant of the First Social Responsibility Competition called “*Acciones que inspiran*” for the use of recycled material in social projects, which resulted incompatible with the neighborhood organization approved design (USIL, 2018). According to the interviewee, additional smaller funding would then be needed to complete the work, including through the direct participation of the neighborhood organization of EL Trebol.



Figure 24: USIL corporate social responsibility project (source: photo repertoire)

An opening collective labor practice was planned the Wednesday before my fieldwork. During this first meeting, operative details were defined and the Construction Secretary of El Trebol was put in charge to coordinate delivery supplies and neighborhood participation.

Sunday morning, I met the group at the entrance of the old organization's premises. According to given instructions, practitioners brought bats, chisels, and pickaxes to remove old equipment still present in the garden. Then, a couple of stainless-steel wire mesh used to sift through the sandy soil and clean it of impurities. They also brought a hundred empty two and three-liter plastic bottles to be filled with sand and used then as building material under the plan. Finally, they bought liquid painting used to whitewash the retaining wall, which served as a playground boundary. About twenty USIL students joined the group after a couple of hours to get on with the job, wearing specially printed T-shirts and getting photographed with banners and program posters (see Appendix D: Field report, 11/03/2018, vol.I, p.130).

I met just a bunch of volunteers again weeks later during a small Faena, disoriented and without proper tools. They were aiming to fill the bottles with sand by hand and arrange them to form the edge of small future flowerbeds. After a couple of other meetings, the entire project was abandoned. The delays in the construction of the playground allowed an organization member with an adjacent property to use the space as a material storage area because of a renovation of its house (see Appendix D: Field report, 29-04-2018, vol.II, p. 86).

During the last field visit, I got the opportunity to see the park completed. In 2019 another NGO took charge of installing the playground games, and TECHO completed it with some facilities such as a wooden shade gazebo and fencing (see Figure 25).



Figure 25: Playground – El Trebol 2020 (source: photo repertoire)

### 5.3.3 Power grid and electricity

Despite the massive privatization of utilities in the 90 to facilitate basic infrastructure service supply in popular urbanizations, the water supply and the electrification system are still provisional and carried out by the neighbors' effort through collective projects and tasks in most of la Nueva Rinconada. As regards the situation concerns definitive water supply: 91% of neighborhood organizations do neither have formal access to the public water supply nor sewerage network. They are supplied by boreholes -1.45%, community pylons -13.77%, or tanker trucks -76.09% (TECHO - Perú et al., 2018).

The reason for this slowness lies in the fact that the *Servicio de Agua Potable y Alcantarillado de Lima -CEDAPAL* does not want to proceed with the distribution of the service until the presence of piggy banks farms are eradicated. An operation that is only possible through a change of land use and expropriation.

*“Ahora se está intentando nuevamente, porque Sedapal también ha expresado su negativa a instalar el agua y*

*“We are trying again because Sedapal had already expressed its denial for installing water and drainage by using quite a*

*desagüe, utilizando una frase que es un poco cruel, no. Que es ¡yo no voy a dar agua a animales, voy a dar agua a personas! ¿Qué quiere decir esto? Que mientras haya ganado porcino, chanchos ahí en la Nueva Rinconada, no van a instalar agua y desagüe. Entonces se está tratando nuevamente de convencer a la población, para que combine, exija a los propietarios de estos animales, para que los reubiquen en otro lugar, para que se pueda hacer el cambio de zonificación, de agropecuario a urbano, y así como eso ya Seapal pueda ingresar a hacer la obra.”* (employee of Subgerencia de Defensa Civil, 03/06/2018, San Juan de Miraflores)

*cruel phrase, isn't it? It was 'we are not going to provide water for animals, we provide water for people!' What does that mean? While there's pig farming within La Nueva Rinconada, they will not install water and drainage. So, we are trying to convince the population so that it combines, ask some of the animal owners to relocate the animals somewhere else and the zoning change can happen, from farming and agricultural to urban and with that Sedapal can come and do the work.”* (own translation)

Furthermore, there is the trickiest situation for electricity supply. In La Nueva Rinconada, the situation can be described as follows: there is no formal connection to the public electricity network in 4 out of 10 neighborhood organizations (TECHO - Perú et al., 2018).

Electricity is sold by Luz del Sur<sup>59</sup>. Due to the progressive nature of popular urbanizations, electricity supply to the final beneficiaries is carried out in three ways: one “indirect” and two “direct”. The first can be named the pull of electricity cable - *el jalado de cable de luz*. Through this practice, neighbors who have provisional and/or definitive infrastructure in the same or another settlement sell electricity to neighbors of other continuous settlements in the ‘informal’ market. According to the data, electricity costs around 1 PEN per kilowatt-hour - 0,33 USD

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<sup>59</sup> Lima is currently divided into two concessionary zones, the firm EDELNOR in the north and Luz del Sur in the south. The tariffs of the two private companies are established by OSINERGMIN, the independent regulator of the energy service.

in the informal market. Thus, the monthly expenditure for households in a family of 4 people is very high here, around 60 PEN -18 USD-, with the use of electrical household appliances such as a refrigerator, and another 50 PEN -15 USD- to split among users for the measurement service (see Appendix D: Field report, 11/03/2018, vol. I, p. 130).

The second, direct, is a kind of collective essential supplies of electricity. It is more economical than the previous and is a "formal" procedure. It is known as *Dotación de suministro provisional* and is provide five years of collective access to an electric discharge point set up by the concessionary firm. The legislator published in 1990 the Act DGE 001- P-4/1990 called *Suministros Provisionales de Energía Eléctrica en Sistemas de Distribución*, which includes the requirements for the granting of provisional supplies by the concessionaires of electricity distribution companies. In this case, the provider collects the consumption fee collectively, but according to interview data, each user's cost is reduced to less than half, approximately 25 PEN - 8 USD per month per household.

The law that privatizes the sector also created the obligation of service provision and facilitated provisional supply in popular urbanizations lacking formal titles. However, the provider's responsibility has been very limited in this process. The settlements who requested it were provided with macro-meters at the final point of the existing grid. To carry out the infrastructure from the initial point into each house and do the necessary maintenance, the users themselves should hire a qualified engineer or a qualified company in the private sector charging all expenses: from the project and the materials to the execution of the works on their community. These procedures are set out in the Article 88 of the Electric Concessions Law as follows: "*Las instalaciones internas particulares de cada suministro deberán iniciarse a partir del punto de entrega, corriendo por cuenta del usuario el proyecto, la ejecución, operación y mantenimiento, así como eventuales ampliaciones, renovaciones, reparaciones y/o reposiciones*" (Ley de Concesiones Electricas, 1992).

Supervised (or not) self-help through *Faenas Comunes* is then the means through which works are performed to avoid the direct self-taxation of settlers and extra expenditures. This practice exposes users to security problems as well as undermines the continuity of supply because users do not have the appropriate knowledge, skills, and tools to carry out the work, and the results are always provisional. During the fieldwork, I have attended a specific task about this topic (see Appendix D: Field report, 07/01/2018, p.96 volume III). A *Warning Letter of Notification* from the utility firm threatened the service cut (see figure 26). The assessment, composed of descriptions and pictures of problems on the field, was based on the results of an inspection carried out by experts of the Luz del Sur checking for the discrepancy with the National Electric Code- *Código nacional de electricidad* (Dirección General de Electricidad (DGE), 2011)

DMIBT.18.1596

**Anexo 1**  
**Relación de deficiencias detectadas en la inspección.**  
Ref. Acta S/N (12 de abril 2018)

Código de Suministro Provisional	Poste				Vano de BT.				Acometida Aérea				
	6002	6004	6006	6008	7002	7004	7006	7008	8002	8004	8006	8008	8010
	Poste en mal estado de conservación o inapropiado para la función de apoyo.	Poste inclinado más de 5° o con deficiencias en la cimentación	Caja portafusible de poste con partes energizadas expuestas y accesibles	Protección mecánica de cable rota, inexistente, insuficiente o material inapropiado	Conductor desnudo, farrado o aislado con aislamiento deteriorado o inadecuado.	Conductor de BT sobre edificación o en contacto con techo o soporte metálico	Conductor incumple DS respecto del nivel de terreno.	Conductor incumple DS respecto a grifo	Conductor inapropiado o con aislamiento deteriorado o con empalmes intermedios	Conductor no empotrado o sin protección mecánica adecuada donde no sea factible su empotramiento.	Conductor no cumple con distancia de seguridad respecto del nivel del terreno o techo.	Conductor en contacto con la parte metálica de la edificación	Acometida fijada a elementos inadecuados
1665694		X					X					X	

DMIBT.18.1596

Lima, 22 de junio de 2018

**Señores**  
AA 114 EL TRECBL  
SECTOR NUEVA RINCONADA ZN C AH EL TRECBL P J P  
SAN JUAN DE MIRAFLORES

**Asunto :** Subsanación de deficiencias en instalaciones particulares de su suministro N° 1665694

**Referencia :** Supervisión de suministros provisionales colectivos de venta en bloque - CARTA SGOMD.18.353

De nuestra consideración:

Nos dirigimos a ustedes para saludarlos y hacer de su conocimiento que durante la inspección realizada por nuestro personal técnico el pasado 12 de abril de 2018 a sus instalaciones eléctricas particulares, se ha detectado que dichas instalaciones particulares presentan condiciones que incumplen el Código Nacional de Electricidad.

En el Anexo N° 1 se adjunta el cuadro resumen del **acta de inspección** realizada en presencia de sus representantes, en el que se detalla las deficiencias encontradas en sus instalaciones particulares, mientras que en el Anexo 2 se muestran algunas vistas fotográficas ilustrativas.

Por lo antes expuesto, les solicitamos disponer la subsanación de dichos deficiencias en un **plazo perentorio de 20 días calendario**. Dicha solicitud se sustenta en el **Artículo 88° de la Ley de Concesiones Eléctricas**, bajo apercibimiento de informar al OSINERGMIN su no subsanación a fin de que proceda a ordenar, si lo amerita, el corte del servicio en su suministro eléctrico.

Por tal motivo, es necesario que en los próximos días su representante coordine con el Ing. José Luis Torres (teléfono 271-9000 anexo 6646) una visita con el fin de que nuestro personal técnico pueda evidenciar la subsanación de las deficiencias encontradas en la inspección indicada.

\* Artículo 88° de la Ley de Concesiones Eléctricas: "Las instalaciones internas particulares de cada suministro deberán instalarse a partir del punto de entrega, corriendo por cuenta del usuario el proyecto, la ejecución, operación y mantenimiento, así como eventuales ampliaciones, renovaciones, reparaciones y/o reposiciones..."

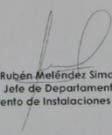
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www.luzdelsur.com.pe

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Finalmente, si para ejecutar los trabajos correctivos en sus instalaciones particulares, requieren realizar previamente la desconexión del servicio eléctrico desde el punto de entrega de energía, deberán comunicarse con nuestras oficinas comerciales o llamar a nuestra central telefónica FONOLUZ al teléfono 617-5000, a fin de comunicarnos la fecha y hora en que se ejecutarán dichos trabajos.

Sin otro particular nos despedimos.

Atentamente,

  
**Rubén Meléndez Simoni**  
Jefe de Departamento  
Mantenimiento de Instalaciones Baja Tensión

Nombre		Firma	
Parentesco			
DNI			
Detalle Entrega	Tipo Inmueble	Color del Pared	Tipo Puerta
Miopia	Casa	Verde	Bianco
Bajo Puerta	Departamento	Azul	Crema
Buzon	Edificio	Rojo	Celeste
Detrás reja	Quinta	Naranja	Amarillo
	Tienda / Oficina	Cemento	Ladrillo
			Raja
Entregado por:		Piso	Uno Dos Tres Cuatro
Fecha:		Lectura	

Figure 26: The Warning Letter of Notification by the utility firm Luz del Sur (source: photo repertoire)

These activities control, respond to the Article 90 of the Electric Concessions Law already mentioned, which reports: *"Los concesionarios podrán efectuar el corte inmediato del servicio, sin necesidad de aviso previo al usuario ni intervención de las autoridades competentes"* (Ley de Concesiones Electricas, 1992). Under this article, the cut could be made in case of late payment, violation of the contract due to lack of authorizations, and finally, when the population or infrastructure safety condition are jeopardized due to facilities' lousy condition. We only need to look closely at the last case. Luz del Sur has demanded the renovation of those facilities in a peremptory manner in 20 days, the cut otherwise.

That meant two weekends of work through *Faenas Comunes* (see Figure 27) and the suspension of the light of a couple of days to be able to fix the posts, cables, and housing connection. Firstly, light poles have been raised during layout works, and the bases consolidated with a cutting of the wooden spoiled and rotted part or

with the resettlement in stable ground. However, practitioners have not been used wood paint and concrete as insulation and fixatives compound to secure pillars basement from further damage. From the technical point of view, this simply puts a temporary patch without solving the problem of medium-term stability of posts that will return promptly next winter. Secondly, they pulled the loose cables on the street and those of private plots, which were also partially repositioned because they touched the metal roof. Finally, they completely replaced other cables due to their scarce conduction and not suitable for the electricity supply as required by the technical standards. Once the work was done, the board of El Trebol set a new inspection with Luz del Sur technicians for the final evaluation hoping to avoid the service cut.



Figure 27: Electrical infrastructure maintenance - El Trebol (source: photo repertoire)

Finally, popular urbanizations could also ask for a definitive type of infrastructure to obtain a better electricity supply. The leadership of El Trébol already submitted this formal request when the research had begun. This procedure refers to the public lightning service -*Servicio Publico de Electricidad*. In late 2000, in fact, an emergency decree promotes the supply of the public service in marginal urban areas of the country (Decreto de Urgencia, 2009; Decreto Supremo, 2010). It provides direct subsidies to the private firms that invest in electricity grids expansion in such areas and set minimum standards to submit service ‘requests. Those standard concerns in the housing development plans with road layout and a proof of possession for each plot both approved by the municipality.

As Laurie Criqui extensively reports (Criqui, 2013; 2015), this option enables the provisional macro-meters connections conversion into substations and definitive posts, and wires and individual in-house connections upgraded through installation of individual power measurement system furthermore public lightning is done altogether using news standardize poles as for wiring. The provider supports all these upgrading efforts, but settlers still have to pay the leasing of the electricity meter, which is costs 600-700 PEN in total -181/212 USD for each plot. In any case, such a way allows users to reduce the general lightning costs. They are about 0,48 PEN per kilowatt-hour once again, half of what is paying in the informal market.

Even if other popular urbanizations in la Nueva Rinconada have already got this kind of service, most are still in process. El Trebol's case study is quite emblematic in this sense. This procedure was stopped due to an ongoing dispute with the “cousins” of *Los Alamos* popular urbanization. It led to some additional checks on the validity of the requirements submitted by El Trebol, the finding irregularities, and the subsequent deadlock of the process. In El Trebol focus group on this subject, the General Secretary has reported:

*“Porque la situación se demora, toda una explicación de cuándo hacemos el trámite frente la municipalidad cuando visitamos el plan y tener el respectivo de este plan. Bueno, **había un gerente que era nuestro amigo** de acá de la comunidad [...] **y nos dio una mano y nos visó el plano** para que se pueda avanzar con el proceso de la luz. Entonces salió **un vecino que se fue a hablar con luz del sur para decir que el funcionario nos había hecho un favor, y como luz del sur le hice caso a este vecino, **pum! nos paró.**** Entonces qué está pasando ellos enviaron un documento a la municipalidad para ver si realmente nuestro plano estaba visado como tiene*

*“Since the whole situation has been delayed, there is an explanation to know when we make the request in front of the municipality and when we revisit the plot plan and have the corresponding one for this one. Well. **there was a manager who was friends with the community [...]** and gave us a hand and **got us the plot plan visa** so that we can move forward with the electricity. So, a neighbor came up and told Luz del Sur that a staff member made us a favor. Since Luz del Sur did listen to the neighbor, **bam! They stopped us.** What happened was that they sent a document to the municipality to confirm if our plot plan had actually been*

que ser entonces invitan a la  
municipalidad este documento  
y la municipalidad le responde  
no, que este número de plano  
corresponde a otro  
asentamiento humano y no  
corresponde al El Trébol.”

granted a visa as it should be.  
The municipality's response  
was no. That plot plan number  
actually belongs to another  
human settlement, no El  
Trébol.” (own translation)

The utility firm engineers and technicians need information about a settlement's morphology in an electricity network development project. In the third generation of popular urbanizations, this information is non-existent or inaccurate, and the Municipal Certificate of Possession is an insufficient element in this regard.

## 5.4 Technologies of power, rationalities, and principles

Governmental technologies in the development process of Nueva Rinconada appeared to be multiple as multiple are the organizations that promote urban development within the area.

In administering neighborhood organization members through their own self-management, the *Certified Minutes Book* can be considered a “binding” technology. It is activated by Notary intermediation, a public officer constituted by law to serve the public in non-contentious matters. However, it is the result of personal choices. Members are “free” to join or not the organization and, therefore, to undergo the self adopted inner rules as sow in Subsection 5.2.1.

Formalization of the neighborhood organizations acquires a legal character only after being effectively integrated within the existing government system by adopting another institutional technology: *Single Register of Social Association* – RUAS throughout the intermediation of the district Neighborhood Participation departments. It is a “record” technology that implies a sort of spatialization of governmental measures to represent and clarify the space over which the conduct's control must be exercised as mentioned by Murdoch (2000) and Rose (1999b). Formally incorporated organizations acquire their own legal identity and hold assets, enter contracts, and be sued in their own names, such as El Trebol, Villa Hermoza, Girasole, or 7 de Enero, rather than members or promoters' names.

The Neighborhood Participation departments' intermediation also explains the direct involvement of many neighborhood organization leaders or ex-leaders on the payroll of local governments' activities (see Appendix D: Field report, 08/08/2018, Vol.IV, p.10). The participation of grassroots organizations key actors in municipalities' structure exemplifies what Miller y Rose (2008) describes as the “technologies” of power to produce governable subjects. Thus as it was under the Velasco government, cooptation is still a useful concept to describe “binding”

technology to absorb those who seek a change into the policy-making structure of a governing system because it attempts to decrease opposition and avert threats by undermining civil society's capacity for collective actions (Elwood, 2006; Holdo, 2019; Selznick, 1948).

COFOPRI through the renewal process of physical consolidation and legal "inclusion" -*Saneamiento físico legal de predios* accompany Neighborhood Organizations with their legal situation through sophisticated "record" technologies to achieve the coveted individual property title as reported in Subsection 5.2.3. Property which has to be registered into the National Superintendent of Public Records SUNARP. Once again, a "record" technology to clarify the space over which the conduct's control must be exercised.

Parallel to this technology, another not legal in nature radically affects urban development and service delivery in popular urbanizations. The *Municipal Certificate of Possession* released by District Municipalities and approved by the major itself is a "Record" Technology that grants the possibility to request basic infrastructure services as sow in Subsection 5.2.4.

The Municipal Certificate of Possession is an essential but not sufficient governing technology for utility firms to enter the area. The Basic Plot Plan appears to be the actual "birth certificate" of popular urbanizations as reported in Subsection 5.2.5, and through it, the government has been territorialized in an urban form. The Basic Plot Plan is a "binding" technology that requires technical mediators, professionals working in the architecture and engineering field and fully recognized by the law and fully paid by the organizations themselves. Therefore, the neighborhood organizations' territories have been earmarked to order and discipline local urban development, forcing pre-existing material arrangement into an existing urban regulatory framework (Osborne & Rose, 2004).

As emerged in Subsection 5.2.6, environmental risk governance has been treated as a tidy and unproblematic exercise of technical analyses and calculated interventions. The process called the "*Saneamiento físico legal de predios*" depend on its physical part by a program evaluation in four phases: advocacy, evaluating, reporting, and implementing under the supervision of Metropolitan and district INDECI office and Third Sector Organizations such as PREDES. The central instrument on which the settlement's future urban development depends is *Risk Assessment Report*, which can be included in the "assessment" technologies. The final judgment - converted into statistical calculations and numerical weights given to completely arbitrary values- decrees the settlement's status: salvageable because in a zone of mitigable risk; or not salvageable because in a zone of non-mitigable risk. The border is blurred but substantial. Among the substantial criteria to be recognized as salvageable, the *Emergency Evacuation Plan* a "binding" technology that imposes certain types of conduct in case of disaster.

Zoning in La Nueva Rinconada still seeks the separation of quarters, functions, and activities in the name of urban dwellers' health and welfare, but it is a failure inasmuch related to the aspect of legal and formal urbanization. Here then local government created a "gray" area under the nomenclature of *Special Regulatory Zone*, a "binding" technology where the standard rules are suspended until further

notice and where popular urbanizations have become a field of government interventions through reports and maps to manage the effects of “unwanted” social phenomena (Osborne & Rose, 2004).

The proliferation of governmental technologies continues with third parties' expertise over the conduct of conducts. As shown in Subsection 5.3.1 and 5.3.3, utility firms act through “advising/warning” technologies upon the neighboring organization's legal entity to avoid responsibilities and consequent legal issues. The failure to achieve the normative standards for electricity home connections and related infrastructure has led to a *Warning Letter of Notification* signed by a layer setting deadlines and direct intervention of practitioners in collective labor practices.

Furthermore, freelance professionals take advantage of their formal knowledge and skills as a technology species to convince neighborhood organizations of the need for their services. Actually, they possess formal knowledge and could speak a “truth” useful for reaching specific urban development goals. They act as external consultants because neighborhood organizations always seek external help to achieve their objectives due to a lack of technical skills or formal recognition of such skills. For instance, private firms act through “advising/warning” technologies such as presentations with models, brands, and draft construction options as has occurred during the presentation of the organization's premises second floor and architects' attempt to sell draft housing projects reported in Subsection 5.3.2.

If the private sector and utility firms act through coercive and consulting technologies, third sector organizations act through “advocacy/counseling” technologies. For instance, in TECHO, they regard the permanent *Sector-Based Committees* and the *Community Activity Plans*, as reported in Subsection 5.3.2.

I would also put political agents who influence urban development in the area by facilitating formalization procedures or providing construction materials as described in Subsection 5.3.2. They act through “logrolling” a “binding” technology composed of actual written agreements with local organizations in exchange for their support.

Behind the technology adopted to fulfill formalization processes, regularization, and provision of services is possible to track the rationality of governing or “teleoaffective regime” (T. Schatzki, 2002, p. 28) leading them. Consequently, it is possible to extrapolate the principles on an organizational basis. To be precise, as multiple as the government technologies are, multiple governmental rationalities and subsequent principles influence the popular urbanization order.

Neighborhood organizations are still moved by pragmatic-oriented rationalities confirming what has been reported in Subsection 2.3.3. However, they matched an effective type of rationalities, as can be guessed from Subsection 5.2.5, 5.3.1, and 5.3.3, in which conflicts between associates or different associations contribute to dictate operational lines in the short to medium term. Conflicts that usually emerges

from the unacceptance of certain principles concerning the *voluntary, democratic* and *active contribution* nature of the organization emerged from Subsection 5.2.1:

1. *Voluntary membership*: Neighborhood organizations are voluntary organizations, open to all persons who live on or manage a plot of land accepting membership's responsibilities.
2. *Democratic member control*: Neighborhood organizations are democratic organizations controlled by their members, who actively participate in setting their policies and making decisions. Men and women serving as elected representatives are accountable to the membership and external institutions.
3. *Members' active contribution*: the organization works for the "comprehensive development" of the settlement through rules and tools approved by their members, and their active contribution is essential to reach this objective.

The governmental rationality behind the Neighborhood Participation department in the SJM district moves between the formal/conventional type of rationalities and a value/belief orientation given the political role it plays within the public institution, as reported in Subsection 5.2.2. The Neighbourhood Participation Department activities are based on *Mutual recognition* and *Active promotion and support* principles towards neighborhood organizations:

1. *Mutual recognition*: is the principle under which institutions and organizations that carry out social action and promotion in agreement with the Local Government must be recognized and registered as long as they present themselves with valid requirements. Similarly, these organizations recognize the role of local government in their "comprehensive development".
2. *Active promotion and support*: the department helps grassroots organizations to be actively, consistently, and meaningfully engaged in their purposes, facilitating the communication between such organizations and other municipal departments and sponsoring the local initiatives they promote.

The governmental rationality behind COFOPRI and the legal formalization process appears to have a stronger value/belief orientation than the technical and normative one. Confirming what is reported in Subsection 2.2.3 is related to eradicating the "informal" status of land tenure. In fact, according to the neoliberal and individualist paradigm, "informality" affects the economic and physical development of popular urbanizations preventing settlers from accessing the formal market and its supposed benefits. The mass amnesty perpetuated by COFOPRI should still lead to a massive recognition of capital.

Therefore the rationality behind COFOPRI operate on the basis of *effectiveness* and *efficiency* principles as emerged in Subection 5.2.3:

1. *Effectiveness*: COFOPRI maximizes titling operations to reach more popular urbanizations
2. *Efficiency*: COFOPRI fastening the titling process reducing concertation with local authorities and the cost of the bureaucratic procedure.

Especially effectiveness can be considered the reason to recognize informal ownership providing extralegal titles such as the “charged titles” - even to formalize lands located in risk zones.

The governmental rationality behind the Technical area of Cadastre and Private Works Office in SJM district has a formal/conventional orientation given the technical role within the public institution. It is related to the private urban development inside its administrative territory. The Cadastre and Private Works Office duty implies compliance with the *conformity* principle as deduced by Subsection 5.2.5.

1. *Conformity*: A plan/project is a good one to be approved if it complies with the standard and rules based on orthographic and visual representations of reality.

The governmental rationality behind INDECI is also divided depending on the office activities, as deduced by Subsection 5.2.6. The metropolitan office look at the physical formalization process with a formal/conventional orientation. It is related to the assessment of each neighborhood organization's territory. The assessment phase implies working according to the principles of *conformity*, *reiteration*, and *promotion*:

1. *Conformity*: principle-based on safety standards and rules as already saw.
2. *Reiteration*: the reiteration of opinions and observations up to a maximum of three evaluative reports.
3. *Promotion by merit*: Principle-based on merit when neighborhood organizations autonomously improve their safety condition after previous evaluation.

Conversely, the district offices look at the physical formalization process with a value/belief orientation. It is related to the security “advising” of each neighborhood organization territory. Security counseling implies the conformity to certain principles of improvement and consistency, which can be found in the principle of information accuracy.

1. *Accuracy of information*: Ensure that correct and exhaustive information about risks and risk management has been given to neighborhood organizations to make informed decisions.

Private sector and utility firms usually have both a pragmatic/instrumental and a formal/conventional oriented rationality, as can be guessed from Subsection 5.2.5 and 4.3.3. They are related to medium and long-term economic strategies, which imply *profit maximization*, *customer satisfaction*, and *conformity* principles.

1. *Profit maximization* is how a firm determines the economic strategy that leads to the highest profit.
2. *Customer satisfaction*: it can be achieved when the price neighborhood organizations pay for a product such as a Basic Plot Plan, or a Security Plan is quite in accordance with their benefits.
3. *Conformity*: A plan/project is a good one if it complies with the standard and rules based on sectorial regulation not to be sanctioned by the competent authorities.

Those principles can vary greatly depending on whether the firm is a private practitioner who needs to make itself known and maintain good client relationships or a large private firm with a monopoly on the service sector.

Apparently, political agents have a pragmatic/instrumental-oriented rationality, as can be guessed from Subsection 5.3.2. It is related to short-term electoral strategies. Electoral strategies imply conformity to *the principle of reciprocity*.

1. *Reciprocity* defines the organization's need and tendency to want to give something back when something is received. In this case, political logrolling or *quid-pro-quo*, the trading of favors between political candidates and potential electors.

Third sector rationality can also vary according to the kind of organization involved. The governmental rationality behind TECHO and its activities has a double orientation, as reported in Subsection 5.3.2. Firstly and officially, TECHO rationality has a value/belief orientation. It relates to eradicating urban “poverty” in popular urbanization. It implies conformity to the *principle of mutual aid*.

Secondly, the donors and allay economic relationship activate a pragmatic/instrumental oriented rationality. It implies conformity to the principle of *investment promotion*. This last orientation is quite common in all the corporate social responsibility of private firms’ areas, including universities, as reported in Subsection 5.3.2.

1. *Mutual aid*: To promote and engage in general interest activities through forms of voluntary and free-of-charge mutual support or the production of goods —construction materials and labor force— and services and definition of the best governance framework concerning the neighborhood’s organization purposes.
2. *Investment promotion*: A principle that promotes and strengthens the financed activities' impact and results in order to move resources from places of abundance to places deemed. What is promoted is the "good

cause" and "good results"; thus, this must be promoted and marketed to be successful with donors.

Critique to authority's rationality emerged mostly against formal/conventional oriented rationalities and their techniques. Practices behind the mask of public compliance are used to indirectly modify the effects of power in the operationalization of activities that counter the formalization procedures.

Micro-resistance like those encountered in surveyors' practice and behind the Technical area of Cadastre and Private Works Office reported in subsection 5.2.5. concerning the draft and approval of the Basic Plot Plan circumventing legislation are both guided by pragmatic/instrumental rationalities.

Micro-resistance also appears in the execution phases, always guided by pragmatic/instrumental rationality. First, during the boundaries drawing and limits of the stairway tracking encountered in collective labor practices, as reported in Subsection 5.3.1. Second, during the playground construction phase, when the collective leisure facility's work was suspended. A member used the space as a material storage area to perform building work on his property.

The Basic Plot Plan practical adaptation by the surveyors, its validation for political reason, the activities boundaries mark end private building construction are four tangible examples of passive and sometimes invisible tactics practitioners use in everyday life in order to face struggles that could affect the social order negatively in their neighborhood. They can be considered resistance as "countre-conduct" to face formal/conventional or value/belief rationality that could crush with a pragmatic/instrumental logic causing more considerable troubles inside the neighborhood organization.

## **5.5 Closing remarks**

The chapter has shown what neighborhood organizations and external organizations involved in the urban development of la Nueva Rinconada are, what they do, and how they interact with one another. Furthermore, the chapter has shown the expenditure faced by the neighborhood organization of EL Trebol. The expense could be around 45.000 PEN - 13.640 USD counting the unfinished formalization process, to which should be added the costs of the minimum basic infrastructure services. For instance, since the beginning of the settlement to build all the 550 meters settlement staircases through collective labor practices, an approximate amount to 32.340 PEN - 9800 USD may have been spent just on construction materials.

The chapter then identifying the alignment of continuative and provisional technologies of "power" expressly created to order neighborhood organization practices and analyzes them. Such technologies can be resumed into five explicative categories:

1. Record technologies allow the public recognition and schedule of an entity. They are the *Single Register of Social Association – RUAS; National Superintendent of Public Records - SUNARP*;
2. Binding technologies allow the integration of an entity to a system of shared rules. They are the *Certified Minutes Book; Leader cooptation into municipality structure; the Emergency Evacuation Plan; Special Regulatory Zone; “logrolling” agreements*
3. Advising/warning technologies direct an entity's choices unambiguously. They are the *Warning Letter of Notification; presentations with models, brands, and draft construction options.*
4. Advocacy/counseling technologies accompany an entity in the formulation of possible choices and their selection. They are the *Sector-Based Committees; Community Activity Plans*
5. Assessment technologies evaluate the choices made by an entity according to predetermined criteria. It is the *Civil Defense Report.*

Neighborhood organization general consensus crosscutting the governmental technologies identified. Consequently, they deliberately accept or agree with certain ways of doing things linked with previous technologies. Thus, previous principles can be clustered into four groups that, in my account, represent the pillars of the popular urbanization order in La Nueva Rinconada. They are:

1. *Cooperative principles* are principles resumed with the concept of “solidarity, not charity” is a principle where different organizations choose to stay together to take collective action and generate solutions to common problems moving resources from places of abundance to places deemed needy. The group include *Voluntary membership, Democratic member control, Member active contribution, Active promotion and support, Mutual aid and Reciprocity principle.*
2. *Competitive principles* refer to principles that are designed to keep neighborhood organizations engaged and constantly striving for "comprehensive development" objectives. They include *Effectiveness, Efficiency, Profit maximization, Promotion by merit, and Customer satisfaction principle.*
3. *Informative principles* said that "comprehensive development" intervention to be financed in terms of money, labor or materials must be known. They include the principles of *Accuracy of information and investment promotion.*
4. *Regulative principles* are required to be followed to reach formal "comprehensive development" in popular urbanization and avoiding further and larger problems. They include *Mutual recognition, Conformity, and the Reiteration principle.*

Not all organizations need to embrace and be present in all four groups, but in general, they relate to the urban order of popular urbanization in the area. To be clear, daily activities counter to the actual urban order existed, but they are not substantial. They appear to work not against but together with the formal/conventional oriented rationalities, the *principle of profit maximization* and *conformity*, and with the related *binding* techniques.

# Chapter VI

## Governing collective labor practices

### 6.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on Governmentality's microphysics, considering the set of interwoven activities, material arrangement, and purposes and normativity that give meaning and constitute collective labor practices in La Nueva Rinconada.

Section 6.2 unravels a specific type of practice, artifacts, tools, and environmental conditions linked with designing, operating, planning, managing, building, and refurbishing basic infrastructure services essentially to observe power relations and their effects in such activities. The first subsection focuses on the time-space occurrence of the *faena* communal in El Trebol. It enumerates some activities in which the neighborhood organization performs steadily during the deployment of the practice. The second subsection analyzes the material composition of the practices that focus on humans, animals working tools, and the urban environment. The third subsection delivers results on the explicit and implicit aims and ends of the practice by analyzing official documents and interviews belonging to neighborhood organizations. The second to last subsection explores the regulative dimension of the *faena comunal*, highlighting the explicit normative forces that draw its related activities. The last subsection outlines what kind of knowledge is involved in the practice analyzed and where it hail. Indeed, according to Foucault's understanding of power, it is based on knowledge and uses knowledge (Rose & Miller, 2010).

Finally, Section 6.3 unveil governmental technologies and the rationalities behind them as emerged by the set of interwoven activities composing collective labor practices.

### 6.2 Faena Comunal as a set of interwoven activities

As Gelles (1984) reports, we can track different types of *Faena Comunal*, as well as different ways of organizing it. According to the interviewees also multiple collective labor activities are set up.

The first and foremost relevant type specifically involves "public works" projects such as opening up local roads, stairways, building retaining walls, and infrastructure maintenance. Depending on the situation, collective labor practices can involve just a part of the neighborhood throughout the urban block's collective

labor practice *-Faena por Manzana-* option, the entire neighborhood organization, or even coordinated activities among different neighborhood organizations if it requires high disposal costs, as described by Villa San Jun practitioners:

*"I: Si, hemos hecho y sirve para abrir las carreteras, cuando estábamos abriendo las carreteras principales, las vías de acceso, nos hemos puesto de acuerdo con los demás sectores para apoyar en una faena general y poder abrir las trochas y carreteras" (member of Villa San Juan, 22/07/2018, San Juan de Miraflores)*

*"I: Yes, we have done it and it has been useful to open up roads, when we were opening up the main roads and access roads, we coordinated with the rest of the sectors in order to support through collective labor and be able to inaugurate trails and roads" (own translation)*

However, other kinds of collective labor practices do not directly relate to building and infrastructure works. A second share type involves the financial aspect of any programmed collective projects. Therefore, collective labor practice takes the form of collective fund-raising dedicated to the purchase of work equipment and furniture in three different ways, as reported briefly in Subsection 6.2.2.

Lastly, it is possible to identify another form of activity that requires the practitioner's participation. The neighborhood leaders and the relevant *organización de centralización* (Tovar, 1996) strategically plan various forms of protest, such as demonstrations and civic strikes, when the formalization process has obstacles in its path and the ordinary procedures cannot work. These demonstrations usually connect with specific topics usually linked to services supply, such as in the case of the water and sanitation system<sup>60</sup>.

This section focuses just on the first type of collective labor practice mentioned above. Nevertheless, the importance of the first type of practice is immediately evident if we consider its outcome. In El Trebol as well as in the other four neighborhood organizations encountered in la Nueva Rinconada, there is no construction, such as collective buildings, streets, staircases, roads, retaining walls, terrace walls, platforms, or infrastructure systems that have not been made and improved for the collective effort of settlers.

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<sup>60</sup> For instance, the 2016 march for water and sewage services supported by a vast majority of La Nueva Rinconada neighbour organizations (Redacción El Comercio, 2016)

### 6.2.1 *The temporal and the spatial dimension of the practice*

This subsection breaks down the collective labor practice – *Faena Comunal* into eight steps according to theoretical and methodological reasons discussed in Subsections 3.2.1 and Section 4.5. These reasons entail having to make a subjective and limited choice on some elements of analysis rather than others. The recognition of possible “patterns” of behaviors derives from several hours in fieldwork activities, fieldnotes reports, photography, and documents collected during multiple activities connected with the collective labor practice.

Then, through this enumeration and taxonomy, the section tried to identify meaningful projects and tasks capable of form semantic unities. The construction of abstractions, generalizations, and idealizations, as well as the cognitive ability to identify certain unities -depending on some characteristics- and then try to conceptualize them, is part of humankind's rational nature. It is a process of knowledge acquisition and reduction of complexity built according to specific needs (Lefebvre, 1980). In this case, two specific points of view as a foreign researcher and volunteer have played a significant role in that process. However, other points of view are likely to drive to other semantic unit identification.

Both chronological and spatial units drive the representation of the collective labor practice. The first unit teaches the history of the number of projects and tasks in progressive chronological understanding performing during a week, from Monday to Sunday, while the work scheme highlights spatial relations linked in the second unit. The proposal includes the following eight projects.

1. “**The briefing**” concerns planning and organizing work activities specifying the definition of provisional goals and the way for achieving those goals through the coordination of preliminary activities.
2. “**Gathering people**” relates to individual activities perform by practitioners before the beginning of the Faena. In particular on what occurred in the early morning from the domestic dwelling to the meeting point.
3. “**Focusing on the situation**” activates a process of remembrance and gives access to adequate knowledge to all participants in a Faena. Practitioners are informed about how to proceed and stimulated to do it, getting information directly from board members.
4. “**The displacement**” involves the change of position of practitioners from the meeting point to the work sites.
5. “**Collective physical activities**” are related to the physical construction or maintenance of the built environment and its infrastructure.
6. “**The refreshment**” is about having break times on the construction site during the daily work.
7. “**The way back**” concerns the end of practitioners’ activities and the ride on the original meeting point.

8. “**The advertisements**” is the moment when the board or other guests inform the practitioners about any further communications related to the subsequent Faena and associative issues.

Furthermore, In the case of El Trébol, each of these projects contains minor tasks and actions performed together. For example, “the briefing” contains a Wednesday local association meeting in the late afternoon to coordinate the Sunday activities. This association meeting takes place in an old organization’s premises called *Viejo local comunal*. This task only involves the participation of the board and sometimes other organizations and NGOs’ local staff. Following the board's roles and responsibilities, there are also other tasks. They refer to the logistical administration of proceedings, such as notifying the equipment needed for the following collective labor practice to neighborhood members or employing a person to buy the required materials on the market to carry on the working procedure during the day.

“Gathering people” includes wake up early to were settled before 6:30 a.m.; taking the respective work equipment; recalling the morning activity by using a public address system <sup>61</sup> -PA system- to reach practitioners in case of delay; reaching the old organization’s premises; socializing and awaiting further instructions.

The third project called “focusing on the situation” could also be divided into expressions of gratitude by the president of the El Trebol association to the participants; complaining about the delay and to the lack of neighbor participation; supporting speeches relating to community development and co-working; explaining the work to be performed during the current collective labor practice. All those tasks shall carry out no later than 7:30 a.m.

Even “the displacement” consists of parts such subdivisions of work activities among participants, which include collecting building materials on construction sites and dealing with building activities during the day. Moreover, it includes the time to reach the place of work and to be ready to start working

“Physical activities events” instead, stem from the shaping of the physical environment. Under priorities, they may change drastically. Observations reports clarify that they usually concern building walls or staircases; parceling the land; refurbishing roads or kindergarten/gardens, and maintaining electricity supply infrastructure.

Furthermore, during this task, it is a shared habit to supply “the refreshment”. Board members usually served around 9:00 a.m. a mix of beverages and food to aid workers. I have been frequently involved in this task, which includes buying some juices and cookies and offering help as an exchange in return.

The second to last task: “the way back” basically concerns the return of participants inside the old organization’s premises approximately at 10:30 am,

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<sup>61</sup> PA system is an electronic system comprising microphones, amplifiers, loudspeakers, and related equipment used in popular urbanizations to increase the apparent volume (loudness) of board members voice.

when the sun is high in the sky; giving back associative working tools if any and settling down waiting for the conclusion of the daily work.

Finally, with “the advertisement” the collective labor practice reaches the end. The board thanking the participants, giving them complementary information about settlement consolidation, and introducing other future activities that have to be dealt. All activities conclude before noon, allowing practitioners to have lunch with their families and avoid the hottest part of the day.

## 6.2.2 *Work environment elements*

The performative approach in practice-based thinking highlights how the processes of knowledge, learning, and meaning attribution are not only situated in a mental realm but embedded into the material world. Indeed, materiality generates critical practical consequences in practitioners' ordinary activities, intersubjectivity, and sociality (Carlile et al., 2013).

As well as other practices, the collective labor practice forms a bundle with arrangements such as “humans”, “organisms”, “natural things” and “artifacts” which belong to the material side of human social affairs (T. Schatzki, 2010b, 2012a).

### 6.2.3.1 Practitioners

According to Schatzki (2017), practitioners are categorized under the human part of the arrangement and a crucial element in practice. The relationship between peoples -better said, their corporality- and practices are deeply rooted in their physical and social qualities that align with their status. In the following paragraphs, practitioners will be presented and recognized due to their organization capacity, economic level, physicality, number, sex, and ages.

First, tasks and projects assigned may vary from practitioner to practitioner depending on the role acquired into a neighborhood organization. El Trebol's statute reports some duties and aspects concerning the operative roles of the board members in collective labor practices (Actas n001 - A.A.H.H. “El Trebol” Pamplona Alta, 2001, p. 19) (Colareta Cavassa, 200, p.19). A role is the set of norms, values, behaviors attached to a particular status acquired in this case study through a representative election. From everything set out in the *Certified Minutes Book* as well as from field note data, it appears clear that the General Secretary and his undersecretary - where it exists-, the Public Works Secretary and the Economic Secretary are critical figures in collective labor practices.

- General Secretary organizes, manages, opens, and closes board meetings, including the Faena Comunal phases, called “The briefing”; “Focus on the situation” and “the advertisements”, as mentioned in Subsection 5.2.1.
- Deputy Secretary coordinates the management of collective infrastructure with the other secretaries;

- In El Trebol, as well as in other settlements, a Master Builders - *Maestro de Obra* with expertise in the building sector is required to supervise and make final decisions in all mentioned tasks. The Construction Secretary is a Master Builders that promotes collective projects such as Locales Comunales, common dining rooms, or energy infrastructure, jointly with the General Secretary. It also coordinates work activities with blocks agents and supervises the implementation of projects and tasks;
- according to the statute, the Economic Secretary should authorize expenditure that enables the Faena activities. Furthermore, based on observation data, it also collects and checks practitioners' signatures just before a Faena Comunal, and it carries a “legal” mark in the individual statements of accomplishment.

All the other neighbors, both members of the same organization or their substitutes, performing collective labor practices are named here simply as “practitioners”. On the one hand, practitioners perform collective labor practices through projects and tasks. On the other hand, practitioners are configured “*as carriers*” (Nicolini & Monteiro, 2016, p. 108) of the practice. Therefore, we should also say, “*neither can exist without the other. No people no practices; but, equally, no practices no people*” (T. Schatzki, 2017, p. 23).

The economic level can influence the product and the same performance of the collective labor practice. The Map of Stratification of Income in Metropolitan Lima 2013 (INEI, 2016) shows how Lima's periphery lower strata concentration overlap to those districts where poverty is high. Among the districts where the lowest strata are concentrated, there is SJM in the southern zone. In the Map of Stratification of Income representing the smaller administrative units of urban blocks, La Nueva Rinconada's average monthly household income per capita stood at 575 PEN -174 USD under the minimum wage of 750 PEN/Month -227 USD/Month established by law at the time<sup>62</sup>.

Despite low economic level, collective labor practices depend on personal fees paid to a member of the organization to sustain a specific project of social relevance, such as in the case of Villa Hermosa and 7 de Enero:

*“I: Si, claro, pero también con cuotas porque necesitamos dinero, en cada trabajo **se pide una cuota establecida por cada trabajo**, se indica el*

*“I: Yes, of course, but also with fees because we need the money. For each job, **we ask for a fixed fee for each project or task**. We indicate the budget,*

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<sup>62</sup> The Minimum Wages in Peru rised at 930 PEN/Month in September 2020

*presupuesto, se establece la cuota, se compra el material y desde ahí a trabajar. [...] se fijan cuando se necesita para compras por aprobación de la mayoría.” (member of Villa Hermosa, 05/06/2018, San Juan de Miraflores)*

*“I: al inicio para abrir estas calles, formamos unas comisiones en el 2001 para abrir esta carretera y contratamos una maquinaria con Villa San Juan y nosotros 7 de enero. **Se pidió una cuota de 10 soles para que entre la cisterna de agua**” (member of 07 de enero, 24/06/2018, San Juan de Miraflores)*

*we establish the fee, we buy the material and from there we start working [...] these are fixed when it is needed for purchases through the majority’s approval.” (own translation)*

*“I: at the beginning, to get started with these roads, we created commissions back in 2001 to open up this road and hire machinery with Villa San Juan and ourselves, 7 de Enero. **We asked for a 10 soles fee so that the water cistern could come up**” (own translation)*

The general economic scarcity also opens up other ideas for fundraising. Festivals and public events open to everyone collect funds which can be used to support several projects and tasks during the year, such as in the case of El Trebol:

*“I: ¿Que hemos hecho? hemos logrado construir el 98% de las escaleras, un local comunal, **hemos comprado una máquina mezcladora** que nos sirve para trabajos de construcción, **hemos comprado sillas....***

*0: A través de las faenas han logrado comprar sillas?*

*“I: What have we done? We have accomplished to build 98% of the staircases, a community center, **we have bought a cement mixer** which is useful for construction jobs, we have bought chairs...*

*0: Through community labor you have been able to purchase chairs?*

*I: **We host different activities like polladas, cuyadas (BBQs)***

*I: **Tenemos actividades** que son como **polladas, cuyadas** y con esos fondos, compramos lo que te acabo de mencionar. Hay **dos actividades al año**: una es por **aniversario** y otra es **la fiesta Yunza** que es una fiesta donde se pone un árbol con regalos y se baila alrededor. (member of El Trébol A, 18/03/2018, San Juan de Miraflores).*

*and with those funds, we purchase what I just mentioned. There are **two activities a year**: One for **our anniversary** and the other is **the Yunza celebration**, this is a sort of party where we put up a tree with gifts and we dance around it" (own translation)*

Therefore, the type of activity to be carried out and production means depends on the practitioners' economic availability, but as will also be determined by Subsection 5.2.5, the participation in the practice itself depends on each practitioner's economic availability.

Then, practitioners' corporeality influences the product and the same performance of Faena Comunal activities. For instance, before each day of direct observation in fieldwork, if I wanted to avoid sunburn, I could not forget the sunscreen and straw hat. The same happened with the sunglasses so as not to strain the eyesight. Conversely, brown and shape eyes and skin pigmentation probably make a difference during work activities in hilly and desert lands environment during the summer because they are generally more resistant to solar radiation and reflected sunlight. A more resistant skin could also make a difference in unprotected building activities. For instance, during the Wawa Wasi retaining wall construction in El Trebol, I was involved in a mixed concrete production phase. I imitated other practitioners' actions, scraping concrete canisters, and pouring the mixture into the prepared formwork, when suddenly my unprotected hands got irritated. Toxic quicklime affected my capacity to perform such activity before others, and I was obliged to have a break, cleaning my hands very carefully (see Appendix D: Field report, 30/06/2018/, vol III, p.89).

Nevertheless, I refer to the material outcome of the practice itself, for instance, at the height and size of stairway steps and handrails and the height of the collective facilities' doors, which can be uncomfortable and out-of-measure for people more than 170 cm tall. According to Pessini (2018), Peruvians are among the shortest people worldwide, with men averaging 165 cm and women reaching 153 cm approximately. In both cases, about 14 centimetres shorter than average people in Europe, generally the world's tallest people. This survey points out how probably those patterns precisely reflect a long history of adaptation and various natural

selection levels. However, it can be explained with other variables, such as the poor quality of food in childhood, that affect the growing process in these sectors. In popular urbanizations and on the most impoverished populations in general deep pockets of food insecurity and malnutrition remain even if one of the country's current most outstanding achievements were halving chronic child malnutrition, currently at 13.1 percent<sup>63</sup>. They would have developmental consequences affecting the stature and performance as well (Aguiar et al., 2007).

Furthermore, there are factors related to individual pain resistance, muscle development, and the proportion of thick hard skin and calluses on their hands based on what practitioners do in their everyday lives. Understanding the relative roles of corporeality in determining practices and their output could create controversy giving space to conceptions related to the genetic determinism of human behavior and have brought no simple explanation<sup>64</sup>. However, in practice-based thinking, specific physical patterns become essential in accomplishing collective labor practices and output.

Finally, the practitioners, their number, sex, and age can influence the product and the same performance of Faena Comunal activities (see Figure 28). Unfortunately, I could not exceed at the Register of Participants of collective labor practice neither in El Trebol, nor in the other organizations. Therefore, the following considerations are the fruit of fieldnote reports and partial pictures collected.

As general, El Trebol leader points out only 70 practitioners out of 270 families in his organization used to participate in collective activities during the weekend. Participation reaches approximately 25% of the total potentially available practitioners. Compared to Villa Hermosa's experience, participation reaches a maximum of 60%, mostly between 40% and 50% of the potential practitioners, as reported by its leader. The number of participants could change according to the board members' dissuasive capabilities, activity urgency, and the economic availability of those who should participate<sup>65</sup>.

Concerning the nature of participants' sex, data shows slightly higher participation in men performing collective labor practices. For instance, during the playground arrangement presented in the previous chapter, I have counted a total

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<sup>63</sup> Not for nothing is the strong presence of state-sponsored child nutrition programs such as Glass of Milk - Vaso de Leche feeding program in Peru targeted to poor households and to those with low nutritional status created by Law No. 24509 in 1986.

<sup>64</sup> In general, South America's Andean population has peculiar genetic origins and evolving patterns. According to Cavalli-Sforza, Menozzi, and Piazza (1996) the South American population shares the same ancestors with a population of the Asian highlands, probably until the first human migration out of the region into the American continent, 35.000 years ago. However, the evolutionary processes have tinkered differently between the two population and their descendants (Beall, 2007). According to Valverde, the Andean population have acquired a genetic predisposition to a high altitude environment due to an adaptation process. The result of his research shows their resistance to extreme conditions such as oxygen shortage, low temperatures, limited availability of food (Valverde et al., 2015).

<sup>65</sup> As shown by the analysis of the interviews, a fine is imposed in the event of non-participation. Those who are able to pay this penalty should therefore be exempted from collective activities as will be evident in the sub-section 4.2.5.

of 38 participants: 16 women and 22 men (see Appendix D: Field report, 11/03/2018, vol.I, p.130). While other 75 participants, divided among 32 women and 43 men, were involved in the power geed maintenance, also reported in the previous chapter (see Appendix D: Field report, 01/07/2018/, vol III, p.96). In both cases, the male percentage exceeds the female by about 7.5 points, with the former at 57.2 of men against 42.8 of women and the latter at 57.8 against 42.2.

Several factors may guide the difference between male and female participation in Faena. Variables regard the tasks that have to be performed in a day and the current household labor force availability. Moreover, they may depend on housekeeping urgency, which obliges females to stay at home, or It could also be related to proper working activities of one of the partners during the weekend and the individual sensibility of collective well-being and the degrees of moral responsibility. I have not been able to determine this.

The age of the participants is also heterogeneous. Generally speaking, practitioners-age covers the mid-adolescence to late maturity. However, data has shown the presence of children and the elderly population performing collective labor practices; a point that will be explored further in Subsection 6.2.5.



Figure 28: practitioners performing Faena Comunal – Villa San Juan (source: photo repertoire)

### 6.2.3.2 Stray dogs

‘Organisms’ —other than humans— also belong to the work environment. Studies on animals as cultural artifacts have been carried out by traditional cultural geography in the second half of the 20th century. It is worth remembering here the early work of Bennett (1960) around animals and human cultures as well as the focus on animal domestication lead by Simoons (1974)<sup>66</sup>. Animal as a cultural

<sup>66</sup> See Baldwin (1987) in order to get a better overview on the domestication issue

artifact paradigm has shifted since the 90's emphasizing the human-animal interactions rather than their "use", to regenerate geographical understandings of the world. More specifically, from this research line, a new approach has emerged concerning the role of the "organisms" in urban space and place formation (Wolch, 2002).

Organisms are an integral part of the urban environment in the outskirts of Lima and many other southern cities. Especially dogs are an inseparable presence among humans. Official data do not exist; however, two of the most respected Peruvian newspapers, La Republica and El Comercio, estimate that there might be 6 million stray dogs in the country, of which more than one million in Lima (Carrion, 2016; Ccoillo, 2018).

Inside the settlement of El Trebol -as well as in all other settlements in la Nueva Rinconada, dozens of small and medium-sized stray dogs generally called "*perros callejeros*" in Spanish, are running amok upstairs (see Figure 29).

Mange and ringworm are familiar presence among stray dogs in la Nueva Rinconada. They also wore dirty and dusty fur coats due to the presence of other dirty animals – among which piggeries-, garbage, and the dusty desert location. Consequently, they are quite problematic in terms of public health, as recent local researchers suggest (Arata Azcárate & Reategui Vargas, 2016; Ochoa A et al., 2014). Furthermore, dogs are also problematic in the maintenance and production of public spaces, constituting a recurring presence in collective labor as commented by one of the El Trebol board members:

*"Hay más animales que asisten  
a la Faena que hombres"  
(member of El Trebol,  
25/03/2018, San Juan de  
Miraflores).*

*"there are more animals  
attending the Faena than men"  
(own transtation)*

During the collective labor practice, dogs gather at the meeting point even before the workers, attracted by morning chatter and loud. Those dogs generally breed and fight in the open areas, running behind moto-taxis, wallowing in the dirt, playing together. Data suggests we can reasonably declare that Dogs and "Faena Comunal" related at least in two ways. First, they are directly contributing to the creation of the work environment through direct actions: they eat, sleep, defecate, dig and leave footprints somewhere, directly connected with the task concluded in a Faena Comunal. For example, they were digging and defecating into the collective garden during the cleaning activities, pissing on the collected pile of sand for concrete production, leaving some traces in new fresh and raw concrete during stairways construction, and again using the same stairways as a resting place. In light of the above, we could assume that the relationship between dogs and the collective labor practice is conflictive.

Second, dog presence directly affects other practitioners' behavior because they represent a disturbance element in activities performance. Taking the case of the park cleaning activity or stairway construction, with dogs' presence, the room to maneuver was tight, and practitioners were constantly being interrupted in actions. To impose their intentions over those dogs, practitioners used threats or violence, such as scaring them by working tools or throwing rocks to drive them away from the site. This last point deserves further development. It concerns the relationship between practitioners and dogs.

The official definition of stray dogs in Lima, as in many other countries, is related to the notion of ownership and responsibility (Ochoa et al., 2014). The meaning relates to the owner's abandonment or irresponsibility, letting a dog without his or her direct control. However, as Savvides (2013) reports, the relationships between humans and dogs change from place to place, according to socio-cultural and spatial factors where they live, and this definition is difficult to implement in popular urbanizations. Most of the dogs in La Nueva Rinconada could not be considered "stray dogs" because a traditional form of ownership does not exist or is not easily trackable<sup>67</sup>. Fieldwork data suggest that the relationship developed between dogs and practitioners should be regarded as a matter of collective local co-existence. As Narayanan has reported, street dogs in Indian cities demonstrate their marginalization, eviction, and tolerance during everyday life. He says, "*nonhumans fall in the shadow space between being tolerated and violently removed*" (2017, p. 482).

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<sup>67</sup> The lack of identification tags makes difficult the allocation of private responsibility of dogs behaviours.

According to fieldwork data, practitioners violently removed dogs during the faena activities. Instead, dogs are tolerated differently outside the collective labor practice. First, people allow dogs to spend the night in their porches shelter. Second, dogs used to follow humans in their ordinary activities scouting around for food, water, and affection. Lastly, dogs conform an alarm system and a deterrent element to foreigners' approach, as I have found several times in the first person. In conclusion, dogs cause foreseeable jamming effects over the practice and the relation they have with practitioners has a prefiguration nature.



Figure 29: A dog accompanying a collective labor practice – Villa San Juan (source: photo repertoire)

### 6.2.3.3 Tools and facilities for working

Practitioners also share artifacts during collective labor practices. These artifacts usually include tools such as documents, architectural features, furniture, instruments, and working equipment - mechanical or manual - and clothing, as presented before. Furthermore, practitioners share the same working space; they all gather outside the old organization's premises in the morning. Usually, after the practical activities, they wait inside the same office, sitting down on chairs and waiting for updates on their case (see Figure 30). This kind of facility can be found in all popular urbanizations of La Nueva Rinconada and appear to be one of the most important investments for the association's collective life. I use the term "coordination center" borrowed from organization studies to define it according to the collective labor practices usage and its characteristics (Gherardi, 2012). The features<sup>68</sup> of the organization's premises are also beyond collective labor activities as following:

<sup>68</sup> I am going to use similar features as tracked in Woener et al., 2005 (Gherardi 2012 p.42).

- It is a permanent structure because it still exists at the end of each activity performed through the collective labor practice.
- It is heterogeneous in the sense that it could include different materials, such as woods, concrete, and bricks. It also has a variable size and floors. For instance, in El Trebol, the old organization's premises measuring approximately 8m × 18 m -146 square meters- of wood panels arranged in a single level and sheet metals for the roof.
- It is a flexible structure, which could be suitable for the requirements of local needs such as common refectory, playground, storage room, and library and, of course, as Faena coordinator center.
- The organization's premises are representative/iconic because they symbolize the organizational vitality: all the settlers know it, all the members have built it, and authorized external actors, such as NGOs, perform their activities there.
- It is generative/seminal because it is used as the basis for further initiatives that could barely be implemented elsewhere. The case of TECHO and the NGO Picitos is exemplary. They use the old organization's premises to implement courses, organized children's activities and meetings.

All those characteristics have not been projected but exist in daily practice.



Figure 30: The old the coordination center - El Trebol (source: photo repertoire)

Furthermore, inside the practitioners' toolbox, there are utility equipment, attachments, and tools for construction (see Figure 31). Practitioners used to handle fiberglass survey tape, shovels with long handles, sledgehammers, picks, wrecking bars, and empty plastic paint tins to perform their projects and tasks. However, also they needed more specific tools such as water tanks and flexible water pipe products to collect water on the construction site. Establishing a Faena means engaging with other tools called here “technological tools”. They concern the public address system -PA system- and megaphones to communicate in large open spaces as well as the portable cement mixer used to optimize the “Physical collective activities” phase.

The latest kind of tools is related to the attendance register *-cuaderno de control*, the already mentioned control cards *-tarjetas de control*, technical and general drafts, and manuals. All those tools link with “projects” and “tasks” through a prefigurative relation. For instance, a draft location plan such as the *Basic Plot Plans* concerns the act of prefiguring something outside the plan itself, giving an early indication or prefigurative version of something that may exist shortly somewhere else.

When those projects or tasks concern proper construction, materials such as stones, sand, bricks, and wood finally appear in the arrangement. As Vega Centeno (1992) points out in his work about self-help housing in popular urbanizations, the required building materials could be stored as a surplus of previous activities but generally are not available in situ: not as raw materials, neither as manufactured goods. Instead, the formal and informal markets are ordinary places where to source these materials. It occurs through the purchase of goods by self-financing which involve proper donation from other external actors; direct contributions and fundraising initiative such as the corporate and traditional event called *Pollada Peruana*<sup>69</sup> which are organized twice for the year in EL Trebol, one at the date of foundation of the settlement and other generally during the ritual celebration of *Yunza*<sup>70</sup>. This last process is carried out in El Trebol, involving firms' corporate social responsibility sector through TECHO and their immediate return in terms of the company's image. It could even take place through a sort of "logrolling" compensation, such as in the case of El Trebol *Nuevo Local Comunal*, where 300 cement bags were given for its completion by the previous municipality candidate once he has come to power (Field report, 04/03/2018, vol 1, p.115).

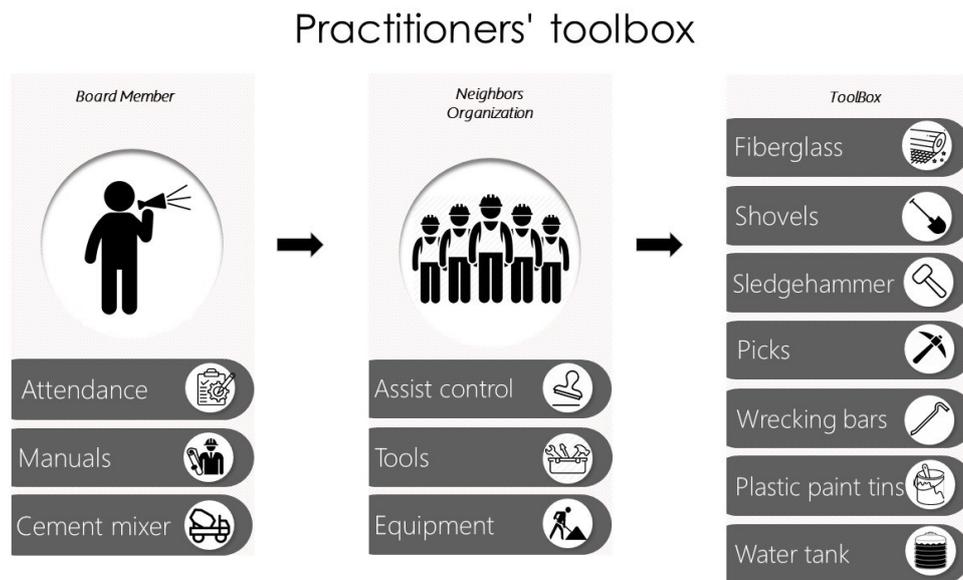


Figure 31: Ordinary practitioners' toolbox (source: field report)

Briefly, I would like to draw attention to the time dimension of the supply chain management process. To perform specific projects or tasks is not necessary to own all needed materials available at once. Activities continue until provisions run short,

<sup>69</sup> As The Guardian (Klapper, 2015) points it out Chicken parties attest the resourcefulness of unbanked people in fundraising and draws attention to the importance of informal networks especially in Lima.

<sup>70</sup> The Yunza, is a ritual celebration, practiced throughout Peru in February in which the attendant's dancers, surrounding a tree, waiting for the tied gifts to the top after its fall by means of a machete.

and then they stop for a while (in the range of weeks or months) while board members or outside organizations recover other materials. Furthermore, construction materials have extrinsic characteristics projected to provide some kind of specific outcome for their use. In this case, the mix to produce concrete. Following a project, even brick design involves assembly to realize a specific structure.

Unlike in the case of products of other firms and organizations, we should consider that they also become the foundation of other daily practices of individuals in years to come (Shove & Trentmann, 2019). For instance, sternways allow mobilities practice, but even leisure practices performed in popular urbanizations, such as the case recently presented by Velarde Herz:

*“Each family considers «their own staircase» to the steps in front of their house, so they make use of it. Since these are transit spaces, it is common to run into acquaintances and maintain short conversations, turning the staircases in elongated semi-communal spaces which go uphill and create lines that intensify their usage diversity and intensity, depending on their consolidation level and the number of households with enough room (retiros) throughout them”*  
(Velarde Herz, 2017, p. 483)

A leisure space could become the future work environment for the next interventions performed to maintain, implemented, or unpack it, such as in the case of the playground facility in El Trebol. Indeed, as Gherardi points out:

*“Is necessary to bear in mind that the products of any professional design (objects, technologies, environments and so on) have been conceived and produced on the basis of a partial and situated projection of the circumstances in which they will be used. Consequently, such products must not be taken as definitive, but rather as starting points for the development of artefacts-in-use which will be inevitably adapted or changed so that they can be introduced into the work environment.”*  
(Gherardi, 2012, p. 47)

Gherardi’s quotation acquires a particular relevance in the practice of *Faena Comunal* where building activities occur by successive approximations due to “dilution” factors such as a small income or low skilled human resources, inefficient technologies, and limited working hours, which affect the collective labor practice performance.

#### 6.2.3.4 Geographical features

The presence of a sunny and dry climate, desert hills, sand, and rocks in sharp slopes constitute how “things of nature” influenced popular urbanization and collective labor practices. As Collier (1975) reports, the sprawl of popular urbanizations occurred because Lima offers a highly favorable geographical and climatic setting for their formation. Indeed, the minimal shelter that first appears when a new resident settles down is far more adequate in the mild winters and the virtual absence of rain on the Peruvian coast than they would be in a less favorable climate.

From the geomorphological point of view, Lima's peripheral urban areas are surrounded by hills and mountains, with slopes of moderate to sharp. La Nueva Rinconada is located at the border of an ancient lake site, composed of alluvial deposits of the Rimac river. There the soil mass is neither uniform nor consistent in properties. The majority of the outcrops correspond to intrusive rocks such as granodiorites and diorites, followed by volcanic rocks and by calcareous sedimentary rocks. This material has been accumulated in the bark of the hill, creating friable loess due to the earthquakes and atmospheric agents affecting the area. Today slopes can reach 30 °. The presence of sediments in a sloped area is the first element that affects Faena Comunal activities and general construction activities (Karakouzian et al., 1997). The second element concern the absolute lack of water-springs and streams in the desert hills environment. The dry season minimizes rainwater drainage problems in these areas and reduces the risk common in other parts of the LA region, such as when settlements have been washed away by heavy rains. However, It makes it difficult to supply water relating to essential building site needs and working activities, forcing practitioners to ask for permission to use private water tanks and water pipes located near the site.

Geomorphological factors influence the way in which activities are performed and also the output of these activities. For instance, we should think of the outside stairway projects or the retaining wall projects, which would be utterly useless in other lowland areas.

Furthermore, all the Lima coast has a warm-temperate climate, without extreme heat or cold but with high humidity, thick fog, and a heavy mist which the locals call “*garúa*” in Spanish, that makes it feel freezing in winter. The central and southern coastlines have two distinct seasons, winter (April to October) and summer (November to March). In the summer, there a thin fog, and temperatures could reach 29°C (Semamhi, 2018). The presence of stable humidity during winter and the direct exposition to sunlight are the second and third elements that affect collective labor practices. On the one hand, the presence of stable humidity during winter gets worse sidewalks and street maintenance and their use. It can also affect other infrastructure such as electrical supply infrastructure and damping-off pylons, forcing maintenance (Field report, 07/01/2018, p.96 volume III). On the other hand, the direct exposition to sunlight forces the Faena Comunal activities in the early morning out of the day's hottest times. The last element that we should consider is the presence of the ocean nearby, which probably maintains a warm-temperate

climate during the years, allowing the activities performed in each season without interruption.

### 6.2.3 *Targets and purposes*

Explicit and implicit aims and objectives have emerged in *Faena Comunal* through the teleoaffective structure of the practice. This collective labor practice aims to improve the living conditions for the inhabitants in popular urbanizations. From the El Trebol first statute (Actas n001 - A.A.H.H. “El Trebol” Pamplona Alta, 2001), the organization's main aim was quite clear, as exposed in Subsection 5.2.1. Regarding Collective labor practices target and purposes, they are connected with the point 3 and 4 of the organization objects:

- Basic infrastructure services provision (water, sewerage, and electricity)
- The construction of access roads and other mobility systems

A secondary level of objectives concerns “projects” and “tasks”. They are other important sub-targets that are not reported inside the Certified Minutes Book but are requests or suggestions made by external organizations in the process of physical renewal and legalization accomplishment, for instance, focusing on formal complaints related to environmental risk mitigation:

*“I: una faena es una convocatoria de todos los vecinos del asentamiento humano para hacer trabajos comunales y **levantar observaciones**. Se dedica a **mejorar el AA.HH., mejorar las observaciones que nos den las instituciones** ya sea de agua, luz, municipalidad de lima, etc., **cualquier institución que vea algo**”*  
(member of Girasoles, 15/04/2018 San Juan de Miraflores)

*“I: a task or labor is a call for every human settlement neighbor in order perform communal work and **make observations**. We devote the time to **enhance the AA.HH, to comply with feedback given by institutions**, whether it is water, electricity, Lima’s City Hall, etc. **any institution that is in charge something**”* (own translation)

*"I: Para nosotros es organizarnos, **mitigar el riesgo** de nuestra comunidad, vivimos en un cerro donde lamentablemente hay mucho riesgo y, además, debemos **levantar muros** de contención. **Nos regimos a base de las instituciones** que nos quieren titular y Defensa Civil." (member of 07 de enero, 24/06/2018, San Juan de Miraflores)*

*"I: for us it means to organize ourselves, **reducing risk** within our community. We live in a hilly area sadly prone to risk; moreover, we also need to **build retaining walls**. We **rule ourselves according to institutions** that could grant us a visa and Civil Defense." (own translation)*

As will be shown in Subsection 5.2.6, public agencies usually point out weaknesses in soil structure and preliminary infrastructure constructions, which must be fixed to obtain necessary authorizations from the concessionary company and public administration. El Trebol board members considered such weaknesses, and practitioners had been working on it for several weeks.

Furthermore, even the role of third sector organizations also had consistent relevance in the definition of objectives for projects and tasks. For instance, generally, the TECHO drew up Community Activity Plans with neighborhood organizations. They include specific projects, aims, resources, activities, deadlines, and responsibilities selected through a sort of participatory process. In EL Trebol, such a Plan concern three on six written points directly link with collective activities through the Faena Comunal (Equipo de Comunidad TECHO, 2018).

These activities concerned:

- Implementation of the playground for children
- Fitting out of the Sports Centre
- Construction of the Wawawasi

The last level of objectives depends on how each practitioner does what makes sense for himself, in a more personal dimension. Let us say it involves moral purposes. A moral purpose is defined as a value held by some individuals of what is right and good to pursuit. Board members of neighborhood organizations indicated which are the moral highest purposes of neighborhood collective labor practices. They concern about the general improvement of the life quality in a popular urbanization through urban development efforts. In this regard, and El Trebol and Villa San Juan practitioners stated that the collective labor practice is:

"I: un **trabajo en conjunto**, básicamente es **realizar las labores en mejora** de las vías, de los domicilios, carreteras, escaleras (todas las vías) **para tener una calidad de vida mejor**. (member of El Trébol, 18/03/2018, San Juan de Miraflores)

"I: Un acto de **trabajo para un bien**, para una **mejora de la comunidad**. Para **mejorar las necesidades que tenemos todos los pobladores que vivimos aquí**, las calles, avenidas, pasajes, parques, vías de acceso" (member of Villa Hermosa, 05/06/2018, San Juan de Miraflores)

"I: a **collective labor practice** basically consists of **performing** road, homes, trail, staircases **enhancements tasks** (every path) so that we can have a **better quality of life**." (own translation)

"I: an act of **work for the common good**, for the **community's betterment**. So that we can improve the **needs of every settler who lives here**, the streets, avenues, trails, parks, access roads" (own translation)

According to the extracts above, these improvements nowadays have to do with infrastructure and facilities provision, while the collective labor practice represents a technology towards a more comfortable situation. In this respect, as emerging from 07 de Enero, Villa Hermosa board practitioners collective labor practice has always been conceived as a collective and autonomous matter. Practitioners said:

"[hacer faena comunal] **siempre fue por nosotros mismos**, porque si o si tenemos que **tener accesos y comodidad para nosotros mismos** [...] yo siempre digo que **tenemos que mejorar**, no nos podemos quedar así, **uno tiene que ir avanzando**. Para

"[collective labor practices] **has always been something we've done for ourselves** because it is **the only way we can gain access to more comfort for ourselves** [...] I always say we have to make improvements, we cannot remain the same, **we have to move forward**. For me, **laws are unfair** because they

*mis las leyes son injustas, porque nos piden que hagamos todo, las barandas, los muros de contención, nos piden todo y ¿qué va a hacer la municipalidad si ya todo está hecho? ¿En que nos va a ayudar?” (member of 07 de enero, 24/06/2018, San Juan de Miraflores).*

*“Bueno **tenemos necesidades** en ciertos proyectos como el agua y desagüe, por ejemplo, **estamos obligados todos** porque es un **servicio básico vital** que nos falta y debemos tener los más pronto posibles. A consecuencia de esto **hacemos las faenas porque sólo así podemos avanzar, mejorar y cumplir con los requisitos que nos piden**” (member of Villa Hermosa, 05/06/2018, San Juan de Miraflores)*

*ask us to do everything: handrails, retaining walls, they ask for everything. What is the municipality going to do if we've already done it all? How are they going to support us?” (own translation)*

*“Well, **we have needs** regarding some projects such as water and sewage, for example. **We are all bound** to because these are **vital basic needs** that we are lacking and that we should have access to as soon as possible. Due to these facts, we **perform the collective tasks because it is the only way we can progress, be better, and comply with the requisites we are asked to comply with**” (own translation)*

In the interviews, 7 de Enero board practitioners frequently used the expression “*we have to improve*” and “*we are all bound*”. Such expressions enunciate a moral obligation of practitioners to go further with the process of development despite any circumstance. Conversely, those expressions summarize the shifting balance of responsibility between local government and neighborhood organizations central board practitioners. Collective labor practices outcomes depended on the configuration of this responsibility, which has moral connotations. Moral responsibility is understood as liability, or worthiness of blame or praise (Hayward & Lukes, 2008). Its discourses suggest that neighborhood organization central board practitioners consider themselves likewise other organization members as

morally responsible for the settlement's fate. Indeed, an agent can be considered responsible as far as it has the ability to choose its ends freely and act consistently towards it, which means it can exercise some kind of agentic power using the traditional understanding of power made explicit in Section 3.2. Then, holding someone responsible involves responding to that person in ways that are made appropriate by the judgment that it is morally responsible with some kind of reactive attitudes such as gratitude, respect or resentment, indignation, and guilt when the social expectation is either expected or disregarded (Fischer, 1999; Talbert, 2019).

The concept of moral responsibility also unveils the reason that drove practitioners' actions beyond the respect of explicit rules and fear of punishment. For instance, despite the formal rules, the attitude towards sanctions can vary consistently among neighborhood organizations according to the leader's judgment. These responses often constitute instances of moral praise or moral blame. Villa Hermosa central board practitioner exemplified the process of blaming -first- when practitioners fail their duties and subsequent praising phase in case of repentance:

*"I: La persona que es consciente, si algún domingo no vino, **luego trae a algún pariente**, si es que quiere cumplir[...]si no quiso, no espero a acumular, me acerco a los vecinos y por ejemplo pongo una gaseosa grande y **se pide disculpa por no venir** por alguna emergencia o deja 10 soles y se le exonera a pesar de que la multa sea 20 soles. **Los que hacen esto hace se les ha felicitado.**" (member of Villa Hermosa, 05/06/2018, San Juan de Miraflores)*

*"I: people who are mindful, if they did not show up any given Sunday, they can **bring a relative** later, if they really want to carry out the task [...] if they didn't want to, they shouldn't wait for it to build up, they should approach the neighbors and, for example, bring a large soda bottle and **apologize for not coming** for some sort of emergency, pay the 10 soles so they are exonerated in spite of the 20 soles fine. **People who do this are complimented**" (own translation)*

While others claim the right to be consistent with their roles exacerbating the blaming phase also with threats like the central board practitioner of 7 de Enero:

*"I: Desde mi periodo, mi dificultad más grande es que la gente no sale, todos no sale. **Hay gente que poco le interesa, no paga.** Eso a mí me **bajonea** porque la gente mucho habla y **esto es para todos nosotros, el bienestar es para todos.** Para presionarlos a que salgan, no les ponemos agua, ¿pero hay algunos que dicen "porque no nos van a dar agua?". **Si realmente te importara la mejora de nuestra población,** entonces saldrías y no te perjudicarías en que te corten el agua, lo mismo con las multas" (member of 07 de enero, 24/06/2018, San Juan de Miraflores).*

*"I: from the beginning of my term the biggest difficulty is that people don't show up, not all show up. **There's people who have very little interest, they don't pay.** That makes me feel a little bit under the weather because people talk a lot and this, **this is for us, for everybody's wellbeing.** To put some pressure on them so that they show up, we have cut water supply. Some ask: Why are you not giving us water? **If you really cared for our population's betterment,** then you would show up and wouldn't prejudice yourself by water shortage, same thing with fines" (own translation)*

Here we assisted a second kind of vindication of the "marginal subject" emerged through their agency capacity in a way in which the burden of social and economic redemption is transferred into their hands. Indeed neighborhood organization leaders accept responsibility arising from their situation, and they assumed the struggle for settlement development by looking for different adaptation tactics to escape from political, ideological, social, and economic difficulties (Collier, 1975; Joseph, 2005).

Personal affectivity, feelings, and emotions have relevance in defining activity priorities. For instance, the board members' potential competitors and consensus strategies influence how collective labor practices are controlled, prioritizing certain activities instead of others. Indeed, according to the current board members, priority shall be given to the achievement of definitive electricity infrastructure and street lighting, and It has become a "personal" objective to him emotionally sustained. During a private chat, the general secretary of El Trebol exhibited the will to obtain definitive electrical provision for two personal reasons. First, because of a promise made to the community at the beginning of the electoral term. Second,

it due to an open conflict with a member of another organization culminated in a complaint about the power supply (field report, 01/07/2018, Vol.III, pag.96).

Even the relations among the board members and the other practitioners can influence the *Faena Comunal*. For example, during the development of stairway construction in the El Trebol phase called “collective physical activities”, each individual acted quite differently according to their own discretion. In the beginning, they collided with other neighbors in cleaning the area, or they merely procrastinate their duties due to laziness and slovenliness awaiting precise instructions. The presence of building experts, who share their tips, together with board members who supervise the efforts' performance, allows activities to be carried out in a better and effective way. At that stage, rarely does someone question the expert/board committee. The teleoaffective structure encountered in Subsection 3.2.1 so links the actions of men, women, workers, expert, supervisors, and the board making things represented and activities performed in a certain way, for instance, through the emotional tone of respect, sense of duty or on the contrary, indifference - even if rarely who is in direct contrast with board takes part to the collective labor practices.

#### *6.2.4 Rules of the game*

In practice base thinking, “Rules” are also involved, respectively connected with normative dimensions of doing and saying (Kusch, 2013). Explicit normative forces concern “*explicit formulations, principles, precepts, and instructions*” (T. Schatzki, 2002, p. 79). Guidelines of collective labor practices are behavioral incentives, dissuasion mechanisms, active work control, and external agreements working into a neighborhood organization.

The practitioners' conduct is guided from inside neighborhood organizations. Indeed, all activities previously identified are regulated by internal agreements. They define a code of conduct that remarks social norms that individuals in a neighborhood organization should embrace weekly.

A first standard level of normativity was established in each neighborhood organization in a written form, inside the Statute as a part of Certified Minutes Book mentioned in Subsection 5.2.1, which also El Trebol wrote it down (Actas n001 - A.A.H.H. “El Trebol” Pamplona Alta, 2001). The statute implies the command or prohibition of something. In fact, in the collective labor practices, ordinary and extraordinary meetings and public demonstrations are codified as statutory activities, and rights and duties exist as a practitioner of the El Trebol told and others have confirmed elsewhere:

"I: Sí, para tener un mejor orden en el trabajo y para comprometer al vecino que cumpla con los **acuerdos de la Junta Directiva** o **acuerdos de asamblea general**, ponemos ciertas **reglas**. Por ejemplo: a las Faenas dominicales debemos asistir a las 6:30am, damos media hora de instrucciones y a las 7:00am en punto salimos a hacer las labores. Aquel vecino que no cumpla con las reglas programadas tiene una **multa**, multa **equivalente a un jornal**, por ejemplo 30 soles que equivale a un "Jornal".(member of EL Trebol A, 18/03/2018, San Juan de Miraflores)

"I: Tenemos un **libro de actas** ya **legalizado** donde tenemos los **estatutos** donde están las **obligaciones** y **deberes** de cada morador, dentro de esas obligaciones, está el trabajo en **faena comunal que es obligatorio por cada morador** cuando la comunidad lo amerite y lo requiere" (member of Villa San Juan, 22/07/2018, San Juan de Miraflores).

"I: Yes, to have a better work order and to commit the neighbors to comply with the **Board of Directors agreements or the general assemblies agreements**, we set some **rules**. For example: for Sunday chores, we must show up at 6:30am, we give instructions for half an hour and at 7:00am sharp we start labors. Neighbors who do not comply with the rules set will have to pay a **fine, equivalent to a day's work**, for example, 30 soles which equals a day's wage (Jornal)." (own translation)

"I: We have a **legalized minutes book** where we keep our **Regulations** with obligations and duties outlined for every inhabitant. Amongst those obligations, there is the **collective labor work -- mandatory for every inhabitant** whenever the community requires it" (own translation)

*"I: Claro, hay libros de actas donde se han establecido los **reglamentos** y **procedimientos**, cómo convocar a la junta directiva, si no vas a una faena, tienes que pagar la multa en dinero o con otra faena. 20 soles por faena o recuperación con otro trabajo (member of Girasoles, 15/04/2018 San Juan de Miraflores).*

*"I: Sure, there's minutes books where **rules and procedures** have been established like calling the board of directors, or if you don't show up for community tasks then you have to pay a fine with money or by performing another task. 20 soles by chore or pay back with a different task" (own translation)*

According to practitioners, general rules in collective labor practices specified the day and working hours, numbers of participants for each plot, and unitive actions can be adopted. According to this last point, sanctions are gradual and increase in intensity and importance according to the type and/or repetitiveness of the behavior that violates the norm: first an oral warning, then a written reminder, and finally a direct and forced intervention which could reach the exclusion of the defaulted.

*"Sí, este **estatuto es como la constitución**, hay normal que, si el vecino no cumple con algunos acuerdos, es sancionado y a veces hasta separado del asentamiento o pierdes algunos derechos como elegir y ser elegido. Los que están continuamente en las faenas, en las reuniones, en las marchas que hacemos reclamando al estado que nos ponga servicios básicos, para*

*"Yes, these **Regulations are like the constitution**, there's norms that **if the neighbor doesn't follow some of the agreements, the person could be sanctioned and even separated from the settlement or lost rights like electing and being elected.** The ones who always show up to collective labor work, meetings, demonstrations we make demanding the estate to*

esas personas **tenemos una sanción primero verbal, luego escrita y después la separación del grupo.**" (member of *El Trébol A*, 18/03/2018, San Juan de Miraflores)

provide basic services to us, **those have first an oral warning, then a written reminder, and finally exclusion or separation from the group.**" (own translation)

Different situations require that board members make additional efforts to ensure dialogue and demand respect for the rules. A peculiar system of control allows participants to certify their presence during collective labor activities. Practitioners receive a *Participation Statement of Accomplishment* or a *Control Card* signed by the construction secretary. Conversely, those who do not participate in the organization's activities shall be recorded in an *Attendance Register* (see Figure 32) —an official document through which members of a neighborhood organization can validate their work participation— monitored, and finally sanctioned:

"I: A aquel vecino que asiste, le otorgamos **una tarjeta de control**, en esta tarjeta de control vienen unos recuadros en las cuales el secretario de obra coloca un **sello** la cual **certifica** que el vecino ha asistido a faena. El secretario de obra con visto bueno del secretario general." (member of *EL Trebol A*, 18/03/2018, San Juan de Miraflores)

"I: Neighbors who assist are given a **control card**; within this control card there are some checkboxes where the construction secretary puts a **stamp** with which it is **certified** that the neighbor was present for community chores. The construction secretary does it with the general secretary's approval."

Explicit references to collective labor practices appear in the article n.43, title VII: "*Participar a los trabajos comunales del Asentamiento Humano 'El Trebol'*" (ibid. p.26), referring to the duty of the settlers work inside the organization. In the neighborhood organization's first book, no data emerges concerning written sanctions for non-compliant settlers, even if they appear in interview data and field note reports. Instead, sanctions are foreseen for non-compliant board members as provided explicitly for collective labor practices. It has been mentioned in Article

n.52, included in the title IX. It states the following: “por no asistir a la faena comunal serán multados por 1% de la UIT<sup>71</sup> vigente a la fecha” (ibd. p.28).

However, there is no reference about the minimum of maximal age in the statute and the code of conduct to perform collective labor practices.

Active work control also takes a written form through the Control Card - *Tarjetas de Control* and the Attendance Register - *Cuaderno de Control*. The first is an official document belonging to a family unit through which members of a neighborhood organization can validate their work participation. The card is not personal and can be passed to other members, family or not, who declare to participate in favor of the plot marked on the card. Supervisors apply a rubber stamp with the neighborhood organization's logo and the date of activity on a checkbox.



Figure 32: Control Card and Attendance Register of El Trebol (source: photo repertoire)

<sup>71</sup> This system provide the payment of an amount equal to a % of the a special tax unit called Unidad Impositiva Tributaria – UIT provided by SUNAT. In 2001 year, it topped 3.000 PEN -909 USD, according to the D.S. N° 145-2000-EF.

-<http://www.sunat.gob.pe/indicestajas/uit.html>-

The second is a journal created by the board members to help them track past participations, check the present, and plan penalties for those in arrears.

The second level of normativity links more with empirical shreds of evidence than on written documents. For instance, in the AA.HH. of El Trébol, other rules are currently in use—possibly approved in a general assembly after the first statute by the organization. Those rules will provide penalties concerning the settlers and the day and the hours of the collective work. According to the leader of El Trebol current proportion of penalties to the settlers have an amount of 30 PEN -9 USD related to a daily salary rate<sup>72</sup>. However, using punishment is not the only way nor an excellent way to successfully discipline inside the organization, and an alternative is always available and much appreciated. Otherwise, sanctions can be avoided if the settlers provide an extra labor force for compensating the missing Collective Labor Practices. It concerns an increase in the workforce for the recovery of working hours lost in the previous activities. Therefore, practitioners used to bring other members from inside the same plot—the partner or its sons or other family members—to make amends as El Trebol leader confirmed:

*F: Sí, pero las **faenas son recuperables**. Por ejemplo, este domingo no vengo, pero el próximo domingo vengo con una persona más y la recupero. **No necesariamente se paga la multa**, se le colocan sus 2 sellos y hay un cuaderno de registros” (member of El Trébol, 18/03/2018, San Juan de Miraflores)*

*“F: Yes, **chores (faenas) can be compensated**. For example, this Sunday I don’t show up but next Sunday I come with another person and make amendments. **You don’t necessarily have to pay the fine**, you’ll receive the two stamps on the attendance register” (own translation)*

That occurs even if the collective labor practice is accomplished during a public holiday, on Sunday in the early morning, usually from 6:30 a.m. to 10:30 a.m. Early activities are related to the fact that a practitioner can work in acceptable conditions during these times tables. Furthermore, being the day off of most people,

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<sup>72</sup> Other ethnographic interviews instead have suggested me that monetary penalties per capita is equivalent to nearly 30 for daily loss of work. Under the current 1% of the Unidad Impositiva Tributaria for 2018.

practitioners can have the support of external organizations and NGOs which involve volunteers who are available only during the weekend:

*“Nosotros lo **hacemos ahora los domingos porque vienen jóvenes voluntarios** como TECHO y de otras ONG’s y **quieren hacer trabajos comunales aquí** en nuestro asentamiento y por esto nosotros **estamos comprometimos**. Salimos a trabajar, nos comprometemos, nos presentamos con los jóvenes, hacemos un compartir y trabajamos juntos” (member of EL Trébol A, 18/03/2018, San Juan de Miraflores)*

*“We are doing this **on Sundays now because young volunteers from TECHO and other NGOs come and they want to perform communal tasks here** in our settlement; for that reason, **we are committed**. We go out to work, we commit, we introduce ourselves to the young visitors, we share and work together”*

Lastly, the third level of normativity involves other agreements signed with external associations, NGOs, and institutions. For instance, TECHO used to sign an agreement before starting a collaboration with an AA.HH. is called the Collaboration Agreement -*Ficha de compromiso de trabajo en conjunto* in Spanish. It concerns the active participation of at least  $\frac{1}{5}$  of adults in Techo’s activities, which also involve projects accomplished by collective labor practices<sup>73</sup>. Agreements compliance—even if not strictly—is continuously under scrutiny, and by the last measure in cases of non-compliance is that the relationship is suspended<sup>74</sup>. TECHO also involves the population through a series of standard participatory techniques to establish an Action Plan that clarifies the needs of the moment and where the limited resources of the neighborhood organization are to be invested.

The relation between TECHO activities and collective labor practices follows two kinds of rationality. Firstly, the relationship appears instrumental to gain trust and to chain perspectives of the other party. Indeed, TECHO volunteers I have worked with told me about transforming their view of popular urbanization and

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<sup>73</sup> This is the case of the *Community Projects* -Proyectos comunitarios in Spanish- accomplish by the assistance from the Fund FONTECHO with the help of TECHO permanent and temporary volunteers.

<sup>74</sup> Two cases has been reported in my diaries, Cerro Puquio and Villa Hermoza, in which I was directly involved.

their inhabitants. One manager of TECHO summarizes his feelings toward collective labor practices as follows:

*“... si, es muy fuerte, porque al ya no ser **la puerta de entrada de Techo a una comunidad** la construcción de una vivienda, hoy por hoy **son las faenas comunitarias**. Y Techo se comienza a validar en comunidad cuando llega por primera vez con sus voluntarios y se su suman una faena comunitaria. Y esto es un momento muy rico, porque es una transformación para ambos participantes, para el vecino y para el voluntario”*  
(member of TECHO, 13/06/2018, Lima)

*“Yes, it is very strong, now that house construction is not the **entry door anymore for Techo, collective labor practices have become that. Techo starts to prove itself in front of the community when they first come with volunteers and adhere to collective labor chores**. It is a very rich moment because it is transformative for both parties, for the settler and the volunteer.”* (own translation)

Secondly, the relationship is seen as a prior condition to implement and succeed with both neighborhood organizations and TECHO projects and aims. The argument supports a "duty of mutual aid" which calls on different organizations to help one another. As testimony by one of the TECHO volunteers:

*“cada proyecto tiene su función. [...] Entonces, dependiendo del proyecto, identificábamos si necesitábamos o no más voluntarios de la comunidad, para generar una especie de faena, **y si no se necesita** o si en la medida de lo posible **lo podemos nosotros generar**, como Techo, bien; es lo ideal, **pero si no se puede y si o si***

*“Every project has its function. [...] So, depending on the project, we identified if we needed, or not, more community volunteers in order to generate some sort of collective labor practice. **If not required** or if, as far as possible, we could manage as Techo, then great It’s the ideal. **If we can’t or if we need***

*necesitamos mano de los  
vecinos, se solicita ahí una  
faena.” (member of TECHO,  
12/06/2018, Lima)*

*settlers to pitch in, then we  
request a collective labor  
practice.” (own translation)*

Moreover, other rules derive from land-use regulations imposed by the local government into the renewal process of physical consolidation and legal “inclusion” encountered in Subsection 5.2.3. They act through Basic Plot Plans called *Plan Visado* or, technically *Plano simple de Ubicación de lotes*. It is a technical drawing privately required and submitted by AA.HH. to a municipality to access the formal recognition process as an organization and subsequently obtain the so-called *Constancia de Posesión* —an essential document for basic service requirements (Gerencia de Cultura, 2019). The Basic Plot Plan shows an overall view of the “informal” possession of the organization, which includes the site dimension, locations, sections of the roads and staircase, plots subdivision, and boundaries, categorized by their expected uses. When collective labor practices are planned, the board members usually have to consider this plan. Activities such as tracking plots or building stairways are strictly related to the normative value of this document.

A formal set of rules for conduct is usually a guarantee for equal treatment operability. However, other criteria usually give limits to such rules pre-scripted or created separately and by the social legitimacy of those criteria (Frega, 2015). Consequently, normativity cannot be adequately grasped just by the justification of written norms or rules and their subsequent application; instead, it has to be found in the ongoing, ordinary actions that confirm or deny, adjust or break the fragile net of practitioners' normative expectations inside a specific practice (Rouse, 2007). They have to do with the practical and general understanding of practices performance that will be the focus of the next section.

### *6.2.5 knowledge-in-bundle*

As outlined before, practice-based thinking conceptualizes human activity as situated (Gherardi, 2008, 2012; T. Schatzki, 2012a; Suchman, 1997, 2009). The idea of “situated” knowledge is very similar to Theodore Schatzki’s concept of “bundle”. Indeed, he has said, “*what people do is tied to something that surrounds them or in which they are immersed: a situation, a bundle.*” (T. Schatzki, 2017, p. 35). Therefore, knowledge in a bundle of practices is something created through people doing and saying, in which words, activities, and particular material arrangements are fundamental components. According to that premise, Knowledge is not something stored solely in technological tools such as books, personal computers, or into the “web-net” but is produced and reproduced through a

performance that takes place within practices, employing practices themselves (Gherardi, 2008).

When I asked where collective labor practices knowledge came from, neighborhood organizations practitioners shared answers connected with their direct history life. Here, those experiences are grouped into two profiles: those who have experienced what collective labor practice entails in their actual settlements, and those who grew up in the countryside, having practical experiences of this kind of work in another context.

For instance, when questioned on their involvement in collective labor practices, Girasole and EL Trebol practitioners confided that their first experience was in the settlement itself and already in adulthood:

*“Yo conocí la faena recién cuando llegué a este sitio, tenía 21 años. [...] porque antes no vivía en un Asentamiento Humano”*  
(member of Girasoles, 15/04/2018 San Juan de Miraflores)

*“I got acquainted with the faena when I arrived at this place, I was 21 years old. [...] because I didn't leave at a human settlement before”* (own translation)

*“A bueno nosotros cada domingo hacemos faena desde 18 años, desde que mi madre vino aquí a vivir yo empecé a hacer faena nel 2010 cuando ella era ya viejita”*  
(member of El Trébol B, 18/03/2018, San Juan de Miraflores)

*“Oh well, each Sunday we participate in collaborative labor, for 18 years, since my mom came to live here y started doing community chores around 2010, when she was already a little old”* (own translation)

Otherwise, other practitioners encountered in Villa Hermosa and 07 de Enero have already had previous experiences and well-rooted experiences with collective labor, and building activities in general, since they were young in the province:

*“Mis padres antes que yo, en provincia, también lo ha hecho. Comunidades campesinas,*

*“My parents did it in the countryside before I did. Distant, farming communities*

*alejadas, también hacen faenas comunales, **para mejorar caminos, trochas, mejoras de algún local. He crecido viendo eso [...]. La diferencia es que ellos lo hacían en campo, en provincia, también carecían de servicios básicos, necesidades grandes, los apoyos no llegaban y haciendo sus faenas podían lograr algo. Aquí, igual.*** (member of Villa Hermosa, 05/06/2018, San Juan de Miraflores)

*“Siempre he trabajado porque soy de Arequipa y he trabajado en las tierras, en tus terrenos, tenías que trabajar, **no es novedad para mi trabajar y levantar muros, pero no es como una faena propiamente**”* (member of 07 de enero, 24/06/2018, San Juan de Miraflores)

*also perform collective labor practices in order to **enhance roads, trails, facilities’ betterment. I’ve grown up seeing that happen [...]. The difference is that they used to do it in the field, within the countryside where they also lacked basic services, they had big necessities, support never came so by doing faenas, they accomplished something. Here, it is the same.*** (own translation)

*“I have always worked because I am from Arequipa and I have worked in the fields, you had to work the soil; to me, **working and building walls are not a novelties, but they are not quite a faena**”* (own translation)

Therefore, the body of knowledge depends first on the life experiences of each practitioner. However, what kind of knowledge they possess nowadays?

Two “hidden” forms of knowledge emerged by accomplishing collective labor practices in El Trebol. Here I refer to the notions of “Practical understanding” and “General Understanding” already presented in Chapter II, which can also be understood as a form of “Knowledge” which accompanies people’s orientation within the bundle.

First, Practitioners’ “Practical understanding” reflects what has been presented in Subsections 3.2.1 I am referring to the knowledge acquired by knowing how to do specific tasks and projects, the bodily and linguistic rules for doing, the ends for which it can or should be performed. For instance, practitioners know precisely

where the meeting point is located in the morning, even if no rules or information is specified explicitly. It concerns knowledge that is acquired by day-to-day hands-on experiences disciplined by situated and routinized activities. Tools they have to bring to the appointment —besides specific requests from the board— and how to use them represent another “practical understanding” example. Indeed, no one explains which kind of tools and how to use them during the collective labor practice. In other words, doing things collectively gives meaning to ‘practical understanding’.

Practitioners also know how to walk in a sloppy and hilly area without losing their stability, something that I have done continuously to give another example. During a collective labor practice related to stairway construction. The “displacement” phase consisted of the recovery of materials stored in a shelter at the top of the hill, and following the path to reach the place was not easy. I went through a dirt floor staircase and sloppy ground only because of the technical equipment I was wearing, including hiking shoes with Vibram soles<sup>75</sup>. Astonishingly, other practitioners were paving the same way using just scuffed shoes or flip-flops, warning me in the meantime on where not to go and where to pay attention not to slide (see Appendix D: Field report, 25/03/2018, vol 2, p.21).

Another notable example is related to the collection of street scattered garbage and their burns in public spaces apparently regardless of the aftermath. Justification for those actions has occurred in contrast to what previously stated and to what will follow. Indeed, during a burning/cleaning activity, one of the practitioners once mentioned that *“burning waste is useful to keep the site clean, to prevent illnesses and not to contaminate the environment”* (see Appendix D: Field report, 11/02/2018, Vol 1, p.68), ignoring or underestimating other health and environmental problems connected with those practices. However, this activity cannot be understood out of the practice that produced it. Actually, waste collection limitation creates an over-accumulation of garbage in the streets. The leading cause regards coordination failure between neighbors’ habits and collection truck schedules, but the complete randomness of trucks transit during the week worsens the situation. Then, the presence of illegal dumps in the area feels like a problem that needs to be solved. Finally, the uncontrolled or supervised presence of animals such as dogs and poultry looking for organic residues causes a spread of street garbage all around the settlement. Therefore, practitioners’ burning waste option seems to fix quickly and with seemingly no complications other urgent and critical problems.

Moreover, I could report the case of concrete mixing. Mixing concrete by hand is not complicated; however, skilled practitioners should know how to deliver good strength and durability products. In La Nueva Rinconada, those skills are not just prerogatives of professionals in the building sector but also acquired through practitioners’ life experiences. For instance, I met a skilled woman in the concrete

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<sup>75</sup> Vibram shoes soles are an Italian design manufactured under exclusive licenses in many countries. It promise a high degree of abrasion resistance and an excellent traction on the widest range of surfaces with.

mixture in the 7 de Enero neighborhood organization with a typical life story. During the chat, she said that her father was a general contractor, known as *Maestro de Obra* in vernacular and that she learned from him how to produce a well-mixed concrete paste and sand-rock aggregates during his housework. According to her knowledge, It should fulfill the following requirements: concrete should be uniform in color and homogeneous, and the paste should cover all the surface of the aggregate. She also showed some tips on using the shader properly without further unnecessary effort, including the amount and proportion of materials to be used (see Appendix D: Field report, 24/06/2018, vol 3, p.66). On a similar occasion, a board member of El Trebol without professional experience in building, during a concrete mixing work, said wisely that local circumstances required an active adaptation of many. A kind of self “learning by doing” (see Appendix D: Field report, 08/04/2018, vol 2, p.51).

Second, the “General understanding” form of knowledge focuses on different conventions and beliefs that suffuse bundles. Indeed, social interaction in daily activities requires a degree of competence in controlling self-expression that overlaps the practice itself. Most of those competencies are acquired through “tacit agreements” (Tummolini, 2013, p. 900) built somewhere else in time and space than in the specific collective labor practices. They may be considered as social conventions. Throughout the collective labor practice analysis in El Trebol, I have tracked the presence of two different kinds of conventions that have also been reflected in the other neighborhood organizations: a) conventions in social interaction, including age and gender marker in the workplace; b) workplace health and safety conventions.

Concerning “General Understanding” features, convention first concerns labor force composition, specifically focused on age and gender relations (see Figure 33).

Firstly, I would start the debate underline the presence of underage boys and girls performing working activities. On the one hand, child and adolescent labor practices are not uncommon in Lima and Peru. The 2015 National Child Labor Survey<sup>76</sup> identified 1,619,200 children—approximately 19% of minors—engaged in child labor, with a peak in rural areas (Bureau Of International Labor Affairs, 2016). We can better understand child labor perception in Peruvian society through the International Labour Office report called *Trabajo infantil: estudio de opinión pública en el Perú* (Sulmont Haak et al., 2007). According to the study, the surveyed consider this kind of practice a positive strategy for developing thoughtful and responsible behavior of children. Indeed, it also reports positive aspects of child labor concern mainly the responsibility to family support and the understanding on the part of the worker for the value of material goods. All this, even though the general perception of the interviewees is that real dangers do not compensate for the few benefits that can be gained through child labour.

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<sup>76</sup>[http://webinei.inei.gob.pe/anda\\_inei/index.php/catalog/496/study-description#page=dataprocessing&tab=study-desc](http://webinei.inei.gob.pe/anda_inei/index.php/catalog/496/study-description#page=dataprocessing&tab=study-desc)

On the other hand, it is worth mentioning that in El Trebol as well as in other settlements, there have not been any children forced labor within Faena activities.



Figure 33: Underage boy performing working activities – El Trebol (source: photo repertoire)

Instead, what the collected information suggests was in line with the over mentioned survey. It refers more to complementing the labor force with a learning perspective or a matter of control over them due to a lack of confidence or impossibility to leave the children at home alone. Field reports and photography show that children always have been accompanied by a parent, a family member usually, who was taking care of them. It was the case of the collective labor practices in El Trebol and Villa San Juan where I met a child helping his grandma in heavy work (see figure 33) or a woman carrying on her shoulders her child disposing construction waste (see Appendix D: Field report, 22/07/2018, Vol. III. Pag.152). Conversely, adolescents were assisted by a mentor, teaching them something that can still be useful in their future life as practitioners, as happened in the case of El Trebol boundaries plotting phase where a child helped a surveyor in his work in distance reading and tracking (see Appendix D: Field report, 04/03/2018, Vol. I. Pag. 116). If we took into account this, we would be able to understand why children and adolescents performed Faena activities in popular urbanizations.

Secondly, social conventions such as gender conventions may have a higher impact than working age in collective activities. According to Fuller (1998, 2005), a male pattern reproduces its hegemony, designing and shaping the labor gender culture in popular urbanizations. It is especially true in the building sector, where the male population monopolizes positions such as carpenter, electrician, ironworker, laborer, mason, sheet metal worker, steel fixer, and welder. Therefore, manual laborers are conventionally associated with masculinity and public virility.

Despite the context, the female population used to be extremely active and participate in collective labor practices as much as, if not more, than the male population. According to the fieldnote data, distinctions between males and females regarding mostly the tools used in labor, the relation among participants, and the type of activities carried out in practice.

1. *Required tools*: There was always a distinction concerning working tools among men and women demand to deal with planned activities in the “the briefing” project when the board gets through the organization of the following collective labor practices. This distinction could also have a practical explanation, as highlighted in the following statement:

*“...mayormente a las mujeres nos llevamos una lampa o un balde, de acuerdo a lo que se va a hacer no, porque a veces tienes que escarbar, los varones más que todo llevan picos y llevan barreta [...] yo siempre llevo mis herramientas, mi esposo tiene además una barreta, pero son **barretas que pesan** [remarca con una entonación fuerte] entonces yo no puedo cargar de eso. Ya a mi esposo le dije, yo tengo un fierro así chiquito que no es tan grueso como una barreta. Para lo que sepa si tengo que ir a la faena voy a llevarme esto y con esto voy a escarbar” (member of El Trebol, 08/04/2018, San Juan de Miraflores)*

*“...most of the time women take a bucket or a shovel, depending on what is going to be done because sometimes you have to dig. Males, specially, carry pickaxes and crowbars [...] I always carry my own tools, my husband also owns a **crowbar, but those are very heavy** [remarks with strong intonation] and I **can't carry it**. I told my husband, **I have a smaller iron bar, not as thick** as a crowbar. So that it is known that, whenever I have to do a faena, I will take that with me and dig with it” (own translation)*

The first impression I gained is that the physical effort to bring and use specific tools matters in gender conventions.

2. *Gender relations*: men and women have appeared split into homogeneous groups, and with a couple of exceptions, these crowds tend to stay together until the end of the *Faena Comunal*. It is possible to make a couple of examples. During the kick-off meeting in the “gathering people” project in El Trebol, I identified two crowds waiting for instructions outside the coordination center. Practitioners were leaning against the wooden fence that he put on the road with his work tools in hand, chatting amiably. On the left side of the fence were the men, while the women were on the right side. Those crowds also maintained themselves in the ‘physical collective activities’ phase (see Appendix D: Field report, 11/03/2018, Vol. I, p.133). A similar form of “subdivision” was also recorded during a collective labor activity in the Villa San Juan neighborhood organization. There, I met fourteen women disposing of construction waste through a human chain while the men were in charge of sorting the material for transport and storage just at the end of the human chain. (see Appendix D: Field report, 22/07/2018, Vol. III. Pag.152).
3. *Activities carried out*: An explicit division of labor among men and women into collective labor practices activities exists even if it is not formalized (see Appendix D: Field report, 11/02/2018, Vol. I, p.68). Specifically, women were generally assigned to cleaning activities, such as pick up the street garbage (ibid.) clean up chairs and tidy up the organization's premises before and after Sunday meetings, clean up leisure spaces such as the neighborhood playground (see Appendix D: Field report, 11/03/2018, vol.I, p.130). Furthermore, concerning the equipment that is brought and used by each practitioner—in the case of women often dry and containers as mentioned before— there are then the activities related to the transport and distribution of material (see Appendix D: Field report, 22/07/2018, Vol. III. Pag.152)

Finally, convention relating to “General Understanding” concerns the cultural approach to safety in work environments, what I believe a general sense of things that pervade a bundle. Even if the work is hard, being something very similar to a construction job, collective and personal protective and safety equipment practically does not exist. This condition appears to be chronic in self-construction practices spread out in popular urbanizations (Bartra Asmat, 1999). Collected data shows at least two different absences, which allow estimating safety and risks culture: the first absence concerns collective and personal protection equipment; the second regards the lack of public discourses to security and safety-related with the work.

Concerning the former, most of the practitioners simply were wearing t-shirts, gym shoes, or even flip-flops and sandals during their activities, others, involved in proper construction work, have used to wear workload safety shoes. Instead, no one has used working gloves as well as industrial safety helmets or safety glasses contravening civil construction national laws<sup>77</sup>. They did not even have claimed the right of personal safety, neither when they try to smash huge stone mass with a sledgehammer, surrounded by people that were informed to turn their heads and look away in a moment of clarity (see Appendix D: Field report, 25/03/2018, vol 2, p.18). When I asked them if they were used to dressing in a particular way to perform the “Physical collective activities” projects, their answers concerned the safeguard of their best clothes rather than their own security and safeguard:

*“nos ponemos zapatos viejos porque **aquí se ensucia mucho**. Nos ponemos ropas viejas, zapatillas viejas y zapatos viejos. Porque por acá **mucho se ensucia**. Pues yo tengo estas sandalias feas que me pongo para caminar por acá, y cuando ya salgo en la calle me pongo otro zapatos”*  
(Member of El Trebol, 08/04/2018, San Juan de Miraflores)

*“nos ponemos cualquier ropa las personas creen que sea conveniente. Por ejemplo, en mi caso **me pongo ropa vieja para ponerme a trabajar porque se ensucia**. Pero depende de cada uno”* (Member

*“We were old shoes **because you can get really dirty here**. We wear old clothes, old sneakers, old shoes. Because you will get super dirty. I have this ugly flip flops I wear to walk around here, when I go out, i wear something else”*  
(own translation)

*“We wear any clothes people believe are convenient. In my case, for example, **I wear old clothes to work because you get dirty**. It depends on the person”* (own translation)

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<sup>77</sup> According to the Ministry of Labour and Employment Promotion, Norms that must be taken into account to settle minimum safety behaviour in civil construction activities concern: a) Norma Técnica de Edificación G.050 Seguridad durante la construcción, aprobado con Decreto Supremo N° 010-2009-Vivienda. b) Resolución Suprema N° 021-83- TR, Normas Básicas de Seguridad e Higiene en Obras de Edificación.

*of El Trebol, 08/04/2018, San  
Juan de Miraflores)*

I was convinced that the former absence regards the lack of public discourses on security and safety. For instance, I neither heard other actors dealing with the topic mentioned above in the collective labor practice projects nor in the discourses carried out outside the practice itself. The general theme emerged just once when I heard a practitioner complaining about the situation after an accident indirectly. A pincer hit his head, falling during the repairs to the electrical grid during a collective labor practice mentioned in Subsection 5.3.3. He got injured, bleeding into the old organization's premises, and accompanied by his furious complaining wife. His injuries were treated directly by the association president, Mr. Flores, while the woman was really lying into safety and self-security deficiencies, demanding at least equipment such as helmets and gloves for the practitioners in the future (see Appendix D: Field report, 01/07/2018 vol. 3, p.97).

I noticed the same unsafety behaviors in the case of a collective labor practice performed in Villa Hermosa. During an environmental risk mitigation activity, a



**Figure 34: A risky environmental risk mitigation activity - Villa Hermosa. (source: photo repertoire)**

member of the community leaned out of a sheer wall of about 10m to stabilize the wall below and install a rockfall net. The practitioner was only tied with a nylon rope to the precarious wooden fence at the edge of the cliff, without further shrewdness (see Figure 34 and Appendix D: Field report, 06/05/2018, vol. 2, p.112). As Gherardi and Nicolini (2000) report, each specific social or organizational setting develops its own definition and culture of danger and safety. In a context of general uncertainty concerning the socio-economic and environmental situation of El Trebol as well as in all La Nueva Rinconada, hazard recognition and risk perception in collective labor practices have relatively little relevance in social affairs. Thus the current convention is not paying much attention to this topic even if the subject appears central to me.

### **6.3 Technologies of power, rationalities, and principles**

The technologies of power illustrated in this section explain the conduct of collective labor practice. They have to do with the material arrangements within the practice, the internal system of incentives and disincentives attached to it, the moral responsibilities of practitioners, and the external pressure exerted by other actors.

First, space-time bound collective labor practices through specific material arrangements, as shown in Subsection 6.2.2. In this configuration, practitioners are just one side of the coin. The other side concerns the elements advocating the collective labor practices, such as the dogs' presence during the practice's performance, the rough and deserts environmental conditions, and the tools they used. The relationship between peoples and practices is deeply rooted in their physical qualities, status, or socioeconomic condition. Similarly, geomorphological and climatic factors influence how activities are performed and their output. Proceeding with the element of the analyzed practice, dogs are an integral part of the urban environment in popular urbanizations and an inseparable presence among humans. They have an impact on practice which is controlled by practitioners' stones thrown to manage dog presence. Stones that have shaped the conduct of the dogs can be considered a "rude" "Advising/warning" form of technology.

Many other tools and facilities for working connected with the practice contribute to the government and management of the practice itself. They can be considered governmental technologies which act on practitioners from inside the neighborhood organizations. As shown in Subsection 6.2.2, the intensive use of leisure facilities actively contributes to the unfolding of many projects and tasks. According to fieldwork data, the organization's premises offer a perfect starting and ending point to collective labor practices activities, due to the representative/iconic images and to its permanent characteristics, which protects against climate change and provides some comfort. However, the chairs and conference table disposition and the general secretary posture inside the organization's premises influence practitioners in various phases of collective labor practice - similarly to what should occur with the faithful listening to the priest on

the altar or students in front of the professor in the desk. Thus, internal spaces are also transformed into a “Binding” technology of power to serve board members' positions.

Furthermore, tools such as the *Statute* of neighborhood organization itself and other deeds with fair values emitted through formal assemblies, *control cards*, and the *attendance register* provide the internal system of incentives and disincentives to manage collective labor practices as emerged in Subsection 6.2.4. The *Statute* embodied rules in a written form to which all neighborhood organization members -including the practitioners- must subscribe and respect and are the first and foremost important governmental technology adopted. As in the *Certified Minutes Book* case, the *Statute* can also be considered an internal “binding” technology that binds the organization members to a series of conduct functional to the organization's performance.

The *control card* and the *attendance register* mobilized internal operative “record” technologies to account for practitioners' participation and identify the defendants. In fact, they provide timely information to determine the range of appropriate measures that can reflect the infringement's relative seriousness.

Then, other technological tools also have a causality over the practice. For instance, the *Public Address System* -PA system- and *Megaphones* used to warn the inhabitants of upcoming activities and call back those who delay the “gathering people” phase on Sunday early in the morning represent “Advising/warning” technologies on the hands of the organization's board. Tools that go beyond impacts over collective spaces because sound waves reach the internal surface of the private homes that are not insulated at all.

Second, the moral responsibilities and practitioners' judgment praised the practice's collective dimension and the organization's role in pursuing collective well-being, qualifying as a technology of the self (Foucault, 1988; Rose, 1999a) reported in Subsection 3.3.1. The unfolding and reproduction of this kind of practice depend equally on the central board's normative influence and authority. They aim to build compromise with potential practitioners, enforce rules and resources to induce others to cooperate, and justify other organizations' interventions. They are enacted by moral “judgment” to defend one of the main principles of the neighborhood organization: *Members' active contribution* as encountered in section 5.4.

Data has shown the strategy that cares about the leaning on guilty conscience during the “focusing on the situation” project met in Subsection 6.2.1. Board members, especially the secretary, reprove practitioners to the lack of participation during the official meetings and the overloading of collective well-being on the shoulders of few. They exalt goals achieved over time, recalling what has occurred in previous collective labor practices end, explaining further steps to be taken during “the advertisements” project. Therefore, the imperative to keep development through self-upgrading initiatives is also based on the moral responsibility to others, primarily other members of the organizations and family

members, and can be qualified as a new type of “technology of the self” that could be labeled as “Moralizing” speech working as an inside “Assessment” technologies.

Third, Subsection 6.2.3 has unraveled the collective labor practice identifying the explicit and implicit aims and ends that emerged through the practice's teleoaffective structure, explaining the rationality behind it. As well as neighborhood organizations, the collective labor practice is moved by practical-oriented rationalities matched with the affective ones. Indeed also, collective labor practice's explicit aims are related to the property's rehabilitation, the consolidation of territorial boundaries, basic infrastructure services provision, and maintenance as presented in Subsection 6.2.4. “Comprehensive development” implies the conformity to the principle of the *Members' active contribution*, as already encountered. A principle that leads to consider any formal or substantial aid as well-intended if it contributes to improving the settlement's living conditions.

Besides the *Statute's* main aims, subordinate targets and the purposes mainly depend on external organizations' recommendations setting out the priorities and activities to be carried out. The discourses of central board practitioners appear oversaturated by references to third-party indications, guidelines, and references to an explicit code of conduct that practitioners must adopt not to be further penalized in the urban development process. For instance, external recommendations and enforcement also involve NGOs through compliance with the agreements made. As already mentioned, the case of TECHO regards the *Collaboration Agreement* and the *Community Activity Plans*. They also regard private firms and public agencies contracts such as *Basic Plot Plans* produced by external professionals and the *Risk Assessment Report* released by the Metropolitan Civil Defence Department as already commented on in Section 5.4.

Finally, governing and managing collective labor practices depends on knowledge that affects people's orientation, defining principles that detect macro-social forms of governmental rationality. Knowledge can flow into directed learning activities. Data reports there were moments of sharing information offered by the neighborhood organization central board during the practice itself, especially during the “focusing on the situation” and “the advertisements” projects. On such occasions, practitioners were processing data about the activities they were involved in through direct and planned explanations.

Knowledge flows into an indirect and active learning activity, as shown in Subsection 6.2.5. This knowledge has been defined as those that involve practitioners in doing things and think about the things they are doing through casual empiricism or conventions. According to Schatzki, it involves the “Practical understanding” and “General Understanding” of the practice itself. The first anchors to local circumstances, which have required an active adaptation of many. Thus, it is embedded both into routinized actions and improvisation, failures, and attempts performed with others. The second depends on different conventions and beliefs that suffuse bundles instead of focusing on bodily doing and saying during the practice. Then, such beliefs are designed and based on society expectancies

established in other places and by other practices and then reproduced through the collective labor practices. The conventions underpin the sexual division of labor inside the practice and proper dress code during work activities. These forms of knowledge result from years of reiteration, refinement, and adjustments inside the collective labor practice and outside.

Countre-conducts also exist within collective labor practices. Indeed as other forms of practices, they are ruled by norms and has their own purposes; therefore, it can be contested. As noted by field studies, there are different nuances and degrees of resistance within collective labor practices. They can range from direct



Figure 35: Practitioners "waiting" for Central Board direct instructions or "loosing time" trying to avoid them.

disobedience to an imposed order, as in the case of non-participation in projects and tasks unfolding, to more devious tactics such as "pretending" not to hear or understand an imposed command, as well as doing as little as possible when not under observation (see figure 35).

Since I focused only on collective labor practices, sufficient elements to analyze the first type's practitioners' countre-conducts were not. This lack of information can be considered a limitation to the research but can also lead to further investigation in subsequent studies, as will be explained in the epilogue.

In the second case, I assist with ordinary moments of micro-resistance, especially in the morning hours during the "Gathering people" project. Practitioners were constantly arriving late to the meeting point where resisting the central board's calls through the PA system until 7 a.m. Also, during "The displacement" it was often the case that some practitioners suddenly disappeared before reaching the

worksites, engaging in other activities such as buying breakfast from street vendors or chatting with one another. There is also a third type of devious tactic, in which board members are directly involved in the non-respect of certain prerogatives, consequently moving the entire practice in that direction. For instance, I refer to when practitioners tracked and laid the groundwork of private plots and collective spaces using the Basic Plot Plan as approximative reference rather than a “binding” technology as reported in Subsection 5.3.1. Another leader counter-conduct occurred when fines in case of non-attendance in collective labor practice were converted to a more significant commitment for the future and guarantees that the work would be recovered, in direct contravention of what was expressly provided for the Statute as mentioned in Subsection 6.2.4.

## 6.4 Closing remarks

The chapter has shown the spatiotemporal nature of the collective labor practices, their limits, aims, rules, and knowledge adopted and performed by each practitioner since the popular urbanizations origins. Concerning its unfolding collective labor practices as *Faena Comunal* is much more than the accomplishments of physical efforts. It entails organizational moments, strong and weak participatory processes, discussions, and convivial moments as shown in Subsection 6.2.1. It entails a series of different projects and tasks that recur each week similarly until achieving specific objectives or breakdown occurrences. Thus, we may consider the *Faena Comunal* as a reiterative weekly practice.

Furthermore, the projects and tasks mentioned in Subsection 6.2.1 follow a specific spatial distribution across La Nueva Rinconada. Practitioners performed collective labor practices into the administrative border of neighborhood organizations, promoting the practice in the absence of other specific agreements among other neighborhood organizations. Therefore, according to the practice's spatial dimension, we should generally consider the collective labor practice as an enclosed practice performed into the administrative space of each neighborhood organization.

Furthermore, collective labor practices could be considered a priority means in the organizational routes through which “Comprehensive Development” constraints are faced. Such constraints can be resume into:

- Environmental constraints: they are mainly related to the grade of slope stabilization and erosion control but can also involve garbage dump detrimental to human health.
- Economic constraint: they mainly happened due to limited resources available to deal with infrastructure works that require a sizeable financial outlay or to meet technical and legal expenses.
- Technical constraints: single neighbors mostly lack certified technical know-how, tools, and material required to reach the required standards, such as in the case of the power grid maintenance and risk mitigation.

Collective labor practices interact with the development process and basic infrastructure services in their preliminary stage, creating the initial conditions for other practices to take action in popular urbanizations. Furthermore, collective labor practices appear also in the management and maintenance of these infrastructures after their implementation.

In presenting shush practices, the chapter has first confirmed the role of external governmental technologies. There are once more the *Collaboration Agreement*, the *Community Activity Plans*, and *Sector-Base Committee* by third sector organizations; the *Basic Plot Plan* and *Emergency and Evacuation Plan* produced by professionals under the neighborhood organizations' mandate and the *Risk Assessment Report* released by the Civil Defence Department of the metropolitan area that serves as a guideline for maintenance work.

Second, the chapter has unveiled internal governmental technologies arranged by the neighborhood organizations themselves. Indeed, the internal system of incentives and disincentives provides technologies of power to manage collective labor practices through *furniture arrangement* in the organization's facilities, the *Statute*, *Control Cards*, the *Attendance Register*, and the *PA system* and *Megaphones*.

Furthermore, “*Moralizing*” *speech* adopted by the central board of the neighborhood organization acted as a specific kind of technologies of the self inside “Focusing on the situation” and “The advertisements” temporal dimension projects. Indeed, they praised the sense of duty and practitioners' moral responsibilities while criticizing those who do not act according to the *Member active contribution* principle.

Thus, the chapter identifies the alignment of continuative and provisional technologies of “power” expressly created to order collective labor practice performance and analyzes them internally. Such technologies can be resumed into four of the five explicative categories already encountered in the previous chapter:

1. Record technologies allow the public recognition and schedule of an entity. They are the *control cards* and the *attendance register*.
2. Binding technologies allow the integration of an entity into a system of shared rules. It is the *Statute* inside the Certified Minutes Book;
3. Advising/warning technologies direct an entity's choices unambiguously. They are the *furniture arrangement* in the organization's facilities, the *PA system* and *Megaphones*.
4. Assessment technologies evaluate the choices made by an entity according to predetermined criteria. It is the “*Moralizing*” *speech*.

All the collective labor practices encountered utilized all four groups of technologies.

Countre-conducts to the actual urban order existed in practice, but they are not substantial. Therefore counter-conducts appear to work not against but together

governmental technologies showing that practitioners do not simply respect such technologies but also reshape them in practice through a process of mediation with their internal principles.

## PART FOUR: EPILOGUE

*"Cities also believe they are the work of the mind or of chance, but neither the one nor the other suffices to hold up their walls. You take delight not in a city's seven or seventy wonders, but in the answer it gives to a question of yours"*  
(Calvino, 1974, p. 44)

# Discussion and conclusion

## Instance of Governmentality

This dissertation is a sort of journey through different processes, practices, and practitioners in an attempt to show urban development within the third wave of popular urbanizations in Lima through practice-based thinking and Governmentality. Therefore, the dissertation has dealt first with the development process of La Nueva Rinconada, the largest unconsolidated popular urbanization located in the southern part of the Lima metropolitan area. Likewise, it has explored Governmentality's implications on a specific type of collective labor practice called *Faena Comunal* in vernacular, setting it at the forefront of the discussion.

The dissertation has aimed first to identify the governmental rationalities and technologies' effects on urban order and the relevance of the practices influencing popular urbanizations as presented in Chapter V. Second, the dissertation unveils the link between such order and the specific collective labor practice called *Faena Comunal* as presented in Chapter VI.

However, this closing chapter neither reiterates provisional conclusions reached at the end of each of the previous chapters nor provides a summary of what has been argued so far. Indeed, the ultimate purpose is to expose results and findings to can give answers to these two research questions:

- 1. How do current governing technologies affect the urban order in the third wave of popular urbanization in Lima? Which are the principles leading them?**
- 2. How should the collective labor practices be conceived in such order? How they unfolded and reproduced in it? How are they governed and managed?**

### *The market-based urban order*

The actual urban order in La Nueva Rinconada is based on the idea that urban welfare and freedom are best served when as many of the affairs of a society as possible are managed by voluntary democratically self-governing associations and experts. This resulted in the direct involvement of neighborhood organizations and support of other categories such as collegiate professionals and utility firms from the market, the involvement of third sector organizations expertise in an attempt to replace direct involvement of the public sectors in urban “comprehensive

development” issues - as called by neighborhood organizations, along the lines already shown in Rose (1999b).

The guarantee of this urban order depends on technologies of power that direct, contain, and mediate the conduct of the neighborhood organizations. As encountered in Chapters V and VI, such technologies can be quickly resumed into five explicative categories related to recording, binding, advising/warning, advocacy/counseling, and assessing practices related to urban “comprehensive development” objectives.

*Record technologies* are related to boundaries definition, mapping, standardization procedures, institutionalization. As emerged in Section 3.3, there are two types at least of *Record technologies* founded in La Nueva Rinconada: calculative and spatial. Firstly, the urban order reflects a “*logic of calculation*” (Amin & Thrift, 2017, p. 129) promotes institutional registers and cadastre with the intent to recognize and categorize unclear situations to develop law enforcement measures. It was evident in the case of the “cooptation” of neighborhood organizations and their classification under the Single Register of Social Association – RUAS. The inscriptions play a crucial role in the relational power configuration in which those organizations are recognized. Indeed, the governing system colonizes each neighborhood organization's space and indirectly coerces giving the tolls to improve their performances and legitimacy (Rose, 1999b; Strauch et al., 2015). Actually, in the third stage of popular urbanizations, neighborhood organizations are instituted as a government sector and as a means to ensure subjects conform to expectations —encouraging and tackling active practices of self-management and self-help.

Secondly, it is necessary to highlight the space for the government to operate besides the pure enumeration. Indeed, spatial technologies have historically been a governing system key strategy (Rose-Redwood, 2006). The definition of the zones of exception of La Nueva Rinconada, both according to land use and environmental health systems (see Sections 5.2.6. and 5.2.7), is imagined through a differentially administrated space within the urban fabric itself (Osborne & Rose, 1999; Roy, 2011a). Typically, state agencies led this type of activity. However, the governing system hands over the mechanisms of knowledge production to the third sector. TECHO and PREDES have worked on electronic land cadastre in La Nueva Rinconada to enumerate and characterize neighborhood urbanization in popular urbanizations —collecting data that did not exist before and completing those that were insufficient.

The urban order acquired a pivotal role in defining standards, life quality, and urban policies' failure or success. *Binding technologies* attempt to standardize a measurement scale and implement a classification of a whole sector under “technical” evaluation. As I tried to demonstrate, the development process has largely technocratic and functionalist principles resulting in regulative mechanisms. *Binding technologies* are considered universally applicable, no matter the context and the time. For instance, standards required for the “reverse” planning process

pursued through the *Basic Plot Plan* in the slope city imply, precisely, the same standards to build new urbanizations elsewhere. Also, the electrical installations must follow national sectorial standards that prefer cables of certain material and defined thickness, connected to an advanced differential magnetic thermal switch as reported in Subsection 5.3.3. Another suitable example reported the attempt to define environmental risk situations throughout the Civil Defense evaluative documents and connection requirements to obtain the land-use change in La Nueva Rinconada. Those documents are adopted as “objective” and “neutral” by neighborhood organizations, public institutions and outline organizations despite the individual discretionary taken during their drafting.

In order to perpetuate, the current urban order has to account for advising/warning and advocacy/counseling technologies that serve to convince neighborhood organizations to adopt third-party services and invest in their security, for example. On the one hand, Advising/warning technologies are guiding technologies that set a useful direction for “comprehensive development”, sometimes even imposing it, as happened with the Luz del Sur *Warning Letter of Notification*.

On the other hand, Advocacy/counseling technologies accompanied neighborhood organization activities focusing on the improvement of living conditions of popular urbanizations as occurred with the TECHO community team—which through the *Community Activity Plans* defining shared projects, objectives, resources, activities, deadlines, and responsibilities.

Furthermore, *Assessment Technologies* systematically evaluate neighborhood organization activities and procedures to judge their work and further improve their future performance.

Leading technologies also have their counterpart. Countre-conduct practices of micro resistance are fiduciary and patronage practices that affect and reshape urban "comprehensive development" in the area (Ramos, 2016; Roniger, 2004). The administrative and political patronage can withhold urban order main rules to meet differentiated needs, as occurred in the case of El Trebol *Basic Plot Plan* validation and exchange of goods and services given to the construction of the neighborhood organization's premises in the time of local elections. Fiduciary and patronage practices would not be acceptable in a standard idea of urban development. However, urban order in La Nueva Rinconada presents creative elements that are never uniform or linear, easily hybridized within existing mechanisms as long as they do not go against its cardinal principles (Osborne & Rose, 1999).

Technologies of power encountered are multiple as multiple are the principles that have shaped them. According to the outcomes of Chapters V and VI, this new governance idea follows some mutually recognized principles. They are:

1. Cooperative principles. They allow different organizations to stay together to take collective action and generate solutions to common problems moving resources from places of abundance to places deemed needy.
2. Competitive principles. They keep organizations engaged and constantly striving for “comprehensive development” objectives.
3. Informative principles. They push different organizations to provide or acquire the “right” form of knowledge to reach the “comprehensive development” objectives.
4. Regulative principles. They allow organizations to stay within the mark of institutionalized rules, allowing them to exercise judgment on others and gives the right to sanction when actions contrary to those rules.

The abovementioned principles represent the pillars of the popular urbanization order in La Nueva Rinconada, allowing the exchange of services -competencies- and goods -basic infrastructures and building materials- from external organizations to neighborhood organizations in a recognizable and acceptable form of exchange.

However, as encountered in Chapter V, the process of formalization and regularization and the provision of the services set out requirements that can only be found on the market to reach the “comprehensive development”, endorsing what Peck (2009), Brenner (2009), Osborne, and Rose (1999) have reported and creating what can be called market-based urban order.

Market-based urban order turns neighborhood organizations into “purchasers” who can choose to “buy” or “trade” services from the range of options available (Rose, 1993). As a matter of fact, creating a formal organization, adopting an association register of the population, drafting maps, proceeding with plots subdivision and receiving statements of conformities, enable a fruitful market transaction of goods, services, information, currency, or any combination of these that pass from one sector -which usually has less- to another -which usually has more- (Boudreau et al., 2016). Business volume is not residual, as emerged in chapter V.

### *A normalizing technology*

The idea of collective labor practices based on repetition, temporality associated with mandatory labor, and an asymmetrical form of reciprocity (Gelles, 1984; Mayer, 1974; Peña Jumpa, 1998; Yamamoto, 2016) is still valid even in the third wave of popular urbanizations in Lima. The neighborhood organizations benefit their members, which alone could not deal with formalization procedures and basic infrastructure services requests. The traditional characteristics of collective labor practices suggest approximation with internal cooperation and regulatory principles underlined in La Nueva Rinconada. However, they have evolved coherently with the market-based urban order. For instance, the regulatory principle of “mandatory labor” has lost consistency. In fact, participation in the practice itself is no longer the only way to comply with the terms of the social pact that binds neighborhood organization members. Payment for the requested work

hours can substitute direct labor, although the actors involved referred to this payment in terms of a fine or punishment. This further commoditizes the practice and creates a substantial division between those who can afford to pay for hours worked and those who cannot and are forced to offer their labor in return.

Another distinction lies in the means through which the collective labor practices are conducted. In contrast to the cases of *Mega Minga* in Ecuador (Klaufus, 2010; Testori & D’Auria, 2018), *Mutirão* in Brazil (Cavalcanti et al., 2004), or the *Programa de Pavimentación Participativa* in Chile (Gramsch, 2003), where district municipalities, federal and national governments directly promoted and organized collective labor practices in popular urbanizations, data has shown that none of the external organizations in La Nueva Rinconada have directly co-opted collective labor practices. As a matter of fact, the logic of co-optation sets in only if the government system recognizes that its agenda, legitimacy, or its standard practices are questioned—as the case in the nineties due to terrorism and structural economic changes (Holdo, 2019).

In the last wave of popular urbanization, there is no need for the co-optation of collective labor practices; the *Faena Comunal* is in the hand of already disciplined neighborhood organizations. In fact, contrary to the previous wave of popular urbanizations, neighborhood organization members do not share the workers’ activities and trade union experiences. They also did not have a very close relationship with parties out of a pragmatic relationship of interest-based reciprocity, as reported in Subsection 5.3.2. The strength and autonomy of the housing movements have progressively disappeared along with the ideology that moved them. What has left is are institutionalized organizations facing urban “comprehensive development” issues according to standardize means.

Therefore the research confirms that market-based principles and institutionalized governing technologies have bounded neighborhood organizations in line with previous studies (Díaz-Albertini Figueras, 1991; Díaz-Albertini Figueras & Melgar Paz, 2012; Tanaka & Trivelli, 2002). Neighborhood organizations have neither actively evolved into an arena for local social activists to demand changes in the government’s priorities nor are positioning themselves as agents of change—questioning the objectives of formalization and development of their settlements. Indeed, practitioners have a detailed knowledge of the strategy used to pursue their desires inside the existing urban order and actively cooperated with external organizations to reach what they call “comprehensive development” through collective activities.

The actual means through which collective labor practices are conducted have to do with the market-based technologies of power unveiled in the previous section. Such technologies do neither prevail over the opposition of others nor impose an agenda on them directly—but mainly, such technologies influence their desires, beliefs, and judgments in a way that they themselves work towards supporting them (Hayward & Lukes, 2008). Therefore, concerning dispositions that make

populations behave as they ought, the market-based technologies undergird the current Collective labor practices rather than sovereign technologies of conduct as police intervention or juridical discipline. As a matter of fact, market-based technologies reaching beyond strictly legal frameworks into practical domains, altering people's perceptions of what is “normal” and establishing new moral frameworks to guide development activities.

I have argued that multiple rationalities in urban development processes operate as leverage to unlock collective labor practices through specific technologies of power and the self. In doing so, I note an alignment between the neighborhood organization agenda and the urban development agenda to reach formalization and basic infrastructure provision through the generation and capture of local populations' conduct.

Firstly collective labor practices act functionally and supplementary to the external governmental technologies of the mark-based regime in popular urbanization. When practitioners act within the practice, they act within limits set by other external governmental technologies, specifically Binding technologies Advising/warning technologies, Advocacy/counseling technologies, and assessment technologies, as mentioned in Section 5.4.

Second, practitioners act in a practice which in turn develops internal technologies of power, ergo limiting what practitioners can do and what they can be. For instance, utilizing *Record technologies* such as writing and recording actions in the *Attendance Register* board members control practitioners' conduct through time, enabling punishment mechanisms. Moreover, receiving the check control on the *Control Cards* during collective performance codifies the practitioners' customs and habits, normalizing them into “good” and “evil” and automatically establishing how to conduct oneself properly. Indeed, as Rose and Miller have stated, “*Making people write things down and count them is itself a kind of government of them, an incitement to individuals to construe their lives according to such norms*” (2010, p. 285). Furthermore, they act through what I called “*Moralizing*” *speech* activated based on institutional knowledge embedded in tolls and artifacts that provide a source of power unequally distributed that help transmits one-directionally forms of judgment on things or facts. Indeed, the access of the so-called “technologies of power” and “technologies of the self” is concentrated in the hands of the central board members who can exercise some degrees of control on phenomena and use such control in public to conduct practitioners' behaviors.

In light of the above, if we were to redefine collective labor practices in popular urbanizations, we should say that they are not entirely an expression of culture and tradition or an attempt of co-optation, as suggested by the two faces of the marginalization paradigm. They are neither a spontaneity, and participative expression as the libertarians and anarchists paradigm evoked, nor an example of resistance against the market rules and its formal system as recalled by the neo-liberal and individualist paradigm. Instead, they resemble a form of *production and*

*maintenance technology* inside the *Market-based urban order*, which has embraced the principles of external competition and information besides the traditional ones of internal cooperation and regulation and which has as main scope the settlement “normalization”.

The term “normalization” can be confusing in some ways. It relates both to the act of complying with rules and social expectations and with ethical or legal standards. Regardless, what is “normal” is more likely a desirable state valued as the opposite of the “pathological” in social affairs. When the “normal” is disrupted by social or legal deviance, measures are sought to re-establish the normal (Lancione, 2011). By analogy, when institutional, spatial normalization fails, collective labor practices become a perfect technology just good enough to allow people to return to a "normal" state in urban affairs. It also provides resources that can satisfy some essential human requirement, want, or need, but which serves to be accepted and remain in a specific site-context: the market-based urban order.

A technology of production and maintenance based on spatial normalization permits practitioners to produce, transform, or manipulate things through which neighborhood organizations can fulfill external commitments and internal goals and provide the basic material adjustment for going forward with the urban development process. In this account, the *collective labor practice* has remarkable merit considering that there is no construction, such as collective buildings, streets, staircases, roads, retaining walls, terrace walls, platforms, or infrastructure systems that have not partially or integrally been made and improved for the collective effort of local practitioners.

To summarize, collective labor practice can be conceived as a functional and supplementary normalized productive technology to the market-based urban order.

### *Urban patchwork*

Reasoning about the market-based urban order in terms of time reconfirms the presence of progressive urban development in line with competitive and regulative principles. Compared with the previous seasons, in the third wave of popular urbanizations, there are much slower and longer-term processes concerning the consolidation of settlements (Ramírez Corzo & Riofrío, 2006). It occurs in small additions as emerged in other relevant studies (Duhau & Giglia, 2008; Greene & Rojas, 2008),

However, progressivity in urban development, which usually denotes the private sphere of housing construction, has to be extended for the collective dimension of the built environment, such as basic infrastructure services and leisure facilities. Indeed, relatively simple projects and tasks that take place during the weekend can be spread for months according to these situations. Actually, the third wave of popular urbanization can wait as long as thirty years for adequate basic infrastructure services provision.

We can find this progressivity in its various stages depending on the neighborhood organization's resources, the physical and environmental character of the area, and the legal aspects concerning the land possession that compose the urbanization. This progressivity leads to vast flexibility. As Velarde Herz (2017) stated, flexible forms of collective facilities and infrastructural spaces use can vary over time according to each user's needs. It includes beneficial forms of relational orders and activities, which other authors have called “domesticating space” - “*domesticación del espacio*” (Duhau & Giglia, 2008, p. 341).

Conversely, reasoning about the spatial repercussions of the market-based urban order, both on the single administrative unit of a neighborhood organization and the whole of these entities, shows other interesting considerations.

Based on the principle of competition, the market-based urban order creates a fragmented landscape. Firstly, reasons must be sought in the management priorities inside the same neighborhood organization, coupled with the priorities that emerge weekly either for opportunities to grab resources and aid or to respond to urgencies dictated by external development organizations. Spatial inequalities are a source of problems and political conflict which frequently led to further organizational division and the creation of new administrative entities as already occurred in El Trebol in 2013, but which are generally not solved by "separation" and tend to cause problems in the long run as happened with the issue of electricity supply.

Secondly, the reasons for physical fragmentation and inequalities between different administrative units can depend on unequal treatment among organizations for clientelist and patronage practices, which usually imply facilitation or technical/legal constraints, which usually imply limitations. Furthermore, it must be sought in the lack of coordination between different administrative units when tracing and implementing not so much the main communication routes but the secondary ones connecting popular urbanizations that follow each other vertically and horizontally. Indeed, each neighborhood organization must be auto settled in and auto upgrades an area delimited through a *Basic Plot Plan*, which defines boundaries, lots allocation, and public infrastructures, among others independently. Professionals can, but are not obliged to, ask for *Basic Plot Plans* from other neighboring organizations, and they do not have the certainty of receiving them or that what they receive conforms to what is present in empirical reality. Thus, the “progressive urbanization” becomes synonymous with the physical fragmentation of space, leading to sharp spatial inequality.

To conclude, the market-based urban order ends up finding its balance in more fragmented and unequal spaces that are sewed together like pieces of fabric into a larger undetermined design. Popular urbanizations are neither unitary nor homogeneous; they are a patchwork of practices and material arrangements bundled together, guided by different technologies of power that operate on the basis of shared principles.

## Looking at theoretical and political contributions

The unfolding of this doctoral research offers epistemological, ontological, and theoretical contributions to academic knowledge. However, it can also be useful to civil society debate through a political reflection on the issue of urban development in marginal areas and the work practices adopted in that context.

The first group of contributions has touched the ontological assumption. Addressing some of the questions raised by academics such as Watson (2017) calls for a means to understand and conceptualize practices investigating the uneven distribution of agency among practitioners or different practices in a constellation grappling with the Foucauldian idea of power as an effect (Burchell et al., 1991; Foucault, 1982, 1988; Jessop, 2007). A conceptual model was developed to define and investigate governmental technologies and rationalities through practice-based thinking, which introduced the main principles underlying development practices and the urban order in popular urbanization.

Therefore, the contribution of practice-based thinking has a disciplinary and applicative nature. Contemporary practice-based thinking has been applied extensively in management, accounting, nursing studies, etc., but not on urban development issues who instead preferred other schools of thought, similar but not equal. I am referring to ANT, an approach developed by scholars such as Bruno Latour (1984, 1999), Michel Callon (1984), and their followers within social studies of science, and “Assemblage” thinking introduced by Deleuze and Guattari for whom assemblage designates a way in which the real is formed (Fariás, 2012, 2016) as reported in Subsection 3.2.1. Practice-based thinking has been brought back to the center in an attempt to study large-scale urban phenomena.

In this sense, this first group of contributions can respond to the shared criticism of Governmentality advanced by contemporary scholars (Marttila, 2013; Mckee, 2009; O'Malley et al., 1997; Stenson, 2005), showing how the analysis can be carried out with descriptive empirical emphasis and reporting how practices, constituted through technologies of power, turn up in every day. Therefore this work supplements discourse analysis with historically grounded, realist analysis involving socio-material entities, practices, and processes.

The second group of contributions has touched on epistemological assumptions. It regards the methodological discussion on how to approach the multiplicity of urban life form in the city (Amin & Graham, 1997; Amin & Thrift, 2002, 2017; Arabindoo, 2013; Crang & Thrift, 2000; Lancione, 2013; McFarlane, 2013; Murdoch, 1998, 2006; Neuwirth, 2013). This dissertation has re-elaborated an approach close to the phenomenality of ordinary practices and everyday life to appreciate and understand the urban complexity. Digging into the field of Labor Science and Organization (Nicolini, 2009, 2012, 2017; Nicolini & Monteiro, 2016) the research has utilized the metaphorical movements of zooming-in and zooming-out and related methods to analyzed and re-presented socio-material practices and processes in their occurrence and interrelation in popular urbanizations. The socio-

materiality of practices offers the way to move research from theoretical positions into more empirical ones prioritizing the relational level of day-to-day interactions, makeshift reactions, and processes that reveal how urban order is brought into being. Non-human material arrangements matter such as more than human beings, artifacts, natural forces, atmospheres and so on, appear as prominence elements that come into play more and more frequently into countless entanglements making up urban order (Fariás, 2012; Lancione, 2016; Lieto, 2017; Murdoch, 1997, 1998, 2006).

In my opinion, the current benefit to unraveling practices interrelation is depicted by redirect researchers and urban experts through neighborhoods, municipal sectors, corporate organizations, political activities, and so on, avoiding risks Amin and Thrift and company has warned about and described.

The third group of contributions has been theoretical. The research aims to go deeper into works of scholars such as Duhau and Giglia (2008) and others composing the democratic-autonomous paradigm (Connolly, 2013; Coulomb & Duhau, 1988; Duhau & Giglia, 2004, 2007). One of the conclusions drawn from Duhau and Giglia's (2008) work is that urban experiences are different and also unequal, in the sense that they reflect the differences in power to access and domesticate the metropolitan space held by different communities of practices. Starting from a single practice and related processes, this investigation has shown not so much that the difference of power is visible in different site-context, but primarily that, within the same site-context, power relations and inequalities of treatment are differentiated.

The last group of contributions has a political nature instead. Starting from the assumption that the process of reproduction of these forms of urbanization must be discouraged and contrasted and that other forms of urban development should be supported and encouraged, as reported by many local researchers, there remains the problem of developing existing areas (Calderón Cockburn, 2013b, 2016; Miyashiro, 2009).

The urban order in the popular urbanizations is maintained by practices between neighborhood organizations and the various external actors that today surpass the privileged existed relationship with the "State". Nevertheless, it still shows insufficient self-determination and weak self-management of the inhabitants. Because of their lack of economic, technical, and technological resources, they ask for external assistance. However, public agencies, third sector organizations, and private firms' interventions for improving the third wave of popular urbanization, even if conspicuous, are atomized, following different principles and not in line with comprehensive urban development strategies. These organizations act independently and shape their governing technologies in line with the market-based urban order that does not guarantee fairness.

From there has emerged a constellation of practices based on scarce resources, founded on asymmetrical relations and the dominant means of legitimization: the market, with the idea that everything can be fixed with proper time and resource

allocation. In this constellation of practices, collective labor practices are praised by the media, popular and institutional discourses as a form of resistance and tradition, ignoring the fundamental role inside their site-context: one of a normalizing technology.

After making visible the development process of the popular urbanization and features that compose collective labor practices, city governance should necessarily include active technologies of space production in public agencies' hands, supporting, if not replacing, neighborhood organizations' technologies. The idea is to see the participation of citizens in decision-making processes more than in the productive processes. While it is a standard condition for any modern city to assume that the public agency has an essential role in carrying out these tasks, the very process of self-progressive urbanization indicates that management by municipalities alone is a still distant reality, although current legislation goes in that direction (Takano & Tokeshi, 2007).

It is necessary to find a coherent relationship between urban needs and the processes of fitting out and managing urban development in popular urbanizations, which should gather the processes of self-production of the city, embrace its differences rather than normalize them, and sustaining joint actions between public agencies and the actors already involved in the urban development process of such areas. To reach such a relationship, I agree with Amin and Thrift (2017) that we need an explicit government, capable leadership, and political perspective in which urban development in popular urbanization rebecomes explicitly politicized rather than a technical, legislative or bureaucratic matter.

This is a challenge and a responsibility that commits civil society, both those who work on the city administration, those who live popular urbanization day by day, and those who studied it.

## **Limitations and further research development**

This dissertation clearly illustrates governmental technologies and rationalities behind the market-based urban order and the role of collective labor practices in such order. Nevertheless, it is limited to part of the experience, trimmed in time, space, and type of approach. It also presents several limitations in addition to those of a methodological nature presented in Section 4.7.

The first one relates to the units of analysis chosen and the exclusion of countere-conduct practices. Indeed, focusing just on ongoing practice has partially excluded the study of resistance as “power as a decision-making approach” (Giddens, 1979, p. 89) and practices that were explicitly opposite to collective labor practices. Even though the investigation attempts to provide an overview of the practitioners' conduct inside the *collective labor practices* and other practices, I entirely underappreciated and undervalued conflicts that emerged at the margin of *Faena*

*Comunal*. I am explicitly referring to the section of the neighborhood population neither directly involved in collective labor activities nor involved in fines and penalty payments. Thus, those Foucault has identified as “dissidents” (2017) acting against the neighborhood organization's conduct. Therefore the study does not adequately cover the issue of micro-resistance, specifically those that occurred outside the collective labor practices. It would have been interesting to consider them more carefully to understand the reasons behind counter-conduct and their role in contrasting or support the urban order of the marketplace. This weakness has been already reported by Kerr (1999), O'Malley, Weir, and Shearing (1997), who considered the marginalization of social agency and the tendency to silence the constitutive role of contestation as a feature of the Foucault analytic. In this research, the limits mentioned relate to time contingencies and a tardy introduction of the topic, which did not allow further insights.

Another missing aspect is a proper investigation of the role of *space* on processes and practices. Indeed, a geographical question that was always submitted has to do with the spatial implication of the market-based urban order. With the notion of *Urban patchwork*, I tried to give a partial answer to this question, but it would take a specific analysis on more than one settlement in the same area supported by geographic graphical analysis and visualization not provided in the research design.

Nonetheless, it is possible to make amends for the shortcomings outlined above. Future studies could deeply address the countre-conduct outside the practice itself and against the formal development process with more emphasis, for instance, deepening the theme of fiduciary and mandatory practices.

For what concerns the spatial analysis, TECHO has developed a report on La Nueva Rinconada based on participative mapping and georeferenced photographs performed during the focus group sections in which I participated. It might be interesting to take the analyses done with TECHO and reinterpret them to cover this aspect adequately.

Furthermore, a comparative perspective that has been missing in work done can be implemented to overcome generalizing problems. As an illustration, it could be a comparison between different collective labor practices in popular urbanizations belonging to different waves of urban growth in Lima or varying degrees of urban consolidation. Then, a comparison between urban collective labor practices in the same period but within different countries. Other cities in the LA region undergo processes of urban development through collective activities, as reported by scholars such as Kraemer Bayer (2003), Cavalcanti et al. (2004), Holzner (2010), Klaukus (2010, 2012), Testori and D'auria (2018). It would be a matter of finding a common framework for comparison, whether it be knowledge, power, gender relations, or anything else.

The research project could also complement an investigation I started years ago, comparing collective labor and governmental systems in the LA region and Europe, that with the crisis of the welfare state and the process of deindustrialization has

seen a strengthening of both local committees' and collective practices for the defense of common goods (Garda & Mora, 2018).

There would then be room to advance the reflection under the theoretical-methodological point of view, trying to link the two methodological movements 'zoom-in' and 'zoom-out' (Nicolini, 2009, 2012; Nicolini & Monteiro, 2016) not only as a bunch of methods for collecting data in different units of analysis but to a way to approach the urban order from divergent perspectives. For example, through jumps of scale in spatial, discursive, cognitive, or other terms.

Trying to be propositive, I consider that a doctoral thesis is potentially only the starting point of longer and more prolific research paths, and this section had offered the framework for an eventual further investigation based on the research weaknesses.

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# Appendix

The appendix serves as a space for materials that could help clarify this research but do not belong in the main text. Four sections make up the appendix. Section A concerns interview practitioners under the ‘zoom in’ phase of the research and the detailed interview guidelines. Oppositely, Section B and Section C include a list of interviewed key informants during the ‘zoom-out’ phase of the research and the semi-structured guidelines. These sections provide a sense of who the organizations with whom the author carried out the research are. Moreover, it gives a rough representation of the topics that were dealt with during the interviews.

Then Section D includes extracts of the field note diary pages related to the author's experience in collective labor practices in El Trebol, Villa Hermoza, 7 de Enero, Villa San Juan, and Girasoles. The field notes have been written in Italian with rapid and messy handwriting, so it could be difficult for an uninformed and no prolific Italian reader to understand the content of the pages.

Finally, Section E shows the kind of document submitted to inquest institutions and agents for the transparency and safeguarding of both interviewees and the researcher.

## Appendix A

‘Zoom-in’ list of the interviewed practitioners and semi-structured interview design:

<b>Role</b>	<b>Sex</b>	<b>Institution</b>	<b>date of interview d/m/y</b>
TECHO Peru teamwork member	M	Asentamiento humano El Trebol	18/03/2018
General Secretary	M	Asentamiento humano El Trebol	18/03/2018
TECHO Peru teamwork member	M	Asentamiento humano El Trebol	25/03/2018
TECHO Peru teamwork member	M	Asentamiento humano El Trebol	25/03/2018
TECHO Peru teamwork member	F	Asentamiento humano El Trebol	08/04/2018
TECHO Peru teamwork member	F	Asentamiento humano El Trebol	08/04/2018
General Secretary	F	Asentamiento humano Girasoles	15/04/2018
General Secretary	M	Asentamiento humano Villa Hermoza	06/05/2018
General Secretary	F	Asentamiento humano 7 de enero	24/06/2018
General Secretary	M	Asentamiento humano Villa San Juan	22/07/2018

**ZOOM IN**  
**TRACES BY SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS TO PRACTITIONERS**  
**(NEIGHBORHOOD ORGANIZATIONS MEMBERS)**

<b>Information and data reserved (?)</b>
Names and surnames of the interviewers: _____
Name and surname of the interviewees: _____
Institutional Memberships: _____
Specializacion: _____
_____
Date and time of interview: _____
Place: _____
_____
Candidate Sex: M/F

**GENERAL TOPIC:** PRODUCTION AND CONSOLIDATION OF URBAN SPACE IN THE THIRD WAVE OF LOW-INCOME SETTLEMENTS IN LIMA.

To observe during the interview: the attitude of the interviewee, clothing, atmosphere of the conversation, interruptions, etc.

**Sub-temas**

1. Sobre la práctica
  - a. Que es la Faena Comunal?
  - b. Porque sirve y a que se necesita?
  - c. Que se realizó a través de las faenas comunales en esta comunidad?
  - d. Desde cuando se hace en esta comunidad?
  - e. Que día y en que horas del dia se suele hacer la faena comunal en este hasentamiento
  - f. Con que herramientas de trabajo y ropa suele presentarte en la faena
  - g. Como se enteran que un determindio dia tendran que hacer faena
  - h. Que dificultades se pueden encontrar en el trabjo en faena?
  
2. Sobre la participación
  - a. Quando partecipaste la primera vez en tu vida a una Faena Comunal?
  - b. Todos en tu familia participan en la Faena Comunal?
  - c. Conoces a alguien que no cuere participar? Quale son sus razones?
  - a. Como cambió la partecipacion en la comunidad a lo largo del tiempo?

- b. En algún momento en la historia de su asentamiento se organizaron Faenas Comunes en conjunto con otras comunidades? Para hacer que?
3. Normatividad y roles
- c. Cuales son las reglas y las normas que se tiene que respetar y con la cuales tienen que cumplir? ¿Y qué pasa si no se cumplen?
  - d. Cual es el rol de la junta directiva en la Faena Comunal?
  - e. Conocen el proceso de habilitación urbana y lo de entrega de servicios públicos definitivos?

## Appendix B

'Zoom-out' focus groups list of the interviewed key informants and focus groups design:

<b>Topic</b>	<b>Institution</b>	<b>date of interview d/m/y</b>
Solid waste management system	Asentamiento humano El Trebol	25/02/2018
Water supply and sewerage system	Asentamiento humano El Trebol	08/04/2018
Local energy supply	Asentamiento humano El Trebol	15/04/2018
Public security	Asentamiento humano El Trebol	20/05/2018
Housing and land use	Asentamiento humano El Trebol	20/05/2018
Transport, infrastructure and mobility	Asentamiento humano El Trebol	01/07/2018
Health system and economics	Asentamiento humano El Trebol	15/07/2018
Collective and public space	Asentamiento humano El Trebol	17/07/2018
Education infrastructure	Asentamiento humano El Trebol	15/07/2018

Gestión de Residuos Urbanos		A.H El Trebol
Nombres y apellidos:		
Sexo: Masculino ( ) Femenino ( )		Fecha:
Dirección (Mz y Lote):		Teléfono:
vi	<b>Preguntas</b>	
	¿Que empresa se ocupa de la recolección de basura?	
1		
	¿Qué medios de recolección de basura se usan?	
2		
	¿Cuales son las rutas de los medios recolectores de basura?	
3	*Señalar en el mapa o describir la ruta.	
	¿Dónde dejan la basura los vecinos?	
4	*Señalar en el mapa o describir. Agregar fotos.	
	¿Que días de la semana se recoje la basura ?	
5	*Señalar días y horarios.	
	¿Existen tachos de basura comunitarios? ¿Dónde se ubican?	
6	*Señalar en el mapa o describir. Agregar fotos.	
	¿Hay basura acumulada que no recoje el camion? ¿Dónde se encuentra?	
7	*Señalar en el mapa o describir. Agregar fotos.	
	¿Existe un centro de recolección de basura o residuos en tu comunidad o fuera de ella? ¿Dónde se encuentra?	
8	*Señalar en el mapa o describir. Agregar fotos.	
	¿Existen puntos informales de acumulación de basura en la comunidad o cerca de ella? ¿Dónde se ubican?	
9	*Señalar en el mapa o describir. Agregar fotos.	
	¿Cuántas personas viven en su casa? ¿Cuántas bolsas de basura producen al día?	
10		
	¿Existen actividades de recolección y reciclaje de vidrio y plásticos por parte de los vecinos, empresas, etc.?	
11	*Señalar el nombre de las personas, empresas o entidades.	
	¿Qué hace su familia con los residuos orgánicos (cáscaras de frutas y verduras, sobras de carne o pollo, etc.)?	
12		
	¿En qué ocasiones se quema la basura? ¿Qué días?	
13	*Señalar día(s) y lugar(es)	
	¿Cómo se entera de que en la semana se quemó basura?	
14		
	¿Vió animales o insectos alrededor de la basura acumulada? ¿En dónde?	
15	*Señalar en el mapa o describir. Agregar fotos.	
	¿Hay programas comunitarios de limpieza de los espacios públicos? ¿Qué días de la semana?	
16	*Señalar día(s) y lugar(es)	

Alcantarillado y Desagüe		A.H. EL trebol
Nombres y apellidos:		
Sexo: Masculino ( ) Femenino ( )		Fecha:
Dirección (Mz y Lote):		Teléfono:
vi	<b>Preguntas</b>	
	<b>¿Quién se ocupa de la distribución del agua?</b>	
1		
2	<b>¿Cómo hace la comunidad para abastecerse de agua? ¿El abastecimiento es completo o hay deficiencias? En caso hayan deficiencias, ¿cada cuánto se abastece de agua la comunidad?</b>	
3	<b>¿En caso de Saneamiento Definitivo, dónde se ubican los puntos de agua y desagüe?</b>	
	*Señalar en el mapa o describir. Agregar fotos.	
4	<b>¿En caso de tener pilones por manzana, dónde se ubican?</b>	
	*Señalar en el mapa o describir. Agregar fotos.	
5	<b>¿En caso de Camión Cisterna, cuáles son las rutas y paradas que cumple en su comunidad?</b>	
	*Señalar en el mapa o describir. Agregar fotos.	
6	<b>Como y donde almacena el agua en su hogar?</b>	
	*Señalar en el mapa o describir. Agregar fotos.	
7	<b>¿Cuál es el gasto y el costo del agua en su comunidad por m3 o Litros?</b>	
8	<b>¿Existe mantenimiento de las tuberías, pilones y tanques? ¿Quién lo hace? ¿Cada cuánto se da?</b>	
9	<b>¿Han tenido algún problema con la calidad del agua?</b>	
10	<b>¿Existe un sistema de riego de áreas verdes en su comunidad? ¿Cómo se gestiona esto? (Quién lo gestiona, cada cuánto, cuánto cuesta?)</b>	
11	<b>¿Qué pasa con el agua que es utilizada para la limpieza de cocina y ropa?</b>	
	*Describir. Agregar fotos.	
12	<b>¿Cómo gestiona su baño?</b>	
	*Señalar en el mapa y describir. Agregar fotos.	
13	<b>¿La comunidad tiene conocimiento sobre la construcción adecuada de silos? (cursos, talleres, clases)</b>	
	*Solo responder a esta pregunta si en su comunidad predominan los silos	
14	<b>¿La comunidad tiene conocimiento sobre el manejo adecuado de silos? (cursos, talleres, clases)</b>	
	*Solo responder a esta pregunta si en su comunidad predominan los silos	
15	<b>¿Existen empresas que gestionan el mantenimiento de los silos?</b>	
	*Solo responder a esta pregunta si en su comunidad predominan los silos	
16	<b>¿Cómo hacen para tapar un silo?</b>	
	*Solo responder a esta pregunta si en su comunidad predominan los silos	

Instalaciones Eléctricas		Nombre: _____			
Sexo: Masculino ( ) Femenino ( )		Dirección (Vz y Lot) _____			
Fecha: _____		Teléfono de contacto personal: _____			
INSTRUCCIONES: Puede escribir o marcar con una aspa (X) la alternativa que Ud. crea conveniente. Se le recomienda responder con la mayor sinceridad posible.		Respuestas / Comentarios			
Preguntas					
ALUMBRADO PÚBLICO					
1	¿La comunidad cuenta con alumbrado público? (Llega a toda la comunidad?)				
	*Señalar en el mapa la zonas que no cuentan con alumbrado público.				
2	¿Que empresa realizó la instalación del alumbrado público?				
3	Indique el estado en el que se encuentra el alumbrado público: Bueno o Malo	Postes de luz	Conexiones	Luminaria (foco)	Otros
4	*Identificar en el mapa las zonas con alumbrado público deficiente y agregar fotos				
	LUZ				
5	¿La comunidad cuenta con conexión eléctrica doméstica? ¿qué empresa provee la energía eléctrica?				
	¿Quién realizó la conexión eléctrica? ¿de qué tipo?	medidor propio	(por horas o	Generadores Eléctricos	Otros medios
6	(casa de un vecino, etc.)				
	esta no funciona de manera correcta, ¿qué considera que hace falta?				
7	¿Cuál es el gasto mensual aproximado por energía eléctrica en su familia?				
8	¿Existe un mantenimiento de las redes eléctricas domésticas? ¿Quién lo realiza?				
9	A su criterio, ¿qué tan seguras son las conexiones eléctricas de su hogar?				
10	*Agregar fotos.				
	Incendio?				
11	*Señalar en el mapa				
	¿Alguna vez ha ocurrido un incendio en su comunidad? ¿Por qué se generó?				
12	*Señalar lugares donde se haya generado este problema				
	¿Qué tan preparado está usted y su comunidad, ante la ocurrencia de un incendio?				
13	*Indicar si cuentan con un plan de prevención y/o actuación ante incendios				

## Seguridad Ciudadana

A.H. Villa San Juan

Nombre: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sexo: Masculino ( ) Femenino ( )  
 Fecha: \_\_\_\_\_ Dirección: (Vz y Lore)

Telefono de contacto personal:

**INSTRUCCIONES:** Puede escribir o marcar con una aspa (X) la alternativa que Ud. crea conveniente. Se le recomienda responder con la mayor sinceridad posible.

Preguntas		*Agregar Hora					Respuestas / Comentarios					
vi	?Que es para usted un barrio seguro ?											
1	?Consideras que tu barrio es seguro?											
2	Indicar cuales son las zonas que consideras menos seguras en tu comunidad? ?Por qué?											
3	*Señalar en el mapa y describir Indicar en qué lugares de su comunidad se siente mas seguro(a)? ?Por qué?											
4	*Señalar en el mapa y describir ?Ha ocurrido algun incidente en su comunidad?						Asaltos	Violaciones	Vandalismo	Robo de vivienda	Hostigamiento	Atropellos
5	?En que lugares (privado o publico) de su comunidad ha ocurrido este tipo de sucesos?											
6	*Señalar en el mapa o describir. Si es posible, agregar fotos. En que horarios/ dias/ hora suele ocurrir este tipo de sucesos											
7	?Qué medidas de seguridad toman para contrarrestar este tipo de sucesos en su comunidad?											
8	Existen calles con réjas o espacios enrejados o tienen intencion de poner réjas?											
9	*Señalar en el mapa o describir. Si es posible, agregar fotos. A quién(es) llamarían en caso de uno de esos eventos delictivos											
10	Tienen confianza en la seguridad municipal o nacional como serenazgo o policia?											
11	Si llamaron a la policia o al serenazgo ?Cuantos tiempo demora en llegar a la comunidad?											
12	?Hay presencia de agentes de serenazgo o policia cerca o en su comunidad? ?Donde?											
13	*Señalar en el mapa o describir. Si es posible, agregar fotos.											

## GESTIÓN DE SUELOS Y

## VIVIENDA

Nombres y apellidos:

Fecha:

Sexo: Masculino ( ) Femenino ( ) Dirección (Mz y lote):

Teléfono de contacto personal:

INSTRUCCIONES: Puede escribir o marcar con una aspa (X) la alternativa que Ud. crea conveniente. Se le recomienda responder con la mayor sinceridad posible.

\*Agregar Hora

vi	Preguntas	Respuestas / Comentarios			
		Material noble	Triplay	Estera	Otros
1	¿Qué tipo de material de construcción predomina en el AA, HH?				Otros
2	¿Sobre que se encuentra asentada las viviendas?	Suelo	Roca	Pirca	Otros
3	¿Existe presencia de aflojamiento de salitre?	Demasiado	Regular	Poco	Otros
4	¿Existe zonas con algún riesgo de desprendimiento de tierra o rocas debido a las pendientes? ¿Existe muros?	En la mayoría	Regular	Poco	No se presenta
5	¿Existen viviendas inestables colindantes que ponen en riesgo a otras?	Indicar en el mapa			
6	¿Existe zonas con algún riesgo de desprendimiento de tierra o rocas debido a las pendientes?	Demasiado	Regular	Poca	No se presenta
7	En caso de sismos ¿Sabe qué zona dentro de su vivienda es segura?	Indicar en el mapa			Comentarios
		Si	No		
8	En la comunidad ¿Cuenta con planes de seguridad y evacuación ante un evento sísmico?				Comentarios
9	En la comunidad ¿Cuenta con un estudio de suelos?	Comentarios			
10	En la comunidad ¿Se hicieron excavaciones o calicatas?				
11	En la comunidad ¿Existe un botadero de desmonte?	Indicar en el mapa			
12	¿Alguna vez recibió charlas de cómo construir?	Indicar en el mapa			Comentarios
		Si	No		

Actividades economicas y Salud		A.H. El trebol
Nombres y apellidos:		
Sexo: Masculino ( ) Femenino ( )		Fecha:
Dirección (Mz y Lote):		Teléfono:
vi	<b>Preguntas</b>	
	Existen puestos de comercio (tiendas) en la comunidad ? Dónde se ubican?	
1	*Señalar en el mapa	
	Cuál es el principal tipo de servicio proporcionado por la comunidad?	
2		
	Cuál es la actividad económica principal de la comunidad?	
3		
	Considera que las personas en su comunidad se encuentran en situación de pobreza?	
4		
	¿Cuál es el ingreso y el gasto promedio por persona en la comunidad?	
5		
	Existe chancherías cerca de la comunidad? ¿De que manera se eliminan los desechos de las chancherías?	
6	* Señalar y ubicar en el mapa	
	De que manera considera que le afectan las chancherías?	
7		
	Consideras que las chancherías son un foco infeccioso que genera enfermedades?	
8		
	Existe un centro de salud/ posta medica en la comunidad o cerca de ella? ¿Dónde?	
9	*Señalar en el mapa y precisar el tiempo que se necesita para llegar	
	Ha acudido a un centro de salud cercano ultimamente? Cómo considera la atención?	
10		
	Cuál es la farmacia más cercana a su comunidad?	
11	*Precisar el tiempo que se necesita para llegar	
	Como califica la calidad de aire donde vive?	
12		
	En qué zonas de la comunidad considera que se percibe mayor contaminación?	
13	* Señalar y ubicar en el mapa	
	Qué tan comunes son las enfermedades estomacales y respiratorias en la comunidad?	
14		
	¿Cuáles son para usted las principales fuentes de contaminación?	
15		
	¿Se han presentado casos de tuberculosis, desnutrición, diabetes?	
16		

Espacio Público		Nombre:		Dirección (Mz y Lotje)		A.H. El Trebol	
Sexo: Masculino ( ) Femenino ( )		INSTRUCCIONES: Puede escribir o marcar con una aspa (X) la alternativa que Ud. crea conveniente. Se le recomienda responder con la mayor sinceridad posible.		Teléfono de contacto personal:		Fecha:	
VI		Preguntas		Respuestas / Comentarios			
Se entiende el concepto de espacio público como el lugar de encuentro al que todos los habitantes pueden acceder (Mercado, calles, losas, centro comunal, etc)							
¿En qué lugares se suelen reunir las personas de la comunidad y cuántas personas en promedio?							
1	*Señalar en el mapa y especificar						
2	*¿Qué edades predominan entre las personas que frecuentan estos espacios?						
	*Señalar en el mapa y precisar qué grupo etario predomina más por cada espacios						
	*¿Se puede acceder en cualquier horario a estos espacios?						
3	*¿Cualquier persona puede acceder a estos espacios? ¿Qué comportamientos no son aceptados en estos?						
	*En caso la respuesta sea NO, indicar el rango de horas						
4	*¿Hay negocios cercanos al espacio público? ¿Cuántos? (tienda, zapatería, internet, etc)						
	*En caso la respuesta sea NO, indicar quién no y por qué						
5	*¿Hay instituciones cercanas al espacio público? Indicar en el mapa (municipalidad, iglesia, etc)						
	*Indicar en el mapa, los tipos de negocios						
6	*¿Qué actividades se realizan en estos espacios públicos? (deporte, recreación, culturales, etc)						
	*Señalar en el mapa y precisar tipo de actividad						
7	*¿El espacio público posee banquetas o lugares para sentarse? Indicar el estado en que se encuentran						
	*Señalar en el mapa y precisar el tipo de actividad.						
8	*¿Entendemos como Espacio Público las calles, los parques, las plazas, u otros espacios de libre acceso.						
	Dentro del espacio público, ¿hay elementos que brindan sombra?						
9	*Indicar el tipo de elemento (árboles, parasoles, la casa de al lado, etc)						
	Existen factores que generan molestias en estos espacios públicos?						
10	En la escala del 1 al 5, ¿En qué condición considera usted se encuentra el espacio público en general?						
11	*Indicar motivos de la respuesta, siendo 1 muy mala y 5 muy buena						
	En la escala del 1 al 5, siendo 1 muy mala y 5 muy buena, ¿El espacio público es de fácil acceso para los						
12	*Indicar motivos de la respuesta, siendo 1 muy mala y 5 muy buena						
	¿Cuenta el espacio público con seguridad, de que tipo y en qué horarios?						
13	En caso la primera respuesta sea sí, indicar rango de horas						
	¿Los vehículos transitan dentro o alrededor del espacio público? Indicar el tipo de vehículo						
14	Entendemos borde como las vías perimetrales del espacio público						
	En la escala del 1 al 5, ¿Los autos respetan a los peatones en las vías cercanas al espacio público?						
15	*Indicar motivos de la respuesta, siendo 1 muy mala y 5 muy buena						

Formación				A.H. El trebol	
Nombres y apellidos:					
Sexo: Masculino ( ) Femenino ( )			Fecha:		
Dirección (Mz y Lote):			Teléfono:		
v1	Preguntas				
1	Cuántos centros educativos existen cerca de la comunidad (jardines, escuelas, institutos, universidad)				
2	¿Cuál es el principal medio de transporte que utilizan para llegar a ellos y cuánto tiempo demora?				
	* Señalar la ruta en el mapa				
	Caminando	bicicleta	mototaxi	Transporte publico	Escaleras
3	¿Se realizan capacitaciones colectivas en la comunidad? ¿Sobre que temas?				
4	De ser así, ¿a quienes fueron dirigidas estas capacitaciones (jóvenes, niños, adultos, mujeres, etc)?				
5	¿Quiénes ofrecieron estas capacitaciones, por cuánto tiempo y en dónde se realizaron?				
	* Señalar y ubicar en el mapa				
6	¿Qué información consideras que hace falta en las capacitaciones? Indicar opiniones o críticas				
7	¿Cómo consideras el nivel de capacitación de la junta directiva sobre temas de la comunidad?				
8	¿Qué tan dispuesta esta la junta directiva para compartir la información de la comunidad?				
9	¿Cómo se transmite la información de la comunidad a una nueva junta directiva?				
10	¿Existen personas que tengan algún conocimiento específico en la comunidad? ¿De qué tipo?				
	(viviendas,	Sanitarias u	Jardinaje	Temas Legales	Computación Otros medios
11	De ser así, ¿cómo y dónde aprendieron?				

## Appendix C

‘Zoom-out’ list of the interviewed external organizations and semi-structured interview design:

<b>Role</b>	<b>Sex</b>	<b>Institution</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>date of interview d/m/y</b>
Community Coordinator	F	TECHO Peru	Third sector organization	11/03/2018 12/06/2018
President of a local commission	F	Comisión de saneamiento físico legal de la Nueva Rinconada	Third sector organization	04/22/2018
Assistant Director The department of Survey and Mapping	F	Organismo de Formalización de la Propiedad Informal — COFOPRI	Public agency	09/06/2018
General Manager	M	TECHO Peru	Third sector organization	13/06/2018
Independent Contractor Architect	M	MINCA-ARQ.	Private agency, and firm	02/07/2018
Urban Development Department Director	M	Municipalidad Distrital de San Juan de Miraflores	Public agency	02/07/2018 04/07/2018
Civil Defense Directorate Advisor	M	Municipalidad Distrital de San Juan de Miraflores	Public agency	03/07/2018
Assistant Director of the Estimation, Prevention, Reduction and Reconstruction Directorate	M	Municipalidad Metropolitana de Lima (MML)	Public agency	20/07/2018
Independent contractor surveyors	M	Estudio Topográfico	Private agency, and firm	30/07/2018
Assistant Director of the Solidarity Programme.	M	Empresa Municipal Administradora de Peaje de Lima - EMAPE	Public agency	31/07/2018
Community Development Director	M	Municipalidad Distrital de San Juan de Miraflores	Public agency	07/08/2018
Assistant Community Development Director	F	Municipalidad Distrital de San Juan de Miraflores	Public agency	08/08/2018
Assistant Private Works Director	M	Municipalidad Distrital de San Juan de Miraflores	Public agency	10/08/2018

**ZOOM OUT**

**TRACES BY SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS TO KEY INFORMANT  
(GOVERNMENT-COFOPRI)**

<p><b>Information and data reserved (?)</b></p> <p>Names and surnames of the interviewers: _____</p> <p>Name and surname of the interviewees: _____</p> <p>Institutional Memberships: _____</p> <p>Specializacion: _____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>Date and time of interview: _____</p> <p>Place: _____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>Candidate Sex: M/F</p>
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

**GENERAL TOPIC:** PRODUCTION AND CONSOLIDATION OF URBAN SPACE IN THE THIRD WAVE OF LOW-INCOME SETTLEMENTS IN LIMA.

To observe during the interview: the attitude of the interviewee, clothing, atmosphere of the conversation, interruptions, etc.

**Sub-temas**

Sobre la institución

Hace cuantos tiempo trabajas o has trabajado en COFOPRI?

Que posición cubriste en COFOPRI hasta hoy?

Ahora hace un trabajo de gabinete o de campo?

Tienen materiales que puedan ser útil para entender mejor el trabajo de COFOPRI?

La historia sin embargo la conozco muy poco. En qué contexto nació la institución?

Cambió el trabajo de la institución a lo largo del tiempo, cómo ha evolucionado y a qué respondió el cambio.

Los actores (públicos y privados) involucrados en el proceso de ocupación y consolidación

Con cuáles actores trabaja COFOPRI en el proceso de saneamiento físico y legal?

Cómo es su relación con estos actores (Municipalidades, Ministerios, Dirigencias etc.)

El trabajo en barriadas en Lima

Qual son los criterios de intervención y las herramientas de trabajo en contexto de informalidad?

En él però se habla de “saneamiento físico legal de posesiones informales”. Que se entiende con estos términos?

Qué diferencias existen entre posesiones informales, centros urbanos informales o urbanizaciones populares? Cambia la metodología de trabajo?

COFOPRI trabaja con Asentamientos Humanos?

Que se entiende con Asentamientos Humanos? Por algún lado se puede encontrar una definición precisa? Qué características tienen?

Como un grupo de personas se constituye como Asentamiento Humano?

L'écho que la mayoría de los predios informales hoy sean en ladera y en área de riesgo, como afecta el trabajo de cofopri?

El plan VISADO de cada Asentamientos Humanos (en el qual se basa la entrega de servicios básico) se tiene en cuenta en el trabajo de COFOPRI? En qué manera?

Cómo está relacionado el Plan Visado con los Planos Perimétrico y de Trazado y Lotización

Los límites que cofopri tiene con Plano perimétrico repechan los límites del plan visado?

#### Aspectos normativos sobre los predios urbanos

El Proceso de formalización integral de predios privados a través la prescripción adquisitiva de dominio

#### Programas y políticas urbanas

Recién saìò en a la prensa (EL Peruano Miércoles 6 de junio de 2018) que cofopri proyecta registrar 60,000 títulos de propiedad en el 2018? Como se toman esta medida?

Yo entiendo que COFOPRI iba a trabajar formalizando solo los Asentamientos Humanos hasta el 31 diciembre 2004. Però en el mismo artículo me neterè que posteriormente a este año, hasta 2010, siguen con un cobro adicional. Esta fecha para usted se postergarà aun mas? Que impacto podría tener esta medida?

## **ZOOM OUT**

### **TRACES BY SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS TO KEY INFORMANT (GOVERNMENT-SUBGERENCIA DEFENSA CIVIL SJM)**

<b>Information and data reserved (?)</b>
Names and surnames of the interviewers: _____
Name and surname of the interviewees: _____
Institutional Memberships: _____
Specializacion: _____
_____
Date and time of interview: _____
Place: _____
_____
Candidate Sex: M/F

**GENERAL TOPIC:** PRODUCTION AND CONSOLIDATION OF URBAN SPACE IN THE THIRD WAVE OF LOW-INCOME SETTLEMENTS IN LIMA.

To observe during the interview: the attitude of the interviewee, clothing, atmosphere of the conversation, interruptions, etc.

#### ***Sub-temas***

##### Sobre la institución

Hace cuantos tiempo trabajas o has trabajado en la Subgerencia de Defensa Civil

A bajo de que gerencia se encuentra su área

Que posición cubriste en la municipalidad de SJM hasta hoy?

A que se dedica su oficina?

El suyo es un trabajo de gabinete o de campo?

Tienen materiales que puedan ser útil para entender mejor el trabajo de la oficina de Defensa Civil (leyes de referencias, planes y programas)? En qué contexto nació la oficina de desarrollo urbano?

Cambió el trabajo de la oficina a lo largo del tiempo, cómo ha evolucionado y a qué respondió el cambio.

##### El trabajo en barriadas en Lima

Que tipo de riesgo ustedes manejan?

Qué relevancia ha el tema de riesgo en las áreas urbanas de SJM?

Cómo se mide el riesgo en los AA.HH?

Tienen datos geoespaciales sobre riesgos en los AAHH?

Cómo manejan el tema de riesgo en las zonas en laderas de la municipalidad de SJM ?

Qual son los criterios de intervención y las herramientas de trabajo en contexto de informalidad?

Quale son los criterios de entrega de una Constancia de Posesión? El tema de riesgo es contemplado ?

Quale son los criterios para visar un plan de un Asentamientos Humanos (en el qual se basa la entrega de servicios básico) el tema de riesgo es contemplado?

La municipalidad tiene un cargo específico en lo que se llama proceso de “saneamiento físico legal de posesiones informales”.?

Realizan capacitaciones a la población de asentamientos humanos sobre la gestión de riesgos de desastres?

#### Los actores (públicos y privados) involucrados en el proceso de ocupación y consolidación

Con cuáles actores trabaja la subgerencia de Defensa Civil en el proceso de consolidamiento de los AAHH?

Que tipo de relación tienen con estos actores: JUNTAS DIRECTIVAS, COFOPRI, INDECI, LUZ del SUR, SEDAPAL, ONG?

#### **Preguntas sobre hitos históricos:**

**Han tenido situaciones de desastre ambiental en SJM de que tipo?**

#### Aspectos normativos sobre los asentamientos en La NUEVA RINCONADA

El Municipio de San Juan de Miraflores en el 2014 declaró en Emergencia de Salud Ambiental la zona de Nueva Rinconada. Que significa y que implica poner en estado de emergencia de salud un área?

Esta declaración como afecta el proceso de consolidamiento de los AAHH?

Que competencia tiene Defensa Civil sobre el cambio de uso de suelo?

Podrías explicarnos como se hace el informe de riesgos en cada asentamientos?

Hay planes de respuesta ante un desastre en los asentamientos humanos?

Tema de zona de emergencia sanitaria en la nueva Rinconada ustedes se ocupan en qué medida?

## **ZOOM OUT**

### **TRACES BY SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS TO KEY INFORMANT (GOVERNMENT-GERENCIA DE DESAROLLO URBANO SJM)**

<b>Information and data reserved (?)</b>
Names and surnames of the interviewers: _____
Name and surname of the interviewees: _____
Institutional Memberships: _____
Specializacion: _____
_____
Date and time of interview: _____
Place: _____
_____
Candidate Sex: M/F

**GENERAL TOPIC:** PRODUCTION AND CONSOLIDATION OF URBAN SPACE IN THE THIRD WAVE OF LOW-INCOME SETTLEMENTS IN LIMA.

To observe during the interview: the attitude of the interviewee, clothing, atmosphere of the conversation, interruptions, etc.

#### ***Sub-temas***

##### Sobre la institución

Hace cuantos tiempo trabajas o has trabajado en la Gerencia de Desarrollo Urbano

Que posición cubriste en la municipalidad de SJM hasta hoy?

El suyo es un trabajo de gabinete o de campo?

Tienen materiales que puedan ser útil para entender mejor el trabajo de la oficina de desarrollo urbano (leyes de referencias, planes y programas)?

En qué contexto nació la oficina de desarrollo urbano?

Cambió el trabajo de la oficina a lo largo del tiempo, cómo ha evolucionado y a qué respondió el cambio.

##### El trabajo en barriadas en Lima

Cómo maneja la municipalidad de SJM el tema de la informalidad urbana?

La Informalidad urbana en SJM tiene un nombre específico?

Que se entiende con Asentamientos Humanos? Por algún lado se puede encontrar una definición precisa? Qué características tienen?

Qué diferencias existen entre posesiones informales, centros urbanos informales o urbanizaciones populares? Qual son los criterios de intervención y las herramientas de trabajo en contexto de informalidad?

Como un grupo de personas se constituye como Asentamiento Humano? Y cuál es el rol de la municipalidad?

Cuale son los criterios de entrega de una Constancia de Posesión? Es una constancia colectiva o individual de cada posesión de predio?

Cuale son los criterios para visar un plan de un Asentamientos Humanos (en el qual se basa la entrega de servicios básico)

Cómo está relacionado el Plan Visado con los otros instrumentos urbanísticos de la municipalidad?

Qué relevancia han tenido los planes en el desarrollo urbano de SJM?

Los Planos Visados constituyen una modifica de la instrumentación urbanística que SJM tiene?

La municipalidad tiene un cargo específico en lo que se llama proceso de “saneamiento físico legal de posesiones informales”.?

A lo que son AAHH qué ventajas le se brinda a los AAHH por parte de la municipalidad en el desarrollar el espacio?

Una vez que la Municipalidad de SJM reconoce la posesiones de los predios y los planos que servicios brinda y obligaciones requiere a las colectividad?

#### Los actores (públicos y privados) involucrados en el proceso de ocupación y consolidación

Con cuáles actores trabaja la gerencia de Desarrollo Urbano en el proceso de consolidamiento de los AAHH?

Que tipo de relación tienen con estos actores: JUNTAS DIRECTIVAS, COFOPRI, INDECI, LUZ del SUR, SEDAPAL, ONG?

¿De qué forma ustedes pueden apoyar o facilitar las intervenciones de sedapal?

¿Cómo caracterizarías la situación actual del agua y desague de nueva rinconada? (En específico de Villa Hermoza)

¿Cuentan con un sistema de información geográfica en la Municipalidad?

¿Según su rol fiscalizador, tienen competencia en la fiscalización de las acciones de las empresas que prestan el servicio de baños secos (family)? ¿Les brindan licencias? ¿De qué forma se fiscalizan sus acciones?

¿Qué opina del reciclaje de los residuos solidos hechos por Family?

¿Qué opina del re-uso de las aguas residuales en áreas verdes efectuado por los asentamientos humanos en nueva rinconada?

#### **Preguntas sobre hitos históricos:**

(Si estuvo en la municipalidad en los 90's) ¿Qué cambios hubo en la gestión municipal durante el periodo de gobierno de Fujimori?

¿Qué opina del intento de privatización de Sedapal en 1991?

¿De qué forma el programa Agua para Todos en el 2006 afectó a San Juan de Miraflores?

¿De qué forma el programa del Esquema 300 se está implementando en San Juan de Miraflores y la Nueva Rinconada? ¿La Municipalidad participa del sistema de vigilancia social para la supervisión de las obras?

#### Aspectos normativos sobre los asentamientos en La NUEVA RINCONADA

El Municipio de San Juan de Miraflores en el 2014 declaró en Emergencia de Salud Ambiental la zona de Nueva Rinconada. Que significa y que implica poner en estado de emergencia de salud un área?

Esta declaración como afecta el proceso de consolidamiento de los AAHH?

En el mismo año se conformó una comisión técnica encargada de la evaluación y gestiones de viabilidad del cambio de la zonificación de zona de Nueva Rinconada. Ahora en que parte del proceso estamos?

#### Documentos

Podrias pasarme documentos o que informes sobre el caso de la nueva rinconada?

## **ZOOM OUT**

### **TRACES BY SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS TO KEY INFORMANT (GOVERNMENT-SUBGERENCIA DE PARTECIPACION VECINAL SJM)**

<b>Information and data reserved (?)</b>
Names and surnames of the interviewers: _____
Name and surname of the interviewees: _____
Institutional Memberships: _____
Specializacion: _____
_____
Date and time of interview: _____
Place: _____
_____
Candidate Sex: M/F

**GENERAL TOPIC:** PRODUCTION AND CONSOLIDATION OF URBAN SPACE IN THE THIRD WAVE OF LOW-INCOME SETTLEMENTS IN LIMA.

To observe during the interview: the attitude of the interviewee, clothing, atmosphere of the conversation, interruptions, etc.

#### ***Sub-temas***

##### Sobre la institución

Hace cuantos tiempo trabajas o has trabajado en la Subgerencia de Participación Vecinal?

Que posición cubriste en la municipalidad de SJM hasta hoy?

El suyo es un trabajo de gabinete o de campo?

En qué contexto nació la oficina de Participación Vecinal?

Cambió el trabajo de la oficina a lo largo del tiempo, cómo ha evolucionado y a qué respondió el cambio?.

##### El trabajo en barriadas en Lima

Cómo maneja la municipalidad de SJM el tema de la informalidad urbana?

Como esta relacionada la Subgerencia de Participación Vecinal con el tema de la informalidad urbana?

Qual son los criterios de intervención y las herramientas de trabajo en contexto de informalidad?

Como se hace el reconocimiento de esto grupos de persona?

Que es el Registro Municipal de Organizaciones Sociales RUOS?

Que se entiende con Asentamientos Humanos? Por algún lado se puede encontrar una definición precisa?

Qué diferencias existen entre posesiones informales, Centros Urbanos informales o Urbanizaciones populares?

Como un grupo de personas se constituye como Asentamiento Humano? Y cuál es el rol de la municipalidad?

Cuáles son los criterios de entrega de una Constancia de Posesión? Es una constancia colectiva o individual de cada posesión de predio?

Segundo el RUOS es necesario que se haga un Plano de Ubicación de las "asociaciones". Este plano es lo que se llama PLANO VISADO o lo de Pre Habilitación urbana ?

Que pasa si los pobladores se encuentran en una "zona legalmente prohibida"? Quien lo averringua?

Qué relevancia han tenido y tienen estos planes en el desarrollo urbano de SJM?

De lo que ustedes conocen la cantidad de solicitudes para reconocimiento de nuevas asociaciones vecinales así como las inscripciones al RUOS aumentó o disminuyó a lo largo del tiempo? Existen estadísticas hechas por la MSJM?

Antes del RUOS como se trabajaba en SJM para el reconocimiento de los pobladores?

#### Los actores (públicos y privados) involucrados en el proceso de ocupación y consolidación

Con cuáles actores trabaja la Subgerencia de Participación Vecinal en el proceso de consolidamiento de los AAHH?

Que tipo de relación tienen con estos actores: JUNTAS DIRECTIVAS, COFOPRI, INDECI SJM, otras Gerencias de SJM; LUZ del SUR, SEDAPAL, ONG, LIMA METROPOLITANA?

#### Aspectos normativos sobre los asentamientos en La NUEVA RINCONADA

El Municipio de San Juan de Miraflores en el 2014 declaró en Emergencia de Salud Ambiental la zona de Nueva Rinconada. Que significa y que implica poner en estado de emergencia de salud un área por el reconocimiento de las asociaciones vecinales?

#### Documentos

Tienen materiales que puedan ser útil para entender mejor el trabajo de la oficina de Participación Vecinal (leyes de referencias, planes y programas)?

Donde puedo encontrar el reglamento y leyes a las cuales ustedes se refería

## **ZOOM OUT**

### **TRACES BY SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS TO KEY INFORMANT (GOVERNMENT-SUBGERENCIA DE DEFENSA CIVIL SJM)**

<b>Information and data reserved (?)</b>
Names and surnames of the interviewers: _____
Name and surname of the interviewees: _____
Institutional Memberships: _____
Specializacion: _____
_____
Date and time of interview: _____
Place: _____
_____
Candidate Sex: M/F

**GENERAL TOPIC:** PRODUCTION AND CONSOLIDATION OF URBAN SPACE IN THE THIRD WAVE OF LOW-INCOME SETTLEMENTS IN LIMA.

To observe during the interview: the attitude of the interviewee, clothing, atmosphere of the conversation, interruptions, etc.

#### ***Sub-temas***

##### Sobre la institución

Hace cuantos tiempo trabajas o has trabajado en la Subgerencia de Defensa Civil

A bajo de que gerencia se encuentra su área

Que posición cubriste en la municipalidad de lima Metropolitana hasta hoy?

Com se dviden el trabajo en las difrentes oficinas y de que se ocupa la suya?

El es un trabajo de gabinete o de campo?

En qué contexto nació la oficina de defenza civil?

Cambió el trabajo de la oficina a lo largo del tiempo, cómo ha evolucionado y a qué respondió el cambio.

##### El trabajo en barriadas en Lima

Que tipo de riesgo ustedes manejan?

Qué relevancia tene el tema de riesgo en las áreas urbanas en laderas de Lima?

Tienen una politica especial para la gestion y medicion del riesgo en los AAHH?

Cómo se mide el riesgo en los AA.HH?

Tienen datos geoespaciales sobre riesgos en los AAHH?

Cómo manejan el tema de riesgo en las zonas en laderas de la municipalidad de SJM ?

Qual son los criterios de intervención y las herramientas de trabajo en contexto de informalidad?

Quale son los criterios de entrega de una Constancia de Posesión? El tema de riesgo es contemplado ?

Para visar un plan de un Asentamientos Humanos (en el qual se basa la entrega de servicios básico) el tema de riesgo es contemplado?

Realizan capacitaciones a la población de asentamientos humanos sobre la gestión de riesgos de desastres?

#### Los actores (públicos y privados) involucrados en el proceso de ocupación y consolidación

Con cuáles actores trabaja la subgerencia de Defensa Civil en el proceso de consolidamiento de los AAHH?

Que tipo de relación tienen con estos actores: JUNTAS DIRECTIVAS, COFOPRI, INDECI, LUZ del SUR, SEDAPAL, ONG?

#### **Preguntas sobre hitos históricos:**

**Han tenido situaciones de desastre ambiental en SJM de que tipo?**

#### Aspectos normativos sobre los asentamientos en La NUEVA RINCONADA

Que competencia tiene Defensa Civil sobre el cambio de uso de suelo?

Podrías explicarnos como se hace el informe de riesgos en cada asentamientos?

Que significa riesgo mitigable y no mitigable?

Quanta libertad tiene una brigada en el determinar el tipo de riesgo?

Tienen ejemplos de informe de riesgos que pueda mostrarme?

tinenen manuales o reglamentos sobre la medición del riesgo?

Tienen materiales que puedan ser útil para entender mejor el trabajo de la oficina de Defensa Civil (leyes de referencias, planes y programas)?

**ZOOM OUT**  
**TRACES BY SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS TO KEY INFORMANT**  
**(PUBLIC FIRM-EMAPE)**

<b>Information and data reserved (?)</b>
Names and surnames of the interviewers: _____
Name and surname of the interviewees: _____
Institutional Memberships: _____
Specializacion: _____
_____
Date and time of interview: _____
Place: _____
_____
Candidate Sex: M/F

**GENERAL TOPIC:** PRODUCTION AND CONSOLIDATION OF URBAN SPACE IN THE THIRD WAVE OF LOW-INCOME SETTLEMENTS IN LIMA.

To observe during the interview: the attitude of the interviewee, clothing, atmosphere of the conversation, interruptions, etc.

**Sub-temas**

Sobre la institución

- ¿Hace cuantos tiempo trabajas o has trabajado en EMAPE?
- ¿Que posición cubriste en la empresa?
- ¿El suyo es un trabajo de gabinete o de campo?
- ¿Qué conformación jurídica tiene la empresa hoy?
- ¿En qué contexto nació la oficina de Obras y Proyectos sociales?
- ¿Cambió el trabajo de la oficina a lo largo del tiempo, cómo ha evolucionado y a qué respondió el cambio?
- ¿Cual es el papel de los “Obras y Proyectos sociales” en las actividades de EMAPE?
- ¿Cuál es la política de trabajo de la empresa en las barriadas hoy?

El trabajo en barriadas en Lima

- ¿Que se entiende con Asentamientos Humanos? Por algún lado se puede encontrar una definición precisa? ¿Qual son los criterios de intervención y las herramientas de trabajo en contexto de AAHH en laderas?

¿Cuale ha sido el trabajo de EMAPE con el programa Barrio Mío en la Nueva Rinconada?  
Están Trabajando a otro programa ahora?

¿Que instrumentos urbanísticos revisan para trabajar en el campo?

¿Cómo está relacionado el Plan Visado por las Municipalidades Distritales con con el trabajo de ustedes?

¿Cuale son los criterios y las prácticas de construcción de una obras en autoconstrucción informal?

¿Cuale son los criterios y las prácticas de construcción de una obras por parte de la empresa?

¿La empresa beneficia del trabajo de los pobladores en “faenas comunales”?

¿La población puede acceder a los estudios hechos por la empresa? (¿El informe de Estudio de Suelo es uno de estos?)

¿Cuale son los criterios de entrega de una obras?

¿Quien se ocupa de mantenimiento de las obras realizadas?

¿Qué relevancia ha tenido su área en el desarrollo urbano de los AAHH en laderas?

¿Que tal estuvo el trabajo de su oficina en la área conocida como Nueva Rinconada en San Juan de Miraflores?

#### Los actores (públicos y privados) involucrados en el proceso de ocupación y consolidación

¿Con cuáles actores se coordina y colabora su oficina en el proceso de consolidamiento de los AAHH? ( Juntas Directivas de los AAHH; COFOPRI; Luz del Sur; SEDAPAL (la oficina de Obras Sociales); Las gerencias de Desarrollo Urbano distrital; Las gerencias de Defensa Civil Distrital; ONG que trabajan en la área de intervención; Municipalidad de Lima Metropolitana ( y con qué oficina? )

¿De que se trata esto coordinamiento o colaboración?

#### Documentos

¿Podrias pasarme documentos, informes ,reglamentos o leyes que puedan ayudarme a entender aún más el trabajo de ustedes?

¿Tienen contactos de personas que sean relacionados con el trabajo de ustedes en Lima Metropolitana y que a los cuales pueda solicitar otras entrevistas?

## **ZOOM OUT**

### **TRACES BY SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS TO KEY INFORMANT (PUBLIC FIRM-CEDAPAL)**

<b>Information and data reserved (?)</b>
Names and surnames of the interviewers: _____
Name and surname of the interviewees: _____
Institutional Memberships: _____
Specializacion: _____
_____
Date and time of interview: _____
Place: _____
_____
Candidate Sex: M/F

**GENERAL TOPIC:** PRODUCTION AND CONSOLIDATION OF URBAN SPACE IN THE THIRD WAVE OF LOW-INCOME SETTLEMENTS IN LIMA.

To observe during the interview: the attitude of the interviewee, clothing, atmosphere of the conversation, interruptions, etc.

#### ***Sub-temas***

##### Sobre la empresa privada

¿En qué contexto nació SEDAPAL?

¿En qué consistió el intento de privatización de SEDAPAL a partir de la creación de una comisión especial de privatización en 1993? ¿Qué efectos tuvo en el funcionamiento de Sedapal?

¿Qué conformación jurídica tiene la empresa hoy?

¿Desde cuando?

¿Hasta qué punto participan las empresas privadas y las Asociaciones Público-Privadas en la gestión de Sedapal?

¿En qué medida se ha conseguido la autosuficiencia económica en la empresa?

¿Hasta qué punto se recibe apoyo económico del Gobierno Central?

¿Podría explicarnos brevemente sobre la distribución de roles entre las gerencias de la empresa? ¿Existe coordinación entre las gerencias de servicios norte, centro y sur?

¿Cual es el papel de la SUNASS (entidad reguladora) en las actividades de Sedapal?

¿En qué consiste el sistema de subsidios cruzados para la definición de las tarifas de agua?

¿De qué disciplinas suelen ser los trabajadores de la empresa?

#### La política de trabajo en Asentamientos urbanos en Lima

¿Cuáles han sido la política de trabajo en las barriadas a lo largo del tiempo?

¿Criterios de intervención en estos espacios. Qué vínculo tienen con los AAHH?

Que diferencia existe entre una rete provisional de agua y una definitiva?

¿Cómo surge el programa de Agua para Todos? ¿Cumplió con los objetivos propuestos?

Que comporta el trabajo en ESQUEMA?

Conoces el Esquema 300 - Nueva Rinconada?

#### Los actores (públicos y privados) involucrados en el proceso de ocupación y consolidación

¿Con qué actores se relacionan ustedes por el trabajo en construcciones y proyectos?

¿Cómo es su relación con actores públicos (Municipalidades, Ministerios, etc.), cuáles son los roles de éstos dentro de las actividades de Sedapal?

¿De qué forma Sedapal coordina con los otros actores privados? (camiones cisternas que proveen de agua a asentamientos humanos)

#### Propuestas y visión

Bajo su mirada, cómo percibe y define la política de SEDAPAL en las barriadas?

Como observadores privilegiados cuánto cree que influya en el proceso de consolidamiento de una barriada la entrega del servicio definitivo de agua y alcantarillado?

Se tendría que cambiar algo en la manera de gestión del servicio?

¿Cuáles cree que son los principales obstáculos de Sedapal para brindar una mayor cobertura en los asentamientos humanos?

## **ZOOM OUT**

### **TRACES BY SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS TO KEY INFORMANT (PRIVATE FIRM-INDEPENDENT CONTRACTORS)**

<b>Information and data reserved (?)</b>
Names and surnames of the interviewers: _____
Name and surname of the interviewees: _____
Institutional Memberships: _____
Specializacion: _____
_____
Date and time of interview: _____
Place: _____
_____
Candidate Sex: M/F

**GENERAL TOPIC:** PRODUCTION AND CONSOLIDATION OF URBAN SPACE IN THE THIRD WAVE OF LOW-INCOME SETTLEMENTS IN LIMA.

To observe during the interview: the attitude of the interviewee, clothing, atmosphere of the conversation, interruptions, etc.

#### ***Sub-temas***

##### Sobre la empresa privada

En qué contexto histórico y momento activaste tu negocio?

Qué estudios has hecho?

Cuáles han sido tus ramas de trabajo en lo urbano a lo largo del tiempo?

Según la pregunta anterior, cuáles han sido los espacios de trabajo?.

Qué idea de negocios tienen en los AAHH?

Tus criterios de intervención en estos espacios cuales han sido?

##### El trabajo en Asentamientos urbanos en Lima

Qué vínculo tienes ahora con los AAHH?

Bajo tu mirada, cómo define y percibes los AAHH?

Cómo empezaste a trabajar con AAHH de la Nueva Rinconada? (GIRASOLES)

Que realizaron por ellos? Están trabajando como profesionales allí?

Qué conocimiento y cultura de planificación urbana existe por parte de los pobladores?

En tu mirada de donde llega este conocimiento?

¿Cuál podría ser el aporte de profesionales técnicos en los AAHH?

#### Los actores (públicos y privados) involucrados en el proceso de ocupación y consolidación

¿Con qué actores se relacionan ustedes por el trabajo en proyectos y planes?

¿Cómo es su relación con otros actores ( Juntas Directivas de los AAHH; COFOPRI; Luz del Sur; SEDAPAL (la oficina de Obras Sociales); Las gerencias de Desarrollo Urbano distrital; Las gerencias de Defensa Civil Distrital; ONG que trabajan en la área de intervención; Municipalidad de Lima Metropolitana ( y con qué oficina? )  
¿De qué se trata este coordinamiento o colaboración?

#### Aspectos normativos y técnicos

¿Qué es y para qué sirve tener un Plano Visado a un AH?

¿Es un documento obligatorio?

¿Cuál es el proceso de elaboración de un Plano Visado para Servicios un AH?

¿Se consideran los planes visados que ya existen en la zona cercana a la zona de trabajo?

¿Cuál es el proceso de visación de este plano?

¿Cuáles son las normas de referencia por su trabajo? ¿Cuándo nacieron?

¿Cómo afectan estas normas al trabajo en los AAHH? ¿Qué límites se encuentran?

¿Cómo se relaciona un Plano Visado con los otros instrumentos urbanísticos de una municipalidad (ozonización; Uso del suelo) ? (caso de la Nueva Rinconada?)

Usualmente en qué etapa de su consolidamiento piden sus servicios los AAHH?

¿Un Plano que ya obtuvo la visación por parte de la Muni Distt. puede ser modificado? ¿Ya le capitò de trabajar sobre el renovamiento de un plano?

¿Puedo preguntarle cuánto cuesta aproximadamente a los pobladores el proceso de producción y visación de un plano?

#### Propuestas y visión

Como observadores privilegiados ¿qué idea tienen sobre la gestión del fenómeno de la informalidad urbana. ¿Creen que sea un más un problema o una oportunidad?

¿Se tendría que cambiar algo en la manera de gestión del fenómeno?

**ZOOM OUT**  
**TRACES BY SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS TO KEY INFORMANT**  
**(NGOS-TECHO PERU)**

<p><b>Information and data reserved (?)</b></p> <p>Names and surnames of the interviewers: _____</p> <p>Name and surname of the interviewees: _____</p> <p>Institutional Memberships: _____</p> <p>Specializacion: _____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>Date and time of interview: _____</p> <p>Place: _____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>Candidate Sex: M/F</p>
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

**GENERAL TOPIC:** PRODUCTION AND CONSOLIDATION OF URBAN SPACE IN THE THIRD WAVE OF LOW-INCOME SETTLEMENTS IN LIMA.

To observe during the interview: the attitude of the interviewee, clothing, atmosphere of the conversation, interruptions, etc.

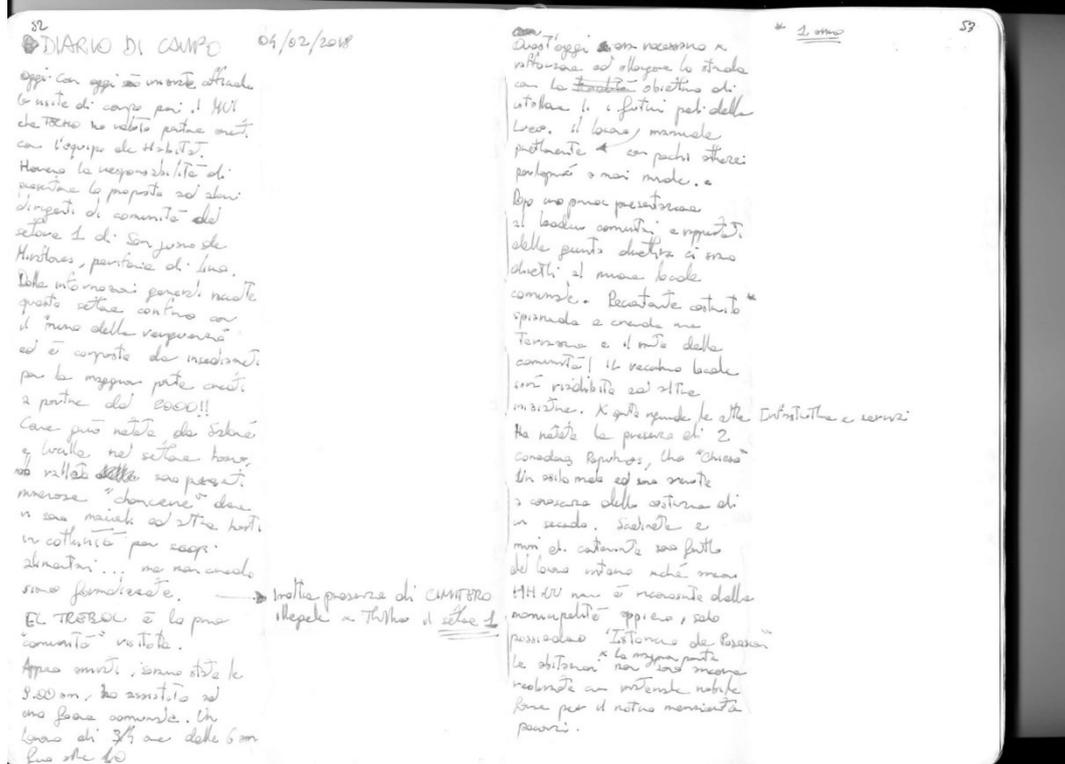
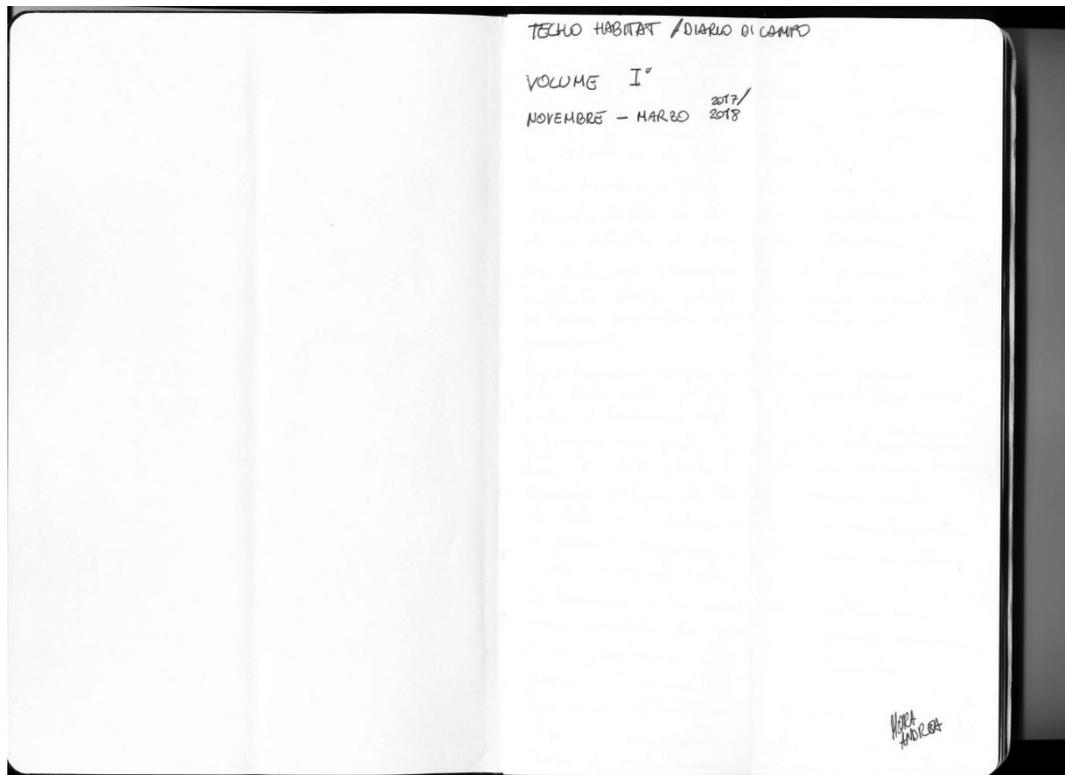
**Sub-temas**

2. Sobre la institución
  - a. Desde cuándo eres parte del equipo de comunidad de El Trébol?
  - b. Te capacitación por este rol? Quien?
  - c. En qué momento techo empezó a trabajar allí y porque?
  - d. Criterios de intervención en estos espacios. Qué vínculo tienen con los asentamientos y qué proyectos hay activos?
  - e. Puedo ver la carta de compromiso que le hiciste firmar?
  - f. Cuales son los fines y las herramientas de trabajo que usa tu área?
  - g. Que tipo de trabajo hicieron con los pobladores?
  - h. Cuáles de estos proyectos tienen que ver con la producción/mejora/consolidamiento/saneamiento de los espacios urbanos?
  - i. Límites y ventajas de este modelo y proyectos?
  
3. Los actores (públicos y privados) involucrados en el proceso de ocupación y consolidación

- a. Con qué actores (instituciones, empresas, ONG, otro) han trabajado ustedes en El Trébol?
  - b. Por qué han decidido trabajar con ellos y no con otros?
  - c. Cómo es su relación con actores públicos (Municipalidades, Ministerios, etc.), cuáles son los roles de éstos.
  - d. Conoces otros ONG o actores externos que trabajan en la área?
  - e. Existe un coordinamento de las actividades?
4. Con la máxima precisión, podrías describirme día tipo tuyo como parte del equipo de comunidad

# Appendix D

## Characteristics of Field Notes books



54

ta terremotati per le  
 singole abitazioni con ventosità  
 in pietra e gresol (arricchito?)  
 e quasi tutti, una natura  
 di terra adatti e la  
 creanza fiori e piante naturali  
 che ne usano nei giardini  
 più belli. lo stile delle strade (3 strade principali)  
 non con chi mi gli; strade  
 di terra battuta, compresse  
 abitudine di rifugi, orti,  
 brucati, ed eventi di case  
 che sono ipe delle Colles ven  
 come qui ma notato che  
 PRATTORE e in BOUT ESTABLISSA  
 i rifugi, organi vapores e tutti  
 nelle zone rurali: in fondo  
 delle abitazioni... che altri?  
 piano piano concorre?  
 da lì in poi, la propria  
 dell' "stato corso" in BOUT ESTABLISSA.

X Ora riprendo il mio tema  
 di ricerca... mi era imballato  
 in un poco di tempo: in bambini  
 messo dritto. PERO per il resto  
 poco tempo prima del TERZO  
 un affresco ora della sua  
 mente...  
 problemi della GESTIONE e  
 MANUTENZIONE o ambiente  
 ... da vedere il tuo dell'  
 USI della spina!!

GARDINO REALIZATO  
 5 DICEMBRE 2017

55

Ho, me, visto (oni mi ha  
 fatto vedere che la parte  
 di Pante (pendenza del 45%)  
 sul piano era molto case  
 area VERDE!?! Impossibile  
 quasi qualche spina se  
 non una GEOMETRIA!!  
 basate la comunità "EL TIBER"  
 ai suoi archit. a Villa  
 Villa Emma 2. poi 7 de  
 ESTO y ESTO DE PUERTO  
 nella di particolare niente.

58

il caso molto  
 annunciato!

Ricordo chiaramente  
 le parole di Jonathan Rossi  
 sul TERZO:  
 Si legono a concepire el título  
 de propiedad donde no on el  
 título sino un éxito por TERZO  
 con case le parole di DANIEL  
 AGUIAR...  
 "Girode no es rentable por TERZO"

59

REUNIONE TECHNO HABITAT - ES.COMUNIDAD  
 Asesores de HABITAT 02/02/2018  
 ADH

Villa Emma  
 7 de Emma  
 10 de Emma  
 Cincos (Pompa alta con RIESGO)  
 SENA de Agua  
 Girasoles

FLORIDA  
 ZANALOS SAN JUAN HICAFOROS  
 zona 1

L ZOMBURCACANS  
 L Urban di [EOL]  
 con un caso con

L TERNAS

(A) COFOPRI  
 L Tono delle legalizzazioni  
 (SERVIO DE AVANZO)

(B) Profiles TECNICOS  
 L Obras in muraria  
 amplicas (NUESTR  
 (deberia con))

→ Daniel  
 Un Tema en perfil  
 interesante por poder  
 Trabajar  
 L Habble y muy concreto

Habitat podría  
 tenerlo.

A. TERZO - PROYECTO URBANIZACION  
 - Diagnostico  
 - Parques y sistema de riego

B. URBANIZACION - sistema de la drenaje  
 - Sistema de riego  
 - Hitos

NO AGUAS!  
 NO DESAGUOS!  
 NO CES!  
 NO MUR CONTENCION!  
 NO ESCALERAS!

66  
TOMA DE ACTAS  
EDROPEA EL TESTOL

-LWIS FROES INABIF

08/02/2018  
Centro de desarrollo integral  
de familia CEDIF  
República Alto S. J.H.

DIARIO DI GIURO 11/02/2018 67

Il lavoro sta avanzando rapido  
in Ed-trabal amati abbiamo  
trovato la strada che costeggia  
il cantiere bloccato dai lavori  
di ampliamento della strada  
il sig. Juan Figeroa - la Verónica  
ci ha mostrato il lavoro della  
ferrata. lo strada deve essere  
ampliata in ogni suo punto  
fino ad arrivare ai 12 metri  
di altezza (che sia percorribile  
da autocar, bus, (dopo lavoro)  
Pista del materiale di riempimento  
è stato composto. si tratta proprio  
di "pietra chiconcalos" di due  
differenti dimensioni. Il lavoro  
si effettua con le sale  
proprie forse, spesso uomini  
muale. ~~muale~~, Piccoli e pale e corale  
appartengono ai singoli "muales"  
che li mettono a disposizione del  
gruppo. Detto probabilmente il quale  
colore che della 44 vale quasi  
impossibile muoversi, normale  
la ferrata inizia alle 6.30/7 e  
dura fino alle 10 approssimante.  
Ho notato in quel gruppo vi era  
una maggioranza di uomini (Panzosade/loro?)  
Poco più tardi, meno di locale comunista  
di recente costruite (30mm)

risultato o parlare con  
l'area una ragazza sui 25  
stava spazzando ed accumulando  
parzialmente prima all'interno  
l'area e poi sulla strada  
sostando. All'inizio mi è sembrato diffidente, non ci è voluto poco  
ciò che mi ha riferito parte si fermano a parlare  
e anche lei ad un altro spazio con me e con i ragazzi di  
tuttissima) come alle prese Teché.  
la ferrata. le ho chiesto  
fosse una suddivisione  
gruppo in uomini e donne  
ha detto di no. Contemporaneamente  
o 3 gruppi stanno lavorando in varie parti dell'insediamento  
tutti misti.  
autorganizzazione è obbligatoria,  
"otto" deve fornire per la zona  
risolvere di uno persona ogni  
nogo però, il pagamento di  
molto di 30 S... a chi  
ha da spazzare/battere  
Allo fine della mattinata  
bravura firmo il foglio  
presenza ed è libero di andare.  
no ripulire occhio alla PETA  
PETA: la qualità della corrente  
no tutti assistito all'accumulo  
sacchi e mucchi di spazzatura  
sto da plastica carta cosa ad  
e alla loro combustione.  
area di 30m<sup>2</sup> tre anni.  
parziale stanno bruciando

\* Gym danarico si presenta  
al punto di lavoro e il  
Dirigente della comunità li  
divide in funzione dei lavori  
in sospeso  
Quali sono i criteri di  
suddivisione dei lavori in ferrata?  
dividere il DIRIGENTE  
Uno delle puppi fucosai  
al lavoro della ferrata  
è il popolo determinante  
della struttura. Tutto nell'area  
dopo il periodo delle "puppi"  
cosa unchito

spaziosità in colonne tonde  
di plastica carbonizzata, che è  
non ci è voluto molto tempo mi  
rimane nel di Teste.  
Interagente su questo la  
ragazza ha ricordato che quella  
fosse la prima normale; che  
il comizio della spazzatura grossa  
non passa e che anche passa ma  
non ricoglie tutto e che dunque  
Teste può - dovrebbe proteggere  
il "modosimbante" e ripulire  
in quella maniera lo strada.  
Il discorso si è poi svolto verso  
(o è stato svolto) sulla fornitura  
di H2O nell'insediamento.  
Interessante notare che lo ragazzo  
parla che del problema della Lica  
(che hanno ma infamite) ci sia  
il problema dell'acqua. Secondo  
Verónica infatti la fornitura d'acqua  
non è costante. Spesso il  
comizio che posso riappare i serbatoi  
Tanques, e che arriva su chiconcalos,  
non ~~arriva~~ ad arrivare (o non me lo)  
fino alla casa più inaccessibile ad  
alte, altre volte finisce il contatto  
della cisterna quasi subito e brucia  
molto senza H2O una settimana  
prima di ritornare.  
Chi resto sono H2O è cattivo e  
chiedevole e i "muales" che san disposti  
a risolverla.  
Apox. un Tanque da 1100L costa 30 S.\*

\* Il Dimpante di:  
Vila Enose ci lo fatto notare  
che loro hanno dei filoi  
x H2O "pubbico" messi che  
CEDIFAC... il costo  
mensuale è semplice è di  
5/6 sales, contro i 30S.  
per Tanque che o volte non  
arriva a finire mese!!

70  
 Terminata la "FERRA" i vicini si riuniscono nel locale comunitario mettano la firma col ~~regio~~ questo mattina pure a partecipare ad un'assemblea di Teco.

Al inizio del resto qui ci è stato fatto scritto il PROBLEMA. Ho chiesto se fosse stato preparato nel COLLETTORIO POPOLARE ma le cuochi mi hanno riferito che il comitato non è gestito dalla comunità ma da sei o otto i signori che formano il servizio e che il comitato è sparto anche a mani di altre comunità.

Il caso (BARO e RISO) che ci è stato parlato offeso è stato accettato dalla sig. Virginia Giuseppe nel vecchio locale Comunitario dove hanno dei fucili.

In 7 de Enero il comitato delle fucile era focalizzato alla situazione di un "fucile" quando appoggiato da Teco. Il materiale utilizzato "Mortari" e "Mortari" e "Mortari" le pare è stato dato dalla DIPART 2018 a Teco a nutrendo x quello.

2 pacche de colladas  
 A- fucile Comunitario  
 B- fucile di Teco una

DOMINGO COMUNIDADES 11/02/2018 71

Pensamientos Villa Hermosa  
 L. preguntas sus de seguridad  
INDECEL - Geografía otros del local Comunal.  
 L. Dejar la carta.

El Tvebal  
 42 metros de cometas  
FAENA COMUNARIAS  
 SUCESOS: cometa, pala, picana mm ruido.

L. Hombre  
 Arrastrar los espacios comunes  
 L. Mujeres

Loce -  
 plan esta acto vol.  
 sig. Flores L.  
 L. oserrazone.

Aguar  
 30 sales Tanke  
 Problema del agua

El año que esta trabajando  
 KERRI RODRIGUEZ D.  
 Telf: 971 875654  
 COORDINADORA

2 por lotes  
 30 sales de agua se no Teco...  
 7-10 caso delle fucile fino al pte de la (Verline) Sección al medio ambiente (xro) de la Teco. Teco comunitario recibo de gestiones e la inspección. El caso non passa sempre e non c'è un posto dove lavorare. Lavorare por la cometa Teco non lo ricalcamos. Tutte le settimane ricavo un compito, si dedica a iniciar el caso. E il dirigente che decide che fare.

84  
 DIARIO DI CAMPO 18/02/2018

Questo campo lo sveglia è stato un problema. Non ha avuto l'attenzione perché non si è mai visto il servizio. Il suo programma ha preceduto lo salto de Cano de Piquio alle 8 am. di notte.

La nomina prioritaria non si è tenuta solo sui simboli 2 membri delle parti direttive. Sembra che la comunità abbia perso la fiducia in Teco dopo aver parlato con le ricalcamos dell'assistenza de locale Comunitario.

Apparentemente i dirigenti sono appoggiati dalle prioridades... (relato dagli stessi dirigenti) ma non sembra partecipare hanno perso l'interesse ha lavorare con FAENAS e a prestare parte alle monari di Teco. Non uno dei dirigenti ci rimanda che ci sono varie queste problemi tutte riventi o quella de in Villa Hermosa lo saputo per essere il PROGRAMMA STRATEGICO

85  
 ESQUEMA 300 Aguas por Tvebal

Per partecipare a questo programma di Infraestructura IDROLOGICA tutti gli HH.UU. devono essere in regola con:  
 - IMPORTE DEFENSA CIVIL  
 - PLAN DE CONTINGENCIA (BARRIO DE SUELO)  
 - TITULO DE PROPIETARIA SIN CARGAS

Sia in 7 de Enero che in Villa Hermosa le richieste maggiori riguardano documenti mancanti o questo programma.

In Cano de Piquio esiste un ulteriore problema che riguarda in realtà tutte l'once di SJM.

L'alternativa informale al SJM è stato nell'anno fu degli anni '70. L'attività più di perse è ad alto rischio e lo salute umana, inoltre il problema è causato dalla combustione di residui organici e ossidati degli animali nel campo. Che viene circolando da parte dell'attività dei dirigenti... l'una è attività irrisolvibile.

CEPREI  
 PREGUNTA DE PAGO DE MANTENIMIENTO  
GEDAPAC INDECEL  
COFOPEI  
 sus te agencie di riferimento. Techni rapaso chiesto per verificare lo stato al fatto e di notte in notte ricalcamos ricalcamos al appostamento materiali o l'irregularidad per poterla "FORMALIZAR" appostamento sus "CARGAS"

Asaprosare

76  
 Lo sviluppo di economie  
 fatte da CEBADE per  
 l'impiego di defensor civil  
 vone nato. Casario di gente  
 chiesto in Villa Elorza che  
 il Sig. Suro si spiego  
 riprendano:  
 - lo stato deimovetto o sviluppo  
 della abitazioni - Pirges -  
 che non possono essere  
 realizzate senza conto  
 e alcune essere messe  
 a smantellare  
 - la polverina troppo elevata  
 di alcuni sono realizzati a  
 costruire nuove abitazioni  
 - l'impiego di illuminazione e  
 elettrica non sono. E la  
 richiesta di intubare  
 e sistema i così in maniera  
 scettabile.

REUNION HABITAT 20/02/2018 77  
 DANIEL  
 - PDU, costo zero, tutto  
 a lungo los datos  
 60 ore settimanali  
 lavoro con noi.  
 -----  
 - Dove che chiamare di zona  
 - Plan C per Tolajai  
 -----  
 FLORECA  
 Diagnostico - PIC  
 Accordo:  
 L Reporto virtuali x equipo de Gov.  
 Informe  
 L Nuevo gruppo Pover y Andes  
 L Comedias capote de Habitat o lo capote  
 (PERILINCUO)  
 -----  
 TAT - OMI  
 lesson biblioteca Vespanto Ubra Bona.  
 PREDES - Promocion de Respo y Asote (delimita existico)  
 \* Ci differenzia Tre le teme dello STATO e Teme  
 della MUNICIPALIDAD Equiere FVO/12000122  
 -----  
 CISHID (Inf. del Estado) ESTUDIO DE SUELO

78  
 EL TEBOL  
 PRIORIDADES DE LA COMUNIDAD:  
 INTERDESCUBRER  
 P DESARROLLO -> INICIATIVAS DEL TEBOL  
 2 SERVICIOS DEPORTES (DESEMPLEADO DE 200 Y 400)  
 3 SERVICIOS VARIOS  
 -----  
 III.1 REALIZAR TERMINOS DE ACCESO AGUA Y DESAGÜE ✓  
 III.2 CAPACITACION A MADRES (ACTIVIDAD Y ALIMENTACION) ✓  
 III.3 CAPACITACION DEL LIMPIEZA E HIGIENE PERSONAL ✓  
 III.4 APOYO DE VIVIENDAS EN ENTORNO, UNIFORMES ✓  
 5 ENTORNO DE CALIDAD DE ALIMENTACION  
 III.5 VIVIR BIEN ✓  
 III.6 CONSERVAR FONDOS ✓  
 III.7 NIVEL DE COOPERACION DE LOSA DEPORTIVA ✓  
 III.8 SERVICIOS VARIOS ✓  
 III.9 ORGANIZACION EN OTROS ✓  
 -----  
 CAPACITACION:  
 • OFICIOS  
 • MADRES  
 • LIMPIEZA  
 -----  
 WANA WASHI  
 + AGUA Y DESAGÜE (con mano de obra local)  
 MURO DE CONTENCION (LOSA)  
 + ORGANIZACION FICRO LEGAL ← preguntar

DIARIO DE CAMPO 25/02/2018 82  
 Poco poco di notizie dal  
 punto di inteso della  
 Accordo Palma DANIEL  
 AGUIAR mi ho parlato  
 finalmente al generale.  
 Il suo discorso è da prendere  
 molto serio... come mi to  
 ci siano infatti compromessi  
 con il comitato nell'area  
 con anche alcune promesse  
 (nonostante io abbia ripetuto  
 a donare che queste non  
 possono vere "promesse" che  
 loro ma dei piuttosto  
 "Asesoria"). Il problema  
 è che nelle ultime settimane  
 pochi sono saliti la domenica  
 per parlare con i dirigenti  
 e loro si sono sentiti  
 "abbandonati". Quindi loro  
 ne è un esempio... anche  
 queste denunce sono dovuto  
 passare per raccogliere le  
 informazioni per realizzare il piano  
 di contingencia e per  
 questa di Tempo non sono  
 riusciti ad incontrarsi con le  
 sig. Horitez.  
 -----  
 \* e al nuovo di possessari  
 (2 lo e DIANA)

96  
 Arrivi: al EL TREBOL  
 abbiamo mostrato nuovamente  
 Daniele. Come responsabile dell'  
 area ha realizzato con  
 1 membro delle "meso-tecnico"  
 e della "giunta direttiva"  
 il piano strategico e promosso  
 la sintesi de remmo partite  
 avanti con TECNO durante  
 l'anno. Come già menzionato  
 WAWANASI è uno di queste  
 partiti. Inoltre n sono  
 2 cose obbligate y 2 brass  
 Vedete come progetti fissi,  
 oltre ad un serie di iniziative  
 di FORMAZIONE e ESCURSIONE.  
 Interessante è stato notare che  
 il progetto ESCURSIONE SOLO (Aqua  
 y elosope) non è un bene  
 pronto... prazmaticamente se sono  
 resi conto che le richieste di

KINEPREO y SEDAPAC  
 non sono opinioni oltre alle  
 loro possibilità (richiedevano  
 la realizzazione di un muro di  
 contenimento di 30 metri non  
 realizzabile con le loro sele  
 forze).  
 FOCUS GROUP  
 Dalla 4ª parte che si  
 appropinquano con il compito  
 degli Antichi sono state  
 2 parate

→ Verificare  
 A lo Padua 10 e Ormide  
 abbiamo lavorato alle realizzazio  
 di un muro 15 x 4,50...  
 ci sono voluti 3 anni a realizzar  
 con risultati finali e dimman

97  
 la preoccupazione iniziale  
 è stata parte... a  
 focus group merito però  
 non delle giunte direttive  
 hanno voluto formarsi  
 e partecipare... così che  
 allo fine ha partecipazione  
 c'è stato.  
 Più tardi ci ha seguito una  
 terza parte delle meso  
 Tecnico senza il lavoro.  
 Mi sembra che tutto si sia svolto  
 nei migliori dei modi...  
 ha realizzato TAREAS + FOCUS  
 GROUP anche poco formale.  
 emette alcune conclusioni  
 fatte:  
 - lasciare a 5 parate il lavoro  
 in modo che ognuno abbia  
 3 opz iniziative  
 - Modificare la mappa in modo  
 che si al fondo lettura  
 C insieme riferimenti.  
 - Proporre il lavoro ogni  
 2 settimane nella stessa  
 comunità  
 - dare Termini più consisi  
 alla silenziosa... e spogli.  
 Il titolo è molto stato registrato  
 in modo da poterlo riscattare  
 più avanti.  
 Di questo anno sono stati

- 3. Membro Meso Tecnico
- 1. Membro Gruppo de Car
- 2. Asesor de Habitat
- 3. Membro Junta Directiva

100  
 hanno ottenuto la ma attenzione  
 qui di chi. Alti decide ad redigere  
 stato de mi è stato recatelo  
 che esistano di "ngotia"  
 che compro caso per caso  
 plastica (cartonata) e vetro  
 bottiglie per poi rivendere  
 Spesso però chi compra da  
 questi ngotia contenta e bottiglia  
 si utilizza per rivendere  
 prodotti carta folla nelle stesse  
 Alti queste simile quella  
 delle carabine dei rifugi:  
 che generano unac le  
 donne che le FASUBO  
 in modo regolare, ma da  
 delle per eliminare i rifiuti  
 de altri resterebbero in strada  
 per non pararsi...

con cui già recatelo  
 lo volta scorsa

COPAPE  
 Anche della presentazione del  
 caso della richiesta titoli  
 di popeto sono onore della  
 realtà... solo che deni membri  
 dell'oscurità la ricerca sono  
 difficili di tempo e che  
 ammontate tanta di riduce  
 il pagamento di una "tassa"  
 (relativa a zona rurale) perché  
 ufficialmente sono bene i parate  
 dell'area che sono normale  
 che ho fatto l'oggetto di un

101  
 ven e propone attenzione  
 "rifiuti che hanno scottati"  
 anche all'interno della  
 municipalitate e che dunque  
 risulta "difficile" lo site  
 al TREBOL quando si tratta  
 di lavorare con il progetto  
 di formalizzazione della  
 progetto.  
 Alti problema è dato dalla  
 scarsa collaborazione dei precedenti  
 separati dalle stesse persone  
 E TREBOL de loro foto sono  
 documenti necessari allo formalizzare  
 una volta cambiato gestione...  
 ... problema ricompare (mi ha  
 fatto notare DANA anche all'interno  
 degli uffici pubblici).

Richiesta di  
 copie degli  
 atti x esempio







134 Gli stocchi di lana petati si dividono in

- Seccatrici (con pila con "seccita") - Scopa
- Morte e scapelli ("x snobes panch") - Pitture
- Pali metalliche fini (x pulire le solette dei residui/spazio) - Borsacella
- Flessi
- Pale
- Portali metallici x divetta a (simil pannello di pino dritto)
- Bottiglie di plastica 3L/2L

In altre le stoffe sono in parte con \*

A. - La ricompra delle bottiglie di plastica della solette già presente nel parco } solo alcune seccatrici in modo

B. - Pulire delle solette e seccatrici con rete metallica fine. 2 ragazzi si occupano di seccare e un rete raccoglie gli scarti questi rimovono parti fuori dal punto del parco

C. - Librare murine di rete estere e pulire parino x pulire per passare con la pittura delle pietre [Immediato alle pietre c'è un di tipo delle pietre vale a concetti di metallo 3x2m] la pittura di muso è colora gialla a un scoppo più delle pietre delle pitture

D. - Ricompra delle pitture. Il vero che ho riuscito ha fatto la batta coniato il campo con una scagione di vetro rotto al mondo, ha esteso il campo con le mani nude e si è lavato nella in versione H2O x

135) capote x radole liquido. Da questo opposto da Benito e succasine da Karly un completo ristrutturazione del PARCO con in programma.

... Pati x pini albanche  
 NN. Stocche in metallo e Tobi di plastica  
 H2O al'aria  
 ESO Pinguo di nuovo  
 → Estate

830 con l'arrivo di comitato di tecto o arrivo occupato da 23 Volontari dell'inasalto USIL 2017 che invernati da tecto hanno chiesto di appoggiare il progetto fatto da PIC (tecto) e presentato durante 04/03/2018 dopo le feste. Progetto di Resp. Sociale di Ingresso al sensibilizzare a vocazione con implicare del loro progetto "REGARDS" con intendere Ruedo

\* Per mi e sono circa 133 una grossa stanza di cose le bottiglie di plastica riprese di sotto... penso valgono togliere il fondo, intorciare e usare più cose VASI dopo di togliere meglio H2O Verghene!!

Univisto Sa Inizio del luglio sao come "Tecnico" Architetto / Ingegneri O CHIEDERE RESPONSABILITÀ delle mio intanto

x questo le istituzioni di PISA... ora

136 Ho intervistato la responsabile del Progetto della OSIL ed altre

- Karly dell'equip di comitato
- da mi ho raccontato il processo di disascol impianto del parco... gli orari canonici e anche la nuova proposta!

Stabilire la intervista!!

REUNION HABITAT 13/03/2018 132

Contatti de los equipos ale con. S.J.M. sector 1

EL TRECOT

Karly Rodriguez 991875655  
 Gabriel Rodriguez R. 950803355  
 Gonzalez Sebastian P.M. 987710957  
 Alola Paul Flores Gano 980720178

VILLA HEREDIA

Edinora Hector Garza 979720018  
 Katherine Rosano Pellos 992656099  
 Sebastian Diaz Sobran 951389090

7 DE ENERO

Karina Miluska Sanchez 998107751  
 Freddy Lupo Belanderna 986367699  
 Yessamine Milanka Benito Ros 958613030

VILLA SAN JUAN

Koran Bonome 923296964  
 Jess Anne Padino 950565496  
 Kathryn Lizabeth Veloz 471462552

ERRRO DE POCUOT

Pierre Felipe Cuervo 969319299  
 Yelena Leon Betan 957209360  
 Jimena Rayne Rodriguez 992491075

- Fierche Matal Fuentes 942755511  
 - Valeno Mercedes Guzman  
 - Giquel Oscar Fernandez 923496517

DIARIO DE CAMPO

18/03/2018

Il viaggio stonato fu più rapido del solito... in 50 minuti sono arrivati al TEBOL sono afferrati nel nuovo locale comunale, questo anno Toni... i ragazzi ad il solito a bere birra e stonazione in poco sono mezz'ora... alle esse vide 4 bell'ottici stonato sono berade probabilmente dallo suo precedente ch'essi delle foto ed ornate non mi seppero rispondere.... in compaso mi afferrano un bicchiere di birra nelle l'adunanza monarca "Ando" il bicchiere lo si scostano con gesto rapido a Torino per togliere la schiuma e lo si passò al mio col'alta birra.

Era le 6.55 am... non rappresento ne ho presi solo uno per cortesia, e per brindare al compleanno di uno dei ragazzi che li presenti.

Tra i delin del'ad'ol tra al lao mi hanno raccontato una legge di locale... una CAVERIA che collega la parte d'la della com. con l'area villo all'alto lato della caveria... Abitate da stonate creature di serpenti, di serpenti a di un tesoro in minerali (ORO) ... alcuni Tostano lo Tostano no non tutti usano.

Arrivando negli uno dei partecipanti allo mese che toglie di TECHO moneghese un ornese nel fondo dell'acqua... Mi spiego de ora le sue pompe per questo per conciare il Valde/luke di acqua parte ricco all'abitazione dove il coman non arriva.

Non esiste un campo comune e solo se si spaccia 400/500 soldi si può comprare uno stonato adposito. ornamente chi non ne dispone oltre scendere a Tanta e partire a nuovo scarsi di sto suo d'nesso...



Da questo racconto mi chiesero l'entrata mesi fa e come montò l'ossario musci morti all'altare! (Non ho capito se come montò o come effects).

Taminate questa storia suggerita sfortunatamente Tostano d'estorsioni un pollare da fithal... tutti i proca... L'andò è il seguente: Venne organizzata un partita tra techo ed i ragazzi delle comunita. Lo portaro il pollare macedonio che vincera il primo Tostano... io comunque ci metto un pollare... forse non sarà stato troppo furbo... Tippi pure che mi ostentassero anche il mio oggetto di poche birre!

Arrivò il locale vecchio verso le 6.50 e davanti chiese il capo dell'altare a corso di vini dell'almatone elettorale tutti a l'occasione del vecchio al nuovo locale.

Lo sig. MIVIANA quispe mi accusa e approfittai della sua sola presenza per chiedere del "Circolo Amovillo" stilizzato per indicare non dei partecipanti alla festa e per chiedere di mostrarmi le "Ricette" delle della parte a tutti i membri dell'organizzazione parte risultino var computo non gli accenti delle inviti la festa

foto complete... affetto stitonia

p. 125 y 132 Ho fotografato entrambi

Entrasse il quarto padre del quale non riprende l'immagine come la mia camera e mi mostra della vecchia "ricetta" del 2014 della quali poi uno scade fotografico poco dopo entro il sig. FIORI... gli chiesi quando preferisse abbandonare tempo per l'internista e me lo concessa subito primo dell'inizio della FIEVIA alle 7.00 aprox.

Il sig. Li scelerono dunque uno a fianco all'altro nella lottazione del vecchio locale ed io e un'ora solo a pose/ave per 25 minuti (risonante).

internisti un paio di notte per dei scatti del agli altri dirigenti, ornati: Sig. Bando e Sig. Luca Fazio. Il chiesi era mossa e il sig. Fazio caso di essere il più chiaro e sono possibile dunde l'internista. L'internista stesso non era stituito... lo era pure pensò a qualche piccola di guida per tenere più specifici ad internisti con la domanda solo dopo un periodo di silenzio (chech'ad'uso fine di discorso) a combate il lao onde a scade delle diverse parte del discorso....

Terzi anche ston osservazioni sullo fine di questo voto nelle giornate precedenti....



Internista FIEVES P. 45

Utilizzare

Verso le 7.20 tutti gli ornati che stono sopollando fino a ora sono venuti fatti "concordati" all'interno del "vecchio" locale... per ora più di 20/30 persone.

Il sig. FIORI Paolo dello stesso sodico che pose per la internista Rimpaccio, i viani presenti alla riunione e scolarono l'impianto del lavoro collettivo... fu duno con la mived con che non si presentava.

Si più di 250 people solo 20 prave stono partecipando e sottolineo lo mancanza di impegno e contributo degli altri assati... Il discorso venne poi rigato sulle temi politica: Flavio chiese infatti di ricordare con stonata ogni "Man" che, spesso assenti, dunde i loro comunita più si sovrabbano presentati alle elezioni della comunita (che sono a brava... vuole nel spirito).

Ricordo anche della visita del candidato Nicolale di S.M. in risto delle elezioni... tale CACTA/RIEME PE di come forse antino candidato il carne, voti, nella H.H.UU. salma, l'ave presento e poi sparire fino allo successo tanto elettorale....

Finiti gli avvenimenti politici passò poi agli aggiornamenti sui lavori parlati e su altre questioni prioritarie.

Notare confermatomi p'ritorno da Katherine di Villa Vermozzi

- PARCO GIOCHI - Progetto finanziato attraverso fondo di un'impresa privata. Concorso già particolarmente vinto di 1° o 2° rispettivamente di 7000 S. e 3000 S.

Invitato da società usata x comprare di giochi separati x il parco nuovo al mio... - lo stesso che / gride TEXCO lo propose il progetto. Floras disse che fu lo vecchio ripreso a decidere e comprare giochi di basso qualità (x vitoni) da di rimanere in parte...  
... Karly invece nello una intervista mi disse che fu colpo di TEXCO se gestito nelle il progetto.

- LODA ESQUISITAS Una casa (quella) di ragazzi studenteschi si è partito di costruire una soluzione da parte allo loro. (Loro parte nuova "muro" lo costruirono precedentemente), loro per mettere materiali e manodopera no hanno tempi ristretti per il lavoro (di settimana). In questo avvenirebbero opposizioni per l'assenza al progetto e per l'assenza nel ECU, dovremmo essere accompagnati nel lavoro dello loro.

- DIFESA CIVIL Domani lunedì 19 arriveranno gli esperti ministeriali per controllare lo stato di vulnerabilità e rischi o nello quale vanno EL TRIPOL e dare indicazioni sulla ricostruzione.

NB colpo per il deposito dei vecchi giochi.  
A. TEXCO? - Tech y Vinos  
B. IMPRESA? - ?  
C. COMUNITA? - Impresa  
P. 135

Avrebbe preferito venne appoggiati nella ricostruzione del muro di contenimento ma non fatto dall'ECU in ROSALES ma

Hanno pure ostinati a sedici di sotto nelle postazioni cartelle con case disegnare i punti di ritirarsi sicuri (D) dove richiedo....

- Problemi sono emersi con uno dei proprietari della chomama invitato nelle comunità... vicino alle nuove soluzioni da ricostruzione. Il sig. Floras è stato nelle comunità a parlare nelle commissioni...  
Ma Texco comprare le domande a confronto del governo o suo forse parte il proprietario non possiede formalmente titolo e quindi non ha diritti riservati... loro hanno un piano referenziale più opportuno, e tutti la "Costanza de Possean".

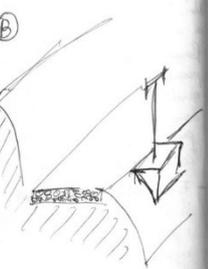
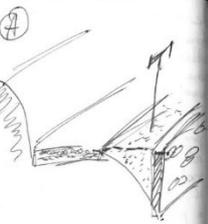
- E SQUENMA 300 ACQUA Vi è stato una riunione in ROSALES i problemi emersi per tutto loro riguarda non i proprietà della chomama.  
A. Dove essere dato il cambio di uso del suolo da AECOSERVISIO sul terreno... no c'è opposizione che ho creato.  
B. Bisogna studiare la strada... no significa gestire le "areole chomama"....

- Sistema PIRCA x avere l'ottenimento Costanza de Possean con cenote. Non sono equitativi x Palo e Reno solo con base di maggio.

- LUCE DEFINITIVA Essi esito per gli ASSOCIATI 20 S. che serve nel giorno una KACHIMARA passo. Rispo... per sistema col doppio lo strada principale dove dovrà passare per la luce elettrica definitiva. La preoccupazione è che sia necessario fissare i PAVI dell'elettinato e della luce sul lato esterno dello strada (che ancora non esiste) x questo sommerebbe realizzare il muro di contenimento separato da più di 5 mila di Sales o allo loro richiedo gli impianti solo dove risultano le pose dei piloni.

- ACQUEDOTTO "PADRON" il progetto della proposta e delle parone da effettuare man nel H.U. El Trebol x che in poco ci sono le elezioni e solo gli appalti allo comunità regionali correttamente almeno diritto di voto.

- INVENTARIO posseduto dell'associazione - Un inventario di beni mobili della comunità non è ancora stato fatto ed è iniziato da poco... dello libreria donata dall'ingegnere amico che Juan Lizaola



Mi è parso di capire che a corso dei pochi partecipati LUIS FLORES sopra la PIRCA a modo più tutti a casa. Lo invito si fanno comprino suchi e para date me lo affittino e ci fermiamo a fare colazione nel locale. Come al solito il discorso si sposta dopo pochissimo sul cammino - cibo, parti presenti etc.

Vi fu un momento primo dove mi chiesero esplicitamente un appoggio come "ITALIANO"... mi disturbo un poco in realtà no non fu nulla di eccessivo. Mi chiesero se avessi contatti con la commissione italiana a Lima e da potessi fare per loro... io gli dissi che come TEXCO si potero aiutare no non come italiano....

Mi espresse il desiderio urgente di avere un PC nel locale comunale... quello fare potrei anche procurarlo ma per fare caso... vorrei che fosse menzionato in qualche ottimo progetto e che non fosse solo una donazione. Non so esattamente no che parte della conversazione parlavo di un caso per adulti, gli Gestire. Richiedo documenti scritti... anche paguella si potrebbe passare a qualcuno.

PRIMA INTERVISTA CON IL DOPOLO

Mi chiesero di raccontare poco lo ma storia e dell'Italia

Richieste Personali

160  
Appaghi: del Tempo o mio dopo  
sorse per parlare con un  
nervo già conosciuto chiese  
lo peso delle settimane ~~scorse~~  
precedente ... Cristina  
un rapporto che lavora nelle  
comunità da 18 anni facendo  
famosi ..... e se non stappa  
di anni non ~~ne~~ aveva più  
di 25.

~~Per~~ Decreti di prime un  
Tipo di internista chiamato  
internista con il doppio ~~che~~ me  
precedentemente, adatti fatto per  
lo studio delle patche .....  
sfortunatamente l'ambiente  
non ~~fu~~ dei migliori.  
Ci fermammo entrambi al banco  
del muretto, fuori del vecchio locale,  
alle 8:00 anno. Era amico  
di Cristina se fanno con noi  
ad ascolto la conversazione  
e vette anche interverne ~~non~~  
senza essere direttamente interpellato.  
Gli chiesi di raccontarmi ad  
un ripetitivo stile "levante/kinò"  
il lavoro che avrebbe dovuto  
fare durante una normale  
giornata di lavoro .... forse  
ci riuscì ai primi 10 minuti ....  
~~per~~ decreti intervenga più volte  
ad alta fine mi racconto  
anche del suo lavoro e della  
sua vita....

Prova di  
Internista con  
il doppio ....  
non andato sbran-  
fare

Tornai nel locale comunale una  
mezz'ora dopo, mi affrettavo una  
colonna a subito dopo  
parvi mi chiese per un  
enorme ..... il lavoro  
per TETTO stavo per iniziare.

161  
ordine cavetto  
Internista con il doppio  
a solo successivamente  
colazione e richieste

TECHO

HABITAT / DIARIO de CAMPO

VOLUME II° 2018

MARZO - MAGGIO

'FELIX QUI POTUIT RERUM  
CONOSCERE CAUSAS' Virgilio (Georgica II 383)

↓  
VERBA SAPIENTIA: 'COGITO REI PER CAUSAS'

NOVA  
MUSEA

14\* Alguien se lastimó en el trabajo o se lesionó en  
minera serie?

15 Conocen el proceso para otorgar  
los. Agua y Desague de juntas

16 Ceban el proceso para otorgar  
El Título o para subsanar  
los cargos?

17 ~~Quien~~ Quien le obto de  
esto y en que ocasion!?

18 Aprender algo de utilidad en  
una feria Comunal? De  
quien?

19 Algunas veces han  
echo ferias comunales  
con otros comunales  
H.H.H.

20 Nivel de participacion  
en las áreas?  
Que pasan?

- Factores por
- Sexo
  - Edad
  - Tiempo de  
Vivencia
  - Lugar de  
Proveniencia

1 Pregunta a los  
dirigentes el tiempo  
de vivencia.

2 Pedir a los mismos vecinos  
los control de las  
otras posibles personas  
quea interviene.

(Vamos Mejor de trabajo)

ENTREVISTA DIRIGENTES/VECINOS ESPAÑOL

PAENA COMUNAL Nombre/Apellido - Dato por tipo usar

0 Como te sientes Hoy? Tienes ganas de empezar la paena?

- 1 Que es una PAENA COMUNAL?
- 2 Que sirve y porque la necesitan?
- 3 Desde quando se hace en esta comunidad?
- 4 La primera vez que participaste?
- 5 Hora en que estan metidos? Con que fin estan xando  
[Que prioridades tienen] los últimos paenas?
- 6 Que dificultades <sup>personas</sup> ~~se encuentran~~ <sup>han encontrado</sup> en estos  
Trabajos?
- 7 Que le oponen a lograr <sup>mejor</sup> ~~avances~~ <sup>de las PAENAS?</sup>
- 8 Porque la hacen el DOMINGO y no otro dia?
- 9 Porque la mañana desde temprano?
- 10 Que ambientes usas quando hai PAENA?\*
- 11 Te vestes en una manera <sup>forma</sup> particular por la paena
- 12 Cuale es el rol de la Junta Directiva en la PAENA
- 13 Tienen <sup>normas</sup> ~~reglas~~ <sup>que seguir</sup> ~~que respetar~~? De que  
se trata? Desde ~~cuando~~ <sup>cuando</sup> Estan escritos.

\* A quien les pertenecen estos ambientes.

14\* Revisado por  
Isabella Albarrán (CINATE)  
DIRECCION de INVESTIGACION SOCIAL  
TECHO - PERU

07/05/2018

INTERVISTA ETNOGRAFICA DI CAMPO

VICTOR HAMAVI

Incontra il sig. HAMAVI Victor nel locale comunale, l'antico con un foglio in mano, intento in un'operazione di catalogo. Lo quinto direttore, del quale esso è membro attuale nelle qualità di Prensa y Propaganda (Robiche Robzani), termino il suo incarico ad AREUE. Gli è stato dunque chiesto di preporre l'INVENTARIO dei beni della comunità da lasciare poi ai futuri "instituti" uno volta svoltato il rinvio.

Svilupposi di domenica mattina nel centro mercato delle PACHA mi avvicina a lui ed incomincia mo o parlare.

Non più spole e "porta" e ma ottusi, il registratore quindi tutte le informazioni raccolte sono presentate solo in questo modo.

Chiesi ~~risposta~~ al sig. Victor, in ~~che~~ consistesse il suo ruolo di Responsabile de PRENSA y PROPAGANDA, lui,

teme subito a precisare secondo regolamento il lavoro di Inventario/bene? non spetta a lui ma al segretario esecutivo, ~~che~~ incarico che non è ~~rispetto~~ da nessun vicino momentaneamente. Sembra infatti che i precedenti assegnati si siano ritirati per contrasti con la direzione o perché inaffidabili alle responsabilità e richieste.

Il suo incarico ufficiale consisto potuto nel consegnare documenti, ufficiali e fare da TRAMITE tra gli uffici pubblici, impresa svolta nelle relazioni tra queste differenti realtà e l'associazione ed occuparsi ~~di~~ delle

comunicazioni interne... Avrebbe scattato dal via via del sig. Flores, nelle settimane passate, negli uffici comunali, gli chiesi se fosse intervenuto a tal riguardo e di raccontarmi ~~in~~ caso fosse passato con il Tenso dello luce (Luz del Sur)

Invece così il racconto dettagliato di questo successo (parzialmente già inteso/conosciuto)

L'obiettivo principale di questo parlare di punto a ottenere la luce DEFINITIVA. Ad oggi la comite, elettrico e promotorio (compreso stitico lo rende come se fosse in "prestito")

\* Non so cosa significhi AS esattamente LUCES in prestito... probabilmente che solo gli ~~borisaca~~ REACTA o/e l'incasso del suo carta qualità di H.W. ma senza poi INTERFERENZE con ufficiale. Infatti, ~~le~~ POSTE de LUZ che a sua on sono di Bombaco ad i con postiche!!

Provisoria = PER ORA!

Diverse regolamenti gli chiesi da dove venissero gli manchi e chi gli segnalava e seppi così che sono le documenti, sulla quali si basa lo vito dell'organizzazione

A. REGOLAMENTO comunitario costituito nel 2000/2002 al momento della creazione dell'associazione

Chiesi di poter vedere una copia di questo regolamento ma non lo Tenno... dovrate chiedere a Flores chiesi

B. ACTAS di ogni giunta e che arriva copiarla qui prima, ~~che~~ lo libro della giunta

16 Tutto l'ora comunque ~~RICORDA~~

fu interessato da questo progetto stitico per la disposizione della luce definitiva (ACUERDO PUBLICO) che aveva come executor l'impresa privata LUZ DEL SUR.

Per poter partecipare a questo progetto alcuni requisiti dovevano essere rispettati:

- Ottenere la COSTRUCA de PASSELU
- Ottenere l'approvazione di "Agibilità" de DEFENSA CIVIL [non si prevede bene solo se lo com. sto a regola] L che lavora x la municipalità e invio gli ispettori
- Ottenere ~~per~~ un piano/progetto per l'infinitum ~~apporito~~ x l'impresa punto di autorizzate dal governo
- Ottenere l'approvazione delle municipalità

Sembra che loro avessero già ottenuto l'approvazione "finale" avuto presentato il caso di LUZ y ACUERDO attraverso un non ben definito "PROCESO" loro all'interno della comunità...

Per motivi non chiari ~~per~~ [inviato, venduto] un ex membro della H.U

El Trebo Tale sig. GAVIANO

del recate H.U EL ALAMO abbia presentato un esposto alla municipalità contestando lo redatto del piano che sembra non fosse stato firmato da un ingegnere iscritto all'albo ma solo da un dirigente comunale

Non mi ha dato le informazioni in un momento così chiaro e lineare... è una mia rielaborazione...

Interessante notare che nel racconto (con in altri racconti raccolti) non è mai stato contestato il fatto che ~~non~~ questo signore GAVIANO avesse diritto...

... solo che fosse un ingegnere e che avesse agito per tipico.

My punto di partenza dell' "spoglio" ottenuto che un funzionario comunale il JERENTE de DIABOLLO organo di S.M. dovuto in quanto alle elezioni l'attuale stitico fu esonerato dalla comunità (e da altre) con la promessa di sostituirlo ad ottenere la LUCE

Inoltre precisò che a queste mosse infine loro risposero denunciando a loro volta i funzionari di un'altra Architetta amico personale del sig. GAVIANO che per uno tempo oltre che

Bonnie H.A. EL ALAMO (loro si hanno la luce definitiva) aveva ostacolato l'accesso al servizio al El Trebol...

My ~~non~~ è stato confermato che questo funzionario ha perso il lavoro per questo.

(Causa di questo denuncia)

16 18  
 p. DIABLO DI CAMPO 25/03/2018  
 sb Diretti a parlare vari minuti  
 l primo di voler arrivare i primi  
 di nomi...  
 l' approfittai dell'arrivo de sig.  
 R Lucian riprese per un'intervista  
 sulla scena comunale all'interno  
 del locale comunale vecchio  
 della classe di cui siamo di  
 - minuti circa molto breve in  
 - quante dopo poco iniziamo ad  
 arrivare altri molti dalle porte  
 sbrette e lo situazione diventa  
 insostenibile...  
 - Los venno si riunirono nel locale  
 alle 7.15.. non più di 40  
 arrivarono a scapiti dopo un  
 paio di picchi.  
 Chiesi perché non arrivassero  
 più vicini e se non tornassero  
 di la notte... mi venne raccontata  
 di la di un vicino de par  
 e molti mesi non ~~era~~ partecipò  
 lo fece ad alla fine lo  
 finì nulla raggiunse la cifra record  
 di 5000 S. (su 30  
 settimane se su si partecipò)  
 E dopo la rete cino e si taglia  
 più o meno ~~era~~ fuori da un  
 1 H.U. partito da una associazione  
 1 H.U. fu molto detto che solo  
 negli ultimi tempi i vicini smisero  
 di partecipare in massa...  
 a.

"Vedre"  
 Registrazione  
 internet

Una frase del sig.  
 Lucian che rese bene l'idea  
 fu "Partecipare non  
 porras que venas"  
 visto la grande quantità di  
 uni che partecipano

18  
 Cosa di consueto la sig.  
 Vivino raccolse le firme  
 dei partecipanti e alle 7.30  
 Tutti si riunirono all'interno del  
 locale ospitato situazione...  
 Il sig. Flores prese la parola  
 chiedendoci il perché di tale  
 assenza e ricordando che  
 lo parte stessa lavorata  
 durante per raggiungere l'obiettivo  
 finale CUES DEFINITIVA me  
 che sfortunatamente molti  
 problemi ora aversi. a  
 causa dell' "MISERABUS"  
 Vecchio de ACAMO sig. GAVIANO  
 che bloccò il processo di  
 appoggio e limitando  
 la metà comunitaria presente  
 nella municipalità  
 Lo settimana scorsa parlo HUSANO  
 a convincere un riunione  
 di CATERIA CIVIC ad abbassare  
 lo cotegorizzazione/realizzare  
 dell'one che ABIS ad AUTO  
 RIESGO ad ora a RIESGO  
 MEDIO e quindi realizzare tutto  
 il Terzo  
 Per questo neppure la fase  
 che sarebbe iniziata e doveva  
 la pianta fu ~~realizzata~~  
 del progetto vicino all'area  
 per privazione (che di. ste  
 rischio)

20  
 Il Signor Bento prese la  
 parola spiegando in dettaglio  
 il lavoro del giorno.  
 1) Andare a prendere lo  
 legno per realizzare  
 il cassero/soffaloma  
 2) Liberare il sentiero  
 de roccia e gli altri  
 ostacoli  
 3) Sistemazione dei casseri  
 4) Prealocazione dei  
 contenitori H2O per  
 realizzare le mescole di  
 cemento  
 Molti dei vicini più in precedenza  
 informati, arrivarono con MARICELI  
 oltre che con pale e picconi  
 e mazze, alcuni trasportarono  
 contenitori vuoti di pitture.  
 Come spiegato infatti, FLORES e  
 poi PENITO una CUG non  
 americano sarebbe venuto  
 il giorno successivo a realizzare  
 lo scalmato.  
 Da questo apparso tale CUG  
~~non~~ sig. lavoro con  
 H.U. di TERESA in passato  
 mettendo parte del materiale e  
 di mano dopo (Già infatti si  
 poteva notare la presenza di sabbia  
 al base della ~~terreno~~ dove dormi

\* Picconi, Pale; Martelli;  
 Tomak; Pano e picchi di picco;  
 Mazze de roccia; contenitori  
 di pitture vuoti (o rete de sig.)  
 segretto per ferro.

Chiedeva il  
 nome...  
 MOVIMENTO  
 SECIDARIO  
 Kery Proprietà  
 02/03/2018

21  
 realizzare la casa scalmata  
 200 m (tutto si dovrebbe  
 ma compreso nella parte alta del H.U.  
 in zona implosione a intorre  
 il materiale in una "borsa"  
 ripistigli verde umido.  
 Il materiale, di proprietà della  
 stessa comunità, non ~~era~~ necessario  
 buone condizioni. Evolutamente  
 fu usato ~~per~~ per una notte con  
 lo stesso fine (CASSAFORMA) il  
~~materiale~~ ~~era~~ ancora chiuso  
 impigriti erano presenti e il legno  
 in vari punti presentava buchi  
 dotti da paracelati "chiodatura"  
~~con~~ quantità di cemento come  
 ancora staccate al legno e gli  
 compaiono un colore bruno scuro.  
 Uomini e donne trasportano a  
 mano libere assi di legno e  
 tavole del ripistigli/operano  
 fino allo stato della sabbia  
 dove ospitano il progetto  
 Alle 8.42 tutto il materiale  
 si trova sul posto ed inizia  
 la fase (2)  
 Tre operai si valano contemporaneamente  
 A - liberare il passaggio dei  
 tronchi che, impalcati, il successo  
 passano ~~dei~~ ~~travessi~~.  
 2 di questi venano sradati  
 sul posto e parte dell'acqua  
 fu usata per smuovere il  
 terreno che stava per essere  
 scavo.  
 5 persone  
 ci stavano lavorando



\* fase o momento  
 di approssimazione di pose  
 intorno a partenza... dopo l'ora



26

4) Il supra fires alla fine  
 venuto 11:30: di un  
 stato all'ennesse se fatto  
 in gruppo... come un conto  
 all'impresa!!

Sentendosi toccati probabilmente  
 nel prefacio della base sotto  
 autoranea in questo architetto:  
 (soprattutto se pensati agli  
 ingegneri) interessati e  
 stato notare la loro reazione  
 il racconto dell'impresa  
 FREDDO e poco sensibile  
 ALTO esigono del popolo  
 più discusso e la Missione  
 dell'architetto era FUSIONE  
 ad spato allo discussione!  
 Temendo di avere che 360  
 s'era un pezzo di fornire  
 comprare flessibile

Verso le 11:30 siamo per  
 da DAGAZZI di TECNO di  
 LIDERTAZZO COMMUNICAZIONE forse  
 per il Tema di Pasqua...

Ma ne era il più dopo in  
 divenire di 7 de fino dove  
 mentre i ingegnere di HABITAT

Non siamo gli unici "Professionisti"  
 a rispondere così... il mondo  
 passato di fare del bene... ma al  
 contempo ignorando il contesto  
 nel quale operano (USURVIA RESTRETTA?)

Riflessioni sui 2 Architetti

Esprimono opinioni dopo solo  
 30 minuti di discorso in seppure  
 prouto per alcuni momenti  
 mi sono sentiti particolarmente  
 interpellati, e mi ho fatto  
 pensare.

- Il fatto che abbiamo preso 10  
 minuti per spiegare i progetti  
 del secolo più della persona  
 del locale comunale  
 e poi di nessuno nella progetto  
 ABITATIVA non può essere  
 un corso
- Il fatto che abbiamo tentato  
 di rendere un prodotto più  
 semplice che per legge non  
 avrebbero potuto e abbiamo  
 le regole con una "base"  
 patetica e un elite rivale  
 che li guardano (o di quello)
- Il fatto che abbiamo voluto  
 una missione Totale  
 distorta o basata sul nulla  
 che rende gli architetti  
 compromessi e flessibili  
 mentre gli ingegneri freddi  
 e rigidi... in base bene  
 sul lato uno non su  
 quello lavorano... è stato  
 nichilo... ~~nessuno~~
- Li ho visti in difficoltà  
 nel rispondere alle domande  
 forse solo per non che fanno  
 pochi punti ad esse spuntati!

FAUNA COMMUNICAZIONE (PRACTICE) 28/03/2018 28

PROJECTS	TASKS	ACTIONS
1 IL RAPPORTO	1.1 Riflessioni Fiori da Nacho locale con gli stressi	1.1.1 - Al 2011 6.00 2 - Padone pale o facci 3 - De stante cele 5 - <del>Altre</del> Vestivi (appropiate?)
	1.2 Seguire la presenza	1.2.1 - Preche lo bello - Guce le uconat - Appone fino a Light
	1.3 Post e come?	
2 LA CHARCA	2.1 Sp. Pias fo il pato dello situzione (Presenza, Relt- Ani do sindra)	
	2.2 Motivazione (De lavoro spazio l'ipote all' sua collett)	
	2.3 Bontà sociale i Copati in fina delle passare	
3 DA TRANSUMENZA	3.1 Ricarsi sul luogo di lomo ossegolo	3.1 Una 3.2 Padone Guce in Preche
	3.2 Trasparenza il Razionale	
4 IL CAMPO	4.1 Opere Pila 4.2 Poline stela 4.3 Esame litograf	4.5 <del>Trasparenza</del>

Costo 945742245 Onaster Espansao

FAUNA COMMUNICAZIONE  
 ESCLUSIVA  
 Esclusivo ando y disculo  
 Base  
 Base de NAVARRA  
 Es1  
 Agua por gas al anto grado  
 Comprar 1 tubo de aço  
 Cada lot 150 metros  
 10 m<sup>3</sup> de area grande  
 No presupuesto  
 Mapa de PISTAS ce ralejo en 3 años  
 con tubo de desagüe  
 No contratou  
 IMPORTE DI ANF  
 SUR CEMENTO

DIARIO DI CAMPO 07/04/2018 41

EL TEEBOL

Dopo aver chiamato a parlato  
 con LUIS FLORES, Karly (TECHO)  
 mi contate per ~~stipendi~~ che se  
 questo ruolo ~~discussione~~ rimirni con la  
 "messa de Trabajo/Tecnico" sono  
 probabilmente dovuto scire nell'  
 H.U. il sabato pomeriggio in  
 quanto i dirigenti lo domenica  
 mattina sarebbero stati occupati  
 in un altra riunione.

Contrariamente a quanto dettomi  
 mentre non ci sarebbe stato  
 nessun lavoro sul Giordano/Enzo  
 nemmeno dalla parte dei  
 volontari della UCL.

Accettai a condurre che si fossero  
 anche i arreas de si impegnava  
 con la "messa" di habitat, ma dopo  
 un giro di chiacchiere e consultazioni  
 copri che probabilmente non sarebbe  
 venuti.

Dopo ~~una~~ compagnia di salire,  
 lo presi come un occasione per  
 vedere la comunità divisa in  
 grupe differenziate che le obediende  
 mio tridimensional pero ad nito.

Arrivammo alle 4pm. ~~all'ora~~  
 dell'incontro e come previsto nessuno  
 era ancora presente.

Il primo ad arrivare fuo il  
 sig. FLORES y al sig. Lucia fignora  
 camminando vni con poco lento.  
 Fimmo subito distati da un onigono  
 pochi minuti prima del nostro arrivo infatti

Penso gli stessi volentari della  
 UCL partecipano lo solito  
 x mondo conseguenza del  
 misterioso rapporto. (BOMBUCCIO)

Annexa  
 P. BO 11/03/2017  
 Volume I

42  
 Un palo della corrente elettrica  
 piovono in bombao sono  
 caduto spezzandosi alla base e  
 collassando sopra altri altri fili  
 dell'atto Tenace facendo inchieste  
 instaurate un altro palo per  
 la Tenace esercitate.

Ci attinno subito per Tomponne il  
 problema primo dell'arrivo dell'impresso  
 che avrebbe sistemato il problema.

Per primo caso sciammo un buco  
 al lato del palo spezzato proficuo  
 un metro all'incirca con pala  
 piccola e un paio di metri  
 successivamente legammo un cavo  
 allo peto cavo del palo caduto  
 e tirammo per farlo ricadere.  
 Il quarto palo venne spinto la  
 parte fuori Tenso all'interno delle  
 nuova sistemazione.

Il lavoro più stancante fu lo  
 stabilizzazione del palo. Mentre  
 2 venni menziona durante il buco  
 con voce e subito io gli altri  
 2 ragazzi di Techo, invece al sig.  
 Flores si avventò davanti Tenace base  
 il palo perché ripropone la posizione  
 primo verticale perché il colloquio  
 attraverso tendeva di molto il palo  
 e fu come tutti molto fatica a  
 tirarlo verticali...

Giusto a lungo concluso arrivò  
 2 ragazzi dello scuola impresso

93  
 finitura del servizio e deciso  
 invece di apponere le ~~...~~  
 communi se un palo nuovo in  
 caneto anneto e dunque con un  
 stabilito maggiore.

Nel frattempo cominciamo invece a  
 fare lo stesso servizio con l'altro  
 palo in legno <sup>in legno</sup> pericolosamente inclinato verso  
 l'abitazione di uno dei signori  
 che si stava autotono.

Una copina subito a esso fosse  
 dovuto il primo colosso... perché  
 il palo di bombao non sembrano  
 essersi spezzati perché moriva...  
 ne per un caduto di Tenace.

Tra a quello un vicino non manteneva il poggio di  
 un caneto o quello di essere...  
 non compresi bene.

Alti mesi conto così di 5 case

- la chiusura della finitura prima  
 dell'elettico
- Che esisteva voce impresa che  
 posticcia le stabilite
- la mano di far manutenzione  
 in caso di guasti.

Allo chiusura della "fina" impresa  
 nessun vicino oltre ai primi anni  
 era presente. Il signor Luis clavo  
 quindi il permesso per diventare ad  
 Anzuelo. Tramite ~~...~~ Impunto  
 di informazione comunitaria.

Il sistema è abbastanza ingegnoso  
 perché funziona. Tramite conoscenze  
 allo rete mobile. Esisto dunque  
 un nuovo e allo rispetto il sistema

44  
 viene estremamente attento.  
 Al palae lo voce (ormi con  
 un servizio di ritardo) ampliato.

~~...~~ dato che nessuno dei vicini  
 che ricreava il compito del  
 Techo stabilitò arrivo. Kerly inviò  
 la sua attento.

Questo in sostanza era l'official  
 sessione del comitato di Techo  
 con il N. di EL TRIBOC e nelle  
 specifico con l'arrivo de TRIBOC  
 con il quale Techo lavora in ogni  
 comitato [che si sarebbe dovuto  
 formalizzare in precedenza]

Oltre questo venne ripresentato  
 il piano di ABQUE con la  
 pivotto selezionato dallo  
 comitato che ~~...~~ dommo esse  
 realizzato nel prossimo semestre.

Mentre si stava verificando lo  
 fattibilità economica di alcune  
 proposte: il sig. FLORES comitato;  
 giusto per le elezioni comunali  
 di questo anno il CANDIDATO

EDIBERTO QUIJPE (Solididad Nueva)  
 mi ha chiesto che ci serviva e più  
 abbiamo fatto vedere il locale  
 comunale... che mancava il  
 tetto e che saranno voluto una  
 canche pali deportim y el  
 se completato a realizzarle

N° Tel. del SISTEMA DI AMPLIFICAZIONE  
 964 173 953 (+51)

Kerly infatti mi ha confidato  
 che però da qualche mese sarebbe  
 • ~~...~~ dentro bene.  
 Era lo necessario imminente e  
 lo candidatura del sig. FLORES  
 ad un incarico in ABSOLUTAMENTE  
 to dirigenti che in un evento  
 organizzato da TECHO mt.  
 Omnia il comitato ufficiale  
 altro sarebbe stato post-datato  
 e non più quale dunque lo  
 fatti risultava come antecedente.

proporzionale di suo mano se avremmo  
 (cioè è un impianto solo ed  
 a lui non costo niente) "

Apparse notizie  
 dunque  
 l'istituzione globale venne e  
 ci chiese di cosa avremmo  
 necessario. Quando viene ci  
 regalato 200 sacchi di caneto  
 e con quelli realizzammo il  
 locale comunale "

Sembra dunque una pratica consolidata  
 quella delle promesse elettorali  
 che molto si annunciano alla comparsa  
 venute di voti... compromesso da  
 accordo.

Accadde perché il sig. Flores  
 ribadì più volte che non un  
 accordo tra le parti non esisteva  
 firmato e che sarebbe andato da  
 lui per concluderlo.

Verso le 19.00 si concluse l'incarico  
 e vennero assistenti ad uno spettacolo  
 affaristico... migliao di luci  
 su tutte le colline difese a  
 noi illuminano la notte.

Versom lo spettacolo era vero ancora  
 più stimolante in quanto nel TRIBOC  
 e in altre comitato HH.VV. della ENCABLA (Buenos)  
 non esiste "Almuerzo publico y luz  
 definitiva" e dunque non in era  
 imminente l'incasso.

95  
 PROMESSE ELETTORALI?  
 Sulle legalità di  
 queste azioni ~~...~~ dover  
 discutere... ragazzi con  
 i ragazzi di KRUSKA





Per quanto riguarda la qualità della costruzione parlavo con Edith mi è stato possibile capire che l'assenza di fono ed il poco confort, inserito nelle scabine, non obbligano a una struttura della cantina.

Inoltre il fatto di non avere il cemento inserito fa sì che restino sbaldate, molti dicono che non va bene ad un altro, perché da vedere cosa c'è sotto tutto il cemento posso farne che compromette l'intera la qualità della struttura.

La presenza di agenti del settore invece ha portato a parlare la comunità di fronte a noi, i quali e un altro non troppo chiaro, come per esempio è avvenuto nella scabina realizzata solo qualche mese fa.

Concludendo Benito mi ha confidato che il suo problema sono il patrimonio. Quelli di tipo economico sono molto ripabili dopo 3 anni se lasciati a sale sono adeguati. Tuttavia, quelli di natura molto costosa, me la ha negata. Nel EL Prece non va bene perché si realizzano passano con tutti i diritti... / Denari: a saber Durano

Un problema per il costo totale della scabina non è stato fatto....

Preferiamo mettere poco a poco il denaro... altrimenti se i miei scopri quanto ci sono a costare gli passeremo lo righe di partecipare e sostenere l'opera mi ho detto Benito.

Da questo Edith mi ha detto di tornare un paio di mesi lontani di denaro e lavorare per concluderlo.

### HABITAT

10/04/2018

DIG PROPOS REGULAMEN para obras en la zona Habitacion - Ca  
Katuska  
MARTES 17 18  
Presidencia de Senado finis lapo 8 pm - 10 pm

Jonathan Koss;

ESTADO CO ADOPTACIONES que expon ellos por los otros. Que ellos van a elegir

Sobito Tasso de BARRO MLO



### DIABLO DE CAMPO

14/04/2018

Percy organizo un encuentro con la vecina Esther Lasso di Minas 2000 un Alt. situado sul lato opposto a Carlos Rojas nel settore 2 de S.J.M.

Esther oltre ad essere la dirigente della comunità è anche una delle responsabili della Commissione

poi Sottoscrizione Pisco Legal de Nueva Rinconada.

Sfortunatamente non riuscimmo a parlare con la vecina. Seprimo lo sera stesso che fu per un grave problema familiare. Tutto questo uscì di sabato mattina in un sito comunità non fu utile.

Quando arrivammo a Minas 2000 incontrammo vicino della sig. Esther Lasso (con altra vecina) intanto a loro la proprio bancario in timore, scappano e successivamente saltano il muro nella strada.... Queste prendono le "corretas" fono e problema di buco. Non avendo l'infrastruttura scano AGUF e BORGUE non vecinas delle comunità svenno scapò di scorta in strada. Effettivamente questo potrebbe essere un'alternativa PRATICA individuali da realizzare...  
Altre informazioni sulla consegna come all'acquisto dell'inf. Tasso e obispo di TACHO HABITAT

devoir Tenente in casabonera  
.....  
Incompleta oltre patite scabine da malgosa....  
- Queno de Boring  
- Queno de amules y masecho  
- .....  
PRESTIGIOS!  
(G sono mi ortol in internet) di lei e delle comunitate  
Devoim muelan  
M settimana....

### GRASOSES

15/04/2018

Fuera comunal  
6.00 -> Cereso a los  
7.30 -> 1/2 vecinas  
Gas vecina se venon en lo ocular....

El veno CISTO  
Defenso Guit y Taso de la Luz  
Desarrollo de la comunidad.... @r.

La vecina VERONICA  
Altos costos de la luz....  
una vecina gomo due muasosi c'è un abogado che interalo il proceso nell'opao

- Richieste di aiuto per muasosi della cosa perché solo non usano ..... il marito Goro  
- Posso al Escusare lento copos 1 nos (re no?)  
- Taso de la UNICU!!  
CISTO.... basso lo pacto  
L Reporto del PNUD (Microplan)

Gas NW si PNUD FARGO PAGUA!!

A corso delle immagini classa nell'A.U. di El Trebol lo stituto di ferro sono state momentaneamente sospese... questo mi ha dato la possibilità di prendere lo mio stivatore su questo stivatore nelle altre comitate nell'area di STADIG. Nel corso delle uscite più piguama con Percip di sabato 15/04/2018 in cui ci incontrammo con il cocchiere di GIBBONS, che era a pi. chiediamo della ferro. In stato di confusione, la ferro comita sarebbe dovuta mirare alle 6 in punto! Mi incontrai così con Percip alle 6.20 davanti al locale comitato... legamente in ritardo sulla tavola di piano corso trasporto pubblico (troppo pieno e sono cose esaminate) GIBBONS è un piccolo A.H. formato da un sala sciamata da cantina uno puntato di omme... niente che radica con le altre 1000 omme del El Trebol.....

- Giò si gusa de la puntata parano l'area o disadanza, per questo non mi preoccupi necessariamente di essere arrivato in ritardo... tutto si spelmano in stia ora obbligate prima che gli i nomi si riunisca. Uno di essi, il sig. CISTO parte delle dirigenti burro parte per conto alabo e scendendo da un scala due

Il locale comitato non esiste in realtà... c'è un spazio annesso a Tennerio dove la parte è sotto i nomi e dove anche noi di Techo ci ritrovano

de omme into 1000 scali.  
Alle 7.30 om ci riunimo con altri 14 nomi nelle pozze o rete scalo la sig. HARETA (la dirigente)  
Rimpresero vicini per essere omati in ritardo all'appuntamento e per questo rimase lei fosse presente alle 6.20 punto omme). Io e Percy sono stati case Copro aprato l'anno  
2) contano per barchette e ritardati e forse dichiarazioni fatti, come l'è uno verpusso.  
3) Si passo poi alle fine di interrogare richimato all'omise e all'alla collaborazione di Tutti per raggiungere il "DIRETTORE DE LA COMUNITA". Alcuni nomi non ai stoma e rivestito lo loro partecipazione a chiedere alla dirigente di ristabilire l'uso del megafono nelle con. parte Tutti sentono subito lo chiamato sono prendere il vino cisto parte per parte.  
Conclusa la ferro propomato come non è rischio... il sale alto omise era fatto il buio.  
Come visto orde nel EL TREBO il problema delle notizie e delle partecipazioni di tutti i vicini è sempre centrale.  
La sig. HARETA appaio come per spiegare la storia e i lavori prodotti.

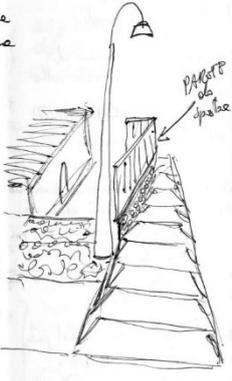
68 Il tono principale delle discussioni fu il tono delle luci e illuminazione. Per questo più instabile i piani e i con elettrici soffitti. L'ellettro ancora non è in presente. Rivisto a corso di alcune abitudini tra questo presente nel ACARO VISORO e questo pl. speter poi risonanza nelle realtà. Devote differmito si tornato poi in quelle che vanno disonate EXPOS omme indiosai su come procedere per mettere all'interno di città considerati idonei alla riduzione del processo.  
In quel momento Gibbols si tona con 3 diversi. tutte mesi o se scorporati con il piano da parte di pezzi di abitazioni.  
Da quanto compreso le famiglie rivestite da questi scorporati, sole non sarebbero state in grado di realizzare l'ossito delle papa abitazione. Vene quindi deciso di andare collettivamente la ricerca con lo spostamento di un parte di nuovo per fianco dell'abitazione.  
Venne orke presentati dei parti ulteriori riguardanti proprio il lavoro con TEXCO con il quale

W3 e ACUMBRADO definitiva di WE di SUR  
Inizio si può di sconferati mani dell'ordine di 20 cm.... gusti, finiti il più delle volte. Comunque intenti, problematici per qualche metro.... Inolopose!!

67 la comita si era compresso. SARET X AMARATI  
- Richiesta di un mio di contenente di 1500s  
- Relativa raccolta fondi (Mocilia)  
- Annonzazione e circola di aree di stato stivare sullo scalo  
- Partecipazione al TAVIA della diana succuma (22) nel EL TREBO.  
C'è da poi si dovrebbe stabilire i capitoli, uno dei nomi dove che era occupato e che non sarebbe partecipati alla "fano". Lo nome HARETA dove allora che sarebbe dovuto pagare una multa di 20 S.  
Nello succupano intervista fatto ab sig. HARETA il quale mi venne spiegato meglio  
Un'altro discorso sul pato venne sollevato da un uomo. Fosse infatti che W3 del SUR sia partito nell'insediato censo omise la dirigente tempo più ed ebbe effettuato queste accettati. Mettendo in difficoltà la dirigente. Per questo la sig. HARETA per legge le istituzioni della omise la dirigente chissà se era pure dai controll. pare si che il tempo sp. incaricati di lavoro: dalla e impo. La Viena HARETA conchiuse ricordando l'importanza di RUPERTARE il PAVO USARDO!!

70 Termino la 'dola' mio  
 diseg. la piccola casa abitativa  
 per sutura la veduta e aprire  
 una parete in legno dell'abitazione  
 la parte ora solo propinqua  
 una parete nera sotto che  
 porta la postera snottata, ma  
 invece lo abbinare fu di  
 questo la di parete centrale  
 anche non oltrepassare il  
 segno lasciato come riferimento  
 da W2 del SUK. Per la  
 parte viene dunque questa no  
 scintillare sull'alto lato con  
 il tetto in lamiera dell'abitazione  
 e finisco non fu possibile  
 rinviare del segno.

Per ogni A differenzia di questo  
 venire con il tavolo non  
 mi pare di aver visto nessun  
 profilo fine.



78 DIARIO DI CAMPO

22/04/2018

Percy si mise d'accordo ancora  
 una volta per passare dalla  
 signora ESTER LEVANO la  
 Presidente della commissione  
 di Sperimento Fisico e Chimico  
 della Nuova Rincondo.

Anzi un poco più tardi all'appuntamento  
 delle 10 ma non mi feci troppi  
 problemi parlando agli impegni  
 della serata Tant'è che alla salute  
 concessa del tempo parvono.

Percy approfittò ancora poco del  
 mio intervallo per parlare con il  
 "doppi" di uno dei tanti comitati  
 austere presenti nella zona.

Andò quindi mi raccontò di  
 come si servono la Nuova Rincondo  
 sia in associazione perpetua di  
 servizi come... sino 30 mi pare...  
 che si riforniscono direttamente  
 da ESTERPAE a veduto per  
 i scopi in tutte le zone.

None dell'impresa a tutti eletti  
 utili vennero però primo o poi  
 autorizzati dal PERCY in una  
 campo de Habitat.

Avremmo difeso le cose  
 della signora ESTER verso la  
 10.20 e altrettanto aspettare  
 altri 40 minuti l'arrivo delle

COMITATO  
 HABITAT

signora  
 ci chiese di aspettare fuori  
 qualche minuto e lo vidi  
 pulito e galbanato per proporsi  
 una tavola e delle sedie due  
 sedicini. Pensai subito che la  
 cosa fosse diversa da paravento  
 perché il livello di parlare  
 era alto, anche per se non  
 era monono il letto e della  
 signora si trovò punto sullo stesso  
 paravento principale dove erano  
 sistemati e Terri paravano di  
 continuo scolorimento in gran parlare.  
 Ci confermo successivamente di  
 non abitare lì. ~~Non abitava~~

Non aveva di una gran notte  
 (lo stesso di ma molto) andate  
 infatti Trovammo vicino allo clinico  
 dove era in corso.

La lezione alla sign. ormai poi  
 anche un giorno molto delle  
 comitate... che tutto la cura  
 40 anni, comunque molti non  
 dello sup. ESTER che minus na  
 Taver 60. Fu lo sig. ESTER  
 stesso ad invitare... ci disse che  
 voleva approfittare delle chiacchiere  
 per apponere pure il rapporto  
 in questo sempre molto interessato  
 alle necessità e bisogni delle comitate

Questo grazie il "suo  
 medico" della figlia  
 esteso di famiglia.

Con Ester alla fine ci metteranno  
fino quasi alle 13.00. Più  
di 2 ore.

Anche se nessuno dei due (io e Percy)  
veniva preparato con domande  
specifiche... l'esperienza accumulata  
in questi mesi e la informazione  
raccolta ci permisero di andare e richiedere informazioni  
negli altri punti toccati di  
sfuggita magari. Non che ci  
fosse bisogno di studiare le  
convenienze con nuove domande  
perché lo stesso Ester sapeva  
se era ben avviato e sembrava  
avere anche una buona opinione  
del TESCO e dunque visto che  
face l'intervista.

Ho avuto informazioni raccolte e ho  
mi potremo avere tutto il materiale  
per il progetto di Tesi. Es.  
- Minca 2000 è stata la prima impresa  
nella Mezzogiorno.  
- Impresa non organizzata... l'  
organizzazione è venuta successivamente  
- Succesive si sono venute creando dalla  
proprietà del terreno e delle zone  
di "Riscopo"  
- Con la FENIA come hanno  
costituito tutto! Dalle strade alle  
scale... sono l'auto dello Stato!  
(imprese o enti)

Ascoltare 3  
Registrazione  
Audio

Lo municipio si ha concerno  
la costruzione di possesso a tutto fu del principio

I problemi principali dell'  
area sono:

- A - Contro uso del suolo
- B - Mitigazione ambientale e  
curve delle chiodine
- C - ~~rischio~~ Mitigazione del  
rischio fisico.
- D - Conflitti di natura legale  
tra proprietà a occupati

lo comunque che il diritto  
di possesso superi il diritto  
allo proprietà...

lo comunque che il diritto  
ad uso casa sia sancito  
e lo costituzione...

C'è un procedimento altro  
(ora fino) per fare dell'area  
una zona di intervento speciale  
(obbligazione di risarcimento grande)

Esistono vari nodi per ottenere  
il possesso del Titolo  
solo 2 regolamenti applicati:  
A - PRONTO (strada)  
B - USOCOM (pavimento)

Chiedono

a Rifina o Muska

Tutto il suo ragionamento e  
lo suo modo di lavorare  
giorno intero e questi 2  
punti.

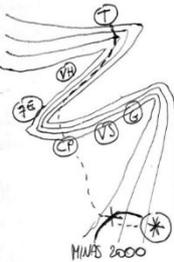
Solo con questi 2...  
do quanto riferiti...  
è possibile che sia lo  
stato poi a procedere con  
il regolamento FISICO dell'  
ALBA

Comunque che suo lavoro  
poi per conto del MUNICIPIO  
Fisico... ??

Terminato l'incontro io e Percy  
ci andavamo. Mi diressero così  
verso il TESCO dell'altro lato  
della collina e sul piazzale  
v'è apposto delle guardie per  
partecipare al TANTO, lo  
strada fatto molte volte sotto  
il sole cocente continuando  
a essere lo stesso... però strada  
e pronti a concentrarsi sul percorso  
diverso limitando e non quello  
distante.

Dato che mi ritornavo a passeggiare  
e la mia attenzione si concentrò  
sullo strada fatto.

Ho fatto scalate dei gradini  
irregolari e dai passaggi  
consumati, fessure o rovine. Sono  
presenti, ho prima dei ponti la  
prima viene il marciapiede, un  
lungo e ripido sottile e  
tutto fu a 7 ore diverse  
da lì una pista pedonale  
fu a praticare sempre  
a El Trabul. Su questa  
strada c'è che mi colpì più  
- furono i cumuli di materiali  
allo costruzione presenti ogni  
dove di natura diversi alle  
abitazioni



lo pratica di costruire lo  
spazio abitativo (limitato)  
lo conseguenza dunque  
anche sulle pochissime delle  
spazio ad uso collettivo...  
... interessante

Erano canali di Ghiozza e  
Sabbia presenti per essere usati  
per il collettivo.

Chiamate le mie attenzioni en  
focalizzate anche sul potenziale  
particolare nostro sito ad ogni  
mezzogiorno del sito ogni angolo  
e sintetizzato dall'anno delle  
abitazioni. GANI. Che tali ad  
in basso lo spazio regolare...

ed i passaggi come me vengono  
per costruiti ad "sviluppare"  
il loro cammino (Dreasa) tende  
in curvatura lo loro percorso,  
curvato di non spartiti ed  
ignorato il loro carattere storico!

Il percorso bene attenti due  
facciamo nella zona grande della  
strada come attenti lo mio attenzione

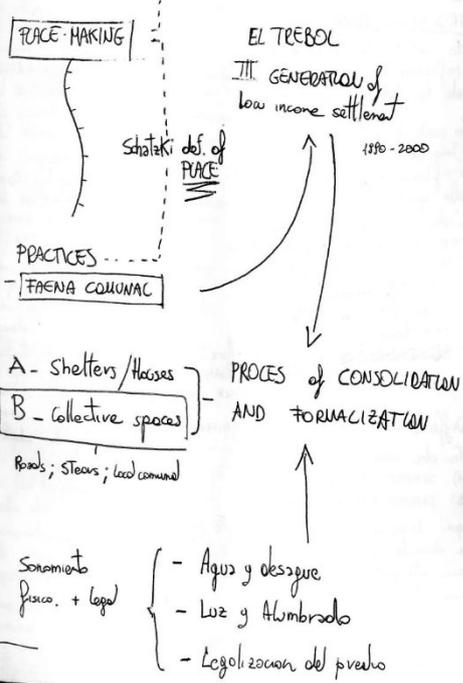
A - il "senso" dell'area di scivolo  
in strada... o compreso lo  
sviluppo con scavo interno  
precluso negli di foglio e  
rischia per ogni dove...  
incluso però erano delle grade  
opere di abitato e particolare da  
di quell'acqua soprannata

B - l'Elemento nuovo di influenze urban  
per la strada e i punti spaziali  
accumulo qui e là come cordell, fessure di legno sott,  
scale sotto le mare altre cose che

Si è visto quanto ho capito non  
 troppo raccolte normalmente  
 con il comon. delle gossatine  
 e che era presenti ad ingenti  
 e non pareva essere spartite  
 di molto senso "auto" adeguato.

Di un terzo eletto mi vidi conto  
 più tardi quando mi soffiai  
 il naso una volta mentre c'era  
 la polska rapinata sulla strada  
 aveva altri comai o altri notizi  
 e è spessissimo che ti viene soldato  
 e d'altro... nelle mie agenzie  
 dello spazio pubblico questo o  
 in eletto al fondo!!

Arrivai al TANITA poco più delle  
 chiese e la mia o compunti  
 con il sig. WIS e lo sig. GORRINI  
 per la loro selezione all'istante  
 interazione di TECKO e Biondi  
 e ad informarsi ~~per~~ ~~tecnica~~ in  
 El Trebol che dovrebbe riuscire  
 Denario 05/05/2018



86  
 Riflessioni sopra la lettera  
 di

IRIS ROSAS MEZA  
 la cultura costruttiva  
 informal y la trasformacion  
 de los barrios caraqueños

Per questo lo scritto analizza prospettive  
 di fatto dell'abitazione informale  
 la riflessione vale anche per l'habitat  
 delle zone costruite in passato.  
 L'idea della trasformazione progressiva  
 emerge fortemente e nelle mie note  
 emerge alcuni elementi presenti anche  
 nel EL TREBOL.....

- Soluzioni fatte con cooperatori  
 o in corso
- ~~Soluzioni costruite~~ Soluzioni costruite  
 man mano: PASAPASO con TECI DI RENTITA  
 SUELS SUELS!!

Difficile trovare notizie le contropartite

- Tra due visioni in RSEU
- A) STATISTE PROFESSIONALIS
- B) SAPEROS EMPIRICO

qui la nozione è distinte e normale prevede  
 e dunque e la sua ampia gamma sia alla  
 sua interpretazione che alla sua totale  
 assue da parte

Come concordato in precedenza  
 mi ritrovai con i ragazzi di Habitat  
 al ARCHI verso le ore 8:00 am  
 Insieme a loro 4 volontari di  
 KASKA e Kerly dell'eq. di comitato  
 del EL TREBOL. con loro mi diressi  
 alle comitate per seguire la realizzazione  
 del PARCO vicino al nucleo. Concretizza  
 con i ragazzi della uni: USIL a  
 ormai sul posto ~~nessa~~ ~~mi~~ ~~separi~~  
 da Kerly a dei volatori di KASKA  
 a scarsi a lavorare nel parco con  
 la USIL.



Non avendo con me niente di  
 di partecipare direttamente alle attività  
 e ne approfittai per fare qualche  
 domanda.

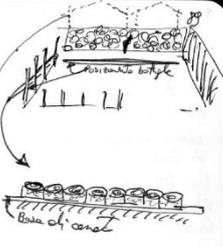
Lottino da sviluppare per il seguito  
 di quello più mirato che viene  
 con la spesa qualche settimana  
 prima. In sostanza riempire  
 bottiglie di plastica (una 60ml) con  
 con sabbia. COMPATTARLA BENE  
 che più lo puelo può essere usato da  
 quello che s'impone essere il responsabile  
 e realizzazione delle attività) anche  
 ad accettare la botti che in un  
 singolo. Variante di complicato.

Altre che 3 parte in realtà i ragazzi  
 ammassa sformati di tutto. Si ripropone  
 per creare degli imbuti togliendo delle  
 bottigliette (con fobini protette da un nastro)

88 ma da fare, in campo, cercano  
 Ta: "rifletti" fogliati nel parco  
 qualche strumento da tenere facoltativi  
 "linea". Testi dunque di creare un imbuto  
 in un cartello di plastica fusa ma  
 a quel punto sarebbero stati necessari:  
 E volentieri bottiglie con a tenere l'imbuto  
 l'alto x riempire di solito... allo fine  
 ogni x il riempimento diretto con la  
 pala. Riempite le prime 2 bottiglie  
 e grande scottato arrivati sulle  
 condanne di poco meno del parco  
 pl. chiesi sul progetto, loro ambiti  
 di simili, manutenzione dell'area  
 Il progetto venne finanziato dalla  
 USK e presentato su proposta dei  
 TECHO ad un gruppo di studenti.  
 Tutti studenti di amministrazione...  
 forse per questo così poco organizzati  
 nella pratica: concorso bottiglie; non  
 tutte tonano il tappo; una spede  
 e naturalmente; no sin punto  
 fornic e pelotte (nonno non  
 troppo differente da quello  
 fecero d'incute la forza le  
 donne scabette al riempimento  
 delle bottiglie. Il responsabile  
 Mi mostro il progetto tracciato  
 a mano delle linee ed intendo  
 a caso sopravvive le bottiglie

Per il progetto omisitò recabbe  
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In pratica le bottiglie sarebbero state  
 usate prima ad internate  
 per fornire il materiale all'interno del  
 quale costruire le piante.  
 Messo su due lati, inteso ad  
 esteso all'altro e permesso.  
 L'intento era non di disse di vola  
 creare un parco per bambini ma  
 quando gli chiesi chi fosse stato  
 beneficiario. Testamento e quando  
 invece gli chiesi se fossero stati fatti  
 degli studi su pl. usi effettivi del  
 parco (quello ricollocando di volta  
 TECHO ebbe una vista queste cose  
 TECHO? Possibile no non probabile  
 dato che il disegno progettuale venne fatto  
 da un volontario di PIC Techo  
 l'idea di dividere dello studio  
 mi venne poco prima venendo da  
 un parco di macchine (Vistante  
 non da "Venno" aveva giusto torto  
 perché proprio lì, dentro.  
 Anche soltanto della manutenzione non lo  
 risposta non fu soddisfacente...  
 Di queste cose se ne occupano  
 i vicini disse.  
 Una sorpresa, imprevista la scelta  
 ragionata della USK quando il  
 sig. BEVITO ricordando gli disse  
 che nel giro di qualche settimana sarebbero  
 dovute iniziare gli "lavori" di costruzione  
 ed due mesi dopo tornarsi nei liti piante e disse



Futuro obiettivo  
 potenziale notevole  
 disse dove restano le  
 risorse?!

Progetto di infrastruttura  
 comunitaria.

89 e da dunque i lavori di  
 sistemazione vani e papi ma  
 sarebbe potuto partire prima  
 di questo... visto che lo  
 spazio sarebbe stato occupato  
 come rogo e luogo  
 di lavoro.  
 Una futura dunque che abbia  
 risolto tutte l'incubi che  
 lavorano....

Riflettere da fare e  
 molto interessante...  
 Lo spazio pubblico... o ad  
 uso collettivo non è uno  
 spazio di tutto e dunque di natura  
 utilizzabile a discrezione di chi  
 se ne appropria!  
 Che cosa dice i moti di natura  
 e  
 artefatti fatti che occupano  
 e costituiscono lo spazio ad  
 uso collettivo... come?

- SPAZIO AD USO COLLETTIVO  
 = SPAZIO CHE È POSSIBILE  
 USARE COME CACCHIO  
 MI PARRE?
- SPAZIO PUBBLICO =  
 SPAZIO DOMINATO DA  
 UN ENTE CHE LO RISPONDE  
 E VIGILA.....?
- SPAZIO PUBBLICO =  
 SPAZIO DI SOCIALIZZAZIONE?  
 (E NON CACCHIO)

Non tutto spazi  
 pubblici negli insediamenti  
 umani sono sotto il  
 ente di controllo!!  
 con forza tale da imporsi sul  
 spazio

Allo stato mi sono date  
 un'idea con ETHUSA e la punta  
 di una di, il TRAZZ x via che  
 il loro dell'abitazione e un po' di  
 sudato. Caso rivoluzionario del bilocale  
 dello spazio fucato in rito delle  
 case; lo caso di stile a dato da  
 difendersi.

Il gestito allora a Villa Tomasco.  
 Anche lì sono andati a monitorare con  
 dei vicini per discutere il loro  
 del SUOLO e vivibilità. Solo  
 E vicini partecipano a quel  
 il sig. SURI col un ex dirigente  
 il sig. MEDVA che fino dell'anno  
 dello divenne fondale di chiuse  
 questo quale fosse il ruolo di TECHO  
 e analizzò il fatto da suo punto di  
 vista. che lobby negli insediamenti  
 della casa e da prima procedeva  
 ai piani interessi specifici. Non più  
 nessuno che oltre TECHO era con  
 che pare l'impegno con la parte TECHO  
 loro era operabile così e che pure  
 so da volentieri di TECHO grazie  
 ma i obiettivi parati (DOTTORATO)  
 Techo, che lo mio schietto e simantico  
 la capisco perché più mi ricordo dello  
 monico nella quale più interessi individuali  
 sono il bene "collettivo" potremmo par  
 alle "comunità". Per fare alle più piccole  
 case olti amministrativi da tollerare  
 piuttosto il processo di cambiamento  
 del fitt. (cosa c'è)  
 L'intenzione è interessante ed spesso  
 siamo tempo stabilire.....!!

Villa Heredia 2 se  
 onale prion 1600 seles  
 pa independencia  
 Ananda a asamblea  
 Tehera

- Vmolo } Lo
- Estiolo de suelo } Anoto
- ~~Vmolo~~ Geomalia } 30 S.

Schachul que lo 2 1r  
 pa 2 lino  
 y abstraccion de venno plas  
 Noche

Parque (Impaso y Plote)

ARBITROS y AUTOMOVIGOS  
 con pa lotos sale  
 recoje de sume

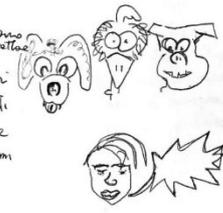
~~ARBITROS y AUTOMOVIGOS~~

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DIARIO DI CAMPO

Quello decanico mi acordai  
 con il sig. SORY e po Tenne di  
 TACHO pa partecipare alle fiera  
 comunal di VILCA HEREDIA.  
 Come da programma alle 6.15  
 presi il buss dello Rchi ed alle  
 6.30 minuzi ad imbarcare pa la  
 solito vno al mercado ARGUMENT  
 lo soluto pa quel loto e pu  
 mpleto e lunga che dallo solito  
 salto da dopo il distributore  
 un catinno di metri pu anti.  
 Tuttavia e anche lo stado pu  
 breva pa appura il colle.  
 Mi drossi dunque con passo lento  
 mo catate e oleco pauro 7 de  
 Enaco pa quello stado.  
 to ma stonanza ricodole stovello  
 su suoni ad i suoni pall'abolition  
 nell'incanto: Coni, Polome  
 ed a volte il Grupno dei padri  
 anno i suoni presati / ~~del~~ pisonati  
 del reno amale. Appurarsi anche  
 l'uono olto che con i suoi richom  
 molitini allo collettivo, stitavano  
 il mepafno / ~~Micafno~~ richomano  
 al lora ~~del~~ persona  
 I suoni di i notai, ~~del~~ stado  
 e del loto dell' uno con



106 infernato.  
 como finaco infirme invece  
 in tutto il paucio....  
 effettivamente posto o negli  
 segato il colle di terna  
 della AH. 7 de 800 quat'ltro  
 pane di suoi si afferbera  
 quasi scomparso. Solo lo stonanza  
~~del~~ del comun dell'acqua  
 restor e tutto m'ombro mora  
~~del~~ ~~del~~ ~~del~~ ~~del~~  
 A proposito del comun con l'acqua  
 restor: ad mo seno enkleatica,  
 mo panico signor, ~~del~~  
~~del~~, o ~~del~~  
 non pare il "gio" del como  
 e lo insepi grolando "Hey Hey"  
 e piscando pa che Tonasa ~~del~~  
 a neppure il Tado probabilete.  
 Supa sul Tado dell'acqua in alto  
 isotto legato al pooppio dello  
 spazio coltato si e molo. lo  
 monopuro o come dell'acqua  
 costello, loto delle scadate e le pacchi  
 inutilizzate. Lo uno degli eloni  
 parati da appurare alle piteo.  
 L'incanto a Villa Heredia or parato  
 pa le 6.30 amai alle 6.50  
 una ad una con presete

NB EPISODIO BAMBINA  
 Una bimba di cuca Hroni  
 con il fratellino puo pulato  
 si paronano a ne vno  
 le 7 am puo dell'anno del  
 sig. Sory chiecalato di  
 uno puo apozizzato do  
 "Noi" se ai fosse e o de en  
 Enclentente mi  
 scambio per un relato di  
 "PIECITO" che effettivamente  
 pa scopi suve organizzato  
 mo pto ad un pauro m  
 parato... comunque quando  
 le chesi se abtose q' alla  
 Heredia mi rispose:  
 "IO NO SOY DE ~~del~~  
 ACHA, SOY DE CA  
 CIUDAD" done pa  
 ciudado intendero ~~del~~  
 NUEVA queste mi stupi  
 molto e... pa che oppate  
 gli chesi al spuzoni dove  
 lo ato suve mmo....

Aspetti dunque fino alle 7.00  
 l'arrivo del sig. Sory e ~~del~~  
 che stitavo il mepafno  
 del laode comale pa chonae  
 o ricatto, "vicini".  
 Seno aspetare che si munissero + ricodo  
 spiega direttamente da li la  
 stonanza dello comato.  
 Mo parole anche forti pa meniare, nno  
 al lora:  
 "Todos son Aficionados dello fello  
 de Apue y alaque"  
 pauro de "so non cumple con  
 casto y catrescora y non bajar  
 lo coipos (hey mmo, nro 2  
 ser eschidos del coipos 300"  
 pa che nella comato  
 "Codo uno Tione que licher  
 pa su prope loto!"  
 Chanto quati pacchi no osseudi  
 parati il sig. Sory spacifico di  
 che stitavo e amai  
 i vicini con ombra onto bregno  
 pa l'ovonia: Pennelli; Pomi pa  
 l'ovonia; Sopo; Seccho.  
 Ci scaldano pa fua del laode  
 comale nelle pacche ad spidare  
 Li ne appattiti pa chedera il  
 pacche dello ponte all'interno dei  
 capotoni??



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M2. Sebbene la cochite probabilmente non venisse impedito...  
 noto il semplice lo semplice  
 stesse del conto liquido nelle  
 separata peccato della parte  
 potrebbe portare ad un distacco  
 di parti essenziali della parte  
 "informativa" non so se abbiamo  
 chiesto per l'istituzione della  
 mappa e lo stesso usavano  
 dalla parte....

Mi facevo sommare mette la tecnica  
 de anni così per assicurarsi di non  
 cedere solo piccolo parte nella effettiva  
 i lavori... si lega alla un consiglio  
 di lavoro allo stesso per un capo  
 partito per l'altro ad un posto di  
 stoccaggio di legni che mi sarebbe  
 tenuto all'arrivo di loro una possibile  
 cochite.



Alle 10.30 Termino la parte  
 di lavoro.

Tutti i partecipanti si riuniscono  
 all'esterno del locale comunale dopo  
 pochi minuti su richiesta aspirata  
 dalla dirigente.

Il sig. Pardo (Segretario) prese dalla  
 sua abitazione un registro delle presenze  
 in semplice cartolina con una tabella disegnata  
 e di cui si serve per i partecipanti.

In tutto il finale di questa  
 risposta di aprile di '32  
 tutti presenti.

Il sig. Suvy fece presente che  
 già in altre occasioni lo partecipante  
 non fu della "mophon"....

Al meeting Alpensi qualche giorno  
 prima parteciparono 10 persone  
 (questo fosse comera nel un  
 istituto di Techo)

Mantive all'arrivo di Paretolo del  
 del con la partecipazione URSULA  
 solo 3 persone parteciparono ad  
 il Tono per Paretolo la  
 dichiarazione di emergenza sommo  
 della Non Ricorda.

la partecipazione ad eventi importanti  
 risulterebbe essere scarse... così  
 come la risposta alle richieste  
 della giunta direttiva per lo sviluppo  
 dell'area.

Venne infatti ribadito come fossero  
 già passati vari mesi (Novembre)  
 da quando Deferenza Civil redobro? Abbiamo un  
 il REPORT sulla situazione del ~~territorio~~ <sup>capitolo TETTO</sup>  
 Villa Horrova. Quella dinamica  
 da doverne chiudere i procedi  
 dunque... alle ore 15.30 poniamo  
 la giunta direttiva sarebbe passata  
 dopo x così tutto per tutto a rifugiare  
 che.

M1 1 - L'assessorato Palle e le  
 "incidentali" ~~romano~~  
 fossero state rinviate

2 - Che tutti avessero pagato  
 la "cavità" per far parte  
 alle spese collettive di  
 manutenzione dell'insediamento

Ch non si fosse fatto tema  
 non avesse riconosciuto all'opere  
 e non avesse sostenute a dovere  
 la sua situazione sarebbe stato  
 escluso dalla prima dell'opera  
 c. 300 ~~o~~ o dall'isola ~~di~~ del  
 di progetto.

Di nuovo chiese il parere  
 della "giunta" di 30 s.  
 si chiese che settimanalmente  
 i quali 30 s. servono x  
 - STUDIO DEL SUOLO  
 - IA GEOMORFIA  
 f - IA VEGANZA

Ultimo punto emerso per l'impedimento  
 di Villa Horrova de Villa Horrova?  
 e per quanto riguarda il Tono dell'  
 f. infestazione idrica "pennosonari"  
 che precedentemente indicato nel  
 focus group e tale ~~non~~ <sup>discussione</sup>  
 si era in comune. Per chiarezza  
 completati. Villa Horrova 2 male  
 e crece una nuova infrastruttura  
 e inno a Villa Horrova lo chiese

Ma non avrebbe dovuto essere  
 o questa fine ogni mese  
 solo a chiedere il necessario  
 del resto.

Dalla tavola supposta  
 si infersisce che verrebbe  
 dello quale parlavo per  
 il Focus Group equa  
 lo spazio PUBBLICO  
 per proteggere dell'isola  
 la parte stessa del  
 lavoro comune.

È il ostacolo da scalo da  
 quanto ottenim lo documento  
 precedente ~~trattato~~  
 primo del mese del Focus  
 Group del Tono Suola y  
 l'invio per commissione della  
 municipalità stesso per la  
 redazione delle scale  
 (tavola quella del ex admo)  
 (STRATEGIA)  
 quando la AT Villa Horrova  
 chiese il documento non gli fu dato  
 e questo esprimeva uno degli  
 maggiori del progetto per  
 l'impedimento.

delle spese di 16000 sales  
 che sarebbe stato da  
 sarebbe rinviate per discutere  
 nella speranza il Tono.

A conclusione il sig. Suvy disse  
 esplicitamente che persone  
 presenti (soprattutto i giovani)  
 di essere i membri della  
 famiglia di appartenere.

- o - o - o - o - o - o - o -

A Focus Group. Terminato prima di  
 intervenire il sig. Suvy insieme  
 mine a partecipare alcuni punti  
 relativi all'INFORMAZIONE rilasciata da  
 Deferenza civile. Ne approfittai  
 per chiedere due cose. sul suo  
 mandato dell'isola, dato da lo stesso  
 gruppo nel 1982 si ~~è~~ <sup>è</sup> sviluppato  
 la stessa. Il mandato del sig. di 2 mi

Suvy sarebbe sciolto a bene o l'ipotesi sempre a Tono di lavoro  
 Gli chiesi allora se qualche condotto  
 della municipalità a scolare fosse  
 mai venuto a fare proposte dell'isola.

Si mi disse per quei giorni definitivamente.  
 La risposta della municipalità riprese che ~~non~~ <sup>non</sup> ~~era~~ <sup>era</sup> ~~nessuna~~ <sup>nessuna</sup>  
 mai venuta a fare proposte dell'isola  
 di rifiniti e della Suppate vecchia  
 per si emersero e alcuni anni  
 pagate. Chiese TRONTOSS,  
 AUTONAUTA

Così è quanto mi dimostrarono  
 e furono "bar felici" di  
 proprio volere un nuovo  
 studio sarebbe costato  
 6000 / 7000 sales.

Per verificare se davvero  
 il documento non fosse  
 di libera consultazione!?

Atequiza  
 Infirmeria che è sisma  
 caso difensore  
 Venano jugate  
 Calle los pios  
 Sordobross  
 Calle Eucalypto / Los Retos  
 Niños espansa

CESAR LOPEZ  
 936 990626 no.  
 N° Vico Sole Junio

La cosa solo io a parer  
 decolorando di prendere  
 nell'analisi seguente.  
 2.00 in Gineales  
 3.00 in St. Trebal  
 10.00 in 7 de Enero  
 chiesi dunque al sup. Flores  
 de St. Trebal di portare  
 la rinvia preadattato  
 fissato per le 8.00.  
 Quando arrivai a Gineales lo sp.  
 Moritz non dormiva. Per  
 ammorzare la sua sbalzata  
 dovetti persuaderlo con cose  
 a losuani parole. Dato che  
 pochi istanti prima mi sbarco  
 salolaro ostinò un poncio  
 dolce, portadella colozza  
 che avrei offerto alla mesa de  
 Tolajo, ma rimetti un pezzo  
 e glielo offrì. Questo posto  
 venne ripetuto 5 volte prima  
 che il core prendesse confidenza  
 e mi fosse si ammorza con fin  
 netto differenti da quelli che  
 la sparsa sul sbalzata.

Dopo pochi minuti comparve lo  
 sp. Moritz, la chiesi poche  
 fosse riuscito tutti lo ser prima  
 Comito ingenuo che aveva  
 fotografato.....

L'informazione me lo passo il  
 monto affannoso allo punto  
 di mo insistere a propo  
 assumi presentato.

La ripresa fu molto differente  
 la mode che porta una praga  
 punto di notazione si amonto  
 e dovette così settimane a  
 cura. Mi vergognai un poco  
 quando lo senti... non si par  
 quando mi resi conto dell'historia  
 e lo stizza con lo quale la  
 chiamai.  
 chiamai gli altri componenti della  
 mesa de Tolajo e a rinvia  
 all'ombra di un alvella  
 sullo scabato principale, davanti  
 allo caso di un vicino.

Primo di iniziare con il fous group  
 sul Tema de Via, Oscar y  
 Transporte, le chiesi come  
 finiva il caso delle lica se  
 fossero riusciti a porre i  
 mi disero da dovette gestire la cosa a  
 e lasciare per mettere nei limiti de  
 plan visuale, ma da allo fine rinviano  
 a sbalzata la cosa. Tuttavia mi disar  
 successivamente altri problemi emersero  
 davanti alla richiesta di W.  
 Non sono un esperto ma mi piace di capire  
 che alcuni veni con finché più  
 murevole o con più elasticamente  
 di essere all'impresa di installare  
 comite TERAPIAS e non BIRASICA (non potèto)  
 W3 per me scarsi mi un  
 rivisto e disar che solo avrebbe  
 potuto fornire una sottopila a  
 che per la TERAPIAS

Punto a mostrare la massima  
 Takas di "FIDELIS E ADER  
 non potessi il noccio"  
 che succeduta incogniti och  
 a PERCEP. FINE della  
 da me con rinvio orientate  
 me da cosa tutte le parti  
 delle necessità che monore  
 passò come a compresione  
 di socialista.

Si sarebbe dovuto spiegare  
 ad almeno un altro richiesta.  
 ... la risposta suona cose  
 una rassicurazione... aveva la  
 conata og, anche se insufficiente  
 alle necessità famiglia; o spulsa  
 un tempo malinteso che potrebbe  
 spiegare il sbalzato per poter  
 essere la terapia richiesta...  
 omiate tutti rinviano alla Terapias.  
 Una volta ottenuto la lica lo sp.  
 Garpa sarebbe però fatto realdo  
 per un attimo piccolo problema  
 In un punto dello scabato affetti  
 lo sbalzata tra due piloni  
 risultare per lei occasione  
 con il rischio che  
 restasse così una come d'altro  
 troppo ampia..

Però chiesi poi sbalzata  
 su punto lica nei documenti.  
 forniti lo sotto sotto preadattato.  
 Per COFOPEI infatti TERAPIAS  
 non a trova amministrata sotto  
 S.J.M. ma basi sotto S.J.  
 Villa Voto del Tronfo.  
 La sp. Moritz confermò il  
 informazione me precisò che  
 Ter. esser la registrazione come A.H.  
 così come le ter. jugate (a 19/11/18  
 così) competenza in realtà a S.J.M.  
 che se ne face come per prima,  
 e che con G. racconto che uno

10) Vedo tanto di vedere il totale per acqua e luce e ilke Maxie sono più. Tante risposte per l'altro lato.

Rivista o registri me parte di questo con un nome in fondo prima che in unione il ~~group~~ Group.

Parlo con la sign. Marisa e sono un po' in ritardo. Il tempo dedicato è ancora a speso sopra le mie più nuove aspettative. Invece non ci ho chiesto mai nulla in comune. Non pare che stiano del Trebal potendo.

Dopo l'intervista alla sign. Marisa con una mezzetta di introito sul tavolo arrivano nel locale comune de El Trebal dove una nuova si stava svolgendo a spettacolo il nostro tempo attuale Parvi parole come a 7 de Enero non so mi trattano.

Alcune cose nelle non restano colpite positive...

Mi venne richiesto a cosa serve raccogliere informazioni di quel tipo [Suelo y vivienda] e se fosse

Appalti del resto onde per chiedere alle sig. Geopero se ancora noi lavori con poco in memoria unito con altre A.A. H.H. (ultimo classe del 1° anno) to usate per affarista e mi venne spedito così le foto.

Valore la ripetizione del 20/05/2018 Val. Casas-Tompaite Gissels on TECHO DENUE

Diante il consenso restano un banco di con i sondaggi (R) per lo studio 7-8 che ormai mi obbligano a cambiare traiettoria. Le suppongo nelle maniere più discrete possibile....

parte della mia ricerca o se lo stesso fondo per TECHO rispetto con meglio riuscì una volta ancora speso che il lavoro che si stava per fare portava nelle attività di Techo e di conseguenza mi viene si focalizzare sulle zone Comunal. Quando si tratta di nuove parti in vari casi che vanno dai metri della nave tecnica / gente che ha avuto con se i fogli della "posizione" dati due settimane più. ~~Parlo~~ lavoro quello sul mondo in domande parimenti per gente da interrogare su Suelo y Vivienda vecchio e non definitivo che per essere stampati possono fare l'appendice.

Volero poi continuare con un altro questionario durante rispetto per l'idea iniziale di che prendere di lavoro con se non più la domanda per proporsi il focus group.... pensai di poterle comprare come un libro ridere per in questo caso il profumo.

TECHO

HABITAT / DIARIO de CAMPO

VOLUME II° 2018

MARZO - MAGGIO

FELIX QUI POTUIT RERUM  
CONOSCERE CAUSAS (Virgilio (Georgica II 483))

↓  
VERA SAPIENZA: COGITO REI PER CAUSAS

NOTA  
MOROSA

ENTREVISTA DIRIGENTES/VECINOS ESPAÑOL

FAENA COMUNAL Nombre/Apellido - Desde qué tiempo vive  
¿Cómo le sienten Hoy? ¿Tienen ganas de empezar la faena?

1. ¿Que es una FAENA COMUNAL?
2. ¿Que sirve y porque lo necesitan?
3. Desde cuando se hace en esta comunidad?
4. La primera vez que participaste?
5. ¿Hoy en que están metidos? ¿Con que fin están xando? [Que prioridades tienen] ¿Los últimos faenas?
6. ¿Que dificultades <sup>problemas</sup> ~~se encuentran~~ <sup>han encontrado</sup> en estos trabajos? Desde que la comunidad se inicio
7. ¿Que le piden a lograr <sup>algunas</sup> ~~algunas~~ <sup>de las FAENAS?</sup> ~~de las FAENAS?~~
8. Porque lo hacen el DOMINGO y no otro día?
9. Porque lo maneja desde temprano?
10. ¿Que ambientes usas cuando hai FAENA?\*
11. Te vistes en una manera <sup>forma</sup> particular por la faena
12. ¿Cual es el rol de la Junta Directiva en la FAENA?
13. Tienen <sup>normas</sup> reglas <sup>que seguir</sup> ~~que seguir~~? De que se trata? Desde ~~cuando~~ <sup>cuando</sup> están escritos.

\* A quien les pertenecen estos ambientes.

14\* Revisado por  
Isabella Albarrán Chávez  
DIRECTORA de INVESTIGACIÓN SOCIAL  
TECHO - PERU 07/05/2018

14\* ¿Alguien se lastimó en el trabajo o se lesionó en manera seria?

15. Conocen el proceso para otorgar los Agua y Desague definitivos

16. ¿Cabeza el proceso para otorgar el Título o para subsanar los cargos?  
Factores por  
- Sexo  
- Edad  
- Tiempo de Vivencia  
- Lugar de Proveniencia

17. ¿Quién le otorga esto y en que ocasión? ¿De quien?

18. ¿Aprendieron algo de útil en una faena Comunal? De quien?

19. ¿Algunas veces han echo faenas comunales con otros comunales? ¿H.H.H.H.  
20. Nivel de participación en las faenas? ¿Que pasar?

1. Preguntar a los dirigentes el tiempo de vivencia.
2. Pedir a los mismos vecinos los cantos de las otras posibles personas que intervistan. (Vamos Mejor de Trabajo)

25/03/2018  
**INTERVISTA ETNOGRAFICA  
 DI CAMPO**

**VICTOR HAMANI**

Incontra il sig. HAMANI Victor nel locale comunale, l'antico con un foglio in mano, intento in un'operazione di catalogo. Lo quinto direttore, del quale esso è membro attuale nelle qualità di Preside y Propaganda (Bibliche Robinson). Termina il suo incarico ad APRILE. Gli è stato dunque chiesto di preparare l'INVENTARIO dei beni della comunità da lasciare nei 20 futuri "incontri" uno volta svoltato il rinvio. Svolgendosi di domanda metteva nel momento mandato delle PAGINE mi avvicina a lui ed incomincia mo o parlare.

Non più agite e "parla" e ma ottiene il regolamento quindi tutte le informazioni raccolte sono presentati solo in questo caso.

Chiese ~~interrogato~~ al sig. Victor, in ~~spira~~ che consistesse il suo ruolo di Responsabile de PRESURA y PROPAGANDA, lui

teme subito a precisare secondo regolamento il lavoro di Inventario/bene? non spetta a lui ma al segretario esecutivo, ~~che~~ incarico che non ha a riguardo da nessun verso momentaneamente. Sembra infatti che i precedenti assegnati si siano ritirati per contrasti con la direzione o perché inaffidabili alle responsabilità e richieste.

Il suo incarico ufficiale consisteva piuttosto nel consegnare documenti, ufficiali e fare da TEMUTE tra gli uffici pubblici, imprese private nelle relazioni tra queste differenti realtà e l'associazione ed occuparsi ~~di~~ mettere delle comunicazioni interne.

Avrebbe scattato del no vai del sig. Flores, nelle settimane passate, negli uffici comunali: gli chiesi se fosse intervenuto a tal riguardo e di raccontarmi ~~in~~ caso fosse passato con il Tenso dello luce (Luz del Sur).

Invece così il racconto dettagliato di questo successo (personalmente già inteso/conosciuto).

L'obiettivo principale di questo postare di punto a ottenere la luce DEFINITIVA. Ad oggi la comite, elettrico e promosso (l'impresario stitale lo rende come se fosse in "prestito").

Non so cosa significhi AS esattamente luce in prestito... probabilmente che solo gli ~~finanziari~~ ~~che~~ ~~sono~~ ~~del~~ ~~comitato~~ ~~di~~ ~~H.U.~~ ~~ma~~ ~~senza~~ ~~poi~~ ~~INTERVENTUARE~~ ~~con~~ ~~ufficio~~.

Inoltre ~~le~~ ~~si~~ ~~POSTE~~ ~~de~~ ~~Luz~~ ~~che~~ ~~a~~ ~~son~~ ~~on~~ ~~sono~~ ~~di~~ ~~Bombaco~~ ~~ad~~ ~~i~~ ~~comi~~ ~~postice~~!!

PROVISORIE = PER ORA!

Divinaria Regolamento  
 Gli chiesi da dove venissero gli manchi e chi gli segnalava e seppi così che sono le documenti su ~~questi~~ ~~quali~~ ~~si~~ ~~basa~~ ~~lo~~ ~~voto~~ ~~dell'~~ ~~organizzazione~~.

A. REGOLAMENTO comunitario costituito nel 2000/2002 al momento della creazione dell'associazione.

Chiesi di poter veder una copia ed, questo rispetto non non lo Tenere... edovrate chiedere a Flores chiese.

B. ACTAS di ogni ~~giunta~~ ~~e~~ ~~che~~ ~~arriva~~ ~~combinar~~ ~~qui~~ ~~finire~~, ~~che~~ ~~sono~~ ~~la~~ ~~linea~~ ~~della~~ ~~giunta~~.

16 Tutto l'ora comunque ~~RICORDARE~~  
 Fu interessato da questo programma stabile per la disposizione della luce definitiva (ACQUEDOTTO PUBBLICO) che aveva come executor l'impresa privata LUZ DEL SUR.

Per poter partecipare a questo progetto alcuni requisiti dovevano esse rispettati:

- Ottenere la COSTANZA de PASELON
- Ottenere l'approvazione di "Agibilità" de DEFENSA CIVIL [no se puede hacer solo si lo com. esto a meiga] L che lavora a la municipalite e invio gli ispettori
- Ottenere ~~per~~ ~~un~~ ~~piano~~ ~~proyecto~~ per l'infostitutur ~~aportado~~ x l'impresa privata ~~de~~ ~~autorizacion~~ ~~del~~ ~~proyecto~~
- Ottenere l'approvazione delle municipalite

Sembra che loro avessero già ottenuto l'approvazione "finale" ~~avendo~~ ~~presentato~~ ~~il~~ ~~piano~~ ~~di~~ ~~LUZ~~ ~~y~~ ~~ACQUEDOTTO~~ ~~attraverso~~ ~~un~~ ~~non~~ ~~ben~~ ~~definito~~ ~~"PROYECTO"~~ loro all'interno della comunità...

Per motivi non chiari ~~nesso~~ [invece, venduto] un ex membro della H.U. El Trebo Tale sig. GAVIANO del recente H.U. EL ALAMO abbinò presentato un progetto alla municipalite contestando lo reddito del piano che sembra non fosse stato firmato da un ingegnere iscritto all'albo ma solo da un dirigente comunale

Non mi ha dato le informazioni in un momento così chiaro e lineare... è una mia rielaborazione...!

Interessante notare che nel racconto (con in altri racconti raccolti) non è mai stato contestato il fatto che ~~non~~ ~~era~~ ~~questo~~ ~~signore~~ GAVIANO stesso marito... solo che fosse un ingegnere e che avesse agito per tipico.

My punto di partenza è dall' "appoggio" ottenuto da un funzionario comunale il GERENTE de DIABOLLO ORGANO di S.M. dovuto in quanto alle elezioni l'attuale stabile ~~si~~ ~~costituisce~~ ~~dalla~~ ~~comunità~~ ~~(e~~ ~~due~~ ~~altre)~~ con le promesse di sostituirsi ad ottenere la LUCE.

Inoltre precisò che a queste mosse infine loro risposero denunciando a loro volta i funzionari di un'altra Architetta amico personale del sig. GAVIANO che per uno tempo oltre de Bivome H.A. EL ALAMO (loro si hanno la luce definitiva) aveva ostacolato l'accesso al servizio al EL Trebol...

My ~~non~~ ~~è~~ ~~stato~~ ~~confermato~~ ~~che~~ ~~questo~~ ~~funzionario~~ ~~ha~~ ~~potuto~~ ~~il~~ ~~lavoro~~ ~~per~~ ~~questo~~. (Causa di questo denuncia)

16 18  
 p. DIABLO DI CAMPO 25/03/2018  
 sb Detti spartire i vari minuti  
 l' primo di veder arrivare i primi  
 di nomi...  
 l' Affrettati dell' arrivo de sup.  
 R. Lucian tipicos per un intervento  
 sulla foga communal all'interno  
 del locale comunale vecchio  
 della classe di cui 15 anni di  
 - minuti circa molto buone in  
 - quante dopo poco iniziano ad  
 arrivare altri ma: dalle porte  
 alrettine e lo stivare diventa  
 insostenibile...  
 - Los venos si riunirono nel locale  
 alle 7.15.. non più di 40  
 arrivarono a scapiti dopo un  
 paio di richiami.  
 Chiesi perché non arrivassero  
 più vicini e se non tornavano  
 di notte... mi venne raccontata  
 di un vicino de par  
 e molti mesi non partecipò  
 allo foga ad alla fine lo  
 f. molto raggiante la cifra record  
 di 5000 S. (su 30  
 settimane se non si partecipò)  
 E dopo la metà circa e si toglia  
 più o meno tutta fuori da un  
 H.U. partito da una associazione  
 Mi fu molto detto che solo  
 negli ultimi tempi i vicini smisero  
 di partecipare in massa...  
 o.

"Vedete"  
 Registrazione  
 intervento

Una frase del sup.  
 Lucian che rese bene l'idea  
 fu "Partecipar mos  
 porras que venos"  
 visto la grande quantità di  
 uomini che partecipano

18  
 Come di consueto la sig.  
 Viviana raccolse le firme  
 dei partecipanti e alle 7.30  
 Tutti si riunirono all'interno del  
 locale aspettando istruzioni...  
 Il sig. Flores prese la parola  
 chiedendo il perché di tale  
 presenza e ricordando come  
 lo parte stessa lavorata  
 durante per raggiungere l'obiettivo  
 finale CUG DEFINITIVA ma  
 che sfortunatamente molti  
 problemi ora sono. a  
 causa dell' "MISERABUS"  
 Vecchio de ACAMO sig. GAVIANO  
 che bloccò il processo di  
 appassare a lontanando  
 la molta conoscenza presente  
 nella municipalitate  
 Lo settimana scorsa parlo HUSMAN  
 a convincere un ragazzino  
 di cultura civile ad obbligar  
 la cooperazione/realizzare  
 dell'one che AREA ad ALTO  
 RISGO ad ora a RISGO  
 MEDIO e quindi realizzare tutto  
 il Terzo  
 Per questo periodo la foga  
 che sarebbe iniziata a breve  
 la pianta fu l'obsolescenza  
 del progetto vicino all'idea  
 per partire (che di alto  
 rischio)

20  
 IL Signor Benito prese la  
 parola spiegando in dettaglio  
 il lavoro del giorno.  
 1) Andare a prendere lo  
 legno per realizzare  
 il cassero/soffaloma  
 2) Liberare il sentiero  
 de roccia e gli altri  
 ostacoli.  
 3) Sistemazione dei casseri.  
 4) Prealocazione dei  
 contenitori H2O per  
 realizzare le murelle di  
 cemento.  
 Molti dei vicini più in precedenza  
 informati arrivarono con MARCELI  
 oltre che con pale e picconi  
 e mazze\*, alcuni trasportarono  
 contenitori vuoti di pitture.  
 Come spiegò infatti, FLORES e  
 poi BENITO una CUG non  
 americana sarebbe venuto  
 il giorno successivo a realizzare  
 lo scialotto.  
 Da questo apparso tale CUG  
 che lavorò con  
 H.U. EL TERABO in passato  
 metendo parte del materiale e  
 di mano dopo (Già infatti si  
 poteva notare la presenza di sabbia  
 al base della trincea dove dormi

\* Picconi; Pale; Martelli;  
 Forchi; Ramo e picchi di legno;  
 Mazze de roccia; contenitori  
 di pitture vuoti (o senza de sig.)  
 segretto per ferro.

Chiedeva il  
 nome.....  
 MOVIMENTO  
 SUCIDARIO  
 Kelly progetto  
 02/04/2018

21  
 mostrare la sua scelta)  
 800 m (tutti si direbbero  
 ma compresi) alle porte alto de HU  
 in zona ampliare a intine  
 il materiale in una "barra"  
 ripulito verde umido.  
 Il materiale, di proprietà della  
 stessa comunità, non era  
 buone condizioni. Evolutamente  
 fu usato per tre volte con  
 lo stesso fine (CASSAFORMA) il  
 materiale era ancora buono  
 impigriti erano presenti e il legno  
 in vari punti presentava buchi  
 dati da parassiti "chiodatura"  
 questo di cemento sono  
 ancora attaccate al legno e gli  
 conferivano un colore bruciato.  
 Uomini e donne trasportavano a  
 mano libera assi di legno e  
 tavole del ripulito, ripulirono  
 fino allo metà della scinta  
 dove ospitano il progetto  
 Alle 8.42 tutto il materiale  
 si tornò sul posto ed iniziarono  
 le fose (2)  
 Tre giornate si svolsero contemporaneamente  
 A - Libera il passaggio dei  
 Tonque che, impedendo il successo  
 passavano gli accessi.  
 2 di questi vennero smontati  
 sul posto e parte dell'acqua  
 fu usata per smontarli. Il  
 lavoro che stava per essere  
 sceso.  
 conti approssimati  
 40 persone (su un totale 280)  
 Sull'acqua della strada  
 principale  
 e sullo sale  
 a rete passano  
 da dove lo processo  
 di "CASSAFORMA" di  
 PANE e CEMENTO  
 - foga o momento  
 di appassare di pure  
 intima e patologica  
 per nascita... del foga



5 persone  
 a stivare lavorato



26

4) Il supra bios alla fine  
 molto "fatti" di un  
 scato all'ora se fatto  
 in gruppo ... come un conto  
 all'impresa!!

Sentendosi toccati probabilmente  
 nel prefacio della base sotto  
 l'azione in questo architetto:  
 (soprattutto se pensati agli  
 ingegneri) interessati e  
 state notare la loro reazione  
 il racconto dell'impresa  
 FREDDO e POCO sensibile  
 ALTO esigono del popolo  
 più discusso e la Missione  
 dell'architetto era FUSIONE  
 ad ogni atto discusso!  
 Terminato dicendo che 360  
 s'era un pezzo di fornire  
 sempre flessibile

Verso le 11:30 siamo per  
 da BAGAZZI di TECNO di  
 LIDERTAZZO COMMUNICAZIONE forse  
 per il Tema di Pasqua ...

Ma ne era il più dopo in  
 divenire di 7 de Bios cosa  
 mentre i ragazzi di HABITAT  
 Non siamo gli unici "Professionisti"  
 a rispondere così ...  
 parlo di fare del base ... me al  
 contempo ignorando il contesto  
 nel quale girano (INNOVARE RISTRETTO?)

Reflessioni sui 2 Architetti

Esprimere opinioni dopo solo  
 30 minuti di discussio in seduta  
 privata per alcuni momenti  
 mi sono sentiti particolarmente  
 interpellati, e mi ha fatto  
 pensare.

- Il fatto che abbiamo speso 10  
 minuti per spiegare il progetto  
 del secolo per delle persone  
 del locale comunale  
 e per di mezzo nella progetto  
 ABITAZIONE non può essere  
 un caso
- Il fatto che abbiamo tentato  
 di rendere un prodotto più  
 semplice che per "legge" non  
 avrebbe potuto e abbiamo  
 la replica con una "cosa"  
 politica e un cliente rivale  
 che li quasi fino (o di qualità)
- Il fatto che abbiamo realizzato  
 una normativa totalità  
 distorta o basata sul nulla  
 che rende gli architetti  
 compromessi e flessibili  
 mentre gli ingegneri freddi  
 e rigidi ... anche bene  
 sul lato umano non su  
 quello lavorativo ... è stato  
 ridicolo ...
- Li ho visti in di Bassano  
 nel rispondere alle domande  
 forse solo personale che fanno  
 pochi punti ad esse spuntati!

FAUNA COMMUNICAZIONE (PENSARE) 28/03/2018 28

PROJECTS	TASKS	ACTIONS
1 IL RADUO	1.1 Ritornare Piani del Vicolo locale con gli stessi	1.1.1 - Al 2001: 6.00 2 - Padre pale o fari 3 - Be d'acqua verde 5 - <del>Be d'acqua</del> Vestivi (appropiate?)
	1.2 Seguire la presenza	1.2.1 - Preche lo bello - Guere la uconato - Appone fino a 1/2h
	1.3 Posti e come?	
2 LA CHARCA	2.1 Sp. Piaz. fo il più dello situzione (Presenza, Ritt- lari di strada)	
	2.2 Motivazione (De lavoro spazio l'ordine all sua collata)	
	2.3 Benito simbolo i Gopri a Pura delle passare	
3 LA TRANSUMENZA	3.1 Ricarsi sul luogo di lavoro originale	3.1 Ume 3.2 Padana (guere in Pado)
	3.2 Trasparenza, il Ritornale	
4 IL CAMPO	4.1 Orme Pella 4.2 Polve stelo 4.3 Rame bittole	4.5 <del>Trasparenza</del>

Costo \$45742245 Onoraster Espansao

FAUNA COMMUNICAZIONE  
 Enciclopedia ando y desmulo 6m

Bios  
 Pura de MAURANA

Es1  
 Agua por que al ant. quads

Comprar 1 halo de ato 22s  
 cada lot 150 halos para tela escha  
 10 m<sup>3</sup> de mas guere Bo 550 sola

No prespuesto  
 Muro de PISMANO ce relogu en 3 años  
 con tela de desague  
 No contratada

IMPONENTE DI ANGE  
 oia CEMENTO

DIARIO DI CAMPO 07/04/2018 41

EL TREBOL

Dopo aver chiamato a parlato  
 con LUIS FLORES, Karly (TECHO)  
 mi contate per ~~stare~~ che se  
~~discussione~~ riunirmi con la  
 "mesa de Trabajo/Tecnico" sono  
 probabilmente dovuto venire nell'  
 H.U. il sabato pomeriggio in  
 quanto i dirigenti lo domenica  
 mattina sarebbero stati occupati  
 in un altra riunione.

Contrariamente a quanto detto mi  
 niente non ci sarebbe stato  
 nessun lavoro sul Giordano/Bico  
 nemmeno della parte dei  
 volontari della UCL.

Accettai e concludere che si fossero  
 anche i arreas de si impegnava  
 con la "mesa" di habitat, ma dopo  
 un puro di chiacchiere e consultazioni  
 capi che probabilmente non sarebbero  
 venuti.

Dessi ~~una~~ congregate di salire.  
 lo presi come un occasione per  
 vedere la comunità disparte un  
 giorno differente dalle abitande  
 mio tradizionale pero al sito.  
 Arrivammo alle 4pm. ~~atti~~ ers  
 dell'incontro e come previsto nessuno  
 era ancora presente.

Il primo ad arrivare fuoer il  
 sig. FLORES y el sig. Lucia fiponee  
 camminando tutti con peso tanto.  
 Fimmo subito distatti da un anagnone  
 pochi minuti pero del resto siamo infati

Annexa  
 P. 130 11/03/2017  
 Volume I

Penso gli stessi volentieri della  
 UCL posticipano lo abito  
 x mondo conseguenza del  
 mistrale nessuno. (BOMBIER)

92  
 Un palo della corrente elettrica  
 permesso in banca sono  
 caduto spazzandosi allo loro e  
 collassando sopra altri fili  
 dell'alto Tansa facendo inclinare  
 sistemate un altro palo per  
 la Tansa esercitata.  
 Ci attinno subito per tornare il  
 problema primo dell'arrivo dell'impero  
 che avrebbe sistemato il problema.  
 Per primo caso sciammo un buco  
 al lato del palo, spazzato profondo  
 un metro all'incirca con pala  
 piccola e un asta di metallo  
 rincarissime legammo un cavo  
 allo rete cavo del palo caduto  
 e tirammo per sollevarlo.  
 Il quarto palo venne spinto la  
 parte fuori Tansa all'interno delle  
 nuova sistemazione.  
 Il lavoro più stancante fu lo  
 stabilizzare del palo. Mentre  
 2 vicini riempivano mentre il buco  
 con roccia e sabbia io gli altri  
 2 ragazzi di Teco, insieme al sig.  
 Flores # si erano dato Tansa loro  
 il palo perché ripropone la posizione  
 poco verticale perché il collasso  
 avrebbe tendeva di molto il palo  
 e faceva tutti molto fatica a  
 tirarlo verticali...  
 Giusto a lungo concluso arrivò  
 2 ragazzi dello stesso impero

93  
 formica del sarco e deciso  
 invece di appoggiare le  
 comarsi se un palo nuovo in  
 aneto aneto e dunque con un  
 stabilito maggiore.  
 Nel frattempo cominciamo invece a  
 fare lo stesso operaz con l'altro  
 palo in legno  
 particolarmente inclinato verso  
 l'abitazione di uno dei vicini  
 che si stava autotono.  
 Non copiamo subito a esso fosse  
 dentro il primo collasso... perché  
 il palo di banco non sono  
 esseri spazzati perché manca...  
 ne per un caduto di Tansa.  
 Fino a quando un vicino non portò il peggio di  
 un comari o qualcosa di pare...  
 non compresi bene.  
 Mi resi conto così di 3 cose  
 - lo concluso della formica prima  
 dell'elettico  
 - che esisteva una impresa che  
 portava le stabilite  
 - lo manco di far monitorare  
 in caso di parati.  
 Ho concluso della "fiera" impresa  
 nessun vicino oltre ai primi aneti  
 era presente. Il signor URSI diede  
 quindi il permesso per tornare ad  
 Anzani. Trinitè ~~MESEFORDO~~ Impeto  
 di informazione comunitaria.  
 Il sistema è obsoleto ingegnoso  
 perché finisce Trinitè comarsae  
 allo rete mobile. Esisto dunque  
 un nuovo e allo rispetto il sistema

94  
 viene automaticamente attivato.  
 Al palae la voce (ormai con  
 un segnale di ritardo) amplificato.  
~~Il~~ dato che nasce dai vicini  
 che ricartano il campo da  
 Teco habitat arrivo. Kerly iniziò  
 la sua attivato.  
 Questo in sostanza era l'official  
 azione del comitato di Teco  
 con H.N. di EL TREBEC e nelle  
 specifico con l'arrivo de TRUSSO  
 con il quale Teco lavora in ogni  
 comitato [che si sarebbe dovuto  
 formalizzare in precedenza] →  
 Oltre questo venne ripresentato  
 il piano di ARQUE con la  
 priorità selezionata dallo  
 comitato che ~~era~~ doveva esse  
 realizzato nel prossimo semestre.  
 Mentre si stava verificando lo  
 difficoltà economica di alcune  
 proposte, il sig. FLORES comitato;  
 giusto per le decisioni comunali  
 di questo anno il CANDIDATO  
 EDIBERTO QUISPE (solididad Ucaed)  
 mi ha chiesto che ci serviva e più  
 abbiamo fatto vedere il locale  
 comitato... che manca il  
 tetto e che saranno voluto una  
 conche pali depositati y el  
 se completato a realizzare

N° Tel. del SISTEMA DI AMPLIFICAZIONE  
 964 173 953 (+51)  
 Kerly infatti mi ha confidato  
 che però da qualche mese sarebbe  
 • ~~essendo~~ dentro bene.  
 Era lo necessario imminente e  
 lo conclusione del sig. FLORES  
 ad un incontro in ASESOLMATA  
 to dirigenti che in un evento  
 organizzato da Teco mt.  
 Omnia il compagno ufficiale  
 adoro sarebbe stato post. dato  
 e non più valevole dunque lo  
 fatti risultava come antecedente.

proporzionale di suo mano se avremmo  
 (cioè è un impianto stabile ed  
 a lui non costo niente) →  
 Aggiunse inoltre  
 che  
 L'attuale sistema venne e  
 ci chiese di cosa avremmo  
 necessario. Quando viene ci  
 regalò 200 pezzi di aneto  
 e con quelli realizzarono il  
 locale comitato →  
 Sembra dunque una pratica consolidata  
 quella delle promesse elettorali  
 che molto si annunciano allo campo  
 vendite di voti... completato da  
 accordo.  
 Accadde perché il sig. Flores  
 ribadì più volte che ancora un  
 accordo tra le parti non esisteva  
 firmato e che sarebbe andato da  
 lui per concluderlo.  
 Verso le 19:00 si concluse l'incontro  
 e vennero assistere ad uno spettacolo  
 affascinate... migliaia di luci  
 su tutte le colline difese a  
 noi illuminano la notte.  
 Verso le 20:00 lo spettacolo era una  
 più stordante in quanto nel TREBEC  
 e si ebbe comitato H.N. della ENCICLOPEDIA  
 non esiste "Alimbrado publico y la  
 definitiva" e dunque non vi era  
 impegno l'impegno.

95  
 PROMESSE ELETTORALI?  
 Sulle legalità di  
 queste azioni ~~che~~ dover  
 discutere... ragazzi con  
 i ragazzi di KRUSKA

DIARIO DI CAMPO

08/06/2018

EL TREBOL

Non essendo riuscito lo sera prima ad ottenere le informazioni sul tema AGOS y DESARROLLO (casi come anche Kevly ad ottenere lo firma di TITI: mahi della mesa de trabajo)

Sali alle 7 am. allo comitato insieme a Kevly e ad Edith per concludere le attivita. Mi resi subito conto che una parte di escucha era stata rechazada e che alcune persone stavano lavorando alla rechazada della sucesora parte... il sig. FLORES Tolano aveva chiesto a Kevly che non ci sarebbe stato. Quando arrivo il sig. LUCIAN FLORES gli chiesimo della firma. Mi ci ripose che era un sorta di promesa per-pelli che non aveva partecipato alla contraria lo settimana precedente. Sora' posto per tutti a colaborar. Per le 8:00 am finalmente arrivai i vari con lo "torero" e mi dello mesa tecnica con i sa lo che Kevly nessuno a recoger elot e firme. Del momento del focus group otteniamo molte informacion interesant. Tra le quali:

lo neces participante di TECNO Assegato per nacesito a TECNO HABITAT.

- L'economato dell' H2O x PLANI conto quello del CIMAN ASTRONAUT
- lo Archito impugna dell' H2O fornito da CEDAESU
- L'impossibilita di participar al proyecto ESCUELA 300 che serve il
  - a. CANTAO di VO an suco (cappo-urb)
  - b. Un muro di contaminato do 5 milioni di soles..... (UNOCCU)
- Lo gestione del SUD e il pagotto dai BACU secchi
- Il pueblo dello scorio in strada

Per alcuni approfonditi P. 38 e ricario Registro a Pasine in cortile Habitat # Reporte 08/06/18 DEWU HABITAT

Una volta concluso il focus group con lo consiglio delle donade per il 18/06/2018 sul Tema "AGOS y URBANIZACION" Si aprì un dialogo per spiegare lo discussa sopra un mio personale "Appello" allo comitato. Una ancora una volta lo gestione Personal Computer do regolare alle comitato. Appreffitai dunque della presenza di Kevly per chiarire la mia posizione. Ma non collaborato con lo comitato in termini "economici" se non all'interno di un progetto con TECNO. E chiesi del punto non avessero messo questo richiesta ne PLANO di AZOQUE stitolo nei mesi precedenti. Gli feci notare anche che un progetto all'interno del spale

con R. Benvenuto a P. 159 18/03/2018 Vol. I

invece l'uso di un PC si poteva creare in questo punto pero per il sig. WIS spiego che per le decisa prossime un pu requisito fu il TITAO di studio socioeconomico in questo momento. Segun de disparte richiedo un certo aspetto di altri. Compromiso - settimana da ~~trabaja~~ document e testi che si tornano a dover moneggiare. .... lo richiesta purgarebbe Tonal per poterlo usare nell'attuale punto di Azote ma con Kevly vedea come fare... Appreffitai molte par richiedo alle Vene MARIA y Kevly lo loro disponibili ad essere intervistate sul Tema "AGOS y URBANIZACION" Altitio del comitato dello discussa e delle risposte ottenem qui mi limitasi a descrivere il contesto all'interno del quale e avvenuta l'intervista e sulle considerazioni. ~~Concludo~~ L'intervista allo sig. MARIA e avvenuta in una "condite" non a dare dato. Inizialmente mi aveva proposto lo studio ~~non era~~ solo riuscito a descriverlo perche mi fecisse altre nello sost dottoressa ma al neo in uno spazio in un piccolo Tonal.

QUESTIONI Il mandato dell'attuale punto suochi il 22/06/2018 e li avvenimmo le nuove decisa. ~~Altre~~ o In caso di sconfitta del sig. FLORES oltre altre rappresentazioni come TECNO PLANI (o HABITAT) dove anche richiedera il compagno ~~facelo~~ x poter solve one RIGOROSAMENTE.

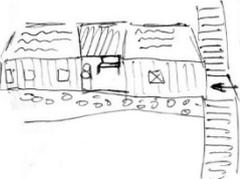
non di TECNO!!

le te offerto da bene a do spionchias qualcosa perche si sentisse piu sicuro agio ma non mi sembrò particolarmente aperto. Al mio lato scabò lo sig. MARA e si unco a lei Edith. ~~Parlo~~ consiglio insieme l'intervista lo "Tonal/Batilo" si era fortunatamente rivuelto a solo sbucava lo faccio incuvivito dello proprietario. Che avreste si senti una notte in classe di intervencia nella discussa... 3 volte solo chiesi in corso o volte per sua mente. ~~Allo~~ vengo Kevly, andesso private al mandato dell'anno allo Tonal spagari che sarebbe stato preferibile trovare l'intervista separatamente in due parti separate. lo chiesi dunque se ~~fosse~~ potesse essere parde raggiungendo ~~come~~ piu tonal allo sua dottoressa e occoranti. Diretti ottenere lo comitato per raggiungere a per non poterli mi occupano lo sig. MARA. lo sig. Kevly mi sembra molto piu (Estimato di lei) intimamente dello sig. MARA ma anche molto piu decisa e comite nelle risposte. ~~Il~~ ~~sono~~ ~~so~~ ~~doma~~ L'idea che mi e rimasto e quello di un punto fatto che non si rissopra all'ala della sua posizione.



Lo caso era situato su 2 letti  
 continui quasi spesso con una  
 parte coperta stive portico sul canale  
 e abitate abitazioni. Non lontano  
 in riva alle 2 e si sistemano  
 su un parco nel parco equato.  
 Li di passaggio al quando in  
 quello appena suo figlio - o forse  
 suo fratello dato che peron stesso  
 lo stesso etc. Il ma forse sempre  
 Echth. Cite intente in pas di  
 volte). Partì anche a Kelly una  
 posato e un sabato, risposta no  
 non è bene se meglio nulla a  
 tutto resto chissà se mai piedi etc.

Con ombra e abitate uno differente  
 strano/dano di interesse.....  
 Come suggerito dal note visto  
 su internet. Chissà se intenda il  
 nome, gli anni e da questo  
 inverso nell'incanto più di  
 invece con le domande. Inoltre  
 spiega lo scopo dell'intento con  
 la sua famiglia.  
 Nel racconto della intenzione non  
 parlò di quello da vice che  
 intese con il DPPD .... troppo  
 comporre da copiare per il  
 pubblico selezionato.



Il lavoro con questo detto da  
 Siballo molte mi era fatto  
 suppone da loro, peroni vicini  
 da intervista nella fase  
 che fanno di 40 m e  
 da 5 m, ripetute.

Terminate le due interviste  
 possiamo a vedere i lavori  
 dello scavo nella parte ad  
 est.

Incontrai primo il sig. Lucio Fico  
 che impostò il contatto con  
 acqua a Siballo con l'uso di  
 suo pelo, mostra stive vicini  
 gli spessori dei sacchi (vicini  
 vicini di 40 o più) perché li  
 riempisse.

Si chiese se lavorasse o avesse lavorato  
 nel campo della costruzione ma  
 lo risposta fu negativa. E mi fece  
 notare che era proprio la circostanza  
 a richiederlo che un uomo approach  
 ante pratica. Concluse poi con  
 una frase del tipo:...

Non so come fosse imparato  
 per due opposti che le cose si  
 appredano per necessità nel tempo.

Il processo di costruzione consisteva  
 in differenti passaggi riassumibili in  
 1 - Preparazione canale  
 2 - Rimpulimento dei sacchi  
 3 - Trasporto materiale attraverso canale suona  
 4 - Colatura in un apposito  
 del cemento al fine della completa

Isabella TEGHO  
 P. 01

Sul costo del cemento  
 e della sabbia:  
 10 m<sup>3</sup> sabbia 550€  
 1 baco di cemento 22€  
 (150 baccini per tonna)

1° TASK

1 - Raccolta voca  
 2 - Posizionamento voca  
 verso cossaforno

1 TASK

1 - Posizionamento cossaforno  
 2 - Spuntaggio e rimontaggio

3 TASK

2 - Riparare terreno  
 2 - ~~Posizionamento voca~~  
 3 - Gettare canate  
 4 - Anellare

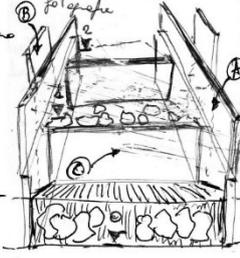
4 TASK

Henke il sig. Fico sistemò il canate  
 un gruppo di posatori (tra le quali  
 la "DOLCE") trasportò i contenitori  
 pieni ottenendo un sistema unione  
 fuo a dove si stava realizzando  
 la nuova parte di scavo.

- Probabilmente l'anche  
 è invertito.....  
 1. Posizionamento cossaforno  
 2. Posizionamento voca  
 3. Usare canate  
 4. Anellare e cossaforno

Video  
 P. 122  
 04/03/2018  
 Vol I

In tutto 7/8 persone  
 credo... vedeva  
 fotografie



Li il sig. BERTO stava sistemando  
 la cossaforno con i pezzi di legno  
 da ~~fuori~~ ~~staccati~~ dalla parte  
 basso già scava. La costruzione  
 della cossaforno richiese chiodi  
 e martello ad un composto da  
 varie parti:  
 A. Legni lunghi orizzontali e brevi  
 B. Legni lunghi verticali a sovrare  
 le parti.  
 C. Legni trasversali e a come  
 dei piedi

Nella parte più costruita furono  
 poi inseriti grosse pietre raccolte  
 dalla parga al lato dello scavo

Tre persone si incaricarono della  
 raccolta e della sistemazione al lato  
 dello scavo scavo: una sistemò  
 i sacchi ad un magazzino piccolo  
 che portava le voca in un Telo  
 e lo usava per il trasporto.

Figure osservabili per la ricostruzione  
 e le buche ricavate dalle scavo  
 2 lavoratori nel campo dell'  
 edilizia esperti dunque di settore

Il loro compito consistette nel bagnar  
 il suolo con acqua, sistemare i  
 sacchi e le voca in maniera tale  
 che non si rompano il più possibile  
 la cossaforno senza attraversare  
 la parola (strumenti spaziosi)  
 e al ritorno il ~~canate~~ ~~colazione~~  
 realizzato con un solo modo) e  
 livellare con un legno a vibrazza  
 un minimo il composto in loco  
 prodotto o martellare lo scavo.

Probabilmente il ~~canate~~ ~~colazione~~  
~~canate~~ ~~colazione~~ (Canale proprio  
 al sig. Berto che, ~~proprio~~ ~~colazione~~  
 dello spazzatura di FICO e  
 non si sarebbe dovuto avere una  
 buona lui misura che si trattava  
 di una ~~PAROLA~~ ~~PER~~ ~~MARZANA~~  
 un tipo differente di peso.

2/3 persone  
 1 campo ripreso  
 1 baccino.

Berto mi spiegò che  
 senza rete il canate  
 sfiora: il terreno

2/3 persone  
 Professionali: sopra  
 abito

Alcun il local comuni  
 mi venne poco detto,  
 incontro con un tipo di  
 ironia, da chi ogni  
 stono faceva proprio uno  
 i componenti delle ~~letture~~  
 de sono diventate le  
 prodotti: commossa  
 e che fanno così "PUMI"  
 fuo invece de fare il modo a me  
 assempari mille a ~~canate~~ ~~colazione~~  
 il popolo più tempo (XIX secolo)



A corso delle immagini classa nell'AU di El Trebol lo stituto di foto sono state momentaneamente sospese... questo mi ha dato la possibilità di fotografare lo mio stituto su questo stituto nelle altre comunita nell'una di STUCCO. Nel corso delle uscite foto piguama con fotografato 15/04/2019

Si incontriamo con il coacheche di GIBSON, che a a e gli chiediamo della foto. In stato di confesso, la foto comunita sarebbe abate misano alle 6 in punto!

Le macchine così con foto alle 6.20 disti, il locale comunita... legamente in ritardo sulla tavola di piano corso trasporto pubblico (troppo pieno e sono come esente).

GIBSON è un piccolo A.H. formato da un sala sciameta che conta uno partito di omme... niente e che radica con le altre 1000 omme del El Trebol.....

Già si parla de la possibilità parono l'una o disadana, per questo non mi preoccupi necessitate di essere ornato in ritardo... tutto aspettiamo in altra ora obbligate pero che gli i nomi si riunisco.

Uno di essi, il sig. CISTO parte delle dirigenti burro parte per onto abate e scrivendo da un scudo che

Il locale comunita non esiste in realtà... c'è un spazio annesso a Tenuesito dove la parte è sotto i rami e dove anche noi di techno ci intronno

che ora into 1000 scudi  
Alle 7.30 ore ci riuniamo con altri 14 nomi nelle porada 3 metro scudo la sig. HARETA (la dirigente)

Riparero i nomi per essere ornati in ritardo all'appuntamento e per questo rimano lei fosse passato alle 6.20 parola omme). Io e Percy sono stati come Copio apitato l'omme

2) contano per bacchetta e ritardati e forse dichiarano fatti come "è uno verpusso".

3) Si passo poi alle fine di incognita richiamo all'omme e all'alla collaborazione di tutti per raggiungere il "DISEGNO de la COMUNIDAD". Alcuni nomi non ci stimo e invecchio lo loro partecipazione e chiedano alla dirigente di ristabilire l'uso del megafono nelle con. parte tutti sentono subito lo chiamato sono perché il verno cisto parte per parte.

Conclusione la foto propomato come non è rischio... il sale alto omme non fotoco il buio.

Come visto orle nel EL TREBOL il problema della notazione e della partecipazione di tutti i nomi è sempre centrale.

La sig. HARETA appropiato comuna per sprague la stione e i lavori parolanti.

Il tono principale delle discussioni fu il tono delle luce e illuminazione. Per questo più instabile i piani e i con elettrici soffiti. L'obiettivo ancora non è in presente. Sinto a corso di alcuni abitanti tra questo presente nel PIANO ORSO e questo pl. speter poi misonano nella realtà. Devete differmito o timuto più in quelle che vegno durante EXPOS omme indicano se come procedere per rivotare all'interno di città considerate solone alla redazione del processo.

In quel momento GIBSON, si tano con 3 accessi. Tutte mesi o se scorporati con il piano da parte di pezzi di abitazioni.

Da quanto compreso le famiglie interate da questi scorporati sole non sarebbero state in grado di modificare l'ossito delle papa abitata. Vene quindi deciso di andare collettivando la recce con lo zotone di un parte di mio parafeno dell'abitazione.

Venno orle presentati dei parti ulteriori riguardanti proprio il lavoro ca TEXCO con il quale

W3 e ACUMBRADO definitiva di WE del SUR

Invece si parla di scorporati mani dell'ordine di 20 om... gusti fatti il più delle volte. Comunque intenti problematici per qualche motivo..... Inolopre!!

la comunita si era compresso. Richiesta di un mio di contante di 1500\$

Relativa raccolta fondi (Mocilia)

Armonizzare e creare di aree di sosto stierate sullo scudate

Partecipare al ~~TRABA~~ TRABA della comuna succana (22) nel EL TREBOL.

Si decide poi si dovrebbe stabilire i capi, uno dei nomi dove che era occupato e che non omme partegato alla "fano". Lo nome HARETA dove allora che omme abate pagare una parte di 20 \$.

Un'otra discussione sul pato vene raccolto da un uomo. Fose infatti che W3 del SUR sia partito nell'insediato censo omme lo dirigente tempo pro ed obba effettuato queste accetati. Notedo è difficile lo dirigente.

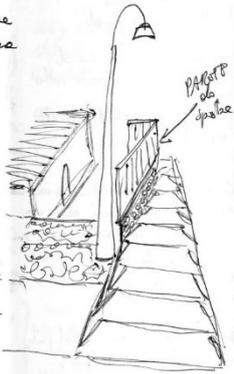
Per Secado la sig. HARETA per legge le utilizzari deca omme lo dirigente abate ES era pure dai controll, perché si che il tempo agli incarichi di lavoro: dalla e impo. Lo verno HARETA condusa nichelando l'impostono di RUFFIANO il PAVO USADO!!

SABEL X AMARATI

Nella discussione sullo creazione delle aree di sosto nella scudate delle comunita non tutti sono abcomato uno sig. lo monto l'avernito che le pendere all'insediato copie di ragazzini che intati ~~partecipano~~ affezioni omme donati allo pato di cosa.

Nello succapso intervista dello ab sig. HARETA che regale un verno spigate naxio

70 Terminò la 'dolla' mio  
 diseg. la piccola casa abitativa  
 per tutta la veduta e spinge  
 una parete in legno dell'abitazione  
 lo portò ora solo propriamente  
 una parete nera sotto che era  
 pensata postica snobbata, ma  
 invece lo obliqua fu di  
 spostarla di qualche centimetro  
 perché non ottenessimo il  
 segno lasciato come riferimento  
 da W2 del SW. Con la  
 parete viene dunque portata no  
 scostandosi sull'altro lato con  
 il tetto in forma dell'abitazione  
 e finora non fu possibile  
 rintracciare del segno.



Da oggi A differenzia di questo  
 vivere con il lavoro non  
 mi pare di aver visto nessun  
 profitto fine.

78 DIARIO DI CAMPO

22/04/2018

Percy si mise d'accordo ancora  
 una volta per persona della  
 signora ESTER LEVANO la  
 Presidente della commissione  
 di S. ANTONIO FISCO e CASSA de  
 la Nuova Rincondada.

Anzi un poco più tardi all'appuntamento  
 delle 10 ma non mi feci troppi  
 problemi parlando agli imputati  
 della rivista Tavolho e alla salute  
 concessa del tempo parvero.

Percy approfittò ancora poco del  
 mio intervallo per parlare con il  
 "doppi" di uno dei TATI, c'era  
 autorevole presenti nella zona.

Andò quindi mi raccontò di  
 come si serviva la Nuova Rincondada  
 sia in associazione proprietaria di  
 servizi comuni. Avevo 30 mi pare...  
 che si rifornivano direttamente  
 da CEMAPAC a veduto poi  
 i scopi in tutta la zona.  
 None dell'impresa e altri eletti  
 utili venivano però prima o poi  
 notorizzati da PERCY in una  
 capitolo de Habitat.

Avremmo dibattuto le cose  
 della signora ESTER verso la  
 10.20 e altrettanto aspettare  
 altri 40 minuti l'arrivo delle

CONTRIBUZIONI  
 CARATTAS DE  
 HABITAT

79  
 signora  
 Ci chiese di aspettare fuori  
 qualche minuto e lo vidi  
 pulito e spalancato per proporsi  
 una tavola e delle sedie due  
 seduceri. Pensai subito che la  
 cosa fosse diversa da pararcino  
 perché il livello di parlare  
 era alto, anche per se non  
 era monono il letto e della  
 signora si trovò un punto sullo stesso  
 pavimento principale dove erano  
 esteso e Tom parvero di  
 continuo scostamento in una parlata.  
 Ci confermo successivamente di  
 non obitare lì. ~~Nonostante~~  
 comunque di una prova notte  
 (lo stesso di una media) andate  
 infatti trasferirsi vicino allo clinico  
 dove era in corso.

Questo grazie il "suo  
 medico" della Alpha  
 esteso al fompioni.

La lezione alle sup. ormai poi  
 anche in "person" anche della  
 comunità... che tutto la cura  
 40 anni, comunque molti non  
 della sup. ESTER che minus na  
 Taver 60. Fu lo sig. ESTER  
 stesso ad invitare... ci disse che  
 voleva approfittare delle discussioni  
 per apponere pure il rapporto  
 in grado sempre molto interessato  
 alle necessità e bisogni della comunità

Con Ester alla fine ci metteremo  
fino quasi alle 13.00. Poi  
di 2 ore.

Anche se nessuno dei due (io e Percy)  
veniva preparato per un discorso  
specifico... l'esperienza accumulata  
in questi mesi e la informazione  
ricevute ci permisero di andare e richiedere elaborazioni  
nihilatum punti toccati di  
sufficiente natura. Non che ci  
fosse bisogno di stimolare la  
convergenza con nuove domande  
perché lo signor Ester solo  
si era ben aperto e sembrava  
avere anche un buon opinione  
del TESCO e dunque resto obbliga  
facile l'intervista.

Ho ricevuto informazioni raccolte create  
mi potremo avere molto utili anche  
per il progetto di Tesi. Es.  
- Minca 2000 è stata la prima impresa  
nella Minca Rincondada.  
- Impresa non organizzata... l'  
organizzazione è venuta successivamente  
- Succesivamente si sono visti casi della  
proprietà del terreno e dello stato  
di "Riesco"  
- Con la FRENIA come il nome  
costituito tutto! Dalle strade alle  
scale... siamo l'auto dello Stato!  
(Imprese o enti)

Aspettare 3  
Registrazione  
Quale

La municipalità si ha concesso  
la costituzione di possesso a tutti fu del principio  
~~la municipalità~~

I problemi principali dell'  
sono:

- A - Contorno uso del suolo
- B - Mitigazione ambientale a  
cause delle chiodine
- C - ~~rischio~~ Mitigazione del  
rischio fisico.
- D - Conflitti di natura legale  
tra proprietà e occupati.

lo comunque da il diritto  
di possesso sopra il diritto  
allo proprietà.....

lo comunque che il diritto  
ad uso cosa sia sancito  
x la costituzione.....  
- C'è un procedimento altro  
(ora fino) per fare dell'area  
una zona di intervento speciale  
(classifica viene un regolamento speciale)

Esistono vari modi per ottenere  
il possesso del Titolo  
solo 2 regolamenti applicati:  
A - PROCEDIMENTO ORDINARIO (STRANO)  
B - USOCOMARIS (PIU' VELOCE)

Chiedersi

a Rifina o Muskka

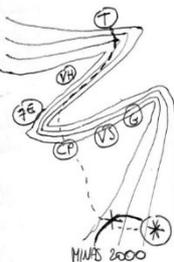
Tutto il suo regolamento e  
lo suo regolamento di lotta  
giorno intero a questi 2  
punti.

Solo con questi 2...  
da quanto riferiti...  
è possibile che sia lo  
stato più o procedere con  
il regolamento FISICO dell'  
ALBA

Commissione che suo lo stato  
più per il caso del MINCA  
Pisco...??

Terminato l'incontro io e Percy  
ci andammo. Mi dissero così  
verso el TESCO dell'altro lato  
della collina e sul marciapiede  
v'è apposto delle guardie per  
partecipare al TANTO. Lo  
strada fatto molte volte sotto  
il sole cocente continuando  
a essere lo stesso... però strada  
a priori a concentrarsi sul percorso  
urbano limitando e non quello  
distante.

Dato che mi ritornano a possedere  
e la mia attenzione si concentra  
sullo strada fatto.  
Molte scalinate dei gradini  
irregolari e dai passaggi  
consumati, fessure o rovine. Sono  
presenti. Ho prima dei primi la  
prima verso il marciapiede, un  
lungo e ripido saliscendi a  
tutto fuo a 7 ore di tempo  
da lì una pista pedonale  
fuo a praticare andare  
a El Trebol. Su questa  
strada cui che mi colpì più  
- fuono i cumuli di materiali  
da costruzione presenti ogni  
dove di natura dondi alle  
abitazioni.



lo pratica di costruire lo  
spazio abitativo (limitato)  
lo conseguenza dunque  
anche sulle pochare dello  
spazio ad uso collettivo...  
... interessante

Erano canali di Ghioza e  
Sibbo presenti per essere usati  
per il collettivismo.

Chiamate le mie attenzioni en  
focalizzate anche sul potenziale  
particolare esistente sotto ad ogni  
meccanismo delo sul ogni singolo  
e sintetizzato dall'ambito delle  
abitazioni. GANI. Che tali ad  
in base lo spaziosità...  
ed i passanti come me vengono  
per costretti ad "arrivare"  
il loro cammino (Direzioni) tende  
in circolazione lo loro pensiero,  
causando di non operanti ed  
ignorando il loro ambiente storico!

Il percorso bene attin due  
funzioni nella zona spazio della  
strada come attività lo me atene

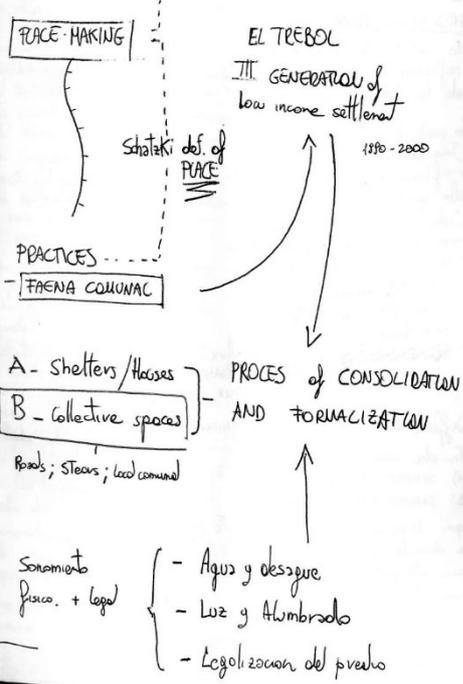
A - Il "senso" dell'area di scinto  
in strada... o compreso lo  
sviluppo con scampo interato  
precluso negli di fango e  
rische per ogni dove.....  
michio però orario delle piogge  
anzi di: sabbia e particelle de  
di quell'acqua soprannata

B - L'Elemento nuovo di rifiuti urbani  
per lo strada e rifiuti special  
accumulati qui e lo case (ordelli), fango di legno rotto,  
sede notte e varie altre cose che

Si è visto quanto ho capito non  
 rispetto regole normalmente  
 con il comon. delle gozzatine  
 e che era passato ad ingranaggi  
 e non pareva essere spuntate  
 di tutto sommo "aiuto" adeguato.

Di un terzo detto mirasi caso  
 più tardi quando mi soffermai  
 il nono un volte mentito a caso  
 lo poteva rapprate sulla strada  
 nono chi comai o dei natoni  
 è quello che ti viene addosso  
 e d'altro... nelle mie agenzie  
 dello spazio pubblico questo o  
 in un dato al fondo!!

Arrivai al TANITA poco più delle  
 chissà e la mia o compunti  
 con il sig. WIS e lo sig. GERRERA  
 per la loro selezione all'interno  
 internazionale di TECHO o Buenos Aires  
 e ad informarmi ~~per~~ ~~tecnica~~ in  
 El Trebol che dovrebbe riuscire  
 Domingo 05/05/2018



86  
 Riflessioni sopra la lettera  
 di

28/04/2018

IRIS ROSAS MEZA  
 la cultura constructiva  
 informal y la transformacion  
 de los barrios caraqueños

Per questo lo scritto analizza principalmente  
 il fatto dell'abitazione informale  
 la riflessione vale anche per l'habitat  
 delle zone costruite in passato  
 L'idea della trasformazione proposta  
 cresce partente e nella mia mente  
 mangia altri informazioni presenti anche  
 nel EL TREBO.....

- Soluzioni fatte con cooperatori  
 per in essere
- ~~Soluzioni costruite~~ Soluzioni costruite  
 man mano: PASAPAYO CON TUCU DI RENTITA  
 SOLUS EMIS!!

Difficile trovare notizie le contropartite

Tra due visioni in RECU  
 A) SENSIBILE PROFESSIONAL  
 B) SAPERIO EMPIRICO

qui la nozione è distante e rimane presente  
 a chiome e loro ampio spazio sia allo  
 sue interpretazioni che alla sua totale  
 assue da parte

DIARIO DI CAMPO

29/04/2018 87  
 EL TREBOL  
 PARQUEURTO

Come concordato in precedenza  
 mi ritrovai con i ragazzi di Habitat  
 al ANCHI verso le ore 8:00pm  
 Insieme a loro 4 volontari di  
 KHASKA e Kelly dell'eq. di comando  
 del EL TREBO... con loro mi diressi  
 alle comunita per seguire la redistribuzione  
 del PARCO verso il nord. Concentrarsi  
 con i ragazzi della uni: USIL a  
 ormai sul posto ~~nessun~~ con mi separai  
 da Kelly e dai volontari di KHASKA  
 a scarsi a lavorare nel parco con  
 la USIL.



Non avendo con me niente da  
 di partecipare direttamente alle attività  
 e mi appropriati per fare qualche  
 lavoro.

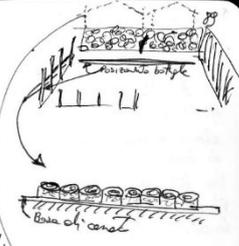
L'attività da svolgere per il seguito  
 di tutto più mirato che veni  
 con la fine qualche settimana  
 prima. In sostanza riempire  
 bottiglie di plastica (una 60ml) con  
 con sabbia. COMPATTARLA BENE  
 che per lo poco può essere usato da  
 quello che sembra essere il responsabile  
 o coordinatore delle attività) anche  
 nel momento le bottiglie in un  
 singolo. Variante di complicato.

Altre che 3 parte in realtà i ragazzi  
 ammassa sabbia di tutto. Si raggruppa  
 per creare degli imbotti togliendo delle  
 bottiglie (con bottiglie prestate da un vicino)

88 ma sbilanciato, un compasso, qualcuno  
 Ta i "rifletti" fatti nel parco  
 qualche strumento che potesse funzionare  
 "lavoro". Tenti dunque di creare un ambito  
 con un cortello di plastica fusa ma  
 a quel punto sarebbero stati necessari:  
 E infatti i botteglie era x tener l'ordine  
 l'alto x riempire di solito ... allo fine  
 ogni x il riempimento diretto con la  
 pala. Riempi le prime 2 botteglie  
 e grande scottato conosci sulle  
 condizioni di poco anno del parco  
 pl. chiesi sul progetto, loro ambiti  
 di "stasi", manutenzione dell'area  
 Il progetto venne finanziato dalla  
 USK e presentato su proposta di  
 TESCO ad un gruppo di studenti.  
 Tutti studenti di architettura...  
 forse per questo così poco organizzati  
 nella pratica: l'incarico botteglie; non  
 tutte tonano il toppe; una spande  
 e malinconica; non un punto  
 fobici e pelotte, insomma non  
 troppo differente da quello  
 fecero anche la fase le  
 olome scabette al riempimento  
 delle botteglie. Il "responsabile"  
 Mi mostro il progetto trascritto  
 e non delle linee ed inquad  
 e caso servissero le botteglie

Per il progetto omiso vedere  
 P. 155 Vol. 1 2018

In pratica le botteglie sarebbero state  
 usate ~~come~~ prima ad internate  
 per fissare il muro all'interno del  
 quale c'era la pinta.  
 Dunque su due lati, inteso ad  
 estero all'altro perimetra.  
 L'intento era ~~non~~ di dare di veder  
 avere un parco per bambini; ma  
 quando gli chiesi chi fissava ~~le~~  
 botteglie, Testemio e quando  
 invece gli chiesi se fossero stati fatti  
 dagli stasi su pl. usi effettivi del  
 parco (quello velocemente diventa  
 TESCO che ora visto queste cose  
 TESCO? Possibile no non probabile  
 dato che il disegno progettuale venne fatto  
 da un velatore di PIC Teco  
 l'idea di diradare dello studio  
 mi venne poco prima venendo da  
 un parco di macchina (Vistante  
 non da "Venus" aveva giusto torto  
 percheppio li detto.  
 Anche soltanto della manutenzione non lo  
 riposto non fu soddisfacente...  
 Di queste cose se ne occupano  
 i vicini di casa.  
 Una sorpresa imprevista la ebbe  
 ragazzi della USK quando il  
 Sig. BEVITO ricordando gli disse  
 che nel giro di qualche settimana sarebbero  
 dovuti iniziare gli "lavori" di cantiere  
 ed due mesi di lavoro nei liti grinte e d'anno



Futuro sbilanciato  
 potenziale notevole  
 disse dove restano le  
 cose?!

Progetto di Infrastruttura  
 comunitaria.

89 e da dunque i lavori di  
 stasi e via a papa ma  
 sarebbe potuto partire prima  
 di GIUGNO ... visto che lo  
 spazio sarebbe stato occupato  
 come rozzero e luogo  
 di lavoro  
 Una futura dunque che abbia  
 ritardato tutte l'anno chi  
 lavora....

Non erano spazi  
 pubblici negli insediamenti  
 ormai solo non c'è  
 ente di controllo!!  
 con forza tale da imporsi sul  
 spazio

Riflettere che fare e  
 molto interessante...  
 Lo spazio pubblico... o nel  
 uso collettivo ~~non~~ è uno  
 spazio di tutto e dunque di nuovo  
 utilizzabile a discrezione di chi  
 se ne appropria!  
 Tra quello dei materiali di cantiere  
 e ~~quello~~  
 o i fatti fatti da occupare  
 e costituire lo spazio col  
 uso collettivo... comunitario

- SPAZIO AD USO COLLETTIVO  
 = SPAZIO CHE È POSSIBILE  
 USARE COME CANTIERE  
 MI PARE?
- SPAZIO PUBBLICO =  
 SPAZIO DOMINATO DA  
 UN ENTE CHE LO RISPONDE  
 E VIGILA.....?
- SPAZIO PUBBLICO =  
 SPAZIO DI SOCIALIZZAZIONE?  
DE NOI CREDO

Allo st. mi sono date  
 a unire con KHUSA e lo porta  
 direzione che il TROPEX x vedere  
 il loro dell'abitazione e un paio  
 sudati. C'era rinviazione del bilco  
 dello spazio TROPEX in rito delle  
 cose; lo caso st. stillo a debbo da  
 difendersi.

Il grato allora a Vito Tommaso.  
 Anche lo sono anche rinvierci con  
 che vanno per discutere il loro  
 del SUOZIO e vivibilità. Solo  
 E vicini partecipano to quali  
 il sig. SURI col un ex dirigente  
 il sig. MEDVA che fino dell'anno  
 dello diresse finché di direse  
 questo quella fosse il nato di TESCO  
 e anche il fatto da suo nelle le  
 AUS. che lobby negli insediamenti  
 della casa e da prima provincia  
 di paperi interessi specifici. Non più  
 nessuno che oltre TESCO era con e  
 che pare l'impegno con la parte TESCO  
 loro era uguale con e che pure  
 so da velatore di TESCO preso i  
 suoi obiettivi privati (LONTANNO)  
 Trodo che lo mio schietto a rimasto  
 lo spazio perché più un vuoto dello  
 monico nella quale più interessi individuali  
 sono il base "collettiva" portavano pari  
 alle "comunità". Non più alle più piccole  
 esse stili amministrativi de tollerare  
 pratica il processo di cambiamento  
 del st. cosa con  
 L'intenzione è interessante ed spesso  
 siamo tempo stabilire.....!!

Villa Herosa 2 se  
 onale prion 1600 seles  
 pan independense  
 Acando a ocmble  
 Teheta

- Vmolo } Lo
- Estiulo de suelo } Arto
- ~~Vmolo~~ Geomalia } 30 S.

Schachul que lo 2 r  
 pan 2 hno  
 y obissson d. Verres dlas  
 Noche

Parque (Impasa y Plote)

ARBITROS y AUTOMOVOS  
 covm par lotos obale  
 recoje de sume

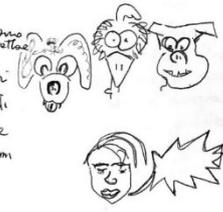
~~ARBITROS~~

06/05/2018

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DIARIO DI CAMPO

Quello dopo mi accorrei  
 con il sig. SORY e insieme di  
 TACHO per partecipare alle fiera  
 comunal di VILCA HERMOZA.  
 Come da programma alle 6.15  
 presi il bus della Rchi ed alle  
 6.30 minuti ad imbarcare per la  
 sfilata verso il mercato ARGUMENTA  
 lo scienzo per quel lato è più  
 impalo e lunga che dallo scolo  
 salito da dopo il distributore  
 un centinaio di metri più avanti.  
 Tuttavia è anche lo strada più  
 brevia per aggirare il colle.  
 Mi diressi dunque con passo lento  
 mo cortate e olezzo parso 2 de  
 Enico per quello strada.  
 to ma stitacosa riccolale stordito  
 su: suoni ed i rumori dell'edificazioni  
 nell'incalimento: Loni, Pollo  
 ed a volte il Gruppo dei padri  
 anno i suoni presenti /ob. piovanti  
 del reno onuale. Aggiungasi anche  
 l'uomo olon che con i suoi richiami  
 multilini allo collettivo, ottavano  
 il megafono /Microfono richiamato  
 al lavoro ~~di~~ fiera  
 I suoni: olii molini, della strada  
 e del lavoro dell'uomo con



106 infernato.  
 sono fianco uniforme invece  
 in tutto il percorso....  
 effettivamente posto o meglio  
 segnato il colle di tornante  
 della AH. 7 de 500 quest'altro  
 parare di suoni si afferrava  
 quasi scomponendo. Solo lo stordimento  
 del comon dell'acqua  
 restava e tutti i membri ancora  
 come addormentato.  
 A proposito del comon con l'acqua  
 restava: ad un senso enclenotica,  
 una parava signora, ~~potrebbe~~  
~~detta~~, o ~~de~~  
 non parare il "giu" del comon  
 e lo inseguir gridando "Hey Hey"  
 e fischiaia perché tornasse indietro  
 a riempire il Tacho probabilmente.  
 Sopra sul Taso dell'acqua in altro  
 impletto legato al possoppio dello  
 spazio collettivo si è rivelo. Lo  
 Monquero o come dell'acqua  
 costellano i lati della strada è  
 bruci: delle scudinate e le pacchi  
 multilizzate. Lo uso degli eloni  
 parati do aggiungere alla pratica.  
 L'incanto a Villa Herosa era partito  
 per le 6.30 circa alle 6.50  
 una ad una senza preside

NB EPISODIO BAMBINA  
 Una bimba di circa 11 anni  
 con il fratellino più piccolo  
 si presentava a me verso  
 le 7 am poco dell'ormo del  
 sig. Sory che abitava di  
 una più avanzata da  
 "Noi" se ci fosse e o de en  
 Enclenotica mi  
 scambio per un relato di  
 "PIECITO" che effettivamente  
 per scopi viene organizzato  
 una pte ad un parco in  
 privato... comunque quando  
 le chiesi se abitasse qui alla  
 Herosa mi rispose:  
 "IO NO SOY DE ~~esta zona~~  
 ACHA, SOY DE CA  
 CIUDAD" dove per  
 ciudad intendano PISTA  
 NUEVA queste mi stupi  
 molto e... perché appunto  
 gli chiesi di spiegarci dove  
 lo città aveva inizio...

107  
 aspettai dunque fino alle 7.00  
 l'arrivo del sig. Sory e ~~di~~  
 che ottitavo il megafono  
 del locale comunale per chiamare  
 o raccolto i "vicini".  
 Senza aspettare che si riunissero + ricordo  
 spiega direttamente da lì la  
 situazione delle comunita.  
 Un parole anche forti per mettere in risuo  
 al lavoro:  
 "Todos son Aficionados dello feto  
 de Apue y clasique"  
 parò de " se non cumple con  
 cotas y cotizaciones y non bajan  
 los coigos (hey mismo, ran 2  
 ser escluidos del casquo 300"  
 perché nella comunita  
 "Cada uno tiene que labor  
 por su propio lote!"  
 Chiesto questi pacchi no oscurati  
 partì il sig. Sory specifico chi  
 che stumentazione e ormai  
 i vicini non avrebbero avuto bisogno  
 per lavorare: Pennelli; Panni per  
 lavare; Scopa; Secchio.  
 Ci sedemmo poi fuori del locale  
 comunale sulle pacche del spital  
 Li ne approfittai per chiedere il  
 pacchi delle piante all'interno dei  
 copertoni?!"



108

In occasione della giornata autonoma della PARIGI - DARMAR, svoltasi in Bari nel 2018/2019 l'organizzazione dell'evento deve essere TECHO qualche centinaio di euro di coperture ma ed altri che per TECHO so per vari progetti.

In Villa Harano si lavora per la sistemazione delle grate ma il parco non mi era chiaro... forse fosse per un problema con gli animali...

Il sig. Suro mi ha risposto una risposta leggendaria differente spediendo l'istanza con BARRINI e sulla possibilità di smaltire i rifiuti organici all'interno... Controlla successivamente ed effettuate due prove di questi esportati uno più di ~~due~~ vestiti di cibo.

La discussione si sposta successivamente su quanto lo comunità fosse cambiata in 2 anni di gestione loro collezione delle piante, di piante "pessanti", alle luci elettriche e locali comunali. Da questo 2 anni sono il mandato della dirigenza sono il tutto di nuovo o quasi... il municipio infatti ho subito nella visione del materiale.

Da questo mi pare di ricordare anticorrelazione Villa Harano e Villa Harano 2 ~~non~~ onca si trovano antite

Propone ottintò di Abano Casero pollice con Katherina di Villa Harano

400 S. punto  
100 S. lo municipale!

109

ma la veduta di giorno non lascia come sembrava valere... e dunque si soprano... Da allora sembra si sono compiuti passi in avanti notevoli!!

Conveniamo anche sul ruolo rivestito dalla dirigenza nei confronti della municipalità o dei altri istiti istituzionali.

Forse di capire che lo rappresentativo ufficiale di un'Amministrazione è essenziale per ~~qualche~~ qualche persona di richieste.

Come riferito da Colanin infatti il primo della "costanza" vi è il riconoscimento da parte delle autorità come ~~Personale~~ Personale.

Lo secondo chiamato allo fare arriva alle 7.55

Il sig. Suro vi prese il divano fatto in precedenza e sotto/maso come quello domenica fosse l'altro piano utile per mettere in regola con le ~~scelte~~ scelte ondate da "Delfino An!"

Da 35 letti da coprire la comunità solo 8 partecipano sin dal principio allo fare... e terminano in 13.

Visto la P.15 il sig. Suro ~~stipula~~ le parole ~~non~~ composti di 1. - Polite, possono e i segni di S. Harano 2. - Polite in quello Test. seprechele 3. - Polite la sopra e fra i costi 4. - Termine di istone. lo potete vedere de locale comunale

110

Al principio decisi di affrontare gli uomini per la 2 ragione nel rispetto della storia del punto oltre delle comunità più o due saranno piaciute il creato per poco per mancanza di contenitori per il trasporto e ~~il~~ realismo lo fatto da anni fatto ed i ~~consegnati~~ pubblici allo schermo opti per la pulizia dello ~~uno~~ uno di contenimento e delle S e possono anche di dispone le rice più grad. ai locali delle soprileta per pagho esperimento... oltre più continui al meglio delle mie possibilità...

1. La polizia venne fatta con acqua e stacca con acqua senza dispetti... lo polizia ricopre tutte per son stati.

2. Lo sistemazione dei reperti di sicurezza invece nazionale in quanto non avevano infatti della strada dove si ubicono la polizia e lo schermo, con l'aiuto del progetto continuo di autorobi li, sono cancellando i segni... x questo lo partito di una pratica per esclusiva



111

nel primo caso non fu recuperato in quanto il segnale si trovava in posizione laterale rispetto alla strada e di difficile ricerca stelo soggetto ad osservare da parte dei mezzi notturni su giorno. Nel secondo invece, trovato, nel nome dello stelo fu recuperato sempre la parte interna di ghisa per rendere visibile ad impedire (o rendere più difficile l'intervento)

3/4 Il conto fu utilizzato invece del sig. Suro e da un altro membro delle dirigenze per frenare le scelte di materiale scelto dallo scavo effettuato da ~~con~~ con il Trono il locale Comunale.

Lo meschi si è creato una volta essere molto liquido perché il cemento doveva penetrare nel terreno per consolidarlo. Tennero che poco venne legato ed immobilizzato.

Date la pratica molto scarda da ripulire e la mancanza di mezzi adeguati, il getto viene domando per lavoro del comparto ~~lavorato~~ o dallo scavo.

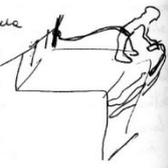
Venne più vistoso con rete o pannello per impedire dalla caduta rossi, finisse sul tetto del locale comunale



112. Sebbene la cocotte probabilmente non venisse impedito...

Ma il semplice lo semplice stesse del comito liquido sulle superficie piana della parete potrebbe portare ad un distacco di parti d'incasso della parete "improvvisi" non so se abbiamo chiesto per l'istituzione della mapha e lo stesso si staccano dalla parete....

Ma facevamo mettere la tecnica di un caso per assicurarsi di non cadere solo piccolo parete neutra effettiva i lavori... si lega alla un cordone di nylon allo stesso per un ago montato per l'altro ad un pezzo di stoccamento di legno che mi sarebbe tenuto all'angolo di un suo possibile cocotte.



Alle 10:30 Termino la parte di lavoro.

Tutti i partecipanti si riuniscono all'esterno del locale comunale dopo pochi minuti su richiesta aspirata dalla dirigente.

Il sig. Pardo (Segretario) prese dalla sua abitazione un registro delle presenze in semplice ordine cronologico designate e di cui si sono occupati i partecipanti.

In tutto il finale di 29 pagine risposero all'appello di 32 Cotte presenti.

Il sig. Suvy fece presente che già in altre occasioni la partecipazione non fu della miglior...

Al momento Algiers qualche donna prima partecipazione del paese (che da fosse comoda nel un istituto di Techo)

Mantra all'entrata di Pontalco del Sal con la partecipazione URSAL solo 3 pagine partecipazione al di Tona fra i presenti la dichiarazione di emergenza sembra della Non Riconferma.

La partecipazione ad eventi importanti, partecipazione essere scarsi... così come la risposta alle richieste della giunta direttiva per lo sviluppo dell'area.

Venne infatti mandato come fossero già passati vari mesi (MONITORING)

da quando Deferenza Civil realizzo? Abbiamo un il REPORT sulla situazione del territorio coperto TECTO

Villa Horvath. Ciella alternativa da doverne chiudere i giochi dunque... alle ore 15:30 poniamo la giunta direttiva sarebbe passata. Così x così tutto per tutto si verificano che.

Mi 1 - Leossonmai Palle e le "mezcolante" romana forse state ritate.

2 - Che tutti avessero pagato la "cavotta" per far parte alle spese collettive di manutenzione dell'insediamento.

Chi non si fosse fatto Tona non avesse riconosciuto all'epoca e non avesse sostenuto a dovere la sua situazione sarebbe stato escluso dalla prima dell'epoca c. 300 o dall'istituto di def. di pagamento.

Chi non chiese il perché della "Cavotta" di 30 s. si chiese che stabilimento i quali 30 s. sempre x - STUDIO DEL SUOLO - IA GEOMATICA - IA VALERANDA.

Ultimo punto erano per l'impedimento di Villa Horvath de Villa Horvath? per quanto riguarda il Tona dell'infestazione (cane "PENSIVAMENTE" che precedentemente indicato nel Focus Group e Tona sono i documenti ora in comune. Per chi non completò Villa Horvath 2 volte creò una nuova infestazione e inno a Villa Horvath lo chiese.

Ma non conta come fine o questa fine ogni mese solo a chiese e necessario del resto.

Dalla tavola supposta si infersisce alle parole dello quale parlavo per il Focus Group equivoche spazio ROBBUCCO per proteggere dell'istituto la parte storico del lavoro casomai.

È il ostacolo da scalo da quanto ottenim la donazione precedente prima del mese del Focus Group del Tona Suelo y l'invio per commissione della Municipalità stesso per la redazione delle scale (tavola quella dell'ex scalo) (COSTRUZIONE) quando la At Villa Horvath chiese il documento non gli fu dato e questo documento uno degli ingredienti del progetto per l'impedimento.

delle pagine di 1600 sales che dovrebbe stabilire si sarebbe riunite per discutere nella speranza il Tona.

A dispetto il sig. Suvy disse esplicitamente alle pagine presenti (soprattutto i giovani) di inviare i membri della famiglia di apprensione.

- o - o - o - o - o - o - o -

A Focus Group. Terminato prima di intervenire il sig. Suvy indicò come a partecipazione alcuni giorni passati all'INFORME ribadito da DEFERENZA CIVIL. Ne approfittai per chiedere che cosa, sul suo mandato elettorale, dato che lo stesso non era TECTO si svolgessero le elezioni. Il mandato del sig. di 2 mi Suvy sarebbe scaduto a bene o male sempre a Tona di lavoro.

Già chiese allora se qualche condato della municipalità e scalo Palle mai venite a fare proposte dettate. Si mi disse per per come definita. La separazione delle rotte impone che tutti gli spazi delle Tona, sulle parti di rifiniti e delle Supposte vecchia per si smarriva e doveva essere pagate. Chiese TROTTOS AUTONAUTAS.

Così è quanto mi dimostrarono e furono "bar felici" di pagarlo visto un nuovo studio sarebbe costato 6000/7000 sales.

Per verificare se davvero il documento non fosse di libera consultazione!?

Ateympa  
 Infirmeria che el sismo  
 casu deficiente  
 Venano jugate  
 Cabe los pas  
 Sordidos  
 Calle Ecocalpito / Los Nietos  
 Niños enferma

CÉSAR LOPEZ  
 936 990626 vno.  
 N° Vido Sede Junio

La casa solo io e parca  
 decoloramo di pupalera  
 nell'analisi seguente.  
 8.00 in Gualala  
 9.00 in El Trolal  
 10.00 in P de Ereno  
 chiesi dirigere ad sup. Flores  
 de El Trolal di gestione  
 la rimase precalatamente  
 fissato per le 8.00.  
 Personalmente a Gualala lo sp.  
 Moritz non dormio. Per  
 ammorzi alla sua sbalzata  
 davanti perussalera un cosa  
 a losuani pome. Dato che  
 pochi istanti prima mi sbarco  
 salolaro ostensi un poncio  
 dolce, potadella colozza  
 che anzi affatto alla mano de  
 Tolajo, na rometti un pezzo  
 e glielo affari. Questo posto  
 venne ripetuto 5 volte prima  
 de il come proclama conflama  
 e mi l'ho si ammorza con fini  
 netto differenti da quelli che  
 la spurae sal obbarca.

Dopo pochi minuti compare la  
 sp. Moritz, la chiesi poche  
 forse rivisto tutti lo ser pome  
 Comito ingente de crone  
 fotografato.....

L'informazione me lo passo il  
 monto apponalo allo posto  
 di mo insistere a propo  
 assimi presentato.

La ripresa fu molto differente  
 la mode che gestia una praga  
 punto di ristabilire si amonto  
 e dovette così settionale a  
 cuere. Mi vengonni un poco  
 quando lo sati... muer el par  
 quando mi veni conto dell'histria  
 e lo stizza con lo quale la  
 chionai.

Chionai pl' altri componenti delle  
 mesa de Tolajo e nunna  
 all'ombra di un alvella  
 sullo scalinato principale, donati  
 allo caso di un vicino.

Pino di mirra con il fuso Giop  
 al Tene de Via, Oscar y  
 Transporte, la chiesi come  
 fusi/da il Tuo delle lica se moooo  
 fessio muniti a pome, "cattoli"  
 mi dissa de a daretto gestore la cosa a  
 e lancia per montare nei limiti de  
 plan rivolo, no de allo fue rissano  
 a sabbare la cosa. Tuttuno mi dissa  
 a successivamente altri predi emerso  
 donati allo richiesta di W.

Punto a mostrare la massima  
 Takas di "FIDUCIA E POWER"  
 con processi e "moscio"  
 de succumata incogniti ochi  
 a PETROP. FINE allora  
 da me con iromu orientate  
 no de con tutte le parti  
 delle noccate che monore  
 passu come a compremere  
 di socialista.

Si sarebbe dovuto girare  
 ad ammorza un altro richiesta.  
 ... la risposta suora case  
 una rassegnata... tra la  
 onata og, anche se insufficiente  
 alle necessità famiglia; o agitare  
 un Tajo malterminato che potabile  
 chionai il "alcanò" per poter  
 assa la brospia richiesta...  
 omata tutti l'immesso alla Infossare.  
 Una volta ottenuto la luce lo sp.  
 Garpa sarebbe però fatto realdo  
 per un attimo piccolo problema  
 In un punto delle scabate affetti  
 lo abstone In due piloi  
 risultae per lei occome  
~~assai~~ con el rischio che  
 restasse così una come d'aha  
 troppo omnia..

Perche chiesi poi debbaro  
 su punto l'ho nei documenti  
 forniti lo sotto volta precalate.  
 Per COFOPEI infatti GIBRALTAR  
 non a trova ommitetate sotto  
 S.J.M. me basi sotto S.S.

Villa Voto de Trunfo.  
 La sp. si Moritz confermò il  
 informazione me presso che  
 Tolo esser la registrazione come A.H.  
 così come le ~~test~~ pagate (a rifiuti a  
 così) competemo in realtà a S.J.M.  
 che se ne face come per prima,  
 e che con a racconto che uno

10) Vedo testo di richiesta  
il Tomte per Acqua chiara  
e Mike Macca sono più  
Tema risposta dell'altro lato.

→ dopo un'ora  
Rivista o registrazione una parte  
di questo conversazione informale  
prima che iniziano il focus group.

Parlo con la signora Katarina e sono  
un po' più. Il tempo degli attori  
è ancora a speso sopra le  
mie più rosse aspettative. Invece  
non ci ha chiesto mai nulla in  
contorno. Non pare che stiano  
del Trebal pitagorico.

Dopo l'intervista alla signora Katarina  
con una mezzetta di introduzione  
sul rituale avviene nel locale  
comune de El Trebal dove  
una riunione si sta svolgendo  
e spettano il nostro Tema centrale

Parlo di quelle come a 7 de Enero  
non so mi trattano.

Alcune cose nelle non resterà  
colpito positivamente...

Mi venne richiesto a cosa servisse  
raccontare informazioni di quel  
Tema [Suelo y vivienda] e se fosse

Appalti del nostro onde per  
chiedo alla signora Georgette se vorrebbe  
noi, lavoro con focus su monarca  
unito con altre A.A.H.H.  
(ultimo classe dell'intervista)  
to usate per affarista e  
mi viene spedito così le foto.

→ Valore la  
registrazione del  
20/05/2018  
Vicki-Louise-Tompate  
Ginsals on TECHO DENUE

→ Durante il corso restano  
un brano di così  
'ronologia (R) per lo studio  
7-8 che ormai mi  
dobbiano a cambiare  
Trattano. Le signore  
nelle monarca più discutibile  
possibile....

parte della mia ricerca o se lo  
stanno facendo per TECHO  
risparmiare come meglio riuscì una  
nelle ore di preparazione che  
il lavoro che si stia per fare  
potrebbe nelle attività di Techo  
e di cosa mi viene invece si  
facciamo sulle foto comuni.

Quando si fanno di un'ora  
però in vari casi che vanno  
dei mesi, delle nate tecniche /  
giusto di tutto sono con se  
i fogli della "posizione" del  
due settimane più. ~~Parlo~~

~~conosciamo~~ lavoro quello sul  
monarca o domande provenienti  
de investigazioni su Suelo y vivienda  
vecchio e non definitivo che  
per essere stampati possono forse  
l'opende.

Valore poi continuerà con un altro  
questione direttamente risponde per  
l'el. vuole di che prendere  
di lavoro con sette più la  
donde per prepararsi il focus  
group.... pensai di poterle  
comprare come una buona  
idea per in questo caso il  
primo.

# Appendix E

## Semple 1: Informed Consent request letter

### Consentimiento Informado para Participantes de Investigación

El propósito de esta ficha de consentimiento es proveer a los participantes en esta investigación con una clara explicación de la naturaleza de la misma, así como de su rol en ella como participantes.

La presente investigación es conducida por Andrea Mora, doctorando del Politécnico de Torino en Italia y Investigador en el Grupo Interdisciplinario de Investigación en Ciudades y Territorios Urbanos (INCITU), Centro de Investigación de la Arquitectura y la Ciudad de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. La meta de este estudio es *identificar cuáles son las prácticas de producción del espacio en barriadas a través de un enfoque en el proceso de consolidamiento de las mismas*.

Si usted accede a participar en este estudio, se le pedirá responder preguntas en una entrevista. Esto tomará aproximadamente 60 minutos de su tiempo. Lo que conversemos durante esta sesión se grabará, de modo que el investigador pueda transcribir después las ideas que usted haya expresado.

La participación en este estudio es estrictamente voluntaria. La información que se recoja será confidencial y no se usará para ningún otro propósito fuera de los de esta investigación y sus productos académicos (artículos y tesis doctoral). Los audios con las grabaciones no serán reproducidos ni difundidos por ningún medio.

Su identidad y en las respuestas al cuestionario será, por debajo de sus preferencias, anónima o explicitada. Sin embargo el nombre de la institución madre se mencionará.

Si tiene alguna duda sobre este proyecto, puede hacer preguntas en cualquier momento durante su participación en él. Igualmente, puede retirarse del proyecto en cualquier momento sin que eso lo perjudique en ninguna forma. Si alguna de las preguntas durante la entrevista le parecen incómodas, tiene usted el derecho de hacérselo saber al investigador o de no responderlas. También puede contactarse con las universidades de procedencia de los investigadores.

Desde ya le agradecemos su participación.

Acepto participar voluntariamente en esta investigación, conducida por Andrea Mora He sido informado (a) del objetivo de esta entrevista.

En función de mi preferencia, acepto que mis respuestas sean:

<input type="checkbox"/>	codificadas usando un número de identificación y por lo tanto, serán anónimas.
<input type="checkbox"/>	codificadas usando mi nombre completo.

Reconozco que la información que yo provea en el curso de esta investigación es estrictamente confidencial y no será usada para ningún otro propósito fuera de los de este estudio sin mi consentimiento. He sido informado de que puedo hacer preguntas sobre el proyecto en cualquier momento y que puedo retirarme del mismo cuando así lo decida, sin que esto acarree perjuicio alguno para mi persona. De tener preguntas sobre mi participación en este estudio, puedo contactar al mismo investigador al número de teléfono +51 974860424 u a sus referentes: Francesca Governa, Docente supervisora al correo [francesca.governa@polito.it](mailto:francesca.governa@polito.it); Vega Centeno Sara Lafosse, Pablo, Docente responsable de INCITU al correo [pvega@pucp.edu.pe](mailto:pvega@pucp.edu.pe);

Entiendo que una copia de esta ficha de consentimiento me será entregada, y que puedo pedir información sobre los resultados de este estudio cuando éste haya concluido. Para esto, puedo contactar al investigador

-----  
Nombre del Participante  
Fecha  
(en letras de imprenta)

Firma del Participante

Semple 2: Formal request letter adopted in the municipality of San Juan de Miraflores.



**PUCP**

11 de julio del 2018

Señor  
Luis Castañeda Lossio  
**Alcalde de la Municipalidad Metropolitana de Lima**  
Jirón de la Unión 300, Cercado de Lima  
Presente.-

**Asunto: Solicitud de entrevistas**

De mi consideración:

A través de la presente tengo el agrado de dirigirme a usted con el fin de informarle que el señor **Andrea Mora con pasaporte italiano YAB277259**, estudiante del doctorado del Politécnico de Torino y la señorita **Kelly Gómez con DNI 74080018**, tesista de la especialidad de Geografía y Medio Ambiente de la PUCP son integrantes del Grupo Interdisciplinario de Investigación de Ciudades y Territorios Urbanos (INCITU) cuya coordinación está a mi cargo dentro del Centro de Investigación de la Arquitectura y la Ciudad de la PUCP.

La investigación del señor Mora se titula: "Desenmarañar las actividades de esfuerzos colectivos. Prácticas confusas y disposición de materiales en la tercera temporada de barriadas de Lima", mientras que el trabajo de la señorita Gómez lleva como título: "La producción del paisaje de las aguas residuales en un asentamiento humano de reciente formación: el caso del AAHH Villa Hermoza, distrito de San Juan de Miraflores"

En ambos casos, los mencionados estudiantes requieren realizar entrevistas a técnicos y profesionales de su institución que tengan experiencia en Asentamientos Humanos. **Por ello, tengo a bien solicitarle se le otorguen las facilidades del caso a fin de que puedan cumplir con las entrevistas que precisan para sus respectivos trabajos de investigación.**

Agradeciendo la atención a la presente me despido de usted,

Muy cordialmente,

Pablo Vega Centeno  
Docente PUCP a tiempo completo  
Coordinador de INCITU

PONTIFICIA UNIVERSIDAD CATÓLICA DEL PERÚ  
Av. Universitaria 1801, San Miguel  
Lima 32 - Perú  
T: (511) 626 2000 anexo 4011  
ciac@pucp.edu.pe

[www.ciac.pucp.edu.pe/](http://www.ciac.pucp.edu.pe/)

Lima, 20 de julio de 2018

Dr. Alcalde de Lima Metropolitana Óscar Luis Castañeda Lossio  
Alcalde Metropolitano de Lima  
Jirón de la Unión 300 - Jirón Conde de Superunda 141 - Cercado de Lima

Ante todo un cordial saludo en aras que se encuentre bien. Por medio del presente documento los investigadores, miembros del Grupo INCITU de la facultad de Arquitectura de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú: el señor Andrea Mora con pasaporte italiano YA8277259, estudiante visitante del doctorado del Politécnico de Torino y de la Universidad de Torino; junto con la Señorita Kelly Daniela Gómez Perecena con DNI 44080018 estudiante de la PUCP, solicitan que se le otorguen las facilidades de acercamiento a las siguientes Subgerencias con las cuales nos hemos contactado anteriormente:

- Subgerencia de Adjudicación y Saneamiento Legal de Tierras con el Dr. Victor Cabanillas Alhuay.
- Subgerencia de Estimación, Prevención, Reducción y Reconstrucción con el Ing. Carlos Milan Morales Montejo.
- Subgerencia de Organizaciones Vecinales con la Dra. Jovana Margot Janampa Fuerte

La finalidad de estos acercamientos se expresa en la realización de entrevistas sobre temas de los procesos y proyectos de consolidamiento de los Barrios Urbanos Marginales en laderas.

A la presente, se adjunta los documentos de Consentimiento Informado para participantes de investigación en conformidad con el código ético de los investigadores en la PUCP. En el mismo, estarán especificados los términos de dicha entrevista y la finalidad de la investigación.

Sin otro particular, le agradezco de antemano la atención prestada.

Atentamente,

Andrea Mora  
Pasaporte: YA8277259  
tel.974860424

kelly Daniela Gómez Perecena  
DNI: 44080018  
tel.999110744

### Sample 3: TECHO habitat team presentation and agreements in El Trebol.

Lima, 14 de Julio de 2018

AA.HH. El Trebol

Sector 1

San Juan de Miraflores

Estimados señores (as) de la Junta Directiva:

Es un gran placer dirigirnos a ustedes con la finalidad presentarnos como equipo DESARROLLO DE HÁBITAT, de parte de la ONG TECHO-PERÚ, asimismo poder formalizar nuestro trabajo en su comunidad y poder plantear soluciones que permitan la mejora continua del entorno que los rodea. Nuestra presencia en las comunidades de Cerro Piquio, Cerro Verde, Villa Hermosa y Siete de Enero tendrá como principal objetivo la realización de un programa de Mejora Urbana Integral (MUI) el cual propone generar una visión común entre las comunidades, la ONG TECHO-PERÚ y las entidades públicas para el desarrollo urbano sostenible del área.

En primera instancia realizaremos investigaciones en campo las cuales nos ayudarán a poder reconocer las fortalezas, oportunidades y debilidades territoriales. Además, se buscará orientar las necesidades de cada asentamiento y priorizar ciertas áreas críticas en las cuales se necesite generar un diagnóstico y consecuentemente un plan de mejora. Como partes complementarias de la propuesta nos apoyaremos en las asesorías legales y urbana, así como el levantamiento de datos con herramientas participativas.

Reiteramos nuestro compromiso con las comunidades teniendo en cuenta que es necesario un trabajo en conjunto, para así generar una sinergia entre todos que permita organizarnos y comunicarnos de la mejor manera posible.

Nos gustaría asimismo empezar con el primer levantamiento de datos sobre los peligros y riesgos que se generan en esta zona, a partir de este domingo 15 de Julio. Para ello unos de los voluntarios de Techo Hábitat se presentarán para establecer un contacto más cercano con la comunidad y manifestar su entera disposición ante cualquier duda que pueda tener cada uno de ustedes.

Gracias de antemano por el tiempo y la oportunidad brindada,

Atentamente

Los coordinadores del equipo de HÁBITAT de TECHO Perú.

*Andrea Mora,*

CELULAR: 974860424

*Percy Suarez,*

CELULAR: 9576228272

Semple 4: TECHO habitat team statement of accomplishment in Girasoles.



**CERTIFICADO  
DE PARTICIPACIÓN  
2018**

OTORGADO A:

*Comunidad de Girasoles Parte Alta*

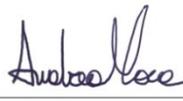
TECHO otorga el presente certificado a la comunidad de "Girasoles Parte Alta" por su Participación durante los Focus Group de Diagnóstico Urbano que se llevaron a cabo entre Marzo y Junio del 2018 en su respectiva comunidad.

Agradecemos especialmente a la mesa de trabajo conformada por:  
Elmer Hualpa Acevedo; Sixto León Tarazona; Maritza Apaza Cama; Giovana Chávez Albornor.



  
**Renata Barriere**  
Directora de Hábitat- Techo

  
**Percy Suárez**  
Coordinador de Habitat - Techo

  
**Andrea Mora**  
Coordinador de Habitat - Techo

